

Transforming **BERMUDA**



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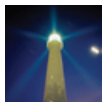
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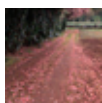
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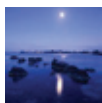
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Many people contributed and were consulted in the creation of this vision and in the interest of discretion they will remain unnamed. They know who they are and their input was invaluable and gratefully received.

EXECUTIVE **SUMMARY**

This is a holistic vision for the transformation of Bermuda into a modern Utopia. It makes the philosophical case for that transformation and proposes solutions for how to do so. However, this is not just an idealist's dream; this vision is attainable, notwithstanding some of the difficult choices Bermuda has to make. It makes far more sense for the whole electorate to make decisions rather than a very select few; then everyone can take responsibility for the island's future success or failure.

As an island of sixty thousand inhabitants, Bermuda is merely the size of a provincial town, albeit one whose isolation means it must offer services that towns of similar size do not. Bermuda faces the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, exacerbated by the fact that it has enjoyed decades of virtually unbroken prosperity.

There are over 200 civil servants per square mile and given the money and manpower thrown (and wasted) at administering this island it is remarkable that the streets aren't paved with gold and the inhabitants aren't the smartest people on Earth. These are desperate times and while on the surface things don't seem too bad, Bermuda has a situation looming fast that is similar or possibly worse than the Greece debt crisis. The debt per capita is four times that of Greece and Bermuda has an extremely limited ability to service the interest, let alone the increasing debt.

Politically Bermuda is a mess and the system needs to be reformed. The Westminster System's flaws are well known:

- Its adversarial nature causes unnecessary divisions, magnifies minor differences of opinion and reduces consensus;
- The winner takes all election system wastes talent, which is finite in Bermuda due to its small size; and
- The Cabinet system of government devolves power to a small group of people at the top of the hierarchy, who serve only at the pleasure of the Premier.

There is a breakdown in trust of politicians and this does not work in Bermuda's public interest or for the island's common good. Switzerland has an enviable system where big issues are decided by referendum and specifically they have a mechanism whereby a petition signed by 10% of the electorate automatically triggers a binding referendum.

The idea of an amendment to the Referendum Act of 2012 was proposed to the OBA in June of 2012, when the party was the Opposition. The benefits were seen by the then Opposition as a way to have more influence in the island's 'democratic' process. However, after the OBA won the election of 2012 the party seems to have lost interest and

*Let us train our minds
to desire what the
situation demands.*

SENECA

*The formula for Utopia
on earth remains
the same: to make
a necessity of virtue.*

CLIFTON FADIMAN

decided that sharing power more democratically was less appealing. Canvassing for this simple change has been unsuccessful so far and the only people who can do it are the very people charged with that responsibility – the elected leadership of the Country, who also have the most to lose from these reforms.

The OBA has treated the Voters' Bill of Rights with similar disdain. Before the 2012 election various members of the party gave every indication that they were in favour of these basic and simple and very sensible checks and balances. To date few of the suggestions made by the Voters Rights Association (VRA) have been implemented. Their suggestions in short are:

- The Right to vote
- The Right to fixed-term elections
- The Right for election candidates to debate
- The Right to recall elected parliamentarians
- The Right to a fair absentee ballot voting system
- The Right to confirm electronically tabulated votes through verifiable paper records
- The Right of independent observers and auditors during a parliamentary election
- The Right to Voter Referenda
- The Right to have proportional representation on boards, councils and committees of a governmental nature

In addition, the VRA has made constructive suggestions regarding the Ombudsman, the Auditor General, the Attorney General, the Human Rights Commission, Elected Parliamentarians and Civil Servants; and the island deserves to have these sensible suggestions considered, tweaked where necessary and then implemented.

Bermuda's public education system has been tinkered with unsuccessfully for the last 45 years, entirely to the students' detriment. In many ways this one failure has rippled through the whole of the island to bring it to its current state, which perpetuates the socio-economic and racial divide.

The island's environment has been put under an exceeding amount of stress over the last few decades and is in great need of concerted remedial conservation. Aggressive invasive species continue to threaten reforestation attempts. Many parts of the island look shabby, the roads are in poor condition and this reflects badly upon Bermuda as a country when seen by visitors to the island.

The present government, try as it may, isn't doing enough, or quickly enough, to arrest this alarming slide. One of the biggest issues is that the island has a semblance of democracy that is confused with real democracy and the sooner Bermuda becomes truly democratic the better. While there have been successes on this beautiful island, the collective administration by the three governing political parties in the last 50 years has left Bermuda in an untenable mess. The current political status quo has unfortunately demonstrated it is incapable of changing and evolving itself as the situation requires.

Rather than scrap the current system as some have proposed, it would be wise to create a big enough shift to modify the decision making process in favour of the electorate without creating political unrest. The issue is that the current system, coupled with economic problems, is causing widespread alienation, which will lead to extremism if it is not addressed.

The time for transformation is now: if not now, then certainly well before the next election. Reform is absolutely vital before Bermuda is potentially decoupled from the dollar and any semblance of depression now will seem like an economic boom in 10 years time. The critical component of this vision is the amendment to the Referendum Act.

If we can understand the problem, the answer will come out of it, because the answer is not separate from the problem.

KRISHNAMURTI

We must reform if we would conserve.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

AMENDMENT TO THE REFERENDUM ACT 2012



The Westminster System is often criticized as a parliamentary system of government that has not worked democratically enough for Bermuda; instead the island has been governed oligarchically (government by a small group of people). No political system is perfect but independent members of Parliament in Bermuda could work well as a central core group that holds the balance of power. Alongside this central core of independent MPs would be the ability for the electorate to trigger a binding referendum by way of a petition signed by a requisite number of voters. This would promote greater participatory democracy.

- Historically, fear and suspicion from supporters of Bermuda's opposing parties have not allowed the possibility of demonstrating how a central core of independent MPs can work. Each party has manipulated this 'us' or 'them' syndrome to their advantage but to Bermuda's detriment.
- The Voters' Bill of Rights is a great initial blueprint for Bermuda. Geoff Parker, Stuart Hayward and so many members of the Voter's Rights Association (VRA) have done incredible work with their proposal for a Voters' Bill of Rights. There is also a solution that will allow the Voters' Bill of Rights to become reality, which is . . .
- The Referendum Act of 2012 is a beautiful piece of legislation . . . almost. One amendment to the act will allow Bermuda to have a constitutional system of referenda that creates binding decisions made by the voting public.
- Consider Switzerland's constitutional system, that has a mechanism where a petition signed by 10% of the electorate automatically triggers a binding referendum -the ideal scenario for Bermuda.
- If instituted in Bermuda a petition signed by 4,000 voters will trigger a binding referendum. There will be some poorly conceived petitions, of course, as no system is perfect. But there will also be issues that are politically sensitive, risky or will be very difficult to tackle in Bermuda's current structure that could then be addressed, making it a very useful tool for everyone.
- Such a referendum protocol removes much impasse and frees the island's elected politicians to focus on the actual crafting of new or amended legislation to meet the will of the people.
- This is a much truer democracy, and not the oligarchic system that we have at present. It will keep all politicians more accountable to the electorate.
- It then becomes much less important which party is in power, and like the Swiss system the issues are debated and decided upon and it becomes much less about the personalities involved.

The salvation of mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all.

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

Power undirected by higher purpose spells calamity; and high purpose by itself is utterly useless if the power to put it into effect is lacking.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

- There are huge benefits to Bermuda with this one simple amendment to the Referendum Act 2012. Any politician that doesn't support the amendment is not a proponent for democracy, in reality. Historically democracy has been supplanted in Bermuda, and most other countries, by oligarchy and this is a solution that will lead to a much better system.
- There will be inevitable teething issues but the alternative is dire - an inefficient system with inadequate guardians, who are not solving our deep and desperate issues.
- This would in turn produce independent MPs, one hopes from their respective parishes, who will have their local area as a primary concern, but also have a good understanding of Bermuda's macro issues.
- Costs of implementing this system cannot be ignored. There are fairly simple and cost effective solutions such as quarterly referenda and each voter having an electronic account in the form of a Digital Certificate, as currently used in Switzerland.
- Tampering could still happen but would be checked and balanced as results in a small jurisdiction are much easier to verify.
- Any political party within Westminster system that has an absolute majority will not institute meaningful reforms that curbs its own power but merely introduces changes that are in the interests of that party.

There will be no end to the troubles of states, or indeed... of humanity itself, till philosophers become kings in this world, or till those we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers. PLATO

All that is required is for a well drafted Private Members' Bill to be introduced by two Members of Parliament for the Amendment to the Referendum Act 2012. The logistics and mechanics of this amendment require debate and consultation to arrive at the best solution for the process to work well. The proposed amendment would then be debated and voted upon in the upcoming Parliamentary Session; and all MPs must be free to vote without any party whip. Bermuda will then have the potential to become a model on how to institute good and gentle reform rather than have polar swings or worse, revolution, which destabilizes further and merely replaces inadequate rulers with . . . inadequate rulers.

There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world: and that is an idea whose time has come. VICTOR HUGO

Therefore, this simple amendment to the Referendum Act will bring a much stronger participatory democracy in the matters that are important to the citizens of Bermuda.

Transforming **Bermuda**

A VOTER'S **BILL OF RIGHTS** FOR BERMUDA



Stuart Hayward and Geoff Parker established the Voters' Rights Association in reaction to the political oligarchy that dominated, and still dominates, the political landscape in Bermuda. The association subsequently consulted with a wide variety of concerned voters to create this, their last letter to their members. The present government has had plenty of time since this letter was written to get Bermuda's political house in order but unfortunately, as is the nature of most political parties with absolute majority, most of the recommendations have not been implemented. These recommendations are wise, and more importantly necessary, to create a better environment for all of the inhabitants of Bermuda. The original VRA letter did not have the bold highlights and are used here to draw attention to the pertinent points.

"DECEMBER 27TH, 2012

**"TO: MEMBERS AND PAST MEMBERS OF THE VRA
REPORT/UPDATE**

"SEASONS GREETINGS ALL!! We trust that you all had a very Merry Christmas and are now looking to the New Year with great optimism now that we have a change in Government. We wish to congratulate the OBA in their successful win and hope that they will carry out their new responsibilities for the benefit of all Bermudians. We also appreciate the kind words offered Bermudians by the new Opposition Leader. We do not believe that the fallout from the election will be as polite and cordial as presented by the parties. We do not believe that the use of race will disappear overnight as there are a lot of frustrated supporters out there who have thrived on such division within our society. We would love to believe that the olive branches are genuine but only time will tell if both parties mean what they say.

"The VRA has been quiet over the last year or so publicly leaving the then Opposition to earn their wings and take the heat and political flak! With the PLP Government not interested in Voter's Rights issues it made little sense to swim against the stream as we had done in previous years. However, a few of us have been active in the background and did meet privately with Mr. Tony Bates, MVO, Head of the Caribbean & Bermuda Section, Overseas Territories Directorate of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office [FCO] and the Deputy Governor at the end of 2011. In that meeting we discussed the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Report and many ongoing concerns not taken up by government as recommended by the UK House of Commons, in particular the need for an Independent Electoral Commission.

*The politicians of
our time might be
characterized by
their vain attempts
to change the
world and by their
inability to change
themselves.* **GEORGE**

FALUDY

*Power does not
corrupt. Fear
corrupts, perhaps
the fear of loss of
power.* **JOHN STEINBECK**

“Having prepared a large amount of data for the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Report, much of which was used and noted in the final report, the VRA was encouraged to supply additional data for a submission to the FCO White Paper 2012 on Good Governance and other items. The VRA provided an eleven page submission ‘in confidence’ responding to the specific questions asked and also spelling out our concerns about the out-of-control spending that was creating a debt burden for this Island that seemed impossible to repay.

“When the White Paper was published we were heartened by much of it and felt even better during the summer as the Bermuda government of the day began an attempt to introduce some of the Paper’s suggestions to the existing overseas territories. We trust the new government will now review both the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Report and the 2012 FCO White Paper so that some or all of the recommendations will be considered and implemented in the depth required to effect good governance. Enacting diluted, unenforced or unenforceable legislation is no longer acceptable.

“We are aware of the huge tasks and challenges now before the new Government and we wish them well in their deliberations. We know that the creation of jobs is their number one priority and that finding solutions to Health Care Insurance and Energy costs will take time: time that most of our people do not have. With thousands out of work or working short hours the bills continue to escalate perhaps well beyond the cost of living index. Price gouging is not unusual under such conditions and should be monitored and condemned when found!

“The VRA’s greatest concern at the moment relates to the VOTERS’ BILL OF RIGHTS and some necessary changes to the Bermuda Constitution to make it work in the interest of all Bermudians, not predominantly the two political parties for which the current Constitution is written.

“We would like for our Island to become a model for a People’s Democracy. To that end we must now take the opportunity to pressure the new government to ensure that the Peoples Rights are fully protected so that in the future it will not matter which party is in power. The ‘checks and balances’ should be put firmly in place to ensure a balanced budget and a bottom up governing procedure by all the people as opposed to a half dozen cabinet members making all the decisions and being able to run up billions of dollars in debt. Both the UBP and PLP have proved beyond doubt that the Westminster political system is outdated and does not work well in a small country like Bermuda. We have a chance ‘to get it right’ now! The electorate voted “for change” but if we do not press the OBA Government immediately then we risk that they too will become settled and get accustomed to power, then absolute power and all the distractions and costs that go with that.

“The OBA platform has mentioned two of the topics set out in our Articles of the proposed “Voters’ Bill of Rights”: absentee balloting and fixed term elections. This will provide a good starting point for a more comprehensive Bill. The VRA Membership has taken a step further to approve and pursue the following proposed Rights:

- **The Right to Vote;** [Currently the party in power invites you to vote at their election...]
- **The Right to fixed-term elections;** [Currently the government has an unfair timing advantage...]
- **The Right for election candidates to be from the constituency they live in or an adjoining constituency;**

- **The Right for all election candidates in a constituency to participate in open debate;** [Debate is important to determine the facts and to see if the potential representative understands the constituents needs...not just the party's needs]
- **The Right of constituents to recall parliamentarians they have elected;** [Extremely important]
- **The Right to a fair absentee ballot voting system;** [All eligible Bermudians overseas should have the right to vote]
- **The Right to confirm electronically tabulated votes through verifiable paper records;**
- **The Right to independent court-appointed observers and auditors to monitor the parliamentary election and polling process;** [There is an urgent need for an Independent Electoral Commission placed in the Constitution as currently the potential exists for fraud]
- **The Right to Voter Referendums and Citizen Initiatives or similar, to determine public issues;** [Petitions to the previous government were systematically ignored even one with over 15,000 signatures. Government must listen and act when the people have spoken. Referendums are an appropriate vehicle to raise and determine public issues and citizen's initiatives: before this can happen the people will firstly need the Right to Vote.
- **The Right to have proportional representation on Government Boards, Parish Councils, Committees, Quangos and any other government appointive infrastructure.** [Currently such boards etc are filled mostly by Party members loyal to the government...following party line. We believe that in most instances a proper cross-section of Bermudians can work together and resolve problems in the publics' best interest.]

"Some other items that need addressing:

"Under... "The Right to know the truth."

"... The OMBUDSMAN'S powers need to be strengthened with the power of subpoena so that this extremely important office can investigate all levels of government to ferret out any problems or corruption. Current powers disallow such in depth investigations.

"... The AUDITOR GENERAL'S powers need to be strengthened to ensure full and proper access to all relevant financial and other supporting files and records, including those of Government suppliers. The Auditor General should also have the power of subpoena, and

"... The HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION should be a completely independent commission established in the Bermuda Constitution. The commission should be proactive in looking after the rights of Bermudians (not acting as a defense unit to protect the government). The current commission is more reactive than proactive – a proactive Commission would undoubtedly have introduced a proper Voters Bill of Rights by now.

"Under... "The Right of legal protection against bias."

"... The ATTORNEY GENERAL should not be affiliated to any political party and the post should be shielded against influence from the government of the day. To have the Attorney General sitting in the Cabinet is not acceptable. In a small community the legal system must be free from political influence. Justice must always be done but must also be seen to be done!

"Under... "The Right to expect full accountability."

"... ELECTED PARLIAMENTARIANS and the CIVIL SERVICE must be all held fully accountable for their decisions and actions particularly as regards the public funds financed by the taxpayer: such accountability to be assessed under the Laws of Bermuda and fines and/or jail terms to be meted out accordingly as would happen in the private sphere.

“These, and other items we will comment on in the future, are necessary to strengthen those ‘checks and balances’ vital to furthering democracy and accountability in Bermuda’s governance.

“We, as an organisation, need to reconfirm our commitment to the alterations and enhancements to existing legislation, the current out of date Constitution, and any new laws necessary to protect the New Bermuda 2013. There is work to be done and we hope that any ‘intimidation factor’ that existed before the election is now behind you and your friends.

“The VRA must now move forward in January 2013 to show that they are a positive force and a watchdog for the Rights of the people. We would like your confirmation of support by email at your earliest convenience. We are not looking for any membership payment at this time, just your confirmation of support. Do ask others to email us to add their name to the list or use the attached ‘membership form’ to send electronically or through the mail.

“We will be requesting a meeting with both parties to update their reactions to our Voters’ Rights proposals and in the interim we will also be meeting to update and add or delete wording or items that are not a priority. If we get the positive response required we would hope to have an open meeting in February/March.

“We are also looking for professional assistance to help write the proposed Voters’ Bill of Rights making it a true “Declaration of Voters’ Rights” by the people, for the people and of the people of Bermuda.

“The time is now to help Bermuda rebuild itself, its ideals and protection systems to make us all safe and free. By doing so we will significantly enhance our society and provide a more acceptable business climate than currently exists.”

“Await your confirmation of Membership in the VRA at your earliest convenience.

“Sincerely: Geoff Parker Sr & Stuart Hayward Co-Chairmen
“Voters’ Rights Association

“ *Note: Just before the 2012 UK White Paper was published we were approached by the FCO to allow the VRA name to be shown as a contributor, confirming to some degree, the VRA’s credibility. The VRA name was recorded.*”

*Error of opinion may
be tolerated where
reason is left free to
combat it.* **THOMAS JEFFERSON**

*Power never takes
a step back – only
in the face of more
power* **MALCOLM X**

There is a real and pressing need to revitalize the VRA and ensure that these fundamental rights are instituted in Bermuda. As in the case for the amendment to the Referendum Act it is vital that parliamentarians vote on these issues without any party whip and are truly accountable to their constituents.

BERMUDA'S EDUCATION POTENTIAL

This article was created for submission to the SAGE Commission in response to requests for input on how to make the Bermuda Government more efficient. The premise here is that with great universal education there will be long-term efficiencies with subsequent massive savings, in addition to increased revenue for the government. Bermuda needs a universally well-educated people, who then become better and stronger citizens, more able to participate fully in the cultural, social and economic affairs of the country. This is especially critical as the information technology and globalization revolution gathers pace; the countries that succeed in the rest of the 21st Century will be those with highly skilled workers. It is clear that resources devoted at the beginning of the island's children's lives will pay significant and material dividends in Bermuda's future.

In Bermuda's case, the economic and academic suffering started decades ago with public sector inefficiency that has created layers of unnecessary bureaucracy, with an inefficient workforce and a lack of co-ordination between departments. The island will continue to suffer until meaningful and effective education reform is instituted.

The Problem

Bermuda's public education system is a significant contributing factor to our current state of affairs – economically, socially, racially and environmentally. The island is failing to produce enough quality intellectual capital, which perpetuates the inequality prevalent in our society. In Bermuda the socio-economic divide is the education divide, which is consequently the racial divide. Of course this is a generalization and there are exceptions but in essence this is the reality.

Bermuda has a three tiered education system – the public education system, the local private education system, and the overseas private education system. There are also Bermudians who have gone to mediocre private schools abroad, who return quite rightly with aspirations but, unfortunately, with unrealistic expectations, due to the low quality education received. The worst effect of our present system is that our children are ill-equipped to compete in both the private and public sector; and therefore Bermuda is not equipped to compete on the world stage. This is a social cost we cannot afford.

The state of Bermuda's economy necessitates financial cuts, and as in so many other countries facing tough economic times with correspondingly tough decisions, it is often education that suffers - expedient but not wise and certainly disastrous for the long-term good of the country. Spending has not been reduced that much in education - and while the amount of money is not the real problem, the effective use of that money is.

*Civilization is a race
between education
and calamity.* H. G. WELLS

*All who have
meditated on the
art of mankind
have been
convinced that
the fate of empires
depends on the
education of youth.*

ARISTOTLE

The Solution

The most efficient long-term solution is to provide the ability for every student over the age of 13 to attend the best schools internationally. These schools are the feeders into the great universities. Each child has latent potential and talent and it is society's moral duty to maximize that potential. Privatizing the public education system is an effective way to provide Bermuda with quality intellectual capital.

There will be students who may not adapt well to life abroad and there must be local private educational capability to accommodate that eventuality; these schools are already present and do a good job. This is a long-term solution that will reduce the cost to society that our poor public education system has had, and will continue to have if too little is done.

It will be critical for Bermuda to concentrate on educating children well up to age 13, to develop each child to the best of his or her ability. This will allow Bermuda's youth to compete for highly sought after places in great schools abroad.

The Rationale

The best way to overcome economic, social and racial inequality is by equalizing opportunity for great education. Historically, individual examples are both here and internationally to justify this premise.

One only has to look at the staggering statistic of 89% of our penal population being black to see one of the results of Bermuda's education system and the associated social stigma. This is a tragedy and an immoral waste of latent talent.

Bermuda has three penal institutions, gangs, and the problems associated with urban ghettoism. We have insidious and continuing sub-cultures which are the result of the racial, social, economic and educational inequalities. The pressure this puts on Bermuda is enormous and the police service, prison service, social services, judiciary and financial assistance are all directly and inextricably linked to Bermuda's poor public education system. To think that these issues can be separated from the cost of Bermuda's public education system is naïve at best. So what better way, given the huge current cost to society than to spend what is necessary for the best education available internationally. This will have the biggest impact and subsequently save a significant percentage of the island's current budget.

While this is not a short-term solution it is the solution that has the best long-term benefits and savings to society. It will inevitably lead to a reduced prison population and subsequently have every child in Bermuda well educated – if he or she chooses to take advantage of the opportunity. Each child is different and has different dreams, goals and aspirations. This proposed system will allow much more flexibility to realize each child's potential.

By educating all of our children at a higher level, they will be able to work abroad to gain the experience and expertise demanded by a sophisticated society such as ours. At present this is not the case and leads to great, and understandable, resentment. We will have a top weighted system and not the present bottom weighted system; there will be more access for Bermudians to fill the higher posts in many companies operating here. Any subsequent shortfall in intellectual capital can then be acknowledged with grace and filled appropriately.

The Numbers

The financial figures are macro and are best estimates but they make a case for the potential savings to Bermuda in the long term. Figures have been taken from the 2013 budget and assumptions have been made on projected savings in 10-20 years time. There will be as many opinions as there are Bermudians but the point will be made and the future savings compelling!

There are no accurate statistics available to the general public pertaining to the value of the assets of the schools, however it would be fair to value them at between \$500m and \$1bn, the restructuring of which could be put towards Bermuda's national debt in the privatization of the public school system.

It is not easy for men to emerge from obscurity if their qualities are thwarted by narrow means at home.

JUVENAL

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT	CURRENT COST	PROJECTED COST
Ministry of Health	\$195m	\$100m
Dept. of Works & Engineering	\$36m	\$18m
Dept. of Parks	\$10m	\$5m
Bda. Housing Corp	\$8.2m	\$0m
Dept. of Corrections	\$28m	\$10m
Police	\$71m	\$20m
Dept. of Labour & Training	\$6m	\$0m
Dept. of Immigration	\$4.7m	\$0m
Dept. of Children and Family	\$18.2m	\$0m
Dept. of Financial Assistance	\$40m	\$0m
National Drug Control	\$4m	\$0m
Dept. of Public Prosecutions	\$3m	\$1m
Judiciary	\$9m	\$3m
Ministry of Legal Affairs	\$7.4m	\$3m
	\$440m	\$160m
Ministry of Education	\$146m	\$25m
Total	\$586m	\$185m

The Costs

STATISTICS:

AGE	BERMUDIAN	COST	
0-4	2,500	@ \$20k per child	\$50m
5-9	2,500	@ \$25k per child	\$62.5m
10-14	2,500	@ \$25k per child	\$62.5m
15-19	2,500	@ \$50k per student	\$125m
20-24	2,500	@ \$50k per student	\$125m
Total cost of providing every Bermudian with a Masters degree:			\$425m
Plus total projected cost of services as above			\$185m
Total			\$610m

Therefore the total cost to the Bermuda Government of providing all of the services to the general public within a generation is \$610m given the above Departments and Ministries. At present the total cost of those same departments is \$586m. The difference is easy to see; for an additional \$24m Bermuda can give its whole population a first class education, without means testing. The assumption is that within a generation there will be very much less difference in Bermudians' means and therefore there will be a gradual elimination of means testing.

There are currently many scholarships available. If there were a similar system of endowment funds the total cost of educating via the public purse would again be greatly reduced. In theory, the benevolence of a society that has educated its citizens to the highest standards would produce the desire, as well as the moral obligation, of the recipients to ensure that the continuing availability of that standard was provided – ideally, and probably, by the private sector.

Additionally, there is the potential for future philanthropists from the general population to create new scholarships to match those students wishing to pursue university degrees and beyond. Extrapolation of that requirement being fulfilled, the cost to the Government would be reduced to \$300m to provide every citizen with an undergraduate degree and thereby saving an additional \$125m.

While it is easy to play with these numbers forever, ultimately Bermuda is playing with its future if it doesn't provide its population with the best education possible. As one of the wealthiest countries per capita it is a travesty to have such a disparate education divide.

The Mechanics

At present this can only be brought about by the Legislature. The Referendum Act was passed in 2012 and an amendment to the Act to have a petition signed by 10% of the population to automatically trigger a binding referendum would allow the concept to be approved by the electorate. This system currently exists in Switzerland and works effectively for the public and acts as a great check and balance, holding politicians accountable.

Once approval is garnered, the way of privatizing the system is more complex but manageable and would happen as a transition over a period of 5-10 years with the aim to have Bermuda's education system entirely privatized.

The compensation for teachers in the public school system is necessary to fairly move privatization forward. Those teachers who do not manage to find a place in the private system will be absorbed into Bermuda's workforce because they are educated with Masters degrees and therefore have the ability to adapt to the marketplace. Sadly redundancies are inevitable and there are also teachers who are nearing retirement, and for this system to work great compassion has to be practiced in reforming the human aspect of Bermuda's education system.

There are many ways to enable the privatization to work. For example, a voucher system would be a good way to allow parents and their children to choose the best educational institution depending on each child's propensity and passion.

The Ministry of Education would still be needed to oversee the formative education, implementation, monitoring, and career counseling for any new system to succeed.

The Benefits

The benefits to Bermuda holistically are immeasurable at this stage and universally excellent education is the most important benefit. The gift of giving our future generations the ability to improve society and take our isolated island to levels we can only imagine is paramount. Each of you who read this will have your own vision of what is possible.

Social: Having an educated population will afford Bermuda the ability to adapt to our ever changing modern civilization. Major decisions proposed for the island's evolution will subsequently be easier and more intelligently made with great intellectual input to make sure that change is made with wisdom. Any opposition would inevitably be more rationale and has the potential to improve upon ideas put forward.

Public health: Education is the greatest indicator of a person's life. Most importantly, it is a key determinant of a person's health status. In Bermuda the living disparities are obvious on the socioeconomic level but we rarely take into consideration the possibility that education level can create a lot more than an economic disparity. With Bermuda struggling to keep up with growing health problems, such as diabetes, equal advanced education could help rectify some of the major health challenges the island faces. As it stands, the island is not properly equipped to deal with epidemics, and with greater education Bermuda's reaction could improve dramatically. Regardless of the island's ability to deal with a problem once it has already happened, education in regards to public health will help with prevention rather than the reaction to the treatment of an issue. In order for the population of Bermuda to maintain good health, improving education is absolutely vital and necessary.

Financial: Hundreds of millions will be saved in the future. Bermuda will make exponentially more hundreds of millions out of our homegrown intellectual capital. At present the International Business sector provides \$800 million to Bermuda's economy and an extrapolation can feasibly be made that this figure will double or triple when there is an intellectual capital base that has the ability to diversify and create additional pillars of the economy. By creating

“Bermuda Inc.”, business does not have to be here for Bermuda to benefit and prosper. A broader financial network can be established for Bermuda - by Bermudians - that is not solely dependent on the island’s 20 square mile landmass. Disposable income for the middle class, once education is taken care of by society, is greatly enhanced and this will lead to increased revenues for Government.

Infrastructure: Bermuda’s current stock of buildings and real estate can be repurposed as the island creates the future additional pillars of the economy; a multitude of potential businesses, research institutes, and with great forward planning these physical plants could be used to host international events. This equates to hundreds of millions of dollars of real estate that can be repurposed to suit the island’s future needs without having to encroach further on Bermuda’s limited and delicate environment.

Economic: The benefits of having a community well educated are extant elsewhere. Scandinavia is a great example where the benefits of a great education system have led to a much more equal society that truly respects and protects the universal rights of individuals no matter what race or gender – and Bermuda can emulate this model easily!

Efficiency: Efficiency in the Civil Service will occur naturally in the context of universally excellent education. It will inevitably become more efficient as the new generation comes into the workforce with better education, better ideas and the ability to see how to streamline Bermuda’s burgeoning bureaucracy. Attrition will also occur in the Civil Service through retirement and redundancies, without causing traumatic upheaval.

Conclusion

If Bermuda is going to emerge from its current condition it is imperative to educate ALL children to the highest standards. Many, if not most, of the island’s issues can then be solved efficiently with quality, integrity and in the island’s best interests and for the common good. Access to excellent education is the fundamental right that should be given to any citizen of a moral and ethical modern society. Bermuda is far too small, isolated and vulnerable not to provide this right.

To think that there won’t be problems and inequity would be naïve but unless great effort is made to reform Bermuda’s education system it will merely be placing additional dressings on a festering wound. So many issues and problems can be dealt with by the next generation, which will have been given the best tools to find opportunities that our generation has either missed or not had the capability to take advantage of.

Bermuda has an opportunity to create a model that will be emulated by countless societies. Bermudians will be envied, yet again, as innovators who show the way to truly egalitarian society by having the best universally educated population on Earth. Providing great education to Bermuda’s children is the core ingredient of an essential contract between the generations, whereby the investment by the current generation maintains and enhances the benefits and survival of future generations.

*A child miseducated is
a child lost.* JOHN F. KENNEDY

Transforming **Bermuda**

THE REFORESTATION OF BERMUDA

The Past: A Brief History

Since humans arrived in the early 1500s Bermuda has had an interesting ecological evolution. After the infamous shipwreck of 1609 Bermuda's ecology has been relentlessly challenged. Due to its size, small changes have had big impacts and the big changes have had some disastrous implications.

The island was essentially stripped of its cedar forests due to the success of the ship building industry by the early 1800s. With the advent of steam and the prevalence of iron ships, Bermuda's cedar forests rebounded, only to be devastated again by the blight of 1941-44 when roughly 95% of the cedar forest was wiped out.

A program in the early 1950s to reforest Bermuda with casuarinas was well intentioned but misguided; creating a situation where the casuarina's ability to colonize quickly prevented any other vegetation from growing through the acidic matt of dead pine needles. A significant percentage of the island was forested with casuarinas by giving children two saplings to plant each year.

Efforts in the 1980s chipped away at the problem but because there was no national commitment to reforest with endemics the progress was erratic. In the late 80s, after Hurricane Emily downed significant numbers of casuarinas a replanting program was started. This was particularly successful in the western parks.

Trees introduced in the Victorian era of botanical discovery have also contributed to the inequitable prevalence of invasive species. These botanical specimens, when devoid of endemic competition, have thrived in Bermuda's mild climate.

The Present

The current state of Bermuda's native and endemic vegetation is under continual attack from aggressive invasive plants, most notably Brazilian Pepper, Casuarina, Allspice, Indian Laurel and Chinese Fan palm.

In a sub-tropical isolated oceanic island invasive species thrive, especially when the endemic and native flora has been cleared due to disease and development. The threat these invasive plants pose to ongoing attempts to reforest Bermuda is substantial.

Bermuda already has a roadmap in the form of the Biodiversity Action Plan (BAP), created in the early 2000s to address the environmental state of affairs at the time and the actions needed to sustain a healthy and robust environment. Since then a Roadside Beautification Plan has been created that compliments BAP and adds an aesthetic dimension to

*Never does
nature say
one thing and
wisdom another.*

JUVENAL

*Men have an
extraordinarily
erroneous opinion
of their position
in nature; and
the error is
ineradicable.*

W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM

Bermuda's already charming roadsides with the strategic planting of 'feature' trees that while not endemic have proven resilient to hurricanes and storms and are not aggressive invasive species. The present challenge is to successfully implement both of these initiatives.

Great strides have been made in the successful propagation of endemic flora. The science of propagating cedars, palmettos, olivewoods, buttonwoods and most recently yellowwoods is now established. In addition to the woodland canopy species, the understory natives and endemics of Darrell's Fleabane, Snowberry, Turnera, Turkeyberry, Bermudiana, Bermuda Sedge have all been successfully propagated with certain areas used as seed banks for these species. It is now viable to look at the successful reforestation of Bermuda because the supply of natives and endemics has greatly increased.

When Hurricanes Fay and Gonzalo hit in October 2014 it became apparent, as in most of the direct hits to Bermuda, that the resulting amount of vegetation debris would be vastly reduced if the island were forested more broadly with natives and endemics.

America's Cup is coming and to have a visible presence demonstrating that reforestation is active and Bermuda's ecological disaster is being tackled will be great attention not only for the reforestation initiative but will draw attention to the same need in many other countries.

At present there is a disconnect with the co-ordination of the effort to reforest the island. The manpower used is inefficient but if co-ordinated and streamlined with clear goals and mutual support the island can be successfully reforested within 15 years. Had there been a concerted commitment after Hurricane Emily devastated the island in 1987 the island would be in the state envisioned.

The Future

A robust biologically diverse ecology, where all aggressive invasive species have been eradicated, is the ideal scenario. For many the vision is unattainable, however it is possible with a multi-pronged approach.

Bermuda will be a place to visit to see the successful reforestation and also provide a resource for other jurisdictions interested in eradicating invasive species. There is also great potential that with successful international marketing and public relations of these efforts support will increase both monetarily and in the form of manpower. Who wouldn't want to come and contribute to this Utopic dream?

The island will be able to complete the final cycle: after the relentless development from the 50s to the 00s the island can be planted out with native and endemics as there is only a precious little amount of land left to develop. The opportunity to create the mature plantings that will put the island in good shape in the future must be accelerated now.

The maintenance costs for landscaping will be reduced due to the slow growing nature of the endemics and the scale appropriate for Bermuda's weather conditions. The island will subsequently be easier to manage and maintain. We will finally have the right to advertise the island as an eco destination.

The Costs

The cost of having invasive vegetation is obvious when hurricanes hit. The island will be saving millions of dollars, if not tens of millions of dollars, each time one comes just in clean up costs. Between 80 to 90 percent of hurricane debris derives from introduced species.

When hurricanes fell casuarinas, the collateral damage is unacceptable. The trees rip earth and limestone with their unsuitable root bowls. As the replanting of natives and endemics increases the invasive species such as casuarina damage natives and endemics planted in the aftermath of Hurricane Emily.

The cost of clearing mature trees is significantly more than that of saplings. The destruction that mature trees wreck on the fragile limestone when uprooted by hurricanes is also unacceptable. A far better approach is to fell the trees, let the roots rot and plant natives and endemics alongside the felled trees.

Implementation Strategy

The start of such a bold initiative must start slowly and steadily to gain support and trust of the community. Some critical aspects will need to be secured in order to be successful.

Support from government ministries, which already contribute: Works and Engineering, Environment, Parks Department, Department of Conservation Services, Ministry of Community and Culture, Ministry of Education

Support from Environmental NGOs: National Trust, Keep Bermuda Beautiful, Save Open Spaces, the Audubon Society, Greenrock.

Co-ordination between all of the above is needed to maximize efficiency and minimize waste. Use of existing government services and co-ordination with environmental NGOs will have the effect of engaging the general public in the bold initiative. When the general public starts to see the positive results it will become easier to garner support.

Starting with a small team, the concept will be to make a difference one property at a time and proactively plant trees in those properties where there is need. This will be means tested to target areas that will benefit from endemic planting and revitalize neighbourhoods through beautification. An emphasis will be made on perimeter planting on small properties.

A modified 'broken windows' theory can be tested in Bermuda with the environment. Studies have shown that living in quality nature enhances physical and mental health, providing motivation and inspiration in art, music and literature. The biggest threat to Bermuda's delicate environmental balance is a lack of understanding.

ECO programs are being introduced in some of the island's schools and proving effective so far. What better way to remediate the disaster of the casuarina reforestation than by engaging our children to replant correctly? If adults prepare the land and children replant, then the island's children become the true custodians of Bermuda's environment, watching their plants and the environment mature.

Potential Manpower Resources

- Schools: using the 'adopt a spot' theory, each school can be encouraged to reclaim and manage an area in close proximity.
- Bermuda Regiment: After hurricanes the Bermuda Regiment is called out. Ongoing training in the event of a hurricane is an essential service to the island.
- Prisons: for the establishment of a nursery.
- Utilize the resource of those people receiving financial assistance..

Nature's laws affirm instead of prohibit. If you violate her laws you are your own prosecuting attorney, judge, jury and hangman. **LUTHER BURBANK**

Nature will not allow humanity to be deprived of the vision of Reality for very long.

MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI

TRANSFORMING BERMUDA'S ECONOMY

Bermuda's economy is fragile and narrow. Traditionally, the island has had only one or two pillars of its economy at any given time, and this is true today. The debt currently stands at \$2.4bn, with a \$3bn shortfall in Government pensions, is unsustainable. This equates to four times Greece's national debt per capita! Bermuda also has the highest Consumer Price Plus Rent index in the world and the highest Groceries Index in the world, both by a significant margin. For verification visit: <http://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/rankings-current.jsp>

For Bermuda to transform itself and its economy it is vital to grow the present two economic pillars (tourism and international business) to create and grow as many more pillars as is realistic. If Bermuda is going to invest heavily in its intellectual capital then foundations must be laid for the next generation to be absorbed well into the island's economy; giving our children the tools to create even more diverse economies, as the island adapts to the ever changing world.

The following are a few ideas that can augment existing infrastructure and encourage growth in various sectors of the economy, increase potential airlift, and further cement Bermuda's place as a leader in various fields.

Earth University

Earth University is an educational resource in Costa Rica that teaches students multi-faceted farming techniques over an intensive four-year program. Bermuda has two graduates from this program, who have already brought a wealth of knowledge to the island. Organic and permaculture techniques are important for the future health of our environment.

There is great potential that Bermuda could become a satellite teaching facility for Earth University. This will have the benefits of ensuring that our agriculture is well managed, providing a labour source by way of the students and ensuring the continued survival of an important industry that is waning.

There is a vital and strategic need start to address Bermuda's almost total reliance on food imports. 300 out of the 600 available acres are currently under cultivation. However this provides merely a fraction of the food necessary to feed Bermuda's population. In addition many more lots of land have potential to be productive.

Sustainable and organic farming is the ideal for Bermuda. Numerous studies have been conducted into the harmful effects that herbicides, pesticides, and exhaust pollution have on the island's environment so a transformation into organic agriculture is called for.

<http://www.earth.ac.cr>

*If you want
something you've
never had, you
must be willing
to do something
you've never done.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

*Change your
thoughts and you
change your world.*

NORMAN VINCENT PEALE

Often we are caught in a mental trap of seeing enormously successful people and thinking they are where they are because they have some special gift. Yet a closer look shows that the greatest gift that extraordinarily successful people have over the average person is their ability to get themselves to take action. **ANTHONY ROBBINS**

Landmark Worldwide

Often we are caught in a mental trap of seeing enormously successful people and thinking they are where they are because they have some special gift. Yet a closer look shows that the greatest gift that extraordinarily successful people have over the average person is their ability to get themselves to take action.

Anthony Robbins

There is currently a movement to transform Bermuda through the conduit of Landmark Worldwide. This is an ontological system that reaches all demographics. Ontology translates as “The Way of Being’ and is a synergy of philosophy and psychology. Regardless of which demographic an individual belongs to, some degree of personal transformation is achieved. The results are remarkable and this ontological system promises great short-term and long-term impacts upon the island.

Landmark teaches participants to empower and enable themselves in fulfilling those matters that are of interest or importance to them, and in the process leave them transformed with more power, freedom, self-expression and peace of mind. Participants are enlivened and lit up by their experience of themselves, by their experience of who they are and what they are now capable of

The basic structure of Landmark’s four-part core curriculum is:

The Landmark Forum: a three-and-a-half day immersive and experiential course, where each participant learns what patterns have been brought cumulatively into present day, often without realization, which then leads to powerful distinctions that allows the student to choose to transform behaviour – or not.

The Forum in Action: a series of evening seminars that expands upon the Landmark Forum, where students can make further distinctions and learn how to create new possibilities and relationships. Participants use the concepts introduced in the Forum by practicing the distinctions & technology over the 10-week course, thereby elevating their relationships & experiences in life and solidifying their new ways of being and acting.

The Advanced Course: another three-and-a-half day immersive and experiential course, which takes personal transformation to the next level, reveals blocks that prevent growth, and allows participants to be really accountable for their lives. They see how they can communicate with power & clarity and what effective results come from new actions they take.

The Self-Expression and Leadership Course: a four-month course of one evening a week and one weekend day each month. Participants create a community project and see it through during the course. The results are usually extraordinary and empowering.

Landmark's programs offer all participants the opportunity to redefine what is possible in their lives, with 94% of Forum graduates saying that Landmark made a profound and lasting difference in their lives. People who take advantage of Landmark's programs are left with a new found effectiveness in fulfilling those matters that are of interest to them – whether that be with themselves, their families, their relationships, their careers, their organizations, their communities or their society. For those people who have matters that they have been resigned about or putting up with, or have been ineffective in dealing with and accomplishing, there is a whole new freedom and power in dealing with those matters. Big promises are offered and delivered by participating in the Landmark Forum, including bold leadership of one's life and having a future of extraordinary accomplishment. Participants often experience greater courage & accountability, effective communication and fulfilling relationships. Power, freedom, integrity and authenticity are common experiences during and after Landmark.

So far 75 individuals from Bermuda have participated in the various courses that Landmark Worldwide offers. Their personal sacrifice to participate in these courses abroad has already had an impact to Bermuda without being recognized as such.

Landmark Worldwide requires around 160 graduates before it will consider establishing any local centre. When the tipping point is reached there is great potential that Bermuda will have a Landmark Worldwide Centre of its own. Some of the Bermudian graduates are working towards getting the Forum and other courses on the island.

Due to Bermuda's size the ripple effect will have a large impact on the community, which will then allow Bermuda to advertise its transformation and be an example to a global audience of what a transformed society looks like. This will potentially lead to participants from around the world taking courses at Bermuda's Landmark Worldwide Centre; therefore living in and experiencing a transformed society for themselves.

Behaviour co-varies as one phenomenon of the ontological shift along with the newly discovered/created perception that the transformed way of being (coming from nothing) provides any individual to take up cause in whatever the chosen matter may be. We are more than just our behaviour, thus, many phenomena transform integratively with behavior.

VAUGHN MOSHER

Additionally, Landmark Worldwide has been introduced in prisons abroad with astounding results; taking recidivism (repeat offending) from 97% to a mere 3%. Introducing Landmark programs in Bermuda's prisons will have a true impact by enabling better rehabilitation in the island's prison system.

For more information on Landmark Worldwide: <http://www.landmarkworldwide.com> and <http://www.landmarkworldwide.com/why-landmark/independent-research> for independent research regarding Landmark's programs.

Action is a great restorer and builder of confidence. Inaction is not only the result, but the cause of fear.

NORMAN VINCENT PEALE

Entrepreneurial Centres and Innovation Parks

Bermuda has the opportunity to establish IT parks and innovation centres for startups and established companies. If this vision for Bermuda is realized then the island will have great intellectual capital upon which to create this concept.

Bermuda has a beneficial tax structure and there would be legitimate reason for startups to incorporate in Bermuda. This can lead to increased revenues from personnel, incorporation fees, and potential business that succeed and become a part of Bermuda's future business culture. When the education reform comes into effect there will be a number of schools empty and this would be a great place to house the various IT parks and Innovation Centres.

Research Institutions

Bermuda already has exceptional scientific research resources in BIOS and BAMZ. Both of these research institutions have proven to be successful not only in their research and also their ability to attract outside interest from other countries and institutions. The environment in Bermuda is exceptional and has the ability to attract additional researchers from other countries. With the creation of new research institutions, the Bermudian people could capitalize on the beautiful environment they live in and the opportunities it could present - a 'Blue Economy'.

Think Tanks

Think tanks throughout the world are extremely successful in researching and analyzing different aspects of each individual country. Bermuda has the potential to host international think tanks and these organizations would be able to advocate for different policies that politicians do not have time or resources to gather information about. Think tanks have been proven to have a significant influence on the society at large, and Bermuda could benefit from both privately and publicly funded bodies working to improve policies and society in general. These organizations

What consumes your mind, controls your life. **JAMES ALLEN**

would be of great use providing employment opportunities, but also increasing Bermudians' awareness of what works and what doesn't.

Product Testing

Bermuda's corrosive environment is a perfect place to test the endurance of many products. There is potential for Bermuda and Bermudians to use these products for free or greatly reduced cost. This is another non-invasive way for Bermuda to expand its economic base and create a wider diversity of economic opportunities.

One example: Electric and hybrid cars are becoming more commonplace abroad. With Bermuda's mild climate and ample sunshine this would be a great way to enhance the island's energy resources and uses, work with leading companies in the field to create an energy infrastructure that will be robust and sustainable far into the future.

Sum Total

All of the aforementioned will lead to Bermuda having a reputation for being a leader in many fields. We also have the potential to demonstrate to the wider world that with wise leadership, and good governance, and great intellectual capital we can transform an unhealthy economy, society and environment into one of extraordinary QUALITY given limited resources.

The empires of the future are the empires of the mind. **WINSTON CHURCHILL**

In nature there are neither rewards nor punishments; there are only consequences.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Our patience will achieve more than our force. **EDMUND BURKE**

The great law of culture: let each become all that he [she] was created capable of being. **THOMAS CARLYLE**

CONCLUSION

There is no question that it is necessary to transform Bermuda into the best that it can be. Inevitably there will be some disagreement about the entirety of this document, and that is to be expected and welcomed. However, it is hoped that this document will encourage philosophical debate about the issues rather than the personalities and politics: in effect becoming a template for a robust long-term strategic plan. The aforementioned proposals in this document are very important because Bermudians need to be in control of their destiny

The people of Bermuda have been given the impression that they retain some power in what goes on in our country, but historically the politicians have held most, if not all, of the power. The reason that all of this is so important is that Bermudians deserve the ability to make decisions for themselves. That is much truer democracy and the Amendment to the Referendum Act is key in achieving this power.

The Amendment to the Referendum Act is what will give Bermuda's people the ability to agree or disagree with any given proposal and have a say in whether Bermuda will face those changes. The whole electorate will have the ability to make an active contribution to society on a regular basis.

The Voter's Bill of Rights has been proposed for a while, but unfortunately has not been implemented. The importance of the Voters' Bill of Rights can't be understated; with this bill of rights, no government can take away the ability for voters to hold their politicians accountable and have guaranteed powers over what happens on the island. Timing is of the essence and the electorate deserves to have fundamental rights that just make sense.

Although the proposed education reform may be controversial, there is no question that something robust needs to be done and so far efforts to change the education system for the better have not worked. Education is a key factor in determining a person's life, and with improved

*He that will not apply
new remedies must
expect new evils; for time
is the greatest innovator.*

FRANCIS BACON

*'What's new?' is an
interesting and
broadening question,
but one in which, if
pursued exclusively,
results only in an
endless parade of
trivia and fashion,
the silt of tomorrow.
I would like, instead,
to be concerned with
the question 'What
is best?', a question
which cuts deeply
rather than broadly, a
question whose answers
tend to move the silt
downstream.* ROBERT M. PIRSIG

education, Bermuda will reap the benefits indefinitely. Indeed Bermuda's future depends upon a universally well-educated population. The transition will take time and great effort, but Bermuda must implement these reforms because the costs to society are too high and the potential savings, in combination with increased revenues, are too significant to ignore.

Bermuda's environment is superficially beautiful. Continual neglect, much of it unintentional, has left the island extremely vulnerable. Concerted effort is required and is vital to restore Bermuda's delicate balance. There are more than enough obvious reasons as to why this neglect needs to be resolved. Some of the countless economic benefits: are significant savings in cleanup costs from major storms; a higher quality environment needing less maintenance; a boost to tourism due to the increased beauty of the island; the ability for Bermuda to advertise itself as a quality eco-destination.

More needs to be done to make sure the island becomes even more beautiful, more stable and more prosperous. The appeal of Bermuda is in its beauty, its people and its sophisticated infrastructure. Without any one of these elements being in great shape and continually improving, the island and its economy will continue to suffer. Bermudians are resourceful and now is the time to be extraordinarily creative by formulating additional pillars to the island's economy.

Bermuda's situation seems dire, but with these proposals significant changes can be instituted. This is something that can really be done within the community. In particular, one small amendment to an Act of Parliament can empower the Bermudian electorate to transform this beautiful island into that Utopia which has eluded civilization. Bermuda has a unique opportunity to transform itself and show the rest of the world how to do it.

*Today the pressure is on,
but we have a choice.
Mankind can lie down and
give up, or we can use all
of our productive skills and
knowledge to work for a
better future.* **EARL BUTZ**

Just by realizing that it is possible to do something extraordinary by transforming our special island nation also morally obliges us to pull together to make it happen. It is the wise thing to do and the choice is now ours.



We shall have to repent in this generation, not so much for the evil deeds of the wicked people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.