The availability of wage employment and consequent urbanization have seriously affected Marshallese life, both on Ebeye and in the outer islands. Values have changed, traditional customs and skills have been lost, and there is increasing dependence on the money economy, but there is not yet a full awareness of the implications of what is happening. Ultimately the most significant cause of the changes taking place is the U.S. Army's Kwajalein Missile Range, and its military predecessors.

In this abstract I will present the basic features of my recommendations in summary form. The body of the report contains the details of the recommendations and the reasoning behind them.

1) The Trust Territory government should take whatever legal steps necessary to ensure that the Micronesian people who are employed on the Missile Range are treated properly; that:
   a) they are being paid equal pay for equal work, and are not being cheated by the subterfuge of dual sets of job descriptions;
   b) they are given promotional opportunities based on their abilities and realistic, not exaggerated, job requirements;
   c) they be placed in supervisory positions in accordance with their abilities, rather than having to break in "imported" supervisors;
   d) they be given whatever training they are entitled to under the laws governing contractors such as Global Associates.

2) A strong educational program should be provided for people of all ages on Ebeye for the specific purpose of making the people aware of the unseen implications of:
   a) the Ebeye situation on them, their children and the outer islands;
   b) their own thought and action patterns in the urban environment.

Specific areas covered should include diet, health, the family, the problems of young people, the political situation and the future.

3) The current discrimination against outer islanders with regard to Kwajalein Missile Range jobs and movement to Ebeye should stop. To this end, the District Administrator should rescind the
"hire Kwajalein people first" request which was made to the Global Associates Micronesian IRO Office. He should also open Ebeye to outer islanders. These steps are necessary to prevent the division of the Marshallese people into a two-class society consisting of the relatively affluent "city" people and the poorer outer islanders. The problem of overpopulation should be dealt with in a fashion other than the current "Operation Exodus," which could destroy the basic unity of the Marshallese people. Under recommendation #5 I have an alternative recommendation to make with regard to overpopulation.

1) The Ebeye political structure should be altered to provide more involvement of the residents. Major points include:
   a) provision for specific representation of the residents who are outer islanders;
   b) reduction of the size of the Council;
   c) a complete reorganization and allocation of responsibilities under a new charter.

2) A negative economic incentive should be established, in the form of a stiff "head tax," with the penalty for non-payment being eviction from Ebeye. The rate of tax should be set high enough to produce a significant drop in Ebeye's population. Those leaving would do so not because the Trust Territory has made a value judgment, but because they do not have the money to stay. The proceeds, minus the direct costs involved in collection and enforcement, would be placed in a special account for the use of the Kwajalein Council. Of this amount, at least 50% should be required to be spent for the purpose of post-secondary education and training to provide young Marshallese with skills which are marketable in the world economy.

3) The Trust Territory should provide a comprehensive program of family planning, beginning in the public school system with discussion of the need for slowing down the rate of population growth, the changing division of labor within the family on Ebeye, and the economic basis of the urban household. For those who have already left school, provisions should be made in the educational program described under recommendation #2 for discussion of these three items in the context of "the family." Birth control facilities should be readily available to all who wish them, and should be advertised to make sure that all are aware of them. If funding for this cannot be obtained through the United States, direct application to the World Health Organization should be made by the Trust Territory government.

4) The medical facilities and program on Ebeye should be improved. This would include:
a) assignment of a competent, full-time administrator to the Ebeye hospital;

b) increasing the physician staff, even if this means reassignment of physicians currently in Majuro to achieve the same physician-population ratio in both places;

c) institution of a training program such as the one suggested by Dr. Konrad Kotrady, at minimal cost; (See MSC Report: "EBEYE, MARSHALL IS: A PUBLIC HEALTH CRISIS" for details of this program)

d) provision of a more formal system of supervising the hospital staff;

e) exerting pressure on Kwajalein Missile Range and Global Associates to actively encourage physician, nurse and technician volunteer work by the Kwajalein Missile Range medical staff on Ebeye on a regular basis.

8) The District Administrator should request the Trust Territory Health Services Department to conduct a study of the use of alcoholic beverages on Ebeye. The study should focus on the age groupings using the alcohol, the sources of the funds used to obtain the beverage, the attitude of the parents of young people using it, the reasons why people use it, the relationship between alcohol and crime, and the relationship between alcohol and suicide on Ebeye. Upon completion of the study the District Administrator should ask the Magistrate to convene a well-advertised, public Council meeting at a time when all can come. At the meeting, the results of the study should be presented. A discussion should be held on the matter to determine if action is required, and to alert the public regarding problems associated with alcohol. Please note that I have significant information on the subject which I would be glad to contribute.

9) The District Administrator should hold group meetings with the leaders of each religious sect on Ebeye for the purpose of involving these groups in community-wide efforts on a regular basis. Frequently in the outer islands there is only one church, so the church activities are essentially community activities, serving to unify the community. On Ebeye, with its multiple sects, church activity does not generally serve to unify the community. A strong commitment on the part of all sects to building a sense of community through shared programs in such areas as volunteer work in the hospitals, the schools, etc., would be of enormous importance.

10) The District Administrator should look into the implications of the return of large numbers of people to the outer islands under the Ebeye population reduction program.
The Research

The research on which this report is based covered the period from July 1975 to July 1976. Of this time, all but approximately two months were spent on Ebeye. A trip was made to Lae Atoll for comparative purposes in November-December 1975. An assistant remained on Lae until June 1976, conducting additional research as previously planned and as directed by short-wave radio. The research utilized standard anthropological techniques such as participant observation, interviewing, etc. Because of the large population on Ebeye, a sample was used for the bulk of the interviewing, consisting of every household which contained one or more individuals who were considered "Lae" people, by virtue of having their primary land rights on Lae. In this fashion a basis for comparison with Lae itself was established. In addition, many interviews were held with officials, merchants, traditional leaders, clergymen, young people, and others. A special study was also done of the Marshallese who are employed on Kwajalein by Global Associates, using a scientifically drawn random sample which formed the basis of my testimony before the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs on July 13, 1976. This in turn is reflected in my first recommendation, which suggests that the Trust Territory government assume the role of advocate to protect its citizens against abuse.

Historical Background

In 1944, following the American capture of Kwajalein Atoll, the American military began to recruit Marshallese from the outer islands to perform manual labor on Kwajalein island in support of the war effort. These 300 people were housed in a tent city and were paid minimal wages, on the order of $12.00 per month, with the Army supplying their food. Most of these laborers had been recruited in the outer islands, and did not have family with them. By 1948-49, family members of these workers had begun to come to Kwajalein Atoll. They lived on Carlos, a nearby island, and generally could be visited by the workers once a week.

In 1950, a group of about 50 Marshallese workers, together with about four military personnel were sent to Ebeye to build a village to house the Marshallese laborers and their families. About 80 wooden houses were built on the southern half of Ebeye. By 1952 all the Marshallese laborers had moved to Ebeye, where they lived with members of their families.

Since that time the population of Ebeye has grown to the point at which it is one of the most densely populated spots on earth. The factors responsible include: 1) the movement of people from
the mid-atoll corridor (part of the missile hazard area) to Ebeye; 2) the movement to Ebeye of many outer island residents who have land rights in the mid-atoll corridor, in order to claim and protect these rights and to expend the monies received from the Army as compensation; 3) a high birth rate; 4) migration to Ebeye from the outer islands of the Marshalls and elsewhere for the purpose of wage employment; 5) migration to Ebeye for a variety of other reasons and a variety of time periods ranging from short visits to stays of many years.

Bearing in mind that Marshallese usually have several alternatives available to them with regard to place of residence, it must be assumed that the Ebeye residents have consciously selected Ebeye as their place of residence, based on the advantages as they perceive them.

Some of the reasons for the selection include the following:

a) **Education**

A high percentage of the households interviewed are supporting the educational advancement of one or usually several children in high schools or colleges. Such support would not be possible without employment on Ebeye, because of the low total income possible in the outer islands based on the depressed price of copra. There is also the belief among many of the people interviewed that the public elementary school on Ebeye provided an education superior to that provided on the outer islands.

b) **Medical**

There is a hospital on Ebeye, with more highly trained staff than is available in the outer islands. There is also the potential use of Kwajalein or even Tripler Army Hospital facilities, in an emergency. Care at the Ebeye hospital is appalling by American standards, but better than in the outer islands, and the people are conscious of that fact.

c) **Entertainment**

Life in the outer islands can easily be viewed as boring and monotonous when compared to Ebeye. Television, movies, bars and the availability of Kwajalein entertainment provide a kind of excitement missing from the lives of the Marshallese people in the outer islands. Even the high density of the population itself, with the reservoir of strange new faces provides a source of excitement. The Marshallese both on Ebeye and in the outer islands are very aware of these things.

d) **The Work Situation**

Many Americans would find the work situation dull and repetitive. The Marshallese generally do not feel this as strongly, focusing
instead on camaraderie and the context of the work, from which some sense of interest or involvement can be gained. Working on Kwajalein still carries with it some sense of excitement, especially for newcomers. In addition, Kwajalein Missile Range employment carries with it the highest rate of pay available anywhere in the Marshalls. This pay rate is a strong attraction, and it also provides the means for achieving many other goals.

Background for Recommendation #1

It is in the context of the idea that work provides the money necessary for the attainment of goals, and in the belief that the Marshallese should be treated equitably and not merely as "cheap labor," that I engaged in additional, specialized research on this subject. Some of the results of this research formed the basis of my testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs (see attachment). This testimony is reflected in my first recommendation.

Recommendation #1

The Trust Territory government should take whatever legal steps necessary to ensure that the Micronesian people who are employed on the Missile Range are treated properly; that:

a) they are being paid equal pay for equal work, and are not being cheated by the subterfuge of dual sets of job descriptions;

b) they are given promotional opportunities based on their abilities and realistic, not exaggerated, job requirements;

c) they be placed in supervisory positions in accordance with their abilities, rather than having to break in "imported" supervisors;

d) they be given whatever training they are entitled to under the laws governing contractors such as Global Associates.

Background for Recommendation #2

Ebeye constitutes a situation which is very different from the outer islands, but the people have no background which would make them fully aware of the implications of that fact, so that they might act accordingly. For example: diet on Ebeye should be a matter of great concern. Potentially Ebeye is a source of better nutrition than the outer islands, due to the availability of frozen and canned meats and canned vegetables. In practice this potential is not always reached. Many Ebeye residents have a poorer diet, and consequently poorer health, than the outer islanders do. There
are several apparent reasons for this. In the outer islands there are a number of different sources of food. Animal foods include fish, chicken and pig. Vegetable sources include breadfruit, pandanus, banana, papaya and coconut products of various sorts. Ritual feasts, such as the kemem, serve to redistribute and thus even out the food supply among all the residents. Ritual feasts also provide a "schedule" for spreading out the consumption of pig and chicken, which are not available in large enough quantities for daily consumption. The vegetable foods tend to be available on a seasonal basis, with some available only during parts of the year. If we look at the diet of these people on a long-term basis, we see that they obtain food from a variety of different vegetable and animal sources. On Ebeye, on the other hand, the "Marshallese foods" such as breadfruit, pandanus, and even coconut products are only available on a very limited basis, and if purchased, tend to be expensive. Therefore, these products make up only a small proportion of the total diet. All meats must be purchased, with the exception of some fish. Given a limited amount of money and the absence of the taste for canned vegetables, there is a tendency for the diet to consist of items of limited nutritional value such as: white rice, tea with sugar, small amounts of fish and frozen chicken, and no vegetables. In a survey I conducted of all students on Ebeye, fifth grade and up, less than half a dozen of the 600 respondents listed any vegetable other than rice among the foods consumed the previous day.

In general there is a lack of knowledge regarding diet and its relation to health. In the outer islands such knowledge was not as necessary, but with the different and unfamiliar conditions prevailing on Ebeye, some knowledge should be acquired.

Of critical importance is the proper feeding of infants and children. In the outer islands a baby is generally breast-fed for more than a year. Breast-feeding provides the baby with protein, passive immunity to diseases and in general, a "tailor-made" food which costs nothing. On Ebeye women tend to breast-feed the baby for a much shorter length of time, for several reasons: the desire to emulate American women (using a bottle), and a lack of understanding of the "demand" principle of breast-feeding (whereby a mother will continue to supply milk only as long as her breasts are emptied completely and frequently). Therefore, when the mother supplements her breast milk with other foodstuffs, she reduces the infant's appetite for her own milk, which in turn stops her milk supply. There is also at times the need/desire of the mother to return to her work on Kwajalein.

The effect of reduced breast-feeding is significant and harmful. First, the replacement material - Enfamil, Similac, or evaporated milk - does not supply the immunity which the mother's milk does. Second, it often causes allergic reactions, which have been directly attributed by the hospital staff to the use of artificial milk substitutes. Third, it is very expensive, causing an unnecessary drain on the family finances. Fourth, there is often a tendency to
dilute milk substitutes to substandard proportions. Fifth, there is a tendency to replace these expensive milk substitutes with the cheaper rice, as early as possible, resulting in a severe protein-vitamin deficiency at a critical stage of the baby's development. Medical consequences of early weaning from breast-feeding include a dropoff from the normal growth curve in height and weight, and a number of cases of malnutrition among children. Both of these consequences are supported by data in the files of the Ebeye Public Health Nurse. Other results of malnutrition in small children include the possibility (which is still being debated) of permanent effects on brain development, and even death. During my stay on Ebeye at least one child died as a result of malnutrition.

In many cases on Ebeye, the father, and perhaps even the mother, work for wages, thus depriving the children of the parents' company for extended periods of time on a regular basis. This means several things, including the fact that the child will lack a suitable role model to emulate, and the parent will have far less time to teach the child, and to be with the child. When they are together, those things which are taught tend not to be of the traditional variety - making jekaro, learning about fish and fishing and making waini. Such skills simply are not as relevant on Ebeye as on the outer islands, and so they are not passed on. Nor is the father likely to pass along skills learned on the Kwajalein Missile Range job. The father-son relationship is probably the most affected because of the relative predominance of male workers, plus the fact that the male role has been most seriously affected by the change to wage employment. The women still must cook, watch the children, do the laundry, etc., but the man's role in the outer islands - fishing, making waini, etc. - has been altered drastically on Ebeye.

For a young child, the fact that the parent works all day means increasing reliance on people other than the parent. In the outer islands, reliance would be shifted to relatives from adjoining households, of the parent's generation and of the child's generation. On Ebeye, the adjoining households are less likely to contain relatives, and more likely to contain strangers. The neighboring older children who assist in raising the child on the outer islands are likely to include relatives - classificatory brothers and sisters and other kin - who have a clearly defined role in relation to the small child. On Ebeye the neighboring older children who aid in socializing the child are less likely to include relatives. Because of the influence of these strangers on the child, the parents lose some control over the child in his formative years. Effective social control of growing children is being lost as the family's role is being increasingly displaced by peers of a non-kin variety.

In the outer islands the basis for residence location, social organization and livelihood lies in kinship. Kinship provides for the inheritance of rights to the use of certain pieces of land, as well as obligations to the other people sharing rights in the same land. A family may live on a piece of land, using its resources to
provide food directly or through the exchange of waini for imported foods. Use of the land in this manner is regulated by the lineage head and by the Iroij Lablab (Paramount Chief), both of whom are entitled to receive loyalty and obedience, as well as a portion of the fruits. These two people control access to the land, including source of livelihood and residence site, and therefore have a strong influence on the behavior of the people.

On Ebeye the situation is different. The land on Ebeye is not the source of livelihood, rather the sale of wage labor is. Access to employment is not controlled by the lineage head. Further, through contractual means as a result of the Army’s presence, the lineage heads on Ebeye have lost control over who can and cannot live on the land. Add to this the facts that: 1) many of the households contain no one who has traditional rights to the land on which the house sits; 2) a majority of the residents are "subjects" of Iroij(s) other than the Iroij whose territory includes Ebeye; 3) the residents therefore need not be as concerned about being on particularly good terms with the lineage head or the Iroij; and 4) the people sharing a particular land parcel are often non-kin, with no defined roles regarding each other. The result is a lack of accountability or responsibility toward others. This lack of concern for others represents loss of social control.

An example of this loss of social control can be seen in the development of youth gangs on Ebeye. Rather than playing with a group which includes real and classificatory brothers or sisters as well as other kin, a young person can escape these people, who are responsible for him to some extent, by joining a gang which contains none of these people.

These young people of Ebeye, especially the males, have serious problems. These problems are reflected in their high suicide rate, their high rate of alcohol consumption and their increasing involvement in crimes. I will only deal with the problems of the young men, whose problems stem in large part from what we have just discussed: the inability of traditional social controls to deal with these people. In addition there is a new problem: the rise of an adolescent period. In the outer islands children grow easily into adulthood by gradually learning the skills necessary and gradually assuming more and more responsibility. On Ebeye, children (boys in particular) are not clear about what they have to do to become an adult. The skills of the outer islands are not taught there, because they are irrelevant on Ebeye. Besides, the father is frequently away at work for extended periods on a regular basis and thus is unavailable to teach these skills to the boy. When father is around, he is unlikely to try or even he able to teach the boy what he must know or do to become an "adult" on Ebeye. The young are confused, and lack both clear-cut goals and the knowledge of how to attain these goals.

Further confusion is added by exposure to the "American" lifestyle of Kwajalein, which presents an unattainable goal.
The areas that I have discussed should be considered as ideas, as starting points for an education program dealing with the implications of Ebeye. I would suggest that any such program be put together by a group including several non-Marshallese to provide a needed outside perspective, as well as the Education Department staff. Rather than telling the people what is happening, the program should be designed to raise central questions for discussion and to encourage thinking about the problems. I would suggest that each adult be requested to attend a short series of approximately six open discussions. Each discussion should be directed toward a central problem. Among the possible discussion topics should be the items discussed in this section. The groups should be 20-40 people in size, and should engage in open discussions rather than receiving a formal lecture. I also suggest that adults be mixed with younger people. Perhaps the PTA or Council could arrange groupings in such a way that all present can feel free to speak. It would be up to the District Administrator to provide the design of the program, and a thoughtful, respected moderator.

Recommendation #2

And so, I recommend that: a strong educational program should be provided for people of all ages on Ebeye for the specific purpose of making the people aware of the unseen implications of:

a) the Ebeye situation on them, their children and the outer islands;

b) their own thought and action patterns in the urban environment.

Specific areas covered should include diet, health, the family, the problems of young people, the political situation and the future.

Background for Recommendation #3

Overpopulation is a serious problem on Ebeye, and should be dealt with in a manner appropriate to the situation. (See recommendation #5.) The present program known as "Operation Exodus" has consequences which I feel have not been taken seriously enough into consideration. As it now stands, Operation Exodus essentially is designed to eliminate from Ebeye those who are unemployed and who do not hold land rights in Kwajalein Atoll. This, together with the District Administrator's request that Global Associates' Micronesian IRO Office give first consideration for employment to Kwajalein people, will have the effect of ultimately replacing those outer islanders who work on Kwajalein Island with Kwajalein Atoll people, and largely eliminating the outer islanders from Ebeye. It should be noted that such action will ultimately, if followed through, make significant changes in Marshallese economy and social structure.

For years, the possibility of getting a job on Ebeye, or even visiting there, has presented all Marshallese with the possibility
of an alternate life style. Closing Ebeye to immigration and Kwajalein to jobs for outer islanders would in effect create a discriminatory two-class system - the rich city folk of Kwajalein Atoll and the poor country folk of the rest of the Marshalls, with a vast reduction in intermingling, a vastly different life style, weakening of the kinship relations, and even a material reduction in the life style of the outer islanders. Present outer islanders working on Kwajalein send a small, but to the outer islanders significant, portion of their pay back to their outer island relatives in the form of foodstuffs. It should be mentioned that much of the migration to Ebeye is circulatory, with the people who return to the outer islands bringing with them new ideas. This serves to mix ideas and provide the Ebeye people and the outer islanders with a common basis for interaction and understanding.

I strongly urge that job opportunities on Kwajalein be re-opened to people without land rights on Kwajalein Atoll.

Recommendation #3

And so, my third recommendation is that: the current discrimination against outer islanders with regard to Kwajalein Missile Range jobs and movement to Ebeye should stop. To this end, the District Administrator should rescind the "hire Kwajalein people first" request which was made to the Global Associates Micronesian IRO Office. He should also open Ebeye to outer islanders. These steps are necessary to prevent the division of the Marshallese people into a two-class society consisting of the relatively affluent "city" people and the poorer outer islanders. The problem of overpopulation should be dealt with in a fashion other than the current "Operation Exodus," which could destroy the basic unity of the Marshallese people. Under recommendation #5 I have an alternative recommendation to make with regard to overpopulation.

Background for Recommendation #4

The Kwajalein Municipal Council has little authority as it currently stands, with many of its potential functions conducted by the Trust Territory government. As presently organized and constituted, it is not able to provide the Ebeye-wide leadership needed to involve the population in the island's problems and to create a sense of community spirit. Nor is the traditional leadership in a position to provide this spirit or involvement.

My general recommendations regarding the Council are:

1) to restructure the Kwajalein Atoll Council in order to be more responsive to the needs of the population and to the problems which the Council faces, and to be more efficient from a management point of view;
ii) to call for a redesign of the Council's Charter to enable the Council to deal with its changing role. This role must be examined in light of the high expectations of the people;

iii) to involve the outer island segments of the population of Ebeye in the governmental process;

iv) to completely reorganize the local electoral process to provide better security against voting irregularities.

In order to achieve these objectives, the following steps must be taken:

i) The present list of registered voters on Kwajalein Atoll should be abandoned, and all eligible people re-registered in accordance with a new system. The system would work as follows: All eligible people would be registered according to the location of their primary land rights. More specifically, as people register, their names would be listed by their "home island," that is, the atoll or island on which their primary land rights exist. Where they have multiple claims, they will be required to select one for the purpose of election registration. The listings by home island would then be combined into categories, the categories being identical to the Nitijela election districts. That is, if a Nitijela election district contains atolls A, B, C and D, then there would be a category of voters in Kwajalein Atoll whose home islands are A, B, C and D, although they are residents of Kwajalein Atoll. In this way, the Kwajalein voters would be clustered in a fashion parallel to the grouping of their home islands for Nitijela representation. There would be one exception to this method. Those people for whom Kwajalein is home atoll as well as residence would be split off from the others comprising that Nitijela district. The Kwajalein people would constitute a category all their own.

ii) The grouping of voters as spelled out above would be only the first step in emphasizing pre-existing loyalties of the people in order to have a Council more responsive to the needs of all of the people. This can be accomplished by restructuring the Council. As it now stands there are fifteen or more Councilmen, which from a management point of view is large and unwieldy. The size of the Council might well be reduced, to minimize fragmentation of responsibilities. I suggest that the Council seats be reduced to equal the total number of Nitijela election districts plus one or two (this alternative will be explained later). By this method the number of Council seats would be reduced to about half a dozen, a manageable-sized group which could potentially function effectively.
iii) Representation on the Council should be clearly understood by the population and must reflect pre-existing loyalties. As it now stands, all Council seats are elected at large, which fails to acknowledge "home-atoll" loyalties. In theory, almost anyone can be elected to the Council, but in fact this is not the case. Kinship and geographical loyalties intervene so that, for example, the voters whose home islands are in the northeast will not vote for a candidate from the northwest, and vice versa. By this method, the outer islanders tend to cancel out each others' votes, and so the vast majority of the Councilmen are, and have been, Kwajalein people. Neither the Councilmen nor the electorate are clear about who each Councilman is supposed to represent. Often the Councilmen, after the election, will arbitrarily choose the segment of the population each will be accountable to, but this is meaningless. I therefore suggest the following:

Each group, as listed in i), would elect its own Councilman, who would be responsible for looking after its interests. This is better than voting at large, as everyone would know who his or her Councilman is, and kinship and geographical loyalties would be brought into play.

The Council, then, would parallel the Nitijela to some extent, in that the Kwajalein residents "from" each Nitijela District will elect one Councilman. Those Kwajalein residents whose land rights lie in, for example, Nitijela District 3 would elect one Councilman. The Kwajalein people (those with rights in Kwajalein Atoll) themselves would be represented by one or two Councilmen elected only by them, not at large. I mention the alternatives "one or two Councilmen" to represent the Kwajalein people for this reason: either one Councilman could represent all these people, or one could represent all Kwajalein people living on Ebeye and another could represent all Kwajalein people living on other inhabited islands within the atoll. The latter alternative would provide specific representation to the outlying islands within the atoll, which share Ebeye's problems only to a limited extent.

In addition I recommend two additional safeguards for the Kwajalein people (those with rights in Kwajalein Atoll): first, I recommend that the present custom of requiring the Kwajalein Magistrate and Scribe to be Kwajalein people, be legalized. This legalization would provide more assurance to the Kwajalein people that their interests are being protected. Both these positions, however, should be voted on by the entire electorate, as is done now. Each of them should have a vote in the Council. Second, the new charter of the Council should specify the limitations of the Council's power. Specifically, matters
regarding land questions in Kwajalein Atoll should be excluded from Council jurisdiction with the requirement that the Magistrate ensure that the proper non-Council body, such as the Mid-Atoll Corridor Committee or the traditional leaders, deal with such matters.

Certainly the reorganized Council would be little improvement unless the authority and responsibilities of the Council are enlarged. This enlargement of authority and responsibility would require a new charter with a reallocation of functions, some of which have been taken over by the Trust Territory. The Council should take on as many functions as possible. In no event should the Trust Territory turn over its responsibility for public works, hospital or school to the Council. Among other functions, the Council should be involved in the programs suggested in recommendations 2, 5, 6 and 9 of this report.

Recommendation #4

I therefore recommend that: the Ebeye political structure should be altered to provide more involvement of the residents. Major points include:

a) provision for specific representation of the residents who are outer islanders;

b) reduction of the size of the Council;

c) a complete reorganization and allocation of responsibilities under a new charter.

Background for Recommendation #5

The problems of Ebeye are serious enough to warrant definitive action. No solution can be found which will not adversely affect some segment of the population. The unity of the Marshallese people is important enough to warrant action which might be construed as discriminating against one or several factions for the sake of the whole.

Operation Exodus, if successful, could destroy the unity of the Marshallese people by dividing them into two classes - the affluent Kwajalein "haves" and the poorer outer island "have-nots." So I urge the abolition of the program, and its replacement as follows:

A "head tax" should be imposed on every man, woman and child residing on Ebeye. The same rate should apply to all, and should be annually collectable from everyone who has resided on Ebeye for the past year, excluding field trips, etc. The rate should be
High enough that its payment presents a significant portion of the population with financial difficulties. One hundred dollars might be too low. The Bank of Hawaii and the Credit Union should be discouraged from giving loans for the purpose of this payment. Those who cannot pay should be sent from Ebeye to their home islands. The money collected should be spent in only three ways:

a) to pay costs which are directly attributable to the administration and enforcement of the tax and its penalties;

b) up to 50% of the remainder should go to the Kwajalein Council for its functions as expanded by recommendation #4;

c) at least 50% of the remainder should go to the Council, to be spent ONLY for post-secondary education and training of qualifying Marshallese students from any island, for the specific purpose of providing those individuals with training and skills which are marketable in the world economy.

In carrying out this program, the Council should be advised by a committee. This committee should include a specialist from the Department of Education, the DistAdRep, plus whatever other individuals are deemed appropriate. All discussions should be a matter of public record, and all finances should be audited with the results published annually.

Some of the positive effects of this program would be:

a) population reduction on Ebeye;

b) provision for the children and the future, along lines the people themselves feel important;

c) a drop in deviant behavior on Ebeye as many young people without jobs would be forced to leave;

d) no class division would result, if equal job opportunities on Kwajalein Missile Range are actualized;

e) reduction in the number of Marshallese who have neither knowledge of traditional skills and customs nor marketable skills in the Western economy.

Some of the negative effects are envisioned as:

a) An unequal financial burden on different sectors of Ebeye's population. For example, workers in the private sector, who have the lowest pay rate of all, would have more difficulty meeting payment than Global employees;

b) difficulty in enforcement;
c) the problem of what to do with non-paying people who have primary land rights in Ebeye;

d) forced redefinition of the family to more closely approximate the nuclear family of father, mother and children;

e) the export of "deviant" behavior to the outer islands;

f) hardship on individuals who have become accustomed to an urban life-style.

Recommendation #5

To repeat my recommendation: A negative economic incentive should be established, in the form of a stiff "head tax," with the penalty for non-payment being eviction from Ebeye. The rate of tax should be set high enough to produce a significant drop in Ebeye's population. Those leaving would do so not because the Trust Territory has made a value judgment, but because they do not have the money to stay. The proceeds, minus the direct costs involved in collection and enforcement, would be placed in a special account for the use of the Kwajalein Council. Of this amount, at least 50% should be required to be spent for the purpose of post-secondary education and training to provide young Marshallese with skills which are marketable in the world economy.

Background for Recommendation #6

Given the high population density and high birth rate on Ebeye, the need for an active family planning program is clear. On Ebeye the implications of having a large number of children are different than on the outer islands. On the outer islands, much of the food is free and there is a great deal of time-consuming labor to be done. On Ebeye most food must be purchased, and the limited cash income must be divided among a number of needs. The more children in a household, the more money should be allotted to buying food for them. If this is the case, the family will be unable to spend that money for other purposes. If more money is not allocated to feed the larger number of children, their diet, and therefore their health, will suffer.

The need for a large number of children on Ebeye is less than it is in the outer islands. In the outer islands, the children have an important and active role in the daily chores of running a household. The girls help the women wash and cook, and the boys help the men fish and make waini. On Ebeye, the man cannot use help from his sons in his job. The women no longer cook over outdoor fires, which requires more work than the kerosene or electric stoves currently used on Ebeye. Nor do the women wash most of their clothes by hand. Most laundry on Ebeye is now done by machine. Many of the activities in which children assist their parents in the outer islands are done differently on Ebeye, so the parents do not require as much help. Therefore, the family
size could be reduced without adversely affecting the ability of the family to function as a domestic unit.

Recommendation #6

It is on these grounds that I recommend that: the Trust Territory should provide a comprehensive program of family planning, beginning in the public school system with discussion of the need for slowing down the rate of population growth, the changing division of labor within the family on Ebeye, and the economic basis of the urban household. For those who have already left school, provisions should be made in the educational program described under recommendation #2 for discussion of these three items in the context of "the family." Birth control facilities should be readily available to all who wish them, and should be advertised to make sure that all are aware of them. If funding for this cannot be obtained through the United States, direct application to the World Health Organization should be made by the Trust Territory government.

Background for Recommendation #7

The appalling conditions prevalent at the Ebeye Hospital have been described and commented upon on many occasions and need not be detailed here. Instead I attach a copy of Dr. Konrad Kotrady's testimony before the House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, dated July 13, 1976.

Recommendation #7

My recommendation is that: the medical facilities and program on Ebeye should be improved. This would include:

a) assignment of a competent, full-time administrator to the Ebeye Hospital;

b) increasing the physician staff, even if this means reassignment of physicians currently in Majuro to achieve the same physician-population ratio in both places;

c) institution of a training program such as the one suggested by Dr. Konrad Kotrady, at minimal cost;

d) provision of a more formal system of supervising the hospital staff;

e) exerting pressure on Kwajalein Missile Range and Global Associates to actively encourage physician, nurse and technician volunteer work by the Kwajalein Missile Range medical staff on Ebeye on a regular basis.
Background for Recommendation 18

The use of alcohol on Ebeye is a serious problem. "Drinking" is not the cause of other deviant behavior, such as suicide and crime. Rather it is a symptom of other deeper problems. These problems include the loss of traditional social controls over behavior and the lack of clearly defined behavioral roles, particularly for young males. It is in this sense that alcohol and its use should be studied. Considerable public attention should be drawn to the results of that study through public Council meetings, which would be widely advertised in the newspaper and on the police public address system.

Recommendation 18

My eighth recommendation is that: the District Administrator should request the Trust Territory Health Services Department to conduct a study of the use of alcoholic beverages on Ebeye. The study should focus on the age groupings using the alcohol, the sources of the funds used to obtain the beverage, the attitude of the parents of young people using it, the reasons why people use it, the relationship between alcohol and crime, and the relationship between alcohol and suicide on Ebeye. Upon completion of the study the District Administrator should ask the Magistrate to convene a well-advertised, public Council meeting at a time when all can come. At the meeting, the results of the study should be presented. A discussion should be held on the matter to determine if action is required, and to alert the public regarding problems associated with alcohol. Perhaps the churches could work together on this problem, in accordance with my next recommendation.

Background for Recommendation 19

My next recommendation deals with the development of a sense of community on Ebeye. On an outer island, the people interact on the basis of perceived duties and responsibilities, stemming largely from kinship, as well as other customs. On Ebeye these bases for interaction exist in altered form. In no case is any one individual able to relate to more than a small fraction of Ebeye's population on the basis of kinship. The population is diverse, with fragmented loyalties and responsibilities. It would therefore be highly desirable to encourage a sense of "community" by developing ties and responsibilities which transcend the traditional bases for interaction. The revised Council would serve such a purpose. For another example, given the frequent absence of parents and the added need for building a sense of reciprocal responsibilities, programs such as Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts should be encouraged. They should be properly supervised and emphasis should be placed on the importance of helping others. Currently, Scout programs are not as successful as they could be. Parents, concerned over the
pressures of peers on their children, find Scout programs a visible target, and often forbid their children to join. Scout programs and similar groups offer the chance to build positive, healthy relationships with other Micronesian children on Ebeye.

Sponsorship of these and other programs by the combined religious groups of Ebeye would be a substantial step toward building a sense of community. So would joint volunteer efforts in places such as the hospital and the schools on the part of the combined religious groups. At the present time the religious organizations on Ebeye are defensive and wary of each other. Even if that wariness cannot immediately be dispelled, it remains possible for the churches to contribute to the community by sharing sponsorship and providing people to staff non-religious programs such as scouting, volunteer school and hospital work, etc.

Recommendation #9

My ninth recommendation is that: the District Administrator should hold group meetings with the leaders of each religious sect on Ebeye for the purpose of involving these groups in community-wide efforts on a regular basis. Frequently in the outer islands there is only one church, so the church activities are essentially community activities, serving to unify the community. On Ebeye, with its multiple sects, church activity does not generally serve to unify the community. A strong commitment on the part of all sects to building a sense of community through shared programs in such areas as volunteer work in the hospitals, the schools, and scouting would be of enormous importance.

Background for Recommendation #10

Many of the people on Ebeye have been away from the outer islands for years. Some have never seen the outer islands. After living on an urban, wage-oriented island with a mixture of people from all over the Marshalls and elsewhere, these people have developed ideas, practices and behavioral patterns which could cause problems should these people return to the outer islands. For example, they have forgotten basic survival techniques and have become accustomed to urban conveniences. Customs of respect and of sharing have all undergone change, as have feelings of responsibility for others. Outer island residents feel threatened by this change in customs.

Some of the outer islanders express concern over the food supply on the outer islands in terms of its ability to support the expanded population produced by a major emigration from Ebeye. Their concern is over both short-term and the longer-term ability of the outer islands to support the added people.

On those islands producing waini at a close-to-optimum level, the standard of living in terms of trade goods and imported food
which could be purchased would suffer, if the number of people is increased and waini production remains about the same.

These factors should be carefully considered on an island-to-island basis to avoid problems. It might be best to avoid sending people back in large groups in order to prevent the "swamping" of the outer islands' ability to assimilate the people.

It should also be noted that any successful program to reduce Ebeye's population by forced emigration will result in a growth in Majuro's population. Some of those people accustomed to an urban life will go there rather than return to the outer islands.

Recommendation #10

My final recommendation is therefore that: the District Administrator should look into the implications of the return of large numbers of people to the outer islands under the Ebeye population reduction program.

The Marshallese people have fared better than many people in similar situations around the world. They still have most of their land, each other and the future. It is the responsibility of the Trust Territory government to protect these people, to be their advocate and to preserve their unity as a people by ensuring continuation of equal opportunity to the alternatives which exist, including the right to seek wage employment and to live on Ebeye. The Trust Territory should also do its utmost to develop the consciousness of the people, and their ability to deal with the implications of the urban, wage-oriented world and to prepare for future generations.

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