

THE KAMEHAMEHA / KIRIBATI CONNECTION
Project Panala'au in 50-Year Perspective
1935 - 1985

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INTRODUCTION

Nine out of 10 Hawaii residents may not be able to name the State's nearest foreign neighbor, much less pronounce it. But to a handful of old-timers, there are some bits of land in and around the Republic of Kiribati that are forever Kalihi. To these veterans of Project Panala'au, an unusual settlement project initiated in great secrecy in 1935, five tiny islands or atolls lying more than 1,000 miles south and southwest of Honolulu served as a kind of extension branch for post-graduate work for high school alumni of The Kamehameha Schools. This unique institution, based in Honolulu's Kalihi District, was founded in 1887 by an Hawaiian princess for children of Hawaiian blood. Most of the participants in Project Panala'au (Hawaiian word for "colonist") were recruits from the ranks of recent Kamehameha graduates, men ranging in age from 19 to 24.

The purpose of the settlement project was to clinch American claims to certain islands for use in the establishment of the first commercial air service between Honolulu and the Antipodes, as New Zealand and Australia were then called. Initially, only three islands were involved -- Jarvis, Howland and Baker. Canton and Enderbury were added later. The islands are shown on the map listed as Appendix "A".

The islands never fully served the purposes intended, and World War II spelled an end to the colonization scheme. In 50-year retrospect, however, it is plain that the project had important consequences relevant to today's concerns.

Two of the islands that the United States Government worked so hard to claim in the '30's -- Canton and Enderbury -- have been given to Kiribati, but under a treaty which includes several important qualifications designed to protect American interests.

Jarvis, Howland and Baker now have 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones which overlap similar zones claimed for neighboring Kiribati islands. The United States Department of the Interior has become custodian of the habitats of thousands of seabirds and migratory species which nest or sojourn on the three American islands.

The role the islands may play in American foreign policy, fisheries development, seabed mining, scientific research and other areas in the next 50 years may prove just as surprising as the events of the past half-century. The purpose of this paper is to trace the consequences of the settlement project and to provide postscripts for some of the events which occurred within its context.

Much of the information concerning the colonization program itself has come from Panala'au Memoirs by E.H. Bryan, Jr., a documentary account which includes diary excerpts, cruise records, a roster of all participants, and scientific data, as well as maps and photographs. Other important sources for this paper have included government reports and documents, newspaper files, personal correspondence and interviews. Abraham Pi'ianaia, Associate Professor and Director, Hawaiian Studies Program, was especially helpful in sharing his personal reminiscences as a participant in Project Panala'au.

1. Early Aviation

The first plane crossing from the Mainland to Hawaii, the John Rodgers flight of 1925, ended under sail. The crew of the downed plane rigged sails from the fabric of the wings and navigated to Nawiliwili Harbor. The feat stirred the public imagination, but the future of aviation still seemed highly speculative.

Then, in May, 1927, Charles Lindbergh made his historic solo flight to Paris and nothing would ever be quite the same again. Aviation stock soared (Horvat 1966: 87). More feats and firsts followed.

In 1928, Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith and Capt. T.P. Ulm, Australians, and two American navigators crossed the Pacific from Oakland to Brisbane. On June 1, during his Honolulu stop, Sir Charles made a public appeal for information on possible emergency landing places between Honolulu and Fiji (Bryan 1974: 1). It became increasingly apparent that more should be known about the islands to the south and west of Hawaii and the possibilities of using them in support of aviation.

At that time, Jarvis, Howland, Baker, Canton and Enderbury were apparently uninhabited and of little commercial use to anyone. Earlier, these islands and many similar low, flat, dry, tiny, treeless atolls or islets had been claimed or worked for guano by British or American interests or both. The search for this material for use in fertilizer was so intense in the 19th century that Congress in 1856 passed the Guano Islands Act, titled "An Act to authorize Protection to be given citizens of the United States who may discover Deposits of Guano."

The act provided that the President at his discretion might stipulate that a certain island, rock or key could, under specified conditions, be considered as belonging to the United States. The right to occupy such a possession for the purpose of taking guano could be assigned to the discoverers or to those whom they might designate.

Other provisions covered the transportation of the guano, the use of land and naval forces to enforce rights, and the punishment of crimes. The United States was not to be bound to retain the islands after removal of the guano.

As the aviation era dawned, the United States ties to the five islands were tenuous at best, and in each case there seemed to be some conflicting British claim.

Then, in 1931, an around-the-world flight was accomplished in eight and one-half days by Wiley Post, an American, and his Australian-born navigator, Harold C. Gatty, who had completed his formal education at the Royal Australian Naval College but later became a navigation engineer for the United States Army Air Corps (Robson 1957: 151).

Gatty's air navigation instruments became standard equipment in Douglas planes, and a lifelong friendship developed between Gatty and Donald Douglas (Robson 1958: 61). The two decided to investigate the idea of a trans-Pacific air service, Gatty favoring land planes. His activities in investigating the histories and titles of various equatorial Pacific islands may have helped to spark the British-American competition to establish claims (ibid).

At any rate, by early 1934, William Miller, then head of the Bureau of Air Commerce, had orders to organize a settlement project. It was felt that by colonizing certain islands, the United States could help to insure that air service to the south would be an American flag operation.

According to notes taken by Harold A. Meyer (Bryan 1974: 6), then an infantry lieutenant and aide to Gen. Halstead Dorey, coordinator of the Army's role in establishing the island camps, it was decided to recruit Hawaiians to be the colonizers. The rules for selection were very precise:

... The requirements were that they must be grown up, that they be able to fish in the native manner, to swim excellently, and to handle boats; that they were boys who were disciplined, boys who were friendly and unattached, and who had proved themselves of the disposition that could stand the rigors that might have to be undergone, who it was believed would be able to "take it," no matter what might come.

It was Albert Judd, a trustee for The Kamehameha Schools, who suggested to Meyer that the colonists be recruited from students or graduates of the school (ibid 15). And so it was that the Army turned to The Kamehameha Schools and drew from its files of recent graduates to build a list of interviewees.

2. A Secret Mission

The first voyage was accomplished with great secrecy.

"We didn't know where we were going," recalls Abraham Pi'ianaia, today one of three surviving members of the first group of Kamehameha youths to be sent on the colonizing expedition.

"They didn't even tell our parents where they were sending us. I thought we were going to Samoa."

The U.S.C.G. Cutter Itasca left Honolulu March 30, 1935, with 10 Army men on furlough and six youths recruited through the Kamehameha Schools. Groups of five or six men were left on Jarvis, Howland and Baker before the vessel returned to Honolulu, arriving back April 27.

On the second voyage, which left Honolulu June 9, 1935, all of the Army men who had helped set up the camps were replaced with Kamehameha alumni.

The Itasca's third expedition, leaving Honolulu September 9, 1935, was to check the health of the men and the condition of supplies and equipment.

On the fourth voyage, leaving Honolulu January 9, 1936, the Itasca replaced colonists residing on the islands, but gave them a chance to live with Samoan families on the Island of Tutuila for a few days before returning home. Two of the Kamehameha recruits, Abraham Pi'ianaia and Killarney Opiopio, volunteered at this time to spend several weeks on Swains Island to give assistance badly needed as result of a great hurricane. Colonel Meyer later praised the meticulous reports they made, and added: "The amount of good these boys did can never be measured in strict terms" (Bryan 1974: 11).

On the homeward stretch of the lengthy fourth expedition, the Itasca removed all colonists and returned them to Honolulu, arriving March 9, 1936. It was assumed at this time that requirements for establishment of claims had been satisfied. Colonel Meyer returned to his duties with the troops at Schofield Barracks, but a few months later received a startling trans-Pacific phone call.

The message was that Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt had just annexed the islands of Jarvis, Howland and Baker (ibid 12) and that they should be recolonized at once. The expedition was to be kept secret and all government agencies had been ordered to cooperate fully. Within a day, the Kamehameha alumni needed for the job had volunteered. On June 17, 1936, the Coast Guard Cutter Tiger set out for Jarvis, and the Itasca for Howland and Baker, the latter arriving "just one day ahead of the warship of a friendly power" (ibid).

Under the second phase of colonization, jurisdiction passed from the Department of Commerce to the Department of the Interior. In 1938 Canton and Enderbury, in the Phoenix group, southeast of Howland and Baker, were added as colonies. There were destined to be 23 regular cruises in all, and two emergency cruises to Jarvis. A total of about 134 young men were to take their turns as colonists, the number including a few Army men, radio men and other specialists, as well as the Kamehameha alumni.

The program continued for almost seven years -- from March, 1935, when the first group went out, until February, 1942, when the last colonists were removed under wartime conditions.

3. Distinguished Company

The secrecy that enveloped the settlement project in its early stages did not remain complete very long. Nor were the early settlers an isolated lot. They received visits from two of the most famous men of their day, as well as from a string of lesser luminaries.

Harold Gatty, Australian by birth, was just about the world's best-known navigator, having accompanied Wiley Post on his record-breaking circumnavigation of the globe in 1931.

Dr. Francis Dana Coman, who had been medical director of the expedition to the Antarctic in 1938-30 led by Rear Admiral Richard Bird, accompanied the Ellsworth Trans-Arctic Expedition in 1934-35.

By a wireless story in the New York Times from Honolulu July 20, 1935, the news was announced that Dr. Coman had just recruited a crew of Hawaiians and leased the yacht Kinkajou from Dwight Baldwin, a Honolulu sportsman, for a three-month visit to Jarvis, Baker and Howland islands and possibly others. Gatty was to join Dr. Coman on the cruise. Gatty was quoted as saying he had spent the previous three years studying the possibility of a Pacific air route.

The Times article closed with the statement: "The cooperation of the Coast Guard and Navy and the Pan American Airways indicate the expedition was mainly aeronautical. It is believed that the study of birds and fishes was given as the main purpose because the sovereignty of the islands is still questioned. (NYT 1935 21 July: 13)."

Dr. Coman left Honolulu July 24, 1935, on the Kinkajou with six young men recruited in Hawaii -- two each to be placed on Baker, Howland and Jarvis to collect weather data and other information. Gatty was not on this first voyage.

Fourteen days out of Honolulu they saw Baker, two miles long, not more than 10 feet high, flat and hard. Coman called it "a natural airport for land and amphibious planes. It could be used with very little expenditure" (Coman 1935: 1).

Outside the reef at Baker, the sea is too deep for anchorage. About 200 yards from shore the Kinkajou anchored, and the party landed on a surf boat that shot through shark-infested waters. The four Honolulu colonists who had been stationed on Baker since June 19, 1935, watched with great excitement. The drama of landing men and provisions on the island was a familiar one.

Camping and research equipment was put ashore for the two men assigned to study landing and colonizing possibilities. The Coman party noted that there was no high foliage and the island was overrun with rats. Terns and boobies were clustered in one corner of the island and the fragrance was "not that of violets".

On the positive side, there was at least "one large intermittent freshwater pool", in addition to three brackish wells "with water suitable for bathing or gardening" (ibid).

Coman reported that rain sometimes fell at the rate of 10 inches an hour (... "terrific rain that must be seen to be believed, reminding me of the cyclonic monsoons of the Bay of Bengal").

Such drenchings made not the slightest impression on the island as the water quickly disappeared through the coral rubble. He concluded that Baker would never be bothered with boggy patches, but without much effort could be converted into a veritable equatorial Paradise, a resting place for future travelers from America to the Antipodes

After a meal ashore of fish and poi, the Coman party left for Howland, 35 miles away. Coman found it similar to Baker in most respects. On Howland a radio transmitting and receiving station was set up with which Coman could communicate with his data-gatherers until the planned return of the Kinkajou early in October, 1935. The party left Howland August 24 for Jarvis, 1,300 miles to the east along the Equator.

Dr. Coman's own by-line account of these first visits to Baker and Howland islands appeared on page one of the New York Times under a Honolulu dateline of August 24, 1935, the story apparently having been transmitted from Howland by the new radio on the date of his departure. The need for secrecy was by then considered past, perhaps, or maybe Coman hadn't heard of it, for his account does frequently mention the colonists.

A headline heralded the big discovery: "Oasis for Pacific Fliers found on Coman Voyage -- Baker Island an Ideal Link for Australia Plane Route, Explorer Reports -- Natural Wonders of Place Described."

An accompanying photo showed the Coast Guard's Itasca offshore of Jarvis, where the Department of Commerce's Aviation Bureau was erecting a meteorological records station. The picture was said to show the first time the United States flag had flown on Jarvis since 1880. Actually, the American guano company closed operations there July 26, 1879. (Bryan 1974: 183).

The arrival of the Kinkajou at Jarvis early September 1, 1935, was duly recorded in the journal of the colonists, who assisted the new arrivals in setting up camp for the radio man and the Kamehameha student who would remain (Bryan 1974: 68 ff). The newly installed radio allowed the islanders to receive news broadcasts from New Zealand and the Pacific Coast, as well as send messages to their families in Honolulu through an amateur there. It was a major improvement in living conditions. On September 2, the Kinkajou left to rendezvous at Christmas Island with a vessel bringing fuel.

On its second voyage, the Kinkajou sailed from Honolulu November 4, 1935, to pick up the personnel Dr. Coman had left on the three islands and return them to Hawaii. Gatty, now now a representative of Pan American Airways, was aboard this time.

The Kinkajou arrived early November 25, 1935, at Baker (ibid 118) during very rough seas, and the first boatload ashore overturned. Gatty, Capt. Constantine Flink and two Samoan crew members were spilled out, but all were saved and none seriously injured.

Because of storm conditions the Kinkajou group remained four days at Baker, creating an opportunity for a memorable Thanksgiving, with four Hawaiian youths playing host to a party that included two of the most famous men of the day. The hosts were Abraham Pi'ianaia (island leader), William S. Kaina, Herbert Hooper and Archie Kauahikaua.

As diarist Pi'ianaia wrote about it (ibid 119):

Nov. 28. This is Thanksgiving day, but the sea doesn't seem to know it. It is still angry and rumbling like a spoiled tiger. Having no turkey, chicken or pig did not spoil our Thanksgiving Day party a bit. Caught two booby birds and introduced them to the cook. The cook curried one and stewed the other, and believe me, when dinner was over, there was no booby bird left on the table. Everybody enjoyed it and was surprised to find it tasted so good. That was something to be grateful for.

Because of the rough seas, the Kinkajou did not set out for Howland until November 30. Such an extended visit with the scholarly Dr. Coman, who seemed to know the scientific names for all the birds, and Gatty, a recognized authority on "blind navigation" but one who knew the stars as well, must have been a highly educational experience for the four Kamehameha alumni at the Baker "extension branch", but the process was a two-way affair.

Pi'ianaia (pers. comm.) recalls escorting Gatty around the island while he noted that the booby birds would regurgitate undigested fresh-caught fish when disturbed.

Gatty later included this bit of useful information in a book he wrote for downed flyers and shipwrecked sailors (Gatty 1943: 15). Entitled The Raft Book, this book appeared in 1943 as a survival aid for members of the American armed forces. It emphasized direction-finding through the use of natural signs, such as birds, cloud formations and colors, seaweed, scents and other indicators.

In both The Raft Book and in Nature Is Your Guide, published in 1958, he suggested that land birds might have provided the early Polynesians with clues to the existence of undiscovered lands (Gatty 1943: 7; 1958: 31-36). He cited the migration in September of the Long-tailed Cuckoo from tropical Polynesia to New Zealand, and that of the Golden Plover from Tahiti northward in the spring. This theory of Gatty's has had its detractors, prominent among them Andrew Sharp (1963: fig. 4), but all of Gatty's ideas about the way early Oceanic sailors navigated are being reviewed with new appreciation today. The official 1984 postage stamp commemorating the 25th anniversary of Hawaii Statehood depicts a Pacific Golden Plover flying ahead of a Polynesian voyaging canoe.

Between March, 1935, when the first cruise shoved off from Honolulu, to February, 1942, when the last 14 colonists were removed under wartime conditions, many well-known visitors came to the tiny colonies.

Some of them were: Dr. Ernest Gruening, Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, U.S. Department of the Interior (later Governor of Alaska); Joseph Poindexter, then Governor of Hawaii; Samuel Wilder King, then Hawaii's Delegate to Congress (later Governor of Hawaii); William Norwood, then a writer for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and later High Commissioner of the United States Trust Territories of the Pacific; George Munro, leading authority on Hawaii's birds; and E.H. Bryan, who later produced Panala'au Memoirs.

The educational flavor of the colonization project was reinforced by visits from Donald Mitchell, science teacher at The Kamehameha Schools, who was to write a number of Hawaiiana books for young readers.

The Kamehameha colonists themselves included a number of Hawaii's prominent men of later years. Several chose a career ladder in government or government-related work, such as Theodore Akana, who became an executive with the Hawaii Government Employees Association; Daniel Toomey of the Honolulu Police Department; and Pi'ianaia, who headed the Hawaiian Homes Commission before entering academic life. Eugene Burke, who lived on each of the three Panala'au islands which are now bird refuges, retired in 1977 as Chief of Law Enforcement for the Division of Fish and Game, State Department of Land and Natural Resources.

The shipwrecked barkentine Amaranth, found at Jarvis and used by its colonists as a source of materials for many camp projects, helped launch George Nuuanu West as a writer. The research he accomplished on the history of the vessel and the survivors of the wreck furnished material for one of his early journalistic efforts. By the time of his death on April 19, 1977, his by-line had become known to readers of both major Honolulu dailies. He was one of the rare Honolulu newspapermen of Hawaiian blood to surface in modern times. In the last century, the Hawaiian language press was a flourishing instrument of political expression.

A non-Hawaiian left on Baker by the Coman expedition for scientific work, Julius Scammon Rodman, later became a scholar of Hawaiiana, a hunter of burial caves and a collector of archaeological objects for the Bishop Museum. Now living in Olympia, Washington, he is probably best-known for his book The Kahuna Sorcerers of Hawaii, Past and Present, published in 1977 by Exposition Press, Inc., Hicksville, New York.

The colonist who may have been the best-known of all the young men who took part in the settlement project never lived on to attain greater distinction than he had already achieved by the age of 21.

He was Carl Kahalawai, who went on the 13th cruise to Jarvis, developed appendicitis there, and died on the Itasca on October 10, 1938, as he was being returned on the emergency cruise, "13-A", to Honolulu for treatment (Bryan 1974: 34). More than 3,000 students and relatives and many prominent persons attended the memorial services, which were held at McKinley High School on October 11, 1938. The popular athlete had attended both McKinley and Kamehameha.

Dr. Pauline King, a cousin of Carl Kahalawai, recalls that a portrait of him, painted by Robert Lee Eskridge, hung in the Washington, D.C., home of her father, Samuel Wilder King, when he was Hawaii's delegate to Congress. Carl, a tall and handsome representative of Hawaii's indigenous people, is depicted dressed in a malo and holding a spear.

This portrait now hangs in Dr. King's home in Honolulu.

4. Amelia Earhart and Howland

Late in 1936, after recolonization of Howland, Jarvis and Baker had begun under the Department of the Interior, H.A. Meyer, by then an Army captain, was asked by Richard Black, whom the Department of the Interior had placed in charge of Central Pacific affairs, to provide Army assistance in construction of an airfield on Jarvis for Amelia Earhart's proposed circumnavigation of the globe from east to west (ibid 111).

Jarvis seemed a logical choice, having 1,110 acres of land above water, compared with Howland's 400 acres and Baker's 340. Jarvis is about 1,000 miles due south of Honolulu, while Howland and Baker are 1,600 miles to the southwest.

However, two days after the construction party sailed from Honolulu, headed for Jarvis, Mr. Black received instructions to build the airfield on Howland instead. The rest of the Earhart episode is just as fraught with uncertainties. In building the airstrip and preparing a clear path for her expected landing, very large colonies of frigate and booby birds had to be removed. Then plans for a daytime arrival were cancelled in favor of a daytime departure from Honolulu and night landing on Howland. More bird colonies had to be moved and plans made to illuminate the very short landing strip with flares of coconut fibre and fabric.

Ms. Earhart was originally expected to arrive from Honolulu in March, 1937, but changed her plans after a take-off accident, and returned to the Mainland. Her later plans called for a west-to-east itinerary along an equatorial route (Horvat 1966: 142).

She left from Miami, Florida, and flew as far as Lae, in New Guinea, where she made her last take-off on July 1, bound for Howland. She never arrived. Her fate is still a matter of controversy and conjecture.

Sometime in the summer of 1985, or perhaps later, an American flying instructor, Grace McGuire, may be flying the Earhart flight plan in a near-duplicate of the Lockheed Electra Ms. Earhart was using on her attempted 1937 exploit (Taylor: 1985). Ms. McGuire, who is said to be an Earhart "look-alike", was born in Scotland, but came to the United States as a teen-ager and settled in Rumson, New Jersey. The trip she has been proposing has been postponed in past years, apparently for lack of sponsorship funds.

Howland is now part of the Pacific Islands National Wildlife Refuge, administered by the Fish and Wildlife Service, which has been in correspondence with the aviatrix concerning the Central Pacific portion of her plans. The massive site preparations that were made for Amelia Earhart's landing on Howland can hardly be expected today. A landing at Canton appears likely for Ms. McGuire if she can get her project off the ground financially.

Birds and planes are notoriously incompatible. Today on Howland it is the island's earlier settlers -- the birds -- whose interests take first place.

5. Canton and Enderbury

Great power rivalry for Canton and Enderbury has been a friendly tussle with comic opera overtones.

Canton Island came into the limelight of public attention in 1937 when both American and New Zealand expeditions chose it to view a total eclipse of the sun July 8. The huge central lagoon -- ideal for seaplanes -- and the flat rim suitable for land planes did not escape attention (Bryan 1974: 196). British and American parties each posted signs asserting the sovereignty of its respective nation.

The British sign was in confirmation of earlier postings. The year before, on August 6, a sign had gone up asserting sovereignty in the name of King Edward VIII. Later that year the new king gave up his throne, saying he could not go on without the help and support of the woman he loved, American divorcee Wallis Warfield Simpson. Accordingly, on June 3, 1937, the H.M.S. Wellington stopped at Canton and a replacement sign appeared on a coconut palm claiming the island for King George VI. Then, in October of that year, the Gilbert and Ellice Crown Colony added its own sign pursuant to the fact that on March 15 all of the Phoenix Islands had been placed in charge of its administrator (Canton, Enderbury, Phoenix, Sydney, Birnie, McKean, Gardner and Hull).

Thus it was that when an American party of seven, including four Hawaiian colonists, landed on Canton on March 7, 1938, two British radio and weather men were on hand to greet them with, as the story goes, offers of beer (ibid 33). Four colonists planted the American flag the day before on Enderbury, but there is no record of British or beer there at the time.

The American arrival was pursuant to an administrative order signed by Pres. Roosevelt on March 3, 1938, placing Canton and Enderbury under jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

A temporary solution to the problem of conflicting claims was reached on April 6, 1939, when Canton and Enderbury were placed under joint British and American rule for 50 years -- and "thereafter until such time as it may be modified or terminated by mutual consent." Air companies of both nations were to have equal access to the islands' facilities.

During 1938 and 1939, Pan American laid out and developed an extensive airport, deepened and cleared the lagoon, and initiated flights to New Zealand, using Canton as one of its ports of call. Harold Gatty, as liaison officer for Pan American Airways, had accomplished what some had considered impossible -- he had secured from the New Zealand government the right to place a trans-Pacific flying-boat terminal in Mechanics Bay, Auckland, to serve Pan American (Robson 1957: 151). Australian-born Gatty could not get a similar permit from the Australian government, and so, until World War II, Pan American service did not include Australia.

As World War II approached, there was need for ferrying land planes across the Pacific to Australia (Bryan 1974: 198). A field was built on the northern rim of Canton and soon became the hub of Central Pacific air movement. A separate strip was built for fighter planes. Tens of thousands of American troops were brought to Canton and some stayed on for months. More construction took place, virtually transforming an area once devoted to nesting sites of wild birds.

Canton Island was withdrawn from the settlement project on March 22, 1940. The Airport Manager became the Acting Field Representative of the Department of the Interior. Occupancy of Enderbury, Howland, Baker and Jarvis continued until early in 1942, when all colonists were removed under wartime conditions.

6. Islands at War

Two colonists on Howland -- Joseph Keliihanui and Richard Whaley -- were killed by Japanese fire on December 18, 1941. The mission that had begun so quietly ended in an explosion of violence.

The bodies of the young Hawaiians were buried by their two companions, Thomas Bederman and Alvin Kanaina Mattson. They were reburied at Schofield in the '50's. Then, on May 4, 1981, the slain men were remembered in a simple graveside ceremony (Krauss 1981) by a party that included William Whaley, Richard's brother and a well-known former professional baseball player, and four of the former colonists -- Eugene and Walter Burke, Solomon Kalama and Joe Kim.

Walter Burke, who was on Baker Island when the Pacific war erupted, recalled that he got up at dawn on December 8, 1941, to raise the flag. There was a Japanese submarine offshore and a shell blasted the top off the wooden shack where the colonists lived. Burke ran across the island and hid. Later that day a big, four-engined flying boat bombed the island. Although their provisions were damaged and food was scarce, the Baker colonists survived until picked up on January 28, 1942, by the U.S.S. Helm, a destroyer. They dug fox-holes and stayed under cover during the day to escape the daily attentions of the faithful bomber. Early in the morning and at night they caught squid and lobster, which could be picked up by the hand. For greens there were palolo leaves. Christmas, 1941, on Baker Island was lobster dinner and carols sung under the moon.

Baker never fulfilled Dr. Coman's vision of it as an equatorial Paradise for airline stopovers. It was destined to be the staging ground for the Tarawa-Makin operation during which the Americans wrested the main islands of the Gilbert group from the Japanese at great cost of life on both sides.

Walter Burke returned to Baker in 1943 to help build the military airstrip. One of his first acts after his arrival was to seek out the rock pile under which he had buried the carefully wrapped American flag to keep it from enemy hands. This was the flag the colonists had raised that fateful morning of December 8, 1941, when the Pacific war arrived at Baker.

The smallest of the five islands in the colonization program, Baker has but 340 acres of land, or slightly more than one-half square mile, although the total complex includes 31,397 acres of submerged land. Oval in shape, Baker is only about a mile from east to west and about 1,260 yards wide. Yet this tiny isle once held 120 officers and 2,000 men. The original airstrip was enlarged to a bomber strip 5,750 long by October 2, 1940 (Bryan 1974: 193 illust.). After the base took part in the Tarawa-Makin operation in March, 1944, Baker was evacuated.

7. Surrogate Settlers

It was in 1974 that the islands of Howland, Jarvis and Baker received "Refuge" designation from the Department of the Interior and were placed under the Fish and Wildlife Service.

The islands are not ideally situated for easy administration from Honolulu. Jarvis lies about 1,300 miles to the south, and Howland and Baker, which are about 35 miles apart, are 1,600 miles to the southwest. The Coast Guard has been making a "sovereignty visit" to the islands once a year and this trip offers just about the only visitation privilege the Honolulu staff can count on regularly. Even so, only one to three hours ashore may be permitted by the schedule of the Coast Guard captain.

With very infrequent surveillance, there is almost no way to stop unauthorized visits.

Files of the Honolulu office of the Fish and Wildlife Service contain in folder after folder memoes, notes, reports or letters confirming the impression that the local staff is handicapped in carrying out its responsibilities on Jarvis, Howland and Baker because of distance from the scene and lack of sufficient funds to compensate for this difficulty.

The three refuges were not visited at all during 1981. However, plans were being made that year to secure inexpensive boat transportation for 1982 by coordinating activities with the University of Hawaii Institute of Geophysics professors who were intending to stop at Jarvis to service recording equipment installed there for an oceanographic study.

No satisfactory weather data has been available for the Howland and Baker region since the United States closed the weather station on Canton pursuant to the 1979 treaty giving that island, Enderbury and others to Kiribati.

The records show that some measure of conscientious attention has been given to the refuges. Feral cats have been eliminated from Jarvis, thanks to a special project in 1982 and 1983 conducted by Mark Rauzon as part of an M.A. thesis in Geography for the University of Hawaii. The feral animals are believed to have descended from cats brought in for the colonists to eliminate rats (Rauzon 1983: 12, 13). Cats can be a serious threat to the bird population as they eat eggs and young birds. Howland has also been plagued with feral cats, but a recent drouth may have eliminated the last of them.

Feral cats were eliminated from Baker in 1964 by Pacific Ocean Biological Survey Program personnel and no cats are believed there now. A "Baker Island Biological Ascertainment Report" was issued by Eugene Kridler, Wildlife Administrator (then headquartered in Kailua), in 1973, on the brink of Baker's attaining "Refuge" status. It may be recalled that Baker was the island which suffered such radical disruptions and alterations from World War II military use. Kridler (1973: 3) noted that recolonization of Baker was then taking place from Howland's bird population. A total of 7,000 birds of six species was recorded at that time on Baker. For a list of all bird species currently associated with the three islands see Appendix "B".

Some problems remain with rats, mice and debris on the islands, but the record gives reason to hope that the Refuges will be improved, however slowly, in the years ahead.

8. The Treaty with Kiribati

In 1977, as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony was preparing to become independent as two separate nations, the United States and Great Britain moved toward ending the dispute over claims to 25 small Pacific islands (HSB 1977).

Canton and Enderbury were then under joint administration by the United States and the United Kingdom, pursuant to the agreement of April 6, 1939. These islands were in line to become part of the new Republic of Kiribati, as the Gilbertese had decided to call their new country.

Other disputed islands which were also intended to become part of Kiribati were: Phoenix group -- McKean, Birnie, Phoenix, Gardner, Hull and Sydney; Line Islands group -- Christmas, Malden, Starbuck, Volstok, Caroline and Flink.

Four islands were sought by the British for Tuvalu, homeland of the Ellice islanders -- Nukufetau, Funafuti, Nukulaelae and Nurakita.

Islands administered by New Zealand but claimed by the United States were Atafu, Nukunono and Fakaofu in the Tokelau Islands; and Penrhyn (Tongareva), Rakahanga, Manihiki and Danger (Pukapuka) in the Cook Islands.

The new Republic of Kiribati officially celebrated its independence on July 12, 1979, a country of 58,512 people occupying at least 33 islands scattered over about two million square miles of ocean (including the area represented by the 14 disputed islands).

The Government of the United States, represented by William Bodde, Jr., then the American ambassador headquartered in Fiji, concluded a Treaty of Friendship (Appendix "C") with Ieremia Tabai, representing the Government of Kiribati, on September 20, 1979.

In Article One, the Treaty recognizes Kiribati's sovereignty over Canton (now spelled "Kanton") and Enderbury and the 12 other islands previously in dispute between the British and the Americans.

Article Two stipulates that any military use of these islands by third parties shall be the subject of consultation between the two governments.

Further, the Treaty provides that the facilities constructed by the United States on Canton (Kanton), Enderbury and Hull are not to be made available for military purposes to third parties except with the agreement of the United States. The two governments are to consult each other in matters concerning conservation, management and use of fisheries, and agree to encourage cooperative arrangements and ventures of mutual interest and benefits. Preservation of Kiribati's unique natural and cultural resources, and encouragement of scientific research and cultural activities are other areas of cooperation mentioned in the Treaty.

In an "agreed minute" that appears on page 11 of the Treaty, following the signatures, Kiribati assured the Government of the United States that applications by United States flag vessels, or vessels supplying canneries in American Samoa, for licenses to fish within Kiribati waters would be sympathetically considered "without discrimination and without regard to fishing method.". However, the following sentence stipulates that "Conservation measures of the Government of Kiribati would have to be observed." Kiribati further advised the Government of the United States that it was not Kiribati policy to grant exclusive licenses.

Although Pres. Jimmy Carter transmitted the Treaty to the Senate on January 24, 1980, it was not ratified until 1983. It entered into force on September 23, 1983, upon exchange of ratifications, and will remain in force for 10 years.

Thereafter, it will be subject to termination by either party upon six months notice, except that Article One, wherein the United States recognizes the sovereignty of Kiribati over Kanton and Enderbury and the other 12 islands, will not be subject to termination.

Following a decision by the Department of Defense on March 19, 1979, that the Kanton complex was no longer needed, Air Force personnel left the island just before Kiribati's Independence Day, July 12, 1979. Pending the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship, the Governor of American Samoa represented the United States with responsibility for Kanton.

Under a separate treaty (TMS 10775) involving Tokelau, a dependency of New Zealand, the United States claim to Swains Island, which was annexed to American Samoa in 1925, was formally recognized. This is the island where Abraham Pi'ianaia and Killarney Opiopio, two of the earliest colonists, had spent several weeks assisting the people in recovering from a hurricane.

The treaty with Kiribati, together with similar treaties covering islands sought by Tuvalu, the Cooks and New Zealand (on behalf of Tokelau), were favorably reported to the Senate floor in May, 1982, but the full Senate hearing kept being postponed. American ambassadors in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Papua New Guinea wrote an earnest joint plea to Secretary of State George Schultz, expressing concern over the delayed ratification (U.S. Sen. Committee on Foreign Relations Report, 1983:3).

Senator John East, in a move endorsed by his fellow Republican from North Carolina, Sen. Jesse Helms, tried to have the treaties renegotiated or amended. Senator East expressed concern that the national interests of the United States were not fully taken into account. New Zealand's Prime Minister Sir Robert Muldoon, in a letter to Vice-President George Bush, declared that no such move would be possible or acceptable (ibid 10, 11).

In defense of the treaty, Casper W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense, stated in a letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the only United States installations in the region since World War II (the missile testing facilities on Canton, Enderbury, Birnie and Hull islands) were closed in 1979 because they no longer met requirements and were too costly to operate (ibid 5).

Failure to approve the treaty, Weinberger said, would provide a deep irritant to the ANZUS allies. The national interest could best be served, he argued, if the states in the region were friendly, were disposed to permit access to the region by American military forces should a contingency arise, and opposed "a Soviet presence -- military, political or economic" (ibid 6).

In another letter supporting the treaty, Powell A. Moore, the State Department's Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, declared that United States claims to the 25 islands involved in the four treaties had little, if any, legal basis or practical value (ibid 7).

Moore pointed out that the Guano Act of 1856 was never intended as a basis for United States sovereignty over islands from which guano was taken. Certain of the islands were claimed on the basis of discovery or mapping by American vessels in the mid-19th century. However, according to Moore, the United States made no attempt to extend its governmental jurisdiction over any of these islands.

Moore's sweeping statement might have been true in the case of the claims for many, if not most, of the islands surrendered by the four treaties. However, the record shows that Pres. Roosevelt did assign Canton and Enderbury to the Department of the Interior in 1938, and that an American occupying party, including Hawaiian colonists, was sent to reinforce the claims.

American claims to Jarvis, Howland and Baker do not seem to be in question. These islands have been administered as part of the United States since 1935.

9. Circles in the Sea

In Proclamation 5030 of March 10, 1983, Pres. Ronald Reagan established a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone for the United States, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (to the extent consistent with the Covenant and United Nations Trusteeship Agreement) and overseas territories and possessions.

Specifically, the Proclamation did not change United States policies concerning highly migratory species of tuna, which are not subject to United States jurisdiction. Pacific island nations do consider tuna within their waters to be subject to their jurisdiction. Smaller nations like Kiribati look to the licensing fees for taking such tuna as an important source of government revenues. In the past, the United States has not recognized such exclusivity on the part of other nations, and Proclamation 5030 reaffirmed this non-recognition. However, a desire to retain the friendship of island nations and resist incursions of Soviet influence (a major consideration in the Treaty of Friendship with Kiribati) may eventually bring about a shift of policy on the tuna issue.

Christmas, Walden and Starbuck, all of them Kiribati islands, have overlapping 200-mile zones with Jarvis. Kanton, Enderbury and McKean have overlapping 200-mile zones with Baker and Howland. An idea of the relative distances between these islands can be formed from the map (Appendix "D") prepared with the cooperation of Lee Mottler, Geographer, Pacific Scientific Information Center.

Questions of water boundaries remain to be settled between the two nations. Lines of equidistance could create United States water areas for Jarvis, Howland and Baker totaling about 291,000 square miles, if expressed in statute (land) miles rather than nautical. This would be an expanse bigger than Texas' land area of 282,017 square miles.

The computation of areas was made by Robert W. Smith, Assistant Geographer, Department of State (pers. comm. 19 September, 1977) following the extension of the United States economic coastal zone limits from 12 miles to 200 miles, effective March 1, 1977, to conserve fishery resources and protect American fishermen. The concern at that time was for species other than the highly migratory tuna. The United States does not consider its jurisdiction to be applicable to tuna, and does not recognize the jurisdiction of any other country over this fish. Political strategy may soon dictate a shift in this policy, as previously noted (p. 27, this paper).

How Jarvis, Howland and Baker and their extensive water areas might serve American foreign policy is a timely question in the light of current Soviet Union efforts to obtain fishing rights from Kiribati (PIM 1985).

The Department of the Interior has by no means overlooked the possible importance of Jarvis, Howland and Baker in future seabed mining operations. The three tiny islands, which have a combined land area of less than three square miles, are well-represented in a glossy booklet published by the Department of the Interior Geological Survey pursuant to Proclamation 5030 of 1983, The Exclusive Economic Zone: An Exciting New Frontier (McGregor and Offield undated: 10).

As land areas, these islands must be exaggerated in size even to be visible as dots on a book-sized map showing the entire Pacific. With the delineation of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) limits in yellow on a blue sea, Jarvis, Howland and Baker become impressively visible. Such a massive aggrandizement of American hegemony was hardly visualized by the Kamehameha alumni who colonized these specks of land.

Coral islands rest on a base of old volcanoes. Cobalt-rich manganese crusts may be deposited on the underwater flanks of these islands. Yet despite the exciting nature of the "New Frontier", exploitation of these resources is not likely to begin soon. The research is in a very early stage. Furthermore, any proposals for mining activities at the three Refuge islands might receive extremely close scrutiny, if not active opposition, by wildlife conservationists.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was 50 years ago, in March, 1935, that the Itasca set out from Honolulu with those six recent Kamehameha alumni who weren't even told where they were going. The ensuing seven-year saga of island colonization didn't exactly lead where it was expected to, either. The future envisioned for the islands which the United States government sought so avidly was never fully realized, although Canton enjoyed a brief heyday as a stopover for Pan American's Clipper. Trans-Pacific aviation shed its "water-wings" in 1946, and quickly outgrew the need for frequent refueling stops.

But the several score of Hawaiian youths who took part in the discomforts, dangers -- and occasional delights -- of Project Panala'au have nevertheless contributed importantly to the national interest.

The occupation of Canton and Enderbury by Hawaiian colonists led to joint American-British administration, and eventually to the Treaty of Friendship with the new nation of Kiribati. In giving up its claims to Canton, Enderbury and certain other islands, the United States was able to obtain concessions sought for military purposes and for the protection of American Samoa's fish canning industry.

Jarvis, Howland and Baker are now designated as Refuges under the Fish and Wildlife Service, and could, if given proper attention and protection, develop into three of the great bird habitats of the world, a mecca for scientific study and a source of national prestige.

The administration of these Refuges might also furnish opportunity for cultural and scientific cooperation with Kiribati -- one goal of the Treaty of Friendship. Kiribati has been striving to improve conditions for its famous bird colonies on Christmas Island. Birds have played a prominent role in the traditional life of the Gilbertese, and the Kiribati flag shows a frigate bird flying above the rising sun.

American possession of Jarvis, Howland and Baker, resulting in overlapping economic and fisheries zones with several Kiribati islands, could either be a source of friction or an incentive for constructive cooperation in building a prosperous and secure Central Pacific region.

The colonization project that started 50 years ago has thus resulted in a number of important links between the United States and Hawaii's nearest foreign neighbor. How well these connections will serve the national interests will depend upon the wisdom and skill of America's foreign policy managers.

Table 1. List and Summary of Birds on Baker, Howland and Jarvis
 (Adapted from U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Brochure, "Pacific Islands
 National Wildlife Refuges." Source for scientific and Hawaiian names
 was chiefly Robert L. Pyle's "Checklist of the Birds of Hawaii.")

Symbols:

- a -- abundant (very numerous common species)
- c -- common (certain to be seen in suitable habitat)
- u -- uncommon (present, but not certain to be seen)
- o -- occasional (seen only a few times a year)
- r -- rare (seen at intervals of 2-5 years)
- x -- accidental (not normally expected)
- . -- nests locally

Species	Island		
	Baker	Howland	Jarvis
Wedge-tailed Shearwater 'Ua'u-kani (<u>Puffinus pacificus chlororhynchus</u>)		r	u
Christmas Shearwater (<u>Pacificus nativitatis</u>)		x	r
Phoenix Petrel (<u>Pterodroma alba</u>)		r	
White-throated Storm-Petrel (<u>Nesofregatta fuliginosa</u>)			r
Red-tailed Tropicbird Koa'e-kea (<u>Phaeton rubricauda rothschildi</u>)	u.	u.	a.

Table 1. (Cont.)

Species	Island		
	Baker	Howland	Jarvis
Blue-faced Booby (<u>Sula dactylatra personata</u>)	u.	a.	a.
Brown Booby 'Ā (<u>Sula leucogaster plotus</u>)	u	u.	
Red-footed Booby 'Ā (<u>Sula sula rubipes</u>)	u	u	a.
Great Frigatebird 'Iwa (<u>Fregata minor palmerstoni</u>)	c	c.	c.
Lesser Frigatebird (<u>Frigata ariel</u>)	c	a.	a.
Cattle Egret (<u>Subulcus ibis</u>)		x	
Pintail Koloa-mapu (<u>Anas acuta</u>)		x	x
Semipalmated Plover (<u>Charadrius semipalmatus</u>)	x		
American Golden Plover Kōlea (<u>Pluvialis dominica</u>)	c	c	u

Table 1. (Cont.)

Species	Island		
	Baker	Howland	Jarvis
Ruddy Turnstone Ākekeke (<u>Arenaria interpres</u>)	c	c	c
Bristle-thighed curlew Kioea (<u>Numenius tahitiensis</u>)	u	u	u
Wandering Tattler 'Ūlili (<u>Heteroscelus incanus</u>)	u	u	u
Sharp-tailed Sandpiper (<u>Calidris aluminata</u>)	o	r	
Pectoral Sandpiper (<u>Calidris melanotos</u>)	r	r	
Bar-tailed Godwit (<u>Limosa lapponica</u>)	r	r	
Sanderling (<u>Calidris alba</u>)	u		r
Laughing Gull (<u>Larus atricilla</u>)	x		
Crested Tern (<u>Sterna bergii</u>)		x	

Table 1. (Cont.)

Species	Island		
	Baker	Howland	Jarvis
Sooty Tern 'Ewa'ewa (<u>Sterna fuscata oahuensis</u>)	c	c.	a.
Gray-backed Tern Pākalakala (<u>Sterna lunata</u>)	u.	u.	u.
Blue-gray Noddy (<u>Procelsterna cerulea saxatilis</u>)	x	x	r
Brown (Common) Noddy Noio-kōhā (<u>Anous stolidus pileatus</u>)	c.	o.	u.
Black (White-Capped) Noddy Noio (<u>Anous minutus melanogenys</u>)		o	r
White Tern (Fairy Tern) Mamu-o-ku (<u>Gygis alba rothschildi</u>)	r	x	o
	—	—	—
	21	25	20

FRIENDSHIP AND TERRITORIAL
SOVEREIGNTY

Treaty, With Agreed Minute,
Between the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
and KIRIBATI

Signed at Tarawa September 20, 1979

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APPENDIX "C"



KIRIBATI

Friendship and Territorial Sovereignty

NOTE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Pursuant to Public Law 89-497, approved July 8, 1966 (80 Stat. 271; 1 U.S.C. 113)—

“ . . . the Treaties and Other International Acts Series issued under the authority of the Secretary of State shall be competent evidence . . . of the treaties, international agreements other than treaties, and proclamations by the President of such treaties and international agreements other than treaties, as the case may be, therein contained, in all the courts of law and equity and of maritime jurisdiction, and in all the tribunals and public offices of the United States, and of the several States, without any further proof or authentication thereof.”

Treaty, with agreed minute, signed at Tarawa September 20, 1979;

Transmitted by the President of the United States of America to the Senate January 24, 1980 (S. Ex. A, 96th Cong., 2d Sess.);

Reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations March 21, 1983 (S. Ex. Rept. No. 98-6, 98th Cong., 1st Sess.);

Advice and consent to ratification by the Senate June 21, 1983;
Ratified by the President August 16, 1983;

Ratified by Kiribati September 20, 1983;

Ratifications exchanged at Suva, Fiji September 23, 1983;

Proclaimed by the President November 17, 1983;

Entered into force September 23, 1983.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

CONSIDERING THAT:

The Treaty of Friendship between the United States of America and the Republic of Kiribati, together with an Agreed Minute, was signed at Tarawa on September 20, 1979, the texts of which are hereto annexed;

The Senate of the United States of America by its resolution of June 21, 1983, two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein, gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Treaty and Agreed Minute;

The Treaty and Agreed Minute were ratified by the President of the United States of America on August 16, 1983, in pursuance of the advice and consent of the Senate, and were ratified on the part of the Republic of Kiribati;

It is provided in Article 7 of the Treaty that the Treaty shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification;

The instruments of ratification of the Treaty and Agreed Minute were exchanged at Suva, Fiji on September 23, 1983, and accordingly the Treaty and Agreed Minute entered into force on September 23, 1983;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, proclaim and make public the Treaty and Agreed Minute to the end that they be observed and fulfilled with good faith on and after September 23, 1983, by the United States of America and by the citizens of the United States of America and all other persons subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have signed this proclamation and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this seventeenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred eighty-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred eighth.

[SEAL]

RONALD REAGAN

By the President:

GEORGE P. SHULTZ
Secretary of State

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE REPUBLIC OF KIRIBATI

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Kiribati,

Desirous of maintaining the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between the people of the United States and the people of Kiribati;

Acknowledging that the United States has hitherto claimed sovereignty over the islands of Canton (Kanton), Enderbury, Hull (Orona), Birnie, Gardner (Nikumaroro), Phoenix (Rawaki), Sydney (Manra), McKean, Christmas (Kiritimati), Caroline, Starbuck, Malden, Flint and Vostok;

Conscious of their mutual interest in a stable and peaceful Pacific;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The Government of the United States recognizes the sovereignty of Kiribati over the islands of Kiribati named in the preamble as a part of the territory of the sovereign Republic of Kiribati.

ARTICLE 2

The two Governments, in the spirit of friendship existing between them, shall consult together on matters of mutual concern and interest in time of need, and, in particular, to promote social and economic development, peace, and security in the Pacific region. Any military use by third parties of the islands named in the preamble shall be the subject of such consultations.

ARTICLE 3

Any future use by the Government of the United States of facilities constructed by it on Canton (Kanton), Enderbury, and Hull (Orona) shall be in accordance with agreements to be negotiated between the two Governments. The Government of Kiribati agrees that these facilities shall not be made available to third parties for military purposes except with the agreement of the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE 4

The two Governments recognize the interest of their peoples in close cooperation for their mutual benefit in economic development relating to fisheries off their coasts. The two Governments agree to consult directly, and/or through appropriate regional organizations to which both are parties, regarding matters relating to the conservation, management, and utilization of fisheries of mutual interest. They agree also to encourage and facilitate cooperative arrangements and fishing ventures of mutual interest and benefit. For the purpose of entering into such arrangements the two Governments shall promote discussions between their nationals and appropriate governmental entities.

ARTICLE 5

The Governments of the United States and Kiribati will use their best efforts to encourage cooperation between the two countries in protecting the unique natural and cultural resources of Kiribati, and, for their mutual benefit, to encourage and facilitate scientific research activities and cultural exchanges.

ARTICLE 6

The Governments of the United States and Kiribati agree to encourage joint utilization of facilities constructed by the United States on Canton (Kanton) for the mutual benefit of their nationals and/or appropriate governmental entities.

ARTICLE 7

(a) This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by the parties and shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.^[1]

(b) This Treaty shall remain in force for ten years and shall thereafter be subject to termination by either party upon six months notice; provided, however, that Article 1 of this Treaty shall not be subject to termination.

DONE in duplicate, in the English and Kiribati languages of which the English shall be the authentic text, at Tarawa, this 20th day of September, 1979.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

William Bolde, Jr.^[2]

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF KIRIBATI:

V. Tabai^[3]

TE BORARAOI N IRAORAO I MARENAN
AMERIKA AO KIRIBATI

Tautaekan Amerika ao Kiribati,

I bukin nanoia n tangira kateimatoan taian itoman i bukin te rau ao te iraorao ake a kaman reke i marenaia kain Amerika ao kaini Kiribati;

Ao n atakin Amerika are e a tia n tau ba ana bai abamakoro aika Kanton (Canton), Enderbury, Orona (Hull), Birnie, Nikumaroro (Gardner), Rawaki (Phoenix), Manra (Sydney), McKean, Kiritimati (Christmas), Caroline, Starbuck, Malden, Flint ao Vostok;

Ao i bukin nanoia n tabeakina kateimatoan mweraoin ao raun te Betebeke;

A tia ni kariaia n aron aei:

MAKORO 1

E kakooua te Tautaeaka n Amerika ba a tauaki aba irouni Kiribati abamakoro ake a kaotaki ni moan aei ba makoron abani Kiribati.

MAKORO 2

I bukin te nano n iraorao i marenaia Tautaeaka aika uoua, ao a na uaia n ikakarabakau i bukin aroaro ma kantaninga ake a iangoi n te tai are a tangiraki iai ao ai moara riki i bukini karikirakean te mweraoi ao te kaubai, te raoi ao te aki buakanaki i nanon aba n te Betebeke. Ngkana a kabonganaaki aba aika a tia n oti i moan aei irouia tautaeaka tabeua i bukini baai ni buaka, ao e riai te ikakarabakau i bukin anne.

MAKORO 3

Ngkana iai ana kantaninga te Tautaeaka n Amerika nakon taai aika a na roko ni manga kabonganai baai ake a tia ni kateaki irouna i aoni Kanton (Canton), Enderbury ao Orona (Hull) ao e riai ni kaeti anne ma taiani boraraoi ake a na waakinaki i marenan Tautaeaka aika uoua. E kariaia te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati ba a na aki kabonganaaki baai akanne iroun te tautaeaka riki teuana i bukini baai ni buaka ma ti ngkana e kariaia te Tautaeaka n Amerika.

MAKORO 4

A uaia Tautaeaka aika uoua ni kinai nanoia aia aomata ni kan i buobuoki i marenaia i bukin reken aroia ni karikirakei makuri n akawa i nanoni marawan abaia. A kariaia Tautaeaka aika

uoua ni kakarabakau i marenaia, ke rinanoni bootaki aika a uaia ni kaainaki irouia, i bukin taekan tararuakin, babairean ma kabonganakin te ika. A kariaia naba kaungaakin ao karekean angan reken te i buobuoki i marenaia ni makuri n akawa ake a na reke iai kabaiaia. N te aro ba a aonga ni karaoaki aikai, ao a na uaia Tautaeaka aika poua ni kaungai kakarabakau i marenaia aia aomata ma maangan nako aia Tautaeaka.

MAKORO 5

A na uaia Tautaeakan Amerika ao Kiribati ni karaoa are katokin aia konaa ni kaungaa aron te i buobuoki i bon irouia n tararuakin aroaro ma katei ake bon rikiani Kiribati ao ni kaungai ao ni buoki taiani kakaae i bukin rabakau ni botaki ma taiani mamanaga ma kaibibiti i marenaia i bukin norani katein abaia.

MAKORO 6

A kariaia Tautaeakan Amerika ao Kiribati ni kaunga te itoman i marenaia aia aomata ke maangan makurin tautaeaka i bukin karikirakean aroia ni kabonganakini baai ake a tia ni kateaki i aoni Kanton (Canton).

MAKORO 7

(a) E na manga rinanoaki mani kariaiaiki te Boraraoi aei irouia botaki aika uoua ao mani bainaki man te tai are e kanakoaki iai te reta ni kariaia.

(b) E na tiku ni bainaki te Boraraoi aei i nanon tebwina te ririki, ao e na kona ni kamaunaaki iroun te itera teuana ngkana e a tia ni kaota nanona onoua te namakaina mai maina; ma e ngaie n anne ao te Makoro 1 n te Boraraoi aei e na aki kona ni kamaunaaki.

E koreaki ni kauouaaki n te taetae ni Matang ao ni Kiribati,
 ma e na bainaki te taetae ni Matang i bukin te kamataata, i
 Tarawa n te bong ae Tebetemba 1979.

I BUKIN TE TAUTAEGA
 N AMERIKA:

William Bollig

I BUKIN TE TAUTAEGA
 NI KIRIBATI:

W. Tebei

AGREED MINUTE

In the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship signed today by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Kiribati, and in particular Article 4, the Government of Kiribati assures the Government of the United States that application by United States flag vessels or vessels supplying canneries in American Samoa for licenses to fish within Kiribati fishery limits will be sympathetically considered without discrimination and without regard to fishing method.

Conservation measures of the Government of Kiribati would have to be observed.

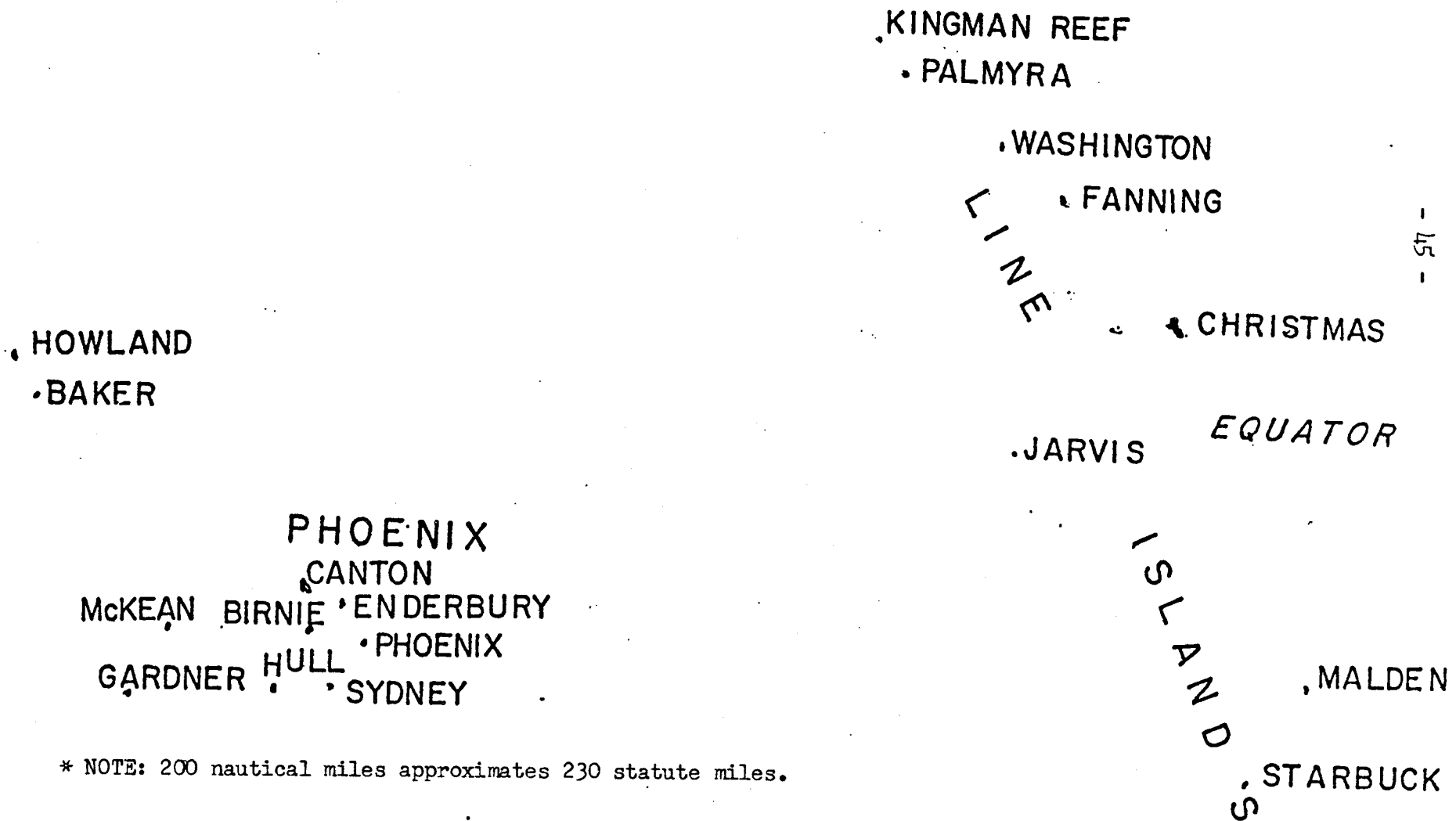
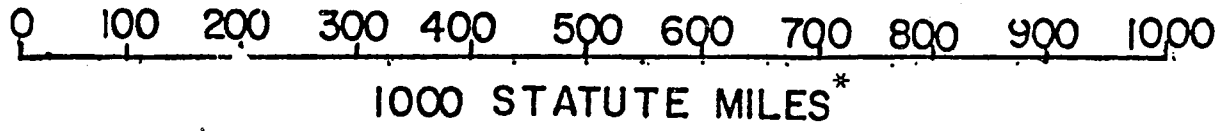
The Government of Kiribati further advises the Government of the United States that it is the current policy of the Government of Kiribati not to grant exclusive licenses.

TE MINITI ARE E A TIA NI KARIAIAKI

I bukin te nano are e oti n te Boraraoi n Iraorao are e tiaainaaki n te bong aei i marenan te Tautaeaka n Amerika ao te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati, ao are e kaineti riki ma te Makoro 4, ao e kaota nanona te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati nakon te Tautaeaka n Amerika ba bubuti mairouia kaibuken Amerika ke kaibuke ake a akawa nakon te tabo ni karao ika are i Amerikan Tamao, ake a kani kareke raitienti n akawa i nanon ana marawa n akawa Kiribati, a na rinanoaki ma te mannano n akea te nanonano ao n aki tabeakinaki ba aekakira te katei n akawa are e kamanenaaki.

A riai n iraki ana babaaire te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati i buken tararuaakin te ika.

E a manga kaotia riki te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati nakon te Tautaeaka n Amerika ba ana babaaire te Tautaeaka ni Kiribati ngkai be e aki kataua te anga te raitienti ni kakaonoti.



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APPENDIX "D"

* NOTE: 200 nautical miles approximates 230 statute miles.

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NYT -- New York Times
PIM -- Pacific Islands Monthly

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