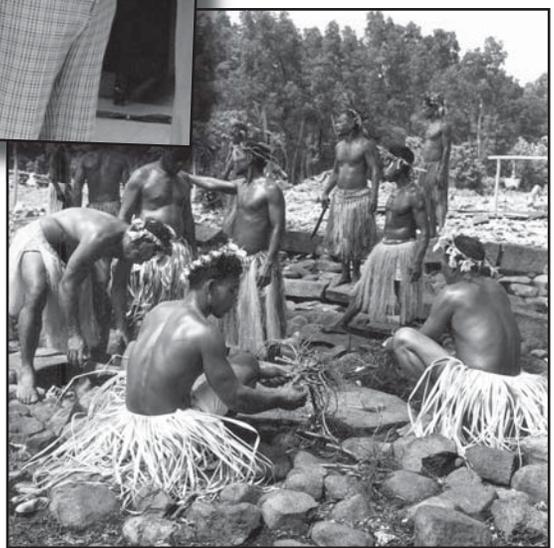
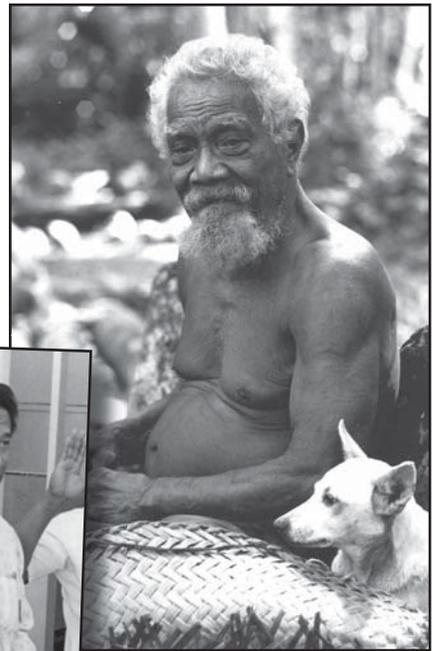


Micronesian Government: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

A Micronesian Civics Textbook



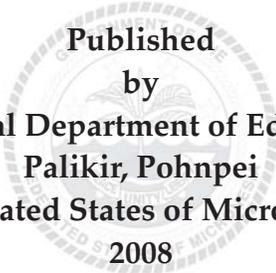
Micronesian Government: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

A Micronesian Civics Textbook

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Writing and Design

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Editor

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The seal of the National Department of Education, Federated States of Micronesia, is a circular emblem. It features a central figure, possibly a traditional Micronesian design, surrounded by the text "NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION" and "FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA". The year "2008" is also visible at the bottom of the seal.



First Edition 2008

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Foreword

For as long as people have lived in these islands, there has been government. After all, government is simply the way in which power and authority are organized in a society. Any community must have its leaders, rules of conduct, and the authority to enforce those rules. They are as important for the well-being of the community as food cultivation and housing.

This textbook presents a look at the government in the Federated States of Micronesia, as it exists now and as it has developed over the years. That's why it is entitled "Micronesian Government: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." In this book you will not just learn about the system of government in the islands today, but you will come to understand how the government came to be the way it is today. You will read about the issues that our early leaders faced, the political battles they fought, and the compromises that had to be made to create our present government system.

But government did not begin with the arrival of the first foreigners. Government is as old as the Micronesian people themselves. Long before the first legislature was formed or the first governor was appointed, island people had been governing themselves. That's why this book begins with the traditional government in the different parts of the FSM. You will study the way in which your traditional system operated. You will see how leaders exercised their power, but also how ordinary people influenced the decisions that were made in their communities. You will also have a chance to learn a little about how traditional government systems in other islands operated. As you grow in understanding of these other systems, you should also deepen your appreciation of your neighbors from other states.

In the end, this course should prepare you to become a better citizen of your own nation. The building of a government system is not something that is done once and for all, after all. It is continually being modified as changes are introduced. Our hope is that you will contribute to the building of tomorrow's government, just as so many of your own people have contributed to the creation of today's system.

Francis X. Hezel, SJ

INTRODUCTION:

The Octopus in the Meetinghouse

It was 1965. Andon Amaraich, a young man from Chuuk, had just been elected to the new Congress of Micronesia. The Congress of Micronesia was one of the first important legislatures in Micronesia, and the group that would one day lead Micronesians to independence. For ten years, members of the Congress of Micronesia worked for independence until, finally, the time came to write a constitution. But before the people could vote on the new constitution, islanders had to understand why independence was so important.

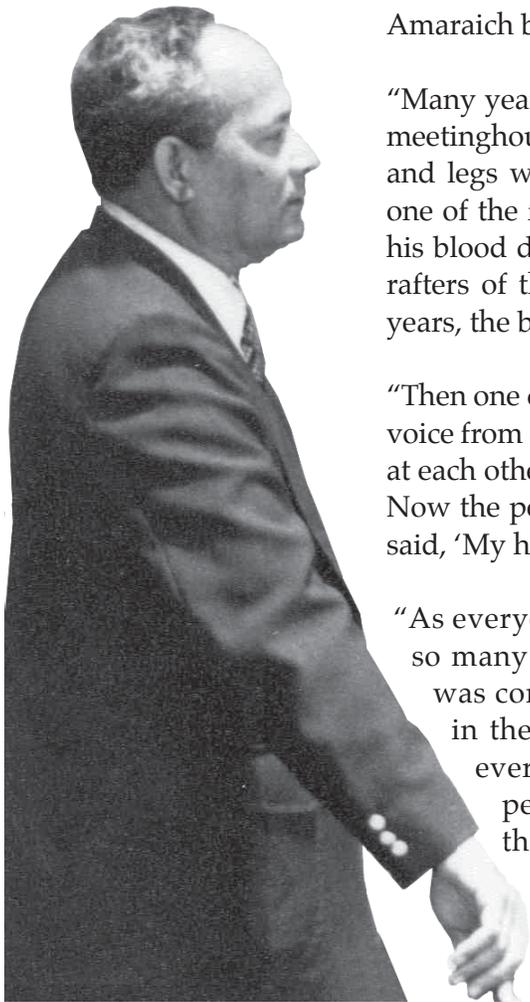
So Andon Amaraich and the other members of the Congress of Micronesia went out into the community. They spoke to the people. They tried to explain why it was important for the islands to be free from United States control. They soon realized how hard it was to explain what they were doing when so many of the island languages were missing the words they needed to explain themselves. So Andon Amaraich began telling a story.

“Many years ago,” Amaraich would say, “there was an octopus in the meetinghouse. One day, the octopus was killed and each of his arms and legs was chopped off. Each of the arms and legs was given to one of the families in the village. Another family took his head. But his blood did not disappear into the ground. The blood rose into the rafters of the meetinghouse, hiding underneath the roof. For many years, the blood remained in the rafters and waited.

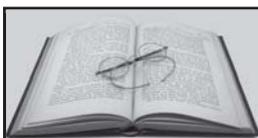
“Then one day, as the people were gathered for a meeting, they heard a voice from above. The voice said, ‘My arms, come.’ The people looked at each other, confused. The voice continued. It said, ‘My legs, come.’ Now the people were becoming scared. Above their heads, the voice said, ‘My head, come.’ The people did not know what to do.

“As everyone watched, the blood from the octopus that was killed so many years before, the octopus that everyone had forgotten, was coming to life once again. Each of his arms and legs came in the door one at a time, followed by his head. In front of everyone, the octopus put himself back together. As the people watched, eyes wide with amazement, he explained that they had no reason to fear him, no reason to be confused. ‘I have always been with you,’ he said, ‘but you had forgotten about me until now. I have always been here, but you have not seen since I left you until now.’”

Below: Andon Amaraich, a member of the Congress of Micronesia and one of the founding fathers of the FSM.



Andon Amaraich told this story to show that independence was not new. The octopus in the story represented Micronesia's independence. Micronesians had already been independent before other countries arrived to claim the islands for themselves. That independence was taken away, but it was always with the Micronesian people, waiting to return. The job of the Congress of Micronesia, and of all the Micronesian people, was to find that independence and put it back together again.



Check Your Reading: Why did Andon Amaraich believe it was a good idea for Micronesia to become independent from the United States? Why might he have believed that Micronesian independence was important?

Goals of This Textbook

This textbook is about Micronesian **government**: where it came from, how it works and why it's important. **Government is the way that power and authority are organized in a society.** Government here did not begin with the arrival of the Spanish, the Germans, the Japanese or the Americans. Long before any foreign power came to the islands, Micronesians had their own systems of **traditional leadership**, which served islanders from Palau to the Marshalls well for many hundreds of years. **Traditional leadership is a kind of government, a government built and controlled by local people.** Village chiefs in Chuuk, Yap, and Palau and high-ranking and low-ranking chiefs in Pohnpei and in the Marshall Islands are only some of the important traditional leaders in Micronesia today.

There are many different kinds of government in the world, and over the years there have been many different kinds of government in Micronesia. In some governments, a single person holds almost all the power. In others, all the people share power and everyone has a voice in deciding what should happen to their country. Other governments are somewhere in between these two. Today, many parts of Micronesia have two governments, as traditional leaders operate alongside presidents, governors, senators and congressmen.

This book is divided into four units, each of which will help us to understand Micronesian government in a different way.

The first unit will focus on **traditional leadership**. Traditional leaders have had power in Micronesia as long as anyone can remember, and in most places are still an important and respected part of island cultures.



Above: The FSM Capital Building in Palikir, Pohnpei at its dedication in 1989. Micronesia reclaimed its independence only after many years of struggle.

Learning about traditional leadership can help us to understand not only the roots of island societies but also the way island governments work today.

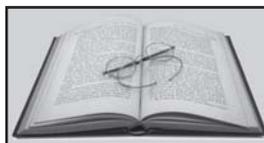
The second and third units will focus on **history**, the history of government in Micronesia. We will look to the past to see the ways in which traditional leadership has changed over the years. We will also look at the return of independence to Micronesia and the story of how the FSM was built.

The fourth unit will focus on **civics**. **Civics is the study of government.**

You will read about the rights and responsibilities of the people and the rights and responsibilities of their leaders. We will look at how Micronesian governments work, how decisions are made, and how you can get involved in your government.

Short stories are used to begin many of the sections in this textbook. Those stories that use the names of real people are true. Most of the stories that use only the first name of a person are fictional. But nearly all of the stories in this book are based on true events. They are included to help you understand what government in Micronesia has been like for real people.

In this book, you will read about different styles of government and different kinds of leaders in Micronesia. You will read about the way that island governments have changed through the years. You will read about the way those governments work today. But what you will read in this textbook is not the whole story. Micronesian governments are still changing today, and no one knows exactly what the future of island government will be. That means that the future of Micronesia is in your hands. The decisions you make will help decide the future of the islands for a long time to come.



Check Your Reading: What are the two kinds of government in Micronesia today?

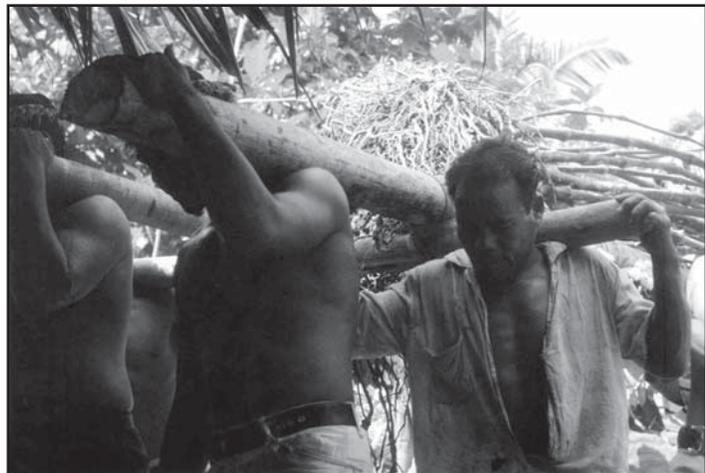


Vocabulary For Review

- **Civics:** *the study of government*
- **Government:** *the way in which power and authority are organized in a society*
- **Traditional leadership:** *a system of government built and controlled by local people*

UNIT ONE

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE FSM



Above: Micronesian traditional leadership past and present. From top left, clockwise: A Chuukese chief with two of his wives, around 1900; a dance at a Yapese traditional exchange ceremony, 1969; preparing sakau for a feast in Pohnpei, 1975; the ruins at Lelu, Kosrae. Traditional leadership took different forms on each of Micronesia's islands and continues to be an important part of island life in much of the FSM today.



Above: The Pohnpei State and Yap State Legislatures. Although there are many similarities between the four state governments of the FSM today, there are also many important differences in the ways government works in Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae.

UNIT ONE INTRODUCTION: Leadership Models in Micronesia

A government official sat at his desk, thinking about all the good he had been able to do for his people during his time of government service. After years of hard work for the government, it was finally time for him to retire. He did so knowing that the government of his state had projects in the works, money in the bank, and the appreciation of the people.

Meanwhile, in a different state, another government official sat at his desk, his head in his hands. He had also served his people for years, but his state had few good roads, poor public services, and money kept disappearing from government projects. The newspaper had just printed a story about all the money that was being misused in his department, and it was only a matter of time before he and others he worked with lost their jobs.

Why are the state governments of the FSM so different from one another? Why is politics so different in Yap than it is in Kosrae? Why is politics so different in Pohnpei than it is in Chuuk?

Each of the islands of Micronesia has its own unique **culture**. We can understand the culture of a place by looking at things like music, dance, food, and other customs. However, the style and form of leadership on each island is also an important part of that island's culture.

We might call this the **political culture** of the island. Just as the culture of each island is different from those around it, the political culture changes from island to island as well.

When we talk about the different political cultures in Yap, Chuuk, Kosrae and Pohnpei, we are not only talking about the style and form of modern and traditional leadership in each state. A political culture is not only the kind of government in a place. **A political culture is the attitudes that people have toward their government and the ideas that the government is based on.**

Do the people trust their leaders to make decisions that will be good for everyone? Do the people believe that their leaders listen to them?

Do the people prefer a strong central government or a weak central government? Do the people serve the government, does the government serve the people, or both?

In part, the political culture in each of the four states of the FSM today continues an older political culture, a political culture whose roots go back hundreds of years. We can begin to understand why the political culture in each state is different by looking at the different styles of traditional leadership throughout Micronesia.

Micronesian traditional leadership is very different from place to place. Every main island and each outer island is different from every other. Some islands are very similar to islands that are far away, while other islands are very different from islands that are nearby. There are many different styles of traditional leadership in Micronesia, but we can look at three main categories, or models of government, for the FSM.

The first of these is the **Chuuk model**. The Chuuk model refers to the islands of Chuuk Lagoon and most of the outer islands between Chuuk and Yap. **In the Chuuk model, no leaders have power over more than one section, leaders have little power, and no leader is higher ranked than any other leader.**

The second is the **Pohnpei model**. The Pohnpei model refers to mainland Pohnpei, most of the islands of Pohnpei State, and Kosrae. Traditional leadership in the Marshall Islands is similar to traditional leadership in the Pohnpei model. **In the Pohnpei model, two leaders control all the land in a paramount chiefdom and have power both because of their control over land and because of their control over titles.**

The third is the **Yap model**. The Yap model refers to mainland Yap, although some of Yap's outer islands have similar systems of traditional leadership to the mainland. Palauan traditional leadership is somewhere between the Yap model and the Chuuk model. **In the Yap model, land has a voice and leaders speak for their land and power is shared among high-ranking and low-ranking villages, connected to one another by a complicated net of relationships.**

Below: Congressmen from Chuuk's outer islands gather for the first meeting of the Chuuk district congress in 1959. The islands of the FSM have many different leadership traditions.



Understanding the differences between these three models of traditional leadership is important because it helps us to understand how and why governments in the four states of the FSM are different today.

Understanding the similarities between these three models of government is just as important, because it is these similarities that make these Micronesian systems of leadership truly Micronesian.

In this unit, we will look first at how systems of traditional leadership across Micronesia are similar to one another. Next, we will look at how each of the three models of Micronesian traditional leadership are different from one another. We will begin by looking at Chuuk, the simplest of the three models, and then at Pohnpei and Yap. Finally, we will look at some larger themes in Micronesian leadership, such as the traditional purpose of warfare, the relationship between government and available resources and the ways in which traditional Micronesian leadership has changed in the last one hundred and fifty years.



Check Your Reading: What is one of the reasons the FSM's four state governments are so different today?

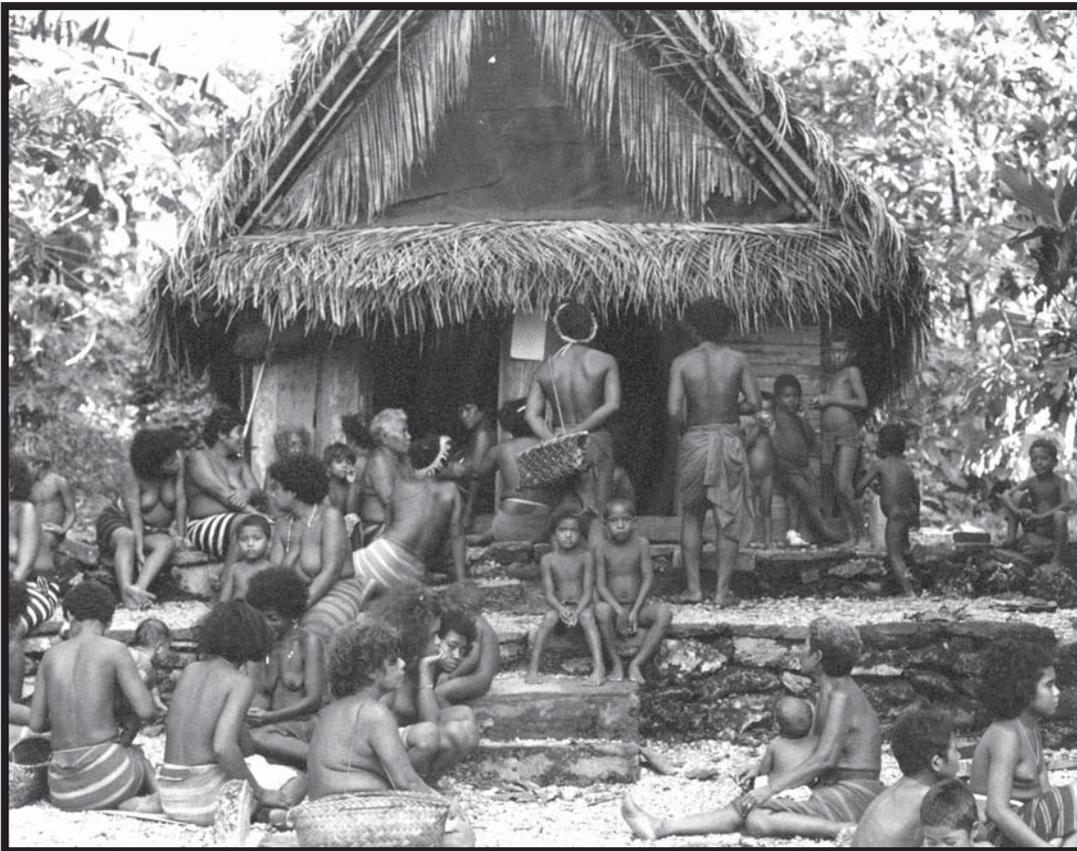


Vocabulary For Review

- **Chuuk model:** a system of traditional leadership in which no leader has power over more than one section, leaders have little power, and no leader is ranked higher than any other
- **Pohnpei model:** a system of traditional leadership in which two leaders control all the land in a paramount chiefdom and have power both because of their control over land and because of their control over titles
- **Political culture:** the attitudes that people have toward their government and the ideas that the government is based on
- **Yap model:** a system of traditional leadership in which land has a voice and leaders speak for their land and in which power is shared among high-ranking and low-ranking villages, connected to one another by a complicated net of relationships

CHAPTER ONE

Traditional Leadership Across Micronesia



Above: A village assembles for a meeting. Meetings are one of the most important ways that Micronesian traditional leaders share power with their people. Traditional leaders in Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Yap hold meetings in different ways, but the people have a strong voice in their traditional governments all over Micronesia.



Above: A traditional Micronesian sailing canoe. Micronesia's islands were settled by expert sailors who traveled long distances to replant their cultures in new places.

Beginnings of Island Cultures

It was time to go. And so one by one, the people started to pack up their things. There was a father and a mother, and four of their children. There were uncles, there were aunts, there were cousins. There was even a grandfather. The island that they had known all their lives could hold them no longer, and so they went.

There were other islands out beyond the sea. They set out to find one, bringing their closest friends, their most important things, and the plants they would need to

farm to keep them alive once they reached their new home. And after months of sailing on the open sea, the family and friends had a new island to live on, where they could start new families and rebuild what they remembered of their culture.

Historians believe that people have been living on the islands of Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei and Yap States for as long as two to three thousand years. Long ago, people moved from island to island in strong outrigger canoes full of plants and animals, bringing their families and their cultures with them.

As islands throughout Micronesia were settled, islanders kept contact with one another, especially in the low atolls where the ability to trade with outsiders for food and supplies was so important. Islanders traded throughout the Carolines and sometimes traveled to the Marianas, Palau and the Marshalls as well.

Because of that contact, and because many islanders originally came from the same places, there are important similarities between the cultures and systems of traditional leadership throughout Micronesia. This means that we can speak of a uniquely Micronesian way of government.

In order to explain what makes Micronesian traditional leadership Micronesian, we must look at some of the things that systems of traditional leadership throughout Micronesia have in common with one another.



Check Your Reading: What is one of the reasons that systems of Micronesian traditional leadership are similar?

Similarities in Micronesian Culture

How much do Micronesians have in common with one another? You may have met someone from a different island and been surprised at how different he or she seemed from you. After all, the islands of Micronesia are separated by hundreds, even thousands, of miles of open ocean. For thousands of years, it was difficult and dangerous to move from island to island. That is one of the reasons Micronesian cultures are different from one another today.

As you just read, Micronesians did move from island to island, even though the trips were difficult and dangerous. Trade was the most common reason for making trips to other islands. As island traders visited other islands, they shared their cultures with the people they met there. Because of these trading visits and because many Micronesians originally came from the same places, there have always been important connections between Micronesian people.

In this textbook, we will look at just a few of the similarities in traditional leadership across the islands.

One of these is the **importance of the family**, which acts as a basic model for the structures of traditional leadership throughout Micronesia. Another is the importance of **sharing power**, which appears in different ways in each leadership model. A third similarity is that power is passed down through the **mother's line** rather than the father's line in Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and on most of Micronesia's outer islands. A fourth similarity is **clans**, which are a part of every Micronesian society but have little actual power in leadership. A final similarity is the **presence of change**, both in traditional and modern systems of government. There are many other similarities in traditional leadership across Micronesia as well, some of which we will discuss at the end of this unit.

Islanders all over Micronesia also found that they had similar problems. **How could they best live with the families around them in a small island society? How could they be sure to have wise and generous leaders? How could they choose their leaders in a way that the people would accept, now and in the future?**

Looking at the ways in which the Chuuk model, Pohnpei, model, and Yap model of traditional leadership are similar will help us to see times when Micronesians found the same answers to these questions. Looking at the ways in which the three models of traditional leadership are different will help us to understand when islanders found their own ways to build a solid, lasting government in a small island society.

First, let's look at some of the things that are important to all Micronesians.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the problems islanders faced as they designed their traditional systems of leadership?

Two Kinds of Micronesian Families

The family is at the center of Micronesian life. Micronesians rely on their families to help them in times of trouble and always stand ready to help relatives in their times of need. The family is also where Micronesian leadership begins. **Across Micronesia, the family is the most basic model for traditional government.**

Both the **nuclear family** and the **extended family** are important to Micronesians. **A nuclear family is made up of a father, a mother and their children. An extended family is made up of a father, a mother, and their children, but it also includes aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents and other relatives.** Traditionally, Chuukese, Kosraeans and Pohnpeians lived with their nuclear families and some members of their extended families. When a young woman married, her new husband moved in with her family and they raised their children on the family land. Throughout the eastern and central Carolines, several related families lived together on the same family land.

Below: A Chuukese extended family. Extended families may include brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, cousins, aunts and uncles, and grandparents.

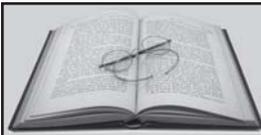


In the past, in most Micronesian families neither the father nor the mother were the only, or even the highest-ranking, leaders of the family. Usually, the highest-ranking leader was an uncle, one of the mother's brothers. It was the job of this uncle, as the family's leader, to make decisions for the family. He also spoke for the family when doing business with outsiders or with other families and decided how arguments among family members should be settled. Because he knew his power would never be passed down to his own sons, he was expected to work for his extended family and not for himself.

Yapese live in nuclear families. These families are under the leadership of the father, but his role is similar to family leaders elsewhere in Micronesia. The father is not the only one with authority in the Yapese family. The mother is the leader of the family's women. An aunt, one of the father's sisters, is an important figure in the family also. In some ways, a Yapese child's aunt is similar to a Pohnpeian or Chuukese child's uncle. Yapese aunts have special authority over the children and help to protect them.



Above: A Yapese nuclear family. Nuclear families may include brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, and sometimes also include grandparents and adopted children.



Check Your Reading: What is the difference between families in Yap and families in the rest of Micronesia?

Family Leaders as Models for Other Traditional Leaders

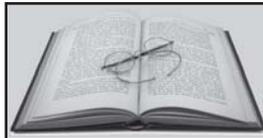
When he was asked why it was important to make good decisions for his people, the chief didn't have to think long. "My people are like my children," he said, "and I am like their father. And just as a father pays attention to his children's needs, so I pay attention to the needs of my people. Just as a father always tries to make the best possible decisions for his children, so I do my best to take care of my people. And just as a father respects his children and children respect their father, so I respect my people and they respect me."

Leadership **roles** all over Micronesia are based on the roles of family leaders. **A person's role is the way other people expect him or her to behave. Someone's role is usually connected to his or her rank in society.**

The three jobs of the family leader, **making decisions for the family, dealing with outsiders, and settling arguments**, are very similar to the jobs that higher-ranking leaders had. And, in many parts of Micronesia, village leaders, section leaders, and even the most high-ranking chiefs thought of themselves as being fathers to the "children" under them.

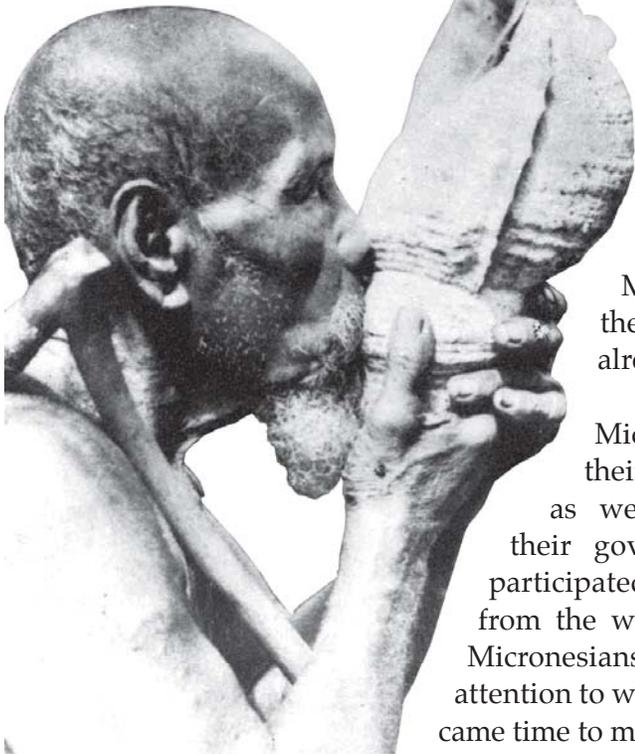
Like fathers, Micronesian leaders were expected to **listen to the needs and wishes of the whole family before making their decisions**. Like fathers, Micronesian leaders were expected to **make wise decisions for the good of the whole family**, to be generous and not selfishly serve their own interests. And, like fathers, Micronesian leaders were expected to be **strong and fair**, not taking sides in family arguments but solving problems in a way that left everyone satisfied.

In return, lower-ranking Micronesians were expected to show respect to their leaders. However, just as a family leader often asks the opinion of his brothers and wife before making an important decision, lower-ranking Micronesians also expected their voices to be heard.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways Micronesian traditional leaders are like fathers?

Below: A chief in Palau blows a conch shell to call his people to a village meeting. Holding meetings is an important way for chiefs all over Micronesia to find out what their people are thinking and for the people to help their chiefs decide what to do.



How Do Micronesian Leaders Share Power With Their People?

Shortly after World War II, the United States Navy paid a group of American researchers to come to Micronesia and write a study. The researchers were asked to report on whether or not the American system of government, a system where the people were supposed to have a voice in their government, should be brought to Micronesia. But after much research into traditional Micronesian leadership, the researchers told the Navy that introducing a new kind of government in Micronesia was unnecessary. Traditional Micronesian systems might even be more fair than the American system, they wrote, because the people already had such a strong voice in their government.

Micronesian chiefs shared their power with their people and, in most cases, with other chiefs as well. All Micronesian people had a voice in their government. Of course, the way Micronesians participated in their traditional government was different from the way Americans participated in their government. Micronesians did not vote in elections, but leaders did pay attention to what their people and other leaders thought when it came time to make decisions.

In each of the three models of traditional Micronesian leadership, power was shared in a different way. In Chuuk, family leaders gathered their families in the meetinghouse when they needed to make an important decision and no one leader ever had power over more than one section. In Pohnpei, two different lines of leaders shared power with one another, and leaders were careful not to anger the people for fear of losing their respect. In Yap, nearly every important decision was made in a council and villages were connected to one another through a complex net of political, clan, and family relationships.

Throughout Micronesia, decisions were made by **consensus** rather than by majority. In majority decision-making, only half of the people need to agree before a decision is made. Since not everyone has to agree for a decision to be made, decisions can be made faster. But the process often leaves some of the people angry. **In consensus decision-making, leaders talk to their people or among themselves until everyone agrees.** If everyone is not able to agree, nothing is done, although some people may pretend to change their minds if they see that most people disagree with them. The process may be longer, but nearly everyone is satisfied in the end.

We will look at some of the ways power is shared in each of the three models of traditional leadership later in this book. Now let's take a look at the way power was passed down from generation to generation.



Check Your Reading: Why did researchers believe that it was unnecessary to bring an American-style government to Micronesia?

Below: A man's family gathers in Fais after his death to divide up his things among themselves. Power is also passed down from generation to generation within Micronesian families.

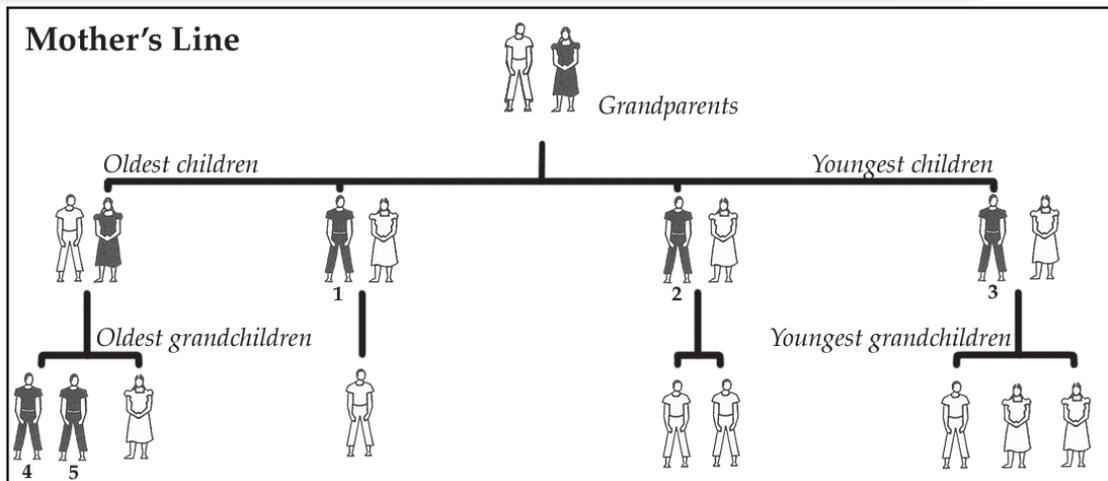
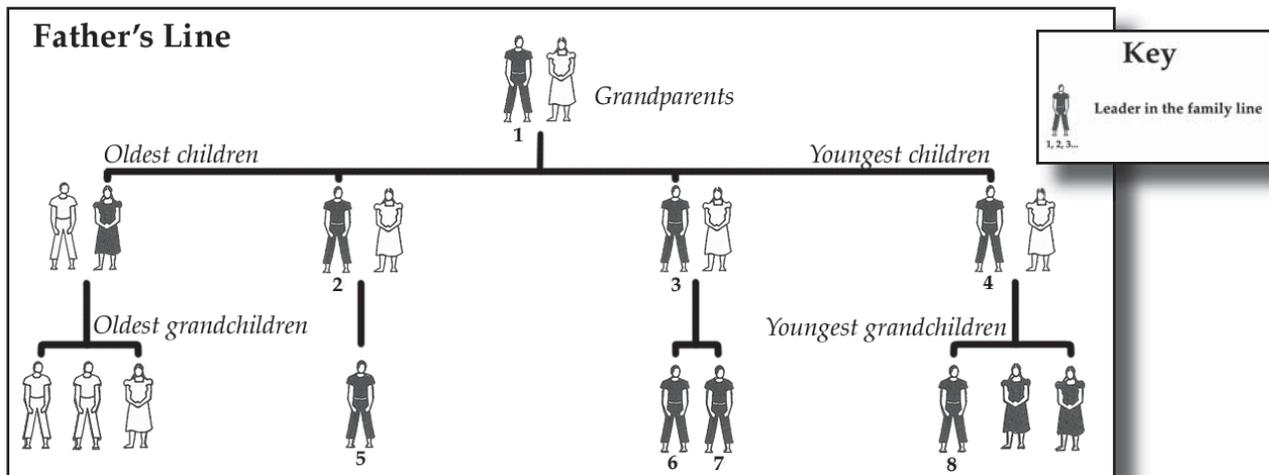
Passing Power Through the Mother's Line and Father's Line

His childhood was finally over. Now it was time for Nordan to marry. Marriage would mean big changes in Nordan's life. Not only would he have a wife, he would have to leave the family that raised him. He would move in with his wife's family and raise his children there.

Even though Nordan was leaving home, he wasn't leaving his family. He was still a member of his birth family, and he would still stay close. His family might need him if there was some work to be done. He might even



How Is Power Passed Down in Micronesian Families?



Micronesian families are organized in two different ways, both of which are shown above. In the picture on the top, the family is organized around the father's line. That means that the father of the family is also its leader. When the father dies, his position as leader goes to his oldest son. If his oldest son dies, the next youngest son will become the new leader and he will then control the family land. When all of the sons have died, the oldest son's oldest son will become the leader and control of the family land will go to him.

In the picture on the bottom, the family is organized around the mother's line. That means that the mother is the carrier of leadership, although she cannot become chief herself. The grandmother at the top of the picture is the carrier of leadership because her brothers were the leaders of the family and she is their oldest sister. When all of her brothers have died, her oldest son becomes the new leader and gets to control the family land. When her oldest son dies, leadership and control of the family land passes on to her next oldest son. When all of her sons have died, leadership and control of the family land pass to her oldest daughter's oldest son.

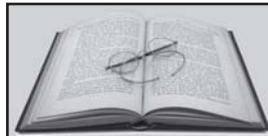
Although some Micronesian families now pass leadership through the father's line, traditionally it was much more common to pass leadership through the mother's line. Micronesian societies, except for Yap, all used the mother's line to pass down leadership in the past.

move back with his family for a little while if it was a big project. Of course, he would help out his wife's family too. He wanted to do his best to help both families.

Nordan lived with his wife's family for many years. But he could never be the family's leader. The job was already taken by his wife's uncle. Nordan couldn't be the family leader because he wasn't really a member of his wife's family. He was a member of his birth family. But one day, when his older brother suddenly died in an accident at sea, Nordan did become the leader of his birth family.

In Nordan's family, both power and clan membership were passed down through the mother's line. When a family leader died, his son didn't become leader. The power passed to his younger brother or to his sister's oldest son. One advantage of this system was that leaders weren't able to give power to their own sons, and so they were more likely to work for the whole family.

In Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and in almost all of the outer islands in between, power was passed down through the mother's line. In Yap, power was passed down through the father's line. We will look more closely at Yapese families and chiefs later in this book.



Check Your Reading: What is an advantage of power being passed down through the mother's line rather than the father's line?

How Clans Can Help Micronesians

It was early in the morning, and the sun was just rising over the sea. The air was cool, the night's rain had finally stopped, and everything was ready. Sitoma and her cousin were going on a trip. All of the things they would need were laid out. It was time to go.

Sitoma was a little bit worried, but not much. She had to travel to visit her brother. He had gotten married a year ago and moved away, and she wanted to see his new daughter and visit with his wife. The problem was that her brother's new village was on the other side of the island, and it would take a few days to walk there. Some of the chiefs in between were at war with one another. So it could be dangerous.

Sitoma had some family in between who could protect her. And where she didn't have family, there were plenty of people who were members of her **clan**. **A clan is a large group of people who are all related to**

the woman who founded the clan, but who are not necessarily in the same family. Actually, there were members of her clan in most villages. If she needed something, she knew, they would be happy to help.

Micronesians look to their nuclear families and extended families for help in times of trouble. When their families cannot help them they can also turn to their clans for help. Looking for help from other clan members is useful because, while family members usually live close to one another, Micronesians can find other members of their clan in any part of their island. That is because young men and women are not allowed to marry someone in the same clan.

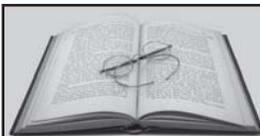
Clans are important to Micronesians for two reasons. First, clans are important for **mutual aid**. Mutual aid means that **clan members help each other in their times of need**. Anyone may ask a fellow clan member to protect him as he travels far from home, and a village leader might call on a fellow clan member from another village for political help. Even today Micronesians often rely on fellow clan members for a place to stay when they travel away from home.

Second, clans are important for **identity**. Although clan members do not usually hold meetings, or even have activities of any kind, **being a member of a clan is an important part of who Micronesians are**.

According to tradition, a woman started each of the clans in Micronesia. Clan members today still trace their family lines to these founding women. Each clan has a plant or animal as a clan **totem**. **A totem is a plant or animal that is important to the early history of the clan. A totem is not killed, hurt or eaten by clan members.**

Clan membership is passed down through the mother's line. Everyone in a nuclear family is a member of the same clan except for the father. The father is a member of the same clan as his mother. Clan membership never changes, even after marriage.

Some clans are believed to be older than others and therefore have a higher status, but clans are not very important for traditional leadership. An island's leaders may always come from the same clan, but not just anyone in that clan can be chief. Chiefs come from chiefly families, not from clans.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the reasons clans are important to Micronesians? How important are clans for Micronesian traditional leadership?

Changes in Micronesian Leadership

In 1936, Tadao Yanaihara wrote a report on the Japanese-controlled Micronesian islands. He described the system of government that the Japanese had set up all over Micronesia. He argued that this system was so good that traditional leadership all over Micronesia would soon start to disappear. Why would Micronesians need traditional leaders with the Japanese Government running things? Yanaihara saw Micronesian traditional leadership as a thing of the past, something that would disappear when islanders learned more about the outside world.

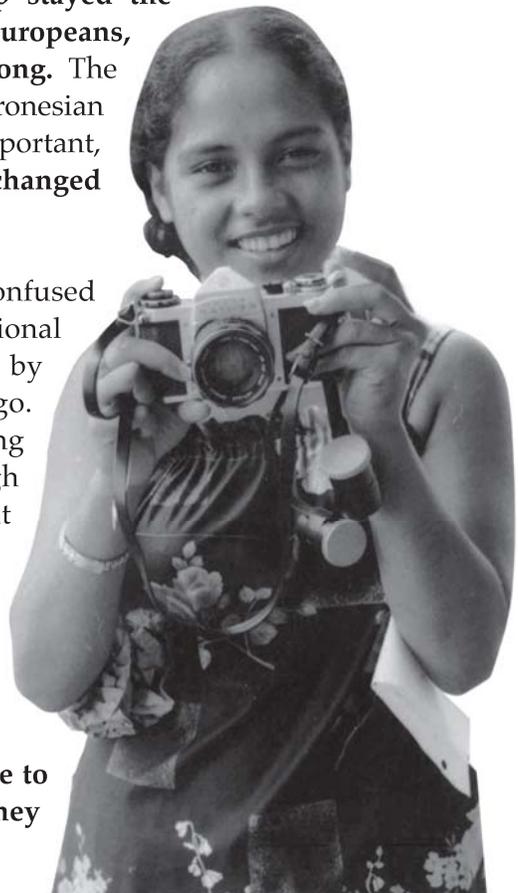
As we know, traditional leadership in Micronesian has not disappeared. Yet, although traditional leadership in Micronesia has not disappeared, it has changed.

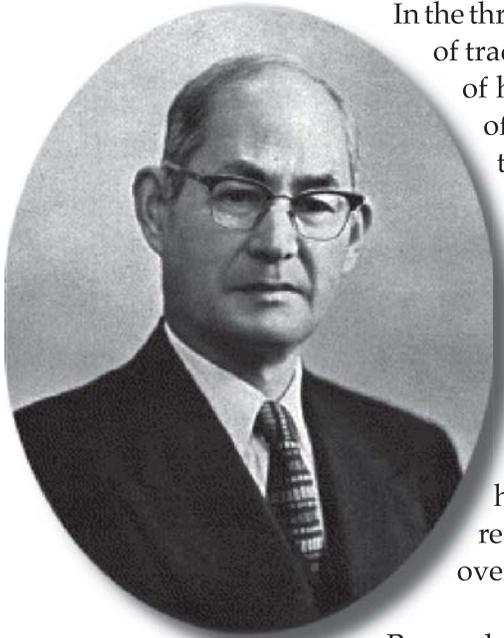
Traditional Micronesian leadership did not change because it was weak. Traditional leadership changed because it was strong. Traditional leadership changed in different ways in different places because Micronesians understood that leadership systems have to change in order to stay meaningful for Micronesian people.

If you think that traditional Micronesian leadership stayed the same for thousands of years and only changed when Europeans, Japanese and Americans came to the islands, you're wrong. The changes that have come to traditional leadership in Micronesian in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been important, but **traditional Micronesian leadership has always changed from one generation to the next.**

A traditional leader from a hundred years ago might be confused by the way some things are done today. But a traditional leader from two hundred years ago might be confused by the way some things were done one hundred years ago. Traditional leadership changes when the systems are being used, just as other kinds of government change through the years, just as a story changes a little bit each time it is told.

Looking at the way things were done years ago can help us to understand why things are the way they are today, but it is important to remember that there is no “right” way of traditional government in Micronesia. **The right way is the way that the leaders and their people choose to use, the way that makes sense for the times in which they live.**





Above: Tadao Yanaihara, an economist and professor of colonial studies at the University of Tokyo before World War II. Yanaihara believed that Micronesian traditional leadership would disappear as the islands became more modern.

In the three chapters that follow, we will discuss each of the three models of traditional Micronesian leadership. We will look at a “**snapshot**” of how things were around 150 years ago, before large numbers of outsiders came to the islands. Most of the things you read in this unit about traditional leadership will describe what things were like in the islands during the 1800s.

Looking at a snapshot of traditional leadership means looking at leadership as it was at just one time. It does not mean that leadership has always been this way, or that leadership should always remain this way. Using the “snapshot” approach makes the most sense for us because we have so little information about the way things were hundreds of years ago. If we had more information, you could read more about the ways Micronesian systems have changed over the last two to three thousand years.

Remember that change comes naturally to any system of leadership. Many of the things that you read about in this textbook will be different from the way things are today. But remember that a Micronesian reading this textbook two or three hundred years ago would notice many changes also.



Check Your Reading: Did Micronesian traditional leadership begin to change when outsiders came to the islands, or did it also change before?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Clan:** a large group of people who are all related to the woman who founded the clan, but who are not necessarily in the same family
- **Consensus decision-making:** a form of decision-making in which leaders talk to their people or among themselves until everyone agrees
- **Extended family:** a family made up of a father and a mother and their children as well as other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, and cousins
- **Mutual aid:** when people help one another in their times of need
- **Nuclear family:** a family made up of a father and a mother and their children
- **Role:** the way other people expect a person to behave, usually based on his or her status in society.
- **Snapshot approach:** a way of understanding traditional leadership that looks at leadership as it was at just one time.
- **Totem:** a plant or animal that is important to the early history of a clan and is not killed, hurt, or eaten by clan members



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **Beginnings of Island Cultures:** People moved from island to island, bringing their traditional leadership with them.
- **Similarities in Micronesian Cultures:** Islanders across Micronesia had many of the same problems when they set up their systems of traditional leadership.
- **Two Kinds of Micronesian Families:** The mother's brother is the leader of the family in all of Micronesia except in Yap, where the father is the leader of the family.
- **Family Leaders as Models for Other Traditional Leaders:** Micronesian family leaders are the basic model for all other Micronesian traditional leaders.
- **How Do Micronesian Leaders Share Power With Their People?:** Micronesian chiefs share power with their people by holding meetings, sharing power with other leaders, and using consensus decision-making
- **Passing Power Through the Mother's Line and Father's Line:** Power is passed through the mother's line in all of Micronesia except in Yap, where power is passed through the father's line.
- **How Clans Can Help Micronesians:** Clans are important because clan members help one another and because they are a part of who Micronesians are, but they are not important for traditional leadership.
- **Changes in Micronesian Leadership:** Micronesian leadership is always being changed and reshaped to fit changing societies.

Below: A Yapese man with his chief, at left.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- What are some of the similarities in traditional leadership across Micronesia?
- What are some of the ways Micronesian chiefs are similar to family leaders?
- Why is consensus decision-making important to Micronesian traditional leadership?



Writing

- Many governments use majority decision-making when there are important issues to be decided. In traditional Micronesian governments, consensus decision-making is used. **Write an essay** in which you compare and contrast majority decision-making with consensus decision-making.
- Some Micronesians today believe that they have a strong voice in their traditional government. Others believe that their people only had a strong voice in their traditional government in the past. **Write a short play or skit** about a chief's meeting with his people. Be sure to show how the people influence their chief's opinion.
- If you are a member of a clan, **write a letter** to someone who knows nothing about clans or Micronesian culture. Tell him or her whether your clan is an important part of your life and the life of your community. If you are not a member of a clan, write about whether or not clans seem to be important to those around you.

Left: A Pohnpeian extended family. Below: A canoe house belonging to the Katamak clan in the Mortlock Islands.

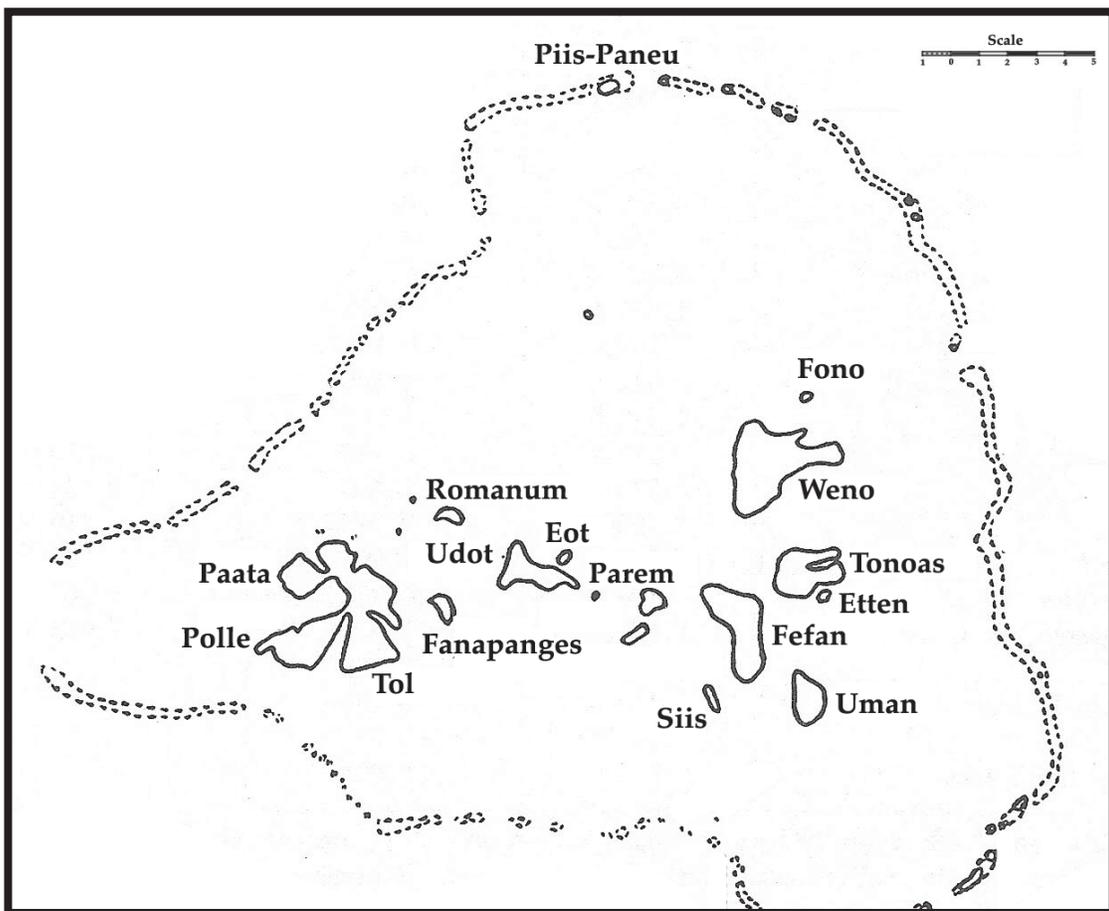
Critical Thinking

- What do you think might have happened to island government if traditional leadership never changed?
- How is a clan different from a family? How is it the same?
- What are some of the similarities and differences between nuclear and extended families?



CHAPTER TWO

The Chuuk Model



Above: The islands of Chuuk Lagoon. The kind of traditional leadership found within Chuuk Lagoon can be found throughout Micronesia. Many Micronesian outer islands have systems of traditional leadership that are very similar to Chuuk's.

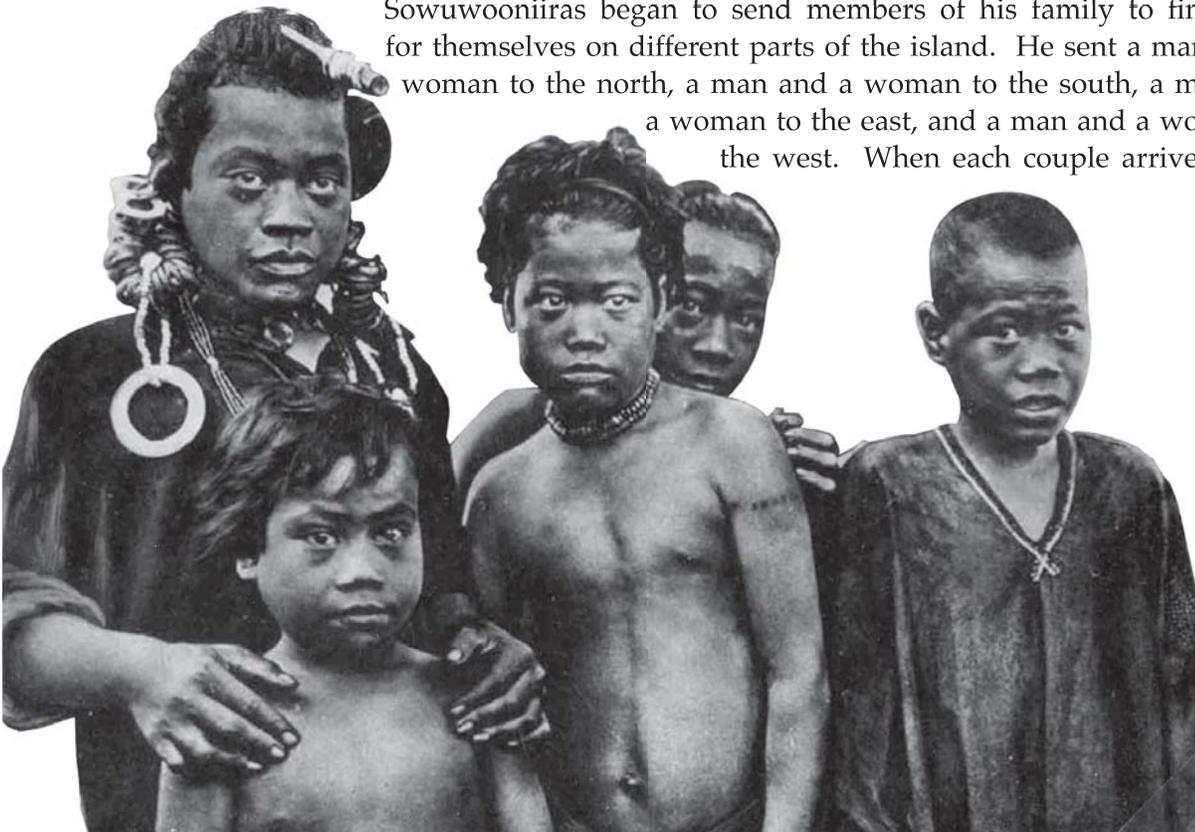
The Foundations of Chuukese Leadership

Chuukese tradition speaks of a place called Kachaw, a sacred and far away land from which Chuuk's first people came. Kachaw was well known in Pohnpei as well, and once played an important part in Pohnpeian religious beliefs. Where was this place? Some believe that Kachaw was in the heavens. Others believe that Kachaw was simply another name for Kosrae or some other island.

The mother of all the Chuukese people, **Nikowupwuupw**, "the woman who gives birth," was born in Kachaw. She lived happily with **Sowukachaw**, the "Lord of Kachaw," and together they raised a family. One day, however, Sowukachaw and Nikowupwuupw decided to leave. They called the family together. "We have become too many," Nikowupwuupw said, "and it is time we find a land of our own." Nikowupwuupw sent her children to gather wood for her, and she built a raft. Gathering all the family and as much food and supplies as they could bring, they set out onto the open ocean.

After many days of sailing, the family finally landed on Chuuk. At first, Sowukachaw, Nikowupwuupw and their children were the only people on Chuuk. Nikowupwuupw's husband, Sowukachaw, now became **Sowuwooniiras**, the ruler of all of Chuuk.

Sowuwooniiras began to send members of his family to find land for themselves on different parts of the island. He sent a man and a woman to the north, a man and a woman to the south, a man and a woman to the east, and a man and a woman to the west. When each couple arrived, they



brought stones and placed them on the ground to mark the borders of their new **family estate**. **A family estate is the land owned by a family, often including pieces of land in other parts of the island and the right to use shared spaces like taro patches.** Sowuwooniiras could have claimed all the land on the island for himself, but he didn't. Instead, his children became the first owners of their land and, because they owed their land to no one, they were its full owners.

People came and went. Some were defeated in war. Some left Chuuk Lagoon, hoping for better luck in another place. And, as these people left, others arrived from Kachaw and elsewhere.

As Chuuk's population grew, it changed. Young men married and claimed their own family estates from the empty land. New arrivals also claimed land for themselves. Soon there was no more empty land. Now, when young men married they went to live on their new wife's family estate. These young couples became part owners of one section of the family estate, which meant that they were required to bring the first fruits of their harvest to the leader of the family a few times a year in order to give thanks for the gift of land and show their respect.

But a few of these young men were not satisfied. They decided to explore the nearby islands of Chuuk Lagoon. When they did, they found islands without any people living on them at all. These men decided to move their families to other islands so that they could be full owners of their land. As the population of these smaller islands grew, these men also gave pieces of their own land as gifts to other families and received first fruits in return. After many years, when all the islands of Chuuk Lagoon were full of people, a few brave families even left the lagoon to settle on outer islands.



Changing Legends

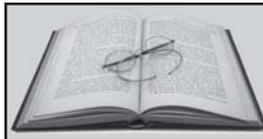
There are many different stories about Sowukachaw, Sowuwooniiras, and Nikowupwuupw. In some versions of the story you just read, Sowukachaw and Sowuwooniiras are two different people who arrive on Chuuk in two different canoes. In other versions, Nikowupwuupw is a coconut tree who is like a woman on the inside. Chuukese people also tell other stories about the first people to live in Chuuk. In one, the first person to live in Fefan is a member of the Achaw clan, who arrives in Chuuk on the back of a dolphin. In another, Chuuk's first man and woman are created from the dirt of one of Chuuk's islands.

Micronesia traditionally had no written languages, so islanders remembered their histories by telling stories. Just as the story of Chuuk's first people is told in many different ways, there are different versions of most island stories. Books of legends usually have only one of these versions.

Stories change as people tell them.

When a storyteller changes a story, it tells us something about him. Sometimes, old stories are changed because the storyteller wants to show that he supports the current system of leadership. Other times, old stories are changed because the storyteller wants to show what's wrong with the current system of leadership. Listening to these stories and paying attention to the way in which they are told can not only teach us about the past, but about our own time as well.

For many hundreds of years, Chuukese families lived in small villages and shared their land with only a few other families. The leader of each estate's first family was chief of all the other families on the land. Over time, these groups of families became sections, and the leader of the section's first family became known as the section chief. Since almost all of the high-ranking families could trace their lines back either to Nikowupwuupw and Sowuwooniras or to others who had come straight from Kachaw, no chiefly family was ranked higher than any other. The population rose and fell, but no leader ever ruled more than a small number of people.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the ways a Chuukese person could become full owner of his land?

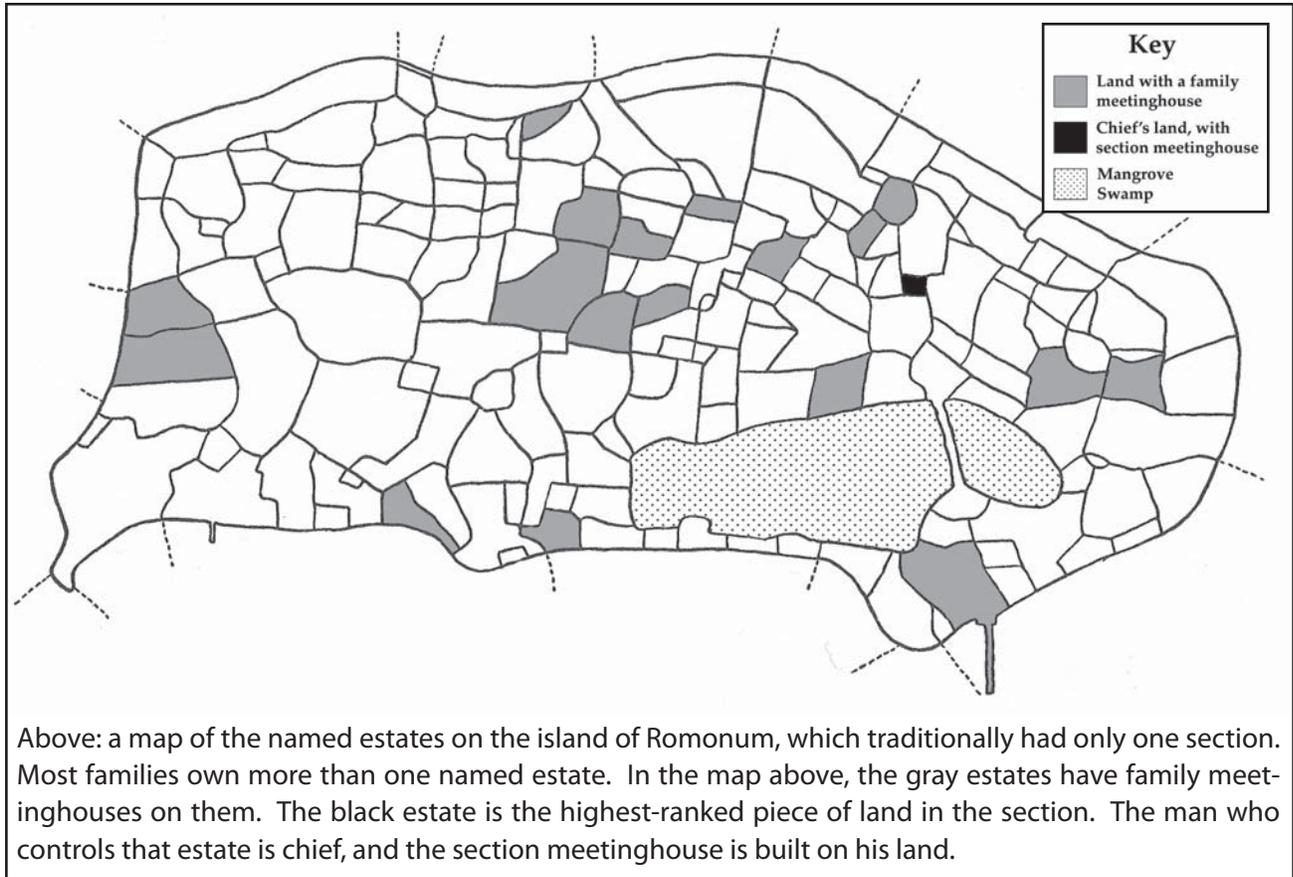
Introduction to the Chuuk Model of Leadership

It was 1975, and delegates from all over the FSM had gathered for the Micronesian Constitutional Convention. As they discussed what role traditional leaders should play in the new government, they also discussed what it meant to be a chief in Micronesia. A delegate from Chuuk stood up. "In Chuuk," he said, "the chiefs tell the people what to do, but the people also tell the chiefs what to do." This delegate's statement shows the careful balance of power between chiefs and their people in Chuuk and in the rest of Micronesia. The power of the people will be an important theme as we look at Chuukese leadership.

In many ways, the Chuuk model of traditional leadership is similar to the Pohnpei and Yap models of leadership. In both Chuuk and Yap, chiefs take their titles from their ownership of a particular piece of land. In both Chuuk and Pohnpei, sections that are under the leadership of a section chief are the basic unit of government. And in Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Yap, leaders must share their power with their people.

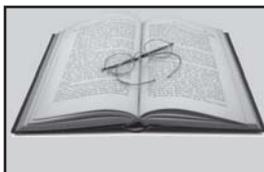
There are also important differences between traditional leadership in Chuuk and traditional leadership in other parts of Micronesia. One important difference is rank. Although rank is an important part of both Pohnpeian and Yapese traditional leadership, there are few real ranks in Chuukese society. A section chief in Chuuk has authority because he represents the first family that lived in his section, but most Chuukese chiefs have far less power than chiefs in Pohnpei and Yap and no section chief has power over any other.

Another important difference is the power of **persuasion**, which plays a much bigger part in Chuukese leadership than in does in Pohnpei



or Yap. **Persuasion means speaking to others and getting them to agree with you.** Because Chuukese section chiefs have little power over their people and no power over any other section, it is especially important that chiefs are able to persuade others to agree with them, whether they want to make peace, win a war, or gather workers for a large community project.

The Chuuk model is one of the most commonly used forms of traditional leadership in Micronesia. It is used not only in the islands of Chuuk Lagoon and in most of Micronesia's outer islands, it is also the foundation for traditional leadership in Pohnpei and Kosrae. Chuukese sections and section chiefs are very similar to sections and section chiefs in Pohnpei. For these reasons, the Chuuk model of traditional leadership is especially important. As you read, pay attention to the way the land in Chuuk chooses the leaders, the way leaders share power with their people, and the way people show respect to their chiefs.

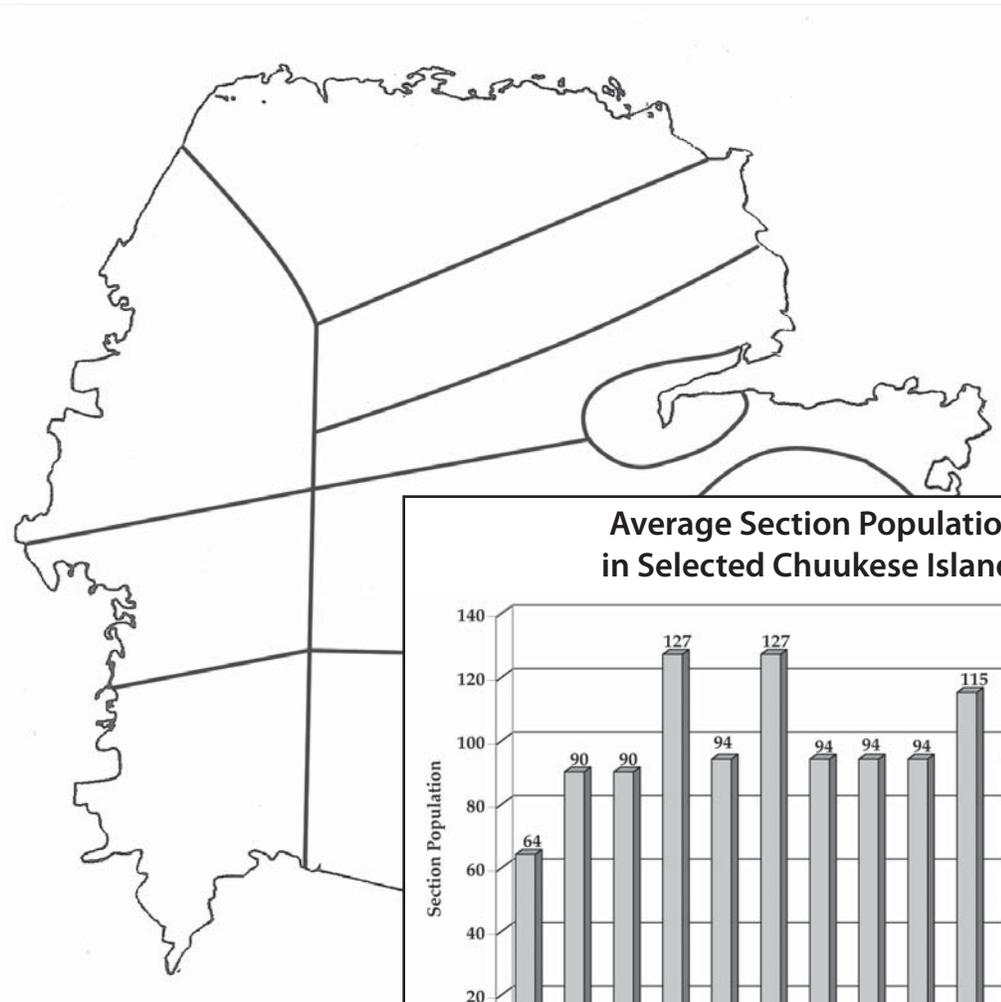


Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways Chuukese traditional leadership is similar to traditional leadership in Pohnpei? What are some of the ways it is different?

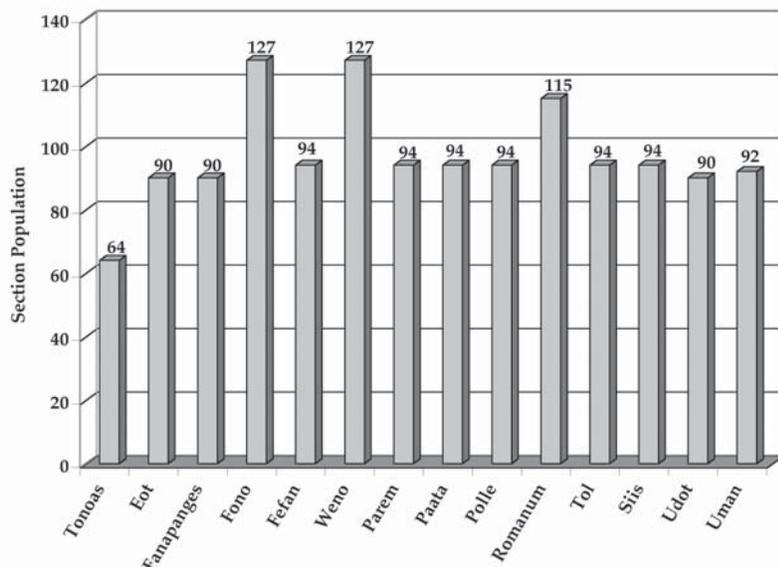
What Does a Chuukese Section Look Like?

In Pohnpei, sections usually begin at the shoreline and continue into the interior of the island. Most Pohnpeian sections are long and thin. A section in Chuuk can be any shape, and it can be located anywhere on the island. Some Chuukese sections are large and some are small, and sections often have the right to use land in another part of the island. For example, several sections may share the same taro patch. The map below shows the section boundaries on one island in Chuuk Lagoon. Notice that some sections are much larger than others. The graph underneath shows the average populations of sections on selected islands in Chuuk Lagoon. Notice that, although some islands can support larger populations than others, most sections have between 90 and 130 people living in them. Also, notice that islands with larger populations do not necessarily have larger sections.

Section Boundaries on an Island in Chuuk



Average Section Population in Selected Chuukese Islands



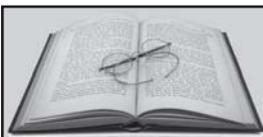
What is a Chuukese Section?

The section, or *soopw*, is the most important unit of government in the Chuuk model of traditional leadership. **Chuukese sections are small units of government about the size of a village that are organized around a community cookhouse and are under the control of a single section chief.** In Chuuk, no section has a higher rank than any other section and no section chief is more powerful than any other section chief.

Not all sections in Chuuk are the same. Some sections are much larger than others. In the past, some sections captured land from other sections in war, increasing their size. Sometimes a single family fought a war against an entire section. If they won, the family could take enough of that section's land to start a section of their own, with their family's leader as the new section chief.

Sections also grew larger and smaller as the population rose and fell. When the population of a section is high, the section may grow so large that it has to be split in half. The new section then chooses a new section chief. When the population is low, it may be combined with another section nearby.

Any family in Chuuk has the right to claim unused land for themselves and make their own section at any time. Finding unused land and starting a new section means that a family's leader can become a section chief. Many family leaders throughout Chuukese history have looked for new land just so they could become section chiefs.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the ways a Chuukese section could grow larger?

How One Chuukese Section Was Created

Euke was a young girl. But she was old enough to remember the day the whole family picked up and moved to another island to start their own section. "Euke," her uncle had said, "in our old life, we lived on someone else's land. In our new life, other people will live on our land. I will be the chief, and you will live in the chief's house."

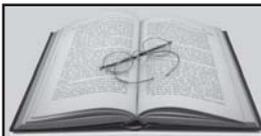
In the family's new home, Euke lived under the watchful eye of her uncle, the leader of the family and the new section chief. As she grew older, Euke's brothers and sisters began to marry. When her brothers

married, they moved away to be with their new wives. When her sisters married, their new husbands came to live with Euke and her family. Finally, it was Euke's turn to get married. She and her new husband went to ask her uncle for a piece of land. Her uncle was happy to help her start her family, and so she and her new husband began to build their house. They had their own land now, but they couldn't forget that it really belonged to Euke's uncle.

Euke now lived on the family land with her parents and all of her sisters and their husbands. For a time, everyone living on the family land was closely related to everyone else. But as Euke grew older and she and her sisters began to have grandchildren, the young men once again left the section to marry and new men arrived to marry the family's young women and to start families of their own.

As years went by, there were always strong family connections in the section, and the section never grew too large. There were rarely more than a hundred and thirty people living there. As section's young men left and new young men arrived, the families living there became more and more mixed. Still, the people of the section never forgot where Euke's uncle had once lived. They still called the man who lived there their chief, and they still brought him gifts to thank him for allowing them to live on his land.

Many sections began when a hard-working family settled on new land or went to war to improve their status. There were other reasons for starting a new section as well. Families did not only leave their homes to seek new opportunities for themselves, sometimes they left their homes because they had to. Read the story below for an example of another reason a family might leave to start a new section.



Check Your Reading: Where did young Chuukese men go to live after they got married? Where did young Chuukese women go to live after they got married?

Neini Leaves Home

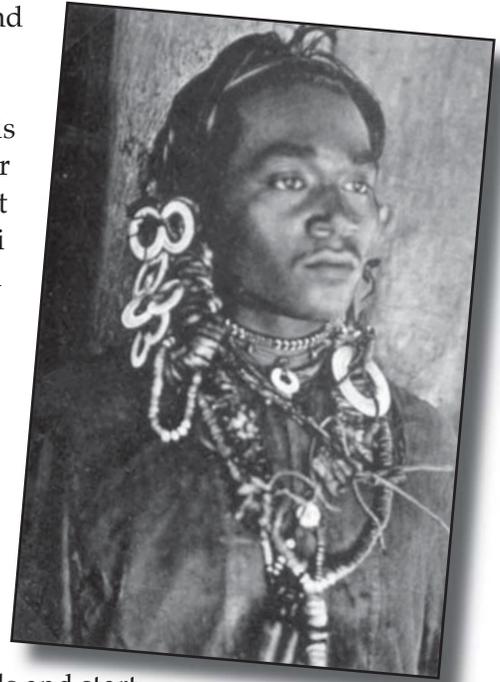
There was no war, and there was enough land for everyone. The harvests were good, and new families were arriving on the island every year. So why did Neini suddenly take his wife and his two young daughters and move to another island?

Neini was a good man, and people liked him. A few years before, he married a young woman he had known for years, and had always

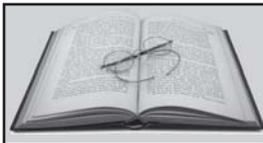
wanted to marry. They had three children now, and he and his family were happy.

In fact, Neini was friendly with almost everyone in his section. But he had never gotten along with his older brother. Ever since they were boys, they had fought. First they fought about one thing, then about another. Neini grew up, but it seemed like his brother never did. And then, one day, Neini's brother became chief.

Neini's brother was not a good leader, and he was still a bad brother. He said things about Neini when he wasn't there. He embarrassed Neini in public. And so one day Neini left the island that he loved. He sailed to another island, settled his family on a piece of empty land, and became chief of the new section. Neini loved his island, but his brother forced him to leave.



It is important to remember that people move to other islands and start new sections for many reasons. A family might arrive on a new island because they want to have a higher rank than they had at home. They might leave after being punished by a chief and having their land taken away. They might leave after getting into an argument with another family. Or, like Neini, they might leave because a family argument made life at home impossible for them.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the reasons a Chuukese family might decide to leave their section?

The Land Chooses the Section Chief

Every family in Micronesia lives on a **family estate**. Most family estates are made up of many different pieces of land. Each piece of land has a name, and one of those named pieces of land is the most important part of the family estate. **The person who controls the most important piece of land on the family estate is the leader of the family. And the person who controls the most important family estate in the section is the section chief.**

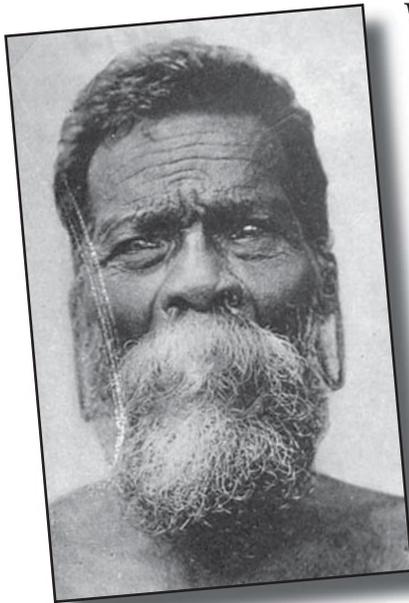
In Chuuk, land is important because it helps people to know who the chief of each section is. The chief's family is related to the first family that lived in the section. That first family controlled all the land in the section and allowed other families to live on it. Chuukese section

chiefs today are still considered to be the true owners of all the section's land and they still control the land that their ancestors lived on. It is that land that gives them their power.

In many parts of Micronesia, the people say that their land has a voice. In both Yap and Chuuk, chiefs are not powerful because of who they are but because of what they speak for. A man who speaks for a piece of land that has little power also has little power. A man who speaks for a powerful piece of land is a powerful man. In Chuuk, the section chief always controls the most powerful piece of land in his section. His voice has authority because he speaks for an important piece of land.



Check Your Reading: Where does the power of a Chuukese section chief's land come from?



Above: Aurfanu, a section chief in Uman during German times.

What is the Role of the Section Chief?

Fichita was the chief of his section. When the time came, everyone brought him the first fruits of their harvests. All the people of his section gave him the respect that a chief deserved.

But when it came time to make important decisions, the people of the section didn't always do what Fichita wanted to do. Sometimes they listened to his opinion and agreed with him. Other times they listened to his opinion and disagreed. Fichita had a strong voice in his section, but the voice of all the people put together was much stronger than his. He knew that he could never force his people to do something they didn't want to do.

There are only two real ranks in a Chuukese section. There is the section chief, and there is everyone else. The section chief is ranked higher than his people, but not by much. The people have a great deal of power in the Chuukese system.

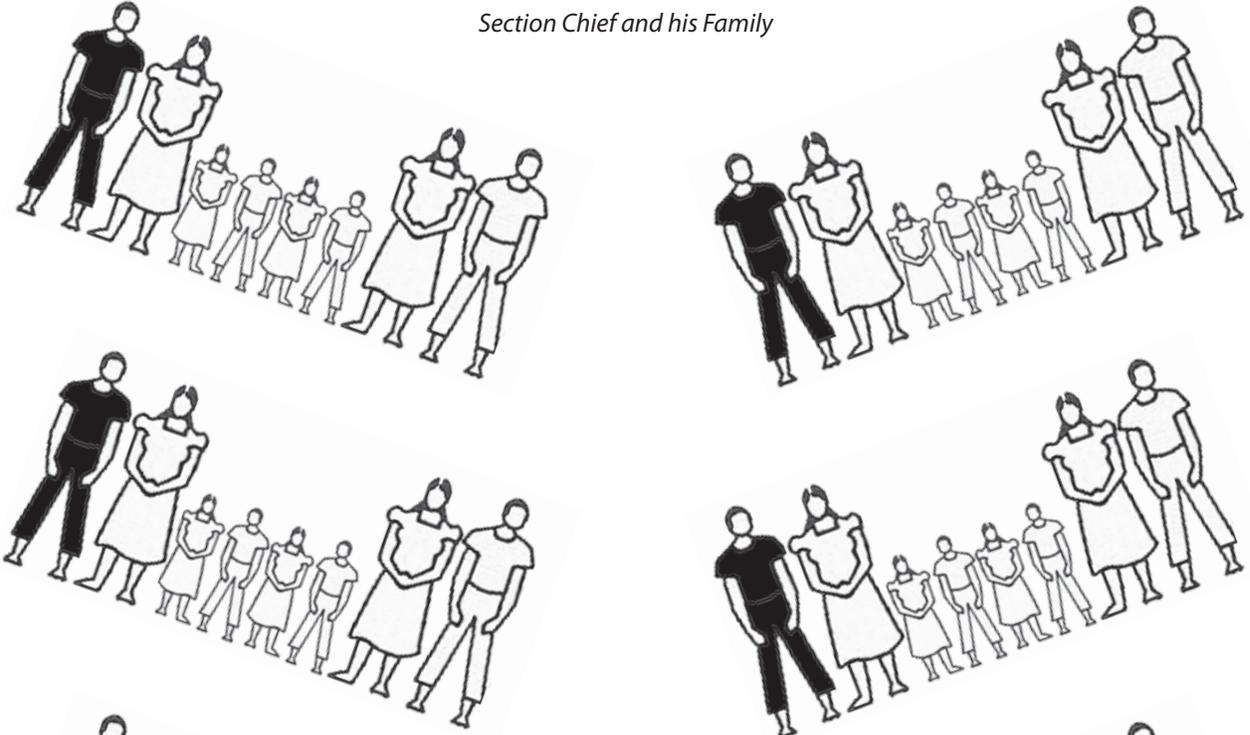
Every section has a chief, but no chief is more powerful than any other. Chuukese chiefs are expected to be generous and humble and do not usually give orders to their people directly.

A Chuukese section chief has much less power than a paramount chief on Pohnpei or a chief of a high-ranking village on Yap. Chuukese section chiefs can ask their people for the first fruits of their harvests and they can order fish drives. They have the right to take a family's

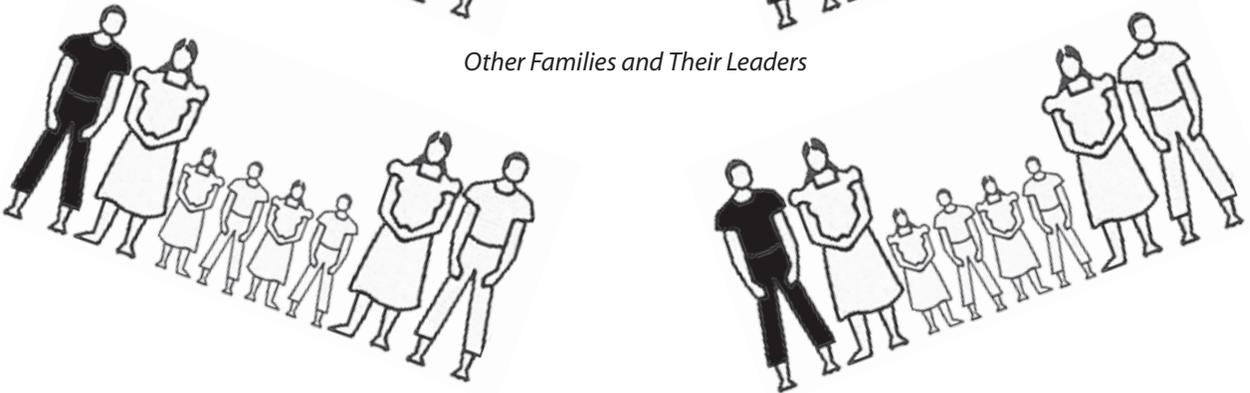
Section Chiefs and Other Family Leaders in Chuuk



Section Chief and his Family



Other Families and Their Leaders



Above: A Chuukese section chief is usually the strongest leader in the section, but he is not the section's only leader. Each section is made up of many families, and each family has its own leader. In the chart above, the family leaders are colored black. The rest of the family is colored white. When section chiefs hold meetings to make important decisions, they invite the leaders of all the other families in their sections to participate. If a Chuukese section chief tries to make an important decision on his own, the leaders of many families will be angry with him.

Showing Respect

Section chiefs in Chuuk have less power than chiefs in Yap and Pohnpei, but Chuukese people still respect their chiefs in much the same way as other Micronesians. **All over Micronesia, people show their respect for traditional leaders in two ways: by the position of their bodies, and by the language they use.**

Throughout Micronesia, it is important that people keep their heads lower than the chief's head. People are careful not to stand if their chief is sitting. People also keep their heads low if their chief is standing. Sometimes people go down on their hands and knees in order to keep their heads lower than their chief's head.

In Yap, when the chief walks with his people he is always allowed to go first, unless someone has to go ahead of him to clear the way.

Another way Micronesians show respect for their traditional leaders is by using very polite language. Many Micronesian languages have special forms that are only used when people talk to their chiefs.

In Pohnpei and Yap, where some chiefs are very powerful, the people are careful to show their respect. In Chuuk, where few chiefs are truly powerful, the people also show their respect. Today, Micronesian chiefs have a different sort of power than they once had, but showing respect is still important. It may even be more important than in the past, since chiefs have become a symbol of Micronesian culture for so many people.

land away if they refuse to show him respect, but it is very unusual for a chief to take away a family's land. Chuukese section chiefs also represent their sections when doing business with another section in another part of the island.

Section chiefs in Chuuk have very little other power. Chiefs help to settle arguments between sections or between families in their own sections, but if they are unable to work out an agreement, they have no power to force anyone to do what they want. That is why the power of persuasion is so important for Chuukese leaders.

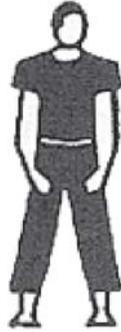
In the past, Chuukese section chiefs also brought their people to war, but chiefs neither made the decision to go to war nor did they decide how battles would be fought. When sections planned for war, all the section's family leaders gathered in the chief's meetinghouse. But the man who was most skilled in war, not the chief, was the leader of these meetings. If the decision was made to go to war and a few men still refused, the chief could ask them to go, but he could not force them.

Although Chuukese section chiefs have little power over their people, the people still respect their chiefs. Chiefs sit in the most honored place in meetings and the people are careful to keep their heads lower than the chief's head. When chiefs walk down a path, they are always allowed to go first. Chiefs in Chuuk may have less power than chiefs in other parts of Micronesia, but they receive their people's respect just like as any other Micronesian chief.

Other members of the chief's family, especially the chief's younger brothers, help the chief to do his job. They sit in a special place of honor in the section meetinghouse and sometimes make speeches to the people of the section. If the chief needs to tell his people that their behavior is not acceptable or if he needs to tell his people to prepare a feast, he usually asks his younger brothers to do it for him. This way, if the people become angry, they will be angry at the chief's younger brothers and not at the chief.

In Chuuk, the younger brothers of a chief are usually responsible for bringing the chief's orders to the people

Traditional Leaders in a Chuukese Section



Section chief

- *Speaks for the whole section*
- *Collects first fruits of the harvests of families living in his section*
- *Punishes families who refuse to pay him tribute by taking their land*
- *Orders fish drives and community projects*
- *Helps to settle arguments between families when asked*
- *Leads his people in war if they decide to fight*

and the people's concerns to the chief. There is a similar system in Pohnpei. Pohnpeian sections and paramount chiefdoms are led by two different chiefs. The lower-ranking chief brings the higher-ranking chief's orders to the people, and he brings the people's concerns to the chief.



Check Your Reading: What were a section chief's responsibilities when his section was planning for war?

Tribute, Feasts, Alliances, and War

In the past, tribute, feasts, alliances, and war were four of the most important events in the life of a Chuukese section, and four important reasons for the people of the section to come together. All four activities helped to build relationships, between the chief and his people, the people and their chief, and between sections.

One of the most important ways people show respect to their chief is by bringing him **tribute**. **Tribute payments are payments in food or other resources that are made to a chief to show him respect.**



Above: Chief Luku cuts up a turtle in Piis-Paneu so it can be shared. It is the people's responsibility to bring food to their chief. It is the chief's responsibility to share that food with his people.

Bringing the chief the first fruits of the harvest or the first fish of a fish drive is a way for a family to thank their chief for allowing them to continue to live on his land. The tradition of bringing tribute began many years ago when chiefs first gave gifts of land to families, but it continues in many places today.

Although tribute payments are meant as a sign of respect to a section chief, they are also a way for the families living in a section to share food with one another.

When it came time to pay their chiefs tribute, Chuukese families usually offered their chiefs both the first fruits of their harvests and the first fish of village fish drives. The chief chose the largest part for himself and gave the rest of the food back to the people by holding a **feast**. Most families were happy to bring food to their chiefs, because they wanted to show their respect and they knew that they would be getting something in return.

Feasts were an opportunity for a chief to strengthen his relationships with his people. A feast was also a kind of family reunion. Male family members who had married women from other sections and moved away came back to join their family for the feast. With so many men in from other sections, the section chief could strengthen his relationships with other sections during the feast as well. It was important that section chiefs build strong relationships with other sections so that they could have strong **alliances** in times of war.

When traditional wars were still being fought in Chuuk, alliances were very important. **An alliance is a group of sections that join together to fight a war in order to help each other.** Because all sections were about the same size, the best way for a section to win a war was to have other sections helping it to fight. There were two important alliances in Chuuk Lagoon, and at least some of the sections in these alliances were at war with one another much of the time. These alliances were not permanent, however. A section might switch alliances or even drop out of alliances altogether to become independent for a time.

Peace on the islands of Chuuk Lagoon was easily broken. Sections were often at war, new sections were created, and old sections disappeared. Even after so many years of war, no section chief was ever able to take over all the land in Chuuk Lagoon. Section chiefs just kept holding

feasts and building alliances, hoping not to become powerless even if they could not have all the power on their islands.



Check Your Reading: How could a chief punish a family that refused to bring him tribute?

How Section Chiefs Share Power With The People

Kanio was the chief of his section. He thought that the taro patch was not big enough for all the new families who were coming to live in his section, and he thought that the young men should gather together and work to make it bigger. The section would soon grow even larger than it was now, he thought, because there was good land available and a war on a nearby island.

So he called a meeting. All the people sat in the meetinghouse and listened to Kanio explain why it was important to increase the size of the taro patch. No one rose to speak, because it would be rude to interrupt the chief. But the people whispered. Leaning over, they said softly into one another's ears, "Why should we work the taro patch for strangers?" Others said, "Our chief only wants to look important while we break our backs working on his useless projects."

Kanio continued his speech, but as he spoke he watched his people. He couldn't hear what they were saying, but he could guess. Would they silently whisper their agreement with his plan? Probably not.

Below: A section meeting in Chuuk. Meetings are an important way for Chuukese people to have their voices heard.

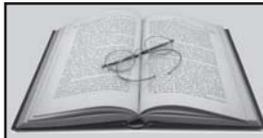
And so, knowing that his plan could never succeed without the support of the people and knowing that he did not have the people's support, he began to change the topic of his speech. He had come to the meetinghouse to explain why the size of the taro patch should be increased, but by the end of his speech he was explaining why the size of the taro patch should stay the same. Finally he said to his people, "Why should we work the taro patch for strangers? If others come to our island, let them work the taro patch for themselves."



One important way Chuukese people exercise their power is in family and section meetings. Every chief has a meetinghouse on his land, and most families also have meetinghouses on their land. Especially large families may have more than one meetinghouse.

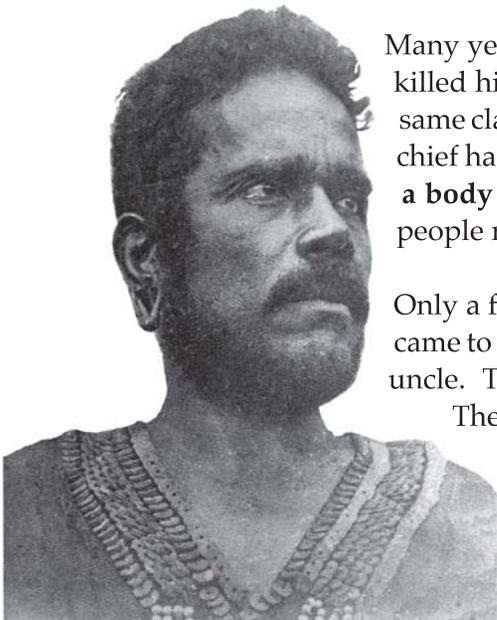
Meetings are an important way that people participate in their traditional government all over Micronesia, but they are especially important in the Chuuk and Yap models of traditional leadership. In Chuuk, meetings provide chiefs and their younger brothers with an opportunity to speak to many people at once and to try to bring others over to their side. Meetings also provide the people with an opportunity to tell their chiefs and family leaders what they think should be done.

As we have seen, Chuukese section chiefs have little power outside of their ability to persuade their people. Chiefs cannot force their people to do what they want, so they must work together with their people as closely as possible to keep their sections strong. If the chief tries to force his people to do something, they will usually not listen to him. Chuukese people lead their chiefs as much as chiefs lead their people, just as the chief in our story was led by his people to leave the village taro patch the way it was.



Check Your Reading: Where would you be likely to find meetinghouses in a Chuukese section?

Below: Ngenimum, one of Chuuk's most powerful section chiefs. Ngenimum was chief of only one section, but he was known throughout Chuuk Lagoon for his bravery and skill in itang.



Increasing a Chief's Influence: *Itang* and War

Many years ago, the people of a section rose up against their chief and killed him. The man who replaced him as chief was a member of the same clan, but he was not a member of the chiefly family. Still, this new chief had a strong personality and a solid knowledge of *itang*. ***Itang* is a body of wisdom with a deep history in Chuukese tradition.** The people respected him.

Only a few days after he had become chief, the family of the last chief came to him. "We must have revenge," they said, "for the killing of our uncle. Tomorrow we will go to the killer's land and fight his family."

The new chief thought to himself, wondering how *itang* could help him keep peace in the village. He remembered a story he had once learned and began to tell the story to the angry young men who stood before him. As he spoke, he saw that their eyes changed. They were no longer angry, and they understood that their chief was right. Keeping peace in the

village was more important than killing others to make themselves feel better.

The next day, the new chief went to the killer's family. In order to be sure that peace could be made, he brought a chief from a nearby village, a man who everyone on the island knew and respected for his bravery in battle, and asked for his help. He also asked several of the village's most respected women to be present for the conversation. He explained that the killer had done wrong in killing the last chief, and that his family must pay for his wrong. He suggested that they give part of their land to the previous chief's family. After the two chiefs spoke carefully from *itang*, being sure not to insult anyone present, the family agreed. Disaster had been avoided in the village.

The chief ruled his section for many years, and the people always respected him for his wisdom, strength and honesty. Although village chiefs are the highest-ranked leaders on their islands, their titles are not powerful in themselves. Chuukese people may respect a wise man or a brave man more because he is chief, but they do not respect a man who does not deserve their respect.

In this chapter, you have read that Chuukese traditional leaders have limited powers within their sections and no power outside of their sections. **However, there were two important ways for chiefs to have the respect of all the people on their islands and some influence over the leaders and people of other sections: knowledge of *itang* and success in war.**

Itang is a collection of secret songs and poems. It contains the history of Chuukese life and culture. It teaches the difference between right and wrong, and was traditionally believed to contain words so strong they could kill a man if spoken. *Itang* also teaches Chuukese chiefs what is good for their people and how to keep their communities living together in peace and harmony. Chuukese everywhere believed that this knowledge was very important and even holy, and so only chiefs and members of their families were allowed to attend the *itang* schools.

It was not necessary for Chuukese traditional leaders to know *itang*, but it was helpful if they did. A chief who knew *itang* well, or at least had a family member who knew *itang* well, could gain the respect of people both inside and outside of his section. Knowing *itang* could make a chief's wisdom known all over his island. He would then have extra authority when there were important decisions to be made. Even today, a politician who knows *itang* is likely to be more successful in speaking to his people than a politician who does not.

A second way for a Chuukese chief to have the respect of people outside of his section was for him to be known as a strong warrior. Just as knowing *itang* could bring a chief respect for his wisdom, success in war could bring a chief respect for his strength. When there were wars to be fought, a strong warrior chief would probably be asked for his opinion or for his help before the fighting started.

A man did not have to be chief to study *itang* or to be successful in battle. Anyone who had a strong knowledge of *itang* or who was a brave warrior would have the respect of his people. But chiefs who did know *itang* and who were known as strong warriors could rise above the level of the other chiefs on their islands. Chuukese section chiefs had little real power, and no chief had more power than any other. But when one man combined the power of a section chief with the wisdom of *itang* or the bravery of a warrior, people paid attention to him.



Check Your Reading: How can a knowledge of *itang* help a Chuukese section chief?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Alliance:** a group of sections that join together to fight a war in order to help each other
- **Family estate:** the land owned by a family, often including pieces of land in other parts of the island and the right to use shared spaces like taro patches
- **Itang:** a body of wisdom with a deep history in Chuukese tradition
- **Persuasion:** speaking to others and getting them to agree with you
- **Section:** a small unit of government about the size of a village that is organized around a community cookhouse and under the control of a single section chief
- **Tribute:** payments in food or other resources that are made to a chief to show him respect



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **The Foundations of Chuukese Leadership:** Section chiefs are the full owners of the land, and the other families living in the section bring him tribute.
—
- **Introduction to the Chuuk Model:** The Chuuk model of traditional leadership is used throughout Chuuk Lagoon and in most of Micronesia's outer islands.
—
- **The Land Chooses the Section Chief:** The person who controls the most powerful piece of land in a section is the section chief.
—
- **How One Chuukese Section Was Created:** Most sections began as one family's land and grew to include many families.
—
- **What is a Chuukese Section?:** A Chuukese section is a small unit of government about the size of a village that is organized around a central cookhouse and under the control of one section chief.
—
- **Neini Leaves Home:** Chuukese families decided to leave their sections because they wanted to have a higher rank, because their land was taken away by the section chief, or because of an argument.
—
- **What is the Role of a Section Chief?:** Section chiefs have little power, and no chief has power over any other chief.
—
- **Tributes, Feasts, Alliances, and War:** Giving tribute and holding feasts was a way for chiefs to strengthen their relationships with their people, and alliances were a way for chiefs to strengthen their relationships with other chiefs.
—
- **How Section Chiefs Share Power With Their People:** Chiefs in Chuuk share power with their people when they hold meetings.
—
- **Increasing a Chief's Influence: Itang and War:** Knowledge of *itang* and skill in war were two ways chiefs could have influence outside of their sections.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- How much power did a Chuukese section chief have? How were his powers limited?
- Why did wars start in traditional Chuukese society? How could they be ended?
- What are some of the ways Chuukese section chiefs could have influence over all the people on their islands?

Critical Thinking

- How do you think traditional Chuukese society might have been different if section chiefs were more powerful?
- What are some of the ways a knowledge of *itang* or bravery in battle can change a Chuukese section chief's relationship with his people?
- Who might help to settle an argument between families in a Chuukese section? What if that argument couldn't be settled?

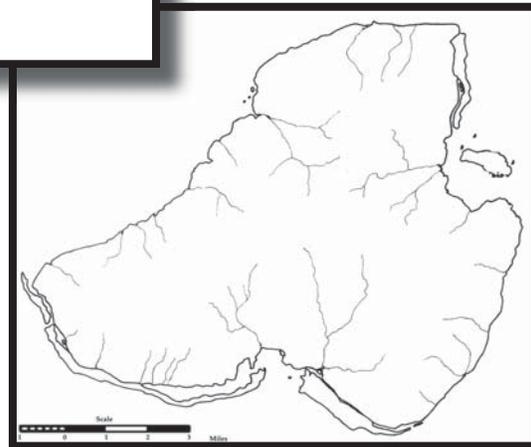
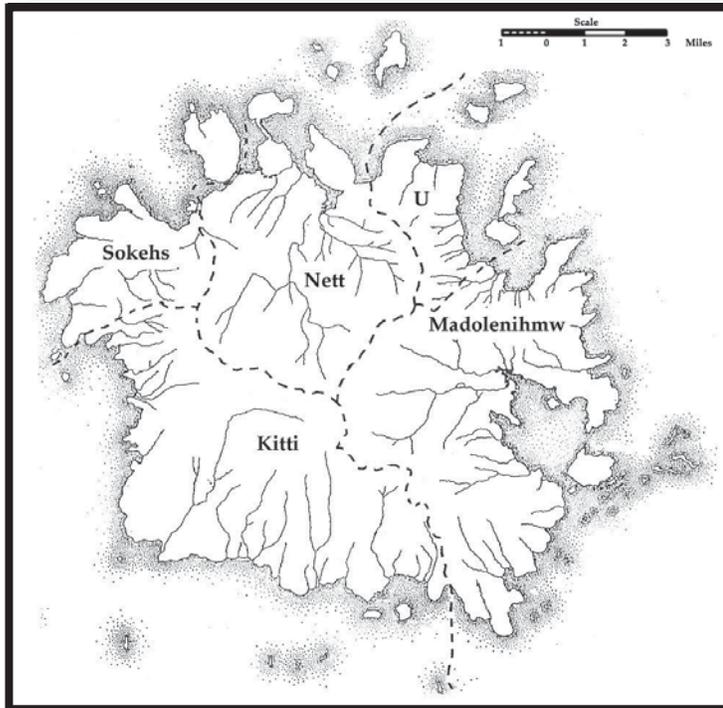
Writing

- In Chuuk, chiefs have little power over their people, and no power over other chiefs. **Write an essay** describing the advantages and disadvantages of people having almost as much power as their leaders.
- Many Micronesians believe that it is very important to show respect to traditional leaders today, even though traditional leaders have a different kind of power than they had in the past. **Write a short play or a skit** about a Micronesian grandmother's conversation with her grandchildren about why it is important to show respect to traditional leaders.
- Some people believe that legends are almost never true and that they are not important for writing history. Others believe that legends are stories that are based on real events. **Write a newspaper article** reporting on an argument between a professor who believes legends are never true and a community that wants legends to be taught in schools.



CHAPTER THREE

The Pohnpei Model



Above left: Pohnpei's five paramount chiefdoms: Sokehs, Nett, U, Madolenihmw, and Kittu. Like Chuuk, Pohnpei is made up of many sections, each of which is under the leadership of a single section chief. Unlike Chuuk, Pohnpei is also divided into five paramount chiefdoms, each of which is made up of many sections and is under the leadership of two paramount chiefs.

Above right: Kosrae was once made up of many sections, with two paramount chiefs ruling over the whole island. The island probably had around fourteen to sixteen section chiefs in the early 1800s.

Foundations of Pohnpeian Traditional Leadership

Isokelekel awoke early in the morning and waited for the sun to rise. Today was the day of the battle against the Saudeleur, the cruel ruler of all of Pohnpei. The product of the thunder god's marriage to a human mother, Isokelekel knew that the gods had chosen him for an important mission. As soon as the first light appeared over the sea, he said goodbye to his family and began to gather his soldiers. Isokelekel and his warriors brought out their weapons and readied their canoes. Soon, a whole fleet of canoes was sailing toward Nan Madol, the capital of Pohnpei.



The fighting was hard. Isokelekel was hit in the face with a huge rock, and he was badly hurt. The Saudeleur's warriors fought hard, and soon Isokelekel's army had almost been pushed into the ocean.

Suddenly Isokelekel's strongest warrior called out, "They are tiring! Do not run! Stand and be men!" He held his spear high above his head and then brought it down hard, spearing himself in the foot and fixing himself to the spot. "I will kill any man that runs behind me!" he said.

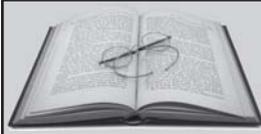
Seeing the bravery of their fellow soldier, Isokelekel's warriors turned and ran toward Nan Madol once again. They defeated the Saudeleur's soldiers, and the Saudeleur was never heard from again. According to tradition, the Saudeleur turned himself into a fish and escaped.

Isokelekel walked to the center of Nan Madol and waited for instructions from the gods. As Isokelekel waited, he wondered what would happen to him. "Will the gods make me the new Saudeleur?" he thought.

Suddenly, the god Luhk appeared overhead. Luhk told Isokelekel that he was to be the first **Nahnmwarki**, or ruler, over the eastern half of the island. Being Nahnmwarki was different from being a Saudeleur. Isokelekel was not to have power over all people like a Saudeleur; the island was to be divided into three **paramount chiefdoms**, and he was to rule only one of them. **A paramount chiefdom is a group of many sections that are under the same leadership.** Isokelekel would be powerful, Luhk said, but he would also have to listen to his people, and to the many other leaders who would rule with him in his section of the island.

Isokelekel's section of Pohnpei was called Madolenihmw. His son left to rule in U and another man left to rule in Kitti. Later, two new sections, Nett and Sokehs, were created. No Nahnmwarki had power

over any other. But, because of Isokelekel, Madolenihmw became the highest-ranked paramount chiefdom on Pohnpei. U was the next highest ranked, because of Isokelekel's son. Kitti came next, and Nett and Sokehs came last. All of these paramount chiefdoms remain in Pohnpei today.



Check Your Reading: How was Isokelekel's power in Madolenihmw different from the Saudeleur's power?

Introduction to the Pohnpei Model of Leadership

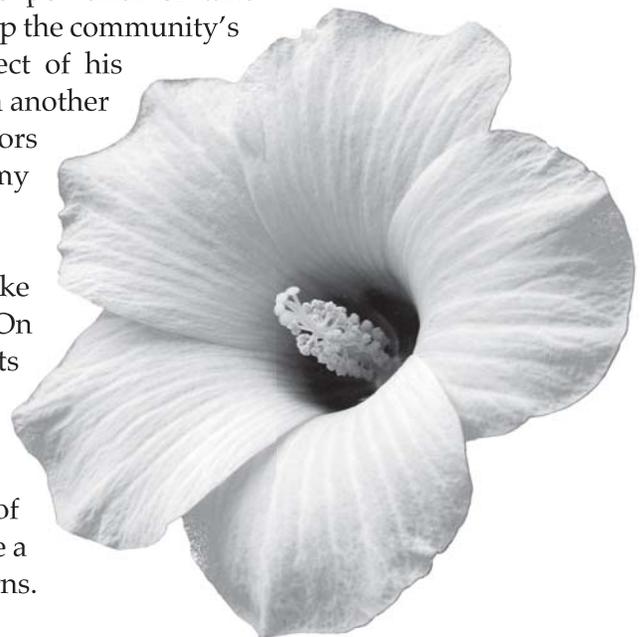
Pohnpeians sometimes say that their traditional leaders are like hibiscus flowers waving in the wind. Good chiefs are expected to bend and move, changing their views and their plans as they listen to their people.

Traditional leaders in Pohnpei have more power than traditional leaders in Chuuk and in Yap. But Pohnpeian chiefs do not have total power. Every chief in the Pohnpei model of leadership shares power with other chiefs. When there is a very important decision to be made, all of the people gather for a council meeting. And, whether traditional leaders in Pohnpei are making big decisions or small decisions, they must always be sure not to anger their people.

Although Pohnpeian traditional leaders have great power over their people, chiefs do not usually try to become too powerful or take advantage of their people because they want to keep the community's respect. In the past, a chief who lost the respect of his community might find his people leaving to live in another part of the island. He might even find his warriors leaving him on the battlefield to face the enemy alone.

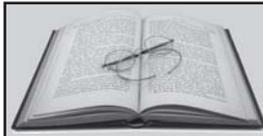
In Pohnpei, traditional leaders have a give-and-take relationship with the communities they serve. On the one hand, chiefs receive rich tribute payments from their people. They also receive the respect of their people at traditional functions and in their daily lives. On the other hand, traditional leaders give generously to their people. Chiefs give gifts of food during feasts and, more importantly, they give a listening ear to their people's problems and concerns.

Below: A hibiscus flower. Just as a hibiscus flower waves in the wind, traditional leaders in Pohnpei are expected to change their views and their plans as they listen to what their people want.



As you read, imagine that you are a traditional leader in Pohnpei. If you decide to be a good leader who listens to the needs of his people, you will continue to be respected for the rest of your life. If you decide to be a leader who ignores his people and uses his position to become rich, you will lose the respect of your people. Your actions may make your warriors angry enough to leave you on the battlefield during a war, and you might even be killed. Which way would you choose?

As we talk about the Pohnpei model of traditional leadership, remember that we are not only talking about Pohnpei. A few of Pohnpei's outer islands have a system of traditional leadership that is similar to leadership on the main island. At one time, Kosrae also had a system of traditional leadership similar to Pohnpei's. In addition, although the Marshall Islands are very different from Pohnpei and Kosrae, traditional leadership in the Marshalls is also similar to traditional leadership in Pohnpei and Kosrae.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the reasons a Pohnpeian chief might not want to take too much power for himself?

Land

Below: Pohnpeian women working in a taro patch. Pohnpeians traditionally believed that their land would not grow food without the blessing of the paramount chief.



Many years ago, **paramount chiefs** owned all of the land in Pohnpei. **A paramount chief is a leader who has power over many sections.** This control of land was the most important source of a paramount chief's power. Families did not own the land they lived on. Instead, each family was given special permission to live on their land by the

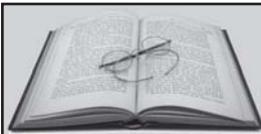
paramount chief, much in the same way families received gifts of land from their sections chiefs in Chuuk.

In Pohnpei, as in Chuuk, chiefs did not usually take back a family's land, although they had the right to do so. Paramount chiefs in Pohnpei did not use their ownership of land to punish their people. Rather, they used their land to keep their paramount chiefdoms healthy. Everyone was expected to be responsible and respectful and to work hard to be good Pohnpeians. People who were respected in their communities, who worked hard to produce large amounts of

food, or who showed unusual bravery in battle were rewarded with more land. People who were disrespectful, who failed to bring tribute to their chiefs, or who did some other wrong to their chief or his people would have their land taken away.

A chief needed his people to work his land. Otherwise, the land would produce nothing and the chief would have no one to rule over. The people also needed their chief so that they could have land to work and so that their land would be rich and productive. Pohnpeians traditionally believed that the highest-ranking paramount chief in each paramount chiefdom had a religious power to make their crops grow. Without the blessing of the paramount chief, and without the work of the people, the land would produce nothing.

As in Chuuk, Pohnpeians brought tribute payments to their chiefs to thank them for their gifts of land. And, as in Chuuk, Pohnpeian chiefs collected the food and other goods their people paid them as tribute and gave most of it back to their people in the form of a feast. Rich Pohnpeian families were expected to give more, and poor families were expected to give less. But everyone received something in return for their tribute payment. The chief decided the size of each family's gift. In this way, a good chief could use his land to keep the society fair.



Check Your Reading: What was needed in order for the land to grow food, according to traditional Pohnpeian beliefs?

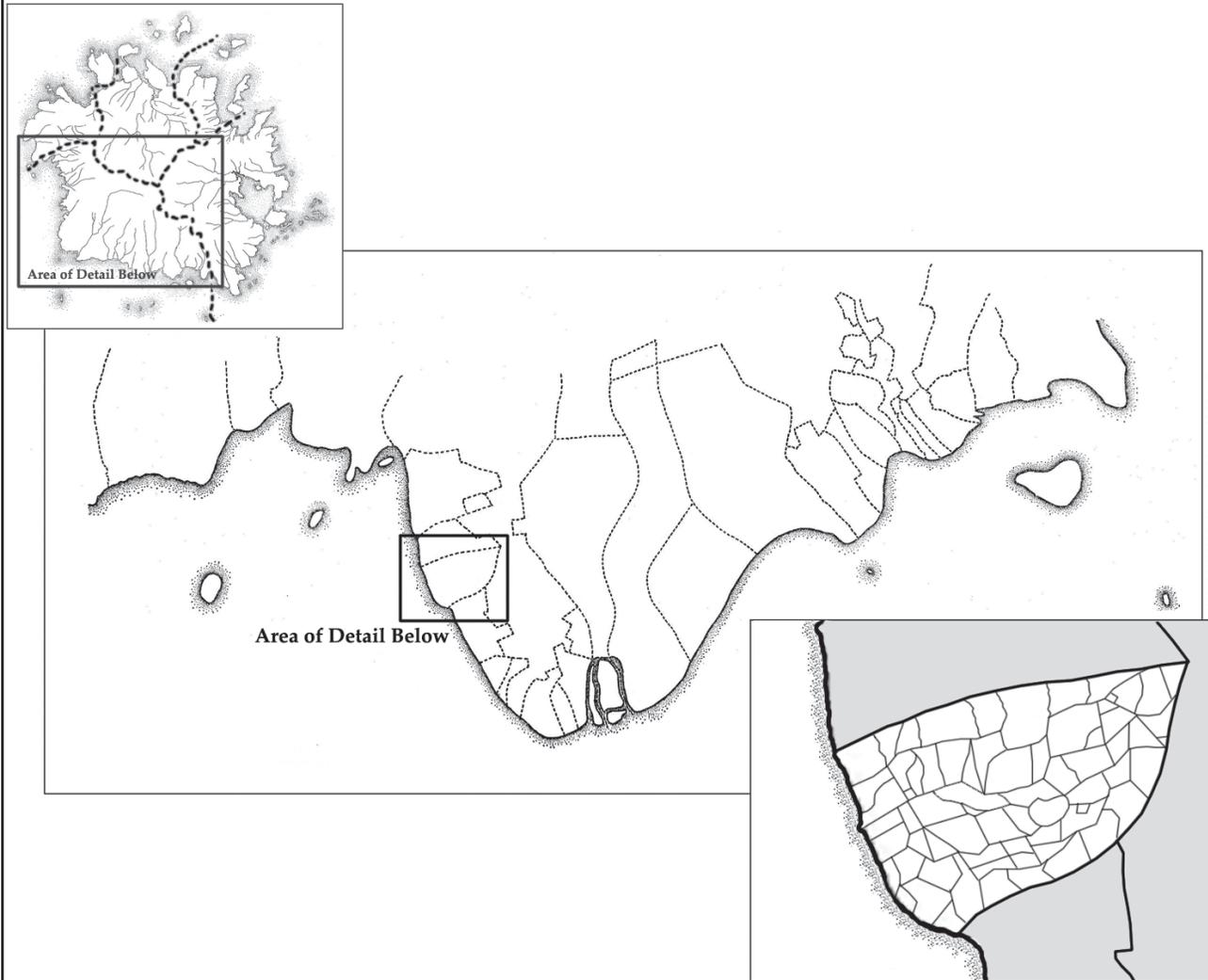
Below: A view of a section in Saladak in the Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom of U in the late 1800s. Sections are the most important units of government in Pohnpeian traditional leadership.

Pohnpeian Sections, Section Chiefs, and Tribute

The section, or *kousapw*, is the most important unit of government in Pohnpeian traditional leadership. A paramount chiefdom is strong only if its sections are strong. Although paramount chiefs have a great deal of the power on the island and, in the past, controlled much of the land, the most important business of Pohnpeian traditional leadership has always been done at the local level. Pohnpeians respect their paramount chiefs, but it is their loyalty to their sections and section chiefs that really shows their respect for the system.



Paramount Chiefdoms, Sections, and Family Estates in Pohnpei



Above: Divisions of land and leadership in Pohnpei. The small map at the top left shows the entire island of Pohnpei and its five paramount chiefdoms. Each of these paramount chiefdoms has two important chiefs. The large map in the center of the picture is the paramount chiefdom of Kitti and all of its sections. Pohnpeian paramount chiefdoms may have as many as several dozen sections. Each section has one chief with power and one assistant chief without much power. The small map at the bottom right shows one section in Kitti and how the named pieces of land in that section might be divided. Most families own more than one of these named pieces of land. Unlike in the Chuuk and Yap models of leadership, a Pohnpeian section chief might live on any piece of land in the section. A Pohnpeian chief's title comes from another chief, not from the piece of land he lives on.

So what is a Pohnpeian section?

A Pohnpeian section is a piece of land that is made up of many family estates. Everyone knows where each section ends and the next one begins. Most sections begin at the water and continue into the mountains, so that each section has some swampland, some flat land, and some jungle.

A Pohnpeian section is a group of people. The members of a section usually live on the land in that section, but not always. Whether they

actually live in the section or not, it is important that the section members work hard for their sections. The only way to be a real section member is to work to help the section.

A Pohnpeian section is under the leadership of a section chief. Unlike Chuukese sections, where only the section chief has a title, Pohnpeian sections have many titleholders. Like Chuukese sections, Pohnpeian sections have only one real chief. The only titleholder with real power in a Pohnpeian section is the section chief. The other titleholders have the respect of their communities, but no power.



Pohnpeian sections come in many sizes. Some sections are larger than others, but like Chuukese sections, no Pohnpeian section can grow too large or too small. If the population of a section drops too low, the section will join another section nearby. If the population of a section rises too high, the section will split into two sections.

Just as paramount chiefs reward their people with gifts of land, section chiefs reward their people with gifts of titles. A section chief who has given away all the important titles in his section might have trouble encouraging his people to make large tribute payments to him, which means that he will have trouble making large tribute payments to the paramount chief. When a large section splits into two sections, the new section chooses its own section chief, who then has twenty-four more titles to give to his people.

In many ways, Pohnpeian sections are similar to Chuukese sections. As in Chuuk, sections in Pohnpei were once made up of only a few family groups and later grew to include the outsiders who married into those families. In addition, both Pohnpeian and Chuukese sections are organized around a central cookhouse. The area around this cookhouse is used as the section's meeting place. This is where the people gather to give tribute payments to their section chief and hold feasts.

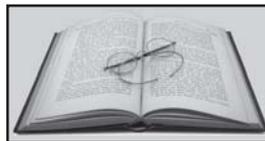
Feasts are the most important events in the life of a Pohnpeian section, just as they are in Chuuk. Feasts are usually held after the people make tribute payments to the section chief. In Pohnpei, the people must pay tribute not only to their section chief but to their paramount chief also. Section chiefs take part of the tribute paid to them and

Above: Pohnpeians bring tribute payments to their chief by canoe. Sections compete with one another to bring paramount chiefs the best tribute payments. This competition helped to keep the land rich and productive.

make one large gift to the paramount chief for the whole section.

It is important for a section chief to be able to make a good tribute payment to the paramount chief. A good chief who is well respected by his people should be able to convince his people to work hard on their farms. Then they will be able to make large tribute payments to the section chief and the section can give a large gift to the paramount chief. Good chiefs should be able to encourage their people to work without yelling at them or making unreasonable demands. People will work for a good chief because they respect him and because of the promise of high-ranking titles for a job well done. A bad chief may ask his people to farm more only to find that the people are not listening to him. If a bad chief yells at his people or demands that they give more than they are able, they will probably do less work, not more. If things get really bad, some people may even move to a different section.

Below: A Nahnken of the Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom of Kitti during the 1800s. Nahnkens are usually thought of as the second most powerful leader in a paramount chiefdom, but may actually have more authority than Nahmwarkis.



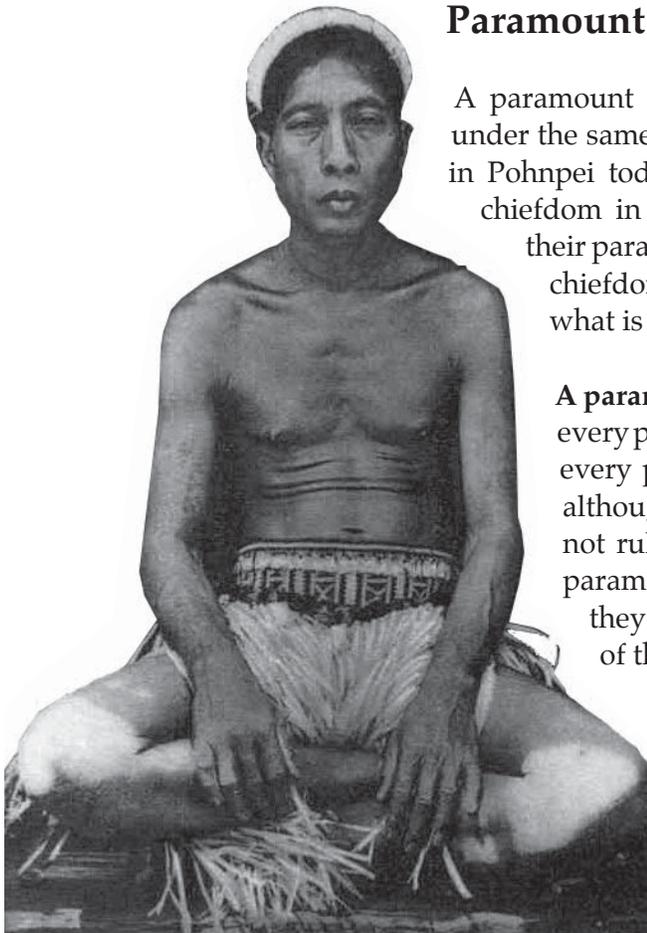
Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways that Pohnpeian sections are similar to Chuukese sections?

Paramount Chiefdoms

A paramount chiefdom is a group of many sections that are under the same leadership. There are five paramount chiefdoms in Pohnpei today. In the past, there was also one paramount chiefdom in Kosrae. Pohnpeians feel strongly connected to their paramount chiefdoms, and being a part of a paramount chiefdom is an important part of who a Pohnpeian is. So what is a paramount chiefdom?

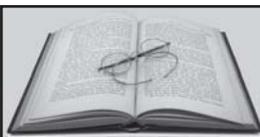
A paramount chiefdom is a piece of land. The borders of every paramount chiefdom are known by everyone. Today, every part of Pohnpei is part of a paramount chiefdom, although in the past some areas were independent and not ruled by any paramount chief. Some of Pohnpei's paramount chiefdoms are small and some are large, but they all begin at the coast and continue into the interior of the island.

A paramount chiefdom is a group of sections. Each paramount chiefdom is made up of many sections. A paramount chiefdom that is made up of many strong sections will be strong. A paramount chiefdom that is made up of many weak sections will be weak.



A paramount chiefdom has a rank. In the past, when Pohnpeian paramount chiefdoms went to war with one another, the boundaries and ranks of each paramount chiefdom could change. But when traditional wars stopped, the boundaries and ranks of the paramount chiefdoms were frozen. Today, Madolenihmw is the highest-ranked paramount chiefdom on Pohnpei. Although Madolenihmw's paramount chiefs have slightly higher ranks than other paramount chiefs, and they may sometimes help to settle arguments between paramount chiefdoms, the paramount chiefs of Madolenihmw have no power over any other paramount chiefdom.

A paramount chiefdom is under the leadership of two important leaders. The highest-ranking leader in a paramount chiefdom is called a **Nahmwarki**. The second-highest ranking leader in a paramount chiefdom is called a **Nahnken**. Both of these high-ranking paramount chiefs can demand tribute from section chiefs and settle arguments between sections. In the past, they could also take their people to war.



Check Your Reading: Why do the boundaries and ranks of Pohnpei's five paramount chiefdoms no longer change today?

Paramount Chiefs

Nahmwarkis and Nahnkens are both powerful leaders. Both have important responsibilities to their paramount chiefdoms. And both have the respect of their people. So what is the difference between a Nahmwarki and a Nahnken?

Nahmwarkis are the highest-ranking leaders in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom. Traditionally, Nahmwarkis had both political and religious power, meaning that a Nahmwarki's power to rule was believed to come from God. Because the Nahmwarki was so important, he ruled his people from a distance. It was unusual for Pohnpeians to hear their Nahmwarkis make speeches. Most Nahmwarkis spent little time with their people.

The people saw their **Nahnkens** much more often. The Nahnken made speeches

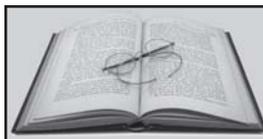
Below: Johnny Moses, former Nahmwarki of U, with his people at a feast.



for the Nahnmwarki and asked the people for their opinions. If the Nahnmwarki made an unpopular decision, the Nahnken might go to the Nahnmwarki to ask him to change his mind. Nahnkens also helped the Nahnmwarki decide who should receive titles or gifts of land.

Usually, Nahnmwarkis were more powerful than Nahnkens. But sometimes a Nahnken happened to be unusually strong or intelligent and a Nahnmwarki happened to be unusually weak. If a Nahnmwarki was weak and a Nahnken was strong, it was the Nahnken who held the real power. Just as a Chuukese chief could gain respect outside of his section by skill in *itang* or bravery in war, a lower-ranking chief in Pohnpei could gain the respect of his whole paramount chiefdom by his wisdom, strength, or bravery and increase his power. A section chief who was very strong or intelligent might also challenge the power of his Nahnmwarki and Nahnken.

Nahnmwarkis are the highest-ranked leaders in a paramount chiefdom. But they never have total power over Nahnkens. Usually, the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken rule a paramount chiefdom together. Each of these two high-ranking paramount chiefs can make sure the other does not become too powerful. If the Nahnmwarki becomes too powerful, the Nahnken can step in to bring things under control. If the Nahnken becomes too powerful, the Nahnmwarki can step in to bring things under control. However, because the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken so often come from the same family, they are usually able to work well together.



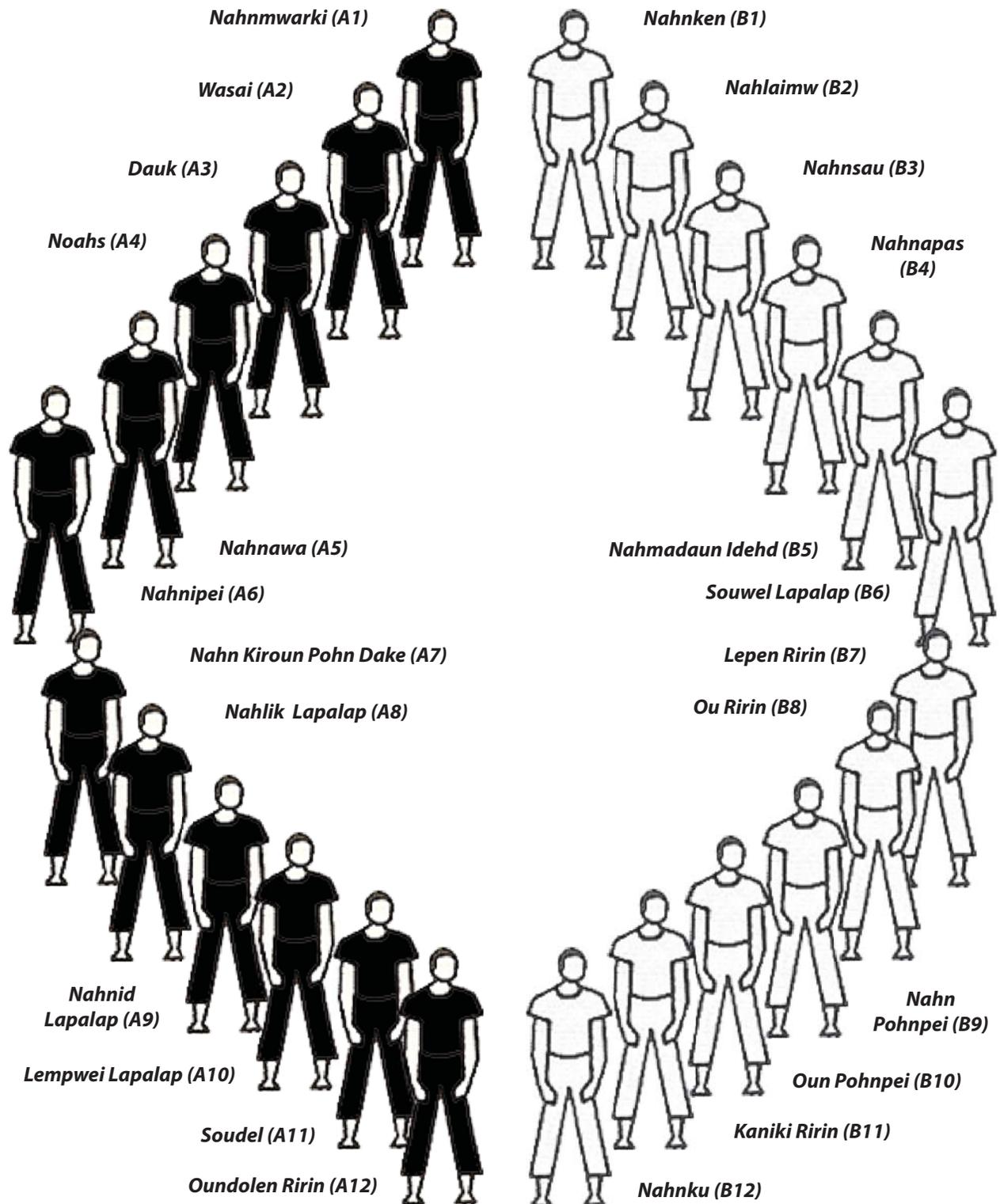
Check Your Reading: How was a Nahnken's relationship with the people different from a Nahnmwarki's relationship with the people?

Paramount Chiefdom Titles, Section Titles, and Honorary Titles

There are three kinds of titles in the Pohnpei model of leadership. They are the **paramount chiefdom title**, the **section title**, and the honorary title. Paramount chiefs are responsible for giving out paramount chiefdom titles, and section chiefs are responsible for giving out section titles. Both paramount chiefs and section chiefs can give out honorary titles. The control over titles is an important source of power for both paramount chiefs and section chiefs.

Paramount chiefdom titles are more highly ranked than section titles. Every paramount chiefdom and every section in Pohnpei has two

Leadership Lines in a Pohnpeian Paramount Chieftom



Above: Two title lines in a Pohnpeian paramount chieftom. There are two lines of titles, with around twelve important titles in each, in every paramount chieftom and section in Pohnpei. Although most of the above titles exist in each of Pohnpei's five paramount chieftoms, some paramount chieftoms put them into a different order or leave some of them out. The first twelve titles listed above are the most important, but every paramount chieftom in Pohnpei has many more. An American researcher working in the 1940s found one man who was able to list more than 200 titles.

different lines of titles. Usually the first eleven or twelve titles in a paramount chiefdom title line and in a section title line are the most important. **Let's look at paramount chiefdom titles first.**

The two title lines in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom are named after the highest-ranked leader in each line. One of these title lines is called the **Nahnmwarki line** (or the A line) and the other is called the **Nahnken line** (or the B line).

The Nahnmwarki and Nahnken are at the top of the Nahnmwarki and Nahnken title lines in each paramount chiefdom. All the other titleholders in their title lines are waiting in line to become Nahnmwarki or Nahnken. These other titleholders have the respect of their communities, but they usually have little real power.

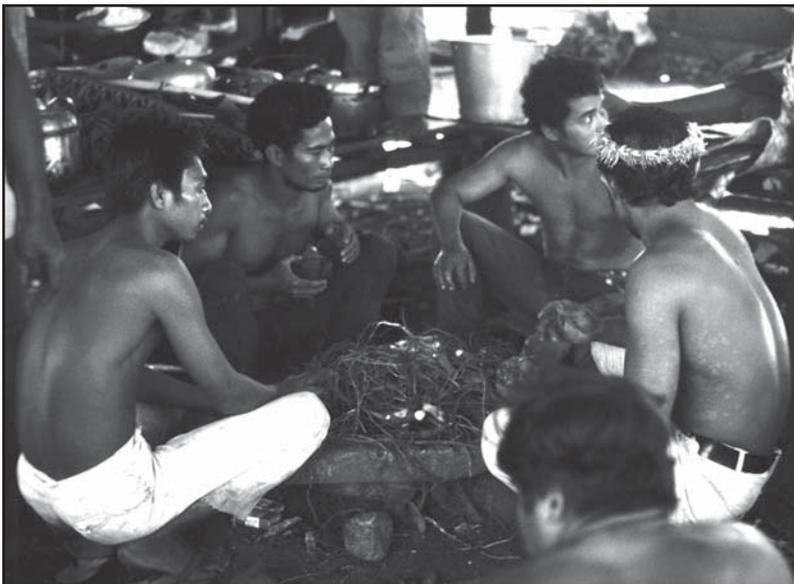
Although there are always many titleholders waiting in line to become Nahnmwarki or Nahnken, title lines do not always move up in order. For example, just because a man is second place in the Nahnmwarki line does not mean that he will become the next Nahnmwarki. When paramount chiefs give out important titles, they try hard to choose the best man for the job. Paramount chiefs ask other leaders for their opinions, and they always try to choose someone that the people will respect.

Now, let's take a look at section titles. Section titles are very similar to paramount chiefdom titles. Like paramount chiefdoms, there are two lines of titles in each Pohnpeian section. We might call one of these lines the Section Chief Line (or the A line) and the other the Assistant Section Chief Line (or the B line). All the other titleholders in the Section Chief Line and the Assistant Section Chief Line are waiting in line to

become section chiefs. Unlike paramount chiefdoms, where both the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken have a great of power, only the section chief has real power in most sections.

The process of choosing new section leaders is different from the way new leaders are chosen in paramount chiefdoms. Because Pohnpeian sections usually have only one leader with real power, the section chief, the section chief chooses who should get a title by himself. Like the leaders of paramount chiefdoms, section

Below: Men preparing kava (sakau) for a title repayment feast in Pohnpei. Pohnpeians who have received titles often thank their chiefs with feasts and gifts.



Kosrae and the Marshall Islands

Much has changed in Kosrae since the 1800s. In the past, traditional leadership on Kosrae was very similar to traditional leadership on Pohnpei. On Pohnpei, there are five paramount chiefdoms. Each has two paramount chiefs and two lines of traditional leaders. Probably because Kosrae is smaller than Pohnpei, there was only one paramount chiefdom there. Like Pohnpei, that paramount chiefdom had two different lines of titleholders.

The traditional capital of Kosrae was located at Lelu. Lelu is a collection of man-made islands similar to Nan Madol in Pohnpei. However, unlike the rulers of Nan Madol, the traditional rulers of Lelu are remembered as responsible leaders who cared about their people. The paramount chiefs at Lelu were much closer to the Nahnmwarkis and Nahnkens of Pohnpei than they were to the Saudeleurs.

In the late 1800s, Kosrae was a favorite stopping place for American whaling ships. The sailors on these ships brought diseases like smallpox with them. Kosrae, like many of the islands of Micronesia, was hit very hard by disease. Disease killed as much as ninety percent of Kosrae's population in a very short time. Traditional leaders on Kosrae found that there were not enough men to fill the titles that were left empty when leaders died. In time, there were fewer and fewer titles on the island. By the 1940s, the Kosraean system of traditional leadership was no longer in use. The last paramount chief of Kosrae passed away and was not replaced.

As Kosraean traditional leadership was disappearing, a new system of leadership began to be created in the Protestant church. Today, many of the functions of Kosraean traditional leadership have been taken over by leaders of the church. In the past, as on Pohnpei, respected leaders had titles. Today, respected leaders in Kosraean communities are expected to take positions in the church. Kosraean church leaders are respected today in much the same way as traditional leaders were hundreds of years ago.

The Marshall Islands are very different from Pohnpei and Kosrae. The Marshalls are low islands and Pohnpei and Kosrae are high islands. The Marshalls have few natural resources and Pohnpei and Kosrae have many natural resources. Trading with other islands was an important part of Marshallese culture, while Pohnpeiians and Kosraeans had everything they needed on their home islands.

However, traditional leadership in the Marshalls has a lot in common with traditional leadership on Pohnpei and Kosrae. Marshallese traditional leaders also owned all the land on their islands and gave families permission to live there in exchange for gifts of food. Marshallese traditional leaders also control the many titles on their islands and use those titles to keep their societies healthy.

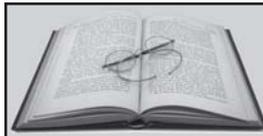


Right: A stone path in Kosrae's Lelu ruins

chiefs are careful to give important titles only to people who have served their communities well and who their people respect.

There is also a third type of title in the Pohnpei model of leadership. This is the **honorary title**. Honorary titles may be given by both paramount chiefs and section chiefs. **An honorary title is a title given for a special achievement, but it does not give the titleholder a path to power.** This means that a person who holds an honorary title is not waiting in line to become a chief.

Many honorary titles are left over from the past, when there was a third line of titles at the paramount chiefdom level for religious leaders. Today, these titles are given to anyone who the chiefs believe deserve them. There are also other kinds of honorary titles. Some titles are given to women who are married to high-ranking leaders. Other titles are simply created to give honor to someone who did a great service to his or her community. Honorary titles often have important sounding names, such as “Great Lord of the Eel” or “Watchman of the Mountain of the Ladder,” and they are an important way for chiefs to show respect to their people, but honorary titles carry no actual power.



Check Your Reading: How are section titles different from paramount chiefdom titles? How are they similar?

Choosing a New Paramount Chief

It is important that paramount chiefs listen to their people when they choose a new Nahmwarki or Nahnken. Because the Nahmwarki and Nahnken are the most important titles in a paramount chiefdom, it is especially important that the people approve of their new leader. If there is no Nahmwarki, the Nahnken chooses the next Nahmwarki after asking the advice of other leaders, and sometimes of the people. If there is no Nahnken, the Nahmwarki chooses the next Nahnken by himself.

When the time comes to choose a new Nahmwarki or Nahnken, a paramount chief has some important questions to ask.

Is this new man the best one for the job? If everyone knows that a man is selfish or unwise or that he fights with others too much, he probably won't be chosen to be the next Nahmwarki or Nahnken.

Is this new man old enough? Sometimes the second-highest ranked leader in the Nahmwarki or Nahnken line may be too young or just

The Rise and Fall of Nan Madol: The Importance of Sharing Power

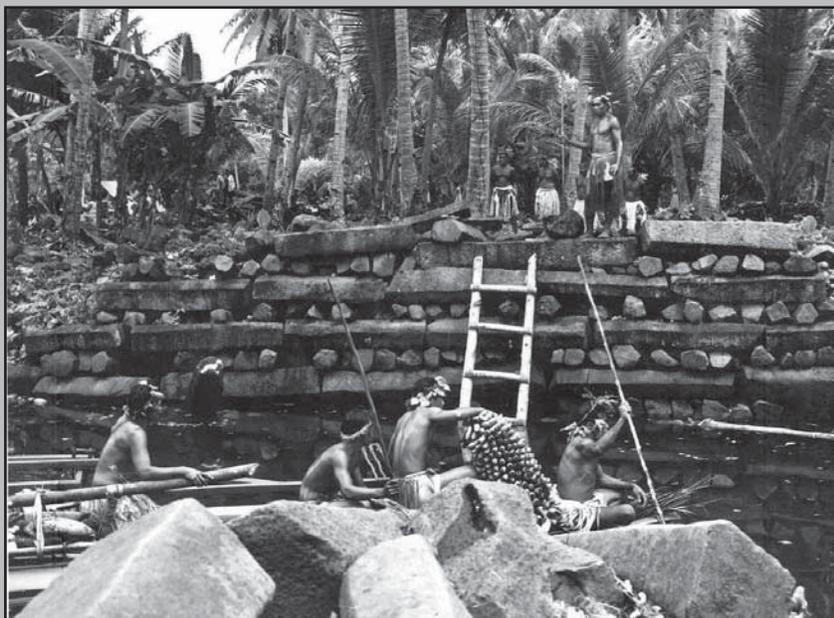
Olsihpa and Olsohpa were brothers. Although they were young, they were already important priests on their home island. Still, they wanted more. "We are great men," Olsihpa said one day, "and so we should do great things. If we stay here we will only continue the work of those who came before us. But if we leave we can make something new, something that others will continue after we are gone." So one day, the brothers and their followers prepared their canoes and sailed to the east. After many days of travel, Pohnpei finally appeared at the edge of sea and sky.

Olsihpa and Olsohpa began to spread the message of their religion around the island. With the help of many Pohnpeians, they began to build a center for the new religion at Nan Madol (pictured below). At first, Nan Madol was nothing but water. But as large basalt stones were brought from the other side of Pohnpei, they began to build new islands. Pohnpeians continued to improve Nan Madol for many hundreds of years out of respect for the high priests and their faith.

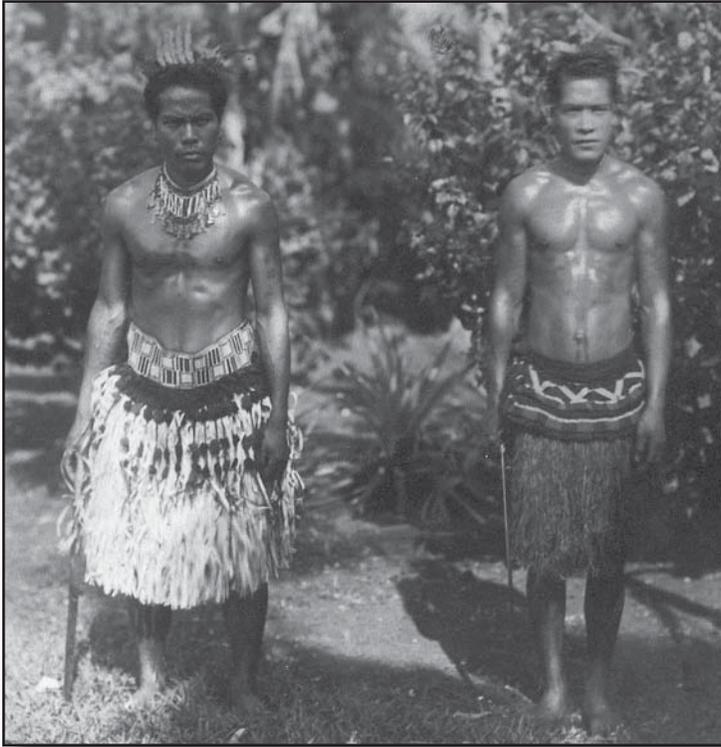
Olsohpa was the first high priest, or Saudeleur, of Pohnpei. Many more Saudeleurs came after him. In time, the new religion became so respected that the Saudeleur was not only the head of the island's religion. He was also the political leader of the island.

According to tradition, in time the Saudeleurs became selfish. They began to ask for more and more from their people. The last Saudeleur was especially bad. Today, Pohnpeians sometimes say that in the old times a Pohnpeian could not take an insect off of his head without giving part of it to the Saudeleur. The Saudeleurs asked a lot from their people and the people were harshly punished for refusing to obey.

Finally, Pohnpeians decided that they no longer wanted to have Saudeleurs. In the early 1600s, a warrior named Isokelekel arrived on the island with a small army and defeated the Saudeleur. After this war, no single person ever again ruled the entire island of Pohnpei. Isokelekel became the first Nahmwarki of Madolenihmw. Madolenihmw became the highest-ranked paramount chiefdom on Pohnpei, and Isokelekel was powerful there. But he had little power in the other parts of the island.



The system of traditional leadership begun by Isokelekel continues today, although it has changed in many ways. Pohnpeians now look back on the time of the Saudeleurs and remember how dangerous it can be for one person to have power over everyone on the island. If Pohnpeians find themselves under a cruel section chief, or a cruel Nahmken or Nahmwarki, they can usually find a way to protect themselves. But if the Saudeleurs wanted to do wrong, who could stop them?



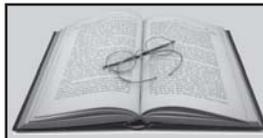
Above: A paramount chief from Kitti (left) and a man without a title (right). Notice the difference between their traditional dress.

not mature enough to be a paramount chief. In that case, someone else will move up to take his place.

What do the people think about this new man? It is important that the people respect their traditional leaders. If the people have already lost respect for someone before he becomes a Nahnmwarki or a Nahnken, they probably will not want to have him as their chief. For example, if the Nahnken makes a man with a reputation for cheating and lying the next Nahnmwarki, the people will be angry with both the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken.

Nahnkens and Nahnmwarkis ask all of these questions and more every time they choose to give a title to someone. This helps to keep the process of selecting

leaders honest. If the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken ask these questions and pay attention to what the people think, they will be more likely to have good leaders.



Check Your Reading: Who might a paramount chief talk to when choosing a new paramount chief?

Sharing Power

Some Pohnpeians today believe that traditional leaders in the past had total power over their people. But, as we have already seen, this was not true. Pohnpeian paramount chiefdoms were led by two chiefs, not one, and those two chiefs had to share power with one another. Paramount chiefs and section chiefs had to pay attention to the needs of their people when giving out titles or making important decisions if they wanted to continue to rule. And chiefs had to have a good attitude if they wanted to keep their people's respect. Although chiefs have more power in Pohnpei than they do in Chuuk, Pohnpeians still have a strong voice in their traditional leadership.

Unlike in Chuuk and Yap, where chiefs can do very little without holding meetings to discuss their plans, Pohnpeian chiefs do not have

The Limits of Traditional Leaders' Power

Traditional leadership in the Pohnpei model works because traditional leaders are responsible people who care for their community. But what happens when a traditional leader decides to use his power only for his own good?

In the early 1900s, the second highest-ranked traditional leader, or Nahnken, of one of the paramount chiefdoms in Pohnpei decided to ask for more than his people could give. He walked to the community house in another section, sat down, and told the people to make kava for him to drink. After he drank, he asked the people for gifts. He said, "Bring me 100 breadfruit!" and the people did. He said, "Bring me 50 mats!" and the people did. He said, "Bring me a canoe!" and the people did.

The Nahnken returned to the same community house a few weeks later. He sat down and again he told the people to make kava for him to drink. Again, he asked the people for gifts. He said, "Bring me 100 yams!" and the people did. He said, "Bring me five pigs!" and the people did. He said, "Bring me 100 yellowfin tuna!" and the people did.

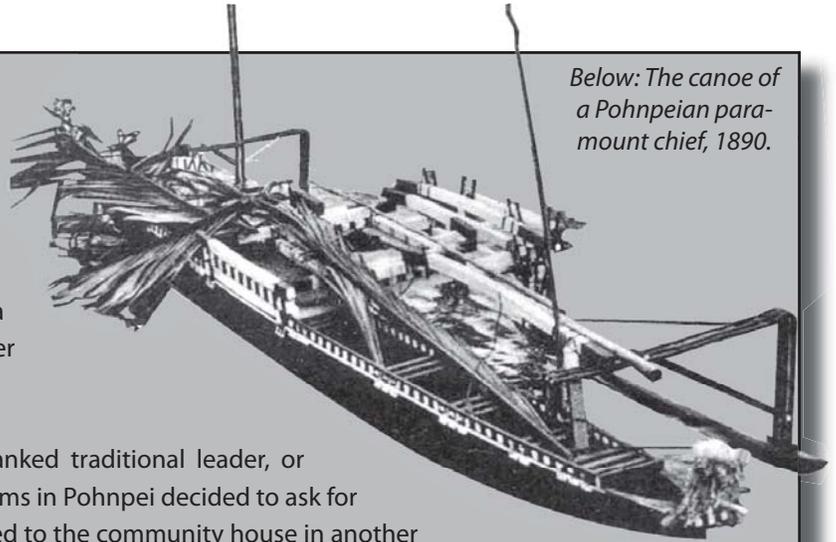
Next, the Nahnken decided to visit the community house in a different section. The people there had already heard about what the Nahnken was doing. When they saw him coming with four of his men in canoes, some of them hid their nicest things so the Nahnken wouldn't see them. But this time, the Nahnken didn't only ask for breadfruit or canoes or pigs. He asked for the whole section!

"This section is mine," the Nahnken said, still sitting in his canoe. "All the land in this section now belongs to me." The men of the section looked at one another. Their section already belonged to the Nahnmwarki, and they did not want this Nahnken to have power over them. They knew they would not be able to give away everything they had only because the Nahnken wanted to show his power. Although the Nahnken had a very high rank, they could not stand for this.

Quickly, a group of men rushed toward the Nahnken's canoe and pushed it over. The Nahnken fell out, and the men held him under the water. The Nahnken's men were too few to help him, so they could only stand by and watch. When the Nahnken had almost drowned, the men of the section brought him up again.

The Nahnken was allowed to leave. He never tried to take control of that section again and he never punished the men who had almost killed him for his selfishness. Maybe he knew that what he did was wrong, or maybe he saw how hard it would be to lead the section after such a bad start.

High-ranking traditional leaders in the Pohnpei model of traditional leadership are allowed to ask their people for gifts. They can ask for food, land, or even the title to an entire section. Pohnpeians give gifts to traditional leaders to show their respect, and they are usually happy to give. But traditional leaders must also show their respect for their people by not asking too much. The Nahnken in our story did no wrong by asking his people for gifts, but when he went too far the people pushed back.



Below: The canoe of a Pohnpeian paramount chief, 1890.

to ask anyone for advice before they make decisions. But a chief who always makes decisions without listening to his people may find that his people stop listening to him. The people may start bringing a section chief very small tribute payments, for example, forcing him to give an embarrassingly small tribute payment to the paramount chief. Or the people might leave a paramount chief on the battlefield to face the enemy alone.

For this reason, Pohnpeian chiefs often hold meetings with their people when there is an important decision to be made. Meetings can help a chief to persuade his people to do something that he doesn't think they will want to do. If the people strongly disagree with his plans, the chief might decide to change his mind. But if he does decide to make an unpopular decision, at least the people will feel that they were involved in the decision-making. A meeting can help a chief let his people know what he is thinking, so that when he makes his decision it will come as less of a surprise.

Because Pohnpeian chiefs share their power with one another and with their people, traditional leadership in Pohnpei is very **stable**. **In a stable system, big changes do not happen suddenly.** It is difficult for one person to get all the power in one section or paramount chiefdom, and especially over the entire island, because the people work to keep their leaders honest and to keep the system fair.

Pohnpeians sometimes say that criticizing traditional leaders is as meaningless as water flowing through underground rocks. People who say that may believe that it is useless to complain about traditional leaders because their complaints will never be heard. In fact, although no one member of a Pohnpeian community could tell traditional leaders what to do, when all the people spoke together the chiefs listened. And when a chief pushed his people too far, they pushed back.



Check Your Reading: What might happen to a chief who tries to take too much power for himself?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Honorary title:** *a title given for a special achievement, but without a path to power*
- **Nahmwarki:** *the highest-ranked leader in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom*
- **Nahnken:** *the second-highest ranked leader in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom*
- **Paramount chief:** *a leader who has power over many sections*
- **Paramount chiefdom:** *a group of many sections that are under the same leadership*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **Foundations of Pohnpeian Traditional Leadership:** Pohnpei's traditional leadership is designed to keep one leader from having power over the whole island, as the Saudeleurs did.
- **Introduction to the Pohnpei Model of Leadership:** Traditional Leadership in Pohnpei is similar to traditional leadership in Kosrae and some of Pohnpei's outer islands.
- **Land:** Paramount chiefs used land to punish or reward their people and keep Pohnpeian society healthy.
- **Pohnpeian Sections, Section Chiefs, and Tribute:** A Pohnpeian section is a piece of land where many families live under the leadership of a section chief and an assistant section chief
- **Paramount Chiefdoms:** A paramount chiefdom is a ranked piece of land made up of many sections and under the leadership of two paramount chiefs.
- **Paramount Chiefs:** Nahmwarkis and Nahnkens are the highest-ranking leaders in a paramount chiefdom, but a Nahmwarki's power is more sacred than a Nahnken's power and a Nahnken has a closer relationship with the people than a Nahmwarki.
- **Paramount Chiefdom Titles, Section Titles, and Honorary Titles:** Paramount chiefdom titles are the most powerful titles in Pohnpei, section titles are the second most powerful, and honorary titles carry no power.
- **Choosing a New Paramount Chief:** Although paramount chiefs do not have to talk to the people when they choose a new paramount chief, it is important that the people be satisfied with their new leader.
- **Sharing Power:** Although Pohnpeian chiefs have more power than Chuukese chiefs, they must still listen to their people's opinions.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

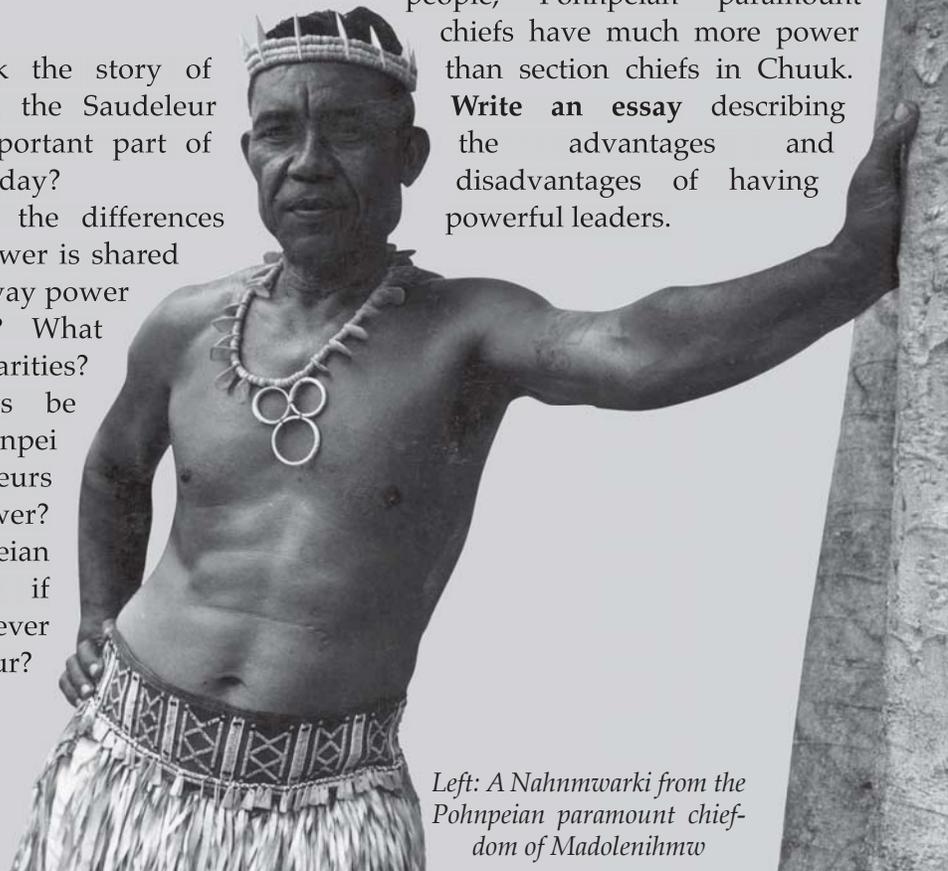
- What are some of the ways Pohnpeian chiefs share power with their people?
- Why was land important in Pohnpeian traditional leadership in the past? Why are titles important in Pohnpeian traditional leadership today?
- How are the responsibilities of a Pohnpeian section chief different from the responsibilities of a paramount chief?

Critical Thinking

- Why do you think the story of Isokelekel defeating the Saudeleur is still such an important part of Pohnpeian culture today?
- What are some of the differences between the way power is shared in Pohnpei and the way power is shared in Chuuk? What are some of the similarities?
- How might things be different in Pohnpei today if the Saudeleurs were still in power? What would Pohnpeian leadership be like if Isokelekel had never defeated the Saudeleur?

Writing

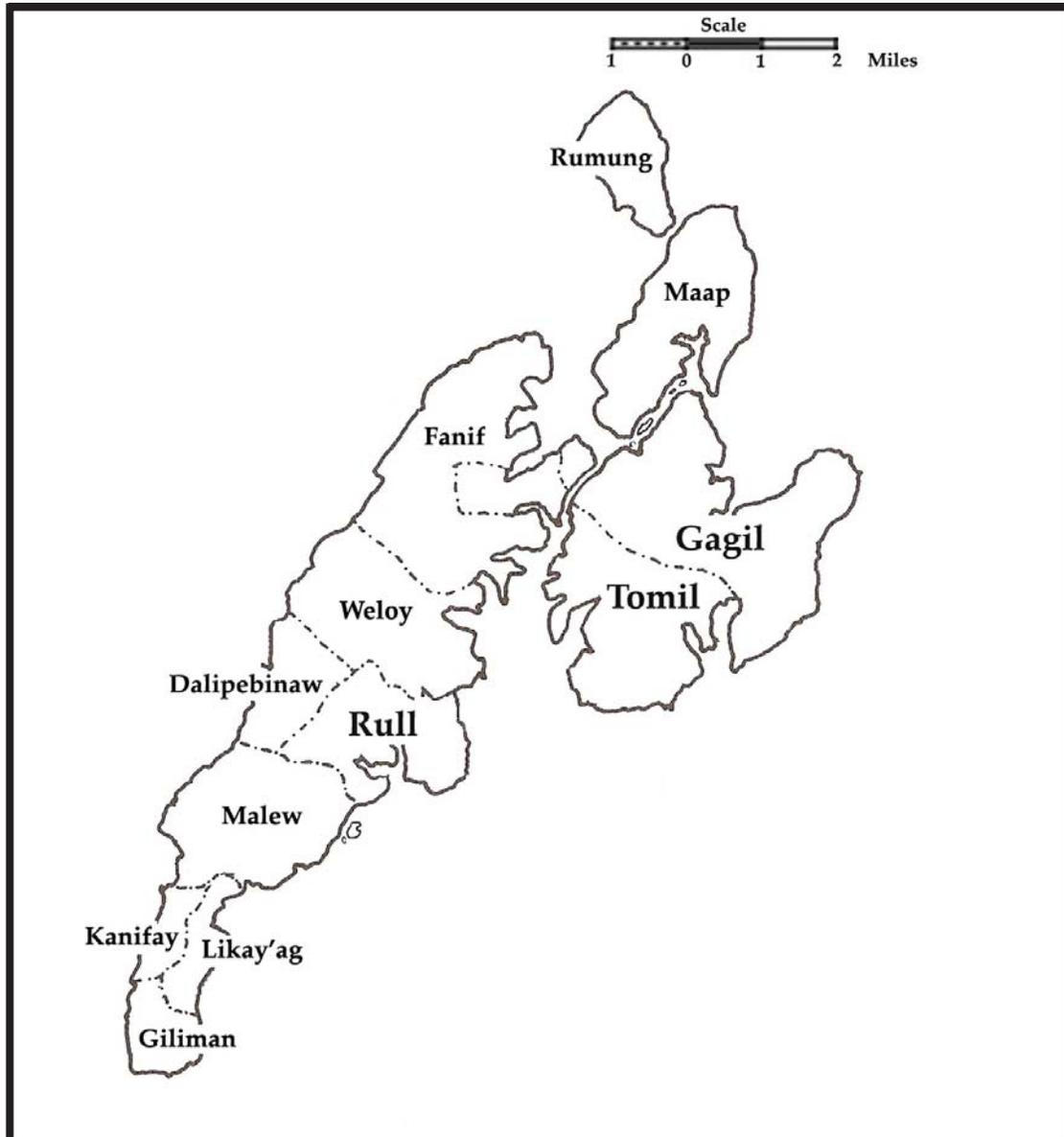
- Imagine that you are a Pohnpeian section chief. You must tell your people to produce as much food as they can for the next feast without asking too much of them. **Write a speech** that you or your assistant chief could give to your people to encourage them to work.
- Pohnpeian traditional leadership has changed in many ways over the last one hundred years, but Pohnpeians are still very interested in getting titles from their chiefs. **Write a journal entry** of a Pohnpeian describing his hopes for getting a title from his chief and how the title might help him in his community.
- Although they share power with their people, Pohnpeian paramount chiefs have much more power than section chiefs in Chuuk. **Write an essay** describing the advantages and disadvantages of having powerful leaders.



Left: A Nahnmwarki from the Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom of Madolenihmw

CHAPTER FOUR

The Yap Model



Above: Each of the four main islands in mainland Yap. The dotted lines represent “nets” of villages, groups of Yapese villages that work together as political units. The Gagil, Tomil, and Rull nets are the three highest-ranked village nets in Yap.



The Foundations of Yapese Leadership

At one time, many years ago, the island of Yap was empty. There were no people to plant taro, and so there were no taro patches. Fish swam through the lagoon without fear of being caught, because there were no people there to catch them. There were no stone pathways, and no people to walk on them. The island was quiet.

Then one day, around three thousand years ago, a strange sight appeared in the lagoon. A canoe carrying a young couple had entered the reef, and they were steering toward the land.

Where had they come from? Had they left their families in the Philippines or on one of the islands of Eastern Indonesia? Why had they come? Was it too hard to find land at home? Did they get into a fight with family or their local leadership?

Yapese people today still speak of Wan and Rayina, the first couple to settle in Yap, on the island of Tomil. Wan and Rayina were the first humans to come to Yap, but when they stepped onto shore they found that they were not alone. As Wan and Rayina stood on the shore and looked over the land, four spirits and Ruliya, a young woman who was half spirit and half human, came to meet them.

Ruliya was excited to have visitors, especially visitors that were so much like her. Some of the spirits were not so sure. As she talked to the new visitors, the spirits took her aside. "We know nothing about these humans," two of the spirits argued. "Will we open our island to anyone?" Ruliya was embarrassed. "We must welcome these visitors to our island," she said. "They have come a long way." Two of the spirits agreed with her. But the other two spirits were nervous.

After much discussion, the group could not agree on whether to let Wan and Rayina stay in Yap. The two spirits who refused to share their island with humans left and never returned. Ruliya brought Wan and Rayina to her home. "Welcome to our island," she said. "We would be honored to have you live with us. Our house is in a place called Amun." And so Wan, Rayina, Ruliya, the two spirits, and a third spirit in the form of a giant clam moved into one large house and lived happily together.

In time, Rayina gave birth to a child, and Wan took Ruliya as his second wife. As the family grew, the children often asked Wan to tell

the story of how he and Rayina had come to Yap in the first place.

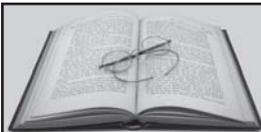
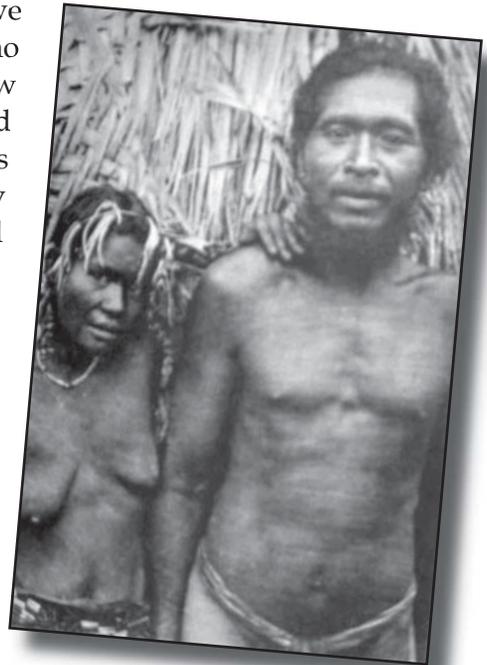
“Although I am the youngest of seven sons,” Wan said, “I had still hoped for a small piece of land from my father. Rayina and I dreamed of having land for ourselves, raising our family nearby my father’s house. But when the day came for my father to give out his land, he said nothing when my turn came. He only pointed to a small basket of coconut husks. He told me, ‘Make rope with this coconut fiber and you will have money to buy your land. I no longer have any land to give you.’”

“Your mother and I were upset,” Wan continued, “and we talked all night about what we should do. We knew of no empty land anywhere near our village, and so finding new land would mean separating from our family, even if we could find the money to buy it. I had been away on fishing trips many times, sometimes for weeks, and I was skilled with my canoe. Your mother suggested it first. She said, ‘There is land to the north, there is land to the south, there is land to the west. Is there no land to the east?’ And so we came.”

As the years went by, a few brave families arrived to set up homes of their own. Everyone who came to the island had great respect for Wan and Rayina as Yap’s first family, and so Wan became Yap’s first leader. In time, his land became just as respected as he was.

Wan and Rayina grew older. Their daughters grew up, married into other families and moved away. Their sons married women from other families, and Wan was glad to be able to give his land generously to his sons and their new wives. When Wan and Rayina finally passed away, they left satisfied that they had done something good for future generations.

As the population of Yap increased, new villages were formed. Whenever one village became too large, some of the families left to find land of their own. When they started a new village, the head of the family became the new village’s leader. His land also became the highest-ranking land in the village. Even with so many new villages all over Yap and so many new leaders competing with one another, Wan’s land was still the most important. The head of the family who lived on that land was still the highest-ranked leader on the island.



Check Your Reading: Why did Wan and Rayina leave their home island and travel to Yap?

Introduction to the Yap Model of Leadership: the Village Net

Yapese people sometimes say that their system of traditional leadership is like a net. Every knot of a net is connected to the knots around it. Some knots are at the top of the net, some are in the middle, and some are at the bottom. Many knots are at the same level as the knots next to them, including the knots at the top. And no knot can stand alone without the other knots around it to hold it up.

Yapese villages are connected to one another just like the knots of a net. As you can see from the map at the beginning of this section, there are twelve village nets in mainland Yap, and each of these twelve village nets are connected to one another. **A village net is a group of villages that work together as a political unit.** Within each net, some Yapese villages have high ranks, some have middle-level ranks, and some have low ranks. Many villages have similar ranks to other villages. And no Yapese village can stand on its own without staying connected to the other villages in its village net.

Village nets are different from paramount chiefdoms in Pohnpei. Although a few village chiefs in each village net are more powerful than other village chiefs, a high-ranking village net leader does not have power over all the other villages in his net the way that a Pohnpeian paramount chief has power over all the sections in his paramount chiefdom. High-ranking village net leaders do not receive tribute from other village chiefs, and cannot give orders to the other chiefs in their village nets. All the village chiefs in a village net have power. Some just have more power than others.

Below: Men repairing a fishnet. The idea that Yapese villages are connected to one another like knots on a net is one of the most important ideas in Yapese traditional leadership.



We have already seen that the section is the highest level of traditional government in Chuuk. We have also seen that all Pohnpeian sections are under the leadership of powerful paramount chiefs. In Yap, village chiefs are the most important leaders on the island, as they are in Chuuk. As in Chuuk, there are no paramount chiefs in Yap. And, as in Pohnpei, a few Yapese chiefs are recognized as the most powerful leaders on the island.

But Yapese traditional leadership is very different from leadership in both Chuuk and Pohnpei. The system of traditional leadership in mainland Yap is one of the most complicated in the Pacific. Although Yapese traditional leadership has much in common with leadership in Chuuk and Pohnpei, many things in Yapese traditional leadership are unique to Yap, such as the roles of Yapese chiefs, the passing of power through the father's line rather than the mother's line, and Yap's village nets. We will explore all of these things and more in this section.

As we talk about the Yap model of traditional leadership, remember that we are not only talking about Yap. Although leadership in most of Yap's outer islands is most similar to leadership in Chuuk, a few of the outer islands close to mainland Yap have systems of leadership similar to the main island. Leadership in Palau is also similar to Yapese leadership.



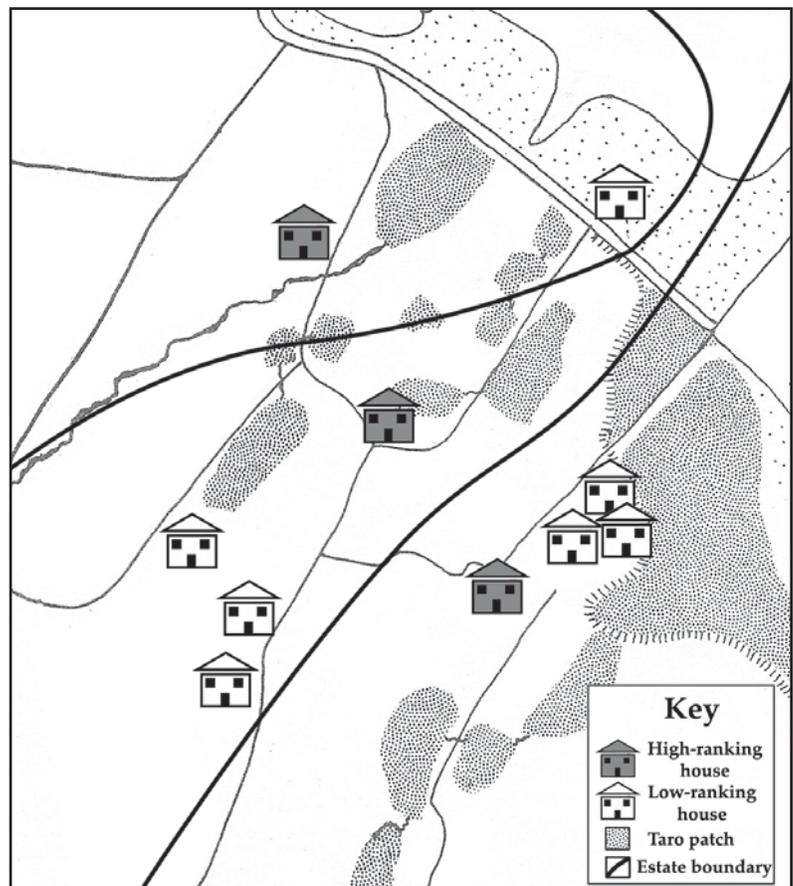
Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways a Yapese village net is different from a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom?

Below: A map representing three family estates in a Yapese village. The leader of the family estate, usually the father of the family, controls the high-ranking house on the estate. Most estates include taro patches, water, gardens, and more than one house.

The Name, Voice, and Rank of Land in Yap

There is an old Yapese saying: "the man is not chief, the land is chief." Land is very important in Yapese traditional leadership, just as it is in Chuuk and Pohnpei. And in Yap, as in Chuuk, chiefs have power because they speak for a high-ranking piece of land.

As in the rest of Micronesia, a Yapese family estate supports the family and ties its members to one another. A Yapese family estate is made up of several pieces of land and often includes the right to use other pieces of land nearby, such as taro patches. Some pieces of land have privileges or responsibilities attached to them. The father, as the leader of the family, controls the most powerful piece of land in the family.



In Yap, every piece of land has a name, a voice, and a rank.

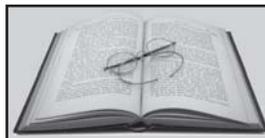
The **name** of the land helps Yapese people know who should own it. Yapese men are often named after the pieces of land their fathers expect to pass down to them when they become older. That way everyone knows who is supposed to control an important piece of land.

The **voice** of the land helps Yapese people know what kind of power the land has. The man who controls a chiefly piece of land will be a chief. The man who controls a priestly piece of land will be a priest.

The **rank** of the land helps Yapese to know whether or not the voice of the land is strong. As in Chuuk and Pohnpei, the family estate that once belonged to the first family to live in a Yapese village is the highest-ranked land in that village.

Every Yapese family leader who owns his own land is allowed to participate in village council meetings, where he can speak for the voice of his land. But not every Yapese family owns land. Low-ranking families live on land owned by high-ranking families. If a family leader does not own his own land, he has no land to speak for. Yapese people who own no land have no voice in village business.

Every family leader controls the most powerful piece of land in his family. Sometimes that piece of land makes him more than a family leader. While one man in a village might control a piece of land that only makes him the leader of his family, a second man might control a piece of land that makes him the leader of his family and the village chief. A third man in another village might control a piece of land that makes him the leader of his family, the village chief, and a village net chief. Some pieces of land have voices that are only strong enough to carry to a man's family. Other pieces of land have voices that are strong enough to carry to all of Yap.

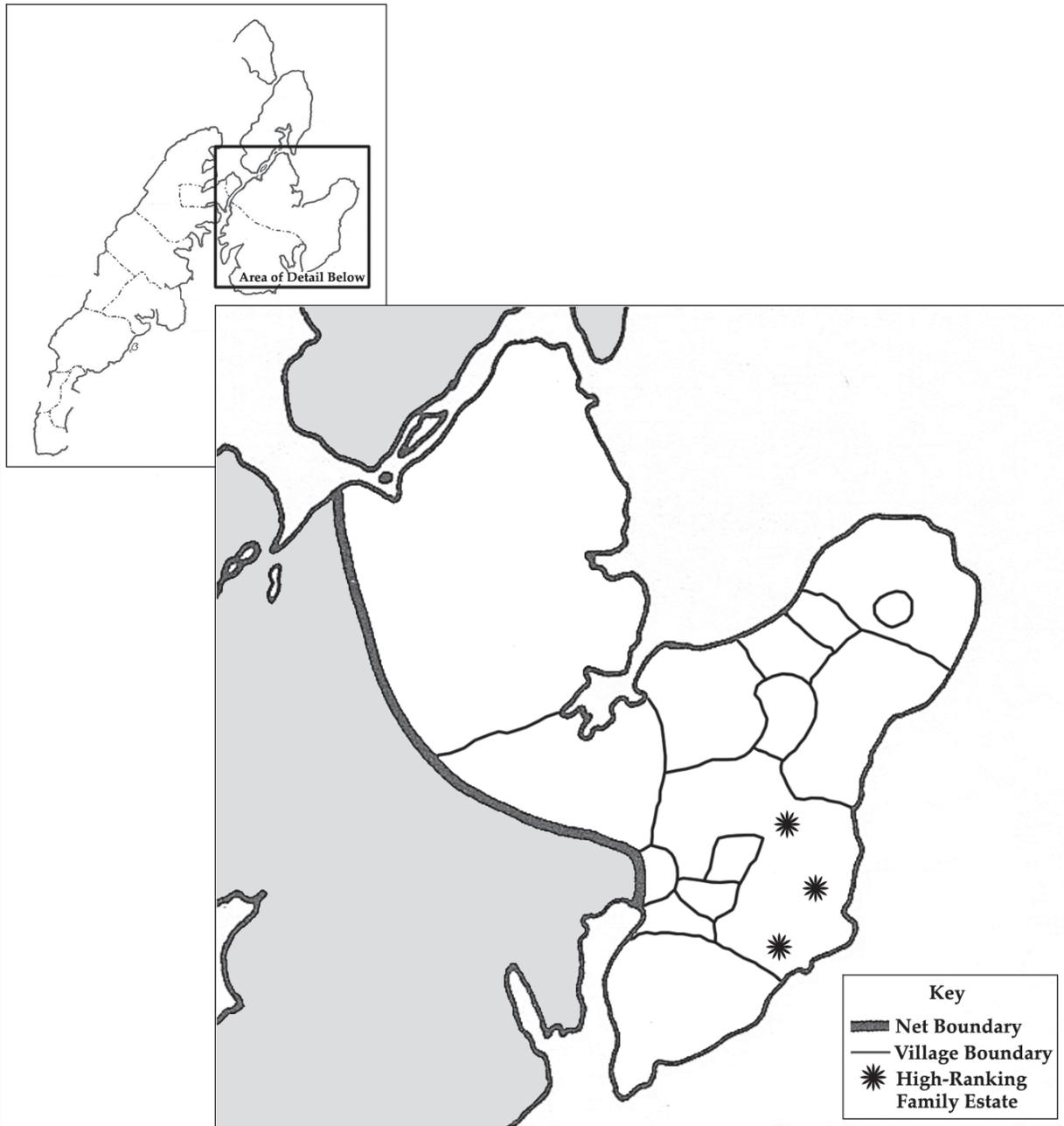


Check Your Reading: Why is the name of a powerful piece of land important in Yap?

The Yapese Family

The most basic unit of Yapese traditional leadership is the family. Families are important to all Micronesians, but Yapese families are different from families in Chuuk and Pohnpei.

Nets, Villages, and Family Estates in Yap



Above: Divisions of land and leadership in Yap. The small map at the top left shows the entire island of Yap and its twelve village nets. The large map on the bottom right shows the village net of Gagil and all of its villages. Each of these villages is divided into village sections, village subsections, and family estates. These smaller divisions are not shown on the map. The three stars represent Gagil's three highest-ranking family estates.

Like Chuukese and Pohnpeian sections, Yapese villages may have as many as several dozen family estates. Like section chiefs in Chuuk, a Yapese village chief takes his title from his family estate. The family estates represented by the three stars are the highest-ranking family estates in Gagil, which is one of the three highest-ranking village nets in Yap. That means that the three men who control these high-ranking family estates have some authority over their own families, their village subsections, their village sections, their villages, their village nets, and the island of Yap.



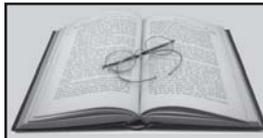
Above: A Yapese family outside their home in the 1980s.

One important difference between Yapese families and other Micronesian families is that Yapese people live in **nuclear families**. A **nuclear family** is a family made up of a father and a mother and their children. Yapese families are made up of a father, a mother, their children, and any children they may have adopted. Grandparents who are no longer able to take care of themselves may live with the family also.

Chuukese and Pohnpeians live with their **extended families**. An **extended family** is a family made up of a father and a mother and their children as well as other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, and cousins.

A second important difference between Yapese families and other Micronesian families is that Yapese families pass leadership through the father's line rather than the mother's line. This means that the family's oldest son will become the leader after his father. It also means that the family's sons marry and live on the family land with their new wives while the family's daughters marry and live on another family's land with their new husbands.

Yapese families are important because every leader in Yap is a family leader first. Even the highest-ranking village chiefs in Yap are only leaders because they lead a family that controls a particularly important piece of land. For this reason, it is important to people all over Yap that the leadership of a high-ranking family is passed down to the right person.



Check Your Reading: Why does the father of a Yapese family control the most powerful piece of land in his family estate?

Yapese Villages and Village Leaders

The family is the most basic unit in Yapese traditional leadership, but the village is the most important. Every person in Yap lives in a village. Some villages are high-ranking and others are low-ranking, but every village plays an important part in traditional Yapese government.

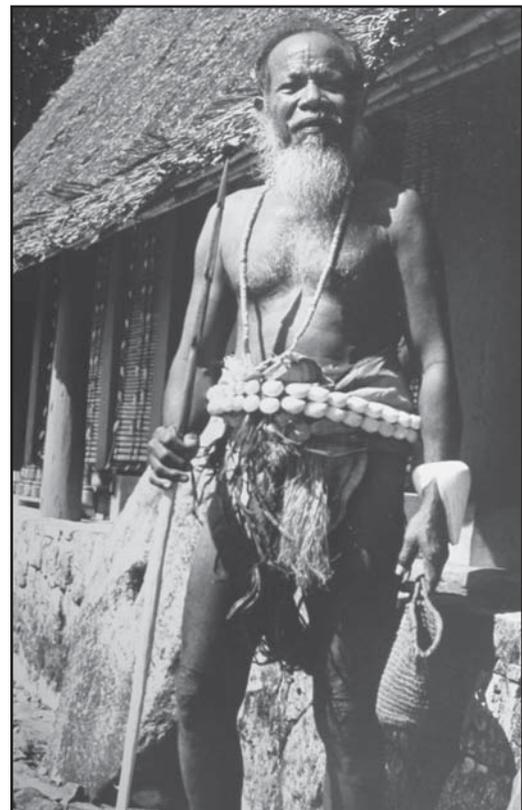
There are many different kinds of village leaders in Yap. That is because there are many different ways to organize a Yapese village. **Every village net is made up of many villages. Every village is made up of many village sections. Every village section is made up of several subsections. Every village subsection is made up of many family estates.** There are important leaders at all of these levels of Yapese leadership. In this textbook, we will concentrate on village chiefs and village net chiefs. Let's look at Yapese village chiefs first.

Yapese villages have not one, but three important leaders. **The leaders of a Yapese village are the village chief, the chief of the young men, and the "ancient voice."** Each of these three leaders is also the leader of an important family. All three leaders take their titles from the pieces of land that they control. And, although these three men's voices have more authority than other family leaders, they do not hold all the power in their villages.

The **village chief** speaks for the village. He is the leader of the village in much the same way as the father is the leader of the family. The village chief settles arguments between families when he is asked. When he sees that a large project could benefit his village, he orders that the work be done. The village chief makes sure that exchange ceremonies and traditional dances are carried out correctly. In the past, he also gave gifts to the village priest or priests to protect the village from danger.

The village chief represents his village in business with other villages and uses his power to protect his people. When a message comes from a higher leader outside the village, the chief is responsible for giving that message to the people of his village. When the village needs to send a message to a higher leader, the village chief is responsible for sending it. Sending messages in the correct way is very important. When important messages must be communicated, Yapese villages become like shells on a string. The message must pass through one shell before it can go to the next. If the message is sent incorrectly, it might be ignored. In the past, some messages that did not go to the right place even started wars.

The **chief of the young men** speaks for the young men of the village. His position comes from his control of an important piece of land, but his power comes from his control of the village's young men. Young men are an important group because they are responsible for fighting wars and acting as a police force, for carrying out



Traditional Leaders in a Yapese Village



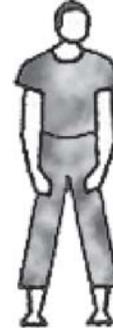
Chief of the young men

- Speaks for the young men of the village
- Gathers young men for work projects, war, and to act as a police force
- Carries messages from the village chief to other villages
- Protects the village's valuables



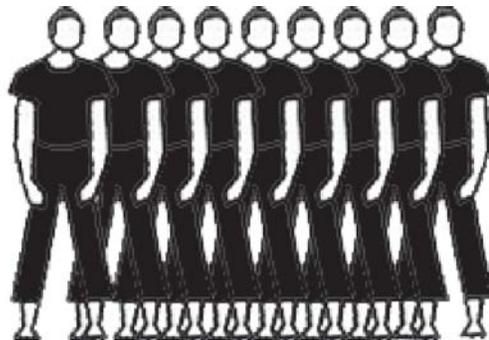
Village chief

- Speaks for the whole village
- Settles arguments between families
- Orders work projects to be done
- Makes sure that traditional activities such as exchange ceremonies and dances are done correctly
- Sends and receives messages between himself and other village chiefs



"Ancient voice"

- Gives advice to the village chief, the chief of the young men, and the rest of the council
- Has authority over the village's traditional religion
- Has no power to give orders, but can order traditional priests to punish the village or refuse to give money to village projects



Village council

- The village chief, the chief of the young men, the ancient voice, and other family leaders make up the village council
- Discusses village business and makes decisions for the entire village when everyone agrees
- Has the real power in the village, although the voices of village chiefs carry extra authority in council meetings

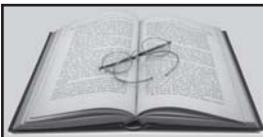
work projects for the village, and for fishing. The chief of the young men also carries the village chief's messages to other villages and protects the village's valuables.

The **ancient voice** does not speak for the village or for the young men. His job is to give advice to the other leaders of the village. The ancient voice can refuse to give the money or resources necessary to complete a project in the village. In the past, the ancient voice was also in charge of the religious life of the village. He could participate in sacred ceremonies and even call on the priests to punish the village if he thought the other leaders were making bad decisions.

The leadership in village sections and village subsections is similar to the leadership at the village level. Village sections have a section chief and a chief of the young men, but no ancient voice. Village sections also have a council. Village subsections have a chief whose job is similar to the chief of the young men, but they have no ancient voice and no council.



Above: A Yapese village with the foundation of an old council house in the foreground. Notice the stone backrests. These backrests would have been used by village chiefs and other family leaders during meetings.

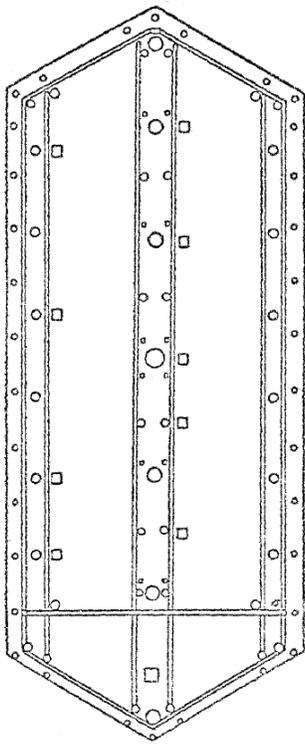


Check Your Reading: What might happen if a message going from one Yapese village to another is sent incorrectly?

The Village Council

The three chiefs in a Yapese village have important responsibilities, but it is the **village council** that has the real power. **A village council is a group of family leaders that meets to make decisions for the village.** Yapese village councils, like Chuukese meetings, make their decisions by consensus. That means that everyone in the council must agree before an important decision is made. All three village chiefs, and every other family leader in the village, are members of the village council.

The reason that village chiefs are powerful is because they have strong voices in the village council. A chief's most important job is



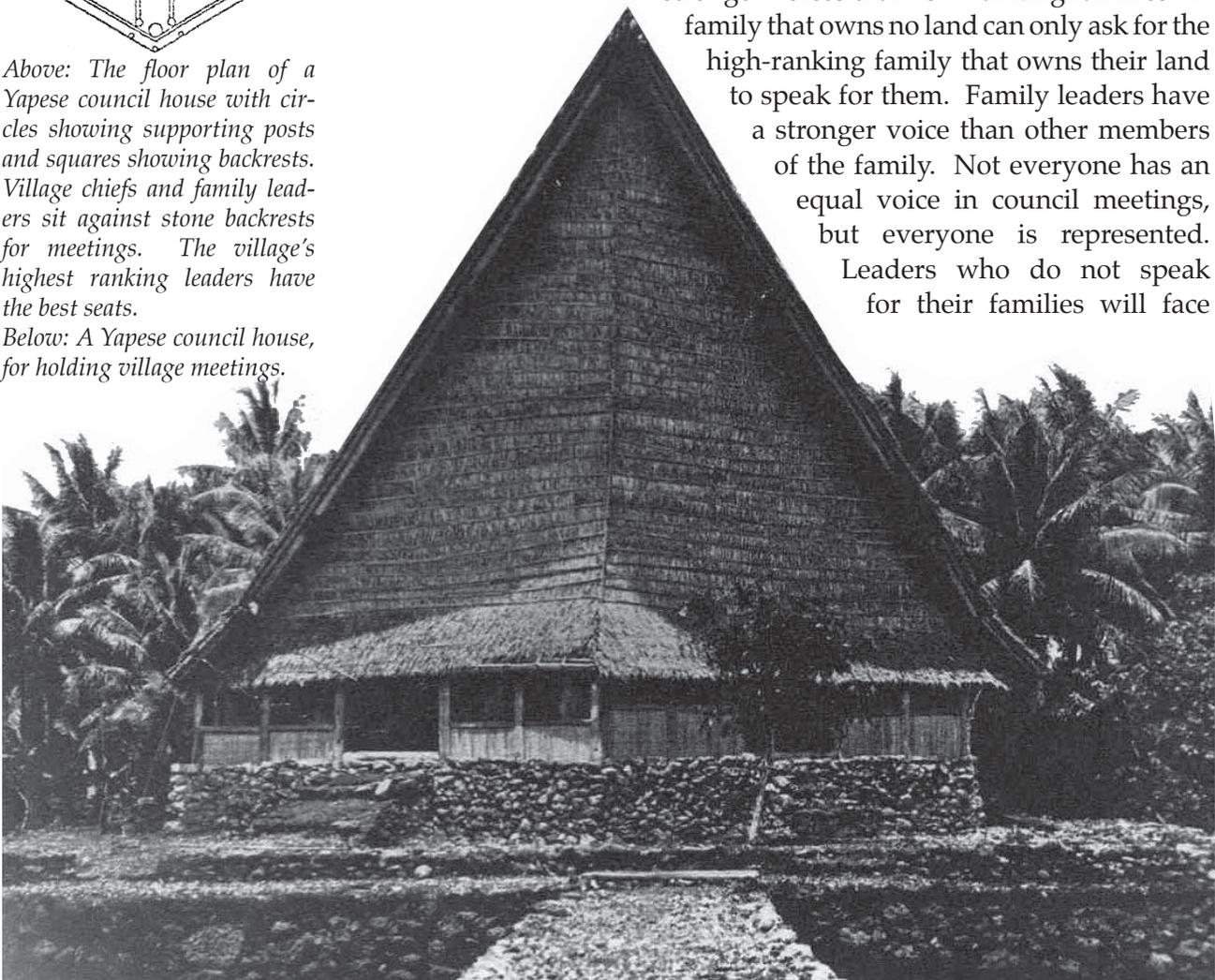
Above: The floor plan of a Yapese council house with circles showing supporting posts and squares showing backrests. Village chiefs and family leaders sit against stone backrests for meetings. The village's highest ranking leaders have the best seats.
Below: A Yapese council house, for holding village meetings.

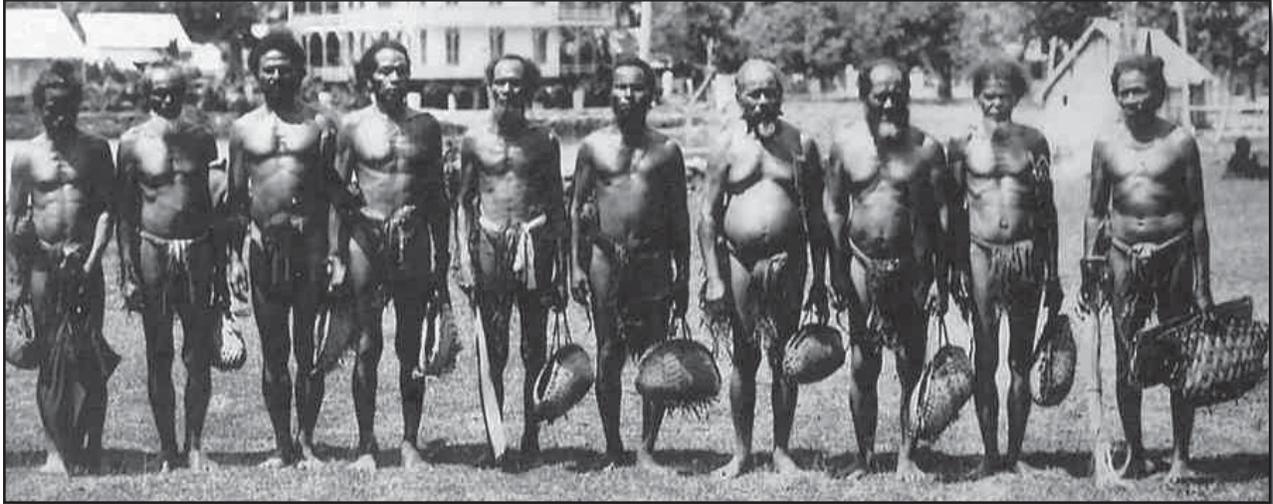
to carry out the decisions of his village council. If he tries to take too much power for himself, the council may remove him from power. In the past, a village council could even vote to kill a chief who tried to become too powerful.

Almost all of the business of any Yapese village is done in its council meetings. Because each of the family leaders in a village council speaks for his land, and because every piece of land in the village is ranked, each of the men in the council are ranked as well. During meetings, family leaders sit on tall backrests that are placed against the wall of the meetinghouse. High-ranking family leaders, such as village chiefs, sit in better positions in the meetinghouse than lower-ranking family leaders. Take a look at the chart at left to see the floor plan of a typical village council meetinghouse.

Village council meetings provide a way for everyone in the village to have a voice in village business. But not everyone in a village has an equal voice in council meetings. High-ranking families have stronger voices than low-ranking families. A

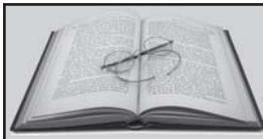
family that owns no land can only ask for the high-ranking family that owns their land to speak for them. Family leaders have a stronger voice than other members of the family. Not everyone has an equal voice in council meetings, but everyone is represented. Leaders who do not speak for their families will face





trouble at home, just as chiefs who do not speak for their villages will face trouble from their people.

Above: Some of Yap's village net leaders pose for a photograph after a meeting with Yap's German occupation government.



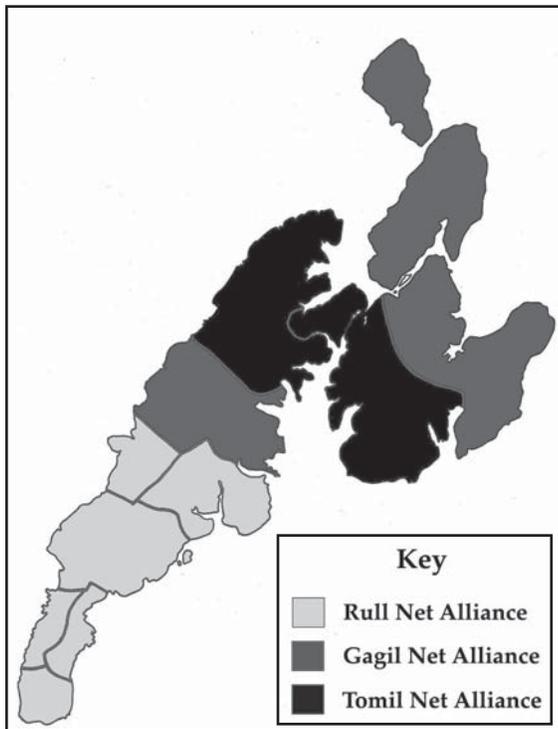
Check Your Reading: Why do some family leaders have stronger voices in village council meetings than other family leaders?

Village Nets and Net Alliances

Yap is divided into twelve village nets. Three of these village nets are more powerful than the others. These three village nets, Tomil, Rull, and Gagil, are the most powerful village nets in Yap. Because each of these three nets have important alliances with other nets, we might say that Yap's twelve nets are grouped together into three **net alliances**. **A net alliance is a group of village nets that have an alliance with one of Yap's three most powerful village nets, either Tomil, Rull, or Gagil.**

The Rull net alliance is made up of the nets of Rull, Malew, Likay'ag, Dalipebinaw, Kanifay, and Giliman. The Gagil net alliance is made up of the nets of Gagil, Weloy, Maap, and Rumung. The Tomil net alliance is made up of the nets of Tomil and Fanif.

Yap's three net alliances are similar to the alliances that Chuukese sections built with one another, or the alliances that Pohnpei's paramount chiefdoms sometimes made with one another. Unlike Chuuk and Pohnpei, where alliances changed easily and often, it was more difficult for a Yapese net to change its alliance. Once a village net was allied with Tomil, Rull, or Gagil, it did not usually switch sides,



Above: Yap's villages are grouped into twelve nets. These twelve nets are grouped into three net alliances. The nets of Rull, Gagil, and Tomil each lead one net alliance.

although Yap's nets and net alliances did change from time to time.

Yap's net alliances help keep power balanced on the island. Sometimes the Rull net alliance is more powerful than the Gagil net alliance, and sometimes the Gagil net alliance is more powerful than the Rull net alliance. When Rull is more powerful than Gagil, Tomil joins Gagil. When Gagil is more powerful than Rull, Tomil joins Rull. Tomil helps to make sure that neither Rull nor Gagil gains control over all of Yap. By moving back and forth between Rull and Gagil, Tomil's highest-ranking chief helps keep power balanced at the highest levels of Yapese traditional leadership.

Each of Yap's three highest-ranking chiefs have a special role to play in island-wide politics. These roles mirror the three leadership positions of any Yapese village. Like any other village chief, the chiefs of Rull, Gagil, and Tomil take their ranks from their land.

The highest-ranking village chief in Tomil is similar to the ancient voice in any Yapese village. Tomil's highest-ranking village chief does not actively participate in traditional government. He only gives his opinion when he feels it is important. The power of Tomil's highest-ranking village chief comes from his authority in traditional Yapese religion. His land gives him power over Yap's most important sacred sites, including the piece of land once held by Yap's first family. Today, Tomil's highest-ranking village chief is less powerful than the highest-ranking village chiefs from Rull and Gagil.

Both the highest-ranking chief from Rull and the highest-ranking chief from Gagil are similar to the village chief in any Yapese village. Both leaders are considered to have the most powerful voices in Yap. Unlike Tomil's highest-ranking chief, the highest-ranking chiefs from Rull and Gagil do participate in traditional politics. Their voices carry great power in meetings. The power of Rull's highest-ranking chief comes from his authority over Yap's largest island. The power of Gagil's highest-ranking chief comes from his authority over the many outer islands to the east who pay him tribute.

A special council, which we can call the Council of High-Ranking Villages, also helps to keep power balanced at the highest levels of Yapese traditional leadership. Only Yap's highest-ranking chiefs are allowed to participate in this council. The highest-ranking chiefs from Rull and Gagil have the strongest voices in the council, but no one chief has total power over the Council of High-Ranking Villages. Just as in a

How is Power Shared Among the Yap's Village Net Alliances?

One night, according to Yapese legend, the spirit of Rull, the spirit of Tomil and the spirit of Gagil became tired of hearing Yapese argue over which of their village net alliances was best. They gathered all of the people together and gave one large stone to the people from Rull, one to the people of Tomil, and a third to the people of Gagil. The spirits lowered a huge pot onto the stones and started to build a fire. The villagers looked at each other, wondering what would happen next.

As the fire grew, the spirits told the people to hold the pot. First the villagers from Rull walked toward the fire, but they found that the fire was too hot and they couldn't even come near the pot. They certainly couldn't hold it.

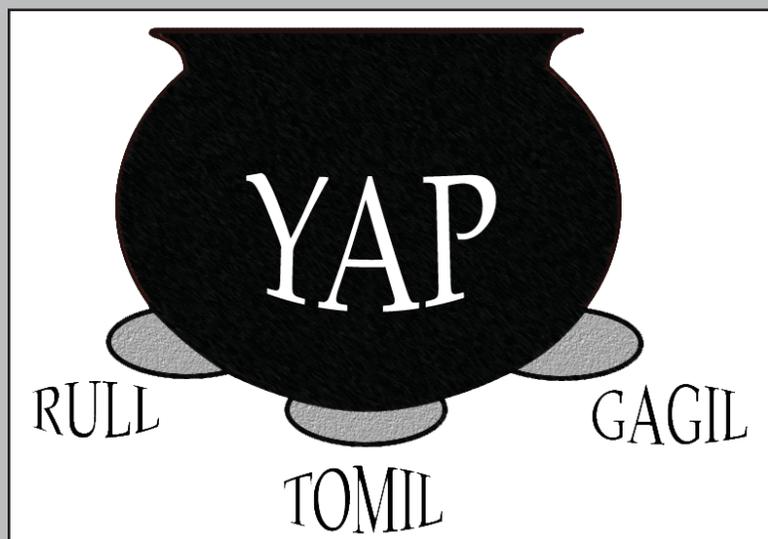
Next, the villagers from Tomil walked toward the fire, but they also were not able to come close enough to the pot to touch it.

Finally, the villagers from Gagil approached the pot. They too found that the pot was too hot to touch.

"Listen," the spirits said, "no one village net can hold this pot and keep it from spilling, but if we put three strong stones of equal size underneath, this pot will never tip. This pot is Yap, and each of the three stones is one of your village nets. Yap must have strong leadership from all three of its most powerful villages in order to stand. If one village net alliance becomes too powerful, the pot of Yap will tip and all will be lost!"

Keeping power balanced is an important idea in traditional Yapese government. Power must always stay balanced between Yap's three most powerful village nets, Rull, Tomil, and Gagil. If any one of these three village nets becomes too powerful, the other two village nets will join an alliance against it, keeping it from becoming too powerful.

Power is balanced in Yapese villages in much the same way. You have already read that each Yapese village has three important leaders: the village chief, the chief of the young men, and the ancient voice. Each of these three leaders, working with other family leaders in the village council, makes sure that no one leader becomes too powerful. If a single leader tries to take too much power, other leaders in the village will form an alliance against him. These shifting and changing alliances within and among Yapese villages keep the people protected and help to make sure that leaders listen to their people and do not become selfish.



village council, when Yap's highest-ranking leaders disagree they must try to find a compromise that pleases everyone. Otherwise, nothing can be done.



Check Your Reading: How do the leaders of Yap's three village net alliances make sure that no net alliance gets too much power?

Rank, Tribute, and War

We have already talked about high-ranking and low-ranking families, high-ranking and low-ranking chiefs, high-ranking and low-ranking villages, and high-ranking and low-ranking village nets in this section. You may have already figured out that rank is an important part of Yapese society. Actually, rank is much more important in Yap than it is in either Chuuk or Pohnpei. Traditionally, every village, family and individual on Yap had a rank and class. All of the people in each village were members of the same rank and class.

Below: A low-ranking Yapese woman. The only real difference between high-ranking and low-ranking Yapese is that the people, families, and villages with high ranks own their land, while those with low ranks do not own their land.

In Yap, high-ranking villages are called *pilung* and low-ranking villages are called *pimilingay*. The most important difference between these two groups is that the people who live in high-ranking villages own land and the people who live in low-ranking villages own no land. A chief from a high-ranking village owns the land in a low-ranking village and

acts as its chief, although he does not live there. The chief provides land and food to the people of the low-ranking village. These low-ranking people do work for the chief that others do not want to do, such as making thatched roofs for meetinghouses and burying the dead. They also bring the chief gifts of things like betelnut and baskets they have made, but never food.

At all levels of Yapese leadership, lower-ranking families and villages pay tribute to their leaders and to higher-ranking leaders outside the village, just as the people in Chuuk and Pohnpei make tribute payments to their chiefs. Tribute payments are payments made by families to their chief. High-ranking families give their chiefs gifts of food. Low-ranking families give their chiefs other gifts.

When chiefs receive tribute payments, they are responsible for giving most of what they receive back to the people. When the people pay tribute to their



leaders, it shows that the people respect their leaders. When the leaders give the gifts back to their people, it shows that the leaders also respect the people. When leaders give their wealth to the people, they help to make sure that every family has enough food and that no family becomes too rich.

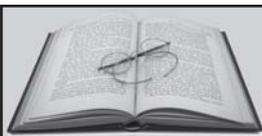
The high-ranking *pilung* group is divided into five different classes. Chiefs come only from the two highest-ranking classes. Nobles come from the next two classes. Commoners come from the lowest-ranking class. The low-ranking *pimilingay* group is divided into four different classes.



Above: An informal meeting in a Yapese village.

Yapese villages have high or low ranks for several reasons. Whether or not a village owns its own land is most important, but success in war and marriages with the families of powerful chiefs from other villages could help a village to improve its rank.

In the past, villages that were on the winning side of a war improved their rank and sometimes also won land from the villages they defeated. Yapese chiefs were allowed to take their villages to war only after the village council and the chief of the highest-ranking village in the area approved their war plans. High-ranking chiefs told other village chiefs how many warriors they were allowed to send into battle and usually decided who would win before the battles even happened. This helped to keep power balanced.



Check Your Reading: What is the main difference between high-ranking Yapese people and villages and low-ranking Yapese people and villages?

Building Relationships: Sharing Power, Exchange

You have already read about many of the ways power is shared in Yap. Family leaders share power with one another in council meetings. Village chiefs share power with one another and with the village council. Villages share power with other villages in village nets. And



Above: Yapese people in Kani-fay wait for a mitmit exchange ceremony to begin. Exchange ceremonies are one of the ways Yapese villages keep their connections to one another.

Yap's three village net alliances share power with one another. All over Yap, from the highest levels of traditional government to the lowest, the traditional system is designed to keep power balanced.

There are even more ways that power is balanced and shared in Yap. Family relationships and marriages, clan membership, alliances, and exchange ceremonies give Yapese people connections to families and leaders in other villages. A village chief who faces an unfriendly council

can still call on favors from leaders outside his village. A family who faces an unreasonable chief can call on favors from relatives in other villages for help. Because Yap's villages are connected to one another in so many ways, no leader can ever exercise total power over his people, and good leaders who need help can find it outside their own villages.

Exchange ceremonies, which are called *mitmit*, are one of the most important ways that Yapese families and leaders build up their relationships with other families and other villages. Families hold exchange ceremonies when there is a birth, a marriage, or a funeral. At an exchange ceremony, two families come together and bring each other gifts. The host family is generous to the guest family, but expects to receive an invitation to the guest family's home for their next exchange ceremony. Afterwards, that family will expect an invitation to return to the host family's house. This might continue for years, and it means that the two families will always be connected because they will always owe each other something. The debt can be repaid with feasts or with other kinds of favors.

Exchange ceremonies are also important for Yapese chiefs. Just as an exchange ceremony can strengthen the ties between two families, exchange ceremonies are an important way for Yapese political leaders to strengthen their alliances. A high-ranking chief may want to keep his alliances strong and so decide to reward the other villages in his alliance with a special exchange ceremony. He may give gifts of food or other resources, or even land, to keep his village's relationships with other villages strong. The most powerful pieces of land in Yap today are often the smallest. That is because over the years, the leaders who

have owned the highest-ranking pieces of land have given away so many pieces of their land in exchange for favors from other leaders that only a small piece of that land remains today.

Lower-ranking chiefs hold exchange ceremonies also. They are grateful for gifts from higher-ranking chiefs and use exchange ceremonies to show their respect and support. That support may be military or political.

Yap's families and villages are connected to one another in very complicated ways. Rank is an important part of Yapese culture, and many people have less voice in their village government because their family owns no land or because their rank within their own family is not high enough. But Yapese families and villages are so connected in so many ways that power is shared and everyone has some kind of voice. **At every level of Yapese traditional leadership, not everyone has an equal voice, but no one person ever has total power.**



Check Your Reading: What are some of the reasons exchange ceremonies are important in Yap?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Extended family:** *a family made up of a father and a mother and their children as well as other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, and cousins*
- **Nuclear family:** *a family made up of a father and a mother and their children*
- **Net alliance:** *a group of village nets that have an alliance with one of Yap's three most powerful village nets, either Tomil, Rull, or Gagil.*
- **Village council:** *a group of family leaders that meets to make decisions for the village*
- **Village net:** *a group of Yapese villages that work together as a political unit*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **The Foundations of Yapese Leadership:** The highest-ranked piece of land in all of Yap is the land that was once owned by the island's first family.
- **Rank, Tribute, and War:** Every village, family, and person in Yap has a rank and a class. Low-ranking villages pay tribute to the high-ranking villages that own their land.
- **Introduction to the Yap Model of Leadership:** The Yap model of traditional leadership is used only in Yap, although a few of Yap's outer islands have similar systems.
- **Building Relationships: Sharing Power, Exchange:** Yapese use exchange ceremonies to stay connected with other families and villages.
- **The Name, Voice, and Rank of Land in Yap:** Yapese family leaders and chiefs take their power from the power of their land.
- **The Yapese Family:** All Yapese traditional leaders are family leaders first.
- **Yapese Villages and Village Leaders:** There are three important chiefs in a Yapese village: the village chief, the chief of the young men, and the ancient voice.
- **The Village Council:** The village council has the real power in a Yapese village and chiefs are powerful only because they have strong voices in the village council.
- **Village Nets and Net Alliances:** Yap's villages are loosely joined together into twelve nets and those twelve nets are loosely joined together into three net alliances.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- How do Yapese village nets and net alliances keep a single chief or village from becoming too powerful?
- Why is land important in Yapese traditional leadership?
- How are the responsibilities of the village chief different from the responsibilities of the ancient voice?

Critical Thinking

- What are some of the similarities and differences between a Yapese village net alliance and a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom?
- Do you think that the village councils that are used in Yap are a good way for all the people in a village to have their voices heard? Why or why not?
- How would Yap be different if its villages were not connected to one another at all? What would the island be like if there were no village nets, exchange ceremonies, or family and clan ties between villages?

Writing

- The Yapese system of traditional leadership is one of the most complicated in the Pacific. Yapese society was also one of the most organized and well-run societies in

Micronesia a hundred years ago. **Write an essay** describing how you think the strength of Yapese traditional leadership helped Yapese people when foreigners first came to their islands.

- Almost all of the important decisions in a Yapese village are made in its council meetings. The village chief, the chief of the young men, and the ancient voice have the strongest voice in a council meeting. **Write a short skit or play** about a village chief who is trying to force the council to build a new path in the village. The council thinks that the village doesn't need a new path. How will the chief work out his argument with the council?
- War! Two Yapese villages have just gone to war. You are a newspaper reporter. **Write a newspaper article** describing who is fighting, what the villages are doing to prepare for war, when the war started, where the war is taking place, and why the villages are fighting.

Below: A village path in Yap. These stone paths are built and maintained by Yapese chiefs and their people and connect Yap's villages to one another.



CHAPTER FIVE

Themes in Micronesian Traditional Leadership



Above: Changing traditional systems in Micronesia.

Top left: Henry Nanpei with his parents. Nanpei's father was a powerful Nahnken in Pohnpei, but when he grew older he came to have a new kind of authority, from his position in the Protestant church and the land he received from German land reforms.

Center: Food for a feast in Chuuk. Many feasts that once took place at section meetinghouses now take place at churches and include foods like canned mackerel and soda in addition to local foods.

Below left: Young men outside the Protestant Church in Lelu, Kosrae. Local power moved from traditional leaders to the church in the 1800s after a huge loss of population to disease.

Introduction: Differences in Leadership Systems

Now that we have seen some of the ways that the Chuuk model, the Pohnpei model and the Yap model of traditional leadership are similar to and different from one another, we might begin to wonder why. Why are some things, like clans, the importance of family, decision by consensus, and power sharing so similar? Why are other things like the ranks and roles of traditional leaders so different?

The roots of Micronesian traditional leadership began thousands of years ago, when the islands' first visitors decided to make Micronesia their home. As the years went by and generation followed generation, leadership on each island changed along with its people. Micronesian traditional leadership has always been a changing, living thing, growing along with Micronesian societies.

We can try to explain the differences in the three models of traditional leadership we've looked at in three ways.

One explanation for the differences in the three models is **geography**. **Geography is what an island's land looks like.** High islands are very different from low islands, and life on a high island might require a different kind of leadership than life on a low island.

A second explanation is **culture**. **Culture is the beliefs, knowledge, customs, and behavior of a group of people.** Some islands have had contact with different cultures than others and this may have changed their systems of leadership.

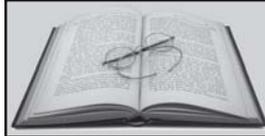
A third explanation is **chance**. There are some things that we can't explain and the reasons for some differences between leadership systems may simply be lost to time.

In this section, we will talk about why leadership systems are different from island to island, but we will also talk about some of the themes that tie the three models of Micronesian leadership together.

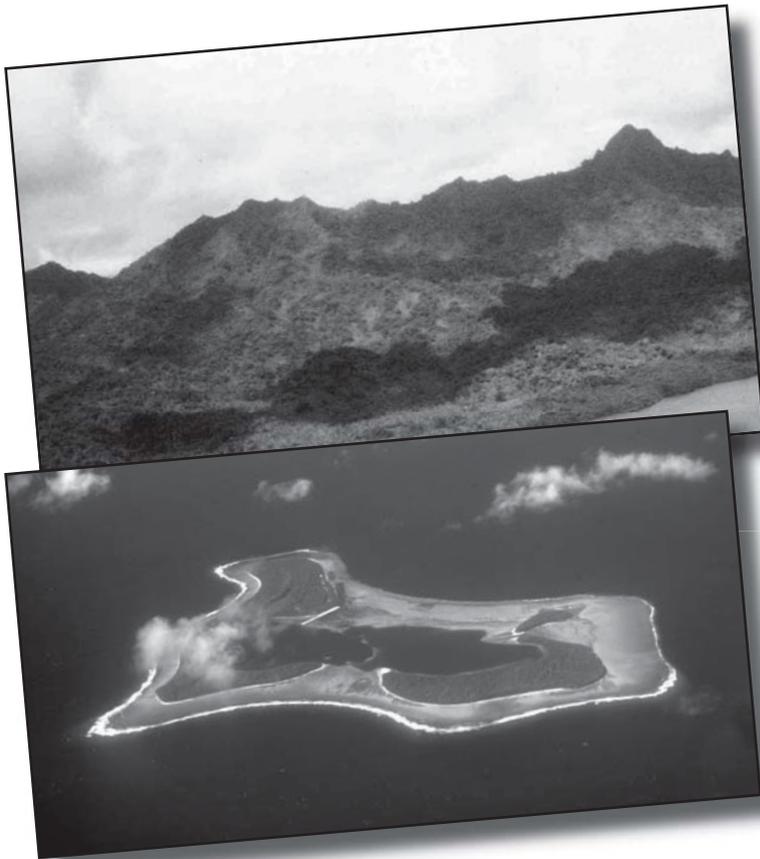
We will look more closely at **traditional warfare**. You have already read about traditional warfare in Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Yap. What role did warfare play in Micronesian societies? Why was it important?

We will also take another look at **outer island government**. You have already read that leadership on most outer islands is similar to leadership in Chuuk, but what are the differences between being a leader on a small outer island and a large island inside Chuuk Lagoon?

Finally, you will read about **how traditional leadership has changed**. As you read in the first section of this unit, Micronesian leadership has always changed. So what are the differences between traditional leadership today and traditional leadership one hundred years ago? How and why has traditional leadership remained an important part of life for so many islanders? This question will be important for us not only in this section, but throughout the rest of this textbook.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the things that make the three models of traditional leadership similar to one another?



Above: Kosrae (top) and Mokil (bottom) from the air. Kosrae is a high island, while Mokil is a low island. The kind of land a group of people live on can play an important part in shaping their style of leadership.

Geography

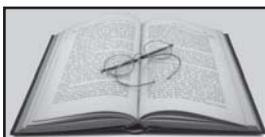
Geography plays an important part in determining what the life of the people who live there will be like. In Micronesia, there are high islands and low islands. High islands usually have more **resources** than low islands. **Resources are things that are useful to a society.** In Micronesia, some important resources are the land available for farming, the waters available for fishing, and materials such as wood, stone and plant fibers that can be used to make canoes, housing or tools.

For many hundreds of years, the people of Pohnpei and Kosrae had everything they needed on their own islands. Although men sometimes went out on long canoe trips for fishing or to trade with other islands, they knew that their families would not starve if they were unsuccessful. If a typhoon came, Pohnpeians and Kosraeans might lose everything they had, and they might be forced to run into the interior of their islands to escape the storm. But the sea would never rise high enough to put the entire island underwater and they would never have to leave their island to find shelter somewhere else.

On the outer islands of the Carolines and the Marshalls, however, things were very different. Because outer islands are small and usually have

few resources, it was always important for outer islanders to be able to trade with their neighbors. It was just as important that outer islanders had somewhere to go or someone to help them in case of a serious disaster. If a storm came and blew down all the coconut trees on the island and uprooted all the plants, what would the people eat? In the past, it has often been necessary on many outer islands for most or even all of the population to move temporarily to a larger island. Most of the outer islands between Yap and Chuuk paid tribute to mainland Yap to have a small supply of different types of food to keep them healthy and protection in times of emergency to keep them safe.

As we have seen, traditional leaders collected food from their people in the form of tribute and then to give it back in the form of a feast. Where there were more resources, as in Pohnpei, there were more feasts, more leaders and more leaders with high ranks. Where there were fewer resources, as on outer islands, there were fewer feasts, fewer leaders and fewer high-ranking leaders. **Because chiefs help to organize an island's resources, more resources often mean more chiefs.**



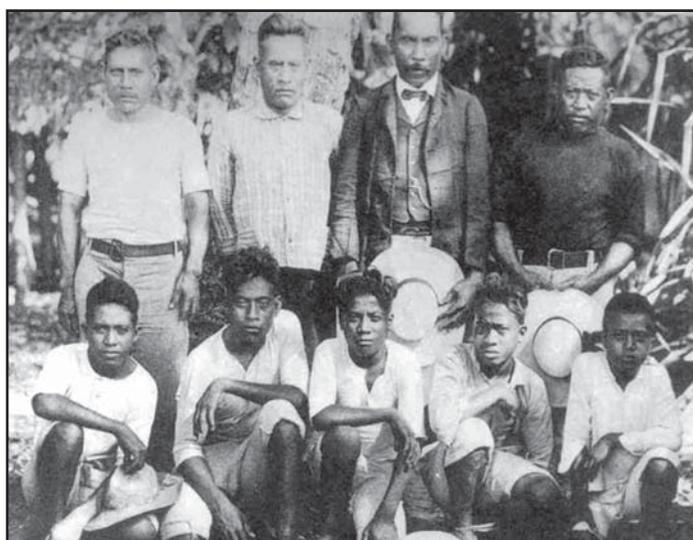
Check Your Reading: How was the job of a chief on a high island different from the job of a chief on a low island?

Culture

Another explanation for why island governments are different from one another is culture. High islands often have more complicated systems of traditional leadership than low islands, but not always. We can look at two of Pohnpei's outer islands, Mokil and Pingelap, for an

Below left: Mokilese women and children watch a village meeting, 1949.

Below right: a group of Pingelapese men and boys stand for a photograph, 1908.



example. Mokil and Pingelap are two low islands close to mainland Pohnpei. Both islands have a small amount of resources and a low population, but the systems of traditional leadership in each island are very different.

Traditional leadership in Mokil, as in most outer islands in Micronesia, is similar to traditional leadership in Chuuk. Family leaders are the highest-ranking leaders in Mokil and family groups are Mokil's only political unit. Traditional leadership in Pingelap, however, is similar to traditional leadership in Pohnpei. A paramount chief and nine other title-holding men are the most powerful traditional leaders in Pingelap. The roles of these chiefs are very similar to the roles of chiefs in Pohnpei.

Pingelapese traditional leadership is probably similar to Pohnpeian traditional leadership because Pohnpeians once settled in Pingelap and brought their political culture with them. They then set up a system of traditional leadership based on the one they had left behind in Pohnpei. Traditional leadership may be affected by settlers from other islands or even by the presence of castaways and traders. If a new idea for organizing the island is introduced from the outside and it seems to make sense, people may decide to use it.



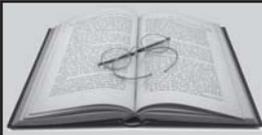
Check Your Reading: What are some of the reasons that Mokilese traditional leadership is different from Pingelapese traditional leadership?

Chance

A third reason that traditional cultures are different from one another is chance. Sometimes events beyond anyone's control lead to population loss, which can have an important effect on traditional leadership. Sometimes, storms destroyed almost everything on a low island and reduced the population to only a few dozen. Sometimes diseases killed large numbers of people. Today, many outer islands are losing population as young men and women move to larger islands or to other countries. When too many people disappear, it may become impossible to continue with the same system of traditional leadership as before. It may even be necessary to create a whole new system of traditional leadership.

Chance also influences the simple day-to-day events that make up an island's history and slowly shapes its traditional leadership over time.

One island may have had a particularly powerful chief who is able to convince his people to change their system of leadership. Another island may have only had chiefs who worked hard to keep things the way they were. Just as the culture of every high and low island in Micronesia is different because the people living on those islands are different, the political culture also grows and changes along with the people of the island.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways an island can suffer a population loss big enough to change its system of traditional leadership?

The Role of Warfare

Micronesian traditional leaders no longer send their people to war. However, in the past, going to war was an important part of life all over Micronesia. War could raise the status of a section in Chuuk or Yap or a paramount chiefdom in Pohnpei. War gave men an opportunity to prove their bravery and a reason to be rewarded by their chiefs with gifts, titles or land. War gave sections a reason to create alliances with one another, which were useful both in times of war and in times of peace.

Sections and paramount chiefdoms have different levels of status throughout Micronesia. In Chuuk, some sections have higher status, larger populations, and more land than others. In Pohnpei, sections within paramount chiefdoms and paramount chiefdoms themselves have different levels of status. In Yap, sections are organized in a complicated net, with each section's status always rising and falling.

Throughout Micronesia, warfare was the most important way for a section to change its status. When the German Government stopped traditional wars in the early 1900s, islanders lost an important way to change the status of their sections and paramount chiefdoms. In Pohnpei

Below: Micronesians performing a war dance. Traditional warfare was an important part of Micronesian culture in the past, but it ended all over Micronesia in the early 1900s.



Chuukese Sections at War

For many years, traditional wars often broke out in Chuuk lagoon. Wars started because of fights over land or fishing rights or to seek revenge for a previous killing. A section might fight with another section on the same island or on a different island, but a Chuukese warrior never went to war against someone in his own family or clan. Many battles were carried out by surprise attack or by tricking the enemy.



Above: An engraving of a Chuukese warrior from the 1800s. Engravings such as this one and sailor's stories frightened outsiders for many years and meant that Chuuk had fewer outside visitors than other large Micronesian islands.

Right: Stones from ancient slingshots found on Tol. Traditional Micronesian warriors used weapons such as slingshots, spears, and clubs to fight.

Many years ago, two of the islands in Chuuk lagoon were at war with one another. The smaller island had just suffered a defeat in battle and its men were gathered in the chief's meetinghouse. The meeting became quiet as everyone looked at one man, a man who had always been brave in battle and was known as the hero of his island. "We have been defeated in battle," he said, "but we have not lost. The enemy surprised us when we were not ready to fight. And so we will surprise them." All the men gathered around to hear his plan.

The next morning, the chief sent a messenger to the larger island's chief. "Our war has gone on too long," the messenger said. "Our chief would be honored to have you as our guest at a feast to discuss the terms of our peace with one another." The chief of the larger island was very pleased. He imagined his children growing older in safety and peace.

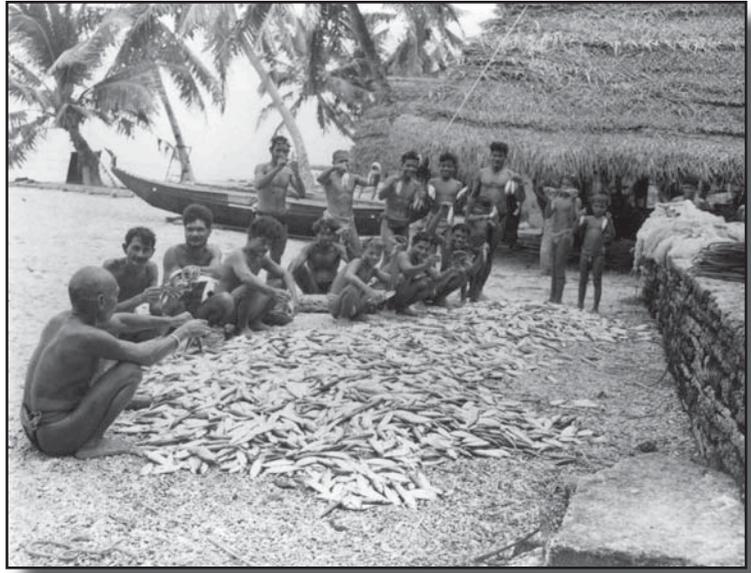
When the chief brought the message to that night's meeting, however, not everyone was so pleased. The section's bravest warrior spoke. "How are we to know that this is not one more trick? Will we send all of our best warriors and our chief to talk of peace with no weapons to protect them?" The people agreed, and so the chief sent only five men to the other island. Sure enough, all five were killed as they sat unarmed.

The war between the two islands continued for many years. There was no chief powerful enough to stop the fighting. But one day, when Germans suddenly appeared in the lagoon and announced the end of traditional warfare, the people of both islands quickly threw away their weapons and declared a lasting peace. On the outside, they had all argued for war. But on the inside they were relieved to finally have an excuse for peace.



today, the ranks of paramount chiefdoms are “frozen” now that traditional warfare has stopped.

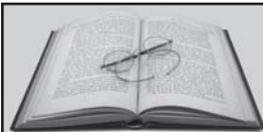
Traditional warfare provided an important opportunity for young men to show their bravery or cleverness on the battlefield. Learning to fight was not only part of a boy’s education, going to battle was a way for him to become a full member of his community. Men that were especially skilled in battle might be rewarded with more land or with honor and respect. In Pohnpei and Kosrae, they may have also received a special title as a sign of their courage.



Above: A community fish drive in Ulithi, 1949. Traditional community fish drives are common all over Micronesia. On outer islands, men from several sections often sail together and then share their catch with the whole island when they return.

Warfare also provided an opportunity for sections to form alliances with one another. Forming alliances was important all over Micronesia. In Chuuk, where no leader controlled more than one section, chiefs could still form alliances with other chiefs on their island and even on other islands to increase their strength in war. What was important for warriors in Yap was not how hard the warriors fought but how big their alliance was. Usually, a high-ranking chief told each side how many men they were allowed to send into battle. The side that had been more successful in finding other villages to join its alliance was usually declared the winner. In Pohnpei, a paramount chief who was planning for war might ask for help from paramount chiefs elsewhere on the island. It was especially important that paramount chiefs be able to rely on all their section chiefs to provide warriors to fight. If a paramount chief had been cruel to his section chiefs, they may not send enough warriors. If a section chief had been cruel to his people, they may leave him alone on the battlefield.

Alliances in Chuuk and Yap were useful both in wartime and in peacetime. A chief who needed political favors could ask for help from another leader in his alliance. Favors were passed back and forth in every alliance. Sections in the same alliance gave each other gifts of food, sometimes married into one another’s families, and sent warriors to help one another in times of war.



Check Your Reading: Why were alliances important in Micronesia?



Above: An assistant chief in Satawal blows a conch shell to call the village's dancers. Because outer islands are especially at risk from storms and other dangers, it is important that leaders work together with one another and build alliances with other islands nearby.

The Challenges of Outer Island Government

We have already seen that the systems of traditional leadership in many of Micronesia's outer islands are based on leadership in other islands nearby. We saw one example of this in the similarity between leadership in Pingelap and Pohnpei. For a larger example, we can look at the outer islands between Chuuk and Yap. Although most of these islands follow the Chuuk model, a few of the islands closer to mainland Yap have based their systems of traditional leadership closer to the Yap model. For that reason, chiefs usually have more power on islands to the west than chiefs on islands farther to the east. Ulithi, an atoll close to mainland Yap, not only has a complicated system of leadership with powerful chiefs but also has traditionally claimed ownership of outer islands as far as 500 miles to the east.

We have also seen that simple chance may sometimes cause one island's system of leadership to develop in a very different way from a similar island nearby. When we look at outer islands, we need to take another look at geography to fully understand how systems of leadership develop on outer islands.

The most important things to remember about outer island leadership are that outer islands are small, and that there are certain special challenges for leaders on very small islands.

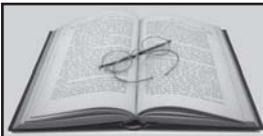
Even on outer islands with more than one chief and with no one leader in control of the entire island, it is important that one leader represent the island and there are times when all the people have to work together. On many islands, all of the men of the island join one another for a fish drive and then divide their catch between their section chiefs. A special project, such as a seawall, may be good for everyone on the island and all the men may join and help even though the wall itself will be built in only one section's land. And, in times of emergency such as the arrival of a typhoon, all the people must work together to help one another and to protect themselves. Because outer islands are especially at risk from storms and outside attackers, one of the most important jobs of an outer island chief, especially in the islands between Yap and Chuuk, was to keep alliances with the mainland and other islands strong.

The small size of outer islands also means that it is especially important to avoid fights between people and between people and their chiefs. On larger islands, a family that has a serious argument with a chief is always free to move to another section. It often happened in Pohnpei, for example, that a family left its section or even its paramount chiefdom in order to avoid dealing with a difficult leader. People on

outer islands, however, find it more difficult to leave. Leaving means not only moving to a different section but finding a different island.

Outer islanders have found different solutions to these problems. In some outer islands with more than one section, a system of **rotating chieftainship** is used. **A rotating chieftainship means that each section chief becomes chief of the entire island for a short time and then passes leadership on to another section chief.** In an outer island with three section chiefs, the first chief might be island chief for one year and then pass his leadership on to a second chief for a second year and a third chief the next year. Each chief is responsible for speaking for the whole island when dealing with outsiders, directing special community work projects, and protecting the island as best he can in times of emergency.

In any outer island, it is important for the chief to be good to his people just as it is important for the people to be good to their chief. If the chief is unreasonable, his people may rise against him, knowing that they have no other place to go. But if one family behaves particularly badly and the community agrees with the chief that they should be punished, the chief can still take away their land or even send them off their island. This is a particularly harsh punishment for an outer islander.



Check Your Reading: Why is it important for leaders on outer islands share power with one another?

Some Recent Changes in Traditional Leadership

The children sat around the fire, watching the flames dance back and forth in the night. The whole family was there, listening to their parents and grandparents talk about how things used to be in the old days.

“Do you remember,” a grandfather said, “how powerful our chiefs used to be? I remember seeing our paramount chief as a child and shaking because I was so excited and scared. He looked so big to me, like he could do anything in the world.”

“Of course,” a grandmother replied. “I remember thinking the same thing when I was a little girl. Then everything changed. The storm came and we lost so many people. Everyone in the chief’s family was gone. No one could say who the next paramount chief should be. So we never had one again.”



“The old way was good,” the grandmother continued. “But the new way is good too. If we had chosen another family leader to be paramount chief, there would have been so much fighting. We might even be arguing about it now. Things are better this way.”

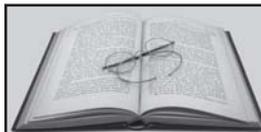
When did this conversation take place? Was it last month? Was it during American times? Japanese times? German times?

In fact, this conversation could have taken place at almost any time in Micronesia’s history. Traditional

leadership has always changed from one generation to the next, but the greatest changes have occurred in the last one hundred years, especially in the time since World War II.

We will continue to talk about the place of traditional leadership in Micronesian government throughout the rest of this book. In this section, we will take a quick look at four important ways in which traditional leadership has changed. Each of these four themes will appear again later.

First, we will look at the ways in which **the end of warfare** and **changes in traditional leadership roles** affected traditional leaders and their people all over Micronesia. Next, we will look at the reasons why **changes in land ownership** had such an important impact in Pohnpei, but less of an impact on leadership in Chuuk and Yap. Finally, we will take another look at the way that **changes in population** caused traditional leadership in Kosrae to break down.



Check Your Reading: In the story you just read, why did the system of leadership change on the island being described?

The End of Warfare and Changes in Leaders’ Roles

The Germans ended traditional warfare all over Micronesia, but the end of traditional wars came most suddenly to Chuuk. When German officials first landed in Chuuk, they were entering a place that was

already known for its wars. If the Germans wanted to be able to do anything at all, they knew they would have to get the fighting to stop. But how? Chuukese section chiefs had been fighting wars against one another for years, and constant negotiation and frequent warfare was an important part of Chuukese life.

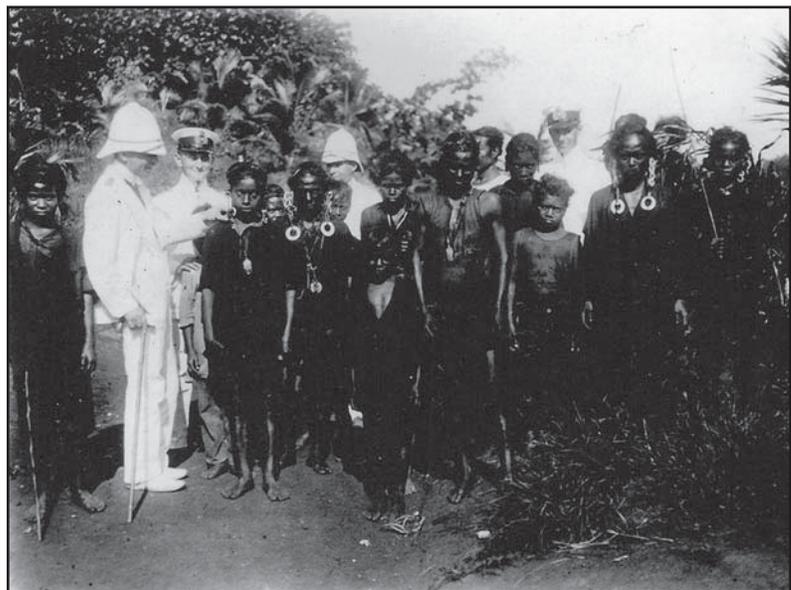
To the Germans' surprise, when the order went out for wars to stop, they did. After years of war, the Chuukese people suddenly lived in peace. It seemed as though everyone had been waiting for an excuse to stop fighting for years. The Germans and their warships offered a good way for people to stop fighting without bringing shame on their families and sections.

Throughout Micronesia, the end of traditional warfare not only changed life on the battlefield, but off the battlefield as well. First, without warfare it became more difficult for sections and paramount chiefdoms to improve their ranks. Second, chiefs lost some of their power when they were no longer able to declare war and prepare their young men for battle. Third, chiefs lost more of their power when their islands became peaceful and their people found it was safer to move into a new section to escape an unfair leader. Traditional warfare has never been restarted, probably because most people prefer to live in peace, and so these changes have become permanent.

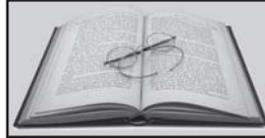
The roles of traditional leaders themselves have also changed. Although Micronesians today have full control over their traditional leadership, traditional leaders do not have the same kind of power today that they once had. Traditional leaders are no longer allowed to take land from their people, to kill people who do wrong, or to represent their islands in doing official business with outsiders. As professional politicians have become more common, they have also become more powerful. The **spheres of influence** of traditional leaders and professional politicians have grown farther and farther apart. **A sphere of influence is an area in which a leader has power.**

However, although traditional leaders usually keep to traditional or cultural activities and do not play a role in the local, state, or national governments of the FSM, traditional leaders are still highly respected in most parts of Micronesia. Some people believe that Micronesians give their

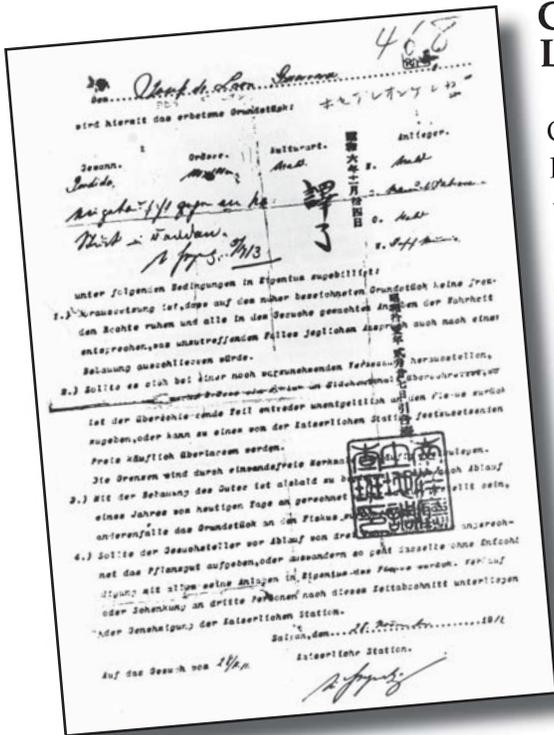
Below: An officer from the German Navy in Chuuk. Although the Germans made only a few stops in Chuuk Lagoon, the people used German authority as an excuse to end traditional wars.



traditional leaders even more honor today than they once did in order to show that they still believe that traditional Micronesian culture is important.



Check Your Reading: How did the ranks of sections and paramount chiefdoms change with the end of traditional warfare?



Above: A land deed, which is a piece of paper proving ownership of a piece of land, issued in Pohnpei during German times. There is a Japanese stamp in the middle of the document, showing that the deed was used again during Japanese times to prove land ownership.

Changes in Land Tenure and Population Loss

One of the most lasting changes in traditional Micronesian leadership has been the change in **land tenure**. **Land tenure means the ownership of a piece of land and the way in which the land is passed down from person to person.** Beginning in the German administration, foreign governments worked to shift official land ownership from chiefs to individual families.

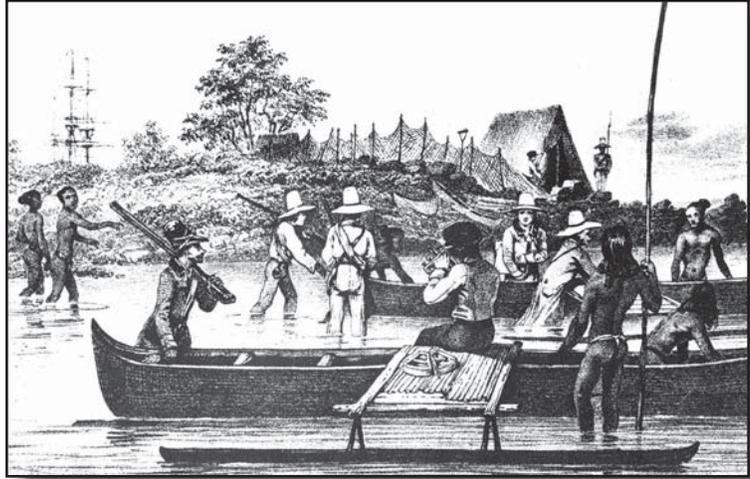
The Germans wanted to write down who owned each piece of land, and they refused to allow chiefs to claim all the land on their islands. In Yap, where land was already owned by the father of the family and chiefs ruled because their family land happened to be powerful, the new German rules did not change things. The Germans simply wrote down which family owned which piece of land.

In Pohnpei, however, the Germans demanded that paramount chiefs break up the land they owned and give it to the families living on it. This was very difficult for Pohnpeian traditional leaders. But it turned out that Pohnpeian families liked owning their own land, and they never tried to return their land to their paramount chiefs after the Germans left the island.

The new German land rules created a lot of confusion in Pohnpei, but they also caused the traditional leadership there to change. The source of Pohnpeian traditional leaders' power was land just as it was in Chuuk and Yap, but unlike in Chuuk and Yap, the power of traditional leaders in Pohnpei rested on their ownership of very large amounts of land. Leaders took land from families that were disloyal and gave gifts of land to families that deserved it. When land ownership was changed, Pohnpeian traditional leaders lost much of their power. Today, the power of Pohnpeian traditional leaders rests on their ability

to give titles in much the same way it once rested on their ability to give gifts of land.

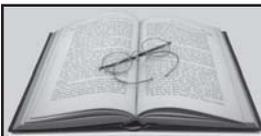
Finally, loss of population to disease has caused traditional leadership to change in important ways. Throughout Micronesia, sections are created at times of high population and disappear in times of low population. Families or even entire sections may disappear through natural causes or through warfare.



Above: A group of Europeans landing in Kosrae in the 1800s. Outsiders like Europeans and Americans brought diseases that killed many islanders and caused Kosraeans to completely reorganize their system of leadership.

Nowhere were these changes more important than in Kosrae. As we have already seen, Kosraeans lost ninety percent of their population to disease, causing their entire system of traditional leadership to fall apart. Other islands were affected by disease around the same time, but their population loss was not as great as Kosrae's and their systems of traditional leadership held together. Disease had an impact in Pohnpei and Yap, but not enough to require a change in traditional leadership. Disease was less of a threat to Chuuk because the American sailors and missionaries that carried these diseases were less likely to stop there. We will look more closely at the impact of population loss on Kosraean traditional leadership in the next unit of this textbook.

These are only some of the ways in which Micronesian traditional leadership has changed in the last half century. We will revisit these changes to traditional leadership and talk about more changes later in this textbook. As we review some of the important events of recent Micronesia history, we will continue to follow the thread of Micronesian traditional leadership, paying attention to how it has changed and why it is still important in Micronesia today.



Check Your Reading: How did German changes in land tenure affect traditional leadership in Yap?

CONCLUSION TO UNIT ONE

In this unit, you have read about traditional leadership in Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Yap. You have read about some of the things that make these systems of traditional leadership different from one another and you have read about some of the ways these systems of traditional

leadership are similar. You have also read about some of the ways these systems of leadership are used on outer islands and about a few of the ways Micronesian traditional leadership has changed over time.

In the next two units of this textbook, you will read about the foreign occupiers that have come to Micronesia over the years. You will read about the Spanish, the Germans, the Japanese, and the Americans. You will read about the government each occupier brought to the islands, and you will read about the ways in which their foreign ideas of government mixed with and conflicted with systems of traditional leadership.

As you read through the rest of this textbook, remember what you learned in this unit. The Spanish, Germans, Japanese, and Americans didn't set up the first governments in Micronesia. The systems of traditional leadership you just read about were here long before any foreigners arrived in the islands. If you want to really understand why Micronesian history has unfolded the way it has and why governments work the way they do today, you must understand Micronesian traditional leadership first.



Check Your Reading: Who set up the first governments in Micronesia?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Culture:** *the beliefs, knowledge, customs, and behavior of a group of people*
- **Geography:** *what an island's land looks like*
- **Land tenure:** *the ownership of a piece of land and the way in which the land is passed down from person to person*
- **Resources:** *things that are useful to a society, such as land, water and natural materials like wood, stone, and plant fibers*
- **Rotating chieftainship:** *a system of government sometimes used on outer islands where each of the island's section chief becomes leader of the entire island for a short time and then pass leadership on to another section chief.*
- **Sphere of influence:** *the area in which a leader has power*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **Differences in Leadership Systems:** Leadership systems are different because of geography, culture, and chance. —
- **Geography:** High islands have more resources and usually have more chiefs, while low islands have fewer resources and usually have fewer chiefs. —
- **Culture:** As Micronesians move from island to island, they bring their political cultures with them and influence the leadership systems they find. —
- **Chance:** Events like storms and disease and unusually strong or weak leaders can cause unexpected changes in systems of traditional leadership. —
- **The Role of Warfare:** Traditional warfare once gave sections, paramount chiefdoms, villages, and warriors a chance to improve their status and offered an opportunity for leaders to make alliances with one another. —
- **The Challenges of Outer Island Government:** There are special challenges for outer island chiefs, and so it is especially important for leaders on outer islands to share power with one another. —
- **Some Recent Changes in Micronesian Traditional Leadership:** The end of traditional warfare, changes in the roles of traditional leaders, and changes in population are some of the most important changes that have come to Micronesian traditional leadership in the last 100 years. —
- **The End of Warfare and Changes in Leaders' Roles:** The end of warfare and the introduction of new political systems in Micronesia have caused important changes in the roles of traditional leaders. —
- **Changes in Land Tenure and Population Loss:** German changes in land tenure were accepted by Pohnpeian people who no longer wanted their paramount chiefs to own all of the island's land and population loss in Kosrae caused Kosraeans to rebuild the island's system of leadership.



Right: Unfinished war canoes in Weno, Chuuk, 1899.



Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

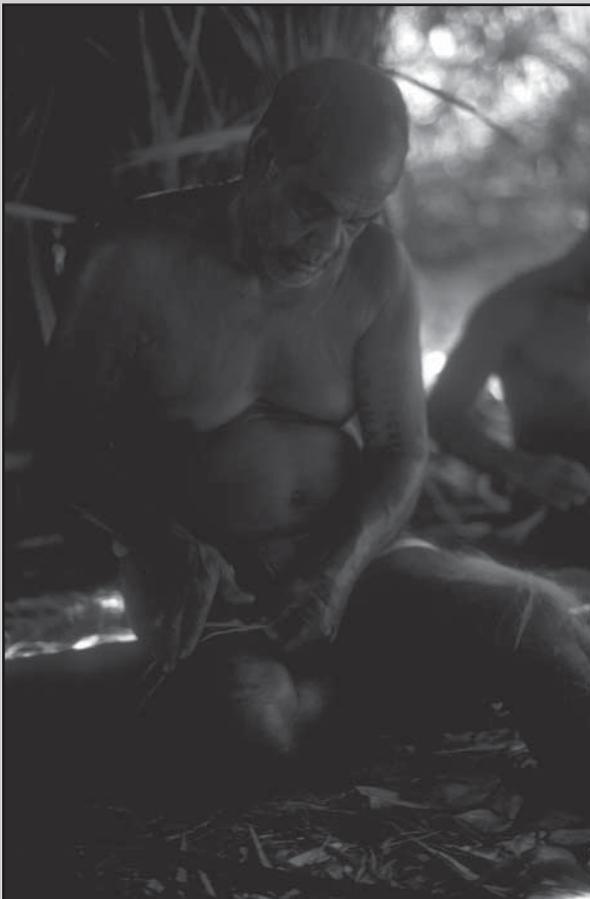
Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- What are some of the reasons traditional warfare was important in Micronesia?
- Why did traditional leadership develop differently on different islands?
- Why did changes in land tenure have more impact on Pohnpeian society than they did on Yapese society?

Below: Chief Ohalamu of Rewow, Poluwat making rope.



Critical Thinking

- How might Micronesian traditional leadership be different today if traditional warfare had never ended?
- What effect did population loss have on Micronesian traditional leadership?
- Do you believe that changes in Micronesian traditional leadership have been good for Micronesians? Why or why not?

Writing

- Now that you have read about three different models of traditional Micronesian leadership, **write an essay** in which you compare and contrast the Chuuk model, the Pohnpei model, and the Yap model of leadership. How are these three systems similar? How are they different?
- In this chapter, you read about some of the differences between life on a high island and life on a low island. Imagine that you are a chief on a low island. **Write a letter** to a chief on a high island about what is it like to be chief on a low island. Then imagine that you are a chief on a high island and **answer your own letter**.
- Imagine that you are an outer island chief. There are three sections on your island, which means that there are three section chiefs. This year it is your turn to be the leader of the entire island. You want to do something important that people will remember, and so you decide to build a seawall to protect your island from storms. But to build the seawall, you will need everyone's help. **Write a speech** that you could give to the people of your island, explaining to them why the seawall is important and why the people should help you complete your project.

Unit One Review

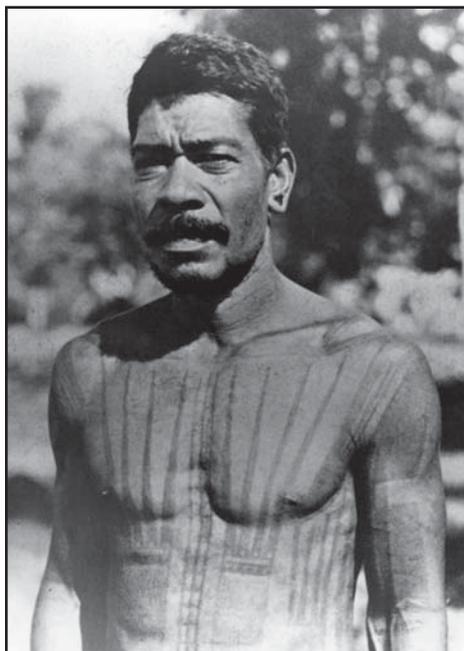
Below are three projects. On your own or with a group, use one or more of these projects to show that you understand the things you have read in this unit.

Making Good Choices

Imagine that you are a Chuukese warrior, the bravest warrior in your section, living in Tol hundreds of years ago. A few nights ago, some young men from another section came into your section and killed your nephew. You must decide how to settle the argument between your two sections. Do you ask the section chief to help you make peace? Do you ask your section to go to war at the next meeting? You must decide how to deal with the killing of your nephew.

First, use your textbook to **find information** about the roles of Chuukese leaders, including a Chuukese section's bravest warriors, and traditional Chuukese warfare. This information can help you to make a good decision.

Next, use the information you found to **list the possible choices you could make**. Is war the best option? Is it the only option? Write down all the possible choices you can think of.



Now, **think of the result of each of your possible choices**. If you go to war, will the war ever end? If you ask your section chief to try to make peace, will the peace last? Write down what will probably happen if you make each choice.

Finally, **decide what to do**. Present your choice to the class and explain why you believe yours was the best decision. Give evidence to support why your decision was the best decision to make and why you believe the other choices are wrong. You can make a chart, a poster, or a map to support your position.

Leaders and Their People

Isokelekel started Pohnpei's system of traditional leadership by defeating the Saudeleurs in battle. Pohnpeians who nervously told one another not to take a bug out of



Keep Reading!

If you're interested in Micronesian traditional leadership, here are some other books you might enjoy:

Alkire, William H. *An Introduction to the Peoples and Cultures of Micronesia*. 2nd ed. Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1977.

Ashby, Gene. *Pohnpei, An Island Argosy*. Eugene, Oregon: Rainy Day Press, 1993.

Goodenough, Ward H. *Property, Kin, and Community on Truk*. 2nd ed. Hamden: Archon Books, 1978.

Irwin, Geoffery. *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Lingenfelter, Sherwood G. *Yap: Political Leadership and Culture Change in an Island Society*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1975.

Riesenberg, Saul. *The Native Polity of Ponape*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968.

Segal, Harvey Gordon. *Kosrae: The Sleeping Lady Awakens*. Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia: Good News Press, 1989.

White, Geoffery M. and Lamont Lindstrom. *Chiefs Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997.

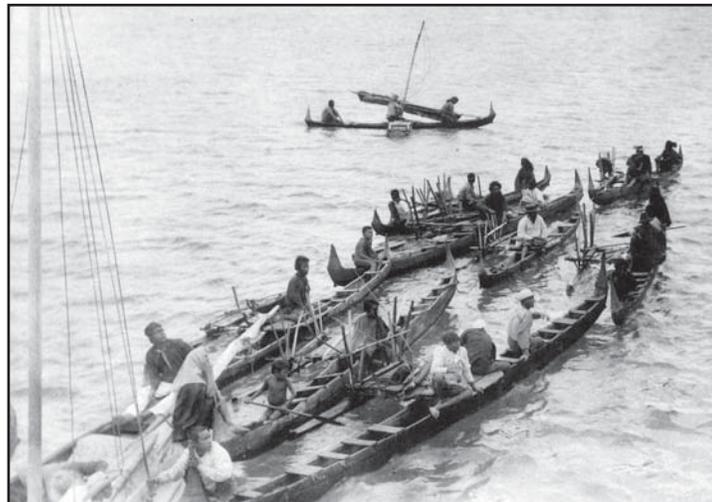
their hair without giving a piece of it to the Saudeleur suddenly found themselves under a whole new kind of leadership. **Write a skit** describing how the lives of normal Pohnpeians changed after Isokelekel defeated the Saudeleur. Your skit might describe life in a Pohnpeian section, how a paramount chief was different from a Saudeleur, and how Pohnpeian chiefs shared power with their people.

The Organization of Leadership

Yap's system of traditional leadership is one of the most complicated in the Pacific. **Make a poster-sized map** of Yap or one of its village net alliances that shows how Yapese land is organized -- into village net alliances, village nets, villages, village sections, village subsections, family estates, and the named pieces of land within each family estate. Be sure to show how the organization of land in Yap is related to the organization of traditional leaders. Write 5 questions about your map for other students to answer. You could ask about the importance of the land's voice, how Yapese village leaders share power with one another and with their people, or some of the ways that Yapese villages are connected to one another.

Previous page: Pohnpeian girls perform a traditional dance (top right); A Yapese man with tattoos, around 1930 (bottom left).

Below: Men from a Chuukese section prepare their canoes for sailing.



UNIT TWO

GOVERNMENT IN MICRONESIA BEFORE WORLD WAR II



Above: Chuukese sumo wrestlers pose with a Japanese Government official. Although Japanese games, music, clothing, and food became popular among islanders, Micronesians absorbed Japanese culture without forgetting their own. Unlike the Spanish and German officials who came before them, the Japanese sent families as well as government officials and businessmen to live in their newest colony. By 1942, 93,000 Japanese men, women, and children had come to make their homes on the islands, compared with just over 50,000 islanders.

UNIT TWO INTRODUCTION:

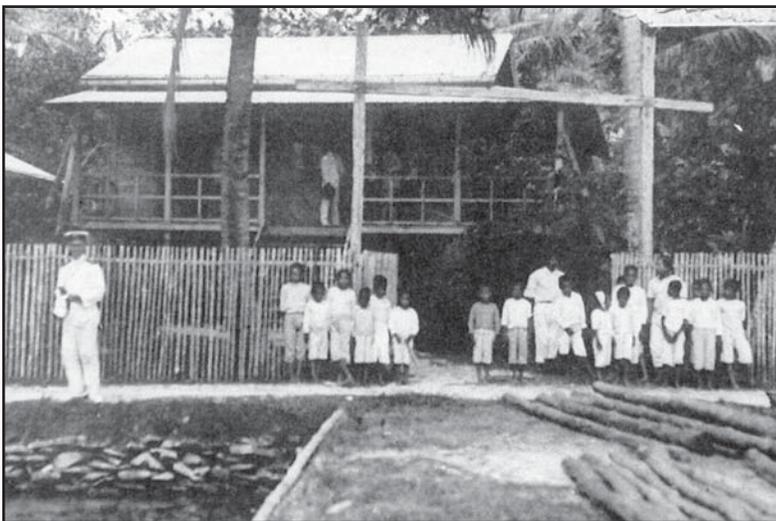
Shintaro and Notwe

As Shintaro looked up from his work at the Japanese Government's Kosrae branch office, he caught the eyes of a young woman walking outside. Her name was Notwe. She had a kind face, but the rest of her body was covered, up to her neck and down to her ankles, in a long dark cotton dress. He had spoken to her only once, and he had been shy. But often their eyes met in town and he sometimes thought that she felt something for him.

After a year or more of shy conversation and stolen glances, Shintaro finally approached Notwe's family and asked for her hand in marriage. Shintaro was no stranger to Notwe's parents, and he knew that they liked him. But when he asked for permission to marry their daughter, her father was silent. Finally, he spoke. "I believe that you are a good man," he said, "and that you would be a good husband for my daughter. I just don't know what people in the church would say." Shintaro was Japanese. Notwe was Kosraean.

Although Shintaro was a good man, the Japanese sergeant who led the island's police force was not. He had little respect for Kosraeans, and spent much of his time giving beatings to local people. For protection, Kosraeans turned to their churches. It was really the Japanese who should have been settling arguments about land and deciding who was right when families argued with one another, but people took most of their problems to the churches instead. It was perfectly legal for a Japanese man to marry a Kosraean woman. But the churches not only kicked anyone out of the church who married a Japanese man, they kicked out her parents as well. So, although she loved him, marrying Shintaro was just not possible for Notwe.

Below: The Kosrae branch office of the Japanese administration in Micronesia. The Japanese were received differently on different islands. Kosraeans and Yapese were less happy with the Japanese than Chuukese and Pohnpeians.

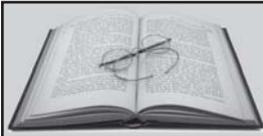


Many Kosraeans were not satisfied with the Japanese administration. Having had little contact with the Spanish or the Germans, they found that they did not like being ruled by outsiders. So Kosraeans went to their churches to protect themselves and their culture against the Japanese.

Kosrae's churches were a central part of island life and the Kosraean people's source of strength during

Japanese times. But the churches were planted not by Micronesians but by American missionaries, only sixty years before the Japanese had arrived. Not satisfied with the government started by one foreign country, Kosraeans found their own strength in churches started by another.

Throughout Micronesia, islanders heard a parade of outsiders demand that they change their islands. However, as in our example in Kosrae, islanders had more power than foreign governments realized. **When foreign governments tried to change the islands, Micronesians accepted the changes they liked and refused to accept the changes they didn't like.**



Check Your Reading: What was one way Kosrae's churches helped protect the Kosraean people against the Japanese Government?

Who Changed Micronesian Leadership?

In this unit, we will look at Micronesian leadership before the Second World War.

Our central question throughout this unit will be, **"Who was responsible for the ways in which Micronesian governments have changed?"** Was it the foreign governments who told the world they were in charge? Or was it the islanders who outlasted every new foreign occupation? To answer this question, we will explore three important themes.

First, we will look at **how Micronesian traditional leadership has changed.** What changes were made by foreign governments and accepted by the people? What changes were made by foreign governments and ignored by the people? What did the people change on their own? Which changes have been lasting? Which changes can help us to better understand the way Micronesian governments work today?

Next, we will look for **seeds of the current political system.** We look at some of the new ideas that were introduced from the outside, ideas that Micronesian people accepted and that have become important parts of Micronesian governments today.

Finally, we will look for **examples of Micronesian resistance** to the rule of other countries. **Resistance means fighting back, sometimes with violence but usually without violence.** We will look at how



Above: German Government officials and workers in Yap, 1908.

Below: The Nanbo Department Store in Pohnpei, completed in 1938. Stores like this one brought exciting Japanese goods to islanders across Micronesia, but Micronesians never let Japanese culture replace their own.



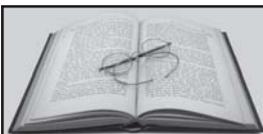
islanders have dealt with foreign occupations. A foreign occupation is a government set up by people from another country, usually in order to make money or to get political power. What did islanders feel was worth protecting? When did islanders decide that violence was necessary? How did islanders get their way without using violence?

Some of Micronesia's foreign occupations worked very well and others worked very poorly. Why? The success or failure of each foreign occupation depended on culture, personality, and chance.

The first and most important reason that foreign occupations were different on different islands was **culture**. As we know, each island in Micronesia has a different culture from other islands nearby and far away. However, we should also remember that the foreigners who came to the islands also came from different cultures. Just as Yapese culture is different from Chuukese, Pohnpeian and Kosraean culture, Spanish culture is different from German, Japanese, and American culture. Each new foreign culture mixed with each island culture in a different way. Red paint becomes purple when mixed with blue and orange when mixed with yellow. In the same way, German culture mixed differently with Yapese culture than it did with Pohnpeian culture.

A second important reason that foreign occupations were different on different islands was **personality**. In the Spanish and German occupations, the actual number of Spaniards and Germans who came to the islands was small. If the officials who were sent to one island happened to have a bad attitude, they might expect to have a difficult time with islanders. If those same officials happened to have a good attitude, they might have an easier time. Even in larger occupations, such as the Japanese and American occupations, the personality of the men in charge of the government could have a big influence on the occupation as a whole.

A third reason that foreign occupations were different on different islands was **chance**. Both the Spanish and Germans chose to place their headquarters in Yap and Pohnpei. For that reason, neither the Spanish nor the Germans spent much time in Chuuk or Kosrae. If the Spanish and German occupations had chosen Chuuk or Kosrae as their headquarters, Micronesian history might have turned out very differently.



Check Your Reading: In what way could the personalities of a few foreign officials have a big influence on a foreign occupation?

Political Change and Cultural Change

As you read, pay attention to the things that islanders stood up for and remember that foreigners brought many different kinds of change to the islands. One important type of change, and one that you will read a lot about here, was **political change**. **Political changes in Micronesia were mainly changes in traditional leadership.** When the Japanese administration replaced traditional leaders with men of their own choosing, they were making an important and, to most islanders, unacceptable change to traditional leadership.

A second type of change, **cultural change**, has been just as important, although you will read less about it in this book. **Cultural changes are changes in food, dress, music, dance, games, and language.** When the Spanish and Germans came to the islands to set up governments, they brought only a few government officials and small police forces with them. During the Japanese occupation, however, many islanders came to know the Japanese families who lived on their islands as real people. And when those Japanese families taught islanders how to sing a good song or how to play a fun game, they remembered.

Japanese influence remains important in Micronesia even today. But the Japanese were wrong if they thought that Micronesians who dressed in kimonos and ate Japanese food stopped being islanders and started being Japanese. In their hearts, they were just as Micronesian as they had ever been. Islanders took what they liked of Japanese culture, and made it their own.



Check Your Reading: What was one way that the Japanese occupation of Micronesia was different from the German occupation?

Important Themes in Unit Two

When we read about history, it's important to remember that **small things can cause big problems**. Pohnpeians from the paramount chiefdom of Sokehs raised a small military force to fight against the Germans. Those men would never have fought against the Germans if their people hadn't been angry at German rule. Just as a gun will not shoot without someone to pull the trigger, angry people do not usually fight an armed rebellion without a reason. The trigger of the rebellion in Pohnpei was the relationship between the rebellion's Pohnpeian leader and the German administrator who mistreated him and his men. If those two men had been able to get along, the rebellion in Pohnpei might never have happened, or it might have happened in a totally different way.

We should also remember that, **throughout Micronesian history, islanders have been able to control some things and unable to control other things**. Micronesians could not control whether or not the Germans sailed to their islands and claimed ownership of them. But they could decide whether or not to give their support to the Germans' plans to change the islands. Kosraeans could not control whether or not disease brought by outsiders would destroy 90 percent of their population. But they could decide how to rebuild Kosraean society with the population that remained.

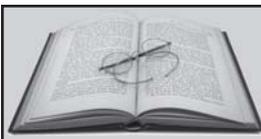
The most important thing to remember as you read about Micronesian history is that the **Micronesian people have never been powerless**. There have been times when foreign governments have taken a great deal of power for themselves, but no foreign government has ever had total power over the Micronesian people. **No matter how much power foreign occupiers seemed to have, the Micronesian people always stood up for the things that were really important to them.**

There are many stories to tell about Micronesian history, and the stories in this unit do not tell everything that happened in the islands before World War II. Rather, the stories in this unit are **case studies**. **A case study is a detailed look at one individual or situation that is meant to shine light on the larger story**. Our cases studies will focus on islanders and how they ordered their societies before the Second World War. Our case studies, for the most part, will not focus on the foreign leaders who struggled to exercise their control over the islands.

Stories about Micronesia's foreign occupiers, who they were and what they did while they were here, are important. Yet those stories often tell us little about islanders. This is a history of Micronesians. It is the story of how islanders lived under foreign rule, why they made the decisions they made, and how they Micronesian leaders

continued to be respected by their people even as outsiders claimed to be in power.

In this unit we will look at what islanders were doing during Micronesia's many foreign occupations. You will read about how Kosraeans embraced missionary Christianity quickly and Pohnpeians embraced it slowly and how both used it to the good of their societies. You will read about how Yap's traditional leaders were able to work with German occupiers to get what they wanted for their communities and how Pohnpei's traditional leaders were able to work against German occupiers to limit their ability to make unwanted changes on the island. And you will read about how islanders worked with and against Japanese occupiers, enjoying the benefits of Japanese culture without forgetting their own.



Check Your Reading: What was the trigger for Pohnpei's Sokehs Rebellion?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Case study:** a detailed look at one individual or situation that is meant to shine light on a larger story
- **Cultural change:** changes in food, dress, music, dance, games, and language
- **Foreign Occupation:** a government set up by people from another country, usually in order to make money or to get political power
- **Resistance:** when an occupied people fight back against their occupier, sometimes with violence but usually peacefully

CHAPTER SIX

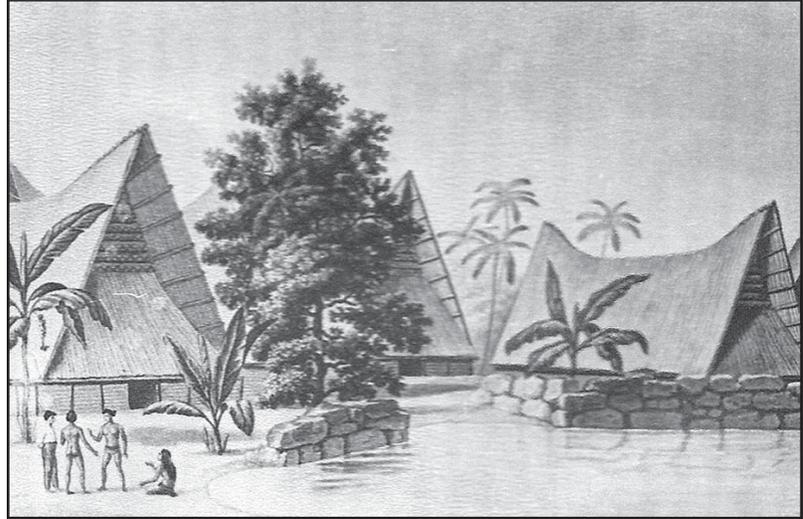
American Missionaries in Micronesia



Above: Kosraeans dressed for church. American Protestant missionaries came to Kosrae at just the right time to build churches. Kosraeans were suffering from diseases that reduced the island's population by ninety percent in only fifty years. Kosraean traditional leadership was falling apart and many Kosraeans were losing faith in their traditional religion's ability to protect them. The church offered Kosraeans a chance to rebuild their leadership and their religion at the same time.

Introduction: American Missionaries in Kosrae

On a clear day in 1852, Kun and Alik sat relaxing on Kosrae's shore, talking and looking out at the ocean. In the distance, Kun noticed a ship approaching. "It's probably another American whaling ship," he said. "Or some trader come to buy our coconuts," Alik replied. As they watched the ship come closer, an American named David came out from the jungle. David had been living on the island for two years, working as a **copra** trader. **Copra is dried coconut meat.** Three other Americans, castaways from a ship that had stopped by a few months before, followed behind him. "Come on!" David said. "Let's go make five dollars."



Above: A drawing of Kosrae's harbor made in 1824, almost thirty years before the first American Protestant missionaries arrived on the island.

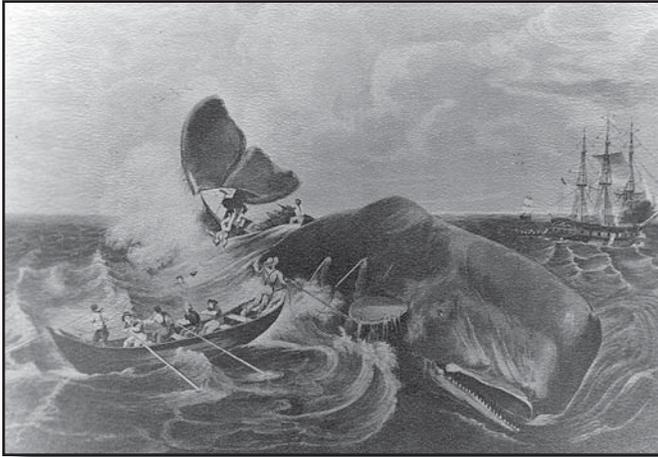
Kun and Alik looked at one another and shrugged. Why not? And so all five piled into a small boat and began rowing toward the reef. As they rowed the boat through the pass, the waves became rougher, but the big ship soon grew close. Finally they pulled alongside and David climbed up a rope ladder. "For five dollars," he told the captain, "I'll help you get this ship through the pass."

When the ship arrived safely in the harbor, the island's newest visitors didn't get out. Instead, one of them started reading from a book and they all started to sing. These were the first Protestant missionaries to come to Kosrae: three American couples and two couples from Hawaii. It was Sunday, and the missionaries were having church. Kun and Alik looked at one another, confused. Why didn't they come ashore after they had come all this way? Soon church would be familiar to Kun, Alik, and everyone they knew. Within years, church became the single most important tool used by Kosraeans to transform their culture.

American traders like David, castaways like his friends, and missionaries like the men and women Kun and Alik saw having church on the ship triggered important changes in Kosraean life. Traders, castaways, and missionaries were present in Kosrae many years before any foreign country tried to set up a government there.



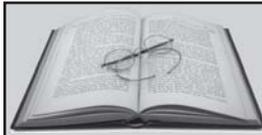
Below: The Morning Star, one of the ships that carried American Protestant missionaries to their posts in Kosrae and Pohnpei.



Above: The crew of an American whale ship captures a sperm whale. Whalers often came to Kosrae to rest, bringing excitement, trade goods, and disease with them.

Copra traders and castaways from passing ships began to arrive in Kosrae as early as the 1830s. Whale-hunting ships began to appear in Kosrae's harbor around the same time, looking for a place to rest during the cold winter months when the whale-rich waters of Alaska were full of dangerous ice. Many of these early visitors were American, and Kosraeans at first were happy to do business with them. Some Kosraeans found descriptions of the sailing life so exciting that they became sailors too, shipping off all over the world.

As time went on, it became clear that these foreigners were bringing more than business and excitement with them. Some sailors sold alcohol and tobacco. Some sold guns. Many carried diseases that Kosraeans had never seen before. Because Kosraeans, like other islanders, had no experience with these foreign diseases, the damage to the population was great. Some diseases, like syphilis, were so harmful that many who got them were unable to have children. When so many people were dying of disease and so many others were unable to have children, the population started to fall, fast.



Check Your Reading: Why were there so many foreigners in Kosrae in the 1800s?

Population Loss in Kosrae

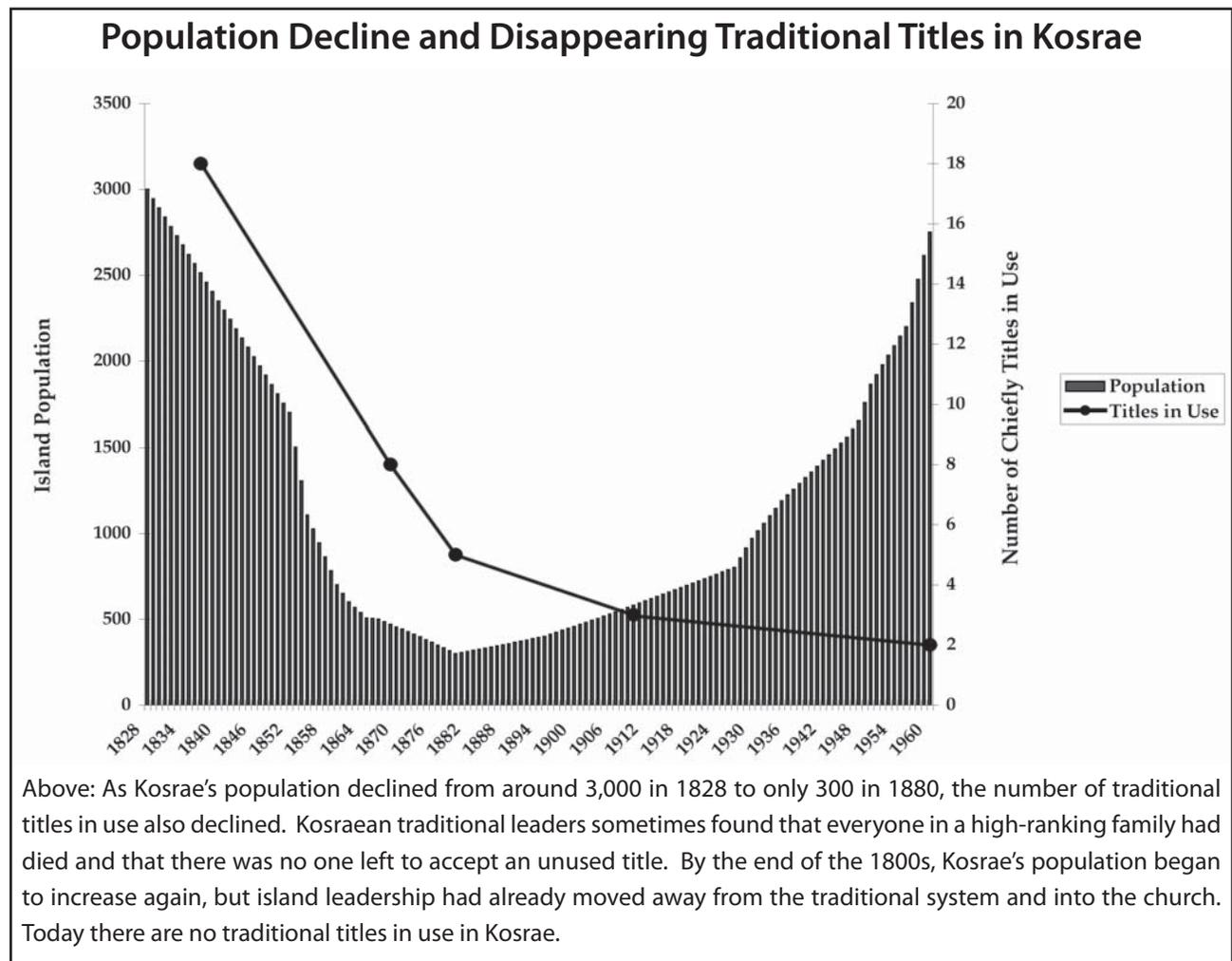
When the first American Protestant missionaries arrived in Kosrae in the 1850s, they were upset to find how much damage had already been done by the traders and whalers who came before them. Many Kosraeans were sick, many had already died from disease, and many drank the alcohol and smoked the tobacco being sold by the sailors. The missionaries worked hard to convince Kosraeans to come to church and to stop drinking and smoking, but there was nothing they could do to help those who had become sick.

In fact, because both the missionaries and the sailors were outsiders, both carried the strange new diseases that made islanders so sick. **By the 1890s, the diseases carried by the sailors and missionaries had caused the island's population to drop from around 3,000 to just 300. This drop in population caused Kosraeans to reorganize their society completely.**

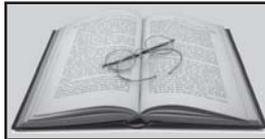
Kosraean traditional leadership was similar to Pohnpeian traditional leadership. Two paramount chiefs from two different title lines ruled over all of Kosrae's sections. Kosrae's population loss meant big changes for Kosraean traditional leadership.

Only a few decades after the first outsiders arrived in Kosrae, so many people from high-ranking families had died that there weren't enough people to fill all the title lines. As smaller sections joined other sections nearby, many sections and the titles that went with them disappeared altogether. Chiefs of the remaining sections found that they had less power as the population of their sections shrank. With weaker sections and fewer people on the island, the paramount chief also became weaker.

As the population fell, Kosraean traditional leadership seemed to be falling apart. And, as thousands died from disease, many Kosraeans must have thought that their traditional religion had stopped protecting them. Kosraeans found the solution to both of these problems in the



church. Shortly after the first missionaries arrived, Kosraeans began to join churches in large numbers.



Check Your Reading: How was Kosraean traditional leadership affected by the island's population loss?

Kosraeans Turn to the Church

The churches not only filled a hole that had been left by the traditional religion, they also offered their own system of leadership. Church government was influenced by American-style democracy. As the influence of traditional religion shrank, the influence of the church grew. And as the power of traditional leaders shrank, the power of church leaders grew.

After a few years, church leaders started to exercise their power both inside and outside the church. The churches formed an island-wide council that was made up of both titled traditional leaders and elected church members. The council ended the traditional respect once given to paramount chiefs. The council also did away with the system of tribute, so that paramount chiefs no longer received large gifts of food and other goods from their people. The council was so powerful that it successfully voted to remove several paramount chiefs. And, rather than select replacement paramount chiefs in the traditional way, the

council decided to hold a general election to allow everyone on the island to choose who the next paramount chief would be.

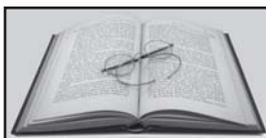
Over the years, traditional leaders sometimes fought against church leaders and tried to hold onto their power, but sometimes they did not. Only a few years after the missionaries arrived, the paramount chief Lupalik I, a supporter of the missions, helped to increase the power of the churches. Lupalik I was so helpful to the churches that the missionaries called him "Good King George."

Below: Micronesia's earliest American Protestant missionaries. From left to right: Dr. Luther Gulick and Louisa Gulick and Albert and Susan Sturges, who served in Pohnpei; Lydia and Benjamin Snow, who served in Kosrae.



At one church service, the American minister who was leading the service asked his congregation to stand, even though Lupalik I was seated among them. Shocked at the idea of disrespecting their paramount chief by having their heads higher than his, the people became embarrassed and did not move. Should they listen to their minister or show respect to their chief? The minister told them, “forget the King, forget the Queen, and think only of God!” The people only looked at Lupalik I. He motioned for his people to stand. And so, slowly, they did. By the end of the 1800s, the traditional respect forms had disappeared altogether and paramount chiefs had little real power.

A case study of one of Kosrae’s paramount chiefs, Sa II, also known as Carlos Eleusa, will help us to understand some of the ways in which Kosraean culture changed, and why.



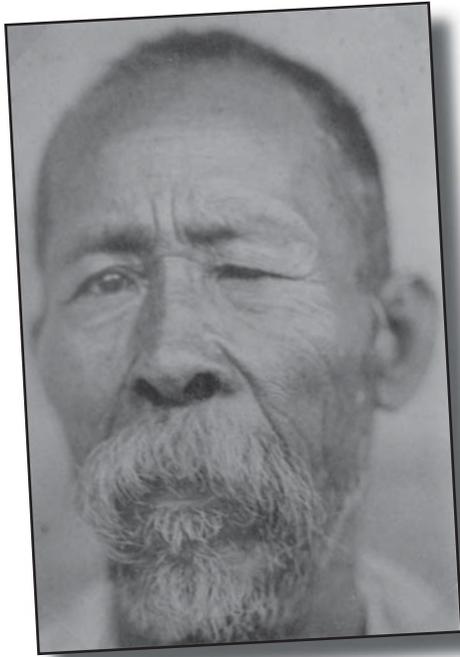
Check Your Reading: What were some of the ways in which Kosrae’s churches weakened traditional leaders?

Case Study: Sa II and Kosrae’s Churches

In 1863, as disease spread across the island, Carlos Eleusa decided to leave Kosrae to find work as a sailor. Soon Eleusa found work at a shipping company in Honolulu. By the late 1880s, Eleusa had worked his way as far east as Philadelphia, where he spent his days on the docks unloading goods from arriving ships. But one day, in a life so unlike the one he had known in Kosrae, in a place so different from his home island, Eleusa received a message calling him back home. He was to become Kosrae’s new paramount chief.

Carlos Eleusa had no idea how much his island had changed. Just thirty years before, Kosrae’s paramount chief had been the most powerful leader on the island. Now an all-Kosraean council was hard at work, changing the island’s political culture and stripping the paramount chief of much of his authority.

Carlos Eleusa took the title Awane Sa II when he arrived back on his home island. The missionaries were surprised at how American the new paramount chief seemed to be: how well he spoke English, and how little interested he was in the rules of the church. Sa II was surprised that the missionaries and their churches had gained so much power on his island.



Above: Carlos Eleusa, also known as Awane Sa II and "King Charley." Eleusa challenged the authority of the churches in Kosrae.

Although the churches often worked together with traditional leaders, Sa II correctly saw that the churches had taken away much of the power that traditional leaders once had. Sa II thought that the occupying Spanish Government might be able to help him regain his power.

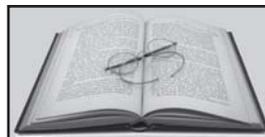
The Spanish had no offices on Kosrae, and rarely visited the island. However, Sa II knew that the Spanish were Catholics and that Catholics and Protestants often didn't get along. "Maybe," he thought to himself, "I can convince the Spanish to push the Protestants off my island and replace them with Catholics. Then I can take back the power that rightfully belongs to a paramount chief."

And so Sa II took a trip to Pohnpei and marched into the Spanish governor's office. "The Spanish are the rightful rulers of Kosrae," he said, "and I have come to ask you for Spain to exercise its power over my island."

It turned out that the governor wasn't interested in pushing the Protestants off Kosrae, but he was very happy that Sa II recognized Spain's power over Kosrae. What the governor didn't know was that Sa II was using the Spanish to get more power for himself.

When Sa II returned to Kosrae, he showed his people the important looking piece of paper the Spanish governor had given him. It declared him Spain's official representative on Kosrae. It meant that anyone who tried to take away his power would have to answer to Spain. Sa II didn't mention that the Spanish governor wasn't going to throw the missionaries off the island. He just let the missionaries worry. And so the churches stopped challenging Sa II's power. Spanish warships even visited Kosrae from time to time, reminding its people that Sa II was in charge.

Sa II had won in his struggle against the churches, but it was a temporary victory. The tide of Kosraean leadership was turning toward the churches, and by the 1930s traditional leadership in Kosrae had almost disappeared. Kosrae's last paramount chief married two of his daughters into the families of two different pastors and became a minister himself. He asked his people to stop calling him a paramount chief. No one else was appointed to take his job.



Check Your Reading: How did Sa II convince the Spanish governor to give him more power in Kosrae?

What Does Sa II Tell Us About Kosrae?

First, the story shows us that **islanders often used foreign occupiers to their advantage**. When Sa II came to the Spanish governor and told him that he wanted Spain to take control of his island, the Spanish governor thought that Sa II really wanted Spain to take control of his island. But Sa didn't want a Spanish governor to have power over Kosraeans. He wanted power over Kosraeans for himself. Foreigners have often misunderstood the complicated working of local politics. This story is only one of many examples of foreigners being used by islanders for their own purposes without realizing it.

Second, the story shows us that **major changes in culture come from complicated discussions, arguments, and compromises among islanders**. Although most Kosraeans joined the churches soon after the missionaries arrived, not all of them did. Most Kosraeans believed that it was best for local power to move from traditional leaders to church leaders, but not all of them did. And, although most Kosraeans believed in introducing democratic ideas into island leadership, not all of them did. Islanders disagreed about many different things in the past just as they do today. The current system of Kosraean leadership is not the result of one side's total victory and the other side's total loss. Leadership in Kosrae today is the result of discussion and compromise between Kosraeans.

Third, the story shows us that **foreigners triggered important changes in island culture, but that islanders decided how those changes should shape the future of island life**. The American missionaries and the Spanish governor are important figures in this story. But it was really Sa II and the Kosraean people who decided

Likiaksa, Lupalik II, and Kosrae's Christian Churches

Paramount chief Lupalik II, never a big supporter of the church, watched as Kosrae's American missionaries sailed for the Marshall Islands. Glad for a chance to take back his power, he decided to restart the songs and dances that Kosraeans had traditionally used to honor their breadfruit goddess. But Likiaksa, one of the first Kosraeans to become a minister, couldn't allow that to happen. Likiaksa is pictured below with his wife Kenye.

Likiaksa gathered a few other Christians and went to Lupalik II to tell him to stop the ceremony. He said that the celebration was unchristian and disrespectful to the church. Lupalik II, angry that Likiaksa would dare to give orders to his paramount chief, took some of the land that belonged to the church and destroyed the crops that were growing there.

The next Wednesday, Lupalik II was standing in the fields. The paramount chief, who had always seemed healthy and strong, suddenly fell down dead. No one could say exactly why. He hadn't been sick. No one saw it coming.

Many Kosraeans saw Lupalik II's death as a sign to change their lives. There were only thirty Christians in Kosrae before the paramount chief fell that day. Soon sixty-two more people asked to be baptized. Lupalik II's death seemed like a sign of Christianity's power. The people were impressed with the strength of the Christian God. They also worried that they might be next. The churches began to grow.



Power in Chuuk Begins to Become Centralized

A section on Fefan and another section on Tonoas had been at war for years. One day Fefan's section chief, whose name was Atip, went to Tonoas with some of his men to make peace. The chief from Tonoas was pleased at the idea that their long war might finally end. He and some of his men joined Atip in their canoe and began to ride to Fefan where they could all discuss peace. But when the canoe was halfway to Fefan, Atip's men killed the chief from Tonoas. His men were badly hurt, but they escaped.

When the news reached Tonoas, people were angry. They wanted revenge. But now there was someone new living in Tonoas, an American missionary named Robert Logan. Logan hated the traditional wars that hurt so many families all over Chuuk, and he wanted to go speak to Atip himself. "No!" the people told him, "you cannot trust Atip. He will kill you too!" Logan knew Atip and respected him. "We will go," he said.

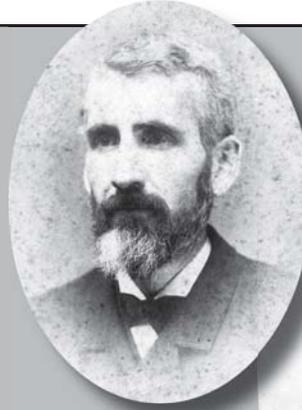
So Logan and a group of armed young men set off for Fefan in a canoe. When he arrived, Logan sat down between Atip and his soldiers and the soldiers from Tonoas. Logan told Atip that his killing had been wrong, and that it would only bring more killing. Atip agreed, but he seemed to be acting strangely. Weeks later, Logan found out that Atip almost killed him too. Another chief had convinced him not to at the last minute. Over the years, Logan often tried to make peace between warring Chuukese sections, sometimes successfully and sometimes unsuccessfully. He stood on the battlefield with a black umbrella, which people came to recognize as a sign that he meant peace.

Robert Logan could not manage to stop traditional warfare in Chuuk by himself. It took the Germans and their warships to do that. But in a place where no man had authority over more than one section and every man belonged to only one section, American missionaries like Logan were some of the first people who could claim some authority over more than one section and who belonged to no section at all.

The Germans were the next people who could claim authority over more than one section. The Germans made a new position in Chuukese traditional leadership that was even more important, the **flag chief**. **A flag chief is a Chuukese section chief who represented the other chiefs in his district for the German administration.** The Germans wanted to rule Chuuk indirectly, just as they wanted to rule indirectly in Pohnpei and Yap. But unlike Pohnpei and Yap, the Germans found it difficult to find one chief who spoke for many people, since there were hundreds of chiefs in Chuuk who could speak for no section other than their own.

The solution was to divide the islands of Chuuk Lagoon into six parts and to choose a section chief from each area who the Germans believed was responsible, and who could communicate with them and with other chiefs. A flag chief had little more real authority than any other section chief, but he was able to bring other section chiefs together to talk about their problems.

American missionaries, German Government officials, and flag chiefs, who also served during the Japanese administration, were an important step toward more **centralized authority** in Chuuk. **In a society with centralized authority, a small number of people make decisions for a large number of people.** Governments that are more centralized are more powerful and can find the resources for large-scale projects that help large numbers of people. As the year went by, power in Chuuk became more and more centralized.

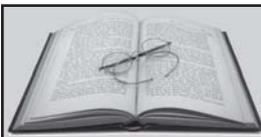


Left and Below:
Robert Logan
and his wife,
Mary Logan.



the future shape of Kosraean leadership. Missionaries and governors often persuaded islanders one way or another, but they were rarely able to force islanders to do anything. Those outsiders who tried to force unwelcome change on island societies found that it was not easy, and that islanders often changed things back later to the way they were in the first place.

This story also shows us what an important role an island's culture plays in its history. One of the reasons that Kosraeans have a different history than other islanders is that Kosraean culture is different from Pohnpeian, Chuukese, and Yapese culture. As you read through the rest of this section, pay attention to the ways in which different island cultures have been responsible for the history of each island.



Check Your Reading: How did Sa II use the Spanish governor to his own advantage?

Why Join the Church?

The Protestant Church in Kosrae became an important way for Kosraeans to keep their culture strong. Kosraeans, like other Micronesians, already had a traditional religion with roots that went back many years. In addition, the missionaries who were sent to Kosrae were both less likable and less skillful than those who were sent to Pohnpei. Yet Protestant churches in Pohnpei struggled for years to find members and Kosraeans joined their churches right away. So what was the difference? Why were the same missionaries preaching the same gospel successful in some places and failures in others?

Below: Kosraean church leaders gather for a conference in 1959. When Kosraean traditional leadership fell apart, church leaders took over many of the powers and responsibilities chiefs once had.

During the 1800s, a Protestant mission organization from the United States called the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Protestant missionaries all over the world. In some places, such as Hawaii and Kosrae, the missionaries had great success. In other places missionaries worked for years without finding more



than a handful of people who were willing to join their churches. Sometimes the missionaries were even killed.

Missionaries hoped that if they did a good job of explaining Christianity, the people they met would see that they needed to become Christians for their lives to be complete and for their souls to be at rest. When the missionaries were successful, they thought it meant that they had done a good job of explaining Christianity or because the people saw how much had been missing from their lives.

But most of the time, whether traditional religions were strong or weak was much more important. If bad things were happening all around, if traditional religion didn't seem to be protecting the people, people might look for a new religion to help them instead. Hawaiians started questioning their traditional religion even before the first missionaries arrived. Hawaiians had already seen many outsiders come to their islands. The outsiders ignored the rules of Hawaiian traditional religion and seemed safe and happy. Yet the Hawaiians followed the rules of traditional religion and got hurt. Most Hawaiians did not switch straight from traditional religion to Christianity. They had already stopped practicing traditional religion and weren't sure what to believe in when they first met the missionaries. Kosraeans may have turned to Christianity for the same reason Hawaiians did: because their traditional religion was already weak before the missionaries arrived.

Some islanders also joined churches for political reasons. Pohnpeians sometimes used Protestant churches as a place to talk openly about Spanish and German occupiers, or as a place to meet without their traditional leaders. Kosraeans used their churches to protect them against the Japanese administration. And Yapese joined Catholic churches in large numbers during the Japanese occupation there for the same reason.

Below: Srue Skilling, children's bible teacher at the Protestant church in Lelu, Kosrae, 1977. Kosraeans joined churches for many reasons in the past. Today the church is a central part of Kosraean life.



Of course, in the past as today, many people joined the churches for much simpler reasons. If respected members of the community started attending the church, others followed. If an islander became a minister, people came to hear what he had to say. When a few people started to join the church, their family and friends joined too.

Islanders joined Christian churches all over Micronesia. Yet in some places churches became popular right away. In other places churches only became popular after the Second World War. Christianity came from somewhere else, but when islanders joined the church it did not mean that they

were giving up their cultures. Micronesians stood up for what they believed in, and joined churches when they wanted to.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the reasons Micronesians joined Christian churches?



Vocabulary For Review

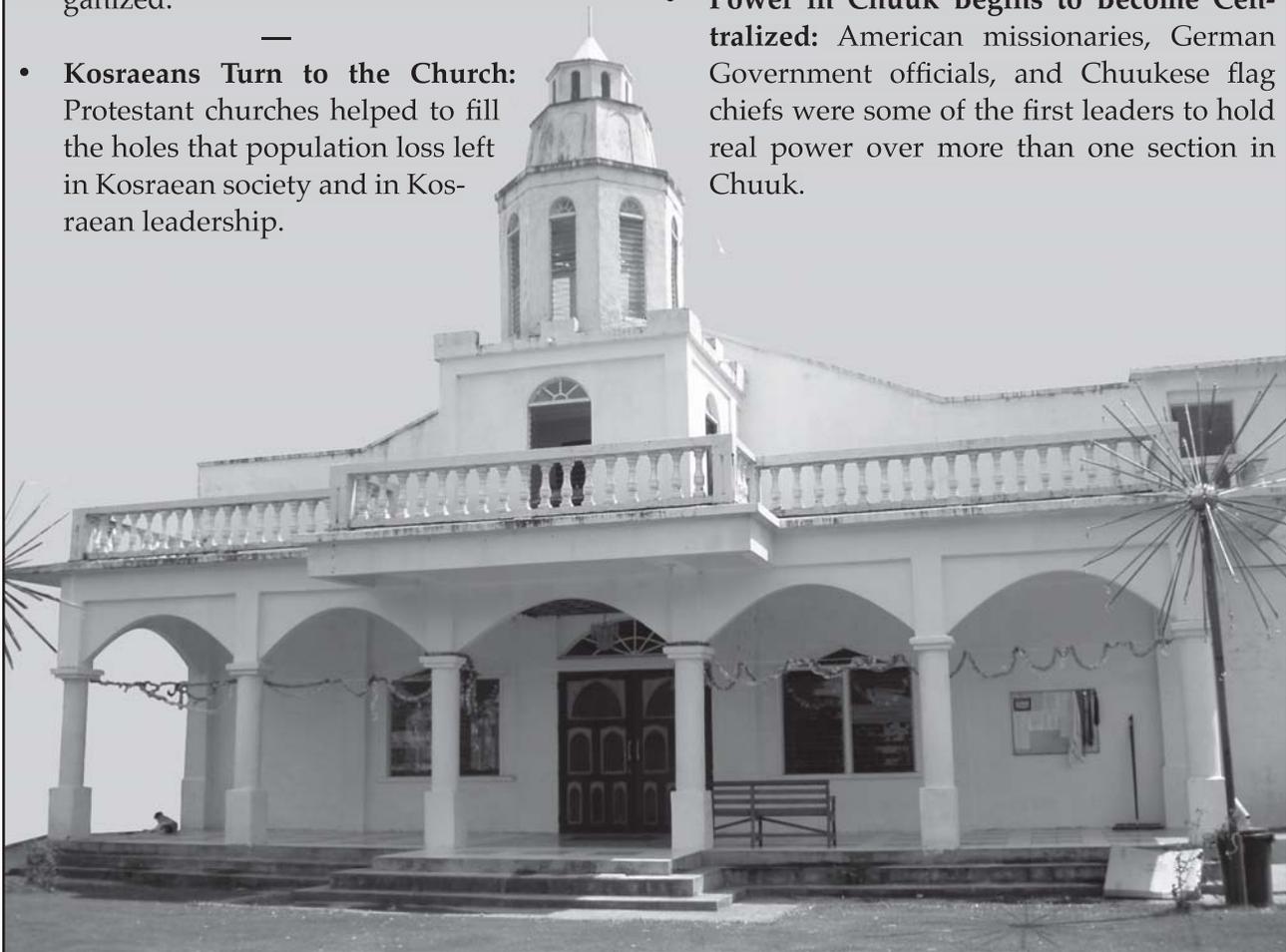
- **Centralized authority:** *a government in which a small number of people can make decisions for a large number of people*
- **Copra:** *dried coconut meat that was often traded by islanders to Americans and other foreigners beginning in the 1800s*
- **Flag chief:** *a Chuukese section chief who represented the other chiefs in his district for the German administration*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **American Missionaries in Kosrae:** Kosraeans met traders, sailors, and missionaries in the 1800s, some of whom were good for the island and some of whom were bad for the island.
- **Population Loss in Kosrae:** When Kosrae lost more than ninety percent of its population to disease, leadership was totally reorganized.
- **Kosraeans Turn to the Church:** Protestant churches helped to fill the holes that population loss left in Kosraean society and in Kosraean leadership.
- **Sa II and Kosrae's Churches:** Not all Kosraeans agreed about the best way to reorganize the island's leadership after disease struck the island in the 1800s.
- **Why Join the Church?:** Islanders joined churches for religious, political, and social reasons.
- **Power in Chuuk Begins to Become Centralized:** American missionaries, German Government officials, and Chuukese flag chiefs were some of the first leaders to hold real power over more than one section in Chuuk.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- How did Kosraeans reorganize their leadership after the island lost population?
- Lupalik I and Sa II both had their own plans for the future of Kosraean leadership. How were these plans similar? How were they different?
- What were some of the reasons Kosraeans joined the church in the 1800s?

Critical Thinking

- Do you believe that Sa II's trip to the Spanish governor's office in Pohnpei was a good way for him to keep Kosraean traditional leadership strong? Why or why not?
- What do you think might have happened if there was no population loss in Kosrae and Kosraean traditional leadership was strong, but American missionaries tried to get rid of traditional leaders anyway?
- In what ways were foreigners good for Kosraeans? In what ways were they bad?

Writing

- Imagine that you are a young man in a chiefly family living in Kosrae in the 1800s. American whale ships are just beginning to arrive on the island. One day, they ask you to join them on their boat and sail all over the world. Do you join them and leave your family, your island, and your chance to be a chief one day behind? Or do you stay? **Write a journal entry** describing how you made your decision.

- American missionaries seemed strange to Kosraeans at first, but the church soon became an important part of island life. **Write a short skit** about the first meeting between a group of Kosraean teenagers and Kosrae's first American missionaries.
- Sa II asked the Spanish governor to show his power over Kosrae. But what Sa II really wanted was help making Kosraean traditional leadership stronger. The Spanish governor didn't know about Sa II's plan and he was impressed with the chief's loyalty to Spain. **Write a letter** that the Spanish governor might have sent to Sa II after his visit to Pohnpei.

Below: Pastor Palik Kefwas and Pastor John Sighrah. Sighrah, the last paramount chief of Kosrae, helped move Kosraean traditional leadership into the church. He gave up his own title, became a pastor, and became Pastor Kefwas' double brother-in-law.



CHAPTER SEVEN

Micronesia's German Occupation



Above: The mixed results of Germany's time in Micronesia. On the top left are a group of German soldiers in Pohnpei in 1911. They came to Micronesia to fight the Pohnpeians who went to war against the island's German occupiers. On the bottom right is a road built under the direction of both German officials and Yapese traditional leaders.

Introduction: The Germans Come to Pohnpei and Yap

A group of Pohnpeian boys stood behind a coconut tree and watched as an impressive looking German warship pulled into the lagoon. They were a little excited and a little nervous, but mostly they were curious. The boys had heard that the Spanish were leaving after thirteen unsuccessful years of trying to gain power over the island. So who were these newcomers?



Above: A German map of Germany's colonies in the Pacific in 1900. Like other powerful nations of the time, Germany was working hard to increase its power by taking over other countries all over the world.

Soon, a few small boats appeared near the warship and began to draw near the shore. As the boats came closer, the boys started to laugh. There were four Germans and forty-six Malayan and Melanesian policemen. "What?" the boys said. "That's it? Only fifty of them? There are thousands of us, and we can fight!" The boys ran back home to tell their families.

That night, as everyone sat around the *sakau* stone, people laughed and talked about how ridiculous the German landing party looked. Pohnpeian warriors had fought the Spanish many times and had always won, even though the Spanish sometimes had as many as seven hundred soldiers fighting for them. Still, everyone agreed that these Germans should be taken seriously. Several people said that the Germans should be taught a lesson, and soon, that Pohnpei was for Pohnpeians and was not for sale to outsiders.

And so, the next week, as the Germans threw open the doors to the old Spanish fort and held a feast for all comers to show that they were not afraid of local people, a few Pohnpeian men laid in wait and prepared to attack. With guns bought from American traders, the men rushed into the fort and ran straight for the piles of weapons and ammunition that the Spanish had taken from Pohnpeians over the last thirteen years. The policemen turned the men away and there was no serious damage done, but the Pohnpeians had made their point. The Germans were worried. They dropped all the captured guns over the side of their boat that night so that no Pohnpeian would ever find them.

Meanwhile the Germans were also landing in Yap. A small group of Yapese boys hid behind a tree, their eyes wide with curiosity. One of them had spotted the new German district officer, the man in charge of the German administration, as he took his first walk through their village. None of the boys had seen him before, but he looked like he was on his way to talk to the village chief. Some people were scared, and women and children ran for cover. Who was this newcomer?

That night, the village chief called a meeting, and the leaders of all of the village's families gathered at the meetinghouse. One man spoke. He said, "I wasn't happy when those Spanish came here, and I'm not happy that the Germans are here now. These people may have things that we don't, but they don't respect our culture and we shouldn't allow them to stay here any longer." Several other men agreed. Then another man spoke. "The old days were better," he said, "when we had only ourselves to worry about. But why don't we wait before we judge these new men? We may be able to get something valuable from them. After all, there are thousands of us and only a few of them. Aren't we stronger than they are?" After several hours of discussion, everyone agreed that it was best to wait and see what happened.

Twelve years later, things in Pohnpei and Yap were very different. German officials in Pohnpei found themselves alongside hundreds of German and Melanesian soldiers with five warships in the harbor. They were fighting against the Pohnpeian warriors who had killed the German district officer and several others. But in Yap there was peace. Germans in Yap pointed proudly to the well-built system of roads, causeways and piers that the Yapese had built with German help. The district officer there was known as "Great Father" to the Yapese people and had managed to build the German administration in Yap into one of the greatest successes in the Pacific.

Below: The German Government's administration building in Pohnpei.

In Pohnpei as in Yap, the Germans arrived with a simple plan. They wanted to do business. To make it easier to do business, and to help make the islands more organized, the Germans wanted to improve the islands' **infrastructure**. **An infrastructure is made up of the large public services that make government and business possible.** The Germans planned to build roads,



piers, causeways, government offices, and to maintain a police force to keep order.

The Germans weren't interested in having total power over islanders. They hoped for the kind of **indirect rule** that had been successful in other places. **In indirect rule, a foreign country places its leaders at the top of the government but leaves most of the work of governing to local people.** Many of the things the Germans did had to do with making the islands safer and more peaceful, such as pushing out the foreign traders who were selling guns and alcohol all over Micronesia. But mainly they left things to traditional leaders. The Germans hoped that a policy of indirect rule would be easier for them and more popular with islanders.

The Germans set up a similar system of indirect rule all over Micronesia. So why did things turn out so differently in Pohnpei than they did in Yap? To answer this question, we'll look at two different case studies. First, we'll look at Pohnpei's Sokehs Rebellion. Next, we'll look at how Yap's public works projects were built.

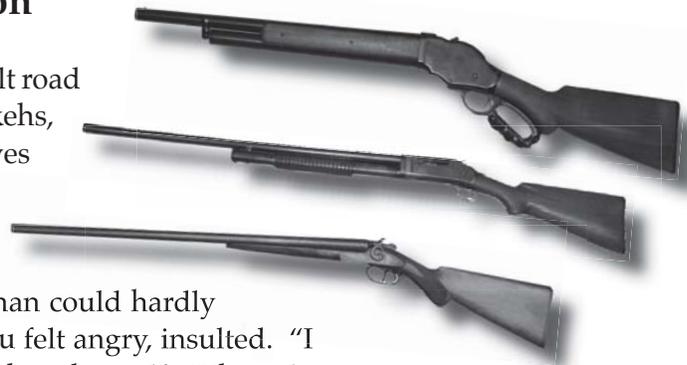


Check Your Reading: How were Pohnpeian and Yapese attitudes toward the Germans different?

Case Study: The Sokehs Rebellion

It was 1910. Soumadau stood beside a half-built road in the Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom of Sokehs, the sun beating down on his forehead. His eyes narrowed. He was deep in thought. That day, the Germans had beaten one of the men on the work crew he supervised. Soumadau had come to see him after the beating. The man could hardly walk. The other men were furious. Soumadau felt angry, insulted. "I have waited as long as I can," Soumadau thought to himself. "The only choice now is war."

Soumadau had been watching the German administration for over ten years, and each year he liked what he saw less and less. The Germans had come to Pohnpei eleven years ago with a plan to rule the island indirectly. But Pohnpeians didn't want them to rule at all. When the Germans tried to build roads, Pohnpeians were suspicious and refused to help, so the Germans had their own policemen do the work. When the Germans tried to collect the island's guns, most Pohnpeians gave



Above: Weapons like the ones used by Pohnpeian forces in the Sokehs rebellion. One German officer reported that the warriors from Sokehs had Remington rifles, Winchester guns, revolvers, bird guns, machetes, several cannons, and even a box of dynamite.

their weapons up only when a typhoon destroyed their crops and they became desperate for money. Some never gave their weapons up at all. When the Germans tried to convince Pohnpeians to grow coffee, cotton, cocoa, rubber, hemp or vanilla or to raise cattle so that the island could make money, they refused.

Now it was worse. The Germans were frustrated that nothing in Pohnpei was changing. They decided to be harder on islanders, to force them to cooperate. The Germans demanded that Pohnpeians stop making tribute payments to traditional leaders. They also made the island's traditional feasts illegal, saying that feasting was a waste of energy and food. The Germans even made a law saying that all strong Pohnpeian men had to work for them for fifteen days a year without being paid.

To make things worse, a new district officer had just arrived on the island, a man named Carl Boeder. Boeder was making things very difficult for Soumadau and his men. He had just come from the German colonies in Africa, where he had regularly beaten and abused local people to get his way. He was not afraid to do the same to Pohnpeians. He beat and humiliated islanders, and seemed to treat men from Sokehs worse than other Pohnpeians. Boeder even told the men from Sokehs that they had to work twice as long as men from any other paramount chiefdom. He had no respect for traditional leaders and, when one of Sokehs' highest-ranking chiefs came to him to ask for a raise in pay for his men, Boeder picked the chief up and threw him out of his office.

Below: The position of Soumadau and his warriors on Sokehs mountain. The warriors from Sokehs were able to hold off German forces for months.



If Boeder hadn't been so hard on islanders, and if Soumadau hadn't been strong enough to stand up to him, the Sokehs Rebellion would probably never have happened. Soumadau was not a paramount chief, but he was the most influential chief in all of Sokehs. When he spoke,

people listened. He was known as a brave warrior, as a man who stood up for what he believed in, and as a man who stood for Pohnpeians and against outsiders. When Soumadau had come to work for the Germans, men followed him to work. When Soumadau told his men to prepare for war, they all appeared at his house that night to plan the attack.

The warriors arrived at Soumadau's house long after the sun had set. "Carl Boeder has insulted us," Soumadau said. "He has insulted our honor. He has

done things to us and to our leaders that no one should do. We must go to war against the Germans. We will fight not because we can be assured of victory. We will fight because it is the right thing to do. This is our war, and we cannot expect the other paramount chiefdoms to help us. Some of you already know what happened at Nan Madol last month. One corner of the five-sided wall, the corner that represents Sokehs, collapsed. That means that Sokehs will probably be destroyed. And yet it is right to fight, and so we must fight.”



Above: Pohnpeians from paramount chiefdoms other than Sokehs stand guard over the German fort.

The next day Soumadau and his men went to work at the usual time. But this time they carried weapons and were dressed for war. Soumadau’s men chased down two Germans and killed them later in the day, along with some Mortlockese men who had been helping them. Soumadau found Carl Boeder himself and felled him with a rifle shot to the chest and another to the head. Soumadau gathered his warriors. “The men who insulted us have been killed and our honor has been restored,” he said, “It is not necessary to kill all the Germans, but they will come to find us. Now we must wait.”

Around fifty Germans remained in Pohnpei, and they were worried. They hid in the fort the Spanish had built and sent a message to New Guinea for military support. The warriors from Sokehs were also looking for support. Soumadau and his men went around the island, looking for help from the other paramount chiefdoms. As Soumadau had predicted, the chiefs in the rest of the island refused to help the men from Sokehs. The chiefs did not want to get involved in a fight that had little to do with them. Besides, all of Pohnpei’s paramount chiefdoms were competing with Sokehs for power: if the power of Sokehs decreased, their own power would increase. Warriors soon arrived from Nett, U, Madolenihmw and Kitti to stand guard over the Germans in their fort.

Without the support of the other paramount chiefdoms, Soumadau and the men from Sokehs could not hope to win their fight against the Germans. So, when five German warships sailed into Pohnpei’s lagoon in early 1911, Soumadau already knew that he was fighting a losing war. Since they had already killed the men who insulted them in the first place, many of Soumadau’s warriors lost interest in fighting and went home or gave themselves up to the Germans.

Soumadau and his men put up a brave fight against the Germans, and they were not captured for months. But finally the Germans and their soldiers captured Soumadau and all of his warriors. Soumadau and sixteen other men were tried in court and then shot, a punishment that shocked people all over Pohnpei. Everyone else in Sokehs was sent to Palau and only allowed to return years later when the Japanese Government replaced the Germans in Micronesia. The sign at Nan Madol had proved to be true. Sokehs was destroyed. The Germans gave the land in Sokehs to outer islanders.

Below: Soumadau, the leader of the Sokehs Rebellion, after being captured by German military forces.



Check Your Reading: Why did Soumadau and his warriors feel that they had to go to war against the Germans?



What Does the Sokehs Rebellion Tell Us About Pohnpei?

We can learn several important things about Pohnpei from the Sokehs Rebellion.

First, this story shows us Pohnpeians' attitudes toward outsiders. Most Pohnpeians believed from the beginning that nothing good could come of a foreign occupation. Islanders across Micronesia disliked having outsiders trying to rule over their islands. Pohnpeians were especially distrustful of outsiders and especially active in trying to keep foreign occupiers from making changes on their island. When Pohnpeians did accept changes from the outside, they did so slowly and carefully, or because the change was something they wanted to do anyway.

Second, this story shows us the traditional divisions between Pohnpei's paramount chiefdoms. Until a short time ago, Pohnpeians talked about a person from another paramount chiefdom almost as though he was from another country. Pohnpeians were loyal to their families, to their villages, to their sections, and to their paramount chiefdom. But they were not loyal to any other paramount chiefdom. The island's five paramount chiefdoms competed with one another, and rarely joined together for any purpose. When the Germans insulted the honor of Sokehs, they did not insult the honor of Madolenihmw, Kitti, U, or Nett, so no other paramount chiefdom was responsible for coming to Sokehs to fight.

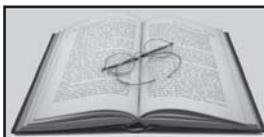
Third, this story shows us the difference between traditional Pohnpeian warfare and German warfare. In Pohnpei, as elsewhere in

Micronesia, warriors in Pohnpei began a war with a goal. Traditionally, when the goal was achieved, the war was over. Soumadau's goal was to kill the Germans who had insulted his men and his paramount chiefdom. He had no interest in killing the other Germans on the island, which is what they expected him to do after his first attack. Soumadau knew that the Germans would strike back, and he knew that his first attack would lead to the destruction of Sokehs, but his warriors lost interest in fighting when the war started to become complicated.

Fourth, this story shows us the importance of individual personalities in history. The Sokehs Rebellion would probably never have happened if District Officer Carl Boeder had not been so cruel and if Soumadau had not been strong enough to stand up to him. There may still have been a large-scale rebellion in Pohnpei, but the story of the Sokehs Rebellion at its heart is the story of Soumadau and Carl Boeder. The argument between Boeder and Soumadau was like a small spark that starts a wildfire. Pohnpeians were already angry at the Germans, and many of them already wanted to fight. But they would not fight without reason, and Soumadau's willingness to stand up to Boeder's cruelty gave the men from Sokehs a reason to fight.

The Germans tried several different styles of government in Pohnpei, but nothing seemed to work. Pohnpeians wanted them off the island no matter how they tried to rule it.

Things were very different in Yap. To see how just how different the Germans occupation in Yap was from the German occupation in Pohnpei, let's look at a second case study. This case study will focus on the public works projects that the German administration in Yap built with the support of the island's highest-ranked traditional leaders.



Check Your Reading: What was Soumadau's goal in his war against the Germans?

Land Reforms in Pohnpei

In most ways, the German Government in Pohnpei was a failure. The Germans hoped to make money from copra trading, to develop a good relationship with Pohnpeians, and to bring peace to the island. But instead of making money, the Germans lost money. Instead of developing a good relationship with Pohnpeians, they found that Pohnpeians resisted almost everything they tried to do. And instead of bringing peace, they started a war.

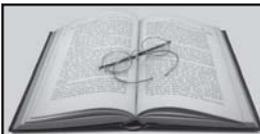


Above: Henry Nanpei. Nanpei took advantage of German land reforms and became the richest man in Pohnpei.

One important change made by the Germans turned out to be lasting. In 1907 the German Government began their program of **land reform** in Pohnpei, taking land out of the hands of paramount chiefs and giving it to the families who actually lived on it. **A reform is a program for making improvements in the way a government or society works.** Not surprisingly, paramount chiefs were not excited about the German plan. They agreed to give their land away, but only after the Germans forced them to gather for a meeting underneath the huge, frightening guns of a warship.

Because much of the power of a Pohnpeian traditional leader rests in his ownership of land, Pohnpei's paramount chiefs did not want to give their land away. But Pohnpei's people were very happy to get it. Just as traditional religion in Kosrae had probably become unpopular even before the missionaries arrived on the island, Pohnpei's land ownership system was probably unpopular even before the Germans took land away from the paramount chiefs. If Pohnpeians had really wanted their paramount chiefs to own all the land in their paramount chiefdom, they would have given their land over to their paramount chiefs after the Germans left. But this never happened. Pohnpeian families liked owning their own land.

A few Pohnpeians even used the Germans' land reform plan to become rich. Henry Nanpei is the most famous example. Nanpei's father was the Nahnken of the paramount chiefdom of Kitti. He owned almost half of the land in Pohnpei, and had American missionaries draw up a document saying that his land would pass to Henry after he died. When the Germans began their program of land reform, Nanpei showed them the document that gave him ownership over so much of the island. The Germans agreed that Nanpei was the rightful owner of the land, and everyone recognized Henry Nanpei as one of the richest men in Pohnpei.



Check Your Reading: Why were Pohnpeians so happy to accept German land reforms when they refused to cooperate with the German Government's other plans?

Case Study: German Improvements in Yap

Akilino stood on the shore in the Yapese district of Tomil, the sun beating down on his forehead. He was deep in thought. He watched as his men put the final touches on the Tageren Canal. The canal was a man-made

river that would provide a new water route to Yap's northern islands. 350 Yapese men had worked for eight months to build the twenty-foot wide, half-mile long canal. Tonight, the Germans would reward them with the best party any of them had ever seen. Excitement was in the air.

Akilino worked as a policeman for the German administration, but he was also the oldest son of a village chief. Like his father, Akilino was respected in his village. Everyone knew that, someday, he would be the next village chief. And so, when the village council had ordered Akilino to take a work crew to the canal, the young men of the village were happy to go, even though they know the work would be long and difficult. Now that the canal was almost finished, everyone felt proud to have been a part of such an important project, a project that would be useful not only to outsiders but to Yapese people all over the island.

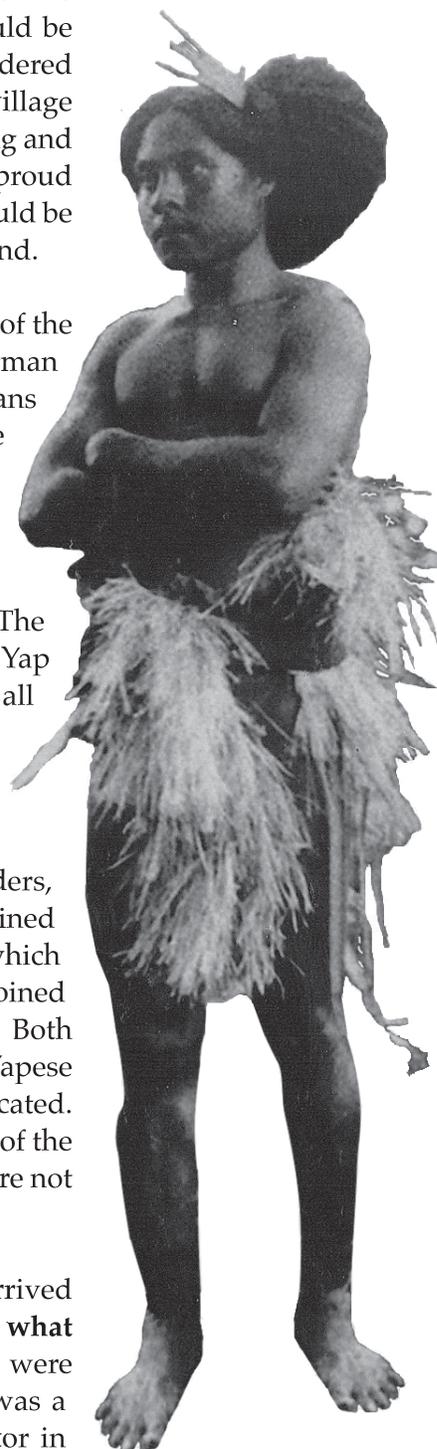
With so many exciting projects going on all over the island, most of the men and women in Akilino's village now believed that the German administration had been good for Yap. Back when the Germans had first arrived, no one had known what to think. Most Yapese people still had mixed feelings about the outsiders who had visited before the Germans came.

As elsewhere in Micronesia, copra traders, the Spanish, and Christian missionaries had all come to Yap before the Germans. The traders were mostly popular. In the 1870s, copra traders made Yap their headquarters, and the trade goods they sold could be seen all over the island.

The Spanish, on the other hand, were mostly unpopular. The Spanish administration in Yap tried to make too many changes without setting up good lines of communication with local leaders, just as it did in Pohnpei. Spanish Catholic missionaries joined the government in trying to shut down the men's houses, which were an important part of village life. The missionaries also joined the government in an attack in Yap's village ranking system. Both missionaries and government officials believed that low-ranking Yapese villagers were slaves when the reality was much more complicated. Most Yapese people rightly took Spanish policies and the actions of the missionaries as an attack on their traditional culture, and they were not pleased.

Still, when the Spanish finally left in 1899 and the Germans arrived to take their place, **Yapese people decided to wait and see what the Germans were like before making up their minds.** They were pleasantly surprised. The new German district administrator was a man named Arno Senfft. Like the German district administrator in

Below: Gilifis, chief of all the policeman in Yap during the German occupation. Because the Germans usually recruited the sons of chiefs for their police force, police officers were respected by the community and helped the Germans to communicate with traditional leaders.





Above: Arno Senfft, popular German district administrator of Yap. Senfft worked with village chiefs to make many important infrastructure improvements in Yap.

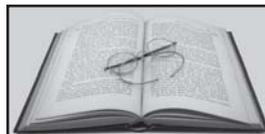
Pohnpei, Senfft came to Yap with dreams of ruling indirectly, improving the island's infrastructure, and doing business. Where the German administrator in Pohnpei had failed, Senfft succeeded both because of his own ability to work well with other people and because Yapese traditional leaders were willing to work with him.

Soon after Senfft arrived, eight of Yap's highest-ranking village chiefs assembled in his office for a meeting. "You are the leaders of Yap," he told them, "and you have authority over what happens in your villages. But we want to work with you. We want to help make your island better. We can help one another." Senfft asked the leaders to meet him in his office once a month to discuss what was happening around the island and to discuss the new work projects he was planning. **On an island where nearly every decision was made in a council meeting, the German administration worked because it set up a council of its own.**

When Arno Senfft wanted to build a new road or dig a new canal, he didn't just order the work to be done. He brought his idea to the chiefs. If the chiefs approved of the plan, they returned to the Council of High-Ranking Villages. High-ranking village chiefs ordered other village chiefs to provide young men for work crews. The men came because they respected their traditional leaders, and they finished their projects to avoid bringing embarrassment to their villages.

Senfft had a strong voice in his council meetings, but he did not have the only voice. He was very good at persuading Yap's highest-ranking chiefs to make changes around the island, but he never tried to force change. Senfft knew that he could do very little without the chiefs' support, and without the workers they could recruit for his projects. The chiefs knew that they could never complete such large-scale projects without the Germans' knowledge of engineering. Chiefs were also pleased to find that the work went more smoothly when they could report a lazy worker to the Germans for punishment without fear of angering him and his family themselves.

The German administration in Yap is one of the few success stories in the history of Micronesia's foreign occupations. Arno Senfft worked with a council of Yap's traditional leaders and recruited his policemen from the families of village chiefs, and so was able to accomplish most of what he wanted with the full support of local leadership.



Check Your Reading: Why was the German Government so successful in Yap when it had so many problems in Pohnpei?

What Do German Improvements Tell Us About Yap?

We can learn several important things about Yap from this story.

First, this story shows us Yapese people's attitudes toward outsiders. Yapese people were more likely than Pohnpeians to wait and see what a foreign occupier was like before making up their minds. When the Spanish had come to the island, most Yapese waited and decided that the Spanish administration was selfish and disrespectful. But when they saw that the Germans would respect their power and that the roads, canals, and piers they wanted to build would be good for the island, Yapese traditional leaders decided that they would be willing to work with the German administration. The result of their decision was that for years Yapese people enjoyed one of the best built infrastructures of any island in the Pacific.

Second, this story shows us how important it was for a foreign occupier to work with traditional leaders. Yap's traditional leaders decided to give their support to the German administration's work projects because they believed that building infrastructure would be good for Yap. But the chiefs probably would not have supported Arno Senfft's plans if he had not shown respect for their titles by including them in his decision-making. In addition, the orders for the Germans' work projects had to be communicated to the villages in the right way, and the Germans could never have done this without the help of traditional leaders. In Yapese traditional leadership, the way an order is communicated is very important. Low-ranking village chiefs send their requests upward through a chain of villages to high-ranking village chiefs. High-ranking village chiefs send their orders downward through the same chain of villages. If an order comes from the wrong place, it is often ignored. By arranging for traditional leaders to issue orders for them, the Germans in Yap were able to communicate with the whole island in a way they could never have done on their own.

Third, this story shows us how traditional leaders and foreign occupiers could help one another. For the most part, Yap's traditional leaders and the German administration

Below: The Tageren canal in Yap just after it was finished. The canal was one of the biggest achievements of German cooperation with Yapese traditional leaders.



had different goals. The Germans hoped to turn the island into a way to make money for their country. Yapese traditional leaders had little interest in whether or not Germany became rich. But the Germans and Yapese were able to help one another anyway. The island's public works projects were the most obvious example of how the Yapese and Germans could work together, but the chiefs were also pleased that they could use the Germans to punish wrongdoers for them and that they could borrow the Germans' police force when they needed it to keep order in their villages or show their own authority.



Check Your Reading: Why did Yapese chiefs like German officials more than the Spanish officials that came before them?



Vocabulary For Review

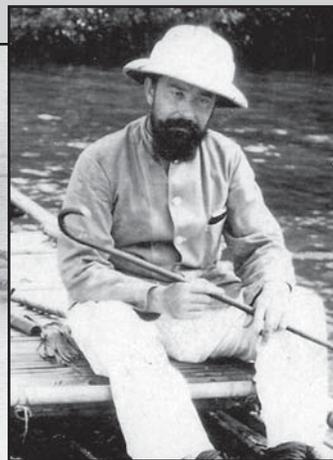
- **Indirect rule:** a system of rule where a foreign country places its leaders at the top of the government but leaves the work of governing to local people
- **Infrastructure:** the large public services that make government and business possible
- **Reform:** a plan for making improvements in the way a government or a society works



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **The Germans Come to Pohnpei and Yap:** German officials came to Pohnpei and Yap with similar plans, but the different attitudes of island leaders and their people in each island made for very different results.
- **Land Reforms in Pohnpei:** Pohnpeians who otherwise did not trust German occupiers accepted German land reforms because the people wanted to change land ownership on the island anyway.
- **Case Study: The Sokehs Rebellion:** After unusually bad treatment from a German official, warriors from one of Pohnpei's five paramount chiefdoms went to war with Germany without the rest of the island's help.
- **Case Study: German Improvements in Yap:** Because Yapese leaders and their people decided that German plans would be good for Yap, Germans were able to work together with Yapese chiefs to make big improvements in Yap's infrastructure.
- **What Does the Sokehs Rebellion Tell Us About Pohnpei?** The Sokehs Rebellion shows us that Pohnpeians often did not trust outsiders, that Pohnpei's paramount chiefdoms often competed with one another, that Pohnpeians waged war differently from Europeans, and that individual personalities can have big effects on history.
- **What Do German Improvements Tell Us About Yap?** German improvements in Yap show us that Yapese people often waited before they decided whether outsiders were good or bad and how much progress foreign officials could make if they listened to traditional leaders.



Far left: German Colonia. 1908.

Left: Arno Senfft, whose ability to listen to traditional leaders brought Germany success in Yap.



Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- How were the attitudes of Pohnpeian leaders in Sokehs different from the attitudes of chiefs in Yap?
- What were some of the similarities between Carl Boeder in Pohnpei and Arno Senfft in Yap? What were some of the differences?
- Why was it important for foreign governments in Micronesia to work with island leaders?

Critical Thinking

- What do you think might have happened if Arno Senfft had come to Pohnpei and Carl Boeder had come to Yap?
- What effect did Yapese chiefs' "wait and see" attitude have on their relationships with foreign governments?
- How were Pohnpeian and Yapese relationships with the Germans similar to Kosraean relationships with American missionaries? How were they different?

Writing

- Imagine that you are a Yapese chief on vacation in Pohnpei in 1910, just when things between the people of Sokehs and the German Government are starting to go bad, but before the beginning of the Sokehs Rebellion. One night, you find yourself at the

sakau stone with Soumadau. What do you tell him about your experiences with the Germans in Yap? What advice would you give him? **Write a short story** about your conversation with Soumadau.

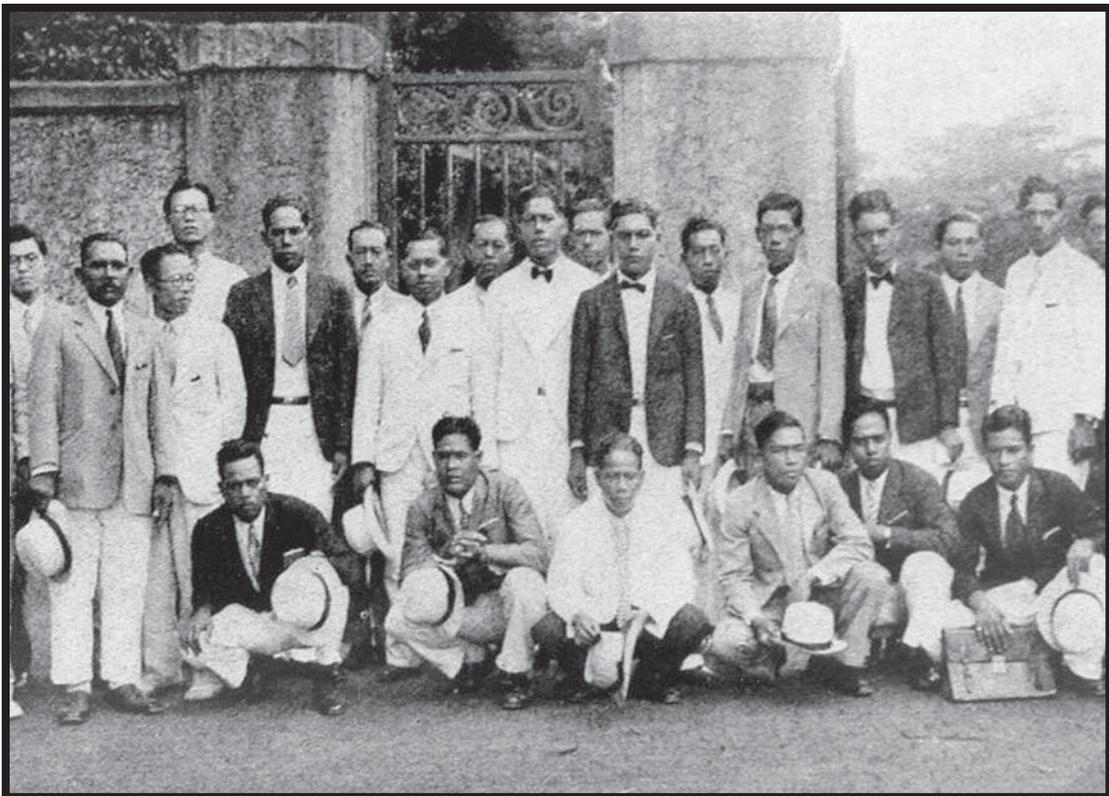
- The Sokehs Rebellion was not a rebellion of Pohnpeians against the German occupation. It was a rebellion of one of Pohnpei's paramount chiefdoms against the German occupation. Soumadau and his warriors were not able to convince Pohnpei's other paramount chiefdoms to fight. **Write a speech** that a paramount chief of Kitti might give to his people, explaining why Kitti would stay out of the rebellion.
- Yapese policemen were usually the sons of powerful village chiefs. Their job was to make sure people followed German rules and their high ranks helped them to get their jobs done. **Write a short play or skit** of a conversation between a Yapese policeman and a Yapese man who doesn't want to follow German rules because the Germans are not Yap's real leaders. What might these two men say to one another?

Below: Warriors from Sokehs after their capture by German officials, at work in Aimeliik, Palau.



CHAPTER EIGHT

Micronesia's Japanese Occupation



Above: A group of Micronesian chiefs on a trip to Japan. Japanese rule brought excitement to the islands, but traditional leaders found that they had little place in the new Japanese system. Still, the chiefs kept their people's respect and the Japanese system offered some new opportunities for the advancement of young island leaders.



Above: Postcards sent home by Japanese settlers in Pohnpei during the 1930s. The pictures above are of Kolonia's main street, Namiki Street (now Kasselhie Street) and a wide view of the town from the sea. Micronesia's Japanese population exploded all over Micronesia during the 1920s and 1930s and many towns grew up almost overnight.

Introduction: Japanese Settlers Come to Chuuk

It was 1938, and as Ikiwo walked through the small town that the Japanese had built in Tonoas, his home island in Chuuk Lagoon, he thought about how much things had changed there.

On his left, there was a store. The store sold strange and interesting Japanese food, beautiful Japanese clothes, and even music. Ikiwo didn't have much money, but he did stop in at the store from time to time, and now his house was full of things from Japan. Farther down the road, on his right, was a small school, the school where he had gone as a child and where he had learned to speak Japanese and to do simple math. Behind him was the police station, where his uncle worked under the Japanese chief of police as the assistant police chief of Tonoas. Ikiwo thought about all the Japanese fishermen who lived in his village, hundreds of them, some of

them his friends, and the factory they had built to process their fish. He thought about all things that the Japanese brought with them to Tonoas, things that his parents had never known about. A lot had changed in a short time.

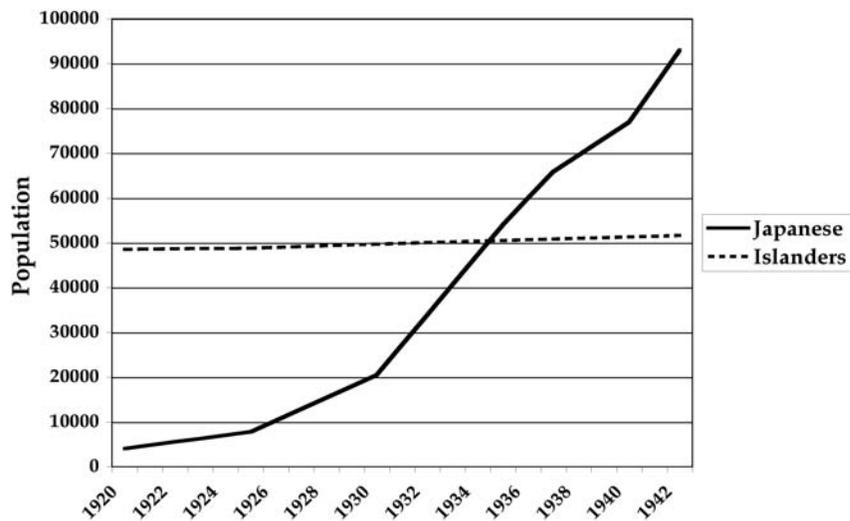
Before World War II, Japan had a large population that was quickly growing larger with each passing year. But many Japanese people were poor. They were farmers without land of their own or fishermen without enough work to make a living. The Japanese Government was looking for a way for its farmers to have land and for its fishermen to have work. And so Japan began to look overseas. The Japanese military moved into Korea, China, Micronesia, and Southeast Asia. Where the military went, settlers followed, and Japanese families began to spread out all over eastern Asia and into Micronesia. The Japanese Government wanted power, but most families who moved into Japan's new territories were just looking for land and a good home.

As the years went by, many Japanese families came to live in the islands. By 1942, over 93,000 Japanese men, women, and children made

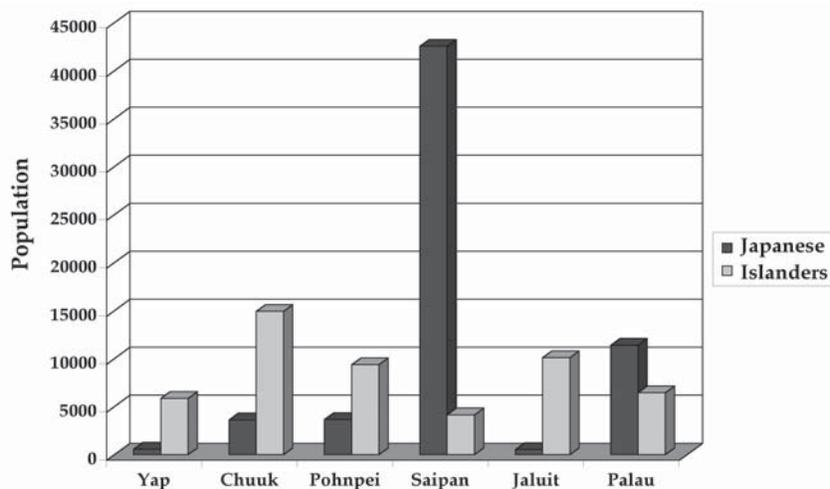
Japanese Settlers Come to Micronesia

In many parts of Micronesia, the face of the Japanese occupation was not government officials but Japanese settlers. Many of these settlers were poor farmers and fisherman who had moved to the islands in search of a better life for themselves and their families. Some settlers, like those who worked for the colonial government, were rarely seen by islanders. But others, especially those who had come to fish or to farm, were often seen in island communities. Many older Micronesians still remember some of these settlers as friends or relatives. Yet, the number of Japanese settlers was so large that there were already more Japanese than islanders in Micronesia by 1935. The population of islanders across Micronesia stayed about the same as the population of Japanese settlers increased. Look at the graph on the top to see a comparison of the Japanese and Micronesian population in the islands between 1920 and 1942. Look at the bottom graph to see where Japanese settlers were living in 1937, the last year the Japanese administration in Micronesia reported island population.

Japanese Settlers in Micronesia (1920-1942)

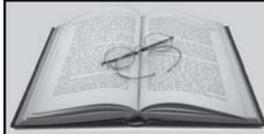


Micronesian and Japanese Populations in Selected Micronesian Islands (1937)



their homes in islands from Palau to the Marshalls, compared with just over 50,000 islanders in the same area. Some islands, like Saipan and Palau, had busy towns at their centers that looked little different from any medium-sized town in the Japanese countryside. Islanders usually made their homes outside of these new Japanese towns, but Micronesians also found themselves in town spending the little bit of money they had on exciting new goods from Japan.

By the 1930s, some islanders had the strange feeling of being outnumbered by foreigners in their own islands. Not everything about the Japanese occupation was good for Micronesians, as you will see in this chapter. Yet the Japanese did make incredible advances in Micronesia in a short amount of time. As it turned out, islanders didn't have long to enjoy those advances. When World War II came to Micronesia all the Japanese settlers returned to Japan and everything the Japanese had done in the islands seemed to disappear in a flash.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the ways Micronesian towns changed during the Japanese occupation?

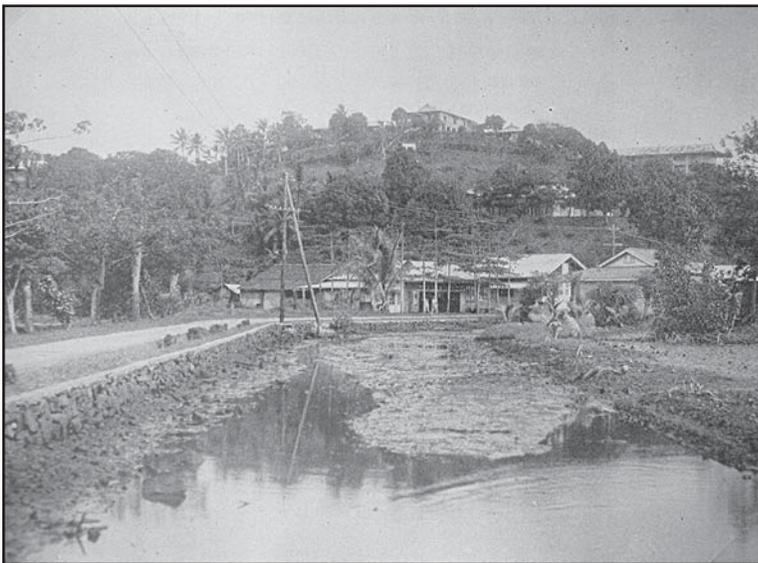
Japanese Government in Chuuk

The Japanese, like the Germans and Spanish before them, set up an occupying government in Micronesia. The Japanese Government in Micronesia was different from the foreign governments that came before it. Unlike the Germans, the Japanese wanted to rule Micronesian **directly**. **In direct rule, an occupier tries to take control of every part**

of local government. For the first time, some of Micronesia's traditional leaders felt their own authority decreasing as the occupation government grew stronger. After only a few years the Japanese administration took full control of government from one end of Micronesia to the other.

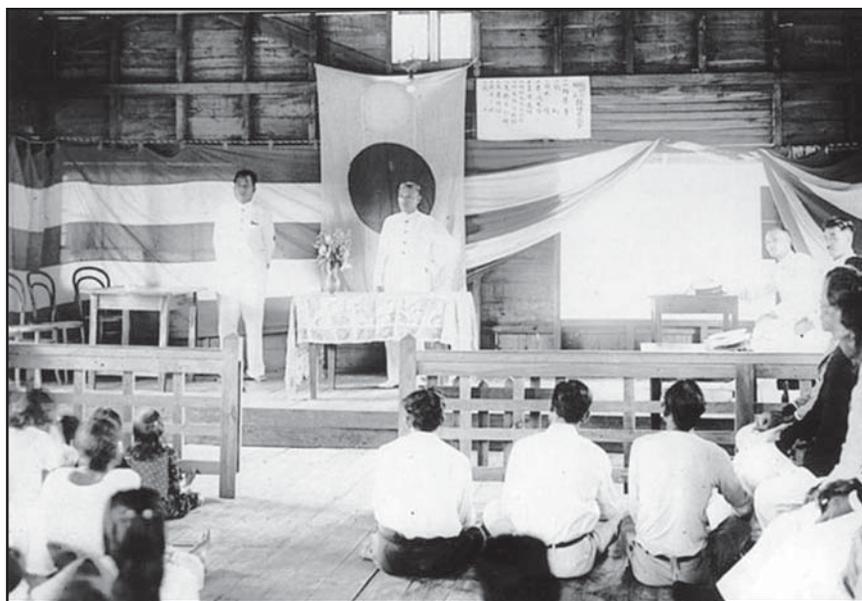
Like Germany and Spain, Japan hoped that having colonies would increase its political power, bring the country honor, and bring in new money. Unlike Germany and Spain, however, Japan planned to rule the islands directly and mostly

Below: Government buildings in Tonoas, Japan's headquarters in Chuuk.



succeeded in doing so. And, unlike German and Spain, Japan's changes to the islands, especially to island infrastructure, were much more far-reaching.

Like the Germans, the Japanese supervised the construction of roads and docks, making improvements in travel both on land and in the water. But the Japanese Government did more than the Germans had done. It built hospitals and



dispensaries from Palau to the Marshalls. It built Micronesia's first public school system. It started a regular steamship service between Micronesia and Japan, starting the flow of Japanese businessmen to the islands. And it sent teams of researchers all over the islands to study the land and to learn about Micronesian culture.

What did Japanese direct rule mean for traditional leaders? Japan wanted to rule Micronesia directly, but Japanese officials weren't interested in getting rid of traditional leadership altogether. Instead, they wanted to make sure that Japanese officials had all the highest-ranking government jobs so that Japanese people would hold the most power.

Traditional leaders were expected to carry Japanese orders to their people, but they did not have any influence over the Japanese Government. If Japanese Government officials did not like a traditional leader, they replaced him with someone else. **The Japanese Government wanted to make sure that Japanese officials held the highest positions in the occupying government and that the Micronesian traditional leaders who worked with them understood enough Japanese to follow their orders.**

It was not easy for traditional leaders to have their power taken away by outsiders. The Japanese Government removed traditional leaders in islands from Palau to the Marshalls. Still, some traditional leaders felt that some good might come of the Japanese occupation. Traditional warfare stopped under the German administration, and the islands stayed peaceful under the Japanese. Infrastructure improved. And islanders who worked as assistants to Japanese officials learned important things about the way the Japanese system worked. Let's

Above: A ceremony to install a new district chief in Pohnpei. When traditional leaders refused to bring Japanese orders to their people, the Japanese Government chose someone else to be chief instead. Ceremonies like the one above made Japanese-selected chiefs look official, but everyone remembered who the real chiefs were.

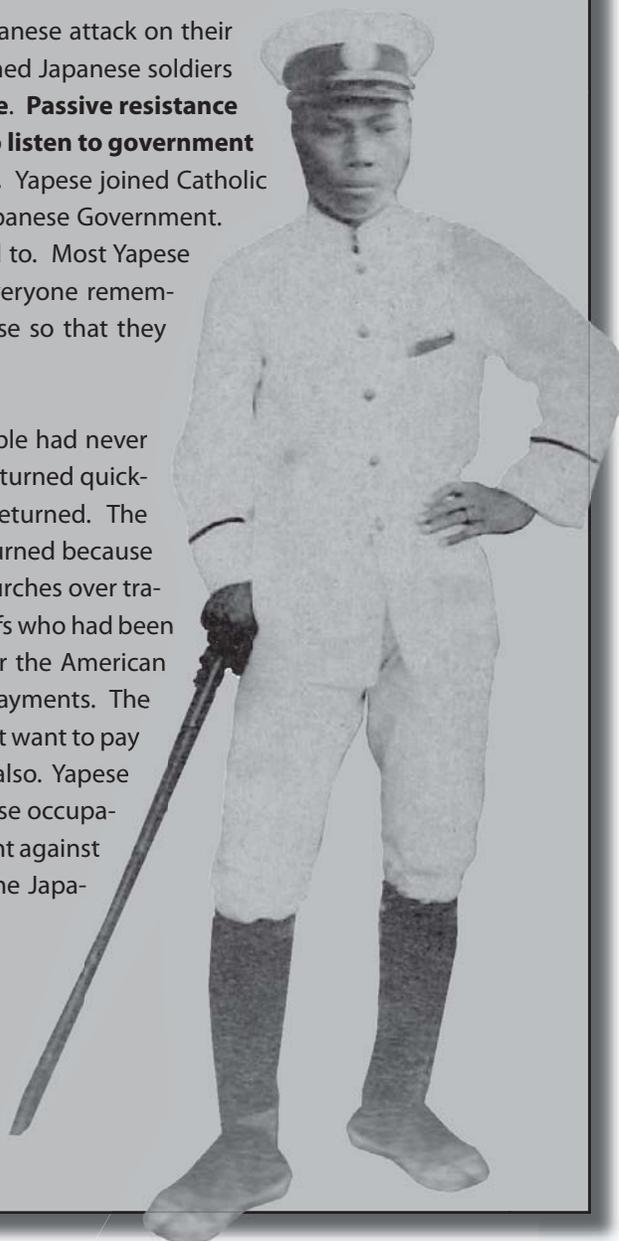
The Japanese in Yap and Yapese Passive Resistance

The Second World War was finally over, and the Japanese had finally left Yap. As Akilino entered the new men's house in his village in Yap for the first time, he felt a sudden rush of emotion. It was now over twenty years since he had last come to the men's house to sleep. He thought back. It was before the war, when he was a much younger man. He had awoken to the sounds of Japanese soldiers rushing into the men's house and beating anyone they found there. They came on an order that no one would be allowed to sleep in the men's houses from then on, an order which Akilino hadn't taken seriously. But after the soldiers were so quick to punish those who went against the new rule, he thought he would have to leave the men's house for good.

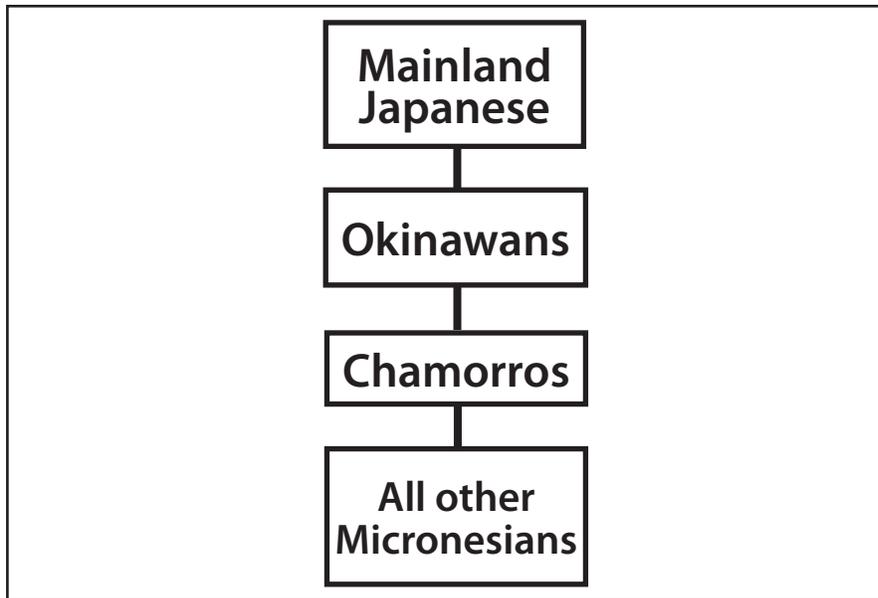
The Japanese governor had made it a crime to sleep in a men's house, to hold a traditional exchange ceremony, and to practice Yapese traditional religion. He had removed Yapese chiefs and replaced them with other men who would do anything he said. He had made a law against the tribute that Yapese people had always paid to their chiefs. He had fired the Yapese policemen who had worked so well under the Germans and replaced them with Chamorros. His administration even discouraged traditional dress.

Akilino and most people he knew wouldn't stand for the Japanese attack on their culture, but they also knew that they couldn't defeat well-armed Japanese soldiers in battle. So instead of fighting they chose **passive resistance**. **Passive resistance is when people who do not like their government refuse to listen to government officials whenever they can, quietly and without violence.** Yapese joined Catholic churches to put some space between themselves and the Japanese Government. They did not change their culture when they were not forced to. Most Yapese people wore traditional dress whenever they could. And everyone remembered the customs that were not allowed under the Japanese so that they could be restarted later.

When the Japanese left Yap, it was clear that the Yapese people had never forgotten their culture. Things that were important to them returned quickly. But things that no longer seemed to make sense never returned. The men's houses, traditional dress, and exchange ceremonies returned because people liked them. But the people now preferred Catholic churches over traditional religion, and so they stayed in their churches. The chiefs who had been removed by the Japanese were voted back into power under the American administration, and those chiefs tried to bring back tribute payments. The people wanted their chiefs to have power again, but they didn't want to pay them tribute any more, and so tribute payments disappeared also. Yapese people fought hard to protect their culture during the Japanese occupation, but not because they didn't believe in change. They fought against Japanese changes because they believed that the changes the Japanese wanted to make would move Yap in the wrong direction.

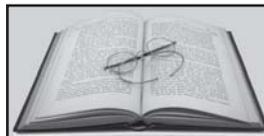


Right: A Yapese policeman during the Japanese occupation. Although the Yapese followed Japanese orders when they had to, they resisted Japanese rule whenever they could.



Left: Each of the four main groups in Japan's Micronesian colonies were ranked. Mainland Japanese were ranked highest, followed by Japanese from Okinawa, Chamorros, and all other islanders. Although Micronesians did not chose to be the lowest-ranked group in their own home, the idea of ranking was familiar to islanders all over Micronesia from traditional leadership.

read the story of one chief in Chuuk whose title was taken away to see how traditional leaders handled the Japanese occupation.



Check Your Reading: How was the Japanese occupation different from the German and Spanish occupations that came before it?

Ikiwo and Chiefs Under the Japanese

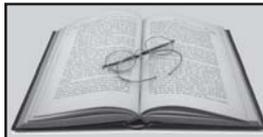
Ikiwo had known for many years that he would be the next chief of his section. His uncle had been chief for as long as he could remember, and as his mother's oldest son he had spent much of his life preparing, learning how to be a good leader. He learned *itang* and was already becoming known for his skill. His father was even chief of another section nearby. And so when the day finally came for a new chief to be chosen in his village, early in 1922, Ikiwo was ready.

After only a few weeks as section chief, a Japanese official suddenly arrived in Ikiwo's village with a small group of policemen following close behind. He announced that Ikiwo was not chief at all, that another man, the man who was standing beside him and whom no one had ever seen before, was to be the new village chief. This new man wasn't a member of Ikiwo's family and he had no right to a title, but he had spent some time working with a Japanese trader and could speak a little Japanese.

Ikiwo soon found out this was not the first time the Japanese had removed a chief from power. The Japanese had been replacing chiefs all over Chuuk Lagoon with men of their own choosing, men who could speak Japanese. Ikiwo was angry. He had spent his whole life waiting to be chief, and some stranger had taken his title away from him.

Some section chiefs didn't take the Japanese seriously when they started installing new chiefs. Why, they wondered, would anyone listen to a man who everyone knew was not the real chief? But Ikiwo took the Japanese very seriously. If he was going to be chief, he wanted everyone to recognize his authority. So he decided to get it back. He studied hard and learned Japanese. He learned to read and write Chuukese. He started work as a secretary to the district chief and managed to work his way up the system to become assistant district chief. Finally, everyone recognized Ikiwo as a leader, even the Japanese officials who had taken away his title in the first place.

After a lot of hard work, Ikiwo had reached one of the highest levels of leadership available to him under the Japanese administration. During the Japanese occupation, the highest level a Micronesian could hope to reach was the position of assistant to a Japanese official. Japanese schoolteachers worked with assistant schoolteachers who were Micronesian. Japanese police officers worked with assistant police officers who were Micronesian. **Islanders may not have been able to reach the top of the Japanese administration, but having a position as an assistant could still bring an islander real honor and authority.**



Check Your Reading: What was the highest position an islander could reach in the Japanese occupying government?

Rank, the “Yes-Yes Council,” and the Assistant

Under the Japanese, everyone in Micronesia was given a rank based on where they were from. At the top of the system were the Japanese themselves. The second-highest ranked group was Okinawans, men and women who came to Micronesia from Japan's southern islands. The third ranked group was Chamorros, islanders from the Marianas whom the Japanese sometimes brought to the rest of Micronesia as workers. All other Micronesians were at the bottom.

Although many of the Micronesians who worked as assistants to Japanese officials would certainly have preferred to be in a higher-ranking group, the idea of ranking was very familiar to them. We

have already seen how important the idea of rank is to Pohnpeian and Yapese society, and even in Chuuk the idea of rank was familiar. Chiefs expected their people's respect, and so it came as no surprise when the Japanese asked for respect also.

What about Micronesian traditional leaders? Did the Japanese give respect to the chiefs as they asked for the chiefs to respect them? The Japanese policy for dealing with traditional leaders was not all bad for Micronesians, but it certainly was not all good. German officials in Yap spent much of their time meeting with traditional leaders, trying to find out what the Yapese people wanted and how the Germans and Yapese leaders could help each other. The Japanese also held meetings with island leaders across Micronesia, and they even formed councils. But Japanese officials were not interested in finding out what traditional leaders thought. The Japanese wanted chiefs to bring their government's orders to the people and to gather information about the islands for them.

The Japanese Government formed councils and held meetings so that they could tell the chiefs what to do. Chiefs had to say yes to any idea the Japanese brought them. If a chief refused to do what the Japanese wanted he was replaced with another islander who would say yes to Japanese plans. Micronesians sometimes called these councils **"yes-yes councils."** **A yes-yes council is a council of Micronesian traditional leaders who bring Japanese orders to their people.** Unlike the councils of traditional leaders formed under the Germans in Yap, the yes-yes councils that the Japanese formed in Micronesia had very little power.

Even as the Japanese were busy putting handcuffs on Micronesian traditional leaders, the islanders who worked as assistants to Japanese Government officials, policemen, and teachers were learning from them and creating a new kind of authority in the islands. Traditionally, power in Micronesia was passed down either by ownership of land, in Chuuk and Yap, or by the choice of the current chief, as in Pohnpei.

Below: An assistant teacher (on left, with two lines on his sleeves) and two police officers during Japanese times. Although islanders could not rise higher in the Japanese Government than the position of assistant to a Japanese official, the position of assistant carried real authority.



Islanders who worked as assistants learned the Japanese language and they learned how the Japanese system worked.

Traditional leaders were still important, of course, but the assistants had something that their chiefs did not: an insider's understanding of the Japanese Government. This new knowledge gave them power. The power that comes with a solid understanding of a foreign occupier's government and language began under the Japanese, but it became even more important when the Americans arrived. We will talk more about these early divisions of power in unit three of this textbook.



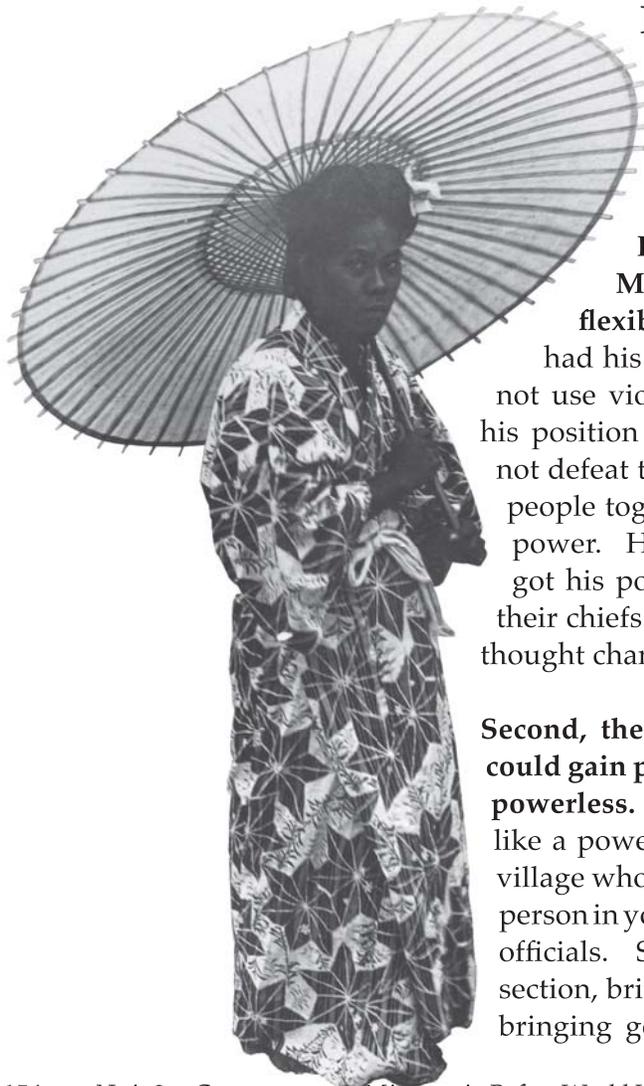
Check Your Reading: Why did it make sense to islanders when the Japanese Government ranked the groups of people living in Micronesia?

How Did Micronesia Change During the Japanese Occupation?

The Japanese occupation of Micronesia can tell us several things.

First, the Japanese occupation shows us that Micronesian traditional leaders were often flexible. In our example story, Chief Ikiwo of Chuuk had his title taken away by the Japanese. But Ikiwo did not use violence against the occupying government to get his position back, because he knew that his warriors could not defeat the Japanese military. He did not even gather his people together to demand that the Japanese return him to power. He worked within the new Japanese system and got his power back on his own. Micronesian people and their chiefs were always willing to make changes when they thought change would help them.

Second, the Japanese occupation shows us that islanders could gain power even in systems that seemed to make them powerless. Being an assistant Japanese teacher may not seem like a powerful job. But if you are the only person in your village who knows Japanese, you may turn out to be the only person in your village who can speak to Japanese Government officials. Suddenly you're representing everyone in your section, bringing their concerns to government officials, and bringing government orders back to the people. And, in

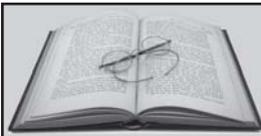


speaking to government officials, you may find that you're learning a lot about the way the Japanese Government works. The Japanese Government never meant its assistants to do anything more than help the Japanese officials they worked under. But in fact, these assistants came to have an authority of their own among their people, and the Micronesian assistant was an important early step toward the creation of a new kind of leader in the islands: the professional politician.



Third, the Japanese occupation shows us that Micronesians could accept the changes that came to their islands without forgetting who they were. Japanese culture was new, fun, and exciting. Islanders wore kimonos, ate Japanese food, sang Japanese songs, learned to speak the Japanese language, and some even became sumo wrestlers. Hints of Japanese culture still remain in Micronesia today. When the Japanese Government saw how much some islanders liked Japanese culture, they thought that islanders were becoming “modern,” forgetting their cultures and turning into Japanese people. But they were wrong. Islanders liked Japanese culture, but they did not become Japanese. Micronesians never forgot who they were, even as they added new things to their culture and made changes to island life.

Above: The Japanese District Administrator's office in Pohnpei, sometime in the 1920s. Most high-ranking Japanese Government officials lived in Micronesia's towns, going to work in fancy offices, living in fancy houses, and having little contact with islanders. But many Japanese farmers and fisherman came to live in Micronesia's smaller villages and had close relationships with local people.



Check Your Reading: How could being able to speak Japanese give islanders power during the Japanese occupation?

CONCLUSION TO UNIT TWO

You have just read about one group of American missionaries and three different occupying governments who worked for years to leave their marks on Micronesia. Each of these four groups of foreigners was very different from the others, and each found that their political goals, cultural backgrounds, and personalities were received differently in each new island they visited.

Across Micronesia, island societies rarely changed quite in the ways foreigners expected them to change. American missionaries who came

Revivals of Traditional Religion

In a small village in northern Palau, a woman named Ngirur lay dying. It was 1916, just two years after the Japanese had arrived in Micronesia to set up a new colonial government. Ngirur's husband was worried sick, and so he decided to visit a man he had heard of in a nearby village, a man named Temedad, for help. People had been talking about Temedad. They said that a traditional Palauan god had been visiting him for the last two years. Temedad agreed to come, to see what he could do.

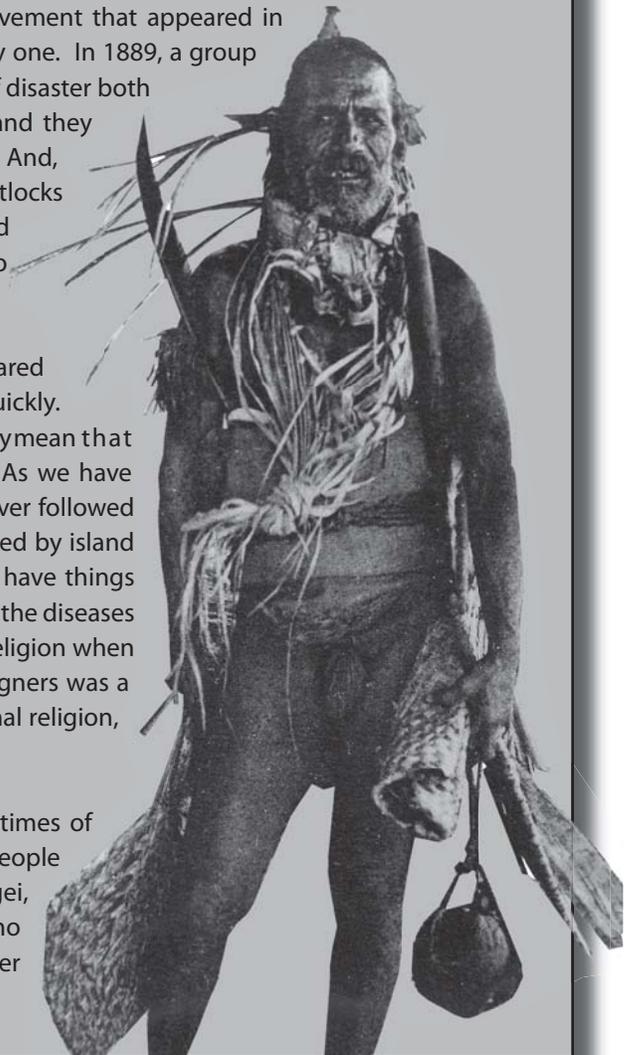
When Temedad arrived, he was met outside by a small group of women. "She is dead!" they told him. "We are sorry to have asked you to come all this way." But Temedad, silent, went into the house anyway, and he began to rub the woman's arms with herbs. After a long wait and a lot of rubbing, the woman opened her eyes and asked for water. Everyone was amazed, and Temedad's fame soon spread throughout Palau.

Temedad and a few followers founded a new religious movement. He called the new religion Modekngai, which means "to bring together," because he believed that foreigners had separated Palauans from their traditional gods. Temedad said that foreigners had made Palauan money dirty, and that he could make it clean again. He said that any woman whose husband worked for the Japanese had to end her marriage. He even told his followers to destroy a Japanese school. When the Japanese put Temedad in jail, Modekngai only became stronger. Temedad's followers raised money, told of the day when Japan would be destroyed, opened health centers so that Palauans could stay away from Japanese hospitals, and opened a school so that Palauans could stay away from Japanese schools.

Modekngai was the largest and most organized religious movement that appeared in Micronesia during a foreign occupation, but it was not the only one. In 1889, a group of islanders in Yap saw an unusual volcanic eruption as a sign of disaster both for the island's Spanish occupiers and for Yapese Christians, and they held dances to bring people back to traditional Yapese religion. And, between 1903 and 1908, a group of traditional priests in the Mortlocks brought back old dances (the high priest of Ta in 1905 is pictured at right), refused to wear European-style clothes, talked to traditional gods, and encouraged traditional marriage.

Religious movements like the ones described above have appeared all over the world when people see their societies changing quickly. Joining a movement like Modekngai, however, does not necessarily mean that a person hates foreigners or even that he hates Christianity. As we have seen, many islanders were shocked to meet foreigners who never followed the laws of traditional island religions and yet were not punished by island gods. Foreigners had their own religion, and they seemed to have things that islanders could not get. Foreigners were even able to avoid the diseases that hurt islanders so much. But not everyone left traditional religion when they saw foreigners. Some believed that the presence of foreigners was a sign that islanders needed even more protection from traditional religion, and they used traditional religions to regain their own strength.

Most of the religious movements that have appeared during times of great change in Micronesia disappeared after a few years, when people grew more used to the new shape of their islands. Modekngai, however, is still practiced in Palau. Modekngai ministers today no longer preach against the Japanese, the Americans, or any other foreigners.



to Kosrae hoped to spread the gospel across the island, but never imagined that their churches would become the center of Kosraean political life. The Spanish believed that they could frighten Pohnpeians with a large military force, but they were defeated on the battlefield and driven into their fort, where they waited out the rest of their occupation. The Germans arrived in Chuuk, a place well known for its warfare, expecting Chuukese people to put up a fight when they were asked to give up their weapons. But the supposedly violent and war-like Chuukese turned out to be tired of war and gave up all of their weapons immediately. The Japanese came to Yap expecting to make the island modern by attacking traditional culture, but they found that Yapese people had such little interest in the changes they wanted to make that very little could be done.

As we have seen, foreigners introduced many changes to Micronesia, but the only changes that remained were the one that islanders liked. Many of these changes can still be seen today. Kosraean churches remain the center of political life there today just as they were before the war. The town hall meetings American missionaries brought to Pohnpei became an early model for the democratic models that Pohnpeians later accepted during the American occupation. Pohnpeians' acceptance of German land reforms, which took land away from Nahmwarkis and Nahnkens and put it in the hands of individual families, was another shift of power to the people. Throughout Micronesia, the influence of Japanese culture on Micronesian societies can still be seen.

We have also seen what happened when foreigners tried to force a change that Micronesians didn't like. In a few cases, as in Pohnpei's Sokehs Rebellion, islanders rose up in violent resistance. But this was unusual. More often, islanders used passive resistance to get their way. Sometimes work crews worked slower than normal or schoolchildren who were required to wear western clothes to school returned to traditional dress as soon as their teachers couldn't see them anymore. Micronesians obeyed occupiers when they had to, like when the Japanese Government in Yap used violence to force islanders to stop cultural practices that were important to them, or when the Japanese replaced traditional leaders with their own men all over Micronesia. But those changes did not last. Micronesians simply remembered what they had lost and returned to the old system when they could.

In the introduction to this unit, you read that the real power to change Micronesian societies has always rested in the hands of the Micronesian people. Now that you have read a handful of cases studies on changes in island societies, you should also have noticed that Micronesians have not used this power to keep their societies from changing. Rather, Micronesians have tried to make the best changes possible, guiding their societies into the future rather than

keeping them frozen in the past. Just as traditional leadership changed and reshaped itself before the Americans, Spanish, Germans, and Japanese began coming to the islands, so leadership changed after they arrived and continues to change today.



Check Your Reading: What happened in the past when foreigners tried to force an unwanted change on islanders?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Decentralized government:** a government in which many people have small amounts of power and make decisions for small numbers of people
- **Direct rule:** an occupying government where a foreign country tries to take control of every part of local government
- **Passive resistance:** people who do not like their government and refuse to listen to government officials whenever they can, quietly and without violence
- **Yes-Yes council:** a council of Micronesian traditional leaders who bring Japanese orders to their people

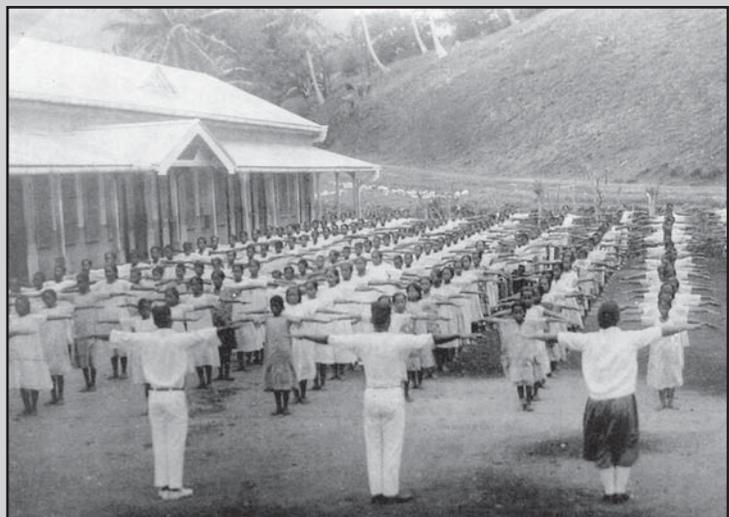


Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **Japanese Settlers Come to Chuuk:** Although the towns that grew in Micronesia during Japanese times were built mainly for Japanese settlers, islanders benefited from these new towns also.
- **Japanese Settlers Come to Micronesia:** By 1935, there were already more Japanese settlers in Micronesia than islanders.
- **Japanese Government in Chuuk:** The Japanese Government hoped that Micronesia would bring Japan honor, political power, and money and made sure that only Japanese officials held the highest positions in Micronesia's occupation government.
- **The Japanese in Yap and Yapese Passive Resistance:** Yapese people, angry at Japanese attacks on their culture, waited out the Japanese occupation and protected their way of life, but they were still willing to make changes that were good for their island.
- **Chief Ikiwo and Traditional Leaders Under the Japanese:** Although the Japanese Government removed traditional leaders who disagreed with them, islanders could have some power by working their way up the Japanese system.
- **Rank, the "Yes-Yes Council," and the Assistant:** Even as the Japanese were busy putting handcuffs on traditional leadership all over Micronesia, the islanders who worked as assistants to Japanese Government officials, policemen, and teachers were learning from them and creating a new kind of authority in the islands.
- **How Did Chuuk Change During the Japanese Occupation?** An island's culture was important for the success of an occupation and islanders received cultural changes different from political changes.

Below: Students exercise at a Japanese school in Chuuk.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- What kinds of jobs could Micronesians take to get authority under the Japanese administration?
- What limits did the Japanese Government put on Micronesian traditional leadership?
- In what ways did Japanese settlers and the culture they brought to the islands change Micronesia?

Critical Thinking

- How were Japanese plans for Micronesia similar to German plans for Micronesia? How were they different?
- Was the Japanese Government able to follow through on its plans for Micronesia? Did it get what it wanted?
- How do you think Micronesia's Japanese occupation might have been different if the Japanese Government sent only a few hundred people to the islands, as the Germans did, instead of thousands?

Right: Pohnpeians bow to the Japanese flag. The flag is flying on top of the old Spanish fort, which was used by both the Spanish and Germans as protection against islanders.



Writing

- The Japanese brought many changes to some parts of Micronesia. **Write an essay** describing some of the advantages and disadvantages of Japanese rule for islanders.
- A yes-yes council was a council of Micronesian leaders who brought Japanese orders to their people. Chiefs who refused to follow Japanese orders were replaced with others who did what Japanese officials told them to do. **Write a short play or skit** about one meeting of a yes-yes council.
- Islanders could not reach the top of the Japanese system, but having a position as an assistant could bring real honor and authority. Imagine that you are an assistant teacher at a Japanese school. **Write a journal entry** describing how your position in the community has changed since you took the job. Do others treat you differently now?

Unit Two Review

Below are three projects. On your own or with a group, use one or more of these projects to show that you understand the things you have read in this unit.

Making Good Choices

The year is 1860. Over the last 30 years, Kosrae's population has been cut in half by disease. Traditional leadership already seems to be suffering. Already six traditional titles have fallen out of use. You are Kosrae's paramount chief, Lupalik II. You must decide what should happen to Kosraean traditional leadership.

First, use your textbook to **find information** about Kosraean traditional leadership, which was similar to traditional leadership in Pohnpei, and how it changed in the 1800s. This information can help you to make a good decision.

Next, use the information you found to **list the possible choices you could make**. Will it be better for Kosrae if you fight to keep traditional leadership the way it is? Will it be better for Kosrae if you fight to change traditional leadership? Will it be better for Kosrae if you fight to replace traditional leaders with church leaders? Or will another solution be best for Kosrae? Write down all the possible choices you can think of.



Above and left: images of a changing Micronesia

Top left: Deacon Obadaiah, a Protestant church leader in Pohnpei.

Top right: German troops fighting the Sokehs rebellion.

Left: A Japanese store and watch shop in Tonoas, Chuuk, with its owner standing in front.

Keep Reading!

If you're interested in pre-war Micronesian history, here are some other books you might enjoy:

Buck, Elden M. *Island of Angels: The Growth of the Church on Kosrae 1852-2002*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Watermark Publishing, 2005.

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. and M.L. Berg, eds. *Micronesia: Winds of Change: A Book of Readings on Micronesian History*. Saipan: Trust Territory Printing Office, 1979.

Lewis, James L. *Kusaiean Acculturation: 1824-1948*. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Division of Land Management, 1967.

Peattie, Mark R. *Nan'yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia: 1885-1945*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

Price, Willard. *Adventures in Paradise*. New York: The John Day Co., 1955.

Yanaihara, Tadao. *Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Now, **think of the result of each of your possible choices**. If you fight to keep Kosraean traditional leadership the way it is, can you keep it strong? If you fight to replace Kosraean traditional leaders with church leaders, can you be sure that Kosraeans, and not American missionaries, will be in control? Write down what will probably happen if you make each choice.

Finally, **decide what to do**. Present your choice to the class and explain why you believe yours was the best decision. Give evidence to support why your decision was the best decision to make and why you believe the other choices are wrong. You can make a map, a poster, or a chart to support your position.

Keeping Cultures Strong

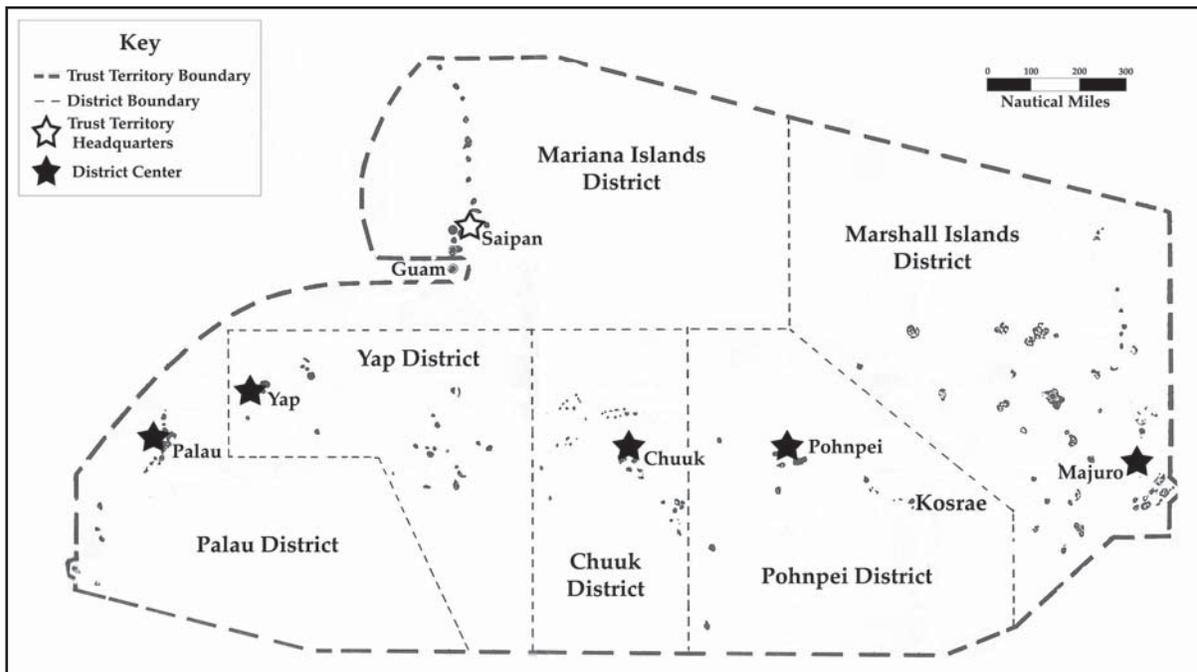
In the early 1900s, Yapese traditional leaders made important changes in Yap while protecting Yapese culture. When the Germans first came to Yap, many Yapese chiefs were not sure whether they could trust the German Government. Village councils all over Yap met to discuss what to do about the Germans. **Write a skit** of one of these village council meetings that shows the advantages and disadvantages of cooperating with the German Government. Be sure to include the relationship Yapese chiefs had with German governor Arno Senfft, the usefulness of German infrastructure projects to the Yapese people, and Yapese attitudes toward foreign occupiers.

Leaders and Their People

During the Japanese occupation of Micronesia, many new things came to the islands. Japanese settlers arrived, towns seemed to grow up overnight, and traditional leaders fell under the eye of the Japanese Government, which replaced any chief who didn't carry Japanese orders to his people. Imagine that you are a chief living in Chuuk in 1935. You have just been replaced with another man because you pushed too hard against Japanese Government officials. **Write a speech** that you can give to the people of your section at your next section meeting that discusses the similarities and differences between Chuuk's German occupation and Chuuk's Japanese occupation.

UNIT THREE

THE LONG ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE



***Above:** The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. After the American military took the islands from Japan during World War II, the United States set up a government in Micronesia that lasted for over thirty years. Micronesia would be known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands until the 1980s.*

The islands were divided into six districts, with district headquarters in Saipan, Yap, Palau, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Majuro. The German and Japanese Governments had also divided Micronesia into districts. The Trust Territory's districts were almost the same as the districts under the Japanese and German occupations. As under the Germans and Japanese, outer islanders under the Trust Territory Government found themselves attached to larger islands hundreds of miles away just because of the straight lines American officials drew through the ocean on their maps.

UNIT THREE INTRODUCTION:

Clanry and Moses: Kosrae's First Elections

Clanry and his brother Moses were walking and talking, passing through the streets of Lelu island in Kosrae. It was 1947. The two brothers were on their way to the voting booths to elect new leaders for the island. One leader, whom the Americans called a **magistrate**, would be elected from every village. All of those magistrates would join together to form a council to make decisions for the entire island. The chief magistrate would be the leader of that council. It made sense to Clanry and Moses. They had been voting for church leaders and working with island councils for as long as they could remember.

As they walked, Moses pointed out Aliksa Kanku's two-story house. "Look at that, Clanry," he said. "Do you remember when Aliksa's house was the only building left standing on Lelu, after all the bombs fell? I remember how scared I was of those American airplanes. I hid from them all day. Our crops were damaged, and it was too dangerous to farm. And do you remember the Japanese? They ran out of food too, and they suffered even more than we did."

Below: After the war, the American Navy set up camps like this one all over Micronesia to send Japanese settlers and soldiers back to Japan. With all of the Japanese gone and so many buildings destroyed from bombs, almost everything the Japanese built was lost, and much of what was lost was never replaced.

"Sure, I remember," Clanry said. "Those were hard times. But then the Americans came, all they sent all the Japanese back to Japan. Even that one guy, remember him? He was married to a Kosraean lady and they had two kids. The Americans told her that she could go to Japan, but that he couldn't stay here. So he left, and now he may never see his kids again. Anyway, I was certainly happy when all the fighting stopped and our village started to come back. It was such an exciting day when we all got together to build the new church."

ing day when we all got together to build the new church."

"Clanry," Moses said, "who are you going to vote for? I think the Americans expect us to vote for our paramount chief, but I really don't want to see him in power anymore."

"I know what you mean," Clanry said, "But I wouldn't want our paramount chief to be embarrassed by losing."

"Couldn't we vote for his son for chief magistrate?" Moses said. "Wouldn't that be fair?"

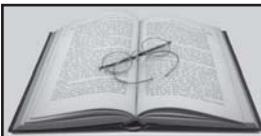


The brothers agreed that this would be the best way, and so when they reached the voting booths, both cast their votes for the paramount chief's son. When the election results were in, the paramount chief found that his son had been elected chief magistrate, not him. He had not been elected to any office at all.

Although the paramount chief, whose name was John Sigrah, was disappointed to find that his people did not want his leadership, he accepted their decision and became a pastor instead. Sigrah was Kosrae's last paramount chief. Many Kosraeans continued to call him by his title, Tokosra, but he no longer wanted to be the paramount chief. He could see that Kosrae's traditional system had come to an end. "Do not call me Tokosra," he told his people, "for I am no longer paramount chief. You must not forget that now we are a democracy, and I am something much better than a paramount chief. I am a pastor!"



Above: John Sigrah, Kosrae's last paramount chief. After losing an election for municipal office just after the Second World War, Sigrah gave up his position as paramount chief and became a minister.



Check Your Reading: Why didn't the Kosraean people vote for their paramount chief as the island's chief magistrate?

Important Themes in Unit Three

When the first elections came to Micronesia after World War II, islanders from Palau to the Marshall Islands went to the voting booths and voted for their traditional leaders. Wherever people were satisfied with their chiefs, the chiefs became magistrates. But not every chief made it into public office. In Kosrae, where the people no longer wanted their paramount chief to have decision-making powers, they refused to make him their chief magistrate. In Yap, where the Japanese Government had removed so many traditional chiefs and replaced them with men of its own choosing, the people used the vote to return their true chiefs to power.

In this unit, you will read about Micronesia's long road to independence. We will begin just after the Second World War, when the United States captured Micronesia from Japan and then got permission from the United Nations to occupy the islands. You will read about the sys-

tem of government the Americans introduced to the islands, the ways in which the American system changed Micronesian traditional leadership, and the ways in which Micronesians changed the American system. You will read about the Congress of Micronesia, the first important body of islanders to make decisions for all of Micronesia. You will also read about the long discussions between the Congress of Micronesia and the American Government that finally led to the creation of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

We will ask some of the same questions in this unit that we asked in Unit 2.

We will ask who was responsible for the ways in which Micronesian governments have changed. As we saw in Unit 2, both Micronesians and foreign occupiers were responsible for the changes that came to the islands. Foreigners brought new ideas, but it was Micronesians who decided whether those ideas should become a part of island life, whether they should be changed, or whether they should be forgotten.

During the American occupation, Micronesians were faced with an occupier that not only tried to make a few small changes to their government but also wanted to have islanders themselves participate in a whole new system. When the American system of government pushed against Micronesian systems of traditional leadership, Micronesian governments changed much more than they had during the Spanish, German, or Japanese occupations. But even though the changes to Micronesian leadership were great, it was still islanders who decided how and whether to use the new ideas the Americans introduced.

We will also look for seeds of the current political system. In Unit 2, we saw some of the ways Micronesian leadership changed before the Second World War. In Chuuk, where no traditional leader had ever had control over any other, a few chiefs began to become more powerful than those around them. In Pohnpei, the people supported the German effort to take land away from their paramount chiefs, giving themselves more power. And in Kosrae, the people took their traditional leaders out of power completely and gave their loyalty to church leaders instead.

In this unit, you will see more than hints toward the system of government we have in Micronesia today. You will see that system being built, by Micronesians and Americans, from the ground up. The creation of municipalities and the elections for municipal leaders like the one you just read about in Kosrae were the first steps. Those elections

were followed by the creation of district **legislatures**. **A legislature is a group of elected leaders who gather to make decisions and laws for their people.** The next step was the creation of the Congress of Micronesia, the first important legislative body made up of islanders to make decisions for all of Micronesia. The final step was Micronesian independence.



Check Your Reading: How were American changes in island government different from changes made by foreigners before the Second World War?

Some New Questions for Unit Three

We will also ask some new questions in this unit.

We will ask where professional politicians came from, and how Micronesians came to have two different systems of government at the same time. In many parts of Micronesia today, islanders look to two different sets of leaders. Professional politicians are elected to handle national, state, and local governments, and traditional leaders handle traditional activities. Yet although Micronesians regularly voted for their traditional leaders in the elections of the 1940s and 1950s, today few traditional leaders are elected to public office. In this unit, you will read about how a group of young, college-educated islanders became the first professional Micronesian politicians, and how they did it with the blessing of their traditional leaders.

We will ask how young politicians from all over Micronesia worked together to get things done. When Micronesia's first national legislatures were formed, Micronesian politicians representing many different islands gathered to work together and make decisions that everyone could be happy with. These young politicians were from different islands, came from different cultures, and often had different ideas about what should be done and how to do it. We have already seen how different systems of traditional leadership throughout Micronesia are, and congressmen brought different ideas of what Micronesian government should look like with them. Yet even though these politicians came from so many different places and had so many difficult decisions to make, they still managed to work together in a uniquely Micronesian way to get things done.

We will ask how Micronesian and American positions on independence were formed. The talks that finally led to Micronesian inde-

pendence were complicated and went on for years, but before talks on independence could really begin, islanders had to decide what it was they wanted. At first, no one knew what to expect. Would the islands become a part of the United States forever? Would that be a good thing? If not, was there anything that islanders could do about it?

The discussions about independence were not only between Micronesians and Americans; some of the most important discussions on independence took place among Micronesians themselves. After years of talk, there were many possibilities for how Micronesians could best define their relationship with the United States. Some people suggested that the islands could be completely independent and that Micronesians could raise a military to defend themselves. Some suggested that the islands could be independent, but that the United States could use its own military to defend the islands and handle their relationships with other countries. And some thought it would be best for Micronesia to become part of the United States permanently.

Just as Micronesians did not begin discussions on independence in full agreement with one another, there were also disagreements within the American Government on Micronesian independence. The American Government is made up of many different departments, and these departments often disagreed with one another. Disagreements among the U.S. State Department, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council and other groups made it confusing even for the officials representing the United States to present the United States position on Micronesian independence in negotiations with islanders.

Finally, we will ask **how Micronesia was created**. Of course, we know that people had been living on Micronesian islands for many thousands of years before any Spanish, German, Japanese, or American Government official set foot in Micronesia. But when the first Micronesian-run national legislatures gathered islanders from all over Micronesia in the 1960s and began to make decisions that affected everyone, many people who had only thought of themselves as Yapese, Chuukese, Pohnpeian, and Kosraean began to think of themselves as Micronesians for the first time. As Micronesians built a new nation, they also built the idea of what it means to be a Micronesian.

Today, we know the result of America's occupation of Micronesia. We remember that the islands that are now the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas had the right to choose what they wanted their relationship of the United States to be. We know the result of the Congress of Micronesia's long fight for independence, but it is important that we not take the congress' success for granted. Remember that the United States, the most powerful country

in the world, refused to grant independence to Micronesia for years. Remember that Micronesia, an area with less than one percent of the population of the United States and with no military to defend itself, finally convinced the United States to let its people decide their own future.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the possibilities for Micronesia's future relationship with the United States during the American occupation?

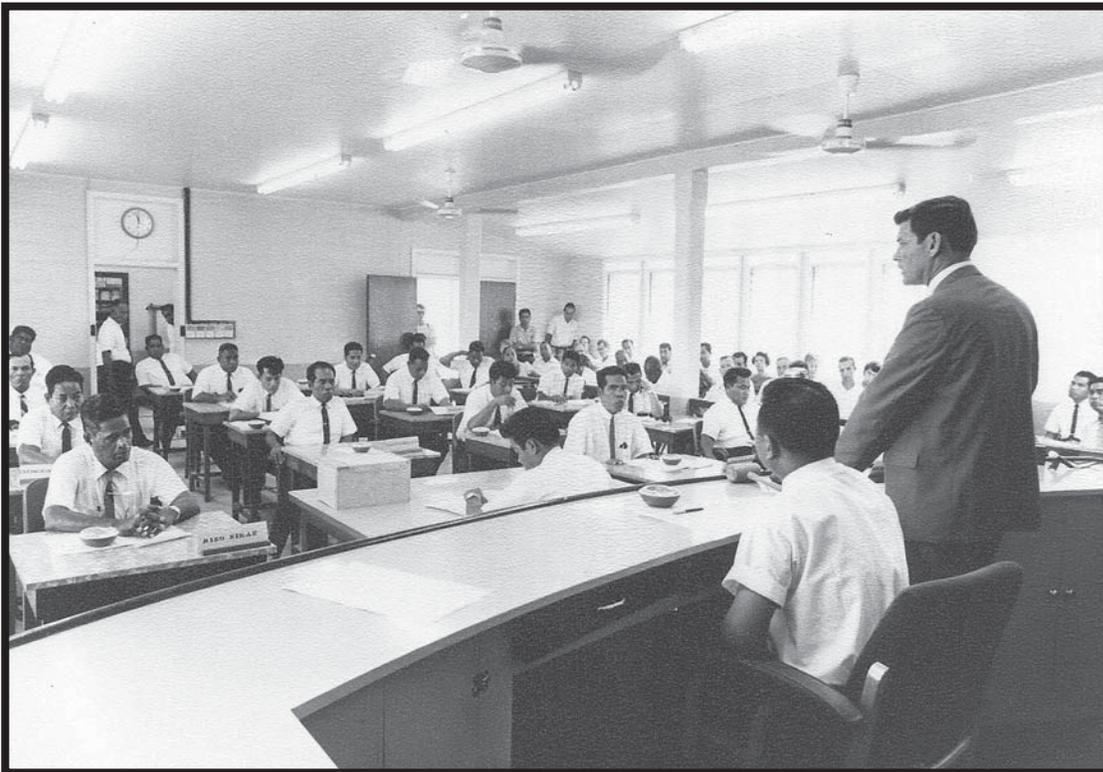


Vocabulary For Review

- **Legislature:** a group of elected officials who gather to make decisions and laws for their people
- **Magistrate:** a leader with executive authority over a municipality

CHAPTER NINE

From Municipalities to the Congress of Micronesia



Above: Chuuk's district congress in session in 1969. During the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Micronesians set up new governments at the municipal, district, and national levels. Islanders faced many challenges in creating governments that would both show respect for traditional leadership and satisfy the American Government's requirements that Micronesian governments be democratic.

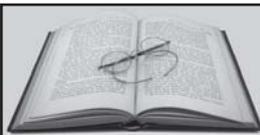
When the Chuukese district legislature above met for the first time, its representatives became some of the first Chuukese leaders to speak for everyone in Chuuk Lagoon. Previously the only leaders who held power over all of Chuuk were German, Japanese, or American.

Etal's First Elections

Families on Etal, a small island in the Mortlocks, gathered to watch as a field trip ship approached. On board were a small group of United States Navy officers. As they stepped onto the island, one of them made an announcement to the crowd. "We have come to help you to learn how to govern yourselves," he said. "And the first important step toward your self-government is an election."

What an election was, the people had no idea. And why they would need to learn how to govern themselves after hundreds of years of living under the wise leadership of their chiefs was even more confusing. But the Americans seemed to want the people of Etal to choose a leader who could represent the island for them. That made sense. The Germans and Japanese had also chosen one of Etal's section chiefs to act as a flag chief. Having a flag chief representing all of Etal seemed to make it easier for foreign occupiers to communicate their orders to the people. So if it made the Americans happy, the people of Etal were happy to vote for a municipal magistrate to represent their island.

Etal's highest-ranking chief called a meeting of all the island's men. The chiefs had chosen Aisek, a man in his early 40s, to be the new municipal magistrate and they presented him to the people. He was a member of the highest-ranking chief's family, he was related to two section chiefs, he owned a great deal of land, and he was already an important person in the community. The people discussed the chiefs' decision, and agreed that Aisek was a fine choice. So a few days later, when the Americans held the election, everyone on the island voted for Aisek. Aisek became Etal's new municipal magistrate, but he and everyone else remembered that the chiefs had put him in his new position, and that they were still the island's true leaders.



Check Your Reading: Why did it seem strange to some islanders that American officials wanted to teach Micronesians how to govern themselves?

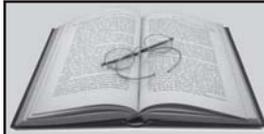
The Growing Power of Municipal Leaders

To the surprise of the chiefs, Aisek's power started to grow. He was much younger than any of the chiefs, and he put a lot of energy into his new job. He held his own meetings, gathering the people

together to ask for their opinions, bringing them to a consensus, and then taking action on the people's decision. He collected taxes and decided how the money should be spent. He kept records for all the cases that were decided in the island's new court. He made records of how many people lived on the island and who paid their taxes. He took the lead in managing Etal's new dispensary and school. And whenever the Americans arrived in the field trip ship, Aisek called the people together for a meeting to discuss the news.

After only a few years, the chiefs found that they no longer had influence in as many areas of life as they once did. They still gathered the island's young men together for community work projects, but those work projects were usually Aisek's idea, not theirs. They still settled arguments between individuals and families, but people seemed to be turning more and more to Aisek and to the island's new judge to have their arguments settled. They still held meetings with Aisek, but now they were acting as Aisek's advisors when he used to take orders from them. As Aisek and the other members of Etal's new municipal government grew more powerful, the people looked to them as the island's leaders in much the same way as they had once looked to the chiefs.

Power was shifting to the island's new municipal government, but the chiefs remained an important part of island life. The chiefs were still the authorities when it came to traditional activities and in anything that had to do with food. And, although Aisek wanted to be a good leader, he did not want to disrespect the chiefs. They were, after all, members of his own family. So the municipal government and the chiefs remained on Etal, sometimes working together, sometimes working separately, but rarely working against one another.



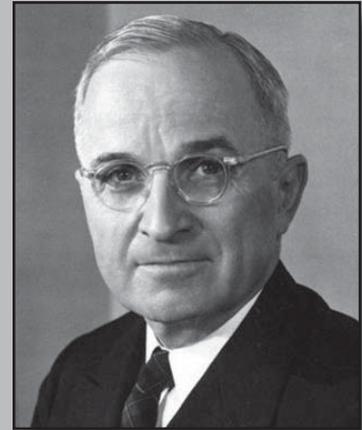
Check Your Reading: How did Aisek use his position as magistrate to become powerful in Etal?

Introduction: American Government for the Islands

Throughout Micronesia, American officials introduced democratic ideas such as elections, municipal magistrates, municipalities, and judges. At first, those ideas were simply laid on top of traditional systems. People participated in the American system without taking it too seriously. Chiefs chose younger men to be municipal magistrates who could work for the new government while still taking their orders from traditional leaders. As those young men became more

Independence or Security?

"We do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory any place in the world!" This was the announcement of U.S. President Harry Truman (pictured right) just after the end of the Second World War. The United States promised not to keep any of the territory that it won from the war before it even started fighting. In Micronesia, the American Navy was busily setting up "self-governing communities" just after the war's end to prepare islanders for independence as soon as possible.



But not everyone in the United States agreed that Micronesia should be independent. Many in the American military thought the United States had the right to stay in Micronesia as long as it wanted. One official said that the war made the United States Micronesia's true owner, because "these atolls, these island harbors will have been paid for by the sacrifice of American blood." Another said the United States had bought the islands with "blood and treasure." The American soldiers who fought so hard to win the islands from the Japanese didn't like the idea of leaving Micronesia practically unguarded. The War Department said that the United States should occupy Micronesia to protect the Pacific against Japan and the Soviet Union.

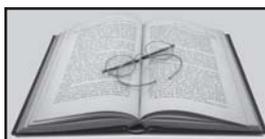
When officials in the U.S. State Department heard that so many people in the military wanted to stay in Micronesia, they were surprised. "The United States stands for freedom all over the world!" they said. "Staying in Micronesia now would be an embarrassment!" The State Department and the Interior Department thought that the United States should turn Micronesia over to the **United Nations. The United Nations is an organization made up of many different countries from all over the world that was started after World War II.** The State Department said that the United Nations could watch over Micronesia, protect it from Japan and the Soviet Union, and encourage a strong, democratic government to grow in the islands.

In fact, the United Nations was already setting up **trusteeships** of land captured during the Second World War all over the world. **In a normal United Nations trusteeship, a more powerful country governed a less powerful country for a short time, just long enough to get it ready for independence.** The country in charge of a United Nations trusteeship was supposed to make improvements in education, social services, and business and to prepare the country for independence. All of the countries that Germany, Japan, and Italy had occupied before the war were made into United Nations trusteeships, which were governed by countries that won the war, like the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and Australia. Nearly all of the Trust Territories, not including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, became independent by the 1960s.

Officials in the United States Government argued over what to do in Micronesia for almost a year. Finally, they reached a compromise. The islands would be put into a **strategic trusteeship. A strategy is a plan to help a person or a country win.** A strategic trusteeship would be different from a normal trusteeship. **The United States wanted to govern Micronesia just as it would under a normal United Nations trusteeship, but it also wanted Micronesia to become part of its strategy for the United States to be the most powerful country in the Pacific. A strategic trusteeship meant that the United States could do almost anything it wanted in Micronesia, and could stay for as long as it wanted.** It was a very unusual arrangement. Micronesia became known as the **Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.** And for the next forty years, as Micronesians fought for their independence, Micronesia remained the only strategic trusteeship in the world.

involved in municipal government, they came to have something that the chiefs did not: knowledge about the new American system and how to best use it for the good of their islands. This knowledge about how best to work with the new government made these young men powerful and brought them respect.

In this chapter, you will read about the creation of municipalities and municipal governments, the creation of districts and district legislatures, and the creation of the first important Micronesian-led national legislature, the Congress of Micronesia. **It was American Government officials who had wanted to create municipalities, districts, and national legislatures in Micronesia. But it was Micronesians who made them work.** If communities like the one on Etal had continued to look only to their chiefs for leadership, if they had refused to attend the meetings of the municipal magistrates or bring their problems for the new island judges to settle, and if the chiefs had not stepped back from municipal, district, and national government, the new government would have been a failure. But where the government was led by Micronesians, where it had the support of its community, and where it was flexible enough to be worked into something Micronesian, the new government was a success.



Check Your Reading: Why was it important for islanders to support the new government American officials were trying to introduce?

American Plans for Micronesia

Below: Officials from the United States Navy arrive in Mokil in 1946.



Some islanders had known many Americans over the years. American Protestant missionaries arrived in Kosrae and Pohnpei almost a hundred years before the Second World War to plant churches, and some of those missionaries also visited other islands throughout Micronesia. Whaling ships full of American sailors often stopped at Kosrae, and sometimes put in at islands large and small across Micronesia. And Americans had occasionally passed through the islands to do research or even to spy on the Japanese before the war.

Still, most Micronesians had no idea what to expect when the American Navy arrived after the war to set up a new

government in the islands. Some already knew how much Americans liked to talk about freedom and independence, and guessed that Micronesians would finally be able to run their own government, free from any outside control. Some remembered the scary things Japanese soldiers had told them about Americans during the war and worried that the Americans would do something awful to them. Most weren't sure what would happen next, and so they waited to see what would happen.

Islanders may have been unsure about what the American Navy wanted to do in Micronesia, but the Navy had a plan. In 1945, the Navy's Pacific Fleet commander wrote about five ways the United States could improve things in Micronesia. **The Navy's plan was first, to improve the buildings and property that had been damaged during the war. Second, to improve health conditions on the islands. Third, to set up "self governing communities" on the islands. Fourth, to bring business to Micronesia for the benefit of both American businessmen and islanders. And fifth, to improve education.**

The United States always said that it did not want to occupy Micronesia the way that Japan and Germany did. Still, several of America's goals in the islands were similar to the goals of the German and Japanese occupations. Like the Germans and Japanese, the Americans wanted to do business in Micronesia and to make money from the islands. They wanted to improve Micronesia's infrastructure to make it easier for them to do business, just as Germany and Japan did. And, like the Japanese had a few years earlier, the United States built schools to improve education and clinics and dispensaries to improve health conditions.

There were other similarities between the United States occupation of Micronesia and the Japanese occupation. Like Japan, the United States closed Micronesia to outside visitors almost as soon as its Navy arrived in the islands. The Americans wanted to keep foreigners from gathering information about American activities in Micronesia and to give American businessmen a chance to do business without any outside competition. These were exactly Japan's reasons for closing Micronesia to outside visitors in

The Trust in Trust Territory

Micronesia was the first and last strategic trusteeship ever created. But the idea that a powerful country like the United States would find a large international organization like the United Nations to give its colonial occupation a stamp of approval was not new at all. In fact, Japan had done almost the same thing when it was in Micronesia with another international organization, the **League of Nations**.

America's United Nations Trusteeship and Japan's League of Nations Mandate in Micronesia were very similar. Both arrangements were based on the idea that Micronesians were not advanced or modern enough to govern themselves. In order to be ready for independence, Japan and the United States argued, a country had to have two things: public services like roads, health care, and education and one government that ruled over everyone. Although Micronesia had a long history of traditional leadership, there had never been a traditional government that included all of Micronesia.

The League of Nations and the United Nations did not want Japan and the United States to keep Micronesia forever. The idea of both trusteeships was that these more powerful nations would help islanders set up their own government and then make the islands independent. Just as Japan planned to keep the islands for as long as it wanted, the United States also decided to stay in Micronesia permanently. Both nations ignored the trust that was at the center of their trusteeships. Islanders and the rest of the world trusted these powerful countries to help Micronesia become independent, but neither Japan and the United States had any plans to leave.

1916. The United States brought its military to parts of Micronesia, just as Japan had. And, beginning just after the war and continuing through the 1960s, American Government officials occasionally suggested that sending American settlers to Micronesia would be a good way to help build infrastructure and to change Micronesian cultures. Although this plan was never put into action, the Japanese had the very same idea in the 1920s and 1930s.



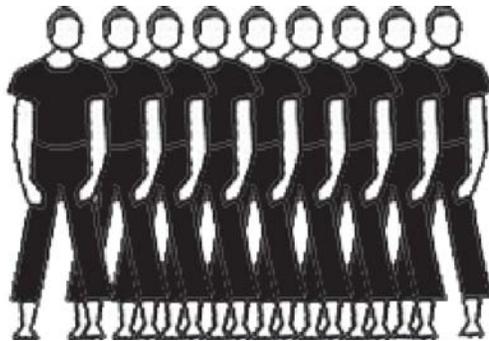
Check Your Reading: Why do you think the American Navy wanted to keep outsiders from gathering information about its activities in Micronesia?

Municipal Leaders in Etal in the Early American Occupation



Municipal magistrate

- Holds meetings with the people, records the people's decisions
- Collects taxes and decides how money should be spent
- Keeps records for court cases, census, and taxes
- Helps to run municipal dispensary and school



Legislative council

- Originally made up of Etal's traditional chiefs and family leaders
- Gives the municipal magistrate advice during council meetings and during all-island meetings



Municipal judge

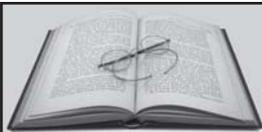
- Holds trials to decide who is right and who is wrong in an argument
- Keeps the island land record book made during the Japanese occupation and uses it to settle arguments over land

Above: During the late 1940s and early 1950s, the United States Navy set up municipal governments all over Micronesia. Many of these municipal governments, like the one set up in Etal, were very similar to the government of any small American town. Not all municipal governments were the same, however. In the early years of the American occupation, many islands created their own systems, which were an interesting combination of Micronesian and American ideas. The American Government replaced these unique municipal and district governments with American-style democratic systems within a few years.

Self-Governing Communities

Although Micronesia was as much of a colony under the Americans as it was under the Japanese or the Germans, the Navy's plan to set up "self-governing communities," was much different from anything that any previous occupier had tried. **A self-governing community is a group of people with their own leaders who do not need any outside power to tell them what to do.** Officials in the German occupation had wanted to govern Micronesia indirectly, working with traditional leaders whenever possible and leaving the traditional system undisturbed. Officials in the Japanese occupation had wanted to govern Micronesia directly, setting up their own government, giving themselves the most power, and removing traditional leaders whenever those leaders did not like their system. **American Naval officials wanted islanders to govern themselves, but believed that they were not ready for self-government, or at least that traditional governments would not be able to participate in the modern world without being changed.**

Many Micronesians must have thought that the Americans' plan to create self-governing communities in the islands was a strange one. Hadn't islanders already been working with their traditional leaders long before any Americans had even set foot in Micronesia? What was wrong with the leadership systems that had already been working well for Micronesians for so long? **Across Micronesia, as it worked to set up "self-governing communities," the American Government failed to understand again and again that every part of Micronesia had already been governing itself for hundreds of years.**



Check Your Reading: How was the American occupation of Micronesia similar to Micronesia's Spanish, German, and Japanese occupations? How was it different?

American Views of Micronesian Leadership

In fact, there was plenty of information about Micronesian traditional leadership available to the Americans. Just after the war, the American Navy sent out teams of researchers to report on Micronesian culture and leadership traditions. One pair of researchers was sent to study Micronesian traditional leadership and report on how the United States could set up a democracy in the islands. They reported back to the Navy that it would not only be easy to set up a democracy in Micronesia, but that Micronesian traditional leadership was already democratic. They wrote that Micronesians probably had more voice in their traditional leadership than Americans had in their government.

How Did Islanders Vote?

What did American officials mean when they said they wanted to bring democracy to Micronesia? Democracy, which means government by the people, can be created in many different ways. Some said that Micronesian traditional leadership was already democratic and had been for hundreds of years. **But for Americans, voting was the key to democracy.** Most Americans could not imagine a democracy without elections.

American officials expected that when they held elections in Micronesia, islanders would vote for whomever they thought would be the best leader. Micronesians had a lot of things to think about when they cast their votes.

Voting at the direction of traditional leaders and family leaders was common all over the Trust Territory. If a family leader was loyal to one candidate, he might ask everyone in his family to vote for that candidate. If a family leader was loyal to more than one candidate, he might ask half of his family to vote for one candidate and half of his family to vote for the other candidate.

There were other things to think about also. If a candidate did a favor for you, if you expected a favor from him, or if he was in your family, you might vote for him. Today, Micronesians think about many things when they decide whom to vote for. They think about who would be the best leader, but they also think about their traditional leaders, their family leaders, and their many other loyalties. Voting is an important part of government in Micronesia today, but not in the way that Americans expected it to be.

Still, most Americans who visited Micronesia understood very little about traditional leadership and felt sure that islanders had no voice in community decision-making. Americans who came to Kosrae in the 1930s saw the island's paramount chief, who had lost the confidence of his people and had little power, and wrote that he had total power over his people. Americans wrote the same thing about Pohnpei, even though Pohnpeians had been slowly wearing away at the power of their paramount chiefs ever since the German occupation. In 1947, Pohnpeians even suggested that one chief should represent the entire island so that the paramount chiefs would have less power. Americans thought that the people in Chuuk had no voice in their governments, when it was really the chiefs who had little power over their people. And American officials in Yap saw only that some families were high-ranking and others were low-ranking, and not the power that so many families exercised in council meetings.

So American Government officials decided that Micronesia needed **democracy. In a well-run democracy, leaders listen to their people and make the decisions the people want.** Although Micronesian traditional leaders already listened to their people and usually made the decisions that their people wanted, they did not do it in quite the same way that American leaders did. For Americans, voting was the most important part of a democracy. If Micronesians did not vote, the Americans thought, then how could their leadership be democratic?

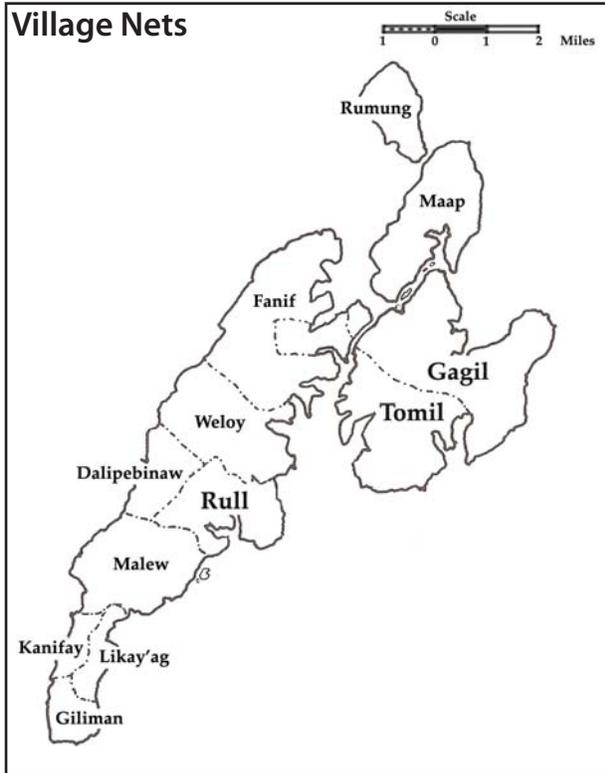
Officials in the United States Navy believed that American Government was the best government of all, and so they decided to bring it to the islands. Islanders would be full participants in building an American-style democracy from the ground up. **American officials thought that the best way forward for Micronesian government was for islanders to keep their traditional leaders and to have American-style democratic leaders also.**



Check Your Reading: Why did American officials want to bring their own kind of government to the islands?

Village Net and Municipal Borders in Yap

Village Nets



Municipalities



Above: Yap's traditional village nets and Yap's municipalities. The U.S. Government made only a few small changes to the map of village nets to create Yap's municipalities. One of the reasons that municipal leaders were successful in the early days of the Trust Territory was that they worked with people who were used to working together and who already thought of themselves as part of the same group. And, because the Japanese also used traditional borders to divide the islands into sections, islanders were used to thinking of their municipalities as part of two different systems of government at the same time.

Creating Micronesia's Municipalities

The first step in building Micronesia's new government was the creation of **municipalities**. A **municipality is a small area with the power to govern itself**. In 1948, the United States created 118 municipalities throughout Micronesia. Islanders were given some freedom in setting up municipal governments that made sense to them and fit in with the systems of traditional leadership they were used to.

First, every municipality needed leaders. In most municipalities, traditional leaders or men of their choosing were put in charge of municipal government. Some traditional leaders became municipal leaders when their people voted them into office, and others were chosen by the Americans. Islanders showed their support for their chiefs by voting them or a man of their choosing into municipal office. In the early days of the American occupation, these votes were also used as a way to remove chiefs selected by the Japanese.



Above: Chief Maupi of Poluwat building a canoe, 1971. Chief Maupi was also a municipal magistrate. Chiefs and the leaders they chose usually became municipal leaders in the Trust Territory's early days. As the years went on, however, most chiefs left elected office.

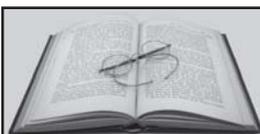
Most municipalities kept borders used in traditional leadership and represented existing traditional power groups. This helped islanders to work together with others in their municipalities.

In Yap, where villages were organized into “nets,” most village nets also became municipalities. The highest-ranking traditional leader in each net was usually elected to municipal office. In Pohnpei, each paramount chiefdom

became a municipality, and American officials made each paramount chief a municipal official. In Chuuk, the people usually voted popular section chiefs into municipal office.

Because municipalities used areas that were already defined in Micronesian traditional leadership, municipal leaders were able to work with real communities, groups of people who already knew they belonged together and who wanted to work together to make their municipalities better.

A municipality could have a variety of different leaders, but the Americans hoped that most municipalities would include a **municipal magistrate** with the executive power to put the legislative council's decisions and his own decisions into action and to make sure that American rules were followed, a **legislative council** with the legislative power to make some rules for the municipality and to give advice to the municipal magistrate, and a **municipal judge** with the judicial power to decide who was right and who was wrong in an argument. Some municipalities had all of these leaders, and others did not. Often municipalities had other leaders as well, such as clerks, education officers, public health officers, secretaries, treasurers, and secretary-treasurers.



Check Your Reading: How could islanders use the vote to show support for their traditional leaders? How could islanders use the vote to show that they did not support their traditional leaders?

Americans Introduce Separation of Powers

Although American officials encouraged islanders to set up municipal governments that made sense to them and that grew out of island systems of traditional leadership, Americans could not imagine a fair government without things like voting or a **separation of powers**.

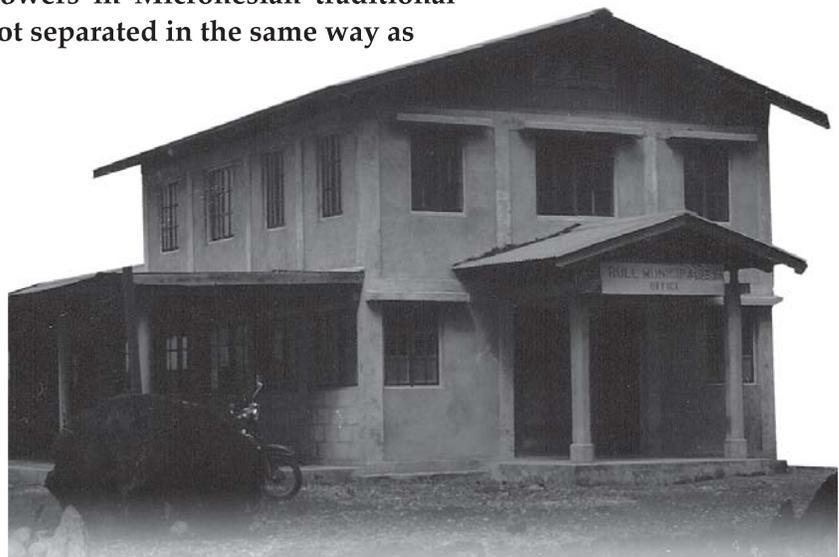
A separation of powers means that legislative, executive, and judicial powers are all held by different people who do not have power over one another. Legislative power is the power to make laws. This power was usually held by the legislative council. **Executive power is the power to put those laws into action.** This power was usually held by the municipal magistrate. **Judicial power is the power to decide who is right in an argument.** This power was usually held by the municipal judge.

Most of the municipal governments islanders created did not have an American-style separation of powers because powers were separated differently in the American Government than they were in Micronesian traditional leadership. For example, a local leader in the United States had the executive power to send the police to put someone in jail, but not the judicial power to decide whether that person had really committed a crime or what the punishment should be.

In most Micronesian traditional systems, on the other hand, a chief had both the executive power to make sure that the laws in his village were followed and the judicial power to punish those who refused to follow them. This did not mean that the chief had all the power in his village or that the people had no voice, but Americans wanted to keep municipal leaders from having more than one kind of power anyway. **All over Micronesia, the American Government failed to understand that there was a separation of powers in Micronesian traditional leadership, even if powers were not separated in the same way as they were in the United States.**

Separation of powers is an important idea in American Government. Many Americans believe that it is the separation of powers in their government that keeps the government from becoming too powerful and keeps the people free. Because it is so important in the United States, American officials thought that powers in Micronesia's new government needed to be

Below: The office of Rull Municipality in Yap in 1971. Many of Micronesia's municipal offices began as simple structures that were used by strong municipal leaders. By the 1960s and 1970s municipalities often had fancier offices and less powerful municipal leaders.



Micronesia's Rising Leaders Work as Teachers

The Trust Territory's early municipal governments were one important training ground for Micronesia's future leaders. The other important training ground was the schools. Many of the men who led the islands to independence in the 1960s and 1970s started out their professional lives as teachers.

After World War II, the Micronesian school system was in trouble. Most schools had been destroyed by bombs, and there were no teachers. All the teachers had been Japanese, and they were all being sent back to Japan. The American Navy built new schools all over Micronesia. For teachers, the Navy turned to islanders. Any Micronesian who could speak English could get a job as a teacher. And, because teaching was almost the only job available to islanders at the time, many of Micronesia's future leaders came to work in the schools.



separated in the same way. We will talk more about the importance of separation of powers in Micronesian government in Unit 4 of this textbook.



Check Your Reading:

How did American officials separate the powers of municipal leaders?

Why Municipalities Were Important for Islanders

In the early days of the Trust Territory, municipal leaders were not only responsible for collecting taxes, keeping records, and making sure that their people obeyed the law. Municipal leaders also ran the schools, dispensaries, and police forces in their municipalities. The American Government contributed some supplies to these early schools and clinics, but they were mainly supported by the communities that used them. Municipal governments gave teachers and nurses whatever they could. Many received their salaries in fish, taro, breadfruit, or not at all.

One reason that municipalities were important was they were almost completely controlled by islanders. Although it was American Government officials that wanted to create the municipalities in the first place, the American Government never provided municipal governments in Micronesia with the money they needed to operate. On the one hand, this meant that municipal leaders often did not have enough money to do the things they wanted to do. On the other hand, because municipal leaders were able to run their municipalities only on the taxes they collected from their own people, the Americans had much less power over how municipalities spent their money. How could the Americans tell Micronesians how to spend their own money?

Although municipal schools and dispensaries often lacked important supplies and their staffs were usually underpaid, they were locally controlled and locally operated. If the wall of a school needed to

be repaired, people from the community gathered together to fix it. If the roof of the dispensary fell in, the community built a new one. The success of Micronesia's early municipal governments came from the people's involvement in them and the feeling people had that they were the true owners of their municipalities.

There was also another reason that municipalities were important for Micronesia. Municipalities helped to create the Micronesian professional politician. One of the reasons that the American Government created municipalities in the first place was to provide young Micronesians with the opportunity to learn how to be professional politicians. Earlier in this chapter, you read about the man in Etal who was chosen by his chief to be the island's municipal magistrate. At first, the magistrate thought of himself as his chief's representative, and did what his traditional leaders wanted him to. But as he became more familiar with the American system of government, he also learned about new ways to help his people, ways to work with the Americans that his traditional leaders knew nothing about. This knowledge meant power, power that was so important that the magistrate became just as strong a leader as the traditional leaders who had made him magistrate in the first place.

What happened in Etal happened in many other municipalities across Micronesia. Traditional leaders selected young men to serve in municipal governments. These men, who were often better educated than their chiefs, gained a new kind of authority as they learned how to be good magistrates. **A traditional leader took his authority from his family, from his title, or from his position as a respected member of his community. A professional politician took his authority from his position in government, his position as a respected member of his community, his education, and his understanding of American Government.** Traditional leaders and professional politicians were respected for different reasons, but both had important positions in their communities. Today, traditional leaders and professional politicians in many parts of Micronesia continue to share the responsibilities of leadership and the respect of their people.

Starting Schools, Training Leaders

Some of Micronesia's early leaders worked as teachers when the Trust Territory opened its first schools. Others got their starts as students. The centers that the American Government set up to train teachers slowly became high schools. The government-run Pacific Islands Central School drew students from across the Trust Territory. Micronesia's early leaders also attended Chuuk's Catholic-run Xavier High School, and some traveled to Guam for high school. Many of Micronesia's future leaders first learned to work together with people from other islands as high school students.

John Mangefel, one of Yap's delegates in the Congress of Micronesia, once wrote that his time at Pacific Islands Central School made him forget "the silly idea that my own people are the best of all." Because only a small number of students from the Trust Territory were able to attend high school in the 1950s and 1960s, high school friends of students like future Congress of Micronesia representative John Mangefel often ended up as leaders too.

After high school, the best students accepted scholarships to the College of Guam, where there was a special dormitory for students from the Trust Territory, or to the University of Hawaii. College offered another opportunity for Micronesia's future leaders to learn about one another. By the time the Trust Territory created its first national congresses, Micronesia already had a small, strong group of leaders who knew how to work together.

Elected Leaders and Chiefs

One of the questions that all of the Trust Territory's districts had to deal with was how and whether to include traditional leaders in elected government. Earlier in this section, you read about the creation of municipal governments. Traditional leaders in most municipalities either served as elected leaders themselves or chose a younger man to do the job for them. But after a few years, those younger men began to have their own power, independent of the chiefs who gave them their positions.

As we have seen, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Yap have very different kinds of traditional leadership. But what happened when island leaders asked how chiefs should be included in the new elected government was almost the same in each place. Just as traditional leaders passed their power to municipal leaders in the 1940s, chiefs began to pass their power to district leaders in the 1950s.

Chuuk's early district congress included both chiefs and elected leaders. By the 1950s, most chiefs gave up their positions in the district congress. Pohnpei's early district congress included a house for chiefs, but by the 1950s only one house of elected leaders remained. Yap's early district congress included both chiefs and elected leaders. By the 1950s, the chiefs were meeting in their own council, separate from elected leaders.

Chiefs stayed away from elected leadership because they saw that others could do the job better. Chiefs were still respected, but they were no longer the only powerful leaders in their communities.

Municipalities were an important part of Micronesian life in the early years of the Trust Territory. But after years of serving local communities, the American Government stripped municipal governments of many of their most important responsibilities. Municipalities continued to elect leaders, but control over schools, clinics, and police forces moved to the district level. Where once communities had felt like the owners of their municipal governments, their schools, their clinics, and their police forces, now all of these things seemed to be owned by someone else. Usually, district control of local institutions meant better services, higher salaries, and more resources. But the people were also a little bit less connected to their governments.

Although much of the power of the municipal government was gone, those leaders who had learned to be politicians at the municipal level remained. Municipal leaders with unusual skill advanced on to district-level government, and some even became leaders at the national level.



Check Your Reading:

How did Micronesia's municipalities lose their power?

Creating Micronesia's Districts

By 1949, every Micronesian in the Trust Territory could say that he or she lived in a municipality with some kind of locally-led municipal government. So American officials decided that it was time to move to the next step in building Micronesia's new government: the creation of locally-led governments at the **district level**. **A district is an area made up of many municipalities, and usually includes both main islands and the outer islands nearby.**

Just as municipalities borrowed borders from traditional leadership, districts borders were set based on an island's culture. Yap and the outer islands that were similar to it became the Yap district. Chuuk and

the outer islands that were similar to it became the Chuuk district. Kosrae was similar to Pohnpei, and so Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the outer islands nearby became the Pohnpei district. The idea of dividing Micronesia into districts was not new. The Japanese Government did the same thing.

The Americans asked Micronesians to create a **district congress** in each of the Trust Territory's six districts. **A district congress is a locally-led legislative body with limited powers and with some authority over the entire district.** The Trust Territory's districts were Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands. **Each district was headed by an American District Administrator. A High Commissioner, also an American, was in charge of all the districts.**

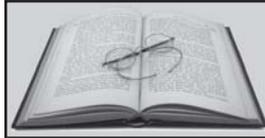
American officials asked the leaders of each district to create a district congress that made sense for their community. Just as municipalities had created unique municipal governments a few years earlier, each district congress was different and was supposed to reflect the traditional leadership of the district. Many of the Trust Territory's early district congresses included both the professional politicians that had begun their careers in municipal government and traditional leaders, working side by side.

In most places setting up a district congress turned out to be more difficult than setting up municipal governments had been. While municipalities were usually small communities of people who were used to working together, many districts included islanders who had never worked together, had very different ideas of what leadership should be, and didn't even speak the same language. In Pohnpei, for example, Pohnpeians from all five paramount chiefdoms, outer islanders from Kapingamarangi, Mokil, Ngatik, Nukuoro, Pakin, and Pingelap, and leaders from Kosrae had to agree on what their district congress would look like. It was not easy for so many different people to agree on how things should be done.

American officials made the process even more difficult. Even after island leaders held meetings and worked hard to create district congresses that satisfied everyone, officials in the Trust Territory Government made big changes to the new district congresses without asking islanders for their opinions. The Americans wanted to make sure that Micronesians set up their district congresses correctly, and many thought that the only correct way to set up a congress was to do it the American way.

Micronesians were starting to think that American officials didn't really want islanders to set up any kind of district congresses they

wanted. Instead, the message from the Trust Territory Government seemed to be: set up any kind of government you want, as long as it's our kind of government.



Check Your Reading: Why could setting up a district congress be difficult?

Case Study: Creating Pohnpei's District Congress

Island leaders in each district faced different problems as they set up their district congresses. For one example of the kinds of problems leaders faced, let's take a look at how Pohnpei's district congress was formed.

Years before the American Government asked the districts of the Trust Territory to meet and talk about how to set up district congresses, Pohnpei had the Pohnpei Council. The Pohnpei Council was a regular meeting of island leaders from all over Pohnpei. Anyone could attend the meetings and speak his mind about island business. Kosrae also had an all-island council made up of church leaders. And most of the outer islands in the Pohnpei District had councils of chiefs that met to talk about island business. The idea of having groups of leaders get together in public to talk about the problems on their islands was not new.

The problem in setting up a district congress for Pohnpei District was not that the people did not know how to use councils for decision-making. The problem was how to make a congress that would satisfy both islanders and the American Government.

Before any meetings were held to talk about what the new congress should look like, American officials sent out their requirements for the new district congress to island leaders. But after only a few weeks, long before the people of Pohnpei District had a chance to draw up their own plan for the new district congress, Pohnpei's American district administrator sent out more orders. These orders were not more requirements for the district congress. They were a plan for the district congress.

People were upset. What about the Pohnpei Council? What about the municipal leaders? Wouldn't the new district congress take power away from them? The Americans explained that municipal leaders had executive power, but that the district congress would have legislative

The Micronesian Club

One of the reasons that the Council of Micronesia and the Congress of Micronesia were so important was that they brought young leaders from across Micronesia to work together for the first time. The first session of the Council of Micronesia was an important moment for Micronesian unity. The delegates to the Council of Micronesia and the Congress of Micronesia worked well together not only because they were caught up in the excitement of doing something good for their people. Often when these early legislatures worked well, it was because so many of the delegates had met in school and become friends long before the first legislative session even began.

When Micronesians met other Micronesians at high school or at college, they spent time together. Many already knew one another from their time at PICS High School or Xavier High School. At the University of Hawaii, many of Micronesia's early leaders formed what they called the Micronesian Club. The club's members included Dwight Heine and Oscar DeBrum from the Marshall Islands, Lazarus Salii, Alfonso Oiterong, and David Ramarui from Palau, Tosiwo Nakayama from Chuuk, John Mangefel from Yap, and Leo Falcam, Bethwell Henry, and Bailey Olter from Pohnpei. All of these men went on to become important leaders both in their own islands and nationally. The Micronesian Club was an opportunity for Micronesian students to learn about one another's cultures and for other students to learn about Micronesia also. The club held events like Micronesian Night, where they performed local dances from one another's islands. At one Micronesian Night, you could have seen Tosiwo Nakayama doing a Pohnpeian dance and Bethwell Henry doing a Chuukese dance.

The members of the Micronesian Club also held debates. They had learned a lot about American history from their classes at the University of Hawaii and living in Hawaii had taught them a lot about American life. Why, they wondered, was the United States keeping Micronesia from independence when it valued its own independence from England so much? Wasn't the United States supposed to be a place of freedom? Didn't Americans think it was best for people to make their own decisions, to have a voice in their governments? Club members also talked about some of the other groups who had lived under the United States Government, especially Native Americans. American Indians' land was taken away from them and many of their people were crushed under the huge force of the United States Government. Would the same thing happen to Micronesians if they weren't able to get their independence?

Debates and discussions like those held by the Micronesian Club at the University of Hawaii and among Micronesian students at the College of Guam were important because they dealt with many of the same issues that were important to the Congress of Micronesia in later years. And when students who had already shared their opinions with one another in college arrived in the Congress of Micronesia ready to work together for the good of all their people, they already had a solid foundation to build on.



Above: Members of the Micronesian Club in Honolulu 1972. Micronesian students started clubs at schools in both Hawaii and Guam.

power. But what did that mean exactly? Rumors were flying. And why hadn't the district administrator asked any islanders what they thought before he sent them his plan for the new congress? Even Americans working for the Trust Territory Government were angry about that.

The District Administrator wanted Pohnpei's district congress to be set up as fast as possible. That's why he made his own plan for the new district congress without asking the people for their opinions. The people wanted him to slow down. They said that if the American Government made its own district congress and then forced it on islanders there would be trouble. Some Americans agreed. One American official reporting on progress in Pohnpei wrote that, "We are not dealing with a group of people who will merely do something because we tell them to or because we say it is good." Just as Pohnpeians had refused to be ordered around by the Spanish and Germans, they would not do everything the Americans wanted.

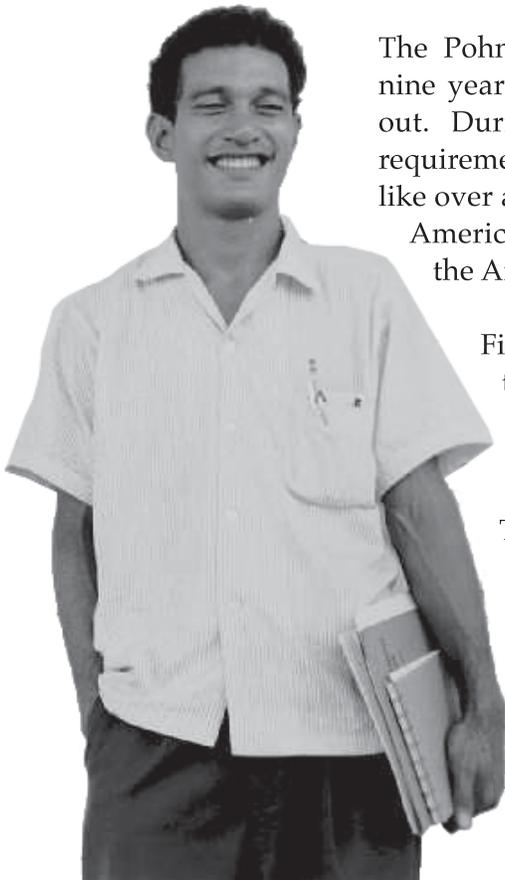
Below: Bethwell Henry at the Trust Territory's Inter-District Conference in Guam, 1959. Many of Micronesia's early national leaders were very young when they first entered politics.

Pohnpeians were frustrated when they found the Americans weren't listening to them. In fact, people were so frustrated that they stopped going to meetings of the Pohnpei Council, municipal leaders got much less support, everyone seemed to be fighting, and many islanders in the Pohnpei District just didn't trust the American Government anymore.

The Pohnpei District did not get its district congress until 1958, nine years after the first call to create district congresses had gone out. During that time, the Trust Territory Government changed its requirements for what the Pohnpei District's congress should look like over and over again. Island leaders drew up their plans, and the Americans changed them. Island leaders drew up more plans, and the Americans changed those too.

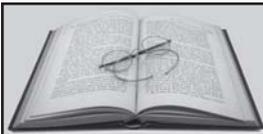
Finally, island leaders wrote up a plan for the new congress that the American Government accepted. Many of the people and leaders of the Pohnpei District still felt that they weren't being listened to, but at least the district had its congress.

The many problems that had been raised in the nine years that it took to form Pohnpei's district congress were finally settled one way or another. How should traditional leaders be included in the new congress? At first, plans for the district congress called for a **bicameral congress, which is a congress with two houses, or groups of leaders**. One house would have elected leaders and one would have traditional leaders. But now there was a **unicameral congress** with only elected leaders. **A unicameral congress is a congress with one house,**



or group of leaders. Should the congress be only for Pohnpei or should it be for the other islands in the district as well? Early plans from Americans and islanders made both suggestions, but in the end the congress represented everyone. **The questions of how to include traditional leaders, who should be represented, and how they should be represented were important questions in making all of the Trust Territory's district congresses.** The process was difficult almost everywhere. Chuuk did not get its district congress until 1957 and Yap did not get its district congress until 1959.

Although every district congress was a little different from every other, at least one thing was the same. District congresses had no power to make laws. Instead, the Trust Territory's district congresses had **advisory power. Advisory power is the power to make suggestions to the American Government, but not the power to make laws.** The Trust Territory's early district congresses were completely under the American Government. They had limited powers, and no money from the United States. **Although the Trust Territory's district congresses began with limited power and limited funding, in time they became a real force in Micronesian government.**



Check Your Reading: Why did the Pohnpei Council become unpopular?

Early National Conferences

Beginning just after the end of World War II, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had a national government. At the head of the national government was the High Commissioner. Under the High Commissioner were six District Administrators, one for each of the Trust Territory's six districts. The problem was that for years, none of these positions were held by Micronesians. If the American Government really wanted Micronesians to govern themselves, islanders would have to rise higher than the district level, and island leaders would have to have more than the power to give advice to American officials.

Below: Island leaders meet for the 1958 Micronesian Leadership Conference. From left to right: Kenmed Mangarfir, Jesus Mangarfir, Mathias Finiginam, Prudencio M. Manglona, Melchor S. Mendiola, Ngoriyakl Torual, Takeo Yano, and Thomas Remengesau.





Above: David Ramarui, Heinrich Iriarte, Kirino Mendiola, Mitaro Denis, Andon Amaraich at a Micronesian Leadership Conference in the 1950s. Early conferences like this one gave Micronesian leaders a chance to meet one another and share ideas.

Although the United States Government was quick to set up municipal governments in Micronesia, and tried to set up district congresses quickly also, it was much slower to bring Micronesians into the Trust Territory's high-ranking leadership positions. At the beginning of the 1950s, as district congresses were slowly forming across Micronesia, one American official suggested that it might be time to have a national congress made up of representatives from each district. But in 1951, authority over the Trust Territory passed from the United States Navy to the United States Department of the Interior and the idea was quickly forgotten.

Although there was no national congress of island leaders, Micronesian leaders were beginning to get involved in the Trust Territory's national government anyway. In September of 1949 a meeting of American officials from all over the Trust Territory was held in Guam. Each of the Trust Territory's District Administrators chose two island leaders from his district to represent the people of their communities.

The United States Government may have thought that these islanders would sit silently, impressed with how many powerful American leaders were involved in the meeting. They were not impressed. Instead, they asked questions about the many problems in their islands. They asked for help in fishing, building boats, controlling insects, and starting new businesses in the islands. They asked when the land that the Japanese had taken from them, land that the Trust Territory Government now owned, would be returned to islanders. They asked why the Americans insisted on making Micronesians farmers when islanders could do other jobs too. They even asked why the Japanese couldn't come back to help them set up their businesses, since they seemed to be so good at it, and why the American Government refused to allow Micronesians to trade with Japan.

The issues that were raised at this first meeting were very important, and the Micronesians raised them again at future meetings. Island leaders from all over Micronesia attended another conference in 1953 and another in 1956. After that, Micronesia's island leaders met every year. They came together for what were called **Micronesian Leadership Conferences** to talk about the important issues facing their islands. The conferences had no power over the American Government. But island leaders worked hard to use these meetings to convince the Americans to do what was best for them.

Another group was also started around this time. It was called the **Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner**. Two island leaders from each district came together to give advice to the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory. The Advisory Committee only had advisory powers and had no power to make the High Commissioner do what they wanted. Still, island leaders saw the Advisory Committee as their best chance to have a voice at the highest levels of the Trust Territory Government, and they worked to turn the group into a national congress with real powers.



Check Your Reading: How did American officials expect Micronesian leaders to behave at the 1949 Trust Territory meeting? What did those leaders actually do?

The Council of Micronesia

In 1961, leaders from the Micronesian Leadership Conference and the Advisory Committee joined to form the **Council of Micronesia**. The Council of Micronesia was made up of leaders from all over Micronesia. It still had only advisory powers, but the influence of island leaders over the American Government was beginning to grow.

The Council of Micronesia was important for three reasons. **First, the Council of Micronesia gave young island leaders experience.** Representatives used the Council to improve their political skills. Not only did the Council of Micronesia give them a deeper understanding of the American Government, but they also learned how leaders from different islands with different interests could work together with one another. Years of schooling and participating in leadership conferences helped the representatives to the Council of Micronesia to build strong relationships with one another and to look past their differences and see their similarities.

The second reason the Council of Micronesia was important was that it helped identify promising leaders. Professional politicians had already been rising through the ranks of the

Above: Delegates from Chuuk at the Council of Micronesia. The Council of Micronesia gave islanders hope for a real national legislature in the Trust Territory.



Trust Territory for years. They came from municipal governments, from district congresses, and from the school system. Now, for the first time, the Trust Territory had a national council of island leaders. Who was the best of the best? Who could lead the leaders? Who were the rising stars of the future Micronesian government? The Council of Micronesia gave Micronesia's strongest leaders the chance to rise to the top.

The third reason the Council of Micronesia was important was that it gave Micronesians reason to hope for a national congress of island leaders with real power. Leaders used the Council of Micronesia to demand a real national legislature, one that would have more than advisory powers. Didn't the United States Government want a democracy in Micronesia? After creating municipal governments and district congresses, wasn't a national congress the next step?

The Council of Micronesia only lasted for a few years. In late 1964, after years of requests from island leaders, the United States Government finally agreed to set up a real national legislature in the Trust Territory. In 1965, the Council of Micronesia changed its name once again and became the **Congress of Micronesia**. And over the next decade, the Congress of Micronesia carried the Micronesian people to independence.

Below: The Congress of Micronesia meeting in Saipan at one of its first sessions, 1965. The creation of the Congress of Micronesia was an important step toward Micronesian independence.



Check Your Reading: How did island leaders get a national congress?



Voting for the Congress of Micronesia

When news first went out that the Trust Territory was going to have a national congress, people were excited. Many islanders had been waiting for a national congress for years. Finally the people would have leaders who could fight for their interests at the highest levels of the Trust Territory Government.

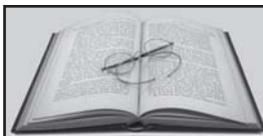
Of course, before the Congress of Micronesia could meet, there had to be elections. And before a politician could be elected to office, he

had to campaign. So how should Micronesians campaign for office? There was no tradition of campaigning for leadership positions in Micronesia.

There were radio stations available for leaders who wanted to run for the Congress of Micronesia to talk to the people. So some island leaders decided to go on the radio station and tell people to vote for them. They explained why they were qualified, why people should support them, and what they would do when they were in office.

But when the election came, it turned out that almost everyone who went on the radio station and told the people to vote for them lost. Only one of the men who went on the radio won his election. He spent most of his speech apologizing. He said that he was sorry for coming on the radio. He said that he was sorry that his voice was not good. He said that he was not good enough to be elected to the Congress of Micronesia. And the people voted him into office.

Today, Micronesians expect their politicians to travel to their villages, to make speeches, to explain why they should be elected to public office and what they will do when they get there. But in most parts of the Micronesia in the 1960s, people expected politicians to be much more like traditional leaders. Traditional leaders were supposed to be humble. A chief who talked too much about himself or ordered his people around was not a good chief. And so when candidates for the Congress of Micronesia showed that they were humble also, the people voted them into office.



Check Your Reading: Why didn't islanders vote for candidates who made long speeches on the radio in the 1960s?

Below: Petrus Mailo, one of Chuuk's representatives in the Congress of Micronesia. Mailo was unusual because he was respected equally as a chief and as an elected leader. He was elected to the First Congress of Micronesia, but he stepped aside after a year to let others take his place.

Petrus Mailo and the Congress of Micronesia

It was the summer of 1965, and the newly formed Congress of Micronesia was meeting for the first time. In the half year since the creation of the new congress was announced, there had been excitement throughout the Trust Territory. Islanders lined up for elections, the results were announced, the new representatives were sworn in, and now here they all were, dressed in suits and ties and walking toward the front of the hall to take their seats.

The first important order of business was choosing officers. When the voting began, it became clear right away that it would not be



easy for so many men from so many different places to work together. The leaders in the room knew each other and they were friends, but everyone wanted the congress to have the right leaders. And there was a lot of disagreement about who the right leaders were.

Representatives from Yap, Palau, and the Northern Marianas thought that their islands were the most developed, and they said that they should be the ones to lead the congress. They joined together and tried to keep representatives from the eastern islands from becoming officers. Chuuk's Tosiwo Nakayama became presiding officer of the Senate, beating out Palau's John Ngiraked in a close vote that came only after three long days of argument. The Marshall Islands' Dwight Heine beat Palau's Lazarus Salii for Speaker of the House of Representatives in another close vote. But the race for Vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives was different. There was no arguing. Everyone voted for Chuuk's Petrus Mailo.

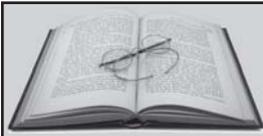
Petrus Mailo was an unusual member of the Congress of Micronesia. More than half of the members of the new congress were younger than 35, but Mailo was 62. Most of the representatives had authority because of their personal leadership abilities and their education. Mailo was well educated too, but he was also the single most respected traditional leader in Weno.

Petrus Mailo came from a well-respected family in Chuuk. His father was a chief whose achievements in war, knowledge of *itang*, ability to read, time as a minister in Fefan, and service as an assistant flag chief to the Germans and full flag chief to the Japanese made him one of the most admired leaders in Weno. Petrus Mailo not only learned *itang* and the skills necessary for Chuukese chief from his father, he also learned about the complicated workings of the Japanese Government in Chuuk.

Mailo traveled to Saipan, worked the phosphate mines in Palau, returned to Chuuk to become an assistant chief, captained a small boat in Weno, spent three years in the copra trade, and led groups of workers for the Japanese. He kept his family from starvation during the war, and he protected his people from hungry Japanese soldiers. He was repeatedly elected municipal magistrate after the war and became the president of the Truk Trading Company, which for years was responsible for most of Chuuk's business activity.

Even with so many achievements, Petrus Mailo was a model Micronesian leader. He was humble but strong, friendly but businesslike, fatherly but respectful. Petrus Mailo was not only a model traditional leader, he set an important example for the other representatives in the Congress of Micronesia. He reminded the representatives of what a

Micronesian leader could and should be. Petrus Mailo only remained in the Congress of Micronesia for one year. He stepped aside to allow the younger generation of leaders, whose English was better than his, to take his place. But his presence in the congress reminded the Trust Territory's young generation of professional politicians that being a leader in Micronesia was not new. They were walking in the footsteps of the many great leaders who came before them.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the things that made Petrus Mailo an unusual representative in the Congress of Micronesia?

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, you read about the first municipal elections in Etal, an island in the Mortlocks. The chief who had held power over those islands for years chose a new, younger man to be the island's first magistrate. A member of the chief's own family, he did anything the chief told him to at first, but then became independent of his island's traditional leaders. Etal's chiefs kept their authority over their people, but a new kind of authority, one based on personal leadership, education, and the ability to understand the American Government appeared. Micronesian municipal government was born.

This chapter tells the story of the creation of a new kind of government. Beginning just after the Second World War, American officials tried to bring their own government to Micronesia. Municipal governments were based on the governments of small American towns, while district congresses were more loosely based on American state legislatures. But when these governments worked, they worked because they had the support of Micronesian communities, not because they had the support of the Americans. They worked because Micronesian leaders led their people in a Micronesian way, not in an American way.

If this chapter has been about the creation of a new kind of government, it has also been about the birth of the Micronesian professional politician. Chiefs were deeply involved in the

Below: Max Iriarte with Rear Admiral Carleton Wright, first Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, around 1948. Iriarte was Nahmwarki of Nett, a member of the Congress of Micronesia, and a delegate to Micronesia's first constitutional convention. Like Petrus Mailo, Iriarte eventually left elected office to professional politicians.



Trust Territory's new government at first, but over the years, they slowly grew apart from elected leaders. Traditional leaders were not forced out of elected government. They realized that Micronesia's young professional politicians were the best prepared to deal with the American Government. And by the 1960s, the chiefs could give their support to a new national congress of young, well-educated island leaders, leaders who were willing to look to the past as well as to the future, to lead the islands to independence.



Check Your Reading: Why did traditional leaders leave elected government?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner:** a group of island leaders who gave advice to the Trust Territory's High Commissioner during the 1950s
- **Advisory power:** the power to make suggestions to the American Government, but not the power to make laws
- **Bicameral congress:** a congress with two houses, or groups of leaders
- **Congress of Micronesia:** a group of island leaders from all over the Trust Territory whose power over the American Government increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s
- **Council of Micronesia:** a group of island leaders from all over the Trust Territory with advisory powers, an early version of the Congress of Micronesia
- **Democracy:** a system of government in which leaders listen to their people and make the decisions the people want
- **District:** an area made up of many municipalities, usually including both main islands and the outer islands nearby
- **District Administrator:** an official with authority over a Trust Territory district
- **District congress:** a locally-led legislative body with limited powers and with some authority over the entire district
- **Executive power:** the power to put laws into action
- **High Commissioner:** an American official with authority over the entire Trust Territory
- **Judicial power:** the power to decide who is right in an argument
- **League of Nations:** an organization made up of many different countries from all over the world that was active between World War I and World War II
- **Legislative power:** the power to make laws
- **Legislature:** a group of elected officials who gather to make decisions and laws for their people
- **Micronesian Leadership Conferences:** meetings of island leaders from across the Trust Territory that took place during the 1950s
- **Municipality:** a small area with the power to govern itself
- **Professional politician:** a leader who takes his or her authority from a position in government, education, a position as a respected member of the community, and an understanding of the way the government works
- **Self-governing community:** a group of people with their own leaders who do not need any outside power to tell them what to do
- **Separation of powers:** when legislative, executive, and judicial power are all held by different people who do not have power over one another
- **Strategic trusteeship:** a special arrangement in which the United States was allowed to do almost anything it wanted in Micronesia and could stay for as long as it wanted
- **Strategy:** a plan to help a person or a country win
- **Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI):** Micronesia's name during its American occupation
- **Unicameral congress:** a congress with one house, or group of leaders
- **United Nations:** an organization made up of many different countries from all over the world that was started after World War II
- **United Nations trusteeship:** an arrangement in which a country that won the Second World War governed a colony of a country that lost the war just long enough to get it ready for independence

Below: Chief Igifiarem holds an American flag just after the end of World War II.





Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **Etal's First Elections:** Chiefs held the power in the Trust Territory's first elections, either holding elected office themselves or telling their people whom to vote for.
—
- **The Growing Power of Municipal Leaders:** Although chiefs were powerful in early Micronesian elections, a new class of leaders soon appeared to share power with them.
—
- **Independence or Security?** America said that it didn't want any new colonies out of World War II, but its military insisted on keeping Micronesia in case of a future war.
—
- **American Plans for Micronesia:** The U.S. Navy wanted to fix damage from the war, to improve health and education in the islands, to bring in new businesses, and to create self-governing communities in Micronesia.
—
- **Self-Governing Communities:** The United States believed that Micronesia was not ready for self-government, even though islanders had already been governing themselves for hundreds of years.
—
- **American Views of Micronesian Leadership:** American officials thought traditional systems were unfair, and decided to bring in their own kind of government.
—
- **Creating Micronesia's Municipalities:** Municipalities used borders that were already being used in traditional leadership and that represented traditional power groups that were already in place.
—
- **Americans Introduce Separation of Powers:** American officials told elected island leaders to separate their powers into executive, legislative, and judicial authority because that was the way power was separated in the United States.
—
- **Why Municipalities Were Important For Islanders:** Municipalities were an important part of island life in the 1940s and 1950s and helped to create professional politicians.
—
- **Creating Micronesia's Districts:** American officials told island leaders to create a congress to lead their district, but it was difficult for everyone to agree what these new congresses should look like.
—
- **Creating Pohnpei's District Congress:** Plans for Pohnpei's congress had to be changed because of changing American demands.
—
- **The Micronesian Club:** Islanders away at school formed clubs to remember their cultures and talk about Micronesia's future.
—
- **Early National Conferences:** Early national conferences like the Micronesian Leadership Conferences and the Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner showed that island leaders wanted to play a part in the highest levels of Trust Territory Government.
—
- **The Council of Micronesia:** The Council of Micronesia, an early version of the Congress of Micronesia, identified promising leaders, gave island leaders important experience, and gave Micronesians reason to hope for a national congress with real power.
—
- **Voting for the Congress of Micronesia:** Early island leaders campaigned for office quietly, and the people voted for them if they seemed humble and respectful.
—
- **Petrus Mailo and the Congress of Micronesia:** Petrus Mailo gave the First Congress of Micronesia an example of what a Micronesian leader could and should be.

Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- How did traditional leaders use their power in Micronesia's first municipal elections?
- What were some of the reasons the United States military refused to leave Micronesia after World War II?
- How was the process of setting up Micronesia's municipal governments similar to the process of setting up district congresses? How was it different?

Critical Thinking

- What effect did American officials' refusal to listen to island leaders have on the process of setting up Pohnpei's district congress?
- Petrus Mailo was elected to the Congress of Micronesia in 1965, but he stepped aside after only one year in office to let others take his place. How is Mailo's story similar to the story of the magistrate in Etal in the beginning of this chapter? How is it different?
- What were some of the similarities between Micronesian and American attitudes toward voting in the 1940s and 1950s? What were some of the differences?

Writing

- Imagine that you are a Chuukese section chief. It is 1950, one year after American officials asked island leaders to make plans for their new

district congresses. You are working hard to create a district congress, but leaders in Chuuk Lagoon and in Chuuk's outer islands are not used to working together. Everyone is having trouble agreeing on how the congress should be organized. **Write a letter** to a foreigner who knows nothing about Micronesia and explain some of the problems you're having.

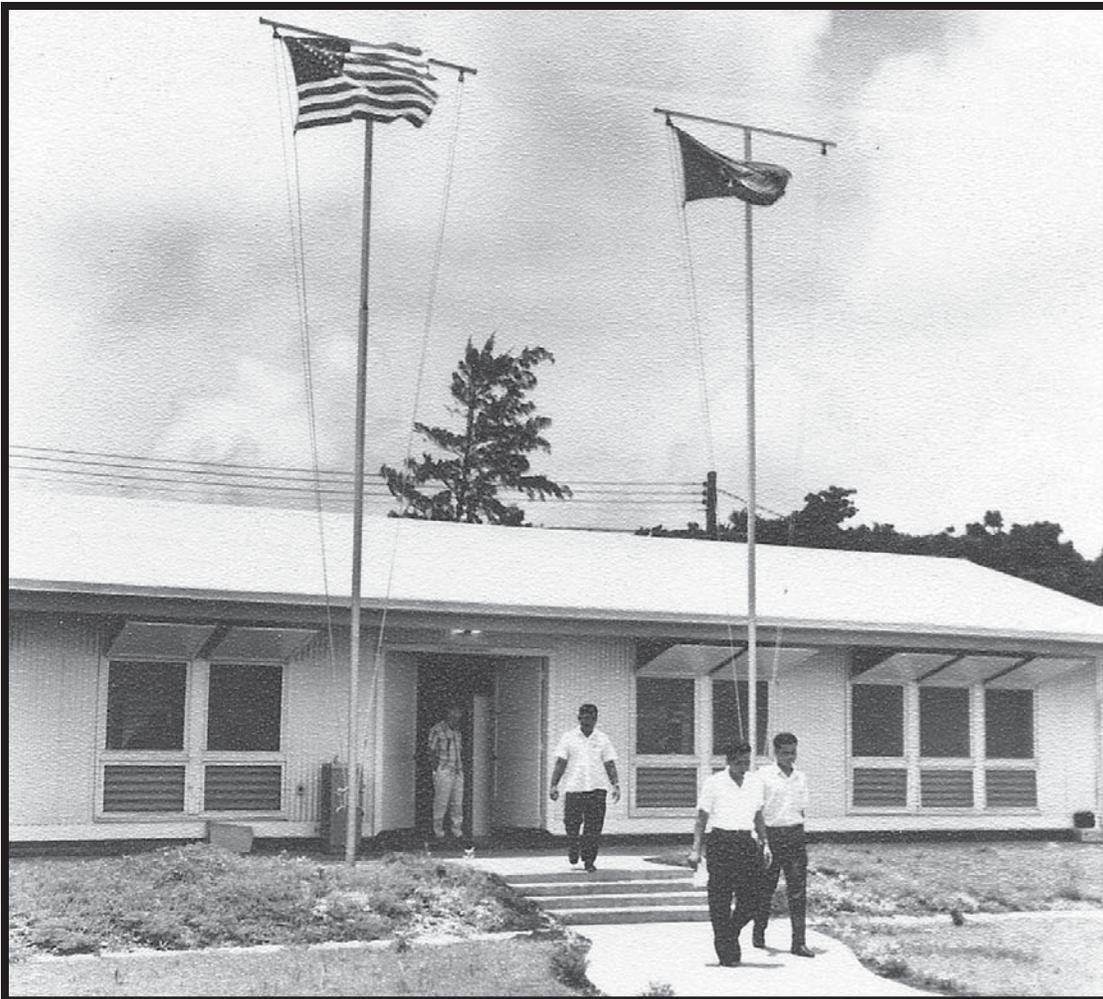
- Many of Micronesia's early leaders met one for the first time in high school or college. It was there that they learned how to work together. They also learned that Micronesians from other islands weren't so different from them. **Write a speech** that a student might have given to his or her classmates at the end of the year, explaining how important his or her time at school had been.

- Micronesians worked for years to have a real national congress of island leaders that could represent them to the Trust Territory Government. It is the 1950s, a time when island leaders made some progress toward a national congress, but still had no permanent group to represent them at the national level. **Write an opinion article for a newspaper**, explaining why you think Micronesia should have a national congress.



CHAPTER TEN

The Congress of Micronesia and the Fight for Independence



Above: The Congress of Micronesia building in Saipan. The Congress of Micronesia was a group of young leaders who spent years working to make islanders' lives better and for Micronesian independence. There were difficulties all along the way. But after many years of talks, the congress finally succeeded in bringing the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to independence.

The Trust Territory in Disrepair

It was a bright summer day in Kolonia, Pohnpei in the summer of 1960. Masami was walking down the road with her friend, Dynaleen. Before the war, there had been more than 10,000 people living in Kolonia, most of them Japanese. Stores, restaurants, and hotels lined the main street, and impressive government offices overlooked the town. Japanese Government officials and their Pohnpeian assistants seemed to be everywhere, walking down the road in their starched, white uniforms.

Pohnpeians, who put up a violent resistance to both the Spanish and the Germans, were impressed that the Japanese Government could build up Pohnpei's infrastructure with such great skill and in such a short amount of time. But now, fifteen years into the American occupation, Masami and Dynaleen saw things falling apart everywhere they looked.

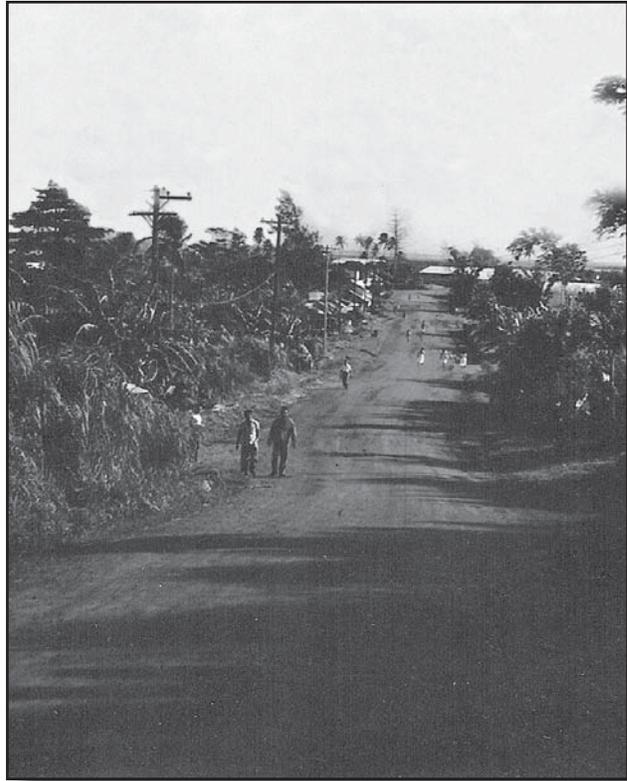
"Dynaleen," Masami said, "do you remember how much fun we used to have in town when we were younger? Do you remember how different things were?"

"Sure I do," Dynaleen replied. "You know, there were some things I didn't like about the Japanese Government. But they really did a good job building this town. And now look at it!"

Masami and Dynaleen looked down the long dirt road, into the distance. They saw dust blowing, they saw one person walking, and they saw a few lonely stores, some of them metal quonset huts left by the American Navy. The Americans weren't building anything new, and what was leftover from the Japanese was falling apart.

"You know," Masai said, "I heard that the American Government is doing this on purpose. My cousin is in college in Guam. He said that the Americans think that we're happy and that we don't want anything to change. They think we don't want our lives complicated by having them fix the mess they left here!"

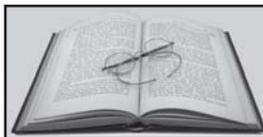
"What about all that talk?" Dynaleen said. "When we first got our municipal leaders, I thought that was the first step toward our independence. Then when we finally got our district congress, I thought that was the next step. But now what? It seems like nothing is happening



Above: A view of Kolonia's main street in 1959. Compare this picture to the Japanese postcards of Kolonia in the last unit.

anymore. I thought we were going to get a national congress. Where is it? Are the Americans going to stay here forever?"

All over the Trust Territory, islanders were saying the same thing.



Check Your Reading: Why did the American Government stop making big changes in the Trust Territory?

Introduction: The Future of the Trust Territory

The American Government and Micronesians had different ideas about the future of the Trust Territory in the 1950s and 1960s. The American military said it had to keep the islands because Micronesia could help the United States in a future war. But most islanders wanted the Americans to keep their promise and help the islands become independent.

For years, nothing seemed to happen. Then, in 1961, when islanders complained to the United Nations, and the United Nations told the world, big changes started to come to the Trust Territory. The American military still wanted to keep the islands, but the Congress of Micronesia gave islanders a voice that carried Micronesia to independence.

In this chapter, you will read about some of the ideas and issues that were important in Micronesia's struggle for independence. Below are some things to remember as you read through this chapter.

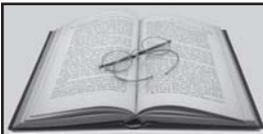
First, Micronesians pushed hard to bring change to their islands. For years, the American Government said that islanders were happy living the way they had lived for hundreds of years and that there was no need to bring change to the Trust Territory. But Micronesians had already seen three different foreign occupations and a world war before the Americans set foot on their islands. Micronesia had already changed. And islanders wanted to bring the benefits of life on Guam or Saipan to the rest of the Trust Territory. The Micronesian independence movement was led by islanders who understood the outside world and wanted a voice in their own future.

Second, not all islanders wanted the same future for their islands. Micronesians had many opinions about what the future of the Trust Territory should be. Some believed that full independence was the only way. Others believed that it was best to join the United States. Many thought that free association, a compromise position, would be best. Micronesians decided what made sense for themselves and for their islands and fought for their right to choose their own futures.

Third, Micronesian independence was a big victory for island leaders in a fight against the most powerful country in the world. Status talks between the American Government and the Congress of Micronesia lasted for years. The talks lasted so long because the United States did not want to make the Trust Territory independent. Remember that things could easily have happened differently. The fact that the Congress of Micronesia got its way shows both the great skill of its members and the military importance of the islands.

Finally, after World War II, the Trust Territory had the attention of the entire world. Micronesia had been affected by world politics for years before the Second World War. If Spain did not want honor for itself all over the world, the Spanish would never have come to the islands. If the United States had not beaten Spain in the Spanish-American war and forced Spain to give up its island colonies, Germany would never have been able to take over those colonies and come to Micronesia. If Japan had not been working to add land to its empire all over the Pacific, the Japanese would never have come to the islands. If a war between all of the world's most powerful countries had not broken out, the Americans would never have come to Micronesia. But it was after World War II that Micronesians really found themselves caught up in world events as the United States argued with the Soviet Union, the United Nations, and with islanders over Micronesia's future status.

One of the reasons that Micronesian independence took so many years was that there were so many complicated issues for both island leaders and the American Government to think about. In this chapter, you will read about some of those issues. But first, you will read about some of the things that were going on all over the world, things that seemed to have nothing to do with the lives of islanders but which brought important changes in their lives.



Check Your Reading: Why did talks on Micronesian independence from the United States last such a long time?

The United Nations in Micronesia

In 1961, a group from the United Nations arrived in Micronesia. The United States Government was running things in the islands, and the Americans didn't seem to be leaving any time soon. But Micronesia was still a United Nations Trust Territory, and that meant that officials from the United Nations had some influence over what the American Government did there. The United Nations sent a team called the **United Nations Visiting Mission** to Micronesia every three years to

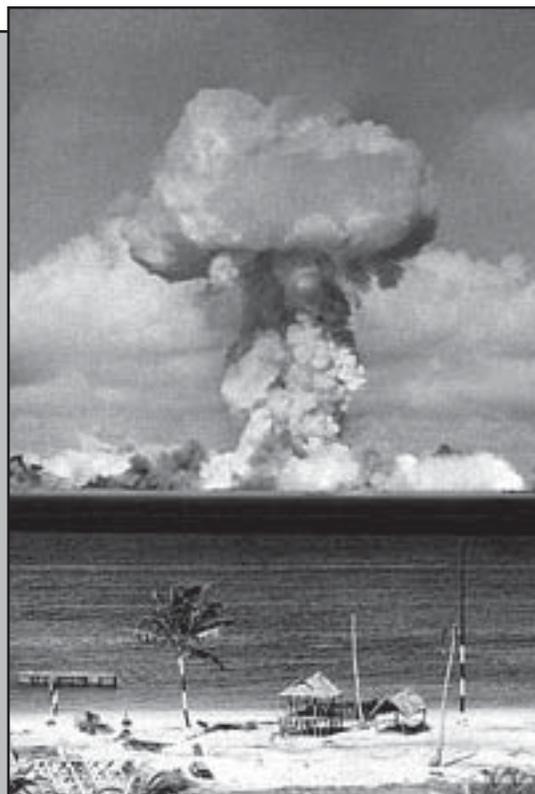
The American Military in Micronesia

Beginning just after World War II, the United States Government decided that the American military could use Micronesia in any way it wanted. Islanders had been through the Japanese build-up for the Second World War, the war itself, and the beginnings of the American military occupation. They had already seen their islands be trampled by two different militaries in just a few years. But no one could have guessed what the Americans planned to do after the war was over.

In the summer of 1946, just after the end of the war and before Micronesia had even become a Trust Territory, the United States military took everyone off the Marshall Islands' Bikini Atoll and tested a nuclear weapon (pictured right). Between 1946 and 1958, the United States tested 67 nuclear bombs in Bikini and Enewetak. The most powerful of these was 1,000 times stronger than the nuclear bomb the United States dropped on Hiroshima, Japan to end the second World War. Islanders were exposed to nuclear radiation and fallout and suffered radiation sickness and terrible birth defects. Women who had been healthy started to give birth to babies who looked like jelly or balls of grapes. The American military delivered the weapons from its base in Kwajalein, which is still used today to test non-nuclear missile systems.

Nuclear testing in the Marshalls wasn't the only thing the American military had in mind for Micronesia. In the early 1950s, the CIA took control of Saipan and used the island as a secret base in its fight against China's communists. The CIA closed off the island to any outside visitors and put up a series of buildings on Saipan's Capitol Hill, some of which were later used by the Congress of Micronesia. There they trained Chinese fighters for their war against Mao Tse-Tung and his communist rebels. Mysterious busses with windows painted black drove up and down Saipan's streets with secret passengers until the program was closed in 1960.

Islanders suffered from the United States military presence in Micronesia, and the American military was an important subject in independence talks. The military wanted to keep the islands in case it somehow lost its bases in Japan or the Philippines. It



wanted to be able to do anything it wanted, any-time it wanted. Micronesian leaders wanted to know the military's plans for their islands and to be paid fairly for the use of their land. The problem of what place the American military should have in Micronesia was one of the most difficult for the Congress of Micronesia to settle. Talks on the issue lasted for years.

Left: A painting by a Marshallese student showing the effects of radiation from American nuclear testing in the Marshalls.

report on what they saw. The group made recommendations for the American Government and reminded the United States of its old promise to make improvements in education and social services, to bring new businesses to the islands, and to prepare Micronesia for independence.

Although some things had changed in Micronesia since the end of World War II, most islanders never quite got back the level of infrastructure, the amount of business activity, and the quality of social services that they enjoyed under the Japanese. And as far as preparing Micronesia for independence, there wasn't much progress with that either.

The Trust Territory Government had changed some things in the islands since the end of the war. There were municipal governments and district congresses, there were the beginnings of a school system and a health care system. But for the most part, the American Government's plan in Micronesia between 1945 and 1960 was to leave things the way they were. American officials announced that islanders were happy enough fishing and farming and living their lives in the traditional way and didn't care if the islands never changed.

Islanders knew a lot more about the outside world than some American officials thought. During Japanese times, islanders had seen the kinds of changes a major power could make in Micronesia. And as more Micronesians traveled outside of the Trust Territory and more information about the United States came to the islands, islanders learned exactly what they were missing. And Micronesians wanted change.

So when Micronesians saw the members of the United Nations Visiting Mission walking around their islands, they asked questions, questions that were embarrassing to the Trust Territory Government. They asked why things were so different in Hawaii and Guam than they were in the Trust Territory. A group of Palauan women asked why the United States wouldn't let their Japanese husbands come to live with them in Palau. Teachers asked about the schools. And people from all over Micronesia told the United Nations group that nothing seemed to be changing and they wanted to know what the future of their islands would be.



Above: The United Nations Visiting Mission meets with islanders and teachers at Chuuk's Xavier High School in 1961. The UN Visiting Mission that arrived in the islands that year wrote a report on the Trust Territory that embarrassed the United States Government into action.

Colonialism in Micronesia and the World

Colonialism has been an important force in world history for hundreds of years, and it has been important in Micronesian history also. **Colonialism is when a more powerful country permanently takes over a less powerful country and uses that country to increase its own wealth and power.** Modern colonialism began in the 1500s when European nations moved their militaries into Africa and North and South America. By the 1800s, most of the world was a **colony** of some other country or had been at one time. **A colony is a less powerful country that has been permanently taken over by a more powerful country.** Even the United States was once the colony of England.

Why did powerful countries want colonies in the first place? There were many different reasons for a country to want colonies. Those reasons changed over time and they changed from country to country. When the Spanish came to Micronesia, for example, they mainly hoped that their new island colonies would bring their country honor. Germany wanted the honor that came from having overseas colonies also, but it hoped to make money in the island as well. Japan and the United States wanted more. Japan wanted the honor that came from overseas colonies, the opportunity to make money, a place for Japanese settlers to live, and a defense against the American military. The United States mainly wanted a defense against the militaries of the Soviet Union and Japan, but also hoped to make money in the islands.

For hundreds of years, the leaders of powerful countries said that they were helping to make their colonies better places. They insisted that their militaries and settlers were bringing advanced modern civilization to the farthest corners of the world. But if these leaders were trying to bring modern life to their colonies, they were trying just as hard to strip those places of their resources for the good of powerful countries. Although powerful countries talked about helping the people of their colonies a lot, it was really the colonies that were being used to help the colonizing nations.

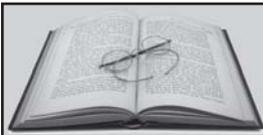
By the late 1800s, more and more colonies started asking for independence. Sometimes those countries were simply given their independence, sometimes people took to the streets to demand it, and sometimes independence movements even turned into wars. After World War II, the small stream of colonies getting their independence turned into a river. Colonies in Southeast Asia, colonies in the Middle East, colonies all over Africa, and India and Pakistan all declared their independence in a short time. Micronesia had already been a colony of Spain, Germany, Japan, and the United States by the 1940s. By the early 1960s, the islands found themselves caught up in the river of the world's independence movements.

Right: A pith helmet like those worn by the Japanese in Micronesia. The Germans wore a different style of helmet when they came to the islands. Because colonial occupiers all over the world wore pith helmets, they became a symbol of colonialism.



Every year the United Nations Visiting Mission went to the United Nations and reported what it saw in Micronesia. But the report they read to the United Nations in 1961 was different from the ones that had come before. The 1961 report made the United States Government look especially bad. The visiting mission reported that islanders were not satisfied with the Trust Territory Government, that there were no new businesses coming to the islands, and that Micronesia's infrastructure, much of which was left over from Japanese times, was being allowed to waste away without even money from the United States for basic repairs.

The world asked the United States to explain what it was doing in Micronesia. And so America's new president, **John F. Kennedy**, demanded changes in the Trust Territory. The voices of islanders had been heard. Within a short time, many of the changes that islanders had been asking for over the last fifteen years seemed to come all at once.



Check Your Reading: Why were islanders angry with the Trust Territory Government in the 1950s and early 1960s?

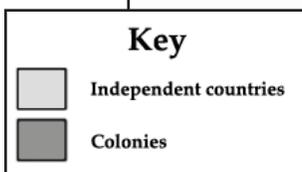
Above: American President John F. Kennedy speaking to the United Nations, 1961. Kennedy was embarrassed by Micronesian complaints to the United Nations and made big changes to American policies in the Trust Territory.

Independence Movements after World War II

The Trust Territory Government didn't make very many changes in Micronesia during the 1940s and 1950s. When the United Nations Visiting Mission came to the Trust Territory in 1961, the things it saw weren't much different from what other United Nations Visiting Missions had seen three, six, nine, or twelve years before. So why was its report so much harder on the United States than earlier reports? Why did the member countries of the United Nations criticize the United States Government so much more than they had before? And why was the American Government suddenly so embarrassed?

In the early 1960s, the world was changing fast. Beginning in the 1500s and continuing through the early 1900s, powerful countries thought that it was their right, even their duty, to take over less powerful countries and make them their colonies. But by the 1950s and 1960s people all over the world were starting to think that powerful countries shouldn't have the right to take over any country they wanted. They said that the people of Africa and Asia shouldn't be ruled by people from Europe and the United States. They argued that those countries should be independent.

The World's Colonies in 1900, 1945, and 1961



Above: The world's colonies in 1900, 1945, and 1961. Micronesia's colonization was part of a worldwide movement of powerful countries taking over smaller nations. Micronesia's independence movement was also part of a worldwide push for freedom from colonial rule. By 1961 eight of the world's eleven Trust Territories were independent.

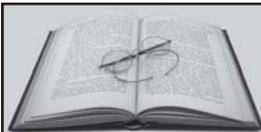
An important idea in colonial independence movements all over the world was the idea of **sovereignty**. **Sovereignty means the people living in a country have the right to decide what happens to them and their nation.** As Micronesia developed its own independence movement in the 1960s and 1970s, sovereignty became an important idea in the islands as well. Islanders heard the growing calls from the world's colonies for independence and demanded that the United States recognize the sovereignty of Micronesians over their islands.



Above: Africans in Ghana celebrate Kwame Nkrumah's release from prison, where he had been held because of his work to make Ghana independent. Within six years of his release, Nkrumah would lead his people to independence from Great Britain. Although some colonies had to go to war to win their independence, other independence movements in the 1960s were held peacefully.

But even as islanders demanded independence from the United States, the American Government was supporting independence movements in other parts of the world. Many islanders thought it was strange that they should have to put up such a fight against the United States for their independence. As more Micronesians learned about American history, they found out that the United States had also been a colony and that Americans went to the war in the 1700s against England for their own independence. They also found out that, even as the American Government was adding new colonies in the Pacific, it was encouraging independence movements in other places.

In the last chapter, you read about some of the disagreements within the American Government about whether or not the United States should stay in Micronesia permanently. The military and others argued that the United States should keep the islands as long as it wanted. The State Department and others argued that the United States should prepare the islands for independence as fast as it could. These two sides were unable to agree, so they made a compromise and Micronesia became a strategic trusteeship. These same disagreements lasted into the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and even into the 1980s. The many different opinions within the United States Government were one of the biggest challenges the Congress of Micronesia would face as it fought for Micronesian sovereignty.



Check Your Reading: What did islanders think was strange about having to fight for their independence from the United States?



Above: An elementary school in Pohnpei, 1963, built by the community, and the standard elementary school being built by the Trust Territory Government all over Micronesia starting in 1963. During 1963 and 1964, the Trust Territory Government built 500 concrete block elementary schools in Micronesia.

Changes in American Policy

John F. Kennedy was the youngest president ever elected in the United States. When people voted for him they expected him to make American society more fair and they expected him to support democracy in other countries. Kennedy wanted to bring American resources, ideas, and money to all of the world's poor to make the world a better place. He wanted the United States to be known for helping others, just as he wanted America's biggest enemy, the Soviet Union, to be known for treating people unfairly.

But once islanders' complaints led to the 1961 United Nations Visiting Mission report, the world saw that the United States could not even manage things in Micronesia, where it had already been for over fifteen years. If the United States couldn't fix things in Micronesia

after so long, how could the American Government fix the whole world? Something had to be done in Micronesia. And President Kennedy was ready to make big changes in American **policy**. **Policies are the plans that governments follow.**

First, Kennedy made big increases in the amount of money the United States Government sent to the islands. For years the United States allowed the Trust Territory Government to spend up to \$7,500,000. The money was barely enough to pay Trust Territory staff and fund a few small projects, and not even enough to pay for infrastructure repairs. But in 1962, the United States doubled its funding and allowed the Trust Territory Government to spend up to \$15,000,000.

The first project was to make big improvements in education and health care, and new schools and dispensaries began to appear all over the Trust Territory. Hundreds of American Government officials and Peace Corps volunteers were sent in to help make the new schools work. Suddenly, just about every Micronesian teenager was

Micronesia Becomes a Political Football

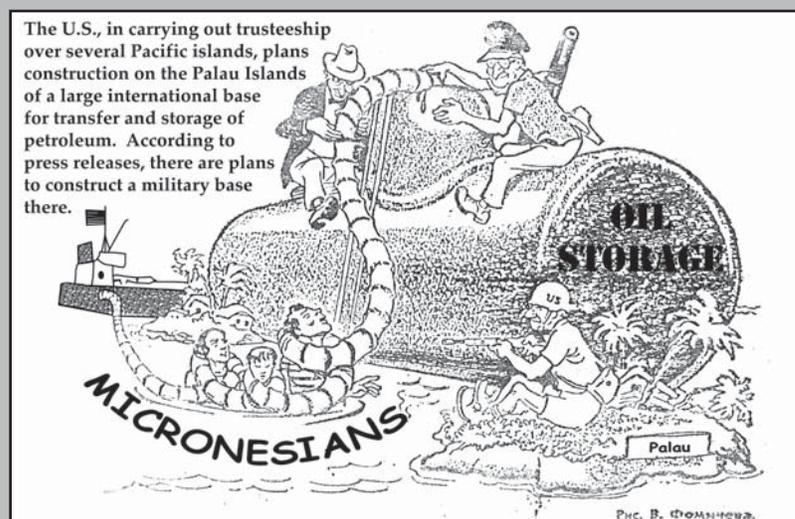
Beginning just after the Second World War and continuing through the 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union were at war. But this war was different. Unlike most wars, which are over in a few years and kill many soldiers on both sides, the war between the United States and the Soviet Union lasted more than forty years. And, because the American and Soviet armies never met each other on the battlefield and there was never any shooting, this war came to be called the **Cold War**.

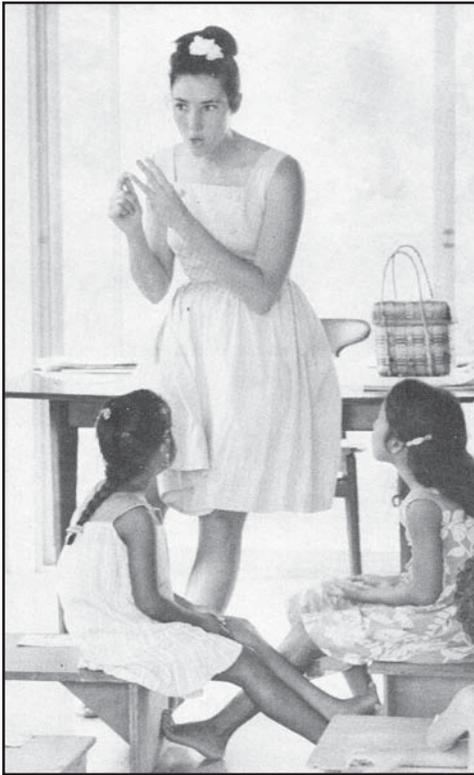
The Cold War was not fought with guns, soldiers, and tanks. It was fought with information. The United States wanted to make the Soviet Union look bad so that other countries would not form alliances with it and make it too powerful. The Soviet Union also wanted to make the United States look bad so that other countries would not form alliances with the American Government. These alliances were important because both sides always believed that the shooting could start any time, even though it never did. Both countries were always trying to embarrass the other and to build the biggest alliance in any way they could.

In the early 1960s, the Cold War was heating up. People in the United States and in the Soviet Union were worried that a real war could start at any time. In Berlin, Germany, a city that had been occupied by both the American and Soviet militaries during World War II, a wall went up between the Soviet part of the city and the rest of the city. The wall was heavily guarded, and no one could cross from one side of the city to the other. In Vietnam, a country in Southeast Asia, the American Government was sending in troops to keep the Soviet Union's allies from taking over. In Cuba, a small country close to the United States that was already allied with the Soviet Union, a serious argument between the United States and the Soviet Union almost led to a nuclear war.

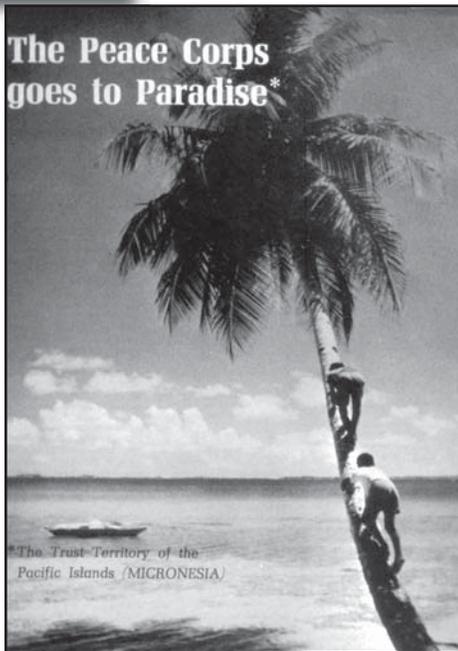
Micronesians had nothing to do with this long argument between the United States and the Soviet Union, but they became involved anyway when the Trust Territory became a **political football**. **A political football is a political issue that is talked about for a long time but never settled.** When the United States decided to stay in Micronesia after World War II, the Soviet Union tried to keep it out of the islands. The American Government refused. When the 1961 United Nations report was read, the Soviet Union criticized the United States again. The Soviet Union and the United States continued to argue about Micronesia well into the 1980s.

To the right is a **political cartoon**. **A political cartoon is a cartoon with a political message.** This political cartoon was printed in the Soviet Union in the 1970s. The cartoonist is writing about American plans for a large base on Palau, a base that was never built. How does the cartoonist view American policies in Micronesia?





Above: A Peace Corps volunteer teaching class in Pohnpei.
Right: A Peace Corps poster from the 1960s. Peace Corps Micronesia drew thousands of applicants. What idea of the Trust Territory does this poster give?



in high school, not just a few of the smartest students from every district.

Second, Kennedy opened the islands to outside visitors. Micronesia had been closed to outside visitors ever since the Japanese occupation. Both Japan and the United States kept visitors out of the islands so that their enemies couldn't come and see what their militaries were doing. Now President Kennedy decided it would be less embarrassing to the United States to allow businessmen and tourists to visit the islands when they wanted. He also provided more scholarships for Micronesian students to leave the Trust Territory to attend college.

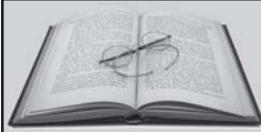
Third, Kennedy moved the headquarters of the Trust Territory Government from Guam to Saipan. Unlike every other occupier that came before it, the United States set up its first headquarters for Micronesia outside of the islands. The Trust Territory's capital had been in both Guam and Hawaii. Guam was closer to the islands than Hawaii, but it was still not a part of the Trust Territory. Kennedy thought that

the government could serve the people better from Saipan, inside the Trust Territory.

Finally, Kennedy made the Trust Territory Government more centralized. In the last chapter, you read that Micronesia's municipal leaders had power over municipal schools and dispensaries during the 1940s and 1950s. But in the early 1960s, power in the Trust Territory Government quickly became **centralized**, which means that municipalities became less powerful and districts and Trust Territory headquarters became more powerful.

The new Trust Territory headquarters in Saipan was now in charge of building and maintaining all of Micronesia's schools and for paying all of its teachers. Headquarters also took control over other social services, like health care. This usually meant that schools were better and that teachers were paid more. But it also meant that communities had little control over their own schools.

President Kennedy planned to make big changes in Micronesia in a short time, and he did. But were all of his changes good for Micronesians? What would happen to islanders with so much money and so many people coming into the Trust Territory?



Check Your Reading: Why were President Kennedy's changes in the Trust Territory Government important for Micronesians?

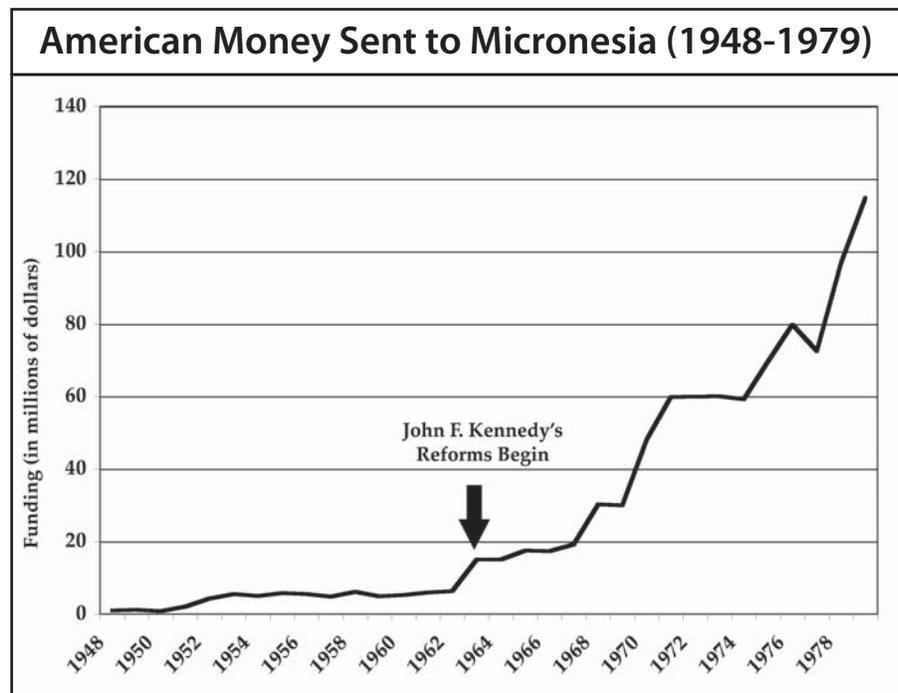
Goals of American Reforms

Many of President Kennedy's changes were good for Micronesians. There was money for schools and hospitals, and the infrastructure on some islands was starting to get better. Yet even though the United States Government was changing things in the Trust Territory, even though the islands were now open to outside visitors, and even though the CIA was no longer working secretly in Saipan, the American military was still very interested in the islands. The American Government hadn't forgotten why it was in Micronesia in the first place: to keep the islands for American protection in case the United States went to war with the Soviet Union.

John F. Kennedy had two goals in making changes to the Trust Territory Government.

First, Kennedy hoped that all the money he was sending to the islands and all the changes he was making to American policies there would improve things in the Trust Territory and make the United States Government look good. If Micronesians had better lives and if they felt that the American Government was listening to their needs, Kennedy thought, they wouldn't complain to the United Nations anymore. Then the world would have more respect for the American Government and its

Below: A graph showing the American Government's funding of the Trust Territory. When American President John F. Kennedy became embarrassed at American policies in Micronesia he almost tripled funding to the Trust Territory in one year, between 1962 and 1963. Funding was doubled in 1968 and again in 1971. As American aid continued to flow to the islands, Micronesians found it harder and harder to run things without American money.





Above: Leo Falcam, later president of the FSM, being sworn in as Pohnpei's District Administrator in 1972. One of the changes that came to the Trust Territory Government in the 1960s was that more Micronesians held high-level government positions. Falcam became the first Pohnpeian Assistant District Administrator in 1966 and the first Pohnpeian District Administrator six years later. Both positions had previously only been held by Americans.

ability to make important changes in the rest of the world.

Second, Kennedy hoped that the Trust Territory Government could do such a good job that islanders would decide they wanted Micronesia to be a part of the United States forever. If the American Government sent millions of dollars to islanders and made improvements that Micronesians never could have paid for on their own, Kennedy thought, why wouldn't Micronesians want to join the United States? If Micro-

nesians decided that they wanted their islands to become a part of the United States on their own, the American Government wouldn't have to worry about fighting against a Micronesian independence movement, because there wouldn't be one. The United States would do such a good job in the Trust Territory that no one would ever want the Americans to leave.

During the 1960s, the second goal in President Kennedy's plans was kept secret from islanders. Kennedy asked a man named Anthony Solomon to study possibilities for making improvements in the Trust Territory. Solomon wrote these plans down in a report called the **Solomon Report**. The Solomon Report had many ideas on how to make changes in Micronesia, and many ideas about Micronesia's future relationship with the United States, but nothing about making the Trust Territory independent. All of the possible options Solomon wrote about were designed to keep Micronesia closely tied to the United States. When the Solomon Report was discovered by Micronesians in the 1970s, islanders were angry and the American Government was embarrassed.

As we will see, President Kennedy was right about some things and wrong about other things when he made his plans to change things in the Trust Territory.

Kennedy was right that the rest of the world wanted the United States to make changes in Micronesia, and the United Nations was mostly happy with the changes he made. But he was wrong if he thought that sending money to the island would make everyone happy. Many people were still calling for Micronesia's independence, Micronesians most of all. Filling up the islands with money would not make islanders forget about their independence.

President Kennedy was also right that islanders wanted better schools, hospitals, and infrastructure. But he was wrong when he thought that the American Government could fix everything in just a few years.



Check Your Reading: Why was it so important to the U.S. military that America stay in Micronesia?

The Congress of Micronesia Finds Its Voice

At its first meeting on July 12, 1965, the Congress of Micronesia had little power. Its members had more authority than the Micronesian Leadership Conferences and the Council of Micronesia, but the Trust Territory's most important decisions were still made in Washington, D.C. The United States Secretary of the Interior still had an incredible amount of power over the entire Trust Territory. When he sent out an order, no one had the power to change it except the President of the United States. So although the Congress of Micronesia had the power to pass laws, those laws could be thrown out by the American Government. And although the congress had some money to work with, they could only spend the \$1,000,000 of the tax money they raised from islanders.

If the American Government thought that island leaders would be satisfied just to have a national congress, they were wrong. From its very first sessions, leaders in the Congress of Micronesia showed that they would fight to get what they wanted. And although the new congress had little power on paper, its members knew how to get their way with the American Government.

Already in 1965 the congress had more power than the Americans realized. Remembering how embarrassed the United States Government had been at the United Nations Visiting Mission's report in 1961, one of the Congress of Micronesia's first actions was to go straight back to the United Nations to ask for help in improving the Trust Territory's health care system. When the Congress of Micronesia went back to the United Nations to ask for

What Did Members of the Congress of Micronesia Do?

The powers of the Congress of Micronesia changed over the course of the 1960s and 1970s. As island leaders successfully fought the United States Government for more power, their voices became stronger and the congress grew in influence as well.

By the late 1960s, the Congress of Micronesia had shown itself to be much more powerful than the United States Government had expected it to be, and it was already in the middle of Micronesia's long fight for independence.

Below are some of the Congress of Micronesia's basic powers and responsibilities in the late 1960s and 1970s:

- To decide how tax money raised from islanders should be spent.
- To give advice to the Trust Territory's High Commissioner about the Trust Territory budget before it was sent to the United States Department of the Interior.
- To pass laws, as long as those laws did not go against laws made by the American Government.
- To ask the U.S. Secretary of the Interior to pass Congress of Micronesia laws that were thrown out by the Trust Territory Government.
- To travel all over Micronesia, to explain the purpose of the Congress, and to ask the people for advice.
- To send two members with the High Commissioner when he went to the United Nations to talk about the Trust Territory.

Changes in the Islands: Jobs Bring Money and Problems

The Congress of Micronesia held talks with the United States on the future status of the Trust Territory throughout the 1970s. But even as island leaders talked to American officials about the future of the Trust Territory, the islands were changing fast.

The United States increased the amount of money it sent to the Trust Territory almost every year during the 1960s and 1970s. That money was used to create jobs in the Trust Territory Government. Some of the jobs went to Americans, but hundreds of islanders were hired also. By the early 1970s, over 12,000 islanders held full-time jobs in the Trust Territory and there seemed to be no end to the jobs that would be available in the future.

Almost every government job was in one of the Trust Territory's district centers: Colonia in Yap, Weno in Chuuk, and Kolonia in Pohnpei. As more islanders got jobs in the district centers, more people moved in from outlying municipalities and outer islands. Islanders living in district centers had more money to spend than ever before, and stores, restaurants, and bars opened to serve them.

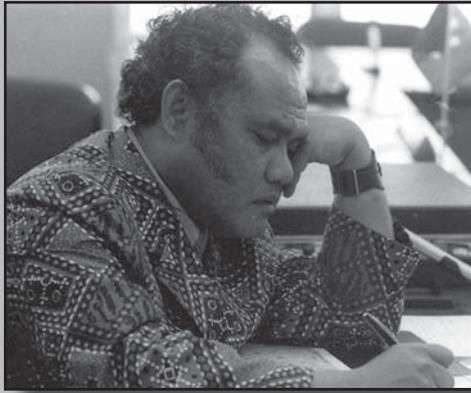
But these changes also brought problems. Alcohol abuse and crime increased, especially in the district centers. And because almost everything in Micronesia's towns was paid for with money from the Americans, some islanders began to worry that Micronesia was becoming more and more dependent on the United States. Micronesian dependence, increasing all the time, became an important issue in the Congress of Micronesia's future status talks.

more help, American officials were even more embarrassed.

Micronesia's new congressmen were showing that they didn't need the American government to do their thinking for them. If something in the islands needed to change, the Congress of Micronesia brought it to the Trust Territory Government. And if the Americans refused to help, the congressmen were willing to find someone who would, and they were happy to show the world the messes the United States made in the Trust Territory while they were at it.

The Congress of Micronesia fought the American Government for more power for years. And little by little, the congress got it. Working with few lawyers and no secretaries, the congressmen began passing laws calling for important changes in the Trust Territory. The congress successfully pushed through the Merit System Act, which called for the Trust Territory Government to hire more Micronesian workers and to pay them higher salaries. It started the fight to return some of the land taken by the Japanese and now owned by the Trust Territory Government to islanders. And by the end of the 1960s, the congress was reviewing the budgets of the Trust Territory Government and asking for changes in how American money was spent in the islands. As the Congress of Micronesia's power grew, the power of the district congresses grew also. They were now called **district legislatures**, and their members were fighting hard to have more influence with the Trust Territory Government just as the members of the Congress of Micronesia were.

One of the most important things the Congress of Micronesia did in its early years was to start a group to look into Micronesian independence, which it did in 1967. This group was called the **Future Political Status Commission**. The Future Political Status Commission was created after the United Nations and the Congress of Micronesia asked the United States to look into the possibilities for Micronesian independence and the United States Government did nothing. The commission was made up of members of the Congress of Micronesia. Right away they began doing research into Micronesian independence. The question was not only whether Micronesia should be



John Mangefel's Lord's Prayer and Micronesian Dependence

John Mangefel, representative from Yap to the Congress of Micronesia and Yap's first governor under the Federated States of Micronesia, was famous for making funny and interesting speeches. Mangefel made a half-joking proposal to pass a law against wearing neckties, he poked fun at the United States by reading made-up letters from a made-up cousin on the floor of congress, and he wrote long poems and read them into the congressional record.

In the speech below, Mangefel is making a point about Micronesian **dependence** on the United States. **Dependence is when one country needs another country's help to run its government.** You have already read that President Kennedy and the U.S. Congress increased the amount of money they were sending to the Trust Territory in the early 1960s. As the amount of money the American Government sent to Micronesia increased, the size of the Trust Territory Government also increased. By the 1970s, the Trust Territory Government was spending more money than it could ever raise by collecting taxes from islanders. So the Micronesian independence movement had a problem. How could Micronesia be independent from the United States and still have enough money to pay for its own government?

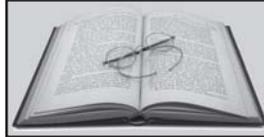
Mangefel jokingly suggested that the prayer below be read before every meeting of the Congress of Micronesia and every time a Micronesian leader went to Washington, D.C. to meet with American Government officials:

I confess, Mr. President, I am somewhat at a loss as I ponder how all our problems could be solved. Even dipping into my betelnut basket yesterday and this morning did not provide me with any inspirations to share with my distinguished, and I am sure, equally befuddled colleagues. After searching my soul, the answer finally was revealed to me. In seeking solutions to our problems, we must consult with that higher administering authority, and His words, as promulgated in that ethereal order, the Good Book.... To close this preamble, I now will offer my solution. Furthermore, in order to appease our Senate and Journal Clerk's penchant for assigning a title and number to everything that we do, I have ventured to entitle the solution in the following manner:

The Lord's Prayer As Amended By the Humble John De Avila Mangefel

*Our Father, who art in Washington,
Hallowed be thy funds,
Thy authorizations come, thy appropriations be done,
In Saipan, as they are in the President's Budget Office.
Give us this day our quarterly allotment,
And forgive us our overruns, as we forgive our deficits.
And lead us not into dependence, but deliver us from inflation.
So ours will be the territory, and the power,
And the fiscal authority, forever.*

independent from the United States, but how. Was full independence the best choice for the islands? Was it better to join the United States? Was a compromise possible? The status commission set to work to find out the answers.



Check Your Reading: How did the Congress of Micronesia increase the amount of influence it had over the American Government?

Educating the People on Independence

Outer islanders watched as the field trip ship pulled slowly up to their shore. They watched as the ship opened, revealing a ramp that slowly extended onto their island. They watched as vehicles and people emerged.

On board was a representative from the Congress of Micronesia. He was riding the field trip ship all over his district, talking to the people about the new congress, about independence and free association, and about the future of Micronesia. He asked the island's chiefs to gather all the people so that he could talk to them. And soon, a crowd formed. There were men and women, young and old, seated and standing all around him.

He began to speak. He explained some of the things that the Congress of Micronesia had accomplished. He explained some of the things that the Congress of Micronesia hoped to accomplish. Then he asked for the people's opinions.

Everyone had been listening respectfully, but now no one spoke. Finally one man raised his hand.

"Do you have a question?" the representative asked.

"Yes," the outer islander replied. "Did you bring any rice?"

One of the most important jobs the Congress of Micronesia had was to travel through the islands, teaching the people about independence and learning about public opinion. But it was a difficult job. Many island languages did not have even have words for important ideas like independence, free association, or sovereignty. And the work of the Congress of Micronesia sometimes seemed far removed from the daily lives of Micronesians.

Although it was a challenging job to bring news from the Congress of Micronesia to the far ends of the Trust Territory, representatives knew how important it was. They were elected officials, after all, and their people had to know what they were doing and agree with their actions. So they traveled, they wrote, they held debates on the radio, and they listened to their people. And the people started to get involved in the process. By the 1970s, Micronesians all over the Trust Territory were following the activities of the Congress of Micronesia, independence movements were forming all over the territory, and islanders were demanding that their voices be heard.



Check Your Reading: Why did members of the Congress of Micronesia think it was important to do so much traveling in their districts?

The Future Political Status Commission

There were many important changes in American policy in Micronesia in the 1960s. But what didn't change was the United States military's plans to keep the islands under American control. So although some in the American Government wanted Micronesia to have its independence, it didn't look like the United States was going to make the Trust Territory independent on its own. So the work of fighting for Micronesian independence fell to the Congress of Micronesia.

The Future Political Status Commission was made up of one congressman from each of the Trust Territory's six districts. For two years, its members talked to people, read books, and even traveled to islands outside the Trust Territory, islands in the Pacific and the Caribbean, to find out the best possible solutions for the Trust Territory's future.

It took the Future Political Status Commission a year of research before its members were ready to make their first report. The commission came up with four possibilities for Micronesia's future relationship with the United States. Each had advantages and disadvantages.

Below: Leaders from the Congress of Micronesia meeting with American officials during the first round of meetings on the Trust Territory's future political status, 1969.



Paid for With American Blood: Making the Arguments Heard

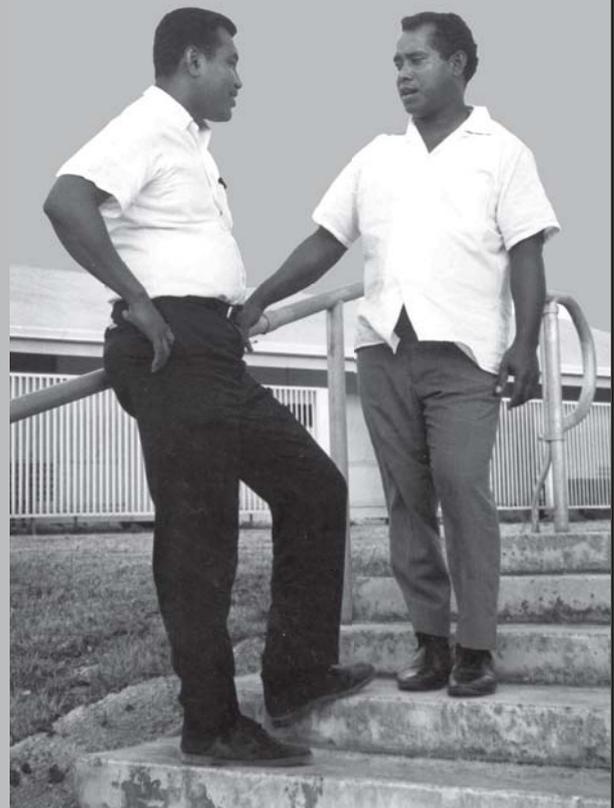
In 1976, as politicians, traditional leaders, and regular people across Micronesia were fighting for independence from the United States, Lazarus Salii wrote an article to explain why he thought Micronesia should be independent. Salii represented Palau in the Congress of Micronesia.

In his article, Salii argued that the American Government freed the Micronesian people from the Japanese only to make them prisoners in the Trust Territory. He was angry that Americans thought they could do anything in Micronesia just because they fought to win the islands from the Japanese. Salii wrote about American officials who said that the United States military “purchased” control of Micronesia with American blood. What those officials didn’t understand, Salii wrote, was that the ownership of Micronesian land was a right of the Micronesian people, that the islands were not and are not for sale for blood or money, that islanders never asked American soldiers to come to Micronesia during the war, and that Americans didn’t come to Micronesia to help islanders. These were some of the most basic, and most popular, arguments for Micronesian independence.

Many Micronesians found Salii’s argument convincing. They had heard Americans say that the United States bought Micronesia with the blood of American soldiers too, and it had always seemed like a strange argument to make. You may remember some of the arguments that Salii is talking about from earlier in this unit. But Salii was not only writing to other Micronesians. Like other members of the Congress of Micronesia, Salii was trying to reach beyond the islands to get the message of Micronesian independence heard. He writing to Micronesians, to members of the Trust Territory Government, to the people of the United States, and to leaders of other countries all around the world.

Spreading the word about Micronesian independence was one of the Congress of Micronesia’s most important jobs. During John F. Kennedy’s presidency, island leaders discovered that the United States could be embarrassed into action if it was doing something wrong in Micronesia and if other countries found out about it. One of the main reasons so many things changed in the Trust Territory in the early 1960s was because the United States was embarrassed by the report of the United Nations Visiting Commission in 1961. Members of the Congress of Micronesia knew that the United States Government wanted to be respected by the rest of the world and by its own people. Island leaders knew that many people would agree that the islands should be independent of the United States if they found out what was happening in the Trust Territory.

Right: Lazarus Salii (right), representative to the Congress of Micronesia from Palau and member of the Future Political Status Commission speaking to Kaleb Udui (left), lawyer for the Congress of Micronesia.





Above: Chief Obak of Palau asks a question at a meeting on political status in 1969.

the Hawaiian language out of island schools. American Indians were a second example. The United States was once full of hundreds of Indian tribes, but the American Government took almost all of their land, attacked their traditional cultures, and then mostly ignored them. In Hawaii and with American Indians, some argued, the United States Government showed that it was more interested in protecting itself than in protecting the small groups of people who had something that it wanted.

The third possibility was for Micronesia to continue as a Trust Territory. The question of Micronesia's future status could simply be left to another day. This also was not a popular option with the people., although it did have the ad-

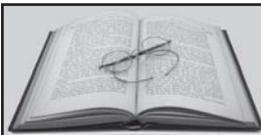
vantage of having no surprises. No one was exactly sure what would happen if Micronesia's relationship with the United States changed. But everyone already knew what it was like for the islands to be an American Trust Territory.

The last possibility was free association. Free association was an exciting idea for some islanders. There were only a few countries in the world that were freely associated with other countries in the 1960s. **Free association is when one self-governing country has a close relationship with another self-governing country.** The United States military wanted to keep the islands, and many Micronesians wanted the islands to be independent. Could free association be a compromise between those two positions? Free association was a new idea, and one that neither the United States Government nor island leaders understood completely. If the Trust Territory was going to be freely associated with the United States, everyone had to ask a big question first: what is free association? We will look at this question more closely later in this chapter.

When the Future Political Status Commission delivered its first report, the Congress of Micronesia and the Micronesian people were able to see four paths toward a new future for the Trust Territory. Now the job of deciding which was best and fighting for it began. After many discussions both inside and outside the congress, the four choices presented by the Future Political Status Commission were narrowed down to two: free association and independence. So in 1969 the commission wrote a second report saying that the Congress

of Micronesia would accept only free association or full independence. Talks on the future status of the islands were opened with the United States Government that same year.

There was growing excitement in the Trust Territory for independence. But many American officials said that the islands were never going to be independent. They said that the United States was just too powerful, that islanders would never be able to get their way. But the Congress of Micronesia stayed strong. Congressional leaders like Tosiwo Nakayama, Andon Amaraich, and Hans Williander spoke out for full independence and never blinked at American threats to keep the islands under its control forever. They never doubted that their islands would be independent one day.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the advantages and disadvantages of the islands becoming part of the United States?

Early Status Talks: Four Principles

The congressmen worked for two years, researching, traveling, and writing. They went all over the Trust Territory, talking to their people, educating them about their work, and asking for advice. They made two reports. The first identified four possibilities for Micronesia's future status, and the second narrowed those possibilities down to two: independence or free association. And now these members of the Future Political Status Commission were finally sitting at the table with American officials, finally talking about Micronesia's future. The commission delivered its report to the Americans: Micronesians would accept either independence or free association, but nothing else.

So the members of the commission were shocked when the Americans offered to make the Trust Territory a **commonwealth** of the United States. **A commonwealth is a full part of a larger government and is**

What is Free Association?

The Congress of Micronesia fought for free association with the United States for years. But when the Joint Committee on Future Status finally reached an agreement with the American Government on Micronesia's future, it became clear that island leaders had very different ideas from American officials as to what exactly free association meant.

You have already read that there were only a few examples of two countries being freely associated with one another in the 1970s. Both Micronesians and Americans understood that freely associated countries had a close relationship. The question was what exactly that relationship should look like.

American officials suggested that a freely associated Micronesia would be under the protection of the U.S. military and that the U.S. Government would represent Micronesia in its talks with other countries. In return, the American Government would send money to help run things.

But island leaders weren't satisfied. They said that if Micronesia was really going to be independent, it should speak for itself in talks with other countries.

The Congress of Micronesia fought the United States on the definition of free association for years. Finally, the U.S. Government agreed to use its military to protect the islands and send money, but to let the new Micronesian nations speak for themselves. This victory, like most of the Congress of Micronesia's victories, came slowly, step by step, piece by piece. But it was one of the most important keys to true independence for Micronesia.

similar to a state or a territory. The Americans only offered commonwealth status and refused to compromise. To island leaders, it sounded more like an order than an offer.

Micronesians didn't understand why the American Government seemed to be showing so little respect for their wishes. Hadn't the Future Political Status Commission just said that islanders would never give their islands to the United States? The Americans didn't understand why Micronesians would want to be independent. They thought of the United States as the greatest country in the world, a place where all the world's people would be happy to go if they only had the chance. And, since Trust Territory headquarters was in Saipan, and most islanders in the Marianas really did want to join the United States, the Americans thought other Micronesians wanted to join the United States too. American officials thought that their offer to make Micronesia part of the United States was a gift. To islanders who wanted independence it sounded more like an insult.

So the commission rejected the American suggestion that the Trust Territory become a commonwealth. The Congress of Micronesia was not going to give up so easily. And in response to the American proposal, island leaders offered **four principles**, or ideas, that they refused to compromise on.

The first principle was that the United States had to recognize Micronesia's political sovereignty. We have already seen that sovereignty is when the people who live in a country have the right to decide what happens to them and to their country. But, for the Congress of Micronesia, sovereignty did not have to mean full independence. Every country in the world is deeply connected to other countries. No country can survive alone. **What Micronesians wanted was not necessarily for the United States to leave them alone forever. What they wanted was to be able to choose their own future.**

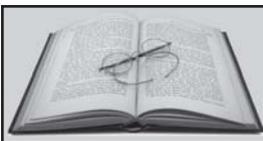
The second principle was that Micronesians had the right to decide their country's future. The real meaning of sovereignty for island leaders was that Micronesians had the right to decide the future of their islands. If islanders chose to join the United States, that was fine. But they had to have a choice.

The third principle was that Micronesians had the right to write their own constitution. Because the American Government didn't want Micronesia to be independent, American officials tried to keep island leaders from writing their own constitution. Constitutions often outline the structures of independent governments. If Micronesia had a constitution, American officials thought, that would make the islands independent. But whether fully independent or freely associated with

the United States, Micronesians wanted their own country, and they wanted a constitution to prove that it was theirs and no one else's.

The fourth principle was that either Micronesians or the United States could decide to end a compact of free association on its own. A compact of free association is a document that spells out the relationship between a larger self-governing country and a smaller self-governing country. This was an important idea. What if Micronesians signed a compact of free association with the United States and then the American Government refused to keep its promises? If island leaders couldn't get Micronesia out of the compact on their own, the islands would be just as stuck under the American Government as they ever were.

When the Future Political Status Commission announced the four principles to the United States Government, American officials were surprised. They hadn't expected island leaders to put up a fight. They missed their chance to make suggestions for the future of the Trust Territory that everyone could agree on. After the first round of talks, the positions of both the Micronesian and the American sides hardened, and compromise became more difficult. Island leaders continued to fight.



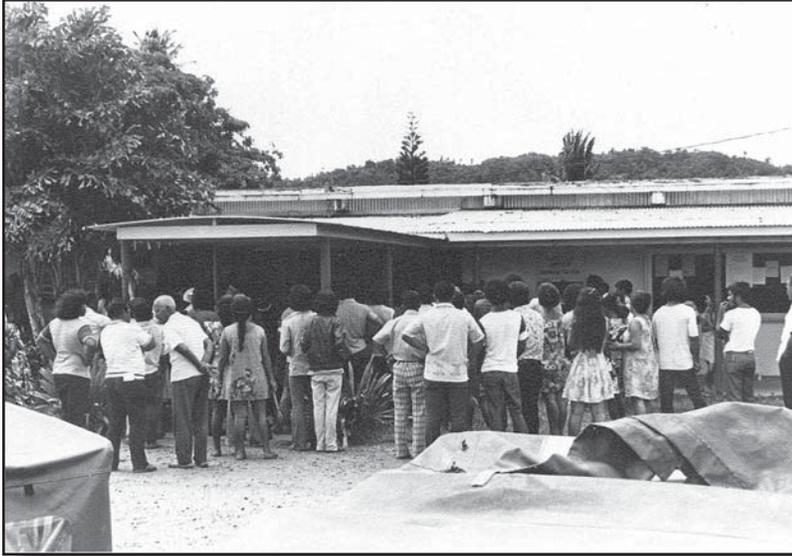
Check Your Reading: What was the meaning of sovereignty for the Congress of Micronesia?

The People Make Their Voices Heard

The Congress of Micronesia would never have been able to do its work without the people. **The movement for Micronesian independence was led by the Congress of Micronesia, but it was fueled by the people's support.** You have already read how much Congress of Micronesia representatives traveled around their districts and also how

Below: Islanders protest against the Trust Territory Government in Saipan, 1970.





Above: Pohnpeians protesting outside the District Administrator's office in Pohnpei, 1971. As the Congress of Micronesia fought for independence from the United States, people all over the Trust Territory followed the status talks closely and did what they could to help support the congress.

important they thought it was that their people be involved in their fight for independence.

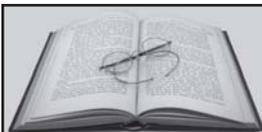
In the 1970s, groups were forming all over the Trust Territory. Some argued for independence, some for free association, and some argued that Micronesia should become a full part of the United States. Many of these groups had members both inside and outside the Congress of Micronesia.

The **Independence Coalition** was one of these groups. It argued for

full independence and had members from all over the Trust Territory, including the Congress of Micronesia's Tosiwo Nakayama, Andon Amaraich, and Roman Tmetuchl. When the Independence Coalition started to get attention from islanders and Americans alike, another group formed to argue the opposite position, that Micronesia should have a closer relationship with the United States.

There were also groups who argued for and against Micronesian unity. Groups in the Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands argued that their districts should separate from the rest of the Trust Territory. Groups like the Micronesian Movement for Self-Government and the Voice of the Marshalls argued that all of the Trust Territory's districts should stay together. Some groups even formed to argue for other issues altogether. In Chuuk, women organized a group to keep alcohol off their islands, holding marches and protests to make Chuuk dry.

All over the Trust Territory, islanders were excited to play a part in deciding Micronesia's future, and people wanted their opinions to be heard. Micronesian college students wrote letters to the American president, published a newspaper arguing for Micronesian independence, and held public protests against the U.S. Government. Signs of the people's excitement were everywhere, as islanders shouted slogans like "Micronesia for Micronesians!" and "Yankee Go Home!" Micronesians were showing the world in as many ways as they could that they wanted something different for their islands.



Check Your Reading: Did all islanders in the 1970s agree on what Micronesia's future relationship with the United States should be?

Keeping the Trust Territory Together

By 1971, the Congress of Micronesia had already been holding status talks with the United States Government for two long years. Neither island leaders nor American officials wanted to give too much away, so progress was slow. Leaders in the Congress of Micronesia had many disagreements with American officials, but almost everyone always thought that the Trust Territory would stay together until a decision on Micronesia's future was reached.

So in 1971, when the Marianas announced that it wanted to leave the Trust Territory to hold its own talks with the American Government, people all over were surprised. "Leave the Trust Territory?" they wondered. "Is that even possible?"

Ever since the late 1950s, islanders in Saipan and the rest of the Marianas had been asking the United States Government, and even the United Nations, to let their islands join Guam and become a part of the United States. The history and culture of the Marianas were much different from the rest of the Trust Territory, and islanders in the Marianas felt that they had little in common with islanders in the rest of Micronesia. They wanted the benefits of the American system that they had seen in nearby Guam, and they wanted to become a commonwealth of the United States to get them.



Below: A flood of newspaper articles followed the announcement that the Marianas would leave the Trust Territory.

fire follows secessionist resolution
SAIPAN (UPI) — Fire early today extensively damaged buildings occupied by the Congress of Micronesia.

U.S. Opposes Marianas Secession
AGANA, Guam (UPI) — Johnston, high command...

Heavy Guard On TT's American Comm...
SAIPAN (UPI)—Extra guards have been deployed around the American community on Saipan and assigned to all members of the Congress of Micronesia following a fire believed set off by arsonists that gutted the state building early today.

Marianas Will Issue A Proclamation To Secede
A "proclamation of Secession" will be issued by the people of the Marianas—similar to that of the United States—in 1976, according to a speech by the Marianas District Legislature in Saipan today.

Trust Territory Shaken by Arson and a Rebellion
The Marianas—scheduled 30-day session when the fire occurred. The secession action of the Marianas District Legislature raised a number of questions.

The senators from the Marianas opposed the tax on the grounds that it would hurt large families because there is no provision for exemptions for dependents and that it also failed to exclude of necessary to maintain a decent life.

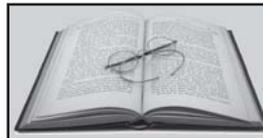


Above: Leo Falcam and High Commissioner Johnston look over the ruins of the Congress of Micronesia after the building was destroyed by fire, 1971.

The people of the Marianas were happy to prove how serious they were about leaving the Trust Territory. They held votes that showed that their people wanted to join the United States. They told the Trust Territory's High Commissioner that they wanted to leave the Congress of Micronesia. The Congress of Micronesia buildings were burned down, perhaps because members of congress were pushing for free association rather than commonwealth status for the Trust Territory. The High Commissioner's house was also burned down because he

wanted to keep the Trust Territory together. Protestors burned copies of the Trust Territory's laws for everyone to see. The Marianas District Legislature even announced that it was willing to go to war, saying that the Marianas were leaving the Trust Territory "by force of arms if necessary, with or without the approval of the United Nations."

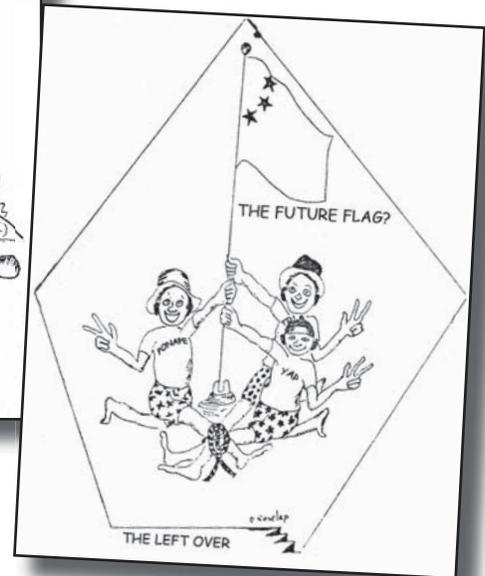
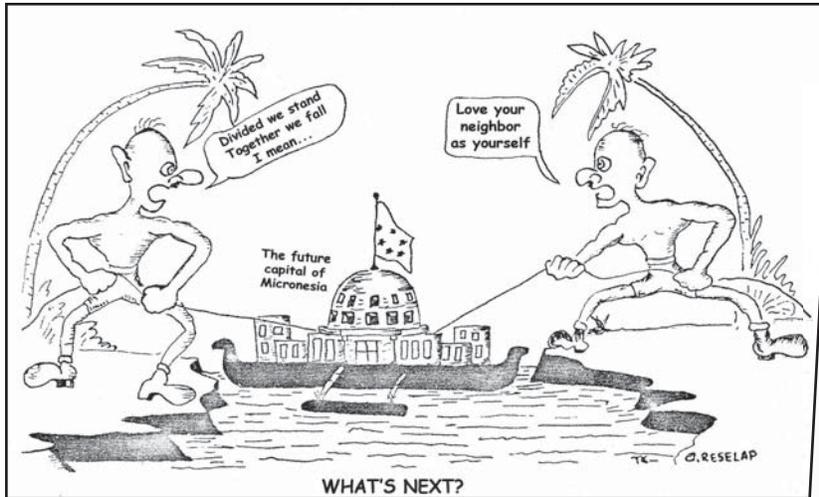
Andon Amaraich, a representative to the Congress of Micronesia from Chuuk, made a speech to the United Nations in 1972. He argued that the Marianas could not leave the Trust Territory without the approval of the Congress of Micronesia. He also argued that the Congress of Micronesia, and the Micronesian people as a whole, would have less strength if they broke apart. But when the American Government started talking to leaders from the Marianas separately from the rest of the Trust Territory in 1972, Micronesian unity was already broken. Now the only question was who else might decide to leave.



Check Your Reading: Why did Andon Amaraich think that the Trust Territory should stay together?

The Rumbings of Division

The first signs that the Trust Territory might break apart even more came in the Marshall Islands. The Marshalls had different reasons from the Marianas for wanting to leave the Trust Territory, mostly having to do with money. The American military's only real base in the Trust Territory was at Kwajalein. The United States was paying extra money for the right to use that land and the Americans who lived on the base were paying much more in taxes than most islanders. In fact, the Marshalls district was paying more tax money than the other five districts put together. Leaders from the Marshalls asked for half of the



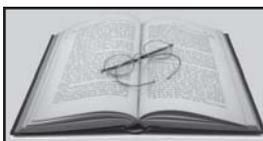
money back so they could make improvements in their district. The other districts refused, and the movement to split off from the rest of the Trust Territory grew in the Marshall Islands.

Palau was also showing signs of wanting to leave, and for similar reasons. There were no American military bases on Palau, but the military was showing interest in building something there. The U.S. talked about building a base on Babeldaob. Japanese companies also talked about building a fueling station for passing ships. It looked like Palau would have its own sources of outside funding. Many people in Palau were also worried that they would not have a strong enough voice in a new Micronesian nation. They said that districts with larger populations, like Chuuk and Pohnpei, would have all the power. Palau also started to call for a split from the Trust Territory.

Above and right: Two political cartoons from the 1970s showing how some islanders felt about the Trust Territory's split. Both cartoons were drawn by the same artist, and both were drawn as representatives from the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Marshalls were holding separate status talks with the American Government. What point is the artist making about Micronesian unity?

In 1975, both the Marshalls and Palau began their own talks with the American Government. The six districts of the Trust Territory were still together on paper and the Marianas, Palau, and the Marshalls were still sending representatives to the Congress of Micronesia. But everyone knew that the Trust Territory was now down to three districts: the Yap District, the Chuuk District, and the Pohnpei District, which still included Kosrae. Since the American military had no interest in building bases in any of the three remaining districts, it looked like the rest of the Trust Territory would stay together.

The lines were drawn. It was time to create new nations. Not one new nation, as the Congress of Micronesia originally thought, but three.



Check Your Reading: Why did the people of the Marshall Islands want their district to split off from the rest of the Trust Territory?

Why Did Micronesia's Status Talks Take So Long?

The Congress of Micronesia opened talks on the future status of the Trust Territory with the American Government in 1969. But Micronesia's status was not completely settled until well into the 1980s. Why did the talks take so long?

Several big problems kept island leaders from quickly reaching an agreement with the United States. The two sides argued over how much land the United States military wanted to use, and then how much money the American Government should pay islanders to use it. They argued about whether a freely associated country was an independent country and whether islanders or Americans should represent Micronesia in its dealings with other countries. They argued about whether the Compact of Free Association could be ended by only one side or if both had to agree, and they argued about how and whether the United States would return all the public land it had taken from the Japanese to islanders.

You have already read that different departments in the American Government disagreed on what to do in Micronesia after World War II. During status talks, there were still many different views on Micronesian Independence within the U.S. Government. So before American officials came to island leaders, they had to work out a complicated compromise in Washington, D.C. Even small changes meant a big fight back in the United States. The Americans had little freedom to change their government's position in Micronesia.

Many were angry that the talks were taking so long. In the end, though, the length of the talks may actually have been good for Micronesia. What islanders finally got out of years of talks was far more than the United States would ever have agreed to at first.

Plans for a New Constitution

The Congress of Micronesia spent the late 1960s and the early 1970s working on a way to make free association with the United States work. They wanted to sign a **Compact of Free Association** with the American Government, a document that spelled out exactly what the relationship between Micronesia and the United States would be.

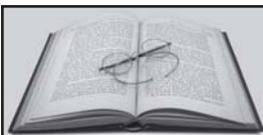
But in 1974, the congress began to realize that a Compact of Free Association was not enough. Micronesia needed a **constitution**. **A constitution is a document that maps out the government of an independent country and defines its most important laws.** A constitution could do many things for the Congress of Micronesia and for the Micronesian people at once.

First, a constitution could show the world what a new, independent Micronesia would look like. Micronesians were split over what the future of the Trust Territory should be. Islanders listened to strong-sounding speeches on all sides of the argument over Micronesia's future status. But many Micronesians found it hard to make up their minds when they weren't sure what the government of an independent Micronesia would look like. A new constitution could improve the Congress of Micronesia's communication with the people. It could give the people something real to support or to reject.

Second, a constitution could test the splits that had grown between the Trust Territory's districts. In 1975, the Marianas, the Marshall Islands, and Palau were already holding separate status talks with the United States Government. But all six of the Trust Territory's districts were still together on paper. Before a new Micronesian constitution could be approved, the districts had to vote on it. If the people of the Marianas, the Marshalls, and Palau voted to approve the constitution, there might still be a chance for Micronesian unity. But if they voted against the constitution, everyone would know for sure that the Trust Territory had split apart for good.

Third, a constitution could show the American Government that free association with the United States meant independence for Micronesia too. There was confusion about the meaning of free association among both Micronesians and Americans. If Micronesia was freely associated with the United States, could it be independent also? A constitution could show the American Government that the Congress of Micronesia's answer to that question was a definite yes.

But writing a constitution wasn't going to be easy. Although leaders in the Congress of Micronesia had been hard at work for years, making their islands better and talking with the U.S. Government, no one was quite sure what the constitution was going to look like. The old question came up again: how could so many different people, who came from so many different cultures and leadership traditions, who had so many different hopes for their islands, make one document that would satisfy everyone? In 1975, representatives from all over the Trust Territory gathered at the White Sands Hotel in Saipan to try.

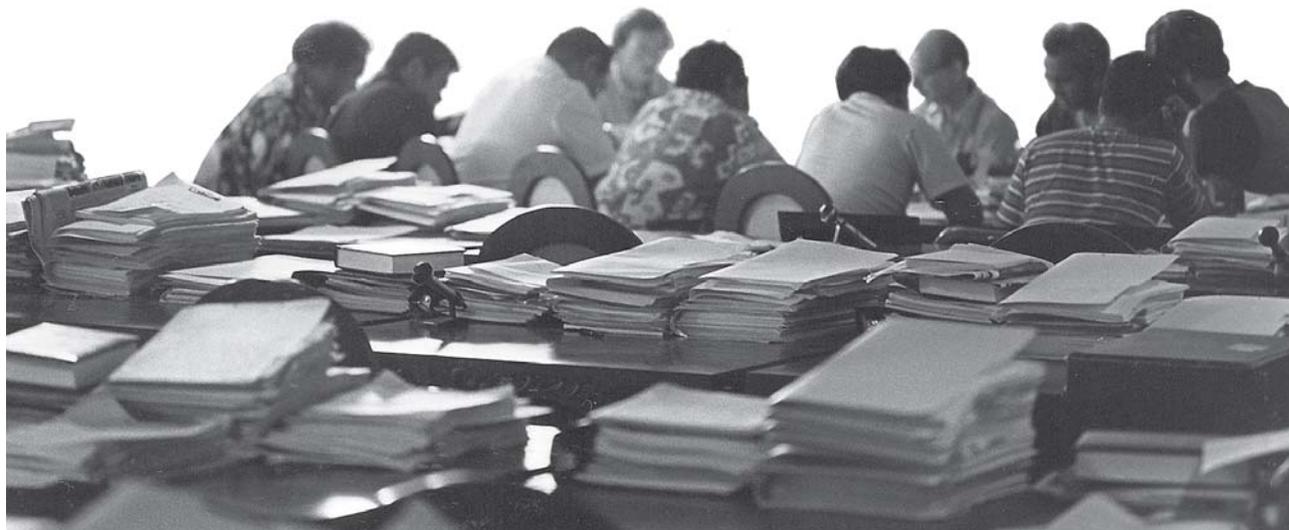


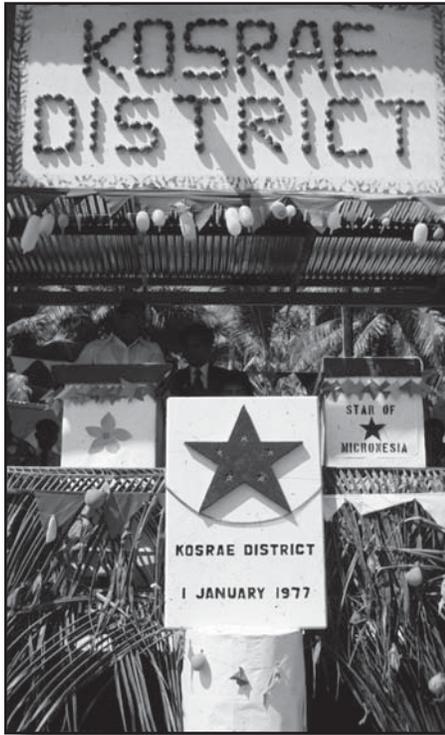
Check Your Reading: How could writing a Micronesian constitution help the Trust Territory to move toward independence?

The Constitution: Micronesian Problem Solving

Tosiwo Nakayama looked out over Micronesia's first **constitutional convention**, or **ConCon**. There were **delegates**, representatives to the constitutional convention, from all over Micronesia. The president of the Congress of Micronesia's Senate, Nakayama had also been elected convention president.

Below: Representatives from all over the Trust Territory talk about the new constitution at the first constitutional convention in Saipan, 1975.





Above: Celebrations in Kosrae after the creation of the new Kosrae District in 1977.

The convention, a long meeting at which island leaders from across the Trust Territory had gathered to write a new constitution, was not moving forward. First, leaders from Palau called for extra power for their district. And rather than wait for the whole group to write a new constitution together, they offered a constitution of their own, one that included all of their demands. Palau threatened to leave the Trust Territory for good if those demands were not met.

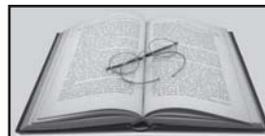
Then traditional leaders, two of whom were sent to the convention from each district, asked to be included in the new government. There was a fight and the traditional leaders walked out of the convention when their demands were not met.

Now time was running short. The convention delegates had only ninety days to put together a constitution, and it seemed like nothing had been done so far.

So Nakayama decided that another strategy was needed. Something more Micronesian. He stood up in front of the convention to make a speech. "Listen," he said, "let's meet as fellow Micronesians, not as a constitutional convention. Let's set the rules and the procedures aside. Let's see who we are and where we can go."

Nakayama led a small group of delegates, one from each district, into a closed room. They talked through most of the week. When they finally came out again, they had a constitution. The delegates stopped using the language and rules that Americans used in their congress and solved their problems in the Micronesian way. Everyone gave a little, everyone compromised, and at the end everyone was satisfied, even the delegates from Palau and the traditional leaders. The compromises that were made in that room defined many of the important issues that you will read about in Unit 4 of this textbook.

Micronesia finally had its constitution. Now it was time to bring the constitution to the people. As the Congress of Micronesia suspected, the constitution became a test of Micronesian unity. Although all the delegates at the constitutional convention supported the new constitution, the people of the Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands voted against it in 1978. **Kosrae split from Pohnpei in 1977 and became its own district.** The Marianas, Palau, and the Marshalls were out. Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae were in.



Check Your Reading: Why were the Palau delegation and the chiefs angry with the way the constitutional convention was going?

Independence and the Compact of Free Association

Micronesia was independent. The work of putting a new government together could now begin. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands became the Federated States of Micronesia. Yap District, Chuuk District, Pohnpei District, and Kosrae District became the four states of the FSM. Trust Territory staff working in Saipan left for work elsewhere and Pohnpei became the new capital. And in 1979 Tosiwo Nakayama, the president of the Congress of Micronesia's Senate, proudly became the new country's first president.

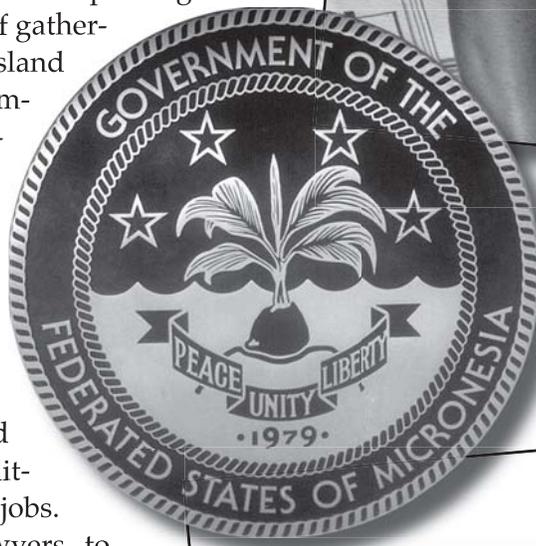
After years of independence talks with American officials, after years of working to pressure the Trust Territory Government into improving the islands, and after years of gathering their people's support, island leaders suddenly found themselves in a strange new position. No longer members of a congress in a small territory of the United States, they were now heads of state, full leaders their own government.

The government started small and its leaders had little experience in their new jobs. When there were few lawyers to give the FSM's first leaders legal advice, Tosiwo Nakayama called John Arthur, a lawyer working in the courthouse. "I have this law!" Nakayama said, "I don't know what to do!" Arthur replied, "Sign it! Sign it!"

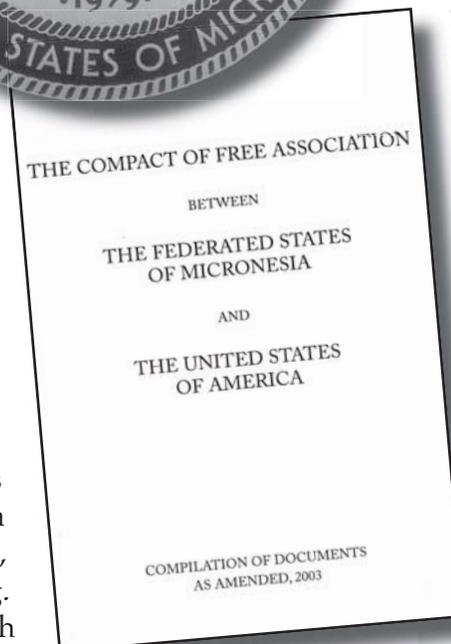
But the first leaders of the FSM quickly grew into their jobs. And with Tosiwo Nakayama as president, the country was in good hands. People all over Micronesia knew Nakayama to be honest and humble, and they trusted him to do the right thing. He had great skill in communicating with his people, and he had their trust.



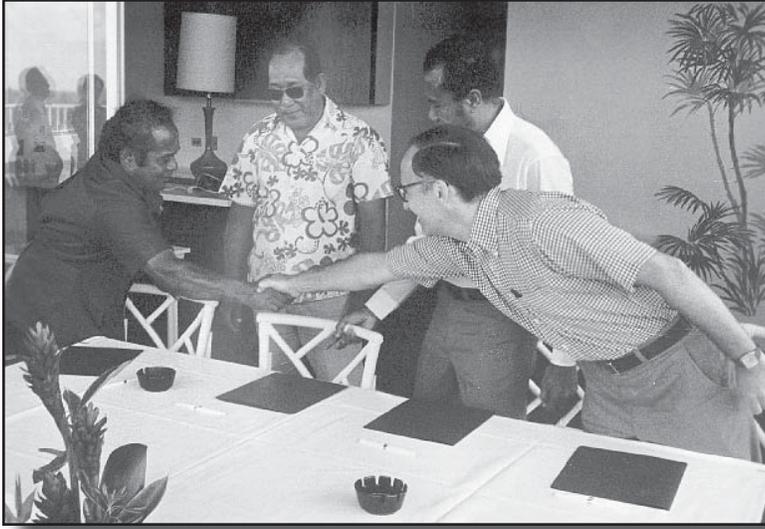
Above: Tosiwo Nakayama: member of the Congress of Micronesia, president of the Senate, and first president of the Federated States of Micronesia.



Left: The official seal of the Federated States of Micronesia.



Below left: Compact II, the second version of the Compact of Free Association, signed in 2003.



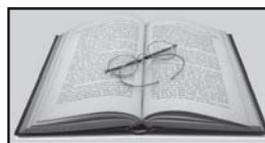
Above: Bailey Olter shaking hands with U.S. Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt in Hilo, Hawaii, 1978. In the background are the Marshall Islands' Amata Kabua and Palau's Roman Tmetuchel. All four had just signed the "Eight Principles of Free Association," which helped define the official meaning of free association for Micronesia and the United States.

Now that the FSM had declared its independence, it was time to work out the final details for the Compact of Free Association. The United States, still determined to hold power over Micronesia, thought of the Compact as an agreement between itself and its colony. The American Government insisted that the new island nations were not independent at all, that they were self-governing territories of the United States. They even called their Micronesian embassy a "representative office" because embassies are only built in foreign countries.

But the leaders of the FSM would have none of it. They said that the FSM was an independent country. **As an independent country, the FSM had control over its own laws and control over its own land.** The United States had no right to tell the FSM's new leaders what to do. The constitution of the FSM, not the Compact of Free Association or the orders of the United States Government, was the highest law in Micronesia. And the FSM Government would decide how Micronesian land should be used, not the American military.

To make it clear that the FSM was an independent nation and to make it clear that the Compact was not an agreement between the United States and its self-governing territory, FSM leaders decided to call the Compact a **treaty**. **A treaty is an agreement between two independent countries.** The Compact was finally signed in 1986.

For years the American Government did not admit that Micronesia was really independent. But when countries all over the world showed their support for the new Micronesian nations and their independence from the United States, the American Government finally backed off. At last, even the United States agreed that Micronesia was independent. U.S. President Ronald Reagan told island leaders, "As all families must, ours is splitting up. We wish the people of Micronesia well as they embark on free association." The last important question of Micronesia's independence movement was wrapped up.



Check Your Reading: How did the FSM define its Compact of Free Association with the United States?

The FSM Joins the United Nations

In 1965, Andon Amaraich was elected to the First Congress of Micronesia. As a member of the Congress of Micronesia's Independence Coalition, he fought for full independence from the United States. He joined the Future Political Status Commission to help free Micronesia from American rule. When the FSM was formed in 1979, he had already been working for Micronesian independence for 14 years.

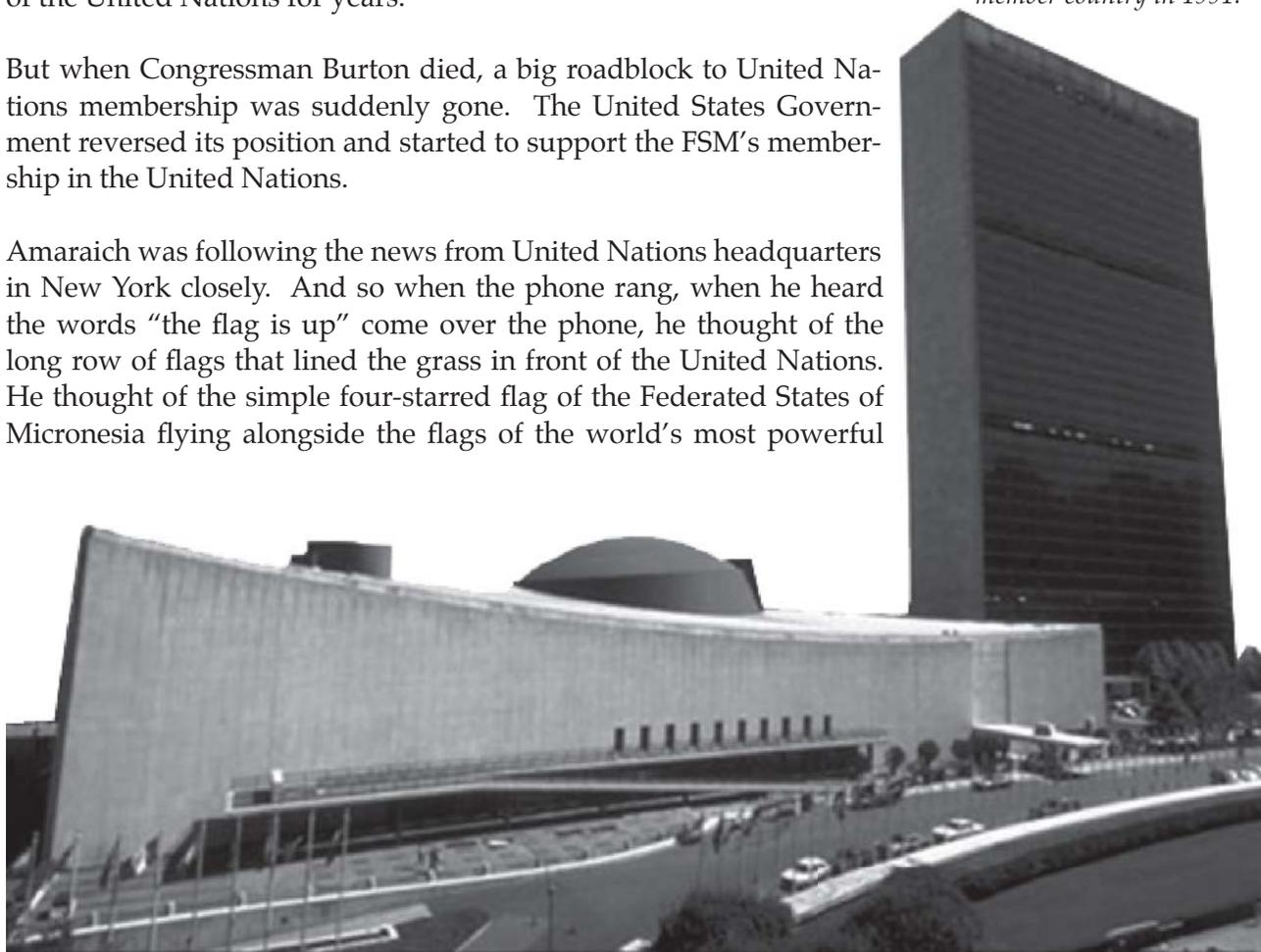
But in 1991, there was still one thing left undone. Micronesians, who had been under a United Nations Trusteeship for over thirty years, who had brought their complaints about the American administration straight to the UN over and over again, now wanted to become a member of the United Nations itself.

At first the United States pushed to keep the FSM out of the United Nations. United States Congressman Phillip Burton was one of the strongest voices against FSM membership in the United Nations. He said that the FSM did not have the quality of leadership necessary for membership in the United Nations. He managed to keep the FSM out of the United Nations for years.

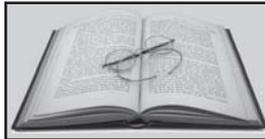
But when Congressman Burton died, a big roadblock to United Nations membership was suddenly gone. The United States Government reversed its position and started to support the FSM's membership in the United Nations.

Amaraich was following the news from United Nations headquarters in New York closely. And so when the phone rang, when he heard the words "the flag is up" come over the phone, he thought of the long row of flags that lined the grass in front of the United Nations. He thought of the simple four-starred flag of the Federated States of Micronesia flying alongside the flags of the world's most powerful

Below: United Nations headquarters, New York City. After years of being a United Nations Trust Territory, Micronesia joined the United Nations as a member country in 1991.



countries. A tear ran down his cheek. Finally the world recognized Micronesia's independence. Finally the long fight was over.



Check Your Reading: Why did the United States change its position on FSM membership in the United Nations?

CONCLUSION TO UNIT THREE

In the last two units of this textbook, you read about the history of Micronesia's government and how Micronesian leadership and the Micronesian people were reshaped during a hundred years of foreign occupation. But you also read about the strength of the Micronesian people and the strength of their leaders and how they shaped the ways in which their islands changed.

You have read about Kosraeans who accepted a system of church leadership from American missionaries and then used it to replace their failing traditional leadership system. You have read about Pohnpeians who fought to keep the Germans off their island and about Yapese who worked with the Germans to make their islands strong. You have read about islanders who never forgot their cultures even when parts of their islands seemed to sprout full grown Japanese towns overnight. You have read about municipal leaders, district congressmen, and representatives in the Congress of Micronesia who never stopped fighting for what they believed in, and who never forgot that islanders were Micronesia's true owners.

You have also read about Micronesia's traditional leaders, their struggle to find their place in changing island societies, and their people's loyalty to traditional leadership even in times of great change. The roles of Micronesia's traditional leaders have changed, especially during and after the American occupation, but the people have not forgotten about their chiefs and the chiefs have not forgotten about their people.

As we come to the end of this unit, we also come to the end of our history of Micronesian leadership. In the next unit we will look at how Micronesia's government works today. Although the founding of the Federated States of Micronesia, the signing of the Compact of Free Association, and membership in the United Nations are the end of story of Micronesia's long struggle for independence, these events also mark the beginning of a much more important story. That story is the story of the FSM, a nation that is still just beginning.

In the next unit of this textbook, you will read about some of the important issues in the state and national governments of the FSM. But most of the story of the FSM government is still unwritten. In the years to come, you will be the ones who write the next chapters of that story.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the ways Micronesians kept their cultures strong in the face of foreign occupations?



Vocabulary For Review

- **Colonialism:** *when a more powerful country permanently takes over a less powerful country and uses that country to increase its own wealth and power*
- **Colony:** *a less powerful country that has been permanently taken over by a more powerful country*
- **Commonwealth:** *an area that is a full part of a larger government, similar to a state or a territory*
- **Compact of free association:** *a document that spells out the relationship between two self-governing countries*
- **ConCon:** *see constitutional convention*
- **Constitution:** *a document that maps out the government of an independent country and defines its most important laws*
- **Constitutional convention:** *a meeting of representatives from all over a country, state, or municipality to write a new constitution or to make changes in an old one*
- **Delegate:** *a representative to a constitutional convention*
- **Dependence:** *when one country needs another country's help to run its government*
- **Free association:** *when one self-governing country has a close relationship with another self-governing country*
- **Future Political Status Commission:** *the group in the Congress of Micronesia that was responsible for talking to the American Government about Micronesian independence*
- **Independence Coalition:** *a group in the Congress of Micronesia that fought for full independence from the United States*
- **John F. Kennedy:** *the President of the United States (from 1961 to 1963) who made big changes in American policies in Micronesia*
- **Joint Committee on Future Status:** *see Future Political Status Commission*
- **Policy:** *a plan that a government follows*
- **Political cartoon:** *a cartoon with a political message*
- **Political football:** *a political issue that is talked about for a long time but never settled*
- **Solomon Report:** *a report made in the 1960s by Anthony Solomon recommending several possible plans for the Trust Territory's future, all of which kept Micronesia in American hands*
- **Sovereignty:** *the idea that the people living in a country have the right to decide what happens to them and their nation*
- **Treaty:** *an agreement between two independent countries*
- **United Nations Visiting Mission:** *a group from the United Nations that traveled to each United Nations Trust Territory every three years to report on the progress there*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **The Trust Territory in Disrepair:** Islanders wanted improvements in Micronesia in the 1950s, but the Trust Territory Government made very few changes to the islands.
- **The United Nations in Micronesia:** The 1961 U.N. Visiting mission heard the complaints and suggestions of islanders in the Trust Territory and brought them to the world.
- **The American Military in Micronesia:** The American military reserved the right to do anything it wanted in Micronesia, and by the 1950s it had already used the islands for nuclear testing and as a secret training ground for anti-communist fighters.
- **Colonialism in Micronesia and the World:** Powerful countries took colonies for many different reasons, but usually said that they had a right to take colonies because they were more advanced than the places they were taking over.
- **Independence Movements after World War II:** The movement for Micronesian

independence took place at the same time as dozens of other independence movements all over the world.

- **Changes in American Policy:** After the United States became embarrassed about its policies in Micronesia, President Kennedy sent more money, opened the islands to visitors, moved the government headquarters, and made the Trust Territory Government more centralized.

- **Micronesia Becomes a Political Football:** In an argument between the United States and the Soviet Union that took years, Micronesia became one more thing to argue about.

- **Goals of American Reforms:** John F. Kennedy hoped that the changes he was making in Micronesia would improve things in the islands and make the United States look good and that Micronesians would be happy with the American Government and decide to join the United States forever.

- **The Congress of Micronesia Finds Its Voice:** By working hard to increase its power little by little, the congress came to have real influence over the American Government.

- **Educating the People on Independence:** Members of the Congress of Micronesia traveled throughout the Trust Territory to educate islanders on independence.

- **John Mangefel's Lord's Prayer and Micronesian Dependence:** As the American Government sent more money to Micronesia, island leaders found it difficult to run their government with American help.

- **The Future Political Status Commission:** The Future Political Status Commission formed to study the options for Micronesia's future, and chose free association or independence.

- **Early Status Talks: The Four Principles:** When American officials offered to let

Micronesia join the United States, the Future Political Status Commission responded with four requirements that islanders refused to compromise on.

- **Paid for With American Blood:** Congressmen told the world what the U.S. was doing wrong to get support for independence.

- **The People Make Their Voices Heard:** People all over Micronesia became deeply involved in the fight for independence.

- **Keeping the Trust Territory Together:** After the Northern Marianas started separate talks with the United States Government, the scene was set for other districts to leave the Trust Territory also.

- **The Rumbings of Division:** Both Palau and the Marshall Islands followed the Northern Marianas and started their own talks with the American Government in 1975.

- **Plans for a New Constitution:** The Congress of Micronesia decided to write a constitution to show the world what an independent Micronesia would look like, to test the splits in the Trust Territory, and to show the United States Government that free association meant independence for Micronesia.

- **The Constitution: Micronesian Problem Solving:** After many arguments, convention president Tosiwo Nakayama brought a small group into a closed room and helped write a constitution that everyone could agree on.

- **Independence and the Compact of Free Association:** After the FSM became independent, it signed the Compact of Free Association as a treaty between two independent countries, not as an agreement between the United States and its colony.

- **The FSM Joins the United Nations:** In 1991, the FSM finally became a member of the United Nations.

Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- Why did United States policy in Micronesia change so suddenly in 1961?
- What were some of the ways the people got involved in the Congress of Micronesia's fight for independence?
- How were leaders from the Trust Territory's six districts able to agree on a constitution when the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands were already splitting away from the Trust Territory?

Critical Thinking

- What were some of the ways the Congress of Micronesia was similar to national groups that came before, like the Council of Micronesia? What were some of the ways it was different?
- What effect did the Marianas announcement that it wanted to leave the Trust Territory have on independence talks for the rest of the Trust Territory?



- When the Congress of Micronesia could not get help for the people from the United States, its members often turned to the United Nations or to other countries for help. Do you believe that it was good for Micronesia when island leaders asked the world for help? Why or why not?

Writing

- During the 1970s, islanders started some groups to argue that the Trust Territory's districts should stay together and other groups to argue that one or more districts should split off from the Trust Territory. Choose one side of the argument and one district to argue for and **write a persuasive essay** arguing your position. Give evidence to support your argument.
- Leaders from the Congress of Micronesia sometimes traveled to the United Nations headquarters in New York City or to the United States Congress in Washington, D.C. to explain what was happening in their islands and their fight for independence. Imagine that you are a young leader in the Congress of Micronesia and that you are scheduled to speak to the United States Congress. **Write a speech** explaining why you believe that the Trust Territory should be independent and what the United States Government should do in Micronesia.
- The amount of money the United States Government sent to Micronesia increased from 6.3 million dollars in 1962 to 15 million dollars in 1963. By 1975 it was sending almost 70 million dollars a year. **Write an essay** describing some of the advantages and disadvantages of all the money the United States was sending to Micronesia.

Unit Three Review

Below are three projects. On your own or with a group, use one or more of these projects to show that you understand the things you have read in this unit.

Making Good Choices

It is 1970. The Congress of Micronesia's Future Political Status Commission has begun independence talks with the United States. You are a young Micronesian living in the Trust Territory. All around you, people are getting involved in the independence movement. You want a better future for your islands, too, but you need to decide what the best choice for Micronesia's future relationship with the United States would be.

First, use your textbook to find information about the four choices that were considered by the Future Political Status commission in the 1960s and some of the arguments that islanders made for and against independence. This information can help you to make a good decision.

Next, use the information you found to **list the possible choices you could make**. Is it best for Micronesia to continue as a Trust Territory? Is it best for Micronesia to join the United States? Is it best for Micronesia to be freely associated with the United States? Or is it best for Micronesia to end its relationship with the United States altogether and become a fully independent country? You must decide which of these four choices will be best for the Micronesian people.

Now, **think of the result of each of your possible choices**. If you decide that Micronesia should continue as a Trust Territory, will islanders miss their chance to make a different decision? If you decide that Micronesia should join the United States, can you find a way to protect island customs and land? If you decide that Micronesia should be freely associated with the United States, will the American Government have too much power over the islands? If you decide that Micronesia should be fully independent, will a new Micronesian nation have enough money to run its own government?

Finally, **decide what to do**. Present your choice to the class and explain why you believe yours was the best decision. Give evidence to support why your decision was the best decision to make and why you believe the other choices were wrong. You can make a map, a poster, or a chart to support your position.

Right: Delegates meeting at Micronesia's first constitutional convention. Delegates from all over the Trust Territory gathered to decide how to shape the government of the FSM.



Keep Reading!

If you're interested in Micronesian independence, here are some other books you might enjoy:

Crocombe, Ron and Leonard Mason, eds. *Micronesian Politics*. Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific, 1988.

Heine, Carl. *Micronesia at the Crossroads: A Reappraisal of the Micronesian Political Dilemma*. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1974.

Hanlon, David. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses Over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

Hughes, Daniel T. and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, eds. *Political Development in Micronesia*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1974.

Meller, Norman. *The Congress of Micronesia: Development of the Legislative Process in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1969.

Nufer, Harold F. *Micronesia Under American Rule: An Evaluation of the Strategic Trusteeship (1947-1977)*. Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1978.

Understanding Events

Many things changed in Micronesia after World War II. Using this textbook to help you, draw a poster-sized time line of the important events that led to independence for the Federated States of Micronesia. Draw pictures to help the viewer understand the events on your time line. For example, if you want to show that the Northern Marianas started their own talks with the United States Government in 1972, you might draw a picture of a group of people having a meeting. Be sure to include the creation of municipalities, district congresses, and the Congress of Micronesia.

Building Political Movements

During the 1970s, Micronesians could turn on their radios and listen to debates on what Micronesia's future should be. In Chuuk, for example, Tosiwo Nakayama appeared on the radio with his fellow Congress of Micronesia member Nick Bossy. Nakayama argued for independence and Bossy argued for commonwealth status. Write a script for a debate that might have appeared on the radio in the 1970s, with one person arguing for independence and another arguing for commonwealth status. Use your textbook to help you understand the advantages and disadvantages of each position.

Below: Members of the Close Up Club at the FSM Embassy in Washington D.C. with Charge d'Affaires James Naich, 2007.





Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Tosiwo Nakayama** (November 23, 1931 - March 29, 2007)



Tosiwo Nakayama was a member of the First Congress of Micronesia and one of its most important leaders. He was a leading voice for Micronesian independence and the president and guiding light of Micronesia's first constitutional convention. He served as the first president of the FSM and guided his country through talks on the Compact of Free Association. Tosiwo Nakayama was one of Micronesia's most important and most respected leaders, and throughout his career he was known for his ability to work together with others, his humility, and for his dedication to the cause of Micronesian independence.

Nakayama was born on the island of Piserach in Chuuk's Nomwunweito Atoll. He attended Truk Intermediate School and PICS High School. In 1955, he left for Hawaii and spent one year at the University of Hawaii High School and another two years at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Nakayama returned to his island in 1958 and got a job with the Trust Territory Government as the supervisor for adult education in Chuuk. He was elected to the Truk District Legislature and served as its president for two years. In 1962, he was elected to the Council of Micronesia. He was elected to the Congress of Micronesia's House of Delegates in 1965. He served on the Future Political Status Commission and argued for Micronesian independence both on and off the floor of the Congress of Micronesia. He became the president of the Congress of Micronesia's Senate in 1973 and the president of the FSM in 1979. Nakayama served two terms as the president of the FSM.

Tosiwo Nakayama had many important accomplishments, but perhaps his most important accomplishment was the successful completion of the FSM Constitution. Nakayama recognized the importance of the constitution from the beginning. In his opening speech, he told the assembled delegates, "It's now or never for Micronesia." If it had not been for Nakayama's leadership as president of the convention, the constitution would probably not have been finished. The picture below shows Leo Falcam of Pohnpei, Tosiwo Nakayama, and Victor Uherbelau of Palau presenting the new constitution to High Commissioner Edward Johnston.

Nakayama never let power change him. When he met with the President of the United States, he didn't bring a business suit or fancy shoes. But when he was told that he couldn't talk to the president with white shoes on, he didn't buy new shoes. He just dyed his white shoes black. Nakayama was always humble and practical, and he never took himself too seriously.

Tosiwo Nakayama died in 2007 at the age of 75.





Founding Fathers of the FSM: John Mangefel (May 1932 - April 11, 2007)



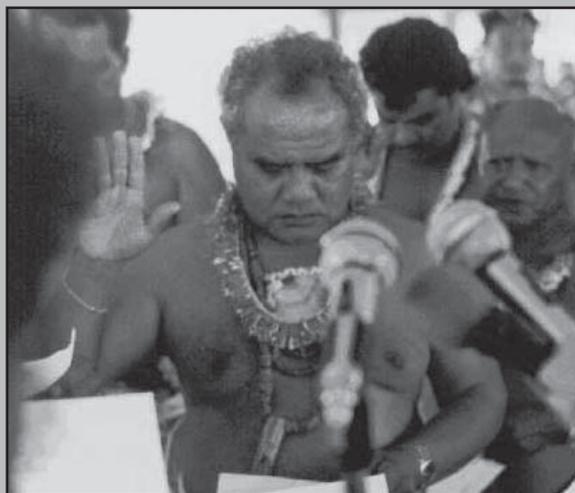
John Mangefel was an important voice in the Congress of Micronesia, in Micronesia's first constitutional convention, and in talks on the Compact of Free Association. He was also the first governor of Yap State. Mangefel had many important jobs over his thirty years of public service, and he always remained a respected and well-liked figure in Micronesian politics.

John Mangefel was born in the village of Gal in Kanifay. His education began in 1939 in Yap's Japanese schools. It continued at Kanifay Elementary School, Yap Intermediate School, and PICS High School. Mangefel earned a bachelor's degree in English Literature from the University of Hawaii in 1963 and did one year of graduate study at Hawaii's East-West Center. When he returned to his island, he went into the school system, becoming Yap's Superintendent for Elementary Schools. He was elected to the Congress of Micronesia's Senate in 1967.

During his time as an elected official, John Mangefel was known for his wisdom, his sense of humor, his respect for tradition, and his ability to be humble.

There are many stories about how different John Mangefel was from other politicians. When everyone else was nervous, Mangefel could tell a funny story or make a joke to make things easier. When everyone started to disagree, Mangefel was a voice of reason, always encouraging others to follow "the wisdom of the betelnut basket." If you can't agree now, Mangefel would say, just wait. Stop, take out your betel nut, chew, and talk it over. Mangefel often put traditional Yapese wisdom to good use in his work as a politician.

John Mangefel believed it was important that Micronesians not allow the American Government to force unwanted changes in island cultures. "I can put my canoe on your carrier," he once said, "but you can't put your carrier on my canoe." This meant that, although there was nothing wrong with islanders working with the American Government, it was important that Micronesians not allow themselves to be crushed under its weight. Mangefel believed that islanders had to protect the things that were most important to them.



In 1979, when Yapese traditional leaders asked Mangefel to run for governor of Yap State, he appeared at his inauguration dressed in a traditional Yapese *thus* while many around him were dressed in business suits in order to show the importance of traditional culture (pictured left). He said, "Yap should not be carried away in the tide of foreign influence, but should preserve its own culture and traditions handed from our ancestors. We should go about building our country in ways that are closely in tune with our traditions."

John Mangefel died of mouth cancer in 2007. He was 74.



Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Andon Amaraich** (1932 -)



Andon Amaraich joined the Congress of Micronesia early. He fought for Micronesian Independence during the 1960s, Micronesian unity during the 1970s, led talks on the Compact of Free Association in the 1980s, and has worked hard for the Federated States of Micronesia since its beginning. He served the FSM as a judge for years, and finally became the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1992. Throughout his long life, Andon Amaraich has been known for his dignity, his dedication to the Micronesian people, his calmness, and his sense of responsibility.

Andon Amaraich was born on the island of Ta in the Mortlocks. His first experience with the American school system came after the Second World War. No one in Ta could speak English, so the people built a school out of coconut trees and the Americans found an old Mortlockese man to teach children the difference between right and wrong. Amaraich worked hard in school and became a teacher himself before moving to Weno to attend PICS High School. Without much money to support himself, Amaraich did odd jobs like scraping the rust off of old ships and painting them. He also got a job with the Trust Territory Government, working with the courts. He became the public defender for the Truk District and left to study at the College of Guam a few years later. Later he became the Trust Territory's chief public defender.

Amaraich's political life began in 1960 when he was elected to the Truk District Congress. He served in the Council of Micronesia in 1963 and was elected to the First Congress of Micronesia's Senate in 1965. He served as Chuuk's assistant district administrator. He represented Micronesia at the United Nations, including a session in 1972 when he argued for the importance of Micronesian unity during status talks in front of the whole world. He participated in Micronesia's first constitutional convention. And he traveled throughout Micronesia and beyond to spread the word about Micronesian independence.

One of Amaraich's proudest accomplishments was convincing the American Government to give the FSM rights to its ocean, also known as the Law of the Sea. He argued that Micronesians should own all the water within two hundred miles of their islands and be paid for all the fish that were caught in those waters. He brought this message to governments all over the world, and to other islanders. One day when he was in Pohnpei speaking to the people, a woman spoke up and said, "Will all of this water fill my stomach?" She had very little money, and sometimes had trouble feeding her family. "Yes," Amaraich said, "it will. If we own the ocean, it will bring us the fish that we cannot catch." Today money from fishing licenses is one of the most important sources of funding for the FSM Government.

Andon Amaraich has been one of Micronesia's most important leaders, and he has never stopped working for his people. His influence on the Federated States of Micronesia will be felt for many years to come.





Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Bailey Olter** (March 27, 1932 - February 16, 1999)



Bailey Olter was an important leader in the Congress of Micronesia, a founding father of the FSM, and a strong and selfless leader for Pohnpeians and other islanders. Olter was known throughout his life for his wisdom and for his sense of humor. Even after accomplishing so much for his people and rising to the highest levels of Micronesian government, Bailey Olter was known as a humble, down-to-earth leader who always tried to do what was best for his people.

Bailey Olter was born in Mokil, today a part of Pohnpei State, in March 27, 1932. A bright student at Pohnpei's schools, Olter was a teacher for years before he won a scholarship to attend the University of Hawaii. He taught at Ponape Intermediate School from 1949 to 1953, acted as the school's vice principal from 1953 to 1955, served as principal from 1957 to 1959, and taught at PICS High School from 1960 to 1962. PICS High School is sometimes called Bailey Olter High School in honor of Olter's time there. Although Olter was an important figure in Pohnpei's schools during the 1950s and 1960s, he did more than teach during that time. He also served as a member of the Ponape District Congress, and acted as its president in 1958. That same year, he represented his district in one of the inter-district conferences that provided an important opportunity for Micronesia's young leaders to meet with one another and talk with Trust Territory officials.

After more than ten years working in Pohnpei's schools, Olter won a scholarship to the University of Hawaii, where he studied political science and joined other future Micronesian leaders in the Micronesian Club. After his graduation in 1964, he returned to Pohnpei to work in the Ponape District Administrator's office. He was a member of the Advisory Council to the High Commissioner and the Council of Micronesia. In 1965, he was elected to the First Congress of Micronesia, where he served for many years and was an important voice in the Future Political Status Commission. After the FSM won its independence, Olter was elected to the First Congress of the FSM, where he served as vice president of the Senate. In 1983, he became the FSM's second vice president. In 1991, he was chosen to be the FSM's third president. During his first term, he played an important part in securing membership for the FSM in the United Nations. He was chosen for a second term in 1995, but he suffered a stroke the following year and left office in 1997. Jacob Nena, Olter's vice president, served the rest of his second term as president.



Bailey Olter is remembered today for the honesty, selflessness, and sense of humor that many of the FSM's other founding fathers also possessed. Himself a young man when he first became involved in politics, Olter rose to the highest ranks in the FSM Government. He continues to serve as a model for leaders in Micronesia. His ability to work with others and to keep from taking himself too seriously brought many benefits both to himself and to the Micronesian people. Olter passed away on February 16, 1999. He was 66.



Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Hirosi Ismael** (1936 -)



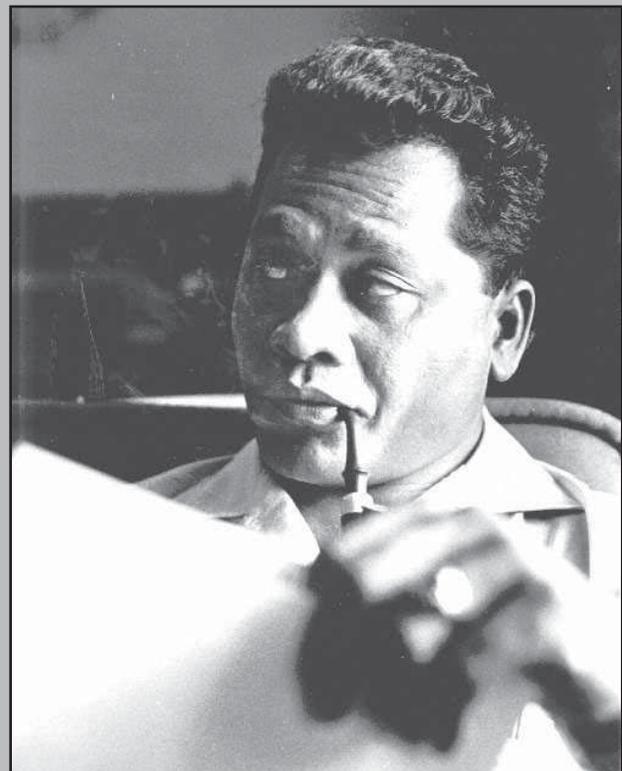
Hirosi Ismael served the people of Kosrae in many different ways. He was elected to the Congress of Micronesia in 1966, played an important part in speaking for his island when it was still a part of the Trust Territory's Ponape District, and helped lead the fight to separate Kosrae from Pohnpei. He was one of the first Micronesian doctors, receiving medical training at both the Trust Territory School of Nursing and in Fiji and later served Kosrae State as the Director of Health Services. And, like many other Kosraean leaders, he served his church as a minister, playing an important part in church conferences in Kosrae and beyond.

Hirosi Ismael was born in Kosrae. When he was in his early twenties, he left his island and traveled to Palau to enter the Trust Territory School of Nursing. Ismael showed promise in school, and after a twenty month training program, he was sent to the Fiji School of Medicine in 1964 for more training. He worked in hospitals in Pohnpei and Chuuk and became a medical officer in Chuuk in 1966.

Ismael's political career also began in 1966. He was elected to the Congress of Micronesia that year. He served his people faithfully in the congress for many years, offering his fellow congressmen his wisdom not only on important political issues, but on health issues as well. After the FSM won its independence, he served in the FSM Congress, becoming the nation's third vice president in 1987.

One of Hirosi Ismael's greatest accomplishments might have been the making Kosrae its own district. At a time when the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Marshalls were starting their own status talks with the American Government, causing arguments among islanders from one side of Micronesia to the other, Kosrae split from the rest of the Ponape District peacefully and quietly. Ismael and other representatives from Kosrae approached Pohnpeian leaders respectfully and said that they wanted to separate. Bethwell Henry joked that Kosrae left the Ponape District by saying, "OK, bye bye," and walking out the door. There were no fights, and Kosrae became its own state just at the right time for the Trust Territory's other districts, in 1977, only a year before the founding of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Hirosi Ismael has had a long career in public service, and has continued to serve his people, in politics, in health, and in the church. He is not only a founding father of the FSM, but a founding father of Kosrae State as well. He remains one of Kosrae's most respected leaders, and is known all over Micronesia for his patience, his wisdom, and his ability to look for compromise.





Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Bethwell Henry** (1934 -)



Bethwell Henry's intelligence, energy, and vision have made him one of Micronesia's most important and influential leaders. He has served his people as a teacher, a member of the Ponape District Congress, a member of the Congress of Micronesia, a leader in independence talks with the United States, a member of the FSM Congress, and as the Postmaster General of the FSM. His work bringing the FSM to independence, building the FSM Government, and then helping to make the FSM Government work has left a deep impression on Micronesia that will be felt for many generations to come.

Bethwell Henry was born in 1934 in Mokil, Pohnpei State. After elementary school, he left Micronesia to attend high school in Maui, Hawaii. In 1955, he began his studies at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, where he and other future Micronesian leaders formed the Micronesian Club to remember their culture and to talk about Micronesian independence. After he graduated from college, he returned to Pohnpei, took a job as a teacher at PICS High School, and began his political career right away. In 1959, Henry was elected to the Ponape District Congress, where he served as its president and vice-speaker. During his time in the Ponape District Congress, he served in the Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner, one of the first groups of Micronesian leaders to have influence at the national level of the Trust Territory. In 1965, he was elected to the First Congress of Micronesia. He became Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1966 and served in that position for years. He was one of the Congress of Micronesia's smartest and most important leaders and a strong voice in independence talks with the United States. He traveled throughout the United States and to the island of Puerto Rico to research options for Micronesian independence. When independence talks were almost finished, he met with U.S. President Jimmy Carter. After the FSM gained its independence, he was elected to the FSM Congress, where he served as speaker. He participated in Pohnpei State's constitutional convention and in FSM constitutional conventions. He also served as the FSM's Postmaster General from 2003 to 2008.

One of the issues that Bethwell Henry was especially concerned with was how to protect Micronesian land. After learning about Hawaiian history and visiting the United States, Henry came to believe in the



importance of Micronesian ownership of Micronesian land. He fought hard to return land to Micronesian hands when the United States Government refused to return the "public land" that had been taken by the Japanese occupation government. He also fought to keep land in Micronesian hands when the United States military asked for the right to use as much land as it wanted, whenever it wanted. Henry believed that land ownership was very important for Micronesia's future. He once said, "if the US were to have ultimate authority over Micronesian land, then it would have ultimate authority over Micronesians."

Bethwell Henry was able to accomplish so much because of his ability to work respectfully with both Micronesian and American leaders. He was always willing to talk instead of fighting, and his ability to cooperate brought many benefits to the Micronesian people.



Founding Fathers of the FSM: **Leo Falcam** (November 20, 1935 -)



Leo Falcam has held many jobs in both the Trust Territory Government and in the FSM Government. He was the first Micronesian to hold important jobs in the Trust Territory Government, such as Acting High Commissioner for the Trust Territory and Ponape District Administrator. He was also the first leader to hold many important positions under the FSM Government. He was the first Micronesian representative to the United States, the first governor of Pohnpei State, and the first postmaster general of the FSM. Throughout his career, Falcam has been respected for his wisdom and for his decisive approach to getting things done. He is sometimes known as "The Veteran" for his wide experience in Micronesian politics.

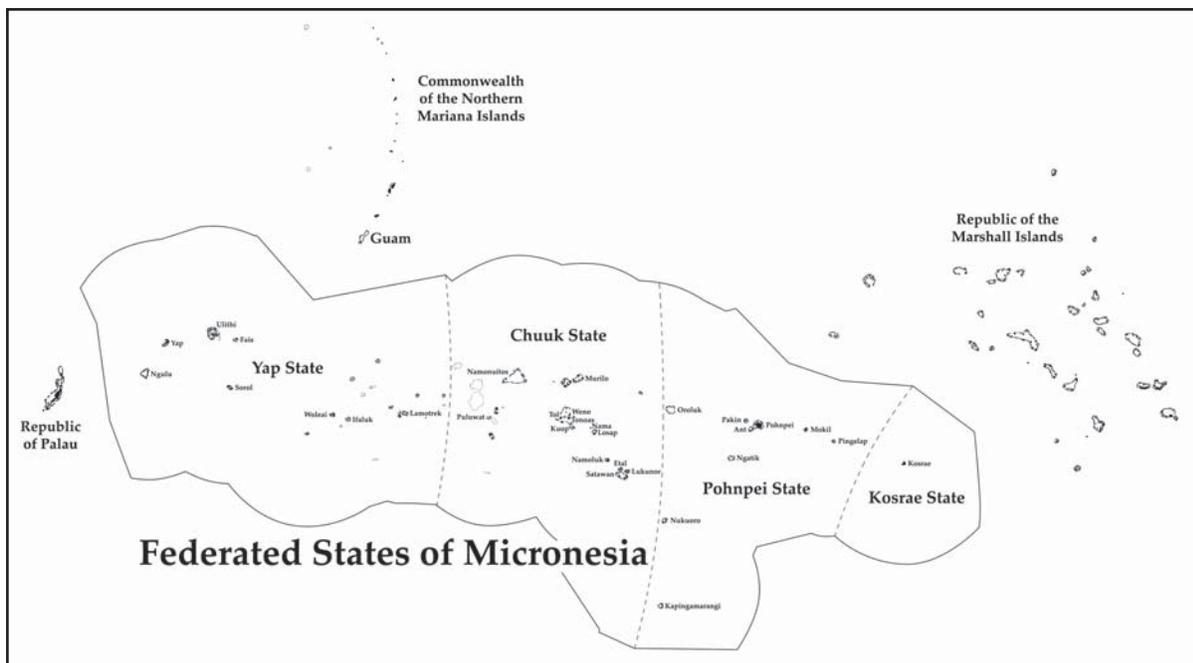
Leo Falcam was born in the paramount chiefdom of U in Pohnpei in 1935. He attended a Japanese school before the Second World War, a Catholic mission school after the war, and attended high school in the Philippines. When he returned to Pohnpei, he worked for a short time as an elementary school teacher. In 1957, he won a scholarship to attend the University of Hawaii, where he studied sociology and joined other future Micronesian leaders as a member of the Micronesian Club. After college, Falcam took a job as an assistant political affairs officer for the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan. The job made him one of the highest-ranking Micronesians in the Trust Territory Government. In 1964, Falcam was made Ponape District's Assistant District Administrator. The next year, he left for Princeton University, where he studied public administration and international affairs. In 1966, Falcam became an executive officer in the Office of the High Commissioner. He became the first Micronesian Acting High Commissioner, taking over the High Commissioner's responsibilities whenever the High Commissioner traveled outside of the Trust Territory. In 1975, Falcam became the Ponape District's first Micronesian District Administrator. That same year, he acted as chair of the Pohnpei delegation to the Micronesian Constitutional Convention. He worked in Washington, D.C. as Micronesia's first representative to the United States, and returned to Pohnpei in 1979 to serve as the first governor of Pohnpei State. He served as chair of the Pohnpei State Constitutional Convention in 1983, became the FSM's first postmaster general in 1984, and was elected to the FSM Congress in 1987. In 1997, Falcam became the Vice President of the FSM. Two years later, he became the FSM's fifth president.

Falcam lost his seat in the FSM Congress in 2003, but he left politics knowing that he had held nearly every important political office in Micronesia and that he had helped to build a strong future for the people of Pohnpei and Micronesians as a whole. During his time as president, Falcam once said, "I will go everywhere I can in the FSM to let people know that they have a stake in this nation. I also would like people to know that my generation will move on and they will have to come and carry on." Falcam was one of the first of the FSM's founding fathers to enter national politics in Micronesia, and one of the last to leave. The governments that he helped to create are a valuable gift to those who come after him.



UNIT FOUR

MICRONESIAN GOVERNMENT TODAY



Above: A map of the nations of Micronesia: the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands. The FSM, Palau, and the Marshall Islands are independent nations. All three have signed Compacts of Free Association with the United States. The Marianas are a commonwealth of the United States.

UNIT FOUR INTRODUCTION:

Micronesia's Two Governments

The Yap State Congress was working on a plan to bring bus service to all of Yap. The politicians in the congress were excited to make such a big improvement to their island. There was a lot of support for new busses in the community. After speeches from many congressmen about how much good a new bus system would do, the bill to create a regular bus service in Yap passed.

But before bills can become law in Yap State, they must also pass through two different councils of traditional leaders if they have anything to do with traditional activities. Yap is the only state in the FSM that requires traditional leaders to approve any bills before they can become law. In fact, Yap is the only state in the FSM that gives its traditional leaders an official role in the state government. So the Yap State Congress sent its bill to the traditional leaders.

Yap's traditional leaders gathered to look at the congress' plan for a new bus system.

"This is a good plan," one chief said, "and I believe that it will be good for our island to have a bus service. But I have seen the busses the congress wants to buy, and they are high off the ground. The people who ride in these busses will be much higher than those beside them on the road, those who are driving cars and trucks.

"The problem," the chief continued, "is that these busses may cause our people to be disrespectful of their chiefs without even knowing it. What if a chief is riding in a truck and his people are riding in the bus? Can we allow these people to have their heads higher than the chief's head? What if there are low-ranking people on the bus, people who do not own their own land? Can we allow these people to have their heads higher than high-ranking people, people who do own their own land?"

The other chiefs agreed. Having a bus system was a good idea. But they could not approve the plan that had been sent to them by the Yap State Congress. And so they rejected it. The congress had no power to force the bill through and make it into a law. They wouldn't have wanted to force it through anyway. It is not good for Yapese politicians to appear to show disrespect to their chiefs.

One of the most important questions for the founding fathers of the FSM was what role traditional leaders should have in the new gov-



Above: Old and new government in Yap. These Yap State Government buildings rest on the foundation of the island's old Spanish fort. Yap State is the only state in the FSM to give its traditional leaders an official role in the state government.

in the government of the FSM, so they let the states decide. Today, Yapese chiefs are the only traditional leaders in Micronesia to have official power in their state government. But even without being elected to public office, the traditional leaders of Yap, Chuuk, and Pohnpei and the church leaders of Kosrae can play an important part in their state governments. They can draw attention to elected officials who are doing wrong, they can stand up for their people if they believe the government is doing something to hurt them, and they can act as role models for political leaders, showing them what a Micronesian leader could and should be.

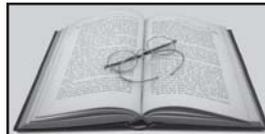
The question of what the relationship between traditional leaders and the government should be is one of the important issues in Micronesia today. It is one of the issues we will look at in this unit.

We will also look at other important questions that delegates at Micronesia's first constitutional convention asked. We will look at the way powers are divided between the national government and the state governments. We will look at the way powers are divided between big states like Chuuk and Pohnpei and small states like Yap and Kosrae. And we will look at the way powers are divided between the three branches of the FSM National Government.

You will not read about every issue in Micronesian government in this unit. But you will read about some of the issues that Micronesians are talking about today and have been talking about ever since the Micronesia's first constitutional convention. You will also read about how the government of the FSM works today.

ernment. Should there be one congress for elected leaders and another for traditional leaders? Should traditional leaders be left out of the government altogether? Would it be disrespectful not to include chiefs in the new government? Or would it be more disrespectful to include chiefs in the government and have them be criticized and argued over like any other politician?

In the end, the delegates at Micronesia's first constitutional convention could not decide what part chiefs should play



Check Your Reading: How many of the FSM's state governments today give official power to traditional leaders?

CHAPTER ELEVEN

State and National Government in the FSM



Above: The sign welcoming visitors to the FSM capital complex in Palikir, Pohnpei. On the sign is the first section, or preamble, of the FSM Constitution.

Introduction: Micro ConCon Compromises

In the last unit of this textbook, you read about the week when Tosiwo Nakayama and a small group of delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention gathered in a closed room to talk about the new constitution. Even though the convention had argued for weeks about what the new government should look like and hadn't come close to reaching an agreement, the delegates Nakayama gathered managed to compromise on a constitution that everyone could agree on.

In that room were delegates from the Yap District, the Chuuk District, and the Pohnpei District, which still included Kosrae. But there were also delegates from the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands, all of which were in the middle of splitting away from the rest of the Trust Territory. The constitution had to satisfy everyone, even the districts that never joined the FSM.

In order to understand why the FSM Constitution and the FSM Government are the way they are today, we have to look back to that first constitutional convention. We have to remember all the different people who participated in building a nation, people from all over Micronesia with their own interests and opinions about how best to shape the new government.

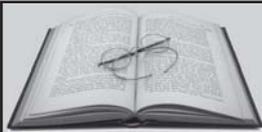
The decisions that were made during that constitutional convention answered some very important questions. How should the government be organized? What kind of relationship should the national government have with state governments? How should power be balanced between big states and small states? How should the president be elected? What part should traditional leaders play in government?

When all of the delegates to the first constitutional convention were able to agree on the answers to those questions, they wrote them into the constitution and told their people that the convention had been a success. Writing a constitution was certainly one of the most important steps toward Micronesian independence. But after the FSM's first government was elected in 1979, its leaders had a new job: making that constitution work.

In some cases, the compromises that were made during that week in Saipan were good for the FSM. In other cases, those compromises made things more difficult. And, although some of the problems with the FSM's constitution have been solved during the constitutional conventions that are automatically held every ten years, other problems are still waiting to be solved today.

Constitutions are sometimes called living documents. This means that the constitution of a country, and its government, must change to fit the needs of its people. You have already read that systems of traditional leadership in Micronesia have changed in large and small ways throughout the years. Elected governments are no different. The government of the FSM will also change in large and small ways as time goes on. There will always be a need to bring change to the government as times change, just as there will always be a need for wise leaders to guide the country in the right direction.

In this chapter, you'll read about the ways the compromises of Micronesia's first constitutional convention helped to form the government the FSM has today. You'll read about some of the ways the government of the FSM has continued to change and grow. You'll also read about some of the important issues that will help define your government in the years to come.



Check Your Reading: What were some of the important questions that were answered by delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention?

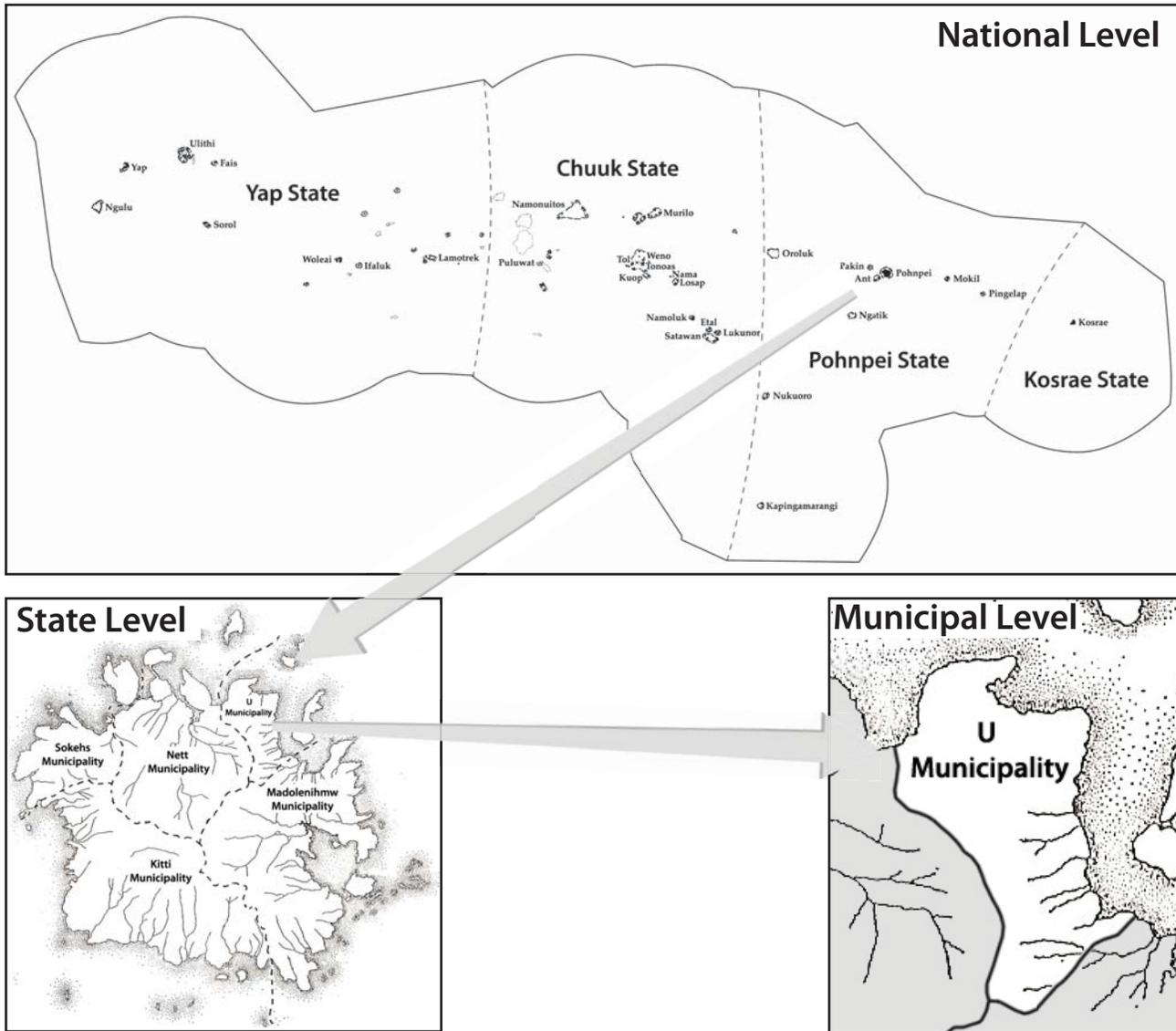
The Three Levels of the FSM Government

What sort of government would be best for the FSM? When the delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention were talking about what kind of government they wanted the FSM to have, they had many choices. They could borrow ideas from the American system of government. They could borrow ideas from the governments of other island nations. Or they could look farther, to democratic governments in countries around the world.

In the end, after a lot of research, the delegates decided to use some ideas from the American Government, some ideas from the government of Great Britain, and some ideas of their own. What they came up with was a government using ideas that had been tested out in other countries for many years, but which was made specially for Micronesians.

One of the most important ideas that came out of the constitutional convention was how to organize the government. The government of the FSM today is organized as a **federal system**. **In a federal system of government, a country is divided into states that have some power to govern themselves. Those states are placed under a national government, which has some power over the states.**

The Three Levels of the FSM Government



Federal systems divide the government into several different levels. That means that there are more leaders in more places to share power, people can be closer to their leaders, and more people can have a voice in their government. The delegates decided to use this system for the FSM because Micronesia's islands are spread over such a large area. They believed it was important that leaders be close enough to their people to understand the special problems on each island.

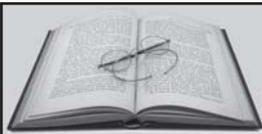
The FSM Government today has three different levels. These are the national level, the state level, and the municipal level. These three levels of government were carried over from the Trust Territory, which had national, district, and municipal governments. The U.S. Government is also divided into national, state, and local governments.

The FSM National Government deals with national issues. All of the national government's powers must be spelled out in the constitution. If the constitution does not say that the national government has a certain power, that power is held by the state governments.

The state governments deal with state and local issues. The states have power over things like land, education, health care, and protecting the environment. The states also have power over anything the national government does not have power over.

As in the later years of the Trust Territory Government, municipal governments have little power in the FSM today.

Once the delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention divided the FSM Government into national, state, and municipal levels, they had to decide what relationship those three levels of government should have with one another. Should national, state, or local governments have the most power? Where should the FSM's most important decisions be made? To answer those questions, the delegates thought back to their own experiences with Trust Territory headquarters in Saipan.



Check Your Reading: Where did the delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention get their ideas for how to shape the FSM Government?

State and National Power: Learning from the Trust Territory's Mistakes

Selvin looked out the window of his office to see that a group of government employees were gathering outside. He had become District Administrator of Yap a few months before. It was 1973.

Selvin thought he might know why the people had come to see him. An order had come down from the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan that called for a lot of new rules for Trust Territory Government employees. The new rules may have made a lot of sense for people working in Saipan. Selvin didn't live in Saipan, so he didn't know. But they certainly didn't make much sense for people working in Yap.

He went outside. "What's wrong?" he asked. "What's going on?"

A woman stepped to the front of the group. "Good morning, District Administrator. We have to come ask you about the new rules for

government employees. These rules make no sense for us. They will make it more difficult for us to do our jobs. Isn't there anything you can do?"

Selvin wasn't sure what to say. The people were right. He hadn't been District Administrator long, but it wasn't the first time this kind of problem had come up. When the Trust Territory Headquarters made a decision, that was usually it. Headquarters wasn't too interested in what the districts thought. Maybe the people working in Saipan thought the new rules would make things better, Selvin thought, but he wished that his people could have a voice too.

One thing that often made life difficult during the Trust Territory days was that the headquarters in Saipan had too much power. There were many times when a decision was made at headquarters that worked for some parts of the Trust Territory but not for others. Officials at headquarters often paid more attention to islands with large populations and ignored islands with small populations when they made their rules. It made their jobs a lot easier, but it wasn't so good for the people. Many people thought that the Trust Territory Government was much too centralized.

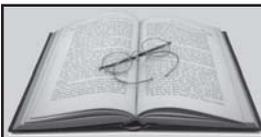
The founding fathers of the FSM borrowed many things from the Trust Territory Government. But they were also careful to learn from its mistakes. So when delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention talked about what the relationship between the FSM's national, state, and municipal government should be, they thought about how centralized the Trust Territory Government was and how many problems came from the way it was organized. They decided to make the

Below: Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan during the 1970s.



government of the FSM **decentralized**. A **decentralized government is a government in which there is less power at the national level and more power at the state level**. That meant that state governments would have more power to make important decisions than the national government.

The FSM's founding fathers believed that state governments would have a better idea of what was good for their people than politicians in Palikir. Today, state governors and state legislatures have a great deal of control over what happens in their states. But the FSM is a young nation, and the relationship between state governments and the national government is still being worked out. Let's take a look at one example of how that relationship developed at the FSM's Third Constitutional Convention, in 2001.



Check Your Reading: What powers does the national government of the FSM have? What powers do the states have?

National and State Government Today

The new governor looked down at his speech. And then he looked at the crowd that had gathered to hear him.

"I have great respect for the founding fathers of our nation," he said. "And I have great respect for the hard work they did to pass the **Law of the Sea, which gave our nation the right to be paid for the fish that are caught in our waters**. As you all know, every ship that fishes in FSM waters must pay a small license fee to the FSM National Government. It is right and good that we should be paid for our own fish."

The governor paused. "But it is not right that the national government should take all of the money. I have joined with the governors of the three other states of our nation to demand that the national government share the money that it collects with us. We will go to the Supreme Court if we have to."

The governors talked to officials in Palikir. They argued that the constitution said that half of all tax money raised by the national government had to go to the states, and that the fishing license fees were a tax. But the national government disagreed. "A license fee is not the same as a tax," they said, "and the constitution does not say we have to give the states half of the fishing license fees."

Whenever there is an argument over the meaning of the FSM Constitution, the FSM Supreme Court decides the constitution's true meaning. As it turned out, the FSM Supreme Court agreed with the national government. "A license fee," the judges said, "is not the same thing as a tax." The states had lost the fight.

Or had they? The governors weren't ready to quit yet. "The Supreme Court says the constitution won't let us share money from fishing licenses," they said. "But if we *change* the constitution, we can share the money with the national government and no one will be able to say a thing!" The governors decided to suggest a **constitutional amendment** at the next constitutional convention. **A constitutional amendment is a change to the FSM Constitution that must be approved by 75% of the voters in three out of the FSM's four states.** Many people have to agree for the constitution to be changed, so changing the constitution with a constitutional amendment is very difficult.

In the FSM's Third Constitutional Convention, held in 2001, the states asked the people to change the constitution to say that the Supreme Court wasn't allowed to decide who owned land or water. That way the states could share the fishing license money with the national government.

On Election Day day, the people went to the polls. And they voted no. The constitution wouldn't be changed. The states had lost the fight. And this time, there was nothing else they could do.

As cases like this one come up, the relationship between the state and national governments of the FSM is better understood both by leaders and their people, but that relationship also changes little by little as new ideas and disagreements cause leaders and their people to think again about what they want their government to look like.

You have already read that the FSM's state governments have a great deal of power. Each state has its own constitution, its own legislature, and a governor and lieutenant governor who are elected directly by the people for four years at a time. State governments have power over most of the things that are important to their states, especially how money should be spent there. State governments run many different departments that are important for their people, such as departments of health services and departments of education. And state governments have power over anything the national government does not have power over.

But the question of exactly how much power the national government has and how much power the states have is still being worked out. Sometimes, as in the story at the beginning of this section, the states

try to get more power for themselves. Other times, the national government tries to get more power for itself. When they can't agree, they ask the FSM Supreme Court to decide. And if the state and national governments still aren't satisfied, they put the question to the people. The people always have the final say in whether or not the constitution should be changed.



Check Your Reading: Why did the Supreme Court decide that the states shouldn't share money from fishing licenses with the national government?

Three Branches of Government: Checks and Balances

Another important idea that came from Micronesia's first constitutional convention was how to organize the FSM's state and national governments. Borrowing both from the Trust Territory Government and from the American Government, the FSM's founding fathers decided to divide state and national governments into three branches. These are the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial branch.

The executive branch is in charge of running the government. At the national level, the executive branch is the office of the president, the vice president, and the departments that help keep the national government running. At the state level, the executive branch is the governor, the lieutenant governor, and the departments that help keep the state government running.

The legislative branch is in charge of writing and passing bills. A bill is a document that has been passed by a legislature but not yet signed into law. At the national level, the legislative branch is the FSM Congress. At the state level, the legislative branch is made up of the state congresses.

The judicial branch is in charge of deciding the meaning of the FSM Constitution and laws passed by the FSM Congress. At the national level, the judicial branch is the FSM Supreme Court. At the state level, the judicial branch is made up of the state courts.

The powers of each of the three branches of government are separated. If one part of a state or national government has a certain power, no other part of the government can have that power. But, to be sure that no one branch of government becomes too powerful, the FSM's found-

The Three Branches of the FSM National Government



The Executive Branch...

Is made up of the president, the vice president, and government departments

The President...

- Must be a member of congress serving a four-year term
- Is elected by a majority vote of congress
- Is elected for four years at a time and cannot serve more than two terms in a row
- Must be a citizen of the FSM by birth, and must have lived in the FSM for at least 15 years

The Vice President...

- Is chosen in the same way as the president
- Takes over the president's job if the president dies or is removed from office
- Cannot be from the same state as the president

Cabinet Members...

- Are in charge of running the departments that make the government work
- Are chosen by the president and then approved by congress



The Legislative Branch...

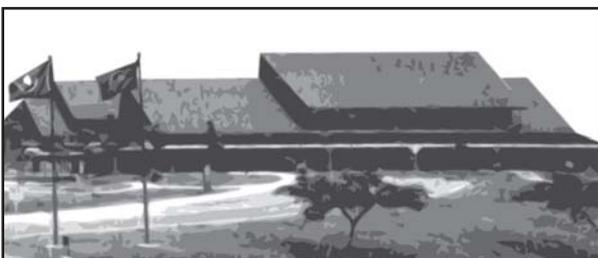
Is made up of the FSM Congress

The FSM Congress...

- Is made up of fourteen congressmen
- Has four congressmen who serve four-year terms, one from each state
- Has ten congressmen who serve two-year terms
- The number of two-year congressmen from each state is based on state population
- Looks at state populations every ten years to decide how many two-year congressmen each state should get

A Congressman...

- Is elected directly by the people of his or her state
- Must be at least thirty years old
- Must have been a citizen of the FSM for at least fifteen years
- Must have lived in his or her state for at least five years
- Must never have been convicted of a felony by a state or national court
- Cannot have any other government job while serving in congress



The Judicial Branch...

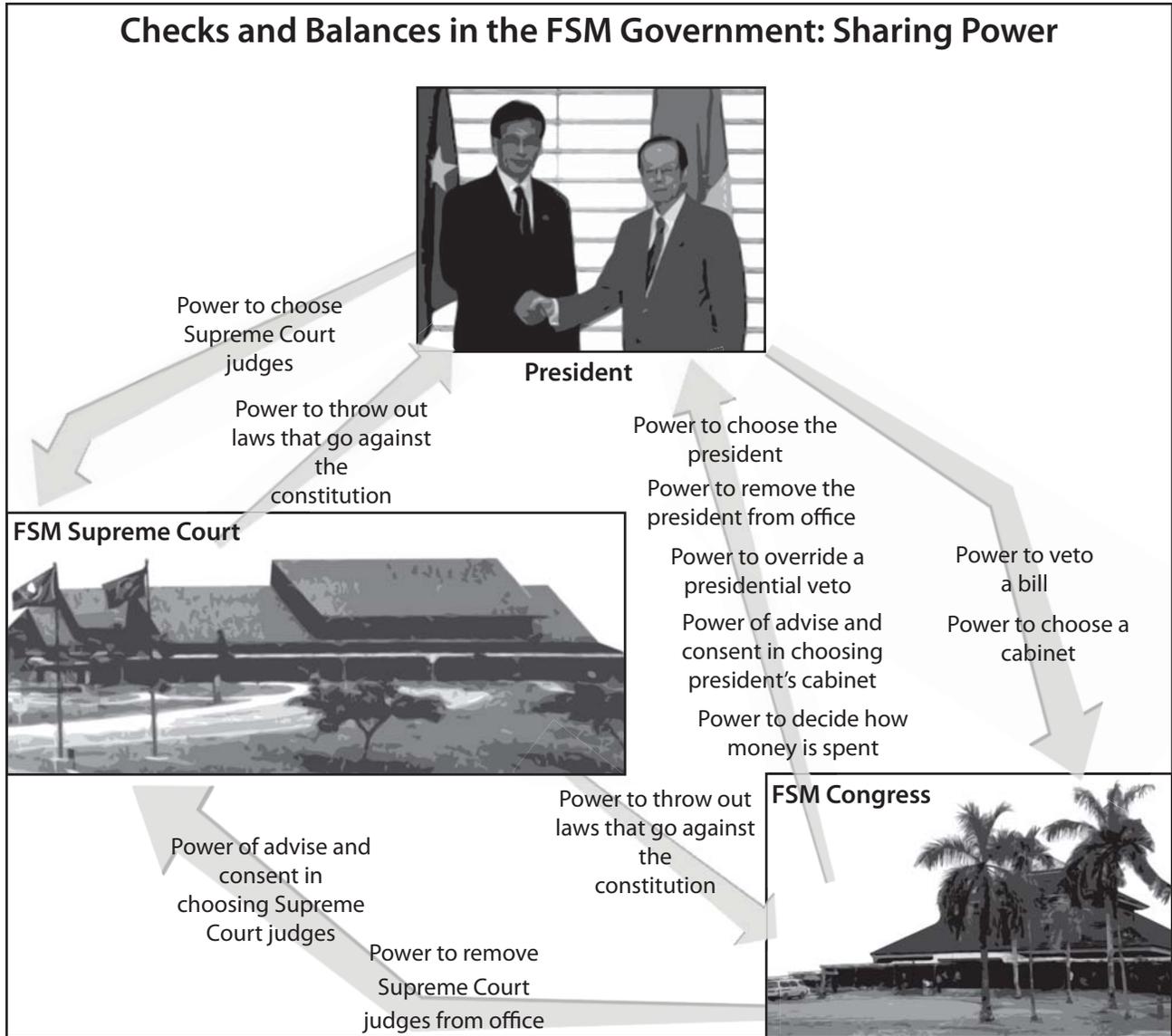
Is made up of the FSM Supreme Court

The FSM Supreme Court...

- Is made up of one Chief Justice and between two and five Associate Justices

A Supreme Court Judge...

- Is chosen by the president with the approval of congress
- Serves for life, unless he or she is removed for bad behavior



ing fathers included **checks and balances** in the FSM Government. **Checks and balances** are ways in which each of the three branches of the FSM Government holds power over the other two, so that no one branch of government can take too much power for itself.

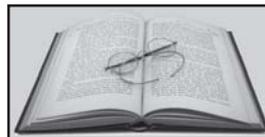
So what special powers does the president have? The president has some power over the FSM Congress. A bill that has been passed by the FSM Congress cannot become a law until the president signs it into law. The president can refuse to sign a bill into law. When the president does this, it is called a **veto**. **A veto is when the president refuses to sign a bill that has been passed by congress into law.** The president also has some power over the FSM Supreme Court. He or she is responsible for choosing who will sit on the Supreme Court when a new judge is needed.

What special powers does the FSM Congress have? The FSM Congress has some power over the president. The congress elects the president, who must be member of congress with a four-year term. The congress can remove the president from office if it believes he has done something wrong. The FSM Congress has the power to override a presidential veto. If the president vetoes a bill it has passed, the congress can **override his veto. Overriding a veto means passing a bill into law without the support of the president, but with the support of three out of the four states of the FSM.** If three out of four four-year congressmen vote to override the president's veto, their bill will become law whether the president wants it to or not.

The FSM Congress also has **advise and consent** powers over the president's choices for new cabinet members and FSM Supreme Court judges. **Advise and consent means that the FSM Congress has the right to approve or reject the president's choices for cabinet positions or for the FSM Supreme Court.**

The FSM Congress has some power over the FSM Supreme Court. The congress can approve or reject the president's choices for Supreme Court judges.

What special powers does the FSM Supreme Court have? The Supreme Court can look at the laws the FSM Congress has passed and that the president has signed. If those laws go against the FSM Constitution, the Supreme Court can throw the laws out. This gives the Supreme Court some power over both the president and the FSM Congress. The FSM Supreme Court is the only part of the government that is allowed to say exactly what the constitution means when there is an argument.



Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways the president has power over the FSM Congress?

How Do Government Leaders Become Leaders?

The delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention were divided into many groups. Some came from one district, and some came from another district. Some came from eastern districts, and some came from western districts. Some came from districts with land that the United States military wanted, some came from districts without any land the United States military wanted. Some came from districts with large populations, and some came from districts with small populations.

A delegate from a district with a small population stood up to speak on the floor of the convention. “The people of my district want to be sure that we will have a voice in this new government,” he said. “We have sometimes been ignored by the Trust Territory Headquarters. We do not want to be ignored by the national government in a new nation.”

The delegate looked at the faces around him and continued speaking. “The delegates from my district, and the delegates from the other small districts, will not vote for a constitution that gives all the power to the large states. If the people vote for the president, everyone will vote for the leader from their own state. When will the small states ever be able to put someone in the president’s office?”



Above: The FSM Congress in Palikir, Pohnpei.

After much discussion, the delegates from the big districts and the delegates from the small districts reached a compromise. In the United States, the president was elected directly by the people. But it might make more sense for the FSM if the congress chose the president. That way congressmen could be sure to give small states a chance at the presidency. Governors would still be elected directly by the people, but the small districts would never approve the constitution unless the congress got to choose the president. The compromise may have made the president weaker, but the constitution could never have passed the first convention without it.

Today, there are three different ways to get an important job in the FSM National Government.

The president and vice president of the FSM are chosen by congress.

The president and vice president must be a member of the FSM Congress with a four-year term. Each of the FSM’s four states sends one four-year congressman to congress. Because the president is chosen by congress, congress has a lot of power over the president. The president owes his job to the congress, and the congress can also remove him from office.

Members of congress are elected by the people. Each of the FSM’s four states sends two different kinds of congressmen to the FSM Congress. There are two-year congressmen and four-year congressmen, who are also called **at-large congressmen**. **An at-large congressman is elected for a term of four years.** The number of two-year congress-



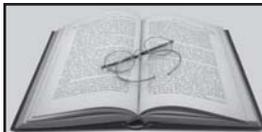
Above: A sign hanging in Pohnpei in 2007, reading "Thank you for voting for John Ehsa for governor." The president of the FSM is chosen by the FSM Congress, but each of the FSM's four state governors are elected directly by the people.

men from each state depends on that state's population. Larger states send more two-year congressmen to the FSM Congress and smaller states send fewer two-year congressmen to congress. Each state sends one four-year congressmen to the FSM Congress. Only congressmen with a four-year term can become president or vice president.

Members of the FSM Supreme Court are chosen by the president and then approved by the congress. The FSM Supreme Court must have at least three members, but it can have no more than five. When there is an empty

space on the court, the president chooses a judge that he thinks would be a good Supreme Court judge. Two-thirds of congress, or ten of fourteen congressmen, must agree with the president's choice. If the congress does not agree with the president on who the new Supreme Court judges should be, the president has to think of someone else for the job and ask congress again.

The way most leaders are chosen at the state level is similar to the way leaders are chosen at the national level. Members of state congresses are elected by the people and judges are chosen by the governor with the approval of the state congress. But, unlike the president of the FSM, who is chosen by the FSM Congress, state governors are elected directly by the people.



Check Your Reading: How many members of the FSM Congress must agree with the president's choice for a new Supreme Court justice before he or she can be approved for the job?

Big States, Small States: The Presidency

Elmer had big dreams. He was born and raised in Kosrae, and he had always hoped to be president one day. Even in school, he ran for class president every year. Sometimes he won, sometimes he didn't. But he had the respect of his classmates and his teachers.

Elmer didn't like to talk about his dream of being president. But somehow people guessed it anyway. Some of his friends thought it was a great idea. "Wow," they said to Elmer, "I might be friends with the president one day!" They thought he would make a great president.

But others weren't so supportive. "Forget about it, Elmer!" one said, "You're from Kosrae! Our state is too small. The president's hardly ever from Kosrae. You can work on being a congressman, but don't get your hopes up for the presidency."

What was going on? The problem of how big states and small states should be represented in the FSM National Government came up at Micronesia's First Constitutional convention. Hadn't the question been settled already?

Yes and no. When delegates from small districts like Yap and Palau asked for more representation at the constitutional convention in 1976, they had two concerns. First, delegates from small districts were worried that the presidency would always go to leaders from large states. And second, delegates from small districts were worried that they would be outnumbered in congress.

The FSM's founding fathers thought that having the congress, not the people, choose the president could help make sure that leaders from small states got a chance at the presidency. If the congress chose the president, the FSM could have a **rotating presidency**. **In a rotating presidency, the congress is careful to choose each new president from a different state than the president who came before so that both big states and small states can send their leaders to the presidency.** With a rotating presidency, small states could be sure that they wouldn't be ignored when the new president was selected.

But as Elmer's story shows, the rotating presidency that the founding fathers of the FSM imagined has not always worked perfectly. The FSM has had presidents from all four states. But some states have held the presidency more than others. The rotating presidency was a simple solution to a difficult problem, but because large states still have more leaders in congress than small states, it is easier today for a leader from a big state to become president than it is for a leader from a small state.

The FSM's Rotating Presidency

2007		President Manny Mori	Vice President Alik Alik
2005	President Joseph Urusemal		
2003		Vice President Redley Killion	
2001			President Leo Falcam
1999			Vice President Leo Falcam
1997			President Jacob Nena
1995			
1993			President Bailey Olter
1991			Vice President Jacob Nena
1989	President John Haglelgam		Vice President Hirosi Ismael
1987			
1985			Vice President Bailey Olter
1983		President Tosiwo Nakayama	
1981	Vice President Petrus Tun		
1979			
	Yap State	Chuuk State	Pohnpei State Kosrae State

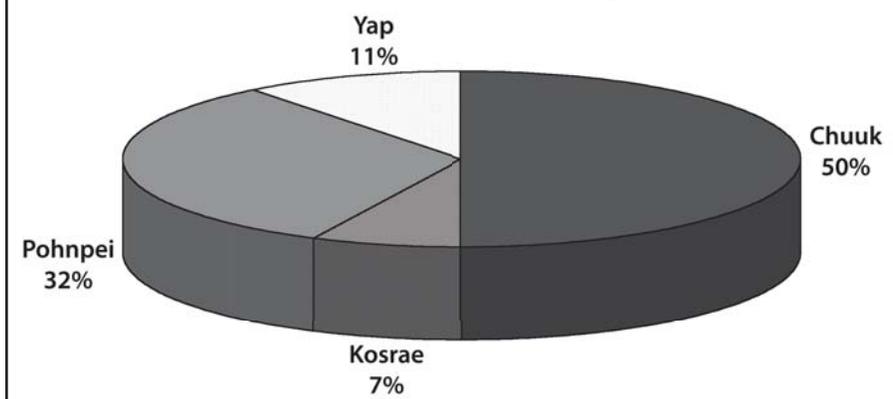
Above: One of the ways the big states of the FSM have tried to share power with the small states is to have an unwritten rule that the presidency and vice presidency will rotate between the states. That means that each state takes its turn having its four-year congressman be president. The chart above shows where the president and vice president of the FSM have come from since 1979. Does the rotating presidency seem to be working?



Check Your Reading: Why didn't delegates from the Trust Territory's smaller districts want the people to vote for the president?



States as Percentages of FSM Population, 2000



Big States, Small States: The Congress

The problem of how to choose the president seemed to be solved. But the small districts' second concern, that their leaders would be outnumbered by congressmen from larger states in the FSM Congress, needed a more complicated solution.

Above: The size of each of the FSM's four states as a percentage of the country's total population. In 2000, there were 53,595 people living in Chuuk State, 34,486 people living in Pohnpei State, 11,241 people living in Yap State, and 7,686 people living in Kosrae State.

The problem first came up at the constitutional convention during talks about how to organize the FSM Congress. The larger districts thought it would be best if the states sent representatives to the FSM Congress based on their population. That way, if there were four times more people living in Chuuk than Kosrae, Chuuk would get to have four times more congressmen.

The small states said that wasn't fair. They said each state should have one vote each so that every state was equal and no state was left out. For a while, it seemed like no one could agree. Both sides had good points. The big states' plan was more democratic, but the small states would certainly be outnumbered by the big states. The small states' plan would make sure their concerns weren't ignored in the national government, but it would give 10,000 people the same voice as 50,000 people.

So the delegates at the first constitutional convention came up with a clever compromise. They looked at the example of the United States Government, which had the exact same argument years before. The Americans fixed the problem by having two different houses in its congress. In one, the small states had more power. In the other, the big states had more power. But it was too expensive to build a congress with two different houses in Micronesia. So today the FSM has one congress with two different kinds of congressmen.

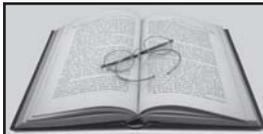
There are fourteen congressmen in the FSM Congress today. Ten of these congressmen serve two year terms. Chuuk has five two-year congressmen, Pohnpei has three, Yap has one, and Kosrae has one. That's because Chuuk and Pohnpei are the FSM's larger states while Yap and Kosrae are smaller.

Among these two-year congressmen, the big states have more power. But there are also four congressmen who serve four-year terms. Each

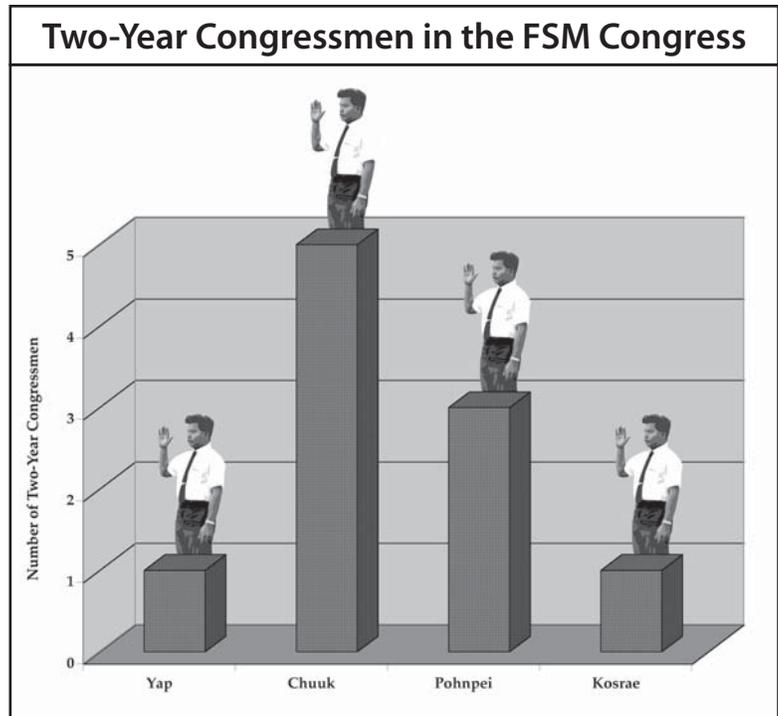
state has one four-year congressman. One of these four-year congressmen comes from each state. Among the four-year congressmen, each of the FSM's four states has equal power.

The real power-sharing between big states and small states comes when it is time to vote on whether a bill should become law. Each bill has to be read and voted on two times in congress. The first time the bill is read, all fourteen members of congress can vote on it. If a majority of them vote for the bill, it passes the reading. But the second time the bill is read, only the four-year congressmen can vote on it. Three of the four states have to vote for a bill before it can pass the second reading. That means that during the first vote, big states have more power. During the second vote, small states have more power. The bill must be approved on both votes to be passed into law.

Many of the FSM's founding fathers look back on the big state-small state compromise that led to the FSM Congress as a great accomplishment and a clever solution to a difficult problem. But many of those same founding fathers look at the way the president is chosen today and wish that the president was elected directly by the people. What do you think?



Check Your Reading: How many times is each bill voted on in the FSM Congress before it can become law?



Above: Each of the FSM's four states sends two kinds of congressmen to the FSM Congress. The number of two-year congressmen sent to the FSM Congress from each state is based on that state's population. Each state also sends one four-year congressman to the FSM Congress. Congress looks at state populations every ten years. If the population of one state rises or falls, the number of two-year congressmen from that state changes. There are fourteen members of congress today, but that number could change if the state populations change.

Problems With Checks and Balances

This time the congress had gone too far. They were spending money like there was no tomorrow, and it was getting harder and harder to get answers. Where was all this money going? What was going on?

During the president's inauguration, he had given a wonderful speech, a speech that everyone talked about for weeks. He had worked hard on it, and it had just the right combination of hope for the future and



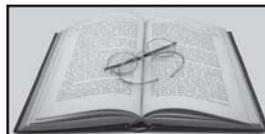
Above: The inauguration of Immanuel “Manny” Mori in 2007 in Palikir, Pohnpei.

respect for the past. It pointed out the problems in the government, but it also pointed out some creative new ways to solve them. One of the biggest problems, the president had said, was that too often politicians used the money and power they had in ways that didn't help their people, and even hurt them. He promised to change the culture of the government in Palikir, and the people were counting on him.

But now that he was in Palikir himself, he was finding it a lot harder to get his way with the congress than he thought it would be. He wanted to change the way business was done in the FSM Government, but every time he tried to make big changes he started to hear rumors that some members of congress were thinking of removing him from office. His plans were going nowhere. Complain too loudly, and he would be removed. Do nothing, and everyone would say he was weak. Do whatever congress told him to, and things would be back to where they were in the first place.

One of the side effects of the president being chosen by congress instead of elected by the people has been that the president does not have as much power as presidents in other countries. If you look back at the checks and balances chart from earlier in this chapter, you will see that the FSM Congress has much more power over the president than the president has over the congress. The congress can choose the president, remove him from office, override his vetoes, reject his choices from his cabinet, reject his choices for judges, and decide how money is spent. The president can only veto bills the congress passes and send them his choices for new cabinet members and Supreme Court judges.

Of course, if the president turns out to be bad, it may be good that he has less power. But if the congress turns out to be bad, it may be bad that the president doesn't have enough power to keep the congress under control. How much power do you think the president should have?



Check Your Reading: What are some of the ways the FSM Congress has power over the president?

Traditional Leaders and the Government

One of the questions that delegates to Micronesia's first constitutional convention couldn't answer no matter how hard they tried was what place traditional leaders should have in the FSM Government. As you read in the last unit of this textbook, arguments over this question in 1976 became so heated that a group of traditional leaders who were also serving as delegates stood up and walked out of the convention hall. The chiefs became angry when other delegates argued that traditional leaders should not be a part of the FSM Government.

After a lot of discussion, it seemed that the problem could not be solved. So the delegates decided to put the question to the side and let future leaders figure out what was best. The FSM Constitution today simply says that the national and state governments of the FSM will not take away the power of traditional leaders and that Micronesian traditions are protected by law. The constitution also says that the FSM Congress can make a place in the government for traditional leaders if it wants to, but that it doesn't have to. The question of exactly how traditional leaders should be included in the FSM Government was left to future leaders at the state and national level to decide.

A few years after Micronesia's first constitutional convention, each of the FSM's four states had their own constitutional conventions to write their state constitutions. Just as the writers of the FSM Constitution had to think about how and whether to include traditional leaders in the national government, the states now had to decide whether traditional leaders should be included in their state governments.

Because each of the FSM's four states has different leadership traditions, each had different conversations. You have already read about the councils of traditional leaders that operate today in Yap. Yap State decided to give its chiefs two councils that could veto any laws passed by the state congress that had to do with traditional activities. There was a lot of support for including traditional leaders in the Yap State Government, and today chiefs play an important role in reviewing laws passed by the Yap State Legislature. But after much discussion, none of the other states decided to include traditional leaders in their state governments.

Some states came close. At Pohnpei State's constitutional convention, there was a serious argument over how and whether to include traditional leaders in the government, just as there had been at the constitutional convention in Saipan. But unlike the national constitutional convention in Saipan, many Pohnpeian traditional leaders didn't want to be included in the government.

After some delegates suggested a council of chiefs in the Pohnpei State Government, similar to the council of chiefs in the Yap State Government, the Nahnken of Madolenihmw stood up. The Nahnken of Madolenihmw was the highest-ranking Nahnken in Pohnpei. He would not stand for a council of chiefs. He came to the microphone and said, “If you create a traditional council in the state government, Madolenihmw will walk out! We will not participate in this convention!”

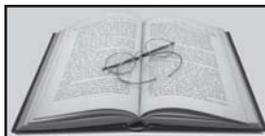
Why didn’t the Nahnken want chiefs to be included in the new state government? There were many reasons. First, he believed that the state government was a government of the people, not of the chiefs. Second, he believed that the Pohnpei’s politicians should make their own decisions. And third, he believed that leaders may not be able to speak freely with their chiefs around.

Today, many Pohnpeians agree with the decision not to include traditional leaders in the state government. It is best for a chief to be a chief, they say, so that the people can respect him. If a chief becomes a politician, he becomes more difficult to respect. A chief who is a bad politician could make his people lose respect for the traditional system.

But others believe that chiefs should be a bigger part in the Pohnpei State Government. Having chiefs is one of the things that makes Pohnpeians Pohnpeian, they say, and a chief without power to make important decisions is like no chief at all. Some Pohnpeians believe that their state government could benefit from having a council of chiefs similar to the one in Yap.

What do you think? Is it better for chiefs to be included in national and state governments? Or is it better for chiefs to stick to traditional activities?

The question of exactly how to include traditional leadership in the state and national governments of the FSM has been a difficult one. But including chiefs in the government has not been the only important question about the relationship between the FSM Government and traditional systems. In the next section, we’ll take a look at another important question: how should state and national courts deal with systems of traditional justice?



Check Your Reading: Why didn’t the Nahnken of Madolenihmw want the Pohnpei State Government to have a council of chiefs?

The Courts: A Case Study in Traditional Justice

It is late at night, and the moon is high in the sky. Everything is still and silent, and the young woman walking home after watching a movie at a friend's house can only hear the movement of the leaves over the sound of her own footsteps.

Suddenly, a young man jumps out of the jungle. Before the woman can cry out, she is attacked. Afterward, the man runs, but not before she can get a look at his face. She knows him from school. He is usually a good person, but tonight he is drunk. She returns home to tell her father what happened. Her father is the chief of their village.

The chief is filled with anger. And so the next day he goes to the young man's house. He is the chief, responsible for punishing those who do wrong, and the traditional punishment for the young man's crime is that he be beat up. So when the chief comes upon him standing with his friends, he gives him a sound beating. No one tries to stop him. Everyone already knows that the young man has done wrong.

But the next day the chief is called into the police station. The police officers, embarrassed to be punishing their chief, explain to him that beating someone up is against state law. The law is for everyone, they say, even chiefs. They understand why he got angry, and they even understand why he beat the young man up, but what he did was still against the law.

A few weeks later, the chief stands in front of a judge. "I thought that our government was supposed to show respect for our traditional leaders," he said. "Doesn't our constitution protect traditional activities? I have done nothing that goes against our island's traditional justice system. Why should I be punished for remembering our culture?"

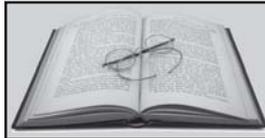
Just as there are two governments in the FSM today, elected government and traditional government, there are also two justice systems. There are the laws that are passed by state and national congresses, signed into law, and sometimes reviewed by the Supreme Court. But there are also traditional laws, the rules that the chief in our story was trying to follow. Sometimes,

Below: Students attending a speech contest at the FSM Supreme Court courtroom in Chuuk. Many questions about the relationship between traditional justice and the laws passed by elected government have been settled in FSM courts.



as in the story above, those two kinds of laws come into conflict with one another. When they do, which one is correct? Are the laws that the are passed by elected governments stronger than traditional laws? Or are traditional laws stronger?

These can be difficult questions to answer. The chief in our story had a good point. The FSM Constitution does protect traditional activities, and he was acting within his rights as a chief. But the police officers and the judge in our story also had a good point. The chief broke the law, and laws are not only for people with low ranks. Laws are for chiefs too. Who do you think was right?



Check Your Reading: Why did the chief believe he had the right to beat up a young man in his village?

The Bureaucracy: When Politics is Personal

Solomon and his friend Berney were walking along the sidewalk, on their way to check their e-mail at the public library.

“Wow,” Solomon said, “I spent almost all morning at the Department of Transportation today. All I needed was this one piece of paper, a registration form for the new car my family just bought. But I just couldn’t seem to get it, no matter how hard I tried. Everyone there was talking in circles and telling me to wait, or to come back tomorrow, or that there was only one person who could answer my question, and that she didn’t show up for work. And even after I waited all morning, I still couldn’t get my form!”

“Really?” Berney said. “I’m surprised. I’ve never had a problem at the Department of Transportation before. And my neighbor goes there all the time. He’s always talking about how friendly and helpful the people there are.”

“Berney,” Solomon said, “that’s different. Your cousin works in the Department of Transportation. And your neighbor is the chief! Of course they don’t have any problem. It’s different for people like me who don’t know the right people.”

Everyone has to deal with government offices sometimes. These government offices are called a **bureaucracy**. **A bureaucracy is made up of government offices and the people who work for them, who are not elected by the people but are hired just like any other employee.**

All countries need some kind of bureaucracy. But most bureaucracies have problems. In some countries, the problem is that people who need help from the government have to fill out too many forms and deal with too many rules. In other countries, the problem is that no one can get good service without secretly giving extra money to people working in the office.

In the FSM, one of the problems with the bureaucracy is that some people get much better service than others. Why? In the story above, Berney got better service than Solomon because someone in his family worked for the government. His neighbor got better service than Solomon because he was a traditional leader. Because some people have higher ranks than others and because some people happen to know the right person, some get better service than others at government offices. In the last section, you read a story about a chief who followed traditional laws first and official laws second. In the bureaucracy, too, employees often show their respect to traditional leaders by giving them better service than others rather than follow the official rules, which say to treat everyone equally.

Another problem with the bureaucracy in the FSM is that government workers sometimes do special favors for people who do favors for them. Giving something to those who give to you is an important part of Micronesian traditional culture. But giving extra money to a government official in exchange for better service or extra help can be unfair to others.

A third problem with the bureaucracy in the FSM is that information that should be secret is often shared. If you go to tell the government that you're making an offer on a construction project, you might find out that the details of your plans are common knowledge a few days later. If you go to the state hospital to get an HIV test, your neighbors might find out the result of your test from a friend of a friend.

A fourth problem with the bureaucracy in the FSM is that information that should be shared is often kept secret. Both politicians and

Below: The building that houses most of the offices for the Kosrae State Government.





Above: Government workers in Pohnpei. Government workers all over Micronesia must balance their responsibilities to the people the government serves and their roles as members of their communities.

people that work for the government sometimes keep information secret that could help the people to know what is going on in the government but that is embarrassing to them personally. We will talk more about the treatment of embarrassing information and special knowledge later in this chapter.

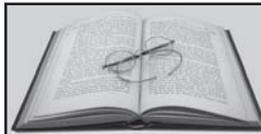
The FSM's bureaucracy has these problems because Micronesia is made up of many small societies. In small societies, everyone knows everyone else, and it is hard for a government

employee to pretend not to know the difference between a high school student and a powerful chief. And in small societies, people are used to talking about each other, and it can hard for government employees to keep some information secret when they gossip about other kinds of information.

No country has a perfect bureaucracy, and government employees working for the FSM will always be part of the societies around them. It's impossible to forget that a chief is a chief, or that your uncle is your uncle.

So the question for government employees is, how can you be as fair as possible? What can you do to deal with every person that comes into your office as a person that needs help, not as a chief or as a family member? There are no easy answers to this question. How do you think these problems could be solved? Have your experiences with the bureaucracy been similar to Berney's and Solomon's?

Let's continue looking at some of the problems that the FSM Government faces today in the next section.



Check Your Reading: Why do some people get better service than others in the FSM's bureaucracies?

Who Does the Government Belong To?

It was 1950, and Sonster was a teenage boy living in Pohnpei. The Americans had been creating municipalities all over the Trust Territory. Sonster's paramount chiefdom of U was now also called U municipi-

pality. The Nahnmwarki of U was now also the chief magistrate. So when the Nahnmwarki told the people to gather together all the building supplies they could find for the new school, everyone came and did their best to help out. Of course they would. The Nahnmwarki was their leader, and his government was their government.

Twenty years later, in 1970, Sonster was a grown man in his thirties. He still lived in U, and he still listened to what his Nahnmwarki said. But the Nahnmwarki wasn't chief magistrate anymore. And the magistrate, a man from Sonster's village, didn't have much power. Most of the power that the municipalities had in the 1950s moved to Trust Territory headquarters in Saipan in the 1960s and 1970s. The Americans had built a nice new elementary school in U and everyone was impressed with the work they had done. But if something in the school broke, the people didn't come to fix it anymore. "So what?" they would say. "It's not our school. It belongs to the Americans. This school was built by their government, not by our government."

Years went by, and Sonster waited and waited for the FSM to become independent. When Micronesians elected their new government's first leaders in 1979, Sonster expected to see big changes around his community. Finally the people would have their own government again, a government that belonged to them and no one else. People would take care of the things the government built, because it was their government now. Maybe people would even start helping out again when things broke. They couldn't rely on the Americans to fix things anymore.

But Sonster was wrong. For years after the FSM became independent, he expected people to feel more ownership of their government again. But they didn't. Now, instead of saying, "This isn't ours. It belongs to those guys in Saipan" they said, "This isn't ours. It belongs to those guys in Palikir." When Sonster went to visit his son's school, he saw writing all over the walls. When he went to talk to people in government offices, he saw piles of broken computers just sitting on the floor because no one wanted to fix an old computer when they could just buy a new one. When he went to work, he saw his co-workers showing up to work late, leaving early, or not coming at all.

Didn't the government belong to Micronesians now? When the peo-

Below: Spray paint on a building owned by the Pohnpei State Government. When things belonging to the FSM Government are destroyed or wasted, it hurts the Micronesian people.



ple wasted government money and destroyed things that belonged to the government, weren't they really wasting their own money? Weren't they really destroying their own things?

Sonster wanted it to stop. He wanted to get involved. He wanted to do something to make a change. Read on to the next section to see an example of a time the people were able to make an important change to the things that were happening around them.



Check Your Reading: Why did people stop coming to help work on their schools in the 1960s and 1970s?

Case Study: The FSM Amnesty Bill

It was 2004, and the normally quiet chambers of the FSM Congress in Palikir were full of people. As the congressmen took their seats, they saw that all of the 170 seats for visitors were taken. And not only that, but there were people waiting outside, looking through the window, hoping to hear some news of what was going on inside. For days people had been calling congress, asking for information, and even writing angry letters.

For years, few people seemed to be paying attention to what the congress was doing. Some congressmen wished that their people would get more involved in the decisions they were making. How could they do what was right for their people if no one was helping them make the right decisions? But other congressmen were glad that their people weren't paying too much attention. That meant that they could get away with a lot, and no one would care one way or the other.

But suddenly everyone seemed to be interested in what the FSM Congress was doing. Today, the congress was planning to talk about the **FSM Amnesty Bill**. That bill had already seen more public interest than any other act of congress since the FSM became a nation. **The FSM Amnesty Bill was a law that was introduced into the FSM Congress but never passed that would have allowed people who steal money from the government to go unpunished.**

When fourteen people were charged with stealing 1.2 million dollars from the FSM Government, people were angry, but not surprised. It seemed like money disappeared from the government all the time. But then people found out that four of the fourteen people were either congressmen or had been congressmen in the past. They found out that the FSM Congress was working on a bill that would protect them

from being punished for all the money they stole in the past and all the money they might decide to steal in the future.

The congressmen were saying that the people who stole money from the government were only being punished because they were from Chuuk. But the people said that stealing was wrong, no matter who did it. If congressmen from the FSM's other states were stealing too, they should also be punished. But the congressmen from Chuuk shouldn't be allowed to steal. The people knew that, this time, they had to stop the bill from becoming law.

So how did they do it?

Below: Some of the articles that appeared during arguments over the FSM Amnesty Bill. The bill got a lot of attention both inside and outside the FSM.

FIRESTORM BREWS OVER AMNESTY BILL

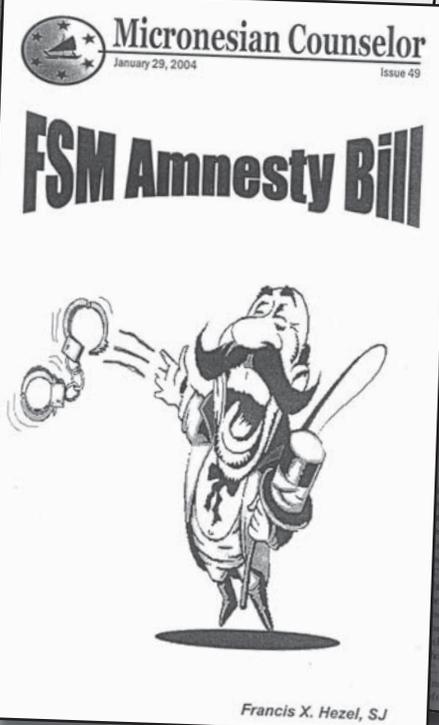
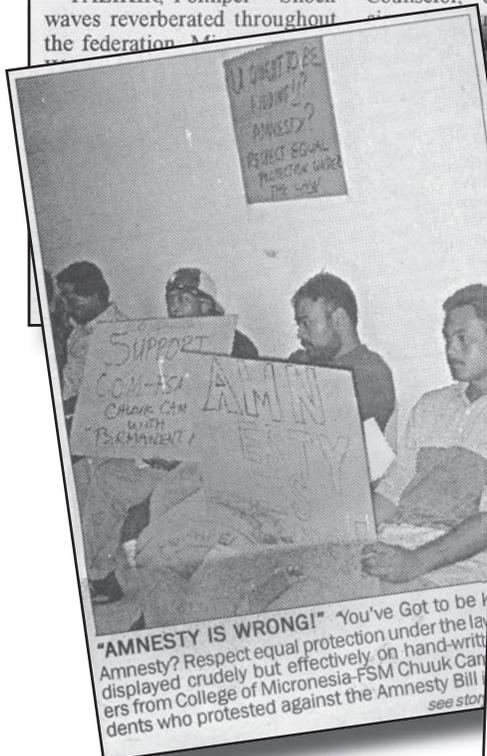
By **OLIVIER WORTEL**
The Kaselehlie Press

PALIKIR, Pohnpei – Shock waves reverberated throughout the federation...

ther Francis Hezel stated, in the latest issue of the Micronesia Counselor, "created a firestorm of unemloyed against the production into the press a few days... country was instantaneous... (and) has

people interviewed for this story talked of a revolution against a kleptocratic system by the masses of unemployed against the privileged bureaucrats and their... Others whispered of a possible secession of Yap from the Federation

of Congressman Jack Fritz. Fritz, along with Congressmen John... Roosevelt Kansou and... from Chuuk.



LETTER TO EDITOR

Disgust Over Amnesty Bill

Dear Editor,

I write this note dear editor knowing that the KASELEHLIE PRESS is the only newspaper on the island that allows one like me to express my concerns.

I am filled with grief the frustration of the people of this federation over the amnesty bill introduced to the FSM Congress. This bill has become the topic of conversation on the Sakau files and at gatherings of the island. Every individual I talked to was disgusted toward the amnesty bill. In my understanding will make the bill unacceptable and that scares me. They will not be put to trial for their actions. They claimed the bill was for the good of this nation, but how can it be for the ones who are accessible to you, please tell me how this amnesty bill can I personally disagree with the bill. I hope that each my representative in the FSM Congress. The bill has been introduced and I believe it will generate a great deal of controversy. I am sure you would hear the cries of the people. We both know I'm not alone. I trust you will do the right thing for the people."

Information by the

The Members of the 13th Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia appreciate the receiving expressions of public opinion on any and all bills and resolutions pending before the Congress. In the case of the Amnesty Bill, they are actively seeking the views of interested citizens of the FSM. It is important to this process that our citizens be well informed concerning the bill. The Kaselehlie Pressors used as a service when they fail to provide accurate reporting Congressional proceedings.

Thank you for allowing me to correct the information reported by The Kaselehlie Press.

Sincerely,
Franklin Frank
Office of the Public Information
Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia

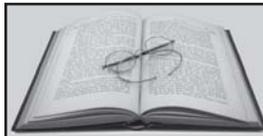
The people who found what the congress was doing told other people. As the word spread, elected officials at all levels of government started to hear that the people were angry and that they weren't going to be happy if the Amnesty Bill passed.

When state and local officials heard what the congress was doing, and how their people felt about it, they got involved too. The Yap State Government wrote a strong letter insisting that the Amnesty Bill be thrown away and threatened to leave the FSM if the bill passed. The Pohnpei State Legislature talked about the bill, and the Pohnpei State Governor called Pohnpei's traditional leaders to his office to talk about it.

Many people thought that the Attorney General, the highest-ranking lawyer in the FSM, would challenge the bill. Many people also thought that the bill went against the constitution, and that the FSM Supreme Court would challenge it if it became law. And as other countries started to hear what was going on the FSM Congress, their leaders also called the FSM to say that they were angry. Leaders in the national government were starting to get embarrassed.

Although many congressmen still wanted the bill to pass, the pressure from the people and leaders of the FSM and from the leaders of other countries was just too strong. The bill couldn't be passed. The power of the people over the congress had won the day.

Just as the Micronesian people held power over their leaders in the past, they hold that same power today. Whether the people choose to use that power is their choice. The FSM Amnesty Bill is an example of the power of the people. That power is not used very often, but that doesn't mean that it isn't there. The people can come together and bring their voice to the FSM Government anytime, and if they are strong and united enough, the government will have to listen to them.



Check Your Reading: How did FSM state congresses show the FSM Congress that they didn't like the FSM Amnesty Bill?

Participation in Politics

"It's Election Day tomorrow!" the principal said to the gathered students and teachers. "Everyone be sure to go out and vote!"

Marvin had just turned eighteen a few months before. Today would be his first chance to vote. But he wasn't interested. As the principal

continued his speech, he leaned over to his friend Orlando and whispered in his ear. “Can you believe this?” he said, “Why should I waste my time voting? Those politicians are just going to do what they want anyway. It’s doesn’t matter who I vote for. Nothing will change.”

Orlando wasn’t so sure. “Listen,” he whispered back, “I don’t like everything the politicians do, but I’m going to vote tomorrow. The reason our politicians sometimes do bad things is that they know no one is watching them. If we don’t vote, and if we don’t get angry when they do something wrong, it’ll make things worse, not better. We have to show them we’re paying attention!”

In traditional Micronesian societies, it was important that some kinds of information be protected, not shared. What if something embarrassing happened to you? You wouldn’t want the whole island to be talking about it the next day. So you and your family might try to keep it a secret. It was important for anyone to keep **embarrassing information** out of the public eye, but it was especially important for a chief working to keep the respect of his people.

There was also another kind of information that Micronesians sometimes protected in the past. That was the **special knowledge** that would give a person power no one else had. You have already read about the assistant teachers in Japanese times who became powerful in their villages because of their knowledge of the Japanese language and their understanding of the Japanese Government. You have read about the young municipal magistrates whose knowledge of the Trust Territory Government gave them a new kind of authority with their people. You have read about the young politicians who were elected to the Congress of Micronesia after their college educations in the United States gave them a special kind of knowledge that few others from their islands had.

Today, these two kinds of information, embarrassing information and special knowledge, are still protected by many Micronesians. But when politicians in state and national governments protect embarrassing information about themselves, it can keep the people from making a good choice at the voting booth. And when politicians refuse to share information about the projects they’re working on and the laws they’re working to pass, the people can be left out of the important decisions of their own government.

Politicians are elected to work hard for their people, to listen to their people’s concerns, and to do what is best for everyone. But when politicians don’t tell anyone what they’re doing, how can the people tell them what to do?

One Man, One Vote?

The whole family was gathered for a feast. Everyone was sitting together, eating. But all was not well. There was an election for governor coming up, and the whole family seemed to be fighting about who to vote for.

Some thought that one candidate was best because he was promising to fix the school system. Some thought that another was best because he had the most education. Some thought a third candidate was best because he had been good to their family in the past. Some thought a fourth candidate was best because he seemed to be the only one telling the truth when he spoke.

The family's grandmother usually stayed quiet when everyone argued over who to vote for. But today she spoke. "Listen," she said, "Why do we have to fight with each other over who to vote for? Why can't it be like it was in the old days?"

"When I was younger," she continued, "we didn't fight with one another when election time came. Our family was one. My uncle was the leader of the family, and he decided which candidate we should be most loyal to. If we were only loyal to one candidate and not to any of the others, fine. We all voted for that one. If we were loyal to two candidates, fine. Half of us voted for one man, and half voted for the other. It was simple then."

"But grandmother," one of them said, "isn't it best to vote for who you believe will do the best job?"

"Maybe," she replied. "But isn't it also good to respect your leaders and to respect those who have helped your family?"

As Orlando suggested to Marvin, voting is one of the ways that people can show their politicians that they are paying attention to what they do. But there are other ways to show politicians that you want to be involved in their decisions too. You can call politicians or write them letters to ask them what they're doing. You can write opinion stories for school newsletters. You can join the student government in your school to learn about how governments work. You can even get your family and friends together to hold a protest and teach people about an issue you think is important.

But the key to participating in politics is getting information from politicians. Many people learn what is going on in their government by listening to the radio. Take a few minutes to listen to the local news on your radio station. It's an easy way to find out what's going on in your government. There are only a few newspapers in the FSM, but the editors and writers that work for those papers are doing their best to spread the word about what is going on in Palikir, Colonia, Weno, Kolonia, and Tofol. You can find information on the FSM Government on the internet also. Read the newspapers, listen to the radio, read articles on the internet, and talk to people who know what's going on to find out what you can do to help. Learning about your government is the first step to making it better.



Check Your Reading:

What are some of the ways people can get information about their government?

CONCLUSION TO UNIT FOUR

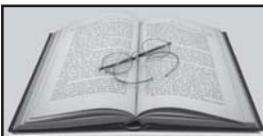
In this chapter, you have read about how the FSM Government was shaped, and why. You have read about some of the important issues that will continue to shape the FSM Government in the future. And you have read about some of the ways that you can get involved in your government to help your country to grow in the right direction.

In this textbook, you have read about some of the leadership traditions of Micronesia. You have read about the ways in which those leadership traditions strengthened islanders during Micronesia's many foreign occupations. And you have read about the ways in which those traditions continue to shape Micronesian life and government today.

There is much that is different in the cultures and leadership systems across Micronesia. But there is also much that is the same. Islanders have always had contact with other islanders, and many Micronesian legends tell us how connected Micronesians are with one another. One legend says that the octopus that helped create Pohnpei came from Yap. Another says that Chuuk's first people came from Kosrae.

Each Micronesian island culture is unique and special, a little bit different from all the other islands around it. But the islands will always be connected to one another in important ways. Islanders are like a family that is spread out over thousands of miles of open ocean. Members of a family do not always get along with one another. But they work together, they help each other, and they count on one another. The FSM is a young country, but its people have a great opportunity to help one another and to make the nation strong.

The generation of Micronesian leaders that brought the FSM to independence understood how important it was that islanders look past their differences and see their similarities. They understood that when the people of many islands work together, they will be stronger than any one island working on its own. But Micronesia's founding fathers have passed the leadership of the FSM on to the next generation. It is up to the leaders of today and tomorrow to remember their vision. Will you remember what they fought for? Will you work to make Micronesia great? The future of the FSM is in your hands



Check Your Reading: What did the founding fathers of the FSM believe Micronesians needed to do to have a strong nation?



Vocabulary For Review

- **At-large congressman:** *a congressmen who is elected for a term of four years*
- **Bill:** *a document that is being considered by a legislature or had been passed but has not yet been signed into law by the president*
- **Bureaucracy:** *government offices and the people that work for them, who are not elected by the people but are hired just like any other employee*
- **Checks and balances:** *ways in which each of the three branches of the FSM Government holds power over the other two, so that no one branch of government can take too much power for itself*
- **Constitutional amendment:** *a change to the FSM Constitution that must be approved by 75% of the voters in three out of the FSM's four states*
- **Decentralized government:** *a government in which there is less power at the national level and more power at the state level*
- **Federal system:** *a system of government in which a country is divided into states that have some power to govern themselves. Those states are placed under a national government, which has some power over the states.*
- **FSM Amnesty Bill:** *a law that was introduced into the FSM Congress but never passed that would have allowed people who steal money from the government to go unpunished*
- **Law of the Sea:** *a law passed with the help of Andon Amaraich and other founding fathers of the FSM that gave the FSM Government the right to be paid license fees for fish caught in Micronesian waters.*
- **Overriding a veto:** *passing a bill into law without the support of the president, but with the support of three out of the four states of the FSM*
- **Rotating presidency:** *when the congress is careful to choose each new president from a different state than the president that came before so that both big states and small states can send their leaders to the presidency*
- **Veto:** *when the president refuses to sign a bill that has been passed by congress into law*



Key Ideas for Review

Here is one important thing to remember from each of the sections you just read:

- **The Three Levels of the FSM Government:** The government of the FSM is a federal system that is divided into national, state, and municipal levels.
—
- **State and National Power: Learning from the Trust Territory's Mistakes:** Because Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan sometimes ignored the wishes of smaller districts, the founding fathers of the FSM decided to make the FSM Government more decentralized.
—
- **National and State Government Today:** Although the relationship between the FSM's national and state government is defined in the FSM Constitution, that relationship is still being worked out as new questions and problems test the power of both state and national governments.
- **Three Branches of Government: Checks and Balances:** Each of the three branches of the state and national governments of the FSM has some power over the other two branches so that power stays balanced at both the state and national levels.
—
- **How Do Government Leaders Become Leaders?:** Congressmen and governors are elected, the president and vice president are chosen by congress, and members of the Supreme Court are chosen by the president with the approval of congress.
—
- **Big States, Small States: The Presidency:** In order to make sure that small states would be able to send their leaders to the presidency, the FSM's founding fathers decided that the president should be chosen by the FSM

Congress and that the position should rotate between the states.

- **Big States, Small States: The Congress:** In order to make sure that small states would have a voice in the FSM Congress, the FSM's founding fathers decided that there should be two different kinds of congressmen: one four-year congressmen from each state and two-year congressmen, whose numbers would be based on state populations.

- **Problems With Checks and Balances:** Because the president must be a member of the FSM Congress and is chosen by congress, some people believe that the congress has too much power over the president.

- **Traditional Leaders and the Government:** Of all the states in the FSM, only Yap has given traditional leaders an official place in its state government, although traditional leaders can play important unofficial roles in government in other states.

- **The Courts: a Case Study in Traditional Justice:** There are two justice systems in the FSM today: traditional laws and laws passed by elected governments.

- **The Bureaucracy: When Politics is Personal:** FSM bureaucracies have several problems to deal with, such as how to give equal service to everyone, how to keep government employees from giving special favors for money, how to share information that should be shared, and how to keep information secret that should be kept secret.

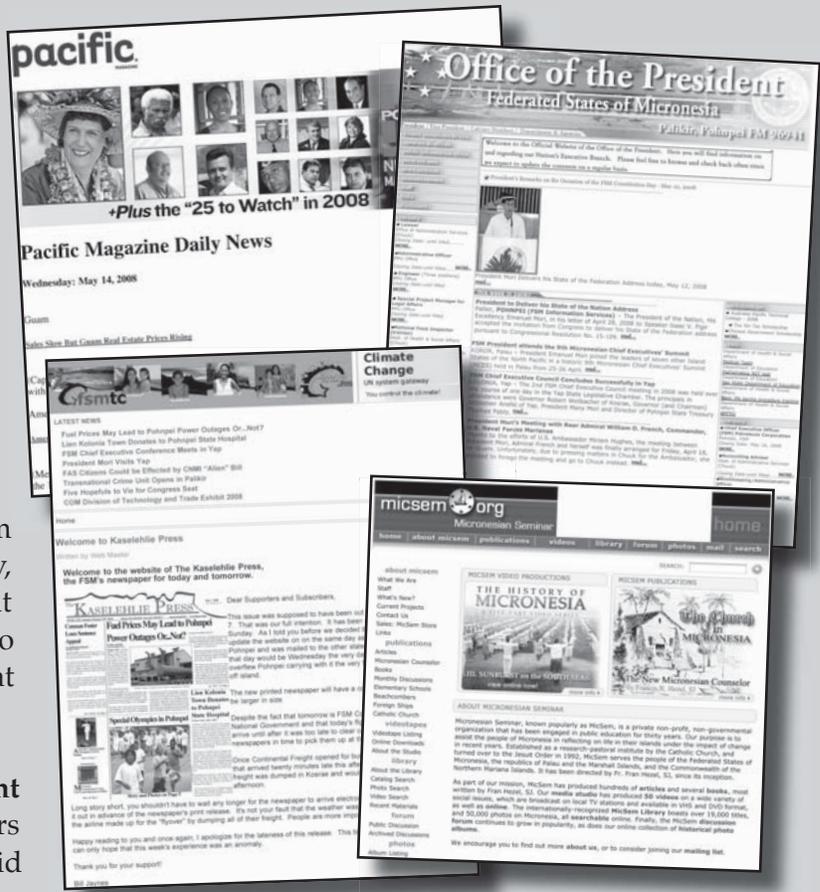
- **Who Does the Government Belong To?:** Many islanders during Trust Territory times did

not think of the government in Saipan as their government, but although Micronesia is independent today, many still of the FSM Government as belonging to someone else, not to them.

- **Case Study: The FSM Amnesty Bill:** The FSM Amnesty Bill, a bill that would have allowed congressmen to steal money from the government, was not passed because the people forced congress to listen to them.

- **Participation in Politics:** Voting and staying informed about what is going on in government are two of the most important ways for citizens to be involved in their government.

Below: Some of the web sites where information on the FSM Government can be found. Information about the FSM Government today can be found on the radio, in newspapers, and on the internet. Staying informed about what's going on in your government is one of the first steps toward being a good citizen.





Chapter Review

Do not copy from the reading when you answer these questions!

Summarizing

Write a short summary of each section in the chapter. Be sure to use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

Understanding Themes

- Why did delegates to Micronesia’s first constitutional convention decide to create a decentralized government in the FSM?
- What is one important difference in the way the president of the FSM is chosen and the way the FSM’s state governors are chosen?
- What are some of the advantages to having a place for traditional leaders in elected government? What are some of the disadvantages?
- **Write an opinion article** pointing out one problem with the bureaucracy in your state, three reasons why the problem you chose is important, and your suggestions for how to fix the problem.
- In the case study on traditional justice in this chapter, a chief asks a judge whether or not traditional laws are stronger than laws passed by elected governments. Imagine that you are that judge. **Write a journal entry** about your feelings as to whether it is more important for you to protect the laws passed by the government or to show your respect for your chief by allowing him to break those laws.

Critical Thinking

- Compare and contrast the jobs of two-year congressman and four-year congressman in the FSM Congress.
- Do you believe that it is best for the president to have more power than congress, for congress to have more power than the president, or for the powers of the president and the powers of the congress to be almost equal?
- What effect does it have on the FSM as a whole when people destroy government property or waste government money?

Writing

- In the box entitled “One Man One Vote” at the end of this chapter, a grandmother is talking

to her family about the differences in the way Micronesians once voted and the way Micronesians vote today. **Write a skit** that continues the conversation, giving reasons why it is a good idea to vote for the candidate you think is best and reasons why it is a good idea to vote for the candidate your family or chief is loyal to.

Below: FSM leaders Asterio Takesy, Resio S. Moses, and Redley Killion at the United Nations, 1996.



Unit Four Review

Below are three projects. On your own or with a group, use one or more of these projects to show that you understand the things you have read in this unit.

Making Good Choices

You are one of your state's most well-respected leaders. You believe that there are several problems with the way the FSM Government works, and you want to introduce a constitutional amendment to the FSM Constitution at next year's constitutional convention. You know how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment, so you know how important it is to concentrate on only one issue and work hard to get your people's support. You must choose only one thing to change in the FSM Government.

First, **use your textbook to find information** about some of the important issues in the state and national governments of the FSM today. This information can help you to make a good decision.

Next, use the information you found to **list the possible choices you could make**. Should you try to have the president be elected directly by the people? Should you try to limit the power of the FSM Congress? Should you try to make the place of traditional laws in the FSM more clear? Or would another change to the FSM Constitution be more helpful? You must decide which of these choices will be best for the Micronesian people, and which of these choices will have the support of the people.

Now, **think of the result of each of your possible choices**. If the president is directly elected by the people, will small states ever be able to send their leaders to the presidency? If the powers of the FSM Congress are limited, will the president then have too much power? If laws passed by elected governments are stronger than traditional laws, will an important part of Micronesian culture be lost?

Finally, decide what to do. Present your choice to the class and explain why you believe yours was the best decision. Give evidence to support why your decision was the best decision to make and why you believe the other choices were not as good. You can make a map, a poster, or a chart to support your position.

Reporting on Events

Stop everything! You are in charge of a local radio station's news show and you've just found proof that a high-ranking government leader has been selling FSM passports to foreigners and then keeping the money. **Write a script** for your radio program on the developing trouble. Your program could include interviews, information on past problems in the FSM Government like the FSM Amnesty Bill, and your own opinion on how this problem might affect the FSM's reputation in the rest of the world.

Keep Reading!

If you're interested in Micronesian independence, here are some other books you might enjoy:

Crocombe, Ron. *The South Pacific*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 2001.

Haglelgam, John "A Close Look at the Proposed Amendments to the FSM Constitution." *Micronesian Counselor*. Issue 41 (March 30, 2002).

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. "The 'Chuuk Problem': At the Foot of the Political Pyramid." *Micronesian Counselor*. Issue 50 (March 31, 2004).

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. "FSM Amnesty Bill." *Micronesian Counselor*. Issue 49 (January 29, 2004).

Hezel, Francis X., S.J. *The New Shape of Old Island Cultures: A Half Century of Social Change in Micronesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

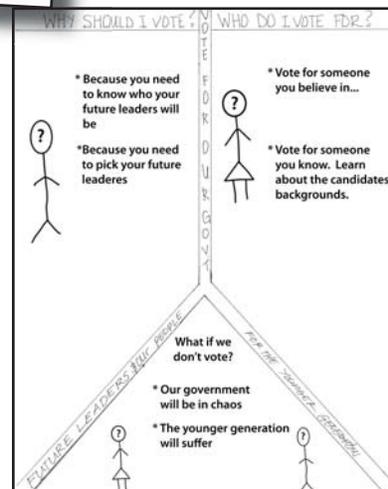
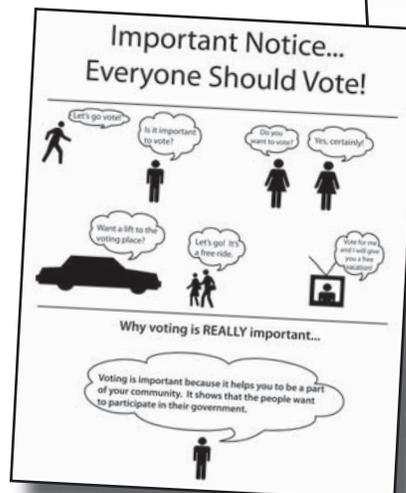
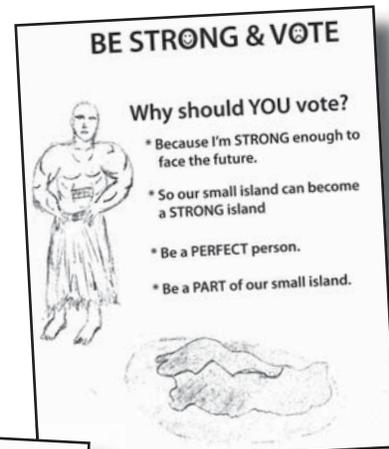
Hill, Edward R. "Transparency International Country Study Report: Federated States of Micronesia." Blackburn, Australia: Transparency International Australia, 2004.

Powles, Michael ed. *Pacific Futures*. Canberra, Australia: Pandanus Press, 2006.

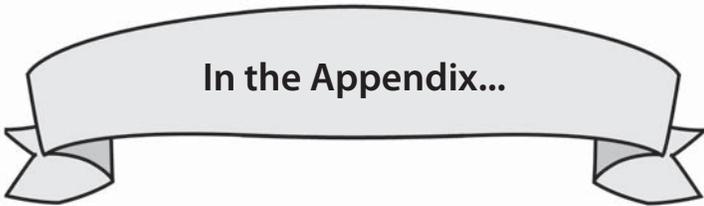
United States Department of the Interior. *Official Web Site of the United States Compact of Free Association with the FSM and RMI*. <http://www.uscompact.org/>

Getting the Word Out

Election day is coming up, and it's time to get out the vote! **Make a poster** encouraging others to vote, for any candidate, and hang it inside your classroom or somewhere else around the school. Your poster should be eye-catching and it should have at least three reasons why voting is important. Below are some examples posters made by students at PICS High School to encourage people to vote.



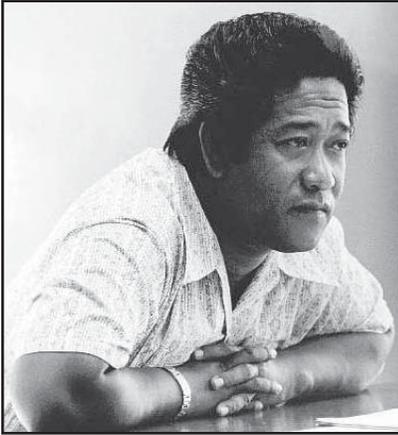
APPENDIX



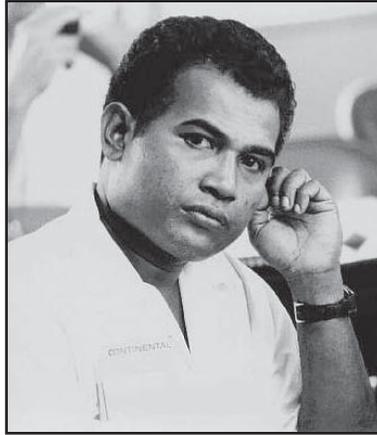
In the Appendix...

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Presidents and Vice Presidents of the FSM



Tosiwo Nakayama
President 1979-1987



Petrus Tun
Vice President 1979-1983



Bailey Olter
Vice President 1983-1987
President 1991-1996



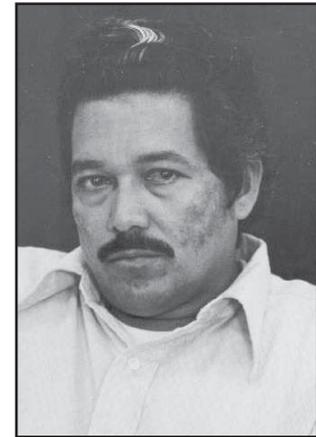
John Haglelgam
President 1987-1991



Hirosi Ismael
Vice President 1987-1991



Jacob Nena
Vice President 1991-1996
President 1997-1999



Leo Falcam
Vice President 1997-1999
President 1999-2003



Redley Killion
Vice President 1999-2007



Joseph Urusemal
President 2003-2007



Immanuel Mori
President 2007-



Alik Alik
Vice President 2007-

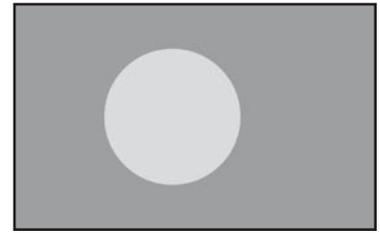
National Flags of Micronesia: Past and Present



**Federated States of
Micronesia**



**Republic of the
Marshall Islands**



Republic of Palau



**Commonwealth of the
Northern Mariana Islands**

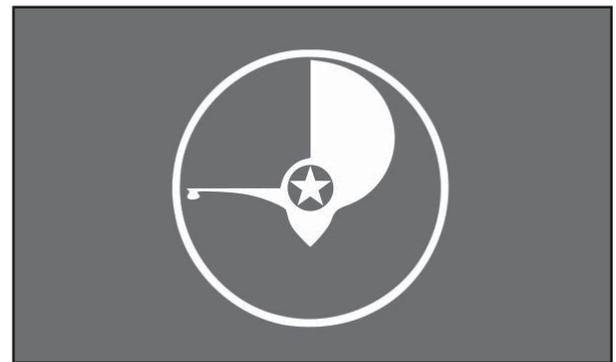


**Trust Territory of the
Pacific Islands**

State Flags of the FSM



Chuuk State



Yap State



Kosrae State



Pohnpei State

The FSM National Anthem

MICRONESIAN ANTHEM

'Tis here we are pledg - ing with heart and with hand.

Full measure of de - vo - tion to thee our na - tive land.

Full measure of de - vo - tion to thee our na - tive land.

The national anthem of the FSM was written by Cy Pickerill. Pickerill was one of the first principals of Pacific Islands Central School (PICS) when the school was located in Chuuk. Cy Pickerill was known all over Micronesia as a tough, hard-working woman who did everything she could to make PICS High School the best school it could be. She traveled all over Micronesia's outer islands to find the Trust Territory's most talented students, never without her trademark inflatable bathtub.

The song is entitled *Patriots of Micronesia*, but it is also known as *Across All Micronesia*. The music is based on a German song, entitled *Ich Hab Mich Ergeben*, which was the national anthem of West Germany for a short time after World War II. *Patriots of Micronesia* became the national song of the FSM in 1991.

Patriots of Micronesia

Verse 1:

'Tis here we are pledging,
with heart and with hand,
Full measure of devotion
to thee, our native land,
Full measure of devotion
to thee, our native land.

Chorus:

Now all join the chorus,
let union abide.

Across all Micronesia
join hands on every side,
Across all Micronesia
join hands on every side.

Verse 2:

We all work together,
with hearts, voice and hand,
Till we have made these islands
another promised land,
Till we have made these islands
another promised land.

The Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA, exercising our inherent sovereignty, do hereby establish this Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia. With this Constitution, we affirm our common wish to live together in peace and harmony, to preserve the heritage of the past, and to protect the promise of the future. To make one nation of many islands, we respect the diversity of our cultures. Our differences enrich us. The seas bring us together, they do not separate us. Our islands sustain us, our island nation enlarges us and makes us stronger. Our ancestors, who made their homes on these islands, displaced no other people. We, who remain, wish no other home than this. Having known war, we hope for peace. Having been divided, we wish unity. Having been ruled, we seek freedom. Micronesia began in the days when man explored seas in rafts and canoes. The Micronesian nation is born in an age when men voyage among stars; our world itself is an island. We extend to all nations what we seek from each: peace, friendship, cooperation, and love in our common humanity. With this Constitution we, who have been the wards of other nations, become the proud guardian of our own islands, now and forever.

ARTICLE I: Territory of Micronesia

Section 1. The territory of the Federated States of Micronesia is comprised of the Districts of the Micronesian archipelago that ratify this Constitution. Unless limited by international treaty obligations assumed by the Federated States of Micronesia, or by its own act, the waters connecting the islands of the archipelago are internal waters regardless of dimensions, and jurisdiction extends to a marine space of 200 miles measured outward from appropriate baselines, the seabed, subsoil, water column, insular or continental shelves, airspace over land and water, and any other territory or waters belonging to Micronesia by historic right, custom, or legal title.

Section 2. Each state is comprised of the islands of each District as defined by laws in effect immediately prior to the effective date of this Constitution. A marine boundary between adjacent states is determined by law, applying the principle of equidistance. State boundaries may be changed by Congress with the consent of the state legislatures involved.

Section 3. Territory may be added to the Federated States of Micronesia upon approval of Congress, and by vote of the inhabitants of the area, if any, and by vote of the people of the Federated States of Micronesia. If the territory is to become part of an existing state, approval of the state legislature is required.

Section 4. New states may be formed and admitted by law, subject to the same rights, duties, and obligations as provided for in this Constitution.

ARTICLE II: Supremacy

Section 1. This Constitution is the expression of the sovereignty of the people and is the supreme law of the Federated States of Micronesia. An act of the Government in conflict with this Constitution is invalid to the extent of conflict.

ARTICLE III: Citizenship

Section 1. A person who is a citizen of the Trust Territory immediately prior to the effective date of this Constitution and a domiciliary of a District ratifying this Constitution is a citizen and national of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Section 2. A person born of parents one or both of whom are citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia is a citizen and national of the Federated States by birth.

Section 3. A citizen of the Federated States of Micronesia who is recognized as a citizen of another nation shall, within 3 years of his 18th birthday, or within 3 years of the effective date of this Constitution, whichever is later, register his intent to remain a citizen of the Federated States and renounce his citizenship of another nation. If he fails to comply with this Section, he becomes a national of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Section 4. A citizen of the Trust Territory who becomes a national of the United States of America under the terms of the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands may become a citizen and national of the Federated States of Micronesia by applying to a court of competent jurisdiction in the Federated States within 6 months of the date he became a United States national.

Section 5. A domiciliary of a District not ratifying this Constitution who was a citizen of the Trust Territory immediately prior to the effective date of this Constitution, may become a citizen and national of the Federated States of Micronesia by applying to a court of competent jurisdiction in the Federated States within 6 months after the effective date of this Constitution or within 6 months after his 18th birthday, whichever is later.

Section 6. This Article may be applied retroactively.

ARTICLE IV: Declaration of Rights

Section 1. No law may deny or impair freedom of expression, peaceable assembly, association, or petition.

Section 2. No law may be passed respecting an establishment of religion or impairing the free exercise of religion, except that assistance may be provided to parochial schools for non-religious purposes.

Section 3. A person may not be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or be denied the equal protection of the laws.

Section 4. Equal protection of the laws may not be denied or impaired on account of sex, race, ancestry, national origin, language, or social status.

Section 5. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and other possessions against unreasonable search, seizure, or invasion of privacy may not be violated. A warrant may not issue except on probable cause, supported by affidavit particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

Section 6. The defendant in a criminal case has a right to a speedy public trial, to be informed of the nature of the accusation, to have counsel for his defense, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, and to compel attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

Section 7. A person may not be compelled to give evidence that may be used against him in a criminal case, or be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

Section 8. Excessive bail may not be required, excessive fines imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. The writ of habeas corpus may not be suspended unless required for public safety in cases of rebellion or invasion.

Section 9. Capital punishment is prohibited.

Section 10. Slavery and involuntary servitude are prohibited except to punish crime.

Section 11. A bill of attainder or ex post facto law may not be passed.

Section 12. A citizen of the Federated States of Micronesia may travel and migrate within the Federated States.

Section 13. Imprisonment for debt is prohibited.

ARTICLE V: Traditional Rights

Section 1. Nothing in this Constitution takes away a role or function of a traditional leader as recognized by custom and tradition, or prevents a traditional leader from being recognized, honored, and given formal or functional roles at any level of government as may be prescribed by this Constitution or by statute.

Section 2. The traditions of the people of the Federated States of Micronesia may be protected by statute. If challenged as violative of Article IV, protection of Micronesian tradition shall be considered a compelling social purpose warranting such governmental action.

Section 3. The Congress may establish, when needed, a Chamber of Chiefs consisting of traditional leaders from each state having such leaders, and of elected representatives from states having no traditional leaders. The constitution of a state having traditional leaders may provide for an active, functional role for them.

ARTICLE VI: Suffrage

Section 1. A citizen 18 years of age may vote in national elections. The Congress shall prescribe a minimum period of local residence and provide for voter registration, disqualification for conviction of crime, and disqualification for mental incompetence or insanity. Voting shall be secret.

ARTICLE VII: Levels of Government

Section 1. The three levels of government in the Federated States of Micronesia are national, state, and local. A state is not required to establish a new local government where none exists on the effective date of this Constitution.

Section 2. A state shall have a democratic constitution.

ARTICLE VIII: Powers of Government

Section 1. A power expressly delegated to the national government, or a power of such an indisputably national character as to be beyond the power of a state to control, is a national power.

Section 2. A power not expressly delegated to the national government or prohibited to the states is a state power.

Section 3. State and local governments are prohibited from imposing taxes which restrict interstate commerce.

ARTICLE IX: Legislative

Section 1. The legislative power of the national government is vested in the Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Section 2. The following powers are expressly delegated to Congress:

- Section 1. to provide for the national defense;
- Section 2. to ratify treaties;
- Section 3. to regulate immigration, emigration, naturalization, and citizenship;
- Section 4. to impose taxes, duties, and tariffs based on imports;
- Section 5. to impose taxes on income;
- Section 6. to issue and regulate currency;
- Section 7. to regulate banking, foreign and interstate commerce, insurance, the issuance and use of commercial paper and securities, bankruptcy and insolvency, and patents and copyrights;
- Section 8. to regulate navigation and shipping except within lagoons, lakes, and rivers;
- Section 9. to establish usury limits on major loans;
- Section 10. to provide for a national postal system;
- Section 11. to acquire and govern new territory;
- Section 12. to govern the area set aside as the national capital;
- Section 13. to regulate the ownership, exploration, and exploitation of natural resources within the marine space of the Federated States of Micronesia beyond 12 miles from island baselines;

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- Section 14. to establish and regulate a national public service system;
- Section 15. to impeach and remove the President, Vice-President, and justices of the Supreme Court;
- Section 16. to define national crimes and prescribe penalties, having due regard for local custom and tradition;
- Section 17. to override a Presidential veto by not less than a 3/4 vote of all the state delegations, each delegation casting one vote; and
- Section 18. to promote education and health by setting minimum standards, coordinating state activities relating to foreign assistance, providing training and assistance to the states and providing support for post-secondary educational programs and projects.
- Section 3. The following powers may be exercised concurrently by Congress and the states:
- Section 19. to appropriate public funds;
- Section 20. to borrow money on the public credit; and
- Section 21. to establish systems of social security and public welfare.
- Section 4. A treaty is ratified by vote of 2/3 of the members of Congress, except that a treaty delegating major powers of government of the Federated States of Micronesia to another government shall also require majority approval by the legislatures of 2/3 of the states.
- Section 5. National taxes shall be imposed uniformly. Not less than 50% of the revenues shall be paid into the treasury of the state where collected.
- Section 6. Net revenue derived from ocean floor mineral resources exploited under Section 2(m) shall be divided equally between the national government and the appropriate state government.
- Section 7. The President, Vice-President, or a justice of the Supreme Court may be removed from office for treason, bribery, or conduct involving corruption in office by a 2/3 vote of the members of Congress. When the President or Vice-President is removed, the Supreme Court shall review the decision. When a justice of the Supreme Court is removed, the decision shall be reviewed by a special tribunal composed of one state court judge from each state appointed by the state chief executive. The special tribunal shall meet at the call of the President.
- Section 8. The Congress consists of one member elected at large from each state on the basis of state equality, and additional members elected from congressional districts in each state apportioned by population. Members elected on the basis of state equality serve for a 4-year term, and all other members for 2 years. Each member has one vote, except on the final reading of bills. Congressional elections are held biennially as provided by statute.
- Section 9. A person is ineligible to be a member of Congress unless he is at least 30 years of age on the day of election and has been a citizen of the Federated States of Micronesia for at least 15 years, and a resident of the state

from which he is elected for at least 5 years. A person convicted of a felony by a state or national government court is ineligible to be a member of Congress. The Congress may modify this provision or prescribe additional qualifications; knowledge of the English language may not be a qualification.

Section 10. At least every 10 years Congress shall reapportion itself. A state is entitled to at least one member of Congress on the basis of population in addition to the member elected at large. A state shall apportion itself by law into single member congressional districts. Each district shall be approximately equal in population after giving due regard to language, cultural, and geographic differences.

Section 11. A state may provide that one of its seats is set aside for a traditional leader who shall be chosen as provided by statute for a two-year term, in lieu of one representative elected on the basis of population. The number of congressional districts shall be reduced and reapportioned accordingly.

Section 12. A vacancy in Congress is filled for the unexpired term. In the absence of provision by law, an unexpired term is filled by special election, except that an unexpired term of less than one year is filled by appointment by the state chief executive.

Section 13. A member of Congress may not hold another public office or employment. During the term for which he is elected and three years thereafter, a member may not be elected or appointed to a public office or employment created by national statute during his term. A member may not engage in any activity which conflicts with the proper discharge of his duties. The Congress may prescribe further restrictions.

Section 14. The Congress may prescribe an annual salary and allowances for members. An increase of salary may not apply to the Congress enacting it.

Section 15. A member of Congress is privileged from arrest during his attendance at Congress and while going to and from sessions, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. A member answers only to Congress for his statements in Congress.

Section 16. The Congress shall meet in regular, public session as prescribed by statute. A special session may be convened at the call of the President of the Federated States of Micronesia, or by the presiding officer on the written request of 2/3 of the members.

Section 17.

Section 22. The Congress shall be the sole judge of the elections and qualifications of its members, may discipline a member, and, by 2/3 vote, may suspend or expel a member.

Section 23. The Congress may determine its own rules of procedure and choose a presiding officer from among its members.

Section 24. The Congress may compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documents or other matters before Congress or any of its committees.

Section 18. A majority of the members is a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members.

Section 19. The Congress shall keep and publish a journal of its proceedings. A roll call vote entered on the journal shall be taken at the request of 1/5 of the members present. Legislative proceedings shall be conducted

in the English language. A member may use his own language if not fluent in English, and Congress shall provide translation.

Section 20. To become law, a bill must pass 2 readings on separate days. To pass first reading a 2/3 vote of all members is required. On final reading each state delegation shall cast one vote and a 2/3 vote of all the delegations is required. All votes shall be entered on the journal.

Section 21.

Section 25. The Congress may make no law except by statute and may enact no statute except by bill. The enacting clause of a bill is "BE IT ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA:" A bill may embrace but one subject expressed in its title. A provision outside the subject expressed in the title is void.

Section 26. A law may not be amended or revised by reference to its title only. The law as revised or section as amended shall be published and re-enacted at full length.

Section 22. A bill passed by Congress shall be presented to the President for approval. If he disapproves of the bill, he shall return it with his objections to Congress within 10 days. If Congress has 10 or less days remaining in its session, or has adjourned, he shall return the bill within 30 days after presentation. If the President does not return a bill within the appropriate period, it becomes law as if approved.

ARTICLE X: Executive

Section 1. The executive power of the national government is vested in the President of the Federated States of Micronesia. He is elected by Congress for a term of four years by a majority vote of all the members. He may not serve for more than 2 consecutive terms.

Section 2. The following powers are expressly delegated to the President:

Section 27. to faithfully execute and implement the provisions of this Constitution and all national laws;

Section 28. to receive all ambassadors and to conduct foreign affairs and the national defense in accordance with national law;

Section 29. to grant pardons and reprieves, except that the chief executive of each state shall have this power concurrently with respect to persons convicted under state law; and

Section 30. with the advice and consent of Congress, to appoint ambassadors; all judges of the Supreme Court and other courts prescribed by statute; the principal officers of executive departments in the national government; and such other officers as may be provided for by statute. Ambassadors and principal officers serve at the pleasure of the President.

Section 3. The President:

Section 31. is head of state of the Federated States of Micronesia;

Section 32. may make recommendations to Congress, and shall make an annual report to Congress on the state of the nation; and

Section 33. shall perform such duties as may be provided by statute.

Section 4. A person is ineligible to become President unless he is a member of Congress for a 4-year term, a citizen of the Federated States of Micronesia by birth, and a resident of the Federated States of Micronesia for at least 15 years.

Section 5. After the election of the President, the Vice-President is elected in the same manner as the President, has the same qualifications, and serves for the same term of office. He may not be a resident of the same state. After the election of the President and the Vice-President, vacancies in Congress shall be declared.

Section 6. If the office of the President is vacant, or the President is unable to perform his duties, the Vice-President becomes President. The Congress shall provide by statute for the succession in the event both offices are vacant, or either or both officers are unable to discharge their duties.

Section 7. The compensation of the President or Vice-President may not be increased or reduced during his term. They may hold no other office and may receive no other compensation from the Federated States of Micronesia or from a state.

Section 8. Executive departments shall be established by statute.

Section 9.

Section 34. If required to preserve public peace, health, or safety, at a time of extreme emergency caused by civil disturbance, natural disaster, or immediate threat of war, or insurrection, the President may declare a state of emergency and issue appropriate decrees.

Section 35. A civil right may be impaired only to the extent actually required for the preservation of peace, health, or safety. A declaration of emergency may not impair the power of the judiciary except that the declaration shall be free from judicial interference for 30 days after it is first issued.

Section 36. Within 30 days after the declaration of emergency, the Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia shall convene at the call of its presiding officer or the President to consider revocation, amendment, or extension of the declaration. Unless it expires by its own terms, is revoked, or extended, a declaration of emergency is effective for 30 days.

ARTICLE XI: Judicial

Section 1. The judicial power of the national government is vested in a Supreme Court and inferior courts established by statute.

Section 2. The Supreme Court is a court of record and the highest court in the nation. It consists of the Chief Justice and not more than 5 associate justices. Each justice is a member of both the trial division and the appellate division, except that sessions of the trial division may be held by one justice. No justice may sit with the appellate division in a case heard by him in the trial division. At least 3 justices shall hear and decide appeals. Decision is by a majority of those sitting.

Section 3. The Chief Justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President with the approval of 2/3 of Congress. Justices serve during good behavior.

Section 4. If the Chief Justice is unable to perform his duties he shall appoint an associate justice to act in his stead. If the office is vacant, or the Chief Justice fails to make the appointment, the President shall appoint an associate justice to act as Chief Justice until the vacancy is filled or the Chief Justice resumes his duties.

Section 5. The qualifications and compensation of justices and other judges may be prescribed by statute. Compensation of judges may not be diminished during their terms of office unless all salaries prescribed by statute are reduced by a uniform percentage.

Section 6.

Section 37. The trial division of the Supreme Court has original and exclusive jurisdiction in cases affecting officials of foreign governments, disputes between states, admiralty or maritime cases, and in cases in which the national government is a party except where an interest in land is at issue.

Section 38. The national courts, including the trial division of the Supreme Court, have concurrent original jurisdiction in cases arising under this Constitution; national law or treaties; and in disputes between a state and a citizen of another state, between citizens of different states, and between a state or a citizen thereof, and a foreign state, citizen, or subject.

Section 39. When jurisdiction is concurrent, the proper court may be prescribed by statute.

Section 7. The appellate division of the Supreme Court may review cases heard in the national courts, and cases heard in state or local courts if they require interpretation of this Constitution, national law, or a treaty. If a state constitution permits, the appellate division of the Supreme Court may review other cases on appeal from the highest state court in which a decision may be had.

Section 8. When a case in a state or local court involves a substantial question requiring the interpretation of the Constitution, national law, or a treaty, on application of a party or on its own motion the court shall certify the question to the appellate division of the Supreme Court. The appellate division of the Supreme Court may decide the case or remand it for further proceedings.

Section 9. The Chief Justice is the chief administrator of the national judicial system and may appoint an administrative officer who is exempt from civil service. The Chief Justice shall make and publish and may amend rules governing national courts, and by rule may:

Section 40. divide the inferior national courts and the trial division of the Supreme Court into geographical or functional divisions;

Section 41. assign judges among the divisions of a court and give special assignments to retired Supreme Court justices and judges of state and other courts;

Section 42. establish rules of procedure and evidence;

Section 43. govern the transfer of cases between state and national courts;

Section 44. govern the admission to practice and discipline of attorneys and the retirement of judges; and

Section 45. otherwise provide for the administration of the national judiciary. Judicial rules may be amended by statute.

Section 10. The Congress shall contribute to the financial support of state judicial systems and may provide other assistance.

Section 11. Court decisions shall be consistent with this Constitution, Micronesian customs and traditions, and the social and geographical configuration of Micronesia. In rendering a decision, a court shall consult and apply sources of the Federated States of Micronesia.

ARTICLE XII: Finance

Section 1.

Section 46. Public money raised or received by the national government shall be deposited in a General Fund or special funds within the National Treasury. Money may not be withdrawn from the General Fund or special funds except by law.

Section 47. Foreign financial assistance received by the national government shall be deposited in a Foreign Assistance Fund. Except where a particular distribution is required by the terms or special nature of the assistance, each state shall receive a share equal to the share of the national government and to the share of every other state.

Section 2.

Section 48. The President shall submit an annual budget to Congress at a time prescribed by statute. The budget shall contain a complete plan of proposed expenditures, anticipated revenues, and other money available to the national government for the next fiscal year, together with additional information that Congress may require. The Congress may alter the budget in any respect.

Section 49. No appropriation bills, except those recommended by the President for immediate passage, or to cover the operating expenses of Congress, may be passed on final reading until the bill appropriating money for the budget has been enacted.

Section 50. The President may item veto an appropriation in any bill passed by Congress, and the procedure in such case shall be the same as for disapproval of an entire bill by the President.

Section 3.

Section 51. The Public Auditor is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of Congress. He serves for a term of 4 years and until a successor is confirmed.

Section 52. The Public Auditor shall inspect and audit accounts in every branch, department, agency or statutory authority of the national government and in other public legal entities or nonprofit organizations receiving public funds from the national government. Additional duties may be prescribed by statute.

Section 53. The Public Auditor shall be independent of administrative control except that he shall report at least once a year to Congress. His salary may not be reduced during his term of office.

Section 54. The Congress may remove the Public Auditor from office for cause by 2/3 vote. In that event the Chief Justice shall appoint an acting Public Auditor until a successor is confirmed.

ARTICLE XIII: General Provisions

Section 1. The national government of the Federated States of Micronesia recognizes the right of the people to education, health care, and legal services and shall take every step reasonable and necessary to provide these services.

Section 2. Radioactive, toxic chemical, or other harmful substances may not be tested, stored, used, or disposed of within the jurisdiction of the Federated States of Micronesia without the express approval of the national government of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Section 3. It is the solemn obligation of the national and state governments to uphold the provisions of this Constitution and to advance the principles of unity upon which this Constitution is founded.

Section 4. A noncitizen, or a corporation not wholly owned by citizens, may not acquire title to land or waters in Micronesia.

Section 5. A lease agreement for the use of land for an indefinite term by a noncitizen, a corporation not wholly owned by citizens, or any government is prohibited.

Section 6. The national government of the Federated States of Micronesia shall seek renegotiation of any agreement for the use of land to which the Government of the United States of America is a party.

Section 7. On assuming office, all public officials shall take an oath to uphold, promote, and support the laws and the Constitution as prescribed by statute.

ARTICLE XIV: Amendments

Section 1. An amendment to this Constitution may be proposed by a constitutional convention, popular initiative, or Congress in a manner provided by law. A proposed amendment shall become a part of the Constitution when approved by 3/4 of the votes cast on that amendment in each of 3/4 of the states. If conflicting constitutional

amendments submitted to the voters at the same election are approved, the amendment receiving the highest number of affirmative votes shall prevail to the extent of such conflict.

Section 2. At least every 10 years, Congress shall submit to the voters the question: "Shall there be a convention to revise or amend the Constitution?". If a majority of ballots cast upon the question is in the affirmative, delegates to the convention shall be chosen no later than the next regular election, unless Congress provides for the selection of delegates earlier at a special election.

ARTICLE XV: Transition

Section 1. A statute of the Trust Territory continues in effect except to the extent it is inconsistent with this Constitution, or is amended or repealed. A writ, action, suit, proceeding, civil or criminal liability, prosecution, judgment, sentence, order, decree, appeal, cause of action, defense, contract, claim, demand, title, or right continues unaffected except as modified in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Section 2. A right, obligation, liability, or contract of the Government of the Trust Territory is assumed by the Federated States of Micronesia except to the extent it directly affects or benefits a government of a District not ratifying this Constitution.

Section 3. An interest in property held by the Government of the Trust Territory is transferred to the Federated States of Micronesia for retention or distribution in accordance with this Constitution.

Section 4. A local government and its agencies may continue to exist even though its charter or powers are inconsistent with this Constitution. To promote an orderly transition to the provisions of this Constitution, and until state governments are established, Congress shall provide for the resolution of inconsistencies between local government charters and powers, and this Constitution. This provision ceases to be effective 5 years after the effective date of this Constitution.

Section 5. The Congress may provide for a smooth and orderly transition to government under this Constitution.

Section 6. In the first congressional election, congressional districts are apportioned among the states as follows: Kusaie – 1; Marianas – 2; Marshalls – 4; Palau – 2; Ponape – 3; Truk – 5; Yap – 1. If Kusaie is not a state at the time of the first election, 4 members shall be elected on the basis of population in Ponape.

ARTICLE XVI: Effective Date

Section 1. This Constitution takes effect 1 year after ratification unless the Congress of Micronesia by joint resolution specifies an earlier date. If a provision of this Constitution is held to be in fundamental conflict with the United Nations Charter or the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States of America and the United Nations, the provision does not become effective until the date of termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

Glossary

- **Advisory Committee to the High Commissioner:** a group of island leaders who gave advice to the Trust Territory's High Commissioner during the 1950s
- **Advisory power:** the power to make suggestions to the American Government, but not the power to make laws
- **Alik, Alik L.:** seventh vice president of the FSM
- **Alliance:** a group of sections that join together to fight a war in order to help each other
- **Amaraich, Andon:** Chief Justice of the FSM Supreme Court, member of the Congress of Micronesia
- **Atip:** a powerful section chief in Fefan, Chuuk during German times, Atip was both helpful to Protestant missionaries and protective of his people's traditional culture
- **At-large congressman:** a congressmen who is elected for a term of four years
- **Bicameral congress:** a congress with two houses, or groups of leaders
- **Bill:** a document that is being considered by a legislature or had been passed but has not yet been signed into law by the president
- **Boeder, Carl:** the cruel German Government official whose mistreatment of Pohnpeians caused the Sokehs Rebellion
- **Bureaucracy:** government offices and the people that work for them, who are not elected by the people but are hired just like any other employee
- **Case study:** a detailed look at one individual or situation that is meant to shine light on a larger story
- **Centralized authority:** a government in which a small number of people can make decisions for a large number of people
- **Checks and balances:** ways in which each of the three branches of the FSM Government holds power over the other two, so that no one branch of government can take too much power for itself
- **Chuuk model:** a system of traditional leadership in which no leader has power over more than one section, leaders have little power, and no leader is ranked higher than any other
- **Clan:** a large group of people who are all related to the woman who founded the clan, but who are not necessarily in the same family
- **Colonialism:** when a more powerful country permanently takes over a less powerful country and uses that country to increase its own wealth and power
- **Colony:** a less powerful country that has been permanently taken over by a more powerful country
- **Commonwealth:** an area that is a full part of a larger government, similar to a state or a territory
- **Compact of free association:** a document that spells out the relationship between two self-governing countries
- **ConCon:** see constitutional convention
- **Congress of Micronesia:** a group of island leaders from all over the Trust Territory whose power over the American Government increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s
- **Consensus decision-making:** a form of decision-making in which leaders talk to their people or among themselves until everyone agrees
- **Constitution:** a document that maps out the government of an independent country and defines its most important laws
- **Constitutional amendment:** a change to the FSM Constitution that must be approved by 75% of the voters in three out of the FSM's four states
- **Constitutional convention:** a meeting of representatives from all over a country, state, or municipality to write a new constitution or to make changes in an old one
- **Copra:** dried coconut meat that was often traded by islanders to Americans and other foreigners beginning in the 1800s
- **Council of Micronesia:** a group of island leaders from all over the Trust Territory with advisory powers, an early version of the Congress of Micronesia
- **Civics:** the study of government
- **Cultural change:** changes in food, dress, music, dance, games, and language
- **Culture:** the beliefs, knowledge, customs, and behavior of a group of people
- **Decentralized government:** a government in which there is less power at the national level and more power at the state level
- **Delegate:** a representative to a constitutional convention
- **Democracy:** a system of government in which leaders listen to their people and make decisions people want

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- **Dependence:** *when one country needs another country's help to run its government*
 - **Direct rule:** *an occupying government where a foreign country tries to take control of every part of local government*
 - **District:** *an area made up of many municipalities, usually including both main islands and the outer islands nearby*
 - **District Administrator:** *an official with authority over a Trust Territory district*
 - **District congress:** *a locally-led legislative body with limited powers and with some authority over the entire district*
 - **Estate:** *a piece of land*
 - **Executive power:** *the power to put laws into action*
 - **Extended family:** *a family made up of a father and a mother and their children as well as other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, and cousins*
 - **Falcam, Leo:** *fifth president of the FSM, from 1999 to 2003, fifth vice president of the FSM, from 1997 to 1999, governor of Pohnpei State, district administrator of Pohnpei District, delegate to Micronesia's first constitutional convention*
 - **Family estate:** *the land owned by a family, often including pieces of land in other parts of the island and the right to use shared spaces like taro patches*
 - **Federal system:** *a system of government in which a country is divided into states that have some power to govern themselves. Those states are under a national government that has some power over the states.*
 - **Flag chief:** *a Chuukese section chief who represented the other chiefs in his district for the German administration*
 - **Foreign Occupation:** *a government set up by people from another country, usually in order to make money or to get political power*
 - **Free association:** *when one self-governing country has a close relationship with another self-governing country*
 - **FSM Amnesty Bill:** *a law that was introduced into the FSM Congress but never passed that would have allowed people who steal money from the government to go unpunished*
 - **Future Political Status Commission:** *the group in the Congress of Micronesia that was responsible for talking to the American Government about Micronesian independence*
 - **Geography:** *what an island's land looks like*
 - **Gilifis:** *chief of all Yapese policemen during German times, Gilifis was already powerful because he was from a chiefly family*
 - **Government:** *the way in which power and authority are organized in a society*
 - **Gulick, Louisa:** *an early Protestant missionary to Pohnpei*
 - **Gulick, Luther:** *an early Protestant missionary to Pohnpei*
 - **Hagelgam, John:** *second president of the FSM, from 1987 to 1991, member of the Congress of Micronesia*
 - **Henry, Bethwell:** *member of the Congress of Micronesia*
 - **High Commissioner:** *an American official with authority over the entire Trust Territory*
 - **Honorary title:** *a title given for a special achievement, but which does not give the titleholder a path to power*
 - **Independence Coalition:** *a group in the Congress of Micronesia that fought for independence from the U.S.*
 - **Indirect rule:** *a system of rule where a foreign country places its leaders at the top of the government but leaves the work of governing to local people*
 - **Influence:** *having the respect of other people, who listen to your opinion and do what you say*
 - **Infrastructure:** *the large public services that make government and business possible*
 - **Ismael, Hirosi:** *third vice president of the FSM, from 1987 to 1991*
 - **Isokelekel:** *first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Isokelekel started Pohnpei's system of traditional leadership by defeating the Saudeleur in battle*
 - **Issue:** *a problem that people talk about*
 - **Itang:** *a body of wisdom with a deep history in Chuukese tradition*
 - **Joint Committee on Future Status:** *see Future Political Status Commission*
 - **Judicial power:** *the power to decide who is right in an argument*
 - **Kabua, Amata:** *first president of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, from 1979 to 1996, member of the Congress of Micronesia*
 - **Kennedy, John F.:** *President of the United States from 1961 to 1963, Kennedy made big changes in American policies in Micronesia*
 - **Killion, Redley:** *sixth vice president of the FSM, from 1999 to 2007*

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- **Kousapw:** a Pohnpeian section
 - **Land tenure:** the ownership of a piece of land and the way the land is passed down from person to person
 - **Law of the Sea:** a law passed with the help of Andon Amaraich and other founding fathers of the FSM that gave the FSM Government the right to be paid license fees for fish caught in Micronesian waters.
 - **League of Nations:** an organization made up of many different countries from all over the world that was active between World War I and World War II
 - **Legislative power:** the power to make laws
 - **Legislature:** a group of elected officials who gather to make decisions and laws for their people
 - **Likiaksa:** an early Kosraean minister who worked to take political power from traditional leaders and bring it to the church
 - **Liliuokalani:** Queen of all of Hawaii, Liliuokalani was forced out of office by an American businessman in 1893 and saw her country become a part of the United States against her will in 1898
 - **Logan, Mary:** an early Protestant missionary in Chuuk
 - **Logan, Robert:** an early Protestant missionary in Chuuk
 - **Lupalik I:** paramount chief of Kosrae from 1837 to 1854, also known as “Good King George,” Lupalik I supported the early Protestant church on his island
 - **Lupalik II:** paramount chief of Kosrae from 1858 to 1863, Lupalik II’s sudden death during an argument with church leaders made Kosraeans join the church
 - **Magistrate:** a leader with executive authority over a municipality
 - **Mailo, Petrus:** respected section chief, member of the First Congress of Micronesia, and president of the Truk Trading Company, Mailo showed leaders in the First Congress of Micronesia what a Micronesian leader could and should be
 - **Mangefel, John:** governor of Yap State and member of the Congress of Micronesia
 - **Micronesian Leadership Conferences:** meetings of island leaders from across the Trust Territory that took place during the 1950s
 - **Mori, Immanuel:** seventh president of the FSM
 - **Municipality:** a small area with the power to govern itself
 - **Mutual aid:** when people help one another in their times of need
 - **Nahnmwarki:** the highest-ranked leader in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom
 - **Nahnken:** the second-highest ranked leader in a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom
 - **Nakayama, Tosiwo:** first president of the FSM, from 1979 to 1987, president of the Congress of Micronesia, and president of Micronesia’s first constitutional convention
 - **Nanpei, Henry:** son of the Nahnken of the Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom of Kitti, Nanpei used his position in the Protestant church to become the richest man in Pohnpei during German land reforms
 - **Nena, Jacob:** fourth president of the FSM, from 1997 to 1999, fourth vice president of the FSM, from 1991 to 1996, governor of Kosrae State, member of the Congress of Micronesia
 - **Net Alliance:** a group of village nets that have an alliance with one of Yap’s three most powerful village nets, either Tomil, Rull, or Gagil.
 - **Ngenimum:** one of the most respected section chiefs in Chuuk during German times, Ngenimum was known all over Chuuk Lagoon for his bravery and skill in itang
 - **Nikowupwuupw:** the ancient woman who is sometimes called the mother of all the Chuukese people
 - **Nuclear family:** a family made up of a father and a mother and their children
 - **Olter, Bailey:** third president of the FSM, from 1991 to 1996, vice president of the FSM from 1983 to 1987, member of the Congress of Micronesia, principal of Ponape Intermediate School
 - **Overriding a veto:** passing a bill into law without the support of the president, but with the support of three out of the four states of the FSM
 - **Paramount chief:** a leader who has power over many sections
 - **Paramount chiefdom:** a group of many sections that are under the same leadership
 - **Passive resistance:** people who do not like their government and refuse to listen to government officials whenever they can, quietly and without violence
 - **Persuasion:** speaking to others and getting them to agree with you
 - **Pickerill, Cy:** author of the FSM national anthem and an early principal of PICS High School
 - **Pohnpei model:** a system of traditional leadership in which two leaders control all the land in a paramount

- chiefdom and have power both because of their control over land and because of their control over titles*
- **Policy:** *a plan that a government follows*
 - **Political cartoon:** *a cartoon with a political message*
 - **Political culture:** *the attitudes that people have toward their government and the ideas that the government is based on*
 - **Political football:** *a political issue that is talked about for a long time but never settled*
 - **Professional politician:** *a leader who takes his or her authority from a position in government, education, a position as a respected member of the community, and an understanding of the way the government works*
 - **Rank:** *a person's position in society*
 - **Reform:** *a plan for making improvements in the way a government or a society works*
 - **Remeliik, Haruo:** *first president of the Republic of Palau, from 1981 to 1985*
 - **Resistance:** *when an occupied people fight back against their occupier, sometimes with violence but usually peacefully*
 - **Resources:** *things that are useful to a society, such as land, water and natural materials like wood, stone, and plant fibers*
 - **Role:** *the way other people expect a person to behave, usually based on his or her status in society.*
 - **Rotating chieftainship:** *a system of government sometimes used on outer islands where each of the island's section chief becomes leader of the entire island for a short time and then pass leadership on to another section chief*
 - **Rotating presidency:** *when the congress is careful to choose each new president from a different state than the president that came before so that both big states and small states can send their leaders to the presidency*
 - **Sa II:** *paramount chief of Kosrae from 1890 to 1910, Sa II, also known as "Charley," worked to take political power away from the Protestant churches on his island and return it to traditional leaders*
 - **Salii, Lazarus:** *fourth president of the Republic of Palau, member of the Congress of Micronesia, delegate to Micronesia's first constitutional convention*
 - **Saudeleur:** *ancient rulers of all of Pohnpei, defeated in battle by Isokelekel and his warriors*
 - **Section:** *a small unit of government about the size of a village that is organized around a community cook-*

house and under the control of a single section chief

- **Self-governing community:** *a group of people with their own leaders who do not need any outside power to tell them what to do*
- **Senfft, Arno:** *German district administrator in Yap, Senfft successfully worked with traditional leaders to make major infrastructure improvements to the island*
- **Separation of powers:** *when legislative, executive, and judicial power are all held by different people who do not have power over one another*
- **Sigrah, John:** *last paramount chief of Kosrae, Sigrah joined the church and dissolved the position of paramount chief*
- **Snapshot approach:** *a way of understanding traditional leadership that looks at leadership as it was at just one time.*
- **Snow, Benjamin:** *an early Protestant missionary to Kosrae*
- **Snow, Lydia:** *an early Protestant missionary to Kosrae*
- **Solomon, Anthony:** *The American Government official who prepared the Solomon Report for President John F. Kennedy*
- **Solomon Report:** *a report made in the 1960s by Anthony Solomon recommending several possible plans for the Trust Territory's future, all of which kept Micronesia in American hands*
- **Soopw:** *a chuukese section*
- **Soumadau:** *the leader of Pohnpei's Sokehs Rebellion*
- **Sowuwooniras:** *an ancient name for Chuuk's first ruler*
- **Sowukachaw:** *the ancient man who is sometimes called the father of all the Chuukese people*
- **Sovereignty:** *the idea that the people living in a country have the right to decide what happens to them and their nation*
- **Sphere of influence:** *the area in which a leader has power*
- **Strategic trusteeship:** *a special arrangement in which the United States was allowed to do almost anything it wanted in Micronesia and could stay for as long as it wanted*
- **Strategy:** *a plan to help a person or a country win*
- **Sturges, Albert:** *an early Protestant missionary to Pohnpei*
- **Sturges, Susan:** *an early Protestant missionary to Pohnpei*

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- **Tageren Canal:** *a man-made river built in Yap during German times with the full cooperation of Yapese traditional leaders and their people*
 - **Theme:** *an important idea*
 - **Totem:** *a plant or animal that is important to the early history of a clan and is not killed, hurt, or eaten by clan members*
 - **Traditional leadership:** *a system of government built and controlled by local people*
 - **Treaty:** *an agreement between two independent countries*
 - **Tribute:** *payments in food or other resources that are made to a chief to show him respect*
 - **Truman, Harry S.:** *president of the United States, from 1945 to 1953, Truman was president when Micronesia became the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*
 - **Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI):** *Micronesia's name during its American occupation*
 - **Tun, Petrus:** *first vice president of the FSM, from 1979-1983, member of the Congress of Micronesia, delegate to Micronesia's first constitutional convention, and governor of Yap State.*
 - **Unicameral congress:** *a congress with one house, or group of leaders*
 - **United Nations:** *an organization made up of many different countries from all over the world that was started after World War II*
 - **United Nations trusteeship:** *an arrangement in which a country that won the Second World War governed a colony of a country that lost the war just long enough to get it ready for independence*
 - **United Nations Visiting Mission:** *a group from the United Nations that traveled to each United Nations Trust Territory every three years to report on the progress there*
 - **Urusemal, Joseph J.:** *sixth president of the FSM, from 2003 to 2007*
 - **Veto:** *when the president refuses to sign a bill that has been passed by congress into law*
 - **Village council:** *a group of family leaders that meets to make decisions for the village*
 - **Village net:** *a group of Yapese villages that work together as a political unit*
 - **Wehi:** *a Pohnpeian paramount chiefdom*
 - **Yanaihara, Tadao:** *economist and professor of colonial studies at the University of Tokyo, Yanaihara wrote a report before World War II predicting that Micronesians would forget about their traditional leaders*
 - **Yap model:** *a system of traditional leadership in which land has a voice and leaders speak for their land and in which power is shared among high-ranking and low-ranking villages, connected to one another by a complicated net of relationships*
 - **Yes-Yes council:** *a council of Micronesian traditional leaders who bring Japanese orders to their people*

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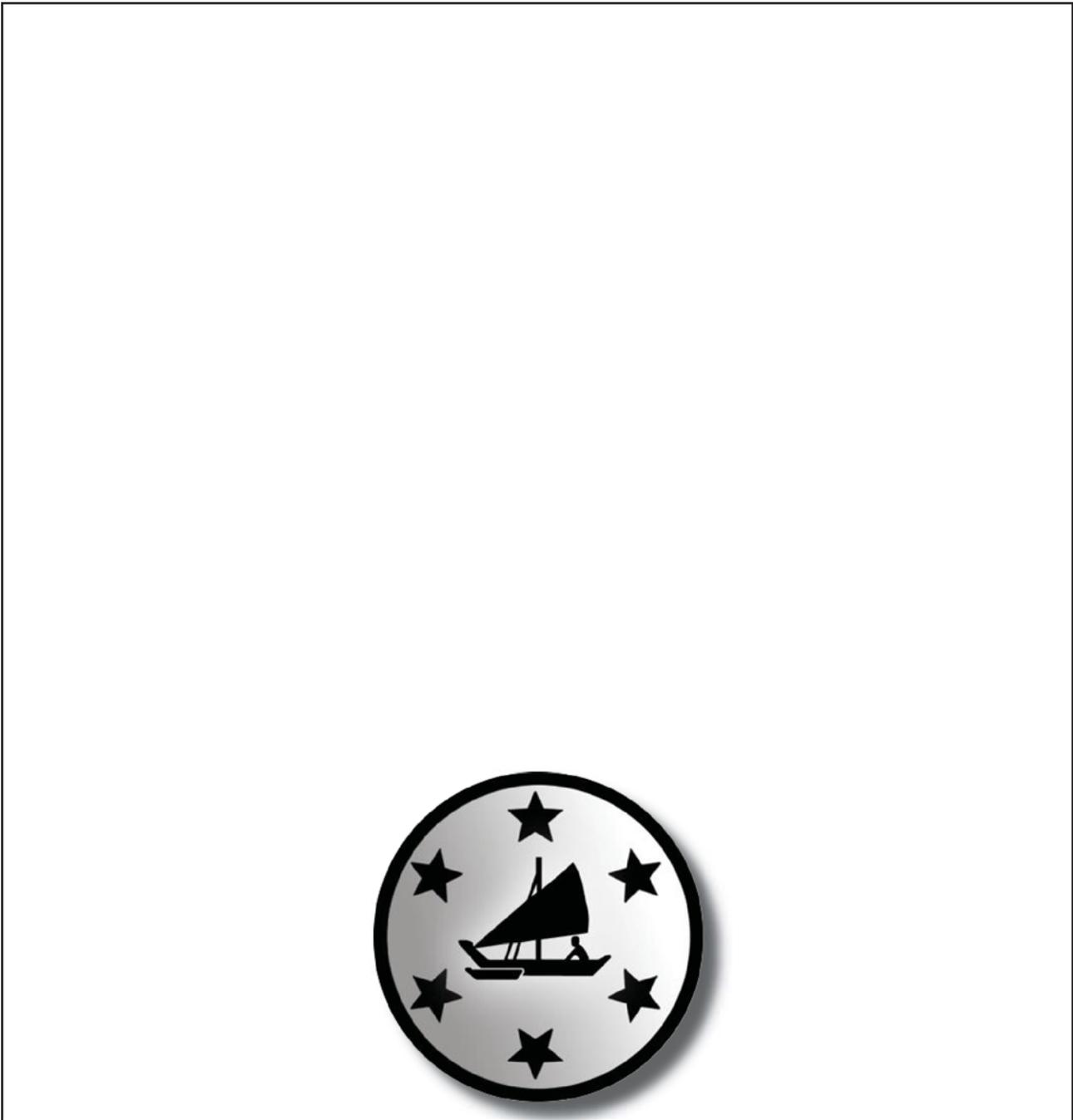
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Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow**

