CHAPTER VII

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA

The territories lying in the Caribbean Sea are administered by three colonial powers: (A) France, (B) the United Kingdom and (C) the United States, and are called 'the West Indies'. This name is given to a large archipelago lying in the Atlantic Ocean between North and South Americas. They lie between $13^\circ\text{N}$ and $24^\circ\text{N}$. Their whole area is less than that of Britain. Almost all the islands are volcanic except the Bahamas, which are of coral formation. There are about 12,000 islands of which only 185 are inhabited. The total area is 92,000 sq. miles.

(A) FRENCH TERRITORIES

(1) GUADALOUPE

The dependencies of Guadaloupe are Marie Galante, La Desirade, Les des Saintes, St. Barthelemy and the northern half of St. Martin. It has been divided into two regions - Basse-Terre in the west, and Grande-Terre in the east, with an area of 364 and 219 sq. miles respectively.

France occupied it in 1635 and imposed departmental status on it in 1946. There are many people of French ancestry in the territory. Guadaloupe is one of the two chief islands, the other being Martinique, which has the political status of the departments of France "just like the similar divisions of mainland France". The capital of Guadaloupe is the town of Basse-Terre.

The waves of independence spread by the pioneers of the Non-aligned Movement inspired the far off nations in Latin America as well as the people in the Caribbean Sea islands. As a result, political parties emerged in Guadaloupe and its dependencies. After some struggle for independence, the country was offered independence in 1947. The left-wing parties - PCG rejected the offer and preferred internal autonomy. The pro-independence parties have "rarely won"

more than 5% of the total vote", but caused frequent outbreaks and tensions in the island.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964), condemning the manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Latin America, noted with regret that Guadaloupe was "still not self-governing". It called upon the Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to discuss the situation in Guadaloupe in the light of UN Resolution 1514 (XV).

The French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, stated that the administrative and social structure of the territory was almost identical to that of metropolitical France and with regard to political and legal rights there was complete identity and equality between the two.

(2) MARTINIQUE

As Martinique is rugged and mountainous, except for the Plain of Lamentin bordering the Bay of Fort de France, where the population is densely populated by a largely Negro peasantry, the economic condition of the people is poor. Due to this there is a considerable emigration of Negros to France from the territory for seeking better employment opportunities. This process was accelerated in 1946, when the colony was made an integral part of the French State.

The leaders of the NAM demanded independence to the Atlantic islands. Without much struggle, the country was granted independence from France in 1947. But the independence was incomplete as the French controlled the administration. In 1960, the French Government gave the Island's General Council "the power to discuss political, as well as administrative" questions due to the growth of nationalist feelings.

6. Ibid.
7. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, p. 3.
in the 1950s, as expressed by the political parties, PPM and PCM. Since the economic power is in the hands of the bekes (descendants of the white colonial settlers), there is a general resentment of the local population against them.

In view of the deteriorating situation, the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) noted with regret that Martinique was "not self-governing" and demanded implementation of the UN Resolution 1514(XV).

The French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, stated that the administrative and social structure of Martinique is almost identical to that of metropolitan France and with regard to its political and legal rights there was complete identity and equality.

(B) BRITISH TERRITORIES

(1) BERMUDA ISLANDS (SOMERS ISLANDS)

The United States has built military bases in Bermuda Islands. It is not part of West Indies as it lies several hundred miles away from the West Indies proper. It comprises more than 300 islands, only 20 of which are inhabited. Bermuda has been a British colony since 1684, and is still struggling for independence.

Bermuda was granted self-government under the constitution introduced in 1968. With the amendment to the 1968 constitution made in 1973, the British established a Governor's Council in the territory. The Governor held the powers of external affairs, defence, internal security and the police. In 1974, the head of the government became Premier and the Executive Council became the Cabinet.

The first general elections in the territory was held in May, 1968. The people protested against it, which caused rioting and racial tension.

11. Ibid.
12. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 20.
13. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), n.7, p. 3.
resulting in the shooting down of the Governor, the Commissioner of Police and three others. The left-wing Progressive Labour Party (PLP) demanded independence. In 1978, the Royal Commission recommended "early independence for Bermuda", but majority of the population of the country at that time seemed against it.

The UN Committee on Decolonization declared changes in the colonial statute of Bermuda as unsatisfactory and recommended "granting of complete independence" to it. A constitutional conference between the leaders of the national movement and representatives of Great Britain was held in 1979. In consequence, electoral system was changed to incorporate the wishes of the masses and it was hoped that necessary measures would be taken to foster national unity and identity and that United Kingdom would not prevent its people from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

However, Bermuda, being mainly agriculturist and a place for winter visit during holidays, has, though under the impact of the NAM objectives, not been able to intensify its freedom movement. Hence, it is still on the list of the UN Committee for Decolonization and the NAM for further consideration.

(2) CAYMAN ISLANDS

The Cayman Islands lie about 290 km north-west of Jamaica and consist of three main islands: Grand Cayman, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac. The capital is George Town on the island of Grand Cayman.

The Cayman Islands came under the British rule in 1670 and were colonized mainly from Jamaica. The Islands of Little Cayman and Cayman Brac were permanently settled in 1833. These islands were a dependency of Jamaica until 1959, and the Governor of Jamaica held "responsibility for the Cayman Islands" until Jamaica became independent in 1962.

There are no formal political parties in the territory. Though the people favour "continued independent status", but there are no plans

15. The Europa Year Book, Ibid., p. 2849.
16. Ibid.
for independence and the majority of the population wish to maintain the islands' links with Britain.

Since the territory has no infrastructure, and other facilities, the United Nations urged upon Britain to diversify the agricultural and industrial resources of the islands to reduce dependence on imports, "to train the Caymanians for specific positions in all fields of activity" and to prepare the territory for independence.

On July 3, 1986, the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Cayman Islands signed a Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, which would serve as a "model for similar treaties with other offshore banking centres", such as the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

Cayman Islands is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration.

(3) TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS

Turks and Caicos Islands consist of more than 30 islands, lying about 145 km. north of Haiti. Only 8 of these islands are inhabited: Grand Turk, Salt Cay, South Caicos, Middle Caicos, North Caicos, Providenciales, Pine Cay and Parrot Cay. These islands were a Jamaican dependency from 1874 to 1959. When Jamaica achieved independence, the territory became a separate colony in 1962.

The people of Caicos Islands, a British colony, did not wish to gain independence for lack of infrastructure (deep-water harbour, airports and roads), doctors and engineers and adequate education facilities and also for want of facilities for progress of industries and exports. The United Nations recommended that the United Kingdom allocates funds for development in the fields of agriculture, industries, health, education and training in the territory. The Islands were granted 'internal autonomy' for preparing the people for independence.

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19. Ibid.
However, the Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) asserted the inalienable right to national independence of the Caribbean territories. Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) stressed the need of strengthening a Latin American machinery for regional and sub-regional cooperation, welcomed the efforts of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) for "achieving these ends" and condemned "every kind of manoeuvre or pressure that seeks to block their development". Inspired by these NAM resolutions, in 1976 the people of the territory organised themselves in the pro-independence People's Democratic Movement (PDM), which won elections and demanded independence.

The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) reiterated the earlier resolutions and expressed concern over the establishment of foreign military bases in Latin America. The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) noted that eleven Latin American and Caribbean countries had joined the Non-aligned Movement and supported the peoples of these countries who were "oppressed by the alien occupation", which was a dangerous situation and an obstacle to independence. The Conference observed that the NAM efforts for establishing peace and independence throughout the whole world had spread a wave of independence and the Latin American countries were also influenced by it. The New Delhi Conference of NAM (1986) and its Harare Summit Conference (1986) observed that the Caribbean region, which included the Caicos Islands had been "directly affected by the aggression of colonial powers and imperialism".

In July, 1986, the Government was dissolved in Turks and Caicos Islands and the territory was placed under the direct rule of the British Crown. In September, 1986, the Government of the Islands signed an agreement with the United States "giving US investigators into drug-trafficking access to banking information in the islands".

24. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 72.
25. Ibid., p. 201.
27. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 281.
28. Ibid., p. 402.
29. Ibid., p. 403.
30. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 30, p. 249.
The British Government agreed to grant freedom to the Islands, if the PDM won the 1980 elections. The PDM lost the 1980 and 1984 elections to PNP. The PDM continued to demand freedom. However, in March, 1987, the United Kingdom agreed to a constitutional Commission's recommendations on the future of the territory. In 1987, the PDM won 11 seats out of 13, while the remaining two were won by PNP. In March, 1988, a new constitution was adopted and an interim Government was formed to replace the Governor's Executive Council.33

However, the territory is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration.

4. WEST INDIES ANTILLES

(i) BAHAMAS

The Bahamas comprise some 29 inhabited islands and about 3,000 uninhabited islets covering an area of 4,404 sq. miles. The country had a Negro population of about 85,000 in 1955. More than half of its population live on New Providence Island. The people claim that they are not West Indians and Bahamas are not part of the Antilles.

The island San Salvador was first touched by Columbus. In 1718, the British occupied the whole group because of their most strategic situation. There have been many demonstrations and uprisings in the country demanding independence from the British yoke. It attained internal self-government in 1964. A new constitution was adopted in May, 1969, which gave it increased responsibility for "internal security, external affairs and defence". The country was granted independence on July 10, 1973, within the British Commonwealth, became a member of the United Nations on September 18, 1973, and joined the NAM in March, 1983, at its New Delhi Summit Conference.37

33. Ibid.
34. "Bahamas consists of about 700 islands and more than 2,000 cays and rocks, extending from off the Florida coast of the USA to just north of Cuba and Haiti"; see The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 418.
35. Ibid.
Bahama's relations with the United States have been strained due to the tough attitude of the former towards "the secrecy laws surrounding US offshore banks operating in the Bahamas, and towards drug smuggling in the islands". Its relations with Cuba have been strained due to sinking of a Bahamian patrol boat by Cuba and with Haiti due to the influx of a large number of Haitian immigrants into Bahamas.

(ii) BARBADOS

Barbado lies about 320 km north-east of Trinidad. The British established their colony there in 1627. Now, there are about 95 per cent Negroes and 5 per cent whites in Barbados. The Negroes were 180,000 and the whites 15,000 in 1921-22. Since then Negro population has been growing steadily. Barbados is one of world's most crowded countries.

Inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, the people of this island intensified their struggle for independence and achieved internal self-government in October, 1961. The country became independent on November 30, 1966, under the Premiership of Errol Barrow, leader of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). It was admitted to the United Nations on December 9, 1966, and joined the NAM in March, 1983.

The relations of Barbados with Trinidad and Tobago were strained due to the intervention of the former in Grenada, and Trinidad's imposition of import restrictions, which affected the Barbadian trade. However, in August, 1986, both the countries signed an agreement and "a number of Barbadian goods were freed from the restrictions".

The executive power in the island is vested in the British monarch, who is represented by a Governor-General, who acts on the advice of the Cabinet.

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 452.
41. Ibid.
42. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 14, p. 76.
43. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 17.
45. Ibid.
(iii) JAMAICA

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean Sea, lying
145 km. to the south of Cuba and 160 km. to the south-west of Haiti.
Its official language is English and 80% of the population is of African
origin. Its capital is Kingston. Columbus discovered it in May, 1494.

Jamaica became a British colony in 1655. There was a major rebellion
in 1795, against British rule. The visit of Simon Boliver, the Great
Liberator, in 1816, gave a fillip to the independence movement. In 1872,
Britain officially confirmed the "colonial status of the island". Eminent
leaders who led the emancipation movement were George William Gordon,
Marcus Garvey, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley. Gordon led the
independence movement of the Blacks. Garvey fought for the dignity of
man in the United States and other countries. Bustamante was a leader
of the Jamaican Labour Party together with Manley. Economic and social
conditions worsened. Riots and unrest continued. The independence movement
swept the country. As a result, in 1952, ministerial system was established
on the island and, in 1959, Britain granted Jamaica the status of
"internal autonomy", retaining the departments of defence and foreign
affairs.

During the 1950s, some newly independent countries of Asia and
Africa supported the countries struggling for independence and started
the Non-aligned Movement, which inspired the Jamaicans and they began
to launch struggle to free themselves from the foreign yoke.

In 1958, Jamaica joined the West Indies Federation which broke up
in 1961. Then, in a referendum, its people voted in favour of national
independence. Therefore, the British granted full independence on August
6, 1962, under the framework of the British Commonwealth. It joined the
United Nations and other international organizations. Jamaica attended

46. Ibid., p. 1504; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 25, p. 346; "In 1670, by
the Treaty of Madrid, Spain ceded the island to Britain".
47. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones
Limited, 1982), p 347.
48. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1504; see also Ivo Dvorak,
n.47 , p. 347; "In 1957" Great Britain granted internal autonomy.
the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as an Observer and the New York NAM Meeting (1969) as a full member.

Despite unrest and unemployment in the country, the People's National Party (PNP), led by former Premier Norman Manley, returned to power in December, 1976. But widespread political unrest and violent demonstrations led to the formation of the PNP government in January, 1979.

The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1975) supported and encouraged the measures adopted by Jamaica in its efforts to consolidate its sovereignty and recover its national resources. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterated the Havana resolution on the issue. The Algiers Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1976) took note of the statement of Jamaican Prime Minister regarding attempts to destabilize his government by the United States, using techniques of "deliberate and well orchestrated attacks in public information media, the selective sale of arms and so-called defence services, the promotion of inter-regional conflicts, the fomenting of internal unrest and manipulation of puppets". Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) reiterated the Algiers observations and condemned the continued aggression, pressure, coercion and intimidation of US imperialism. The Conference elected Jamaica as a member of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM.

In October, 1981, diplomatic relations of Jamaica with Cuba were severed and Jamaica drew nearer to the United States. Further, the PNP, to gain US support, dissociated itself from the Communist Workers Party. In October, 1983, Jamaica contributed troops after the US invasion of Granada to maintain peace there and "to assist in training the new Granadian police force".

(iv) TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago comprises five more islands - Little Tobago, Monos, Chacachacare, Gasparee and Huevos. The Republic

50. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 5, p. 17.
51. Ibid., p. 31.
52. Ibid., p. 135.
53. Ibid., p. 182.
54. Ibid., p. 200.
55. Ibid., p. 222.
covers an area of 5,128 sq. km. (Trinidad 4,828 sq. km. and Tobago 300 sq. km.) with a population of 1,175,000 (1978). Columbus visited the islands in 1498. They were occupied by the Spaniards and the French during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries respectively. In 1814, it became a British colony. In 1924, the island was granted internal autonomy. The capital is Port of Spain on the island of Trinidad.

After the abolition of slavery in 1934, the British brought Indians as cheap labours to the territory. It has three main religious communities—Christians (71%), Hindus (23%) and Muslims (6%). Though the country is small and mountainous, the inhabitants are prosperous and live with amity despite ethnic differences. When the British ceded the air and naval base of Chaguaramas to the United States in 1940s, all the communities protested against it jointly. In 1950, a new constitution gave independence to the country. Eric Williams founded the National People's Movement in 1956, which, massively supported by the people, dominated the political scene for 20 years. In 1958, under the inspiration of the pioneers of the Non-aligned Movement, the West Indians decided to fight for independence unitedly. Hence, Trinidad and Tobago became part of the West Indies Federation, which demanded removal of US military facilities from Trinidad. The United States promised to return 80% of the territory by 1977, which promise has so far not been fulfilled. The Federation was dissolved in 1962, and the territory became independent on August 31, 1962. It became member of the United Nations and joined the Non-aligned Movement in September, 1970. On October 16, 1987, it established relations with East Germany.

5. THE NETHERLAND ANTILLES

It consists of two groups of islands in the Caribbean Sea, about 800 km. apart, known as "Leeward Islands" and "Windward Islands". The former group consists of Bonaire and Curacao (together with Aruba); and the latter includes "small volcanic islands of St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Maarten. The northern half of the Windward Islands is a dependency

58. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 698.
of the French overseas department of Guadaloupe). The capital, Willemstad, is situated on the island of Curacao.

In 1630, the Dutch seized the Leeward Islands from Spain. The Windward Islands were first discovered by Columbus in 1493, and became a Dutch territory in 1816. Both the groups of islands were known as "Curacao Islands" until 1948. They recovered their economic position after the start of petroleum refineries on these islands in 1918 and 1929. During the Second World War Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands promised to declare their independence and the territory was granted "full autonomy in domestic affairs" in 1954.

The NAM inspired the islanders to form a political party, MEP, in 1971, to fight against the "administrative dominance of Curacao" and to seek independence. As a result, Aruba will be declared an independent state in 1996.

Venezuela lays claim to the Leeward Islands, but since 1983, there has been political and social stability due to establishment of petroleum refining industries on the islands.

(a) LEEWARD ISLANDS

(i) ANGUILLA

Anguilla lies 113 km. to the north-west of Saint Christopher (St. Kitts) in the British West Indies. The territory includes the island of Sombrero and several uninhabited islands. It was once part of Associated States of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Its capital is The Valley.

In 1969, Anguilla, as per its new constitution, approved by a referendum, severed connexions with St. Kitts and with the United Kingdom, the administering power, and declared itself an independent republic. But the United Kingdom deployed warships, paratroopers and police to curb the rebellion. The United States and the United Kingdom both conceded that St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla had achieved a

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., p. 2846.
full measure of self-government in 1967. However, since the United Kingdom did not declare the territory independent, the people, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, began to fight for complete independence, and continued to struggle for freedom. As a result, a series of talks between the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Anguilla, held in February and May, 1975, and the territory was given greater self-government with increased autonomy. Up to this time, Anguilla was being administered by a British Commissioner assisted by a Council. In December, 1975, the Council adopted a new constitution, which came into effect on February 10, 1976. Since then the territory is a "self-governing British colony under the Anguilla order".

The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978), referring to the 'Non-Self-Governing Territories', demanded that the colonial powers should "promptly create normal conditions for the realization of the right of self-determination of these peoples".

Anguilla was separated from St. Kitts by the Anguilla Act of December, 1980. The future of the territory is still under consideration by the United Nations.

(ii) ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

In 1967, the United Kingdom, the Administering Power, declared that "Antigua, Dominica, Gradana, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Lucia would assume the status as States with the United Kingdom, during the week beginning on February 27, 1967, and would be known as "the West Indies Associated States" and that while these six territories would enjoy a full measure of self-government, the United Kingdom would control their external affairs and defence. It was also proclaimed that their association with the United Kingdom would be completely voluntary and

65. Ibid.
66. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Aligned Movement, n.5, pp.309-10; 338; 379-80; 418-21; 567-69.
68. Two Decades of Non-Aligned Movement, n. 5, p. 40.
70. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. I, p. 338.
they would be entirely free to declare themselves free in accordance with the constitutional process i.e. having the approval of two-third majority in a referendum.

The first elections in the territory were held in February, 1971. The Progressive Labour Movement (PLM) ousted the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), which had held power since 1946. In 1975, the Associated States decided to launch struggles for their independence separately. During the 1976 elections, the PLM campaigned for early independence while the ALP opposed this move. The 1980 elections in Antigua were won by ALP. The people of Barbuda did not like to be independent and the Barbuda People's Movement (BPM) campaigned for secession from Antigua.

The NAM Conferences continually encouraged the people of Antigua and Barbuda to struggle for achieving independence. The independence of Central American, Latin American and Caribbean countries encouraged independence movements in the whole region. The Caribbean nations were inspired by the Havana Conference of NAM (1979) and resolved to eliminate imperialism and colonialism and neo-colonialism from their territories.

Antigua and Barbuda became independent as separate states on November 11, 1981. They decided to remain in the British Commonwealth and became members of the United Nations on November 11, 1981. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) expressed its satisfaction at the independence of Antigua and Barbuda and welcomed their participation in the Movement of Non-aligned countries. The country became the ninety-third contracting party to the GATT.

Antigua and Barbuda is a constitutional monarchy and its executive power is vested in the British sovereign as Head of State which is exercised by the Governor-General. The ALP Government "follows a policy of non-alignment" although it has "strong links with the USA" and assisted

73. Ibid.
75. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 36.
the US military intervention in Grenada in October, 1983, as a member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (DECS). Since 1982, Antigua has had close relations with Canada, China, Republic of Korea, Brazil and Venezuela, "in return of economic assistance". It has diplomatic relations with the Latin American countries.

(iii) **ARUBA**

The Island of Aruba lies in the southern Caribbean Sea, 25 km. north of Venezuela and 68 km. west of the Island of Curacao (Netherlands Antilles consisting of five islands). Its capital is Oranjestad.

The Dutch colonized it in 1636. In 1954, it became a member of the autonomous federation of the Netherlands Antilles. The establishment of a petroleum refinery at St. Nicolaas, in 1929, raised the standard of living of the islanders, but they opposed the administrative dominance of Curacao which made excessive demand of wealth and resources from the Arubans. Therefore, the only political party in the island, the MEP, founded in 1971, demanded Aruban independence and separation from the five other islands. In March, 1977, in a referendum, 82% of the voters preferred independence and separation from the Antillean federation.

The NAM conferences greatly inspired its people as it supported freedom movements in the Caribbean Sea. Negotiations were held between the MEP and the Government of the Netherlands Antilles. However, in 1981, when the MEP withdrew itself from the Government of Netherlands Antilles, a provisional agreement was made between the Dutch and the Government of Netherlands Antilles on the future of Aruba. At a tripartite discussion of the two Governments and the representatives of Aruba in March, 1983, it was decided that "Aruba should receive separate status, within the kingdom of the Netherlands from January, 1986" achieving full independence in 1996.

(iv) **BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS**

Of the group British Virgin Islands the largest are Tortola, Virgin, Gorda and Anegada. Of the 40 mountainous islands, only 15 are

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79. *Ibid*.
inhabited. The eastern part of the Virgin group is a British colony. The area of the colony is 67 sq. miles with a population of 7,760 (1956), consisting mostly Negroes. The British group of Virgin Islands is so closely tied to the American Virgin Islands that the people of the former go to St. Thomas in search for employment and on the British Virgin dollar, rather than Pound Sterling, is in currency.

In 1872, these islands became part of British colony administered under a federal system. The federation was dissolved in July, 1956. They did not join the federation of the West Indies either. The 1967 constitution established an elective legislative council in the territory. An amendment to the constitution in 1977 gave it "more extensive self-government." According to it, the Governor is appointed by the British monarch, and is responsible for external affairs, defense and internal security.

There was a movement in the Island to remain outside the Federation of the "Little Seven". However, the territory is not yet independent.

(v) MONTSERRAT

Montserrat lies in the West Indies about 55 km. north of Besse Terre, Guadaloupe, and about 43 km. south-west of Antigua. The British first settled on it in 1632. It remained part of the federal colony of the Leeward Islands from 1871 to 1956, when the federation was dissolved and it became a separate colony. Since 1960, it has had its own constitution and an Administrator.

The size, geographical location, population and limited natural resources of Montserrat delayed the implementation of the process of self-determination in the territory. In 1980, the United Kingdom, the administering power, expressed willingness to grant independence, respecting the wishes of the people in determining their future constitutional status. In view of growing unrest of the inhabitants after the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979), the United Kingdom agreed to diversify

81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., p. 2864.
its infrastructures - agriculture, livestock, tourism and industry - and also provided technical assistance to the territory. These measures weakened the freedom movement. Due to this, the country has not yet been decolonized.

Struggles for independence were launched in the territory in 1983 and 1984, but the people affirmed that they did not like independence "in the immediate future". However, the people protested against the British domination and there was a spate of strikes when, in August, 1986, a priest was threatened with deportation "for alleged interference in political affairs". Under the provisions of 1977 constitution, a Governor is appointed by the British monarch, who is responsible for the defence of the country. Its future as an independent country has not yet been decided and it is still on the list of the United Nations for consideration.

(vi) ST. KITTS AND NEVIS (ST. CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS)

The Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis is situated at the northern end of the Leeward Islands. The capital is Basseterre, on St. Christopher.

St. Christopher was the first British colony established in 1623 in the West Indies. In 1958, Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla formed the West Indies Federation and remained united until 1962, when under the 1960 constitution the three formed their own governments under care of a single British Administration. In 1967, led by a pro-Independence 'Labour Party', they attained 'Associated Statehood', but three months later Anguilla reverted to the position of a British dependency and left the Federation in December, 1980, while St. Kitts-Nevis remained a British colony.

The NAM conferences demanded independence of Caribbean islands and supported the people for decolonization. Demonstration held in the territory pressurising the United Kingdom to grant freedom. Consequently, a constitutional conference held in London from December 7-16, 1982, and St. Kitts-Nevis became independent on September 19, 1983. It became also a member of the United Nations on September 23, 1983. The country, after independence, is known as Saint Christopher and Nevis.

86. Ibid.
(b) WINDWARD ISLANDS

(i) DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND HAITI

Dominica lies in the West Indies between Guadaloupe to the north and Martinique, to the south. Its capital is Roseau. The eastern part of the Island of Hispaniola, between Cuba and Puerto Rico, is the

89 Dominican Republic inhabited mostly by the Mulatto people. During the seventeenth century, it was a stronghold of English and French pirates. Later, the French drove the English settlers in 1697. Since the Spaniards could not drive out the French, they recognised Hispaniola as a French colony. The French named it Saint Dominique, which became "one of the world's richest colonies". During the eighteenth century, the French occupied Artibonite and the Cul de Sac and, in 1749, they founded the town, Port-au-Prince, which became the capital city in place of Cap Francais.

The Mulattos had the advantage of education in Paris and not more than 300 of their families ruled the country. The majority of the Negroes, the former slaves, accepted them as their new masters. The Mulattos did not give the status of equality either to the pure Negroes or the pure Whites, which made the social situation in Saint Dominique explosive. Therefore, the Negroes demanded freedom and equality and gradually disorder turned into a revolt. The Negroes destroyed the estates and the white landowners ran way to save their lives. In 1804, the Negroes of Hispaniola proclaimed their independence and adopted the Indian name of the island, Haiti. Thus, two states came into existence; Haiti in the west, and the Dominican Republic in the east.

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is economically prostrate though it is potentially productive. It was occupied by the US Marines from 1916 to 1924. When the Marines left in 1924, power came into the hands of a dictator, General Trujillo, who administered the territory with the help of armed forces and the secret police. Since 1930, no political

89. Ibid., p. 910.
90. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 782.
91. Ibid., p. 784.
party has been allowed to be formed and all the opponents of the General have been exiled, jailed or killed. There are "no elections, no discussion of public issues, no protection of the individual from arrest without warrant, no such thing as equality before the law". The General has given the people an idea of a white country, to which many Dominicans subscribe. To the Dominicans in exile, "the ideals of democracy are completely denied" and the country "is a dark spot on the American hemisphere". However, Dominica became independent in 1978 and was admitted to the UN membership on December 18, 1978.

The country took interest in the NAM and its Senator, Rosie Douglas, attended the NAM Conference held in Havana in 1979. The Conference observed that the country "had just attained political independence ... after the ravages of colonialism". Participants of the Conference expressed deep sympathy with the people of Dominica on the devastation caused by a hurricane on August 29, 1979, and appealed all the nations to assist the people of Dominica. On the request of the Dominican Government, the Conference authorised the President to establish an ad hoc group to administer the Fund. In November, 1987, the border with Haiti was again closed and diplomatic relations with Cuba was also not established.

Haiti

Haiti is the twentieth of the independent states of Latin America. Of the people of Haiti, 95 per cent are pure-blooded Negroes and 5 per cent are Mulatto, who inherited white blood from French planters. Since most of its inhabitants were shipped here from Africa, their way of living is African and Voodooism is their basic religion. The rural Haitians, who use machete and hoe, are not a person of great ambition. They believe in the proverb: "If work were a good thing the rich would have grabbed it all long ago". The Haitians like pleasure and since work

93. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 781.
94. Ibid.
95. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 471.
96. Ibid.
98. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 781.
99. Ibid., p. 785.
does not bring them pleasure, they avoid work as much as possible. Thus, their way of life is simple and they grow only those things which satisfy the fewest wants and since the wet soil produces much they do not work hard. Hence, there is very great poverty in the country and its gross national income is very low. However, the Mulatto families, who are active in politics, rule the country. The Mulattos raided the public treasury and political corruption ruined the country.

Haiti was occupied by the United States Marines from 1915 to 1935. As it was an infringement of the right of an independent country, the occupation was condemned throughout the whole world. After the withdrawal of the US Marines in 1934, tranquility was restored in the country. However, the political situation is chaotic as the means of communication are beating of drums and there is no agency for discussing issues of public policy. The state structure is based on French and African traditions. They support the idea of a Negro state.

Violence and unrest has become a common feature of Haiti's political development since the overthrow of the dictatorship of President-for-Life, Duvalier, in February, 1986, by Gen. Henri Namphy, the Army Chief of Staff. The people demanded "democratic elections of a civil government", to replace the military government, since Namphy failed "to reduce the extreme poverty and deprivation". As many as 85% of the population had remained illiterate, while 50% of the 3 lac strong workforce was unemployed and infant mortality rate was 125 per thousand.

On November 17-18, 1986, a general strike paralysed the capital, Port-au-Prince, resulting in several instances of violence. On February 2, 1987, "800 delegates from over 300 opposition organizations" inaugurated the National Congress of Democratic Movements (NCDM) to create a united front for the realization of "full democratic rights and liberal freedoms". They accused Gen. Namphy of "corruption, caprice and incompetence". On February 5, 1987, the National Council of the Government (CNG) of

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100. Ibid., p. 788.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., p. 35696.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
Gen. Namphy threatened to arrest those involved in incitement to disorder or in calls to rebellion. On January 2, 1988, the French Government suspended all aid to Haiti until restoration of the democratic process. Meanwhile, an eight-country organization - the Concerned Caribbean Leaders (CCL) was formed on December 2, 1987, "to serve as a bridge" between NCDM and CNG, to restore full democracy, and to oppose foreign military intervention.

On January 24, 1988, Leslie Manigat, leader of the National Democratic Progress Party (NDPC) was declared President. The legislature, composed largely of "independents," many of them thought to be former office holders under the Duvalierist regime". Manigat is believed to be the candidate of CNG and he described himself as a "democratic centrist".

(ii) GRENADA

Grenada is a mountainous and heavily forested island in the south of the Windward Islands. It includes other smaller islands, such as, Grenadines - Carriacou and Petit Martinique, which lie 90 miles north of Trinidad and 68 miles southeast of St. Vincent. The population is 120,000, of which 90% are of African origin. The majority speaks English. Its capital is St. Georges.

Grenada became a British colony in 1783 by the Treaty of Versailles. Inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, the people struggled for independence. During the 1795-96 revolt, the people adopted hit-and-run attacks. The British repression was most brutal and innocent people were hanged and the Caribs "threw themselves into the sea rather than submit to the oppressors".

Volunteers from Grenada fought in both the World Wars, after which due to great economic depression, Grenada Workers Union was formed.

106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid., p. 35699.
109. Ibid., p. 35699.
110. Ibid.
112. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 256.
113. Ibid., p. 257.
in 1946. The Grenada Trade Union Council demanded higher wages in 1950. In 1952, Eric Gairy founded the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) and in 1953, the Grenada National Party (GNP) was founded by him.

To placate the people of the island, the British Government ended the colonial status of Grenada in 1958 and incorporated it into the West Indies Federation together with other Caribbean islands. The Federation ended in 1962, and under a new constitution, Grenada became an Associated State of Great Britain in March, 1967, with a "local government" and "internal autonomy", while the British controlled its defence and foreign relations. By this time, the Belgrade Summit Conference of NAM (1961) and its Cairo Summit Conference (1964) gave a new impetus to the people of the island to struggle for independence.

Early in the 1970s, the typical Gairy's administration was opposed by foreign educated young men like Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman. Bishop organised the Movement of Assemblies of the People (MAP) and Whiteman founded the JEWEL movement, and both endeavoured for the welfare, education and liberation of the people and opposed the colonial regime, its repressive practices and corruption and criticised the Gairy regime. In 1973, a Committee of 22 formed the Grenada National Party (GNP). The New JEWEL Movement (NJM) organised strikes and demonstrations during which Bishop's father was killed by the police. However, after negotiations held in London, the British Government granted independence to Grenada on February 2, 1974. Grenada became a member of the United Nations on September 17, 1974, and participated in the Colombo Summit Conference of NAM (1976) and its Belgrade Conference (1978) as an Observer, and its Havana Summit Conference (1979) as a member.

The Colombo Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1979), recommending the application of Grenada, along with Bolivia, Iran, Pakistan and Surinam, for the full membership of the organisation, noted that "the desire of these countries to join the NAM was indicative of the growing relevance

115. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 257.
116. Ibid.
117. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n.5, pp. 189 and 295.
118. Ibid., p. 401.
of the Movement to contemporary international relations and the trend reflecting the distinctive independent and non-bloc role of the Non-aligned countries in their endeavour to create a new and democratic system of political and economic relations.

Gairy's GULP won the 1976 elections using repression and fraudulent means. In spite of this, six of the fifteen seats were won by candidates of the People's Alliance (formed by NJM, GNP and United People's Party). The Alliance opposed Gairy's regime due to its "anti-popular policy" and ties with "such regimes as Pinochet's junta in Chile". In 1979, Gairy ordered the killing of NJM leaders. On March 13, 1979, the revolutionary forces captured the radio station. A day before, Gairy had fled to the United States. After the bloodless coup, a People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) was formed, with Bishop as Prime Minister. The new government suspended the constitution and launched a programme for the welfare of the people. After this, Grenada became a target of hostile activities by the imperialists - US and its allies, including a bomb attack on Prime Minister Bishop, because the country had adopted "an active, independent, non-aligned, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-fascist and anti-racist foreign policy". Grenada assisted the liberation movement in Latin America and the Caribbean and established ties with Cuba and Nicaragua and other socialist countries.

In 1982, relations of Grenada with the United States, the United Kingdom and members of CARICOM became strained. On October 19, 1983, Prime Minister Bishop, his three ministers and three trade union spokesmen were executed and a 16-man Revolutionary Military Council (RMC), led by General Austin, was set up. International outrage and fears of "a US military intervention" forced the RMC to relax curfew, reopen the airport and "to promise "to return to civilian rule as soon as possible". In October, 1983, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), with the help of the United Kingdom, invaded and defeated the RMC forces and imprisoned its leaders. A democratic government was

119. Ibid., p. 370.
120. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 258.
121. Ibid., p. 259.
122. Ibid.
instituted and all the parties, which had gone underground during the PRG rule, re-emerged.

Ministers at the Managua Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1983) condemned "the use of pressures and economic sanctions against Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, Argentina and more recently, Surinam". They called for "an end to the embargo, the economic blockade and other coercive measures applied against them", and affirmed the "right of all States to the full exercise of their national sovereignty and to adopt the economic and social systems which they consider most appropriate for promoting their development". The Ministers further denounced "measures of economic boycott, the hostile propaganda, the holding of military naval manoeuvres near its territory and the violation of its airspace for the purpose of destabilizing the government" of Grenada. The Ministers asserted constant support for the Grenadian Government and people.

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983), reiterating the observations of the Managua meeting, condemned the "covert and overt actions and the political and economic pressures being exerted by imperialist forces against Grenada". Its New York meeting (1983) reaffirmed "solidarity with the Government of Grenada in its efforts to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of political and economic pressures and efforts as destabilization directed against it". The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) noted that in spite of the UN General Assembly resolution 38/7, "foreign military personnel are still in Grenada" and they urged that "they be withdrawn forthwith in accordance with that resolution".

However, Grenada is under direct control and influence of the United States. It has a dominion status within the Commonwealth and the British monarch is the Head of State, represented locally by a Governor-General.

124. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 4.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid., pp. 6 and 11.
127. Ibid., p. 36.
128. Ibid., p. 104.
129. Ibid., pp. 251-52.
The islands are situated in the Windward group in the West Indies. The main island is Saint Vincent and the group of smaller islands in the northern part is known as Saint Vincent Grenadines. The other principal islands in the part of this group are Bequia, Canouan, Mustique, Mayreau, Isle d'Quatre and Union Island. The capital is Kingstown on the island of Saint Vincent. The territory is collectively known as Saint Vincent.

Saint Vincent became a British colony in the eighteenth century. It was administered by the Governor of the Windward Islands under a federal system until December, 1959. It participated in the West Indies Federation in January, 1958, and remained its member until its dissolution in May, 1962.

Like other Windward Islands, Saint Vincent was granted a new constitution in January, 1960. Since the British colonies in the Leeward and Windward Islands failed to form a smaller East Caribbean Federation, they became Associated States in 1967. Saint Vincent could not attain the status of Associated States due to internal differences.

In 1969, the United Kingdom agreed to grant the territory "full self-government and association with the United Kingdom" on 27 October 1969, while the British were responsible of some external affairs and defence. The British Government also stated that the territory would have right to become independent at any time without approval of the United Kingdom. The Government further declared that new constitutional arrangements were made in consultation with the elected representatives of all the parties. However, in spite of opposition of the People's Political Party (PPP), Saint Vincent joined the Associated States on October 27, 1969, as an independent state, while the British Government retained the responsibility of defence and foreign affairs. Though the territory attained full measure of self-government, the British delayed their declaration to this effect.

Forced by the growing discontent among the masses, due to the

132. Ibid.
delaying tactics of the British and influence of the NAM resolutions, the Government held a constitutional conference in 1978. As a result the British Government declared independence of the territory on October 27, 1979, and the country became fully independent as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Cato became the country's first Prime Minister.

(iv) ST. LUCIA (SANTA LUCIA)

In 1638, the Carib population of the island killed the Englishmen who arrived there, and resisted the French penetration from 1642 to 1660, when the French occupied it. In 1814, the French ceded it to Britain under the Treaty of Paris. The capital is Castries.

After the First World War, the British introduced representative government in the island. It remained a member of the Windward Islands under a federal system until December, 1959. It joined the West Indies Federation in January, 1958, and remained its member until its dissolution in May, 1962. In March, 1967, Saint Lucia became a member of the West Indies Associated States "gaining full autonomy in internal affairs", while Britain held the responsibility for defence and foreign relations. In 1975, the Associated States decided that they would seek independence. In 1978, the United Kingdom, the Administering Power, approved the St. Lucia Termination of Association Order, according to which the territory became independent on February 23, 1979, remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It also became a member of the United Nations on September 18, 1979.

However, the territory is a constitutional monarchy and executive power is vested in the British monarch, who is Head of the State.

136. Ibid., p. 2274.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.
139. See for further details YUN, n. 36, 1979, Vol. 33, p. 1051; see also Ibid., 1980, Vol. 34, pp. 1089-91.
Puerto Rico comprises the main island of Puerto Rico, together with Vieques, Culebra and many smaller islands, lying about 80 km. east of Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in the Caribbean Sea. The capital is San Juan. Puerto Rico, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, is voluntarily associated with the United States, along with its dependency, Vieques.

A delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which led the Movement for independence, participated as guest in the Georgetown Conference of the NAM (1972) and its Havana Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975), which asserted "quick and total coronation of the decolonization process in Latin America". The Bureau, reiterating the support of the NAM countries to the right of independence of the Puertoricanos, demanded that the United States should not "disregard the national and inalienable rights of these peoples". The meeting also reiterated that "Puerto Rico is still one of the principal enclaves of colonialism" and expressed its "solidarity with the Anti-Colonialist struggle of its National Liberation Movement". The NAM conferences continued to reiterate the same. The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico (SPPR) also continued to participate in the NAM conferences as an Observer.

The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) condemned the installation of military bases in the island by the United States. The Conference also deplored that the territory suffered from colonialist exploitation and domination and demanded immediate independence. The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1986) condemned the transit of vessels equipped with nuclear weapons to Puerto Rico by the United States. However, the territory has not yet achieved independence and is still under consideration of the United Nations.

140. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 135.
141. Ibid.
142. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, pp. 6, 11, 36, 104 and 121.
143. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, pp. 141, 179, 189, 248, 295, and 401; see also Ibid., n. 37, p. 6.
144. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 197.
145. Ibid., pp. 193 and 242.
146. Ibid., p. 251.
(ii) US VIRGIN ISLANDS

The US Virgin Islands consist of three inhabited islands (St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John) and about fifty smaller islands, situated at the eastern end of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. The capital is Charlotte Amalie, on the island of St. Thomas. Of the population of 27,615 (1950), 90% people are Negroes and 10% are Whites.

These islands were first discovered by the Europeans in 1493, and since then it passed through many hands and lastly the Dutch sold them to the United States in 1917. It is now an unincorporated territory of the United States. The inhabitants are US citizens but they have no right to vote for Presidential elections. However, the United States revised the organic Act in 1954, and granted a measure of self-government. Since 1954, the people are demanding greater constitutional autonomy.

On July 31, 1980, the territory adopted a draft constitution in consultation with the United States, which assured "to respect the freely expressed wishes of the people with regard to their future." The United States exploited the natural resources, enjoyed all mineral rights and occupied submerged lands off their coastlines. The United States agreed to place the draft constitution for referendum and to approve it after reviewal or modification by the US Congress. Referendum held in the past and lastly in 1981 rejected each such draft of constitution. In fact, the people are not in favour of independence fearing that autonomy or independence will bring changes which will involve new taxes and economic problems. The United States has declared to welcome any constitutional reforms by the islanders, which may not endanger the US national security.

However, since there is also demand for greater constitutional autonomy by some sections of the people, it is expected that the territory would be influenced by the objectives and activities of the Non-aligned Movement and start struggle for independence.

147. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 833.
150. Ibid.
The NAM resolutions, its activities and increasing popularity helped in decolonization of a number of territories in the Caribbean Sea islands. In 1947, though Guadeloupe and Martinique were granted independence by France, but they are still French colonies. A number of British colonies achieved independence: Jamaica on August 6, 1961, Trinidad and Tobago on August 31, 1962, Barbados on November 30, 1966, Bahamas on July 10, 1973, Bermuda on September 18, 1973, Grenada in 1974, Dominica and Haiti in 1978, St. Lucia in 1979, St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1980, Antigua and Barbuda on November 1, 1981, and St. Kitts-Nevis (St. Christopher-Nevis) on September 19, 1983. Anguila is a self-governing territory under the British Administration since 1976. In Turks and Caicos Islands, interim government has been established in March, 1988, to replace the Governor's Council. The British Virgin Islands have been granted extensive self-government in 1977. Montserrat has its own constitution and administration but is a British colony. Puerto Rico has been admitted to the British Commonwealth and has voluntarily associated itself with the British Administration. The US Virgin Islands is an unincorporated territory of the United States.