Geoforum, Vol. 6, pp. 187-204, 1975. Pergamon Press Ltd. Printed in Great Britain

The Plight of the Lilliputians: an Analysis of Five European Microstates

Honoré M. CATUDAL, Jr., Collegeville, Minn.*

Summary: The mini- or microstate is an important but little studied phenomenon in political geography. This article seeks to redress the balance and give these entities some of the attention they deserve. In general, five microstates are examined; all are located in Western Europe—Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino and the Vatican. The degree to which each is autonomous in its internal affairs is thoroughly explored. And the extent to which each has control over its external relations is investigated. Disadvantages stemming from its small size strike at the heart of the ministate problem. And they have forced these nations to adopt practices which should be of use to large states.

Zusammenfassung: Dem Zwergstaat hat die politische Geographie wenig Beachtung geschenkt. Um diese Lücke zu verengen, werden hier fünf Zwergstaaten im westlichen Europa untersucht: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino und der Vatikan. Das Maß der inneren und äußeren Autonomie wird gründlich untersucht. Die Kleinheit hat die Zwergstaaten zu Anpassungsformen gezwungen, die auch für große Staaten von Bedeutung sein könnten.

Résumé: Les Etats nains n'ont guère fait l'objet d'études de géographie politique. Afin de combler cette lacune, cinq mini-Etats sont examinés ici; il s'agit de l'Andorre, du Liechtenstein, de Monaco, de Saint-Marin et du Vatican. Dans quelle mesure ces Etats disposent-ils de l'autonomie interne et ont-ils le contrôle de leurs relations extérieures, c'est ce que l'auteur étudie, en soulignant les inconvénients que résultent de la petite taille de ces pays et les ont contraints à adopter des solutions que les grands Etats pourraient appliquer eux aussi.

1. The Small State Today

The small state is truly an anachronism in the world today. For it is no longer an economically efficient autonomous unit in either peace or war. And it obviously does not serve effectively the 'buffer' function for which many small nations were originally created or have been preserved to the present. In fact, the diminutive state may be dangerous to peace if it invites aggression by a powerful and unscrupulous neighbor which may believe that the opposite strong neighbor will not commit itself to war to preserve the tiny nation.

The most important problem faced by many small countries today is whether they can remain self-sufficient in a world where technological progress in economy and military weapons is manifestly in favor of the large states.

Yet the fact remains that the number of small states has increased considerably in this century (as compared with the nineteenth century only). In the view of one astute observer: "One of the most striking features of contemporary international politics has been the conspicuousness of small states in an era marked by increasingly military disparity between Great and Small."

Nowhere is this disparity between nations greater than in instances where mini- or microstates are found to exist. For to a large extent these tiny territorial sovereignties can maintain their independence of action only through the sufferance or self-interest of great neighbors. In Europe this hard fact of political life pretty much explains how these anomalous areas have survived to the present.

There are five important ministates in Europe — all located in the West. Two are land-locked in foreign territory: The Vatican City State and San Marino, both of which are completely surrounded by Italian soil. And two have land frontiers with two other States: Andorra, situated between Spain and France, and Liechtenstein,

* Honoré M. CATUDAL, Jr., St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn. 56321, USA.

located between Austria and Switzerland. Only one has direct access to the sea: Monaco, which is situated on France's south-eastern Mediterranean coast. As will become evident, the geographical position of these states has important political implications.

All of these political oddities possess varying degrees of self rule. This paper examines the degree to which they are autonomous in their internal affairs. And it investigates the extent to which they have control over their external relations. Disadvantages stemming from limited size have forced these entities to adopt practices which might be of value to large states.

2. Overview

Each of the five European microstates is unique. Bearing this reality in mind, it might be well to first briefly introduce each one before an attempt is made to generalize about them.

The Vatican City State

The Vatican is an independent papal state, lying within the commune of Rome. Its 1000 permanent inhabitants (1969 est.) reside in an area of exactly 0.44 km^2 – about the size of a modern 18-hole golf course. This domain comprises St. Peter's Square; St. Peter's Basilica (the largest Christian church in the world), to which the square serves as an entrance; a quadrangle area north of the square, in which there are a number of administrative buildings and the Belvedere Park; the pontifical palaces (the Vatican proper), which lie west of the Belvedere Park; and the Vatican Gardens. In addition, extraterritoriality is exercised over thirteen other areas outside Vatican City. These consist mostly of churches and palaces in Rome, the Vatican radio station at Santa Maria di Galeria, located some 10 km from Rome and the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo. If not the smallest state in the world, the Vatican is certainly the most influential ministate. For besides being the home of the pope, who is the absolute sovereign of this tiny city-state, it is also the center of the worldwide organization called the Roman Catholic Church.

San Marino

Like the Vatican, San Marino is completely enclosed by Italian territory. Its 19,000 permanent residents (1969 est.) live in an area of 61 km^2. Most of this state is mountainous. The capital, San Marino, is perched on the slopes and at the summit of Mount Titano in the northern Appenines. This peak reaches about 766 m and commands a broad view of the Adriatic shore just 10 km away. Generally, the climate is moderate, although there are wide fluctuations in daily temperatures and the winters are marked by snows. Politically, San Marino is a republic – the smallest in the world.

Monaco

Monaco is an independent principality which enjoys close relations with France, which surrounds it on the west, north and east. Barely occupying 1.5 km^2 , this territory has a population of 23,000 (1969 est). Monaco comprises three major areas: La Condamine, the business district around the port; Monte Carlo, the site of the famous casino which is at a higher elevation; and Monaco-Ville, the capital, which is also known as "the Rock" because of its situation on a high, rocky promontory extending into the Mediterranean Sea. This tiny sovereignty is favored with a climate that is fine and warm, with very mild winters. Pleasant weather, together with the amenities of Monte Carlo, have turned Monaco into a leading tourist attraction.

Liechtenstein

Liechtenstein is a principality with close ties to Switzerland. Roughly triangular in shape, it is situated in the Rhine valley between the cantons of Saint Gallen and Graubünden in northeast Switzerland and the alpine province of Vorarlberg in western Austria. Its 19,000 citizens (1969 est.) reside in an area of 160 km^2 . In the main, Liechtenstein is divided into two sections: a comparatively narrow strip of level land, bordering the right bank of the Rhine; and an upland and mountainous region, occupying the remainder of the country. Generally the climate is mild. Although one might expect agriculture to be the main pursuit of this tiny state, local officials contend that theirs is the world's most densely industrialized country.

Andorra

Andorra is a partially self-governing state under the joint suzerainty of the President of France and the Bishop of Lérida. Set in the large drainage basin of the Pyrenees, it is bounded on the north and east by the French departments of Ariège and Pyrénées-Orientales. To the south lies the Spanish province of Lérida. As one might imagine, the terrain in Andorra is extremely rugged, with seven mountain peaks reaching altitudes between 2,500 and 3 000 m. Generally, high altitude and rainfall account for the lush, green pastures, to which farmers take their livestock for grazing during the summer. Five months out of the year, the country is covered with snowfall, which makes possible a thriving ski-resort industry. With an area

of 465 km^2 and a population of 19,600 (1969 est.), Andorra is the largest microstate in Europe.

3. Origins

The microstates that exist in Europe today have no common origin. They do not date from any particular period. Each is a product of unique circumstances, which culminated in the birth of a nation.

The origin of San Marino

The oldest is San Marino, which claims to be the oldest republic in the world. According to tradition, it was founded in 301 A.D. by a Christian stonecutter by the name of Marinus. Fleeing to escape the persecution of the Roman emperor Diocletian, the stone-cutter came from the island of Rab, off the coast of Dalmatia, to Rimini and later to Mt. Titano, where he sought refuge. Here he gathered about him a small band of fellow Christians. Eventually, Marinus was canonized and his tiny community acquired the institutions of a microstate.

The origin of Andorra

The origin of Andorra, the next oldest ministate, is shrouded in mystery. Legend has it that this remote land is the last surviving remnant of the buffer states, established by the great emperor Charlemagne in the early ninth century A.D. to ward off the Moors from invading Christian France. Subsequently, in 843 A.D. his grandson Charles II appointed the Spanish Count or Urgel as overlord of Andorra. A descendent of the latter donated these lands to the Bishop of Urgel in 954. After the French Count of Foix became heir to the Count of Urgel through marriage, a number of serious clashes broke out between the count and the bishop over their rights in Andorra. Finally, in 1278, the two agreed to resolve their differences in that territory and signed the *Acte de Paréage.*

This agreement recognized each other as co-princes of the Andorra valleys. It also gave that entity what has been its political form and territorial extent continuously to the present day. Through inheritance the title on the French side passed to the kings of Navarre, then to the kings of France and ultimately to the presidents of France. The Bishop of Urgel retained title on the Spanish side until 1969 when the Bishop of Lérida became co-prince.

The origin of Monaco

Anthropology and mythology rather than history provide earliest knowledge of the beginnings of Monaco and its people. From these sources it is affirmed that the principality was occupied first by the Phoenicians (from the tenth to the fifth century B.C.) and then by the Greeks. During the early Christian era it was dominated by Rome until occupied by the barbarians and Saracens. In the tenth century, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Otto I conferred Monaco on the House of Grimaldi in Genoa. The male line died out in 1731. But the French family of Goyon-Matignon, which succeeded by marriage, assumed the name Grimaldi, which is still used by the ruling price Rainier III.

Although the origin of Monaco can be traced back to the ancient world, it was not until the fourteenth century A.D. that it had a reasonable chance for independence There was several factors involved. Geographically, Monaco was at a point of great strategic and commercial importance. Also the power of Genoa, which had acquired Monaco, was declining. And diplomatically the maritime rulers were at loggerheads. Seizing upon these favourable circumstances, the able and energetic lords of Monaco were able to shrewdly play off the competing maritime powers against one another and assert complete independence. This was recognized by Savoy in 1489, by France in 1512 and by the pope in 1524.

The origin of Liechtenstein

Liechtenstein's origin is both complex and regal. For 491 years the area was under Roman rule. In 300 A.D. St. Lucius converted local inhabitants to Roman Catholicism. Over two hundred years later the Franks invaded the territory. Later on Charlemagne "of the flourishing beard" replaced the Bishop of Cleve as governor and put a layman in charge. Until 911, the House of Carolingia reigned. At this time the German empire separated into large and small domains, two of which included the lordships of Schellenberg (now known as *Unterland*) and Vaduz (today called *Oberland*), which is presently the capital of Liechtenstein. Both were held as Free Imperial Territories until the turn of the eighteenth century when they aroused the interest of the Austrian family of Liechtenstein whose members had considerable influence at the Court of Vienna.

At this time, the princes of Liechtenstein needed to possess some Free Imperial Territory to have a vote in the Imperial Council of Princes. Fortunately for them, both of these areas were impoverished, and their heavily-indebted rulers, the counts of Hohenem, were anxious to sell them. After protracted negotiations, the House of Liechtenstein purchased Schellenberg in 1699 and because this territory was not quite large enough for its needs, Vaduz in 1712. Together, they became the *Reichsfürstentum Liechtenstein* in 1719, with the desired seat in the

Reichsfürstentag.

The origin of the Vatican

The Vatican City State, the youngest of the European ministates, is the last remnant of the old papal states. For a period of nearly a thousand years (dating roughly from the time of Charlemagne to the entry of the Italians into Rome at Porta Pia on 20 September 1870), the papacy held vast temporal possessions. These included large areas of Italy and, until the French Revolution, parts of southern France. During the unification of Italy in the ninteenth century, virtually all of these possessions were gradually absorbed by the House of Savoy. Only the city of Rome, protected by the French garrison, remained still under papal authority.

Following the withdrawal of the French protecting force in 1870, Rome itself was at last incorporated in the new Kingdom of Italy. Pope Pius IX, however, refused to recognize the loss of temporal power and retreated to the Vatican. In this way, he began what became more than a half-century of self-imposed 'imprisonment' of popes. Despite the passing of an Italian law of guarantees in 1871, designed to regulate relations between the Italian Kingdom and the papacy, no pope issued forth until 11 February, 1929, when the 'Roman question' was finally resolved with the signing of the Lateran Treaty.

Under the terms of this concordat, the Holy See was given full use of the property rights in and exclusive power and sovereign jurisdiction over the Vatican State, the boundaries of which were fixed in this agreement. In addition to the grounds used by the pope since 1870, he was given extraterritorial rights over certain possessions previously belonging to the Italian State – altogether about 160 acres. Lastly, as compensation for the losses of the Church, a financial convention provided that the Italian government pay the Holy Father 750 million lire in cash and one billion lire in five per cent state bonds. In order to show the world that the object in acquiring territory was not political power or royal splendor, the Vatican City State was kept within small limits at the express wish of the pontiff.

4. Survival

Perhaps more remarkable than the origins of the European ministates is their survival through today.

The survival of San Marino

Reputedly the oldest republic in the world, San Marino is the sole survivor of the independent states that once existed in Italy. In the beginning, its survival was directly linked with its function as a place of safety from invasion. Heavy fortifications were subsequently built on Mt. Titano which allowed inhabitants to successfully fend off attacks by Hungarian, Saracen and Norman forces. Later, San Marino became a power in its own right. For instance, during the investiture struggle of the eleventh century, it extended its authority over nearby territory. Its expansion ended, however, in the fifteenth century, when the last territorial acquisitions were made. Although there was strong opposition from the feudal bishops of Montefeltro and Rimini, the independence of San Marino was finally recognized by the pope in 1631. This was later respected by Napoleon and confirmed by the Congress of Vienna.

But the fact that San Marino had won recognition of its independence did not mean that other countries would always respect its internal sovereignty. For example during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, papal forces briefly occupied the republic on several occasions. And years after the fall of the Roman republic in 1849, a combined Austrian-papal force entered San Marino to arrest some former members of the Roman Assembly who had sought refuge there. Finally, during World War II, Nazi forces entered the republic and were only driven out by Allied soldiers.

San Marino did not participate in the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. Instead, it chose to remain independent within the framework of a customs union and a friendship treaty with the new Italian state. The close relations enjoyed by the two states has had its advantages and disadvantages. Essentially, the destinies of the two are intertwined, and the little republic has come to share Italian fortunes as well as misfortunes.

The survival of Andorra

The survival of Andorra is due to a combination of factors. All of these have been stressed at various times by historians and geographers alike. In the beginning, mutual jealousy between France and Spain seems to have played the most important role. Thus, after 1589, when the count of Foix ascended the French throne as Henry IV and a ruler of France became for the first time also a co-prince of Andorra, the two countries (France and Spain) saw their own sovereign rights at stake.

Later the actions of the Andorrese themselves appear to be most decisive in protecting their autonomy. In the absence of any reliable resources, local residents perfected the art of playing off their joint suzerains against each other. Take the situation during and after the French Revolution, when the revolutionists abolished all titles and feudal

rights. At this time (1793), they also renounced the traditional suzerainty of France over Andorra. Fearing absorption by Spain, the Andorrese petitioned Napoleon I to resume the ancient arrangement. The French leader agreed in 1806 supposedly saying that "Andorra is a political curiosity; it must be preserved."

In the early twentieth century, the relative isolation of Andorra and its dual relationship with France and Spain helped it to escape the great conflagrations which ravaged Europe. By way of illustration, its association with Spain enabled the microstate to remain neutral throughout both world wars. And its close ties with France prevented direct involvement in the Spanish Civil War. Now as a result of a booming tourist industry in the post-World War II period, Andorra is no longer isolated, and its continued survival is all but assured.

The survival of Monaco

In some ways, the survival of Monaco is not unlike that of Andorra. For a long time it was able to preserve its administrative autonomy largely through the skill of its ruling family which placed the principality under the protection of one European power or another. For example in the early sixteenth century, the House of Grimaldi allied itself with Spain against France. Then in the seventeenth century, this situation was reversed when the ruler of Monaco put his country under French protection. Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries the rulers of Monaco had less control over the fate of the little country and were more the victims of historical events. At first, things went smoothly. When the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, ending the War of Spanish Succession, the independence of Monaco was reaffirmed. Then in 1793, the National Convention dispossessed the reigning family and annexed the domain to France. But the sovereignty of Monaco was not lost for very long. For, with the fall of Napoleon, it was once again restored its independence in 1814. One year later the state was placed under the protection of the Kingdom of Sardinia by the Treaty of Vienna. This situation prevailed until 1861, when the principality – now diminished in area through the cession of two towns to France – became a French protectorate.

At present, Monaco is externally tied to France, although it remains internally sovereign. A treaty of 17 July, 1919 provides for the incorporation of the principality in France in the event of the extinction of the dynasty. Among other things, if the reigning prince were to die without leaving an heir, the Monégasques would be liable to French taxation – a dire prospect for a people free of taxes. Fortunately for local inhabitants, fears that the principality would pass under French control were laid to rest, at least temporarily, in 1958, when Prince Ranier and his wife became the proud parents of a baby boy, Prince Albert.

The survival of Liechtenstein

In the case of Liechtenstein, its survival can be attributed to two diplomatic summersaults in the early nineteenth century, which gave the little state three different alliances within a decade. First in July 1806, the then ruler John I seceded from the defunct Holy Roman Empire and joined the Confederation of the Rhine under the aegis of Napoleon. Then, following the collapse at Waterloo, the principality became a member of the German Confederation. It was not until 1866, when the Confederation was dissolved after the Prussian victory over Austria in the Seven Weeks' War that the ties of the tiny country to the other German states were terminated. Two years later the country, which had furnished Austria with eighty soldiers during the war with Prussia, disbanded its military machine for all time and adopted a policy of neutrality.

Situated between two larger neighbors, Austria and Switzerland, the aim of Liechtenstein since the late nineteenth century has been to avoid domination by seeking security through association with one or the other opposite power. Of course, a lot depended on which was the stronger at any given time. In essence, this policy represented a miniature balance-of-power scheme. The policy adopted by Liechtenstein called for a great deal of finesse and presented obvious problems. At the very least, it meant antagonizing the left-out state. At the very worst, it meant compromising a delicately preserved independence. Under the circumstances, it is a tribute to the shrewd leadership of the principality that it was able to remain politically independent down to the present day.

Before World War I Liechtenstein maintained strong economic and political ties with Austria-Hungary. But when the war broke out, and Austria-Hungary joined forces with Germany against the Allies, the microstate tried to stay out of the holocaust by declaring its neutrality. Nevertheless, since it was still within the economic sphere of Austria-Hungary, the principality was subject to the Allied blockade.

With the defeat of the Central Powers, the tiny country terminated its ties with Austria and at the end of the war began to look towards Switzerland, which had successfully maintained its neutrality through the Great War. First, Liechtenstein requested in 1919 that the Swiss Federal

Council take over the diplomatic representation of its interests. Then, two years later, the two states concluded a postal agreement, and local residents adopted the Swiss currency. Finally, these initial integrative steps were capped in 1924 by a customs union.

The decision of Liechtenstein's ruler to renounce links with Austria and align itself closely with Switzerland showed an unusual degree of foresight. For when Austria was incorporated in the *Reich* in 1938 the principality was not affected. (Later on the night of 24 March 1939, when a small band of Austrian Nazis, with the aid of a handful of local inhabitants, marched across the frontier and tried to carry out an *Anschluss* of their own, they were repulsed.) But most importantly, Liechtenstein, together with Switzerland, was spared the devastation of World War II.

The survival of the Vatican City State

As far as the Vatican is concerned, there is really nothing unusual or surprising about its continued existence since its inception in 1929. For the most part, during the 1939-45 war the neutrality of the pope was respected by all combatants. And the new Italian Constitution of 1947 reaffirmed adherence to the Lateran Treaty.

5. Internal Affairs

As one might suspect, despite their diverse origins and means of survival, the five microstates have much in common. This is especially true in regard to their internal administration. In this section, an attempt will be made to distinguish some of these common characteristics as to (a) territory; (b) population; (c) government; (d) economy; (e) communications; and (f) police.

Territory

The most obvious and indisputable characteristic of the ministates is their size; all are very small. The Vatican, with 0.44 km^2, is the tiniest; in fact it is reputed to be the smallest territorial sovereignty in the world. But size is a relative factor, and Liechtenstein, consisting of 160 km^2, and the Repulic of San Marino, with 61 km^2, would be huge beside the Vatican City State. Even Monaco, with its paltry 1.5 km^2, exceeds it. Finally, Andorra, whose 465 km^2 makes it the largest microstate, is more than 1,000 times bigger than the residence of the Holy See.

Population

Not surprisingly, the populations of these tiny states are not very large in number totals, although density is unusually high. Together, their populations exceed approximately 83,000 residents. Monaco, with some 23,000 permanent inhabitants (1969 est.) is the most populous. Then come Liechtenstein, with about 21,000 (1969 est.), and Andorra, with some 19,600 (1969 est.).

Next is San Marino, with 19,000 (1969 est.). Lastly, there is the Vatican, the smallest territorially and demographically, with some 1,000 residents (1969 est.).

The populations of these territories are by no means homogeneous. Rather they represent usually a broad mixture of nationalities. A prime example is Monaco, in which the Monégasques are outnumbered almost ten to one by people of some thirty-seven other nationalities. One of the more homogeneous is the Vatican; yet it represents at least a dozen different nationalities, predominantly Italian and Swiss. In San Marino, the native population is ethnically and culturally Italian, and only a small number of persons not born in the republic reside there. Few different ethnic groups are found in Liechtenstein, whose population is chiefly of German descent. Finally, in the case of Andorra, nearly two-thirds of the population are foreigners, mainly Spanish but with a small French minority. Though Andorran children are taught both French and Spanish in school, most inhabitants speak Catalan.

The great majority of all ministate inhabitants are Roman Catholic.

In case someone may be entertaining thoughts about becoming a citizen of one of these microstates (e.g. because of tax advantages), let it be known that there are a great many obstacles in the way. A pair of examples may illustrate this point. In the Vatican, citizenship is only granted to those permanently residing there who are in the service of the Holy See or have the necessary rank. And in Andorra nationality may only be acquired after three generations of permanent residence — or through marriage to a national of that state, in which case nationality is obtained though one cannot enjoy all the benefits until one's children attain fourteen years of age.

Government

Exercise of the functions of government, with the power to enforce enactments on persons within specific boundaries, is one of the preeminent characteristics of large sovereign states. This is no less true of the five European miniature states, the sovereignty of which is sometimes called into question. For all possess their own governments and exercise different degrees of administrative authority.

Machiavelli is reputedly to have said: "Dominions are

either accustomed to live under a prince or to live in freedom." The citizens of Liechtenstein do both.

Liechtenstein is an independent principality under a constitutional *régime*. The monarchy is hereditary in the male line. And at present the sovereign is Francis Josef II, who has ruled since 1938. It is he who exercises legislative power jointly with the unicameral parliament or *Landtag*. This is composed of fifteen members who are elected for terms of four years each by direct, secret ballot.

The prince may convene or dismiss parliament and must approve all laws. In times of emergency, he can issue decrees countersigned by the chief of government or *Regierungschef*, whom he appoints from the majority party in the *Landtag*. Remaining members of the cabinet, which is responsible to both Francis Josef and parliament are the deputy chief of government or *Regierungschef Stellvertreter*, who is appointed by the sovereign from the minority party in the *Landtag*, and three government councillors or *Regierungsräte*, who are elected by parliament itself.

The present constitution dated from 5 October, 1921 and offers local residents most of the guarantees of a modern democracy. The most notable exception is the right of women to vote. Although all men, twenty-one and over, are accorded this fundamental right, women are still denied representation. This evidence of male chauvinism received world attention in March 1971, when the all-male electorate of the principality again defeated a measure, designed to rectify the situation.

The judicial system of Liechtenstein is comparable to that of other Western societies. It has its own civil and criminal courts and a penal code. In certain cases, however, Swiss courts have jurisdiction.

Unlike Liechtenstein, Andorra is not easily classified politically. For at different times it has been described both as a republic and a principality. But the fact remains that it is nothing more than a partially self-governing state under the joint suzerainty of the President of France and the Bishop of Lérida.

No formal constitution has been written for the country, although several administrative statutes were passed, one in 1748 and another in 1763. A 'Plan of Reform' from the year 1866 established the present governmental system, which evolved into a ruling General Council of twenty-four members (four from each of the six parishes). The mandate of the councillors is for four years but half the Council is reelected every two years. Previously only the heads of families were allowed to vote for members of the Council. But since April 1970 women have been granted equal suffrage rights. Although no political parties exist in Andorra, there are conservative pro-Spanish and liberal pro-French factions on the Council.

The General Council is headed by a Vice-Syndic and a Syndic, the latter bearing the full title of 'The Very Illustrious Syndic, Procurer General of the Valleys of Andorra.' They are elected by the councillors for terms of three years and may not exceed a maximum of two consecutive terms. Although they possess no discretionary powers, they are empowered to implement General Council decisions. Essentially, their work deals with questions relating to agriculture, public works, tourism, etc. But occasionally they sponsor reforms. According to a *New York Times* dispatch, dated 5 September 1971, the Council leaders, amid considerable debate, steered through a major reform – the outlawing of carbon paper.

The actions of the Council of the Valleys are subject to the veto of the joint suzerains. The French President and the Bishop of Lérida are represented by administrative agents, who bear the titles of *Viguier francais* and *Veguer episcopal*. The representative of the Spanish bishop holds office for three years, and the agent of the President of France, who is prefect of the department of Pyrénées-Orientales, for life. Together, they hold real legislative power.

The legal system in Andorra is also under the joint control of the suzerains. They appoint two civil judges and alternately a judge of appeal, who serves for life. Final appeal is made to the Supreme Court of Andorra at Perpignan or to the Ecclesiastical Court of the Bishop of Lérida. Despite its formal structure, Andorra's judicial system is unique. Lawyers are prohibited from practicing in court. A decree published in 1864 includes the following sentence: "The appearance in our courts of these learned gentlemen of the law, who can make black appear white and white appear black is forbidden."

Like Andorra, the Vatican practically defies classification in the usual political science terms. For the sake of simplicity, it may be described as an absolute monarchy. Since 15 August 1967, the Apostolic constitution (*Regimini Ecclasiae Universae*) has served as the constitution of the microstate. The present pontiff is Paul VI (Giovanni Battista Montini), born in 1897 and ruling since 21 June 1963.

Supreme legislative, executive and judicial authority is vested in the pope, who is elected for life and serves concurrently as Bishop of Rome, Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Province of Rome and Sovereign of the Vatican City State. He is assisted in the exercise of his numerous responsibilities by two important administrative organs. The College of Cardinals, consisting of 130 in

number (1969), is created by the pope and serves during his lifetime as his chief advisory body and on his death meets in secret session to chose a successor. Religious affairs are governed under the direction of the pontiff by various ecclesiastical groups, known collectively as the Roman Curia or *Curia Romana,* the main administrative body of the Church. Responsibility for internal administration is delegated by the Holy See to the Pontifical Commission for the State, the presidency of which is held by the secretary of state. Judicial power is delegated to a local tribunal, from which appeals go to the Sacred Roman Rota and the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Segnatura, which is the final authority in appeals.

The status of San Marino is straight forward; it is a republic with a constitution. Its constitution is one of the oldest, dating from 8 October 1600. It was last amended in 1960 to provide for women's suffrage.

According to the constitution, supreme authority is vested in a unicameral parliament called the Great and General Council. This *Consiglio Grande e Generale* is composed of sixty members, elected every five years by a vote of all citizens twenty-one and over. From its own members, it elects a Council of State, the central organ of government. The *Congresso di Stato* is made up of ten departments and makes most administrative decisions as well as carrying them out. There is no prime minister.

The Great and General Council is presided over by two "Captains Regent." These *Capitani Reggenti* exercise power in conjunction with the Council of State. They serve without pay and have only a brief and limited glory. Their terms last only six months. And they are forbidden by law from serving again for another three years. It is this way that citizens keep from concentrating power in any one person or persons for too long.

Judicial power is turned over in part to Italian magistrates in both criminal and civil cases. Appeals go in the first instance to an Italian judge residing in Italy. The final court review is the Council of Twelve (*Consiglio dei XII*), chosen by the Great and General Council. Minor matters are handled by a local conciliating judge.

Although the fact that San Marino shares judicial power with Italy indicates a compromise of sovereignty not normally tolerated by larger states, the republic is capable of asserting its supreme authority in this area. This was demonstrated in 1968 when it blocked judicial inquiry by a Milan court into the disappearance of secret documents from files of the Italian Finance Ministry, whose contents were referred to by the Council of State in a decision by San Marino to withdraw the license of a Milan-based company.

San Marino is usually remembered as the first country to freely elect a communist government. This happened in 1945 when a coalition of communists and left-wing socialists won a majority of seats in the Grand Council. Although the communists were in control for twelve years, it is noteworthy that the republic never became a collectivist state nor established state controls over the economy. In fact, some positive steps were taken under its régime, particularly the provision of free medical care for all citizens and the staving off of unemployment through public works programs.

But the very existence of a communist government led to periods of strained relations with Italy where an anti-communist government was in power after mid-1947. By the fall of 1957 six socialist council members had defected, and the opposition claimed a majority and the right to form a government. When the communist and socialist "Captains Regent" replied by dissolving the Great and General Council and calling for new elections, the new majority set up a government of its own which was immediately recognized by Italy and the United States. The following day Italian military police blockaded the republic, and soon thereafter the new majority coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats peacefully took control of the reigns of government. New elections, held two years later, resulted in a major success for the incumbent régime.

There is nothing unusual about the political status of Monaco. It is a hereditary constitutional monarchy, ruled since 1949 by Prince Ranier III (who renounces the principle of divine right). The principality's present constitution, which replaced one of 5 January 1911, was promulgated on 17 December 1962. Among other things, it provides for female suffrage, the abolition of capital punishment and guarantees the rights of association and trade-unionism.

According to the constitution, the Prince rules in conjunction with a Minister of State (equivalent to a premier and who must be acceptable to the French government), assisted by three Government Councillors and Palace Personnel (*Maison du Prince*). These are all appointed by the Prince. Legislative power is exercised by the Prince and the National Council (*Conseil National*). This is a unicameral body consisting of eighteen members, elected every five years by popular vote. Its functions are primarily advisory. The judiciary is headed by a Supreme Tribunal or *Tribunal Suprême.* For the most part, the legal system, the Code Louis of 1919, is based on the French code.

Economy

The economies of most of the European microstates are generally quite vigorous, although exact figures are difficult to come by. (Andorra, for instance, publishes no economic statistics.) The economic situation of these states might be radically different if they were forced to rely solely on domestic occupations as the majority did in the past. But as it is, all have learned to exploit their unusual political situation in one way or another and turn a very generous profit in the process.

Unquestionably, ministate inhabitants have been most successful in cultivating the tourist trade. Every year hundreds of thousands of visitors come to these obscure and isolated places. In most instances, the inducements are natural. For the microstates are located in regions especially noted for their physical beauty—the Riviera, Rome, the Pyrenees and the Alps. But in other cases the attraction has been purely entertainment oriented.

In the latter respect, gambling is one of the greatest drawing cards offered locally—in Monaco. This is because most neighboring states have placed a strict ban on this form of recreation. Ever since the spectacular success of the world famous casino at Monte Carlo, practically all ministates have dreamed of erecting gambling halls. But in the main these ambitions have not been realized. Andorra, for instance, failed because of long-standing opposition by the Bishop of Urgel (later the Bishop of Lérida). And when San Marino tried to set up gambling tables, it was blockaded by Italian authorities.

As a result of increasing tourism, the agricultural sector of the economy of all the European microstates (excluding the Vatican of course) is of diminishing impact to the well-being of these countries. Previously, agriculture was the main occupation in the majority. But now, for example, Andorra is completely dependent on food imports from France and Spain. In Liechtenstein, less than one-fifth of the population is still engaged in agriculture. Only in San Marino is agriculture the chief occupation. And even there approximately eighty per cent of the gross national product (1969) is derived from tourism and the sale of postage stamps to collectors.

If agriculture is of less importance today in the majority of ministates, then rapid industrialization has assumed a greater priority in all but Monaco (where income is almost entirely derived from tourism) and the Vatican City State (which does not engage in economically productive activity common to other states and is almost entirely dependent for income on the receipt of charitable contributions). Undoubtedly, the most successful in this respect is Liechtenstein whose officials contend that on a per capita basis theirs is the world's most densely industrialized state. Its manufactured products are unusually diverse, ranging from false teeth and sausage casings to optical instruments and calculating machines. And its labor force is bolstered by Austrian and Swiss commuters as well as thousands of resident foreign workers, in the main Italians, Spaniards and Greeks. In Andorra, the industrial revolution is proceeding much more slowly, with most activity on a cottage scale. Its chief manufactured products are cigars, cigarettes, matches, anisette and sandals. As far as San Marino is concerned, most of its industry is for local needs, and its main industrial goods are textiles, cement, paper, leather and furs.

One of the most important ways in which microstates have tried to exploit their peculiar set up is through the sale of postage stamps to foreign collectors. In two cases (Andorra and the Vatican), the revenue derived from their manufacture and sale is an economic shot in the arm. In other instances (San Marino, Liechtenstein and Monaco), the profits cleared from this 'national industry' represent a significant source of revenue. As a consequence of the sale of Andorran stamps to philatelists, postal services are free within that country.

It is widely known that most of the European ministates are tax paradises. In order to encourage business and development, there is little if any taxation. For the most part, this liberal tax policy has been a resounding success. Liechtenstein is probably the best illustration, for it is the nominal headquarters of some 10,000 foreign concerns. At least in one instance, the favored tax position of these tiny states has provided a source of irritation to neighboring countries which derive a considerable proportion of their revenue from taxes. In 1962, Prince Rainier had a run in with the former French President Charles de Gaulle, who asserted that the status of Monaco as an international tax haven was detrimental to France. Following the implementation by France of rigorous customs controls along the frontier and assorted other alarms and excursions, a fiscal convention was signed in May 1963, under which Monégasques and others retained their privileged tax position while French citizens who had taken up residence there after 13 October 1957 would have to pay income taxes, and companies doing more than a fourth of their business outside Monaco would henceforth be subject to a levy.

At first glance it would seem that every microstate is a smuggler's paradise. In fact, few are. The major exception is Andorra where smuggling has become a substantial industry. Particularly adept at automobile smuggling, the Andorrese buy cars cheaply in France, drive them into

Andorra where they are registered free of charge and then sell them for exhorbitant prices in Spain. Consequently, though few citizens actually own a car, Andorra has the highest per capita car registration in Europe. (In 1969, 4,600 automobiles were licensed to a population of approximately 6,000 *citizens*, i.e. third-generation Andorrese mostly.)

While the ministates have been highly successful in their individualistic economic endeavors, the fact remains that none enjoys real economic autonomy. No doubt the most extreme case is the Vatican City which is almost completely dependent for material existence on the outside. In one way or another, all the rest are linked economically with a big neighbor.

In the main, economic links have taken the form of adopting a neighbor's currency and/or entering into a customs union with it. In the former instance, three of the microstates do not possess their own currency. Liechtenstein has adopted the Swiss franc; the French franc circulates freely in Monaco; and both French and Spanish currencies are used in Andorra. San Marino has a special agreement with Italy not to print its own paper currency, though it mints its own coins. This is part of a larger accord whereby Italy subsidizes the republic's economy in exchange for acknowledgement of Italian monopolies in certain industries such as tobacco and playing cards. By special convention the Vatican and Italy and the Vatican and San Marino agree to allow within their territory the circulation and free acceptance of the other's currency. Those ministates which have concluded customs unions with neighbors are Liechtenstein (with Switzerland in 1924), San Marino (with Italy in 1862) and Monaco (with France in 1956). By virtue of its customs union with France, Monaco is included in the European Common Market. There are no customs duties in Andorra, which has the effect of making it an open market for all European goods.

Communications

Essential to the internal and external functioning of states in the modern age are good communications. Specifically, these include a well-developed transport net, far-reaching telephone and telegraph facilities, a smooth functioning postal service, powerful radio and television stations and informative newspapers. It is generally recognized that a country which does not possess such communications is in an unfavorable position *vis-à-vis* other nations in this fast-moving world.

For the most part, the microstates of Western Europe enjoy sufficient means of transportation. Although none possess their own railway system or airport, this does not present much of a problem for good rail and air service is not far away. In the case of Liechtenstein, an important railway line from Austria (Feldkirch) to Switzerland (Buchs) crosses the principality north of Vaduz. Monaco is served by trains that also join the French and Italian Riviera. As for the Vatican, it is easily reached by the public transportation system of Rome. In addition, the Italian government has gone so far as to provide the pope with a train similar to that used by the Italian head of state. Although the Vatican also has its own railroad station, it is used mostly as a freight terminal. In the case of San Marino, it is connected with Rimini and the Adriatic coast by funicular from the capital to Borgo Maggiori, about 1.6 km away, and thence by helicopter to Rimini. The nearest rail transportation for Andorra is the trans-Pyrenean line, connecting Paris with Barcelona.

Generally, the roads and highways running through these territories are modern and well kept. They have to be to handle the large numbers of tourists who pass through them. In Andorra, for instance, there are sixty-two miles of surfaced road (1971 est.) to accomodate approximately one million foreign visitors annually. These figures are especially significant when it is pointed out that until 1911, when the first road was built connecting the country with Spain, no car could enter Andorra, and not until 1933 was a road built joining the state with France.

It would seem that the lack of direct access to the sea for all but Monaco poses one of the greatest transportation problems for these land-locked states. In the past, this was true. Although their neighbors seldom sought deliberately to bottle them up, the microstates had to rely on the good will of the surrounding countries for passage to reach the high seas. In the late 1960s, however, an international accord was signed whereby interior states such as Andorra, San Marino, the Vatican and Liechtenstein were given the right of free transit through intervening countries "by common agreement with the later and in conformity with existing international conventions..."

As respects telephone, telegraph and postal services, they are enjoyed by all the ministates. Often though these facilities are administered not by the state concerned but by a neighbor. Thus Switzerland runs them in Liechtenstein, although the equipment is owned by the principality. In San Marino, telegraphic communication with Italy has been in service since 1879, and there is a connection with the Italian telephone system. The postal and telegraphic services in Monaco as well as the international telephone facility are operated by France; only local telephone service is under domestric control. Andorra is a special case where both France and Spain maintain a post office

and administer dual telegraph and telephone systems. The Vatican, by special conventions with the Italian government, is the sole microstate which is in complete control of its own postal, telegraph and telephone facilities.

Although not every microstate has its own radio and television stations, the majority do. Andorra, which does not have a television station, now has two radio broadcasting services: *Sud-Radio,* which is controlled by France, and *Radio Andorra,* the privately-owned Spanish station which has one of the highest locations in Europe, with aerials on a 2,000 m peak dominating the Pyrenees. In conformity with Franco-Spanish agreement, neither broadcasts news and political commentaries about the other country. Monaco, which inaugurated a television station in 1954, operates the most powerful radio transmitter in Europe. The main purpose of *Radio Vatican,* which comprises two separate facilities, one in the Vatican proper and the other outside of Rome, is to express papal teaching; it operates an all-day service in thirty-one modern languages and Latin. There is no television service.

According to special convention between Italy and San Marino, there is no local television or radio in the republic. Since 1963, *Radio Televisions Italiana* has been broadcasting daily information bulletins under the title *Notizie di San Marino.* There are no radio or television stations in Liechtenstein, which is served by Swiss radio and TV.

Almost all Western democracies take for granted the "freedom of the press." Indeed, the local newspaper is one of the most popular media by which informed members of these societies keep abreast of current news developments. This is not so for the majority of microstate residents, who must rely on the foreign press for daily news coverage. Liechtenstein is a typical case in point. No daily newspapers are published there. And the three publications which appear in the country several times a week in Vaduz are political party organs. To alleviate this situation, papers from all neighboring countries are imported and sold locally. Things are not much better in Monaco, where only an official journal is published weekly. Called *Journal de Monaco* (circulation 1,500 in 1969), this periodical contains a mixture of the texts of laws and decrees and defers to French newspapers which are widely read, especially the "Monaco editions" of *Nice-Matin* and *L'Espoir de Nice,* published in Nice, France. In San Marino, where there are no daily newspapers, four political tabloids (one for each party) appear at weekly or longer intervals. These are supplemented by the popular edition of *Il Resto del Carlino* of Bologna which gives special attention to San Marino news. By agreement between French and Spanish authorities, no newspapers are published at all in Andorra but a number of foreign periodicals are imported and sold locally. A few magazines in Catalan are in circulation. Of all the European microstates, only the Vatican issues its only daily paper, *L'Osservatore Romano,* a semi-official publication (circulation 75,000 in 1969). It and related publications are conducted under Church auspices and represent the principal medium for Vatican comment on secular affairs. Other periodicals are chiefly concerned with ecclesiastical matters.

Police

It is a well-established principle of international life that every modern state should have the means at its disposal to preserve domestic law and order. The ministates are no exception, although in most cases the internal situation is a picture of tranquility, and there is no compelling need to maintain a large formal police force. Generally, the duties of these gendarmes consist of handling the increasing tourist traffic. But in instances where a microstate has no armed forces (e.g. Liechtenstein and Monaco), the police also carry out quasi-military functions such as patrolling the border.

The Vatican police force is an especially efficient unit. It is also the largest of the microstates. Called the *gendarmeria pontifica,* it consists of some seventy men under a governor who, in emergency situations, may call upon the assistance of the 'Swiss Guards,' part of the papal 'armed forces.' According to regulations, only Italians, who have completed a period of service in the Italian Army and hold certificates of good character from civil as well as religious authorities, may join the force. Generally, their duties are routine and uneventful. In the main, they involve maintaining the order of the Vatican City State and in the palaces and museums that belong to it.

San Marino, is the only microstate to bring in foreign policemen. It hires police directly from Italy. Apparently, with nearly everyone related to one another, citizens feel that only outsiders can serve impartially.

The police force in Andorra is one of the smallest anywhere. Consisting solely of third-generation Andorrese, it numbers twelve officials (two from each parish), who wear a khaki uniform and a Basque beret. The ever-growing quantity of motorized traffic has obliged the Council of the Valleys to create in addition a Traffic Police Force. This consists of one man who is now stationed at the most dangerous point in the capital, directing traffic from dawn to dusk.

6. External Affairs

To the average citizen of most modern states the term

'foreign affairs' often holds little meaning. Generally, domestic concerns are of overriding importance. This can not be said of the great majority of microstate inhabitants. For in almost all cases, the very survival of their state is intimately bound with external relations.

Andorra

Andorra is a pertinent example. In consequence of the agreement of 1278, that country is primarily concerned in 'foreign affairs' with her two powerful neighbors: France and Spain. It is they afterall who possess the real power in the country. Both of them exercise nominal sovereignty there through their 'co-princes,' who in turn have appointed agents to handle daily administrative tasks.

Although relations between the two 'co-princes' over Andorra are normally smooth, there is one particular sticking point. France claims to be the sole 'protecting power' of the microstate. And it reserves the right to dispatch authorities to the area to maintain law and order, a right said to have been exercised in every European crisis since 1870. This claim to superior status is not recognized by the Spanish, who are not at all hesitant to match excessive French assertions with their own. In view of this dispute, it is probably safe to say that the foreign relations of Andorra are in the hands of both 'co-princes.' (This is the viewpoint expressed in US Department of State publications, for instance.)

Diplomatically, Andorra is the most isolated of the five ministates. Although it possesses its own flag (a tricolor of blue, yellow and red vertical stripes on which a coat of arms is emblazoned), no country recognizes it as a sovereign independent state. And it maintains no diplomatic relations with any members of the world community. The fact that Andorra is not a member of any international organization nor a signatory to any major treaty or international agreement has at times had interesting repercussions. For example, World War I lasted there legally forty-four years, for the country was never invited to the Versailles Peace Conference and did not formally end its state of belligerency with Germany until 1958. Nevertheless, Andorra is covered by the Universal Copyright Convention, the Meteorological Organization Convention and the 1941 Automotive Convention.

Due to its strategic position and peculiar political status, Andorra has been frequently exploited as a political sanctuary. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), for instance, many Spanish Republicans fled to the area to live unmolested by the Franco regime. Then, in the summer of 1940, it served as a temporary shelter for anti-Nazi fleeing France. Later Allied fliers, shot down over Europe, made it part of a regular escape route through Spain on their way to North Africa. Even the French underground hid out in Andorra between raids, and the Allies came more and more to use it as a headquarters. Finally, in 1944, the wheel turned full circle as Nazi collaborators fled through the microstate to Spain.

So rapid are events in the world today that in 1969 Andorra lost both suzerains within a mere forty-eight hours. First, Charles de Gaulle stepped down as President of France, automatically becoming an ex-ruler of Andorra. Then, the following day, the pope accepted the resignation of the Bishop of Urgel for reasons of age (and appointed the Bishop of Lérida as successor). Thus, not they but their successors now receive the small tribute which the Andorrese have had to pay.

Every two years the head of government sets out for Lérida to put the sum of 900 pesetas into the pious hands of the Bishop, and Paris to offer 1,920 francs to the French President. He goes in great style to pay the ancient *Qüèstia,* with his cloak and Napoleonic hat and his escort of two Council members. Unlike President Discard d'Estaing, Bishop Ramón Malla Cal also receives Christmas gifts from the six parishes. These consist of six hams, twelve chickens and twenty-four cheeses. Recently, however, the Spanish prelate has been returning the poultry and cheeses.

Liechtenstein

In contrast to Andorra, Liechtenstein enjoys a considerable degree of independence in foreign affairs. The ruling prince is subject to no one and appoints foreign representatives and negotiates treaties. Due to financial reasons, however, Switzerland is the only country with which it maintains full diplomatic relations. The principality has a legation in Bern for this purpose. By special agreement, dating from 27 October 1919, Switzerland represents abroad the interests of the microstate.

Although Liechtenstein maintains diplomatic relations with only one country, one should not jump to the conclusion that it is internationally isolated. To the contrary. In 1964, an active year, it participated in the World Trade Conference at Geneva, sent a delegation to the Conference on the Peaceful use of Atomic Energy, dispatched observers to four EFTA ministerial meetings and was represented by Prince Franz Joseph II at the funeral of the King of Greece. That same year there was even a newspaper report that Liechtenstein, following the example of the United States, intended to set up its own 'peace corps.'

Liechtenstein is not a member of the United Nations. But it is a party to the statute of the International Court

of Justice and a member of the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Union. In the post-World War I period, it was fortunate to have Switzerland pleading its case at the headquarters of the League in Geneva (after its application for membership was turned down). But now it is at a distinct disadvantage before the world community because Switzerland is not a member of the U.N., and it has no one there to speak out in its behalf. Its sole consolation is that it has been admitted to one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations: UNICEF, to which it donated one thousand dollars in 1962.

The role of Liechtenstein as a neutral should not be overlooked in any discussion of its foreign affairs. Take the situation during the last world war. Poised perilously between German-controlled Austria and Switzerland, the principality attracted political refugees and escaping Allied prisoners of war like a magnet. Naturally, when the number of these individuals reached the hundreds, Hitler became deeply concerned. But no amount of diplomatic—and undiplomatic—cajoling could persuade the government of Liechtenstein to hand them over. Probably because the principality adhered to the letter of its neutrality status—even though this meant interning all POWs it caught—the matter was not pursued further. There was no exception to its neutralist policy, so when Pierre Laval, collaborationist Premier of France, appeared at the border in May of 1945, he was politely but firmly turned away.

Although the constitution of Liechtenstein provides that every able-bodied citizen may be called upon to defend his country, the principality maintains no standing army. In fact, it has had no army since 1868. And the last war in which local residents participated was the Seven Weeks' War in 1866, when Liechtenstein helped Austria by supplying a handful of troops that was given the assignment of guarding a mountain peak on the Italian front.

Monaco

Monaco does not possess the same autonomy in foreign affairs as Liechtenstein. In fact, the foreign relations of the principality are controlled by France. The Minister of State, who is appointed by the prince and serves in effect as Foreign Minister, must be approved by the French government. And a treaty of 1918 with France, under whose protection the microstate was placed in 1861, stipulates that Monégasque policy must be in complete conformity with French political, military, naval and economic interests. Despite its close external ties with France. however, it operates its own consulates and missions abroad.

Monaco, like all the other ministates under study here, is not a member of the United Nations. Nor has it actively sought membership, primarily because of the lack of financial resources—a typical microstate problem. The principality does, however, maintain a Permanent Observer at the headquarters of the U.N. in New York and belongs to several of its specialized agencies, UNESCO, ITU and IPU. Noted for an exceptionally mild climate, magnificent scenery and high class hotels and other service facilities, Monaco is frequently chosen as the site of international conferences.

San Marino

Like Monaco, San Marino is of necessity closely associated in the area of foreign affairs with the state which surrounds it. The relations of the republic with Italy are fixed by a series of bilateral treaties and conventions. In the main they provide for a customs union, the regulation of public service facilities and the definition of general principles of good neighborly relations. The convention of friendship and the customs union were concluded in 1862, and renewed in 1872 and 1897 and expanded with additional articles in 1953.

San Marino's relations with other countries are limited in scope. Nevertheless, it has a consul general at Rome, an ambassador at the Vatican, *chargés d'affaires* in various centers of Europe and America and consular offices in a number of cities. In addition to performing normal duties connected with the host state, these facilities serve the approximately 20,000 San Marino citizens (1969 est.), who live abroad. Although the republic is not a member of the United Nations, it is represented by a Permanent Observer at its European Office and is a party to the statute of the World Court.

Like any other country which conducts relations, San Marino has its own foreign minister. But unlike in other modern states this official does not enjoy the measure of prestige of his colleagues holding that post. By way of illustration, one can hardly refrain from citing the case of the former San Marino foreign minister who, in order to supplement his income during his period of office, waited on tables at a local restaurant.

Although San Marino declared war on Germany in World War I, it remained officially neutral during the Second World War. At that time a local fascist group, which had assumed power after Mussolini's régime became entrenched, was strong. (Following the fall of this government in 1943, the administration of the republic became anti-Fascist once again.) Despite its neutral status, San Marino was the scene of heavy fighting during the Allied advance into northern Italy. Nazi forces occupied the republic briefly in August 1944 but were driven out by the British one month

later. As a result of moral and material damages suffered during the war, San Marino claims $3,000,000 in reparations from the United States.

Like the other microstates, San Marino has attracted its share of refugees and escapees. No doubt the most famous personage to take shelter there was the Italian patriot, Giuseppe Garibaldi who, in one of his darkest moments of defeat, fled to the area in 1849 to escape the advancing armies of Austria, Naples, France and Spain. Thanks to the help of local people, who risked the threat of war and annihilation, Garibaldi, his wife Anita and a group of followers were able to evade the encircling forces and set out on the voyage that took them as far as New York and then back again to fight for and later shape a united Italy.

According to law all residents able to bear arms are technically required to do so from sixteen to sixty years of age. At present, the available armed forces of the country include about 1200 men, who are divided into several small military bodies. These include the Noble Guard, a part-time force which serves mainly on state occasions and the select Fortress Guard which is on duty at border posts and at the entrance of the Government Palace. Even though citizens are expressly prohibited from 'serving a foreign power,' this law did not stop some of them from volunteering in the Italian army during both world wars. After Italy entered World War I in May 1915, some fifty volunteers from San Marino fought against the Austrians and a San Marino hospital functioned on the Italian front. During World War II a few local inhabitants served in the Italian army but with the end of Fascist power were imprisoned.

Vatican City State

Last but not least in this discussion of foreign affairs is the Vatican City State. Described felicitously as both the smallest and largest state in the world, it is the only European microstate which has gained widespread recognition as a completely sovereign and independent country. At the present time, diplomatic relations are maintained with some sixty foreign governments. (Officials are accredited to and from the Holy See and *not* the Vatican State.)

Representing the Vatican are nunciatures, internunciatures and apostolic delegates. Nuncios and internuncios are accredited directly to governments; the former bears the rank of ambassador, and the later is a plenipotentiary minister. Apostolic delegates represent the Holy Father with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Cardinal Secretary of State acts as foreign minister.

The sending and receiving of representatives by the Holy See dates to the fourth century, although the actual exchange of permanent diplomatic representatives is recorded only from the sixteenth century. In the 1870s, a lowpoint of papal temporal power, the number of states which were represented in Rome was drastically reduced to four. Gradually, these were increased to their present number.

Relations between the United States, a country which seeks to preserve the strict separation of church and state, and the Holy See have grown in intensity over the years. For example, between 1797 and 1848 the former was only represented in Rome by a consul. But from 1848 to 1867 there was a diplomatic representative with the rank of minister, who was given special instructions to deal with the pontiff as a civil ruler. Relations were upgraded further between 1939 and 1950, when the personal representative of the American President was accorded the privileges but not the title of ambassador. Finally, in the early 1970s full diplomatic relations were established and an American ambassador was dispatched to the Vatican.

The wide-ranging diplomatic effort by the Vatican poses one major problem. There is little room in the microstate to accomodate the large number of embassies and legations accredited to the Holy See! This situation has interesting ramifications. Not only does it mean that one country (Italy) must allow its territory to be used to house foreign representatives accredited not to it but to a third power (the Holy See). But it also means that one state must permit other countries to use its territory as a base to conduct diplomatic relations with a third state *even though* it may not recognize them or may have broken diplomatic relations with their governments. Truly a unique predicament.

Although the Vatican maintains extensive diplomatic relations, its role in international affairs is limited. To a great extent, this is due to the neutral status of the Holy See. Under the terms of the Lateran Treaty, the microstate "will always and in every case be considered neutral and inviolable territory." In part, the restricted role of the pontiff is related to non-membership in the United Nations, although the Holy See does maintain a Permanent Observer there and is represented on the IAEA, the ITU and the UPU. Lastly, there is the consideration that the pope is rarely invited to mediate disputes. In earlier times, the Holy Father was frequently asked to render his services as an arbiter of disputes, and down through the middle of the thirteenth century exercised tremendous influence upon the destinies of thrones and nations.

The accession of Pope Paul VI in 1963 marked a radical

change in the approach of the pontiff to international matters. For the first time in ages, the Holy Father undertook extensive trips outside Italy. Largely because of his travels, the pope now relies heavily on a personal, more direct way of dealing with the masses of the world. Known internationally now as the "travelling pope," Pope Paul has not hesitated to address himself to the major issues of the day. Frequently, he has even risked the wrath of major powers by taking the initiative in appealing for peace, especially in Vietnam.

In proportion to its population, the Vatican has the largest number of men under arms of any state in the world. Essentially, its "armed forces" consist of three groups: the *Guardia Nobile,* the *Guardia Palatina* and the colorful Swiss Guards. The first group, the *Guardia Nobile,* enlists sixty-four noblemen under a lieutenant general and is responsible for being in attendance upon the pope on certain state occasions and special religious festivities.

The second group, the *Guardia Palatina,* is a fifty-three man household guard, which is comprised of artisans who serve without pay under a colonel. They are called out from time to time when some unusual event brings an unwonted crowd to the Vatican or there is need for extra discipline. Probably best known of the papal military forces—certainly the most interesting—is the third group, the Swiss Guards. Their establishment was instituted by Julius II in 1505 and consisted of Swiss citizens recruited initially from the original cantons of the Swiss confederacy but in modern time from nearly all the others as well. Comprising 120 men under the command of a colonel, the Swiss Guards represent the last survival of the medieval body guards of sovereigns.

7. Conclusion

The title of this paper refers to the plight of the five European microstates. From the foregoing it should be clear that their unfavorable position *vis-a-vis* other members of the international community stems primarily from physical size. The smallest of all states, they (except for the Vatican City State which enjoys world-wide influence out of all proportion to its size) are also the least powerful.

In the past, the very smallness of these ministates invited aggression. But, as the writer has tried to show, this is no longer true. Nor has it been true for some time. The ministrates simply pose no threat to anyone. In a world dominated by mutual antagonism and hostility, and a spiralling arms race, their situation is exceptional.

At the onset of this study a lesson was promised the big powers, derived from the practice of the ministates. In a word, this is accommodation. Yes, adjustment to political realities. While no one can guarantee a successful outcome to the universal application of the ministate formula for survival. It does offer a realistic alternative to states which are unable to preserve their security through the force of arms and international conflict.

Table 1

● Andorra: Profile

Geography
Area: 465 km^2
Capital: Andorra la Vella
Climate: Cool and dry in summer and abundant snowfall in winter.

People
Population: 19,600 (1969 est.)
Annual growth rate: About 8%
Religion: Roman Catholic
Languages: Catalan (official) and French and Spanish
Literacy: Not known

Government
Type: Co-Principality
Constitution: None written

Economy
Gross national product: Unknown
Agriculture: Products—wool, subsistence food (oats and barley), tobacco
Industries: Tourism, free port for consumer goods, tobacco industry
Natural resources: Water power; minerals—iron ore, lead, alum
Trade: Exports—cattle, timber, wood, furniture; imports—fuel, perfumes, clothing, radios, televisions
Currency: Spanish peseta and French franc

Table 2

- Liechtenstein: Profile

Geography
Area: 160 km^2
Capital: Vaduz
Climate: Alpine

People
Population: 19,000 (1969 est.)
Annual growth rate: 2.5% (1974)
Ethnic Groups: Germanic (100%)
Religion: Roman Catholic (92%)
Languages: German (official), Alemannic
Literacy: Approx. 100%

Government
Type: Hereditary constitutional monarchy
Date of constitution: 5 October, 1921

Economy
Gross Domestic Product: Not available
Per capita income: $5,900
Agriculture: Labor 7%. Products—livestock, corn, wheat, potatoes, grapes.
Industry: Labor 59%. Products—textiles, ceramics, precision instruments, canned goods, pharmaceuticals
Natural resources: Timber, waterpower, salt
Trade: Exports: textiles, ceramics, precision instruments, pharmaceuticals, canned goods. Imports: light machines, processed goods, raw materials
Currency: Swiss franc

Table 3

- Republic of San Marino: Profile

Geography
Area: 61 km^2
Capital: San Marino
Climate: Mild

People
Population: 19,000 (1969 est.)
Annual growth rate: 1.9% (1972)
Ethnic groups: Italian (primarily)
Religion: Roman Catholic
Language: Italian
Literacy: High

Government
Type: Republic

Economy
Gross national product: Unknown
Per capita income: Not available
Agriculture: Grain, grapes, livestock
Light industry: Ceramics, furniture, textiles
Trade: Exports: building stone, lime, chestnuts, wheat, hides and stamps
Imports: wide variety of manufactured consumer goods
Currency: Own coins and Italian lire

Table 4

- Monaco: Profile

Geography
Area: 1 and ½ km^2
Capital: Monaco-Ville
Climate: Mediterranean—mild winters (average January-February temperature is 47°F.) and warm summers (average July high 78°F.)

People
Population: 23,000 (1969 est.)
Annual growth rate: 0.9% (1972)
Ethnic groups: French and Monégasque (primarily)
Religion: Roman Catholic
Languages: French (official), English, Italian and Monégasque
Literacy: Virtually complete

Government
Type: Principality
Date of constitution: 1962

Economy
Gross national product: Unknown
Per capita income: Not available
Tourism: Approx. 55% of income
Agriculture: Virtually nonexistent
Light industry: Chemicals, precision instruments, cosmetics, glass and ceramics
Trade: Unknown
Currency: Own coins and French franc

Table 5

- The Vatican City: Profile

Geography
Area: 0.44 km^2
Climate: Mild

People
Population: 1000 (1969 est.)
Ethnic groups: Italian and Swiss (primarily)
Religion: Roman Catholic
Languages: Latin (official) and Italian
Literacy: approx. 100%

Government
Type: Absolute monarchy

Economy
Gross domestic product (GDP): Not available
Per capita income: Not available
Principal economic activities: Public employment
Currency: Own coins, coins minted in San Marino and Italian lire

References

The following articles and books do not constitute a complete bibliography on the European ministates, but they have been useful to the author of this paper.

Andorra

AGNEW, R.A. (1928): Andorra. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* **44** (March), 91-95.

ALCOBE, S. (1941-42): Estudios antropológicos en tres altos valles de los Pirineos. *An. Univ. Barcelona,* 239-305.

ALFORD, V. (1937): *Pyrenean Festivals.*

ARGELICH, B. (1949): *Los vales de Andorra.*

BROWN, H.J. (1920): Y.M.C.A. Secretary's trip to the tiny republic for matches. *Travel* **34** (January), 16-19.

de BELLMUNT, D. (1953): *Andorra.*

DEANE, S. (1960): *The Road to Andorra.*

ETHERTON, P.T. (1928): Where there is no taxation. *Cornhill* **64** (May), 597-603.

FERNSWORTH, L.A. (1933): Andorra—mountain museum of feudal europe. *nat. geogr. Mag.* **64** (October), 492-512.

GUILERA, J.M. (1960): *Una História d'Andorra.*

HOLLYMAN, J. and T. HOLLYMAN (1948): Where smuggling is everybody's business. *Holiday* **3** (April), 99-102.

KLINGMAN, L. (1949): Incredible Andorra. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* **96** (August) 262-190.

LEARY, L.G. (1912): *Andorra: The Hidden Republic.*

LLOBET, S. (1947): *El medio y la vida en Andorra.*

MANNING, R. (1946): The oldest existing republic in the world, located in the Pyrenees. *World Review* (June), 50-52.

ONSLOW, W.A. (1931): Medieval Andorra. *National Review* **97** (October), 531-536.

PEATTIE, R. (1929): Andorra: a study in mountain geography. *Geogrl Rev.* **19** (April), 218-233.

PEYRET, J.C. (1945): *Geografia e Historia de Andorra.*

PIESOLD, W. (1937): *Andorra.*

SERMET, J. (1953): La nouvelle Andorra. *Mélanges geographiques offerts á Ph. Arbos,* pp. 99-107.

VIDAL, J.M. (1949): *Instituciones politicas y sociales de Andorra.*

WEBBER, W. (1949): The valleys of Andorra. *Appalachia* **27** (December), 401-408.

WEILENMANN, F., ed. (1939): *Die Wahrheit über die Pyrenäenrepublik Andorra.*

WHITTLESEY, D. (1934): Andorra's autonomy. *J. Mod. Hist.* **6** (June), 147-155.

Liechtenstein

CLARK, R.W. (1948): Liechtenstein thrives on stamps. *Nat. geogr. Mag.* **94** (July), 105-112.

CLARK, S.A. (1938): Quaint little Graunstarkian monarchy. *Travel* **70** (February), 38-40.

GREENE, B. (1948): *Valley of Peace: The Story of Liechtenstein.*

HEER, J.C. (1906): *Vorarlberg und Liechtenstein.*

HELBOCK, A. (1920): *Quellen zur Geschichte Vorarlbergs und Liechtensteins.*

HOLLYMAN, J. and T. HOLLYMAN (1949): A midget principality between Austria and Switzerland. *Holiday* **6** (November), 106-111.

KOHN, W.S.G. (1967): The sovereignty of Liechtenstein. *Am. J. Intern. Law* **61** (April), 547-557.

MALIK, R. (1959): Happy Liechtenstein. *Contemp. Review* **196** (July), 56-58.

RATSON, P. (1950): *Le Liechtenstein.*

SCHAEDLER, E. (1953-56): Fürstentum Liechtenstein. *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins.*

Tätigkeits- und Rechenschaftsberichte der fürstlichen liechtensteinischen Regierung (annually).

von FALKE, J. (1868-83): *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses Liechtenstein.*

Monaco

de BERNADY, F. (1961): *The Princes of Monaco.*

du BERRIER, H. (1948): Romantic Past of Monaco. *Travel* **91** (October), 13-17.

GROSVENOR, G.M. and K. DONNA (1963): Miniature Monaco. *Nat.. geogr. Mag.* **123** (April), 546-573.

LABANDE, L.H. (1939): *Annales de la principauté de Monaco.*

LABANDE, L.H. (1934): *Histoire de la principauté de Monaco.*

MUIR, W. (1913): History of and account of Monte Carlo. *Travel* **22** (November), 28-30.

PICKARD, F.W. (1937): *Monaco and the French Riviera.*

SMITH, A. (1912): *Monaco and Monte Carlo.*

San Marino

BALSIMELLI, F. (1932): *Guida storico-artistica della Repubblica di San Marino.*

BENT, J.T. (1879): *A Freak of Freedom: or the Republic of San Marino.*

CHELLAS, A. (1949): The world's tiniest republic, *Holiday* **6** (October), 72, 75, 77.

DELFICO, M. (1865): *Memorie storiche della Repubblica di S. Marino,* 4th ed.

Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche (1933): *La Repubblica di San Marino.*

FATTORI, M. (1912): *Ricordi storici deela Repubblica di S. Marino,* 6th ed.

GUERIŃ, T. (1932): Ancient San Marino; *Can. geogr. J.* **5** (July), 51-56.

HAMILTON, J.A. (1923): Republic of San Marino. *Scott. geogr. J.* **39** (October) 243-251.

MALAGOLA, C. (1888-90): *L'Archivio governatura della Repubblica di San Marino.*

MILLER, W. (1922): Democracy at San Marino. *History* **7.**

OSBORNE, A.B. (1912): The World's smallest republic. *Travel* **20** (December, 16-19, 54-57.

POPE, J. (1924): The Village Republic of the Appenines. *Travel* **44** (December), 17-22, 44.

RICCI, C. (1903): *La Repubblica di San Marino.*

ROHE, A. (1918): The littlest republic in the World. *Natn.*

geogr. Mag. **34** (August), 138-163.

SALOMON, A.J. (1931): A Descriptive sketch of the Republic of San Marino. *Windsor* **74** (November) 722-726.

SHOR, Donna H. (1967): San Marino: little land of liberty. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* **132** (August), 233-251.

WALMSLEY, L.G. (1949): World's smallest republic. *Travel* **93** (November) 6-9, 30.

Vatican City

IRELAND, G. (1933): The state of the City of the Vatican. *Am. J. Intern. Law* **27** (April), 271-289.

NEVILS, W.C. (1939): The Smallest State in the World. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* **75** (March), 377-412.

TOSCHI, U. (1931): The Vatican City State from the standpoint of political geography. *Geogrl Rev.* **21** (October), 529-538.

WRIGHT, H. (1944): The status of the Vatican City. *Am. J. Intern. Law* **38** (July), 452-457.