THE HOWARD P. WILLENS COLLECTION

The Howard P. Willens Collection is comprised of historical and Presidential documents about the Northern Marianas and Micronesia. The historical documents collection was donated to the Pacific Collection in 2004. Many of these materials were classified as Secret when they were originally generated by the U.S. government and were, therefore, unavailable to the public until recent years. In late 2005, documents collected from Presidential libraries were added to the Howard P. Willens Collection. Both the historical documents and Presidential documents collections were digitized and are available on CD-ROM (Pacific CD ROM 961 and Pacific CD ROM 962).

THE ORIGINAL HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The documents were collected, reviewed, and arranged in chronological order for the purpose of writing two books about recent political history in the Northern Marianas: National Security and Self-Determination: United States Policy in Micronesia (1961-1972), Praeger (2000); and An Honorable Accord: The Covenant between the Northern Mariana Islands and the United States, University of Hawai‘i Press (2001). These books only began the process of exploring the great depth of this document collection; and the collection was donated to the Pacific Collection in order to provide access for scholars and academic institutions and to assist in further scholarly work on the history of Micronesia and its political and economic development.

Howard P. Willens is a managing director of Wilsie Co., LLC. Mr. Willens has practiced law in Washington, D.C. in both the public and private sectors. He served as deputy assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice, assistant counsel to the Warren Commission, and executive director of the Presidents Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. Mr. Willens was retained by the Marianas Political Status Commission to represent it in negotiations with the United States regarding their future political status (1972-1976) and served as counsel to the First Marianas Constitutional Convention (1976) and the Third Marianas Constitutional Convention (1995-1996). Mr. Willens has represented the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands on status-related issues. He lectures on political history each year in the Marianas and has developed materials for teachers. He is a fellow of the Micronesian Area Research Center in Guam.

The work in collecting and writing about the original source documents in this collection began in 1972 and was completed in 2004. Documents generated by the Marianas District Legislature, the Marianas Political Status Commission, and the First Constitutional Convention were collected in the course of Mr. Willens’ work as a legal consultant in the Marianas from 1972 through 1978. Work on collecting documents from other sources began in 1983. Documents from U.S. government agencies were sought under the Freedom of Information Act. After requests were filed and initial responses were received, litigation was commenced to require the agencies to turn over all of their non-privileged documents. That litigation spanned five years (1985-1990), and was successful;
the court ordered the production of nearly all of the relevant documents. Thereafter the
National Archives and the Georgetown University collection were explored.

Other works by Mr. Willens about the Northern Marianas include:
“The Infamous Solomon Mission Report of 1963: A Reappraisal After 40 Years”

“The Constitution of the Northern Mariana Islands: Constitutional Principles and

The Constitution of the Northern Mariana Islands. Five bound volumes containing all of
the official papers of the First Constitutional Convention, Archives of the Commonwealth
of the Northern Mariana Islands (1977)

Negotiations Between the Northern Mariana Islands and the United States (1972-1975).
13 bound volumes containing all of the official papers of the negotiations, Archives of
the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (1976)

Content of the collection: The documents in the collection are largely copies of original
materials that came from the following sources:
   The U.S. Department of State
   The U.S. Department of Defense
   The U.S. Department of the Interior
   The U.S. Department of Justice
   The National Security Council
   The National Archives
   The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library
   The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library
   The Brewster Chapman Papers at the Georgetown University Library
   The Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University
   The Marianas Political Status Commission
   Economic and Legal Consultants to the Marianas Political Status Commission
   Legal Consultants to the Northern Marianas First Constitutional Convention

Arrangement of the content: The documents are arranged in chronological order.
A colored Code Start sheet identifies the beginning of each month.

Note the following with respect to the chronological order
1. Partial dates: Some documents do not bear any full date indicating when they
   were generated.
   a. Documents dated only by year appear at the end of the collection for
      that year (in the folder for the month of December and after the documents
      dated December 31).
   b. Documents dated only by quarter appear at the end of the last month in
      that quarter. Documents dated Spring appear after March 31; documents
      dated Summer appear after June 31; documents dated Fall appear after
September 30; and documents dated Winter appear after December 31.
c. Documents dated only by month appear after the last date in the month.

2. **Multiple dates:** In some cases documents bear several dates. For example, a letter might bear the date it was written and also the date it was received by a government agency. To the extent possible, the materials have been put in the chronology by the date on which they were originated.

3. **Date spreads:** When a document is dated across several dates, for example May 11-15, 1972 or May-June 1972, the document is filed as if the latest date were the only date.

4. **Nominal dates:** In some cases, documents bear no date at all. In these days before computers, government secretaries sometimes did not add dates until after a document had been finalized or signed because delay might require retyping of a dated document. Sometimes these documents were circulated without dates. These documents have been added to the collection under a nominal date, which is the best estimate of the compilers as to likely date of the document.

5. **Attachment dates:** Documents with attachments have been kept intact in this collection. A PDF file for a document includes the cover document and all of its attachments (to the extent that the attachments were available when these documents were collected). For that reason, documents with several dates may appear together.

6. **Cable dates:** State Department cables from this period bear a date code. A sample code looks like this:

   031030ZDec73

   The first two digits represent the day of the month. The next four digits represent the time of day using a 24 hour clock. The Z stands for Zulu Or Greenwich Mean Time. And the last entry is the month and year.

**Organization of the collection:** In order to make the document collection more usable for research purposes, the following organizational actions were taken:

1. **Duplicates:** Because documents came from multiple sources, the overall collection contained many duplicates. If a State Department official sent a memo to an Interior Department official with a copy to the relevant Defense Department counterpart, the overall collection probably contained the original and both copies. Identical duplicates were removed from the collection because they do not add any information. Non-identical duplicates were retained unless they differed only in non-substantive ways such as the marks made by officials who declassified these documents.
2. **United Nations**: The United Nations Trusteeship Council acted or commented with respect to Micronesia on regular occasions during the time period spanned by this document collection. In some instances, particular material published by the United Nations was relied on or commented on by government officials, and in these cases the clips from the United Nations documents are included in the collection. In most instances, clips from the United Nations documents were random materials collected by government officials for a purpose not readily apparent from the context. Those clips were excluded from this collection in most instances because the complete United Nations documents are readily available from the United Nations or several archives.

3. **Congressional Record**: The United States Congress acted or commented with respect to Micronesia on a number of occasions during the time period spanned by this document collection. In some instances, particular material from the Congressional Record was relied on or commented on by government officials, and in these cases the clips from the Congressional Record are included in the collection. In most instances, clips from the Congressional Record were random materials collected by government officials for a purpose not readily apparent from the context. Those clips were excluded from this collection in most instances because the complete Congressional Record is readily available in many archives.

4. **Federal statutes, regulations, codes, forms, and cases**: Complete sets of these materials are available from many archives and libraries, and these materials have not been included in the documents unless attached to particular communications.

5. **Newspaper articles available on microfilm**: The events recorded in these documents were reported in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Honolulu Advertiser and Star-Bulletin*, the *Marianas Variety*, and the *Pacific Daily News*. In some instances, government officials relied on or commented on particular news articles, and those clippings have been included in the collection. Most news clips, however, were random excerpts not attached to any particular action. All of these newspapers maintain complete microfilm collections and, for that reason, these random news clippings have not been included in this collection.

6. **Trust Territory publications**: The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands government published the *Micronesian Reporter* and *Highlights*. These publications were collected by government agencies that dealt with Micronesia on a regular basis. These publications are not included as they are already in the holdings of the Pacific Collection.

7. **Large format publications**: Several newspapers and newsletters were published in Micronesia at various times. These publications were also collected by government agencies that dealt with Micronesia on a regular basis. The *Micronitor*, the *Friends of Micronesia Newsletter*, and the *Micronesia Star* are in this category. These publications are not included as they are already in the holdings of the Pacific Collection.
8. **Large format maps:** The large format maps collected from government agencies are government publications available through standard sources and are not included. Many small format maps are included in the collection.

9. **Photographs:** This collection is limited to documentary material. Some of the documentary material includes embedded photos, and those documents (with photos included) are a part of the collection.

10. **Miscellaneous territories files:** Materials delivered by government agencies on areas outside Micronesia, including American Samoa, Bahamas, the Cook Islands, Hawai‘i, Nauru, Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, St. Vincent, Tonga, the West Indies, and the Virgin Islands are not included in the collection. On occasion, examples from these areas were used in connection with work on Micronesia and these materials are included in the collection.

11. **Redactions:** The government agencies blocked out some material within individual documents, as they are entitled to do under the Freedom of Information Act. In some cases, different agencies redacted different materials and both redacted versions are included.

12. **Withheld documents:** The government agencies withheld a few documents, as they are entitled to do under the statute. In each case, the government was required to identify the withheld documents with particularity, and these notations are included in the collection at the place where the document otherwise would be found.

**Marks on the original documents:** There are several kinds of marks on some of the original documents in the collection that were not on the documents when they were in the government’s files.

1. **Declassification marks:** Most of the documents with respect to the status negotiations with the Northern Marianas and the U.S. government’s consideration of its negotiating options were classified at the time they were created. When these documents were requested under the Freedom of Information Act, they had to be declassified. The persons responsible for declassification stamped the cover page on each document to indicate that it had been declassified.

2. **Litigation Bates Stamp numbers:** Many of the documents in the collection became available only after the authors sued the government agencies that had refused to declassify them. In order to identify documents that were produced during the litigation, most of the documents were stamped with a standard Bates Stamp number generator in the lower right corner of each page. These numbers indicate the sequence in which the documents were produced.
For example, one set of documents delivered by the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, within the Department of the Interior, is numbered 20000 to 23920. There were 37920 pages in this delivery, and as the documents were taken out of the containers in which they were delivered, they were numbered in the order in which they were received.

The Bates stamp numbers are as follows:

- 20000-23920 OMSN, delivered April 17, 1984
- 23921-26002 OMSN, delivery #2
- 26183-28290 OMSN, delivery #3
- 28291-30644 OMSN, delivery #4
- 30645-32821 OMSN, delivery #5
- 32822-34315 OMSN, delivery #6
- 34317-36281 OMSN, delivery #7
- 410136-410922 Department of Defense, delivered April 25, 1985
- 410923-411176 National Security Council, delivered June 14, 1985
- 411177-411551 OMSN, delivered June 28, 1985
- 411552-411990 OMSN, delivered July 12, 1985
- 411991-412370 Department of State, delivered August 7, 1985
- 412371-412671 National Security Council, delivered August 8, 1985
- 412672-412698 Department of the Army
- 412699-412751 Department of the Air Force
- 412752-412765 Department of Justice
- 412766-412790 Department of the Interior
- 412791-412860 OMSN
- 412861-412890 Department of Defense
- 412891-412912 Central Intelligence Agency
- 412913-413113 Department of the Navy
- 413 114-413130 Department of State
- 413131-413296 Department of State, delivered August 31, 1985
- 413297-413807 OMSN, delivered September 19, 1985

3. Source codes: For litigation purposes it was important to know which agency had produced specific documents. For this reason, a source code was added immediately to the left of the Bates stamp. The source codes are as follows:

- 01 Willens subject matter files
- 02 Willens chronological files
- 03 Department of the Interior, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations
- 04 Department of the Interior (other offices)
- 05 Department of State
- 06 Department of Justice
- 07 Department of the Navy
4. Content codes: In the process of organizing the documents for the purpose of writing books and articles using these original source materials, some of the documents were coded for content. (UN documents and Micronesian News Service documents were not coded.) The codes are handwritten in the upper right corner of the first page of the documents. Some documents have several codes, separated by commas. The codes are:

1. History
   Articles, memos, and other materials that discuss the time period before 1950
2. Land
   Public land, military land, land alienation, eminent domain
3. Citizenship
   Immigration, timing of grant of citizenship, criteria for citizenship
4. Economics
   Taxes, customs, U.S. grants, federal aid programs
5. Political status (Marianas)
   Applicability of U.S. laws, defense, foreign affairs, judicial system, representation in Washington, self-government, sovereignty
6. Termination of the Trusteeship
   Transition planning, separate administration
7. U.S. negotiations with Micronesia
8. U.S. Congress
   Letters to and from members of Congress, memos about lobbying efforts
9. Constitutional Convention
   Preparation, research, drafting
5. Document type code: In order to identify documents that were produced during the litigation in the database that was used for litigation purposes, most of the documents were coded for document type. These codes are handwritten in the upper right corner of the first page of the document. There is only one document type code per document. The codes are:

- 01 Letter
- 02 Legal analysis memorandum
- 03 Other Memorandum
- 04 Legal article
- 05 Other article
- 06 Excerpt from a book
- 07 Covenant (draft provisions)
- 08 Constitution (draft provisions)
- 09 UN document
- 10 Telegraph or cable
- 11 Micronesian News Service release
- 12 Statement (speeches, draft statements)
- 13 Position paper
- 14 Agreement
- 15 Other
- 16 Economic report
- 17 Bills, Acts, Resolutions
- 18 Orders
- 19 Status report
- 20 Legislative report
- 21 Handwritten notes

INVENTORY BY BOX NUMBER

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15  1973 July-August
16  1973 September-October
17  1973 November
18  1973 December
19  1974 January
20  1974 February
21  1974 March
22  1974 April
23  1974 May
24  1974 June-July
25  1974 August-September
26  1974 October
27  1974 November
28  1974 December
29  1975 January-February
30  1975 March-April
31  1975 May-June
32  1975 July-October
33  1975 November-December
34  1976 January-May
35  1976 June-October
36  1976 November-December
37  1977 January-June
38  1977 July-December
PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES DOCUMENTS

This is a collection of documents spanning 50 years (1945-1995) of Presidential administrations beginning with Harry S. Truman through William J. Clinton, focusing on issues and problems related to the Northern Marianas Islands and Micronesia.

Ten Presidential libraries were visited and copies of over 11,000 documents concerning the Northern Mariana Islands and Micronesia were secured: Harry S. Truman Library; Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library; John F. Kennedy Presidential Library; Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; Nixon Presidential Library; Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library; Jimmy Carter Library; Ronald Reagan Presidential Library; George H.W. Bush Presidential Library; William J. Clinton Presidential Library*.

The documents in this collection are arranged chronological by President and document dates.

Box 1        Truman , 1945-1953
Box 1        Eisenhower, 1949-1960
Box 2        Kennedy, 1961-1963 (1973)
Box 2        Johnson, 1963-1966
Box 3        Johnson, 1967-1969
Box 4        Nixon, 1969-1976
Box 5        Ford, 1969-1975
Box 6        Ford, 1976-1977
Box 7        Carter, 1977-1981
Box 8        Reagan, 1981-1989
Box 8        Bush (George, H.W.), 1989-1992
Box 8        Clinton*

*Relevant documents concerning the Northern Marianas were not yet available and so no materials are included from the Clinton Library.
Collection description and organization details were written and provided to the Pacific Collection by Ms. Deanne C. Siemer, Esq. Wilsie Co. LLC and edited by Lynette Furuhashi, Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Acknowledgments: Before shipment to the University of Hawai‘i, this collection of documents was organized through to the exceptional efforts of legal assistants Marc Champion of London, England, John DiPaulo and Alex Terry, then of Washington, DC, Roberta Bear, of Hyattsville, MD, Pamela Carlson of Washington, DC, Sandy Fentress Bruner of Portland, OR, Nancy Clucas and Nancy Oakes of East Aurora, NY, Victoria Montagu of South Wales, NY, Sheryl Miller of East Aurora, NY, and Lynda Daum of Hamburg, NY. At the University of Hawai‘i, student assistants in the Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, also worked to complete the processing of the materials, in particular Ms. Carmen De Los Reyes and Ms. Oriana Leao.