

former Lieutenant Governor Moses Mackwelung resoundingly defeated former Kosrae Chief Justice Harry Skilling, with 1223 votes to Skilling's 386.

The turnout for the complicated referendum was understandably low, and even lower because voters in Chuuk and Yap had no candidates to vote for.

Although Pohnpei and Yap overwhelmingly approved every proposed amendment except the one establishing a chamber of chiefs, Chuuk voters said no to every proposed amendment and Kosrae approved only four with the required 75 percent. These four have become the first amendments to the FSM Constitution. They will:

1. Change "major" crimes to "national" crimes in Article IX, Section 2 (p), which provides that Congress has the power to "define [now] national crimes";

2. Add to Article XI, Section 11 the requirement that the court in rendering a decision, "must consult and apply sources of the Federated States of Micronesia";

3. Prevent an indefinite land use agreement by a "noncitizen, corporation not wholly owned by citizens, or any government," in Article XIII, Section 5;

4. Restrict Congressional power under Article IX, Section 3, by changing the concurrent state-national power to "promote education and health" to expressly delegating to Congress certain powers. These include "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."

Probably the most interesting of the defeated amendments was one that would have created a chamber of traditional chiefs to advise on and promote custom and tradition as well as promote peace and unity in the FSM.

JOAN KING

GUAM

The general election of November 1990 dominated the year's political events, while Guam's relationship with the United States, development, and indictments against several accused of theft of government land, were also prominent issues during the period under review.

The general election of 1990 saw the reelection of Governor Joseph F. Ada (Republican) to the post of chief executive. He became the first governor to be elected for consecutive terms. In addition, Ada won by the largest margin ever in Guam's electoral history. As usual, voter turnout was high at 86 percent of the electorate. Ada and his running mate, Lieutenant Governor Frank F. Blas, defeated their Democrat opponents Senator Madeleine Z. Bordallo and former Senator Jose "Ping" Duenas. Senator Bordallo was the wife of the late two-time governor of Guam, Ricardo J. Bordallo.

Early in the campaign the candidates tried to separate themselves on leadership style and issues. But as election day approached the contest became fraught with innuendos and attempts to smear opponents. A court case filed in October involved Ada in a paternity suit, and another suggested electoral law infringements. Ada

asserted that the allegations represented the most despicable political ploy he had seen in his twenty years in politics. Another case alleged that Lieutenant Governor Blas had acted improperly on a land transfer action. The courts dismissed two of the three cases as frivolous, and the remaining one was not vigorously pursued. The cases were brought by an associate of an attorney who had previously been indicted in land scam cases. The media also implicated Bordallo's running mate in the theft of public land, an accusation that did not escape the attention of partisan campaign planners.

Ada's campaign was bolstered, no doubt, by the booming economy during his previous term in office. Tax revenues had increased from US\$186 million in fiscal year 1986 to US\$429 million in fiscal year 1990. Ada and the Guam legislature gave the people credit for Guam's economic success, and translated surplus government revenues into a tax rebate of US\$1000 per taxpayer, and a salary increase of US\$5440 for all government employees (20 percent of Guam's wage employment). This action appeared to add credibility to Ada's Catch the Spirit election campaign.

Ada's "history made" inauguration in the first full week of January 1991 was attended by more than forty heads of state and representatives of governments. The governor and his teammate used the occasion to lay out the strong nationalist-regionalist platform they had developed over their first four years in office. Ada reemphasized Guam's growing independence in his state of the territory address in Janu-

ary. He argued that economic dynamism would allow Guam to seize additional political rights and achieve "a status of dignity," despite the limitations others might try to impose.

A Democratic majority of eleven was elected to Guam's twenty-one-member unicameral legislature. The death of one Democratic senator-elect prior to inauguration, however, left open several possibilities for control of the body. By January, dissension within the Republican minority (that had resulted from post-election leadership shifts), motivated three Republicans to support incumbent Democratic Speaker Joe T. San Agustin for the post. A special election in April to fill the vacated legislative seat was secured by 1990 gubernatorial candidate Madeleine Bordallo, who received more votes than her three challengers combined.

As part of Guam's continuing efforts to change its ninety-three-year colonial relationship with the United States, the bipartisan, multibranch Guam Commission on Self-determination met with the Bush administration's interagency task force in July 1990, and again in January, February, and April of 1991. During the discussions, several "qualified agreements" were signed by the commission chair, Governor Ada, and the task force chair, Interior Assistant Secretary Stella Guerra. Qualified agreements were reached on defense and foreign affairs consultations; access to and through United States-held property; transfer of military-held utilities; the political and judicial relationships; immigration control; delegation of presidential authority; and assistance to Guam in establishing

external trade and cultural offices. However, significant issues remained unresolved, and extensive differences were apparent regarding the return of federally held lands in Guam, the applicability of federal law, Guam's independent aviation authority, the exclusive economic zone, and limitations on United States powers of eminent domain.

Throughout the discussions, the Guam commission stood firm on its position of not agreeing to changes in the intent of the electorally endorsed draft Commonwealth Act. Despite the continued urging of Guam's congressional delegate to separate controversial and noncontroversial measures in the Commonwealth Act—a long-time recommendation of US officials—the commission continued to espouse a holistic approach to the status effort. Both parties have indicated that talks should finish by the end of 1991, so that Guam's proposal can be forwarded to the US Congress.

In a letter to the chair of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization on 10 August, Governor Ada took exception to a proposal (offered by Norway) to consolidate several of the committee's resolutions regarding the status of non-self-governing territories. In February 1991, the Offshore Governors' Forum (which brings together the governments of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the United States Virgin Islands) adopted a lengthy declaration calling for a continuation of the special committee's unmitigated role in decolonization. In late 1990, the General Assembly adopted its resolution on Guam, with

the United States and Israel casting opposing votes.

Development became a matter of considerable interest in Guam during the period under review, with environmental groups, proponents of planned development, and developers taking each other to task. Growth continued at a rapid rate, with local labor unable to fill all the new jobs created and supplemented by continued migration from the Federated States of Micronesia. The government continued its efforts to obtain federal funds to offset local social and educational costs associated with Micronesian in-migration, funds that ought to have been available since fiscal year 1987. In budget hearings before the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee in May 1991, Guam's sole funding request was for the so-called Compact Impact funds. Other offers of US financial assistance were politely turned down—a clear signal of Guam's growing financial independence.

Through the grand jury process, Guam's attorney general issued several indictments alleging theft of government land in late 1990, and in January and May of 1991. Employees of the department of land management, an attorney, and several individuals, were charged with acquiring significant amounts of public property.

The government of Guam also embarked on action against US shipping companies, accusing them of overcharging Guam shippers. Although outside the US customs territory, Guam is designated a US port, through which all US goods must be carried on US vessels. In what is destined to become a major case for the

shipping industry, Governor Ada charged that carriers were bilking customers on the Guam route so that they could be competitive with non-American carriers on foreign routes. Ada suggested that US carriers have been charging Guam shippers far above industry standards.—

LELAND BETTIS

NAURU

The island's declining prosperity remained the most significant problem in 1990–91. The government hoped to arrest the slide by creating "a viable post-phosphate economy," and sought membership of the Asian Development Bank to gain access to the bank's information flows, technical assistance, and borrowing facilities.

The economic squeeze was considered serious enough for the government to submit to pressure from Nauruan landowners for a payout from the earnings of the Nauruan Landowners' Royalty Trust. The fund has been built up from royalties since 1927 to provide Nauruans with an income when the phosphate is worked out and was expected to remain untouched until 1995. The value of the fund at 30 June 1989 was more than A\$362 million. The disbursement was A\$20 million, and although all Nauruans are not landowners, most would have shared in it in some way.

In its membership application to the Asian Development Bank, Nauru said the republic faced a period of "enormous economic, financial and sociological challenges." Its once relatively high GNP was declining, while its popu-

lation was increasing; the phosphate deposits that had accounted for the island's prosperity were approaching exhaustion, and the only realistic options for generating future employment for the Nauruan people appeared to lie in the rehabilitation of the island's land and the creation of a fishing industry.

The application said Nauru needed assistance to undertake surveys on land use and resources that might identify other new industries. Further possibilities might follow as a result of the rehabilitation of the land. A survey should indicate what the fishing alternatives were; whether it should be a small industry aimed at supplying only local demand; a larger one that would supply fish to canning plants elsewhere in the Pacific; or a Nauru-based fishing and canning industry. The application noted that Nauru's exclusive economic zone covers an area of 431,000 square kilometers and, according to a 1980 South Pacific Commission survey, skipjack tuna are likely to be very abundant in Nauruan waters.

Papers accompanying Nauru's application showed that the estimated population of the island was 8500, of whom about 5500 were Nauruans. The non-Nauruans were mainly other Pacific Islanders, Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Australians, and New Zealanders. The population had increased by only 0.1 percent between 1980 and 1988, but this reflected a decline in the non-Nauruan population that was offsetting increases in the Nauruan population. Nauru had a particularly high population density of 381 persons per square kilometer, compared with 58 for small island developing coun-