

SELF DETERMINATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- ▶ Are they the same
- ▶ Where do they overlap
- ▶ Where and when are they in opposition to each other
- ▶ The example of Guam

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INDIGENOUS LEGACY, COLONIALISM AND SELF DETERMINATION

Taotao Tano'

- Spanish conquest
- Chamorro people emerge
- Colonial rule acknowledged who was colonizer and who was colonized
- Self determination interrupted



US EMPIRE– TREATY OF PARIS AND UNINCORPORATED TERRITORY

- ▶ Treaty of Paris– transfer of right of conquest?
- ▶ Acknowledged native inhabitants civil and political rights
- ▶ Creation of unincorporated territory
- ▶ No US citizenship
- ▶ Naval Government – through executive order
- ▶ Chamorro opposition and awareness–
Kongresson Damot



WW II AND US CITIZENSHIP

- ▶ Japanese Occupation and new political rhetoric and awareness
- ▶ Quest for US citizenship
- ▶ New friends and new international climate
- ▶ 1946 – Non self governing list placement
- ▶ Organic Act – recognition of “Guamanian ancestry”



INCREMENTAL PROGRESS/ POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- ▶ Participation in Great Society programs of 1960s
- ▶ Elective governorship in 1970
- ▶ Elected delegate to Congress in 1972
- ▶ Increased reliance on federal funding and participation as determination of progress
- ▶ Justified as reward for loyalty in WWII and subsequent militarization and wars



FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL STATUS CHANGE

- ▶ Micronesian political status discussions–
Guam loyalty not rewarded
- ▶ Guam Legislature route
- ▶ President Ford’s “secret” offer
- ▶ Congressional assertion of authority over
process
- ▶ Congress offers Constitution; Executive Role
Diminished



COMMISSION ON SELF- DETERMINATION

- ▶ Guam Constitution campaign reveals fundamentally different approaches
- ▶ UN process “discovered”
- ▶ Creation of Guam Commission on Self-Determination
- ▶ Governor asserts control over process
- ▶ Who is the self?



RIGHTS AS AMERICANS OR RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION

- ▶ Denial of consent of the governed
- ▶ Perfection of American citizenship
- ▶ Completion of Chamorro self-determination
- ▶ Competing views of history and strategies for ultimate resolution
- ▶ Where does this belong- Hagatna, New York, Washington DC



CAN GUAM TRUST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?

- ▶ Legal treatment of Guam as a federal entity
- ▶ Deal with concerns as a political transaction rather than a relationship
- ▶ Move towards de-listing
- ▶ Proclaim self-governance exists by redefining it
- ▶ Deny any claim for exceptional treatment as unconstitutional



DO THE RIGHT THING

- ▶ Executive Branch must take the lead– 40+ years of Congressional Ineptitude
- ▶ Recognize that one size does not fit all– all territories are different
- ▶ Deal with self–determination
- ▶ Political development – provide a third way or a clear route to Statehood



SELF DETERMINATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- ▶ Self determination must be the basis for a permanent political relationship
- ▶ Incremental political development is not a substitute for self-determination although it looks like it
- ▶ Federal largesse is not a substitute for self-determination
- ▶ Self determination as uniquely defined must be supported by the “administering power”

