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REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF  
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES  
AND PEOPLES

## REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS, 1980

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## II. ACTIVITIES OF THE VISITING MISSION

### A. Meeting with the Governor

183. The Mission met with the Governor on 16 April 1980. The Governor extended an official welcome to the members of the Mission and the members of the United Nations Secretariat. He said that the Mission came at a time of vigorous local debate on possible constitutional advance in the near future. At the heart of the debate were two considerations of fundamental importance: (a) the timing of changes in the Constitution which would give the inhabitants of the islands much greater responsibility for running their own affairs; and (b) the strength of the economy. With regard to the question of constitutional changes, the Governor said that the existing Constitution was a very advanced one and that the Turks and Caicos Islands were within a hair's breadth of full internal self-government. He explained that once a dependency had attained internal self-government, it was not the British Government's policy to allow it to continue at that stage for more than a year or so before the dependency moved on to complete independence. That was because during internal self-government, the British Government had responsibility for the dependency but it was virtually powerless to influence events. Consequently, internal self-government was normally limited to a period just long enough to draw up an independence constitution and to make all the preparations for the introduction of that constitution. The choice for the inhabitants, therefore, was between maintaining the status quo or moving on via internal self-government to independence.

184. He reminded the Mission that in 1979, the British Government had offered the Territory internal self-government, providing that it moved on to independence by mid-1982. The choice between accepting that offer or maintaining the status quo must be made by the electorate of the islands.

185. With regard to the economy, he said that the Territory suffered from the usual drawbacks of an island economy, aggravated by a lack of natural resources. The Territory's only viable natural resources, lobsters and conch, were exploited to the full and there appeared to be overfishing. Therefore, in order to create wealth, the Territory must try to promote man-made resources such as off-shore banks, tourism and ship-to-ship oil transfer. However, the Territory could not command that such investments be made and so it did not have control over the speed at which the economy developed.

186. He said that the Mission might find considerable impatience in the islands. The inhabitants wanted to run their own affairs and control the finances of the country.

187. The Chairman of the Mission expressed gratitude, on behalf of the Mission, to the United Kingdom Government and the Chief Minister for having made the Mission's visit possible. He thanked the Governor for the hospitality accorded to the Mission and for the very comprehensive information on economic, constitutional and other matters relating to the Territory which the Mission had received.

188. The Chairman said that it was up to the people themselves to determine the pace at which the Territory moved towards independence. The concern of the Mission was to ascertain that the wishes of the people would be taken into account.

189. The Mission had taken note of the economic situation. But it was felt that the responsibility of the administering Power did not stop only at political education and should embrace economic and social developments. Although natural resources might be scarce, there was room for development based on the Territory's human resources. Other development agencies might be invited to help and the territorial Government might be allowed to get in touch with other aid-giving Governments.

190. Replying to a question concerning the views of the political parties on the question of independence, the Governor gave a brief resumé of what had led up to the United Kingdom offer of an "independence package". He said that when the offer had been made in 1979, the ministers had been in power for just over three years. During that time, they had felt that there were two constraints preventing them from being effective. First, the ministers were junior to the Governor who was President of the Council. Thus, they had wished to move to internal self-government in order that the Governor's powers would be reduced. The second constraint concerned the amount of aid that the Territory received from the United Kingdom. The ministers had discussed those two matters with the United Kingdom.

191. In the ensuing talks, the United Kingdom Government had said that although it understood the impatience of the ministers to have more control over the Territory's affairs, it could not give the territorial Government greater constitutional power unless it moved to internal self-government. The United Kingdom would be happy if the Territory decided to move to internal self-government but it could not remain at that stage indefinitely because it would have all the powers and the United Kingdom would have the responsibility without being able to influence events. The Territory would have to move to independence by mid-1982.

192. Regarding aid, the United Kingdom Government had said that it understood the complaints being voiced but that as a Conservative Government, it was determined to restore the economy of the United Kingdom. That policy had implied that overseas aid would be reduced; it could certainly not be increased. Both main political parties in the United Kingdom had agreed, however, that a Territory moving towards independence was in a special situation and would need more aid. If the Turks and Caicos Islands moved to full internal self-government, and then to independence within the stipulated period, the United Kingdom would give it more aid, namely a total of £12 million, including the £5 million independence settlement, spread over the next three years. The Governor said that the Turks and Caicos ministers had gone to London to ask for more constitutional powers and money rather than independence. The offer of independence had come from the United Kingdom.

193. The ministers had said that they would accept the financial and political package offered by the United Kingdom and that if there were an election, they would move to internal self-government and take independence in mid-1982. They

had, however, accepted the offer reluctantly and the Chief Minister had said that he had been forced to take independence. That was not the view of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom had said the Territory could either stay where it was or move towards independence.

194. The Governor said that the leader of the Opposition and his colleagues had met with representatives of the United Kingdom Government at London in January 1980 and had stated their view that talk of independence was premature, because the people did not want it and the economy was not strong enough. They had been concerned that the United Kingdom was forcing them to accept independence. When the United Kingdom Government had replied that it was for the Territory to choose, the Opposition had stated that if they won the election they would not accept the independence package even if it meant a reduction in the amount of aid received from the United Kingdom. The Governor said that the United Kingdom's offer of £12 million over a three-year period was proportionately about 10 times more generous than the aid given to other Caribbean countries when they attained independence. The Opposition had said that they wanted independence, but only after four years.

195. The Governor added that he was only providing the Mission with background information and that the Mission would have an opportunity to hear the views of the parties directly from the people concerned. The Territory had an advanced constitution and his reserve powers related only to matters of defence, internal security, foreign affairs and the civil service, and even then he had to consult the ministers.

196. Asked whether there was any truth in a statement contained in an article in the Turks and Caicos "Voice" that the islands might break up in the event of independence, the Governor said that he did not believe there was a serious prospect of that occurring. He said that the Territory was so small that there should be no reason to break it up into smaller parts. He added that the editor of the Voice was not an islander. A proposal to sell part of the islands had been vetoed because it was the policy of the United Kingdom not to allow the fragmentation of a Territory before independence.

197. In reply to questions concerning external aid, the Governor said that all decisions of the Council were taken by consensus and that the ministers negotiated directly with UNDP. As the islands were very short of material resources, the United Kingdom Government was only too happy to receive aid for the Territory from the United Nations or from any other source. At present, no assistance was received from the United States under its AID programme or from Canada, which had a strong interest in the Turks and Caicos Islands, because such assistance was available only to independent countries. However, assistance had been received from CDB, in the form of loans, and from EEC, which had given money for the air terminal in South Caicos under a special accelerated arrangement. There had been negotiations with international bodies. The ministers were in a great hurry.

198. As regards assistance from the United Kingdom, the Governor said that, on a per capita basis, the people of the Turks and Caicos Islands were receiving

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more than other United Kingdom dependencies and that capital expenditure took the form of grants and not loans. In other Territories, if all else failed there remained subsistence agriculture. That was not possible in the Turks and Caicos Islands. The Turks and Caicos Islands was not a welfare State and per capita income was comparatively high. However, the absence of subsistence farming should be taken into account in measuring real per capita income.

199. In response to other questions by the Mission, the Governor gave the following information. The production of salt had once been an important industry, but it had lapsed because mechanization was not introduced until too late and, during the past 25 years, none had been produced. Two or three years previously, a United States company had wanted to manufacture salt. However, feasibility studies by the Turks and Caicos Government had revealed that a deep-water port was needed and the company would not meet the cost. CDB would probably contribute towards the cost of a deep-water port. If the Territory did not move to independence, the aid package offered by the United Kingdom would be reduced. The Territory would receive annually about £1,875,000 in aid from the United Kingdom. The Turks and Caicos Islands was not receiving aid from the World Bank.

#### B. Meeting with the Chief Minister and other ministers

200. On 16 April 1980, the Mission met with Mr. McCartney, the Chief Minister, Mr. Skippings, Minister of Health, Education, Welfare and Local Government, Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, and Mr. Maguire, Minister of Tourism and Development of Industries and Resources. Mr. McCartney, the Chief Minister, said that he had looked forward to the arrival of the Visiting Mission for a long time. He and his colleagues felt that the country was being neglected in the sense that the local government was not given opportunities to keep the people sufficiently informed on political issues or to draw up development programmes which would benefit the people. Development aid given by the United Kingdom was inadequate to meet the needs of the Territory and, although teams from the Development Division of the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development in Barbados had visited the Territory and submitted recommendations, no follow-up action had been taken so far.

201. The ruling party had been elected in 1976 on a platform aimed at bringing government closer to the people and trying to improve living conditions. The ministers had not been able to fulfil their election promises because the Governor, backed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, maintained a firm grip on the Territory's affairs. The administering Power was not sufficiently responsible to the Territory's needs. For instance, two years ago, the Governor had refused to sign a development project presented to him by the Government and he had delayed a year before signing a bill on international banking which had received the unanimous approval of the Legislative Council. The administering Power and the expatriate civil servants said that projects which the Government of the Turks and Caicos Islands submitted for approval were often not viable or ill-designed. However, many studies had indicated that some of the projects were viable, but they had not been taken seriously as being worthy of implementation. The ministers sometimes felt that either they had not been told

the truth or that they had been inadequately briefed by their staff. Moreover, when they turned to Canada and the United States as possible sources of aid, they had been told categorically that, as a dependency of the United Kingdom, the Territory could not qualify for aid from either of those countries.

202. The Chief Minister said that the Territory had been too long neglected and that delays in providing basic infrastructure such as harbours, roads and electricity, which were essential in order to attract private investors, were impeding the development of the economy.

203. Mr. Skippings, Minister of Health, Education, Welfare and Local Government, said that the same situation prevailed in the areas for which he was responsible. Health services were inadequate and only minor surgery could be performed so that people who could not afford to go abroad for treatment died. The low salaries paid to medical personnel made it difficult to attract competent doctors. There were no colleges or universities in the Territory and very few scholarships for training abroad. Vocational training was not available although it was needed for the developing tourist industry. Communications were very limited, there were few opportunities for employment and there was a general lack of services for the care of the aged and disabled and of social programmes for the youth.

204. Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour gave a list of equipment, such as a fire engine and an ambulance, and of construction work which the Turks and Caicos Islands Government had been unable to obtain. He said that the United Kingdom controlled spending in the Territory and the British consultants sometimes knew nothing about the country, the type of life its people led or their needs.

205. Mr. Maguire, Minister of Tourism and Development of Industries and Resources, said that the United Kingdom had been generous in giving money but had not spent it on the right projects and had ignored the advice of experts, including advice given by UNDP. The islands had become a playground for the ultra rich and land had been sold to foreigners; the salt industry and farming had not been maintained, with the result that people left the islands and therefore the population was no larger than it was in 1910. He said that the International Salt Company had estimated that it could produce 2 million metric tons of salt in the Territory and would have been prepared to invest about \$US 10 million in the project if the administering Power had agreed to build a deep-water harbour.

206. The Chief Minister, replying to questions put to him by the Mission, said that development of the infrastructure should come before independence. However, the United Kingdom Government had put pressure on them to accept independence as a condition for granting increased aid.

#### C. Meeting with members of the Legislative Council

207. The Mission met with the members of the Legislative Council on 17 April 1980. The Chairman of the Visiting Mission, explaining the mandate entrusted to the Mission, said that the dispatch of visiting missions was one of the means by which

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the Special Committee sought to obtain first-hand information on conditions in a dependent Territory, how the administering Power was discharging its responsibilities and the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants. He invited the members of the Legislative Council to express their views.

208. Mr. McCartney, the Chief Minister, said that the majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council felt that the economic, social and political status of the Territory was far from satisfactory. The Turks and Caicos Islands Government had no political control and very little real control over the affairs of the Territory. According to the Constitution, responsibility for external affairs, defence, finance, internal security and the public service was reserved to the Governor. The elected ministers did not have a real say in those main functions of Government. Without a say in those areas they felt powerless. From time to time they had confrontations with the Governor, for instance, in regard to the use of land. A year ago the Legislature had unanimously passed an international banking regulation and the Governor had taken a year to assent to it.

209. Under Section 7 of the Constitution, the Governor could intervene in any of the affairs of the Government. The Chief Minister said that the administering Power had not given the people any political education whatsoever. It was trying to stifle any kind of political activism, yet he believed that it was the activists, formerly referred to as the "Junkanoo Club", who formed the only group which had really tried to make the people aware of their rights.

210. After visiting Washington in 1979 for negotiations concerning the United States bases in the Turks and Caicos Islands, the ministers had gone to New York where they had had contact with the Special Committee on 18 and 21 May and the Committee had adopted a report containing a series of conclusions and recommendations. 7/ The Chief Minister cited those conclusions and recommendations and said that they were still waiting for some of the recommendations to be implemented. He said that the elected representatives of the people definitely did not have any say in their country's affairs. Economic development, including development of the infrastructure, had never received serious attention from the United Kingdom Government and, as the Mission would see when it travelled round the island, such development was only just beginning.

211. In 1978, a former British member of Parliament who visited the islands had accused the United Kingdom Government of no longer paying much attention to the Territory, which was among the remaining remnants of a great empire. Coming from a former member of Parliament, that was a serious complaint, and it was clearly urgent that something should be done about it. In the following year, the ministers went to London to seek constitutional change or full international self-government. Mr. Ridley, the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, had admitted that the Territory had received a poor deal over the centuries and had said that the Government of the United Kingdom would be delighted to help

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7/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/34/23/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XXIV, para. 9.



the Territory to proceed to independence with an undertaking that the United Kingdom would provide the basic economic infrastructure. The ministers had immediately realized that the two were interrelated and interdependent. They hoped that the Turks and Caicos people would get some meaningful benefit from the Mission's visit.

212. Mr. Maguire, the Minister of Tourism and Economic Development, endorsed the Chief Minister's remarks. It had been made quite clear in 1945, when the Charter of the United Nations was signed, that Member States which administered Non-Self-Governing Territories had an obligation to develop them so that the Territories could become independent members of the United Nations. From 1945 to 1980 was a very long time. In 1962/63, the United Kingdom Government had tried to make the islands part of Jamaica. Later, it had tried to make them part of the Bahamas. But the Turks and Caicos Islands were an entity unto themselves and had been so for over 400 years.

213. To his mind, the United Kingdom Government had failed to carry out its responsibilities in respect of those areas for which power was still vested in the Governor, namely defence, law and order, internal security and financial affairs. The Territory had no defence forces and an occasional visit by a frigate did not prevent poaching by foreigners within the territorial waters of the islands. It had taken the islanders two and a half years to convince the British that the Territory was entitled to a 200-mile fishing zone and the United Kingdom had refused to support their claim. The economy of the Territory was undoubtedly tied to the sea, but the islanders had no means of defending their fishing rights. Similarly they had no means of controlling use of the Territory's air space and the United Kingdom was incapable of providing them with the means needed to eliminate the traffic in drugs. The situation with regard to the illegal traffic in drugs was very serious. He said that he was not condemning the British Government but simply pointing out that it could not provide the Territory with the protection it required.

214. Economic assistance and capital for investment were totally inadequate. The United Kingdom Government said that that was because the Territory had a population of only 7,000. The reason why the population was so small was that in order to survive, thousands of Turks and Caicos islanders had had to go to other countries. If the proper investment had been made at the proper time, the population would now number 60,000-70,000. By relating the amount of aid to the size of the population, the administering Power was applying false economic criteria and was leading the Territory into continuous economic decline. Furthermore, the Territory's civil service was not adequate to provide the political leaders with the support which they needed to manage the Territory's affairs. Without a fully trained and competent civil service, the Territory could not proceed to independence, yet whenever efforts were made to get further training they were told that funds were not available for scholarships or for training. On the other hand, although the administering Power was prepared to send out expatriate experts on six-month or two-year contracts, none of those people came to teach; they came to give orders. The United Kingdom had failed to live up to its commitment under the United Nations Charter to prepare the Territory for independence and self-sufficiency. He therefore recommended to the

Mission that it seriously consider recommending the establishment of a permanent United Nations presence in the islands to supervise them in the next few years. He thought that the islanders would do better if the Territory were a United Nations protectorate rather than a British colony.

215. A member of the Legislative Council said that the Chief Minister and the Minister for Tourism and Economic Development had blamed the British Government for lack of attention to the Territory. He said that he and other members of the Council did not wish to dispute that charge. Whether it was the fault of the United Kingdom Government or whether it was the fault of the territorial Government was yet to be determined. Their main concern was that the country needed a lot more development by way of infrastructure, training and investment. They hoped that the Mission would fully acquaint itself with the situation, meet with a broad cross-section of the community, and make a detailed report on what it had seen and heard. After listening to the ministers, it seemed to him that they were asking the Mission to present a case to the United Kingdom Government, that it should give more to the Turks and Caicos and be firm on the question of independence. If that was the situation, then he thought that the people should be made aware of it.

216. A second member of the Legislative Council said that he understood that the Mission was there at the invitation of the Chief Minister and the Governor, as the legal representative of the United Kingdom Government, to find out whether or not the people of the islands wanted, or were ready for, independence. He wished that to be clearly understood. Any other issue, he thought, was not within the Mission's terms of reference. That was a very crucial and important matter being discussed. He wished to bring to the Mission's attention that the Legislative Council was no party to the decision to invite the Mission and that the decision had been taken without consultation with the people. The people must be made to understand that it was for them to decide whether or not they would accept independence. If the Mission was there to tell them what was good for them, then they did not want to hear it.

217. The Chairman of the Mission said that the purpose of Visiting Missions was to ensure that the right of the people to self-determination was fully respected and that the administering Power concerned fulfilled its international commitments fully and adequately.

218. Mr. Skippings, the Deputy Chief Minister, endorsed the statements of the Chief Minister and the Minister of Tourism and Economic Development concerning the generally unhappy state of affairs in the Territory. He urged the Mission to take note of the feelings of the local people and the attitude of the United Kingdom Government over the past few years. He cited as an example the Junkanoo Incident of 1975 when he said the United Kingdom Government had sent a warship and some policemen from the British Virgin Islands to the Territory to create a disturbance, although there was not any disturbance at the time of their arrival. That was made clear in the report of the Commission which inquired into the incident. It showed the extent of the discontent in the islands. He thought that as the Mission looked around, it would see the lack of meaningful development, not only the lack of external financing to create industries, but the gross neglect of the political, social and economic areas. There had been no attempt by the

United Kingdom Government to educate the people politically. Socially, they were very backward. There was so far no public system of running water anywhere in the Turks and Caicos Islands. Electricity was still a dream to many islanders. Health facilities, apart from being inadequate, were out of reach and very expensive for the people in the outer islands which created many problems. Often the people had to watch relatives die simply because facilities, finance and expertise were not available.

219. That in itself showed the lack of attention that the United Kingdom Government had given to the islands as far as economic development was concerned. He could not speak for previous Governments in the Territory, but the present Government had endeavoured to make the British Government aware of the neglect of infrastructural development. The United Kingdom Government itself had sent out engineers and economists who had drawn up various projects and made feasibility studies, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds. In regard to most of the projects passed on to the United Kingdom Government, the experts had stated that they would be economically viable and that they would generate the financing needed to make them economically stable, apart from the jobs which they would create. However, the United Kingdom Government had rejected those projects on the grounds that they required some infrastructural development. For instance, a large United States company, one of the largest salt companies in the world, had carried out a feasibility study of the salt industry. All it requested from the Turks and Caicos Islands Government was a deep-water harbour. However, the United Kingdom Government had refused that request. A similar request for a deep-water harbour had been made as the basic requirement for an aragonite industry. It should also be pointed out that the deep-water harbour would have been multipurpose, because at the moment all food-stuffs and even construction materials had to be imported by air, which was reflected in high prices. The United Kingdom thought that the cost of a deep-water harbour was much too expensive. That was one instance where the United Kingdom Government had been negligent.

220. The United Kingdom Government had continuously recommended that the Territory develop the tourist industry and, indeed, as far as resources were concerned, the Territory compared favourably with its neighbours, such as the Cayman Islands and Bahamas. There was nothing those islands had to offer tourists in terms of natural scenery or natural resources that the Turks and Caicos did not have. But, again, the United Kingdom Government had refused to provide the basic infrastructure that was needed to attract foreign investment capital.

221. As the Mission was aware, the existing constitutional arrangements prevented the territorial Government from soliciting any other nation to come to its assistance. When considering self-determination, agriculture was the key industry to which attention should be given. At present, the Territory still imported basic foods such as cabbages, limes, oranges, grapefruit, potatoes and yams, the basic fruits and vegetables that could be grown in the islands, especially the north and middle Caicos.

222. The Territory possessed underground water which could be used for irrigation. Once again it needed the basic capital. The United Kingdom had failed badly in

the fulfilment of its obligation to prepare the Territory for self-determination in those vital areas. In many instances the advice they had received from the United Kingdom Government had been to the detriment of the development of the Territory and its people. Yet the restrictions imposed by their present constitutional status prevented them from going to the United States or any other country and from carrying out direct negotiations on their own behalf. Thus, when they had gone to the United States to talk about the United States bases, the United Kingdom Government had informed them that they definitely should not request anything above \$US 250,000 because they would not get it. Mr. Skippings thought that that was ridiculous, especially bearing in mind that the United States had maintained a military presence in those islands for over 25 years, during which the Turks and Caicos Islands Government had educated freely, and incurred other expenditures in respect of, over 200 children of service personnel. Instead of following the advice given by the United Kingdom, they had taken the attitude that while they were not begging the United States for anything, they had a right to bargain as far as they thought and as close as they could to get an agreement that was mutually beneficial both to the United States and to their people. As a result, they had received five times as much as the United Kingdom Government, which was supposed to be representing them, had informed them that they could expect.

223. The United Kingdom Government had made it quite clear that it was not prepared to countenance any arrangements for full internal self-government with any dependent Territory unless there was a commitment that the Territory would proceed to independence within an agreed time-scale, and the time-scale that it had in mind for the Turks and Caicos Islands was nine months. The United Kingdom Government had insisted upon that even though the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, in his opening statement, had conceded that the Territory had received inadequate assistance in so far as defence and fisheries protection was concerned.

224. Mr. Skippings said that the people of the Turks and Caicos Islands were also very much concerned about the state of internal security. The Turks and Caicos Islands Government had made various approaches to the United Kingdom Government to step-up internal security in the form of more customs officers, more port officers, more police officers and better paid officers because they realized that those were the key positions in the country, especially in terms of security and revenue. Once again, that had been turned down by the British Government. Yet there was continuous smuggling and trade in drugs in the island of South Caicos. The Government was very concerned because, apart from the fact that the trade in drugs was dangerous to the people involved in it, the drugs were reaching the young people on the streets. As the Minister of Health and Education, he was especially concerned for the well-being, the lives and the future of the young people in the islands.

225. Another member of the Legislative Council said that the prime need of the people of the islands was to decide their own future. They could only do that after experiencing a period of responsible self-government which would enable them to determine what was best for the islands and try to solve their problems.

D. Meeting with the Leader of the Opposition and other members of the Progressive National Party

226. On 17 April 1980, the Mission held a meeting with the leader of the Opposition PNP and three of his colleagues.

227. Mr. Saunders, Leader of the Opposition, said that the Mission would see for itself many of the conditions that had been mentioned. He criticized the elected Government for blaming the United Kingdom Government for all the things that had been happening. He said that there was a need to attract foreign investors, to develop the Territory's infrastructure and to train the people. The question of independence had to rest with the people. General elections were to be held later in 1980. He understood that the purpose of the Mission's visit was to see whether the people wanted independence in 1982.

228. Asked what the Opposition would do if it came to power, he said that the Opposition could not undo what had already been done. He said that the ministers did not have the right to engage in international affairs or security. The Opposition felt that, within the present constitution, one could work to prepare the country more fully for independence. If, however, the present Government was returned in the elections, that would be the will of the people and PNP would abide by it, doing whatever they could to improve the situation.

229. The second speaker said that they did not regard it as their role to defend the United Kingdom Government, but the statement by PDM in connexion with the so-called "Junkanoo incident" that the United Kingdom Government had brought in a warship and policemen to do certain things was a concocted lie. In the first place, the warship was merely paying a courtesy call to the islands and secondly, the policemen had been recruited by the Turks and Caicos Government long before and, because there was no other available means of transport from the British Virgin Islands where they had been stationed, the Government of that Territory had communicated with the Governor of the Turks and Caicos Islands asking permission for the policemen to travel on board the warship. The delegation suggested that the Mission should obtain a copy of the report of the commission of inquiry into the incident compiled by Justice Small which, they said was very interesting. They said that the incident had taken place at the Junkanoo Club, which was owned by the Chief Minister.

230. The third speaker, referring to the complaints by PDM concerning the insufficiency of external aid, said that no Government would give funds to another Government which failed to tax its own people. They had to show some responsibility. There was a lack of confidence in the existing Government. It was not that potential investors were not coming to the Territory; they were coming all the time. But when they talked to the Minister of Development and the Chief Minister and learned what he had to offer, there was a lack of confidence. PDM had tried to bully the United Kingdom Government. No one could bully the British Government. Under the present constitution, the Turks and Caicos Government had more power than, for example, the Government of the Cayman Islands, yet the Cayman Islands had full employment. It was not power that was needed to produce development but confidence. PNP felt that if the Territory lost the umbrella of a

British protectorate it would be doomed. However, all the Opposition wanted was that the people should determine freely what they wanted. If PDM won the coming elections, the Opposition PNP would accept the people's decision. He said that the reason PDM had turned to the United Nations was that the people were starving due to bad government and lack of confidence. PDM was not getting popular support for independence.

1. The speaker said that there was something called "good faith and good government". The islanders were inexperienced and, having no one to advise them, could make a mistake. That was the reason why, under the present constitution, competence to legislate on certain matters had been withheld from them. Once those restrictions were removed and the Governor no longer had control over the civil service, internal security, external security, defence and finance, "good faith and good government" would no longer be guaranteed and investors would not come to the islands. The Territory had nothing to offer for independence at the current stage. Its imports amounted to \$US 15 million and its exports to \$US 4 million per annum, and he did not know what was going to make up the difference. They depended on imports from the United States for everything, for food and supplies. They had no reserve to print their own dollar. Three weeks ago there had been an incident in North Caicos in which part of the police station had been destroyed and a policeman severely beaten. The Chief Minister had gone there to defend the people who had done it.

232. In response to questions by the Mission, the representatives of PNP said that the level of political education among the people was very low. One of the difficulties encountered by the Opposition was that the Government controlled the radio, which was the principal means of communication and used it to distort the issues. The Opposition did not have access to the radio as in other countries. The Opposition had a newspaper, the Star, which was published about once a month, but everyone listened to the radio.

E. Other activities of the Visiting Mission during its first visit to Grand Turk

1. Visit to the Turks and Caicos Craft Centre

233. On 17 April, the Mission visited the Turks and Caicos Craft Centre, located on Grand Turk, which had been established with the assistance of UNDP. The Centre serves to develop the production and sale of local handicrafts as the basis of a home industry, producing goods made of straw, coconut shells, palm leaves, sisal, sea shells and leather. About 120 items per week are sold to tourists; however, the Mission was informed that most of the tourists visited Providenciales instead of Grand Turk.

## 2. Visit to the hospital on Grand Turk

234. The hospital consists of two structures, the former hospital, now a geriatric centre, and the General Hospital built in 1950 to which two additional wards have recently been added. In addition, a new geriatric unit presently under construction will provide beds for 18 to 20 patients. The medical staff consists of a chief medical officer and two other doctors, who, together with the nursing staff and midwives also service clinics throughout the Territory. Patients requiring complicated surgery are sent to the Bahamas.

235. The Mission was informed that there are 20 nurses at the hospital and at least 1 in each of the clinics. The chief nurse told the Mission that in 1974/75, WHO had sponsored a nurses' training programme in the islands and she hoped that it would sponsor a similar programme in 1981. There was a medical training programme in the islands carried out by a team from the United Kingdom and Barbados and she hoped to have in-service training of nurses for the geriatric patients. At present the hospital did not have nurses who were fully trained to handle geriatric patients. Officially there was no out-patient centre but people came to the hospital for treatment from all parts of Grand Turk. The authorities wanted to build an out-patient clinic at the main centre.

236. The chief nurse said that the main medical problems were hypertension, diabetes and heart conditions. The community was basically very healthy and there was no malnutrition. Vaccination of children was carried out by the public health nurses who visited the islands for that purpose.

## 3. Visit to the United States Air Force base and telemetry station on Grand Turk

237. Captain Ludwick, the Commander of the base, said that the Grand Turk base was the second in a series of monitoring stations maintained by the United States Air Force to monitor missiles and space craft launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida. Every missile or space shot launched from Cape Canaveral passed over Grand Bahama Island, Grand Turk and then on down to Antigua. For example, when Space Lab was starting to come down, if the base had a selected pass to monitor, they would do so using radar and telemetric equipment and try to relay information indicating where it was going to come down. He was the only military man there; his sole purpose was to serve as liaison between the United States and the Turks and Caicos Islands Government. The contract for the base was held by Pan American World Airlines (Pan Am), which maintained the base and provided all necessary support for RCA which was the contractor in charge of the tracking and monitoring of the launches. The permanent staff consisted of 24 civilian employees of Pan Am and about 19 employees of RCA, augmented by temporary staff for special launches. Other than that, it was essentially a small air force base, but with only one member of the United States Air Force.

238. Mr. Zoranski, the civilian manager of the telemetry station, said that it employed about 70 local personnel with an average annual payroll of \$US 350,000. The station was totally self-contained and it helped the territorial authorities by,

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at times, providing water to meet local needs, selling gasoline to airlines and rendering other social services. The station was a totally closed community with its own electric power, living quarters, mess hall, club, theatre and motor pool.

239. Captain Ludwick conducted the Mission on a tour of the base except for some areas which were restricted. He explained that the base contained \$US 2 million worth of logistic support supplies. In September 1980, the airstrip, which was the only airstrip on the island of Grand Turk, would be handed over to the Turks and Caicos Islands Government. The land was leased for 10 years, until 1 October 1988, from the Turks and Caicos Islands Government for \$US 1 million per year. Mr. Zoranski said that he thought the base would continue to be needed for the term of the lease. Relations with the Turks and Caicos Islands community were very good.

#### 4. Public meeting on Grand Turk

240. The Mission held a public meeting on the island of Grand Turk on 17 April 1980.

241. The Chairman of the Visiting Mission explained that the mandate of the Mission was to obtain as much first-hand information as possible on the situation in the Territory, the manner in which the administering Power was discharging its responsibilities and the opinions, wishes and aspirations of the people of the Territory. He asked speakers to be as informal as possible so that the Mission could have the best opportunity to grasp and understand their ideas and their problems. He added that if anyone wished to have a private conversation with any member of the Mission after the meeting, that member would be very pleased to speak with them.

242. The first speaker said that he had been working for the Government for a number of years and was concerned at the delays which had resulted from the need for investment proposals to be approved by the Governor and the United Kingdom Government. Prospective investors very often would not invest and turned their attention to other neighbouring countries which possibly had only the same potential as the Turks and Caicos Islands. He thought it was better to accept the aid offered by the United Kingdom and go on to independence, after which the Territory could stand up for itself.

243. The second speaker said that the Turks and Caicos Islands was not ready for independence. The Territory lacked resources and the means to protect itself and had no currency of its own. Conditions had deteriorated during the past four years largely as a result of party politics which led to most of the benefits going to a privileged few. The Territory needed better government. The majority of the people knew nothing about independence.

244. The third speaker said that he assumed that the Government delegation which went to London had been seeking to eliminate the reserved powers of the Governor. When they returned they should have let the people of the Turks and Caicos Islands know what the United Kingdom Government had said, and then let the people decide whether they wanted to accept or refuse the package offered. The Government had



accepted the British offer but the people of the Turks and Caicos Islands had not known about independence until 5 January 1980, when a statement by the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office was broadcast over the radio. The whole nation was embarrassed at that time.

245. The fourth speaker said that he had been a member of the civil service and was deeply conscious of the colonial subjection which the people of the Territory had been experiencing since the days of slavery. Two years earlier all department heads in the civil service had been British expatriates. Their living standard had been much superior to that of the local people and, in fact, there had been a system of residential segregation. The situation had become so intolerable that in 1976 a number of local people, mainly unemployed youths who had dropped out of school at the age of 14, had attacked the British expatriates. There were no facilities for the youths to obtain further training and no one had considered placing them into vocational schools. While the expatriates were living as first-class citizens, the Turks and Caicos Islanders were suffering from poverty, unemployment and a lack of social facilities and recreational facilities.

246. With regard to the lack of educational opportunities, he would like to tell the Mission of his own experience. He had written to universities in England, the United States and Canada and had been fortunate enough to be accepted at Ohio State University. His superior, the Chief Land Surveyor, knew that he had no chance to get a scholarship from the United Kingdom Government and had written personally to the United Nations asking it to sponsor him. The United Nations had replied that it was not its policy to assist individuals, and that if he would submit his application through his Government, he would definitely get a scholarship. The system was that he had to submit his application through the head of his department to the Chief Secretary who was in charge of the civil service. When he submitted his application to the Chief Land Surveyor stating that he wished to be trained as a town and country planner, he had been told that the Territory had no need for a qualified town planner. The real reason for the refusal was, he believed, that most of the posts in the civil service were reserved for British expatriates.

247. Turning to the existing Constitution, he personally considered that the Territory was ruled by the Governor. According to the Constitution, the Governor took advice only from the Executive Council which was made up of four ministers. The Governor could reject anything they proposed as beneficial to the country or he could accept it if he so decided. If he felt that something had to be done, he could go ahead and do it and later refer to the Executive Council saying that he felt that it was necessary to do it. The Governor had direct responsibility for defence, external affairs, internal security, including the police force, and the appointment of all civil servants, which gave him responsibility for bringing whomever he wanted into the country. He also had the power to appoint anyone he wanted as Acting Governor. Consequently, the elected ministers were powerless to bring about any meaningful development in the Turks and Caicos Islands.

248. It was his personal feeling that the Turks and Caicos Islands had been subjected too long. The United Kingdom Government had said that it had been pressured by international bodies to rid itself of colonies and that it was no

longer interested in being a colonial Power. If that was its view, it was time to free the people. He was confident that his countrymen were capable of running their own affairs. The Mission would see for itself how little the United Kingdom had done to develop the educational, social and economic infrastructure. The former Labour Government in the United Kingdom had made a commitment to the Turks and Caicos Islands Government to supply capital aid amounting to £40 million in order to give the Turks and Caicos Islands a boost. The new Conservative Government, however, had made it clear that it wished to rid itself of the burden of aid to the colonies. The only way that the Turks and Caicos Islands could probably have any meaningful form of development was by shouldering its own responsibilities.

249. The fifth speaker said that he completely opposed political independence within the time-frame agreed to and engineered by the PDM Government. The people's decision regarding independence had to be based on the facts. The Mission was aware of the situation in the islands with regard to natural resources, economic development and size of population. It was his feeling that the people had the potential, but were not yet ready, to manage their own affairs completely. The previous speaker had mentioned that many important positions in the health, medical, jurisprudence, educational and engineering fields were occupied by expatriates. Local people doubtless had the potential to fill those posts but to date that potential had not been developed. He thought the islanders would be ill advised to put all their affairs in the hands of total strangers. Those were the things that they had to base their decision on. The Territory's natural resources were extremely limited, consisting basically of fisheries and the potential for development of tourism. He could not at that time think of any other natural resource. Again, the development of any natural resource was conditional upon the availability of a local work force and it was difficult for him to see the Turks and Caicos Islands functioning with a work force of 3,000 employable people. One had also to consider the ability of a country to support a currency. In a situation of political independence, it would be too much to expect hand-outs. People were not obliged to give hand-outs. In any case, a loan was completely different from a hand-out. It was his feeling that the Turks and Caicos Islands, unlike nations in Asia and Africa, had never experienced exploitation by a colonial Power, because there had never been anything to exploit, its whole purpose in the past being strategic. What the Territory needed was a working relationship with the United Kingdom and other countries in order to develop the Territory's natural and human resources, especially the latter, so that the people could manage their own affairs.

250. The sixth speaker said that he was convinced that the Territory was not ready for independence.

251. The seventh speaker said that the minutes of the meetings held in London with the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office would show that the Minister had made it clear that the Territory would be better off if it accepted the United Kingdom offer because if the Territory postponed independence, the proffered aid might be reduced or eliminated. The speaker asked whether the Special Committee had any ways or means of providing economic, political or technical assistance to countries emerging into independence. The Chairman replied

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that the Special Committee by itself did not have such means but it made recommendations to the General Assembly and the General Assembly in turn could request the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide such assistance.

252. The eighth speaker said that he, for one, fully realized that independence for the Turks and Caicos Islands was inevitable, although the deadline of 1982 was impractical. He pointed out that every medical officer in the country was an expatriate and that most of the teachers and civil and mechanical engineers came from abroad. Before independence could be attained those specialized posts must be filled by suitably trained Turks and Caicos Islanders. The Territory must first develop its human and economic resources and only then proceed to independence. The people had to put their house in order so that when they asked the United Kingdom Government for internal self-government, they would know how long it would take to prepare for independence. Only then would they be in a position to talk about the aid which they would receive at independence. Every country received such aid when it became independent, but it could not rely upon that as its economic base. Unless and until the Territory had built a sound economic base, talk of independence was out as far as he was concerned.

253. Mr. Astwood, the Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, said that he regretted that his country had not been a founding Member of the United Nations when it was created in 1945. It was untrue to say that the Territory did not possess natural resources. Anyone who was familiar with the history of the Turks and Caicos Islands knew that it possessed natural resources; 20 years ago it had been exporting salt, sisal, coconuts, fish and limes. There had been many opportunities for development but the administering Power had never provided the necessary support or assistance.

254. The United States had had a base in the Territory for 26 years without paying one penny to the local Government. Neither the United States Government nor the United Kingdom Government had provided medical, educational or social benefits for the illegitimate children of United States service personnel. It had all been left to the local Government. The United Kingdom had not even helped the Territory in its recent negotiations concerning the United States bases. Moreover, when they had approached other Governments, for instance the United States and Canada, for aid, they had been told that no aid could be given to the local Government so long as the Territory remained a colony.

255. Mr. Astwood said that if the United Nations had any way of supporting or helping to support the Territory the Government would request that a United Nations office be established in the Turks and Caicos Islands to study the economic problems of the country. The Government would also request that a United Nations observer team be dispatched to observe the coming elections.

256. Mr. Maclay, a member of the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, who accompanied the Mission, explained that on a number of occasions when it had appeared before the Special Committee as an administering Power, the United Kingdom had made clear that no British Government would impose on any dependent Territory a form of government that it had not chosen. It would not impose any constitutional

development that was not the wish of the people nor would it impose independence. It would not be fair to say at any time that a British Government was forcing independence on one of its dependent Territories. What the British Government could do was perhaps to recommend that under certain circumstances it would furnish as much aid as it was able to a country which wanted to become independent. As had been explained by the people, their Ministers and the Opposition, there was a package under discussion at the moment which, if the Turks and Caicos Islanders decided they wanted to make a fresh start, they would be able to adopt. If, however, through elections or through their own constitutional system, the Turks and Caicos Islanders decided that they did not wish to seek independence at the moment, the administering Power was not going to force that upon them.

#### F. Visit to South Caicos

##### 1. Public meeting on South Caicos

257. On the morning of 18 April, the Mission arrived on the island of South Caicos (population 1,600), where it visited the government offices, the health centre, the police station and customs house, the Department of Fisheries, and the South Caicos and the Atlantic Goldfish processing plants. The Mission also visited the United States Coast Guard Station. Before flying to the neighbouring island of Providenciales, the Mission held a public meeting at the South Caicos Community Centre. There are two constituencies in South Caicos, one held by Mr. Maguire, Minister of Tourism and Development of Industries and Resources, and the other by Mr. Saunders, the Leader of the Opposition.

##### 2. Health centre and fisheries

258. The health centre is staffed by two nurses, a registered nurse and a practical nurse and a retired doctor from the United States. There is also a dentist located on the island. The centre treats an average of 30 patients per day and supplies medicinal drugs for everyone on the island. The Mission noted that drugs were in short supply. It was also informed that the number of doctors in the Territory was inadequate. There were three doctors on Grand Turk but, owing to lack of inter-island transport, they were not always available.

259. After leaving the health centre, the Mission visited the customs and excise shed, which is used for storage, mainly of confiscated material, and the police station, an outdated structure for which, it was informed, the Government had requested a replacement two and a half years previously.

260. At the fishery station, it was explained to the Mission that the station supplied statistical information to the Government and carried out research, rescue and enforcement work. The station is equipped with 7 lobster boats and from 50 to 60 skiff boats which are used by skin divers. Each of the lobster boats contain 250 traps. The minimum size of a lobster tail is 140 grams, whether processed or not. From August 1978 to March 1979, the catch totalled 322,230 kilograms of lobster and 2,458,108 conch. Lobster sold for \$US 0.80 a kilogram

and conch for between \$US 15 and \$US 20 a hundred. The lobsters are supplied to a processing plant located on the island, which has a quota to process up to 450,000 lobsters yearly but, the Mission was told, does not fill its quota. The lobster tails and conch are mostly sold to restaurants in Florida. There are 260 licensed fishermen in the Territory, who own their equipment. Loans from CDB are available to fishermen at 8 per cent interest, with two years to repay, and from the Government at 5 per cent. The Mission was told that the local people could not afford the 8 per cent interest. Fisheries resources other than lobster and conch have been barely tapped.

### 3. United States Coast Guard Station

261. The United States Coast Guard Station on South Caicos is a small facility staffed by 4 electronics technicians and 14 support personnel. The station was built under an agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States and its purpose is to serve as an aid to navigation in the area, for which the station is equipped with a loran system, a signalling device. Owing to the proximity of Miami, only about \$US 2,000 to \$US 3,000 is spent on the island per month. The personnel of the station, however, provide various services to the local community. The Mission was informed that the station was considered to be obsolete and would be closed at the end of 1980, when it would be turned over to the Turks and Caicos Government.

### 4. Public meeting on South Caicos

262. The Chairman, addressing some 50 persons who attended the meeting, outlined the purpose of the Mission and the functions of the Special Committee.

263. A local lawyer and a descendant of salt miners, said that the economy of the Territory had once flourished on salt, but that production of salt in the Territory had ceased, owing to the cheaper cost of salt in other parts of the world. It could be said that the United Kingdom Government had done its best to help the Territory; but the Territory would need additional sources of assistance, as the administering Power was unable to provide more assistance. Regarding the well-being of individuals, he observed that only people associated with the ruling party were well-off. The majority of the people fished for a living, but the fish banks were almost depleted, and their earnings were meagre.

264. Another speaker expressed the view that the question of independence was the most important issue facing the people of the Territory. Although the Chief Minister and his government colleagues had been promoting independence, the people were of a different opinion; they did not want independence. The question of independence was a national issue and it was up to the people to decide whether they wanted it or not, and the people intended to let the issue be settled at the ballot box. The people were afraid of independence because of the small size of the Territory. He said that after a small nation became independent, as a first step "poor politicians become tycoons" and the people suffered as a result. Then the elected members of the Government, who under a democratic system were the

people's servants, became their masters. The people of the Territory knew what was best for them and the people did not want independence, tycoons or masters. He reiterated that the ballot would decide.

265. A second local lawyer and descendant of a salt company owner believed that the Government knew enough about independence. He asked how the Territory could become independent when it was still on budgetary grant-in-aid. As a corporation lawyer, he appreciated what the United Kingdom Government had done for the Turks and Caicos Islands and that the people in the United Kingdom were being taxed more and more for that purpose. He called on the Mission to help the Territory to develop its industries.

266. Another speaker, a woman, said that the Territory had to import everything it consumed and that it had neither ship nor airplanes.

267. Another considered independence for such a small divided population, several islands and cays, with little or no economy, to be premature. The Territory needed economic independence and at a later date political independence. Despite the independence package of \$US 8 million or \$US 12 million, independence by 1982 was not an acceptable idea to the majority of the population.

268. Another speaker acknowledged what the United Kingdom Government had done and was still doing, but considered that the people did not want independence.

269. Another speaker expressed the hope that the Mission, through the United Kingdom Government, would help the Territory to solve the problems surrounding the issue of independence. He did not think that there was sufficient support in the Territory for political independence. The Chief Minister and his delegation had gone to London to seek a better life for the people. The United Kingdom Government, in its response to that request, had told the delegation that if they wanted to improve their conditions then they would have to agree to a timetable for independence. The people of the Territory were opposed to independence but the Chief Minister felt that it was the position of the United Kingdom Government that the Territory should become independent. The territorial Government was inadequate to handle its own affairs. The low level of operational activities of many government departments, including the fisheries office which the Mission had visited earlier in the day, were the result of the lack of concern for the Territory over the years.

270. On a daily basis, ships, on their way to other Caribbean islands, passed within 20 to 30 kilometres of the Territory, but none were encouraged to dock and unload cargo for the Territory. In support of the Chief Minister's position, he called on the United Kingdom Government to provide the Territory with loans for the development of the infrastructure, but not to force independence on the people. However, if independence were to come, the people would have to accept it. Many of them might not live to enjoy the benefits, but they should accept the challenge as model Turks and Caicos Islanders.

271. Mr. Saunders, the Leader of the Opposition, considered it a right of the people of the Territory to ask for self-determination. It meant that the will of the people must prevail. During its travels around the islands, however, the Mission would observe that the Territory was by no means ready to accept the responsibilities that accompany independence. The people were poor and needed proper training; infrastructure was lacking in many areas and there were many things that had to be done. He emphasized that the people were not prepared and that preparation took time. He told the Mission that the people of South Caicos were opposed to independence by 1982.

272. Another speaker said that the independence issue was clear-cut: the Government was for it and the Opposition was against it. However, he felt that independence at the current time was a luxury the people could not afford. As previous speakers had said, independence was needed in all other areas before they could talk of political independence. Most of the independent Caribbean countries were bankrupt. If the people voted for PDM and independence, there would not be any more elections.

273. Another speaker in referring to the independence issue, said that the Government had not gone to London to demand independence and that it was clear to all from the minutes of that meeting that the United Kingdom Government had given them the choice of "independence or nothing".

274. Another speaker said that he had heard the Chief Minister, in a radio broadcast, stating that the United Kingdom was forcing independence on the Territory. The people were not ready for it. They did not want independence under the present Government. He queried how the Chief Minister could run an independent nation if he could not manage the Territory as it was now. He called on the people to keep "the British flag flying".

275. The next speaker, Mr. William Mills, an elected representative, recalled that at the Mission's meeting with the Legislature, the question of independence had scarcely arisen. Over the years, the United Kingdom Government had not been treating the Territory fairly. Several teams of experts had come to the islands to see what was needed and make their recommendations to the United Kingdom Government. As far as the Territory was concerned, those reports never reached beyond the desk of some official in London; they were never implemented. Talk of independence at the current stage was premature. If the United Kingdom Government had given the Territory the assistance it had requested 10, 15 and 20 years ago and the millions of dollars it had spent on reports, then the Territory would have been in a far better position at that time and would probably have been asking for independence.

276. In his statement to the Legislative Council in January 1980, he told the Government that they should reject the offer of Mr. Ridley, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. If the United Kingdom Government did not tell their other dependencies in the Caribbean, which were in a better position economically and otherwise, that they should proceed to independence in 18 to 30 months, then he did not see why the Territory should be told to do so. The Territory needed a massive input of aid to develop its infrastructure. The Territory had a small population of about 7,000 and had to import everything it

needed to sustain life. He had recently toured the islands and had seen how separated they were. Each island wanted the same basic facilities, such as running water, electricity and telephones. He asked how the United Kingdom Government could expect the Territory to think of independence in the next year and a half. Independence was a costly business and those who knew what was happening in the Caribbean as a whole would know how costly it had been to those countries which had asked for independence. It was his belief that overseas investors would be far more readily convinced to come to the Territory and invest their money if the Territory remained under British administration. He thought that some years later the Territory might be in a position where it could call for independence.

277. For the United Kingdom Government to tell the present territorial Government or a subsequent Government that it must become independent constituted a threat by the way it was put, namely, that the British Government would give so much if the Territory accepted independence, or withdraw it if independence were rejected. The people should be allowed to think for themselves and decide whether independence was better for them or not. It was disgraceful when a country became independent to have to go to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and beg for money to carry on the administration of Government. The people wanted to stand on their own feet. He called on the United Kingdom Government to give them the infrastructure and they would develop their fishing, tourism, and other sources of revenue. The time would come when they would ask the United Kingdom Government for independence. He did not think it was fair for the British Government to force independence on them at a time when they had nothing.

278. The Chairman, in the absence of further speakers, thanked the public for attending and the speakers for their contributions. The meeting was then called to a close.

#### G. Visit to Providenciales

##### General

279. On 19 April 1980, the Mission visited the island of Providenciales, where it inspected the Leeward Marina and Villas (a housing development), the site of the proposed Club Méditerranée, two health centres and the Five Cays Fishery. The Mission was accompanied by Mr. Beene, Assistant Secretary to the Chief Minister's Office, Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, and Mr. Hanchell, District Commissioner on Providenciales.

280. At the Leeward Marina and Villas, the Mission was met by the director of the property development who told the Mission that no more land was being offered for sale. The lots were very large, 8 hectares, and roads had been built entering all the lots. Purchasers could subdivide them or sell them for commercial use (i.e. hotels). The development covered 240 hectares, of which half had been sold. Some of the land was saline and would be made into a golf course. They had been trying to open it to the public since 1972. The property included a marina. The proposed holiday village, Club Méditerranée, about a kilometre distant, covered 28 hectares and, when constructed, would be self-contained, with a private road,



as well as a private road to the airport. The Club would have 350 rooms, not less than 100 employees, who would be trained in the Territory and in France. Under the agreement with the Government, if the club is not opened by 1982, the agreement would have to be renegotiated. Mr. Astwood told the Mission that the supply of water to the club would cost the Government \$US 45,000. He wanted that to be financed by the United Kingdom.

281. The Mission thereafter visited the two health centres on Providenciales, one a private clinic and the other run by the Government. The Government clinic charged a nominal fee of \$US 0.50 per visit but medication was free. The private clinic charged \$US 4 per visit to the doctor and for medication; X-ray and laboratory fees were extra. The population of Providenciales is about 1,000.

282. Five Cays, which the Mission visited later, is a small settlement with a primary school and a small fishery plant. The latter has 34 employees who receive an average hourly wage of \$US 1.20. The plant processes and freezes up to 4,000 kilograms of fish and 5,800 kilograms of conch per week.

#### Public meeting on Providenciales

283. In the afternoon of 19 April, the Mission held a public meeting in the school building in the Blue Hills Settlement. The meeting was attended by over 100 persons, including the District Commissioner and Mr. Walter Cox, the elected representative.

284. One of the speakers said that one year following the elections, a government delegation had visited Providenciales and, taking that opportunity, had claimed that the Governor had used his powers to hinder development. The people of the islands had told that delegation, among other things, that the Constitution had not been in use long enough to be proven inadequate. The government delegation had later gone to London against the wishes of the people. The people of the Territory were not ready politically, economically or socially for independence. The Territory had not had the opportunity to prove itself in managing its own finances. It had neither ships nor planes to transport food. Division existed between the Turks islanders and the Caicos islanders. Independence at a time when the Territory was not united would be harmful to the true interest of the country. Further, because the Territory was short of both skilled and professional manpower, the move to independence would mean a reliance on foreigners to run the country's affairs.

285. It was inappropriate and unfair that only the ruling party could use the single radio station (Radio Turks and Caicos), not even the opposition party. He hoped that it would be possible to avoid trouble as the issue of independence could lead to violence and destruction.

286. Another speaker alluded to the financial difficulties of certain independent Caribbean countries as a lesson to be learned. The independence package of \$US 25 million, which would be used up within two years, was inadequate. The Territory had to rely on professional people from overseas, including the principal of the high school, doctors, magistrates and lawyers. The Territory had no freight

vessels. While the timing of the meeting was unfortunate because most people were either at work or doing business, he was sure that 90 per cent of the people present did not want independence.

287. Several speakers shared his view that when a country became independent it should not resort to borrowing or lending. It had to be on its own. The Territory had no resources. For that reason they did not consider that the Territory was ready to become independent. Some speakers said that Providenciales depended on fishing and feared that the existing fish processing company might leave the island if the Territory became independent.

288. Another speaker declared that independence was a difficult issue for most of the people to understand. The Territory had been on its own, at least for as long as he could remember. He would prefer full internal self-government for the Territory as it was not ready for independence.

289. Several speakers joined in rejecting independence.

290. Another speaker said that the Territory was in need of development. The tourist and industrial sectors were on the decline, and the fishing industry had collapsed. The Government claimed that there was no revenue and it had no boats or planes. He could not see how the Territory could endure independence.

291. A number of speakers expressed their fear that if the country were to move to independence, violence and destruction might result.

292. Another speaker, the headmistress at the school, said that she was not a politician but a civil servant. She agreed with all those who were against independence at the current time. She also agreed with speakers concerning the shortage of teachers. She felt that a country should gradually reach its maturity as in the process of education. She did not believe that they were ready for independence yet.

293. Mr. Cox, the elected representative for that constituency, referring to a number of speakers who had stated earlier that the people did not understand independence, said that that was proof that the people were not ready for independence. Regarding the claim by the ruling party that the United Kingdom had forced independence on the Territory, although he had not gone to London, he understood that the British policy, which applied to all its dependencies, was that when a Territory requested full internal self-government it must accept to become independent after 18 months. Under the circumstances, he could not agree that the United Kingdom had forced independence on the Territory. Another speaker said that he could not see how the Territory would be ready for independence in two or three years. Food had to be imported from the Bahamas and because there were no farms on the islands, the people would suffer if food could not reach the Territory. An observation of conditions in the Territory would clearly indicate that it was not ready for independence.

294. Another speaker said that according to the minutes of the meetings in London between the Opposition PNP and the United Kingdom Government and between the ruling PDM and the United Kingdom Government, it was clear that PDM had not requested independence but that the British Government had insisted that the Turks and Caicos Islands accept independence.

H. Meeting with the Chief Minister and members of the  
People's Democratic Movement

295. On 20 April 1980, the Mission met with Mr. McCartney, the Chief Minister, and other members of PDM, including Mr. Skippings, Minister of Health, Education, Welfare and Local Government; Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour; Mr. Maguire, Minister of Tourism and Development of Industries and Resources; Mr. Williams, Financial Secretary; Mr. James; and Mr. Earl Ingham. The Chairman of the Mission expressed the Mission's appreciation of the assistance and facilities made available to it in the discharge of its tasks. The Mission had observed at the public meetings that the public was truly interested in finding out about all aspects of the evolutionary process that the islands were going through and it looked forward to further opportunities of receiving the views of the people when it visited the three other islands on its itinerary. The Mission would be grateful for any additional information such as data on the number of students in schools, both primary and secondary, figures and statistics for labour and manpower and an outline of the plan for the economic and social development of the islands, if one existed.

296. Mr. Maguire said that the present Constitution was anachronistic in four areas. In the first instance, the Constitution provided that all financial matters were to be controlled by the Financial Secretary who acted under the direct advice of the Governor. The first change that should be made was that there must be a Minister of Finance who directly controlled the revenue and expenditure of the Territory. The second area was the defence of the islands, particularly concerning the drug trade and poaching. The United Kingdom had demonstrated that it was incapable of providing adequate defence for the islands. If the British Government, through the Governor, was responsible for defence, then it should live up to that responsibility. The third area, was internal security, which required much improvement. If the repeated requests addressed to the Governor by the elected representatives of the people could not bring about concrete action in improving internal security, the only recourse would be to modify the relevant provisions of the Constitution. The administering Power should live up to its responsibilities or hand them over to the territorial Government. The fourth area related to the economic policy of the Government. For example, the United Kingdom Government appeared determined to discourage off-shore companies, international banks and developers from investing in the islands by refusing to grant customs concessions beyond the initial 10 years, while the Governments of the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Haiti offered concessions for 35 years. In order to enable the islands to work out a viable economic and development policy, any new constitution should provide for the handing over of the bulk of the related responsibilities to the local Government.

297. Both Mr. James and Mr. Skippings further elaborated on points raised by Mr. Maguire. Mr. Skippings pointed out that the existing Constitution withheld from the local Government the power to formulate and approve legislation on its own. Had it been given that power it could have drawn up legislation designed to improve the social conditions of the islanders, including in particular pensions, social security, immigration matters and unemployment.

298. Mr. Maguire stated that the manifest indifference of the United Kingdom Government to the Territory's affairs was evidenced by the often too frequent changes in the governorship, slow action in response to requests from the local Government and the inexperience of some of the Governors who had been appointed. If the Mission had been told that the Turks and Caicos Islands was high on the list of British priorities, the Mission would never find that to be the case. The Caribbean was a highly competitive world; if decisions could be made in the Bahamas within two or three days, the Turks and Caicos Government should not tolerate a situation in which it took two or three years to arrive at a decision. Authority should be in the hands of the people of the islands, not in the hands of someone sitting in London.

299. Mr. James pointed out the enormous needs of the islands during the period leading to its independence and requested the Special Committee to urge the United Kingdom Government to help the islanders in becoming self-sufficient and to be able to manage their own affairs.

300. Mr. Maguire said that, among other things, there were no fishing facilities; the airports did not meet ICAO recommendations; and there was no suitable harbour. The Government was considering reviving the salt industry. If that industry could be revived with modern technology, together with tourism and fishing, it could probably take the country a long way. A deep-water harbour was urgently needed.

301. Mr. Skippings said that North and Middle Caicos were the most ideal islands for agriculture. It had been proven that fruit and vegetables could be grown, given the necessary irrigation facilities.

302. Mr. Maguire said that the United Kingdom had not provided adequate financial resources for all these needed projects; it would perhaps be better if the islands become independent. In response to a question, Mr. Maguire said that UNDP had produced a master plan for the development of Salt Cay, Grand Turk, South Caicos and Providenciales. The UNDP had recommended, in particular, the building of an airport in the latter island, and that the United Nations undertake a hydraulic survey of the islands. The United Nations must have spent a considerable amount of money making specific recommendations and plans for development. However, the United Kingdom Government had often ignored the advice or had not responded positively to those plans.

303. Mr. Skippings said since the early 1970s, four United Nations planners had worked on Grand Turk with one- or two-year contracts and had drawn up a number of land-use zoning plans. They had submitted their plan for the airport on Providenciales; the local planning and development authority had approved and adopted it; and it had been approved and adopted by the Executive Council and Government. Now the United Kingdom Government was saying that the plan had to be modified because of the lack of adequate funds.

304. Mr. McCartney said that it was because of the obvious negligence of the administering Power in carrying out its responsibilities that the islanders felt that there was no choice but to go to independence. He wanted the Mission to

report everything it had seen and heard. The islanders had been unable to get help from the United Kingdom Government. The Mission would likewise fail to make them do anything for the Islanders. The United Kingdom Government said that it was helping to prepare the remaining colonies for independence, but that was untrue.

305. In response to a question, Mr. Maguire said that about 18 months previously a complete list of cost estimates had been made of various projects, amounting to some \$US 40 million, as part of a five-year development plan. The British Development Division in the Caribbean had approved the Government's five-year development plan.

#### I. Visit to Middle Caicos

306. The Mission arrived on Middle Caicos in the morning of 21 April. It visited the two primary schools and the dock linking North and Middle Caicos. The Mission, which was accompanied by Mr. Skippings, the Deputy Chief Minister and Minister for Health, Education, Welfare and Local Government, was met on arrival by Mr. Douglas Taylor, the District Assistant. The Mission held a public meeting that afternoon at one of the school buildings, which was attended by over 100 adults.

307. The first speaker, Mr. Robert Hall, a PNP candidate for the forthcoming general election, said that the Territory was in need of development, particularly its infrastructure, roads, communications and transport. It needed better schools. The people, therefore, had been having a difficult time but he did not believe that in order to achieve those aims, it was necessary to proceed to independence at the current time. The people anticipated and hoped that the present relationship they shared with the United Kingdom Government would continue and improve for a number of years. Originally, the people had been led to believe that independence was being forced on them and a number of people felt that since that was the case, they might as well accept it. Generally, they did not think that the time was ripe. Later they had discovered that independence was not being forced on them. When the elections came, the people would reject independence. There was a consensus of opinion on the island that they did not want independence.

308. Several persons supported the speaker and the majority of people present expressed their support for him with a show of hands.

309. The Chairman, referring to the Mission's visit to two schools earlier and remarking that the Mission was favourably impressed by the way in which the teachers expressed themselves and the lively, intelligent and healthy appearance of the children, invited the views of the people on the educational conditions of the island.

310. Several speakers said that the problems confronting parents, whose children had to go to the Grand Turk High School, resulted from the cost of transportation, difficulty in finding suitable accommodations on Grand Turk and their inability to maintain them. Often, their children had to terminate their secondary education. They would prefer to see secondary teachers being brought to the island.

311. Another speaker who had worked in the school system on South Caicos for one year said that the teachers were hard working and dedicated. She pointed out that low priority was being given to cultural and vocational skills. Some children who could not cope with "book work" would benefit from other learning experiences, cooking, sewing and basket weaving, things that could be useful to the community. Local people who had such skills, regardless of whether or not they could read and write, should be brought into the school system to teach those skills to children in order to help them to earn a living in the future. A greater importance should be given to the cultural aspects of life before they were lost forever.

312. Another speaker said that the government delegation which had gone to London had requested internal self-government but had not asked for or demanded independence. It was time to stand up for "peace, progress and happiness". With internal self-government, the Territory would have a better opportunity to train its teachers overseas and would not have to import them. Whereas other countries were fighting for independence, the United Kingdom Government was "throwing it down to us". The people should accept independence.

313. Another speaker said that no country needed independence when its economy was on the decline, and that the economy of the Territory had always been down, with no upturn in sight. He accused the Government of mismanagement and opposed the move to independence under the ruling party.

314. Mr. Skippings, the Deputy Chief Minister and Minister of Health, Education, Welfare and local Government, stated that there appeared to be some misunderstanding of the Mission's terms of reference, which were to observe the political, economic, social and educational conditions in the Territory and to ascertain the views and aspirations of the people. Speaking as the Minister of Health, Education, Welfare and local Government, he said that he knew of quite a number of grievances even though few had been mentioned. Concerning the economy, it was the first time in the Territory's history that the Government had been able to balance its budget and had not needed the grant-in-aid. Regarding political, economic and social conditions, Mr. Skippings said that development was lacking in all areas and pointed out that it was the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government to see that the Territory was fully prepared. He said that the former Government, now part of the Opposition, had been responsible for constitutional change, not constitutional advance. At the London talks, the PDM had requested an interim period of from 5 to 10 years before independence and the Opposition had asked for four years.

315. The Deputy Chief Minister then referred to the lack of basic facilities, which included the lack of a deep-water port and the reliance on air transportation between islands which had proven too expensive, particularly in the outer islands. He said that telephones, electricity and water supplies were underdeveloped and were only a dream for many of the Territory's inhabitants. He drew the Mission's attention to the fact that in many cases there were shortages of medicinal drugs and doctors in the clinics, even a lack of aspirin. Sometimes patients died due to the absence of proper facilities at the General Hospital on Grand Turk and before the doctor could transfer them to the Bahamas or Jamaica. Employment

provided by the United Kingdom Government on most islands was limited to the welfare works programme, under which some people worked for three days and were paid about \$US 27. During the talks at London, the United Kingdom Government had informed the territorial delegation that if it did not accept independence, the current aid level would be cut to less than half. It would mean that people on the three day work-relief scheme would be employed for a shorter period. The agriculture industry in North and Middle Caicos had been neglected by the United Kingdom Government. With regard to educational conditions, many parents were unable to send their children, who had passed the qualifying examinations, to high school because of lack of funds. The United Kingdom Government did not consider vocational training to be a priority. PDM had been able to arrange for the addition of vocational wings to the high schools on Grand Turk and South Caicos. Few scholarships for further education were being provided. In order to have control over those matters, the Territory must be independent.

316. Mr. Taylor, the District Assistant, said that the meeting was not a political meeting and that those people who did not want independence did not know what they wanted. For 350 years, the Territory had had no infrastructure and PDM would give them independence and "get them off the ground". He expressed the opinion that the United Nations should assist the Territory in its development.

317. Mr. Hall, the PNP candidate, said that he did not intend to bring politics into the meeting. He agreed with the Deputy Chief Minister that there were limitations but he did not believe that the United Kingdom should be expected to provide everything. He recognized the agricultural needs of the Territory and pointed out that the Parliamentary Secretary could play a constructive role. On the matter of the budget, the rent for the bases was the single factor in balancing the budget. He wondered what would happen in 1981 and in future years when the rent for the bases was reduced or eliminated. He called on the United Nations to request the United Kingdom to assist the Territory to develop more fully and raise the standard of living of the people. He emphasized, however, that it was for the people to decide on independence.

#### J. Visit to Salt Cay

318. The Mission arrived on the island of Salt Cay, which has a population of 350, on the morning of 22 April 1980. It was accompanied by Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, and was met by Mr. Leon Wilson, the elected representative. The Mission visited the school, which has an enrolment of 32 children (24 of whom are in kindergarten), and the site of the former salt factory, which was closed down in 1960 following the nationalization of the salt industry by the United Kingdom in that year and its subsequent unprofitability.

319. Mr. Wilson, the first speaker, gave a brief history of the decline of the salt industry and said that in the absence of an alternative industry, the economy of the island had suffered a depression and the people were suffering. The Government's work relief programme, which paid \$US 36 every other week, was the only source of employment and income to many people. Although many complaints had been made to the Governor concerning the deplorable conditions, nothing had been done.

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320. There were many good fishermen on the island and there was proof that fishing as an industry was viable and could solve the unemployment problem. However, the single harbour serving the island was not deep enough to accommodate the size of boats needed to operate in the islands, where the seas and winds were stronger than on the Caicos side. The depth of the harbour, from two to three metres, was also inadequate to accommodate the vessels bringing fuel and other goods that were of vital importance to the island. The people depended on a single motor launch, nearly 20 years old, to transport passengers and freight between Salt Cay and Grand Turk. A more sturdy and reliable vessel for inter-island transport was needed. There was only one telephone to serve the entire population of 350, which had proven inadequate on several occasions. The service was extremely poor but the people had to pay for it, whether it worked or not. The island had been without communication a few days prior to the Mission's visit. The airport runway, which was not paved, had been in disrepair. The United Kingdom Government had approved funds for the repair of the runway but there was no equipment available. The same situation applied to the roads. There was no running water or electricity on the island. The Government had tried unsuccessfully for the past three years to convince the United Kingdom Government that electricity was not a luxury. With the high cost of kerosene, it would probably be cheaper to use electricity. Local transportation was limited to one truck, which was used to take the workmen to the various sites for the work relief programme. There was also a need to preserve the Territory's historical sites, including the old government building and the ruins of the old Legislature. The sites should be serviced by proper roads and other facilities to attract and accommodate tourists. Recreational facilities were very limited and as a result, people suffered from boredom.

321. The next speaker stated that there had been rumours concerning the Territory's accession to independence but it had not been officially announced until 5 January that the Government had accepted the independence package. In his opinion, the Territory was not yet ready for independence. There were no industries or trained professionals, including doctors and lawyers. There was no one capable of leading the country to independence. He wondered if it was the practice of the United Kingdom to force independence on its dependencies.

322. The third speaker said that various groups connected with the United Kingdom Government had visited the Territory in the past but nothing had come of those visits. He endorsed the statement of their elected representative and hoped that with the help of the United Nations something would be done. Regarding independence, he had lived in the Bahamas for 13 years and saw the great strides that they had made after independence. He felt that the Territory should have acquired independence three or four years earlier. He called on the people to support independence.

323. In reply to the previous speaker, who had said that there was no one capable of leading the country, Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, stated that the problem was not the lack of leadership but the lack of funds. The members of the Government were educated enough to run the Territory. All they needed was the economic infrastructure.



K. Second visit to Grand Turk

324. On 22 April 1980, the Mission visited the Grand Turk High School, which is one of two secondary schools in the Territory offering a five-year secondary course leading to the GCE ("O" level) examination. The Principal informed the Mission that recently, the rate of failure had been extremely high due, he believed, to conditions in the primary schools, lack of motivation and an increase in the standard of living, but he was confident that the situation could be remedied. At present English and mathematics were compulsory and it was anticipated that Spanish would also be made compulsory. Students completing their "O" levels must now go to the Bahamas to continue their studies. It was hoped however, that the school would introduce an "A" level course within two or three years. The Principal said that the school also provided vocational courses in woodworking, geometric engineering, home economics, cooking, shorthand and needlework. There was a lending library and a well-equipped workshop, but the Mission was told that supplies were difficult to obtain.

L. Meeting with the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary

325. On 22 April 1980, the Mission met with Mr. Reardon, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Bradley, the Attorney General, and Mr. Williams, the Financial Secretary. The Chairman of the Mission expressed his thanks and said that it would be very useful for the Mission to hear what they had to say to them about the administration of the Territory. The United Nations documents explained in a general way how finance was handled but the Mission would like to hear more of the practical and human side. For example, to what point could they go in allowing expenditures, and what matters must be decided by the Government.

326. Mr. Reardon said that as Chief Secretary, he was also the head of the Public Service. He told the Mission that of a total of 500 established posts, a number were vacant and would be filled by local officers. Of those which were at present filled, approximately 400 were staffed by local officers and only about 36 or so were occupied by expatriates. The expatriates were mainly from the Caribbean. There were about 12 expatriates from the United Kingdom who were filling posts requiring technical or professional training (e.g. doctors, engineers, attorneys). There were two expatriate teachers from the United Kingdom. Those expatriate staff from the Caribbean filled posts basically in the secondary schools; they were all graduates or teachers with diplomas from institutions in the Caribbean. Appointments to the Civil Service were made by the Public Service Advisory Board, the members of which were appointed by the Governor in consultation with the Chief Minister. The Board was basically a non-political body and as such was able to do its work without political interference. All appointments and dismissals, with the exception of one or two senior posts which were still the prerogative of the United Kingdom Secretary of State, were filled through the Public Service Advisory Board. Nevertheless, at such an advanced state of constitutional development appointments to sensitive posts (for example, the permanent secretaries to the ministers) were made only after consultation with the Chief Minister and his colleagues. That was

to ensure that there should be a reasonable rapport between the public servants and the Ministers. The police force was covered by a special statute. Appointments were the prerogative of the Commissioner of Police and were not made by the Public Service Advisory Board. That ensured that the Commissioner was able to hire and fire as necessary. That was a normal practice in any disciplined force. There was a public service association which had a small executive committee with which he met from time to time to discuss public service matters; they could bring up problems which he might not normally hear of. He added that he was available to see all members of the established public service at any time.

327. Mr. Bradley, replying to a question concerning the reason why there were unfilled vacancies in the public service, said that the territorial Government could not afford to pay salaries which were competitive with those paid in the private sector. There was a system whereby young people were sent abroad for training on condition that they would serve in the Territory for a certain period on their return, but sometimes they did not return and the condition was not explored.

328. Mr. Williams said that the Territory's budget was drawn up after the British Development Division in the Caribbean had conducted a budgetary survey in the islands. Once aggregates had been agreed upon, a report on the budgetary survey, which had been agreed to by the Turks and Caicos Islands Government and the British Development Division, was submitted to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London. Approval was then given for the estimates to be produced. Once the estimates had been agreed upon in Executive Council they were then presented to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and examined by the Finance Committee of the Ministry of Overseas Development and a decision conveyed to the territorial Government. Thereafter, if the decision was favourable, the Government placed the budget before the Legislative Council and approval was sought for the appropriation of funds for that particular year. If supplementary funds were required, the territorial Government must apply back to the United Kingdom Government in advance for such expenditure.

329. The Chairman of the Mission said that as he understood it, their finances worked on a basis of estimated budget amounts plus possible additional amounts.

330. Mr. Williams said that that was the procedure. Up to the last financial year, part of the recurrent expenditure had been met by United Kingdom grants-in-aid, but since then it had been financed entirely from local sources. For the past two or three years there had been a budgetary surplus on the recurrent account. He explained that the main components of local revenue were receipts from customs duties and sales of postage stamps and coins. A considerable amount of revenue was also collected from the sale and rental of land and stamp duty on the transfer of land. With effect from 1 January 1978, the Government began receiving rental payments for the United States bases. The first installment of that rental had not been received until 1979, and was therefore considered somewhat of a windfall. The rental payments would be reduced after 1980 owing to the closing down of the United States Coast Guard Station.

331. The Chairman, noting that the Territory's imports were valued at approximately \$US 6 million and its exports at \$US 600,000, asked how the balance of payments was achieved.

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332. Mr. Williams said that the difference was made up by invisible exports, for example, remittances from abroad and wages paid to 100 or more local people employed at the United States bases. As a consequence, the Territory had no real balance-of-payment problem.

333. Turning to development financing, Mr. Williams said that the capital expenditure portion of the budget was financed entirely by development aid from the United Kingdom. The Government had to maintain a very high rate of expenditure, mostly for infrastructural development and to provide jobs until such time as there was more development by the private sector. The level of development aid was around £1 million per year. That was not sufficient to pay for all the infrastructural development that was required nor to provide employment for everyone on the islands.

334. Mr. Reardon thought one of the main problems had been the inability of the Territory to utilize all the development aid which it received. From 1974 onwards there had been annual surpluses. It was only in the fiscal 1979/80 that the Territory had been able to spend all the development funds allocated to it.

335. Mr. Williams explained that one of the main constraints was the limited availability of shipping and the fact that unless a waiver was obtained, United Kingdom aid was granted on condition that any goods required for the development must be purchased in the United Kingdom, which often meant a delay of several months. There were other criteria, too, which must be met, before the aid was given, including the number of jobs that it would create. The other major constraints were, in some cases, lack of roads and non-availability of certain machinery and heavy equipment.

336. Asked about certain development proposals which the Ministers said had been vetoed by the United Kingdom, Mr. Williams said that in 1979 when the British Development Division had carried out its budgetary survey, a list of development proposals totalling about \$US 40 million had been drawn up. Although the territorial Government did not expect to get all the money within five years, they expected the development aid allocation to be higher than \$US 1 million per year. After the change of Government in the United Kingdom, the amount of aid envisaged had been reduced considerably. That was one reason why not all the proposals had been approved. In addition, the British Development Division had rejected some projects for technical reasons. There were also other reasons for rejecting specific projects - for instance a non-productive project might place too great a burden on the recurrent budget or it might be decided that another project would contribute more to the economy.

337. Generally, in a Territory consisting of several islands, it was the policy to spread the development funds among several islands and several sectors. One of the major constraints was the desire of the ministers to eliminate the Territory's dependence on United Kingdom grants-in-aid to finance the recurrent budget. Some projects had been rejected because it was felt that the recurrent cost of maintaining them was too high; the choice in such cases would be between raising additional local revenue or foregoing the increased capital aid. For instance,

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it might be possible to absorb the cost of maintaining one school, but it would not make sense to build four schools in a year, if they wanted to maintain a balanced budget. Mr. Williams explained that those matters were discussed at meetings between the Executive Council and a team from the British Development Division which normally visited the Territory three times a year.

338. Asked whether the territorial Government had suggested to the United Kingdom that it would be advantageous to purchase material needed for development in the United States, Mr. Williams said that he had been fighting for that for several years, but at present, in order to obtain a waiver, the Turks and Caicos Government had to prove either that the goods were not available in the United Kingdom or that they could be obtained from the United States at much lower cost than in the United Kingdom. Private investors were, of course, free to spend their money wherever they wished. Added to the restriction on the use of development aid was the fact that, as the Territory was a grant-aided dependency of the United Kingdom, it was not possible for the territorial Government to enter into bilateral agreements with other Governments or international organizations in order to finance development projects. The sole exceptions were CDB, of which the Territory was a member, EDF and UNDP. The Turks and Caicos Islands was not a member of CARICOM. Assistance from UNDP took the form of physical planning. UNDP had helped to produce master plans for all the islands which were now used by the territorial Planning Department. The Department was concerned with land use and was not a planning office in the wider sense.

339. The Territory was represented by the United Kingdom on both the Caribbean Aid Group, established by the World Bank, and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In the case of international conferences, the United Kingdom usually asked a dependent Territory if it wished to send an observer in association with the delegation of the United Kingdom.

340. A member of the Mission commented that since the Territory was an archipelago, its maritime economic zone would be of critical importance in the future. He asked if any action had been taken to resolve problems which might lead to conflicts with neighbouring countries, commenting that it would be better to deal with such matters before independence.

341. Mr. Bradley said that issues relating to the law of the sea fall into two categories. First, there was the question of the territorial waters which, for the Territory as for the United Kingdom, extended three miles from the coast. Secondly, there was the question of the maritime economic zone. In 1978, a zone extending outward for 200 miles had been declared a fishery zone within which the territorial Government would have an exclusive right to control all fishing activities. Provision had been made so that, in the case of adjacent countries, a median line could be established separating their respective fishery zones. He was sure that, as the law of the sea developed, the fisheries zone would be a basis for other economic rights, especially those relating to the continental shelf. Steps had been taken in that direction and, no doubt, further steps, such as the declaration of an exclusive economic zone or an exclusive mining zone within the 200 mile limit, would be taken at the same time as such steps were taken by the United Kingdom and the other dependent Territories.

342. Mr. Bradley also replied to several questions by the Mission concerning legislation in process. He said that among the bills which would be presented to the Legislative Council at its next meeting was an amendment to the Encouragement of Development Ordinance, which would extend the period during which new foreign investors benefitted from those exemptions and duty concessions from 10 to 35 years and a bill relating to workmen's compensation. Other draft bills providing for a fair labour code and for the settlement of labour disputes had either been approved or were awaiting approval by the Executive Council prior to being presented to the Legislative Council.

#### M. Visit to North Caicos

343. On 23 April, the Mission visited the island of North Caicos, where it inspected several institutions, including a primary school at Bottle Creek and the North Caicos Junior High School. It later held two public meetings, at Bottle Creek and Kew. The Mission was accompanied by Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, the two members of the Legislative Council for North Caicos and the District Assistant, among others.

344. The Mission was informed that the North Caicos Junior High School had an enrolment of 110 students and provided the first three years of secondary education. Most students completed their education at one of the two schools providing a full secondary course. The school has a carpentry shop and craft centre, but the Mission was told that the equipment was inadequate.

#### 1. Public meeting at Bottle Creek

345. At this meeting, views were expressed to the Mission by a total of nine speakers, all residents of the island, two of whom were representatives respectively of PDM and PDP.

346. The first speaker, said that many people in the Territory were disenchanted with the leaders of the Government who, he said, had negotiated with the United Kingdom on the question of independence without the knowledge or consent of the people. He said that the only people who were for independence were those who were favoured by PDM. He declared that the majority of the people were categorically opposed to independence so long as the Territory could not sustain itself and was dependent upon grants from the United Kingdom. He predicted that the ruling PDM, which he said had squandered funds and had done nothing to eliminate unemployment, would not win the next elections.

347. Four of the following speakers agreed with the previous speaker. One said that there was freedom and justice under British administration and he was confident that the United Kingdom was doing what it should. Another said that the people were not ready for independence because only a few had any political education.

348. Mr. Danny Williams, the elected representative for Bottle Creek in the Legislative Council and Parliamentary Secretary in the office of the Chief Minister, said that the United Kingdom Government had shown little understanding of the Territory's development needs, citing inadequate communication and lack of medical services. Under the present Constitution, the Government had little power to control private investment or to attract capital for the development of the infrastructure. They had gone to London seeking internal self-government for between 5 and 10 years, so that the territorial Government could make contact with potential foreign investors without having to obtain the approval of the United Kingdom, but the United Kingdom authorities had told them that if full internal self-government were attained, the Territory would have to proceed to independence within 18 months. If the period before independence could not be extended, perhaps the Mission could help the Territory to obtain the infrastructural development which it needed.

349. Mr. Robert Hall, the candidate of the opposition party, PNP, who was also the principal of the primary school, agreed with the preceding speakers that the Territory needed a great many improvements, but he did not agree that any of those problems would be solved by a change in the Constitution. If the Territory proceeded to independence at the present stage of its development, he predicted chaos and instability.

350. The first speaker said that the reason the Territory was not ready for independence was the lack of unity among its politicians. So long as the parties engaged in what he described as "petty politics", the Territory would not obtain the capital which it needed to develop its infrastructure. He said that it was useless to put the blame for that situation selectively on either party or on the administering Power.

## 2. Public meeting at Kew

351. The first speaker stated that the Territory was not ready for independence since it had to depend on outside assistance to sustain its economy.

352. Another speaker said that at the current time, the country did not have doctors to visit the islands nor did it have a decent hospital, even in the capital. The people had to go to the Bahamas and other places for their medical needs, even for emergencies. Before talking about independence, they should start a development programme. Several other speakers supported his position. Another speaker pointed out that the educational system in the Turks and Caicos Islands was very poor. There was only one high school, on Grand Turk, and a junior high school each on North and South Caicos. For their college education, students had to leave the Turks and Caicos Islands. It was important that the Territory should have a college so that higher education would be available to its young people. Food supplies had to be imported from the Bahamas by foreign aircraft or boats. On those grounds, he could not see any way that they were fit for independence at the current stage.

353. Mr. A.V. Butterfield, the member of the Legislative Council for Kew, pointed out that the cost of living in the islands was very high, particularly in North Caicos. There was neither a deep-water harbour nor a port in North Caicos. All the food that the people in North Caicos consumed was brought in from Providenciales by barge or boat, which meant double freight and double handling charges, which made the cost of living in North Caicos much higher than anywhere else in the islands. The airports in the islands were not up to the standard required to accommodate international aircraft and thus the people of North Caicos had to pay more than \$US 50 round trip from there to Grand Turk to catch an international flight. Most of the Government's grant-in-aid funds was spent on Grand Turk and, as a consequence, the people in Grand Turk fared far better than those in the Caicos Islands. The wage scale in the Caicos Islands was much lower than in Grand Turk. For instance, where a person on Grand Turk could receive \$US 500 for a particular job, on North Caicos he would receive \$US 250 for the same type of work. He requested that the United Nations should be fully apprised of those conditions in the Caicos Islands so that it could make representation to the United Kingdom Government, or any other Government to alleviate the sufferings of the people of the Caicos Islands. The system of education in the Caicos Islands was very poor.

354. The Caicos people had been asking for some time for a high school of their own of the same caliber as that on Grand Turk. Employment opportunities for the graduating students were meager. The scholarships that were available through the United Nations were not being administered properly: some students with inadequate qualifications were sent overseas for advanced studies. He requested the Mission to ask the United Kingdom Government to meet the critical need of those islands for external assistance. At the suggestion of Mr. Butterfield, those participants in the meeting who were not in favour of independence, constituting a large majority, stood up.

355. Another speaker pointed out that the majority of workers in the Caicos Islands had to depend on relief works programmes, especially in North Caicos. As the Mission had observed, there were no large industries to provide employment.

356. According to another speaker, the Territory would perhaps be ready for independence in the next 10 to 15 years. They were using United States currency since they did not have their own and there were many other matters that had to be addressed before independence could be considered.

357. One speaker felt that the Territory should be free to invite investors into the Territory. The Territory would stand to benefit if persons who wanted legitimately to assist in the development of the Territory were permitted to do so under a limited control by the United Kingdom Government. Thereupon, a member of the Mission outlined the responsibility of the administering Power with respect to defence, foreign affairs, internal security and financial affairs.

358. Another speaker said that the United Kingdom Government should retain those responsibilities. The Cayman Islands and Bermuda were being developed without acceding to independence. One of the dilemmas that faced the Turks and Caicos

Islands was the fact that they had a Government in which foreign investors did not have any confidence. What was needed was to secure their confidence.

359. A member of the Mission elaborated on the possible implications of foreign investment within the context of the present status of the Territory. He added that the call for additional assistance was one of the questions which the Mission would like to address to the United Kingdom Government during the forthcoming consultation in London.

360. Another speaker suggested that if one Government could not operate and manage the country then the people should go back to the polls and elect a new Government which might do better. Should the Territory get a Government that the foreign investors had confidence in, its economic problems could be solved.

361. Another speaker pointed out that the inability, under the present constitution, of the local Government to invite foreign investors to the Territory had deprived the country of the opportunity to enhance its economic development. The Territory had yet to build better roads, to obtain patrol boats and to install an adequate communications network.

362. Another speaker said that, after over 300 years of colonial rule by the United Kingdom, economic, social and educational conditions left much to be desired. The only way the people could improve those conditions was to work together for the benefit of all the Turks and Caicos Islanders. That was the determination and the commitment of the territorial Government. For that reason, the Government had decided to go to London and to ask the United Kingdom Government for its consent to change the present constitution, which would enable the ministers and the other elected members to make choices for themselves, instead of accepting the choices of the British Government. One bill passed by the Legislative Council, a banking ordinance, had not yet been signed by the Governor. A proposal first went before the Executive Council. If it passed the proposal, it had to go to the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which would make a final decision before it came back to the Turks and Caicos Islands Government. Bearing in mind the situation of the Turks and Caicos Islands, it was therefore essential that a better Constitution be worked out whether it be by the present Government or by a future Government. He appealed to the Mission to assist in that regard.

#### N. Third visit to Grand Turk

363. The Mission returned to the island of Grand Turk on 24 April 1980, and held meetings on the same day with the Chamber of Commerce and on 25 April with the Christian Council, a body comprising representatives of several religious denominations.

##### 1. Meeting with members of the Chamber of Commerce

364. Mr. Houseman, President of the Chamber of Commerce, described the Territory's balance of trade as "frightening". In 1978, exports had amounted to only



\$US 1.7 million, whereas imports had amounted to \$US 7.1 million, which had resulted in a deficit of \$US 5.4 million. In his view, exports could be increased by the introduction of improved technology in the fishing industry and by adding new, non-traditional products. Import substitution could be effected by reviving local production of certain goods, applying appropriate technology for the local production of building materials and by encouraging the use of alternative sources of energy, such as solar and wind power. The tapping of resources available through international assistance agencies would make a significant contribution to the improvement of the economic condition of the islands. According to current plans and commitments, the tourist trade was expected to increase six-fold by 1984, bringing to the Territory an income of over \$US 15 million, compared with \$US 1.5 million in 1978. The off-shore financial industry, given the right conditions, had earned over 50 per cent more in 1979 than in 1978 and the rate of growth was increasing. The industry should have a net income of \$US 1.5 million in 1984, subject to appropriate legislation and administration, and growth was only limited by expertise and the facilities available. In the private sector, the annual investment of development capital from overseas had been averaging about \$US 2.5 million. In the hotel industry alone, it was anticipated that between 1980 and 1984 investment would amount to \$US 14 million, or over \$US 1,000 per capita per annum.

365. In regard to the public sector, following the recommendations made by Shankl and Cox and Associates in 1971, 8/ the Turks and Caicos Government, early in 1979, had requested British capital aid for a list of projects totalling \$US 40 million. The list of projects had been approved by the British Development Division, based in Barbados, but had been disallowed as a consequence of the policy of reducing public expenditure adopted by the Conservative Government in London. That of course had been a major blow to the hopes and plans of the private sector. But given the appropriate investment climate, capital and technical aid to make up the neglect of the past, there was no reason to believe that the Territory's balance of payments should not be in surplus in the second half of the decade. Without those criteria, the Territory's economy would suffer a severe buffeting by external influences completely outside its control.

366. Mr. Sadler said that the potential for export was minimal. The Territory's only export consisted of frozen fish and other marine products destined exclusively for the United States market which, he said, represented a very small part of the Territory's economy. Fifteen years earlier the salt industry, which for 300 years had been known all over the world, had been shut down because it was uneconomic and no longer competitive. The land was extremely infertile and unproductive as the soil was derived mainly from limestone. It would cost four or five times more to grow any agricultural product locally than to import it from an adjacent country. The islanders had tried in vain to find an economically viable solution but their choice was restricted. He had been working with the Turks and Caicos Islands Government as an assistant acting administrator and had

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8/ Ibid., Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/9023/Rev.1), vol. V, chap. XXIV, sect. D, para. 6.

concerned himself with some 100 projects involving millions of dollars. The British Government had made some 50 or 60 grants for agricultural development and had sent about 300 or 400 agricultural experts to the Territory, but the results had been negligible. Because the soil was infertile, the cost of production was astronomically high and it was cheaper to import foodstuffs from Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which possessed a very fertile agricultural basin and were only 130 kilometres away, or from the United States.

367. Mr. James said that an agricultural officer was working on North Caicos on a project to grow tomatoes and other vegetables more cheaply than those brought from abroad, using various methods, including hydroponic culture. Mr. James said that the failure to develop agriculture was partly due to lack of equipment to irrigate the fields and clear the land. He was certain that enough food could be grown on North Caicos, Middle Caicos and East Caicos to feed the small population of the Territory. He said that the Turks and Caicos Islands Government was working hard to achieve that goal. The Government's work priorities were to achieve sufficiency in foodstuffs, housing and defence, before the Territory became independent in 1982.

368. One speaker said that he was convinced that with the necessary capital expenditure, agriculture could be revitalized and the salt and aragonite industries developed. The Territory particularly needed a deep-water harbour and adequate shipping facilities.

369. Mr. Misik said that one could not expect private investors to pay for infrastructural development as they needed a return on their investment which was greater than the interest offered by the banks. Citing the example of the Bahamas, he said that tourism, when fully developed, could generate adequate revenue to finance the needs of the Government. However, when a Territory became independent, investors tended to become wary. Even the Bahamas had witnessed a falling-off of investment and tourism until confidence had been restored.

370. Mrs. Fennimore, who owned and managed the first hotel built in the Territory, agreed that tourism would be adversely affected by independence. She said that the tourist industry, which was still in its infancy, was severely hampered by lack of trained personnel.

371. The Chairman of the Mission, referring to the experience of his own country (Venezuela), said that all private sectors had a responsibility to participate in development efforts. In Venezuela there was, for example, an institute for co-operative training which was financed jointly by the Government and the private sector, including employers and trade unions. He asked whether the Chamber of Commerce had considered any similar programme for training hotel personnel.

372. Mr. Houseman replied that there was a Hotel Association which had invested a great deal of money and effort on training schemes.

373. Mr. Saddler, the Chairman of the CDB subsidiary in the Territory, said that there was no lack of loans at low rates of interest for private persons who came forward with feasible schemes. CDB, which was funded by several Governments, had

made available very sizeable allocations to the Territory; currently about \$US 3 million was in circulation. The Bank had already lent more than \$US 100,000 for agricultural projects in the Caicos Islands, although he personally did not regard agriculture as very profitable, and the Territory was constantly receiving agricultural experts from the United Kingdom and other countries.

374. Mr. Escalante, the manager of Barclay's Bank, said that, in addition to training local personnel, the Bank had a development fund from which it made loans at very low rates of interest, and sometimes outright grants, to assist local ventures, especially fishing co-operatives.

375. Mr. Misik said that, when considering the contribution of the private sector, one had to remember that the small size of the local market in a Territory whose population was only 7,000, determined the sums it could set aside from profits. It would cost about \$US 100,000 to train 10 hotel desk clerks. It would be unrealistic to ask the small private sector in the Territory to contribute half the cost of such training.

376. Mr. James, summing up, said that independence would come sooner or later. Everyone in the Territory, including the members of the two political parties, believed that the Territory was not yet ready. They hoped that the Special Committee would recommend to the United Kingdom that more time was needed to prepare for independence.

## 2. Meeting with the Christian Council

377. The members of the Christian Council who attended the meeting on 25 April were: Father McCallum (Anglican); Ms. Eliza Symes (Anglican); Mr. Otto Wade (Methodist); Mr. Harold Francis (Methodist); Ms. Hortense Taylor (Methodist); Ms. Judy Williams (Methodist); and Ms. Marionette Garland (Baptist). Mr. Wade assumed leadership of the group. Mr. Wade was a native of Belize and Father McCallum was a native of the United Kingdom.

378. The Chairman of the Mission observed that the clergy, aside from their religious duties, were in close contact with the people and therefore knew the people's concerns and needs. He hoped that the members of the Council could advise the Mission concerning conditions in the Territory and the wishes of the people with regard to independence.

379. Mr. Francis said that the President of the Christian Council had asked to be excused because of other duties on the other islands. He also said that each member of the Council who was present would wish to express his or her personal opinion. Speaking on behalf of the whole Council, he said that they felt that the islands were not ready for independence, but were ready for internal self-government.

380. Mr. Wade said that within his congregation, which comprised about 700 adults, opinions were very divided. In his opinion, after talking with a cross-section of his congregation, although independence was desirable for the islands, the islands

were not presently in a position economically or politically to take that step; there should be a period of preparation to allow for development of the infrastructure and the training of officers. He emphasized that that was his private opinion and not that of the church, which took no stand on political issues.

381. Father McCallum, endorsed what Mr. Wade had said concerning the impartiality of the religious bodies on political issues. Replying to questions from the Mission, he explained that that was both a matter of principle and a practical consideration since the churches encompassed people with different political views.

382. Mr. Francis agreeing with the previous speakers in regard to the need for the churches to be impartial, said that several of those present were related to one or other of the party leaders. He was himself related to the deputy leader of the Opposition. It was his own purely personal opinion that the Territory was unprepared for independence. They realized that the United Kingdom was saying to them that it could no longer look after them. He felt that such a vital issue should not be decided within a brief period.

383. Ms. Williams said that she could not support independence at so early a date. The people needed preparation and there should be more planning in order for the Territory to be self-supporting.

384. Ms. Symes agreed with Mr. Francis that the Territory should be given more time in which to prepare itself before being granted independence.

385. Ms. Taylor said that her views were similar to the others. The question of independence had come upon them somewhat suddenly. She wanted to know what would happen to the Territory if it became independent and whether it would continue to receive grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom after independence.

386. Ms. Garland said that the Territory was not ready for independence. But if it should come, they would do their best to make it a success.

387. Asked whether they considered that the Territory was ready for full internal self-government, the three ministers said that they had become aware, in contacts with their parishioners, of a certain lack of confidence in both parties. There seemed to be a widespread feeling that regardless of the party which took office, its leaders would need further guidance and training. Several speakers remarked that there was concern over the possibility of violence during the coming elections. Both Mr. Wade and Father McCallum assured the Mission that the churches were assisting in the process of political education. They noted that party politics had recently evolved in the Territory and the church had played its part in teaching its followers their duties as citizens, including their political responsibilities. The churches advocated peaceful participation, rather than withdrawal, and a sense of leadership. The Anglican Church had recently hosted a conference at which political action had been considered.

O. Meeting with the Chief Minister and other ministers

388. On 26 April 1980, the Mission met with Mr. McCartney, the Chief Minister, Mr. Astwood, Minister of Public Works, Utilities and Labour, and Mr. Maguire, Minister of Tourism and Development of Industries and Resources. On behalf of the members of the Mission, the Chairman expressed deep appreciation of the co-operation extended to the Mission by the Chief Minister and other government officials and, in particular, the facilities placed at the Mission's disposal and the arrangements made to enable it to consult not only with high officials but also directly with a great many members of the general public. Had the Mission's programme permitted, it would have liked to have met with many others but, within the limited time available, it had been possible to see and hear the views both of the population, the ministers, and the Legislative Council concerning the problems of the political future of the Territory, as well as the Territory's economic and social development. The attendance at public meetings had been extremely good. It had demonstrated the genuine interest of the people in the vital issues which confronted them with regard to the future of their country and confirmed the need for the local Government to furnish the people with abundant information on those issues. The people should become fully aware of their inalienable rights and of their objectives in respect of their future, as set out in a number of instruments of the United Nations, including in particular the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

389. Having thus obtained a first-hand account of the conditions obtaining in the Territory, the Mission would next meet with the representative of the administering Power in London to exchange views on the basis of its findings. The Chairman, in assuring the Chief Minister that the Mission's report to the Special Committee would accurately reflect the situation observed by the Mission, expressed his confident hope that the Special Committee would take concrete action beneficial to the people of the Territory in realizing their true wishes and aspirations regarding their future status and their future economic, social and political development. The Mission had yet to evaluate all the information it had received during the visit before arriving at its formal conclusions and recommendations to the Special Committee. Informally, Mission members were gratified to note that the population knew well some of the problems relating to economic development and social well-being. They had found a healthy concern about the need to seek the most appropriate solutions to those problems.

390. The Chairman expressed the particular appreciation and gratitude of the Mission members to the Chief Minister for the warm reception and fraternal hospitality accorded the Mission. He thanked Mr. Maguire and Mr. Astwood who were with the Mission and who had accompanied the Mission throughout its stay in the Territory.

391. Mr. McCartney thanked the members of the Mission for their spirit of co-operation in carrying out their work in often difficult circumstances and expressed the hope that, nevertheless, it had been possible for the Mission to achieve its objectives. He was confident that the United Nations, which had delegated to the Special Committee the task of ensuring the speedy economic and social development of the dependent Territories, would take effective steps in assisting the Turks and the Caicos to move on to social, political and economic progress, as a result of the Mission's visit.

392. Mr. Maguire thanked the Mission for the visit and for having taken part in the education process. As the Mission would have realized, the word "independence" was essentially only four months old in the Territory, as the issue had only been raised as a result of the related discussions in London in the preceding November. Words such as "democracy", "independence" and "internal self-government" meant little to the vast majority of the people in the islands. By visiting the various parts of the islands, including in particular the remote Caicos settlements, the Mission had greatly assisted the elected Government in performing the functions which it believed to be part of the responsibility of the administering Power, namely the task of political education of the population. He regretted that, due to limited facilities, many of the Mission's meetings had to be held during normal working hours and the Mission was thus deprived of the opportunity to be exposed fully to the views of many of the workers of the community who had been unable to attend the public meetings. He therefore requested the members of the Mission to bear in mind the people who had been able to attend those meetings.

#### P. Meeting with the Governor

393. The Mission met with Governor Strong on 26 April 1980. The Chairman thanked the Governor for his hospitality and courtesy extended to the Mission during the preceding 10 days. The Mission had visited the majority of the islands and had held six public meetings at which it had heard the views of the people. The members of the Mission were very impressed by the interest of the population in their political future and their great concern about the problems of economic and social development of their country. The meetings appeared to reveal the need for a greater effort by those responsible to take steps to enhance the political education of the population leading it to self-determination. Further, during those meetings, the Mission had received the impression that there was a certain lack of confidence in the people to manage their own affairs and that there was a need for an intensified effort to build the cadres necessary to assume some day the responsibility for managing their own affairs. A number of people had called for more direct aid to help them solve their problems. Those views, as well as all other pertinent information gathered by the Mission, would serve as a basis for the Mission's careful evaluation and its conclusions and recommendations to be submitted to the Special Committee. He hoped that the report would contribute to the solution of some of the problems confronting the Territory.

394. The Governor stated that the Government and the Mission had a common objective and that it was very useful for him to receive the observations, advice and encouragement of skilled observers from the outside. The General Assembly, in its resolution 34/34 of 21 November 1979, stated that it "reaffirms its conviction that the questions of territorial size, geographical location and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the Territories concerned". Having observed at first hand the actual situation obtaining in the Territory he hoped that the Mission had now had a better appreciation of the enormous problems which existed in the Territory.

395. Aid to the Islands had been very generous on a per capita basis for a number of years, particularly compared with other dependent Territories and some

independent countries elsewhere. The United Kingdom Government had to be guided in those matters by its over-all responsibilities and the requirements of other recipients of British aid. In the islands there were only 7,000 people and yet all the structures of independent statehood were needed to make the country self-contained. The Territory would need a head of State, a council of ministers, a legislative council, heads of departments, among others. It needed international jet airports and deep-water ports. In fact, the Territory had two airports of its own: one on Grand Turk, capable of taking regional jet aircraft and the other on South Caicos, with a longer runway. An even longer air strip in Providenciales, capable of taking wide-bodied jet aircraft with 200 seats was being planned. The islands had an efficient and satisfactory domestic air service, providing service twice daily to all the islands. There was an adequate number of schools and many of them were good schools. Health services were also adequate, particularly when it should be borne in mind that difficult medical cases were referred either to Jamaica or to the United States. All of that was being done with an extremely limited local economy, with very little natural resources. How the limited financial resources should be applied to the development of the infrastructure and to social services was the question that had to be addressed.

396. The United Kingdom Government had been trying to maximize the effectiveness of the limited resources which were available. In that area of judgement, the Government would welcome any advice which the Mission might offer. Whatever the Mission might be able to do to encourage the United Nations and the organizations within the United Nations system to make a greater contribution in bearing the burden of aid would be deeply appreciated because it would help the Government to meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. For example, the World Bank, which had earlier declined to undertake studies concerning the islands, and the UNDP which had placed a limit on the requisite funds, should be requested to review the situation again in order to reverse those decisions.

397. The Governor said that under the provision of the Constitution which reads "Acting on the advice of the Chief Minister, the Governor assigns to ministers responsibility for the conduct of government business, including the administration of any government department", Ministers were responsible for: (a) the general policies of the Government, as determined by the Executive Council where the ministers constituted the majority; (b) the implementation of Government policy, as it relates to their ministries; (c) the initiation and presentation to the Executive Council of points of ministerial policy and those matters upon which the Council is required to advise the Governor; (d) securing the efficiency of their ministries; and (e) co-ordination with other ministers, officials and departments of Government. In addition, the ministers are accountable both to the Executive Council and the Legislative Council for the conduct of their ministries.

398. As those provisions showed, the Constitution conferred upon the ministers extremely wide powers. The only powers which they did not have in their direct control and responsibility related to defence and external affairs. In fact, in respect of the latter, the ministers were being encouraged to take initiatives to conduct much of the Territory's external affairs. For example, the United Kingdom Government had invited the ministers to take the lead in negotiating with the United States Government for the renewal of the leases for the two United States facilities.

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The Governor or his predecessor had not taken part in those negotiations, which were conducted entirely by the ministers with the assistance of an official from the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The ministers were scheduled to visit the United States State Department the following week to discuss further defence and aid matters. The responsibility for internal security, appointments, suspensions from civil service and preservation of the integrity of civil service and its independence from political matters rested with the Governor.

399. On the issue of independence, the United Kingdom Government bore the responsibility for meeting the objectives of and directives from, the Special Committee and the United Nations in general, in encouraging the people of the islands to exercise their right to self-determination. The Mission's presence in itself had contributed to the political education of the people. The present position appeared somewhat complicated owing to the related activities of personalities in connexion with the imminent election and the electioneering campaigns. Had the Mission been able to examine the conditions at another time, perhaps it would have seen the Territory in a different light. He was confident that irrespective of the outcome of the next election, independence would not be far away.



## III. DISCUSSIONS HELD AT LONDON ON 27 MAY 1980

400. The Mission met with the following officials at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Mr. Richard J. Stratton, Assistant Under-Secretary General at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Mr. B. T. Holmes and Miss H. M. Borland, West Indies and Atlantic Department, and Mr. Frank McGinley, United Nations Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Mr. K. Sparkhall, Planning Section, Overseas Development Administration; and Mr. Michael Maclay, United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations.

401. The Chairman of the Mission stated that from the contacts it had had with the Turks and Caicos Islands Government and a wide segment of the islands' population, it appeared evident that the people of the islands took the position that the idea of independence on such short notice under the terms of the United Kingdom proposal was to be rejected. They appeared to fear that if independence came too soon, the Territory would collapse. They felt that they needed more time and more aid to improve the infrastructure and they would like the United Kingdom to reconsider the financial and political "package" which it had offered them so as to grant more aid to the Territory to improve the infrastructure before it moved on to independence. They had indicated their preference that the move to internal self-government should not be linked automatically to a time-table to attain independence. The people in general appeared to hold an impression that the United Kingdom wanted to get rid of the Turks and Caicos Islands. What the Mission found clearly pointed to the prevailing preference by the people for the attainment of greater autonomy with greater financial aid on their way towards eventual independence. The population felt that it had not been asked for its views and that the will of the population had not been taken into account. The Mission understood that the Turks and Caicos Islands Government had accepted independence with reservations and had no other choice because that had been the condition for achieving full internal self-government.

402. Within the framework of the United Nations, particularly under the terms of the relevant articles of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the administering Power had serious responsibilities on the economic and social levels, as well as on the political level. That the all encompassing responsibilities of the administering Power must be discharged fully in accordance with those provisions was self-evident. The members of the Mission considered it desirable that the administering Power take every possible step to dispel any fear on the part of the people that an ultimatum was being given and that their views were being disregarded. There was no doubt that the forthcoming elections would be a further important step in securing the people's views on the matter, but it was hoped at the same time that efforts would be made to eliminate any sense of lack of flexibility on the part of the administering Power.

403. The Mission considered it to be most important that the Turks and Caicos islands should accede to independence in accordance with the express wish of the people. The possibility of holding a referendum on independence might also be considered. Taking into account the strong desire of the people to receive from the administering Power needed additional assistance, the Mission invited the administering Power to

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do everything possible to render greater aid and to organize the requisite infrastructure. With respect to the airport project at Providenciales, the people claimed that it had not been planned in the way that the islanders thought it should. They insisted that the airport had not been built according to the advice that had been given. The Mission felt that obviously there was a need to secure the understanding of the people concerned with greater efforts in clarifying the situation to them and to meet their desire and their needs in that regard.

404. With regards to the British procurement policy on tied-aid, the Mission believed that the administering Power might consider permitting the territorial Government to select its own sources of suppliers. Similarly, the local Government might be given the right to conclude agreements for aid on its own. The Mission underscored the imperative need for strengthening plans for educational, social and economic development of the Territory and appealed to the administering Power to take the necessary measures without delay.

405. The representatives of the administering Power stated that the Government of the United Kingdom had accepted the fact that it had responsibilities towards its dependent Territories and it took those responsibilities seriously. Although the United Kingdom considered that a dependent relationship was out of date, it was not prepared to discourage or encourage countries to go to independence. The Government of the Turks and Caicos Islands had requested a full internal self-government constitution. The constitution they had presented to the United Kingdom was a constitution for independence rather than internal self-government.

406. With respect to the timing for independence, on the basis of its long colonial experience and based on the wisdom of its decolonization policy evolved during the past 30 years, the United Kingdom Government felt that it was unsatisfactory and frustrating both for the chief minister and the Government of the dependent Territory concerned and for the United Kingdom as administering Power to have an extended interval between full internal self-government and independence. The normal interval was 12 months. In the present case, Mr. McCartney had requested that the period be extended to 18 months to permit the holding of general elections which were due in the Turks and Caicos Islands in 1980. One of the reasons was that during full internal self-government the United Kingdom would, as administering Power, retain responsibility for the Territory vis-à-vis the United Nations and other international bodies. In fulfilling its responsibilities it was bound to impinge on what the local ministers regarded as their local responsibilities.

407. In 1967, the United Kingdom had devised a system of associated statehood in the Caribbean, which was an advanced form of internal self-government, with foreign affairs and defence reserved in a small way to the United Kingdom. But they had not found associated statehood a satisfactory system and they were not prepared to repeat that experience.

408. With regard to the Mission's observation that a majority of the participants in the public meetings as well as the political leaders in the Turks and Caicos rejected the idea of independence at short notice, it was indeed on record that Mr. Saunders and the opposition party did not think that early independence was realistic. However, the Government party, under Mr. McCartney, after due consideration had asked for full internal self-government and had agreed to the

terms proposed in proceeding to independence. The United Kingdom had not forced the Turks and Caicos Government to accept the proposal. That the people were opposed to early independence might be true. The Mission had had a good opportunity to judge that for itself, which the United Kingdom respected as the Mission's finding. It should be clearly understood, however, that as the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom had to be guided by the elected Government of the day in those matters. It was reasonable to expect that the matter would be decided at the general elections that would be democratically held towards the end of 1980. The result of the elections, in which all the electorate would take part, would be the most objective test of the wishes of the people.

409. Regarding financial assistance, the representative of the administering Power said that he would not deny that not everything had been done in the Turks and Caicos Islands that might have been done. The United Kingdom Government's record was not above criticism in that regard. They had decolonized other Territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific. In so doing, they had had to resist the temptation to say that independence must itself be dependent on the economic viability of the Territory in question. A very large number of Territories would never have become independent if that standard had been applied. The record would indicate that the United Kingdom was not taking a rigid position. The United Kingdom tried to judge each Territory on its merits, as it was not wise to lay down hard and fast rules. There was an alternative to the Turks and Caicos Islands attaining independence in six months. There was also one option, which was to maintain the status quo with possibly minor constitutional amendments, with aid more or less at the level which the Territory had been receiving and which was not inconsiderable. With the probability that the Club Méditerranée would attract enough other private investors, the islands might attain a very considerable degree of economic development.

410. At the moment possible constitutional changes that might be introduced in the near future in the Turks and Caicos Islands were under consideration. However, it would be difficult to give increased aid as part of an independence package to the Turks and Caicos Islands if they elected not to go on to independence but to remain a dependent Territory. There was nothing new about independence aid packages; all the six or eight Territories that had become independent over the last three years had had similar arrangements. An increased aid package, amounting to almost £12 million, had been offered so as to facilitate the move to independence. That had been done at the initiative of Mr. McCartney. If a successor Government decided that it did not want to go to independence, then aid would revert to the level of the past few years. As part of a reduction in government expenditure, the United Kingdom aid programme had been reduced and to ask for regular assistance outside the aid package would raise very severe problems indeed. The Chief Minister had been told in effect that he could only hope to increase aid allocations as part of the independence aid package.

411. With regard to the possibility of the Territory receiving external aid from other countries, as was obvious, that was not within the power of the United Kingdom. Aid could come to the Turks and Caicos Islands from such other sources once it attained independence. With respect to a suggestion by a member of the Mission in the Territory that an independence referendum be held, the administering

Power would be prepared to do so but the difficulty would be in framing the question to be put. "Are you or are you not in favour of independence" would probably receive a "yes" vote. As stated, the next elections would largely hinge on the independence issue.

412. With respect to the procurement of machinery under the aid programme, the rule for the Turks and Caicos Islands was that funds could be used for material from the United Kingdom and the Turks and Caicos Islands, as well as for the payment of local costs. The general picture remained that the purchase of equipment was tied to United Kingdom money. Exceptions had been made in the Turks and Caicos Islands, such as the purchase of electrical equipment. Although that situation would be reviewed, it was a fact that the Turks and Caicos Islands was in a very favourable position compared with many countries and dependencies. While it might seem unreasonable that because the money was being supplied by the United Kingdom the supplies had to come from the United Kingdom, they were dispensing money provided by the British taxpayer. Normally, aid funds were to be used for United Kingdom goods, as prescribed by the House of Commons. The United Kingdom was at present looking into the possibility of allowing greater flexibility in the acquisition of supplies. The Turks and Caicos Islands had had an elected Legislative Council since 1959. The 1976 constitution was a fairly advanced one which allowed the Territory to do what it wanted with regard to the purchase of material with its own money or with respect to investment subject to the reservation that as long as the Territory was in receipt of budgetary aid as it had been until recently and as conceivably it might be again, the day to day intervention by the United Kingdom through the British Development Division, in Barbados, was inevitable.

413. Regarding the freedom of the Turks and Caicos Islands Government to receive money from other sources, in principle the local Government could seek help from wherever it liked, but in three cases the United Kingdom had felt obliged to intervene in the Turks and Caicos Islands because of the remaining responsibility of the administering Power. In the first case, through no fault of their own, the Turks and Caicos Islands ministers had become involved with "carpetbaggers". In two cases the parties involved had not been reputable people. In another case, it had done so to preserve the territorial integrity of the Turks and Caicos Islands. Here again, the United Kingdom Government was considering some constitutional amendments to help eliminate frustrations that assumed disproportionate importance in those matters. Those frustrations would disappear when changes were made.

414. The question of the illegal traffic in drugs was a problem that had engaged the attention of the administering Power. The United Kingdom was in touch with the competent authorities of the Governments of Colombia and the United States in that regard. The United Kingdom was also sending a senior police officer to the Territory to set up a drug fighting unit there. A drug squad was being trained at the present time in the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United Kingdom was supplying a police car and equipment. The authorities in the United States had undertaken to look into appropriate ways and means of increasing their assistance. Mr. McCartney had been talking to the United States authorities before the tragic accident resulting in his death. The United Kingdom welcomed help from any

international organization and in fact the United Nations had already helped in the Turks and Caicos Islands.

415. Concerning the matters raised in respect of the planned airport, the Government of the United Kingdom had just appointed a project control supervisor for that purpose. One of the difficulties had been that members of the local Government had devised grandiose plans that were not necessarily cleared with their colleagues in the Government. It was hoped that the project team would be able to co-ordinate the plans and come to an agreed recommendation in that regard.

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