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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH  
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 ANGUILLA, 1984

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. Terms of reference

1. At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/54 of 7 December 1983, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By paragraph 13 of that resolution, the Assembly called upon the administering Powers to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate and, in particular, to permit access of visiting missions to the Territories to secure first-hand information and ascertain the wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants.
2. By note verbale dated 2 May 1984, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations conveyed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, on behalf of his Government, an invitation to the Committee to send a visiting mission to Anguilla in the first half of September 1984 (A/AC.109/772). On the proposal of the Chairman, the Committee, at its 1251st meeting, on 3 May 1984, decided to accept the invitation with appreciation and to authorize its Chairman, on the basis of his consultations, to appoint and dispatch a United Nations visiting mission to Anguilla.
3. At the 1269th meeting, on 24 August, the Chairman outlined the terms of reference of the visiting mission to Anguilla, which, inter alia, would secure first-hand information on the situation prevailing in the Territory and ascertain the wishes of the people regarding their future status. He announced that subject to the approval of the General Assembly for the Committee's holding an extra sessional meeting during the thirty-ninth session on this item, the Committee would take up the report of the Visiting Mission at a meeting to be scheduled during the Assembly session (A/AC.109/PV.1269).
4. In accordance with the decision taken by the Special Committee at its 1251st meeting (see para. 2), and on the basis of related consultations, the Chairman informed the Committee on 28 August 1984 that the members of the Visiting Mission would be Tunisia (Chairman), India and Trinidad and Tobago.

### B. Composition of the Mission

5. The composition of the Mission was as follows:

Ammar Amari (Tunisia) (Chairman)

Kunwar Bahadur Srivastava (India)

Deryck Murray (Trinidad and Tobago)

6. The Mission was accompanied by the following staff members of the United Nations Secretariat: Mr. Nour Eddine Driss, Principal Secretary;  
Mr. Kenneth Jordan, Political Affairs Officer and Ms. Patricia Jiménez, Secretary.

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7. Mr. Hugh R. Mortimer, of the Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, also accompanied the Mission to the Territory and gave invaluable assistance.

### C. Itinerary

8. The Mission arrived in the Territory on 11 September 1984, and was greeted on arrival by Mr. Alistair Baillie, the Governor of Anguilla, Mr. Hubert Hughes, the Minister of Finance and Lands, Mrs. Albena Lake-Hodge, the Minister of Education, Tourism and Development and Mr. Eric Reid, the Minister of Works, Public Utilities and Health. On the same day, the Chairman of the Mission made a statement which was broadcasted over Radio Anguilla (see annex I to the present report). The Mission remained in the Territory until 16 September 1984 and visited London from 17 to 20 September for consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom. The Mission's itinerary is set out in annex I to the present report.

### D. Acknowledgements

9. The Mission wishes to place on record its deep appreciation for the courtesies extended to it by officials of the Government of the United Kingdom as well as for the close co-operation and assistance enjoyed during the consultations in London.

10. The members of the Mission also wish to express their profound gratitude to the Government and the people of Anguilla for the warm hospitality and co-operation extended to them during their visit to the Territory.

11. The Mission wishes in particular to convey its appreciation to Mr. Alistair Baillie, the Governor, Mr. Emile Gumbs, the Chief Minister, and the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils for facilitating the work of the Mission.

## II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY

### A. General

12. Anguilla is the most northerly of the Leeward Islands, lying 240 kilometres to the east of Puerto Rico, 113 kilometres to the north-west of Saint Christopher and 8 kilometres to the north of St. Maarten/St. Martin (see map). The Territory comprises the island of Anguilla, several uninhabited islands and the island of Sombrero, 48 kilometres north of Anguilla, where there is a lighthouse station staffed and operated from Anguilla on behalf of the United Kingdom Department of Trade. The total area of the Territory is 96 square kilometres. The 1974 census showed a total population of 6,519, mainly of African and mixed descent. In 1984, the population was estimated at 7,019. The capital of Anguilla is The Valley.

## B. Constitutional and political developments

### 1. Constitutional background

13. Anguilla became a British dependent Territory in 1650 and was associated with St. Kitts and Nevis (now known as Saint Christopher and Nevis) from 1871 to 1980. Following the dissolution of the Federation of the West Indies in 1962 and subsequent negotiations on the status of the Commonwealth Caribbean Territories, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, together with five other Territories, 1/ became States in association with the United Kingdom. Under the terms of the West Indies Act, 1967, each Territory gained responsibility for its internal affairs and the right to amend its own Constitution, including the power to terminate the association with the United Kingdom and eventually to declare itself independent. Under the same Act, the Government of the United Kingdom retained responsibility for the external affairs and defence of each Territory.

14. In April 1967, the Anguillian people, under the leadership of Mr. Ronald Webster, a local businessman, staged a number of demonstrations in their demand for secession from St. Kitts and Nevis. The events following those demonstrations and protracted negotiations between the parties concerned led to the intervention by the United Kingdom security forces in 1969 and the enactment of the Anguilla Act, 1971, whereby the United Kingdom reassumed responsibility for the administration of the island. The Anguilla (Administration) Order, 1971, which was based on the above Act and came into effect in August 1971, provided for the appointment by the Queen of a Commissioner, and for the establishment of a Council for Anguilla. The Commissioner was directly responsible to the Government of the United Kingdom and was empowered to make such ordinances, after such consultation with the Council, as he considered necessary to secure public safety and public order and to secure and maintain good government on the island. The Anguilla Council consisted of not less than seven elected members and such other members, not exceeding six, as might be appointed by the Commissioner. Provisions were also made for the creation of courts of law and a local police force. On 6 August 1971, Mr. Webster was elected leader of the Council.

15. In July 1972, Mr. Webster stated that one of the Council's main tasks would be to resume negotiations with the United Kingdom for the "absolute and final separation" of Anguilla from St. Kitts-Nevis. Talks on the future constitutional status of Anguilla were held between representatives of the United Kingdom, St. Kitts-Nevis and Anguilla in 1974 and 1975, following which the United Kingdom Government decided, in May 1975, to give Anguilla a greater measure of self-government. In December 1975, the Anguilla Council agreed to a separate Constitution for Anguilla under which Anguilla was allowed de facto status as a separate Territory, while remaining de jure a part of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

16. The Anguilla (Constitution) Order, 1976, which came into effect in February 1976, instituted a ministerial system of government with a Chief Minister and two other ministers. The new Constitution provided for: (a) a Commissioner appointed by the Queen; (b) an Executive Council comprising the Commissioner, the Chief Minister, two other ministers and two ex officio members (the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary); and (c) a Legislative Assembly of the seven elected members, three ex officio members (the Chief Secretary, the

Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary) and two nominated members. The Chief Minister and the other ministers were directly responsible for all government business, except for those matters explicitly reserved to the Commissioner, namely defence, external affairs, internal security, including the police, and the public service. Finance was allocated to the Financial Secretary. The Constitution also provided for Anguilla to rejoin the West Indies Associated States Supreme Court, should it so desire. In the mean time, access to the United Kingdom High Court and Court of Appeal was guaranteed.

17. Discussions concerning independence for St. Kitts-Nevis began in April 1976 and continued through March 1979. The late Premier, Mr. Robert Bradshaw, attributed the failure of St. Kitts-Nevis to achieve independence in 1977 to the fundamental differences between the Governments of the United Kingdom and St. Kitts-Nevis over the question of Anguilla. At the end of the talks in March 1979, it was announced that the Government of St. Kitts-Nevis had agreed to study further the proposals concerning the future constitutional status of Anguilla. The United Kingdom Government, in a statement issued after the same meeting, noted that the Anguillan delegation to the talks had given a full account of the obstacles to the island's development as a result of its anomalous constitutional status. The United Kingdom Government announced its firm intent to resolve the outstanding constitutional issues affecting Anguilla before the end of 1979. On 19 December 1980, Anguilla was formally separated from the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

18. In late August 1981, further constitutional talks were held between the Governments of Anguilla and the United Kingdom. During those talks, Mr. Webster, who had been appointed Chief Minister in 1976 (see para. 30), recommended that a new constitution, while not providing for a full measure of internal self-government, should nevertheless grant a substantive degree of additional local responsibility to the Government of Anguilla. In October 1981, the House of Assembly of Anguilla approved the proposed constitutional changes, and the United Kingdom issued an order-in-Council which enabled the Anguilla (Constitution) Order, 1982, 2/ to come into force in the Territory on 1 April 1982.

## 2. The present Constitution

19. The Anguilla (Constitution) Order, 1982, provides for a Governor, who is appointed by the Queen, an Executive Council and a House of Assembly.

### Governor

20. The Governor, on behalf of the Queen, is the executive authority of Anguilla. He is responsible for defence, external affairs, internal security, including the police, and the public service. He also holds reserved legislative powers under the authority of the United Kingdom Secretary of State. On all other matters, the Governor is required to consult with the Executive Council in the formulation of policy and to act in accordance with the advice of the Council. However, under his reserved power, the Governor may act otherwise than in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council if, in his opinion, it would be inexpedient in the interest of public order or public faith to act in accordance with that advice.

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21. The Governor, acting in his discretion, appoints as the Chief Minister the elected member of the House of Assembly who in his judgement is likely to command the support of the majority of the elected members.

#### Executive Council

22. The Executive Council consists of the Governor as Chairman, the Chief Minister, not more than three other ministers and two ex officio members (the Attorney-General and the Permanent Secretary for Finance). Provision is made for a Secretary of the Executive Council, appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Chief Minister.

#### House of Assembly

23. The House of Assembly is composed of a Speaker, seven members elected for a five-year term by universal adult suffrage, two ex officio members (the Attorney-General and the Permanent Secretary for Finance) and two members nominated by the Governor, one in accordance with the advice of the Chief Minister and the other after consultation with the Chief Minister. The Governor may order the dissolution of the Assembly at the expiration of the five-year term or if a motion of "no confidence" in the Government is passed. General elections are to be held within two months of the dissolution of the Assembly.

#### Citizenship and electoral provisions

24. A person is regarded as belonging to Anguilla if he or she, inter alia, (a) was born or adopted in Anguilla or is the child of Anguillan parents by birth, adoption or naturalization; or (b) is a Commonwealth citizen who has been resident in Anguilla for not less than 15 years or is the wife (who must not be legally separated from her husband) or widow of a person referred to above.

25. A person is qualified to register as a voter if he or she is 18 years of age or older and: (a) was born in Anguilla and is residing there on the qualifying date; or (b) is a Commonwealth citizen who has resided in Anguilla for a period of at least 12 months and is the lawful spouse, widow or widower, child or grandchild of a person who was born in Anguilla.

26. A person is not qualified to register as a voter who is: (a) under sentence of death; (b) serving a sentence of imprisonment exceeding 12 months; (c) certified as insane; or (d) otherwise disqualified for registration as a voter by law.

27. Qualification for elected membership in the House of Assembly is limited to Commonwealth citizens 21 years of age or older, who are registered voters and who are either: (a) Anguillans by birth and domiciled there at the date of nomination; or (b) residents of Anguilla for at least three years immediately preceding, and on the date of, nomination and who are children of Anguillans, one of whom must have been born in Anguilla.



### 3. Constitutional developments

28. During its visit to the Territory, the Mission was informed that because the 1982 Constitution provided for the appointment of a Minister of Finance, the duties of the Financial Secretary had been assumed by a Permanent Secretary for Finance. The post of Chief Secretary had also been abolished. The Mission heard statements of dissatisfaction over the lack of public discussions on certain provisions of the Constitution prior to its enactment, including, in particular, those concerning the powers of the Governor, citizenship, land tenure and the absence of a role for the Opposition.

29. During its consultations in London on 19 September 1984 (see paras. 158 and 161-162), the Mission was informed by representatives of the administering Power that the current Constitution of Anguilla was an advanced Constitution and that any further devolution of power to the territorial Government must be considered within the framework of a timetable for independence. The administering Power nevertheless indicated its willingness to consider any amendments the territorial Government might wish to propose.

### 4. Political parties and elections

30. The first elections to the Legislative Assembly of Anguilla under the ministerial system of government were held in March 1976. The People's Progressive Party (PPP) won the elections and its leader, Mr. Webster, was appointed Chief Minister. In February 1977, following a vote of no-confidence, the Anguilla National Alliance (ANA), under the leadership of Mr. Emile Gumbs, assumed power in Anguilla. In the general elections of May 1980, the Anguilla United Party (AUP), led by Mr. Webster, was returned to power. In the following year, the dismissal of the Minister of Agriculture led to serious divisions within the Government, and the resignation of another minister forced the collapse of the Government and new elections were called in June 1981.

31. In those elections, the newly formed Anguilla People's Party (APP), under the leadership of Mr. Webster, won five of the seven seats in the House of Assembly.

32. The last general elections in the Territory were held on 9 March 1984, two years ahead of schedule, and were the third such elections in four years. Mr. Webster, then Chief Minister, explained that he had called the elections to secure a vote of confidence to carry out certain major projects in the Territory, including improvements to the airport and a deep-water harbour. The decision to call elections was criticized by Mr. Gumbs, the leader of ANA, who warned that the elections might present to the outside world an image of instability.

33. In the final results, ANA won four seats and APP won two seats. The seventh seat was won by an independent, Mr. Hubert Hughes, who later became a member of the ANA, thus increasing its majority in the House of Assembly to five. Mr. Webster was not elected.

34. Following the elections, Mr. Gumbs was appointed Chief Minister and Minister of Labour, Communications and Agriculture and, on his advice, the following elected

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members were appointed by the Governor on 13 March as Ministers and members of the Executive Council:

Hubert Hughes	Minister of Finance and Lands
Albena Lake-Hodge	Minister of Education, Tourism and Development
Eric Reid	Minister of Works, Public Utilities and Health

35. ANA had campaigned on the need to improve the quality of life of the people of Anguilla, through the provision of job opportunities and health and education facilities and by improving the basic infrastructure. It had proposed the establishment of a tourist industry linked to the development of the agricultural and fishing industries, the promotion of high technology manufacturing, offshore business and cottage and craft industries. ANA had also proposed the modernization of the salt industry. In a statement issued after its election success, ANA reaffirmed its dedication to democracy and unity and declared its commitment to the advancement of sound and honest government and the economic, social and cultural development of Anguilla.

#### 5. Future status of the Territory

36. According to press reports, independence was not a major issue in the recent elections. Mr. Webster was reported to have said that he did not expect the people of Anguilla to consider independence any time within the foreseeable future. Mr. Gumbs expressed similar views and both leaders agreed that strengthening the Territory's economy should be considered a top priority.

37. On 11 May 1984, during a visit to Barbados, the Chief Minister made clear that his party had no immediate plans for taking the Territory into independence. He conceded, however, that independence could become an issue in the future.

38. During the Mission's visit to the Territory, both political parties reiterated their positions in discussions and in written statements. In its written submission to the Chairman of the Mission (see annex III to the present report), the ruling ANA stated:

"On the issue of independence ... we do not see it on the horizon as yet. But yet, the horizon is as far as these present circumstances are allowed to prevail; on the other hand, it could be as near as the construction of a truly viable economic and social order, including appropriately phased administrative responsibility, can bring it."

39. The opposition party (see also para. 118), in its written statement to the Chairman of the Mission (see annex IV to the present report), concluded, inter alia:

"(a) Anguillans have no intentions or designs for any form of political independence at this time.

"(b) Anguillans have aspirations for a country which has a measure of economic viability sufficient to diminish dependency on the United Kingdom for the majority of its needs."

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## 6. External relations

40. As stated above, the Governor is responsible for the external affairs of Anguilla. In that regard, the administering Power informed the Mission that the policy of the United Kingdom Government was to encourage the participation of the Territory in regional affairs and that it would continue to support the membership of Anguilla in regional institutions.

41. Since attaining a separate political and constitutional status, Anguilla has sought membership in various regional groups. The Government co-operates directly with other Caribbean Governments and participates in regional conferences and projects for the Caribbean region organized by Governments, international organizations and agencies. In his statement to the House of Assembly on 1 July 1983, the Governor said that the Territory enjoyed a special relationship with its closest neighbour, St. Maarten/St. Martin, <sup>3/</sup> because of cultural and family ties, trading and economic links, which had joined the two islands for generations. He noted that at a joint meeting held in June 1983, the Government of Anguilla and the local authorities on St. Martin had discussed common problems and continued co-operation and had agreed on procedures for further discussions. He stated that a similar meeting was expected to be held shortly with the Netherlands Antilles Government regarding the relationship between the Territory and St. Maarten.

42. The Territory also maintains a special relationship with the United States Virgin Islands because of the large number of Anguillians living and working in that Territory. Regular contacts between the two Territories take place at governmental and private levels.

43. Following its secession from the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla in 1976, the Territory ceased to be a member of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the East Caribbean Currency Authority (ECCA).

44. In his statement of 1 July 1983 (see para. 41), the Governor reported that in response to the interest expressed by the Territory in obtaining membership in OECS, the organization had, on 27 May 1983, welcomed that interest and had instructed Mr. Vaughn Lewis, its Director-General, to enter into discussions with the Government of Anguilla with a view to determining whether full or partial membership was desired. Subsequently, the Heads of Authority of OECS, at their fourth meeting, on 29 February 1984, gave further consideration to Anguilla's application for membership and reached agreement on the nature and extent of associate membership which would be extended to it. It was subsequently reported that discussions between OECS and the Territory were continuing.

45. In the same statement, the Governor disclosed that the territorial Government had made a formal application to join the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB) (formerly ECCA). The Territory participates in a number of common service programmes established for the Eastern Caribbean, including the East Caribbean Supreme Court and the Directorate of Civil Aviation.

46. Anguilla became a member of the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) in 1982 and benefits from various activities of the Bank. According to its 1983 report, the Bank approved \$US 1.9 million in loans and grants to the Territory for 1983.

47. In a report on the Territory for 1983, the administering Power noted that although the United Kingdom Government remained the Territory's main donor, providing approximately \$EC 1 million <sup>4/</sup> in grants-in-aid annually, the Governments of Canada and the United States had recently included the Territory in their lists of countries in the region eligible for assistance. It also noted that the European Development Fund (EDF) had allocated funds totalling \$US 750,000 for infrastructural improvements in the Territory.

## 7. Civil service

48. According to the report of the administering Power, there are nine expatriate officers, including the Attorney-General, three medical officers and a water engineer. In the same report, it was noted that it was the policy of the territorial Government to localize all posts when qualified personnel became available. On 30 July 1984, the Governor stated in the House of Assembly that a comprehensive review of the public service was being undertaken and the Government hoped that it would result in a public service structure which would conform to the needs of the Territory. He noted that an efficient and motivated public service was an invaluable national asset.

49. During its visit, the Mission held discussions with the permanent secretaries of government departments and members of the police, civil service, teachers and nurses associations. Summaries of those discussions are given below.

## C. Economic conditions

### 1. General

50. The economy of Anguilla has traditionally been based on salt production, boat building, animal husbandry and fishing. There are no known deposits of mineral resources and, owing to low rainfall and poor soil, agricultural production is limited. In recent years, economic activity has been low as a result of a sharp decline in the demand for industrial salt by the Territory's main market, Trinidad and Tobago. Some boat building continues to be carried out and fishing is limited to inshore waters and the reefs. The main areas of employment are in construction, local government and the service industries. Until recently, remittances from Anguillans living and working abroad, mainly in the United States of America and the United States Virgin Islands, the United Kingdom and St. Maarten/St. Martin, provided an important source of revenue for the Territory.

51. The structure of the economy is undergoing substantial changes with the expansion of activities in the service sector such as tourism, philatelic sales and the registration of offshore banks and foreign companies. According to the 1982 annual report of CDB, the registration of offshore banks and companies is currently the main source of government revenue. The territorial Government, however, is committed to diversifying the Territory's economy through the development of its

infrastructure, the promotion of tourism directed at the upper-income segment of the tourist market and the attraction of light industry and international companies.

52. The Territory is a net importer of foodstuffs, raw material and manufactured goods. In 1984, its per capita income was estimated at \$US 1,000. According to CDB, the Territory's economy remained bouyant in 1983, as tourism, the principal growth sector, continued to perform well.

## 2. Public finance

53. Under the Anguilla (Constitution) Order, 1982, responsibility for finance was transferred to an elected member, the Minister of Finance. In his statement to the House of Assembly introducing the budget estimates for 1984, Mr. Webster, then Chief Minister and Minister of Finance, Development and Home Affairs, noted that recurrent expenditure for 1984 would be financed entirely from local revenue. He expressed the hope that in future years the Territory would not only continue to balance its recurrent budget but would also contribute to capital expenditure. He noted that many benefits would accrue from the Territory's achievement of balancing its budget, the most obvious being that the Government would be able to approve the budget in December so that on 1 January, the beginning of the financial year, it could implement approved recurrent revenue and expenditure proposals for that year.

54. In the budget estimates for 1984, recurrent revenue was set at \$EC 12.3 million, compared with \$EC 11.8 million (including a \$EC 715,000 grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom in 1983. Revised estimates for 1983 amounted to \$EC 11.0 million. The largest single source of revenue for 1984 came from earnings of government departments, such as the sale of electricity and postage stamps (\$EC 4.7 million), direct and indirect taxes (\$EC 3.4 million) and fees from offshore banks (\$EC 1 million).

55. In the same statement, Mr. Webster noted that between 1977 and 1982, the Territory had accumulated a deficit of \$EC 230,000 and that a small deficit was expected for 1983. He disclosed that following a request from the territorial Government, the United Kingdom had agreed to provide a special grant in 1984 to clear all outstanding deficits up to 1982 and, depending on the outcome of the revenue situation in 1984, a further grant to erase the 1983 deficit.

56. With regard to the Territory's capital development programme, the United Kingdom informed the Mission that the British Development Division in the Caribbean had responsibility for the administration of the United Kingdom's aid programme to Anguilla. In that connection, a Development Division team had visited Anguilla in May 1984 following the elections, and had agreed with the territorial Government on a programme of capital aid priorities, at a projected cost of £2.5 million over two years. The main areas included road rehabilitation, improvements to airport and hospital facilities, the development of water resources and the implementation of the 1983 education review. The following data was provided by the administering Power:

United Kingdom bilateral aid to Anguilla, 1980-1983  
(Thousands of pounds sterling)

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Financial aid (for capital projects)	750	1 018	878	1 195
Technical co-operation (for manpower and training)	241	278	181	231
	<u>991</u>	<u>1 296</u>	<u>1 059</u>	<u>1 426</u>

3. Agriculture, livestock and fisheries

57. Agriculture production is limited by the thin soils and unreliable and sparse rainfall. Of the 1,200 hectares of arable land, only about 160-200 hectares are cultivated annually, the rest being left fallow or for grazing. The main crops are peas, corn, sweet potatoes, other vegetables and tropical fruits.

58. Livestock consists of sheep, goats, pigs, some cattle and poultry. The size of the livestock population also depends on the rainfall, which determines the availability of natural grazing. Some livestock (mostly sheep and goats) is exported to St. Maarten/St. Martin.

59. Fishing is one of the principal productive activities in the Territory and employs approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the labour force. Although a 200-mile economic zone has been established around the Territory, most of the fishing is done inshore and on the reefs. A substantial part of the catch, including lobsters and white fish, is exported to St. Maarten/St. Martin and Puerto Rico. Lobster exports fell from 51,000 kilograms in 1975 to 12,500 kilograms in 1978, the last year for which figures are available.

60. In his statement to the House of Assembly on 30 July 1984, the Governor reiterated the Government's overall objective of achieving a greater degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products and fish, and stressed that the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries would endeavour to expand its assistance in that regard. He noted that funds were being sought for the Department to enable it to offer a wider variety of fruit trees to the public and that priority would be given to training in irrigation techniques. With regard to livestock, the Governor emphasized the need to establish a viable livestock industry and outlined the government services available to livestock producers.

61. He said that the Government would give every encouragement to improvements in the fishing industry and would seek to ensure that the Territory's fishing grounds were protected from exploitation by foreign fleets. Comprehensive fisheries legislation to protect the fishing industry was being considered. The Governor noted that the Government was collaborating with the Marine Biological Laboratory in Massachusetts, United States, in the latter's conch research programme in the Caribbean, in view of the serious depletion of conch resources in territorial waters.

#### 4. Land tenure

62. A complete cadastral survey of Anguilla was carried out between 1974 and 1976. Most of the 4,100 parcels of land (95.8 per cent of all land) average 2 hectares and are privately owned. The holding of land by non-Anguillans is regulated by law so as to ensure that the long-term interests of the people are protected, while at the same time taking into account the encouragement of productive foreign investment and development. Land-holding licences for aliens to own or lease land are subject to stamp duty at the rate of 10 per cent of the assessed value of the land and any building thereon.

63. In his statement of 30 July, the Governor informed the House of Assembly of the establishment of a committee to formulate a new lands policy, to ensure that a large proportion of the land continued to be owned locally and to obtain the maximum benefit from land transactions. He noted that a physical plan for the capital had been completed and that serious consideration was being given to the preparation of a physical plan for the entire island. He expressed the willingness of the Government to assist with the construction of access roads and appealed to landowners to make the necessary tracts of land available.

#### 5. Tourism

64. The Mission was informed during its visit that the tourist industry was becoming the most important sector of the economy and that the Government would continue to pursue its aim of developing a vibrant industry, with as much local participation as possible in all its sectors. The Government would make every effort to ensure that approved tourist development projects were completed and put into operation as scheduled.

65. According to information provided by the territorial Government, there were 551 beds in hotels, guest houses and other facilities in early 1984 and a further 200 were expected to become available by the end of the year. The number of tourist arrivals, including day trippers, increased from 8,172 in 1980 to 21,789 in 1983. For the period January-August 1984, tourist arrivals amounted to 21,502. The principal port of entry was the passenger dock at Blowing Point, which accounted for 16,420 arrivals in 1983 (17,486 for the first eight months of 1984). The other port of entry was the Wall Blake Airport (5,369 in 1983 and 4,016 in the first eight months of 1984).

66. The Territory is a member of the Caribbean Tourism Association (CTA), the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (CTRC) and the Caribbean Conservation Association (CCA). In early 1984, a team from CTCRC and CTA, funded jointly by CTCRC and the Organization of American States (OAS), visited the Territory to study various aspects of the tourism industry. On the basis of its findings, the team made a number of recommendations to the Government concerning inter-sectoral linkage, the reorganization of the Department of Tourism, the establishment of a tourism work plan and possible means of increasing government revenues from tourism, including increasing the current embarkation tax, accommodation tax and temporary driver's licences. It also recommended that visitors be charged a 5 per cent tax on car rentals.

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## 6. International business

67. There are three commercial banks in operation in Anguilla: the Bank of America, Inc., Barclays Bank (International), Ltd. and the locally owned Caribbean Commercial Bank (Anguilla), Ltd.
68. In the absence of income and corporation taxes and because of its freedom from foreign currency controls, the Territory is establishing itself as a potential centre for offshore banks, trust and insurance companies and other international business. In his statement introducing the 1983 budget, the Minister of Finance welcomed the members of the international business community who lived in or conducted their business in Anguilla, and called upon them to contribute to the economic and social development of the Territory. He pointed out, however, that certain jobs and businesses would be reserved exclusively for Anguillians.
69. Government revenue from international business sources, including banking licences and company registration fees, amounted to over \$EC 1.3 million in 1983 (\$EC 826,000 in 1982). In its annual report for 1983, CDB noted the expansion of offshore financial operations in the Territory during the year and predicted that government revenue from that sector would increase appreciably in the years ahead.

## 7. Assistance from the United Nations system of organizations

70. In January 1982, the administering Power informed the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) of the Territory's formal separation from the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis. The Governing Council of UNDP subsequently approved a separate illustrative indicative planning figure for Anguilla of \$US 800,000 for the period 1982-1986. A five-member United Nations mission led by Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, Resident Representative of UNDP for the Eastern Caribbean, visited the Territory from 12 to 15 September 1983. The Mission comprised representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). Following consultations with Government officials, the Mission identified several areas for UNDP assistance, including tourism, civil aviation, public administration, population statistics, education and salt production.
71. During a visit to New York in early September 1984, Mr. Gordon-Somers met with members of the United Nations Visiting Mission, at its request. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Gordon-Somers provided the Mission with a brief political, economic and social overview of conditions in the Territory and the various constraints to development. He stressed, however, that his office had not yet met with members of the newly elected Government. He informed the Mission that the Territory would utilize approximately \$US 350,000 of its indicative planning figure for the period 1984-1985.
72. Regarding the participation of the Territory in the organizations of the United Nations system, the Mission learned during its visit to Anguilla that the Territory does not attend the meetings of the Caribbean Group for Co-operation in Economic Development (CGCED), which are sponsored by the World Bank and attended by representatives of Caribbean Governments, donor Governments and bilateral and multilateral financial institutions. The Territory also does not participate in



meetings of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and its subsidiary bodies.

#### 8. Transport, communications and other facilities

73. According to information provided by the administering Power, there are over 50 kilometres of tarred roads and 40 kilometres of gravel and other public roads in Anguilla. Over 1,000 vehicles are registered in the Territory.

74. The main port of entry is Road Bay, which has a draught of 4.5 metres and mainly handles commercial cargo. Other ports of entry are at Blowing Point (primarily serving passengers to and from St. Maarten/St. Martin) and the Forest. The main sea links are by schooner with the British Virgin Islands, the United States Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, as well as with the Eastern Caribbean islands.

75. The Territory is served by the Wall Blake Airport which has a 1,100-metre surfaced runway, which is currently being extended. Air transportation to and from Saint Christopher and Nevis, the Eastern Caribbean, St. Maarten, the United States Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico is provided by the Leeward Islands Air Transport (LIAT), Winward Islands Airways (WINAIR) and Crown Air. Charter flights can also be arranged to any part of the Caribbean.

76. Telecommunication services, including telephone, telex and telegraph, are operated by Cable and Wireless (West Indies), Ltd. There is a radio-telephone link between Anguilla and the lighthouse station on Sombrero (see para. 12).

77. It was recently announced that the programme to supply electric power to all parts of the island would be completed shortly. A new power station had been virtually completed by July 1983 and a loan had been approved by CDB for the purchase of a new generator which was expected to improve substantially the efficiency and reliability of the electric power supply on the island.

78. The territorial Government's policy with regard to water resources is primarily to ensure that there is an adequate supply of good drinking water. In this regard, all new homes and government buildings are required to have cisterns. The Governments of Canada and the United Kingdom have provided funding for the establishment of a desalination plant with a capacity of 75,000 litres per day. CDB has also provided a loan to the territorial Government for the construction of a 1 million litre-water catchment system. In addition, a bilateral agreement was concluded between the Governments of Anguilla and Canada, whereby the latter would fund a comprehensive water development programme. The current programme of major projects includes the following: acquisition of a power generator and construction of a new power station (£542,000); additional generating equipment (£200,000); airport runway resealing (£236,000); and the road resealing programme (£200,000).

79. As noted in paragraph 56, the administering Power, through the British Development Division in the Caribbean, agreed in May 1984 on a programme of capital projects for the Territory, at a cost of £2.5 million over two years.

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80. In addition to the above, some 20 other projects were under way, including the acquisition of power distributors and rehabilitation of the water system. An economist from the British Development Division was expected to visit Anguilla with a view to updating the feasibility study undertaken in 1981 on improvements to the airport.

#### D. Social and educational conditions

##### 1. Labour

81. Traditionally, Anguillans have emigrated in search of employment opportunities. Until the 1920s, many Anguillans went to work on sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic and later in the oil refining industry in Curaçao and Aruba. More recently, they emigrated to the United States Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico to take part in post-war development in those Territories. A substantial number of Anguillans have emigrated to the United Kingdom, the United States and other Caribbean islands, mainly St. Maarten/St. Martin, Saint Christopher and Nevis and Antigua and Barbuda.

82. The Government is continuing its efforts to increase local employment opportunities by providing incentives to foreign investors and local businesses.

83. According to information provided to the Mission by the territorial Government, a total of 2,150 persons (excluding self-employed persons) were registered as being employed, of whom 59 per cent were males and 41 per cent female. The Mission was informed that unemployment was between 20 and 40 per cent. The lack of precise figures was said to be due to the existence of "disguised unemployment". In September 1984, two experts from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) completed a review of the Territory's social security system, in an attempt by the Government to introduce a more equitable social insurance structure.

##### 2. Public health

84. The Territory is served by the Cottage Hospital, a 24-bed facility, and four district medical clinics.

85. The administering Power informed the Mission that it had reviewed the health services in Anguilla in 1982 and that a number of recommendations had been implemented. Further studies had been undertaken regarding the existing hospital and the need to refurbish or to rebuild. In the meanwhile, a grant of £43,000 had been approved to correct a potentially dangerous state of electrical wiring. According to the Governor, there are plans for building a new hospital, which would provide secondary medical care in all areas of public health.

86. On 14 September 1984, the Mission visited the Cottage Hospital and toured the facility with the Medical Officer. The Mission discovered, among other things, that the facilities were generally inadequate and in a state of disrepair; there was no hot water; the facilities for the nurses were inadequate; and the casualty room was not large enough to accommodate more than two patients at a time.

### 3. Education

87. Education in the Territory is free at the primary and secondary levels. There are six government-operated primary schools and one secondary school. The Mission visited two of the primary schools and the secondary school. In September 1984, there were 1,482 students enrolled in primary schools and 417 (including 24 at the Vocational-Technical Centre) in the Valley Secondary School. In 1983, there were 60 teachers, of whom 39 were trained and 21 untrained.

88. In his statement to the House of Assembly in July 1984, the Governor informed the Legislature that a review team composed of educational experts from the Caribbean, including Anguilla, and the United Kingdom had visited the Territory in October 1983 to review the education system. The Government had accepted, in principle, the recommendations of the team, among which were the following:

- (a) The centralization of all students 12 years of age and older in one comprehensive school to be achieved by enlarging the existing secondary school, which would be complemented in September 1986;
- (b) The provision of additional technical and vocational opportunities at the secondary level, including the full incorporation of the vocational and technical programme at the secondary school;
- (c) The full adoption of the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) examinations by 1987 and withdrawal from the British-based system of education leading to the General Certificate of Education;
- (d) The appointment of a Chief Education Officer to head the Education Department.

89. The administering Power informed the Mission that implementation of the recommendations was under discussion with the territorial Government. In May 1984, a grant of £148,000 was approved for the renovation of the Valley Primary School.

### III. ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSION

#### A. Meeting with the Governor and the Chief Minister

90. The Governor briefly reviewed the history of Anguilla, which he said had often been an appendage to a larger territorial unit such as St. Kitts and Nevis. In 1967, however, feeling that they were not being adequately represented and that their interests were being neglected, the Anguillians had decided to separate and to form their own government. The formal separation had taken place in 1980 and a new Constitution had entered into effect in April 1982. The democratic process of elections had begun in the 1970s, with organized political parties campaigning vigorously but peacefully.

91. The Governor said that the territorial Government was determined to develop Anguilla economically so that it could better sustain its inhabitants and even attract some, if not all, of the estimated 20,000 Anguillians living abroad. Poor soil and a lack of natural resources had limited the possibilities for development. Tourism was one area with great potentiality, although the Anguillan

people would like to see more emphasis placed on developing a highly selective form of tourism directed at the upper income segment of the tourist industry. The experiences of neighbouring island States were constant reminders of the need to develop a controlled and orderly industry. The people did not want casinos or any other form of gambling which might disturb the harmony of the community. The fishing industry was another area where improvements could bring in needed revenues. Although the industry was currently underdeveloped, good harvests of lobsters were frequent and found a ready market in neighbouring islands. The Governor said that in general, however, Anguilla was a reasonably prosperous island.

92. The Governor noted that the Territory's finances had been improving steadily to the extent that in the current fiscal year, a surplus was expected and there would be no need for a grant-in-aid. Capital aid was received from various sources: the United Kingdom, international organizations, Canada and the United States. He predicted that within a period of five years, Anguilla would experience a solid economic take off.

93. He also said that he considered that his first responsibility as Governor was to the Anguillians, and that because he had been appointed by the Queen he did not represent the United Kingdom Government. The current Constitution defined the four areas of his authority: external affairs, defence, internal security and the public service. In his opinion, Anguilla enjoyed virtual self-government in all other aspects. The Anguillian people were aware of independence as an option and had debated the question often. The Governor reiterated the position of the United Kingdom Government regarding the future status of the Territory stating that if the Anguillians decided to opt for independence, the United Kingdom Government would not impede the process but would facilitate it. He refuted the idea that the administering Power was trying to force Anguilla to move towards independence and concluded that the United Kingdom Government would, in any case, abide by the wishes of the people of Anguilla.

94. The Chief Minister assured the Mission that the people of Anguilla were well aware of the path along which his Government was leading them, and they approved of it. He said that Anguilla had separated from St. Kitts and Nevis because the Anguillians had not wanted responsibility for their island to be transferred from the United Kingdom to a much smaller new entity. In 1966, when discussions were taking place in favour of statehood, they had begun to distance themselves and had refused to consider such an issue because the only option they favoured was that of remaining a British colony. Anguilla had attained self-government under the political and economic protection of the United Kingdom Government and he believed that the people felt secure with the present status. His Government was not embarking on a political programme with independence as an aim; it was merely trying to provide the people with a better way of life. Independence, he said, would be a hinderance to the economic development of the Territory and for that reason, it must depend on a larger Power. Independence would also impose pressure on Anguilla; the Territory must, therefore, continue to rely on the United Kingdom for its defence.

95. Although tourism was the main objective for future economic development, the Chief Minister said that he had been following a policy of diversification and had

held many discussions with potential investors in other areas such as small industrial enterprises and high technology ventures, which could flourish in Anguilla.

B. Meeting with members of the Executive Council

96. Following an explanation of the role and functions of the Executive Council, which meets twice weekly and has the possibility of meeting on an ad hoc basis, discussion centred on the Constitution which came into effect in 1982 (see paras. 19-27). In response to a question by the Chairman of the Mission, a member of the Executive Council pointed out that the current Constitution differed from the 1976 Constitution in several respects. Most significantly, it provided for a Minister of Finance and Lands, an area previously reserved to the Governor, and required the Governor to consult with the Executive Council on matters concerning the police and civil service, as well as eliminating the office of Chief Secretary.

97. With regard to the powers of the Governor, the Governor noted that although the Constitution was an advanced one, the United Kingdom was of the view that certain powers must be reserved to the Governor. He said that the United Kingdom had made clear that any substantial changes to the Constitution would be regarded as a move towards independence.

98. In the view of the Minister of Finance and Lands, who stated that he had also served in the previous administration, significant or substantive changes to the present Constitution were not as important as the motives which had brought it into existence. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the former Chief Minister, who had tended to concentrate power in his office and had blocked any attempt to share responsibility with other ministers. He felt that the current Constitution had been framed in accordance with the wishes of the former Chief Minister. He noted that although previous draft constitutions had been circulated for public discussions prior to approval, the current Constitution had not been discussed with the public, and that a White Paper on the Constitution had been issued only after the return of Mr. Webster and his delegation from London. For those reasons, he felt that it was unfair for the administering Power to stipulate that any substantive change must result in a move towards independence. He stressed that certain provisions in the Constitution had to be changed.

99. The Attorney-General gave an outline of the constitutional process. He noted that the White Paper on the Constitution did not contain too many details. Both he and the Governor expressed the view that the United Kingdom Government would accept proposals from the territorial Government for amendments to the Constitution on such provisions as citizenship, particularly "belonger" status (see para. 24) and land tenure.

100. There was a consensus of opinion within the Executive Council regarding its satisfaction with the level of autonomy provided by the current Constitution. Several members stressed that the Territory was not yet ready for independence. They appealed for more infrastructural development in order to establish a more viable economic base.

101. Regarding the participation of Anguilla in the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the members of the Executive Council felt that there was a need for the Territory to have greater access to those organizations. One member said that there was a problem with the United Nations system in that those concerned appeared to be unaware that Anguilla was formally separated from Saint Christopher and Nevis and that, as a result, funds intended for Anguilla were inadvertently directed to that State. Another member related that the Territory had been able to persuade the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute that it had not relinquished its membership in that organization. It was felt, however, that although Anguilla would benefit from participation in the United Nations and regional organizations, its limited resources and lack of funds did not currently permit that kind of representation.

102. In response to a question by the Mission, several speakers expressed their views on infrastructural development. The Governor noted that the United Kingdom was providing aid for airport development and that Canada would be providing other assistance. The Chief Minister was of the view that because of the proximity of the Territory to such international air traffic routes as St. Maarten and Antigua, the Territory did not need an international airport, which would cost about \$EC 20 million and would absorb all resources from external aid. An extension of the existing runway would be more appropriate.

103. Another member, however, was of the opinion that the Territory's airport should accommodate jet service in order to alleviate the cost and inconvenience to tourists and nationals who were forced to change planes in St. Maarten. He informed the Mission that the airport was badly located and that because of the soft substructure and a decline at the end of the runway, maintenance costs were very high. He added that it might prove beneficial to relocate the airport.

104. The Minister of Finance and Lands said that consultants appointed by the United Kingdom had carried out a feasibility study on the airport facilities and had recommended that the runway be widened and lengthened. The administering Power, however, had not implemented those recommendations because of a projected decline in passenger arrivals and the failure of several hotel construction projects to be implemented. The Minister felt that before the Territory could move forward, there was a need for more objective development planning. Anguilla should not have relinquished the grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom because the economy of the Territory was not strong enough to allow a balanced budget without it.

105. The Minister of Education, Tourism and Development stressed that tourism had the potential for providing the base for the Territory's economic development. She noted, however, that at a recent International Conference on Tourism, which she had attended with the Chief Minister, Anguilla had been relatively unknown to the participants. Other countries in the region were better equipped, with audio-visual and other means of promotion, to carry out a tourism campaign. She also noted that there were many archeological sites in the Territory which, if properly developed, could attract tourists. She believed that tourism development could be aided greatly by the purchase of two aeroplanes to provide additional service to Antigua and Barbuda and St. Maarten.

106. During the discussion on the territorial Government's policy on diversification, it was noted that Anguilla had no raw materials and fishing was

the only existing industry. Since 1976, funds had been requested for the construction of a building to house a factory. Although the rate of unemployment was high (see para. 83) the high cost of living made Anguillan labour costs expensive and unattractive to potential investors. Agriculture consisted mainly of subsistence farming, and had no potential for growth. The development of tourism was considered to be the mechanism by which additional industries and services could be generated. The Governor stated that the absence of newspapers in the Territory meant that Anguillans suffered from a lack of information. He stressed, however, that the Government intended to encourage the establishment of a newspaper. A member of the Executive Council stated that the absence of a newspaper was an obstacle to the dissemination of information; and the Chief Minister said that it hindered the political process since the Opposition did not have the opportunity to promote its views.

107. Regarding cultural development, the Minister of Education, Tourism and Development said that local and Caribbean history were being taught in the schools and that folk dancing and drama were being promoted. On 30 September, the Mission attended a cultural show.

C. Meeting with the Speaker and the non-ministerial members  
of the House of Assembly

108. On 12 September, the Mission met with the Speaker and the non-ministerial members of the House of Assembly.

109. During the discussion, several participants agreed that some provisions in the 1982 Constitution needed to be changed. It was noted that although the previous Constitution had allowed for the appointment of a Leader of the Opposition, the current Constitution did not. It was also felt that the Constitution concentrated too much power in the hands of the Chief Minister, which could lead to abuses. Other areas of dissatisfaction included provisions related to "belonger" status, in particular the fact that qualified women did not have the right to have their husbands declared eligible for that status.

110. The Speaker of the House of Assembly stated that while the United Kingdom Government was not prepared to give the Territory more local autonomy than was provided for in the current Constitution, it would no doubt agree to other changes should the territorial Government, after consultations with the general public, make such a request. He expressed the view that it would be inappropriate for every change in government to result in a change in the Constitution. He acknowledged, however, that there was a great deal of opposition to the current Constitution.

111. On the question of future political status, there was a consensus among the members that the Territory was not yet ready for political independence. Several speakers stressed that the Territory needed more economic and social development before the people could consider the option of independence. It was noted that the administering Power considered the current Constitution to be an advanced Constitution, and that any further autonomy would result in independence. Under the previous Constitution, a motion of no confidence supported by two thirds of the elected members would have forced the Chief Minister to resign, while under the new Constitution the entire Government would be required to resign.

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112. Regarding economic development, the Speaker, who is also the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, informed the Mission that although the Territory was no longer in need of the grant-in-aid, it had not accumulated a sufficient surplus in the consolidated fund to allow it to contribute to capital development, which continued to be funded mainly by the United Kingdom. He explained the Territory's budgetary process and noted that the decisions of the Executive Council, including those on budgetary matters, were taken by consensus.

113. One member expressed concern that if caution was not exercised, uncontrolled tourism would result. He noted, in particular, that the Territory would be unable to sustain a tourist industry since almost all goods, foodstuffs, etc. had to be imported. If the Territory was to benefit from tourism, it would have to produce those items locally for the tourist market. He was concerned that without the proper infrastructure, tourism development would not be effective. He said that the fishing industry, which was fairly well established, needed capital and other resources in order to improve. Another speaker, who supported the same view, said that light industries should be developed as a means of diversifying the economy. There was no need to talk about political independence if the Territory could not achieve economic independence. The primary aim of the Government was to achieve the economic and social advancement of the people. In his opinion, Anguilla was not receiving sufficient assistance from the United Kingdom.

D. Meeting with the leaders of the Opposition Anguilla People's Party

114. Mr. Webster, the former Chief Minister, informed the Mission that he had only learned of the Mission's visit the previous night when he had heard the Chairman's radio statement (see annex II to the present report). He said that the Government had not informed the people about the Mission's visit and its purpose. One speaker wanted to know how the Mission's report could help Anguilla. The Mission explained the work of the Special Committee and the General Assembly and read extracts from the Charter of the United Nations and the reports of the Special Committee on Anguilla.

115. Mr. Webster outlined the situation surrounding the last general elections. He said that during the campaign, ANA had repeatedly told the people that the then ruling APP was seeking independence and would align Anguilla with a socialist-oriented régime in the region.

116. Regarding the question of future constitutional status of the Territory, the Mission was told that the majority of Anguillans did not feel that the Territory was ready for independence, although that position might change later. The Territory had become a separate political entity only 17 years earlier and it had no economic base. The Territory had dispensed with the grant-in-aid in order to have more freedom in planning its own budget.

117. The Mission was told that the administering Power did not follow up on offers of assistance for the Territory from multilateral donor agencies. Reference was made to projects approved several years earlier by the European Development Fund (EDF) that had not been implemented. The point was made that the Territory needed technical assistance in project preparation and in many other unspecified areas. In the view of the Opposition, most countries, including Canada and the



United States were reluctant to provide bilateral assistance to dependent Territories, including Anguilla. Access to capital aid was made difficult by red tape and the high cost of identifying sources of assistance.

118. Upon its return to New York, the Mission was informed by the administering Power that the Anguilla People's Party (APP) had changed its name to the Anguilla Democratic Party (ADP) and that Mr. Webster had resigned from the party on 20 September.

E. Meeting with the members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Owners' Association

119. On 13 September, the Mission met with 11 members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Owners' Association.

120. The first speaker expressed the view that the people of Anguilla felt pressured by the administering Power to decide on a timetable for independence. The pressure tended to be economic and included being forced to relinquish the grant-in-aid prematurely, which denied the Territory the necessary resources for development. Another speaker was concerned that there was insufficient information regarding the responsibilities of independence and called upon the United Nations to assist in providing that information. He felt that the Territory should be represented in regional and international organizations and should be involved in matters of foreign relations in preparation for independence. He noted that some former Caribbean Territories claimed that they had become independent in order to make more direct contact with international agencies and donor Governments. One speaker was of the opinion that Anguillans aspired to independence but were fearful of the road ahead and would like to have a viable economy in place before making such a move.

121. The Mission was informed that the current Constitution had not been discussed publicly either before or after it had come into force. It was felt that too much power had been given to the Governor and the Chief Minister under the new Constitution and that it did not take into account the migratory nature of the Anguillan people.

122. Several speakers were of the view that unemployment was a serious matter for the Territory and it had resulted in an outflow of talent. It was noted that several thousand Anguillans had gone abroad to find employment, and that others were compelled to work at various jobs other than those for which they had been trained. Although unemployment was high, labour was not cheap because of the high standard of living enjoyed by Anguillans, and potential investors had found it more profitable to locate in other Caribbean countries, including Saint Christopher and Nevis. One speaker declared that female unemployment, which could be as high as 50 per cent, was being overlooked. He noted that unemployment among schoolteachers and seasonal employment was a cause of concern.

123. With regard to industrial development, the Mission was informed that the lack of raw materials and the small size of the local market made the Territory unattractive to potential investors; the Territory's traditional industries were not prospering; salt production had come to a stand-still because of a sharp

decline in the demand for industrial salt by the Territory's main market, Trinidad and Tobago; the fishing industry was still rudimentary and needed capital; the two bottling plants were operating at a low level of production, and the broom making operation had ceased. Representatives of the Chamber of Commerce pointed out that the Chamber was actively trying to develop new markets for salt and was also seeking capital for the fishing industry.

124. Several speakers said that the Territory needed to enact new legislation to provide incentives to potential investors and to co-ordinate the implementation of existing legislation in order to eliminate the frustrations experienced by businessmen because of long delays and arbitrary decisions by customs officials. The Mission was told that the lack of direct taxation and the absence of currency control was proving a good base for the development of an international business community. It was noted, however, that the current land policy was not conducive to the promotion of real estate development.

125. Members of both groups agreed that there was no overall plan for the economic and social development of Anguilla. The Mission was told that although the Governor's speech contained an outline of government policy, the House of Assembly had not met to debate that speech. The absence of a newspaper meant that generally the public remained uninformed of issues before the Government.

126. There was a consensus of opinion that much needed to be done to improve the quality of the civil service. It was stated that the level of development of a country was measured by the development of its civil service. One speaker drew attention to the fact that incentives given to expatriates officers, specifically medical doctors, created dissatisfaction among civil servants. It was also noted that civil servants were leaving the service either to emigrate or to enter private business.

F. Meeting with members of the police, civil service, teachers and nurses associations

127. The meeting was attended by 20 representatives of several professional associations.

128. The spokesman for the Teachers' Association said that the present status of the Territory was not in keeping with the political status of other Caribbean countries. He recognized that the Territory was going through a transitional stage, during which it would need to prepare itself. In his opinion, the local politicians needed more experience. Regarding educational conditions in the Territory, the teachers felt that most needs were being satisfied, although there had been some delay in implementing the recommendations of the educational review because of the absence of a Chief Education Office. Education was compulsory through the secondary level. The teacher-student ratio was about 1 to 20 or 25. There was a high level of selection for the secondary school because of a lack of space. The Mission was also informed that although there was a Vocational and Technical Centre within the secondary school, it was still in the formative stage. He added that more than 95 per cent of the teachers were Anguillians and that some schools were understaffed. The teacher-training programme was financed by the United Kingdom Government but the territorial Government had not taken full advantage of the possibilities offered by the administering Power.

129. Another speaker said that the Territory needed to strengthen the economy before acceding to independence. A representative of the Civil Service Association pointed out that although the civil service was highly localized, many heads of department were "very young" and he expressed concern that their lack of experience would harm the service.

130. Several speakers expressed the view that not enough was known about the present Constitution. They were dissatisfied with the provision concerning "belonger" status (see para. 24) and the powers of the Governor.

131. A representative of the Police Association informed the Mission that crime in the Territory mainly comprised land disputes, juvenile delinquency and burglaries. Cases of juvenile delinquency, which had increased, mostly involved children whose parents were living or working abroad. He regretted that there was no institution for rehabilitation of young offenders. The problem of drug trafficking was beginning to have its effects on the Territory, as offshore cays were being used as dropping-off points. The local cultivation of marijuana by a group belonging to the Rastafarian sect was also posing a problem. He pointed out that the work of the police was made difficult because of inadequate transportation and communications. He stated, however, that a telecommunications unit which had been ordered more than a year earlier was expected to arrive shortly and that there were plans to increase the size of the police force and to upgrade its equipment.

132. The Mission was informed that the local police force co-operated with the police authorities of both administrations on St. Maarten/St. Martin.

G. Meeting with members of the Executive Committee of the  
Anguilla National Alliance

133. The representatives of ANA presented a written memorandum to the Mission (see annex III to the present report) on 11 September, the day of its arrival, and requested a meeting with the Mission, which was held on 13 September.

134. During the meeting, members of the Executive Committee affirmed that although independence was the ultimate goal of the party, economic development was a prerequisite. The level of infrastructural development would indicate the time-frame for the process of independence.

135. The members of the Executive Committee emphasized the necessity of proceeding to independence gradually. They noted, however, that the involvement of elected members in the administration of the Territory was not only recent but limited. Since the entire civil service was under the control of the Governor rather than the elected Government, the ministers were often frustrated in their attempts to hire qualified civil servants. It was stated that both parties agreed with that fact. One speaker stressed that full internal self-government was necessary for accountability.

136. Concerning economic development, ANA was committed to the development of the tourist, light manufacturing and fishing industries. The lack of a basic infrastructure was adversely affecting the Government's ability to attract investors in the above areas. Access to the Territory was through Antigua and

Barbuda and St. Maarten and there were no deep-water harbour facilities. One member stated that the United Kingdom would not provide the necessary assistance to the Territory to develop its tourist potential as it had with some other Caribbean Territories.

137. The members of the Executive Committee appealed to the Mission to assist the Territory in achieving the conditions necessary to promote self-determination, and stated that the opposition to independence was only in relation to its timing. If the United Kingdom Government refused further constitutional advancement other than independence and if it provided only token assistance to the development of Anguilla, ANA would consider those actions to be tantamount to abandonment. In any case, they felt that the United Kingdom was well on the way of bestowing independence on them. They also referred to the methods of the Governor, who rarely consulted the Executive Council as required by the Constitution.

#### H. Meeting with the permanent secretaries of government departments

138. The Chairman and members of the Mission met with the permanent secretaries of the following departments: the Office of the Chief Minister and Home Affairs; Tourism, Agriculture and Fisheries; Social Services; and Public Works and Utilities. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Lands, who was in Barbados attending a CDB meeting at that time had previously met with the Mission on several occasions.

139. The Mission was told that although the senior civil service officials had received adequate training, there was a need for training at the middle and lower levels. The permanent secretaries, in particular, should be trained in matters of foreign policy and economic development in order to prepare them for independence. They did not consider that the fact that the Governor was responsible for the civil service to be detrimental to the service. It was noted that a civil service review had recently been completed, but that its report was not yet available.

140. The United Kingdom's capital development aid to the Territory, estimated at £1.3 million annually, was considered inadequate in view of such major projects as hospital renovation and construction, airport and road improvements and the implementation of the recommendations of the educational survey. Because aid donors preferred to invest in the productive sectors the scientific and social services suffered.

141. The permanent secretaries informed the Mission that the unemployment situation in the Territory was a result not only of a paucity of economic activities but also of a lack of training programmes to equip the local people with the necessary skills. Because of the latter, expatriates were working in such fields as engineering and the hotel sector. The Mission's attention was drawn to the absence of a manpower and planning survey to which the recent education survey had not addressed itself.

142. With regard to health and educational matters, the Mission was told that there was a need to provide training for nationals in the health services in order to increase the number of local doctors, dental surgeons and other public health technicians. The present system of paying substantially different salaries to

expatriate and local doctors was proving difficult in attracting Anguillan or Caribbean doctors. Of the six primary schools, two were in need of repair. The one secondary school was overcrowded and lacked adequate vocational and technical facilities.

I. Meeting with members of the Public Service Commission

143. During the discussions with members of the Public Service Commission, its Chairman outlined the procedure for selecting officials for the Commission as well as its functions under the Constitution. He said that the primary role of the Commission was to advise the Governor on matters relating to appointments and dismissals in the public service. The Commission consisted of five members appointed for two-year terms, three by the Governor and two on the recommendation of the Staff Association, with the Chairman being chosen from among the five members after consultation with the Chief Minister. The members of the Commission felt that under the existing arrangements the impartiality of the civil service could be better maintained and that senior civil servants needed more training and exposure. They explained the Government's policy of "bonding" civil servants who were sent overseas for studies. The Governor retained responsibility for the appointment of expatriate officers.

144. One member of the Commission expressed dissatisfaction over the provision in the Constitution for "belonger" status and told the Mission that the text of the Constitution had not been made available to the public until after the new Government had come to power.

145. Regarding local autonomy, the Chairman of the Commission noted that in the day-to-day working of the ministerial system, there was a great degree of self-government. Several members of the Commission supported the need for a local newspaper. One member recalled that the previous administration had thwarted efforts to establish a newspaper.

J. Visit to schools and the hospital

146. On 14 September, the Mission, accompanied by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, visited the Stoney Ground and Valley primary schools and the Valley Secondary School. In each facility, the respective head teacher or principal conducted the Mission on a tour and discussed the establishment's programmes and needs. During the Mission's tour of the Cottage Hospital, the Chief Medical Officer reviewed the operations of the hospital and informed the Mission of recent developments concerning the delivery of health services in the Territory.

K. Public meeting

147. On the same day, the Mission conducted a public meeting at the Scouts and Guides Headquarters in the Valley. The meeting was attended by approximately 550 persons, including the leaders of both political parties.

148. The Chairman of the Mission recalled his statement over Radio Anguilla, in which he had outlined the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and the purpose of the visit. He reiterated that the Mission was there to gather firsthand information on the conditions in the Territory and to ascertain the views and aspirations of Anguillans.

149. The majority of speakers expressed their desire to have the 1982 Constitution amended, particularly those provisions concerning citizenship or "belonger" status, land tenure and, in a few cases, the powers of the Governor. One speaker mentioned his experiences while travelling overseas with a passport issued by the Government of Anguilla, saying that although Anguillans carried United Kingdom passports, they still needed visas to enter the United Kingdom and faced enormous difficulties in being granted entry into other Commonwealth countries such as Canada.

150. The public was unanimous in its view that the Territory was not yet ready for independence. Some speakers felt that the Territory needed to develop its infrastructure and a sound economic base before moving on to independence. Others felt that the elected members needed more experience.

151. The Mission was informed that in the absence of mass media facilities, the people were not kept informed on political issues. It was noted that the House of Assembly had not met since the elections in March. One speaker suggested that the public meeting held by the Mission should be broadcast and that the Opposition party leaders should have access to the government-owned radio.

152. Many speakers, including the Chief Minister, expressed their dissatisfaction with the amount of aid from the United Kingdom and the pace of disbursement. A number of projects to improve the infrastructure were cited. The Minister of Finance and Lands stated, inter alia, that the Territory needed to develop a viable economic base. He said that the Territory had been forced to relinquish the grant-in-aid prematurely which might result in a deficit in the recurrent budget of over \$EC 2 million at the end of the financial year.

153. One speaker was of the view that the Territory was embarking on a dangerous path in its pursuit of a tourist industry. He wondered whether enough thought had been given to the danger to the environment associated with uncontrolled hotel expansion. He also asked if the United Nations could assist in that regard. Another speaker suggested the development of Shoal Bay as a tourist resort and the establishment of a tax-free port area in the Territory.

154. Regarding the Territory's membership in regional and international organizations, one speaker noted that Anguilla was not a member of, nor did it participate in, some regional and international organizations and was therefore not deriving the needed benefit therefrom. The Minister of Finance and Lands, in his reply, stressed that it was the intention of the Government to pursue membership for the Territory in regional and international organizations.

L. Review with the Governor, the Chief Minister and other ministers

155. On 15 September, on the eve of its departure, the Mission met with the Chief Minister and members of his Cabinet and later with the Governor, to review the

Mission's visit and to take its leave. In the earlier meeting, the Chief Minister introduced Mr. Nashville Webster, an elected member of APP who had just returned to Anguilla. At the same meeting, the Mission was informed that the Territory's application for membership in ECCB and OECS was still being considered by those bodies. The Territory would also seek participation in other regional and international organizations.

156. In its meeting with the Governor, the Mission discussed several points that had been raised during its visit. The Chairman, on behalf of the Mission, thanked the Governor for his hospitality and for the co-operation extended to it by his staff.

157. On the morning of 16 September, the Mission took its leave of the Governor and the Chief Minister and other members of the Government of Anguilla at Wallblake Airport.

M. Discussions held at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London

158. On 19 September, the Mission called on Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to discuss its visit to the Territory. At the outset, the Minister told the Mission that the United Kingdom Government would in no way impede the process of self-determination in Anguilla, nor would it force independence on the Territory. The guiding principle of her Government was that it would abide by the freely expressed wishes of the people. On the question of the Constitution, Lady Young stated that her Government had never been officially approached with a concrete proposal to amend or modify any part of the 1982 Constitution. It was therefore up to the people to make specific proposals for amendments to the Constitution. The United Kingdom Government would then consider the question with the representatives of the people. Any change not affecting the political status of the Territory would be favourably considered. On the other hand, any change affecting the powers of the Governor or bringing about substantive changes towards increased autonomy would be considered only within the framework of a timetable for independence. Experience suggested that in that circumstance a period of 12 to 18 months should be envisaged for the achievement of total independence.

159. On the specific questions of the authority of the Governor regarding public service matters, proposals could be studied. The devolution of executive powers to the Public Service Commission, however, would certainly interfere with the role of the Governor and create difficulties for him in carrying out his functions.

160. Lady Young reiterated to the members of the Mission the commitment of her Government to the well-being of the people of Anguilla through direct assistance to the economic development of the Territory. To that effect, a consultant had been provided to draw up a long-term economic development plan for Anguilla and his recommendations were being considered. The Government was also very pleased that Anguilla had been able to balance its budget without the need for the grant-in-aid.

N. Discussions at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the Under-Secretary for the Western Hemisphere and other officials dealing with the Territory of Anguilla

161. During the meeting, the Mission was told that the 1982 Constitution was a fairly advanced one and that if the people of Anguilla felt that it had not been debated extensively, that might be due to the absence of an efficient media.

162. The United Kingdom Government had not received a formal request for changes in the Constitution; if the Government of Anguilla wished to discuss certain provisions of the Constitution, such as those relating to "belonger" status or the Nationality Act, it could count on the co-operation of the administering Power. Mr. David Thomas, the Under-Secretary, said that the position of his Government regarding the powers of the Governor was that the Constitution went as far as possible towards self-government and that any further changes in the balance of power between the Governor and the Government of Anguilla should be seen in the light of further advancement towards more autonomy and therefore a timetable should be set up to proceed to independence.

163. In the area of foreign affairs, the United Kingdom Government was willing to allow the Anguillans greater opportunity to extend their relations with neighbouring States. It had, in fact, encouraged the Territory to seek membership in OECS.

164. On the question of the public service, it was reiterated that the transfer of the Public Service Commission from the Governor to the elected Government would be considered a further step towards independence. Some of the provisions of the Constitution that now seemed to be unsatisfactory, such as "belonger" status, were common in the area and could be found in the Constitutions of Saint Christopher and Nevis and the British Virgin Islands.

165. The Mission was told that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office maintained a Development Division in Barbados which monitored economic development in Anguilla and provided assistance in many sectors. A development programme involving a capital aid fund of approximately £2.5 million over a two-year period had been discussed in May 1984. A road improvement programme was being carried out and a water distribution survey was under way. In 1981, an expert study on the extension of the airstrip had been prepared. An educational review had taken place in 1983 and had recommended improvements to the school buildings, as well as in the educational structure. In 1982, a health review had been carried out and an expert was currently studying the need for a new hospital facility, while improvements were being made to the existing hospital. As for training, the United Kingdom Government had allocated funds in 1983, of which only a small fraction (20 per cent) had been used. The major problem facing the Territory was a lack of qualified personnel.

166. The Mission discussed the possibility of a resident judge being assigned to Anguilla, but was told that there were not enough cases to warrant such an action, and that the circuit judge was dealing effectively with all cases arising in the Territory.



O. Meeting with representatives of the Commonwealth Secretariat

167. During its visit to London, the Mission visited the Commonwealth Secretariat on 18 September and held talks with Chief Emeka C. Anyaoku, Deputy Secretary-General; Mr. A. Salvanathan, Director for General Technical Assistance of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC); Mr. N. Hugh Craft, Director of the International Affairs Division; and Mr. Neville Linton, Assistant Director of the International Affairs Division.

168. The Mission discussed the work of the Special Committee and the Sub-Committee on Small Territories. The Deputy Secretary-General informed the Mission that in accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in New Delhi, the Commonwealth Secretariat had begun a study on the special problems of small States with regard to economic development and national security. In that connection, a consultative group of 14 eminent Commonwealth citizens had been appointed. He noted that the Secretariat had been considering the problems of small States since 1976. With regard to Anguilla, the Deputy Secretary-General recalled that following the secession of Anguilla in 1967 and the intervention of the United Kingdom, he had served as Secretary to the Commission of Enquiry which was established under the chairmanship of the late Sir Hugh Wooding.

169. The Mission was informed of the operations of the Fund and was told that in the financial year ending 30 June 1984, CFTC had provided assistance for four training programmes for Anguillans in nursing, social work, customs and excise and narcotics interdiction. The Director of the Fund noted that CFTC could provide assistance directly to the territorial Government, at its request, in such areas as project preparation and co-ordination and in other related areas.

170. The Deputy Secretary-General invited the Mission to inform the administering Power and the Government of Anguilla that the Commonwealth Secretariat would be willing to consider a request for technical assistance.

171. The Chairman of the Mission thanked the Deputy Secretary-General for his co-operation and the offer of assistance to Anguilla. He undertook to inform both the territorial Government and the administering Power of the Secretariat's offer.

IV. OBSERVATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

172. During its visit to the Territory, the Mission had an opportunity to learn, at first hand, the views of the local Government and the local population, both at formal and public meetings and on informal occasions, about the conditions in the Territory and its future political status.

173. The Mission was impressed by the realism and caution of the local leaders, as well as the people of the Territory, who appeared to have no illusions about the probable consequences of the available political options facing them. Their overriding concern was for improving their standard of living and not simply change for the sake of change.

174. While independence remains an ultimate aim for Anguilla, there was a genuine apprehension among the people of the Territory that independence without a substantial measure of economic viability might in fact place Anguilla in a new situation of greater external dependence of one kind or another. This apprehension is based primarily on the belief that Anguilla lacks the political experience and basic economic and social infrastructures to shoulder the responsibilities incumbent on an independent State.

175. The present Constitution, which came into effect in April 1982, has reserved powers in matters relating to external affairs, defence, internal security and the civil service to the Governor of the Territory. The Mission was informed that the lack of active participation by officials of the territorial Government in some of those key areas did not enhance their opportunities for gaining the necessary political experience.

176. There was general dissatisfaction with the present Constitution due to the fact that there had been insufficient local consultation with the public in its formulation. Some of the criticisms of the Constitution related to the powers conferred on the Governor, the provisions relating to nationality or "belonger" status, the Public Service Commission and the absence of an official role for the Opposition. There was a strong feeling among the people that there should be a general review of the Constitution.

177. During discussions with representatives of the administering Power in London, the Mission was told that should the people of Anguilla make specific proposals, amendments to the Constitution could be considered favourably, since, the administering Power held it to be an "advanced Constitution"; however, any further substantial devolution of Power to the local Government would have to be considered in the context of an advancement towards independence.

178. The representatives of the administering Power reiterated that the British Government was ready to grant independence to Anguilla should the people, through their elected representatives, express their wish for it. They also told the Mission that after a Territory had attained full internal self-government, it had been found politically advisable and desirable for that Territory to accede to full and complete independence within a period of 18 months. Therefore, the decision by a dependent Territory to seek full internal self-government should be taken almost simultaneously with the decision to proceed to independence.

179. The Mission was informed that while Anguilla was no longer receiving the grant-in-aid in order to balance its recurrent budget, it had not yet given consideration to a timetable for achieving its independence. In that connection, the representatives of the administering Power assured the Mission that their Government would consider future requests from the Territory for the grant-in-aid.

180. The Government and the people of Anguilla stressed to the Mission the need for economic development, bearing in mind Anguilla's lack of natural resources, trained manpower and an appropriate infrastructure. Their priorities included the development of a tourist industry specifically directed at the upper income segment of the tourist industry, fisheries and light industries in order to develop the economy and to entice some of the large number of Anguillians who had been forced to seek employment abroad to return.

181. In that context, they stressed the need for improved airport facilities, a deep-water harbour and the development of roads, water, electricity and communications. The Mission noticed the absence of any co-ordinated planning for that kind of development and the inability on the part of the local Government to present projects to potential donors and to utilize fully available aid resources. Representatives of the administering Power indicated that capital aid projects in Anguilla amounting to £2.5 million over a two-year period had been discussed in May 1984. It was also indicated that although funds had been made available in 1983/84 for manpower development, only 20 per cent of those funds had been utilized.

182. Having visited two of the six primary schools and the only secondary school in the Territory, the Mission noted that there was a shortage of facilities for secondary, technical and vocational education in Anguilla. There was also a shortage of sports facilities for students and the public at large. In that respect, the administering Power indicated that plans have been made for the implementation of some of the recommendations of the Territory's recent educational review.

183. A visit to Anguilla's hospital revealed the extent of the inadequacy of the health facilities of the Territory. The representatives of the administering Power also indicated that the recommendations of the Territory's 1982 review of the health services were being considered.

184. The Mission also observed that the absence of mass media facilities was a cause for concern. It was generally felt that the development of such facilities was both feasible and desirable.

185. The Mission has given careful thought to the political future of Anguilla, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. While independence is, of course, a natural and legitimate aspiration, it is inevitable that the special circumstances prevailing in Anguilla should influence the thinking of the people about their future political status. Political education in Anguilla should therefore be intensified so that the people of the Territory may freely discuss all of the options available to them and the implications of their choice in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. In that connection, the Mission reiterates its conviction that the freely expressed wishes of the people should be the guiding factor with regard to the future status of the Territory.

186. The question of amending the present Constitution should be left to the discretion of the people through their elected representatives who may take up the matter with the administering Power.

187. The Mission considers that the participation of representatives of the Territory in the work of regional and international organizations is of great importance and urges the administering Power, in consultation with the territorial Government, to facilitate and encourage such participation in order to enable them to examine political, economic and social developments in other territories and countries similar to their own. Believing that such participation constitutes a positive step in the field of political education the Mission recommends that the administering Power continue to make every effort in that regard.

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188. The Mission found the territorial Government and the people of Anguilla to be intensely concerned with the Territory's economic problems and it expresses the hope that every encouragement will be given to Anguilla's development. In that connection, the Mission agrees with the need for external assistance on a bilateral and multilateral basis, in addition to the financial assistance provided by the administering Power. The Mission calls upon the organizations of the United Nations system, regional organizations and others to provide more assistance to small dependent Territories such as Anguilla.

189. In view of the foregoing, the Mission recommends that the administering Power, in co-operation with the territorial Government, continue to take steps to develop and diversify the economy of Anguilla, to generate further avenues for employment in the Territory and, in particular:

(a) To promote the tourist industry, including the improvement of airport facilities;

(b) To develop the fishing industry and adequate harbour facilities;

(c) To facilitate the establishment of light industries in the Territory;

(d) To encourage development of the agricultural sector;

(e) To improve the roads and communications, water and electrical systems.

190. The Mission observed that the public health facilities in the Territory were inadequate and recommends that the administering Power take steps to facilitate the construction of a new hospital and to improve health services throughout the Territory.

191. The Mission also recommends that efforts be made to expand the secondary, technical and vocational training facilities in the Territory. To that end, the administering Power should ensure that adequate funds are available on a continuous basis.

192. Bearing in mind the important role of the mass media and the communication system in the process of political education, the Mission recommends that such facilities be developed in the Territory. It also urges the administering Power to facilitate the dissemination of information on the United Nations and, in particular, the work of the Special Committee relating to the Territory. In that connection, the Mission requests the administering Power to circulate the present report in Anguilla.

193. Finally, it is to be noted that the views of the people of Anguilla were freely expressed and made known to the Mission. The Mission is confident that the practical approach of the Anguillan people and their leaders will enable them to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

Notes

1/ Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

2/ A copy of the Anguilla (Constitution) Order, 1982, has been placed in the files of the Secretariat and is available to members of the Special Committee for consultation.

3/ St. Maarten, which is part of the Netherlands Antilles and is administered by the Government of the Netherlands, shares an island with St. Martin, which is a dependency of Guadeloupe, a French Overseas Department.

4/ The currency of the Territory is the East Caribbean dollar (\$EC). One United States dollar is equivalent to \$EC 2.70.

ANNEX I

Itinerary and activities of the Mission

<u>Date</u>		<u>Activities</u>
Tuesday, 11 September 1984	morning	Departure from New York. Arrival in St. Maarten.
	afternoon	Connecting flight to Anguilla. Arrival in Anguilla. Issuance of press statement via radio.
Wednesday, 12 September 1984	morning	Meeting with the Governor and the Chief Minister. Meeting with the members of the Executive Council.
	afternoon	Meeting with the Speaker and the non- ministerial members of the House of Assembly. Meeting with leaders of the Opposition Party.
	evening	Reception given by the Governor.
Thursday, 13 September 1984	morning	Meeting with the members of the Chamber of Commerce. Meeting with members of the Hotel Owners' Association and staff associations (civil service, police, nurses and teachers). Meeting with the Executive Committee of the Anguilla National Alliance (ANA).
	afternoon	Meeting with the permanent secretaries of government departments. Meeting with members of the Public Service Commission.
Friday, 14 September 1984	morning	Visit to the secondary school. Visit to a primary school. Visit to the hospital. Farewell reception given by the Mission.

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<u>Date</u>		<u>Activities</u>
Saturday, 15 September 1984	morning	Public meeting. Round-up meeting with the Governor.
	afternoon	Round-up meeting with the Chief Minister. Tour of the island.
Sunday, 16 September 1984	morning	Departure from Anguilla.
Monday, 17 September 1984	morning	Arrival in London.
Tuesday, 18 September 1984	morning	Meeting with representatives of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Chief Anyaoku, Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs.
Wednesday, 19 September 1984		Meeting with Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and other government representatives.
Thursday, 20 September 1984	afternoon	Departure from London. Arrival in Geneva.
Friday, 21 September 1984		Mission meeting: preparation of the report.
Saturday, 22 September 1984		Mission meeting: preparation of the report.
Sunday, 23 September 1984		Departure from Geneva.

ANNEX II

Statement made by the Chairman of the Visiting Mission on  
11 September 1984

1. On behalf of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Anguilla, I would like to say how happy we are to be here among you. I would also like to express the gratitude of the Visiting Mission to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, and to the Government of Anguilla for the invitation extended to us.

2. The members of the Mission, of which I have the honour to be the Chairman, are: Mr. Kunwar Bahadur Srivastava of India, Mr. Deryck Murray of Trinidad and Tobago and I am Ammar Amari of Tunisia. We are all members of the Special Committee on decolonization and of its Sub-Committee on Small Territories, of which I am also the Chairman. We have all come from countries which went through the process of decolonization and, as such, we have an interest in the affairs of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in particular, the problems of small Territories.

3. The United Nations has been deeply involved, since its inception, in the welfare of dependent Territories and in the related question of decolonization. The inclusion of the question of decolonization in the Charter of the United Nations, as an important aspect of the purposes and functions of the United Nations, is a major landmark in helping to bring the administration of the peoples and Territories under colonial rule within the purview of the international community.

4. Under Article 73 of the Charter, Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of Territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, accepted certain obligations. They also recognized that the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories were paramount. They accepted, as a sacred trust, the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories. The administering Power undertook to ensure the inhabitants' political, social and educational advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuses. They undertook to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. They also undertook to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the Territories they administered. Those obligations of the administering Powers became the concern of the United Nations by virtue of their inclusion in the Charter.

5. In order to implement its role of ensuring the well-being of the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories as proclaimed in the Charter, the United Nations, through the General Assembly, adopted on 14 December 1960 the often-quoted resolution called the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)). This resolution has become one of the corner-stones of the work of the Special Committee, which was set up to examine the application of the Declaration and to make suggestions and recommendations on



the progress of the implementation of the Declaration. The resolution declares that all peoples have the right to determine freely their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. It further states that inadequacy of political, economic, social and educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

6. In order to discharge its functions, the Special Committee has adopted various procedures to collect information relevant to its role and that of the United Nations regarding the Territories coming under the Committee's consideration. The Visiting Mission is here to obtain first-hand information on the progress achieved by you through the assistance of the administering Power, in all fields of development, in order to help fulfil your legitimate aspirations. The Mission is being assisted by three staff members of the United Nations Secretariat under the supervision of Mr. Nour Eddine Driss, Principal Secretary of the Mission.

7. We are not here to tell you what to do or how to manage your affairs. Rather, we have to listen to you in order to enable the United Nations to get acquainted with your island and with your problems. We will do this by talking to the representatives of the administering Power, to the officials of the Government of Anguilla, the representatives of political parties and, above all, by talking to you, the people, who must ultimately be the ones to decide the direction which your country must take.

8. A programme for our visit has been agreed upon with the administering Power and with the Government of Anguilla. We have specifically asked that time be set aside to enable members of the public to come and see us as individuals. To that effect, the Mission will hold a public meeting which will take place on Friday afternoon, 14 September, at the Scouts and Guides Headquarters. There may be some who will find it difficult to speak in a public meeting; for that reason, time has been set aside to enable them to convey their views to us freely. We hope you will take advantage of the opportunity. Only then will we be able to convey a picture which will reflect accurately the views of the people. We are here to convey to the United Nations your hopes, your ambitions, your fears and, above all, your confidence that at the end of the day, what is to happen will represent your genuine hopes and aspirations.

9. For a visiting mission to be successful, the co-operation of the administering Power is not only necessary but paramount. The Special Committee is grateful for the co-operation and assistance made readily available to this Visiting Mission by Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom. We look forward to meeting with as many of you as possible. We hope you will share with us your views. Finally, let me reiterate once again that we are here to assist you, your administration and the administering Power, in arriving at decisions which will safeguard your interests.

ANNEX III

Memorandum presented to the Mission by the Anguilla National Alliance,  
entitled "The issue of independence for Anguilla"

1. Independence for us means total constitutional responsibility, the upsurge and crystalization of a national consciousness and the ability to protect the political integrity which flows from that national consciousness.
2. The high point in the protection of national political integrity is reflected in the ability to assume full responsibility for all areas of national life, be it the governmental machinery, the ordering of environmental well-being of the people as a whole, or the articulation and preservation of the peoples' cultural consciousness and traditions.
3. The rock-bed of a people's ability to assume that responsibility is its economic capacity to do so and the mattress of the bed is the community's societal experience. When the economic base and the societal experience are so firmly established, then a people can reach out and stand on the high point of independence.
4. Anguilla's capacity for independence must be viewed from the standpoint of:
  - (a) Its population and growth pattern over the past 30 years;
  - (b) Its unique history in the Caribbean;
  - (c) The totality of its experience in the functioning of governmental machinery;
  - (d) The level of its economic development;
  - (e) The relationship of its emigration pattern to the sustenance of its economic survival.

History

5. Anguilla is a settled British Territory and as such enjoys the kith and kinship of Great Britain as much as the Falkland Islands, albeit that Anguilla's population is totally of mixed blood, of African and European descent, and no matter the range in shades of complexion.
6. Our cultural orientation has been that peculiar blend of Africa and Europe characterized by its Caribbean setting, but our awareness of governmental patterns has always been linked with the United Kingdom. Ironically, in the present century, that awareness has been more nostalgic than real, an irony which may be explained by the low level of its economic significance and the size of its population.

7. Be that as it may, the fact is that until 1967, Anguilla's experience with governmental responsibility and the decision-making process consisted of sending a single elected member to the legislative body in St. Kitts and in being administered first, by a non-Anguillan doctor cum magistrate and later, by a non-Anguillan warden.
8. With the coming of the Associated States status for the then State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla in 1967, the innovative constitutional arrangement for an island council was aborted by the frustration of the peas-growing inhabitants of the island which was expressed in events from 30 May 1967, until 1974 when Anguillans were floundering, trying to regulate their social order, enjoying little sympathy from the outside world, without the benefit of recognized courts of law-enforcement agencies.
9. It is a credit to us as a people that our cohesiveness was kept intact; nevertheless, that period of our history demonstrated how young our governmental experience was.
10. Our history from 1975 to 1982 underscores the fragility which is often accompanied by youth.
11. In 1975, Her Majesty in Council granted to Anguilla an Associated States Constitution tailored to Anguilla's then requirements, bearing in mind its recent history.
12. At those meetings held in May 1975, Her Majesty's Government (with the Honourable Miss Joan Lester chairing the negotiations) agreed that Anguilla would be granted further constitutional advancement when the people of Anguilla so requested.
13. It is only since 1975 that Anguilla has formally taken part in its governmental exercise and decision-making process.
14. Our people's search for effective government, coupled with the residual deposits of charismatic leadership which are reflected in the patterns of governmental alliances and the frequency of elections are set out in the appendix below.
15. Anguilla's constitutional status is delimited by the applicability of royal instructions, the exercise of which has from time to time been seen as arbitrary and whimsical to Anguillans. We seek the experience of government by the elected administration as provided in our Constitution.

#### Caribbean survey

16. Anguilla's chance of success with independence must be looked at in the light of the other former British Caribbean Territories. Against Anguilla's nine years of local participation in government, we must consider the long years of experience enjoyed by the other Territories and their progressive steps towards independence. How have they fared?
17. National pride and consciousness as prerequisites for independence must be stacked against national preparedness and the capacity to carry the full

responsibility of that status. Anguillans have no less national pride and consciousness than any of the other Territories, but we lack the strong foundations.

18. Despite the long history of the other independent Territories in running their own affairs, each and every one of them has had disastrous problems in the post-independence periods of their history. Doubtless, a large part of their problems has sprung from the fact that they lacked the economic bases to fulfil the full expectations of their people from the status of independence.

19. We Anguillans set our sights from the standpoint of our empirical observations of what has happened elsewhere. We ask ourselves: "Given the fact that we have not as yet been allowed to govern our internal affairs free from royal instructions, are we in a better economic position than our Caribbean neighbours to avoid the pitfalls in which they have found themselves?"

#### Economic status

20. We face the matter squarely, Anguilla has not one single industry to provide employment for its people. The island is drought-ridden, the tourist industry is in its infancy; the fishing industry is not maximized; and the single factory shell built by Britain in 1979 to provide a base for light industries has never been occupied.

21. As a consequence, our only viable "industry" is the export of manpower to other parts of the region and the world at large. Our people go abroad to seek work and sustain those at home by remittances.

22. We lack water for agriculture. We lack water to support any form of industrial development. We lack the economic means to support a viable independent nation. We do not have the means to take our place in the world order of international organizations and international intercourse. We are not attracted by the tinsel of that order at the price of further economic depression for our people.

23. The high point of full responsibility for our own affairs is and will always be a lodge-stone for our people. We are sensible enough to know that that highpoint is not now.

24. The indomitable spirit of our people, shown over the centuries and in particular in the last 30 years, demonstrates that we can attain that status - given time for the gathering in of our societal experience and the economic order which can make independence possible.

25. Like any fledgling, we wish to exercise our legs for strength and have the social and economic nourishment for our bodies to become fully feathered so that we can open our wings and fly.

26. In that regard, the international organizations can help. "How" is a matter for discussion.

27. On the issue of independence, however, we have used our telescopic binoculars and we do not see it on the horizon as yet. But yet, the horizon is as far as these present circumstances are allowed to prevail; on the other hand, it could be as near as the construction of a truly viable economic and social order, including appropriately-phased administrative responsibility, can bring it.

Anquilla: population figures for 1960 and 1974 by sex and age group

Age group	Males		Females		Total	
	1960 <u>a/</u>	1974 <u>b/</u>	1960 <u>a/</u>	1974 <u>b/</u>	1960 <u>a/</u>	1974 <u>b/</u>
Under 1	107	86	117	78	224	164
1 - 4	393	339	408	368	801	707
5 - 9	437	485	469	488	906	973
10 - 14	394	493	331	490	725	983
15 - 19	237	374	291	343	528	717
20 - 24	134	217	179	245	313	462
25 - 29	96	125	157	144	253	269
30 - 34	91	97	128	123	219	220
35 - 39	89	99	137	130	226	229
40 - 44	93	108	146	135	239	243
45 - 49	111	99	187	117	298	216
50 - 54	106	91	145	117	251	208
55 - 59	75	114	124	127	199	241
60 - 64	47	122	96	170	143	292
65 - 69	42	102	90	119	132	221
70 - 74	60	59	87	85	147	144
75 and over	71	78	135	152	206	230
Total	2 583	3 088	3 227	3 431	5 810	6 519

a/ Census, 7 April 1960.

b/ Census, 17 April 1974.

Anguilla: population and housing census, 1984,  
enumeration control list, preliminary count

Enumeration area	Number enumerated		
	Households	Persons present	Outside Anguilla
01	59	207	10
02	59	203	16
03	73	261	11
04	60	242	4
05	60	209	5
06	62	255	2
07	58	249	10
08	80	254	13
09	84	301	1
10	72	228	5
11	48	151	4
12	44	159	2
13	55	192	6
14	45	191	2
15	60	184	8
16	41	156	3
17	57	183	16
18	69	253	2
19	76	274	15
20	48	208	3
21	64	238	14
22	60	229	14
23	64	275	10
24	58	234	7
25	51	190	7
26	64	193	11
27	72	273	17
28	71	309	18
29	96	392	15
30	47	158	2
Institutions			
1		106	1
2		31	-
3		29	-
	1 858	6 853	264
		166	
Total		7 019	264

APPENDIX

Anguilla: elections, 1976-1984

Year	Leader	Governmental composition	Names of party	Opposition
1976	Elections  James Ronald Webster Chief Minister	J. R. Webster E. Gumbs A. Lake Hodge J. Hodge C. Fleming I. Gumbs	People's Progressive Party (PPP)	Hubert Hughes
1978	Parliamentary Coup  Emile Gumbs Chief Minister	E. Gumbs I. Gumbs A. Lake Hodge J. Hodge C. Fleming H. Hughes	Anguilla National Alliance (ANA)	James R. Webster
1980	Elections  J. R. Webster Chief Minister	J. R. Webster C. Roberts H. Hughes A. Hughes W. Hodge N. Webster	Anguilla United Party (AUM)	Emile Gumbs (ANA)
1981	Elections  J. R. Webster Chief Minister	J. R. Webster O. Fleming N. Webster V. Banks M. Connor	Anguilla People's Party (APP)	Emile Gumbs John Hodge (ANA)
1984	Elections  E. Gumbs Chief Minister	E. Gumbs A. Lake Hodge H. Hughes E. Reid A. Hughes	ANA	O. Fleming N. Webster

ANNEX IV

Memorandum presented to the Mission by the Anguilla Democratic Party,  
entitled "Anguilla's status and aspirations"

1. We welcome this Mission from the United Nations Special Committee of 24 with a clear understanding that you have come at the request of the United Kingdom to report the views of all the people of Anguilla with regard to our present colonial situation and our aspirations for the future.

2. There may have been some confusion in our minds with regard to the motives of the United Kingdom in making this request of your Committee, but we can assure you that you have reasonably convinced us that this Mission is basically to report back to the United Nations whether or not our Territory is properly administered and whether or not our rights to self-determination are appropriately considered and upheld.

3. Before we briefly list our views concerning the present situation in Anguilla, we would like to make the following points relevant to the present Mission:

(a) The Anguilla Democratic Party expects that you will take into account the state of affairs in Anguilla outside of the context of the rest of the underdeveloped world;

(b) The Anguilla Democratic Party expects that you will provide adequate representation at the United Nations for our views on the need for assistance in specific areas of development over and beyond what we would expect from the mother country;

(c) The Anguilla Democratic Party expects that you will reinforce the need for urgency to the United Kingdom with regard to the basic infrastructural requirements for economic development, as a vehicle for a diminishing dependency;

(d) The Anguilla Democratic Party would be grateful if the Mission would give us an opportunity to review a copy of your draft report before eventual submission to the United Nations. If this cannot be accommodated, we would definitely expect a copy of the final report.

4. The foregoing was by way of stating our opinion of what would enhance the credibility of this Mission in the light of its acceptance as an unbiased investigation of the Anguilla situation. As was stated earlier, we are reasonably convinced that your terms of reference from the United Kingdom are not to force independence but we are fully aware that your presence will enhance the appearance of the United Kingdom as an administering nation which has nothing to hide. It is our hope (and we value your assurances), that your report will represent more than a contribution to the volumes of dust-laden books which crowd the shelves of the United Nations library.



### The Anguilla situation

5. The Anguilla Democratic Party is concerned about the situation of Anguilla in the light of an age in which the rights to self-determination in terms of small nations seeking independence, is encouraged rather than resisted by administering nations. Particularly, we are concerned that it is much easier for a Territory which has nothing to offer a mother country in terms of resources, to get independence, rather than one which is rich in natural resources or which has a strategic location in terms of the defence of that mother country. It is against this back-drop that we, as a Territory, look askance at the motives of your Mission to Anguilla since we feel that neither natural resources nor strategic location would recommend us for retention as a colony of the United Kingdom.

6. If the above concerns merit no serious reflection, then our party can state categorically that we have absolutely no intention to pursue the question of independence at this time; however, as a proud people, neither do we intend to be a Territory which is excessively burdensome to the United Kingdom. Our willingness to accept the challenge of managing our own recurrent expenditures is evidence of our seriousness to become economically viable so that despite the fact that political independence is not in question, certainly we are ambitious enough not to accept the welfarism of economic dependency.

7. What Anguilla wants therefore is an opportunity to acquire the basic infrastructure for economic take-off. If we can be considered a country without any significant mineral resources, it does not follow that we are a country without a hope. Our resources must, of necessity, be our land and our people. Our land is beautiful, especially because it terminates in some of the best beaches and clearest waters in the world. Our people are beautiful because they are friendly, proud and independent. Because our people are all landowners, this makes for a consolidation of land and people which is unique in comparison to other islands in our region.

8. The uniqueness of Anguilla in the foregoing context also dictates a unique form of economic development. The resources outlined above imply the raw material for one industry as a main focus: tourism. If tourism is a fragile industry then any development based on tourism must of necessity be fragile. However, in an age of increasing technological advance, the services for that technology are also becoming increasingly varied and specialized. The diversification of an economy without significant natural resources is a result much more probable, since Territories with small populations can take advantage of improved communication services to supply the needs of businesses several thousand miles away. Tourism is no longer the only service industry that is capable of providing intangible goods for foreign markets. With tourism as a base, Anguilla's economy can be diversified into a much wider range of service industries.

9. There are several infrastructural needs which are immediately required if Anguilla is to take advantage of the opportunity to provide for these service industries as well as for the basic social/human needs of its population. Rather than expand on these, we would prefer to list them as follows:

/...

- (a) Roads to all development sites both for local and foreign investors;
- (b) A proper water supply and distribution system;
- (c) An adequate supply and distribution of electricity;
- (d) Proper schools and other training facilities (and recreation facilities);
- (e) Proper health facilities, especially an adequate hospital;
- (f) Proper port, harbour, airport and communication system;
- (g) A source of investment capital for the expansion of local business;
- (h) An ongoing training programme to develop the skilled personnel to manage all levels of local industry.

10. It is not expected that all these needs can be provided for by the mother country alone. We feel that it is essential that the United Nations, as an agency which addresses itself to the plight of both under-developed self-governing as well as the non-self-governing countries, will make some recommendations regarding possible sources of assistance not known to Anguilla. We feel that this Mission has a responsibility over and beyond its specific terms of reference to suggest strategies and approaches either to the United Kingdom or directly to Anguilla with regard to how best to realize our goals and aspirations.

11. It may be useful at this juncture, however, to qualify the nature of development the Anguilla Democratic Party expects to usher forth after taking care of the basic infrastructural needs. With regard to tourism and other service industries, we feel that the main thrust of the thinking on our development policy should be to create a balance between the local labour force and the services required for the industries on the one hand as well as to ensure that the industry does not become dominated by foreign investment. Consequently, every effort must be made to ensure that the industry does not grow to the extent that mass importation of outside labour is required and that local participation in the ownership of industry is not overwhelmed by foreign involvement.

12. Having been the last Territory in the region to enter into service industries, Anguillans have witnessed the disinheritance of the offspring of nationals of other islands by disposing of their scarce land resources wholesale to expatriates from Europe, Canada and the United States. In addition, we have witnessed the destruction and pollution of the tranquil environment of neighbouring islands which had encouraged mass tourism and mass importation of foreign labour to bolster their straggling economy. There is no doubt that Anguilla needs a serious injection of capital for development; however, that capital injection must be monitored to ensure that the balance between local and foreign participation in our economic development is maintained.

Conclusion

13. What then are the views of our party with regard to the aspirations of the people of Anguilla. Again we will outline these in point form:

(a) Anguillans have no intentions or designs for any form of political independence at this time;

(b) Anguillans have aspirations for a country which has a measure of economic viability sufficient to diminish dependency on the United Kingdom for the majority of its needs;

(c) Anguillans would like to maintain a positive balance between foreign and local participation in their economy;

(d) Anguillans would like to take advantage of the assistance available from the United Nations and other donor countries and agencies to satisfy their very basic infrastructural needs;

(e) Anguillans would like to have available sources of capital to satisfy the requirements of local business;

(f) Anguillans do not want rapid and uncontrolled growth which does not keep pace with the capacity of the population to satisfy it;

(g) Anguillans would like to urge the United Kingdom to provide assistance for its infrastructural needs more rapidly and more abundantly. (In this context we would like to quote Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica when she said: "Aid given quickly is aid given twice.")

(h) Anguillans would like to remain a country in which the principles of democracy, justice and free enterprise are an indelible part of their constitutional rights;

(i) Anguillans define progress for Anguilla as progress for each individual Anguillian.

14. We would like to submit that it is as a reaction to these aspirations that the Anguilla Democratic Party has developed its platform. We hope that this Mission will be ambassadors for Anguilla in making these aspirations known to the many peoples of the United Nations.

(Signed) J. Ronald WEBSTER  
President  
Anguilla Democratic Party

(Signed) Victor F. BANKS  
Secretary-General  
Anguilla Democratic Party

## ANNEX V

