

Without control over immigration, the people of Guam have no semblance of control over the island's social or economic development. The immigration laws of the United States have repeatedly been used to adversely affect the polity and the economy of Guam, alternately letting in more immigrants than can be adequately assimilated and excluding temporary entrants when their respective labor skills would be of the greatest use in developing the island.

Historically, immigration regulations have been used to shut indigenous residents out of the only viable occupations available in Guam. In lieu of hiring and training Chamorros in the trades required among civilians to maintain the operations of the military here, the Navy brought in thousands of workers (and their families) from the Philippines in the 1950s and '60s, with the initial effect of displacing Chamorros in the labor force, and the eventual effect, following naturalization, of diluting the political will of the civilian community here. The control over the labor activities of these immigrants was quite lax, first under the Navy and later under the Immigration and Naturalization Service, allowing foreign workers (whether parolees or H-2 workers) to compete illegally with indigenous workers in civilian, non-military related jobs. This has had a tremendous impact upon the assimilation of native Chamorros into the mainstream economy, an impact which is still evident to some degree today.

Under the immigration laws of the United States, Guam is not treated as a separate entity with appropriate quotas relating to the geographical and demographic size of the island. The annual quota for immigrants into the United States from Asian countries could be entered entirely into or through Guam as far as the law and regulations are concerned. While this policy has serious impacts in actual experience, it also represents a significant threat to the short- and long-term stability of the island in very real terms: housing, public services, water supply, roadway planning, social services and other aspects of the public infrastructure and superstructure of Guam are all overshadowed by the uncertainty of the composition and size of Guam's population in the immediate future. In most communities, this threat would be only vague and remote, since experience would have conditioned the civic-minded to generally disregard the prospective impact of immigration. In Guam, however, the massive bursts of immigration, however sporadic, have had major impacts upon the very structure of society; the threat is very present and real.

Because of Guam's location and its immigration history since WWII, it absorbs more than its share of Asian immigrants, particularly those from the Philippines. A substantial number of recent immigrants from the Philippines sponsor their relatives for entry to the U.S. here, creating a cycle of immigration wherein many (if not most) of those newly-naturalized choose to remain on an island near their homeland. Focussing on Filipino immigration alone, the pattern since WWII provides a clear example of the effects of unconstrained entry. In the 1940 Census, only 2.6 percent of Guam's population claimed Filipino ancestry; by 1950, this figure had increased to 12.2 percent, and by 1980, it had risen to 21.2 percent. Similarly, the caucasian population of Guam in 1940 amounted to only 3.5 percent; by 1950, this had risen to 38.5 percent, largely due to the militarization of Guam in the wake of WWII, but by 1980 the caucasian population had fallen to 25.4 percent.

In 1980, the Chamorro people lost their majority status in their own homeland. From their population share of 92.0 percent in 1920, the proportion had fallen by more than half, to just 45.1 percent of the population here. With the continued immigration of Filipinos and the

relatively new pattern of immigration into Guam from Japan, Korea and Taiwan, the Chamorros are expected to account for an even smaller percentage of the population of Guam once the results of the 1990 Census are released. Although incomplete census statistics make it difficult to prove, it argued by population experts here that immigration accounts for more than half of our present rate of population growth.

A glaring example of the total disregard that the U.S. has for the demographic size and composition of Guam relates to the recently-passed "Compacts of Free Association" with the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. These agreements, important elements of the dissolution of the American Trusteeship over Micronesia, allow unrestricted entry for Freely Associated States' citizens into the United States for work and residence. The results of the unfettered immigration of FAS citizens to Guam, where unemployment rates are low and wage rates relatively high, have been mixed: the need in Guam for additional workers has been partially filled by some of the new members of our society, helping Guam to take advantage of the economic opportunities of the past several years without the disruption of unabated wage inflation; however, many social and even criminal justice problems have arisen due to the shock of moving unprepared from a more traditional Pacific island environment to a reasonably advanced and sophisticated community.

Just five years ago, when Guam's construction boom had quickly exhausted the available pool of construction tradesmen here, the Immigration and Naturalization Service conveniently determined that construction work is permanent in nature, so that H-2 workers with temporary visas could not be allowed into Guam to build the structures that were fueling the island's rapid economic growth. Another immigration "policy" (which was quickly reversed, once Guam was able to show that efforts to recruit U.S. citizen workers had failed) led to four successive quarters of decline in construction employment in 1987, cooling the economic expansion that followed the eight-year recession after the VietNam conflict. If the required workers had been available in 1987, Guam's economy would quite likely have expanded much further during this current boom. Although there is some disagreement in the community as to whether this would have been desirable, there is no disagreement as to whether Guam's leaders are better able to make the necessary judgements concerning immigration into the island than is the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In both of these cases, there have been mixed blessings, or curses; in both, the government of Guam would have taken a course different than that imposed upon the island by outside forces. In both cases, the people of Guam were not consulted regarding their views, yet a remote island is in a far different position and has far less influence on its neighboring jurisdictions than would any State; perhaps the underlying objectives of the immigration policies of the United States do not adequately address the needs of a small island community. Perhaps there are strong and compelling justifications for a unique approach to immigration issues in Guam, and who could better gauge the needs of the community than its local leadership. As a remote colony, this approach in Guam could in no way damage the rest of the nation, yet could accomplish a greater degree of control over local conditions, long sought by the resident population. This is not too much to ask in Guam's pursuit of greater autonomy, particularly in light of the adverse impacts which U.S. immigration policies have repeatedly had here.

As of December, 1990, there were 5,728 H-2 workers in Guam from fewer than 200 just five years earlier; there is no corresponding count available of the number of E-1, E-2, L-1 or L-

2 workers in Guam, but their numbers are believed to be in the hundreds. the H-2 workers are needed temporarily to meet the needs of the construction industry. The E- and L-visa workers, though, tend to displace or preclude qualified local from permanent jobs that should rightfully be filled from the local labor force. Again, the immigration policies of the U.S. interfere with the optimum benefits from development that could be derived by the citizen population.