

Evening Standard
Feb. 22nd 1968.



The Jekyll and Hyde of St Kitts

LORD LAMBTON, MP reports on PREMIER ROBERT BRADSHAW

The last island I visited in the West Indies was St. Kitts, from which another island, Anguilla, seceded last year, demanding independence.

All over the Caribbean rumours had reached me of extraordinary occurrences in St. Kitts, coloured by accounts of the activities of Mr. Bradshaw, its Premier, who was reported to be extremely eccentric.

I was informed that he was frequently to be seen in the uniform of a colonel of an imaginary regiment, pistolled and besworded, riding in the back of a vintage Rolls-Royce. So, looking forward to our

meeting I was surprised to find a charming dignified and gentle man, who looked as if he had never seen a uniform in his life.

I had a long talk with him in which I tried to ascertain whether he was worried by the fact that his Government had become labelled as notorious in the Caribbean, and that it was generally conceived that he was a quasi-dictator determined to drag the island down to the level of a Haiti regime.

Mr. Bradshaw realises this fact, resents it, and conceives that he is the victim of an international conspiracy aimed at his destruction. This is peculiar, for the reasons for Mr.

Bradshaw's Caribbean reputation are obvious.

The Leader of the Opposition had been thrown into prison for opposing, and has now fled the country. Others, for no greater crime than writing a letter criticising the Government, have also been imprisoned.

The trial of prisoners was a parody of any sort of justice, and was condemned by the West Indies Judicial Authority.

Mr. Bradshaw's position is also totalitarian. He is not only premier, but president of the sugar workers' union, and at the same time controls the police. In other words, his rule is not only tyrannical but authoritarian.

Why then should he be surprised that it has caused such resentment in the other Caribbean associated states, who are striving to maintain democracy

and the rule of law? The answer probably is that there are two Mr. Bradshaws.

One is the elegant and urbane ex-federal minister, who cautiously take pride in having achieved the high standard of living of the sugar workers in St. Kitts, whose allegiance he retains.

The other Mr. Bradshaw is a Mr. Hyde, who appears at times to be really unwell and who, if he took advice from an impartial medical board, would almost certainly be advised to leave public life.

For his health has caused him to have delusions not only of grandeur but also of persecution, which has made him a ready tool for some of his advisers who are rapidly and tenuously feathering their nests to the island's detriment.

These advisers are a peculiar

assortment of men. One has a quaint background for such a post—a conviction for assault, battery and foul language.

Another personal adviser is an even more alarming character, an extreme racist and friend of Malcolm X, he is stirring up the dormant colour problem and undermining the position of the sugar growers upon which the economy of the country depends. He is obviously Mr. Bradshaw's Jago, and appears almost to wear on his sleeve the precept, "I follow him to serve my turn upon him."

Nor are these advisers exceptional. Indeed, they all appear united in pushing Mr. Bradshaw towards a declaration of a one-party state. St. Kitts is a sick and unhappy island, and Mr. Bradshaw's future policies will embarrass the British Government, which remains respon-

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Evening Standard
Feb. 22 1968

for 'The Beacon'



Anguilla Freedom Bid Points Up Caribbean Unrest

To see Anguilla, to ride over its pot-holed roads and to feel personally its lack of electricity, telephone service and running water is enough to confirm charges that this small branch of the human family was grievously neglected by its former capital, the city of Basseterre on the island of St. Kitts, 55 miles distant.

The captain of the small boat which brings passengers and supplies from the neighboring Dutch-French island of St. Maarten has a gleam in his eye and force in his gestures as he relates the valor of the islanders in overawing the heavily-armed St. Kitts police last May and then persuading them without loss of life to leave the island.

Only about 6,000 people live on Anguilla—a tiny spot east of the British Virgin Islands—but they symbolize the aspirations of the vast majority of mankind which wants not a big army or navy, not rockets or a trip to the moon, but schools, roads and improved agriculture so that life can be a little less hard.

Anguilla As A Catalyst

In the more limited Caribbean perspective, 16 mile-long Anguilla may be the Tiny Tim whose defiance will by example lead to changes in the political complexion of the entire chain of West Indian islands. Though generally opposed to violence West Indians freely reveal deep-seated dissatisfactions.

By declaring independence from St. Kitts and making it stick—up to now—Anguilla has already given other islanders ideas—or at least the courage to express ideas they may already have had. Barbuda, consigned in 1967 to the administrative rule of Antigua, is now talking secession, and Antigua has responded by sending additional Defense Forces to the smaller island.

Apparently strong but poorly-organized sentiment for independence exists on the French-speaking island of Guadeloupe, despite the insistence of Paris that it is legally a "Département" of France. Ten people were killed there in the 1966 independence riots. Demonstrations by West Indians blocked several streets in Paris recently when leaders of a Guadeloupe independence movement were brought to trial. Thirteen were acquitted and six drew suspended sentences.

In Martinique, the other large French-speaking island of the Caribbean—also considered a part of France—nationalists are in virtually constant trouble with the police.

Political Reorganization

The Anguilla bid for independence was political "fallout" from larger plans for the Leeward and Windward Islands. In January of 1967 Britain, after little detailed public discussion, announced a series of "associated states" formed of the smaller bits and pieces left over from the break-up of the federation of English-speaking Caribbean territories in 1962. The constitutions called for complete internal self-government, with London retaining control of foreign affairs and defense.

Despite long-standing resentment, Anguilla had been ruled by St. Kitts for centuries, and the same relationship was to

continue under the new dispensation. Except that the people of Anguilla saw the changeover as an opportunity to get out from under.

Opposition to "statehood" as it is called, hardened, and on Feb. 4, 1967, police used force for the first time after an anti-St. Kitts incident. "To restore order," a British frigate landed marines at Island Harbour in the more prosperous eastern end of the island on Feb. 15. But conversations with the residents convinced the marines that there was complete loyalty to the British Crown, and they soon departed to the strains of "God Save the Queen."

Shootings Increase

But on March 8 Government House was burned and the jail warden fled. Shootings at the police increased, and the house of a prominent supporter of St. Kitts was riddled with bullets. The coincidence that a U.S. Peace Corps girl was housed there resulted in withdrawal of the entire Peace Corps contingent.

On May 29 a large public meeting "invited" the police to leave the island, and on May 30 they eagerly did so. As soon as the plane took off, the runway was blocked so that two hours later the St. Kitts plane, full of reinforcements, could only circle and then fly off. Ever since, a watchful patrol has guarded all of the many beautiful beaches, and shots have been fired at several boats which made the mistake of attempting to approach the island by night.

A referendum of all voters on July 11 confirmed the *de facto* secession by an overwhelming majority, and a Council was chosen and shortly thereafter a flag was adopted, featuring a ring of porpoises, man's best friend in the sea.

The complaints of Anguillians about their former government are varied and vehement.

"How long should people go without water?" asked Jeremiah Gumbs, an Anguillan who is now a very successful businessman in Fords, N.J., in a telephone interview with TOWARD FREEDOM. "Isn't 300 years enough?"

Secondary School Needed

By severe overcrowding, the present Anguilla secondary school can accommodate around 250 pupils, he said, but there are 500 boys and girls of secondary school age. The islanders could apparently afford a new school, as most are property owners, but construction has been controlled from St. Kitts. The balance of the 500 can secure secondary educations only by going to boarding school on St. Kitts, across a considerable stretch of blue water.

Other grievances range from the economic to the psychological: St. Kitts has electricity but Anguilla doesn't; the telephone lines were not restored when blown down by a hurricane in 1960; although part of a "unitary state" as St. Kitts was wont to call it, Anguilla boats were always forced to submit to customs inspection on arrival at St. Kitts, and Anguillians were not treated as equals there.

However Mr. Lee Moore, information officer for the St. Kitts government and a London law graduate, stressed in an inter-

view that underdevelopment and poverty afflicted St. Kitts as well as Anguilla, and were, in fact, part of the general Caribbean picture. The widely-separated homes on Anguilla, he said, made electrification unduly expensive. Parents should not complain about boarding their secondary school children in St. Kitts 55 miles away, if necessary, because some scholarships are available.

St. Kitts Figures Challenged

To counter the charge that St. Kitts was taking money out of Anguilla, Moore presented figures showing a consistent surplus of expenditure on Anguilla, over revenue from Anguilla. In 1966, \$206,579 (BWI) were collected, and \$469,275 spent, according to this source. Anguillians strongly challenged these figures, however.

At first the government rented school buildings from the churches, but when it started constructing its own buildings, Anguilla, according to Moore, fared a little better than other areas in new buildings put up. In scholarships to the Basseterre High School, Anguilla is in as good position as other areas, he maintained.

As to why the government housing program on St. Kitts had not been matched by a similar effort on Anguilla, he said that it was financed in large part by a fund built up by sugar workers and sugar estates, none of which are found on Anguilla.

This distinction highlights the vast social contrast between St. Kitts and Anguilla—a contrast that has a lot to do with the conflict between them. Most Anguillians own their own homes—whether surrounded by a tiny yard or by a very considerable acreage. Private enterprise is the preferred economic approach. But very few on St. Kitts own their own homes, chiefly because 90% of the land is owned by 32 sugar estates controlled by six or seven families, some of them absentee. There are quite a few towns and villages besides the capital of Basseterre, but they are owned by the sugar estates, which charge workers a nominal rent. In seeking an escape from this situation, the island has turned to government, rather than private, housing developments.

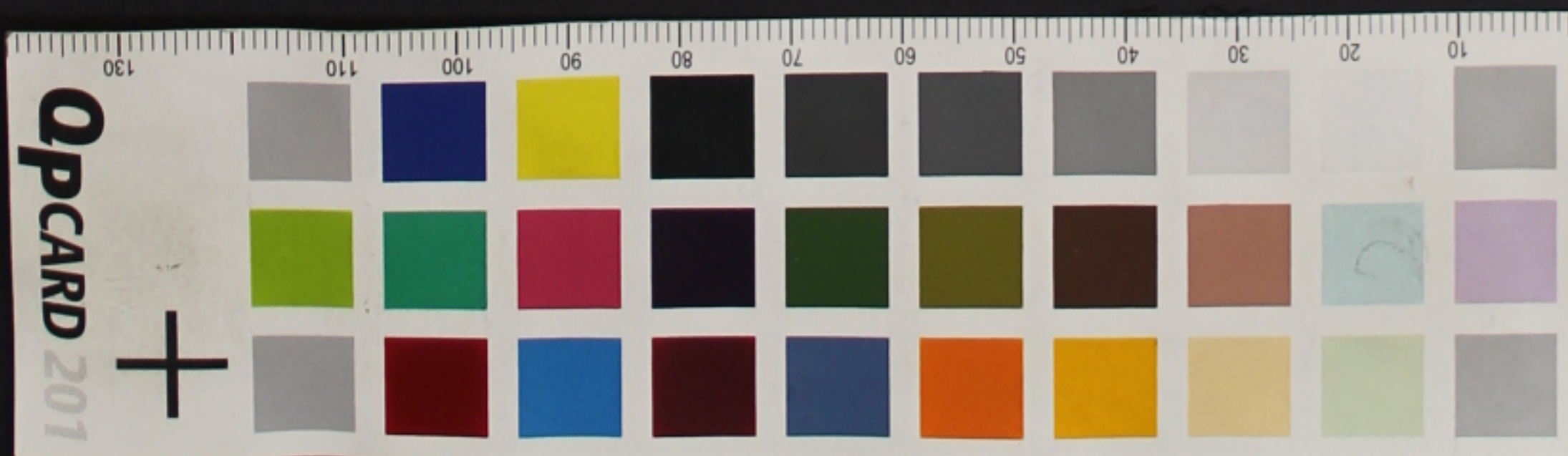
Rival Party On St. Kitts

Opposition to the regime of Premier Robert Bradshaw of St. Kitts-Nevis (formerly St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla) had been building up long before the Anguilla secession. The opposition Peoples' Action Movement established an office and reading room right across the street from the pro-government St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labor Union headquarters.

The regime permits the opposition paper, *The Democrat* to continue its sharply critical editorials and embarrassing news stories but there have been charges of victimization in government employ, and public meetings of the opposition are not permitted. One of the opposition leaders who was arrested after the June 10 shootings in Basseterre which the government calls an "attempted coup" reports that his mail is interfered with and although he is a native of the close-by island of Nevis he is restricted

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Forward Freedom Vol. XVII No. 3 March, 1968



MINI-STATE ASSOCIATION NEEDS VOTING SCHEME

As this issue was being prepared, the Inter-American University in Puerto Rico was scheduled to hold a conference on Anguilla and the general problem of mini-states. The last UN General Assembly also requested the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization to continue its study of the subject. Thus it may well be that the resistance of only 6,000 people on Anguilla to more than a century of misrule will spark new constitutional developments within the UN.

While there is much talk of a new form of association with the United Nations, it appears so far to be motivated chiefly by a desire to see to it that the mini-states can establish some channel for aid directly from the United Nations without going through the former metropolises.

This is a very laudable objective, **but we submit that it does not go far enough.** In the last third of the twentieth century, every step in the evolution of the relations between former colonial peoples and the United Nations should be considered under the sign of One Humanity.

Fractional Votes

The residents of a tiny island in the Caribbean or the Pacific have just as much right to an appropriate voice in world affairs as the residents of New York, London or Moscow. The new relationship between mini-states and the UN should provide not only a channel for economic and technical aid to the mini-states, but also a system by which the mini-states can be given their appropriate fraction of a UN vote.

There is a great deal of complaint in Europe and North America about the disproportionate voting strength of Africa in the UN in comparison with the relative population figures involved. We would note parenthetically that national attitudes toward disarmament being what they are, this disproportion should to an important extent be **welcomed** by liberals. But leaving aside that question, and admitting that Africa is over-represented in relation to population, the question still remains: just because the African peoples are over-represented is that any reason why a million of the Caribbean peoples and hundreds of thousands in the Pacific **should have no representation at all?** Do people have to live in large agglomerations in order to be recognized as having a share in the human destiny?

The psychological and therefore the political importance of giving every people some influence on world affairs, no matter how infinitesimal or how occasional it may be, should not be underestimated. It can greatly increase acceptance for democratic and orderly procedures generally.

Direct UN Relation

Barbados has already warned that the creation of states associated with Britain must not be permitted to cut off the peoples involved from the UN. Even though aid was the chief consideration that Barbados had in mind, similar considerations hold good in regard to the need for a fractional voting system for mini-states.

The arrangement by which Britain re-

tains control of foreign affairs and defense can hardly be regarded as adequate. The Foreign Office is traditionally insulated from public opinion—even that of Britain itself. Thus some more easily recognizable representation in world affairs is needed.

The solution here suggested might be called the "Cumulative NATO Standard." It is based on accumulating the fractional votes of the mini-states for a single vote on a total population basis equal to one of the two smaller NATO members: Iceland (with about 189,000 people), or Luxembourg (with 331,000). The authorized official or committee in each mini-state would vote its fraction by simply sending a cable to a special officer of the UN General Assembly, indicating "pro" or "con." When the total population represented by either or both of the "pro" and "con" votes of the mini-states reached the pre-established figure of either 189,000 or 331,000, then a single vote would be registered in that sense.

Educational Effect

This procedure could easily be computerized to gear in with the General Assembly's present electronic voting technique and would involve minor expense. Yet the educational effect in the mini-states would be important. Visualize for a moment a committee of the Assembly of Antigua-Barbuda, deciding what Antigua's vote should be on a question closely affecting the Caribbean. With any encouragement at all from the

government, a lively public debate would take place, involving a considerable study of UN structure, practice and current agenda, as well as of democratic procedure in general.

The basic preliminary action needed from UN would be the sending of the entire General Assembly agenda to each mini-state as soon as available. Later, bulletins could be cabled on a limited number of issues that each mini-state wanted to follow, as resolutions went through the various committee stages and votes. The amount of information provided by cable would of course be limited by the cost factor. On the other hand, the cost would need to be considered in relation to the cost of servicing a full-fledged Member State.

If limitations of the UN budget cut too deeply into the flow of information, it would always be open to the mini-states to combine in congenial groupings for joint representation in New York on a minimum-expense scale.

The Concerns of All Humanity

This plan, of course, does not provide for participation of the mini-states in the General Debate, which we are sure would please the overworked UN Secretariat!

Too complex a project for a matter of minor importance? No. The world belongs, of right, to all the people in it, and the fulfillment of this principle for even the smallest groups is worth a good deal of thought and expense.

Anguilla Freedom

(Continued from page 2)

from going there.

The unpopularity of the regime may be gauged by the refusal of two eminent local citizens to accept the post of Director of Public Prosecutions after Premier Bradshaw had removed the incumbent for withdrawing from the court docket one of the cases growing out of the June 10 shooting.

Bradshaw Not Popular

Other English-speaking islands apparently regard the Bradshaw regime as an overage and backward government. When the Premier visited Trinidad he was booed by demonstrators.

The St. Kitts government has even attempted to outlaw TV viewing — ostensibly because it wants to set up its own station before listening habits become set, but quite possibly because it doesn't want the people of St. Kitts to learn too much about what other islands are doing to develop tourism,

raise wages, etc.

A TV set brought back from abroad as part of a man's baggage was seized by the government and the case is still in court.

The increasing political confusion in the Caribbean is no surprise to observers at the UN. They have warned for years that the peoples of the area were not being afforded true self-determination as prescribed for all in the UN Charter

UN Missions Rejected

When Britain, after the break-up of the Federation of former British colonies in 1962, was studying plans for a new political framework, the UN Committee of 24 on decolonization repeatedly asked permission to send visiting missions and to help supervise elections providing real self-determination. These offers were, however, refused, and London pushed through its own plans for "independent statehood" in association with Britain.

On Anguilla, no copy of the constitution
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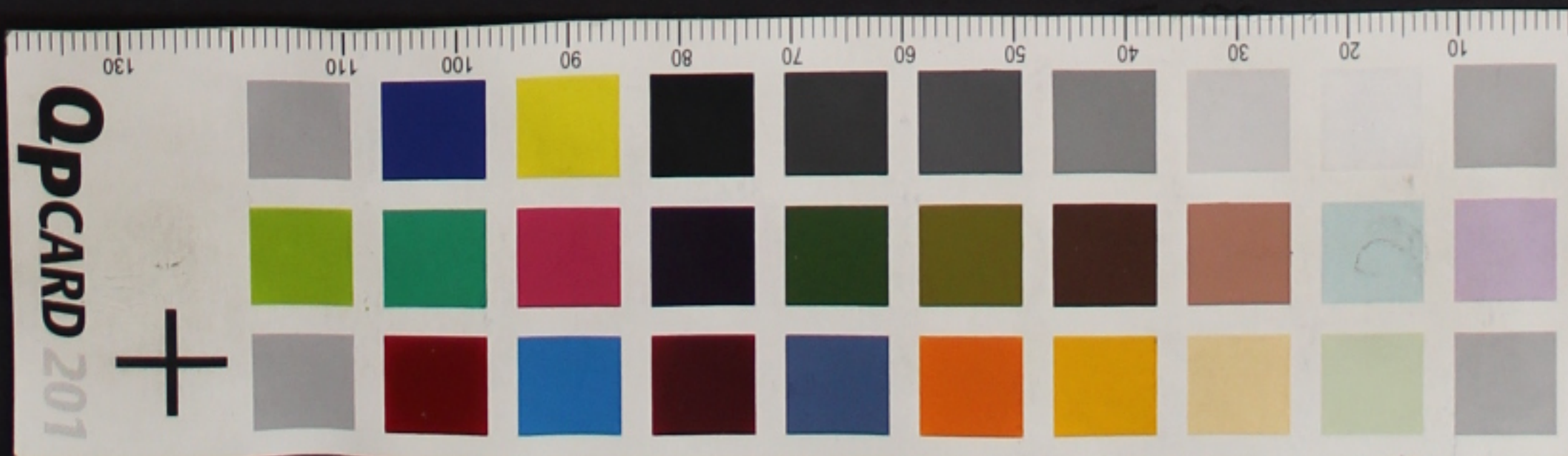
Toward Freedom

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Statement by British Government to the West Indies Associated States *

May 31, 1968.

The following statement was issued in Castries today by the British Government Representative to the West Indies Associated States.

"My attention has been drawn to a report in the St. Kitts newspa-

per "The Democrat" dated 25 May, of remarks alleged to have been made by Mr. Robert Bradshaw, the Premier of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, in a

public speech on 19 May.

"The remarks, as reported, include allegations that the British Government had prior knowledge of the attacks that were made on certain Government buildings in St. Kitts on the night of 9/10 June, 1967 and that I, as the British Government Representative, deliberately misled the Premier in this connection.

"I have enquired by telegram of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government whether the report of Mr. Bradshaw's speech is accurate but the reply which I have received neither confirms nor denies its accuracy.

"In the absence of any denial from Mr. Bradshaw, I have been authorised by my Government to state that his remarks, as quoted, are not a correct description of the British Government's attitude or actions at the time in question.

"At the outbreak of

the Anguillan rebellion in May 1967 Mr. Bradshaw sought military assistance from the British Government and from certain other Governments. My Government did not feel able to meet this request immediately and sought additional information from the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government to enable them to consider the question further.

The St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government were then fully responsible for the internal affairs of the state and it appeared that the matter was one of internal security rather than of external defence. It also seemed that there was a better prospect of achieving a lasting settlement of the dispute by discussion than by military action.

"There is no truth in the suggestion that the British Government had advance information of

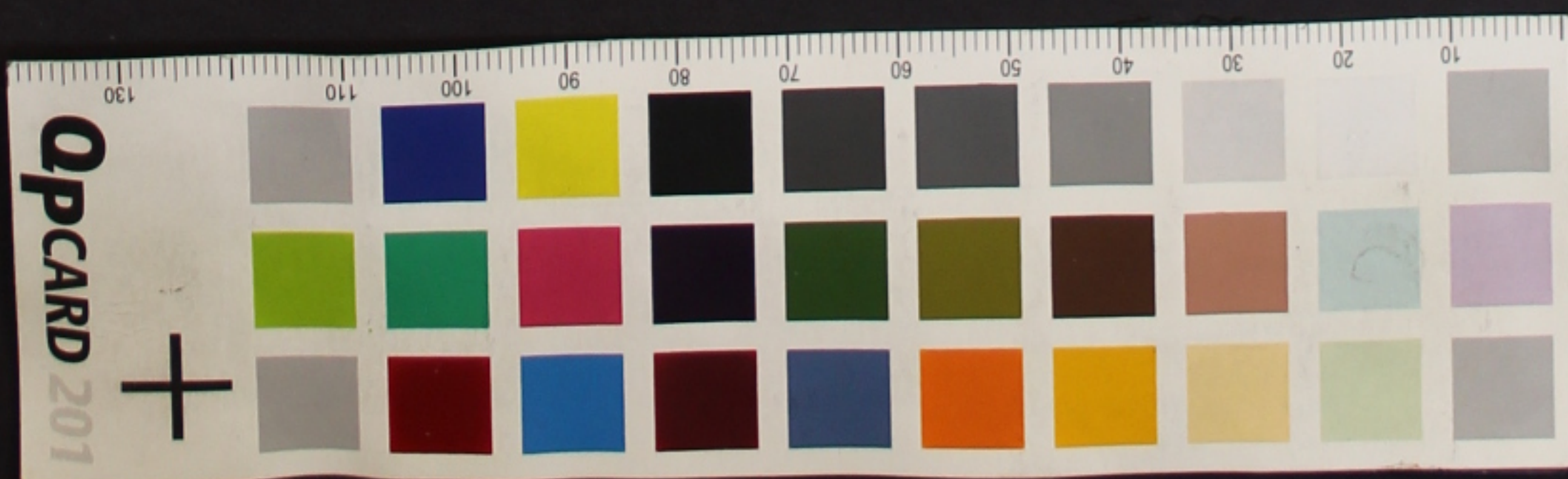
the plans of the persons who took part in the attacks on Government buildings in St. Kitts during the night of 9/10 June. In fact their first knowledge of these events came from the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government.

"It is also untrue that 'Britain allowed arms to be smuggled into Anguilla and did nothing about it'. In fact other Governments were specifically asked for assistance in preventing arms from entering Anguilla from neighbouring islands.

"The allegation that I deliberately misled Mr. Bradshaw at any time is also totally unfounded and most surprising in view of the close and friendly relations which exist between the British Government and the Government of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla".

Representative *

June 8, 1968



A BLOODY

THE DEMOCRAT has, on several occasions, been accused by some members of Government of maligning Robert Bradshaw and of belittling his image to the people of this State and to the outside world.

Today we publish without comment, excerpts of Bradshaw's utterances in the House of Assembly on Wednesday, May 29, during the debate that followed a resolution moved by himself extending the State of Emergency in Anguilla to 31 December, 1968.

We invite our readers in this State as well as those outside to form their own conclusions as to the kind of man who holds the high office of Premier.

Bradshaw said:—

Let me repeat here, Mr. Speaker, that the lifting of the State of Emergency gives the *criminals* who were ill-advised an opportunity to show whether they have reformed or whether they intend to pursue their criminal and subversive activities. If they choose to do the latter — and I believe (and I use the word *advisely*) that they still intend to pursue their subversive and criminal activities — they are quite free to do it but they must also understand that they will be free to accept the consequence.

And again I repeat in this House that if arms are taken up against law and order in this country, the evidence will be put on the ground **IN BLOOD. AND LET JURORS SAY NOT GUILTY.** The evidence will be put on the ground **WASHED** in blood.

We are prepared to tolerate no nonsense. We have a constitution and if you are a law-abiding citizen you had better stay by the constitution. It affords every law-abiding citizen great scope in which to exercise his constitutional and other rights in peace. And all the people of this country want, is to be able to live their lives in peace and without fear.

If there are people in this state who once again want to set out to subvert the verdict of the electorate given freely and democratically at the polls, then they will find the forces of law and order on top them to put them on the ground— **WASHED IN BLOOD.**

THREAT

Bradshaw : Anguillans rebelled against black Govt

State of Emergency extended in Anguilla to Dec. 31

The State of Emergency in Anguilla has been extended to 31 December, 1968.

The Premier, Mr. R.L. Bradshaw, moving a motion to this effect at the House of Assembly on Wednesday said that under the Constitution the State of Emergency could be put into force for up to a period of 12 months. But Government was extending the emergency in Anguilla for less than this period, in the hope that what he called the rebellion in that island, will soon come to an end before 31 December.

It was because of this hope, that an arrange-

ment was made between the Government of this State and the British Government for an interim administration of the island of Anguilla for one year, Mr. Bradshaw said.

He said that the rebellion was caused because, with the approach of statehood, a group of persons from East End, "imagining themselves to be white", decided that they would not be ruled by a black Government. The rebellion, he said, had nothing to do with the fact that Anguilla was underdeveloped.

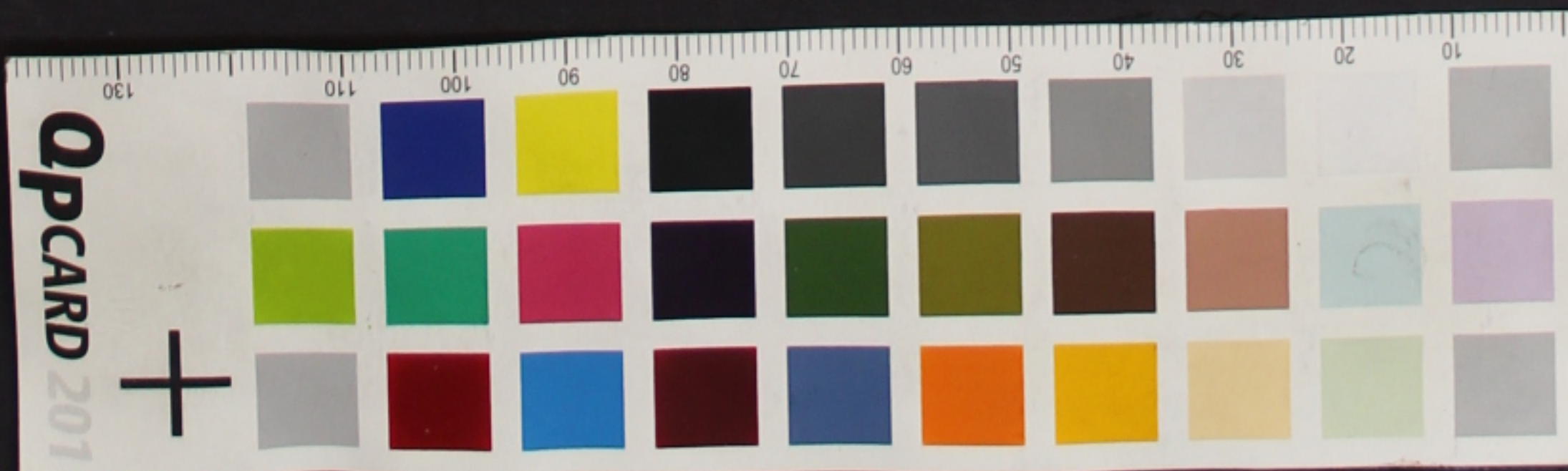
Mr. Fred Parris, member for Gingerland, Nevis, during the debate on the motion referred to the emergency in St. Kitts and Nevis which had been lifted two weeks ago (May 18), and said that it should have been lifted long ago.

There was no circumstances in Nevis to warrant its existence for such a long time, Mr. Parris said. And the people of Nevis had been put to all sorts of inconvenience and suffered all sorts of hardships.

The Premier countered by saying that Mr. Parris uttered a broad, inaccurate and untrue statement which he could not substantiate otherwise he would have given facts and figures about it.

Democrat

June, 1, 1968



By Sid Moody

AP Newsfeatures Writer

Anguilla, (AP)-Robespierre would have loathed it. Mack Sennett would have loved it.

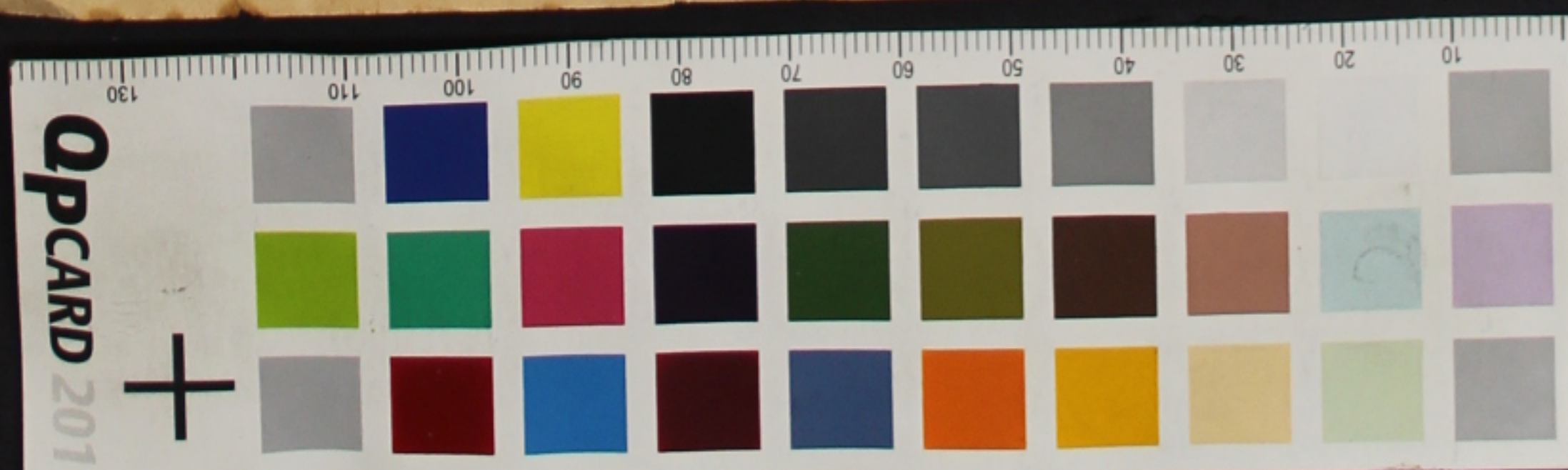
But few could argue that the revolution of this West Indian Island of 6,000 souls is no less beguiling than its peacock colored seas, its pillow soft beaches and its countless dusty goats.

What else can one say of a rebellion that seeks DEpendence, not IN-dependence? Whose first shots were fired not over redcoats at Concord but beauty queens at the Community Center? Whose weaponry includes cannon from the Napoleonic wars as liable to blow up their gunners as the enemy? Whose constitution was written by a Harvard law professor on a borrowed typewriter probably on last July 4 although no one seems sure? Whose budget is fleshed out by the aid of American foundations and stamp collectors? Whose army rallies under a flag that has three orange porpoises languidly circling on a field of white and azure?

The world may laugh, but if this be rebellion, Anguilla is making the most of it.

Anguilla is a flat island of 35 square miles known almost exclusively to the National Geographic Society and the Foreign Office in Britain which has run it for 300 years. Because the nearest British possessions are the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis some 54 miles distant as the frigate bird flies, Anguilla has always been lumped administratively with them -- to the constant indignation of the Anguillians.

In 1873 Britain federated its Leeward Islands in the Caribbean. Anguilla wasn't even mentioned in the act. One hundred islanders protested against being administered by Kittitians who "are utter strangers to us, ignorant of the community and careless of (our) wants." Anguillians argue that



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little has changed since on St. Kitts from whence British funds flowed and where the books were kept.

A year ago Britain, busy as a housewrecker dismantling the Empire, granted nominal independence to "The Associated State of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla" and suddenly found itself a lion at bay by a mouse that roared. Anguilla thought the act, which it didn't even see ^{a copy} until six weeks after it was signed, would give internal administration.

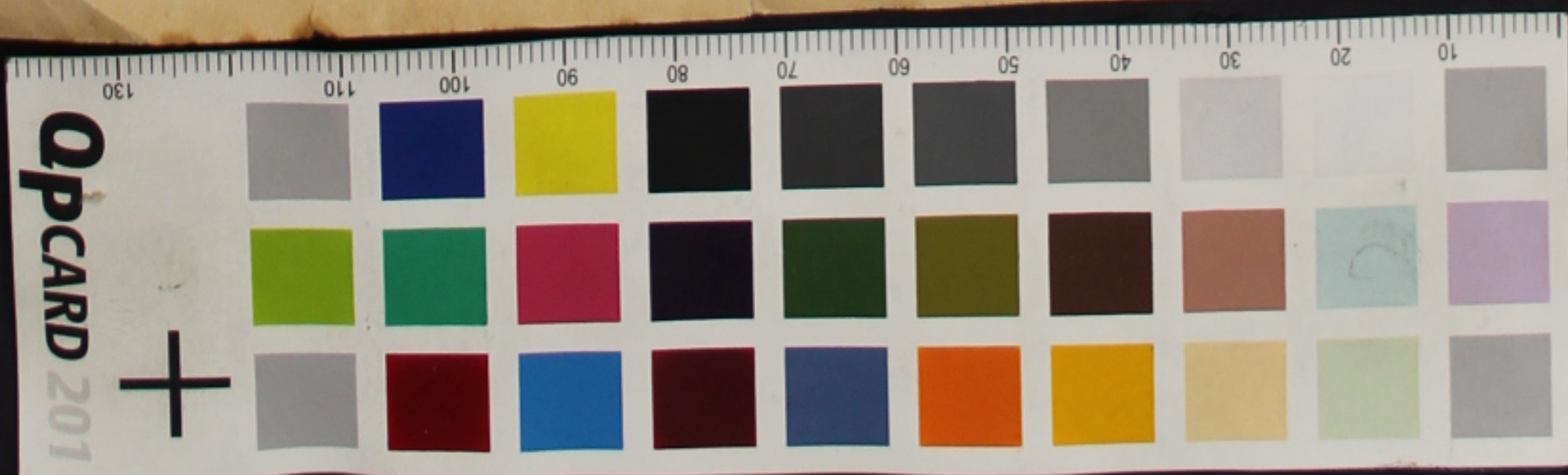
But no such word came from St. Kitt's premier, Robert Bradshaw, a 51-year-old former sugar cane worker and labor leader who smooths his bristling guardsman's moustache with a golden brush, likes fancy uniforms and enraged Anguilla, which has three miles of paved roads, by importing a yellow Rolls Royce to drive about St. Kitts whose roads are surfaced "right to da top of da mountain."

To mollify Anguilla and get it in the merriment of statehood, Bradshaw sent over Miss St. Kitts and Miss Nevis shortly before the statehood act was to be signed a year ago. Instead of admiring the view, the Anguillians from the East End of the island, many of them light-skinned descendants of an Englishman named Webster who was shipwrecked there in the 17th century, descended on the Community Center and broke up the festivities. Anguilla's baker's dozen police force, most of them Kittitians, dug up some tear gas somewhere and in turn broke up the mob.

They were the shots heard 'round the world of Anguilla.

Islanders began firing at night on the police station--aiming to miss but still make their point. Meanwhile at a pre-dawn ceremony the Warden or administrator of the island, Winston Byron, a Kittitian, stood at attention in his pyjamas while the new statehood flag --a palm tree rampant on a field of yellow, green and blue--was raised. Some days later Mr. Byron, again in his pyjamas, awoke to find his house in flames. He fled the island, reportedly still in his nightclothes.

There followed what has been variously described as "the fracas", "the troubles" and "the revolution." On May 30 a group of Anguillians led



by Ronald Webster, a 40-year-old millionaire shopkeeper, went down to police headquarters and demanded the 60 or so men of the beefed up force leave the island. Jumpy enough already, the fuzz dutifully decamped leaving behind some small arms including a machine gun or so, their paddy wagon and a free, for the moment, Anguilla.

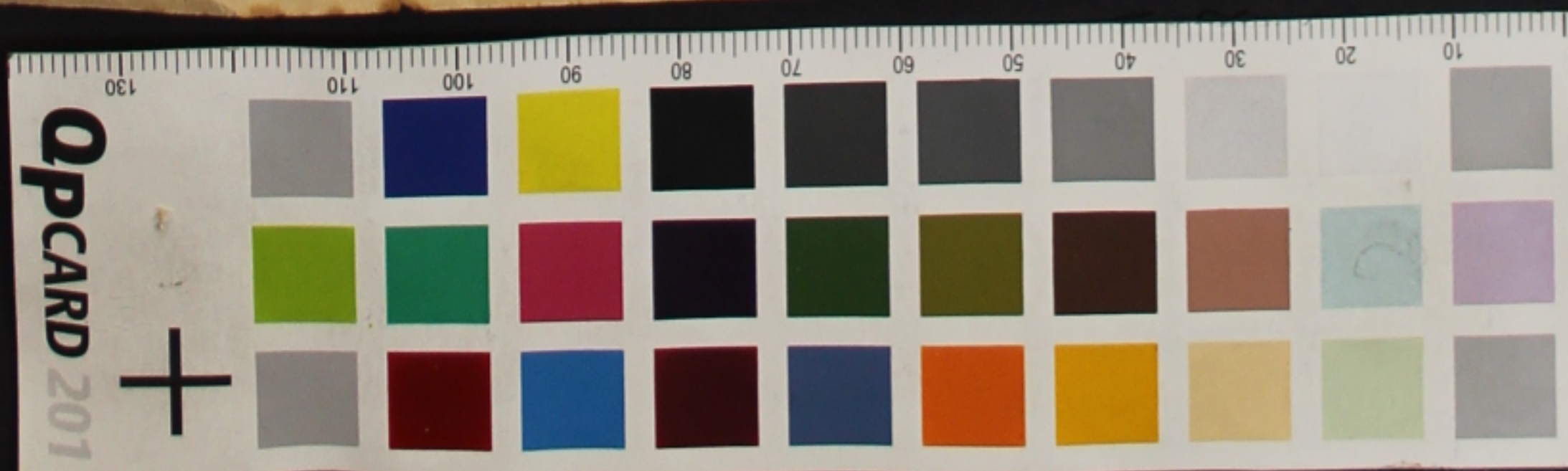
"No one was hurt. We did it all with our mouths," said an islander. Anguillians quickly rolled oil cans onto the dirt landing strip to prevent Bradshaw from flying in reinforcements --which he scarcely had--and, as Webster puts it, "declared ourselves not independent but undependent on St. Kitts."

Bradshaw, who figures himself as a "spiritual descendant" of Henry Christophe, a St. Kitts native who drove the whites out of Haiti last century, went mad and killed himself with a golden bullet, became enraged. He declared a state of emergency, donned an honorary colonel's uniform and marched through the streets of Basseterre, his capital, with a rifle on his shoulder.

But with only 200 or so policemen (not including his own thoughts known locally as "The Breadfruit Tree Boys"), no navy (Kittitians are almost entirely sugar cane workers, not sailors as the ^{are} Anguillians ~~are~~ who own about 30 sloops), and no air force (Anguilla has three aircraft that serve the island) there was little the premier could do but get on the government radio station, ZIZ, and rail at the Anguillians who listened with glee via transistor radios (Anguilla has no electricity other than a few private generators).

Bradshaw also began clapping his opposition in jail including James Milnes-Gaskell, a well-born Englishman who operated a resort hotel on Nevis and was engaged to the secretary of Edward Heath, no less than the head of the British Conservative Party. The British lion, which invented both habeas corpus and the statehood act which pledged it to stay out of St. Kitts internal affairs, gnawed its tail in frustration. Or, as one observer put it, "washed its hands of the matter, out-Pontiusing Pilate."

Anguillians, on the other hand, put their well-deserved reputation



4
for smuggling to use by running guns into the island.

"Yes, there are weapons on the island," said one Anguillian coyly.
"I can't imagine how they got here."

The islanders even resurrected some old cannon that had been lying around since the wars of Napoleon.

"We tested one out with a pound of dynamite," said Canon Guy ~~Cashman~~ Caileton, pastor of St. Mary's Anglican Church. "It blew it to smithereens."

Further testing proved that a quarter pound charge and a barrel full of old nails, bolts and scrap metal produced a most satisfactory broadside. The Anguillians mounted the cannon on trucks and thus added motorized artillery to their growing arsenal.

After spurning a peace proposal, the Anguillians decided to bring independence on St. Kitts to a vote. The ballots had a picture of a hat for independence and a shoe for a return to the fold. The hats won 1813-5.

A seven-man Council was then named and an election scheduled which was dispensed with because no opponents could be found to run. So the little island stood tight ready to rally to arms at the peal from the new bell for St. Mary's which providentially arrived just in time for the revolt.

To help finance independence, the Anguillians began issuing stamps designed by a London firm. An initial series, prerevolutionary stamps overprinted with "Anguilla Independent", now bring up to \$5,000 a set from collectors.

Roger Fisher, a Harvard law professor, came down and typed up the constitution, and Anguilla began looking around for someone to become dependent on, including the United States. Washington referred the request to London which finally worked out an "interim agreement" lasting a year "more or less" to see how things worked out.

It was all very Gilberty and Sullivanly -- except to the Anguillians. To them St. Kitts is nothing more than a hazy blue blob on the horizon that you can just see on a clear day. Bradshaw, to them, is something else.



5
After losing an election on Anguilla 10 years ago, Bradshaw told the islanders he would "put bones in your rice, pepper in your soup ... I will make Anguilla a desert."

That he hasn't~~er~~ and that three centuries of generally conceded British inattention haven't--is due to the Anguillians themselves. The world press having first learned that there was an Anguilla and then making its way there, described the island and its people as desparately poor. Well, yes and no.

True there is no electricity. But neither is there any welfare. Anguillians take care of their own. No one hungers. There are no slums.

True, there are no phones since 1960 when Hurricane Donna blew down the old battery-operated system. The poles still stand unwired.

"Maybe Bradshaw is waiting until they sprout xlimbs before he put back the wires," said an Anguillian I shall call Hector. (Even though they are miles away, The Breadfruit Tree Boys command a healthy respect and some islanders prefer to remain anonymous).

"In St. Kitts they have electricity and street lights," said Hector. "Here at night you can't see your hand in front of your face."

Albert Lak once asked St. Kitts for permission to string a wire from his generator to a building he owned across the road. St. Kitts said only the government could distribute power.

Such neglect madden Anguillians whose water system is a brackish well, an old pump and a few dribbling public spiggots. Anguilla has a tiny hospital and one physician, Dr. Jeffrey Hyde, whose allowance from St. Kitts to send patients to the new hospital there was \$100 a year, enough for air fare for one and two-third\$ patients -- one way.

When these funds and his allocations for drugs and supplies were held up after the "fracas", Dr. Hyde had to make do with a \$10,000 fund raised by the Rotary Club in St. Thomas, pray he didn't have an emergency and wonder when St. Kitts would unsuspend his salary.

Anguilla's only commerce are a few stores, a salt extraction plant



that employs about 30, a small ~~xxxx~~⁶ lobster fleet that exports about a ton of shellfish a week via a plane from Puerto Rico and a little machine and electronics plant owned by Lewis Haskins, a venturesome Massachusetts Yankee who has become the island's defense industry, repairing everything from Anguilla's prehistoric trucks to the water pump. In prerevolutionary days it might take weeks getting new parts from St. Kitts.

"Without Mr. Haskins, we'd be finished," said Hector.

Anguilla also exports manpower. Almost all the island's able-bodied men leave after they get through school to work in Anguillian settlements in the American Virgin Islands, Perth Amboy, N.J. and Slough, England. The money they send back to their parents and wives--one estimate puts it at \$1,000 a day--keeps the island going.

But it is the dream of every self-exiled Anguillian to eventually return ~~home~~, build a home, soak up the sun and enough land to pass some on to his children. Which they do. It is an island of landowners. The homes they build are not Caribbean shanties but solid concrete houses with indoor plumbing that cost up to \$20,000 and are owned outright. Mortgage is a ~~foreign~~ foreign word here.

Whenever an Anguillian saves up enough, he returns to the island and works on his house until his savings run out and he goes off island again. As a result the island looks like a tropical urban renewal project in various stages of completion.

So the Anguillian is a man of property who looks with some disdain at Kittitians who work in the can fields just as their slave ancestors did before them.

"Anguillians built Anguilla," said John Webster, head of the island 230-man self defense force.

"By Jove," said one English ~~xxxx~~ visitor after the "fracas". "This is a middle class revolution." And so it is. The island had a Mental Health Association and a Shakespeare Society long before it ever heard a steel band.

Thier revolution is a match for anything the Bard ever wrote in-



cluding the cast of characters it has attracted to the island. It includes anthropologists, sociologists and every other ologist who measure blood lines, map out power lines and go home and write papers about their findings.

There was an oriental in kilts who wanted to start a free love colony; a man who offered to solve the island's problems in exchange for being named economics minister; an agent for a U.S. doctor who wanted to operate a machine he claims can cure all disease away from the veto of the American Medical Society.

A chap in England weary of supporting his free-loading brother-in-law packed him off to Anguilla which packed him off in return. Gamblers offered to open casinos; a businessman who's bought a flating hotel from Expo asked to moor it off shore; an American syndicate wanted to install a solar energy plant that would isolate gold and other minerals from sea water making Anguilla rich beyond dreams; Aristotle Onassis was rumored as interested in sailing his fleet under the Anguillian flag and a dropout from Radcliffe found roomless romance under the palms with a hippie boyfriend until the church-going Anguillians asked them to depart.

"So far, by the Grace of God, the island has stayed away from the sharks," said a worldly resident.

More helpful have been a group of San Franciscans who shipped in some old Peruvian coins to help finance things in the beginning. But they, along with Fisher, Harvard's one-man constitutional convention, have faded into island history.

A West Indian development team is working up a plan for the island and the Foreign Office, unbending every so slightly, has sent a Mr. Tony Lee out to observe. Lee insists his presence does not change London's unrecognition of Anguillian undependence, but the islanders deem both the interim agreement and Lee's arrival as a double-barrelled whiff of grape at Bradshaw.

It is rumored that Britain, which hasn't sent a farthing to Anguilla since the "troubles", may come across with 50,000 pounds which would be all but recognition of recognition.



If she had her druthers, ⁸ Anguilla would probably like some direct tie with Britain although a similar arrangement with the British Virgin Islands or Canada ^{has} have been suggested.

And if every one follows treasurer Walter Hodge's advice to spend 12 per cent less this year, the projected \$36,000 budget deficit will disappear and ~~independence~~ independence would become an economic reality even without the help of donations that totalled over \$40,000 last year.

Meanwhile paving of the air strip is due to begin with the aid of Kittitian bulldozers stranded on Anguilla by the revolt.

"I think they be here a long time," said Hector, a smile spreading like dawn across his face.

Telephone equipment is soon to arrive, which would work a revolution of its own on an island whose East End doesn't always know what its West End is doing.

More road has been paved in the last six months than in the previous two years of Kittitian administration. Canada has donated a new water pump. Chief Executive Ronald Webster says running the government is no harder than running his store and the Council has shown its mastery of basic economics by cutting the import duty on motor vehicles in half on the theory that more vehicles would be imported producing more tax income from gas sales--which is what happened. There are now 217 vehicles on Anguilla all burning gas for independence.

There are also some problems. Winston Browne, 20, languishes in jail because no one is sure who is authorized to try him. The Beacon, the island's new newspaper that is cranked out weekly on Canon Carleton's mimeograph machine, says that the Council should publish its minutes and hold an election. And some people wonder why an island with only 50 Seventh Day Adventists should have four members of seven on the Council.

Hugo Rey, a councilman, defended the body saying its meeting really weren't that interesting, that the unopposition at last summer's unelection was tantamount to a vote. As for the Adventists, who would make a commotion



9

when Ronald Webster, the George Washington of the ~~the~~ "fracas", is one himself, contributes generously from his own funds to the treasury and serves without pay?

Furthermore, why suspect skulduggery on an island whose paddy wagon is used, if at all, ~~as~~ as a bus?

So Anguilla, a forgotten ^{and flat} ugly duckling among her lovely mountainous island neighbors such as St. Martin's and St. Bart's, keeps watches along her white sands for the so far nonexistent navy of St. Kitts.

If the island has made up its mind about one thing, it is that it will never go back to statehood come what may.

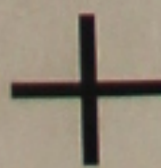
"If Britain says 'look, you've been naughty boys' and forces the island back to St. Kitts, it would be bloody awful," said an Anguillian who once bore arms for the Empire. "I think it might move me to unsheath my sword for the first time in years."

Said Hector:

"This is my home, the only one I know. I have 50 acres and four sons. This will be their home. My land will be theirs. The way we have lived under Bradshaw, no one should have to live like that. No one.

"Yes. This is my home. I will either live here, or I will die here."

Patrick Henry never said it better.



Anguillan reproof for Britain

From HENRY GINIGER
Anguilla, British West Indies

No longer completely independent but still independent-minded, the 6,000 inhabitants of the 45 sq. mile island of Anguilla have just issued a virtual ultimatum to Britain.

This may be of little concern in London, but a visitor to Anguilla finds the same strong feelings as existed more than a year and a half ago when the island rebelled against the domination of St. Kitts, 70 miles to the south, and declared itself a republic.

This upsurge of nationalism, which aroused much interest and sympathy in the world, has subsided to the point where the Union Jack is flying alongside the Anguillan flag from the wooden airport terminal and official letterheads speak merely of "The Government of Anguilla, British West Indies".

It is a de facto government formed by a council of seven led by the island's leading businessman, Mr. Ronald Webster, who was once "President of Anguilla" but has now downgraded himself to chief executive officer and chairman of the council.

Britain has refused to give formal recognition to this government or to disturb the constitutional arrangements under which the associated state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla was formed.

However, unable to persuade the Anguillans to accept the authority of the unpopular St. Kitts Government led by Mr. Robert Bradshaw, the Prime Minister, Britain bought time by declaring an interim period beginning last January 8. A colonial officer, Mr. Anthony Lee, was sent in as the senior British official, but Mr. Webster described him as a mediator and adviser with no supervisory powers. "There is really

nothing to mediate", Mr. Webster told me. Mr. Webster speaks quietly and calmly except when he gets on the subject of St. Kitts and Mr. Bradshaw, for whom he has a dislike shared by most Anguillans.

The island's revolt came after what the population felt were long years of neglect by both St. Kitts and Britain. There are no electricity, water or telephone systems, the schools are inadequate, and the roads rudimentary.

The interim period ends on January 8. Last month, when he went to London, Mr. Webster said it would not be renewed unless Britain made what would be in effect a start toward recognizing Anguilla as a separate entity. In the name of the council, he asked that by December 15 a judicial system should be instituted with the appointment of a magistrate who would also serve as a registrar for various legal acts.

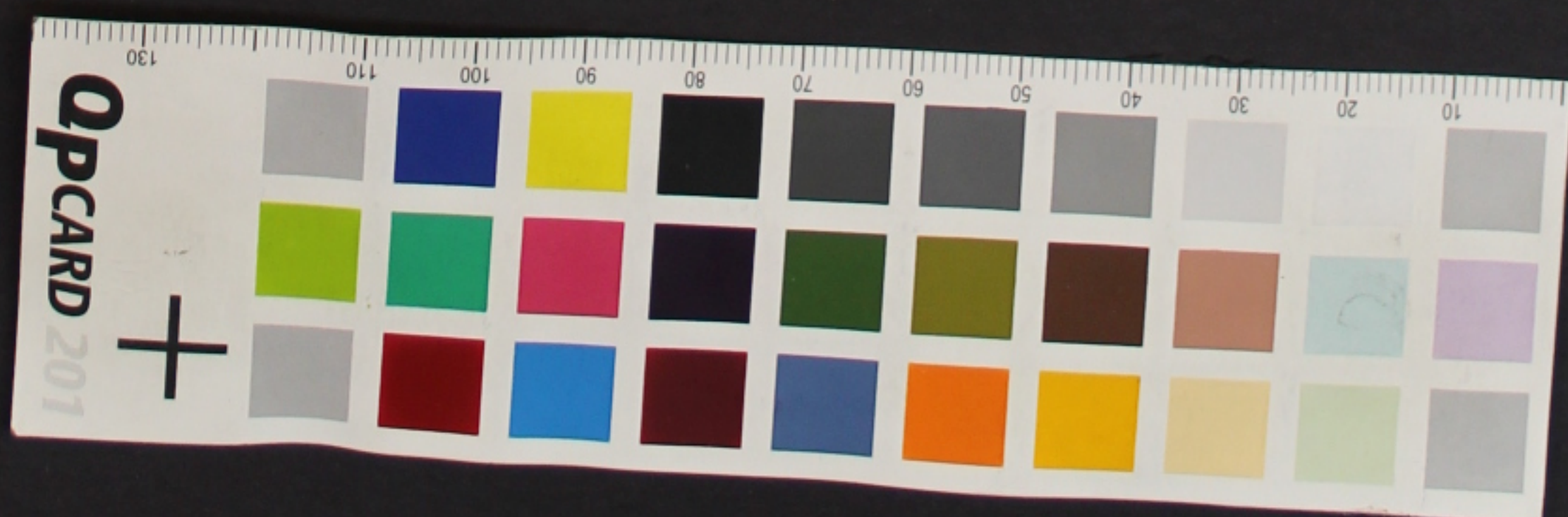
The Anguillans demanded that certain funds held by Anguillans

in banks in St. Kitts and blocked by the St. Kitts Government since the revolt should be released and payment of salaries and pensions of civil servants resumed. The demands were made formally in a letter dated November 7, copies of which were sent to other British Caribbean territories.

St. Kitts lacks the forces necessary to subdue the Anguillans and Britain has been reluctant to provide them because of lack of support from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Guyana. If Britain also refuses to yield to Anguilla, Mr. Lee will be asked to leave in January, Mr. Webster said, adding: "We have plans which we are prepared to execute if the deadline is not met."

He would not reveal their plans, but left open the possibility that Anguilla might revert to being a republic, perhaps linking up with other islands.—New York Times News Service.

The Times, November 19, 1968



The Times - Editorial,
Thursday December 12th, 1968

More Islands in Trouble.

The dispute between St. Kitts and Anguilla looks like something out of the Peloponnesian War. The 6,000 inhabitants of Anguilla say they are going to declare themselves independent in January, and that if their rather larger neighbour, St. Kitts, tries to enforce its authority they will prepare to repel the invaders.

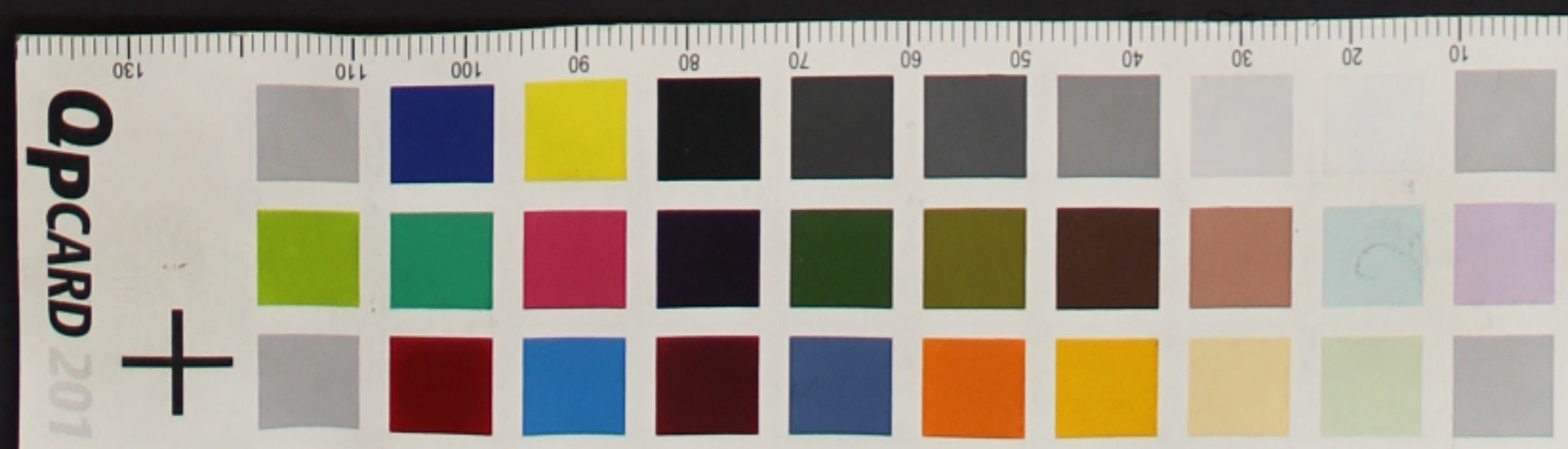
Britain has found the mutual antipathy of these two islands one of the many troubles in dismantling the remains of empire in the West Indies. To begin with, an attempt to heal the breach was made in concert with Jamaica and Trinidad, Britain being loath to send in marines to force the Anguillans to submit to their legal government in St. Kitts.

When these two friends backed out, because they took as reserved a view of the conduct of Mr. Bradshaw, the St. Kitts Prime Minister, as does the Commonwealth and Foreign Office, a British official was sent to Anguilla for a year to mediate. He has proved a good manager but has failed to mediate. His term ends on January 8. It is unlikely when he goes that St. Kitts will reimpose its authority by force for lack of ships and troops. Nor can it call in an outside power for help, because under its terms of association Britain controls its external relations. This nominal control, unaccompanied by any power to influence the island's internal regime, is a combination that has proved unfortunate.

The dangers are real in a sensitive strategic area. If Mr. Bradshaw could exercise St. Kitts residual right to opt for full independence, Britain's remaining restraints would come off. On the other hand, if Britain took over Anguilla in trust, other Caribbean islands might be tempted to try similar breakaways, and Britain would be charged with neo-colonialism. Yet it is unpleasantly clear that normal checks to dictatorial personal power by local bigwigs do not apply in such tiny communities. Moreover, while their resources may be inadequate, their international rights and even their real estate may have a tempting price.

The Anguillans, who have a puritanical strain, have refused offers from gambling syndicates and suggestions for a flag of convenience. But they are very poor, and other even poorer islands, following their footsteps, might act differently. In such conditions the United Nations doctrine of independence is absurd - in fact a reductio ad absurdum. What is needed is a new plan whereby such remote islands (there are hundreds still to be decolonized) can live under some combined regional protection, whether in the Caribbean, Indian, or Pacific oceans - neither grabbed nor subverted by those who adopt the Athenian attitude in the Melian dialogue; "The strong do what they will and the weak suffer what they must."

The Times Dec. 12, 1968



CAN ANGUILLA GO IT ALONE?

There will have to be some serious and fairly rapid thinking on the future of Anguilla. Something has clearly gone very wrong when a British minister can be expelled from an island whose population is generally friendly to Britain and whose Chief Executive, Mr. Webster, indicated as recently as January that a continued British presence would be welcome.

The first thing to establish is how much truth, if any, there is in allegations that Mr. Webster and his people are now under the control of a "Mafia-type organization", representing American interests that wish to exploit the island for gambling or other purposes. It is known that the Anguillans earlier refused offers from gambling syndicates and property developers. If they are now to be exploited against their will Britain still has some responsibility in the matter. Under the associate status granted to the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla group in 1967 Britain is responsible for the defence and external affairs of the group, so that she could intervene at the request of the St. Kitts Government.

Britain's original mistake lay in trying to parcel together three incompatible islands. It should have been foreseen that Anguilla would chafe under the rule of St. Kitts. Perhaps the Anguillans acted impulsively and illegally in declaring themselves independent in May, 1967, but many of their grievances against Mr. Bradshaw, the Prime Minister in St. Kitts, deserve a good deal of sympathy. Britain implicitly acknowledged this when she refused Mr.

Bradshaw's request for help in putting down the rebellion by force.

Time was then won by sending a British representative, Mr. Lee, to spend a year on the island but the time was not used to rethink the whole problem. The British Government seems to have hoped that Mr. Lee would somehow persuade the Anguillans to return quietly to the unsatisfactory relationship with St. Kitts. Hardly surprisingly, this did not happen. When the year was up in January, Mr. Bradshaw demanded the departure of Mr. Lee, as he had a legal right to do.

Britain then withdrew not only Mr. Lee but also development aid. The Anguillans voted by 1,739 votes to four for independence under a new constitution. But they made it clear they were still anxious for special links with Britain, and the population seemed to confirm this by giving Mr. Whitlock a very enthusiastic welcome before he was forced off the island.

The whole affair is now much more difficult than it would have been if the British approach had been less legalistic and more imaginative during the vital interim period when Mr. Lee was on the island. It should have been clear that the broken relationship with St. Kitts was irreparable. The real need is for some new thinking on the status of small islands emerging from colonial status—there are many more of them—which cannot be packaged together yet cannot exist on their own without falling prey to outside powers of some sort. The Anguillans may find they have jumped out of the frying pan into the fire, and maybe it is partly their fault, but the greater responsibility still lies in London.

Mr Whitlock explains

Mr. William Whitlock, Under-Secretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who was driven from the Caribbean island of Anguilla at gunpoint last week, explained in a radio interview yesterday why he did not consider it would have been better to defy gunshots.

Speaking in the B.B.C. Radio Four programme "The World this weekend", he said the people on the hill dominating the house in which he was at the time were "becoming increasingly excited".

They had revolvers, rifles, and machine carbines. The insults were getting hotter and hotter, and the fact that four shots were fired

suggested they were completely trigger-happy.

"I had to bear in mind there were nine in my party, plus others in the house, Anguillans, and that if these people did make an attack there could have been bloodshed.

"If we had waited until darkness, it could have been that they would have burned the house down with us in it."

He added: "The British Government are considering what should be done about this, and in these considerations we are in contact with the Caribbean government. Whatever comes out of these consultations will, I hope, lead to a peaceful solution in Anguilla."

Leading article, page 9.

Fearless could be Lagos-bound

By CHARLES DOUGLAS HOME,

Defence Correspondent

The assault ship *Fearless*, which was ordered to sail from Malta at the weekend for an undisclosed destination, is almost certainly bound for Lagos for the visit there next week of Mr. Wilson.

As there is a substantial amphibious force embarked in H.M.S. *Fearless*, consisting of a Marine commando, two troops of armoured cars, artillery and helicopters, there was immediate speculation that she was being sent to intervene in Anguilla.

The relevance of H.M.S. *Fearless* to Lagos, however, lies primarily in the ship's first-rate communications facilities, which Mr. Wilson found so useful at Gibraltar during his talks with Mr. Smith. The size of the 11,000-ton warship is also in her favour, as the trip to Lagos, following so closely on the visit of a flotilla of Soviet warships, will be something of a prestige affair.

The hurried departure of the *Fearless* from the Mediterranean, so soon after being deployed there as part of Britain's extra contribution to Nato, emphasizes the tenuous nature of that contribution and the fact that the Navy is able to meet any new emergency only by cutting down its commitments somewhere else.

Biafra airlift delay, page 4.

ANGUILLA

From Mrs. D. G. Davies

Sir,—It was with some amazement that I received from the Controller's Office of the G.P.O. on March 1 a letter written by me and posted on February 18, airmail, to Anguilla, together with a note which said "I quote: 'All surface and airmail services between St. Kitts and Anguilla have been suspended and until further notice items for Anguilla can no longer be accepted for transmission.' It is necessary therefore to return the enclosed mail."

May I ask whether Anguilla is being starved into submission? And whether any M.P. has thought it worthwhile, or his duty, to ask the Commonwealth Office for information? We know that Anguilla wishes for, and is, I think, entitled to, independence because they consider they have received unfair treatment by the St. Kitts Government.

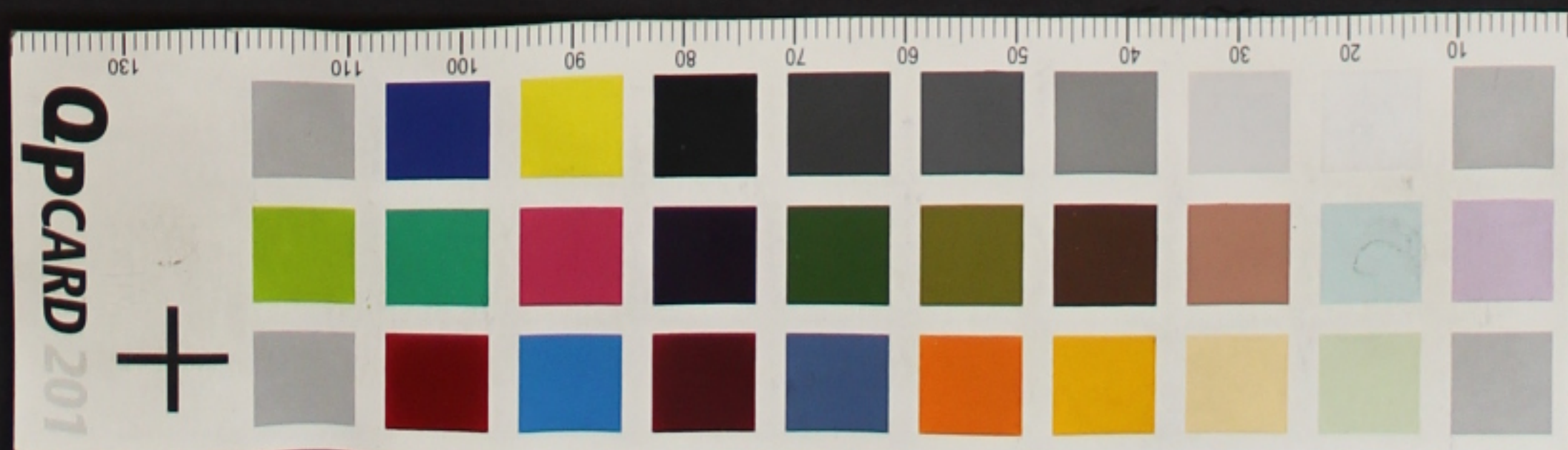
If all surface and airmail services were suddenly suspended between England and any of the Channel Isles, questions would immediately be asked in the House, but because this is happening between two little islands in the West Indies we hear nothing of it at all.

Yours faithfully,

D. G. DAVIES

The Little House, Whitegate Road, Minehead, Somerset.

The Times 17th March, 1969



BRITISH HINTS STEP AGAINST ANGUILLA

Paratroopers Are Moved—
Officials Rebuff Queries

By JOHN M. LEE
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, March 17—More than 100 paratroopers from a unit earmarked for emergency duty in trouble spots left for an undisclosed destination today. The presumption here was that Prime Minister Wilson's Government had authorized preparations to reassert constitutional authority over the tiny island of Anguilla, in the Caribbean.

The Foreign Office refused to comment on whether Britain was planning to land a small force of paratroops and policemen on the island. The Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, whose ministry also has jurisdiction over Commonwealth affairs, resisted demands in the House of Commons that he declare the Government's intentions.

Members of Parliament viewed the reports of the movement of forces as indicative that some action was contemplated, but they were unclear whether the forces would actually be landed or would be used as a threat.

Two buses containing paratroops in combat dress left the 16th Parachute Brigade headquarters at Aldershot, about 30 miles southwest of London. It was also reported that 40 men of the Metropolitan Police, members of the uniformed Commando Squad, had left Scotland Yard. The squad is used to saturate an area with patrols.

There was conjecture that the group would fly from the Royal Air Force base at Lyneham, Wiltshire, to Antigua to board the British frigate *Minerva*. A Defense Ministry spokesman declined comment.

There were other reports that the paratroops were assembling at Devizes, but strict security was enforced at the army's air transit camp there. The dispute dates from May, 1967, when Anguilla, 16 miles long and with a population of 6,000, withdrew from the Associated state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, made up of former British colonial territories. Britain, retaining responsibility for the defense and foreign affairs of the independent state, unsuccessfully sought to reunite the islands.

Last week William Whitlock, Parliamentary Under Secretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, was forced off the island amid gunfire. He later asserted that the islanders were "completely dominated by a gangster-type element." He said this element, "somehow like the Mafia," had come from the United States.

Anguillan Leaders Have Big Plans for Their Tiny Caribbean Island Republic

The following report is by a correspondent of The New York Times who recently visited Anguilla and other islands in the Caribbean:

By HOMER BIGART

It is nearly two years since Anguilla, a low, scrubby island in the eastern Caribbean that is the world's tiniest republic, seceded from the newly formed associate state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, to which Britain had granted self-rule.

On July 12, 1967, to the pealing of church bells, the cheers of the island's 6,000 black citizens and occasional bleats from a large number of goats, Anguilla formally announced her independence.

Since then the Anguillans have been on guard against punitive action by the Kittitians, as the natives of St. Kitts, the administrative island of the shattered association, are called. Anguilla's leaders said they had thrown off the hated Kittitian yoke.

St. Kitts lies 70 miles to the south and has six times as many people as Anguilla, but Robert L. Bradshaw, the glowering, walrus-mustached Prime Minister, had failed to carry out threats to liquidate the rebellion.

Meanwhile, invasion fears have been replaced by other alarms. Anguilla remains in a week's stay. Anguilla remains limbo, unrecognized by any nation. Britain has cut off aid, recalled her representative and passed on to the Universal Postal Union in Zurich a request from St. Kitts that new Anguillian stamps not be honored in the international mails.

The stamp action could have serious consequences. Anguillians subsist meagerly on income from salt ponds and crayfish and by growing corn, beans and tomatoes in small arable plots tucked between the coral outcroppings. But many families rely almost totally on remittances sent by relatives who work on other islands or in New York or London.

Many Anguillans say they would have preferred to remain in the British Commonwealth under some arrangement that would bypass St. Kitts. But London, feeling bound by its approval of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Constitution, has given no encouragement to the secessionists.

Since December a markedly anti-British tone has been creeping into the utterances of the Acting President, Ronald Webster. In January he abruptly terminated an interim agreement with Britain under which Anguilla was supposed to accept the advice and guidance of a parliamentary mission. London reacted by withdrawing it. Anguillans then reaffirmed their reacted independence in a referendum, 1,739 to 4, and adopted a republican Constitution similar to that of the United States.

Last week a British envoy, William Whitlock, a parliamentary Under Secretary in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, went to Anguilla to discuss the island's future. He was welcomed, but when it became apparent that his proposals were not acceptable, he was forced to leave.

Mr. Webster is a lean, intense, 43-year-old businessman, considered wealthy by local standards. Unopposed in the presidential election, scheduled for April 3, he will remain in power and try to form a cabinet that shares his faith that this impoverished speck of land can go it alone.

The difficulties are formidable. Anguilla has no telephones and no public electricity or water system, and only a few patches of paved road. There is no judiciary — President Webster says he plans to import a few judges from Puerto Rico, 150 miles to the west.

Fortunately the island is remarkably law-abiding. The Acting Magistrate, Thomas R. Lake, said there were only four persons in jail: one for murder—he has been languishing for 14 months — two for stealing lobster pots and one for the theft of a sheep.

Mr. Webster's increasingly strong references to British "tyranny" and "suppression" have disturbed other members of the seven-man interim council. They fear that the President, who has never been to

high school, may have fallen under the glib spell of visiting Americans.

They are particularly troubled over Jack N. Holcomb, variously described by them as lawyer, police officer and developer, who lives in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and who, according to Councilman Emile Gumbs, claimed "inside information from the White House that the United States would recognize Anguilla within 10 days after the island's declaration of independence."

Mr. Gumbs, the manager of the island's salt ponds, said Mr. Holcomb came to the island last year and proposed starting a ready-mix cement business. "He wanted a complete monopoly and everything tax free for 25 years," Mr. Gumbs said. "It was a bad proposal, and there was so much opposition in the council that Holcomb withdrew it."

Mr. Gumbs, the manager of the island's salt ponds, saw Mr. Holcomb's land in framing the Constitution, which contains a guarantee against expropriation of foreign investments and prohibits the Government from competing with private enterprise except in public utilities, transportation, banking and radio and television.

In an interview Mr. Webster denied that Mr. Holcomb had exercised any sinister power over his administration.

"I asked him to explain the Constitution to members of the council, and he did," the President said. "People are trying to make him into a sinister influence. It's not true. He simply asked if he could practice law here." (He was allowed to do so.)

At their home in Sea Branch Lakes, a suburb of Fort Lauderdale, Mrs. Holcomb said last week that her husband had returned to Anguilla. She described him as an investment and real-estate broker and a former police commissioner of Sea Branch Lakes. He is not a licensed attorney in Florida, she added, but he has "an extensive law library."

President Webster said he had written a long statement attempting to clarify Anguilla for American readers. Entitled "A True Story of Anguilla," it details alleged British and Kittitian perfidies and maintains that the island has been

deliberately retarded politically and economically.

The statement contained an attack on the newspaper The Anguillian Beacon for having printed "false" articles "engineered by a Britisher."

According to the editor and publisher, Atlin Harrigan, this was an unmistakable allusion to the Anglican rector, Canon Guy Carleton, a frequent contributor. The peppery middle-aged priest, about all that remains of the white British presence on Anguilla, provoked the presidential wrath by an incident in St. Mary's Church a few Sundays ago.

Anguilla had adopted symbols of sovereignty including a national flag — three dolphins disporting in a tight pinwheel arrangement, as though snapping at each other's flippers, on a white field above a blue panel — and a national anthem. The singing of the British anthem was actively discouraged.

Canon Carleton asked his congregation to turn to Hymn 707 and "say it as a prayer." Hymn 707 is "God Save the Queen."

'Suffered Under Tyranny'

President Webster was interviewed at his executive offices in a pastel-colored two-story concrete building atop Sandy Hill. The dazzling white beaches of Anguilla stretched below. Across the blue water rose the verdant humps of St. Martin (Dutch and French) and St. Barthélemy (French). Mount Misery and the hated Kittitian

shore were just over the southern horizon.

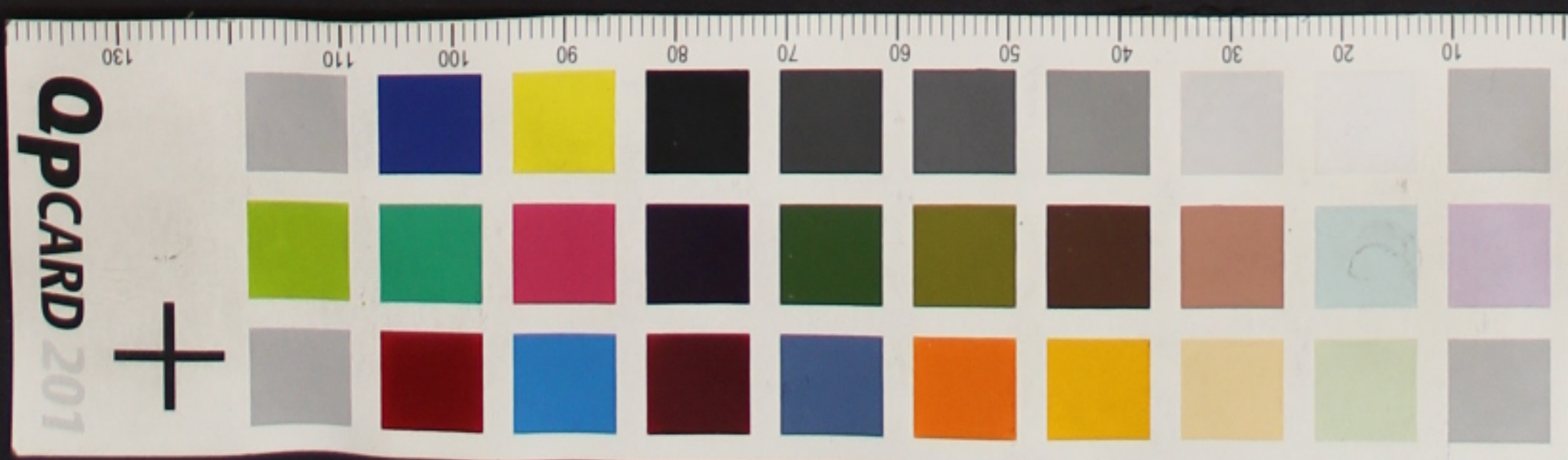
Mr. Webster, discussing his Government's precautions against a surprise invasion, said: "We have friends outside who will immediately come to assist us. They can come by frigate in 45 minutes."

He grinned when asked where the outside help was based and said, "Private and confidential."

"Private, confidential and nonexistent," a well-informed neutral source commented.

There is supposed to be a 250-man defense force patrolling the coast, but it was invisible. The President himself saw scant prospect of a sortie. "I can't envision anything rash by anyone," he said.

New York Times
Next Page March 18, 1969



The President's statement said:

"For years we have suffered under the tyranny of Great Britain and the St. Kitts Federation, but today, thank God, we have become a nation, free from the bonds of enemies who think of us nothing more than slaves.

"We have a goal to reach by 1973 by the will of God and the people of Anguilla. We have on our scheme: roads, electricity, water, airport and harbor facilities and communications."

Keeping Out the Crooks

Canon Carleton said he was "totally against" any return to the former status because "anything's better than being under Kitts," but he was still hopeful of a compromise that would

lead to a return of British administration.

He said he was convinced of President Webster's personal integrity — "make no mistake, he's honest" — but felt that the island was not ready for complete independence.

On the other hand, the Rev. Freeman Goodge, a white Baptist minister formerly of Winter Haven, Fla., and a close friend of Mr. Webster, observed: "I think the island can make a go of it if they can keep the crooks off. He has more insight and perception than most people realize."

Riding back to Aunt Bea Gumbs' Rendezvous Bay Hotel, Charles Hosford, the cab driver, who had sat in on the President's interview, repeated his injunction that American gangsters would never be allowed to turn Anguilla into a casino. But he warned that British refusal to recognize the new republic might force an ominous turn.

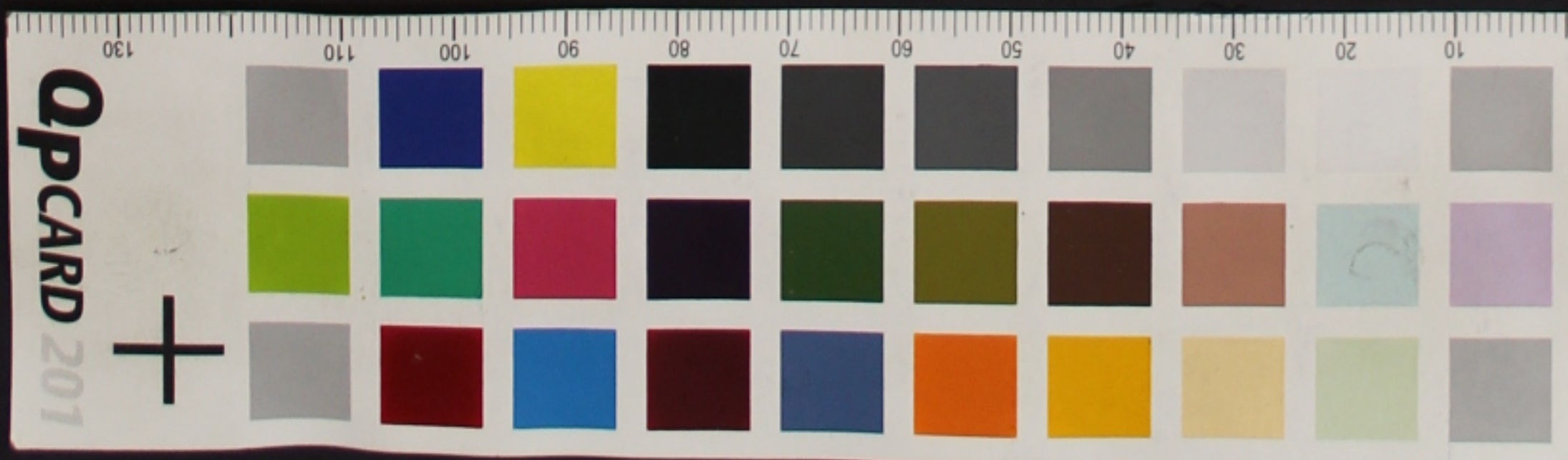
"This place can just get desperate and welcome Communists," he said. "No Communists here now, but I can visualize it."

The halt in trade with St. Kitts has forced Anguilla to buy supplies from the United States Virgin Islands and from Puerto Rico, and this has meant a 10 per cent rise in the cost of living.

No one feels the pinch more than Acting Magistrate Lake, who, as welfare officer, must apportion \$103 a week among 100 destitute families.



18 March 1969



Anguilla force to be reduced next week

Mr. Ronald Webster, self-styled President of Anguilla, said yesterday that Lord Shepherd, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who has been recalled to Britain from a Caribbean tour, would be welcome in Anguilla and might possibly break the present deadlock.

Mr. Anthony Lee, the island's British Commissioner, who has turned down Mr. Webster's proposal for an immediate referendum, also said that a visit by a high government official might get negotiations going.

A company of the 2nd Parachute Battalion is to be withdrawn from Anguilla early next week, the Ministry of Defence announced last night. The men will be replaced by Royal Engineers. The frigate *Rothsley* will leave the island this weekend.

Thousands march in Antigua protest

St. John's, Antigua, March 21.—Demonstrators staged a mass protest here yesterday as more British troops flew to Anguilla. About 8,000 Antiguan, including white demonstrators, went on a four-mile anti-British march through St. John's demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Anguilla. Some of them carried placards saying "Britain has raped virgin Anguilla" and "We condemn gunboat tactics".

White demonstrators carried posters saying: "It has nothing to do with black and white, but Britain is wrong." Other posters declared: "Shame on Britain... Poor Anguilla."

Hundreds of schoolchildren took part in the march and were joined by their teachers. The demonstrators criticized the Antiguan Government for allowing the island to be used as a base "for the frightening armed invasion" of Anguilla.

Police cordoned off the office of the Prime Minister, but the demonstrators were peaceful. One delegation handed in a petition to the Prime Minister's office, while another group held talks with Sir Wilfred Jacobs, Antigua's Governor, who received a second petition.

In Basseterre, St. Kitts, Mr.

Robert Bradshaw, the Prime Minister, told Parliament that lawful authority was being exercised in Anguilla for the first time since May 30, 1967.

More support for the British action came from Mr. Forbes Burnham, Guyana's Prime Minister. He told the Parliament at Georgetown that the invasion had achieved the first objective of a return to constitutional rule, and he now expected the swift withdrawal of troops. He also called on Britain to "discharge towards Africans in Rhodesia the responsibility they have now discharged in Anguilla"—Reuter.

The statement issued in London last night by the Ministry of Defence said:

"H.M.S. *Rothsley* will leave Anguilla this weekend and resume her planned programme. The Second Company of the 2nd Parachute Battalion, which went to Anguilla from Antigua on Wednesday night, will be withdrawn to the United Kingdom early next week.

"It is intended, provided the situation permits, that within a week or so the First Company of the 2nd Parachute Battalion should be withdrawn and replaced by a reinforced troop of Royal Engineers."

Webster ready to see Lord Shepherd

From CAL McCRYSTAL—Anguilla, March 21

Mr. Webster, the Anguillian leader, said today that Lord Shepherd would be welcome in Anguilla and might possibly break the deadlock concerning Mr. Lee. Mr. Lee agreed that a visit by a high Government official, such as Lord Shepherd, might solve the immediate difficulty of getting negotiations started.

Among the names mentioned in Anguilla as possible mediators, apart from Lord Shepherd, are Lord Chalfont, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Mr. George Thomson, Minister without Portfolio. The indications are, however, that Lord Shepherd may be chosen after his consultations with Mr. Stewart, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, in London.

Mr. Webster said today: "I would personally like to see Lord Shepherd come here—or any representative of the British Govern-

ment who can understand my people. I am not prepared to negotiate with Mr. Lee under any circumstances, and in fact I would only negotiate with someone like Lord Shepherd after the military forces has been withdrawn from Anguilla."

He would not object, however, to the contingent of British police remaining on the island. In his recent telegram to Mr. Stewart, stating his willingness to negotiate with the British Cabinet, he was insistent on the departure of both the troops and Mr. Lee. "The problem is that, while Lee is here, the people of Anguilla are overridden with excitement", Mr. Webster said.

The atmosphere of the island today was relatively calm. The British troops and their weaponry were kept at a discreet distance from the dusty thoroughfares. Everyone was in a relaxed mood after yesterday's demonstration, which was attended by about 2,000 Anguillians.

Although Mr. Lee again expressed a desire to meet Mr. Webster this morning, there seemed little prospect of the two getting together without the probability of the meeting deteriorating into a slanging match. One possibly hopeful development was the arrival today of Mr. Roger Fisher, a Harvard law professor who knows Mr. Webster well, has an intimate knowledge of the people, and helped to draw up Anguilla's constitution after the territory declared its independence from St. Kitts.

Mr. Fisher said today that one of his tasks would be to try to get negotiations started. Although he is regarded by British officials in Anguilla as something of "an amateur diplomat", his visit and his attempts at unofficial mediation were welcomed by Mr. Lee.

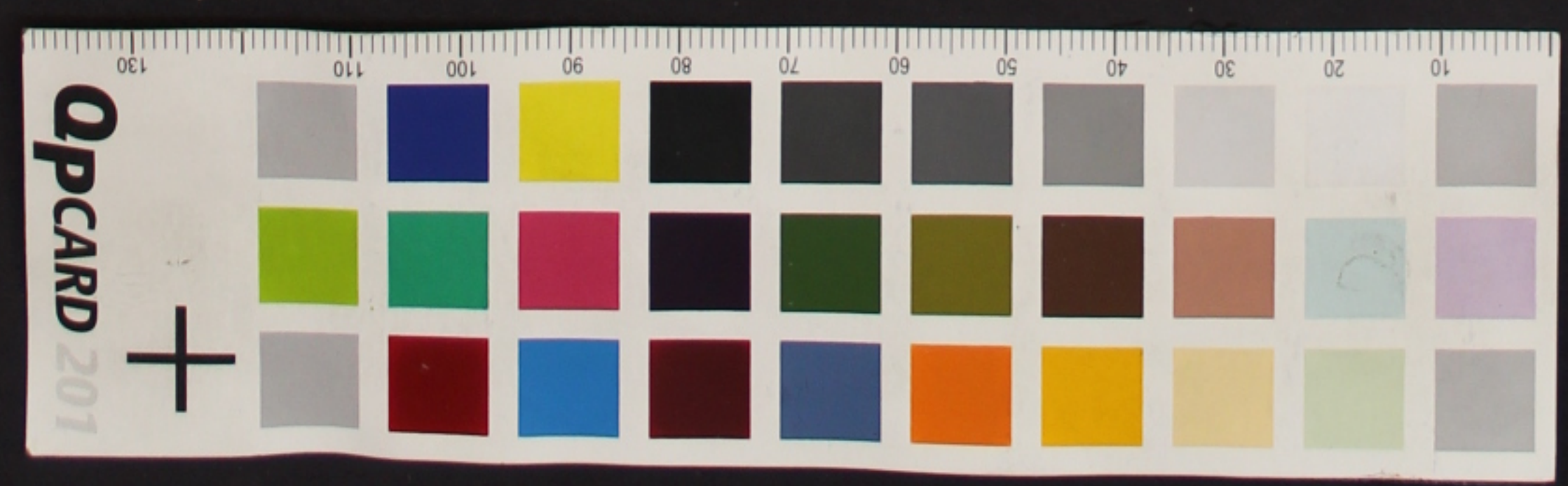
Mr. Fisher, who has written a book called *International Conflicts for Beginners* which is to be published this year, said that the essential task was to find out the easiest decision the Anguillians were prepared to take, and then to help them take it.

Mr. Lee said that, pending a settlement of the crisis, he was going ahead with plans to install a telephone system on the island, which is without any form of public communication. He also hoped that a new school would be built soon and the roads paved. Yesterday's demonstration was boisterous and good natured. The Anguillians having let off steam by waving placards and shouting "Lee must go", listened quietly and approvingly to Mr. Webster telling them that "God is on our side and in our hearts".

The Valley, Anguilla, March 21.—The 140 British parachute troops ferried in from Antigua by Royal Air Force aircraft yesterday took up positions today as other units of the occupation force moved into the eastern end of the island, where most of the dissident Anguillians are believed to be concentrated.

Afterwards, at a rally in a park, Mr. Webster told the demonstrators that, if Britain failed to accept his pleas for a Cabinet Minister to be sent to the island, he would again appeal to the United Nations for help.

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able. At other times it has been only too happy to do business with the Germans. The way in which the Soviet ambassador in Bonn hastened to report to Herr Kiesinger about the battle on the Ussuri brought that point home vividly. Nor is the Brezhnev doctrine just a new version of the Monroe doctrine, designed to keep the United States and other western powers out of eastern Europe just as the Monroe doctrine tried to prevent the return of the old colonial powers to the American continent. For the evident fact is that the United States and its allies have been pretty scrupulous about keeping out of eastern Europe ever since 1945. They may have been surprised by Stalin's methods of running the place, and said so, but they have never seriously challenged Russia's right to be there. If the Soviet leaders ever had any doubts about this, western inactivity in 1956 and again last August should have reassured them.

Quite clearly the Soviet Union does not need its new doctrine to deter anyone from the outside. It is meant for domestic east European consumption. It is a charter against change inside the empire. That is how its authors resemble the old Habsburg emperor, desperately trying to shore up his crumbling empire against the rising tide of Slav and Hungarian nationalism. Russia's leaders are fighting the same battle all over again. Their domination of eastern Europe is challenged by the new east European nationalism, in many ways a tougher and more vicious animal than that which confronted the old emperor. And against this new menace they are using methods less subtle and more provocative than those of the Habsburg empire.

Twenty years ago, when Stalin wanted to crush the very first rebellion in the camp, he unleashed against Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia the forces of Bulgarian, Albanian and Hungarian nationalism. Within a few months this attempted dismemberment of Yugoslavia had made convinced nationalists out of Yugoslav communists who would earlier have been glad to lay down their lives for a socialist commonwealth. Now Stalin's successors are once again using Bulgarian nationalist aspirations in Macedonia to frighten the Yugoslavs. Tomorrow they may decide to mobilise the Bulgarians and the Hungarians against Rumania, if Mr Ceausescu continues to resist Moscow's plans. In what used to be called the northern tier of the Warsaw pact, Russia has for years been ready to cash in on the bitter anti-German memories of the Poles and the Czechs. Last August the Czechs found that there was only one menace, the one from Moscow. The German bogey had vanished once and for all.

And there are signs that the same is happening increasingly nationalist Poland. The Poles' new nationalism, symbolised by the enigmatic figure of General Moczar, could at any time turn against Moscow. The Poles have been behaving realistically towards Russia for long enough; it might be time to revert to more traditional feelings.

Even where it is not yet overtly anti-Russian, this powerful new east European nationalism could easily become so. A spark in one country could set off a conflagration sweeping across the whole of eastern Europe. And what use would Russian garrisons be against this kind of popular movement—a movement quite possibly led by many of the present communist leaders?

It is possible that Mr Brezhnev and Mr Kosygin realise some of this. If they do, they would be wise to act while there is still time. If Czechoslovakia caught them on the hop, they could at least use the expensive breathing-space that the invasion gave them to do something really imaginative. Instead of tinkering with Comecon and the Warsaw pact, the twin instruments of their control over eastern Europe, they would be better advised to set about rebuilding the whole antiquated structure. The antithesis to their thesis of limited sovereignty is unlimited east European nationalism. The Russians are never going to keep that under control unless they attempt to create a synthesis of genuine partnership with their allies in eastern Europe. That sort of thing is perhaps the most difficult exercise in international politics. Three American presidents have tried to create a workable partnership with their part of Europe since the war, and none has yet succeeded. But at least Mr Nixon still says he wants to try. He can see better than Mr Brezhnev where his country's interests lie.

Perhaps this is asking too much of the harassed men in Moscow. But given the domestic problems on their hands (including that of the national aspirations of their own non-Russian peoples), and a new crisis in the far east, they have an incentive to try. Of course, it would require a great deal of imagination: imagination and courage which men so uncertain of their own position may not have. The temptation is to sit back and do nothing. Or just do small repairs. But the men who matter in Moscow should counter the old emperor. There was someone who doggedly fought for change, and for a while succeeded beyond all expectations. But when he finally went the whole ramshackle old argument house that he so lovingly tinkered with collapsed like a house of cards.



The Meteor Flag

Britain has ponderously reasserted itself in vexatious Anguilla—which may even be good news if the Government really knows what all the Queen's men are doing there

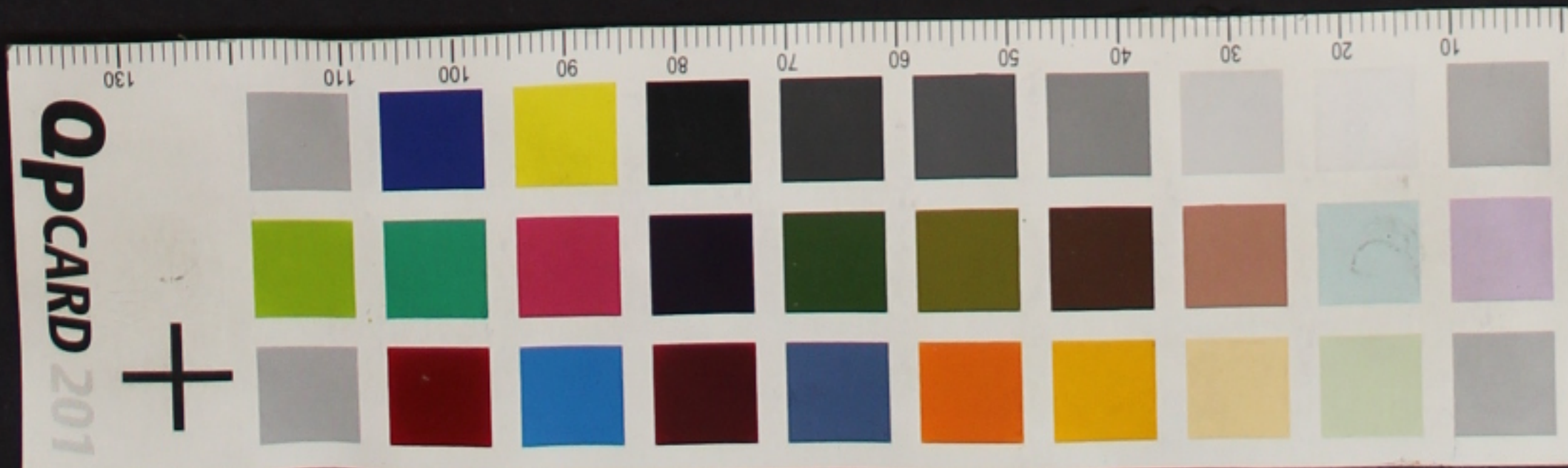
Britain's action in sending 130 paratroopers and 40 London policemen to take over Anguilla from its self-styled president, Mr Ronald Webster, and what the Foreign Office regards as "the disreputable elements" around him, is a suitably silly ending to a melodrama that has been going on for over two years. The operation has apparently gone smoothly without any resistance and Mr Tony Lee, the British administrator who had tried to solve the island's constitutional problems for a year, has now replaced Mr Webster. But at the United Nations decolonisation committee and around black Africa it is simply being seized on as another stick to beat Britain with for not invading Rhodesia. No doubt Mr Wilson and Mr Stewart will bear that as best they can.

There has been trouble ever since some tidy administrative

Whitehall mind decided that as Anguilla had been governed from St Kitts in colonial times, the two islands should be lumped together with Nevis to form the associated territory of St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla; it was to have had internal self-government while Britain looked after its foreign policy and defence. Anguilla is 70 miles away from St Kitts and the prime minister, Mr Robert Bradshaw, has always acted as a strictly St Kitts man. He consistently refused to set up a local council for Anguilla and used much of the money Britain sent for the development of all three islands for St Kitts alone. Anguilla has almost no tarred roads, and no central electricity supply or telephone.

Mr Bradshaw is also an authoritarian figure. He clapped his opposition into jail and declared a state of emergency in

The Economist, 22 March, 1969



Anguillan leader is given assurance of safety

The Valley, Anguilla, March 25.

—Mr. Anthony Lee, the British Commissioner in Anguilla, gave an assurance today that Mr. Ronald Webster, the Anguillan leader, would not be arrested on his return to the island from New York.

Mr. Lee denied that the British authorities had tried to impound Mr. Webster's passport before he left the island last week.

Mr. Lee told a press conference that he would like to see Mr. Webster on his return. He intended to reactivate the island's advisory council and hoped that Mr. Webster would have a place on it.

"I hope he will be able and willing to cooperate with me", Mr. Lee said. He thought that Mr. Webster had performed a great service for Anguilla, but it would not necessarily follow that Mr. Webster would become leader of Anguilla when the British withdrew. However, he expected Mr. Webster to become a leading political figure.

For the first time for four days there was no crowd outside Mr. Lee's office in the administration building. But Mr. Lee said he did not propose to visit the office during the day. On Saturday a crowd forcibly prevented him from entering the building.

He said that there had been about 20 American carbines on the island before British parachute troops landed last week. These could not now be found. They had been hidden or smuggled abroad.

Mr. Lee said he thought that Mr. Webster had been led astray during the past six months—"led by the nose by unscrupulous people".

A military spokesman said that an advance party of some 20 parachute troops had now returned to Britain and a further 100 were expected to leave in the next day or so.

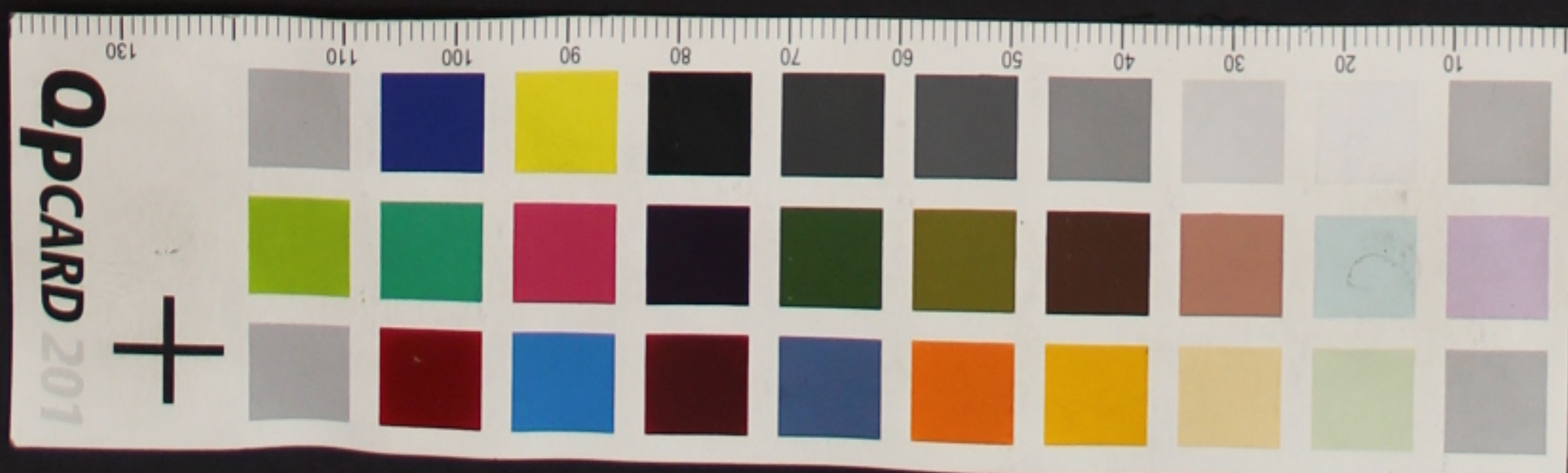
About 80 Anguillan children went on board the British frigate *Minerva* when the crew gave a party for them while the ship rode off Road Bay yesterday.

Girls in their Sunday frocks swung on a swing rigged up between the twin barrels of a 4.5-in. gun on the foredeck while boys raced round the ship in the inflatable Gemini landing craft that last Wednesday took parachute troops ashore.

The children consumed 26 loaves of bread, four gallons of jelly and blancmange, 12 tins of fruit, 14 gallons of soft drinks and 28lb. of doughnut mix.—Reuter.

Leading article, page 11.

The Times March 26, 1969



ILLEGAL ACTS OF FORCE

On Saturday we published a leading article which raised the question of the legality of the Order in Council which is the basis of the Government's action in Anguilla. That has been followed by some useful discussion in our columns and elsewhere. On Monday, Mr. Heath raised the matter in the Foreign Affairs debate, using arguments somewhat different from our own, and Mr. Stewart replied.

It is agreed on all sides that the British Government and Mr. Lee as its agent, have no powers to act except such as are derived from the British Government's responsibilities for defence and external affairs. It is also agreed, and was made perfectly clear by Mr. Stewart, that the Government makes no claim to have abrogated the Constitution of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and that Mr. Lee's powers, even if any of them are soundly based in law, do not extend to any contravention of the Constitution.

On the first point we would repeat our emphatic disagreement with Mr. Stewart's doctrine. The Foreign Secretary said "if we were to carry out our responsibility for defence and external affairs properly something had to be done about the internal situation in this island"; this was the nub of his reply. It means in effect that the reservation to Britain of defence and external relations is also a reservation of internal affairs. It must always be true, and was no doubt true in the case of Czechoslovakia, that the conduct of domestic policy has some implication for the conduct of defence and external relations. If the Government adopts this doctrine, then the whole concept of independent territories, with defence and external relations reserved, becomes almost meaningless. Without this doctrine the Order in Council is void, and the occupation illegal.

Mr. Stewart was also concerned to make it clear that Mr. Lee had no powers to override the Constitution, though the facts suggest that he has done so. He said in terms "that nothing in the Order in Council which we have made can derogate from the Constitution of the Associated State, including

the provision in the Constitution for human rights and freedoms". That means that anything Mr. Lee does which is contrary to the Constitution has no ground in British or any other law and is simply an illegal act of force. Mr. Stewart specifically and rightly accepted his own personal responsibility for anything that Mr. Lee might do in carrying out his instructions.

Unfortunately it is quite clear that the British occupation of Anguilla has paid little or no regard to the provisions of the 1966 agreement on the Constitution of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and in particular to the fundamental rights and freedoms which the Constitution is supposed to guarantee. These fundamental rights and freedoms include the protection of the law, freedom of expression, movement, assembly and association, and the protection of the privacy of a person's home and other property. This last right was defined in the 1965 Constitutional proposals as "protection against arbitrary search or entry upon property".

In the Order in Council it is quite clear that the Government makes no claim to override these Constitutional rights; indeed it could not have done so unless there were a war or other emergency which could be expressly stated in justification. The arrests, interrogations and searches which have taken place on the island, without warrant and in many cases without specific cause for suspicion, all appear to be contrary to Constitutional provisions which Mr. Stewart claims to uphold and rightly declares to be outside his own legal powers.

What has been occurring in Anguilla has apparently included several hundred individual cases of detention, arrest, or search without warrant for which no authority can be found in law. Unless Mr. Stewart's view of the relationship between internal and external responsibility is upheld then the whole operation is illegal, apart from this series of individual illegal acts. These are not mere legal quibbles. They reflect the fact that the Government has treated a small associated territory exactly as though it were still a colony.

March 26, 1969



The Ten Facts Of Anguilla Life

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article appeared in the March 17 edition of The Manchester Guardian and was written by Leopold Kohr, visiting professor of economics at the University of Wales and an economic adviser to Anguilla. Kohr is on leave from the University of Puerto Rico.)

By LEOPOLD KOHR

Fact No. 1: Anguilla never wanted to join the Associated State of Anguilla, Nevis, and St. Kitts which the British

government created early in 1967 on the assumption that an island as small as Anguilla (a little over 30 square miles, 6,000 inhabitants) had no chance of developing economically by itself. (Actually, its association during three centuries with the vastness of the British Empire did not develop it either).

Fact No. 2: From the outset, Prime Minister Robert Bradshaw of the Associated State treated Anguilla not only with the same neglect she had

suffered as a distant colony of Britain but actually went on record with the declaration that he would turn Anguilla "into a desert."

Fact No. 3: Anguilla, rather than how loyalty to State that had singled her out for destruction, declared herself independent from St. Kitts in May, 1967, confirming her decision by plebiscite in July of the same year (against five votes), and again last month (against four votes).

Fact No. 4: Anguilla did not (except during her brief period as a wounded "protest republic" under "President" Peter Adams) declare herself independent from Britain.

Indeed Ronald Webster the not only restored relations with Britain, sanctified by the presence of Tony Lee, the senior British officer on the island, but actually pleaded to be taken back into the fold of the motherland—for which the greatest affection had been preserved—if necessary even as a colony.

The only absolute objection was against reassociation with St. Kitts at any time, in any form, or under any condition.

Fact No. 5: Bradshaw's only hope of regaining rule over an island (for the sole declared purpose of destroying it) is by armed invasion for which he has been preparing.

The proper parallel for Anguilla's UDI is therefore not Rhodesia but Biafra, as there can be no shred of doubt that the Anguillans, themselves by now armed, will resist invasion to a man.

Fact No. 6: In spite of this situation, tending inexorably to bloodshed, Britain has so far refused to intervene on the grounds that, as in Biafra, the dispute is an internal matter, which forces her to back the official government that she

herself has set up.

This is in spite of the fate that the successive governments of Adams and Webster, by deporting the St. Kitts police force and effectively establishing their own authority, have, according to the rules of international law, made Anguilla as external to St. Kitts as Chairman Mao has made mainland China recognized by Britain as a self-governing entity) external to Formosa.

Fact No. 7: Nor has Britain, on the same legal ground, resumed responsibility for Anguillan affairs either by taking the island back as a colony—as she did at a time with Newfoundland—or by accepting her as an independently Associated State.

All Britain has done, from the very beginning of the secession to the near-tragic gunshot expulsion of Mr. William Whitlock of March 12, was to exert her influence to persuade Anguilla to accept some form of reassociation with St. Kitts.

This is the one solution which the very competent Tony Lee must have told the British government would be absolutely unacceptable.

Reassociation was first attempted in St. Kitts in 1967. But the returning delegation,

headed by Adams, was forced to scrap the agreement on arrival by an angry people which, like a Swiss Landsgemeinde, had assembled on the airport as parliament.

The second time, Lord Shepherd forced a similar agreement on Adams, but Adams was deposed on his return and replaced by Webster, the only one who had refused to sign.

The third attempt ended in failure at a specially convened conference in London in October, 1968, after Bradshaw threatened Webster that he "must get Anguilla back on their knees," and Webster told him "that it is just impossible."

And when it was attempted the last time in Anguilla, Whitlock the distinguished British politician had to flee for his life.

Fact No. 8: To anyone familiar with the Anguillan situation, it is clear that the determination of both the people and the leaders is such that there are only two alternatives. One is to give at last Anguilla to the Anguillans. The other is war, which is not more funny when it involves the little than when it involves the big.

Fact No. 9: Anguilla, in spite of—or rather because of—her smallness, will have no difficulty in continuing on her road to rapid economic progress.

This will be by a development program emphasising a large

measure of self-sufficiency to be achieved by an agricultural and manufacturing rather than an industrial revolution. It would follow the lines of Dr. F. Schumacher's theory of intermediate rather than automated technology, and backed by powerful American amateur interests resolutely opposed to the policy of developing themselves rather than Anguilla.

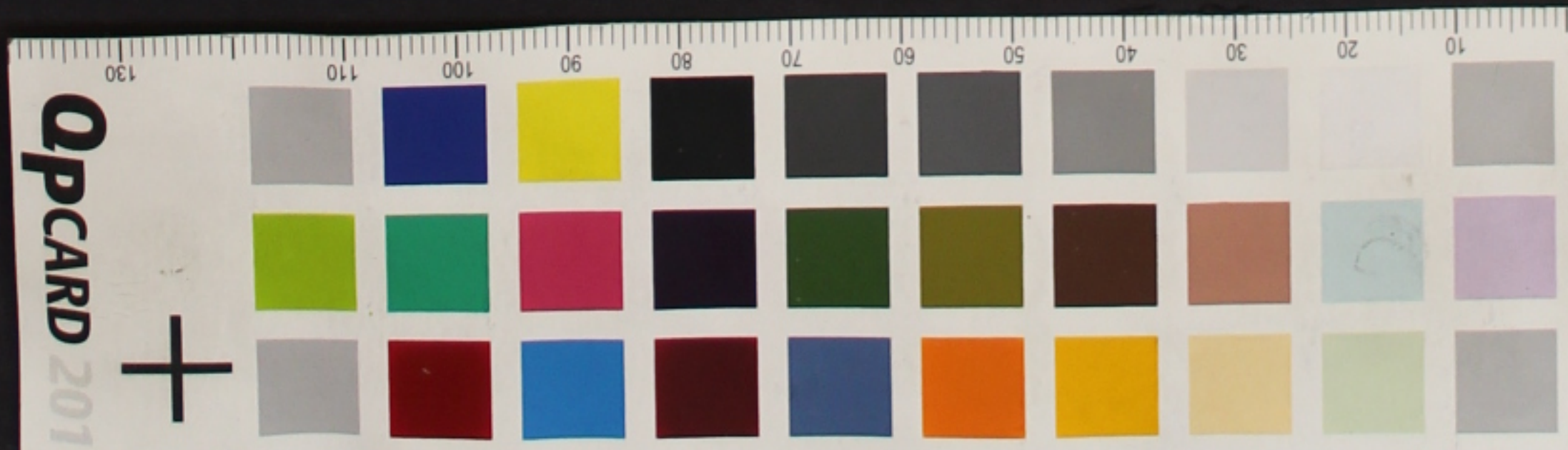
Fact No. 10: The shooting incident of March 12 has been used to suggest that Mafia interests have penetrated Anguilla.

Mafia and other gambling interests knock of course at any gate. London has been reported only a few weeks ago to be the latest target of infiltration. They have tried to break into Anguilla from the beginning, but have so far been effectively blocked by the devout and puritan religiosity not only of Webster but of virtually the entire people.

Britain Has Failed To Assume Its Responsibility

San Juan Star

March 26, 1969.



Webster arrives back in Anguilla

St. Thomas (Virgin Islands), March 27.—Mr. Ronald Webster, self-styled President of Anguilla, flew home today, expressing satisfaction with his trip to the United Nations. At the airport here, he repeated, that Mr. Anthony Lee, the British Commissioner, must be replaced. He said a West Indian, who understands West Indians and their problems, should take his place.

Mr. Webster was accompanied by Mr. Jeremiah Gumbs, an Anguilla-born New Jersey oil dealer, who has been acting as Anguilla's representative at the United Nations. Mr. Webster expressed satisfaction that the United Nations decolonization committee decided to send a nine-man fact-finding commission to Anguilla, but predicted that Britain would not allow the commission in.

Mr. Gumbs said: "The United

Kingdom says it is our friend, but it comes with guns." Our friends from the United Nations won't have guns, but the United Kingdom won't let them in."

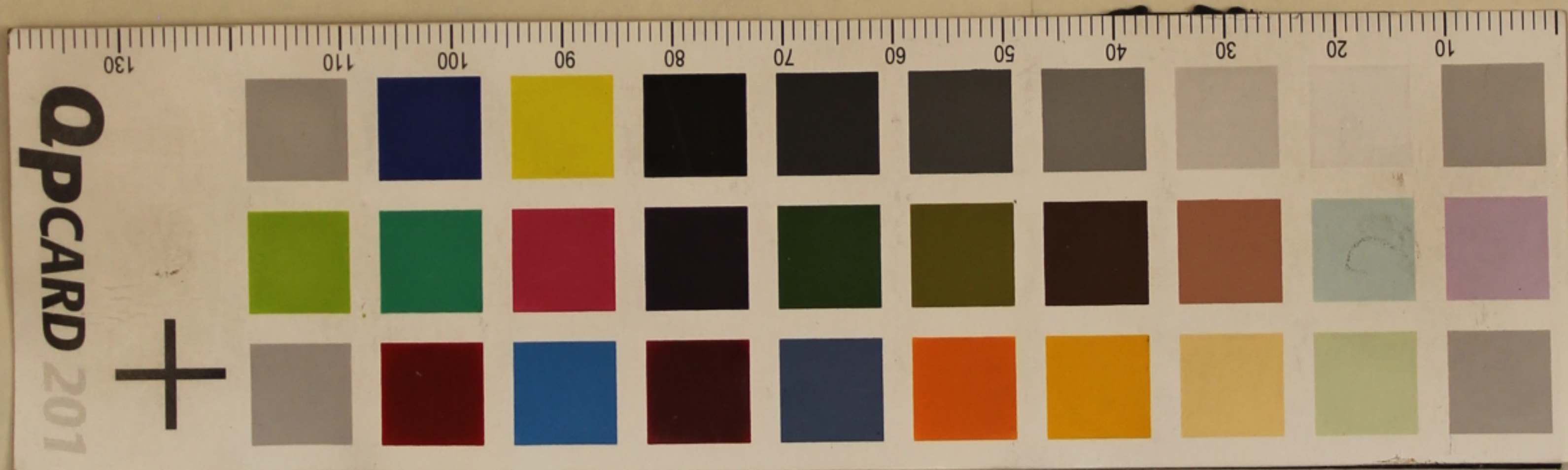
Mr. Webster also repeated that under no circumstances would he agree to discuss Anguilla's future with any British representative until all British troops had left the island.

He said this also applied to the Royal Engineers, who are to make improvements on the island. "Are they going to have 100 Royal Engineers take away 100 jobs from Anguillans?" he said.

Mr. Webster said he has been in contact with another Caribbean Government to discuss a possible federation with Anguilla.

Lord Caradon, Britain's chief delegate at the United Nations, leaves New York for Anguilla tonight.—U.P.I., A.P., and Reuter.

The Times, March 28, 1969



Anguilla— Caribbean speck that needs such careful handling

The Anguillan crisis may set a precedent for further unrest in the Caribbean, particularly in view of the region's uneven development, reports JOHN GRAHAM

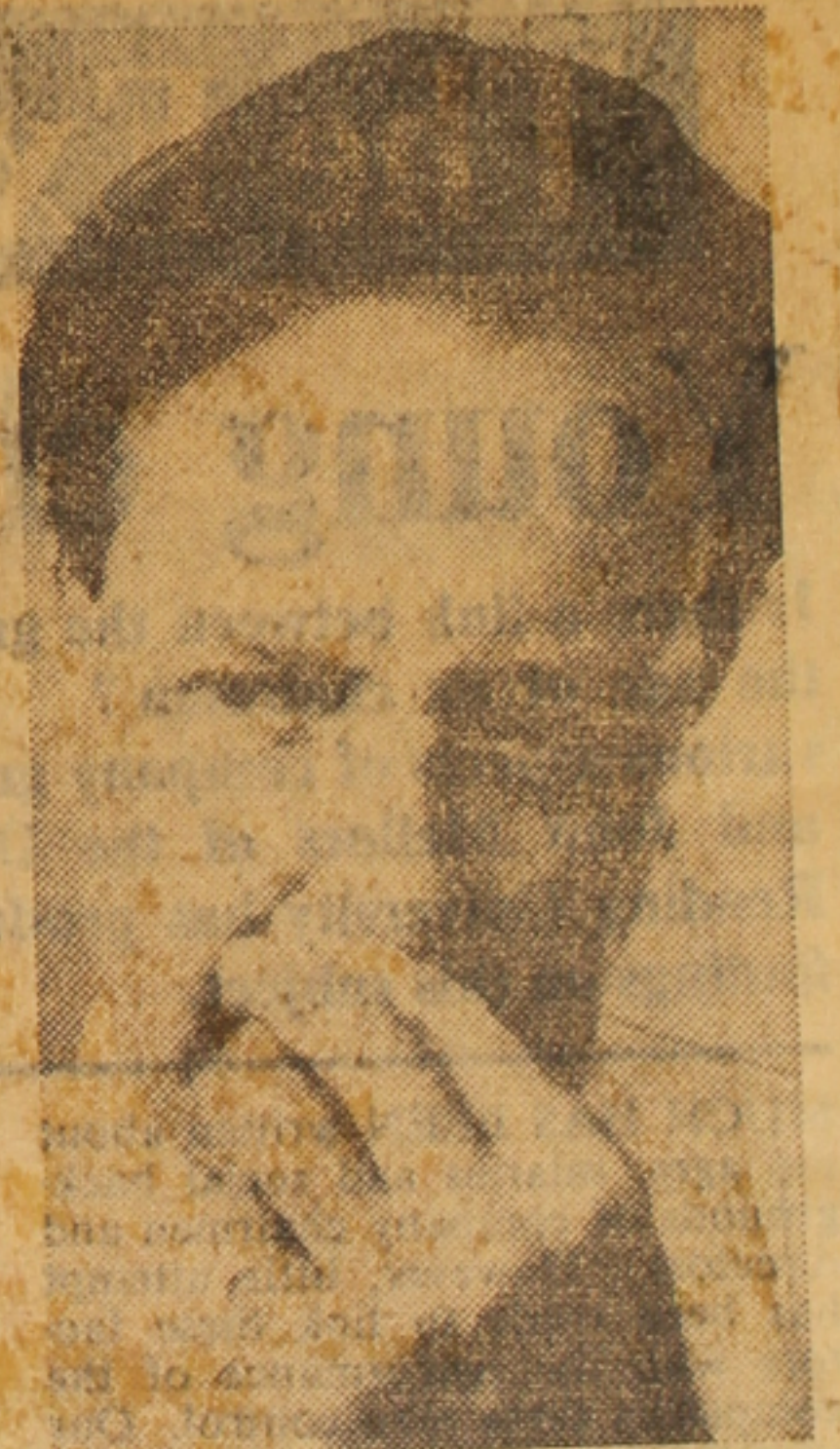


WEBSTER: Unfair.

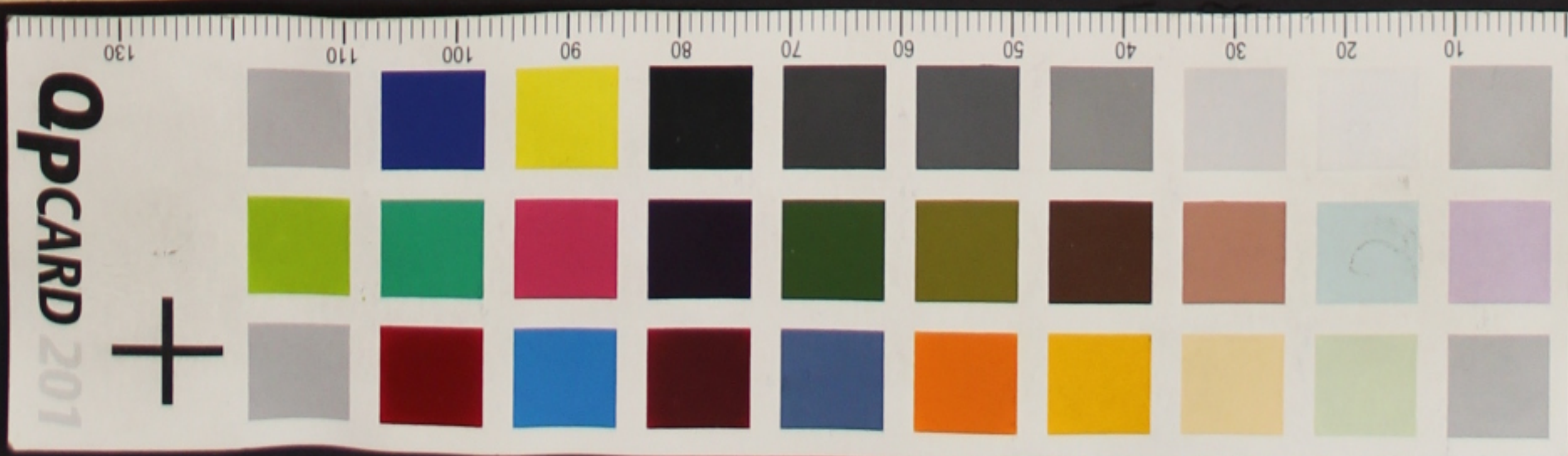
F. T.

March 28, 1969

The Financial Times - Friday March 28 1969



LEE: Unacceptable.



THERE IS a narrow line between farce and tragedy, and it is not always easy to tell on which side you are standing. The efforts of the British soldiers on Anguilla to turn the dust-blown school house into a neat Aldershot barracks are farcical; the general futility of everyday life on the island is tragic.

It is tragedy of a muted kind. So far, nobody has been killed since the start of the Anguillan affair, and with luck there seems no reason why anyone should be. Nor does anyone on the island appear to be starving, though the eyes of the children show clearly that they are often hungry. But there is a pervasive feeling of hopelessness—a feeling that things will never get any better, that there is nowhere to go and nothing to do, and indeed there is not. The air fairly crackles with tedium.

The crisis of the last two weeks has at least modified the tedium, and the visit yesterday by Lord Caradon and Sir Arthur Galsworthy was an astonishing event for so small a place. Whether the diplomatic and constitutional manoeuvres now under way will solve the political crisis is a matter for patience rather than prediction—far be it from me to attempt to guess what the Foreign Office in its wisdom will devise for Anguilla.

What can be said at this stage, however, is that Anguilla is not the end of the story. It so happens that Anguilla is the first of the Associated or dependent States of the Caribbean to have produced such a political crisis, and it has therefore drawn a great deal of attention. But there is no reason to suppose that it will be the last. There are plenty of grievances in some of the other islands for which the U.K. is responsible, and the first active rumblings can be heard.

This is the importance of Anguilla, and it contains within it the germ of tragedy. I have been travelling this week up and down the crescent of islands from Puerto Rico to Trinidad,

hedge-hopping from one lovely spot to the next, and asking always the question: can the same sort of thing that is happening in Anguilla happen anywhere else in the Leeward or Windward Islands? Not a single person I spoke to, Government official or private individual, black or white, thought that Anguilla was an isolated case. All considered that there was substantial political unrest throughout the area, and that sooner or later some of the other small islands would start to make a fuss.

In a way this is hardly surprising. The piracies of past centuries and the uneven development of recent years have left the area a political mess. Barbados is on its own and independent, Trinidad and Tobago are together and independent, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla were joined together and associated with the U.K., some islands like Montserrat and St. Vincent are still dependent territories, others outside the British influence like Martinique are departments of France. One, St. Martin, is half French and half Dutch.

Abundant inequalities

Economically there is just as much variation. Trinidad and Tobago have the relatively high per capita income of \$630 according to the 1966 figures. Others like St. Lucia, have a per capita income as low as \$190, and the Windward and Leeward Islands as a whole probably do not average more than \$250. An island such as Antigua has a pretty well-developed tourist industry; Anguilla has none.

Now whenever a local politician wants to advance himself or in any way make trouble, he has plenty of inequalities to stress in his bid for support. Take the case of Antigua and Barbuda. Antigua is in association with the U.K., but it also has the responsibility of administering a small island 30 miles away called Barbuda. This is an island with even fewer people than Anguilla—not much more than 2,000 in all—but the Barbudans believe that they have not been getting a fair shake from the Government in Antigua.

The Antiguan admit that there are some parallels between the Antigua-Barbuda case and the St. Kitts-Anguilla business. A political problem has been created even if it is very slight and unlikely to lead to political change. An independent Barbuda, were such an idiocy to be realised, would in all likelihood be even less able to develop itself, and the move would therefore be illogical. This is hardly the point, however, since the connection between the force of logic and the development of nations has yet to be established.

The real point is that in these islands at the moment everyone is playing politics and, as yet, many of the political institutions are new and flimsy. A man who offers new institutions can get himself a following. This makes it dangerous to ignore the local leaders, and nowhere is this more evident than in Anguilla.

What is happening in Anguilla is not a sudden outburst of deep anti-British feeling. Nor is it primarily a craving for independence. Nor are its roots primarily racial. Naturally the invasion last week sparked off anti-British expressions in several parts of the Caribbean, but not as many as might have been expected, and there was open support for Britain from Mr. Forbes Burnham of Guyana, Dr. Williams of Trinidad and Tobago, and Mr. Errol Barrow of Barbados.

But even though the trigger incident—the arrival of Mr. Whitlock and the shooting—looked anti-British, or racial, or both, the real cause of the present crisis was simply that the Anguillans were led by Mr. Ronald Webster to believe that

they were being unfairly treated by St. Kitts, that Webster and Mr. Bradshaw of St. Kitts developed a total hostility to each other, and that Webster then saw that there was no hope for Anguilla except under some new political arrangement

Certainly relations between Ronald Webster and Mr. Tony Lee, the British Commissioner, have deteriorated to a point where it may be impossible for the two men to work together—even though they used to be good friends, and despite the fact that Mr. Lee this week discarded his abusive tone and adopted a more conciliatory approach to the Anguillan leader. But the demonstrators on the island this week, and even Mr. Webster's friends, never went further than suggesting that Mr. Lee should go. They didn't demand complete British disinvolvement.

There is little doubt about the genuineness of the Anguillan complaint that their island, even by local standards, is exceedingly backward. The roads are few and scarcely ever paved, the houses are in poor condition. There is very little paving even on the airstrip compared to what there is on the other islands. There is no telephone system at all, and an inadequate water system. The Anguillans say that money and materials for the development of their island were never passed on to them from St. Kitts, and this is universally believed in the neighbouring islands and has not, as far as I know, been officially denied.

Dependence on remittances

Many of these grievances will now be put right, according to the British officials on Anguilla. Development aid is being renewed at the old level of £50,000 a year, though Mr. Lee told me he hoped that he could get this considerably increased.

There is not much that can be done for the general economy of Anguilla, which appears to

subsist on three factors: a small mica plant, lobster fishing, and remittances from the many thousands of Anguillans who have left for neighbouring islands (mostly St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands) and for the U.S. mainland. One estimate is that two-thirds of the resident population of Anguilla live from remittances. The British Government is going to build a pier for the lobster boats, but apart from that there is nothing to be done except for the creation of the inevitable tourist industry, which would not only earn the Anguillans some cash but provide some jobs. The Government has also promised budgetary assistance.

So far, so good. Solving the political problems will be a much trickier business, since if there is one fixed point in this whole confused story it is that the Anguillans want nothing to do with the St. Kitts Government. Indeed, talking to the islanders you get the very strong impression that the present crisis need not have occurred if the U.K. had given a firm promise that Anguilla would never be put in the same unit again as St. Kitts.

Here you have the fundamental problem of federation, which is central not only to the future of Anguilla, but to the Caribbean as a whole, and especially to Britain's dealings with its dependent and associated States. The unitary States of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla may not have worked very well, but to break it up may set a precedent even more dangerous.

Mr. Barrow, for instance, the Prime Minister of Barbados, in his speech in support of the British invasion, specifically urged the U.K. to maintain the "territorial integrity" of the three-island State. The fear is that if any island is allowed to go its separate way, then others may decide to press for political change, and the very tenuous Caribbean solidarity may be seriously threatened.

Ironically, it is precisely this solidarity that several of the region's leaders believe can solve the question of the associated States—men like Mr. Barrow acknowledge that Britain has the primary responsibility for the solution of problems such as those posed by Anguilla. Forbes Burnham, the Prime Minister of Guyana, has more than once proposed that the smaller islands link up in some way with the larger independent States. An example would be St. Vincent and Guyana.

Jamaican support

For anything like this to happen it would have to have the support of Jamaica, the political heavyweight among the islands. Jamaica broke up the earlier West Indies Federation by seceding in 1962, and the country's leaders still think that decision was right. They believe that Jamaica's future lies more with North America than with the East Caribbean. Similarly, Trinidad and Tobago are seeking closer ties with Latin America through the Organisation of American States.

In other words, the most important independent countries in the area are divided on how the Caribbean should develop. The political trend is not noticeable towards integration, and may be against it. If this is true, and if the rough solidarity that exists at present cannot be cemented, then it is hard to see how further trouble of the Anguilla type can be avoided.

This does not mean that these beautiful islands are seething cauldrons of discontent, torrid with hatred of the white man and ready to boil over into anarchy and slaughter at the turn of a crop. But it does mean that there are perfectly genuine difficulties in the existing economic and political arrangements. The Anguilla affair has brought this into the open.

Financial Times March 28, 1969

OPCARD

Guide For Christians Opposed To Brutal British Colonialism

The people of the independent Republic of Anguilla have been crushed under the heel of brutal British armed forces and foreign (British) police. These God-fearing, gentle people have been crushed by these colonialist forces and their only sin was to say: "We shall be free. Let us live in peace."

Anguilla does not have the protection of the much vaunted British Common Law. There is no law in Anguilla. People are no longer safe in their homes. Anguillan women are not safe on the roads. Bands of armed British troops patrol, stop peaceful citizens, question them, arrest them, search their homes, confiscate their passports and bank books. Private letters are opened and read. There is no privacy, no peace, no safety in Anguilla today.

Only the West Indies can free Anguilla from the heel of the British oppressors--and the West Indies can do it by striking the British where the British heart and conscience has always been--in their purse.

Several hundred years ago the British were the biggest slave traders because there was money in it. One of the British queens was one of the biggest owners of slaving ships. The fortune handed down to the present queen and royal family derives, in substantial amounts from the slave trade and other businesses handed down from generation to generation without being depleted by inheritance or estate taxes.

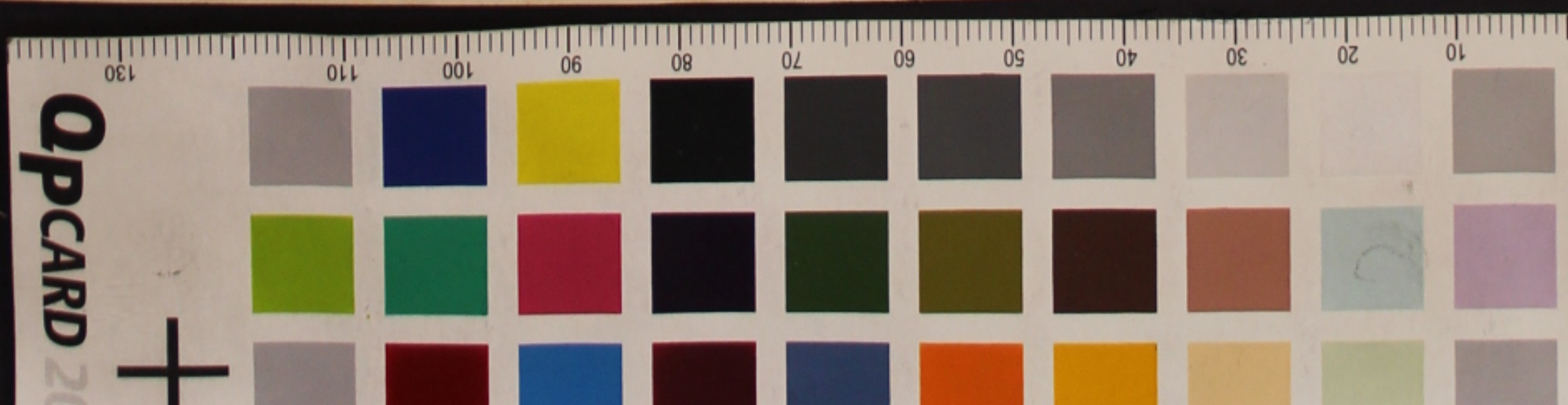
Help Anguilla and the other British colonies by not buying British products.

DON'T BUY BRITISH FOOD.
DON'T BUY BRITISH WHISKY.
DON'T BUY BRITISH GIN.
DON'T PATRONIZE ANY SHOP THAT DISPLAYS
OR OFFERS FOR SALE ANY BRITISH PRODUCT

Do this as a law abiding Christian and ask your friends to do the same. This will free Anguilla and bring British colonialism to an end in the Caribbean.

God be with you.

Committee For A Free Anguilla



NEWS OF THE CARIBBEAN

'UK Can't Legally Free Anguilla'

THE VALLEY, Anguilla, (UPI) — A Harvard University Professor who has been serving as legal advisor to Anguilla President Ronald Webster said Friday Britain does not have the legal authority to free Anguilla from the hated St. Kitts Central Government.

Roger Fisher, who flew here Friday from Boston, criticized Britain for withdrawing Commissioner Anthony Lee from Anguilla last January.

"If Britain had not made the mistake of ordering Lee off the island in January, the situation would not have deteriorated to this point," Fisher said. He was referring to Britain's withdrawal of Lee at the end of a one-year interim agreement during which Lee served as advisor to Webster's Ruling Council. Webster had asked that Lee be allowed to stay.

Of the British charge of gangsterism on Anguilla, Fisher said, "I'm not happy with the role played by one American, but you don't send 200 troops to kick one man off the island."

He said he thought the British allegations were "exaggerated."

Despite the difficult legal problems involved in Anguilla's status, Fisher said he was sure there would be "some kind of modus vivendi in the next three days."

The final solution to the problem, he said, would take much longer.

He pointed out that under the 1967 constitution of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Associated States, Britain has no legal right to break up
(Continued on page 13)

U.K. CAN'T FREE (Continued from page 4)

the state.

"The British approach has been to give absolute independence to its associated states. Britain carries out defense and external affairs for them only as long as they want it," he said.

With this in mind, Fisher questioned whether Britain will be able to convince Anguillans that they are not eventually going to be returned to the Associated States.

"Anguillans have been complaining about St. Kitts for 200 years," Fisher said.

He said 150 Anguillans submitted a petition to Britain in 1875 asking that their island not be administered from St. Kitts. A similar petition had been submitted in 1820, he said.

Fisher said he felt the British should deal with Webster and his Council, which Anguillans regard as their representative government, and should permit Anguilla to run its own customs, police force and treasury.

Besides Fisher, who has been advising Webster for one and a half years and spent last weekend on Anguilla, Dr. William Herbert, opposition leader of St. Kitts is also in Anguilla.

Herbert, also an attorney, was jailed at the time of the Anguilla revolution in May 1967 for supporting the Anguillan cause and defending Anguillans accused in connection with the revolution.

Burnham Turns Down Proposal on Rebel Isle

GEORGETOWN, March 28 (AP) — Prime Minister Forbes Burnham has declined a proposal put forward by Jamaica's Prime Minister, Hugh Shearer, that representatives of independent commonwealth Caribbean countries should visit Anguilla for talks with Anguilla Leader Ronald Webster and British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Caradon, who visits the island today.

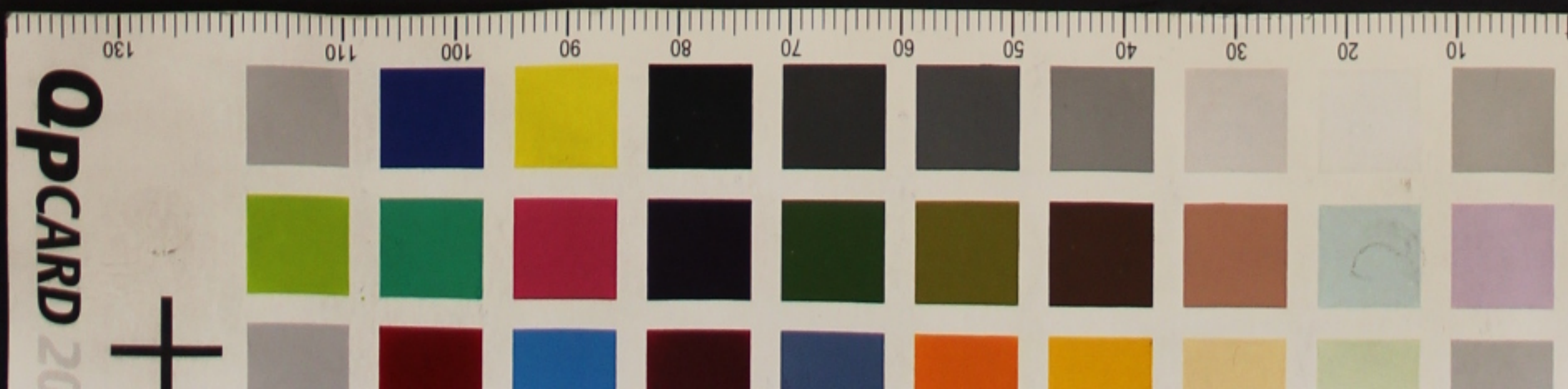
Burnham is believed to have urged instead early discussions at purely regional level, not involving representatives of the British Government, for the purpose of resolving apparent differences between West Indian governments on the recent events in Anguilla.

To this end Burnham has suggested informal talks between representatives of all West Indian Governments, including the government of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and of other Associated States who will be in Grenada for

the opening of CARIFTA Expo 61 on April 5.

In his communications with Shearer and other Caribbean Heads of Government, Burnham is understood to have emphasized that there can be no negotiations on Anguilla's future except on the basis of the full participation of the lawful government of the state of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

The Journal April 1st 1969



Government stand firm on Anguilla declaration

MR. STEWART, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Fulham, Lab.), in a statement on developments in Anguilla, said that Lord Caradon, Minister of State, went to the island on March 28 and had conversations with representatives of all sections of opinion, including Mr. Ronald Webster and other leading citizens, and after discussion signed with them a joint declaration.

This declaration made provision for an immediate period of constructive cooperation in the interests of all the people of Anguilla, and recorded the conviction of those who signed it that this cooperation could only be achieved by working together in agreement and friendship.

Shortly after the return of Lord Caradon to New York, Mr. Ronald Webster made allegations to the press to the effect that her Majesty's Commissioner on Anguilla was in breach of the joint declaration. These allegations were totally unwarranted, but in view of the recrudescence of tension on the island I authorized Lord Caradon to pay a further visit to Anguilla on April 11.

His purpose was to persuade the Anguillians to keep to the terms of the joint declaration, so recently negotiated, but owing to what he has described as a campaign of deliberate, misunderstanding, accompanied by threats of violence, he was unable to hold discussions with Mr. Webster and members of the council—not all of whom, I may add, by any means share the extreme position urged on Mr. Webster by those around him.

We stand firmly by the joint declaration which we regard as the best and indeed the only way forward at the moment. The immediate need is to restore law and order on the island.

Position of Mr. Lee

MR. HENIG (Lancaster, Lab.).—In view of the fact that it is important for our reputation in the Caribbean that we are completely explicit on the objects of our policy in Anguilla, will the Foreign Secretary clear up the mystery surrounding the position of Mr. Lee?

What will be the attitude of the Government towards the referendum being taken by Mr. Webster next week?

MR. STEWART.—The referendum will have no legal standing.

The present position is that the island is being administered by her Majesty's Commissioner; we shall seek, as far as it is humanly possible, to do that in accordance with the agreement reached between the British Commissioner and Lord Caradon, Mr. Webster, and others.

On the position of Mr. Lee I should say this: Lord Caradon, with my agreement, announced in Anguilla on April 12, that Mr. Lee would be going on leave in due course and would hand over to Mr. Cumber. This statement was interpreted in certain quarters as being a dismissal of Mr. Lee. Since this is not so, I thought it right to make clear in an answer I gave in an interview that Mr. Lee is still her Majesty's Commissioner in Anguilla.

I shall be seeing him when he returns home and shall want to do that before any final decision is taken about his future. (Opposition laughter.)

We are finding, with the progressive collection of arms and the fact that it has been possible to reestablish the newspaper in Anguilla which had been forcibly suppressed before we arrived, that our action there was necessary if the people of the island were to have a law-abiding way of life.

Complicated

MR. BRAINE (South-East Essex, C.).—Would the Foreign Secretary throw a little more light on this unhappy, muddled, and humiliating affair? Is Mr. Lee to return to the island as the Commissioner or not?

Having neglected this festering issue for so long that military force had to be sent into the island, will he make clear that Britain intends to find a political solution speedily?

MR. STEWART said it was a complicated problem and he admitted it had been neglected, as many commentators had pointed out, for the past 300 years. He was not prepared to take the sole responsibility for that.

We are dealing (he said) with a territory which is part of an associated state and in which for some time there has not been any lawful administration. It would not be sensible to say that a final settlement can be reached in a hurry and we must be in consultation with Caribbean governments.

He would want to discuss the situation with Mr. Lee when he went on leave.

MR. CHAPMAN (Birmingham,

Northfield, Lab.).—Would Mr. Stewart leave open the possibility in the medium term of finding a West Indian to become a commissioner in Anguilla?

Possibility

MR. STEWART.—That is a possibility.

MR. MARTEN (Banbury, C.).—In view of the conflicting reports about the origins of this tragic situation, is it the Government's intention that Anguilla shall be given the option of being independent, or have the Government made an agreement with Mr. Bradshaw that Anguilla will be returned to the associated state?

MR. STEWART.—This is a difficult and vexatious situation. I do not think we need accept the word "tragic". The situation has so far been dealt with without any loss of life. I want that situation to remain.

I am deliberately not going to lay down now what the form of the final settlement must be. We must try to reach a settlement which will be agreeable to all parties concerned, in particular to the people of Anguilla.

MR. SHINWELL (Easington, Lab.).—Some of us are getting a little bored about this world shattering event. (Laughter and cheers.) If the people of Anguilla want to stew in their own juice, why not let them? (Laughter.)

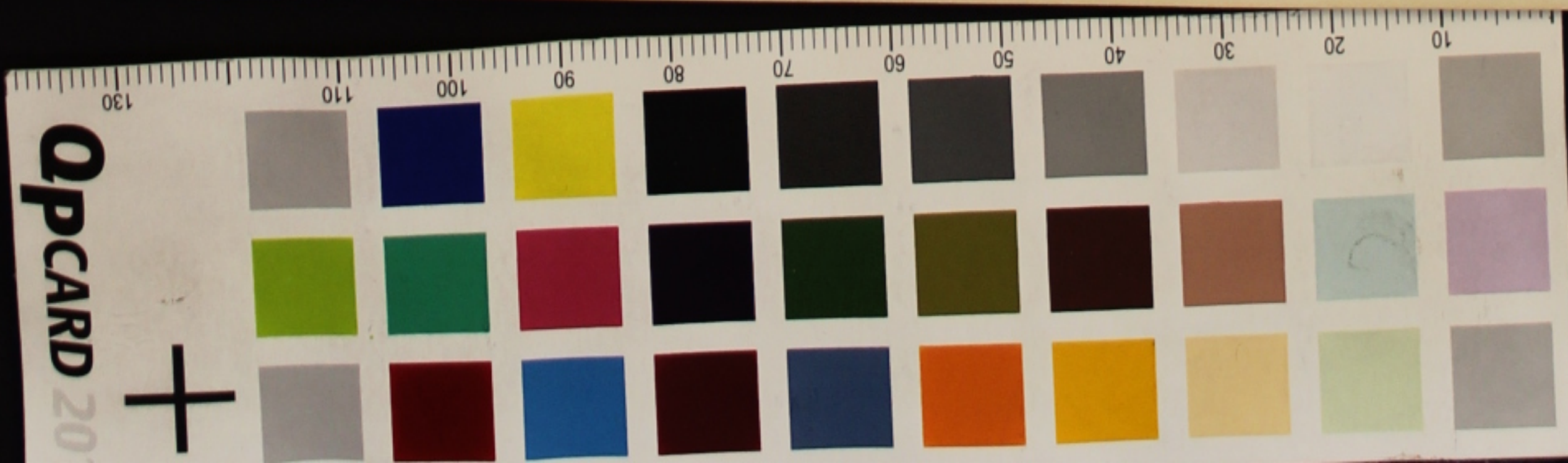
Anxiety

MR. STEWART.—It is not quite as simple as that. If we had done that, it would have caused considerable anxiety throughout the Caribbean area. The need for action was urged on us strongly by Caribbean governments, with whom we shall remain in consultation.

VISCOUNT LAMBTON (Berwick upon Tweed, C.).—There will be no peace in Anguilla until it is understood there that in no circumstances will the island be returned under the authority of St. Kitts. Will Mr. Stewart make that clear statement today? (Opposition cheers.)

MR. STEWART.—I have already made a statement that it is no part of our purpose to oblige the Anguillians to live under an administration they do not want. I am deliberately not making a statement more precise than that at the moment. This is exactly what we have to examine in the future.

The Times: Tuesday April 15, 1969



Stewart adds to Lee confusion

By HUGH NOYES, Parliamentary Correspondent

Westminster, Monday

The confused saga of the future movement of Mr. Anthony Lee, British Commissioner in Anguilla, was taken a stage farther in a Commons statement today by Mr. Stewart, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary. Mr. Lee must be beginning to feel like a particularly energetic yo-yo.

First, Lord Caradon's announcement that Mr. Lee was going on leave and would be replaced by Mr. John Cumber was taken as inferring that the Commissioner would not be returning to the island.

Next, Mr. Stewart said yesterday that Mr. Lee would be returning to Anguilla after his leave. Today, the Minister set off on another tack and told the House, to the accompaniment of incredulous laughter from the Tories, that he would be seeing Mr. Lee on his return to Britain, and "I shall want to do that before any final decision is taken about his future."

But, he pointed out, the Commissioner was not being dismissed, although he would be going on leave in due course and would hand over to Mr. Cumber. Replying to a question from Mr. Donald Chapman, from the Labour back benches, Mr. Stewart said that the finding of a West Indian Commissioner was a possibility.

No amount of cross-examination from anxious M.P.s on both sides of the House could get a clearer statement out of the Minister. The Government were standing firmly by the joint declaration of March 30, which, he agreed with Lord Caradon, was being threatened by a campaign of deliberate misunderstanding accompanied by violence.

Mr. Bernard Braine, from the Tory front bench, urged the Foreign Secretary to throw a little more light on "this unhappy, muddled and humiliating affair." Was Mr. Lee going to return to Anguilla or not, and would Mr. Stewart make plain that Britain was not going to take years to find a solution, as had been said originally?

But all that M.P.s could get out of the Minister was that the problem was complicated, that it had been neglected for 300 years, and that he was not going to take the sole responsibility for that.

Mr. Stewart refused also to budge on his earlier statements about the relationship of Anguilla and the St. Kitts federation. All he would say was that it was part of the British Government's purpose not to make the Anguillans live under an administration they did not want. He was deliberately not laying down now the form of any future settlement, but talks were going on with Caribbean governments.

Mr. Stewart was clear on one point. The referendum that was being held by Mr. Ronald Webster, the self-styled President of Anguilla, would have no legal standing. Mr. Webster's allegations about breaching the declaration of March 30 were "totally unwarranted".

After all this there was an appreciative murmur for Mr. Shinwell's suggestion that if the people of Anguilla wanted to stew in their own juice, why did not the British Government let them get on with it?

It was not as simple as that, replied Mr. Stewart. If we had washed our hands of the affair there would have been considerable anxiety throughout the whole of the Caribbean.

Parliamentary report, page 6; empty court adds note of farce, page 7.

OVERSEAS NEWS

Empty court adds note of farce in Anguilla

From MICHAEL KNIPE—Anguilla, April 14

Mr. Roderick Donaldson changed his shorts for a more formal pair of trousers, donned his judicial waistcoat, and presided over the proceedings at the magistrates' court here today.

The hearing was somewhat brief. No defendants took the trouble to turn up.

It was, however, a distinct improvement on last week. On April 10 the court officials found the door to the court sealed by nails and it was thought inadvisable to break it open. A big crowd prevented the defendants who appeared from entering the building.

Two days later, when the court sat again it was reported that it had not been possible to serve notices on the accused people.

Today Sergeant Thomas Ryan, of the Anguilla police force, stood on the dusty steps of the court—the end room in the single-storey administration block that also houses the post office, the treasury and police station—and formally called the names of three Anguillans: Collins Hodge, Adrian Gumbs and Charles Fleming, due to appear on minor charges of disturbing the peace and refusing to give information.

In the court, empty save for the clerk, and a dozen languid correspondents, Inspector Bill McPhee, the British police prosecutor, asked the magistrate to issue three summonses "which I will endeavour to serve for tomorrow morning's hearing."

The court then rose and Mr. Donaldson, by coincidence a former parachute soldier, changed back into his shorts.

"If the defendants do not appear tomorrow, then I will apply for warrants of arrest," Inspector McPhee said.

The brief magisterial ceremony brought an additional note of farce to the overtones of Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop* and *Black Mischief* which pervade this Caribbean trouble spot.

The stalemate between Mr. Ronald Webster, the island leader, and the British continues lazily on under a hot sun. Mr. Anthony Lee, the outgoing British Commissioner, concerned himself today with mundane matters of registration of documents. Sir Arthur

Galsworthy, a permanent secretary at the Foreign Office and the most senior official here, relieved the tedium by rising early to pursue his hobby of bird watching, splendidly attired in a deerstalker hat.

Mr. John Cumber, the incoming British Commissioner, burly and cheerful, and seemingly untroubled by the confusion surrounding his vague appointment, embarked on a programme of familiarising himself with the island and matters.

Mr. Webster turned his attention to his proposed referendum, although it is suggested now that it will not take place before Monday—if at all.

The island council members opposed to Mr. Webster's policies are sceptical of the referendum taking place and anyway intend to advise their supporters to boycott it. What success they have in this will perhaps give a better indication of the islanders' feelings than the actual question itself: "Do you favour the withdrawal of British forces?"

Mr. Emil Gumbs, a moderate council member who advocates short-term negotiation and co-operation with the British, questions Mr. Webster's right to hold a referendum and the new council elections the latter is also planning. As Mr. Webster refuses to meet him at present, Mr. Gumbs has no way of influencing Mr. Webster's attitude, however.

Another moderate council member, Mr. Atlin Harrington, said today that his pro-British policies, aired in *The Beacon*, the island's news sheet he edits, had caused a certain resentment to be shown him by some of the more militant Anguillans. "Webster is now turning his attack from the British to the island opposition," he said.

There is the constant likelihood of further anti-British rallies being mounted, with the possibility of more serious violence should they take place.

A British policeman told me today: "It is a pity the policeman who was attacked the other day did not fire his gun on the crowd. It is the only language these people understand." His views may not be typical but undoubtedly the Anguillian attack on the policeman has eaten away some of the occupation force's good will.

The Times

April 15, 1969

OPCARD

Anguilla Will Remain Part Of Tri-Island State Says Bradshaw

Premier Robert Bradshaw of the troubled state of St. Kitts - Nevis - Anguilla has reiterated strongly that the rebel island of Anguilla is still a part of the State "and will so remain".

In a passionate outburst last week, Premier Bradshaw told reporters: "In the 1966 general elections, my government was lawfully elected. Anguillans took part in that election and voted of their own choice.

"As a matter of fact", he went on, "Anguilla has been associated with St. Kitts since 1823 before Nevis even came into the arrangement and it

will so remain".

Angered at the British and American press for "reporting things I have not said", Mr. Bradshaw stoutly defended Britain's intervention in the Anguilla dispute claiming the British Government was merely carrying out its responsibility which it has to all the Associated States including Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada.

"Britain is responsible for our external affairs and defense, so she did no more than to discharge these responsibilities when she sent troops to Anguilla", the

Premier added. He likened the arrival of British paratroopers to the U.S. involvement in South Vietnam.

Bradshaw was in transit at Truman Airport on his way to a conference in Washington with British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart. He was accompanied by his Public Relations officer Lee Moore.

The Premier, sporting a red flower in the lapel of his coat, felt Britain should have acted long ago .. since 1967 when the rebellion broke out.

He reiterated England acted

correctly to stamp out the gangster types who were asserting themselves at the head of Anguilla and who would have caused embarrassment not only to the British Government but the Americans as well, he said.

Asked why he refuses to let Anguilla go, Mr. Bradshaw retorted: "Go where .. Anguilla has no place to go", and his only comment on Anguillan leader Ronald Webster was "he's an idiot".

Before boarding the Caribbean aircraft to continue the

flight to Washington, Premier Bradshaw reminded the press that Britain up to this date has not said Anguilla will not go back to the fold of the tri-island state.

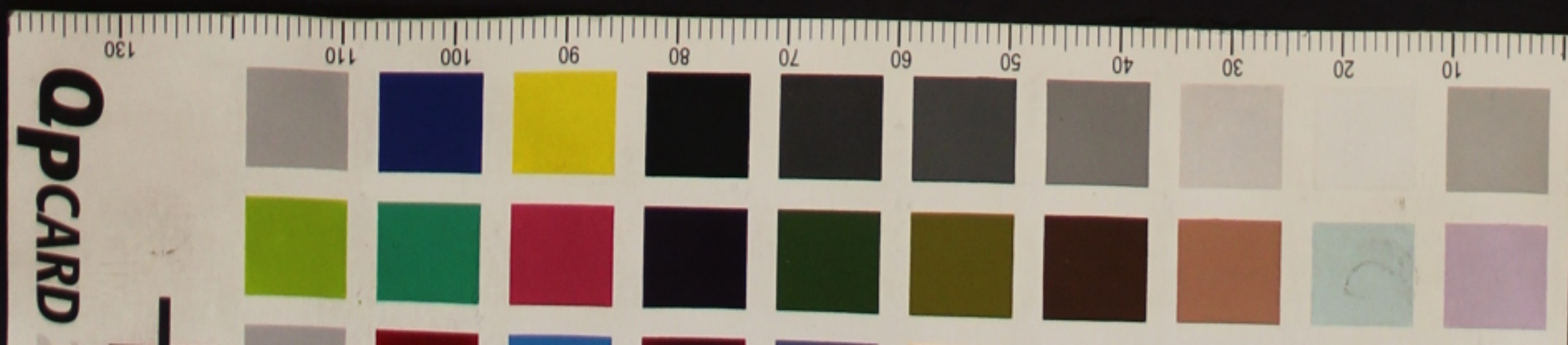
.. "What the British Foreign Secretary has said is that Anguilla will not be forced to go back under an administration it does not want."

Attending the impromptu Press conference were representatives of the Associated Press, the Home Journal and the Daily Mail of London.

—RICHIE ALLEN

The Journal

April 15, 1969.



Bradshaw Not Budging On Anguilla Role

By ALEC COLLETT

UNITED NATIONS, (AP) - Premier Robert L. Bradshaw of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla said Tuesday that "Anguilla will have to return to constitutional rule."

Bradshaw, who paid a 20-minute courtesy call on Secretary-General U Thant accompanied by Lord Caradon, Britain's ambassador to the U.N., told newsmen afterward that British engineers would have to remain on the tiny Caribbean island "for some time."

The 52-year-old premier has backed the British occupation of Anguilla. British troops were sent there last month following the secession of Anguilla from the Associated State. The former British colonies have joint self-rule with Britain handling defense and foreign affairs.

Bradshaw said that "so far as constitution is concerned, we have tried for a peaceful solution of the problem."

"We have tried everything in the book," he added.

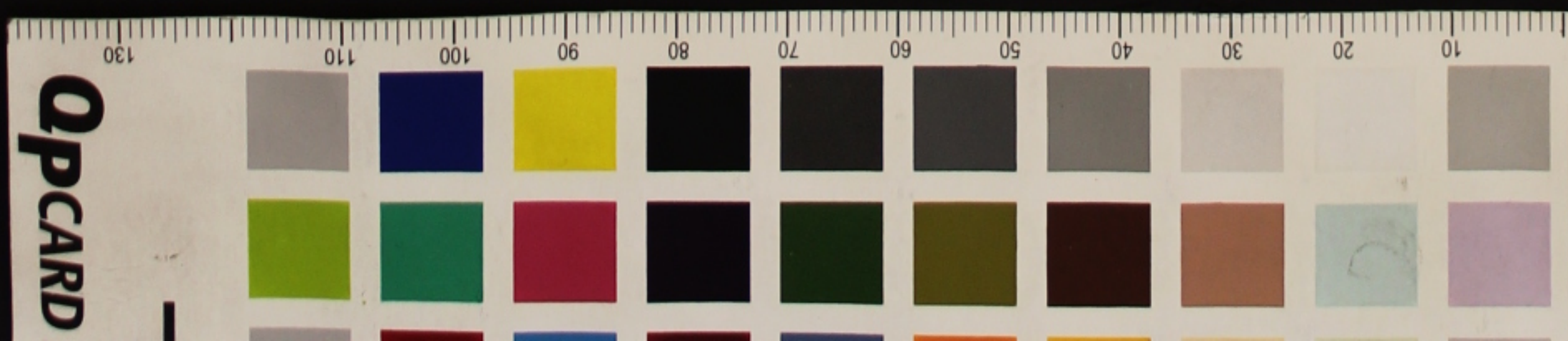
The premier made it clear that he saw no possibility of compromising the constitutional status of the Associated State in dealing with what he called "the rebels."

Anguillan leader Ronald Webster returned to Anguilla last Tuesday after talks in New York with Lord Caradon. Webster had alleged that a truce agreement reached between Caradon and Webster on Anguilla March 30 had been breached and martial law introduced.

Bradshaw said he had visited Washington last week for talks with British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart on the Anguillan situation.

*San Juan Star
19/4/69*

*San Juan Star
April 16, 1969*



Businessman Charges British Will Return Anguilla To State

By MATT ALLEN

ST. THOMAS — (AP — Jack Holcomb, a Florida real estate man who was ordered off of Anguilla, charged Wednesday that the British are planning to return Anguilla to the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

"There is no way in which England can legally do anything other than let Anguilla be independent or return the island to the state unless new laws are passed," he said, adding that he was sure Parliament would not pass new legislation.

Holcomb stopped in St. Thomas Wednesday en route to St. Marten, near Anguilla.

Holcomb said he feels that Britain made a "big mistake" in sending him away instead of using him to help them "get what they want, and the Anguillans get what they want."

Holcomb said he had "the trust" of the islanders and that through him, he believed something good could have been accomplished.

He was highly critical of the British alnding on the tiny break away island last month, saying that "they had no legal grounds" for sending in troops.

Holcomb also stated that he

knows "for a fact" that the British are planning to return Anguilla to the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis and Anguilla, from which the Anguillans seceded in 1967. He claims that there has already "been a deal" with the state's Premier, Robert Bradshaw, and that regardless of statements "indicating" that Anguilla would not be forced back,

members of Parliament are being told privately that the entire matter would be handled and the Anguillans will be back in the state.

The businessman from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, said that he had hoped to help Anguilla in terms of development and that there was a great deal of interest among American investors until the troops landed.

San Juan Star

Friday April 18, 1969



Give Small Is. Free Choice: USSR

U.N. (UPI) — The Soviet Union urged Wednesday that remaining small island colonial territories be given a completely free choice as to decide their future. The Soviets also asked that foreign troops and bases be removed from such islands as Guam.

Soviet delegate Pavel Shakov told the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization the remaining island territories should be given a "complete

freedom of expression" on their future.

He said there should be a "withdrawal of all troops and bases from these small territories."

The Soviet Union "categorically rejects" arguments that the presence of foreign troops and bases

does not impede the attainment of freedom and independence of these territories.

Shakov said "it is clear

that in the case of Guam, for example, not only does the presence of foreign bases there make possible the prosecution of an imperialist war (in Vietnam) but it definitely makes it impossible for the people of Guam to decide what their future will be."

The committee started a preliminary discussion of the problems of "small territories", inspired by a study prepared by the U.N.

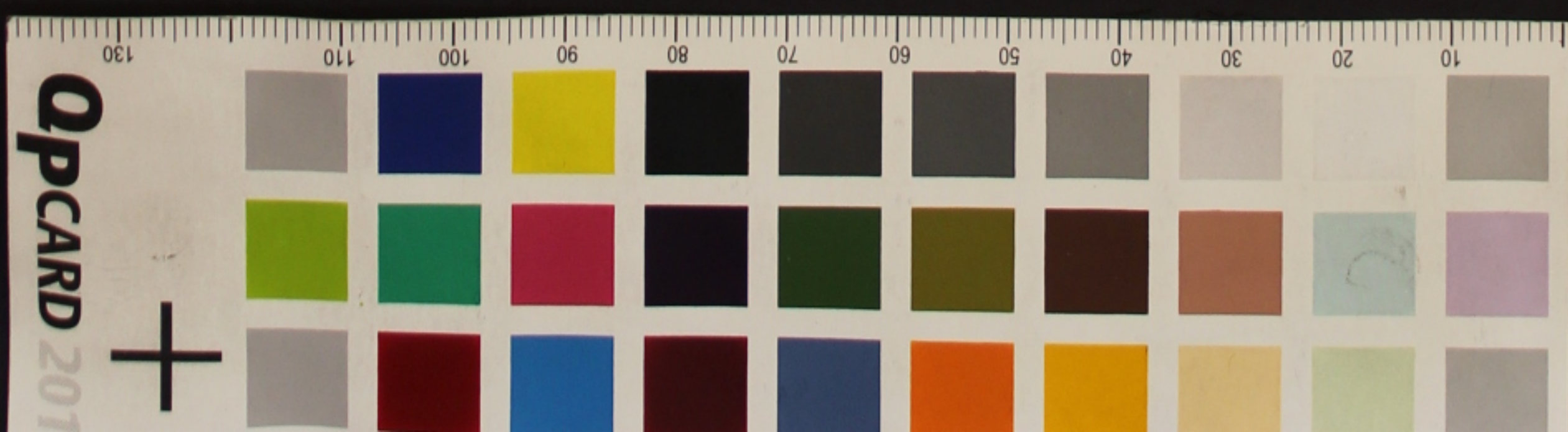
Institute for Training and Research which pinpointed the difficulty of having all the remaining small island territories attain complete independence, statehood and, as a consequence, membership in the U.N.

The study suggested, among other things, solving the problem of the small island territories through association with other states or associate membership with the U.N. rather than full membership.

Shakov, one of several speakers on the subject Wednesday, cited the examples of not only Guam but also Anguilla in the Caribbean where British troops were sent recently to quell local troubles.

Anguilla is an example of precisely the sort of association the study suggested. It had attained Associated Statehood with Britain some two years ago and the British don't consider it comes under U.N. Decolonization process any more.

Sunday Journal
April 27, 1969



British Govt. Triumphs Over Opposition on Anguilla Issue

LONDON (UPI) — The British government Wednesday fought off a strong censure motion against its Anguilla policy by the conservative opposition party.

The vote was 281 against the conservative motion of censure to 239 in favor.

The opposition benches united in hurling angry epithets ranging from "clumsy" to "illegal" at the government for its handling of the Anguilla crisis.

The vote came after Foreign

Secretary Michael Stewart strongly defended the government's intervention in Anguilla and military occupation of the island.

He said intervention was necessary because the people of the Caribbean island were in danger of being ruled by a corrupt, self-interested regime supported by increasing intimidation.

Justifying British intervention on the island Stewart said: "Anguilla entered on a period not only of illegal rule in the nominal sense of the word but of increasingly lawless rule.

"I think the facts can be fairly described as that the people of Anguilla were being put in increasing danger of being ruled by a corrupt, self-interested regime, supported by intimidation."

He backed up these charges by citing Jack Holcomb, an American recently expelled from Anguilla.

Stewart said Holcomb was described as legal adviser to the independent republic of Anguilla "although he had no legal qualifications of a kind that would be recognized anywhere in the world."

He described Holcomb's attempts at making a constitution for Anguilla as "disreputable proposals."

And in further reference to Holcomb, Stewart said: "He set to work to draft a constitution of a kind which would give opportunities for tax evasion, which would provide the island with a supreme court whose members would not need any legal qualifications other than those possessed, or not possessed, by Mr. Holcomb himself, and which would make it pretty sure that, if any advantages should emerge from developments of the island, these would be restricted to a small group of people rather than benefitting the people of Anguilla as a whole.

"He was also engaged in certain industrial proposals which would have substantially the same effect."

Stewart said that those Anguillans who disliked these developments first had abuse shouted at them and then their houses were burned down.

Stewart said there was no doubt that there were supplies of arms on Anguilla and it was the task of the British troops to collect the arms or make sure they had left the island.

Stewart said the cooperation of Ronald Webster, the Anguillans unofficial popular leader, would be welcomed. But he added, "We cannot regard his cooperation as an absolutely essential condition for the commissioner to do his work."

He said what was needed now was firm administration of the island.

Opposition foreign affairs spokesman Sir Alec Douglas-Home, opening the conservative attack, described the government's Anguilla policy as making Britain "a cartoonists' delight."

He said the Mafia-type men alleged to be on Anguilla by the governments were "faceless and nameless" and the crates of arms "unopened and invisible."

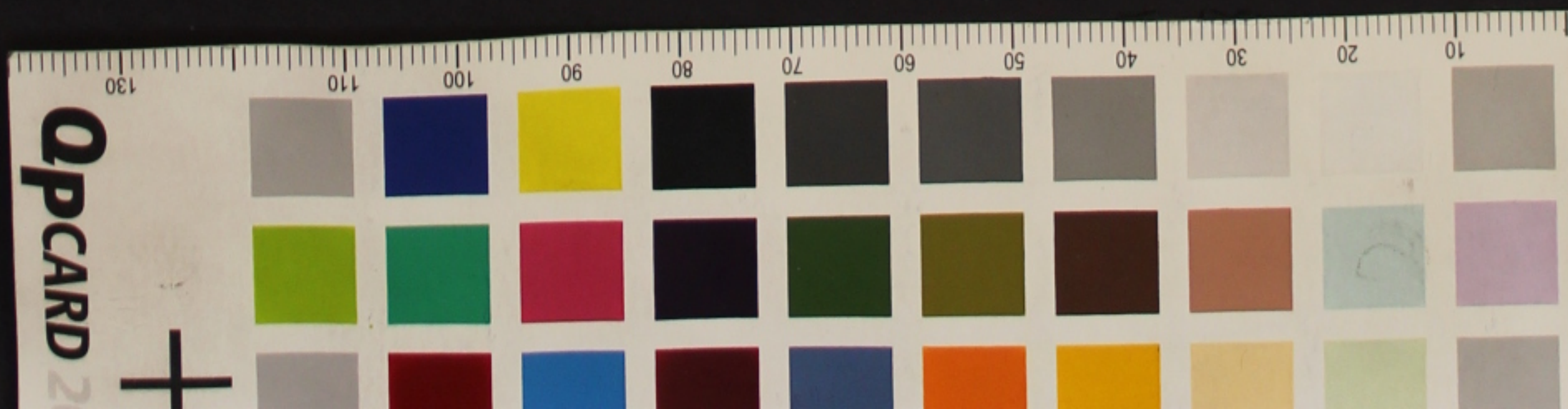
He accused the government of ineptitude and said: "There is a theme of insensitivity running through time political direction of diplomacy which has all the appearance in this government of a chronic disease."

Douglas-Home referred scathingly to the visits to the Caribbean of foreign minister of state Lord Sheperd, undersecretary William Whitlock and Lord Caradon, Britain's chief representative at the United Nations, quoting from a Gilbert and Sullivan opera, they had been:

"Tripping hither, tripping thither, nobody knows why or whither.

"If you ask the special function, of our neer-ceasing motion, we reply without compunction, that we haven't any notion."

Sunday Journal
April 27, 1969.



May 23 / 1969



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MARKING TIME

The agreement reached between Mr. Stewart and Mr. Bradshaw, the Premier of St. Kitts, is much to be welcomed—particularly if it permits the prompt withdrawal of British troops from Anguilla. There are still a company of paratroops on the island, together with a platoon of Royal Engineers (building roads) and forty policemen (patrolling an island-village of 5,000 people). It took a fortnight for Mr. Bradshaw to come to terms with Mr. Stewart. Like the display of force, everything about Anguilla seems on a larger scale than the island's real significance warrants.

The agreement, in fact, is only an agreement to gain time and let tempers simmer down. Neither Mr. Bradshaw nor Mr. Stewart really knows how to reconcile the irreconcilable—how to maintain the sovereignty of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, as provided by the West Indies Act of 1967, and at the same time honour Britain's promise to the Anguillians that they shall not be put under a rule they do not like. The confidence of the Anguillians in this promise alone makes possible the present atmosphere of holiday peace on the island. There is still only a truce between Mr. Cumber, the Commissioner, and Mr. Webster, who still feels he is really the leader. Not surprisingly, the agreement is simply one to set up a commission of clever people, hopefully West Indians, acting solely as individuals rather than as government nominees, to find the solution that eludes Mr. Stewart and Mr. Bradshaw.

To this agreement there is a bill of particulars. Britain is to spend £750,000 on building an airport capable of taking jets at St. Kitts, and £150,000 on the development of Nevis. Nevis has worried everybody since the Nevisans saw British engineers toiling on roads and other public works in rebel Anguilla. The trouble is that Mr. Bradshaw has had a trump card to play against Mr. Stewart. Under the West Indies Act he can, by a prescribed process, make St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla fully independent, in which case Britain would cease to have any standing in Anguilla. What then would happen to its promises? The expanded aid plan should lay that bogey.

The mere gaining of time may bring

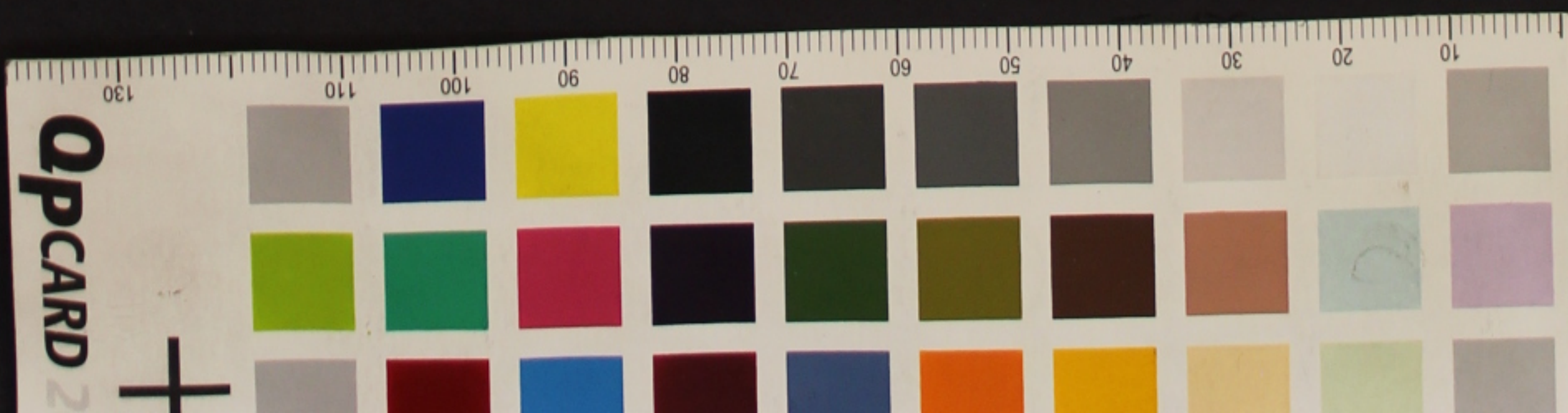
a solution. Mr. Bradshaw might lose an election; the Anguillians might lose their fear of St. Kitts as the tourists fly in and Anguilla's own development takes shape. Equally, the problem may remain.

That problem is basically one of the whole English-speaking Caribbean—the inability of the peoples and leaders of tiny islands to work together. Distance, parochialism, pig-headedness and big-headedness, all play their part in this spectacle of disunity. It was to overcome this that the Colonial Office, vainly, invented first the West Indies Federation, then the Windwards and Leewards Federation, and finally the "associated state" arrangement. Oddly enough Lord Shepherd has brought St. Vincent into associated status without waiting for the new commission to report.

The British assumption that the West Indians, spread over such distances, and of such diverse make-up, could in fact become a recognizable "nation" may be over-optimistic. Yet they do have vital common interests. It is plain that if they are not to become the pawns of others they ought to work together. They ought collectively to shoulder the responsibility of telling such islands as Anguilla—there are many—that they cannot, for the good of the West Indies as a whole, be allowed to set up tiny republics when they fall out with their legal rulers. This is the objective Mr. Stewart should set. What is wanted is a Caribbean conference at Prime Ministers' level. This means, for example, that Mr. Shearer of Jamaica must work with Dr. Williams of Trinidad—just as coolness at one level does not prevent leaders in other regions from working together when their states' common interests dictate. There is little sign so far of this happening.

There is little sense of "West Indianism" apparent, and in addition disturbing signs of internal social instability—from Jamaica down to Montserrat. The leaders of all the islands, failing to take the larger view and absorbed in traditional power struggles, may face new challenges soon. The Black Power conference planned in Bermuda may be only a cloud on the horizon. But, like the Anguilla problem itself, it could point to trouble ahead.

The Times May 23, 1969.



Anguilla and Caribbean State

Editor's Note: Basil A. Ince, an associate professor of political science at the University of Puerto Rico in Mayaguez, was a member of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation to the United Nations for two years.

By BASIL A. INCE

Only five months have passed since the British, before the eyes of an incredulous world, invaded the tiny island of Anguilla. The purpose of this comical invasion was to force the tiny island of 6,000 inhabitants to return to the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla from which it had seceded. British diplomacy stood condemned in the eyes of the world and the Anguilla imbroglio was characterized by the former Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas Home, as "— a story of mismanagement, miscalculation, misjudgement and ineptitude from the start."

Among the states of the world that supported the widespread condemnation of the British action were the independent Caribbean States of Trinidad-Tobago and Jamaica. Both these nations, formerly British, became independent in 1962 after the failure of West Indian Federation. Along with two other recently independent states — Guyana and Barbados — these nations comprise the independent States of the Commonwealth Caribbean, a title which indicates their membership in the Commonwealth formerly called the British Commonwealth, and at the same time distinguishes them from the other territories of the Caribbean area.

The protests of Trinidad-Tobago and Jamaica were lost in the general condemnation of the British, while the position of the two other members of the independent Commonwealth Caribbean went unnoticed. The purpose of this article is to focus on the diplomatic behavior of the Commonwealth Caribbean States in the Anguilla affair, advance reasons to explain their behavior, and finally to assess the prospects for the future.

It must be said here and now that anything that happens in the Caribbean, British, French, Spanish, Netherlands, or American, falls within the vital interests of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Granted that the Caribbean is regarded as a *mare Americanum*, any ripple in this sea cannot but help affect the area since even tiny ripples have an odd way of spreading themselves over larger areas in concentric circles. This is why the Caribbean Governments have to concern themselves with the Caribbean first and foremost. Gone are the days when these islands were objects of international relations and pawns in the international skirmishes among metropolitan powers.

Any change involving power relationships between the islands and any metropolitan power, falls squarely within the confines of Caribbean diplomacy. It is for this reason that even if Anguilla is legally Britain's problem, the Caribbean states must be actively involved in any future settlement of the problem. There is no way in which a resolution of the problem, satisfying to Caribbean governments, can be arrived at

without total participation of the Commonwealth Caribbean states.

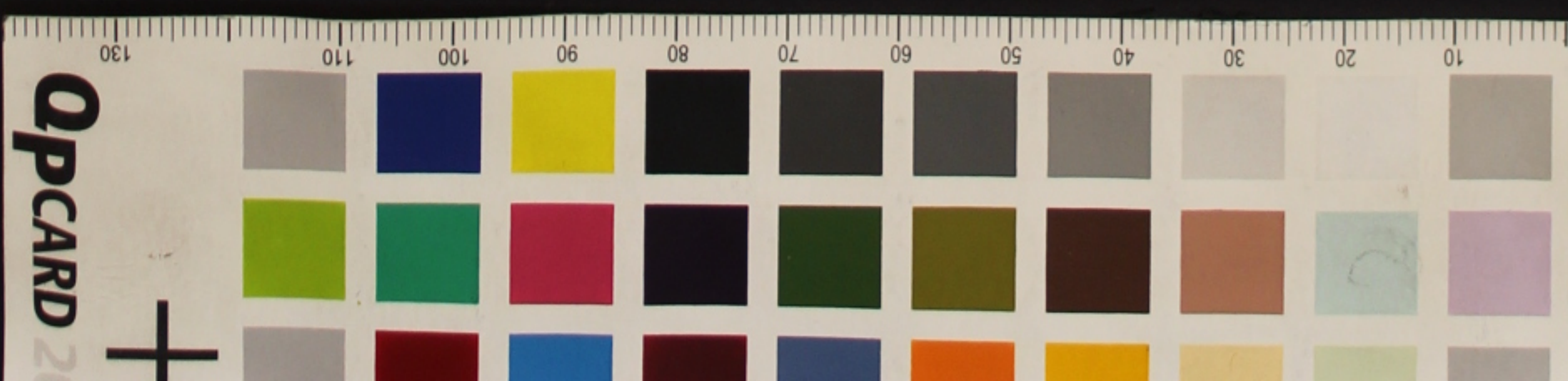
To place the behavior of the Caribbean states in the proper perspective a brief recapitulation of events is necessary. Ever since the possibility of associated status was suggested in the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla House of Assembly in 1965, Anguillans have never been fully receptive to the idea. This led to a conference in London in July 1966, when Peter Adams, Anguilla's sole representative in the House of Assembly at that time and the opposition leader of St. Kitts, met with British Government officials. A joint communique at the end of this conference indicated that the matter had been seemingly solved when some of Anguilla's demands for local autonomy were met.

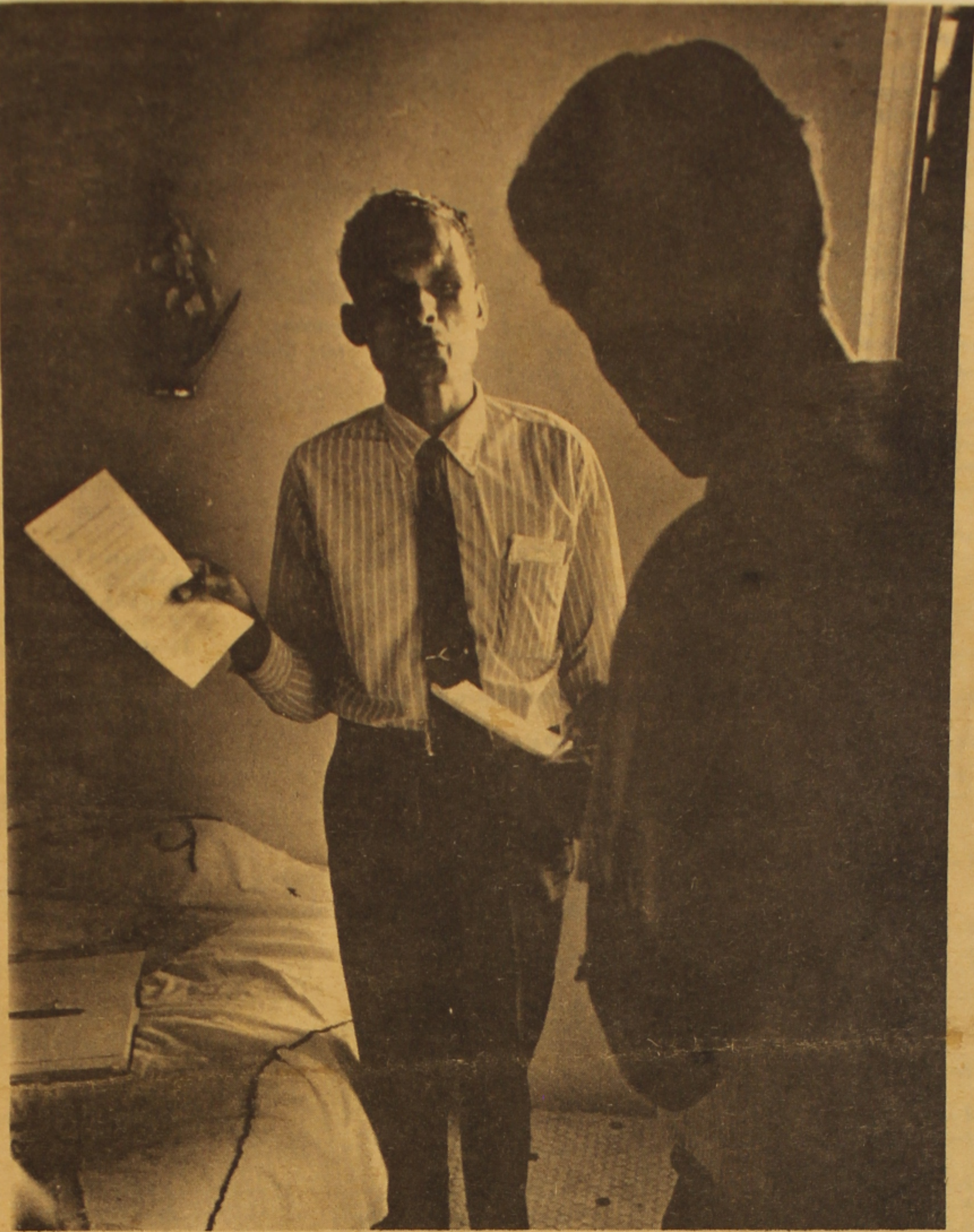
The matter submerged temporarily only to resurface in January 1967, when Anguillans realized that, *inter alia*, unitary associated statehood, with which they were to be soon blessed, would not relieve them of the leadership of Robert Bradshaw, Prime Minister of the Associate State. It was with Anguilla's withdrawal from the new constitutional arrangement in May 1967 that what was to later become the Anguilla crisis, was precipitated. It is between May 1967 until March 1969, when British troops landed on the island, a period of almost two years, that Britain and the Caribbean nations had the opportunity to bring their diplomatic resources into full play.

There were two major attempts at conflict resolution by the West Indian Governments. Although spaced nearly 18 months apart, both attempts have much in common. One common factor is the insensitivity on the part of West Indian leaders to the hopes and aspirations of other West Indians. The first attempt to find a solution resulted in the Barbados Conference of July 1967. Present at this conference were representatives of the four Caribbean independent states, the United Kingdom, and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. This conference produced the "Barbados Agreement," which, among other things included peace-keeping proposals. The parties at the conference decided that "the St. Kitts police and civil authorities should be re-established without delay." The police were to be transported to Anguilla by a U.K. naval ship and would be supported by military or naval forces if the Anguillans were to resist. The military and naval forces referred to, are those of the United Kingdom.

Once the St. Kitts police were established on the island and had terminated any armed resistance, a peace-keeping team, comprised of members of the four Caribbean Commonwealth Governments was to be flown to Anguilla. The role of the peace-keeping team was to be defined by the four Caribbean states and the U.K. government in consultation with the St. Kitts government. In the interim, U.K. naval and military forces were to remain on Anguilla until the situation no longer warranted their presence. The four Caribbean Commonwealth governments were to issue a statement at the commencement of the operation in support of U.K. action in Anguilla.

San Juan Star
Sept. 14, 1969





RONALD WEBSTER
... At the time of his ouster from Anguilla.-

In the next scene from this bizarre play, St. Kitts was to make a request for assistance from the Caribbean countries through the United Kingdom Government. The curtain on the final act of the conference fell when all Ministers (U.K. and Caribbean) flew off to their homes to recommend that their respective governments follow the participation of Anguilla in the easy steps recited.

Any analysis of the agreement would indicate that the United Kingdom was to invade Anguilla with the full approval of the Commonwealth Caribbean. It was simply a case of comrades doing each other a good turn, as they saw it. After all, the British had the military might which the Caribbean Governments lacked. On the other hand, Britain, for fear of world re-action, preferred not to invade Anguilla without the public support of the Caribbean governments. Thus in one sweeping stroke Caribbean ministers thought that they had struck an excellent bargain with the permanent procrastinators on Rhodesia.

This nefarious plan never saw the daylight. There was strong public reaction against the agreement in Jamaica, whereupon the Jamaican Prime Minister convened another intergovernmental conference to indicate that his government would not contribute to the proposed Commonwealth Caribbean Peacekeeping

Force. Jamaica's withdrawal succeeded in halting the operation.

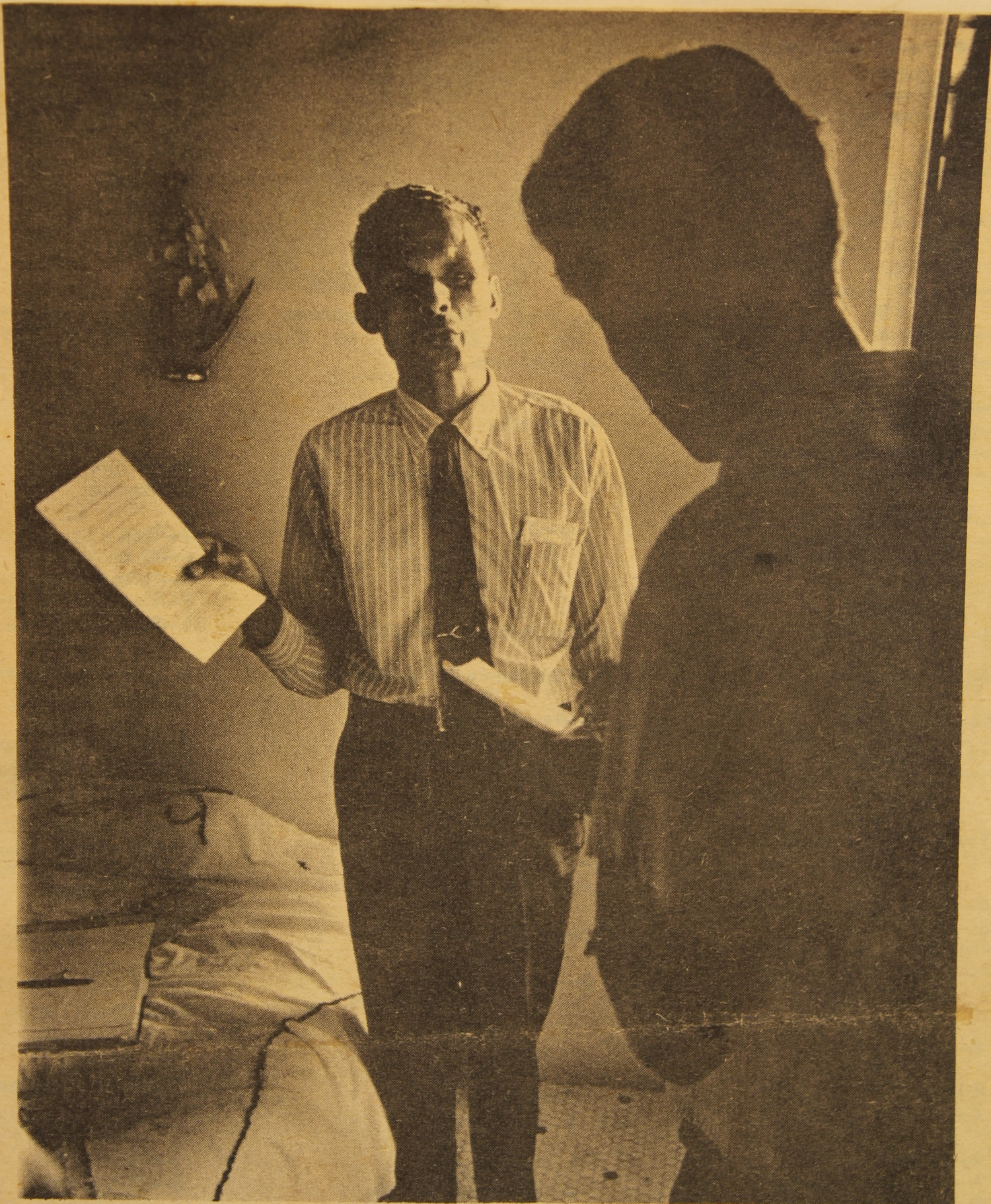
The second attempt at conflict resolution had its genesis in the failure of the first try to get off the launching pad. Since the tactics of the first operation were a failure, all that required change for the second operation were the tactics since the desired end was the same: to bring Anguilla under the heels of the St. Kitts government by reasoned persuasion or otherwise. The actors in this unholy alliance were the same as before. In this second attempt the Caribbean governments were to play a less prominent role, hence there was to be no mention of Caribbean police forces of any peace-keeping role for Caribbean Commonwealth forces.

The rationale for the Caribbean states' diminished role must have been the fact that they could not seem to be giving the green light to Britain to invade Anguilla. In more precise terms, they could not be associated with sanctioning the invasion of their Caribbean kith and kin, when the United Kingdom had steadfastly refused to invade its own kith and kin in Rhodesia.

On Feb. 6, 1967, at the end of another conference, the Caribbean heads of government called upon Britain "to take all necessary steps... to confirm the territorial integrity of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla." This now-celebrated resolution was an effort on the part

SUNDAY SAN JUAN STAR MAGAZINE





RONALD WEBSTER
... At the time of his ouster from Anguilla.-

In the next scene from this bizarre

Force. Jamaica's withdrawal suc-

Diplomacy

of the Caribbean governments to say to Britain, "Anguilla is your responsibility. Do what you wish." The resolution was an attempt by the Caribbean governments to divest themselves of any responsibility for Anguilla. But as I have already indicated, no amount of camouflage or skirt-hiding can erase a Caribbean problem from the list of vital interests of the Caribbean states. When Robert Bradshaw failed to persuade the Anguillan leader, Ronald Webster, to rejoin his state, the second plan was implemented and Anguilla invaded.

World opinion was unsympathetic to the British action and almost universal opprobrium was heaped on Britain's head. The government of Trinidad and Tobago sensing that it was being engulfed in Britain's shame, made an about turn and protested British action. It unbelievably argued that "all necessary measures" did not include the use of force. The Jamaican prime minister called for the prompt withdrawal of British forces. However, Barbados and Guyana, parties to the resolution "to take all necessary steps," endorsed the British invasion. In point of fact, the Guyanese leader suggested that now Anguilla had been invaded, Britain should move next on Rhodesia. In the resulting disarray in the Caribbean diplomatic camp, the British foreign minister felt free to chide the Jamaican and Trinidad leaders, especially since those governments had already given Britain the green light. Sensing that Caribbean leaders had taken diametrically opposed stands on the invasion, the minister of External affairs of Trinidad-Tobago made a plaintive cry for Caribbean unity.

The second effort to force Webster to come to terms with Bradshaw was, like its predecessor, a failure. It had not effected an ultimate solution of the problem but instead had served to place Anguilla in the sympathetic spotlight of the world. Any solution of the Anguilla problem must now take world opinion into consideration. Witness that the British Foreign Minister has already been forced into announcing that "it is no part of our purpose that the Anguillans should live under an administration they do not want." The behaviour of the Caribbean states as accomplices in the Anguilla debacle, demonstrates that small or weak states are not necessarily the consciences of the powerful states. They too, like powerful states, throw morality in international relations out of the window when peaceful policies fail to achieve a successful solution.

The fumbling of the Caribbean governments in their attempts at conflict resolution is in part due to the fact that they are neophytes in international diplomacy, and probably even more so, on account of the complexity of the problem. In addition to the above, there are several other elements that all nations have to take into consideration in the formulation of foreign policy. These elements are limiting factors in the diplomacy of a nation since foreign policy is not made in a vacuum. The Caribbean states are no exception to the rule and an examination of some of these elements may serve to explain, if not

condone, the behavior of the Caribbean states in the Anguilla case.

Caribbean economists have done so much good work on the area that we know that these countries are developing, a pseudonym for poor; they have no technology, industrial capacity or military might to speak of, when compared with powerful nations. In addition their population is small. From this information we can place the Caribbean states in the appropriate slot, in the traditional ranking of powers: great, medium or middle size, and small. Now that the age of the mini-states is upon us, probably an additional ranking will be added to follow "small."

Economic considerations looked large in the thinking of the states in the decision to support the invasion, for this is precisely what even those who profess otherwise did. Britain is decolonizing as fast as it can and may be willing to allow the independent Caribbean States to take over Anguilla. However, the stumbling block is money, or to be more precise, lack of it. Unless assured of adequate funds to develop and run the day-to-day administration of Anguilla, the Caribbean States will lapse into the legalism that Anguilla is Britain's responsibility. In brief, the Caribbean States are not prepared to take Anguilla under their care, unless assured of adequate financial support from Britain.

The limits of Caribbean diplomacy can be readily seen with respect to the military aspect of national power. Had the Caribbean Governments the military might to bring Anguilla back under St. Kitts' domination, there would have been no necessity to involve Britain. In fact, all Britain had to do, if the Caribbean States had invaded Anguilla, was to look the other way.

The Federation of the West Indies died in 1962, but its ghost yet reaches out to haunt West Indian politicians. The word "federation" is anathema to many West Indian leaders who would like it to be blotted out completely from Caribbean political history. However, just as slavery, detribalization, indenture labor, the plantation system, British colonial tutelage and colonial political institutions are integral parts of Caribbean political culture, so too is the defunct federation.

The federal attempt that ended in disaster in 1962 was the culmination of other federal movements that had come to nought, but left an indelible mark on West Indian history in that it failed at such a decisive juncture in Caribbean history. This federal failure set adrift separate political entities, thus postponing indefinitely or for all time, any genuine attempt at political federation. West Indian politicians, very aware that the younger generation of university students and intellectuals do not plan to exonerate them lightly for destroying this attempt at political unity, still react—even if subconsciously — to the demise of what may have been the final federal attempt. The Caribbean Free Trade Association (Carifta), which makes practical economics, is nothing but a psychological outgrowth of the defunct federation. It suggests the need of the Caribbean entities to get

together — even if at some form lower than the political level.

What however, does the demise of the federation have to do with Caribbean diplomacy? The failure of the federal attempt confirmed the intent of Caribbean leaders to remain *reyezuelos* (little kings) in their own tiny separate kingdoms. Hence the concerted effort to prop-up the authority of a fellow *reyezuelo* in St. Kitts.

On the other hand, the Caribbean States, mindful that smaller entities should be pooling their economic resources instead of splitting into smaller entities, may have acted on this bases in Anguilla. Their attempts to destroy any secessionist movement in the Commonwealth Caribbean, since other Caribbean territories do have tiny appendages can be regarded on the one hand, as a pragmatic action against Balkanization of the Caribbean or on the other hand as over-reaction stemming from the past of the federal ghost.

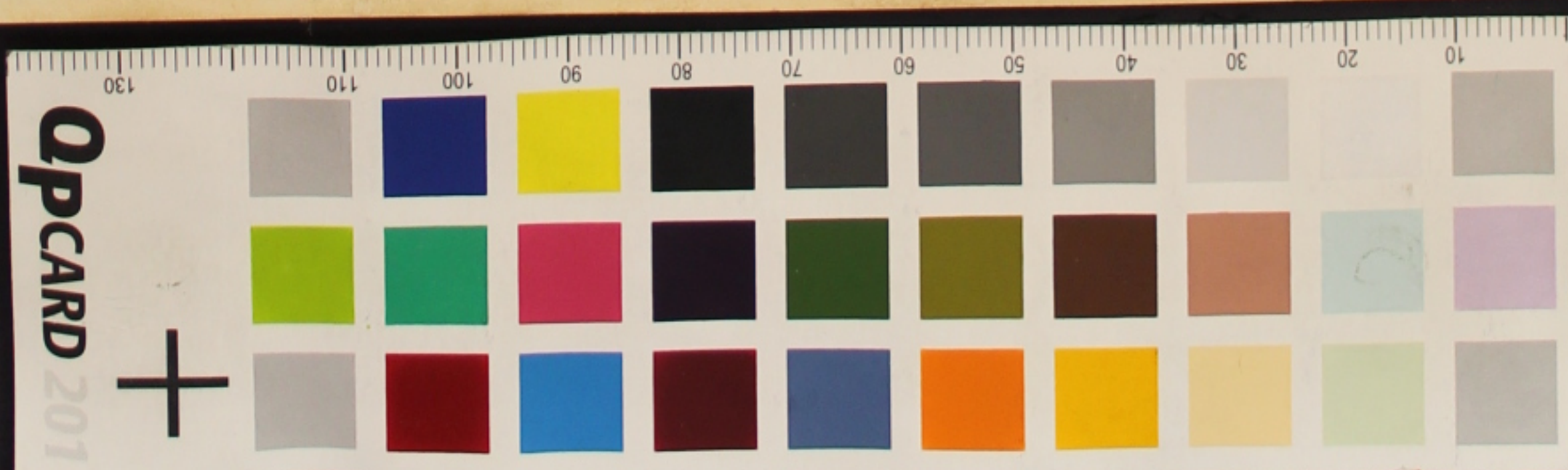
In sum, Caribbean diplomacy in Anguilla was dictated by several factors — economic, military, political, historical and psychological.

The present position is that British troops are still on Anguilla. Anguilla is not under St. Kitts' domination; and the British have been forced to publicly state that this will not be the case. The Caribbean States temporarily jarred by their diplomatic setback, are again involved in another attempt to find a solution. A Caribbean Commission, which Bradshaw has

been persuaded to accept, has been named to resolve the conflict. This commission, comprising distinguished West Indians, does not have an easy task. Its findings, if they are to be implemented, must please the United Kingdom, the Caribbean States, Bradshaw in St. Kitts and Webster in Anguilla. Finally, whatever arrangement is acceptable to all these parties must be sanctioned by the United Nations. This does not mean legal approval, but it does mean at least tacit approval by the watchdog Special Committee on Colonialism. For as one writer has correctly discerned, the Anguilla affair is the symptom of a larger problem. Namely "how to arrange for the future of relatively small groups of people in our post — colonial world, so as to make a reality of the right to self-determination, and to assist in promoting world order."

If the commission were to make a recommendation that involved reunification with St. Kitts, and the Caribbean States were able to convince both Anguilla and St. Kitts to accept this finding, it would indeed be a victory for Caribbean diplomacy. If on the other hand, the commission successfully recommends an arrangement not involving reunification, this would be more than a diplomatic victory for the Caribbean States. It may well be a Caribbean contribution in the field of international organization since many mini states may follow the successful formula as a precedent.

Sept 14, 1969



Anguilla: almost all forgiven

THERE is an Irishness about the Anguillans—an authentic heritage since some of the first settlers were Dublin convicts and shipwrecked Irish sailors—that is at once charming and frustrating.

It is reflected even in the private word the Anguillans have adopted to describe the British landing and administrative take-over six months ago this week. They talk of it not as "The Troubles," since no blood was shed and no roofs were burned, but as "The Confusion."

"Since the Confusion, I have brought in two crops of corn," says a farmer. "Since the Confusion, things could have been worse and things could have been better," says Ronald Webster, the father of Anguilla's touching bid for independence and the self-proclaimed President of her short-lived republic.

The Confusion is probably the best possible term in the circumstances. If historians take any note of Harold Wilson's rollicking military adventure in the Caribbean, they would do well to borrow the Anguillans' own description.

The Confusion has lost its Gilbertian touches but it goes on nonetheless. Out of it seems to be emerging a curious exercise in recolonisation, a revival of talk about "Mother Britain" and an awareness that an island community of 6,000 cannot go it alone, with or without the Mafia men who so bothered Whitehall last March.

The implications

Anguilla warrants a second look if only because she serves as a microcosm of Britain's continuing colonial responsibilities. There are moral as well as political and legal implications.

Moral ones because when we tried three years ago to shed Anguilla we left her in almost as wretched a state as we found her 300 years ago. Political ones because fragmentation is looming as a major problem in perhaps half of the federations and amalgamations that have been pieced together in the phase-out of the Raj. Legal ones because the constitutions these countries and islands accepted in the scramble for self-government were essentially the handiwork of Whitehall.

It is appropriate, then, that the Briton running matters in Anguilla today—the third Commissioner dispatched since the confusion—is a man who introduces himself as a "Colonial Service re-tread," M. H. Thompson (Kenya, 20 years; Falkland Islands, 5 years; acting administrator in the British Virgin Islands until the unenviable job in Anguilla suddenly fell vacant this summer).

A realist in short sleeves, the Commissioner rules an island that exists in constitutional limbo. The power he holds is not unlike that invested in the Commissioners Queen Victoria sent out to keep order in outlandish places.

Yet the Anguillans are reasonably content. Occasionally they complain that he has been "super-imposed" on the island but more often than not the chief concern

IAN BALL reports on the curious neo-colonialist situation six months after the Anguillan landings

of the Anguillan leaders is to re-establish the links with Britain, to deepen rather than lessen Britain's involvement in Anguilla.

For someone who observed Anguilla in the island's heady days of "total independence," who saw the ragged home guard drilling to repel the Royal Navy and listened to the rebel leader's defiant words, it all amounts to a remarkable volte-face. One wonders even whether the wily Ronald Webster planned it all that way as the only feasible means of escaping the neo-colonial yoke of Mr Robert Bradshaw in St Kitts.

On the balcony of one of the houses he has built in the island—the others have been leased to the British officials with the suggestion that they fly out their wives and settle down—"President" Webster sits with a halo of mosquitoes about his brow and talks about his half-hearted revolt.

The man who was going to rout the British Army, Navy and Air Force with cannonball and some sub-machine guns from Chicago now talks not of a new adventure in UDI but of putting the island back under some form of external tutelage.

"We won't refuse a very direct association with Britain," he told me. He went on to drop into the conversation the sort of propositions that are the antithesis of the very real Black Power aspirations rising throughout the Caribbean: "trusteeship," "protectorate" and so on.

He is an erratic leader, perhaps the most unpredictable Britain has had to deal with in a long time, and his thoughts on what is best for his island seem to change from month to month. But the theme of his remarks was that a trusteeship arrangement, "under either Britain or the United Nations, nothing else," would be satisfactory.

There is, of course, a price Britain will have to pay to extricate herself from the Anguillan imbroglio, a cash price, through increased aid, as well as a political price to ensure that Anguilla is not the forerunner of more breakaway States.

In drawing up their shopping list for British aid, the Anguillan hopes soar high, wide and handsome. The most far-fetched is that the 55 Royal Engineers sent out from Britain should set about forthwith building the island a "jumbo jet" airport.

This struck me, on first hearing, as a piece of Whitehall cynicism. Or perhaps what the islanders had in mind was a "Jumblee jet" airport, the "Jumblees" being the supernatural spirits that most Anguillans believe in as a supplement to Christianity. But sure enough it came up in the first few minutes of my interview with Ronald Webster. A "jumbo jet" airport, he said, would attract the tourists and put Anguilla on the map—as if the events of March had not already done so.

The land for the airport had been surveyed, he added, and preliminary estimates made on what it might cost to acquire. He had even drawn up a novel way of contributing to its cost.

Money has never flowed into Anguilla quite so briskly as it did when the rebel Government of "President" Webster issued its colourful independence stamps. Now Mr Webster hopes for a second windfall with a special coin issue.

The coins, in gold, platinum and silver, have already been designed and, according to Mr Webster, major banks in America, Britain, Switzerland, West Germany and four other countries have agreed to distribute them. Coin dealers have said they would be snapped up by collectors.

"This could mean a million dollars for development of the island," he told me. "The money would go towards a 'jumbo jet' airport. But Britain has said 'No.' She wants to sit on the whole project in the hope we shall forget about it."

Sovereignty snag

The reason that Britain is denying Anguilla a quick million dollars is that customarily only sovereign States put out coin issues and, constitutionally, Anguilla is still a part of the St Kitts-Nevis federation. Curiously, the Anguillan stamps are still on sale, and, indeed, the rebel flag still flies side by side with the Union Jack above the Treasury building where the stamps are sold. But a new coin issue now would be a Mint of troubles.

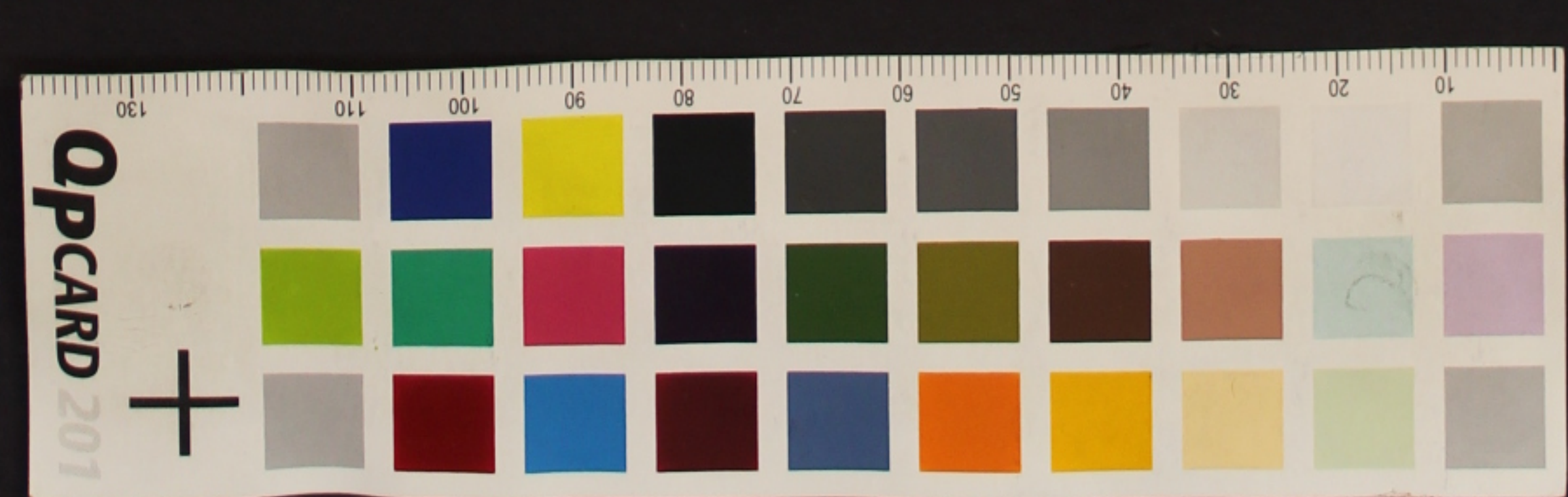
The aid the island has received since the Confusion is hardly spectacular, although impressive by Anguillan standards. Six miles of bitumen road will have been completed by the end of the year at a cost of £30,000. Since the island lacks any port facilities, almost all of the material must be brought in by inter-island schooner.

A prefabricated school for 600 pupils is close to completion. The water and electricity facilities are being improved. A 200ft jetty is in the planning stage and there are other modest projects. The 1969-70 bill will be about £150,000, the equivalent of £25 for each islander.

Meanwhile, the three parties to the dispute, Britain, Anguilla and St Kitts, are marking time until a commission of independent Caribbean States—Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Barbados—studies the whole affair and submits its recommendations on Anguilla's future.

Britain is in the embarrassing position of having made conflicting promises in turn to Anguilla and St Kitts, two of the Caribbean's oldest and closest enemies. There is now and realism on the Anguilla side. If St Kitts is ready to be realistic, we all will forget about tiny Anguilla.

Daily Telegraph
Sept 20 1969



Anguilla Reviving

Indep. Status

By Margaret Hyman
SAN JUAN, P.R. (UPI)—
Anguilla will soon reassert her status as an independent nation, Island Leader Ronald Webster said recently.

Webster told United Press International during a stopover here that he expected his 35-square mile Caribbean Island to revive its defunct constitution, making Anguilla an independent republic, "very soon". He indicated the move would be made before the end of the year.

Webster said the Constitution which he considers still valid, would undergo revisions but its basic nature would remain the same.

The move, apparently, would put the island's 6,000 people

back in the position they held before March 15, when British paratroopers and London policemen landed to "restore constitutional government". Two years earlier the Anguillans had rebelled against the Central Government of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

While Webster said he had no objection to the proposed Caribbean Commission, which is to investigate and make recommendations on the Anguilla problem, his people do not intend to wait for the outcome of that investigation.

"We are going to go ahead with our plans. If the Commission comes up with something good, we will accept it. If not, we will reject it. But we are not going to be put in a position where we have nothing", Webster said.

The Commission, which is to be made up of recognized Commonwealth Caribbean leaders, is scheduled to be named in December and probably will not complete its investigation for several months thereafter.

Webster, who arrived here Wednesday from New York, said he had conferred with Britain's permanent representative to the United Nations, Lord Caradon. Caradon visited Anguilla twice after the British invasion in an effort to mediate differences between Webster and the British-appointed Commissioner to the island.

Webster said Caradon asked him to give the commission a chance.

"I told him we would not oppose the Commission, but it has nothing to do with us. We are not going to put our fate in anyone's hands. I also told him we don't trust Britain any more", Webster said.

Asked if he would continue insisting upon a constitution for Anguilla before the first of the year, Webster said, "We have a constitution. It was enacted before the British invaded and, as far as we are concerned, it is legal".

He was referring to the constitution declaring Anguilla an independent republic.

"The only thing is that we were prevented from holding elections", he added. Webster had scheduled national elections under the new constitution when the British invasion intervened.

Webster admitted that, from the British point of view, the constitution making Anguilla part of the St. Kitts-Nevis Associated State, is the only valid constitution in existence.

"We don't recognize their constitution, and they don't recognize ours", Webster said.

Asked about the new British-appointed Commissioner, W. H. Thompson, Webster said he thought Thompson appreciated Anguilla's position, but "his hands are tied".

"He has a legal mind, and won't support anything that strikes him as illegal from the British point of view", Webster said.

Thompson replaced John A. Cumber as Commissioner several weeks ago.

Webster had little to say about Britain's development program on Anguilla. He said work had not yet begun on a deep water pier and airport improvements—two of the major projects announced by the 160 royal engineers still occupying

the island.

Engineers improved about two miles of road, Webster said, adding that he felt the program was essentially designed to impress the world with Britain's magnanimity to Anguilla.

Webster expressed concern for reports published recently that he had reversed his position by now wishing to remain in the British Commonwealth.

He pointed out that ever since Anguilla declared its independence from St. Kitts two and a half years ago, he had sought a status for the island that would keep it within the Commonwealth.

"It was only when Britain rejected us several times that, in desperation, we declared an independent republic", Webster said.

He said he would still prefer to keep his island in association with Britain, if a means could be found consistent with Anguilla's independence from St. Kitts.

Webster also objected to published accounts that referred to him as the "self-styled president" of Anguilla.

He explained that he had been elected president of the provisional government which ruled the island after the rebellion and that, at the time the Republic was promulgated, he became acting president pending the elections which were never held. From Britain's point of view, Webster is merely one of the members of an advisory committee to Commissioner Thompson.

Webster's stop in Puerto Rico on his way back to Anguilla was prompted by the illness of his eight-year-old daughter, Paulona, who was hospitalized in San Juan. Webster, his wife and Paulona returned to Anguilla Thursday afternoon.

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