

# GIHA MO'NA

## AT A GLANCE

A Self-Determination  
Study for Guåhan



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The following are brief excerpts from Giha Mo'na: A Self-Determination Study for Guåhan\*, and represent a small portion of a very complex topic. For a more detailed discussion of each topic, please refer to the respective section of the Self-determination study by visiting our website at [www.decol.guam.gov](http://www.decol.guam.gov) (QR code).

\*Except where quoted otherwise





Project of the Commission on Decolonization and Indigenous Rights (COPRID) (Approved by the Public Information Program, Resolution No. 21 \$2109).



# Giha Mo'na

A Self-Determination Study for Guåhan



The Commission on Decolonization is excited to share with our island community:

## Giha Mo'na: A Self-Determination Study for Guåhan

The first comprehensive scholarly study detailing the drawbacks and deficiencies of Guam's current unincorporated territory status and providing an in-depth look at the potential opportunities and challenges of each political status option (Statehood, Independence, Free Association) over a variety of topic areas.

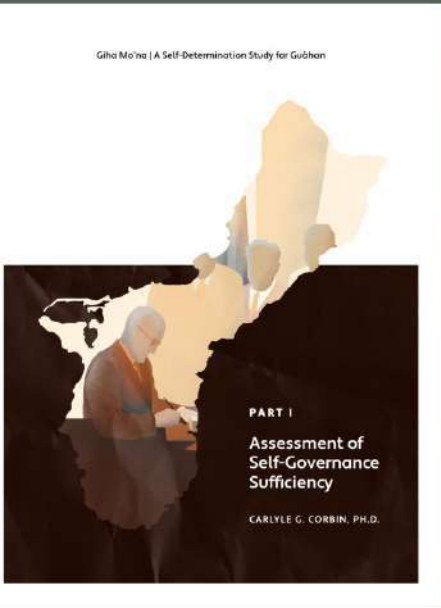
Download & view at [decol.guam.gov](http://decol.guam.gov) or visit the Guam Museum for a free physical copy.







# Part I: Self-Governance Assessment



Part I of Giha Mo'na uses the Self-Governance Indicator, an internationally-recognized tool, to analyze the political relationship between Guam and its administering Power, the United States, and to determine the ways in which Guam, as an unincorporated territory, lacks genuine self-governance.

“It is to be recognized that if Guam remains in the status quo unincorporated territory status, it should be understood that self-government would not have been achieved, but only further deferred. Real political change, in this light, does not mean that the territory would necessarily move ‘closer to’ the US, or conversely, ‘away from’ the US, but it does mean that the relationship would be modernized on the basis of an arrangement of absolute political equality (APE) with the full measure of self-government envisaged in international law.”

**- Carlyle G. Corbin, Ph.D.**

## Part II: Opportunities & Challenges of Each Status Option



### PART II

#### The Political Statuses of Statehood, Free Association, and Independence

KENNETH GOFIGAN KUPER, PH.D.  
JOSEPH BRADLEY

Part II of Giha Mo'na takes a deep dive into the ways in which Guam has been affected by the status quo and the opportunities and challenges that may come with each of the three political status options in various areas related to Governance, Social Impacts, Economic Impacts, Environmental Sustainability, Land and Natural Resources, and External Affairs and Defense.

"What we hope is realized when reading this study is that the issues of today are often connected to political status. We hope to help people realize that investing time, effort, and resources toward decolonization helps to plan for a better livelihood for future generations. We must handle the issues of the present, but not argue that every attempt to plan for the future detracts from the present. To do so would be to invite an unwanted cycle of problems and cause the atrophy of better futures."

**- Kenneth Gofigan Kuper, Ph.D.**

Sanoghi!  
for;  
human-rights  
equality &  
respect

COMBAT VETERAN  
VIETNAM

# Self-Governance Indicators

- **Guam's Status as a Non-Self-Governing Territory**
- **What are Self-Governance Indicators?**
- **The United States' Role in Advancing Guam's Self-determination (SGI #1)**
- **Guam's Lack of Self-Governance over Island Affairs and Lack of Political Power within the United States (SGI #3)**
- **Guam's Lack of Self-Governance over its Local Government and Internal Affairs (SGI #4)**
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# Guam's Status as a Non-Self-Governing Territory

As recognized by the United Nations

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Article 73 of the United Nations Charter states that "Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount."

"Guam as an NSGT [Non Self-Governing Territory] is not politically or constitutionally a part of the U.S., but rather is administered by the U.S. under the unilateral applicability of the 'Territory or other Property' clause of the U.S. Constitution."

Photo Courtesy of Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Ph.D.







In the recently released study by the Commission on Decolonization, International UN expert Dr. Carlyle G. Corbin applies the Self-Governance Indicators (SGIs) to Guam, placing the island's Self-governance on a 1-4 scale ranging from least Self-governing to most Self-governing.

Self-Governance indicators are international standards "used to determine the nature of the political power relationship between" a territory such as Guam and its administering Power, the United States.

## What are Self-Governance (SGIs) Indicators?

Gauging Guam's level of Self-governance according to international standards



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Understanding Guam's level of Self-Governance is key to realizing how Guam's current status as an unincorporated Territory has hindered the growth, prosperity, and wellbeing of Guam and her people.

Photo Courtesy of Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Ph.D.





# Self-Governance Indicator #1

The United States' Role in Advancing  
Guam's Self-determination

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## How has the United States complied with its international obligations to advance Guam's Self-determination?

MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. administering Power (U.S.) cooperates with United Nations "case-by-case work program" to develop a genuine process of Self-determination for the territory with direct U.N. participation in the act of Self-determination
3. administering Power (U.S.) acknowledges relevance of international law and uses it as a guideline for political evolution of territory
2. administering Power (U.S.) acknowledges external Self-determination process but regards it as subordinate to the domestic laws of the administering Power (U.S.)
1. administering Power (U.S.) dismisses relevance of collective Self-determination and regards political development of the territory as solely a domestic matter governed by administering Power (U.S.) laws



## How has the United States complied with its international obligations to advance Guam's Self-determination?

"The established fact is that Guam's status as an NSGT (Non-Self-Governing Territory), as recognized by the international community, provides the people of the territory with protections under international law, including the right to collective Self-determination. Yet the unilateral applicability of U.S. laws and constitutional provisions under the present UTS (Unincorporated Territorial Status) severely limits the peoples of Guam from exercising this inalienable right" (p. 93-94).

## The U.S. has not fulfilled its international obligation to advance Guam's Self-determination

One example of the U.S.' "unilateral applicability of U.S. laws and constitutional provisions" is its application of the 15th Amendment. Ironically, although the 15th Amendment is "designed to protect U.S. citizens from being denied the right to vote on the basis of race, color or previous condition of servitude," the U.S. has selectively applied it to Guam, where it has been "utilized to delay the Self-determination process in the territory by way of a lawsuit filed by a non-native resident who contested the 'constitutionality of a political status referendum that was to be limited to 'native inhabitants', otherwise known as the Davis case" (p. 92).



## Self-Governance Indicator #3

Guam's Non-Self-Governance over Island Affairs and Lack of Political Power within the United States

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### How does Guam's status as an unincorporated Territory limit its internal affairs?

MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. Mutual consent required before application of laws, regulations and treaties.
3. Existence of a process to assess impact of laws, regulations, and treaties before application to territory.
2. Mutual consultation on applicability of laws but final determination remains with the administering Power (U.S.)
1. Absolute authority of administering Power (U.S.) to legislate for the territory.



## With local/internal affairs Guam is not self-governing

"Guam (under its current political status) has a limited capacity to decide what applies to it—and what does not—given the nature of its politically subordinate position, as it is without equal political rights in the U.S. system through voting representation in the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate, and the inability to vote in U.S. presidential elections" (p.96).



## "mutual consultation is not mutual consent,

and the primary consideration here is the persistent, unilateral lawmaking authority of the U.S. Congress to "...make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The authority of the federal executive branch to apply laws, treaties, regulations, et al, to Guam is further reflective of the political inequality characteristic of the unincorporated territorial status" (p.96).



## Self-Governance Indicator #4

Guam's Non Self-Governance over its Local Government and Internal Affairs

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### What degree of autonomy does Guam have over its local government and internal affairs?

MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. Decisions to annul decisions of the elected bodies only possible by mutual consent.
3. Elected legislative and executive with powers to legislate, but with administering Power (U.S.) powers to annul decisions of elected bodies.
2. Elected legislative with administering Power (U.S.)-appointed executive with powers to annul decisions of the elected legislative.
1. Direct rule by administering Power (U.S.)-appointed officials who exercise unilateral authority.



## With local/internal affairs, Guam is not self-governing

"The position of the U.S. as the administering Power of Guam is generally indirect in terms of a day-to-day role in governmental operations of the territorial government with notable exceptions, including: periodic oversight of territorial compliance with myriad rules and regulations of specific federal funding programs provided to the territory through federal 'monitors,' U.S. court 'consent decrees' which require governmental institutions to comply with U.S. court orders; and the overall role of the U.S. District Court which determines compliance with U.S. law as it is unilaterally applied to the territory" (p.97-98).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News



**GUAM  
CONGRESS  
BUILDING**  
*I Liheslaturan Guåhan*  
The Guam Legislature



## Self-Governance Indicator #5

Guam's Non Self-Governance over its foreign/external affairs

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### What degree of autonomy does Guam have over its foreign/external affairs?

LEAST SELF-GOVERNING  
MOST SELF-GOVERNING

1. Limited awareness of eligibility of the territory for participation in regional and international organizations.
2. Substantial awareness of regional and international organization eligibility but limited participation.
3. Significant participation in regional and international organizations
4. Full participation in programmes of regional and international organizations.

## With foreign/external affairs Guam is not self-governing

Guam's "involvement in regional and international organizations...is undertaken within the confines of U.S. policy which can serve to either facilitate - or deny-" the island's ability to join such organizations.

For example; Guam's engagement in such organizations usually comes after a "request from the territory to the U.S. Department of State, the agency which coordinates U.S. foreign policy" (p. 98-99)







## Self-Governance Indicator #6

Guam's Non-Self-Governance over creating an internal constitution without outside interference

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### What degree of autonomy does Guam have over creating an internal constitution without outside interference?

- MOST SELF-GOVERNING**
- 4.** Dependency constitution can be independently drafted and adopted by the people of the territory consistent with U.N. resolution 1514 (XV) on the "transfer of powers" to the dependency, and resolution 1541(XV) permitting the constitution to be enacted without outside interference as a preparatory measure to the future attainment of the full measure of Self-government.
- 3.** Dependency constitution can be independently drafted and adopted by the people of the territory in advance of its submission to the administering Power (the U.S.) which would have legal recourse to strike down provisions not in compliance with the IUA.
- 2.** Dependency constitution can be independently drafted but consultations must be held with the administering Power (U.S.) which can amend the text in advance of it being presented to the people in referendum or other form of popular consultation.
- 1.** Dependency constitution must be drafted in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Instrument of Unilateral Authority (IUA) governing the relationship between the dependency and the administering Power (the U.S.).
- LEAST SELF-GOVERNING**



## Guam cannot implement its Constitution without the U.S.' interference

"A territorial constitution must conform to the unilateral applicability of U.S. law to the territory and would require submission to the U.S. Congress which would scrutinize – and potentially amend – the proposal before it is put to the people in referendum. If the proposal (as amended) is adopted by the people, it is made a federal law by joint Congressional resolution" (p.101).

"The elaborate mechanisms of dependency governance and unilateral authority can be activated at any time, for any reason, and certainly could have a dampening effect on the elements which would go into any internal territorial constitution drafted under the parameters of the current political status which is governed/administered under the 'territory or other property clause' of the U.S. Constitution" (p.102).



## Self-Governance Indicator #7

Guam's lack of participation/representation in the U.S. political system

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ►►

### What level of participation does Guam have in the U.S. political system

MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. Full voting rights in the administering Power's (the U.S.) elections and equal voting representation in the administering Power's (the U.S.) legislative body.
3. Voting authority in the administering Power's (the U.S) political institutions/political parties, with non-voting representation in the administering Power's (the U.S) legislative body.
2. Limited participation through the administering Power's (U.S.) political institutions.
1. No political participation or representation in political system of the administering Power (the U.S.).



"Guam and other U.S. Territories elect delegates to the U.S. House of Representatives who have limited voting rights with no representation in the U.S. Senate" (p.104).

"Without full political rights characterized by the presidential vote, and the vote in both Houses of the U.S. Congress, incremental changes in the political relationship towards a 'creeping integration' without full political rights would not usher in the FMSG (Full Measure of Self-Governance), but would merely amount to a form of 'lesser political inequality'" (p. 104).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





# Self-Governance Indicator #8

Guam's Non-Self-governance over Economic Affairs

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## What degree of autonomy does Guam have over its economic affairs?

↑ MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
•  
↓ LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. Territory has self-sufficient economy through retention of all revenue generated but may receive infrastructural and sectoral assistance.
3. Territory generates and keeps most revenue from its economy but receives infrastructural and sectoral assistance.
2. Territory receives sectoral assistance aid from the administering Power (U.S.), generates significant revenue from its local economy but is not able to retain the revenue.
1. Territorial economy dependent on direct aid from the administering Power (U.S.) and subject to ad unilateral applicability of laws and regulations which hinder economic growth and sustainability.





## With economic affairs, Guam is not self-governing

The U.S.' "extension of federal mandates" without Guam's consent or representation can negatively "affect the economic sustainability and future economic advancement of the territory."

Federal laws such as the Jones Act, which causes "a significantly higher cost of living for the people of the territory," hinder Guam's economic prosperity. For example, the cost of shipping a container from the U.S. West Coast to Guam is approximately \$7500, while the cost of shipping from the U.S. West Coast to the Philippines is approximately \$2800" (p.107-108).

Due to Guam's status as an unincorporated Territory, there are sources of revenue that are currently collected by the U.S., but could otherwise go to Guam if Guam was not an unincorporated Territory. These "lost revenues" include airport travel fees, transportation fees, and the economic potential of the land that the U.S. military controls.

For example, economist Joe Bradley found that excess land held by the U.S. military could bring in "\$1.1 billion annually, if it were available for civilian use... the figures have increased exponentially over the [past] two decades" (p.108).



# Self-Governance Indicator #9

Guam's Non-Self-Governance over Cultural Affairs

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## What degree of autonomy does Guam have over its cultural affairs?

- 
- A vertical scale on the right side of the slide. It consists of a red line with a white dot at the top and a red arrowhead pointing downwards at the bottom. To the left of the line, the text "LEAST SELF-GOVERNING" is written vertically. To the right of the line, the text "MOST SELF-GOVERNING" is written vertically. The scale is used to rank the four items listed to its right, with item 3 being the most self-governing and item 1 being the least self-governing.
4. Territory has full authority in the preservation and projection of indigenous customs and language in official school instruction, legal proceedings and commerce
  3. Territory exercises significant autonomy in the preservation and projection of indigenous customs and language in official school instruction, legal proceedings and commerce
  2. administering Power (the U.S.) recognizes indigenous cultural heritage and language but considers it subordinate to its own cultural traditions as unilaterally imposed on the territory in official school instruction, legal proceedings and commerce
  1. administering Power (the U.S.) prohibits use of indigenous language and customs of the people of the territory for purposes of official school instruction, legal proceedings and commerce



## With cultural affairs Guam is not Self-governing

"These official efforts to maintain and advance cultural traditions continue into the 21st century..This is reflective of the significant autonomy exercised by the territory in the preservation and projection of indigenous customs and language in official school instruction, legal proceedings and commerce, and the integration of culture in official proceedings and activities" (p.114).

Photo Courtesy of Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Ph.D.





# Self-Governance Indicator #10

Guam's Non-Self-Governance over  
Ownership and Control of its Natural Resources

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## What degree of autonomy does Guam have over the ownership and control of its natural resources?

MOST SELF-GOVERNING  
LEAST SELF-GOVERNING

4. Natural resources owned and controlled by territory
3. High degree of shared ownership and mutual decision-making on natural resource disposition between administering Power (the U.S.) and territory
2. Some degree of shared ownership/control of natural resources between territory and administering Power (the U.S.)
- 1.5. Absolute ownership and control of the EEZ by the administering Power (U.S.) with certain territorial internal jurisdiction in management of resources
1. administering Power (the U.S.) exercises absolute ownership and control over natural resources of territory with power of eminent domain



## With its natural resources Guam is not Self-governing

"Despite decades of international policy on the ownership and control of natural resources, including marine resources, by the people of Guam and the other U.S. dependencies, federal policy has held firm in its insistence of U.S. control of these resources" (p.118).

As quoted by Thomas Franck, although most administering Powers "either have given the population of the overseas territory full and equal representation in the national parliament and government, or have given the local government of the overseas territory jurisdiction over the mineral resources and fisheries of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ)...the sole exception to this rule" would appear to be the U.S. which has "neither provided for full political rights to the dependencies under their administration, nor delegated to the territory control of the resources within the EEZ" (p. 115).



Commis-




# Self-Governance Indicator #11

Guam's lack of control over U.S. military activities

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## What level of influence does Guam have over how the U.S. military uses the island and its resources?

- 
1. administering Power (the U.S.) can establish and expand military presence including expropriation of land and degradation of the environment for military purposes without consultation with the territory
  2. administering Power (U.S.) consults with the territory before establishment and expansion of military activities
  3. administering Power (the U.S.) complies with territorial laws, including environmental laws, in the context of military activities; and accepts U.N. mandates on military activities in non-self-governing territories
  4. Territory has the authority to determine the extent and nature of military presence of administering Power (the U.S.), to receive just compensation for the use of its territory for military purposes, composition for environmental and health consequences, and to demand an end to said activities



## With its natural resources Guam is not Self-governing

"In pursuit of this geo-strategic objective, the administering Power continues to increase its military activities, which are undertaken through unilateral measures, with a modicum of consultation with the Guam community and its leadership, whose concerns are taken into account before final decisions are made. As in the case of the overall federal-territorial dialogue, however, such mutual consultation does not equate to mutual consent. This is the inconvenient reality of the relationship between the unincorporated territory of Guam and its administering Power, the U.S." (p.126).

**WARNING**  
**POLLUTED WATERS**  
**NO SWIMMING OR**  
**FISHING ALLOWED**

Although "the U.S. as Guam's administering Power was strongly urged by the U.N. General assembly to take all measures necessary to protect and conserve the environment of the territory against any degradation and the impact of militarization on the environment," numerous examples highlight not only the U.S.' failure to protect Guam's environment, but their active destruction and contamination of Guam's lands and waters.

These examples include the "usurpation of land for military purposes, chemical contamination on Cocos Island, potential traces of agent orange in Guam, remnants of nuclear bombs in the Marianas Trench, the destruction of cultural sights for military construction purposes, the downwind effects of the nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands in the 1990s, and more," all of which "serve to justify certain anxieties of the people of the territory over the environmental effects of military activities on Guam" (p.128).





# Intro to Decolonization

- **Explanation of Decolonization with Status Explanations**
- **Important Questions for Decolonization**
- **Who has the right to Self-determination?**
- **What to expect from Giha Mo'na**



replacement and extension  
water systems and im-  
sanitary sewer systems. A  
shortage of funds, prewar  
projects has been slow.  
All of the pre-war vil-  
lage school those in  
southern villages of In-  
ria and Umata were  
Small frame school bu-  
constructed in the vil-  
Devido, Barrigada, San  
Haght, Managosa, Pa-  
Pago, Piti, Talofofo,  
Santa Rita.

with the Cathedral in the background.

# EXPLANATION OF DECOLONIZATION W/ STATUS EXPLANATIONS



improvement of transportation in-  
ilities on the island, and, events  
during the war served to strengthen  
the awareness of such thinking.  
"As the largest island in the  
central Pacific between Hawaii and  
the Philippines, it is situated in a  
"line backing" position with respect  
to the island chain off the Asiatic  
mainland. Absence of malaria is an

been awarded to im-  
payments of Taxes  
and Immigration. The  
Public Works, Supply,  
Bure of Customs, Guam  
Ocean Drive and Guam  
Hospital.  
A new steel ball of  
has recently been re-  
structure on a New

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## Why does it matter?

"Under the American flag, it is easy to see how the people of Guam can see their current political relationship with the United States as one of freedom. But colonization is not freedom. When a people are under the control of a colonizer, this means that someone else somewhere else is making the decisions for you. They are writing your laws, providing your education, giving you financial aid, and using your land. You are not doing any of these things for yourself. This also means that they can dictate what you do and how you do it. True freedom comes from self-development and the ability for a people to choose how to develop without interference from another" (Commission on Decolonization, Guam: A Territory Like No Other Educational Insert, p. 6).

"Guam, known as Guåhan, in the indigenous CHamoru language, is currently an organized, unincorporated territory of the United States and is a non-self-governing territory under international law" (p. 7).

"Guam was first inhabited by the indigenous CHamoru people going back roughly 3,500 years and has a long history of colonialism. In 1950, Guam became an organized (meaning that the US Congress authorized the creation of an organized government via an Organic Act), unincorporated territory of the United States of America via the Organic Act of Guam (a piece of federal legislation passed by the US which outlines the parameters of the government of Guam's relationship to the government of the United States). This political status remains to this day" (p. 7).

"The island's current political status is not something the people of Guam created or chose. The status of unincorporated territory was created after the US acquired Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico as a result of the Spanish-American War" (p. 7).

"Once Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were acquired, it set into motion a series of legal cases named the Insular Cases. The status of unincorporated territory was subsequently created, meaning that these newly acquired, non-contiguous far-flung places were not on a path to statehood nor were they an 'integral' part of the United States" (p. 7).

"As an unincorporated territory, Guam is under the Plenary Power of The Congress via Article IV, Section III, Clause II of the United States Constitution, also known as the Territorial Clause, which states, 'The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.' US citizens in Guam do not have voting representation on the floor of the House of Representatives, representation in the Senate, or voting rights in US presidential elections through the Electoral College (which elects the President). The US Congress, due to its Plenary Power, can make unilateral decisions that affect the territories without meaningful input from the territories themselves" (p. 7).





## STATEHOOD

Statehood for Guam would mean complete integration with the United States on the basis of complete equality in status, rights of citizenship, representation, opportunities, responsibilities, and states' rights as a result of the federal system of the United States. Guam would be able to avail of these powers and responsibilities on a constitutional level, and not merely on a statutory level as it would enter the Union on equal footing with the existing states" (p. 9).

"Furthermore, if Guam is made a state, Guam would be permanently under US sovereignty. If the island were to become a state, the ambiguity of Guam's relationship with the United States would end and US citizens in Guam would become full-fledged American citizens in a State of the Union with full constitutional applicability" (p. 10).

"Under this clause, Guam would have state sovereignty and full voting representation in both the US Senate and the House of Representatives, and the island's US citizens would have representation in the Electoral College. The United States would control Guam's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) as well as provide for the defense of the island. With the addition of two senators in the US Senate, voting representation in the House of Representatives, and a vote in the Electoral College, the island would reach a measure of self-government in accordance with international law as a fully integrated polity of the US" (p. 10).

## INDEPENDENCE

"Choosing independence equates to the desire for Guam to become its own country or sovereign state...Through independence, Guam will possess the utmost degree of authority comprising of all its benefits and obligations" (p. 13).

"If independence is chosen as the preferred political status, the newly established country of Guam will have authority over its defined area and within its borders. The independent country of Guam will have the ability to enter into treaties, alliances, and other such agreements with other countries by virtue of it having an international legal personality as a sovereign country itself" (p. 15-16).

"Guam will also have to bear the burdens and handle the responsibilities of being a sovereign country in the international system, including diplomatic relationships, providing for its population, and engaging internationally, which could be a difficult task. Overall, independence comes with the greatest opportunities as well as responsibilities for the island" (p. 16).

# FREE ASSOCIATION

"International law scholar Chimene Keitner explains that, 'a free association is formed when two states of unequal power form voluntary and durable links. The smaller state, the associate, delegates certain functions to the more powerful state, the principal, while maintaining its own international status' (p. 17).

"If Guam is a freely associated state, the United States would no longer dictate Guam's governmental policies, but it can provide, among other things, defense as well as financial support for social and economic development. Entering into a relationship of free association with the US can be a gradual process where the people of Guam may see a better quality of life than observed in the status quo. Generally speaking, any form of political change requires a period of adjustment filled with debate on the merits of the change. Ultimately, if Guam chooses free association, the political relationship between Guam and the US government will be controlled by the specific terms and conditions set forth in the negotiations" (p. 21).

Photo Courtesy of Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Ph.D.





replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Lita and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the mid-1940s. Barrigada, San Hago, Piti, Talofofo, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

with the Cathedral in the background.

# IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR DECOLONIZATION



Improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to strengthen the sentiment of such thinking.

"As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a 'line backing' position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been awarded to the Department of Education and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, and other departments of the Government of Guam.

A new civil law of the island has recently been enacted, and a new constitution of the island has been adopted.

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ►►

This study provides insight into some pivotal questions, particularly those regarding political status options and futures. While we have tried our best to answer many questions, it is up to the future eligible voters of the island to take this initiative in their own hands. The future eligible voters of the political status plebiscite could ask themselves the following questions:

What advantages will come from decolonization?

What disadvantages may come from the process?

What happens if Guam remains an organized, unincorporated territory?

How can we best push this issue forward?

What are the pros and cons of each status? How feasible is achieving each status?

How long will it take to achieve the new political status?

What will Guam be like after the transition to the new status?

What is the significance of the presence of the US military on self-determination?

What are the local, national, and international factors that will affect prospects for decolonization and the three statuses?





with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension of water systems and major sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program personnel has been alone.

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of Lita and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the village. Davido, Herrigada, Hagadone, Marrobo, Pago, Pito, Talofofo, Tula, Uta.

# WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION?



improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to diminish the awareness of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backline" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific. The island of Hawaii is an island of volcanic activity, the excellent

been provided to the residents of Hawaii and immigration. The Public Works, Supply, Bureau of Customs, Guam, Office of the Governor, Hospital.

A new civil law of the island has recently been enacted. The island of Hawaii is a

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The right of Self-determination for the colonized people of Guam is not intended to alienate or exclude other groups of people on Guam. It is rather a means to ensuring that the people who have been subjugated by colonial powers have the ability to freely exercise their right of Self-determination by determining their political status and freely pursuing their economic, social and cultural development (UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).

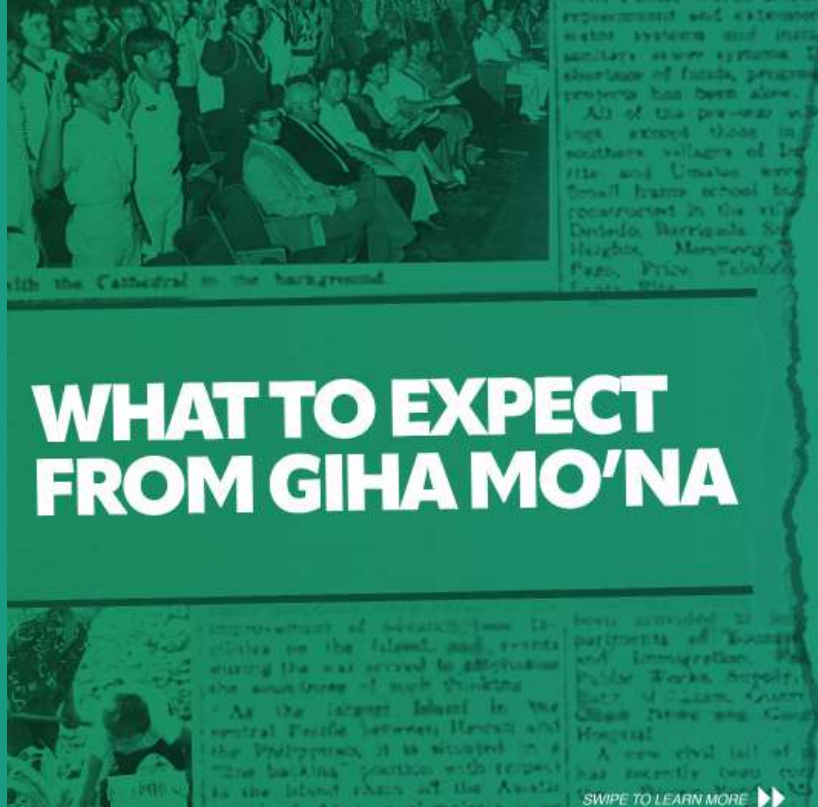
This responsibility to allow for true Self-determination stems from the ratification of the Treaty of Paris of 1898, in which Congress accepted responsibility for the political and civil rights of the native inhabitants of Guam. This responsibility was later amplified in the ratification of the United Nations Charter, Article 73.

(Commission on Decolonization, Guam: A Territory Like No Other Educational Insert, p. 3)

By virtue of their colonization, colonized peoples possess the right of Self-determination. This is a right given to people and not governments. The United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights further defines self-determination as a right belonging to "all peoples." Although the term "peoples" is not defined in international law, "peoples" are often described as a group of individual human beings who enjoy some or all of the following common features:

- (1) A COMMON HISTORICAL CONNECTION
- (2) ETHNIC IDENTITY
- (3) CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY
- (4) LINGUISTIC UNITY
- (5) RELIGIOUS OR IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY
- (6) TERRITORIAL CONNECTION AND
- (7) COMMON ECONOMIC LIFE.

(Commission on Decolonization, Guam: A Territory Like No Other Educational Insert, p. 3)



"What we hope is realized when reading this study is that the issues of today are often connected to political status. We hope to help people realize that investing time, effort, and resources toward decolonization helps to plan for a better livelihood for future generations. We must handle the issues of the present, but not argue that every attempt to plan for the future detracts from the present. To do so would be to invite an unwanted cycle of problems and cause the atrophy of better futures" (p. 4).

The Commission on Decolonization is excited to share with our island community – Giha Mo'na: A Self-Determination Study for Guåhan – the first comprehensive scholarly study detailing the drawbacks of Guam's territorial status and the benefits and challenges of each political status option.





# Governance

- Citizenship
- U.S. Citizenship and Decolonization
- Constitution
- Why shouldn't Guam write a constitution before resolving its political status?
- Individual Rights
- Legal/Judicial Processes
- The Insular Cases



air in 1929, showing the Plaza, with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. In shortage of funds, progress has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Little and Umatac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the villages. Dededo, Haggards, Kila, Hagibon, Merriam, Pagan, Pinar, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# CITIZENSHIP



improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of such training.

"As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a 'line backing' position with respect to the United States. The Asiatic mainland. America's position is an

been provided to the Department of Education and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, and the United States Army. The United States Army and Navy Hospital.

A new civil jail of 100 cells has recently been completed. The Bureau of Prisoners is now in a new building on a Naval

"Some tasks of citizens in these democratic societies include voting, speaking out on political/social/economic issues, campaigning, protesting, running for office, and holding their elected leaders accountable in various ways" (p. 29).

"Being a citizen of a country allows one access to the political and economic rights and privileges conferred by countries on their nationals. For example, in the United States, citizens are protected via the rights afforded in the Constitution. They also can travel with a US passport, become eligible for federal jobs, participate on a jury, obtain citizenship for minor children born abroad, and become an elected official. It is for this reason that citizenship can be described as the 'right to have rights' within a country" (p. 29).

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE







## STATEHOOD

"If Guam were to become integrated into the United States, US citizenship would continue for the people of the island. Since Guam would be a state, and no longer an unincorporated territory, there would be no ambiguity regarding constitutional citizenship" (p. 32-33).

Furthermore, as a state, US citizens in Guam will be able to exercise their full democratic participation via voting representation in the US House of Representatives and US Senate as well as have electors in the Electoral College

## INDEPENDENCE

If independence is the chosen political status of the island, Guam would need to develop its own citizenship laws, including the grounds for obtaining and losing Guam citizenship. The US citizenship of people in the island and their descendants is likely to be negotiated between Guam and the United States. This would likely include negotiations over whether those who are already US citizens would remain US citizens in the new political status.

## FREE ASSOCIATION

It is not absolutely certain that current US citizens in the island would lose US citizenship just by virtue of Guam declaring its intent to become a freely associated state. In the negotiations between Guam and the United States, Guam's negotiators could negotiate for the retention of US citizenship. Once again, this would be dependent on the negotiations that would form the basis of the freely associated relationship between Guam and the United States. Under US citizenship law, there is no explicit prohibition against dual nationality.



## US CITIZENSHIP AND DECOLONIZATION



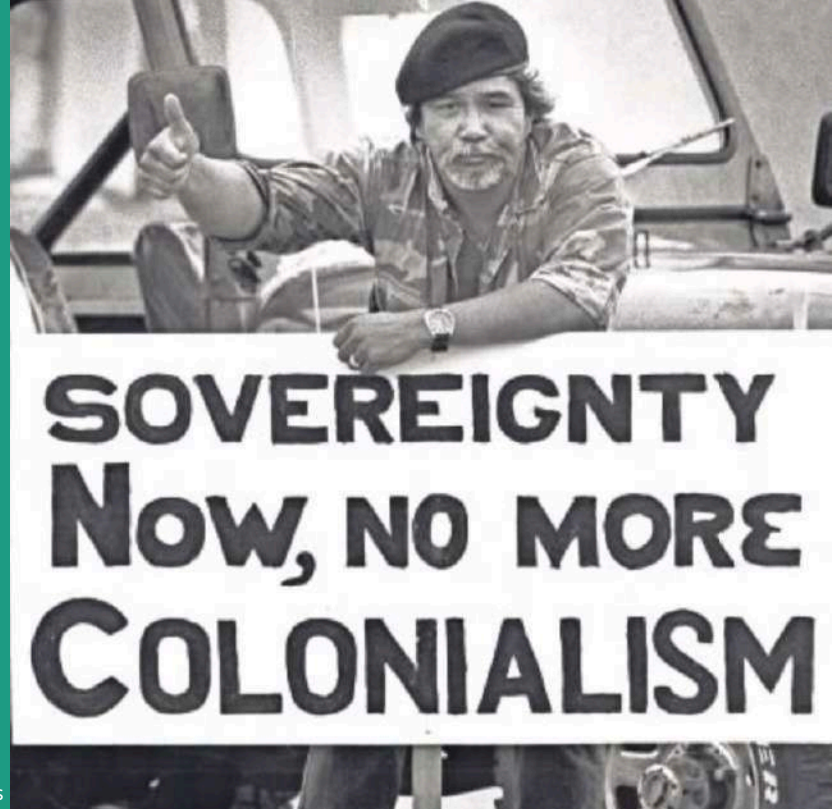
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"This distinction between constitutional citizenship and statutory citizenship could matter when it comes to the question of whether or not statutory citizens will lose their citizenship if Guam becomes an independent country or a freely associated state (in which citizenship is not kept).

There is no definitive answer as to whether existing US citizens will lose their US citizenship if there is a change to free association or independence, as the issue will be settled legally and politically" (p.31).

"For Guam, the matter of citizenship under free association or independence would be the subject of negotiations. Unlike the FAS model, wherein the people were Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands citizens rather than US citizens at the time of negotiations, a Guam FAS or independence model would be conducted with US citizens. Again, this would be subject to negotiations, and could be influenced by the importance of maintaining US geo-strategic interests" (p.32).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News







with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and utility sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow. All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Leticia and Umatilla were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the village. Dededo, Haggagade, San Heigton, Managagade, Pago, Pago, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# CONSTITUTION



improvement of advancement facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of such thinking. As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asiatic mainland. Attention of visitors is on

been provided to the payments of taxes and immigration. The Public Works, Supply, Bureau of Customs, Guam, Guam Police and Guam Hospital. A new steel ball of it has recently been constructed on a new

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A constitution is not always a singular legal and political document. The constitution of a country generally refers to the set of rules by which power is distributed among the members of a country ... Issues addressed in a constitution typically include the major functions of politics, how people holding those positions are to be chosen, who is in charge during an emergency, what their powers are, the procedures for amending the constitution, and in a democracy, the rights of individuals and how these rights are protected" (pg. 41).

The type of Constitution to be created by Guam would be dependent upon status. As a state, Guam would craft a state constitution which outlines the roles and responsibilities of the state Government of Guam. As an independent or freely-associated country, Guam's constitution would act as the supreme law of the land.



## STATEHOOD

"In the United States, the states themselves have their own constitutions which exist alongside the US Constitution. This is due to the political character of the US government federal system as opposed to a unitary system of government....Federal systems differ in that their constitutions outline the powers of the national government while reserving a number of government powers for state, provincial, or local governments" (p. 44).

"At its core, state constitutions should contain a preamble, a bill of rights, articles detailing the separation of powers between the three branches of government, and a framework for setting up local governments. States take responsibility for powers such as: ownership of property; education of inhabitants; implementation of welfare and other benefits programs; protecting people from local threats; maintaining a justice system; setting up local governments such as counties and municipalities; maintaining state highways and setting up the means of administrating local roads; regulating industry; and raising funds to support their activities" (p. 46).

## INDEPENDENCE

"If independence is the chosen status, the people of Guam could engage in a "participatory" constitution-making process. At its core, participatory constitution-making revolves around the principles of public participation, inclusiveness (gender equity), representation, and transparency. In making the process more participatory, the public needs to be informed about the modes of appointment and election of their representatives, the adoption process in the crafting of the constitution, the public's role in the process, and feedback on how public input will be used in the deliberation" (p. 46).

"Overall, independence offers the greatest latitude in crafting a constitution. It requires the crafting of policies and governmental principles most in line with Guam's historical experiences, social fabric, and expressed political desires. Many important decisions will be made during the deliberation process for the constitution, and it must be pointed out that what is considered 'constitutional' will have lasting ramifications in the country. The people of Guam in an independent country will receive both the opportunity and the responsibility to determine this and conduct the process for making these decisions" (p. 48).

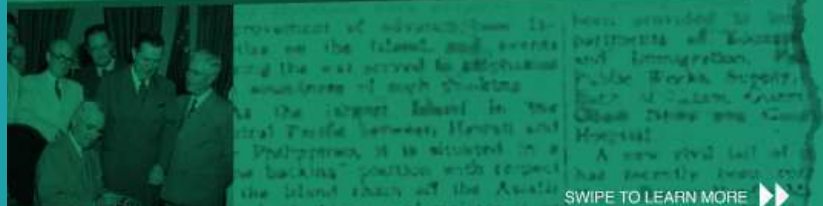
# FREE ASSOCIATION

"In the case of free association, a similar process will likely be followed as with independence, but certain provisions of the constitution could reflect areas of the free association agreement, particularly related to geo-strategic considerations such as the use of land and sea for US defense interests" (p. 50).

"As the primary US objective in Micronesia is strategic and geopolitical, it is highly expected that any constitution drafted in a freely associated state of Guam would require a significant degree of consistency with the defense provisions of the Compact of Free Association agreement. None of this means the overall integrity of the constitution in a freely associated Guam will be compromised. Similar attempts at securing US interests could also be seen when creating a constitution under statehood or independence. In the case of free association, the officials of the island must be equipped to strategically negotiate with the US federal government to ensure that the interests of the people of Guam are included in the constitution, which will set the parameters of the future government (p. 52-53).



## WHY SHOULDN'T GUAM WRITE A CONSTITUTION BEFORE RESOLVING ITS POLITICAL STATUS?



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Drafting a constitution while remaining an unincorporated territory would mean that Guam would remain subject to the unilateral control of the United States and would not address the fundamental issues that continue to define our relationship with the United States. Before any constitution is written, the people of Guam must first decide for themselves the type of government they desire and the political future they wish to have with the United States.

With the second Constitutional Convention. "The draft constitution was eventually approved by Congress but was ultimately defeated in an election. One reason for the constitution's defeat was that it failed to address the issue of US sovereignty over the island, with one argument being that political status should be resolved first" (p. 43).

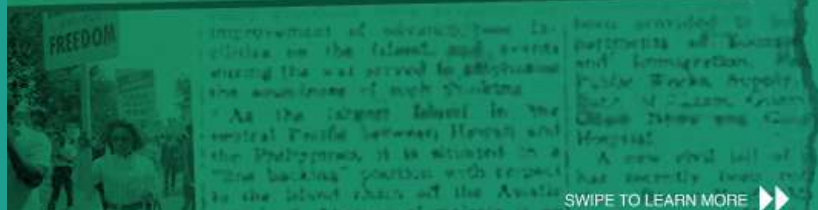
"Many opponents of the drafting of a constitution today argue, like those before, that the issue of Guam's political status should be resolved first before crafting a constitution. There is an argument that creating a constitution within an unincorporated territory that is supposed to adhere to federal-territorial relations is too limiting in scope. As Dr. Laura Souder writes, 'The effect of this continuation of federal authority and federal bureaucratic presence is to limit Guam and its local government institutions and prevent them from developing normally and expanding to their fullest' (p. 43).

Moreover, "some argue that resolving the political status before a constitution is adopted ensures the integrity of both the process and the document itself. Additionally, if the constitution is supposed to outline the distribution of power, how can this be accomplished without first knowing what kind of government is to be established?" (p. 44).

\*Disclaimer: The Self-Determination study addressed arguments on both sides regarding the timing of crafting of a constitution, but the Commission on Decolonization advocates that the administering Power must first address Self-determination before we can draft a constitution. Any Constitution under Guam's current political status will not adequately address the fundamental issues of an unincorporated Territory, as the United States would still maintain unilateral control over Guam. Furthermore, the United States has historically required that a Guam Constitution be approved by the federal government and recognize the U.S.' ultimate sovereignty over Guam.



# INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS



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## STATEHOOD

"As citizens in the unincorporated territory of Guam, it is important to note that there are differences when it comes to rights applicable to the territories as opposed to states of the union...US citizens in Guam would have to leave Guam and reside in one of the 50 states to have the exact same individual rights as US citizens living in those states" (p. 56).

"In the case of the US territories, many rights in the US Constitution only apply to residents in these places at the discretion of the US Congress. Examples of rights that have been extended to Guam by federal laws or court cases are: trial by jury in the Sixth and Seventh Amendments; equal protection in the Fourteenth Amendment; and voting rights in the Fifteenth and Nineteenth amendments. These same rights, however, are not applied to all territories equally" (p. 56).

"If Guam were to be integrated into the United States, the full extent of the US Constitution would apply to the island. Thus, all individual rights afforded to US citizens in other states would apply to US citizens in the island...These rights will be guaranteed if Guam were to be admitted as a state with the full applicability of the Constitution" (p. 56-57)

"Aside from rights given by the federal government, all states have the ability to create a bill of rights in their state constitution for the citizens of the state. Attorney General of Guam Leevin Camacho said states have the power to broaden individual rights beyond what is included in the US Constitution. He stated that:

'States can have a broader, equal protection as an example, interpretation of what their clause does. Whereas Guam can never interpret, religious freedom as an example, more expansively than what the federal courts have done. States can interpret their constitutions more expansively than the US Constitution but we [Guam] cannot do that.' (p. 57)



## INDEPENDENCE

"Individual rights in the independent country of Guam would be initially outlined in the constitution of the new country. It is anticipated that in an independent Guam, the new country would provide its citizens some rights modeled from the US Constitution, including the right to free speech and the right of assembly. Beyond the US Constitution, the country of Guam can also reaffirm rights for its citizens by referencing the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR was created post-World War II as a way for countries to ensure that the atrocities and severe human rights violations committed during WWII would not be repeated" (p. 59).

"An independent Guam would have the opportunity to create individual rights policies that are applicable for the people of Guam" (p. 61). For example, the independent country of East Timor included in their constitution an article that protects citizens' digital personal data and an article that guarantees time off from work for pregnant women (p. 60).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"Individual rights in the freely associated state of Guam would likely be outlined in the constitution of the country. It is fully anticipated that the form of government in the freely associated state of Guam would be a republic, with sovereignty ultimately resting with the people of the island. The FAS of Guam may offer its citizens rights such as freedom of speech and freedom of assembly as well as other rights associated with liberal democracies, such as freedom of religion and freedom of expression" (p. 61).

"If the FAS of Guam is recognized as a sovereign state by the international community, it is anticipated that the FAS would follow the norms of international law, providing for its citizens' basic human rights as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and broader international human rights law, especially if it becomes a member of the United Nations" (p. 61).



with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and their auxiliary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program problems has been slow. All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Lita and Umatac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the village. Dededo, Barrigada, San Hago, Merigona, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# LEGAL/JUDICIAL PROCESSES



improvement of administrative facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of such thinking. As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asian mainland. America of today is an

been awarded to the departments of Education and Immigration, the Public Works Bureau, Bureau of Customs, Guam Island News and Guam Hospital. A new civil bill of law recently been introduced on a new

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## Why does it matter?

"We are a creature of Congress, so everything has to be amended [for the Organic Act] if we want something." He continues that these amendments are then "contingent on US Congress to not change these. Everything is within their power." Local legislators can introduce bills for legal reform in Guam, but the US Congress has the authority to revoke these laws. (p. 65)

-Retired Guam Supreme Court Chief Justice and current Public Auditor of Guam Benjamin "BJ" Cruz

To provide an example, the island's political status "made it difficult for the island's legislators both local and federal to establish a judiciary independent of the other branches of government... From the 1980s-2000s, former Congressional Representatives Robert A. Underwood and Madeleine Z. Bordallo introduced House Resolutions" normally resulting in Guam waiting for the U.S. Congress to approve. After an uphill battle, "Guam did not formally create an independent judiciary until 2004, fifty-four years after its establishment through the Organic Act." (p. ).



with the Cathedral in the background.

representation and extension water systems and their sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Leticia and Umanito were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the city. Dededo, Haggiga, San Haggiga, Managigig, Pago, Pago, Talofofo, Talofofo, Talofofo.

# THE INSULAR CASES



improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been provided to the departments of Education and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, Bureau of Customs, Quarantine, Navy and Coast Hospital.

A new civil bill of laws has recently been introduced.

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The Insular Cases refer to a set of U.S. Supreme Court cases which established the status of unincorporated territory and laid out their place in the U.S. system of government.

In one of the core cases, *Downes v. Bidwell*, it was argued that these territories such as Guam, were inhabited by "alien races, differing from us [Anglo-Saxons] in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation, and modes of thought" (*Downes v. Bidwell*, 1901).

The injustice of this predicament is that we in Guam have no voting rights in the one government body (the United States Congress) that has plenary power over the territories, which is contradictory to the foundations of the United States.





Photo Courtesy of Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo, Ph.D.



# Social Impacts

- Immigration
- Healthcare
- Education in the unincorporated Territory of Guam
- Education
- CHamoru Culture Preservation/CHamoru Programs
- CHamoru Language





with the Cathedral in the background.

...and the...  
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All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of the site and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the late 1940s. Barrigada, San Higinio, Manzanillo, Pago, Pico, Taldad, Santa Rita.

# IMMIGRATION

"As an unincorporated territory, Guam does not control its immigration. This authority rests with the United States federal government. The fifty states and the territories do not control their immigration (unless specifically allowed by the US Congress for the territories, as is the case with American Samoa)" (p. 77).



As the largest Island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the Island chain off the American mainland. Absence of malaria is an

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## STATEHOOD

"As a state, Guam would not control immigration and the island's immigration policies would continue to follow federal US immigration laws and protocols. The state of Guam would be a formal part of the United States, where immigrants to the island can establish residency requirements for naturalized US citizenship" (p. 82)

"States cannot formally restrict immigrants from entering their respective states. However, states can create different policies that address immigrants in their states (not regarding their status as immigrants, but for things such as employment and professional licensure agreements)" (p. 83).

## INDEPENDENCE

"As an independent country, Guam will have control over its immigration, which means it can close its borders as it sees fit for a variety of reasons involving health, political relationships, as well as the economy" (p. 85).

"To protect the island's tourism industry and to possibly develop new industries, the island may choose to have a more expansive visa waiver program that will allow citizens from countries to come into Guam as long as they have a valid passport or other appropriate forms of identification" (p. 85).

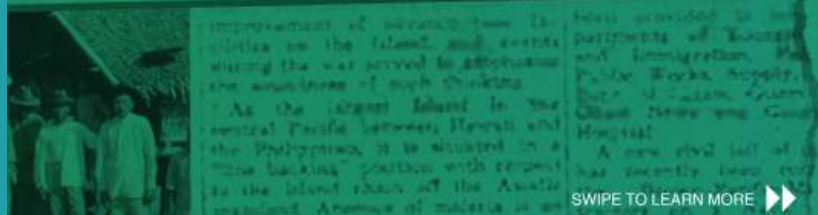
## FREE ASSOCIATION

"As a freely associated state, Guam will have control of its immigration policies, subject to specific items negotiated and outlined in Guam's potential Compact of Free Association (COFA) agreement or other legal instrument with the United States" (p. 87).

"Guam can potentially negotiate for its citizens to travel visa free into the United States. If this status is given to Guam citizens, the island's citizens will be able to travel to the United States for education, work, and healthcare opportunities for an unspecified amount of time" (p. 87-88).



## HEALTHCARE



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# STATEHOOD

## Why does it matter?

The quality of Guam's healthcare system and its ability to respond to the needs of the island community is critical since the island's residents suffer from high rates of chronic disease, including diabetes and kidney disease. Across Guam's healthcare system, challenges include "limited/decreased funding and funding sources; outdated operation procedures, policies, and plans; lengthy processes for procurement and retirement; and an aging and unsustainable workforce" (p. 94).

"As a state, the healthcare system will remain intact for the most part. Residents of the state of Guam will likely continue to get access to healthcare through employer-sponsored insurance and/or federally funded healthcare insurance. All public and private clinics, health care providers, hospitals, and government programs will likely remain the same, unless otherwise changed as a result of specific provisions of the state of Guam's constitution" (p. 96).

Although the island currently struggles with being reimbursed by the federal government as part of its COFA agreements, as a state, Guam would be fully integrated into the United States and have greater political power to advocate for increased federal reimbursements to the local government

## INDEPENDENCE



As an independent country, "Guam would have the opportunity and responsibility to learn from other countries throughout the world and implement a healthcare model suited to its unique needs and economic situation" (p. 103).

"The island may desire free medical care for all citizens paid for by the government of Guam, or perhaps some other program more comprehensive, more suitable and more affordable than what is currently in place. This would be dependent on the economic feasibility of the development of this system and how the new country will replace the federal funds currently available which assist in the maintenance and operation of the healthcare network of the island" (p. 100).

## FREE ASSOCIATION



"As a freely associated state, Guam can negotiate to receive money from the United States or international organizations to help develop infrastructure for healthcare in the island. If Guam's potential compact follows a similar pattern to the existing Compact of Free Association (COFA) agreements with the United States, the island could negotiate for visa-free travel for its citizens who travel to the United States to access healthcare services."

"As it would with independence, a freely associated Guam would be able to solicit healthcare providers and services from non-US sources. The island would be able to utilize its neighboring countries in Asia to procure healthcare resources that may be more cost effective."

# EDUCATION IN THE UNINCORPORATED TERRITORY OF GUAM

"To keep in line with federal education requirements, GDOE has limits with supplies and learning materials. GDOE has fallen into the habit of mirroring the curriculum with state models, which are not framed by the local culture of the island. This practice is unsurprising since Guam's education system was initially formalized during the Naval administration and was later reinforced to model the US system with the signing of the Organic Act of Guam" (p. 109).

improvement of communications is critical on the island, and even during the war served to attract the attention of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asian mainland. Access of hostile air and surface forces to the southern







with the Cathedral in the background.

representation and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. To shortage of funds, progress projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Inyila and Umatac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the village of Dededo, Barrigada, San Hago, Manzanilla, Pagan, Piti, Tula, Santa Rita.

## STATEHOOD

# EDUCATION



improvement of educational facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of high thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.


been provided to the departments of Education and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, Bureau of Guam, Guam, Guam, Guam, and Guam Hospital.

A new civil bill of has recently been...

"Funding for GDOE under the state of Guam is unlikely to change significantly. As a state, Guam may see an increase in federal funds if there is an influx of students attending GDOE schools ... Although education is considered a state or local responsibility, historically, the United States uses federal funding as leverage to implement educational reform. Oftentimes, funding gets tied to national policies and their respective goals tend to fluctuate with each administrative change" (p. 111-112).

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## INDEPENDENCE

A silhouette illustration of a tropical island landscape. On the left, there are two pigs and two chickens. In the center, there are three traditional thatched-roof huts and several palm trees. On the right, there are three chickens and one palm tree. The entire scene is set against a light blue background.

"If Guam were to choose independence, it would have the ability to create an educational system tailored specifically to its needs." Additionally, "Guam would not have to adhere to US federal education requirements, so it may choose to create standards better suited to the culture of the students who attend Guam's schools and for the industries the island develops" (p. 114).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"As a freely associated state, Guam may continue to align its education system with US national education standards. An existing familiarity with the U.S framework will improve the likelihood of this happening. However, there is a possibility that a stronger cultural framework could be applied to curricular materials since the island will have the flexibility to tailor classroom materials."

For example, Palau allocated \$100,000 to its Curriculum and Instruction Office to "increase literacy, numeracy, Palauan knowledge, and essential life skills" (p. 118).



with the Cathedral in the background

## CHAMORU CULTURE PRESERVATION/CHAMORU PROGRAMS



As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asiatic mainland. Aramoa of Malacca is an

replacement and extension  
water systems and their  
sanitary sewer systems. In  
shortage of funds, program  
systems has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of the Ute and Umatilla were small frame school buildings constructed in the 1880s. The village of Dando, Harrington, St. Ignace, Marmouset, Pigeon, Price, Tule, and Ute were built in the 1890s.

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"The CHamoru culture lives today and can be seen in many aspects of life in contemporary Guam. Even as an unincorporated territory with centuries of colonization, the CHamoru people have retained their language, values, and traditions despite challenges facing the island. Despite these waves of colonialism, the CHamoru culture has adapted without losing its core. Many contemporary CHamorus challenge popular discourse asserting the death and continued erosion of "authentic" CHamoru culture. In Guam today, there is a cultural revival by the island's younger generations. They embrace the culture as deeply important to their lives and show that the culture is living, even if there are certain aspects of it that are in need of revitalization. They embrace it despite the presence of certain discourses that are harmful to the flourishing of the CHamoru culture."

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## STATEHOOD

"Guam's economy may benefit from an increase in funding that would possibly allow for the continuation and expansion of programs that assist CHamoru culture preservation and perpetuation. As a state, US citizens in Guam could have access to the full repertoire of federal programs and grants that help cultural preservation and cultural resource management.

Although Guam currently receives funds from several national sources, such as the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Department of Health and Human Services' Administration for Native Americans, Guam could have greater access to these resources as a state.

## INDEPENDENCE

"Independence offers increased opportunities for cultural preservation and the development and maintenance of CHamoru programs. As an independent country, CHamoru cultural values and customs could more easily become the foundation of government structures and policies."

"As Guam would be able to craft its own government system and social/economic/land policies, independence offers opportunity for the continued survival and thriving of the CHamoru culture. Under independence, it is possible that CHamoru values such as inafa'maolek (to make good for one another), respetu (respect), chenchule' (reciprocity), and inagofli'e' (friendship) can be guiding principles of policy in the formation of the country's political system. Independence could provide an opportunity for CHamoru ways of being, taking care of the land, and protecting the environment to become legitimately implemented into the policies and laws of the country."

A stylized illustration of a tropical beach scene. In the foreground, three chickens are standing on the sand. In the background, there are palm trees and a wavy line representing the ocean or a path.

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"Similar to statehood and independence, a freely associated state of Guam will be able to develop programs aimed at cultural preservation and perpetuation. The island's leaders could ensure that this principle of cultural preservation and perpetuation is highlighted foremost in the preamble to the island's Constitution."

Guam could follow the example of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), whose constitution lays out the role of traditional leaders and explicitly protects the cultural traditions of the people of Palau.

The FSM constitution states,

"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."

In regard to these case studies, although Guam does not have a traditional chief system, this example simply highlights other freely-associated states' ability to incorporate more aspects of their culture into their governmental structures



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All of the pre-war buildings except those in southern villages of the Ute and Umatas were small frame school buildings. In the village of Dardo, Harrigan, San Hagon, Mammong, Page, Price, Talbot, Santa Rita.

# CHAMORU LANGUAGE



"As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asiatic mainland. Access of malaria is an

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## Why does it matter?

"Language is important for a people's culture and worldview. From a language, one can understand and respect the values of a people, their psychology, and epistemology. Kenyan scholar Ngugi Wa Thiong'o articulates this, writing, 'The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe' (p. 137).

"Some examples of finding the CHamoru worldview in the CHamoru language include the words *geftao* and *chattao*. *Geftao* means generous and *chattao* means selfish. *Gef* is an intensifier, equivalent to the word "very" (similar to *gof*), while *chat* is a prefix indicating "not quite," while *taotao* means "person or people." Thus, in the CHamoru worldview, to be selfish or "*chattao*" means to be not quite human, while to be generous or "*geftao*," means to be very human. These glimpses of the CHamoru worldview are ubiquitous in *Fino' CHamoru*" (p. 137).

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## STATEHOOD

"If Guam were to become a state, it could implement policies at the state level to help the revitalization and perpetuation of the language. While some argue that statehood would endanger the CHamoru language, this is not a guarantee, and the state of Guam could still make concerted efforts at revitalization and perpetuation" (p. 141).

"One method of language revitalization available to the state of Guam is the utilization of the Department of Education. Currently, there is a CHamoru immersion program (in which Fino' CHamoru is used as the medium of education in most subject areas including Science and Mathematics) for a Kindergarten, 1st Grade, and 2nd Grade class within the Guam Department of Education. If the government of the state of Guam views language revitalization as a priority, it could explore how to fund and provide resources to continue public immersion programs. Under statehood, there could potentially be more funding and resources available to fund language revitalization programs such as public school immersion" (p. 141).

"As a state, Guam could make CHamoru an official language of the state, as it is today in the unincorporated territory of Guam. Hawai'i has made Hawaiian an official language, Alaska has made various Inuit languages official indigenous languages, and South Dakota has made Sioux an official indigenous language of the government" (p. 141).

## INDEPENDENCE

AND

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"One policy to be debated is whether to make CHamoru an official language of the country. It is currently an official language of the unincorporated territory of Guam and the new government will decide whether to continue this or not" (p. 143-144)

"When deciding on an official language for the island, the government of Guam should consider two official languages, and not just one. It is highly expected that English, as a global language and the most widely used language in Guam, will remain a dominant language in the country and should be made an official language. This does not mean that English should be the only official language" (p. 144).

"The Kumision i Fino' CHamoru, which is active today, serves as an example of what a freely associated or independent Guam could continue and possibly provide more funding for, although a stronger emphasis on revitalization is needed, as opposed to orthography regulations. The infrastructure is already in place and it is highly advised that a freely associated or independent Guam take steps to establish a language regulatory body like the Kumision I Fino' CHamoru" (p. 145).



with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. The shortage of funds, program projects has been slow. All of the pre-war villages, except those in the southern villages of Inella and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the village. Dededo, Barrigada, San Hago, Mangro, Pago, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# CHAMORU INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

"CHamoru are the indigenous people of the Mariana Archipelago and have lived in Guam for 3,500 years, establishing a unique culture, language, cosmology, and relationship to the land. Despite this, one of the most contentious issues facing the decolonization and self-determination movement in Guam is differing opinions on the role of CHamorus in the process, the role of indigeneity, and the treatment of CHamorus in the new chosen political status"



improvement of infrastructure facilities on the island, and events during the war served to diminish the awareness of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Asian mainland. Attitude of tolerance is an

been provided to immigrants of European and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, State of Guam, Guam, Chamorro and Guam Hospital.

A new civil bill of has recently been for training on a new

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## STATEHOOD

CHamoru indigenous rights, distinct from individual rights, will be challenging under statehood without the process of federal recognition. Since Guam would be a state of the union, the US Constitution would fully apply, and Guam would remain under the American legal system. Typical American jurisprudence requires strict scrutiny of any policy or program that uses racial or ethnic classifications. Therefore, programs that benefit indigenous people or promote indigenous culture have and would continue to be open to judicial attack on the premise that they are racist unless they are passed by Congress

## INDEPENDENCE

An independent Guam allows for the greatest flexibility regarding indigenous rights because the people of Guam would be crafting a new government and political system. This new system could allow for the exercise of indigenous rights. This will be contingent upon the will of the people and their desires at the time. The people of Guam could choose to essentially mimic the governmental style of the United States of America, which they are most accustomed to. Alternatively, they could ensure that indigenous rights are recognized, no matter what government type is chosen.



# FREE ASSOCIATION

A freely associated Guam offers many of the same benefits and responsibilities to the island and its people as independence when it comes to indigenous rights. Guam could also craft a new government system that is cognizant of its histories and particularities (depending on the type of relationship negotiated by Guam and the United States). Furthermore, a freely associated Guam could use international law to legitimately protect indigenous rights.

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





# Economic Impacts

- Industry Development
- Commerce, Trade, and Customs
- Tourism
- Cannabis Industry
- International Aid





with the Cathedral in the background.

improvement and extension water systems and public sanitary sewer systems. In shortage of funds, progress projects has been slow. All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Inarita and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the villages of Dededo, Barrigada, San Heigdon, Manzanilla, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT



improvement of transportation facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the importance of such thinking. As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been awarded to the Department of Commerce and Immigration, the Public Works Supply, Bureau of Guam, Guam Civil Service and Guam Hospital. A new civil bill of law has recently been passed.

Guam's historical attempts to diversify its industries have at times been met with resistance and challenge from the federal government. Following federal interference with Guam's attempt to create an export industry of textiles and watches, Governor Joseph Ada expressed his frustration before the US Congress, stating,

"On two separate occasions, flourishing manufacturing industries on Guam have been strangled by federal constraints--imposed after these industries became successful--imposed because these industries became successful...America sometimes treats us as foreign and sometimes as domestic, always to our disadvantage" (p. 161-162).

"We were told year after year that we had to develop our own economy in order to pay our own way. We have tried, and we have succeeded. But federal policies have not helped. They have hindered us. If our economy has only one dimension, tourism, it is not because Guam has not tried to diversify, but because federal regulations and the unlimited power the federal government has to dictate changes in policy that affect us, have made it almost impossible" (p. 162).

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"Beyond its current primary industries, Guam has a strong potential to expand its role as a regional and international hub for transportation and telecommunications" (p. 163)

"In terms of transportation, the island has an excellent deep-water harbor as well as an efficient commercial port, and a modern, well-maintained 12,000-foot runway with a civilian airport facility that it could utilize in any of the three political status choices. The commercial port and the airport could accommodate expanded activities as demand increases, and both are adjacent to relatively large, undeveloped land that could facilitate much higher levels of transportation and storage of goods" (p. 163)

"As a telecommunications hub, Guam is already at a nexus of multiple international fiber optic cables, but primarily uses their capacity locally only for telephone and internet services. Most of the on-shore telecommunications activity here is simply devoted to signal enhancement and branching, meaning that international messages may be routed through and amplified in Guam to support delivery to their various final destinations. Although Guam has a handful of small server farms, they are primarily for local use and data archiving" (p. 163)

## STATEHOOD



"The development of Guam's tourism industry should continue as it has been, except that there is the potential for greater political influence at the federal level to improve access to the labor resources needed to expand and add to existing tourism facilities" (p. 165).

"Although military activity could no longer be considered strictly an export, activity in that sector would likely increase because of the greater interest of the national government in protecting a state as opposed to an unincorporated territory. The effects of that increase would spread throughout the civilian economy, likely raising income and associated standards of living" (p. 165).

An illustration of a tropical beach scene. In the foreground, there is a sandy beach with three chickens. In the background, there are palm trees and a blue sky with white clouds. The scene is split into two panels by a vertical line.

## INDEPENDENCE

"Independence would provide Guam with the greatest latitude in shaping its economic destiny over the longer term, redefining internal and external economic interrelationships, as well as structuring a legal system, a tax code and other parameters that are better tailored to the island's political and economic realities than the current systems that are in place" (p. 169).

As an independent country, Guam could pursue ties with countries and form "new economic and political alliances, which could lead to more economically beneficial ties" (p. 169).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"Under free association, local control over immigration could remove the current restrictions on the temporary importation of labor resources for civilian construction projects and for other purposes. That would likely allow a more rapid expansion of Guam's economy than has been possible in recent years, with new commercial buildings and facilities accommodating the growth of businesses and creating new jobs. The expansion of housing development would help to reduce the current, often prohibitively high cost of residential properties, allowing workers and others to devote a larger portion of their income to other consumption, not only raising standards of living, but also supporting new and expanded business activities" (p. 167).





with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and utility sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, progress projects has been slow. All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Lita and Umatac were small frame school buildings. The village of Dededo, Barrigada, San Higinio, Mangrova, Pago, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

## STATEHOOD

# COMMERCE, TRADE, AND CUSTOMS

"As a state, Guam would be bound by the terms of trade that are established at the national level and would most certainly become a part of the Customs Territory of the United States, subject to the same established tariffs, quotas and exclusions" (p.195).



improvement of transportation facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the soundness of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been provided to the departments of Economic and Immigration, the Public Works, Health, Bureau of Census, Guam, Guam State and Guam Hospital.

A new civil bill of has recently been introduced.

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Economic Impacts

## INDEPENDENCE

## FREE ASSOCIATION

Under Independence, Guam would have virtually total control over its choice of economic system and could establish its norms for internal commerce in any way that it chooses" (p. 196).

"In terms of cross-border trade, independence as a political status would provide Guam with wide latitude in its relationship with other countries and the global economy in general. However, there are good reasons that trade standards exist among countries, and it is likely that Guam would adhere to most of those standards" (p.196).

"As a freely associated state, Guam would no longer be subject to all of the commercial standards that are currently required by the United States but may continue to follow those standards for practical purposes or as negotiated in achieving this status. Otherwise, Guam would have the latitude to establish its own internal standards" (p.196).

Under free association, Guam would be eligible to enter into agreements, including trade agreements, with other sovereign countries and participate in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization, binding itself more or less tightly to the global community" (p.196).



with the Cathedral in the background.

# TOURISM



improvement of infrastructure facilities on the island, and events during the war served to attract the attention of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backstop" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Ina and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the early 1940s. Barrigada, San Heigdon, Mercurio, Pago, Price, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

been provided to the Department of Economic and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, State of Guam, Guam Civil Service and Guam Hospital.

A new civil bill of law has recently been passed by the Guam Legislature.

"It is quite fortunate for the civilian population of the island to have a tropical climate, lush vegetation, tranquil bays and wide, sandy beaches. These characteristics have made the island an attractive and even favored tourist destination, especially for people from some of the more affluent, yet colder, countries in our region. Adding to that good fortune is the fact that tourism is a low-impact, high-value industry. As a result, tourism has been Guam's primary civilian industry for nearly fifty years, generating thousands of jobs and hundreds of millions of dollars in income annually for people living here. Tourism has been very, very good for Guam's economy" (p. 198).

"Because tourism holds Guam's greatest potential for export earnings in the civilian sector now and in the foreseeable future, it is highly likely that it will remain the island's principal private industry regardless of the political status that is chosen" (p. 200).

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## STATEHOOD

A transition to statehood would have only two notable effects that might influence Guam's visitor arrivals. First is the transfer of customs operations from local to US federal control, making it subject to federal laws and regulations. This would essentially be transparent to an arriving visitor. The second impact would be even greater confidence in the rule of law as it exists here. Neither of those effects are expected to significantly alter visitor arrivals or spending and will likely continue to make Guam an attractive tourist destination" (p. 200).

## INDEPENDENCE

"Under free association or independence, the government of Guam will be able to determine who to open the tourism markets to. Thus, there is the possibility that Guam could open markets again to countries such as China and Russia. This will be contingent on the diplomatic relations Guam has with countries around the world" (p. 201).

"A change in Guam's political status will likely go unnoticed by the typical tourist contemplating a visit to the island as long as local conditions reflect relative stability and personal security during and after the transition" (p. 200).

# FREE ASSOCIATION

"Just like independence, a freely associated Guam, "in creating a country that retains its natural beauty, potential for relaxation/pleasure, and capitalizing on a short travel time for Asian countries,...would have the opportunity to expand the forms of tourism it offers, such as cultural tourism or eco-tourism" (p. 201).

"Although there may be a temporary decrease of confidence by visitors in Guam's level of personal security and the rule of law, that decrease can be expected to be brief and overcome quickly enough that any resulting reduction in tourist arrivals and expenditures should hardly be noticeable. Visitors will likely be unaware of the transfer of immigration authority from the US federal government to the government of Guam, and the difference should not be consequential from a visitor's viewpoint. It may be some time before investor confidence returns to its pre- transition level, but if Guam's government exhibits stability throughout the process, that period should be relatively brief" (p. 200).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





with the Cathedral in the background


replacement and extension  
water systems and their  
sanitary sewer systems. In  
addition, the city has  
plans for future, proposed  
systems that have been approved.

All of the pre-war buildings except those in southern villages of Little and Umatan were small frame school buildings. The new Dade County, Warrigala, St. Hughes, Monmouth, Page, Price, Tule, and

# CANNABIS INDUSTRY



"At the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asiatic

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The legalization of the cannabis industry may potentially be beneficial for Guam. The New Hampshire Business Review spells out three main ways the cannabis industry can positively impact an economy:

**Tax Revenue:** "increased tax revenue based upon expansion and diversification of the island's industrial base."

The Real Estate Industry: "Real estate could be purchased, rented or leased to accommodate the industry, meaning more land could be drawn into economic production."

**Ancillary Business Opportunities:** “The cannabis industry would rely upon other businesses to supply its operations” (p. 204-205).





## STATEHOOD

"A cannabis industry in Guam will likely meet the most resistance under statehood. Despite the majority of US states having legalized some form of cannabis usage, it is nonetheless susceptible to reaction from the federal government. This is because the illegality of marijuana at the federal level poses several impediments for the success of this particular industry. One example is the restriction of cannabis on flights to the United States due to the federal law prohibiting importation. Therefore, this industry could have significant hurdles if Guam were to become a state unless cannabis is legalized at the federal level" (p. 205).

## INDEPENDENCE

AND

## FREE ASSOCIATION

As an independent country or freely associated state, Guam will have the authority to create all necessary rules for cannabis, hemp and CBD as it sees fit. Therefore, the potential for growing these industries is dependent on relations with foreign countries and the demand for cannabis within the market of Guam residents and visitors. Additionally, Guam's government will be able to control its tax policy to balance the collection of revenue for government services with the need for businesses to have funds available for expansion" (p. 206).



Life the Cathedral in the background

All of the pre-war village school except those in southern villages of Little and Umatan were small frame school buildings constructed in the 1910s. Dededo, Haggai, St. Ignace, Managaha, Pago, Pigeon, Taka, and Santa Rita.

# INTERNATIONAL AID

Improvement of advanced base facilities on the island, and events during the war served to emphasize the soundness of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line-backing" position with respect to the island chain off the Asiatic

been provided to the  
partnership of Economic  
and Immigration, the  
Public Works Supply,  
Barr & Latham, James  
Olsen, Peter and Gary  
Hoskins.

A new civil suit of  
that recently been re-

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International aid "usually refers to the transfer of resources between countries which is not predicated on a commercial basis," and "can take different forms, such as bilateral economic development programs, cash transfers, equipment, food and supplies, medical assistance, humanitarian aid, infrastructure, activities related to peacebuilding, and technical assistance or cooperation (such as training services or education)" (p. 208-209).

"International aid can be beneficial for its recipients because it allows countries to implement programs and initiatives that they otherwise would not be able to afford. For example, with humanitarian aid, wealthy countries are known for providing money and resources to poorer countries to improve access to medical care or to allow for the creation of healthcare infrastructure. Globally, these funds contribute to efforts including eradicating diseases and decreasing rates in infant and maternal mortality" (p. 209).

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## STATEHOOD

"International financial and technical assistance will not be directly available to Guam under the statehood option, since international relations are the purview of and will be reserved to the authority of the US federal government" (p. 209).

"However, it is important to note that the state of Guam will continue to get federal money. States get funding from the federal government to support their social services programs. In Fiscal Year 2017, Michigan (\$22.8M), Montana (\$2.8M), and Mississippi (\$9.1M) received federal funding that covered more than 40% of their states' total expenditures" (p. 209-210).

## INDEPENDENCE

"If Guam were to become an independent country, if needed, it may qualify for international aid from individual countries or international organizations. Under independence, Guam, if eligible, would be able to avail of multilateral aid, in which aid comes from different governments and organizations, often arranged by international organizations...International bodies are working to support programs that assist in developing countries, especially those in the Pacific who face unique challenges (p. 210, 215).

As an independent country, Guam could benefit, depending on eligibility, from a wide variety of regional and international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United States Agency for International Development (p. 210-216).



# FREE ASSOCIATION

Aside from funding they receive from the United States, as negotiated in their Compact of Free Association (COFA) with the United States, freely associated states (FAS) are also eligible and receive international aid from other countries in the form of grants and loans. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) grants monies through its Asian Development Fund (ADF) to 'lower-income developing member countries' (DMCs). Presently, eighteen of the DMCs are eligible for grants from the ADF. Of those eighteen, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia are eligible to receive funding. In 2019, the ADF granted RMI \$6.5 million in grant funding and also gave the FSM \$26 million in grants" (p. 219).

"Under free association, the island of Guam can negotiate monetary aid, grants, and access to federal agencies into its compact agreement, if one is established. Additionally, Guam would also be able to enter into diplomatic relationships with other countries for economic and technical cooperation purposes" (p. 224)



Photos Courtesy of Pacific Daily News









# Environmental Sustainability

- Human Security
- Human Security and Climate Change
- Human Security and COVID-19
- Food Security and Agricultural Expansion
- Aquaculture Development
- Water Resources
- Renewable Energy



with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and using sanitary sewer systems. In shortage of funds, progress projects had been slow. All of the pre-war villages, except those in southern villages of Ina'iti and Umanan were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the village. Dando, Barrigada, San Higinio, Manzanilla, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# HUMAN SECURITY



improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to strengthen the awareness of such thinking. As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been provided to the payments of Unemployment, Immigration, the Public Works Agency, State of Guam, Guam Army and Navy Hospital. A new civil bill of has recently been passed.

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Human security is understood to "encompass seven primary categories: economic; food; health; environmental; personal; community; and political security."

The Self-Determination Study outlines some of the "main threats to human security in Guam that encompass multiple categories. For example, Guam's rising temperatures due to climate change could affect agricultural production as changing weather patterns make it difficult to grow certain crops and hinder access to food. In addition, rising temperatures may correlate with a rise in heat-related illnesses. Thus, climate encompasses the health, food, and environmental categories of human security"(p. 230).



## STATEHOOD

"Under statehood, Guam will be an integral part of the union that joins all fifty states and the US federal government. Becoming a state implies that Guam will adhere to federal policies but may also create laws within the state to combat human security threats" (p. 243).

For example, "In terms of natural disasters, Guam will be aided on both a state and federal level. As a state, Guam would continue to be included in the Emergency Management Assistance Compact (EMAC), which is a "national interstate mutual aid agreement that enables states to share resources during times of disasters." As a state partnering in the program, Guam would be able to seek additional assistance at a state level. If federal assistance is needed, the government of Guam can request aid from the federal government as permitted under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act" (p. 243)

## INDEPENDENCE

"An independent Guam would have jurisdiction over all facets of government. This allows the island's government to make decisions related to human security threats in the best interests of Guam's people, without oversight from a higher level of government. However, independence comes with its own set of risks and responsibilities. In terms of the environmental threats of climate change and natural disasters, invasive species, disease and waste management, Guam would have full control over its land and water resources, and would be the primary party responsible during these adverse events" (p. 246)

"As an independent country, the island would have the capacity to use international institutions and organizations. Since many international organizations promote and offer technical assistance for global environmental sustainability, Guam can commit to this goal while concurrently benefitting the island's ecosystem. Furthermore, as an independent country, Guam will have an international platform to advocate for the continual preservation of our global environment, which is primarily at stake by the impending devastation of climate change" (p. 246).



## FREE ASSOCIATION

"Under the political status of free association, Guam can continue its pursuit to ensure human security. A primary feature of this status is the potential establishment of a Compact of Free Association (COFA) or other legal instrument between the government of Guam and the United States. In relation to human security, an agreement between Guam and the US may include US financial assistance for programs that address threats to human security as well as a continuity in services from sources such as the National Weather Service and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. What Guam may leverage as a partner of the US is the established infrastructure for entities, such as the military, which indicates how much the US government has invested in the island" (p. 250).

"Aside from its relationship with the United States, under free association, Guam will have the freedom to make environmental commitments. Outside of their relationship with the United States, if following FAS models in the Micronesian sub-region, Guam would be able to form bilateral or multilateral partnerships. Under both independence and free association, Guam could join the region in exploring unique and relevant approaches to issues that impact our shared environment in ways that we are currently unable to as a result of the island's current status" (p. 251).



File in 1972, showing the Plaza, with the Cathedral in the background.

## HUMAN SECURITY AND CLIMATE CH



# Y CHANGE

replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. Due to shortage of funds, progress has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of the rice and Umatac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the rice. Dededo, Barrigada, San Hago, Merigona, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.


"The global conditions of increasing average temperatures and GHG (greenhouse gasses) emissions carry implications for Guam. The changing weather patterns that result from rising temperatures may affect the environmental conditions that impact the frequency or intensity of certain natural disasters. For Guam, these environmental threats could take the form of rising sea levels, coastal inundation, tropical cyclones, wildfires and drought, and ocean acidification" (p. 231).

## STATEHOOD

As a state, Guam would also be subject to the federal laws in place to regulate the land, water, and air. Some of the most prominent laws include the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), Clean Air Act, and Clean Water Act. The island will continue to follow these laws should it become a state" (p. 243).

As a state, Guam could expand its many existing federal partnerships. With the state of Florida for example, "Florida's Department of Environmental Protection has partnered with NOAA for the Florida Resilient Coastlines Program. This state-federal partnership works with Florida's coastal communities 'to offer technical assistance and funding to coastal communities dealing with increasingly complex flooding, erosion and habitat shifts' in part due to 'the effects of climate change' (p. 245-246).

## INDEPENDENCE

A silhouette illustration of a tropical landscape. On the left, a pig and a cow are grazing. In the center, there are several traditional thatched-roof huts and palm trees. On the right, three chickens are standing. The background is a solid teal color.

"An independent Guam would have jurisdiction over all facets of government. This allows the island's government to make decisions related to human security threats in the best interests of Guam's people, without oversight from a higher level of government. However, independence comes with its own set of risks and responsibilities. In terms of the environmental threats of climate change and natural disasters, invasive species, disease and waste management, Guam would have full control over its land and water resources, and would also be the primary party responsible during adverse events such as natural disasters" (p. 246).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"Aside from its relationship with the United States, under free association, Guam will have the freedom to make environmental commitments. Outside of their relationship with the United States, if following FAS models in the Micronesian sub-region, Guam would be able to form bilateral or multilateral partnerships. Under both independence and free association, Guam could join the region in exploring unique and relevant approaches to issues that impact our shared environment in ways that we are currently unable to as a result of the island's current status" (p. 251)





with the Cathedral in the background.

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# HUMAN SECURITY COVID-19



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A new civil bill of  
has recently been con-  
tractors on a new

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Although the people of Guam have experienced several disease outbreaks and epidemics, including mumps and dengue fever,, the ongoing COVID-19 global pandemic offers timely lessons on Guam's current capabilities to respond to the outbreak of communicable diseases and what can be done under the different political status options to improve Guam's ability to protect its population from future disease outbreaks.



## STATEHOOD

"For disease resilience and prevention, Guam is afforded aid from agencies such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) which is the national agency that controls the proliferation of diseases "to improve the health of the people of the United States." More specifically, Guam receives financial support from programs such as the Public Health Emergency Preparedness Cooperative Agreement (PHEP) program, which provides funds for "state, local, and territorial public health departments" (p. 244).

"As a state, Guam would have continued access to the Strategic National Stockpile (SNS) during public health emergencies. The SNS is comprised of "supplies, medicines, and devices for life-saving care" which is used "to supplement state and local supplies during public health emergencies." Furthermore, in the case of future pandemics, Guam will continue to be eligible for federal assistance similar to that of the CARES Act, where Guam received a substantial amount of assistance" (p. 244).

## INDEPENDENCE

"Under the status of independence, the island could retain plans on how to respond to disease as well as the established healthcare infrastructure. For example, many of the independent Pacific Island countries have more political power to protect their people from COVID, such as control over borders" (p. 247-248).

"Assistance from the United States could come in different forms, especially with continued US military presence and historical ties between Guam and the United States. Additionally, international aid from entities such as the World Health Organization (WHO), which aims to "increase the amount of aid provided by rich countries to poor countries' through donors and partnerships," may assist. As a newly independent country, Guam may benefit from this form of assistance" (p. 248).

# FREE ASSOCIATION

"As a freely associated state, some forms of US financial and technical assistance may continue and others may no longer be available, unless negotiated. For example, all three COFA countries are entitled to receive, and have already begun receiving, free COVID-19 vaccines under the US's Operation Warp Speed, with distribution in proportion to the populations of those countries relative to populations in the states and territories of the U.S." (p. 250).

"COFA countries are also entitled to receive, and have already received, financial assistance from the US under the CARES Act, including pandemic unemployment assistance. In addition to this, they were also able to keep COVID-19 out of their islands, all while using their relationship with the US to assist with vaccinations and to address economic impacts" (p. 250).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News







with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and indoor sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of Lirio and Umanac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the village. Dávila, Barrigada, San Ignacio, Manzanillo, Pape, Pico, Talón, Santa Rita.

# FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION



improvement of agricultural facilities on the island, and events during the war served to diminish the awareness of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the blood chain of the Asian mainland. Absence of malaria is an

been awarded to the permitting of "Korean" and immigration. The Public Works Supply, State of Hawaii, Guam, Okinawa, and Guam Hospital.

A new civil bill of has recently been the "strategy" on a new

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ►►

"In today's world, the health and well-being of humans is highly dependent on easy, reliable access to safe, healthy, and adequate sources of food. According to the 1996 World Food Summit, food security is achieved when "all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (p. 254).



## STATEHOOD

"The CHamoru people of Guam relied on a combination of fishing, gathering, and subsistence farming to meet their nutritional needs. During ancient times, and continuing up to WWII, CHamorus grew food to sustain their families. The shift from subsistence farming to a reliance on imports occurred after WWII, following the destruction of farmlands and the United States' acquisition of much of the island's arable lands. Today, imported food comprises an alarmingly high portion of Guam's food supply" (p. 255).

"Several factors contribute to food and nutrition insecurity in Guam, including high prices, limited widespread availability of healthy foods, heavy reliance on food assistance programs, and poor diet and food choices by consumers. Other contributing factors to food insecurity include weather events and the detrimental effects of climate change. The island's food supply is lacking in nutritious products, with many stores lacking an average of five of twelve categories of nutritious foods set by the US Department of Agriculture" (p. 255).

"As a state, Guam would have an improved, more equitable relationship with the federal government, which would continue or increase the availability of federal programs and financial/technical assistance. Guam receives federal funds from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in support of local agriculture programs such as plant and animal disease, pest control, and animal care, a specialty crop block grant program, and the cooperative forestry assistance program" (p. 258).

"As a state, there could be a wider range of access to programs that support agricultural expansion. These programs, provided by the USDA, include direct farm ownership loans, which help farmers buy land, equipment, seed, livestock, and other operating necessities, as well as guaranteed farm loans, which assist farmers in purchasing farmland or agricultural equipment" (p. 258).



## INDEPENDENCE

"As an independent country, Guam's sovereignty would allow the island to implement governmental policies that directly bolster its FNS. The government of Guam could implement comprehensive policy reforms, ranging from land use, to education, to tariffs and duties, etc. In regard to land, the government of Guam could make ownership and/or taxation dependent on how the land is used. With education, an independent Guam could offer, or continue to offer, agricultural courses/programs that teach students sustainable agricultural practices. Lastly, with tariffs and duties, the government of Guam would have the ability to implement and enforce trade policies that either encourage or discourage the import and export of goods, dependent on domestic food availability conditions" (p. 265).

As an independent country, Guam could potentially follow the example of Tonga, which has received support from several organizations and countries, such as the United Nations' "International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)," which "provided a total of \$16.74 million in financing costs, which supported five projects and benefited 17,209 households." Australia also provided Tonga with "\$8.2 million to support and encourage increased trade between Tonga and other Pacific island countries," which helped in increasing Tonga's watermelon exports "from 86 tons in 2010 to 271 tons in 2013" (p. 268).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"If Guam were to become freely associated with the United States, it could take advantage of the potential financial and technical assistance provided by the US, as well as a greater ability to engage in international affairs. Guam could bolster its agricultural development by receiving funds from the US and seeking supplemental investment opportunities from other countries. By securing domestic FNS, Guam would be better equipped to deal with challenges that would later come as a result of climate change and other uncertainties that would affect agricultural production" (p. 271).

As a freely associated state, Guam could also avail of funding and assistance from international organizations such as the Pacific Adaptation to Climate Change (PACC), an Australian program which provided Palau financial and technical assistance to implement modern agricultural technology into the traditional farming practices of Palauan culture," or the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations which has "aided Palau in the areas of policy making, food quality/safety, and the production of sustainable agricultural goods" (p. 270-271).





All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of the title and Umatilla were small frame school buildings constructed in the late 1920s. The village of Duvall, near the town of Houghton, is a small frame school building constructed in the late 1920s. The village of Duvall, near the town of Houghton, is a small frame school building constructed in the late 1920s.

# AQUACULTURE DEVELOPMENT

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ▶▶

been provided to the departments of Economic and Immigration, the Public Works Supply, Dept. of Labor, Customs, United States and Coast Hospital.

A new rival bid of \$100 million was submitted by the Denver-Parker-McIntosh Co. of Denver, Colo., to build the new shipyard on a Naval

Throughout the world and especially in Guam, the ocean is of great importance, serving "as a host to huge reservoirs of biodiversity, a crucial source for global food and human health, [and] a connector between land environments and marine environments" (p. 364).

Aquaculture refers to "the farming of aquatic organisms in both coastal and inland areas involving interventions in the rearing process to enhance production" (p. 274).

Aquaculture is one of "the fastest food-producing sectors and now accounts for fifty percent of the world's fish that is used for food" (p. 274).



## STATEHOOD

As a state, Guam's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) would be controlled by the U.S, and Guam would likely have "more access to other resources and funding from the US federal government. As a state, Guam could take additional measures to invest in the environment and other state-level initiatives to benefit land preservation and sustainability" (p. 381)


As a state, Guam would have access to "a variety of national supplies from the federal government," including "technology, equipment, investment capital, and food...while also enjoying the benefit of establishing laws at the state level that determine how the aquaculture sector may best serve the people" (p. 285).

## INDEPENDENCE

As an independent country, Guam will have the authority and responsibility over decisions regarding its environment and it could control its governance over natural and ocean resources.

With Guam having "full autonomy and exclusive control over its water resources," the development of an aquaculture industry could help in "sustaining the population's use and consumption of fish and other marine life. If production, support, and labor grow to a significant extent, the possibility exists that the industry could support the export of aquaculture products" (p. 298, 286).

## FREE ASSOCIATION



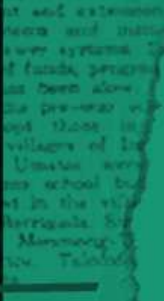
As a freely associated state, "Guam will be able to establish control over natural resources and its exclusive economic zone (EEZ). As a freely associated state (FAS), Guam could develop its governance approach over natural and ocean resources to a far greater extent than it currently can as an unincorporated territory" (p. 386).

"Aquaculture development as a freely associated state...will depend on the direction that its government and people want to take. A compact of free association or other legal instrument with the United States may only impact these developments if it is found in the language of the document" (p. 288).



Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





OUR KIDS  
DESERVE  
CLEAN  
LAND & WATER

"Guam obtains its potable water from two major sources: surface water and groundwater. These sources come from two provinces and are separated by the Pago-Adelup Fault. The southern geographic province of the island, which collects surface water, is dominated by volcanic uphill and sloping foothills. 811 Limestone plateaus bordered by steep cliffs collect groundwater in the northern province. Groundwater contributes to eighty percent of the island's drinking water. These plateaus are commonly referred to as Guam's northern aquifer" (p. 290).

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ▶▶



## STATEHOOD

"Under statehood, little change may be required regarding Guam's water resources. The island currently follows federal water laws and is structured like some US states. One required change is that the state of Guam will need to establish formal state water laws to address how water is distributed and managed" (p. 297).

"Additionally, the state of Guam will continue to have access to federal grants (i.e., Clean Water State Revolving Fund-CWSRF and the Drinking Water State Revolving Fund- DWSRF) for sustainably managing water resources" (p. 297).

## INDEPENDENCE

As an independent country, Guam would have full autonomy and exclusive control over its water resources. As a result, Guam will no longer have access to federal funding to complete its capital improvement projects. GWA currently relies on the revenue it receives from consumers. An independent Guam may continue to use a similar revenue source when it establishes its water system. An independent Guam will have to look for other sources of funding to make up for the loss in federal funds. Guam can look to other countries or international organizations for assistance or aid, in the form of grants and low-interest loans to fund improvements to the island's water infrastructure. If Guam and the United States negotiate to maintain US military bases in the island, Guam could obtain support and funding for its water system. The government of Guam can then use this money to manage water and other resources" (p. 298)

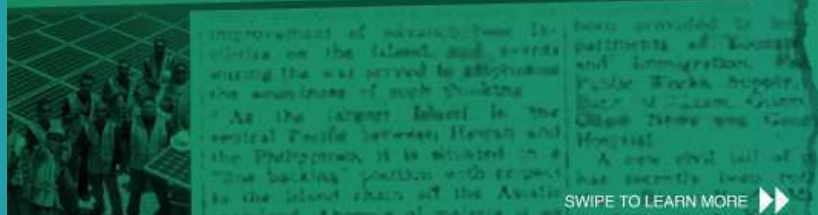
## FREE ASSOCIATION

"As a freely associated state (FAS), Guam will have sovereignty over its water resources, meaning that the island will have the authority to enable water laws for the country. A FAS Guam will likely also participate as its own country in regional and international organizations that address environmental impacts" (p. 301).

"Potential agreements between the US and Guam may include stipulations to ensure that the US will provide assistance in the form of federal funds, resources, and technical assistance to Guam during freshwater resource emergencies, such as drought or saltwater intrusion into the Northern Guam Lens Aquifer" (p. 303).



## RENEWABLE ENERGY



SWIPE TO LEARN MORE



"Currently, ten percent of Guam's energy production comes from renewable energy sources...with the remainder coming from conventional methods of energy production," such as fossil fuels. "Because the island does not have any local fossil fuel resources, fuel used for energy production must be imported," which "makes the island's energy production vulnerable to price and availability fluctuations in the global market, which ultimately affect reliability and contribute to high utility rates" (p. 306).

"Renewable energy consists of systems of energy that make use of naturally occurring, locally found sources that are inexhaustible. The major types of renewable energy include solar, hydropower, wind power, ocean energy, geothermal energy, and biomass, among others. These sources have proven to have fewer negative impacts on human life and the environment than traditional sources of energy such as fossil fuels like oil, coal, and natural gas. Within the past two decades, countries throughout the world have taken a significant interest in renewable energy" (pg. 308).



## STATEHOOD

"If Guam were to be a state, this would mean a closer relationship with the federal government, with continued federal funding and access to federal programs.

For example, "The Hawaii Clean Energy Initiative (HCEI) of 2008 is the most notable of federal partnerships. This partnership consists of a long-term memorandum of understanding between the Hawai'i and the US Department of Energy. The HCEI is credited with Hawai'i's significant growth in its renewable energy portfolio levels and future growth standards, along with the major goals of reducing electricity by 4,300 gigawatt-hours by 2030 and reducing overall petroleum use in the transportation sector. In 2014, both parties recommitted to the partnership, expanding the program and set the nation's first-ever goal of one hundred percent renewable energy by 2045" (pg. 317).

## INDEPENDENCE



"Guam, as an independent country, would be able to join international and regional organizations as a sovereign country. Beyond the benefits of international organization participation, an independent Guam would be able to participate with other countries on the international stage. Guam would have a wide-ranging ability to form partnerships with other countries in support of its renewable energy goals. These partnerships would be created and defined based on negotiations between sovereign countries and could come in the form of technical assistance, financial assistance, project collaboration, etc" (pg. 318).

Guam could follow the successes of Fiji's renewable energy sector which is "aided by external financial assistance from international organizations, regional organizations, and individual countries. In terms of international financial support, Fiji recently received approximately \$21 million from the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) to support its developmental goals, one of which is renewable energy"(pg. 319).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

"The primary benefit of free association with the United States would be the possible economic assistance set forth in an agreement with the United States...If Guam were to secure a set amount of funding from the US in support of renewable energy growth, the island could reap long-term benefits beyond immediate financial assistance"

As a freely associated state, Guam would be able to receive funding from the United States and other countries in support of

the island's renewable energy goals.

For the Republic of the Marshall Islands, although the U.S. provides "majority of the renewable energy sector's funding," the RMI also receives support from other countries, to include "\$13.81 million in aid," some of which "went toward the installation of home solar systems (\$1.5 million) and off-grid solar PV systems for six primary schools (\$890,000)" (p.338-339).



Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





# Land & Natural Resources

- Land
- Natural Resources
- Natural Resources II

with the Cathedral in the background.

# LAND WORTH

"As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a 'line backing' position with respect to the blood chain off the Asiatic mainland. Atoms of iodine it ac-

equipment and systems  
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absence of funds, however,  
has been a

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of the site and Umatan were small frame school buildings constructed in the village of Dando, Barrigada, San Juan, Pagan, Ponce, and San Juan, P.R. The village of Dando, Barrigada, San Juan, Pagan, Ponce, and San Juan, P.R. was destroyed by the Japanese in 1944.

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ▶▶

"Guam is not just a piece of real estate to be exploited for its money-making potential. Above all else, Guam is the homeland of the CHamoru people. That is a fundamental, undeniable truth. We are very profoundly "taotao tano"—people of the land. This land, tiny as it is, belongs to us just as surely, just as inseparably, as we belong to it. No tragedy of history or declaration of conquest, no legalistic double-talk can change that fact. Guam is our legacy. Is it for sale? How can one sell a national birthright?"

- Governor Ricardo Bordallo (p. 329).

"Guam's status as an unincorporated territory, without a full measure of self-government, currently makes it easier for the US military to take unilateral action in the island. In Guam, a colony of the US, the military does not have to gain consent from the government of Guam. Thus, the current status situates the local government, in many ways, as inferior to military plans and actions in the island."

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ▶▶



"Land in Guam is divided into three different categories: federally held land; public land (land owned by the government of Guam); and privately owned land. Currently, federally held land composes approximately thirty-two percent of Guam, much of this being military land. The government of Guam owns about twenty percent of the land and privately owned land makes up the remaining forty-eight percent.

#### FEDERAL LAND



#### PUBLIC LAND / GOVGUAM LAND



#### PRIVATE LAND



## STATEHOOD

"Transitioning to statehood is expected to involve the least amount of negotiation regarding land ownership, as Guam will become permanently within the US legal and political system. However, the transition to statehood from territorial status may still include a discussion of land ownership, particularly between the state government and the federal government."

In the case of Guam, it is expected that, in the transition to a state, federal ownership of land in the island will remain the same, at roughly thirty-two percent. There may be further negotiations for return of excess land, but it is highly unlikely that land needed for US military purposes will be returned in the case of statehood."

"If Guam becomes a state of the union, it is highly likely that current laws regarding who in the state can own real property (commonly referred to as "fee simple" ownership) will not change."



## INDEPENDENCE

Independence “provides for the widest latitude of control over the land and decisions on how to treat the land. Control of one’s territory is a characteristic of a country, and under independence, Guam would have this control.” This would be a big change from Guam’s current status, in which “control and use of Guam’s land was always usurped by a colonial power. Under independence, by nature of the political status itself, the United States will no longer have sovereignty and Guam will no longer be “US soil.” This does not mean Guam and the US will not have a relationship, but rather that the source of this relationship changes.

“Guam, as an independent country, would possess sovereignty to craft its own land tenure laws. The government of an independent Guam would have a range of options regarding land alienation in both residential and commercial development that it would have to decide and the tying of land ownership to citizens of the country.”

## FREE ASSOCIATION

“Like the previous section on independence, as a freely associated state, Guam would have the ability to craft its own laws regarding real property/land ownership. If the island has its own citizenship and is no longer sovereign American soil, the country may craft laws restricting land ownership to citizens of the freely associated state of Guam.”

Guam could follow the example of the other freely associated states such as the Federated States of Micronesia, in which the United States’ use of their land is limited by what is explicitly stated in their compact agreement. For example, with the FSM, if the United States requests to use a portion of land in certain areas, that request must first be approved by the FSM. The U.S. also follows the policy of “requesting the minimum area necessary to accomplish the required security and defense purpose” in the FSM.



With the Cathedral in the background.

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# NATURAL RESOURCES



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Hospital.

A new civil bill of  
has recently been  
Guam on a new

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Natural resources "are the resources that hold the ability to contribute to the sustenance of a population and as well as contribute toward economic growth". "Political Status will affect the ownership, usability, environmental impact, governance, and conservation of resources for Guam" (p. 365).





## STATEHOOD

As a state, "the US federal government would hold jurisdiction over the rest of the two-hundred-nautical miles that make up the EEZ generated by Guam. While Guam may possibly lose ownership over some parts of land and its surrounding waters, the tradeoff may be more access to other resources and funding from the US federal government. As a state, Guam could take additional measures to invest in the environment and other state-level initiatives to benefit land preservation and sustainability" (p. 381).

"Representation for Guam in the US Congress would mean voting rights within the legislative branch of the federal government, which may be able to translate into changes to land management for Guam at the national and new "state" local level. Indeed, leveraging state power can have specific local effects vis-à-vis the US military, a case in point is the example of Hawai'i" (p. 380).

## INDEPENDENCE

"As an independent country, Guam will have the authority and responsibility over decisions regarding its environment and it could control its governance over natural and ocean resources. Guam would be able to enter into treaties and partnerships and utilize international and regional partnerships. These opportunities may aid Guam with funding and research in relation to its natural resources" (p. 381).

"As an independent country, Guam would have jurisdiction over the EEZ the island generates and would need to consider protecting its natural and ocean resources. The island will also have to address threats to its maritime borders and other problems that may impact the land. For example, Guam would need to address issues such as illegal fishing, smuggling, and illegal dumping of waste within its waters and on land....As an independent country, Guam could develop a clear and capable plan of action and procure adequate resources to protect its EEZ and manage the natural resources within" (p. 381).

# FREE ASSOCIATION

As a freely associated state, "Guam will be able to establish control over natural resources and its exclusive economic zone (EEZ). As a freely associated state (FAS), Guam could develop its governance approach over natural and ocean resources to a far greater extent than it can currently as an unincorporated territory" (p. 386).

With the Republic of Palau for example, "Palau's natural resources include marine products, mineral resources, forestry-related resources, and arable land. Palau's compact with the United States addresses natural resources by emphasizing the importance of Palau's resources and maintaining the island's sovereign authority over their use and governance" (p. 386).





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Davido, Barrigada, Sa-  
Heighe, Marmon, Pa-  
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with the Cathedral in the background.

# NATURAL RESOURCES



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Catholic School and Guam  
Hospital.  
A new civil bill of  
has recently been the  
author of a new

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"Despite the limitations of extant data on the economics, in this section, a focus on natural and ocean resources provides a more expansive understanding of how political status could affect the ownership, usability, environmental impact, governance, and conservation of resources for Guam. The issues of land holding, lack of sustainable land use management on US federally held properties, and US federal immigration policies are three key issues that also impact resource management for the island" (p.364-365).





## STATEHOOD

"As a state, there may be changes regarding the control, exploitation and preservation of natural and ocean resources for Guam. One of the main concerns the island will need to consider is ownership of the land. As a territory, Guam has a claim to protect the EEZ the island generates from natural resource exploitation. As a state of the US, any residual claims of land ownership and natural resource jurisdiction would be expunged" (p. 379-380).

"The US federal government would hold jurisdiction over the rest of the two-hundred-nautical miles that make up the EEZ generated by Guam. While Guam may possibly lose ownership over some parts of land and its surrounding waters, the tradeoff may be more access to other resources and funding from the US federal government. As a state, Guam could take additional measures to invest in the environment and other state-level initiatives to benefit land preservation and sustainability. Along with defining boundaries on land and in the water, there is also Guam's approach to governance of ocean resources and the environment to consider" (p. 381).

## INDEPENDENCE

"As an independent country, Singapore exercises sovereignty over its natural resources, with a deep focus on conservation and green initiatives that contribute to its sustainable development". As an independent country, Guam can follow this example and "take steps to preserve its environment, prevent depleting its natural resources, and focus on industries that can be profitable based on Guam's strategic location and unique situation" (p. 382).

# FREE ASSOCIATION

Using Palau as a model, Guam's negotiations as a freely associated state would allow the island to control, the main regulations and protections of their environment, its natural resources, as well as ownership and actions over its EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone)" (p. 386)

Photos Courtesy of Pacific Daily News









# External Affairs & Defense

- **Treaties**
- **Relationship with the U.S.**
- **Relationship with the U.S. military**
- **Bases**
- **Military in the unincorporated Territory of Guam**
- **Military**







## STATEHOOD

With Guam as a state, although “it would not be able to enter into treaties with other countries,” Guam would likely have greater influence over U.S. foreign policy (p. 420).

“As a state, Guam’s elected senators in the US Senate could play a role in the treaty process or, on the rare chance, future generations born in the state of Guam as natural-born citizens can even be eligible for the Presidency of the United States. Furthermore, if Guam were to become a state, and the United States remained a respected superpower, it is expected that this will increase Guam’s prestige in the region and could lead to elected officials from Guam in the House of Representatives and in the Senate potentially having more impact on US foreign policy” (p. 421).

With consent from Congress, states are able to enter agreements or compacts with foreign nations and other jurisdictions. Some examples include states entering into compacts with the Canadian provinces of Manitoba and Quebec for “maintenance of highways and international bridges” (p. 420). California has also entered into a climate-change related MOU with the country of China (p. 421). Although not legally binding, the California-China MOU highlights the ways that states are able to engage in foreign policy to some degree.

## INDEPENDENCE

“As Guam would be a sovereign country, the government of Guam would have the ability to enter into relevant treaties and agreements with other countries in the interest of its people. This would heighten the international personality of the newly independent country” (p. 423).

“Depending on what Guam’s immediate and long-term interests are in the event Guam becomes independent, regional and international intergovernmental organizations will serve as important pipelines to funding, technical assistance, and offer meaningful channels in terms of trade and economic development” (p. 430).

“Overall, independence offers maximum latitude when it comes to creating diplomatic relationships, economic agreements, security arrangements, and membership in international and regional organizations. This could build the new country’s international profile and be beneficial to the island through effective diplomacy and bilateralism/multilateralism” (p. 430).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

As a freely associated state, if following the models of the three countries in the Micronesia sub-region, Guam could have the ability to enter into treaties/agreements which the government sees fit...The three freely associated states have engaged in diplomatic relationships with other countries and have been involved in international institutions" (p. 434-435).

Like the existing freely associated states, Guam could enter into treaties, such as the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons of which Palau "was one of the first ten countries in the world to sign the treaty" (p. 440).

Guam could also become a world leader on certain issues, as is the case with the Marshall Islands, which "has used its status as a United Nations member to take the lead on the world stage on issues such as climate change and nuclear testing" and engage with other countries like the Marshall Islands which "has diplomatic relations with over one hundred other countries and has embassies in the US, Fiji, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan as well as consulates in Honolulu and Arkansas" (p. 437).



replacement and extension water systems and install sanitary sewer systems. In shortage of funds, progress projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war villages except those in southern villages of Laro and Umatac were small frame school buildings constructed in the village of Dededo. Barrigada, San Hengha, Monomung, Pagan, Piti, Taloa, Santa Rita.

## RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.



improvement of education facilities on the island, and events during the war served to strengthen the sentiment of such thinking.

As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific.

been provided to the residents of Guam and immigration. The Public Works, Supply, Post, and Police, Guam, and the Guam Hospital.

A new civil jail of 100 cells has recently been built.

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ►►



## STATEHOOD

"Guam's current political status is an organized, unincorporated territory of the United States. This political status dictates what Guam's relationship is with the United States: "foreign in a domestic sense" and not an integral part of the union. A change in political status for the island would inherently mean a change in Guam's relationship with the United States, and a modernization of that relationship" (p. 443).

"Being a state and being US citizens means that the people of Guam could get more involved with the political, diplomatic, and governance machinery of the US. Becoming a state would create an equitable relationship between Guam and the United States and make the population of the island true 'American' citizens without any reservation" (p. 444).

"As an integral part of the union and as a state, Guam would have the full applicability of the US Constitution. This includes voting representation in the House of Representatives, the Senate, and votes in the Electoral College. Guam would no longer be under the plenary power of the US Congress, subject to the Territorial Clause. Instead, Guam would have constitutional protections as a state. Furthermore, Guam would get access to the same federal programs and benefits as other states" (p. 443)




## INDEPENDENCE



"Guam, as an independent country, would be able to choose and formulate its own relationship with the United States and have "sovereignty and the ability to choose" which countries it engages and partners with, "depending on what decisions are made by the government of Guam" (p. 446).

"An independent Guam's relationship with the United States will depend on domestic conditions in the US, the US's international standing at the time, and the domestic politics in Guam," among other things" (p. 447).

## FREE ASSOCIATION

A stylized illustration of a tropical island scene. In the foreground, there are silhouettes of palm trees and several small, thatched-roof huts. To the right, there are silhouettes of three chickens. The background is a solid teal color.

"For Guam, being in free association with the United States would ensure that there is a strong relationship with the US, particularly in the areas of defense and security," as the United States will "most likely handle defense responsibilities for Guam" (p. 448).

"The models of the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia are a framework for an arrangement which Guam and the United States would reach" (p. 448).



with the cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and initial sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, program projects has been slow.

All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Leticia and Umatilla were small frame school buildings constructed in the early 1940s. Barrigada, San Hago, Maricao, Pagan, Pico, Tula, Santa Rosa.

# RELATIONSHIP W/ THE U.S. MILITARY



improvement of advanced facilities on the island, and events during the war served to attract the attention of such thinking.

"As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a 'line backing' position with respect to the island chain of the Pacific. The island of Atafu is an

been awarded to the Department of Defense and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, Bureau of Customs, Guam, Guam Navy and Coast Hospital.

A new steel hull of a ship recently been constructed on a new

"Guam's primary value to the United States lies in its strategic location and subsequent military use. Thus, no matter what political status Guam ends up choosing and transitioning into, as long as the US has the capability and power, it will likely try to maintain a relationship with the island to secure access to Guam's land, air, and sea for military use" (p. 452).

SWIPE TO LEARN MORE ►►



## STATEHOOD

"As a state and being an integral part of the United States, Guam would have a more equal relationship with the US federal government and the military, which could be beneficial for the island in comparison to an unincorporated territory...the relationship with the US military will remain strong [and] Guam would be an integral part of the United States with full applicability of the Constitution and a full role in the governance of the United States" (p. 453, 455).

"Some of the ways the state of Guam could have more of a role in military affairs in the island deal with the operations of the federal government itself. If Guam became a state and had voting representation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, these representatives could potentially help drive domestic and foreign policies, subsequently dealing with military issues" (p. 453).

"As a state, the power of our representative will be enhanced with voting privileges on the floor. As Guam would have this voting representation in both the House of Representatives and in the Senate, there will presumably be more pressure on the United States for more resources and more projects for Guam, if this is what Guam needed or desired. Conversely, Guam's federal representatives may choose to use their voting power to fight against a proposed military project they view detrimental to the island" (p. 454).

## INDEPENDENCE

"Independence does not mean that the US military will automatically leave the island or that continued US military presence will not exist in the independent country of Guam" (p. 455).

"An independent Guam's relationship to the U.S. military will be in the form of negotiations and subsequent agreements between two sovereign countries. Guam's possession of sovereignty will allow Guam access to international institutions and the benefit of being a country in its negotiations with the U.S. military...overall, the relationship of Guam to the US military under independence will be contingent on factors such as the geopolitical environment of the time and United States and Guam domestic politics" (p. 455-457).



# FREE ASSOCIATION

"The Compacts of Free Association the United States has with the Micronesian countries of the Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands are centered around the issues of defense and national security" (p. 457).

"The COFA countries retain agency for external/foreign affairs, notwithstanding provisions for consulting with the United States on foreign affairs matters. Citizens of COFA countries are also able to join the US military. If Guam chose free association, it is reasonable to assume that a similar arrangement would be made between Guam and the United States" (p. 457).

As a freely associated state, it is likely that a "continuation of American military basing would be negotiated" and that "there would be a close relationship between Guam and the United States" (p. 457). Guam could look to the examples provided by the Compacts of Free Association the United States has with the Micronesian countries of the Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands.



Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News

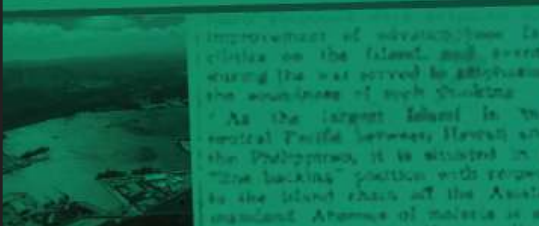


with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension  
water systems and main  
sanitary sewer systems. A  
doubling of funds, program  
projects has been allowed.

All of the pre-war vil-  
lage, except those in  
southern villages of In-  
rila and Umatus were  
small frame school bu-  
reconstructed in the vil-  
Dahido, Herrigada, San  
Hagibon, Marimung,  
Pagan, Pison, Talofofo,  
Santa Rita.

# BASES



improvement of educational fa-  
cilities on the island, and events  
during the war served to attract  
the attention of such thinking.

As the largest island in the  
central Pacific between Hawaii and  
the Philippines, it is situated in a  
"line backing" position with respect  
to the island chain of the Pacific  
oceanic America of moister is an

been provided to the  
payments of "Lump  
and" Immigration. The  
Public Works, Supply,  
State of Guam, Guam  
Office, Navy and Coast  
Hospital.

A new civil bill of  
has recently been con-  
struction on a new

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U.S. military bases currently occupy approximately 27% of Guam's land area. While it is highly likely that the U.S. will continue to have bases in Guam under each political status, each status option will come with various changes and Guam will likely gain increased influence and decision-making power over military activity in and around the island.



## STATEHOOD

"Guam has a few options when it comes to being more involved in military spending and decision-making in the island. The first is the continuation of a military advisory body, similar to the existing oversight chair on the military buildup that Guam currently has or in the Guam Buildup Office, now called the Community Defense Liaison Office" (p. 463).

"This can be important and have a few roles including: being a liaison between the legislature, military installations and surrounding communities; reviewing current policies; assisting defense communities with programs that strengthen their relationship with nearby installations; conducting studies to support military activities; and disbursing public funds for projects related to the preservation of military installations. In these ways, the government and state legislature of Guam could become more involved in military basing in Guam" (p. 463).

## INDEPENDENCE

"As an independent country, the government of Guam should, in theory, have full control over the basing allowed in Guam's sovereign soil and waters, and thus can determine what bases, if any, it will allow within its territory. This is a multi-layered process. Guam, as a sovereign country would also possess control over any defense treaties, negotiations over possible leasing of land, access rights (even if bases are not established, access and travel rights of foreign militaries will be another thing to consider), what the foreign military is able and not able to do, and the establishment of jurisdiction" (p. 463).

Guam can look to the Philippines, a former U.S. territory, as an example of the type of relationship that could be created:

During the Philippines' transition to independence, "the continuity of military bases was a key concern for the United States. This led to the 1947 Republic of the Philippines-United States Military Bases Agreement, also known as MBA, which gave the US "certain lands of the public domain" for a period of ninety-nine years rent-free" (p. 463-464).

"It is highly expected that if the United States is still competing with China for primacy in the region it will attempt to craft an agreement similar to the MBA in an independent Guam" (p. 464)



# FREE ASSOCIATION

"The question of US military base presence in Guam under free association will primarily be determined by the negotiations made between the government of Guam and the United States. Each Compact of Free Association the United States has with the freely associated states of Micronesia includes provisions regarding US access to their respective land, sea, and airspace. Due to Guam's strategic location, it is highly expected that under free association, US basing would continue" (p. 469).

As part of any potential Compact agreement, Guam could follow the example of Palau whose COFA and defense agreements lay out the parameters of the U.S.'s use of Palau and sets forth three types of areas for military use.

"Exclusive-use areas (areas which are reserved exclusively for use by the Government of the United States, subject to the limitations set forth in this agreement)

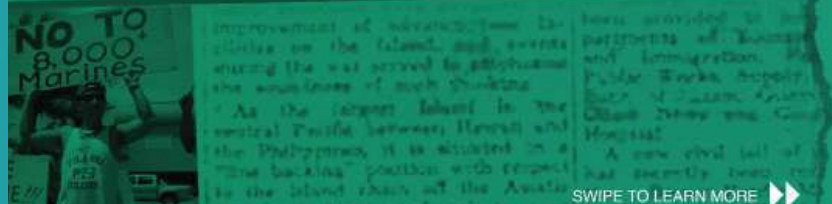
Joint-use areas (areas which may be used jointly by the Government of Palau and the Government of the United States, subject to the limitations set forth in this agreement)

Non-exclusive areas (areas for intermittent use by the Government of the United States, subject to the limitations set forth in this agreement)" (p. 470)

"The negotiation team for a freely associated Guam could use existing arrangements in the three COFA states to determine what to emulate and what to change in their agreements with the United States" (p. 472)



# STATUS QUO MILITARY



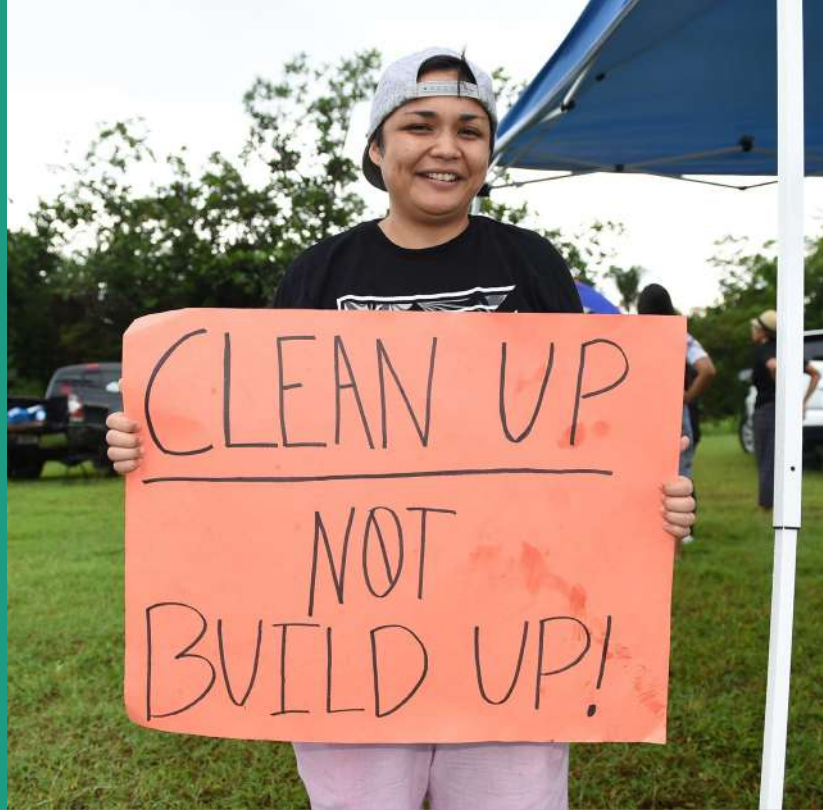
"This study does not take the position that Guam can do nothing in its current status, rather that it becomes easier to have a say if the island is no longer a colony of the United States" (p. 453).

For example, as an unincorporated Territory,

1. "Guam is equipped with very few tools to halt military action," as "most recently seen in former Joint Region Marianas Commander Shoshanna Chatfield's denial of Governor Lou Leon Guerrero's request to pause military construction near the *Serianthes Nelsonii* tree." (p. 453)

2. "Mågua' and Pāgat are just two examples of the tension between military projects and historic preservation. The taking of land by the US military after World War II clearly involved the disturbance of artifacts and the severing of family ties to their genealogical land. Thus, political status matters when it comes to how much power Guam has in negotiating with the military on matters such as historic and cultural preservation"(p. 125).

Photo Courtesy of Pacific Daily News





with the Cathedral in the background.

replacement and extension water systems and that sanitary sewer systems. A shortage of funds, progress projects has been slow. All of the pre-war buildings, except those in southern villages of Lita and Umatac were small frame school buildings reconstructed in the mid-1940s. Barrigada, San Hago, Maricao, Pagan, Piti, Talofofo, Santa Rita.

# MILITARY



improvement of transportation facilities on the island, and events during the war served to strengthen the sentiment of such thinking. "As the largest island in the central Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines, it is situated in a "line backing" position with respect to the blood chain of the Pacific continent. Absence of malaria is an

been awarded to the Department of Education and Immigration, the Public Works, Supply, Post, and Customs, Guam, Guam, Navy and Coast Hospital. A new civil aid of has recently been constructed on a new

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## STATEHOOD

1. "In the case of Guam being a state, the people of Guam will continue to be able to serve in the US Armed Forces as enlisted personnel and as officers and have access to the government benefits received as part of their military service today." (p. 491)
2. "The one positive change that could come regarding military service if Guam became a state is the possible increase in Veterans' Affairs funding, since Guam would be much more involved in the political machinery of the United States and in the making of these policies." (p. 491)





## INDEPENDENCE

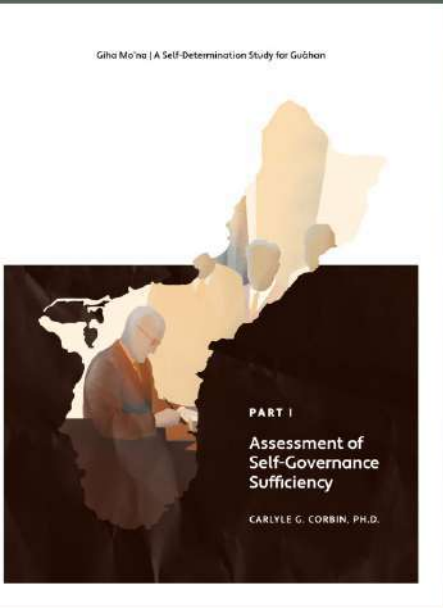
As an independent state, Guam could follow the example of other small states, such as Singapore, which received assistance from other countries in developing its military, "The development of Singapore's military had humble beginnings. It began with Britain building up Singapore's military infrastructure, with an emphasis on naval bases and coastal defenses. After independence, Britain helped Singapore develop its military forces" (p. 493).

**THE NO MILITARY OPTION:** "There is strong reason to believe that an independent Guam may decide not to establish a military force, but it must be pointed out that complete dependence on another country for defense presents an opportunity for exploitation. Also, Guam still exists within a violent geographical region, and it will be unwise for an independent Guam to make the decision not to develop a military based on decisions of countries with drastically different histories and geopolitical contexts. Despite this, an independent Guam will have to decide if it would be pragmatic for the country to have its own military force" (p. 495)

## FREE ASSOCIATION

1. "The freely associated state of Guam, depending on negotiations, may follow the defense provisions of the freely associated states of the Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. If Guam follows this model, then it is not expected that Guam will have a standing military of its own, as the United States would be responsible for defense of the island, thus alleviating this responsibility." (p. 496)

# Part I: Self-Governance Assessment



Part I of Giha Mo'na uses the Self-Governance Indicator, an internationally-recognized tool, to analyze the political relationship between Guam and its administering Power, the United States, and to determine the ways in which Guam, as an unincorporated territory, lacks genuine self-governance.

“It is to be recognized that if Guam remains in the status quo unincorporated territory status, it should be understood that self-government would not have been achieved, but only further deferred. Real political change, in this light, does not mean that the territory would necessarily move ‘closer to’ the US, or conversely, ‘away from’ the US, but it does mean that the relationship would be modernized on the basis of an arrangement of absolute political equality (APE) with the full measure of self-government envisaged in international law.”

**- Carlyle G. Corbin, Ph.D.**

## Part II: Opportunities & Challenges of Each Status Option



### PART II

#### The Political Statuses of Statehood, Free Association, and Independence

KENNETH GOFIGAN KUPER, PH.D.  
JOSEPH BRADLEY

Part II of Giha Mo'na takes a deep dive into the ways in which Guam has been affected by the status quo and the opportunities and challenges that may come with each of the three political status options in various areas related to Governance, Social Impacts, Economic Impacts, Environmental Sustainability, Land and Natural Resources, and External Affairs and Defense.

"What we hope is realized when reading this study is that the issues of today are often connected to political status. We hope to help people realize that investing time, effort, and resources toward decolonization helps to plan for a better livelihood for future generations. We must handle the issues of the present, but not argue that every attempt to plan for the future detracts from the present. To do so would be to invite an unwanted cycle of problems and cause the atrophy of better futures."

**- Kenneth Gofigan Kuper, Ph.D.**



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