

FJM-1
United Nations

UNITAR
801 UN Plaza
New York, New York
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Dear Dick:

I

"The ANGUILLA WHITE PAPER" appeared in the Monday edition of The New York Times, August 14, 1967. Reprinted as a feature story in several newspapers the following week, Anguilla, the lilliputian 35 square mile West Indian island became an international news story. The full page advertisement asked in its heading, "Is it silly that Anguilla does not want to become a nation of bus boys?" It asked, in other words, for assistance in the Anguillan effort to "go it alone."

The next day, The Times of London capsuled the story on its overseas page: "The 'White Paper' (is) so beautifully persuasive in tone, content and emphasis (based) on a sturdy but not immoderate self-reliance (that) it will be surprising if the fund (a plea for financial assistance) does not reach American pockets for at least \$250,000 ... only a portion of the million they rejected from a company which sought a gambling concession."

The setting for the story went back to earlier days in July "Anguilla Conducts Independence Vote," The New York Times, July 12, 1967, edition, proclaimed. A single column told of the island's referendum, the result of which was an overwhelming vote to secede from the Caribbean state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, the climax of a rebellion begun on May 30 when the Anguillans forced a St. Kitts police-sergeant and twelve policemen off the island and declared independence. The New York Times continued its coverage of the local event of the following weeks. "Anguilla Rejects Gambling" reported the effort of the islanders to resist the intrusion of several gambling interests who sought to take possession of the island's economy.

On August 7, 1967, The New York Times editorialized, "The Ins and Outs of Anguilla":

"The tiny leeward island of Anguilla is roaring like the mouse of fiction and screen. A representative is to call at the United Nations today to present a case for the independence that the island gave up last Monday and reclaimed over the week-end...It must be conceded that 6,000 people have as much right to justice and a square deal as six million. There is magic in the idea of independence, but it takes more than a declaration to achieve it,...the Anguillans ought to be able to do better in a federation than they could possibly do alone."

In a feature article the same day, Jeune Afrique portrayed the plight of Peter Adams, the Anguilla representative seeking President Johnson's aid in assisting the island's effort to separate itself from St. Kitts, and how Mr. Adams achieved no more than an interview with the Director of Caribbean Affairs at the Department of State.

La Libre Belgique (August 30) carried the headline: "La Secession de l'île d'Anguille, menacée d'infiltrations Castrites," and proceeded to describe the four-month-old rebellion holding out against the Premier of St. Kitts, Robert Bradshaw, "un curieux personnage, du modèle des dictateurs d'un Castro ou d'un Duvalier."

II

"A storm in a teaspoon," was The Economist's prediction for the 35 square mile, 6,000 populace island. The "teaspoon" is one of a hundred small islands which lie in the Caribbean. The size and shape of Manhattan (16 miles long and nearly five miles across) Anguilla was colonized by the English three hundred years ago. While African slaves did most of the work in the island's land cultivation, the settlers developed large sugar cane plantations, and then sea island cotton as an alternative.

Today, the inhabitants of Anguilla are, like all West Indians, decedents of the Afro-European stock, culturally British, but at last emerging with some sort of self-identity of their own. The Anguilla secession from St. Kitts-Nevis is but a single example of many, of this determination to exert self-expression and to establish autonomy over their own affairs.

Thus, by a referendum of her people on July 11th, Anguilla declared her independence from the "Associated State" St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. It was based largely on the Anguillan distrust of the Kittian Premier, Robert Bradshaw, and an equivalent hostility for and lack of economic and geographic bonds with the other two islands.

Originally, Anguilla had no intention of "going it alone," preferring to be accepted by Britain either as a state in "direct association," or as a humble, colonial territory, a "Crown Colony," governed by an Administrator appointed by HMG. Britain refused, claiming that Anguilla's legal status required her to remain in association with the "State," leaving Her Majesty's Government helpless. The groundwork was set for all that followed.

III

A year has passed. In that time, in the words of the editor of the island's weekly news-sheet, The Beacon, "It must be clear to the Hon. Premier and to the British Government that there can be no return by Anguilla to the state of St. Kitts-Nevis...This is no longer a debatable point, it is a fact."

During the preceding year there have been several conferences devoted to the Anguillan secession, a series of meetings in Barbados, and more held on Anguilla (in December between a Parliamentary Delegation sent by HMG, and the Anguillan Council). The United Nations has heard spokesmen for Anguilla's cause...reporters have written about it...research teams (the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico sent two groups of professors and students on a series of research visits to the island) and poets have described it (John Updike's poem "Anguilla 1960" appeared in the New Republic in late October and just this month his 'Letter from Anguilla' appeared in The New Yorker Magazine)...diplomats have debated (American and British officials, Erroll Barrow and numerous other Caribbean heads of government) ...opportunists, speculators and operators have tried seduction (one such, a former banker indicted for embezzling a half-million dollars from a New York bank arrived to establish his own "International Bank of Anguilla")...crackpots have suggested all sorts of notions (the moustached gentleman in a kilt who said he could establish economic security on the island in two weeks if he became Minister of Economic Affairs)...freeloaders have landed there (an Englishman arrived, penniless, cut off from any support and lived on the goodness of several island families for months before he was finally deported)...fund-raisers have pleaded for the cause (a group of San Francisco businessmen ran an ad in The New York Times and then donated the proceeds to the island, amounting to about \$24,000)... "Think Tanks" specializing in social development have volunteered their services (Abt Associates of Cambridge, Mass., offered their planning research services for the sum of \$1.00)...international law professors have deliberated (Roger Fisher and Roger Baldwin examined the legal problems of the island)...Members of Parliament and even the United Nations all have examined, discussed, and pondered the problems posed by this little miniscule island sitting some 2400 kilometers southeast of Coney Island.

And yet the problems remain, though perhaps they have been more dramatized and made clearer. Focus has lent a significance to and generated an interest in Anguilla's problems which go far beyond the dimensions of the island itself. For Anguilla represents far more than a miniscule island in the Caribbean seeking autonomy from what she considers hostile neighbors; she represents those problems which all such "mini-states" encounter.

IV

The late 1960s and first half of the 1970s will be critical years for many "mini-states" like Anguilla. There are more than one hundred territories (109 according to the United Nations Institute of Training and Research whose criterion qualifies a territory with less than one million population or with very small dimensions in area size as a "mini-state.") which now are or soon will be expressing a desire for more autonomy, who are more aware of their own distinctiveness, set on exercising more control over their affairs.

Self-awareness results naturally in a desire for self-government and other indicia of independence. Consequently, the political, economic and social development of these territories is a critical question, one that these territories, the larger powers which exercise present control over them and even the United Nations must confront in the near future.

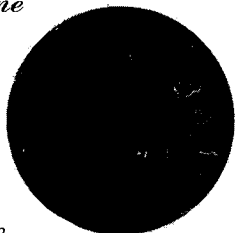
Conscious of this fact, the United Nations has begun a full examination of the problems posed by the emergence of the mini-territory, and has established through its research arm, UNITAR, a committee designed to examine the major problems and future of small states.

With regard to the international status of small states in international organizations like the United Nations; the effects of fragmentation, political evolution, regional integration or federation; security problems and other political options open to the micro-states: Are "Statehood" and total sovereignty or colonial dependence the only viable alternatives open to the emerging mini-territory? What options of association with a metropolitan power, or federalization, are feasible and flexible alternatives? Would it be better if the dimensions of the mini-state remained fixed so that the mini-state truly represented a state fashioned in the "measure of man?" Is the United Nations willing and/or capable of developing the necessary organizational machinery in order to offer these territories consultive services and mediation on political problems?

The PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT of ANGUILLA

Hereby Declares that _____

whose signature appears below is a friend of Anguilla and requests all whom it may concern to permit said friend to enter Anguilla without delay or hindrance, to make him or her welcome and in case of need to render protection, all in accordance with and subject to the laws then in effect.



Issued this _____ *day of* _____ *19* _____

For the Provisional Government of Anguilla

ADMINISTRATOR
ANGUILLA



Signature of bearer

The Honorary (\$100.00) Anguilla Passport sent to those who had read the ad in The Times and responded

ANGUILLA 1960

John Updike

The boy who came at night
to light the Tilly lamps
(they hissed, too bright;
he always looked frightened)
in the morning dragged his bait pail
through the beryl seawater
sauntering barelegged
without once looking down.

The night Rebecca's -
she lived beneath us -
sailor lover returned from sea
and beat her for hours,
it was as hard to sleep as the time
she tied a rooster
inside an oil drum.

The polish of the night.
The animalcula phosphorescent
in the wavelets, the constellations
that evaded our naming, the way
the policeman's bicycle lamp
hurled huge shadows along the road.

The sad potatoes a muttering man
hoed from the ashen earth:
the difficulty of agriculture.
The absence of men:
they went to Curaçao for work.
The woman across the road,
pregnant by an annual visit,
cursed insanely, tossing rocks
at her weeping children.
The radio on her windowsill

played hymns all day from Antigua.

And the black children in blue
trotted down the white-dust road
to learn cricket and Victorian history,
and the women
balancing water drawn
from the faucet by our porch
held their heads at an insolent angle.

The blind man. The drunk.
The albino Negro,
his monstrosity never mentioned,
his lips blistered by the sun.
The beaches empty of any hotel.
Dear island of such poor beauty,
meekly waiting to rebel.

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FIRST DAY COVER



The New Independent "Anguilla" Stamp
Issued by the island Gov.
November, 1967

Public administration and economic problems take up another section of the report. In dealing with the economic and administrative consequences of smallness, considerations of size, resources, patterns of growth, specializations, foreign investment and the relative advantages or disadvantages of smallness are key factors. Does size impose restraints on certain kinds of growth and encourage others? Is the lack of resources, talent, internal markets, and infrastructure such that the mini-state must remain dependent upon the metropolitan power? How is foreign investment, foreign capital to be regulated, tourism harnessed, problems of gambling, philatelic and coin speculation to be controlled? Does the small size of the local market and the economics of scale suggest problems of monopolies and oligopolies? What are the political consequences of such a concentration of economic power?

Political problems are often a consequence of the social, racial and administrative mix of the mini-state. In the mini-state, these problems are often exacerbated by underdevelopment or reinforced by centuries of colonial rule. UNITAR is concerned with these issues as well. Can a mini-state effectively govern itself; will its leaders evaluate policies based on the issues rather than the personalities involved; utilize with maximum skill the limited talent available; insure minority rights and successfully cooperate with other small states in effecting judicial and administrative difficulties? Consequently, does the social cohesion of the mini-state, its isolation, size, lack of outside communication and limited population diminish the formation of econstructive opposition, ideas or personalities? If personal relationships dominate the political life of a mini-state, how are political structures and opposition made effective? Will an elite command such importance that it will dominate the administrative structure of the state?

Obviously, the mini-state is concerned about its problems of security, as is the United Nations. In its report, UNITAR will concern itself with the fact that these smaller units, aware of their vulnerability, yet unable to provide themselves with their own military capability, will naturally associate themselves with larger countries, regional groupings or power blocs. The results of such association may be related political or economic difficulties. If, for example, military installations are developed, the role they play in the economic life of the state may be all inclusive. If dismantled, what effect will such changes have upon the economic viability of the mini-state? Is it necessary after all to rely upon external, regional, power blocs for defense, or is it possible to renounce such alliances and make some sort of contribution to a concept of world order not based upon force or military power? Can the mini-state rely on the United Nations to ensure its collective security and defense?

The object of the study and the concern of those who have taken an interest in the future of small territories is to provide these states with the technical and political assistance so that they will be able to make free and informed choices regarding their future status. The effort should culminate in a breakdown of each of the 109 territories involved and a comprehensive outline of all of the possible alternatives each may have. These alternatives may range from colonial status to full membership and delegate status in the United Nations. In between there may be any number of alternatives and variations to them. This report will go before the Secretary General in early fall for consideration by the General Assembly.

In speaking with members of various delegations about the problems of mini-states it becomes clear that with few exceptions many of the present members of the United Nations are unaware and uninformed about the future of small states. Those that are (naturally, delegations from Kuwait, Guyana, Barbados or the Maldiv Islands have taken a vital interest in this work), are uncertain as to how best to resolve the problem. They, however, like their larger counterparts, are worried about the possible consequences of fragmentation (though quietly often sympathizing with the difficulties of an Anguilla) and insist that any change in status be effected by legal or constitutional means. It is hoped that before the end of the year such means will be made available through the framework of the United Nations.

It may be over-optimistic, but we shall see.

Yours,

Frank McDonald

Frank McDonald

Received in New York July 26, 1968.