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EVALUATING ISLAND TERRITORY STRATEGIC VALUE –
USING HISTORY TO DEVELOP VARIABLES AND MODEL

An Essay

Submitted to

The Faculty of the

United States Naval War College

In Partial Fulfillment

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by

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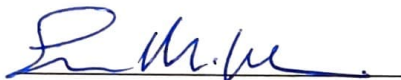
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1	Introduction
CHAPTER 2	Variables of National Interest in Island Territories, Levels of National Interest & Example
CHAPTER 3	Six Variables in Depth
CHAPTER 4	Completed Models of Assessed Value of the Falklands & Navassa
CHAPTER 5	Future Value
CHAPTER 6	Model Potential
CHAPTER 7	Conclusion
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
APPENDIX 1	INFOGRAPHIC OF FALKLAND ISLANDS
APPENDIX 2	INFOGRAPHIC OF NAVASSA ISLAND
APPENDIX 3	LIST OF U.S. INSULAR TERRITORIES AND CLAIMS
APPENDIX 4	LIST OF UK OVERSEAS TERRITORIES AND CROWN DEPENDENCIES
APPENDIX 5	U.S. DEPT OF INTERIOR KEY DEFINITIONS

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Territorial sovereignty, and what constitutes or validates claims of “ownership” over geographic features, is a topic of debate that goes back centuries and continues today. Furthermore, claims of ownership or sovereignty do not always mean the same thing between cultures or peoples. For example, indigenous Australians tend to believe the land owns them.¹ Wars, crusades, and the ages of colonialism and imperialism shaped and shifted concepts of ownership as well.² As empires spread and contract, and as nations merge or disappear, so too does sovereignty over territory. Every great power that exists in the world now was, at one point, called something very different, and claimed by someone else.³ The primordial fact that national borders are not stagnant creates the space for territorial disputes, and this is at the root of the complications over historical claims of territorial ownership.

Sovereignty disputes are behind much of the existing tension between nations. The claims over features and islands in the South and East China Seas is a hotly debated issue.⁴ Some of these tensions in other parts of the world are at the root of armed conflicts. Russia’s 2022 invasion of Ukraine put the rest of the world on notice that even in the 21st century, global powers are not done with territorial conquests.⁵ According to the United Nations, as of 21 April 2022, more than 2,300 civilians have been killed in the process of Russia’s invasion (though this is just an official number

¹ Creative Spirits, “Meaning of Land to Aboriginal People,” September 3, 2021,

<https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/land/meaning-of-land-to-aboriginal-people#the-land-owns-us>

² Madji Mohamed, “Palestine,” *History.com*, retrieved 2 April 2022, from <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/palestine#:~:text=Palestine's%20Early%20Roots,->

Scholars%20believe%20the&text=From%20about%201517%20to%201917,British%20took%20control%20of%20Palestine.

³ Raphael Perl, *The Falkland Islands Dispute in International Law and Politics* (London: Oceana Publications, 1983), 55.

⁴ Council on Foreign Relations Staff - Global Conflict Tracker “Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, last updated April 19, 2022, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/territorial-disputes-south-china-sea>

⁵ Billy Perigo, “How Putin’s Denial of Ukraine Statehood Rewrites History,” *Time*, 22 February 2022, <https://time.com/6150046/ukraine-statehood-russia-history-putin/>

as of 21 April 2022, and the true number is likely much higher).⁶ Tragically, this is not a unique situation. In the past two years more than 6,500 people were killed in a war between Azerbaijan and Armenia over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabach.⁷ These are just a few recent and relevant examples of the more than 150 territorial disputes that continue to drive division and threaten stability between nations.⁸ As debates over sovereignty, and legal arguments to substantiate such claims, can be anticipated to continue for the next several centuries, an important question a nation's government must ask itself is determining the level of national interest of such claims. Much like other territorial disputes, the debates over the sovereignty of islands often remain the focal points of significant tension between nations, and some of these have also sparked armed wars. This paper's objective is to propose an initial set of variables and a model by which nations can determine the value of asserting such sovereignty, specifically over island territories.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea defines islands as “naturally formed land that is surrounded by water which is above water at high tides,” and that must be capable of supporting habitation.⁹ For the purposes of this paper, island territories are further defined by the terms listed in Appendix 5 issued by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Practically, island territories are those that have a sovereign connection to an administering nation for security or governance. One of the key assumptions of this paper is that there is a fundamental difference between territorial ownership or administration of an island and mainland sovereignty. There is an

⁶ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission, “Ukraine: civilian casualty update 21 April, 2022,” 21 April, 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/news/2022/04/ukraine-civilian-casualty-update-21-april-2022#:~:text=OHCHR%20notes%20the%20report%20of,killed%2C%20including%20women%20and%20children.>

⁷ Téa Kvetenadze, “Armenia and Azerbaijan See Deadly Violence At Border Again A Year After War,” *Forbes*, 16 November 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/teakvetenadze/2021/11/16/armenia-and-azerbaijan-see-deadly-violence-at-border-again-a-year-after-war/?sh=4a7479781c87>

⁸ Eve Conant, “Six of the World's most worrisome disputed territories,” *National Geographic online*, article updated 28 September 2021, <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/article/six-worlds-most-worrisome-disputed-territories/12th-grade/>

⁹ United Nations Convention on The Law of the Sea, “The Regime of Islands, Legislative History of Part VIII (Article 121),” 1988, https://www.un.org/Depts/los/doalos_publications/publicationstexts/E_87_V_11_e.pdf

autonomy that insular or overseas territories possess which leaves room for independent decisions in a way that is completely different from the fully integrated parts of a country. In the case of the United Kingdom, there is a difference between the Falkland Islands or Bermuda and mainland England. The Falkland Islands have their own government that can make decisions independently (to an extent) from the British Government.¹⁰ Two terms regarding sovereignty will help distinguish this difference for the purposes of this essay. The first is “partial sovereignty” which is sovereignty over island territories (the United States example is Guam or the U.S. Virgin Islands) and the second is absolute sovereignty which is comprehensive with no autonomous government or potential for self-determination which could result in independence (the United States example is Hawaii or California).

There are a variety of examples where global powers willingly ceded control of island territories or granted them complete independence. In 1861, the United Kingdom ceded sovereignty over the Bay Colonies (a collection of islands off Honduras) to Honduran sovereign control.¹¹ In 1972, the United States turned over sovereignty of Swan Island to Honduras, an island originally claimed by the United States under the Guano Islands Act of 1856.¹² This is one of 30 uninhabited islands that the United States ceded control to other nations over the past 50 years.¹³ It is seemingly paradoxical why these two powers would relinquish control over islands like these while still holding tightly to others. Why would the United States willingly relinquish control over

¹⁰ Falkland Islands Government, “The Legislative Assembly,” December 24, 2020, <https://www.falklands.gov.fk/assembly/the-constitution/about>

¹¹ David Waddell. “Great Britain and the Bay Islands, 1821-61.” *The Historical Journal* 2, no. 1 (1959): 59–77.

¹² United Nations Treaty no 12199, *United States of America and Honduras, Treaty on the Swan Islands*, signed at San Pedro Sula November 22, 1971. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20851/volume-851-I-12199-English.pdf>; Daniel Immerwahr, “Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Guano, but were Afraid to Ask,” *YouTube* - Lecture given at the Huntington, March 8, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnI4l6rFuHI&t=1948s>

¹³ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Insular Affairs, “Formerly Disputed Islands,” (no date), <https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/disputedislands>

Swan, which hosted federal resources and meteorological equipment,¹⁴ and yet retain Navassa Island which has little more than an abandoned lighthouse? It is important to get to a deeper understanding on questions like these and ultimately determine why global powers continue to identify sovereignty or partial sovereign control of island territories as important, if not vital.

In the 21st century in which both the globalization of economies and self-determination for sovereignty are stated concepts that most modern societies embrace,¹⁵ what drives nations like the United States or the United Kingdom to retain territorial ownership of possessions that are disputed? How do nations determine the level of interest in retention of such island territories? This paper proposes a series of variables and a model that can help in determining such a value. The primary two examples of disputed island territories used throughout this paper are the uninhabited Navassa Island in the Caribbean (currently disputed between the United States and Haiti)¹⁶ and the inhabited Falkland Islands (currently disputed between the United Kingdom and Argentina).¹⁷ The armed conflict over the Falkland Islands, more than 8,000 miles from the UK, resulted in the loss of 255 British military, more than 650 Argentine military, and three civilian

¹⁴ Immerwahr, “Everything You Always Wanted to Know.”

¹⁵ United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, “Declaration on the granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,” General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), December 14, 1960, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/declaration-granting-independence-colonial-countries-and-peoples>; Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), “Self Determination,” September 21, 2017, <https://unpo.org/article/4957#:~:text=Essentially%2C%20the%20right%20to%20self,economic%2C%20cultural%20and%20social%20development>.

¹⁶ Miami Herald Staff, “Did the US steal an island covered in bird poop from Haiti,” *Tampa Bay Times*, November 26, 2020, <https://www.tampabay.com/news/2020/11/26/did-the-us-steal-an-island-covered-in-bird-poop-from-haiti-a-fortune-is-in-dispute/#:~:text=For%20more%20than%20160%20years,once%20worth%20a%20king's%20ransom>.

¹⁷ AFP, “Argentina’s Falklands obsession thrives 40 years after the war,” *France24*, March 31, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220331-argentina-s-falklands-obsession-thrives-40-years-after-war>; United Nations Archives, S-1024-00830-02, General Assembly Document – Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People, “Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas),” A/AC.109/793, August 21, 1984. The span of this 38 years between the UN document(s) and news coverage such as this article that appeared in *France24* captures both the roots of the dispute and the fact that it is anticipated to continue for the foreseeable future.

lives.¹⁸ This case in particular serves as a recent and salient example of a larger power reaffirming its partial sovereignty over a remote island(s).

An important point must be stated for this paper when it comes to determining the “value” of retaining or ceding sovereignty of island territories. This paper does not underestimate or minimize the importance of populations or the contributions of individual citizens from island territories. Assigning an objective “value” to an island or territory may involuntarily offend a citizen of such an island who feels indivisibly connected or loyal to the administering nation or for whom the value of their island or home, like so many, may be without price. This paper incorporates such individual interests by factoring them into population, international, and domestic political variable values. However, this paper does not seek to assign a value to human individuals or citizens residing on such island territories. The primary goal of this essay is to propose a strategic analysis tool that can help identify the value of island territorial claims.

¹⁸ Britannica.com, “Falkland Islands War,” Edited 30 November 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Falkland-Islands-War/The-course-of-the-conflict>

CHAPTER 2 - Variables of National Interest in Island Territories

Identifying methods by which to measure national interest in policy decisions is not new. Professor Charles Chong-Han Wu of the island of Taiwan's National Chengchi University produced a paper using confirmatory and exploratory factor analysis methods to determine the empirical value of national interests. He concluded there are three primary categories of variables in which national decisions fall: "security, economic, and community."¹⁹ Professor Wu of Taiwan might have a particular interest in a method by which larger powers might calculate the value of partial sovereignty over islands. Wu's paper identifies sub-variables of measurement and incorporates significant amounts of data including financial export data, market value, global economic share, etc to arrive at his solutions.²⁰ However, Professor Wu's methods of data analysis are more applicable for broader strategic political decision points, such as the decision of whether to go to war or end a war, whereas this paper is more concerned with a much narrower topic of island territorial ownership. As such, the variables for this need to be more specific. This paper proposes a new set of possible variables aimed at evaluating national interest specifically for island territories. The result is a preliminary proposed model of how nations can evaluate the strategic value of maintaining partial sovereignty over an island territory.

The research that was done for this paper was based on an examination of historical claims of partial sovereignty over several island territories, with a particular focus on the Falkland Islands and Navassa Island. United Nations digital and hard copy archives served as integral sources in understanding the historical debates which in turn aided in identifying themes behind the claims. Additionally, an analysis of official government websites of especially the Falkland Islands, the

¹⁹ Charles Chong-Han Wu, "Understanding the Structures and Contents of National Interests: An Analysis of Structural Equation Modeling," *Korean Journal of International Studies*, 15, no 3, (December, 2017), 391-420.

²⁰ Wu, "Understanding the Structure."

United Kingdom, and the United States, provided a qualitative assessment of how these governments currently approach their partial sovereignty. Furthermore, numerous newspaper articles aided in understanding the past and current international and domestic temperature and opinions regarding claims of sovereignty. Ralph Perl's comprehensive book on the legal dispute over the Falkland Islands was an integral source for getting a deeper understanding of territory sovereignty disputes, sources of national interest, and identifying the themes that led to the variables used in this paper.²¹ Michael Beckley has illustrated the importance of measuring the net-resources (assets minus liabilities) of a nation to determine the power it wields on the global stage.²² His research shows the importance of a mathematically based method to arrive at quantitative assessments of a nation's "power." This paper looks specifically at island territory value. Based on a comprehensive qualitative review of the sources described, this paper proposes there are six recurrent key themes that drive national interest in island territory ownership. These themes serve as the six primary variables for this paper and are listed below with associated definitions and examples:

- 1) *Population Influence* (only applicable to inhabited territories): This variable is rooted in the principle of self-determination. For populated territories, this has historically been a significant influence in a nation determining partial sovereignty.²³ This value should be determined based on how inhabitants vote on or indicate preferences on remaining connected to the larger sovereign nation. For example, even though Guam held a vote on self-determination in 1982, there remains resistance from those in Guam to the results. The Guam Decolonization Commission was established in 1997 and there

²¹ Perl, *Falkland Islands Dispute*.

²² Michael Beckley, "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters." *International Security* 2018; 43 no 2: 7–44.

²³ BBC News, "Falklands referendum, Voters choose to remain UK territory," *BBC News.com*, March 12, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-21750909>

is an ongoing effort to pursue another plebiscite for a new vote on self-determination that is more incorporative of the native Chamorro population.²⁴ This is one example of both the complexities and influence populations have on the value of exercising partial sovereignty. If an island does not have human habitation, this variable will not be included.

- 2) *Natural Resource Value*: This variable incorporates the natural resources available, or potentially available, on the island or within the exclusive economic zone and continental shelf of the island. This value will only incorporate known existing resources.
- 3) *Geo-Strategic Importance*: This variable considers the strategic location of island territory. This includes military and diplomatic strategic advantages of the location of the island. An example of this is the position of Guam for the United States which provides a convenient source of geographic access, based on sovereign presence, to Southeast Asia.
- 4) *Domestic Political Influence*: This variable considers the influence from domestic constituencies on their nation's government exercising partial sovereignty over an island territory. The domestic audience includes those only within the absolute sovereign borders of the nation. This domestic influence shapes how a nation values an overseas territory. Based on the assessment of the audience's attitudes this value can have a positive or negative score. For example, a 2012 poll of 1,000 British citizens

²⁴ United Nations Transcript, "Statement by Lislalinda Natividad on behalf of the Non-Self Governing Territory of Guam to the Pacific Regional Seminar on the Implementation of the Third Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism: Current Realities and Prospectus," Quito, Ecuador, May 30 through June 1, 2012, PRS/2012/CRP.9, https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/sites/www.un.org.dppa.decolonization/files/2012_5_nsigt_guam.pdf

indicated that 61% support partial sovereignty and defense of the Falkland Islands.²⁵ This indicates a positive domestic score support for maintaining partial sovereignty. Conversely, if polls indicated a negative view, it would result in a more negative domestic political score.

- 5) *International Political Influence*: This variable considers the influences from the international community. This value can be influenced positively or negatively. For example, an ally may give positive international support for another nation to retain partial sovereignty of an island. An example of this could be Japan or Australia's support (demonstrated in a joint military exercise) for U.S. presence in Guam.²⁶ On the other hand there are some cases where there is strong international opposition to another nation exercising partial sovereignty over an island territory. In 2019, the United Nations General Assembly voted 116 to 6 in opposition to the UK retaining possession of British Indian Ocean Territory (Chagos).²⁷ An analysis of both positive and negative international political influence provides an international political variable score.
- 6) *Costs of Maintaining Sovereignty*: This variable takes into account the financial cost of administering or exercising partial sovereignty over an island territory. This financial cost considers providing funding, defense or security, infrastructure, disaster response, or other similar costs that the administering power incurs. This value will typically

²⁵ Tom Clark, "British should protect Falkland Islands 'at all costs,' say 61% of voters," *The Guardian*, March 20, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/mar/20/falkland-islands-guardian-icm-poll>.

²⁶ U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, "Australia, U.S., Japan converge on Guam for Cope North 22," January 27, 2022, <https://www.pacom.mil/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/2914816/australia-japan-us-converge-on-guam-for-cope-north-22/>

²⁷ The Guardian Editorial Board, "The Guardian view on Britain and the Chagos Islands: a wake-up call from the world," *The Guardian*, May 23, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/23/the-guardian-view-on-britain-and-the-chagos-islands-a-wake-up-call-from-the-world>

carry a negative score unless there is little to no cost (example in Figure 1 illustrates the negative value of cost in red).

Levels of Value of National Interest & Example

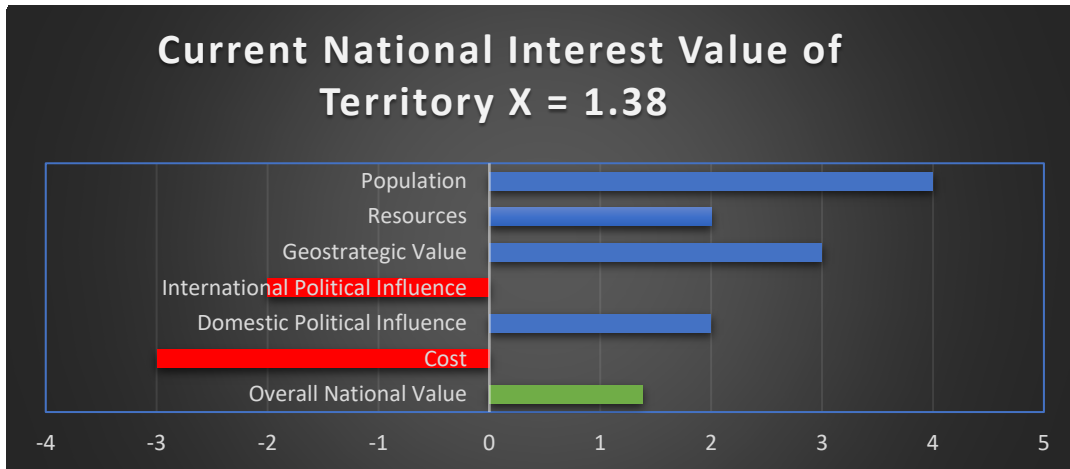
It is not just enough to identify these themes or variables. The next step is to identify a scale by which these variables can be measured and therefore factored into an overall national interest score. This paper adopted the four levels of national interest in Dr. Graham Allison's hierarchy found in the *Commission on America's National Interests*. These four levels of national interest are "vital, extremely important, important, and secondary."²⁸ This model approaches the variables in an intentionally broad and uniform way, while it is understandable that in many situations some variables will be valued higher than others. However, that is also part of the point of the model. To identify specifically a situation where an individual variable may be singularly valued or potentially overvalued.

When determining how each variable is measured, an example diagram below captures this method. Vital interests are given a score of 4, extremely important = 3, important = 2, and secondary = 1. Variables can also incur an inverse or negative value. The variables such as cost or international political value can result in a negative national interest value as well (as reflected below with red colors on the bar graph). Determining a value for a variable in this paper is based on a broad qualitative analysis. The average of the sum of the variables is taken to arrive with an overall national interest score. In the example below for "Territory X" the sum of all six variables equals 9. The average of that score is taken and the resultant score for the national interest of Territory X equals 1.38 in this case. This indicates the value of Territory X is somewhere between

²⁸ Graham Allison, "America's National Interests," *The Commission on America's National Interests*, p 2, July 2000. Available here: <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/amernatinter.pdf>

secondary and important. It will be restated here that the value arrived is a present value and does not incorporate the potential future value.

FIGURE 1 – Example of Current Assessed Value



It is important that this paper be recognized as initial exploration in methods in quantifying historical information on the value of island territories. While some may take issue with a subjective approach to qualitative data that results in a quantitative score, the values arrived at in this paper use a holistic interpretation of government position(s), statements, archives, media reports, journals and books, as well as polls to arrive at the scores. This is a novel approach to the age-old issue of territorial sovereignty and value. The use of individual or a collection of historic documents to assert the righteousness over sovereign claims for islands continues to achieve stalemate, as shown by Perl in his weighty book on the Falkland Islands dispute.²⁹ This approach opens a new avenue, offering new means to resolve island disputes. While the numerical solutions arrived at in this paper are debatable, so too are many historic claims of sovereignty of island territories based on unprocessed historical data.

²⁹ Perl, *The Falkland Islands Dispute*.

CHAPTER 3 – Six Variables in Depth

Population

One of the most influential aspects of territorial administration or ownership is whether there are people who live permanently within its boundaries. This is a key variable in the extent to which a nation exerts governance over an island territory or the value that it places on the island. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, Regime on Islands, makes such a distinction that it goes so far as to refuse exclusive economic zone claims to uninhabitable islands. Paragraph three of Article 121 specifically states, “Rocks which cannot sustain human habitation or economic life of their own shall have no exclusive economic zone or continental shelf.”³⁰ This important distinction by a leading authority on sovereignty disputes highlights the fact that islands with habitation have an internationally recognized and fundamentally different value when compared to islands that cannot support permanent human habitation.

Populations on island territories contribute to the partial sovereignty status of these islands because they have a unique authority to lobby for and hold plebiscites for independence, whereas populations residing in absolute sovereignty realms do not. The United Nations decolonization efforts, to which the United States and the United Kingdom are party to, are targeted largely at the remaining territories of these two nations. The stated goals of this decolonization charter are for all remaining non-self-governing territories, in accordance with self-determination, to establish complete integration, independence, or free association with the administering powers.³¹ This implies a distinct difference in sovereignty of the administering powers and their island territories.

³⁰ United Nations Convention on The Law of the Sea, “The Regime of Islands, Legislative History of Part VIII (Article 121),” 1988, https://www.un.org/Depts/los/doalos_publications/publicationstexts/E_87_V_11_e.pdf

³¹ United Nations, “United Nations and Decolonization,” (no date listed) <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en/about#:~:text=2010,2020,the%20interests%20of%20dependent%20peoples.>

The variable of population is complex for island territories that have them. For one, inhabited island territories carry with them an additional security requirement when compared with those of uninhabited territories. For example, the United States has an obligation to protect the U.S. citizens of Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands in the same way it does any other citizens of the United States. At the same time, the citizens of these territories contribute to national security. Citizens of U.S. insular territories contribute more than 20,000 individuals to the military service.³² Additionally, the territories of the United States contributed just over 1 percent of the total federal tax revenue for 2020.³³ Ironically (or not) the insular territories make up approximately 1 percent of the population of the United States.³⁴ This is a distinct difference with the British Overseas Territories or Crown Dependencies, neither of which contribute tax revenue to the United Kingdom, and yet still incur a defense cost.³⁵ These are just some of the differences and nuances the variable of population has on island territories of the United States and the United Kingdom.

Another key difference of populated island territories is how resources are accessed or harvested. This is typically more complex than territories that are uninhabited. In Guam for example, there is current resistance to U.S. military base expansion.³⁶ This type of resistance would likely not be experienced in uninhabited islands. The British government controversially removed 1,500 individuals, who identified themselves as native Chagossians, from a British Overseas Territory in the Indian Ocean in the late 1960's. This was in coordination with the United States

³² National Conference of State Legislatures, "The Territories: They are US," Infographic, January, 2018, https://www.ncsl.org/Portals/1/Documents/magazine/articles/2018/SL_0118-Stats.pdf

³³ IRS.gov, *FY202 Tax Revenue Chart, Gross Collections by type of Tax and State*, <https://www.irs.gov/statistics/soi-tax-stats-gross-collections-by-type-of-tax-and-state-irs-data-book-table-5>

³⁴ National Conference of State Legislatures, "The Territories."

³⁵ BBC News, "Panama Papers Q&A: British Overseas Territories and Crown dependencies," *BBC.com*, April 5, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-35969481>

³⁶ Francis Nguyen, "Guam won't give up more land to the U.S. military without a fight," *Prism*, June 4, 2021, <https://prismreports.org/2021/06/04/guam-wont-give-up-more-land-to-the-u-s-military-without-a-fight/>

to place a military base on the island.³⁷ The initial £3,000 compensation did not meet the long-term needs of many who ended up in poverty or worse.³⁸ After a recent international court ruling, it appears Britain is approaching additional compensation with more resources, including free paths to citizenship for descendants of native Chagossians.³⁹ However, the removed population and their descendants continue to voice their desire to return to their home. These examples show how the variable of population plays an integral role and thus is a key variable in determining the overall value placed on an overseas territory by an administering nation.

One of the key sources of disputes regarding the Falkland Islands is centered on the population's history, which between the years of 1760 and 1833 is somewhat complex. The following is a summary on the various settlements on the Falklands during this period, as relayed by Perl. The first documented settlement began in 1764 by the French but was short lived and ceded to Spain in 1767.⁴⁰ Between 1771 to 1774, there was both a British settlement and a Spanish settlements on the islands. Even though the Spanish drove the British settlement out of the Falklands in 1770 by force, in 1771 the government of Spain disavowed this action, in effect apologizing for using military force. The British reestablished their settlement, but abandoned it in 1774 for economic reasons. However, upon leaving they left a plaque in effect claiming that despite the absence of a population, the islands belonged to the British. In 1826, ten years after achieving independence from Spain, Argentina established a settlement on the Falklands.⁴¹

³⁷ John Pilger, "How Britain forcefully depopulated a whole Archipelago," *Aljazeera.com*, February 25, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/2/25/how-britain-forcefully-depopulated-a-whole-archipelago>

³⁸ Pilger, "How Britain forcefully depopulated."

³⁹ Jamie Grierson, "Chagos Islands descendants can apply to become British nationals," *The Guardian*, March 23, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/23/chagos-islands-descendants-can-apply-to-become-british-nationals#:~:text=%E2%80%9CWe%20are%20pleased%20to%20be,years%20of%20the%20route%20launching.%E2%80%9D>

⁴⁰ Perl, *The Falkland Islands Dispute*, 5.

⁴¹ Perl, *The Falkland Islands Dispute*, 5-24.

Argentina held their settlement for five years, but in 1831 things took a turn for the worse when they seized three U.S. vessels for fishing and harvesting seals around the islands. The U.S. response was swift and unrestrained. Sending three warships, they destroyed the Argentine settlement and proclaimed that the islands were ungoverned. This declaration does not appear to have had international backing or support, but it opened a window for the British who shortly after, in 1832, reestablished their foothold on the island with a settlement. In 1833 the British removed the remaining Argentinians, and in 1845 the British Colonial Office finalized a governing solution to this settlement which remained in effect up until the 1982 invasion by Argentina. Except for this brief period of interruption in the early 1980s, the UK has retained what it believes to be sovereign control over the islands.⁴²

Since 1833 there has been a population on the Falklands that has sustained British ties.⁴³ As of 2021, approximately 3,200 people of various ethnicities live on the Falklands.⁴⁴ In March 2013, in an act of self-determination, the Falkland Islanders voted overwhelmingly to remain a British overseas territory.⁴⁵ Argentina disputes this vote, claiming the Falkland Islanders do not have a right to self-determination because they occupy the islands that belong rightfully to the Argentinians.⁴⁶ However, despite Argentina's position on the 2013 vote, the fact of the matter remains that the population of the Falkland Islanders overwhelmingly affirm British ties. Argentina's position does not have a significant impact on the current population or on the population value score. Despite the historic diversity of the settlements on the Falklands, the reality

⁴² Perl, *Falkland Islands Dispute*, 5-24; Meilan Solly, "A Brief History of the Falklands War," *Smithsonian Magazine*, November 23, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/brief-history-falklands-war-180976349/>

⁴³ Michael White, "Who first owned the Falkland Islands," *The Guardian*, February 2, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/blog/2012/feb/02/who-first-owned-falkland-islands>

⁴⁴ Falkland Islands Government, "Our People," 27 October 2021, <https://www.falklands.gov.fk/our-people>

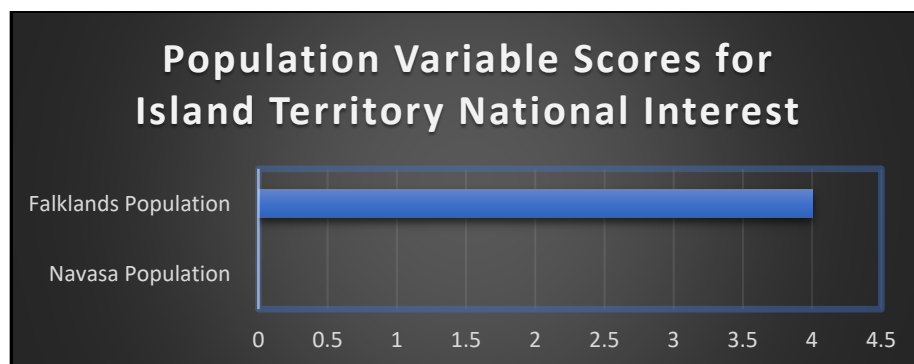
⁴⁵ BBC News, "Falklands Referendum: Voters choose to remain UK territory," *BBC*, March 12, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-21750909>;

⁴⁶ Dana Ford, Catherine E. Shoichet and Laura Smith-Spark, "Argentina's President Calls Falklands Vote 'Parody'," *CNN.com*, March 12, 2013, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/03/12/world/americas/falklands-referendum/index.html>

is that for almost 200 years, the settlement has retained British ties. This, coupled with the Falklander’s 2013 vote to remain a British Territory, added to the fact that a war was fought in 1982 to sustain their sovereign connection, all result in a high population score. Based on this qualitative analysis, a score of +4 is given for the population variable for the Falkland Islands. If the population was more divided on its desires to remain a British territory or if there was a large movement within the population to seek complete independence, these types of activities would impact the score for a lower result. As it stands, there is almost no resistance from the current population.⁴⁷

Navassa Island is currently uninhabited and therefore has no population to govern, defend or who can contribute to the U.S. through taxes. Since Navassa has no current population and because there is no intention or plans to sustain a permanent settlement any time soon, Navassa’s score would be “0.” As such, the population variable would not be included in the calculus for Navassa’s overall value score to the United States.

FIGURE 2: Population Variable Scores for Falklands and Navassa



Natural Resources

One of the most economically beneficial reasons to have sovereignty, partial or complete, of any land mass including an island territory is the access to the resources the territory provides.

⁴⁷ BBC News, “Falklands Referendum.”

While the value of natural resources is constantly changing based on technology or supply and demand, many governments long recognize that possession is nine-tenths of the law.⁴⁸ Ownership typically provides fewer obstructions to extracting or harvesting such resources. This paper acknowledges there are many methods for taking measures of natural resource value. Table - 1 on page six of Ulibarri and Wellman's 1997 report to the U.S. Department of Energy provides an extensive range of possibilities by which to evaluate natural resources. The different methods are useful for different types of resource evaluation, especially sources of energy.⁴⁹ This paper takes a broader view of the resource values for the example of the island territories of the Falklands and Navassa.

The Falklands are a resource rich territory, particularly within its EEZ where some resources have yet to be fully explored or harvested. In a 2021 speech to the Falkland Island Assembly, the Falklands Governor Nigel Phillips, highlighted agriculture and fisheries as the current lead contributors followed by oil exploitation which has an uncertain future for the Falklands economy.⁵⁰ The governor was clear, based on his speech, that the economy of the Falklands is doing exceptionally well financially, despite the impacts on tourism from the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵¹ While the exploitation of these resources would go to benefit the Falklanders tax base, which is independent of the United Kingdom, there is a benefit to maintaining them within the UK's sovereign grasp. If nothing else, it prevents adversaries or other interested parties from

⁴⁸ John Duncan, "Uti Possidetis: Is Possession Really Nine-Tenths of the Law - The Acquisition of Territory by the United States: Why, How, and Should We," *McGeorge Law Review* 38, no. 2 (2007): 513-544

⁴⁹ C.A. Ulibarri & K. F. Wellman, "Natural Resource Valuation: A Primer on Concepts and Techniques," *Report prepared for the U.S. Dept. of Energy under Contract DE-AC06-76RLO 1830*, July 1997, https://inis.iaea.org/collection/NCLCollectionStore/_Public/30/026/30026197.pdf

⁵⁰ Nigel Phillips, "Falkland Islands: Governor's annual budget speech 2021," transcript of speech delivered at Falkland Islands Assembly, June 1, 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/falkland-islands-governors-annual-budget-speech-2021>

⁵¹ Phillips "Falkland Islands."

exploiting them for their own benefit, thus helping the UK sustain a larger share of resource and power potential.

The administration of the resources within the Falklands is (and has been) a major sticking point between the United Kingdom and Argentina. According to the March 2021 “United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,” Argentina has repeatedly requested the United Kingdom work with them when it comes to fisheries management, oil exploration or exploitation, or any other resource use of the Falklands.⁵² The United Kingdom, at least since 1982,⁵³ asserts that the resources of the Falklands and its territorial sea and exclusive economic zone belong to the Falklanders.⁵⁴ Despite this, the fact remains that the Falklands are part of the United Kingdom, and therefore the resources fall under the United Kingdom’s ownership as well. For resource value, the Falklands would receive a score of +3 given the oil potential, as well as the other natural resources that they bring to the table.

Navassa’s acquisition as an island territory of the United States is originally based on a natural resource value it held in abundance, bird guano. Professor Daniel Immerwahr, of Northwestern University, discusses at length the United States use of the Guano Islands Act of 1856 throughout the latter half of the 19th century.⁵⁵ In effect, if an American prospector of bird

⁵² United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, A/AC.109/2021/6, March 2021, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N21/054/42/PDF/N2105442.pdf?OpenElement>

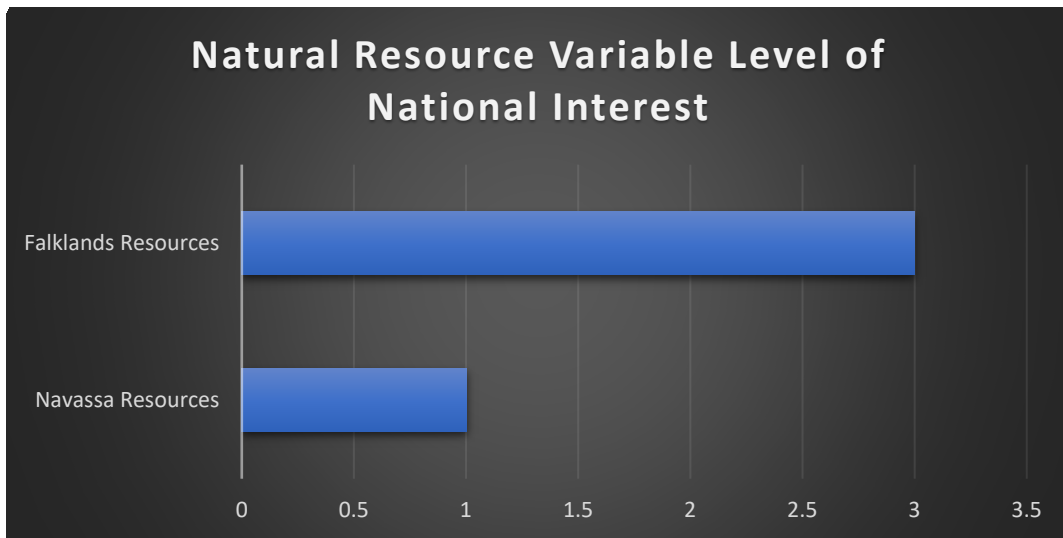
⁵³ Larissa MacFarquhar, “How prosperity changed the Falklands,” *New Yorker*, June 29, 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/07/06/how-prosperity-transformed-the-falklands>. MacFarquhar points out that the economy of the Falklands was in many ways almost medieval until after the Argentine invasion of 1982. This interesting perspective points toward a shift in the British approach to overseas territory administration to better reflect self-determination and United Nations stated principles.

⁵⁴ Alice Ruzza, “The Falkland Islands and the UK vs Argentina Oil Dispute: Which legal Regime,” *Goettingen Journal of International Law* 3 (2011) 1, 71-99. The author points toward Britain’s use of “self-determination” of the islanders when it comes to resource rights as well on pp 79. https://www.gojil.eu/issues/31/31_article_ruzza.pdf

⁵⁵ Daniel Immerwahr, “Everything You Always.”

guano came across an island that was not claimed by another nation, that prospector could claim the island for the United States and harvest the resource - guano.⁵⁶ Navassa’s original acquisition by the U.S. under this act took place shortly after in 1857, and this claim has not changed since.⁵⁷ What has changed however is the current natural resource value. Navassa is now treated as a wildlife refuge and maintained as such by the United States, including a 12 nautical mile radius territorial sea around the island.⁵⁸ While this protection status of Navassa has been in effect since 1999, it does not nullify the potential for future resource use in the event the U.S. deems it necessary later. There is inherent resource potential by having possession of an island that brings with it a territorial sea and a exclusive economic zone. In this sense, rarely would an island’s resource score a 0. Navassa’s natural resource value currently is given a score of “+1” based on its benefits as a protected sanctuary in the Caribbean.

FIGURE 3: Natural Resource Scores for Falklands and Navassa Islands



⁵⁶ Immerwahr, “Everything You Always.”

⁵⁷ Miami Herald Staff, “Did the US steal an island.”

⁵⁸ NOAA Coral Reef Information System, “Navassa,” undated U.S. Federal Government Web post, last accessed April 20, 2022, <https://www.coris.noaa.gov/portals/navassa.html>; Margaret W. Miller, (Ed.) 2003. Status of reef resources of Navassa Island: Cruise report November, 2002. NOAA Technical Memorandum NMFS-SEFSC-501, 119, <https://repository.library.noaa.gov/view/noaa/434>

Geostrategic Position

When it comes to geopolitics and geostrategy, overseas territories have long been valued for their proximity to both ally and foe and the lines of communication that they provide to military needs.⁵⁹ The proverbial “keep your friends close, and enemies closer,” (most often attributed to Sun Tzu)⁶⁰ is never more salient than in the world of geopolitics and geostrategy, and islands help achieve these geostrategic goals. It is not just military opportunities that become advantageous in territorial ownership. Diplomatic avenues become wider and economic or other national security opportunities become possible, simply because the proximity of presence results in more interactions with the neighboring nations. The U.S. presence in the Pacific through its own territorial claims has provided opportunities for cooperation with smaller island nations throughout the Pacific theater.⁶¹ By fostering these relationships diplomatically, which are able to be reinforced by U.S. proximity and presence with Guam and other island territories in the Pacific, the U.S. is able to have greater influence with these partners and aid in curbing adversarial threats in the region.

History has shown that rising global powers often seek island territories for their geostrategic importance. Shortly before World War I, Germany was desperately trying to acquire overseas territories to expand their empire and economic influence. As Dr. Williamson Murray

⁵⁹ HM Government “Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy,” March, 2021, 13.
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/975077/Global_Britain_in_a_Competitive_Age_the_Integrated_Review_of_Security_Defence_Development_and_Foreign_Policy.pdf

⁶⁰ Raymond Dennis, “Keep your friends close and enemies closer? Not in cyberspace.” *U.S. Naval Institute*, November, 2019, <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2019/november/keep-your-friends-close-and-your-enemies-closer-not-cyberspace#:~:text=Sun%20Tzu%20is%20credited%20with,enemies%20continue%20to%20get%20closer.>

⁶¹ U.S. Department of State, Office of the Spokesperson, “The United States-Fiji Relationship and Our Partnership for Peace, Stability, and Prosperity,” *Dept. of State*, February 11, 2022, <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-fiji-relationship-and-our-partnership-for-peace-stability-and-prosperity/#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20has%20partnered,hub%20for%20training%20and%20excellence;>

points out, the lack of these possessions directly contributed to their inability to compete in the maritime domain, as well as access global resources needed to sustain the drawn-out conflict.⁶² Having such islands could have provided additional bases to support sea lines of communication as well as other tactical advantages to combat the British and Americans during the conflict. While there are some additional liabilities inherent in adding additional bases or islands, the opportunities in acquiring them have proven themselves historically and currently. Japan's aims in World War II were also linked to strategic island chains and resources in the Pacific. They occupied several islands including ones in the Aleutian Island chain of the United States.⁶³ As China continues to rise in national power, their interest in strategic islands in the East and South China Seas also continues to grow.⁶⁴ These examples show how powerful and aspiring nations see the geostrategic value of islands.

The Falkland Islands current geostrategic value is debatable. They satisfy a geographic void, as the UK does not own any other air or seaports of the same quality within this region of the South Atlantic. Additionally, the Falklands provide an Antarctic exploration staging and logistics hub close to the British Antarctic Territory.⁶⁵ At the same time, the UK maintains partial sovereignty over these islands in a hemisphere where the only current threat to their interests is objectively resultant from the claim to the Falklands. From this geostrategic point of view, it can be argued that the Falklands provide more disadvantages than advantages. Additionally, when it comes to lines of communication, the Panama Canal's access, and close ties to its ally the United

⁶² Williamson Murray, "Naval Power in World War 1," In *Seapower and Strategy*, ed. Colin S. Gray & Roger W. Barnett, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1989), 209.

⁶³ Sebastian Roblin, "The forgotten story of how Imperial Japan invaded Alaska," *1945*, July 11, 2021, <https://www.19fortyfive.com/2021/07/the-forgotten-story-of-how-imperial-japan-invaded-alaska/>

⁶⁴ Ashish Kumar Sen, "A rising China has Pacific Islands in its sights," *United States Institute for Peace*, July 23, 2020, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2020/07/rising-china-has-pacific-islands-its-sights>

⁶⁵ British Antarctic Survey - Natural Environment Research Council, "Falkland Islands Office," accessed April 21, 2022, <https://www.bas.ac.uk/polar-operations/sites-and-facilities/facility/falklands-office/>

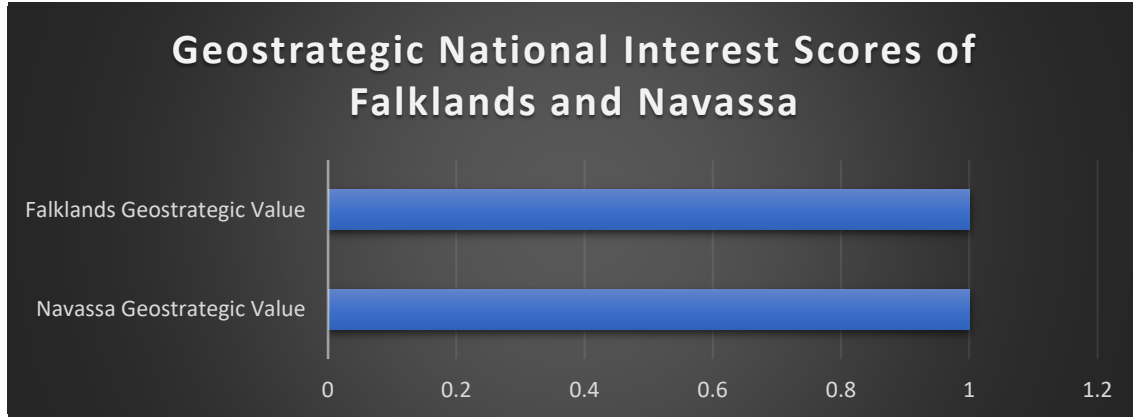
States, somewhat nullifies the need for a logistics hub in the deep South Atlantic for either transoceanic shipping or military transport. In comparison, Ascension Island, which was used as a critical staging port by the British during their conflict with Argentina over the Falklands,⁶⁶ still provides a clear advantage as a mid-Atlantic Ocean port or logistics hub. It is difficult to imagine a scenario where the Falklands provides a similar advantage. Given the current geopolitical situation it is also difficult to see a scenario where the Falklands play a critical strategic defense role for the United Kingdom. Based on this analysis, the Falkland Islands are given a +1 geostrategic value score.

Navassa Island's geostrategic value is also questionable. For the United States, Navassa is like the Falklands for the United Kingdom. Currently the geostrategic value of Navassa appears to be low. The United States has a Naval Station at Guantanamo Bay, as well as undisputed territory in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The proximity of Navassa to these locations makes the geostrategic value of Navassa negligible. Due to its size, five square kilometers, and lack of ports or infrastructure,⁶⁷ it is difficult to see any current benefit Navassa provides from a geostrategic point of view to the United States. At the same time, given tensions with Venezuela and Cuba, it may provide a useful staging or logistics support position at a future date should the need arrive. Given these factors, Navassa's geostrategic value is rated at +1.

⁶⁶ Arthur M. Smith, "Logistics in the Falklands War," *Journal of Veterans and Military Health*, 25 no 1, (January, 2017), <https://jmvh.org/article/logistics-in-the-falklands-war/>; Special to the New York Times, "Ascension Island: A vital bit of volcanic rock," *New York Times*, April 10, 1982, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1982/04/10/054283.html?pageNumber=6>

⁶⁷ NOAA Infographic, "NOAA Coral Reef Ecosystem Research Plan," 2005, https://www.coris.noaa.gov/activities/coral_research_plan/pdfs/navassa_island.pdf

FIGURE 4: Geostrategic Value of Falklands and Navassa Islands



Domestic Political Influence

When it comes to how a nation considers or values overseas territories, domestic political factors have always shaped and reflected attitudes towards island territories. Domestic audiences are considered those within the sovereign borders of the administering nation, not the population of the island territory. In democratic nations in particular, domestic influences can be particularly potent. For example Andrew Payne, international relations research fellow at Oxford, argues domestic political influence plays a major role in how diplomacy and military strategies are shaped.⁶⁸ His research indicates domestic politics had significant influences on the decisions whether to invade, withdraw, or build up forces during the conflict in Iraq.⁶⁹

Domestic political influences on island territories have been prevalent in history. As pointed out in *How to Hide an Empire* by Northwestern’s Dr. Daniel Immerwahr, it was a widespread belief in the American public, before World War II, that if Japan attacked territories in the Pacific, this would not justify a declaration of war by the United States.⁷⁰ While there is

⁶⁸ Andrew Payne, “How Domestic Politics Affects Military Strategy – And Why Military Leaders Need to Understand It,” *Modern War Institute at West Point*, March 22, 2022, <https://mwi.usma.edu/how-domestic-politics-affects-military-strategy-and-why-military-leaders-need-to-understand-it/>

⁶⁹ Payne, “How Domestic Politics.”

⁷⁰ Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States*, (New York: Picador 2019), 6.

room to believe this sentiment has changed since the 1940s, there are still many misperceptions of the territories which influence domestic opinion. For example, after devastating hurricanes ravaged Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands in 2017, a New York Times poll indicated many (just short of 50 percent) mainland Americans did not know these disasters impacted U.S. Citizens.⁷¹ And yet, in a Gallup poll taken in 2019, 66 percent of Americans indicated support for Puerto Rico's statehood.⁷² While there is room for error in polls, the takeaway from these statistics indicates two important things. First, there is a general lack of understanding within domestic audiences on U.S. territories; Professor Immerwahr's book also confirms this to be a recurrent historic issue.⁷³ Secondly, it indicates that the opinions of the domestic audience and constituency carry value, whether they are aware of the territories or not. Their lack of knowledge impacts the domestic temperature or value that the administering nation places on them.

Cyprus is a good example of the way domestic politics influence island territory, or nation. The influence of Greek and Turkish domestic politics that play a major role in how Cyprus has been shaped.⁷⁴ In an effort to appease the audiences of both Turkish and Greek ethnicities, the 1960 constitution of Cyprus was designed to include representation from both. The constitution required the president to be of Greek ethnicity and the vice president to be of Turkish ethnicity.⁷⁵ Despite this attempt to appease both sides, the division in power ultimately did not accomplish the objective and resulted in a fracture between both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The Turkish military

⁷¹ Kyle Dropp & Brendan Nyhan, "Nearly half of Americans don't know Puerto Ricans are fellow citizens," September 26, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/26/upshot/nearly-half-of-americans-dont-know-people-in-puerto-rico-are-fellow-citizens.html>

⁷² Justin McCarthy, "Americans continue to support Puerto Rico statehood," *Gallup*, July 18, 2019. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/260744/americans-continue-support-puerto-rico-statehood.aspx>

⁷³ Immerwahr, *How to Hide*.

⁷⁴ Sewell Chan, "Cyprus: Why one of the world's most intractable conflicts continues," *New York Times*, November 7, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/08/world/europe/cyprus-reunification-talks.html>

⁷⁵ United Nations Archives, S-1024- 0018-05, "Constitution of Cyprus," April 6, 1960, taken from the Secretary General's Personal Papers on Cyprus.

intervened under the stated intentions of preserving the safety and liberties of the Turkish Cypriot minority.⁷⁶ Cyprus remains a contested area where the influence of domestic politics appears it will have an influence for the foreseeable future, and which has considerable significance for wider maritime claims in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Uninhabited islands are not immune to domestic political influences. A recent example of one of these islands is Perejil Island (or Parsley Island) which is about 200 yards off the coast of Morocco but has been claimed by Spain for the better part of 400 years.⁷⁷ The small, seemingly insignificant uninhabited island became a flashpoint of tensions between Morocco and Spain. This tension was fueled by a sense of nationalist pride on both sides as flags were raised, and a military operation ensued by Spain to reclaim the island (fortunately without any loss of life).⁷⁸ This incident, which required the United States to intervene to avert a larger scale conflict,⁷⁹ could have taken a similar route that the Falklands had 20 years prior. This event captures the influence domestic politics and pride have on island territory claims.

When it comes to the Falkland Islands domestic politics play a significant part in the sovereignty claims of both the United Kingdom and Argentina. In nearly all domestic polls, most Argentinean citizens believe the “Malvinas” are rightfully their sovereign territory.⁸⁰ Likewise, British citizens believe the Falklands belong to the United Kingdom and are worth defending.⁸¹ It

⁷⁶ Sewell Chan, “Cyprus.”

⁷⁷ Elise Labott, “Spain withdraws after island deal,” *CNN*, June 20, 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/europe/07/20/morocco.spain/>; Colin Powell, “Parsley Island,” excerpt from *It Worked for Me: In Life and Leadership*, June 14, 2012, retrieved online: <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2012/06/14/parsley-island/>

⁷⁸ Giles Tremlett, “Spanish troops recapture Parsley Island,” *The Guardian*, July 17, 2002, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/jul/18/spain.gilestremlett>

⁷⁹ Powell, “Parsley Island.”

⁸⁰ William Ratliff, “The Falklands: Small Islands, Big Questions.” *Clear Politics*, March 27, 2013; https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2013/03/27/the_falklands_small_islands_big_questions_117682-3.html;

⁸¹ Tom Clark, “British should protect Falkland Islands ‘at all costs,’ say 61% of voters,” *The Guardian*, March 20, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/mar/20/falkland-islands-guardian-icm-poll>.; Joanna Impey, “UK leaves ‘no room for doubt’ over Falklands,” 03 September 2013; <https://www.dw.com/en/uk-leaves-no-room-for-doubt-over-falklands/a-16629847>; YouGov/Ibarómetro, “Falklands/Malvinas Survey of 1,744 GB adults contacted online

may be impossible for either Argentina or the United Kingdom to look objectively at the value of these islands due to the interference of national pride. Domestic audiences in Argentina are given lessons at a very young age that these islands, the “Malvinas,” are unquestionably part of Argentina and the UK claims are a remnant of a colonial reach that the old empire clings to.⁸² The influence of this education is difficult to discredit and feeds the domestic desire to reclaim the islands that Argentines feel rightfully belong to them.⁸³

There were many errors ranging from tactical to strategic committed by the Argentine military dictatorship in 1982 in the campaign over the islands.⁸⁴ Perhaps greatest among them is the domestic pride and national attachment to the Falklands that their actions ended up instilling in the British populace. Even though it has been 40 years since the conflict took place, the families, friends, and countrymen and women of those who lost their lives or fought for the Falklands have not forgotten the cost.⁸⁵ The UK would face stiff resistance from certain demographics of their domestic constituencies if there was an indication that Argentina would be given the Falklands. This fact, plus the polls indicating the majority of British believe the Falklands to be sovereign British territory result in a score of +4 for the Falklands in Domestic Political Value.

As an uninhabited island, Navassa’s domestic political value for the United States a far cry from that which the Parsley Islands played for Morocco or Spain. If the ignorance of the general population of mainland America on populated territories is an indicator, one would be hard pressed

between 2–3 April 2012.” Available here: http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus_uploads/document/fjcjgj8uaj/YG-Archives-YGIBarometro-FalklandResults-100412-Summary_WLogo_corrected.pdf

⁸² BBC Newsnight Report (no reporter listed), “How Argentines Feel about the Falkland Islands Dispute,” *Youtube*, November 9, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nsMN-QwOMPM>

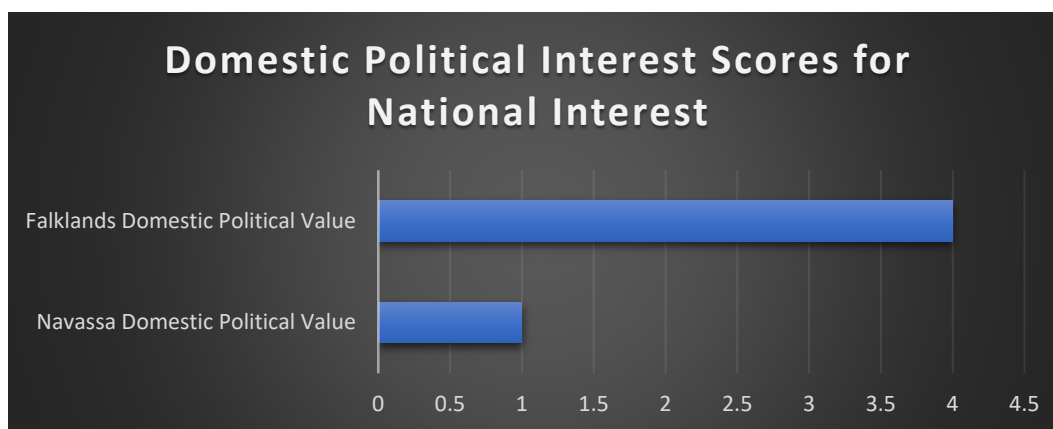
⁸³ BBC Newsnight Report (no reporter listed), “How Argentines Feel.”

⁸⁴ AFP, “Argentina’s dictatorship dug its own grave in Falklands war,” *France24*, March 30, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220330-argentina-s-dictatorship-dug-its-own-grave-in-falklands-war>.

⁸⁵ Associated Press, “British leaders honor Falklands conflict fallen.” *NBC News*, June 14, 2007, <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna19231178>; David Munday, “Falklands War: Roll of Honour for all British personnel who died in 1982 conflict,” *PlymouthLive*, April 2, 2022, <https://www.plymouthherald.co.uk/news/history/falklands-war-roll-honour-british-6888714>

to find many Americans who are even aware of Navassa’s existence, let alone care about its value. The fact that Navassa is now a wildlife preserve presents a case for support from those interested in environmental preservation. The U.S. would likely face some domestic resistance if it were to turn over a wildlife preserve to another country that may not value its protected status or have different intentions for its future. Perhaps this was a strategic choice by the United States to preserve the island as a U.S. insular area. Taking into consideration these factors, the overall domestic political value for Navassa is evaluated at +1.

FIGURE 5: Domestic Political Interest Scores



International Political Influence

The international political pressure on overseas territorial control is a challenging variable to evaluate due to a consistently evolving international political environment. International politics are a dynamic force that often shift and change based on a multitude of variables, and can be very difficult to predict. As nations pursue their own dynamic interests, so too does the rest of the international arena. Padelford, Olvey, and Lincoln describe the significant influence that “technology, increasing economic interdependence, powerful transnational ideologies, expansion of the number of nominally sovereign states, demographic shifts, the emergence of multinational

enterprises,” have had on the relationships between nations.⁸⁶ The interplay of these dynamics can push the international community to put pressure on a nation to act a certain way that is against their own self-interests. For example, recently China has voiced its support for Argentina’s claim to the “Malvinas Islands”.⁸⁷ The layers behind this support of China are surely multifaceted and link back to the Western rebuke of China’s stated future intentions with Taiwan. Not surprisingly Argentina indirectly voiced support for China in return.⁸⁸ While there is no indication this pressure will currently influence a change in the UK’s claim to the Falklands, it is an example of how international politics get involved in island territories.

In 1960, the United Nations adopted resolution 1514 establishing self-determination as a right of all peoples to control their independence and chose their government based on their principles and beliefs.⁸⁹ The concept of self-determination, championed by both the United Nations and most independent nations applies to inhabited islands, obviously applies only to inhabited islands. This is not just limited to island territories. For example, in the past 70 years decolonization has resulted in 750 million people who were controlled by colonial powers being drawn down to less than 2 million people.⁹⁰ According to the United Nations, there remain 17 territories who are not independently governed, and all but three are administered by the United States and the United Kingdom (France oversees two and New Zealand one).⁹¹ Nations that

⁸⁶ Norman Padelford, Lee Olvey, and George Lincoln. *The Dynamics of International Politics*. Third edition. (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 6-10.

⁸⁷ Associated Press, “UK rebukes China for supporting Argentina’s Falklands claim,” *ABC News*, February 7, 2022, <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/uk-rebukes-china-supporting-argentinas-falklands-claim-82718977>

⁸⁸ Associated Press, “UK rebukes.”

⁸⁹ United Nations General Assembly 15th Session, “Resolution 1514 (XV),” p66, December 14, 1960; available here: <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en/about>

⁹⁰ United Nations Global Issues “Decolonization,” retrieved April 1, 2022, from, <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/decolonization>

⁹¹ United Nations Document, “What can the UN do to Assist Non-Self Governing Territories,” retrieved April 1, 2022 from, https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/sites/www.un.org.dppa.decolonization/files/what_the_un_can_do_1.pdf

exercise administering power, or partial sovereignty, over these territories are required to submit annual reports to the United Nations on the comprehensive status of their territories, including government, health care, education, etc.⁹² These reports help reaffirm the United Nations and international community's principles of decolonization while allowing room for self-determination, even if that means to cede partial sovereignty to a larger nation.

As shown in United Nations documents, the United States and the United Kingdom interpret decolonization differently than other nations while remaining adamantly in support for self-determination.⁹³ During the Cold-War era, there was apprehension on both the United States and the United Kingdom due to the fear of the potential of former colonies to adopt communism as their choice of self-government.⁹⁴ However, the decolonization momentum was already in full swing and international support pushed this effort ahead despite this concern.

The example of the British Indian Ocean Territory is a prime example of how international politics can build momentum. Located in the Indian Ocean, this island is currently claimed by the United Kingdom and hosts the U.S. military base Diego Garcia.⁹⁵ While the UK contests any claim by Mauritius over the British Indian Ocean Territory, in February of 2022, a Mauritian flag was raised on the island by a group of these former residents who returned via boat in an effort to raise

⁹² Duncan, "Uti Possidetis," 540.

⁹³ United Nations Archives, S-1024-0086-03, Falklands-Malvinas Background, Advertisement placed by the Argentine Citizens of New York titled, "Some Facts you may want to know about the Malvinas but were never told," August 21, 1984.; United Nations Archives, S-1024-00830-02, General Assembly Document – Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People, "Verbatim Record of the Twelve Hundred and Sixty First Meeting," A/AC.109/PV.1261, September 13, 1984. – In both documents there is a different and divisive interpretation of self-determination and decolonization. The debate particularly between Argentina and the United Kingdom, harnesses testimony from current and former Falklands citizens and gets to the heart of the different interpretation.

⁹⁴ U.S. Department of State, Office of Historian, "Decolonization of Asia and Africa 1945-1960," *State.gov* retrieved March 22, 2022. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/asia-and-africa#:~:text=Between%201945%20and%201960%2C%20three,from%20their%20European%20colonial%20ruler s.&text=There%20was%20no%20one%20process,only%20after%20a%20protracted%20revolution.>

⁹⁵ Commander, Navy Region Japan, "Naval Support Facility Diego Garcia, retrieved April 15, 2022, from https://www.enic.navy.mil/regions/cnrj/installations/nsf_diego_garcia.html.

the stakes on their claims of sovereignty.⁹⁶ The UK's approach has been somewhat more diplomatic than that of their 1982 approach to the Argentine flag raising on the South Georgia Islands. This in large part can be attributed to the influence of international support for Mauritius.

The degree of international pressure on the UK over the Falkland Islands has varied over the past several years. As already mentioned, China voiced their support for Argentina's claim, and in 2014 Russia returned support for Argentina.⁹⁷ Latin American nations have also traditionally supported Argentina and many still back Argentina's claim to the islands in the spirit of decolonization.⁹⁸ As much of South America was the victim of colonization in the previous three centuries, this is not surprising. During the conflict in 1982, the United States had to walk a fine line and did not come to the direct support of either nation. The U.S. saw it in their interests to end the conflict as soon as possible and in their attempts to mediate, gravitated toward proposing a joint-custody situation of the islands.⁹⁹ This was clearly not in the interests of the UK,¹⁰⁰ and ultimately did not come to fruition, but it is an interesting possibility and one that was attempted in Cyprus (although not without its own issues). Due to the international pressure and general lack

⁹⁶ Lauren Turner, "Chagos Island: Mauritius flag raised on British controlled islands," *BBC News*, February 14, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-60378487>

⁹⁷ No Author Listed, "Falklands: Putin calls on UK to sit and talk with Argentina to resolve the dispute," *MercoPress. South Atlantic News Agency*, July 14, 2014, <https://en.mercopress.com/2014/07/14/falklands-putin-calls-on-uk-to-sit-and-talk-with-argentina-to-resolve-the-dispute>

⁹⁸ David Osborne, "Latin America gives support to Argentina over Falklands," *Independent*, February 24, 2010, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/latin-america-gives-support-to-argentina-over-falklands-1908553.html>; United Nations Archives, S-1024-00830-02, General Assembly Document – Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People, "Verbatim Record of the Twelve Hundred and Sixty-First Meeting," A/AC.109/PV.1261, September 13, 1984. Cuba, Chile, and Venezuela support Argentina's claim.

⁹⁹ United Nations Archives, S-1024-0086-03, Falklands Malvinas Background – U.S. Position, 1982.; UPI Archives, "U.S. participation in a proposed joint administration of the..." April 13, 1982. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1982/04/13/US-participation-in-a-proposed-joint-administration-of-the/9105387522000/>

¹⁰⁰ United Nations Archives, S-1024-0084-11, Falklands Malvinas Possible Solutions – Confidential Notes from the Secretary General's Meeting with Dr. David Owen, May 31, 1982 at 12 PM.

of international support for British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, the International Political Value score is -2.

In the case of Navassa Island, the United States stands by its claim that originates from the 1856 Guano Islands Act.¹⁰¹ When the topic surfaced in the early 1930s, Secretary of State Francis Wright issued a clear statement to Haiti that not only is Navassa rightful U.S. territorial sovereignty, but warned Haiti to keep any mention of Navassa out of their national constitution as it was being developed.¹⁰² Despite the inherent problem in the U.S. justifying its international claim by citing a United States domestic law,¹⁰³ in the past 80 years, there has been little to no international political pressure over the United States ownership of Navassa Island.¹⁰⁴ This in large part has kept the dispute over this territory to a very low simmer. While Haiti has not backed down from their claim to the island,¹⁰⁵ after a thorough review of media articles and United Nations documents, the international community is all but silent on this disputed territory.¹⁰⁶ The geographic location of Navassa in the Caribbean, its size, lack of human habitation, and the fact that the dispute is between one of the richest nations in the world and one of the poorest,¹⁰⁷ all play a part in this lack of international concern. If one or more of these aspects was altered, the

¹⁰¹ Smithsonian, “The Guano Islands Act of 1856” *National Museum of American History, Behring Center*, Accessed April 16, 2022, <https://americanhistory.si.edu/norie-atlas/guano-islands-act>.

¹⁰² Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, “*The Secretary of State to the Chargé in Haiti (McGurk)*” in *The American Republics Vol 5*, 838.011/125, No 207, July 5, 1932, Washington DC. Available here: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1932v05/d748#fnref:1.5.4.32.18.10.16.6>

¹⁰³ Government Accountability Office (GAO) Report, “U.S. Insular Areas, Application of the U.S. Constitution,” November 7, 1997, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GAOREPORTS-OGC-98-5/html/GAOREPORTS-OGC-98-5.htm>

¹⁰⁴ United Nations Archives and Records Management, General Search for “Navassa” March, 2022, <https://search.archives.un.org/informationobject/browse?topLod=0&sort=relevance&query=Navassa> A search of the United Nations Digital Archives reveals two documents for Navassa. Compared to a similar search for Falklands which yielded more than 100.

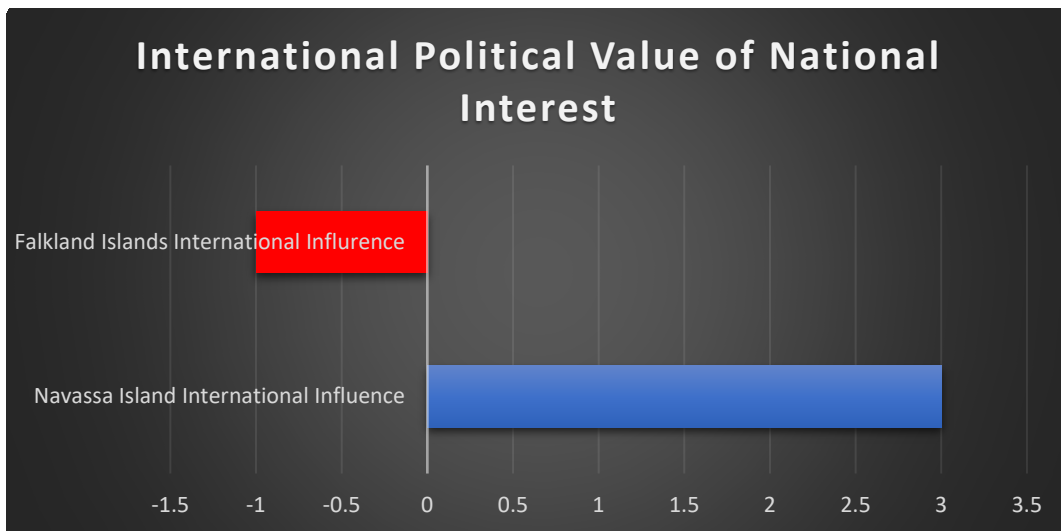
¹⁰⁵ Miami Herald Staff, “Did the US steal an island.”

¹⁰⁶ United Nations Archives and Records Management, General Search for “Navassa” March, 2022,

¹⁰⁷ Luca Ventura, “Poorest countries in the world,” *Global Finance*, December 12, 2021, <https://www.gfmag.com/global-data/economic-data/the-poorest-countries-in-the-world>. Haiti is ranked 28th poorest country in the world.

international attention would also likely increase. For example, if there were permanent residents living on Navassa, or if the dispute over the island was between the United States and the United Kingdom, the international political landscape would change dramatically. As it currently stands, there is negligible international pressure on the United States over their territorial claim. This lack of international pressure is a benefit for the United States retention of sovereignty. There is almost no opposition from the international community when it comes to the U.S. ownership of this small uninhabited island in the Caribbean. Navassa is given a score of +3 in the international politics category based on current geopolitics and international climate which is unlikely to change anytime soon.

FIGURE 6: International Political Values (red indicates negative value)



Cost to Maintain

The responsibilities and associated costs of the U.S. to its territories of partial sovereignty are extensive. These costs typically manifest most in security costs and disaster relief. Just recently the Biden administration announced increased disaster funding for COVID recovery for Guam and

the Mariana Islands.¹⁰⁸ In a 2020 audit of the disaster response to Hurricane Maria for Puerto Rico, the office of the inspector general summarized costs at approximately \$2.5 billion, \$357 million of which was tragically misused or unable to be accounted.¹⁰⁹ These are just two examples of the costs associated with territory administration. The key take away is that territorial management or administration is not free and it is critical to take these costs into consideration when evaluating the level of national interest in the preservation of partial sovereignty.

From Michael Beckley's point of view, this power potential is linked to the resource potential of the nation, but that resource potential must include the associated costs.¹¹⁰ Beckley's approach is a critical step in two directions. First, it is a step forward in measuring national influence or power based on a discrete set of variables, which is a similar theme that this paper attempts to initiate in the discussion of island territory. Secondly, Beckley's approach acknowledges that the costs of their maintenance influences the assessed value of island holdings. He particularly highlights the largely ignored costs that China is incurring in their rise to power and questions the overall power or influence of a nation that is expanding without regard to these costs.¹¹¹ China would be wise to apply this paradigm to their attempts at island acquisition or building in the South China Sea.

When it comes to the Falklands, there is no direct financial contribution provided by the United Kingdom.¹¹² While this is not the same for every overseas territory, the UK government

¹⁰⁸ FEMA Press Release, "FEMA Announces Cost Share Adjustment for Two U.S. Territories," HQ-21-70, March 23, 2021, <https://www.fema.gov/press-release/20210323/fema-announces-cost-share-adjustment-two-us-territories>

¹⁰⁹ U.S. Office of Inspector General Report, "FEMA Mismanaged the Commodity Distribution Process in Response to Hurricanes Maria and Irma," OIG-20-76, September 25, 2020, <https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/2020-09/OIG-20-76-Sep20.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Beckley, "The Power of Nations," 9.

¹¹¹ Beckley, "The Power of Nations," 11.

¹¹² Reuters Staff, "Falkland Islands gets first sovereign credit rating," *Reuters*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/falklands-ratings/falkland-islands-gets-first-sovereign-credit-rating-idUSL1N2MX2MH>

prides itself on the Falklands' financial independence.¹¹³ Administrative costs of the Falklands including the appointed Governor's salary comes from the taxes of the Falklanders themselves.¹¹⁴ There are some indirect costs incurred with management at the Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office, but these appear to be fairly modest and distributed across management of all overseas territories. The biggest and most controversial costs are those associated with the security of the Falklands. The current annual cost of security for the Falklands is approximately £60 million, which does not include the more than £2.5 billion incurred by the Falklands conflict in 1982.¹¹⁵ These costs have had a profound impact on the domestic opinion as well.¹¹⁶ Given the historic security costs incurred by the British government associated with the Falklands the score is assessed to be -2.

The cost to sustain Navassa Island sovereignty is fairly small and limited to the U.S. Department of Interior Fish and Wildlife Service activities.¹¹⁷ Navassa serves as a wildlife refuge now and outside of routine visits by NOAA officers, or a routine patrol of convenience by a U.S. Coast Guard cutter, there is little infrastructure and almost no administrative costs.¹¹⁸ The lighthouse that was once maintained by the Coast Guard is out of service and not maintained.¹¹⁹ There is very little the U.S. currently does or must do to retain partial sovereignty over Navassa Island, and it is difficult to see a scenario in the near future where this would change. The overall

¹¹³ UK Parliament, "Global Britain, and the British Overseas Territories: Resetting the relationship," *Parliament.org* February 21, 2019,

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmfaff/1464/146405.htm#_idTextAnchor006

¹¹⁴ Falkland Islands Government, "Candidate Brief, Falkland Islands Government Chief Executive," January 2020, https://www.jobsgopublic.com/public_data/VacancyDocuments/0032/0880/FIG_CEO_candidate_brief_FINAL.pdf

¹¹⁵ Simon Jenkins, "British sovereignty over the Falklands is an absurd imperial hangover that must end," *The Guardian*, April 7, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/apr/07/british-sovereignty-falklands-absurd-imperial-hangover-argentina>

¹¹⁶ Jenkins, "British sovereignty over the Falklands."

¹¹⁷ U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Insular Affairs, "Navassa Island," <https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/navassa>

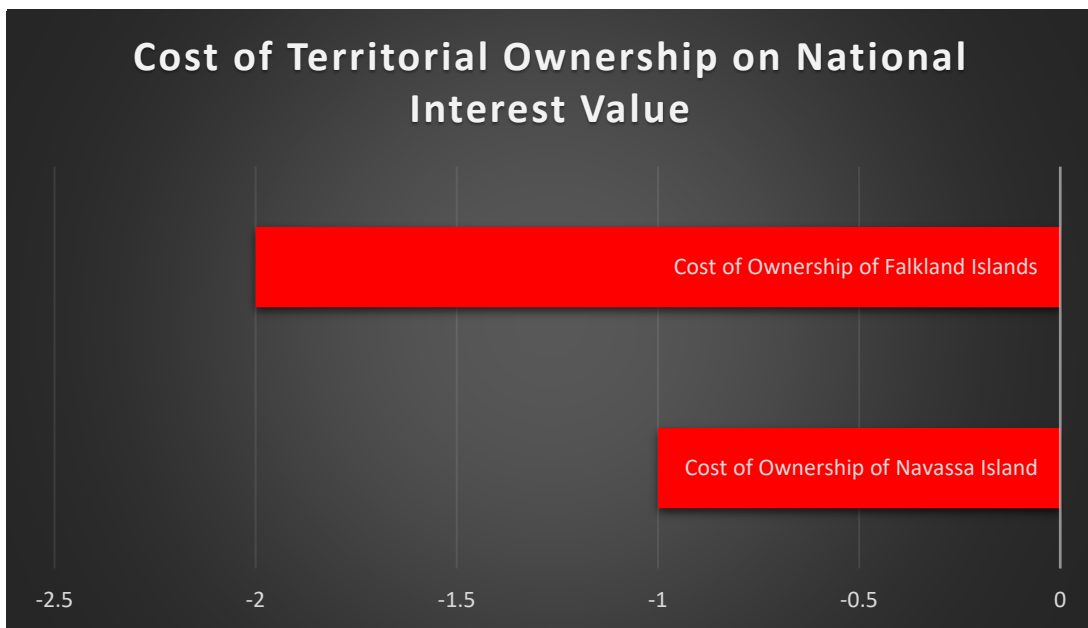
¹¹⁸ NOAA National Marine and Fisheries Service Report, "Observation on Fisheries Activities at Navassa Island," 2002, <https://spo.nmfs.noaa.gov/sites/default/files/pdf-content/MFR/mfr653/mfr6534.pdf>

¹¹⁹ U.S. Department of Interior, "Navassa Island."

costs of maintaining ownership of Navassa would score -1 for the United States based on the apparent minimal cost of ownership.

Rarely if ever would a score in the cost category be a positive. There may be a rare situation where the island could result in a zero score, if there is zero cost to administering the territory. However, in most situations, there is at least a small cost to retain sovereignty, and administer the territory to prevent another nation from taking ownership or seizing possession.

FIGURE 7: Associated Cost



CHAPTER 4: Completed Models

The graphs below are simply the compiled evaluations per island territory that were assessed in the previous sections. The result of the Falklands score indicates it should fall between a secondary interest and an important interest of the United Kingdom based on this assessment. The result of Navassa's score indicates it should be a clear secondary interest of the United States based on this assessment (a reminder that because there is no population, the population score of 0 was not factored into Navassa's overall score). Red in the graphs indicate a negative score.

FIGURE 8: Completed Assessment for Current Strategic Value of the Falklands

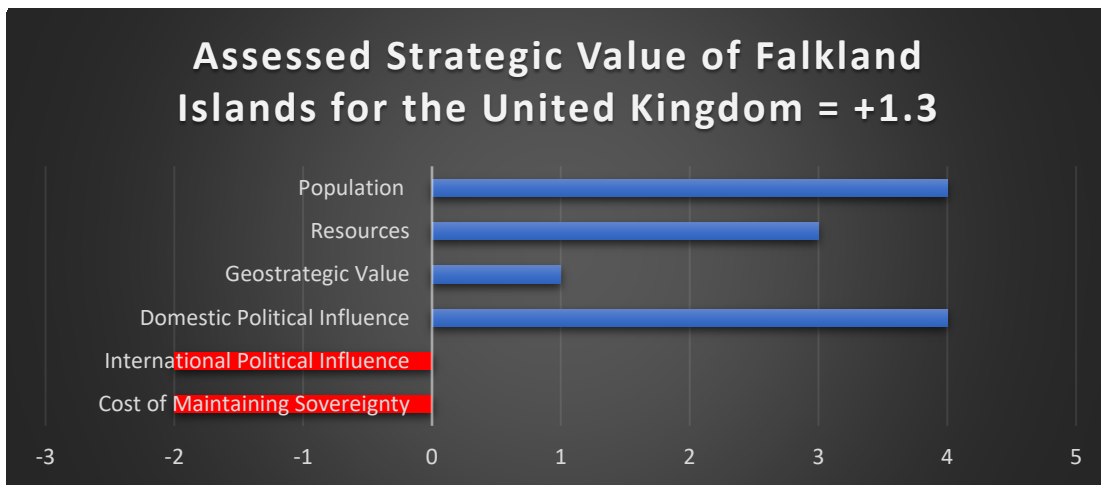
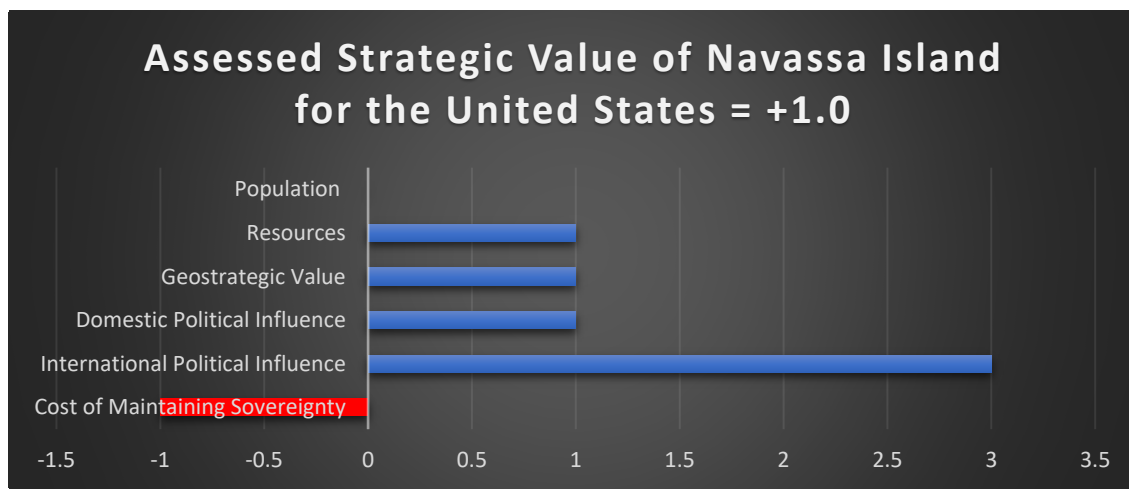


FIGURE 9: Completed Assessment for Current Strategic Value of Navassa



CHAPTER 5: Future Value vs Current Value

An additional helpful step after assessing the variables in the current environment will be to repeat the exercise but through the lens of a future environment. The potential future value of an island territory is understandably why some nations have such a hard time letting them go.¹²⁰ It is also why other nations work hard to convince the international community that they always had control or ownership of them in the first place (as is the case with China's actions in the South and East China Seas).¹²¹ It is difficult to comprehend a method by which the future value an island territory can be calculated, predicted, or even proposed with any degree of accuracy. The future value is subject to outside influences such as climate change and other natural phenomena whose effects are as difficult to predict as they are to control. Examining the future value is critical however, as it can serve as a major influence on how to approach island territory possession.

There is a relatively widespread belief that technology has resulted in a fundamental change in the value of geographic features, specifically when it comes to military operations or military basing.¹²² With the introduction of more autonomous weapons of war, faster missile systems (hypersonic), and the influence of cyber warfare, the potential to strike or defend from afar has never been more plausible. However, these technologies are not unilateral advantages. It is critical to recognize that proximity and presence still matters. A 2020 RAND corporation study found that U.S. ground forces presence overseas still carried a significant deterrent effect and help maintain

¹²⁰ Nick Pietrowicz, "Navassa: America's Forgotten Caribbean Island," *Institute of World Politics*, February 10, 2021, <https://www.iwp.edu/articles/2021/02/10/navassa-americas-forgotten-caribbean-island/>. Pietrowicz discusses the potential future value of Navassa as a reason the U.S. may not be interested in letting it go.

¹²¹ Teh-Kuang Cheng, "China's Claim of Sovereignty over Spratly and Paracel Islands: A Historical and Legal Perspective," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 23 no 3, (1991), 393 -420.

¹²² Tal Tov. *The Changing Nature of Geostrategy 1900-2000: The Evolution of a New Paradigm*, (Air University Press: 2015).

security.¹²³ While it does not appear that technology will nullify the advantage for militaries in overseas territories, it is important to recognize that it may change or shift the dynamics. This is perhaps no more manifest than in the recent U.S. amplification of air defenses for Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands.¹²⁴

Independent of technological influences, geostrategic value is a variable that can rapidly change with time. For example, while the Falklands may have limited geo-strategic value now for the UK, it may prove instrumental in the future. Were a conflict to break out between a South American nation and a key ally of the UK, such as the United States or France, the Falklands could play a significant role. Some experts argue that the geostrategic value of Diego Garcia is also on the rise given the increasing tensions with China as well.¹²⁵ The potential geostrategic value of an island territory is certainly a factor that makes ceding any island challenging.

While the accuracy of predicting future values can vary widely, they can be critical in determining the value of maintaining island territorial claims. Future assessments provide a critical analytical comparison of the current values to those over in the coming decades, which may be important in future security assessments of a nation. They may also prove critical in determining the best path ahead in territorial disputes. If it is anticipated that the future value of a territory such as Navassa or the Falklands will wane significantly due to changes in the stated variables, this

¹²³ Bryan Frederick, Stephen Watts, Matthew Lane, Abby Doll, Ashley L. Rhoades, and Meagan L. Smith, “Understanding the Deterrent Impact of U.S. Overseas Forces” (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2020). https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2533.html.

¹²⁴ Nicholas Chopp & David Chapman, “Guam air defenders deploy first THADD remote launch capability,” *Army Times*, March 16, 2022, https://www.army.mil/article/254576/guam_air_defenders_deploy_first_thaad_remote_launch_capability; Wyatt Olson, “Budget fully funds Guam missile defense sought by Indo-Pacific Command,” *Stars and Stripes*, March 30, 2022, https://www.stripes.com/theaters/asia_pacific/2022-03-30/guam-missile-defense-white-house-budget-proposal-indopacom-5524082.html

¹²⁵ Andrew S. Erickson, Ladwig C. Walter, and Justin D. Mikolay, “Diego Garcia and the United States’ Emerging Indian Ocean Strategy.” *Asian Security*, 6, no. 3 (2010): 214–37; Ben Ho, “The Strategic Utility of Diego Garcia,” *Asian Military Review*, June 10, 2019, <https://www.asianmilitaryreview.com/2019/06/the-strategic-utility-of-diego-garcia/>

should resultantly inspire a shift in the strategy of the respective nation's assertion of sovereignty. Such steps can prevent the overvaluation (or undervaluation) of a single variable and subsequently help set in motion diplomatic activities that will lay the foundation for the prevention of armed conflict.

CHAPTER 6: Model Potential

This proposed model for analyzing national interest in island territories is an initial attempt at tackling a complex concept. Taking historical data and information and putting an interpretive value to it should be recognized as another angle or aperture by which to examine the historical claims and justifications for sovereignty. Using a broad qualitative review, this paper identified six key variables and assigned quantitative scores for values of national interest in two island territories. This is an initial brushstroke on a canvas, which should be evident in the subjective scores given to the examples of both the Falklands and Navassa islands. With this method, different people may come up with somewhat different values of national interest. Given this, there are at least two specific areas that future research or refinement of this model can expand on.

The first area that should be investigated further is how the different variables could be weighed differently. For example, the current model assumes all six stated variables are weighted equally. This is rarely the case when determining national interests. The influence of international and domestic politics are not necessarily equal, and costs may be much less of a problem for a wealthier nation. Future assessments of cost may be best assessed by looking the percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that the island takes to maintain. Cultural influences can play a role in how variables are valued in the national interest. For example, international political pressure may mean very little to one country when compared to resource values or geostrategic advantages. While no models are perfect and cannot account for subtle shifts in variables across international dimensions, there is room to improve the proposed initial model by identifying methods to weigh the stated variables. This may help result in more accurate assessments of island territory values.

The second area that may elevate the validity of the model proposed is by identifying standardized data sets to factor into the measurement of the defined variables. As already stated,

in the examples in this paper, the value scores for the variables of national interest for both the Falklands and Navassa are interpretive and relative based on research done by a specific individual. A different researcher may come to very different conclusions after looking at the same data. A more refined standard of measures for each variable will help alleviate the subjectivity of future models. For example, when measuring domestic political value, a future method of measurement may necessitate a sample size of domestic media, domestic poll data, and positive or negative mentions in domestic political discourse. This is one example of how future measurement techniques can be standardized for specific variables.

CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

The initial acquisition of many island territories as well as their subsequent use by both the UK and the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries has been the subject of much investigation and research. This history has shown that these islands provide access to remote areas, defense capabilities, proximity to both ally and adversaries, and potential resources that these global powers would otherwise not have. For two maritime nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States, there will almost assuredly be a persistent and inherent value in sustaining connections or partial sovereignty with island territories. While disputes or determinations over these claims of sovereignty can be anticipated to continue, different methods of assessing their value can prove critical.

The key takeaway from this paper is that claims of partial sovereignty over island territories are complex and that administering powers are best served by using analytical approaches to evaluate the strategic values of such claims. The entrenched historical debates of sovereignty will continue to face stalemate by pointing to different documents or facts that are not recognized by opposing sides. It is through objective analysis, like the ones proposed in this paper, that holistic and comprehensive evaluations are made possible. This in turn will aid decision-makers from getting tunnel vision or fixated on a single variable or worse, be driven by emotion or politics, when determining how far to assert or defend these claims. These analyses are best completed in times of peace, before disputes escalate to armed conflict, like what happened in the Falkland Islands in 1982. A clear-eyed assessment of island's value can help avoid war. Defining and aligning national strategic objectives when it comes to territorial claims, as well as identifying situations in which territorial ownership is truly in the best interests of the nation, will help avoid

such scenarios. The variables and model proposed in this paper are an initial attempt to provide a tool to help in these critical analyses.

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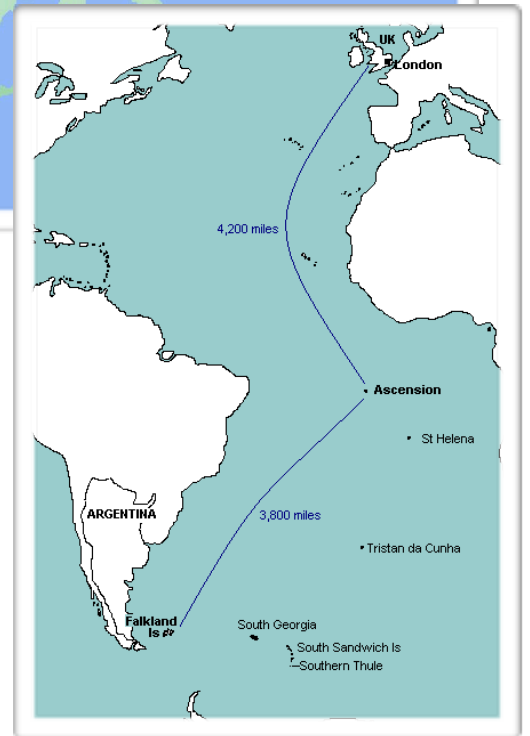
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APPENDIX 1 - FALKLAND ISLANDS - SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN



KEY INFORMATION:

Currently part of the United Kingdom as a British Overseas Territory (disputed by Argentina).

Source of British Claim: Discovered by British in 1690, initial settlement 1766, continuous settlement since 1833.

General Location: South Atlantic, approximately 300 miles off the Argentine southern coast and 750 miles north of Antarctica.

Geographic Info: 778 Islands, 2 large ones that contain the population.

Population: A 2016 Census shows 3,398 and indicated a 12% increase since 2012.

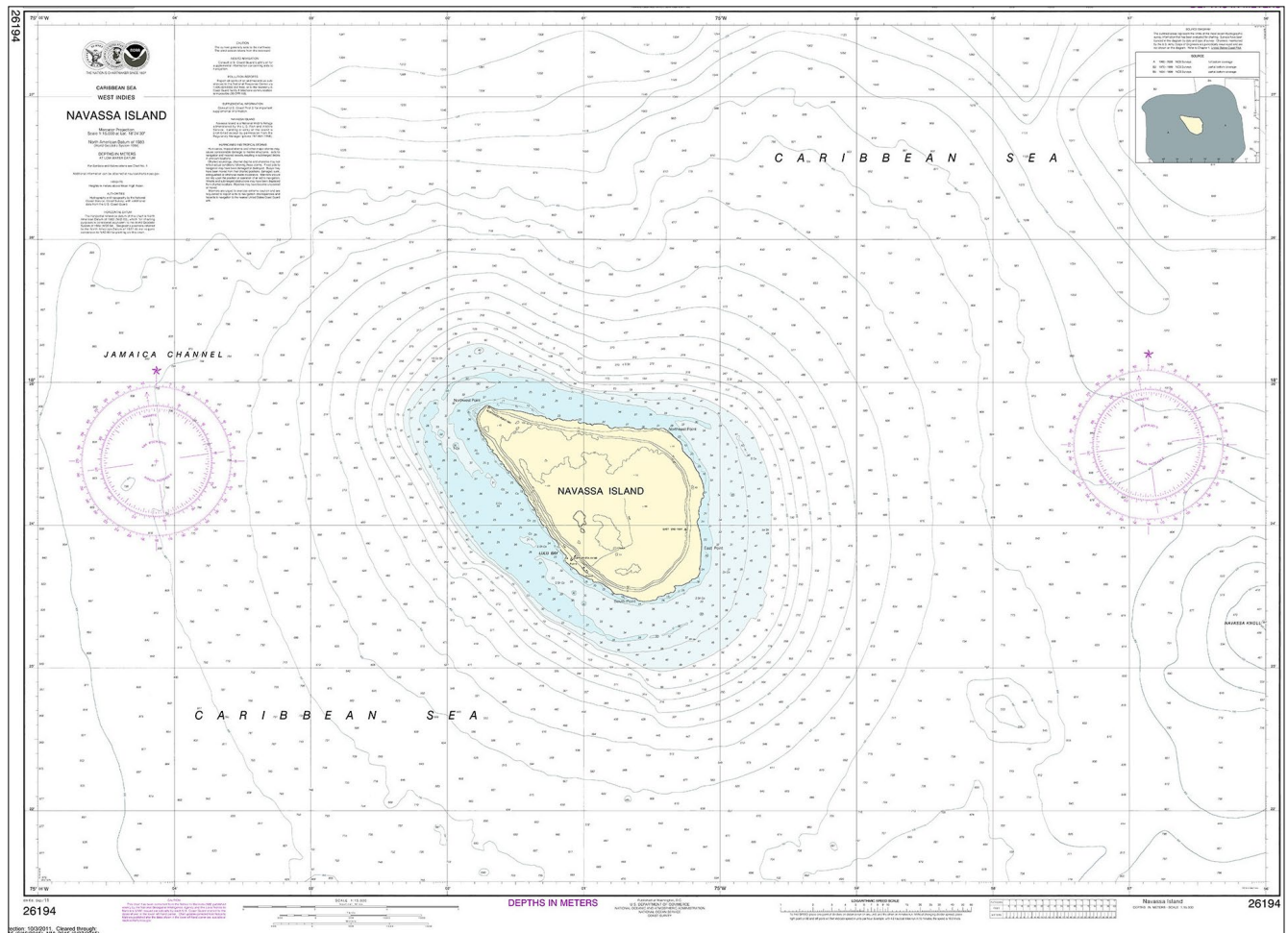
Major Resources: Sheep Farms, Fisheries, Potential Oil Reserves

SOURCES FOR INFOGRAPHIC

Map: Google Maps: [https://www.google.com/maps/place/FIQQ+1ZZ,+Falkland+Islands+\(Islas+Malvinas\)/@-52.4221799,-62.7950797,6.19z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0xbc2a89b94491e3a3:0x322aaaff8dd9c53a18m2!3d-51.79625314d-59.523613](https://www.google.com/maps/place/FIQQ+1ZZ,+Falkland+Islands+(Islas+Malvinas)/@-52.4221799,-62.7950797,6.19z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0xbc2a89b94491e3a3:0x322aaaff8dd9c53a18m2!3d-51.79625314d-59.523613)

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APPENDIX 2 - NAVASSA ISLAND - CARIBBEAN SEA

KEY INFORMATION:

Currently Claimed and administered by the United States (disputed by Haiti).

Source of Claim: Guano Islands Act of August 18, 1856 (Title 48, U.S. Code, sections 1411-19). Claim held by the U.S. since 1857.

General Location: Approximately 30 miles due West off the southern coast of Haiti.

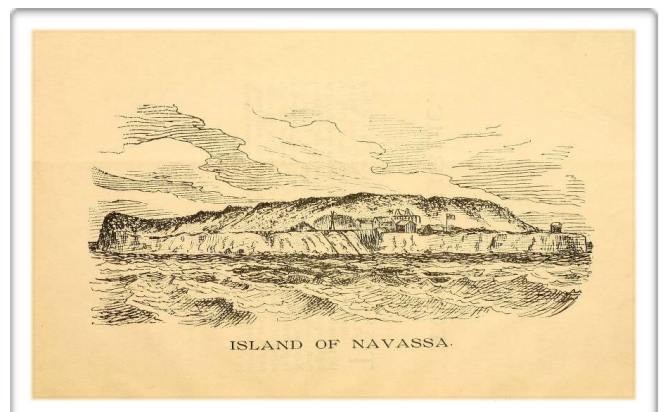
Size: 3 Square Miles

Population: 0

Current Use: National Wildlife Refuge (as of 1999).

SOURCES FOR INFOGRAPHIC

CHART: NOAA Office of Coast Survey, "Navassa Island,"
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APPENDIX 3 - LIST OF UNITED STATES INSULAR ISLAND TERRITORIES & CLAIMS

Inhabited Insular Territories of the United States

- 1) Puerto Rico
- 2) Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands
- 3) Guam
- 4) U.S. Virgin Islands
- 5) American Samoa (unorganized territory)

Inhabited Freely Associated States of the United States (Former Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands)

- 1) Federated States of Micronesia
- 2) Republic of Palau
- 3) Republic of the Marshall Islands

Uninhabited Territorial Claims of the United States

CARIBBEAN REGION

- 1) Navassa Island (claimed by Haiti)
- 2) Serranilla Bank (disputed by Nicaragua, Honduras, & Jamaica)
- 3) Bajo Nuevo Bank (disputed by Nicaragua, Honduras, & Jamaica)

PACIFIC REGION

- 1) Kingman Reef
- 2) Palmyra Atoll
- 3) Jarvis Island
- 4) Baker Island
- 5) Midway Island
- 6) Johnston Atoll
- 7) Howland Island
- 8) Wake Island (also claimed by Marshall Islands)

INFORMATION SOURCES: U.S. Department of Interior: Office of Insular Affairs, “Insular Areas of the United States and Freely Associated States,” <https://www.doi.gov/library/internet/insular>; National Conference of State Legislatures, “The Territories, They are Us,” January, 2018 Infographic: https://www.ncsl.org/Portals/1/Documents/magazine/articles/2018/SL_0118-Stats.pdf; Center for Land Use Interpretation, “Unoccupied Territories: The Outlying Islands of America’s Realm,” <https://clui.org/section/unoccupied-territories-outlying-islands-americas-realm-0#:~:text=US%20Fish%20and%20Wildlife%20Service,off%20limits%20to%20the%20public>; Giff Johnson,

“Marshall Islands pushes claim for Wake Island,” *Mariana Business Journal*, May 16, 2016, <https://www.mbjguam.com/2016/05/16/marshall-islands-pushes-claim-for-wake-island/>

APPENDIX 4 - LIST OF UK OVERSEAS TERRITORIES & CROWN DEPENDENCIES

UNITED KINGDOM OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

- 1) Anguilla
- 2) Bermuda
- 3) British Antarctic Territory (Uninhabited)
- 4) British Indian Ocean Territory (Uninhabited, claimed by Mauritius)
- 5) British Virgin Islands
- 6) Cayman Islands
- 7) Falkland Islands (claimed by Argentina)
- 8) Gibraltar (claimed by Spain)
- 9) Montserrat
- 10) Pitcairn, Henderson, Ducie & Oeno Islands
- 11) St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha, & Ascension Islands
- 12) South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands
- 13) Turks and Caicos Islands
- 14) Sovereign Bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia (Cyprus)

BRITISH CROWN DEPENDENCIES

- 1) Bailiwick of Guernsey
- 2) Bailiwick of Jersey
- 3) Isle of Man

“Crown Dependencies,” (no date) <https://www.royal.uk/crown-dependencies>; UK Overseas Territories Association Website, (no date), <https://ukota.org/member-territories/>; GOV.UK, “Overseas Territories Government on the Web,” February 25, 2019, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/overseas-territories-governments-on-the-web/overseas-territories-governments-on-social-media#british-indian-ocean-territory>

APPENDIX 5 - U.S. DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR KEY DEFINITIONS FOR TERRITORIES

TERM	DEFINITION
Insular Area	A jurisdiction that is neither a part of one of the several States nor a Federal district. This is the current generic term to refer to any commonwealth, freely associated state, possession or territory or Territory and from July 18, 1947, until October 1, 1994, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Unmodified, it may refer not only to a jurisdiction which is under United States sovereignty but also to one which is not, <i>i.e.</i> , a freely associated state or, 1947-94, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands or one of the districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.
Sovereign	An independent or non-independent jurisdiction which itself possesses or whose people possess in their own right the jurisdiction's supreme authority, regardless of the jurisdiction's or people's current ability to exercise that authority.
Possession	Equivalent to <i>territory</i> . Although it still appears in Federal statutes and regulations, <i>possession</i> is no longer current colloquial usage.
Commonwealth	An organized United States insular area, which has established with the Federal Government, a more highly developed relationship, usually embodied in a written mutual agreement. Currently, two United States insular areas are <i>commonwealths</i> , the Northern Mariana Islands and Puerto Rico. A United States insular area from April 11, 1899, the Philippine Islands achieved <i>commonwealth</i> status on March 24, 1934 (Public Law 73-127), and remained as such until the United States recognized the Philippine Islands' independence and sovereignty as of July 4, 1946.
Incorporated Territory	Equivalent to <i>Territory</i> , a United States insular area, of which only one territory exists currently, Palmyra Atoll, in which the United States Congress has applied the full <i>corpus</i> of the United States Constitution as it applies in the several States. Incorporation is interpreted as a perpetual state. Once incorporated, the Territory can no longer be de-incorporated.
Territory	An incorporated United States insular area, of which only one exists currently, Palmyra Atoll. With an area of 1.56 square miles, Palmyra consists of about fifty small islands and lies approximately one thousand miles south of Honolulu.
Unincorporated Territory	A United States insular area in which the United States Congress has determined that only selected parts of the United States Constitution apply.
Territory	An unincorporated United States insular area, of which there are currently thirteen, three in the Caribbean (Navassa Island, Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands) and ten in the Pacific (American Samoa, Baker Island, Guam, Howland Island, Jarvis

