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## Party politics in Belize

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PARTY POLITICS

IN

BELIZE

A Thesis

Presented to the  
Department of Political Science  
and the  
Faculty of the Graduate College  
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by

Thomas E. Ryan

July, 1975

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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In Britain, parliamentary institutions have been developing for, let us say, seven hundred years. In many colonies an attempt is being made to cover the same ground in a generation.

The Hansard Society

## CHAPTER I

### THE SETTING, PROBLEM, SOURCES, AND PROCEDURE

#### Background Remarks

In Central America on the coast of the Caribbean Sea directly south of Mexico and east of Guatemala lies a novel little territory named Belize. Belize, formerly called British Honduras, is presently in the final transitional phase from colonial to independent status. Belize possesses internal self-government. Still, its people, and particularly its leaders, anxiously await the moment when complete independence finally arrives. This sentiment is graphically illustrated by the subtitle of the manifesto published by the country's major political party--The Manifesto For the Independent Belize: A Plan for the Belizean People To Clear the Last Hurdle In the Glorious Struggle to Create an Independent Belize in the Heart of The Caribbean Basin.<sup>1</sup> The climate of opinion appears to be not so much anti-British as it is pro-independence.

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<sup>1</sup>The People's United Party, The Manifesto For The Independent Belize: A Plan for the Belizean People To Clear the Last Hurdle In the Glorious Struggle to Create an Independent Belize in the Heart of The Caribbean Basin, 1974-1979 (Belize City, Belize: The Belize Times, 1974), p. 1.



In the three decades since the conclusion of World War II, a plethora of new national states has emerged, many of which gained recognition only in the wake of difficult and often turbulent revolutionary movements.<sup>2</sup> Belize has been fortunate in this regard, and can proudly boast a bloodless independence movement notable for steady advancement toward self-government rather than for revolutionary excess.

Although Belize is geographically located on the Central American mainland, culturally, socially and politically it appears to be more "Caribbean" than it does "Latin." Evidence of this affinity lies in the large black population, the Creole dialect spoken in Belize and found in various forms throughout the Caribbean, British customs, and a recent colonial relationship. Caribbean music and dancing are the favorites among these highly convivial people. Books and articles on the Caribbean generally contain chapters or material on Belize while publications on Latin America usually do not.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>In this context see Brian Crozier, The Rebels: A Study Of Post-War Insurrections (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960) and a sequel, The Morning After: A Study Of Independence (New York Oxford University Press, 1963); Richard H. Sanger, Insurgent Era: New Patterns of Political, Economic and Social Revolutions (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 1967); and for an excellent country-by-country account see G. Etzel Percy and Elvyn A. Stoneman, A Handbook Of New Nations (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968).

<sup>3</sup>See Sir Harold Mitchell, Caribbean Patterns: A Political and Economic Study of the Contemporary Caribbean (2nd ed.; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972), and Wendell Bell, "New States In the Caribbean: A Grounded Theoretical Account," Building States And Nations: Analysis by Region, Vol. II, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1973), pp. 177-208.

The contrast between Belize and her Latin neighbors has been described by one writer thus:

Life in British Honduras is essentially good, whereas life in Latin America is essentially bad (except in Costa Rica and Uruguay). British Honduras has good education, good health, no illiteracy and no corruption. Latin America however abounds in wicked dictators, much and diverse cruelty, poor social and health services, little education and, above all, the most appalling corruption. Life there does seem to be far worse in fact than in any fictional portrayal.<sup>4</sup>

While the dichotomous nature of this comparison between life in the two areas might be open to debate in some respects, there can be little doubt that in the political arena, the differences are truly fundamental. Belize has had a peaceful, if incomplete, independence movement; it elects its leaders by universal suffrage and abides by the results;<sup>5</sup> its government includes an independent judiciary, a neutral civil service and no army; and its maturing polity is marked by increasing popular interest in the political system, stability, and lack of violence.

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<sup>4</sup>Editorial Staff, "A Colony In Dispute," The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of British Commonwealth Affairs, 48 (March, 1958), p. 159.

<sup>5</sup>Ample proof of the recognized legitimacy of election returns was provided in the recent national elections by the acceptance of several very close decisions. In three divisions, a difference of only 17 votes emerged. One candidate lost by 12, another by four and the most popular young opposition politician in Belize today, Ken Tillett, missed by only a single tally. "National Elections 1974 Results," The Reporter Belize City, Belize, November 4, 1974, p. 4.

Latin American politics, on the other hand, is widely noted for militarism, corruption, repression, anarchy, terrorism and chaos of all types. The very titles of studies on the subject enunciate this message.<sup>6</sup> Violence is an elemental force in Latin politics and is claimed by many to be habitual if not inherent in the area's political processes.

Violence seems to be institutionalized in the organization, maintenance, and changing of governments in Latin America. The methodology of force is found in advanced and in backward countries, in Indian, mestizo, and white republics, in the large states and in the small ones, in urban and in rural areas, in agricultural and in industrial organizations, in the beginning of the twentieth century, in the present period, and in the early, middle, and late nineteenth century--in a word, wherever and whenever Hispanic culture is to be found in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>7</sup>

The great difference in the part played by violence in the political culture of Belize and Latin America generally is undoubtedly due in no small part to their differing colonial legacies. The Latin colonial heritage consisted of

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<sup>6</sup>Francisco Jose Moreno and Barbara Mitrani (eds.), Conflict And Violence In Latin American Politics (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971); Kalman H. Silvert, The Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America (New York: American University Field Staff, 1966); Elaine H. Burnell (ed.), One Spark from Holocaust: The Crisis in Latin America (New York: Interbook, Inc., 1972); Kenneth F. Johnson, "Causal Factors in Latin American Political Instability," Western Political Quarterly, 17 (September, 1964), pp. 432-446; H. Fox, "Guatemala: Battleground of the West," North American Review, 254 (Spring, 1969), pp. 3-5; Robert D. Putnam, "Toward Explaining Military Intervention in Latin American Politics," World Politics, 20 (October, 1967), pp. 83-110; Morris Morley and Betty Petros, "Chile: Terror for Capital's Sake," New Politics, 11 (Winter, 1974), pp. 36-50.

<sup>7</sup>William S. Stokes, "Violence as a Power Factor in Latin American Politics," Western Political Quarterly, 5 (September, 1952), p. 445.

authoritarianism, administrative corruption, political ineptness, and oligarchical monopoly of scarce political and economic resources.<sup>8</sup> Coleman agrees with this reasoning and cites Latin America's deprived background for much of its political woes. He observes that Latin America is different from other underdeveloped areas in that it achieved independence in the pre-democratic period and thereby missed the modern colonial experience. By contrast, the rest of the Third World secured independence as a result of the "progressive mobilization of the populations in nationalist movements of a populist character inspired by mid-twentieth century ideals of democracy, equality and the social welfare state."<sup>9</sup> Naturally, British spokesmen proclaim the benefits that the colonial tradition bequeathed to her dependencies.

Many years ago Britain undertook the gigantic task of helping the peoples of various under-developed territories to overcome the handicaps imposed on them by nature and environment; to learn the principles of democracy and honest administration; and to qualify themselves for independence. In many parts of the world the task has not yet been completed and it is inconceivable that we should abandon it half-done.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson, "Foundations of Latin American Politics," Political Forces In Latin America: Dimensions of the Quest for Stability, ed. Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson (2nd ed.; Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 6.

<sup>9</sup>James S. Coleman, "The Political Systems Of The Developing Areas," The Politics Of Developing Areas, ed. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 551.

<sup>10</sup>Sir Alan Burns, In Defense of Colonies (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957), p. 303. Sir Alan Burns is a former governor of British Honduras.

### Purpose of Study

The present undertaking, a political study of Belize, shall focus on its political party system. The party system was chosen for two reasons. First, the country's strongest party can be credited with leading the anti-colonial crusade and with guiding the country toward self-government. Second, a study of a new nation based upon party politics is warranted because the political party is frequently viewed to be that social organization most capable of mobilizing and organizing diverse groups into a modern polity.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed the stability of a modernizing country is thought to be based upon the strength of its political party system. Samuel Huntington suggests that, to be presumed stable, at least one strong political party is necessary.<sup>12</sup> Other prominent writers in the field advance the proposition that whenever the degree of complexity reaches a certain level, rule by political parties emerges.<sup>13</sup> The emphasis on party systems in the literature of development suggests the utility of a study of the Belizean party system as a means of increasing our knowledge of Belizean political development.

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<sup>11</sup>Manfred Halpern, "Political Parties," The Developing Nations: What Path To Modernization, ed. Frank Tachau (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1972), p. 118.

<sup>12</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 408.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, "The Origin And Development of Political Parties," Political Parties and Political Development, ed. Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 3.

The aim of this paper will be to describe and evaluate the party system of Belize within its historical context as an agency of political development. Toward this end it shall be necessary to outline the governmental structure, to classify the party system within the framework of a morphology of party systems, and to explore the history, ideology and present status of the respective parties. These various considerations will be preparatory to an analysis of the question of whether Belizean political parties are in the process of constructing a modern political system.

Finally, within any thorough treatment of Belizean politics one must examine two interrelated factors. The remaining British presence in Belizean affairs may be considered dependent upon the favorable resolution of the most dangerous threat to Belizean national survival, the Guatemalan aspiration to Belize. Indeed, the very existence of the country depends upon the settlement of her neighbor's centuries-old claim to her entire territory.

### Method

There are a number of basic techniques available to the social scientist for gathering data. Some sections of this study relied exclusively upon one method such as historical research or interviews; other sections were based upon information derived from a combination of methods. Impressionistic observation, documentary research, participant observation, and interviews with key informants were the several methods

employed in this study. These techniques are all commonly recognized research methods.<sup>14</sup>

Published information and research on Belize is sparse. Historical material is available in the National Collection and in the Archives of British Honduras in Belize City. However, Waddell, writing in 1961, states categorically, "No full-scale history of British Honduras exists."<sup>15</sup> Since then Narda Dobson has produced a quite readable, comprehensive historical survey of the colony.<sup>16</sup> Also a very thought-provoking, Marxist-oriented, economic history of Belize has recently come into print.<sup>17</sup> Although it is possible that more extensive records on the politics and leadership of Belize exist in England than in either the library in Belize or in the National Collection adjacent to it, the author is inclined to agree with Waddell's assessment regarding the literature in the field. "There is no adequate study of

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<sup>14</sup>Frederick W. Frey, "Cross-Cultural Survey Research in Political Science," The Methodology of Comparative Research, ed. Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 175.

<sup>15</sup>D. A. G. Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 143.

<sup>16</sup>Narda Dobson, A History of Belize (Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean, 1973).

<sup>17</sup>Norman Ashcraft, Colonialism and Underdevelopment: Processes of Political Economic Change in British Honduras (New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1973).

contemporary British Honduras in any of its aspects."<sup>18</sup> The paucity of published information on Belizean politics, especially party politics, dictates that much of the data needs to be generated by the investigation itself. Myron Weiner reports that this is a familiar situation. The social scientist is often concerned with generating data.<sup>19</sup> This project is based upon material derived from two locales, Omaha, Nebraska and Belize, Central America. Documentary research was performed at the University of Nebraska at Omaha's Gene Eppley Library. Further documentary research was done at the National Collection in Belize City. Field research was accomplished in Belize City and in the new capital city of Belmopan during two visits to Belize. An exploratory trip was made November 15 through November 24, 1974, which was followed by a longer excursion approximately one month later, December 27, 1974 until January 20, 1975. Data gathering in Belize included discussions with many present and former government and party officials on all levels both in their homes and at their offices.

Interviewing is a major source of data for political science research in developing areas.<sup>20</sup> The study heavily

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<sup>18</sup>Waddell, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>19</sup>Myron Weiner, "Political Interviewing," Studying Politics Abroad, ed. Robert E. Ward (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p. 103.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.



relies upon interviews of the unstructured type. The rationale for this methodology is:

. . . where the researcher is concerned with the structures of power or with the performance of political, governmental, or administrative bodies, the use of a uniform interview schedule may not be appropriate. The researcher may need to collect factual information in his interviews, and each person interviewed may be a source for different information. . . . Thus interviews may need to be so flexible, so open-ended, and so tailored to each person being interviewed that the methods generally associated with survey research may not be appropriate.<sup>21</sup>

An unstandardized interview schedule also offers the advantage of greater depth; indeed it is sometimes described as the qualitative interview.<sup>22</sup>

Political theory also played a part in the data gathering. For example, Samuel Huntington suggests a three-fold test for the strength of political parties.<sup>23</sup> The institutional strength of a political party may be gauged three ways: (1) on how well it is able to survive the founder or charismatic leader who first brings it to power; (2) by a measure of a party's depth and organizational complexity; (3) the extent to which political activists and power seekers try to

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-105.

<sup>22</sup>William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, "The Interview: A Data Collection Technique," The Conduct Of Political Inquiry, ed. Louis D. Hayes and Ronald D. Hedlund (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 117.

<sup>23</sup>Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. 409-411.

identify with the party rather than simply using it for their own ends. These considerations were foremost in mind during the data gathering period in Belize.

The format for the study calls for an analysis of the data against the background of current theory on party government. This has seemed feasible because the political structure of Belize is plainly western; it consists of a constitution providing for British style parliamentary party government with elements of American influence. A wealth of accessible theory exists on the evolution of political parties and on their role in the construction of modern polities. Even though Belize remains technically a colony and a founding member of the People's United Party occupies the top government post, it nevertheless should be possible to determine the applicability of conventional party theory for the Belizean setting.

## CHAPTER II

### THE GUATEMALAN IMPERATIVE

The most important political problem facing the country of Belize today is the geopolitical controversy between Great Britain and Guatemala concerning Belize. Ever since its birth as an independent nation in the early nineteenth century, Guatemala has claimed sovereignty over Belize. On March 11, 1945, Guatemala's Legislature adopted a new constitution in which the territory of Belize is listed as a department of Guatemala. The Legislature also announced that any measures taken to obtain the recovery of Belize are matters of national interest.<sup>1</sup> The most recent Guatemalan Constitution, that of 1965, reaffirms this claim.<sup>2</sup>

Guatemala has gone to great lengths to prevent the emergence and recognition of Belize as an independent nation. Her public statements toward this end are well known to those familiar with Latin American affairs. Guatemalan schemes to

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<sup>1</sup>L. M. Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute (Toronto: The Carswell Company, Limited, 1953), p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>"The Constitution Of The Republic Of Guatemala 1965," Title X, Transitory And Final Provisions, Article 1, in Constitutions Of The Countries Of The World, eds. Albert P. Blaustein and Gisbert H. Flanz (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1973).

block Belizean independence cover a wide range of activities. In March, 1955, Guatemala's ratification of the Inter-American Treaty Of Reciprocal Assistance carried with it the following reservation: "The present Treaty poses no impediment whatever to Guatemala's assertion of its rights over the Guatemalan territory of Belize by whatever means it considers most appropriate. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Her simultaneous ratification of the Charter Of The Organization Of American States registered the same reservation. <sup>4</sup> In addition Guatemala promoted a stipulation dealing with eligibility requirements for membership in the OAS designed to exclude the admission of Belize. <sup>5</sup> Guatemala has also courted Belizean politicians <sup>6</sup> and she even threatened to declare war on Great Britain. <sup>7</sup> Guatemala's

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<sup>3</sup>Charles G. Fenwick, The Organization of American States: The Inter-American Regional System (Washington, D.C.: Kaufmann Printing, Inc., 1963), pp. 579-581.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 570-571.

<sup>5</sup>Under the original OAS Charter, membership was open to all American States. However, in 1964, The Act of Washington established a procedure for admission requiring a two-thirds vote of the Council and excluding from membership any political entity whose territory is subject to litigation with an extracontinental country until the dispute is ended. This procedure was incorporated into Articles 6-8 of the Revised Charter Of The Organization of American States in 1967. M. Margaret Ball, The OAS In Transition (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1969), pp. 69-72.

<sup>6</sup>Narda Dobson, A History of Belize (Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean, 1973), pp. 238-239.

<sup>7</sup>Richard Beeston, "Guatemalan Call To Declare War On Britain," The Daily Telegraph [London], January 31, 1972, p. 4.

campaign to deny Belize her freedom has been successful.

After nine long years of internal self-government there remains one lingering deterrent preventing the Government and people of Belize from assuming their rightful status as an independent country in the Americas. That deterrent is the refusal of the Government of Guatemala to countenance this change and its oft-repeated threat to forcibly prevent it. The great disproportion in size between Belize and Guatemala, her enormous military superiority and her aggressive stance, make this threat a formidable obstacle preventing the exercise by the people of Belize of their right to self-determination.<sup>8</sup>

The British Governor in Belize recently corroborated this assessment of the political situation by declaring that "the British policy is identical with that of Premier Price."<sup>9</sup>

Inasmuch as the future of Belize as a sovereign state rests upon a resolution of the current impasse, an investigation into the historical antecedents of the quarrel is in order. Belize came into existence as a harbor for privateers who were later elevated to the more respectable occupation of commercial logwood-cutting. This transition was a function of the opening phase in the long and inconclusive history of diplomatic negotiations involving the fate of the small territory. These negotiations were carried forth on behalf of Belize by Great Britain, first with Spain and later

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<sup>8</sup>Office of the Premier, Belize: New Nation in Central America Demands The Right To Be Free (Belmopan, Belize: Government Printing Office, February, 1973).

<sup>9</sup>Personal interview with Governor Richard Posnett at the Governor's Mansion in Belize City on January 13, 1975.

with Guatemala. By the Treaties of Madrid of 1667 and 1670, Britain and Spain sought to terminate the emnity between themselves. England agreed to halt its depredations upon Spanish commerce and Spain acknowledged British title to Jamaica and other de facto possessions "in the West Indies, or in any part of America." Thereafter England outlawed buccaneering and as a result of her enforcement of this proscription, by 1682 the freebooters in Belize had been dispersed, turned pirate, or settled down to logwood-cutting.<sup>10</sup>

It was out of this apparently auspicious accord that the antagonism between the competing parties began to assume the contradictory and ambiguous nature that has characterized its entire history. In the aftermath of the Treaty of 1670, spokesmen for the loggers purported that their tenure in Belize had been confirmed, particularly since they were working on unoccupied land. This interpretation was rejected by Spain and the Belizean settlers and their ships came under armed attack.<sup>11</sup> British diplomatic appeals for recognition of the legal status of the loggers were answered by reiterations of the Spanish Crown's land and commercial rights. Spanish authorities cited the Papal Bull of 1493 whereby Pope Alexander VI had divided the New World between Portugal and Spain. England, and other nations such as Holland and

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<sup>10</sup>R. A. Humphreys, The Diplomatic History Of British Honduras, 1638-1901 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

France, countered this argument by denying the secular authority of the Pope and contending that the new international law, which laid down the rule that discovery and effective occupation were the requisites of sovereignty, was the source of authority for resolving territorial controversies among nations.<sup>12</sup> Yet in a policy of supreme inconsistency, Great Britain recognized Spanish sovereignty over Belize and continued to do so until the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> British diplomatic posture on this subject was thus at great variance with her belief in international law, her interpretation of the Treaty of 1670, and her economic and military support of the settlement.

In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England reaffirmed Spanish sovereignty over Belize and Spain granted the Baymen the right to engage in logging. The Treaty of Versailles of 1783, and a second convention signed in London three years later, delineated the boundaries of Belize, forbade fortifications, and decreed the limits of commercial pursuits permitted to the settlers.<sup>14</sup> When the Spaniards were routed at the battle of St. Georges Cay in 1798, all Spanish pretensions to the colony died. For well over a century, Spain

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<sup>12</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, pp. 4-5.

<sup>13</sup>Humphreys, The Diplomatic History Of British Honduras, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, pp. 6-9.

had endeavored through diplomacy and force of arms to dislodge the settlers from the Bay of Honduras. From the vantage point of Belize, Spain's repeated attacks after 1670 in violation of several treaties authorizing occupancy by the settlers were as paradoxical as England's policy toward the colony. The explanation for these inconsistencies is to be found, not in the Bay of Honduras, but in the world-wide struggle for empire being contested in Europe and the Americas by Britain, France and Spain.<sup>15</sup> Long after Spain had lost power in the New World, the British Government upheld the fiction that the convention of 1786 remained in force and that sovereign ownership of Belize still inhered in Spain. "The confusion which emanated from this highly anomalous situation was self-evident. But if Great Britain was reluctant to assert sovereignty, the United Provinces of Central America were not."<sup>16</sup>

The new state of Guatemala began to protest against border encroachments by the settlers in 1832. Throughout the 1830's and 1840's several attempts by Britain to negotiate a border treaty with Guatemala failed. The uncertain status of the colony endured and even increased as the settlers expanded their land holdings. England continued to recognize the

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<sup>15</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 63-78.

<sup>16</sup>Humphreys, The Diplomatic History Of British Honduras, pp. 25-26.



de jure sovereignty of Spain, but Spain now viewed the whole affair with indifference.<sup>17</sup>

Britain's lack of command at this time was not matched by Guatemala. The position of the new state may be summarized as follows: (1) All lands in question were indisputably acknowledged to have belonged to the Crown of Spain.<sup>18</sup> (2) The British settlement had existed in Belize under Spanish sovereignty by "gracious" usufructuary concession conferred by the Treaties of 1783 and 1786 and was circumscribed by specific boundaries.<sup>19</sup> (3) Upon achieving her independence, Guatemala inherited all the territory of Spain's former Captaincy General of Guatemala, including the area known as Belize. (4) With the transfer of sovereignty over Belize from Spain to Guatemala, the concessions lapsed and the surviving settlement constituted unlawful occupancy.<sup>20</sup> (5) Guatemala was receptive to negotiations with Britain regarding the status of the settlement, but objected to the

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<sup>17</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, pp. 14-19.

<sup>18</sup>José Luis Mendoza, Britain And Her Treaties On Belize (British Honduras): Guatemala Has The Right To Reinstate The Entire Territory of Belize, trans. Lilly De Jongh Osborn (Guatemala City: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 49.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

settlers' expansion beyond treaty borders and their claim to the territory as a result of the battle of St. George's Cay.<sup>21</sup>

In April 1859, Britain, prompted largely by her deteriorating relations with the United States, negotiated a treaty with Guatemala.<sup>22</sup> This pact, far from reducing the misunderstanding between the two countries, came to serve as a platform for their squabble over Belize. The portion of the treaty that produced the debate was Article Seven within which was mentioned the building of a road.

. . . the two High Contracting Parties, they mutually agree conjointly to use their best efforts by taking adequate means for establishing the easiest communication (either by means of a cart-road, or employing the rivers, or both united, according to the opinion of surveying engineers), between the fittest place on the Atlantic Coast, near the Settlement of Belize, and the capital of Guatemala; whereby the commerce of England on the one hand, and the material prosperity of the Republic on the other, cannot fail to be sensibly increased, at the same time that the limits of the two countries being now clearly defined, all further encroachments by either party on the territory of the other will be effectually checked and prevented in the future.<sup>23</sup>

Because the parties could not agree on an interpretation of Article Seven, the treaty was never ratified.

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>22</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 197-203. ". . . the Anglo-Guatemalan Treaty was drawn up as part of a general series of treaties to settle Britain's position in Central America to the satisfaction of the countries immediately concerned and--of more importance as far as Great Britain was concerned--to restore amicable relations with the United States." Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>23</sup>Humphreys, The Diplomatic History Of British Honduras, p. 79.

The Republic of Guatemala alleged that the treaty was one of territorial cession, that Article Seven was the compensatory clause, and that the price of Guatemala's dismemberment was a road financed by Great Britain.<sup>24</sup> Britain averred that the treaty was a boundary agreement only and emphatically denied that "Her Majesty's Government ever admitted the existence of any territorial rights on the part of Guatemala." She also repudiated the notion that the purpose of the 1859 Treaty should have been a cession for which Article Seven would represent the compensation.<sup>25</sup> In the 1880's, in keeping with Guatemala's modernization impetus, she raised the price of compensation from a road to a railroad.<sup>26</sup>

Over the years, Britain's attitude did soften somewhat, but not enough to produce a change in the stalemate. Humphreys postulates that while no cession of territory took place in 1859, it nonetheless must be admitted "that Article Seven was the inducement under which the Guatemalan Government signed the treaty, and that from the Guatemalan point of view, a compensation for the abandonment of a claim to territory."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Mendoza, Britain And Her Treaties On Belize (British Honduras): Guatemala Has The Right To Reinstate The Entire Territory of Belize, pp. 154-155.

<sup>25</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, p. 47.

<sup>26</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 231-234.

<sup>27</sup>Humphreys, The Diplomatic History Of British Honduras, p. 83.

He further observes that the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office conceded, in marked contrast to the attitude they had taken some 30 years before, that Britain was under at least some moral obligation to Guatemala.

This admission took the form of an endeavor by these ministries to obtain from Parliament a grant of funds for the building of a railroad through Guatemala to Belize. The Treasury, however, remained unconvinced and so the attempt to replace the cart-road from Guatemala City to the Atlantic by a railroad from Belize to Peten failed.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the last part of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth century, Britain and Guatemala communicated through diplomatic channels but were unable to agree upon the British Honduras issue. The boundary question remained unsettled. Attempts at arbitration involving both the President of the United States and the Court of International Justice failed, and the disagreement over the Treaty of 1859 was unresolved.<sup>29</sup> Then, on the eve of World War II, the dispute entered its modern phase when Guatemala announced that it was discontinuing its effort to reach an accord concerning the Treaty of 1859.

Guatemala's government has for over 80 years striven to compel His Majesty's Government to comply with its obligations, but having failed to do this, has declared that the convention has lapsed, and all and every one of its articles to be null and void--consequently,

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>29</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, pp. 48-67.

everything has returned to the former status quo prior to 30th of April 1859 and Great Britain again lacks title to her permanency in British Honduras. Guatemala therefore has a perfect right to reinstate to her territory the entire settlement held by force by Great Britain.<sup>30</sup>

It is here that the matter presently rests. The inflexible nature of the dilemma was recently described by a Belizean Government spokesman in a public speech.

The Government of Guatemala . . . has so far declined to enter into substantive negotiations with Britain while British troops in any number remain in Belize. The Government of Belize, fearful of Guatemala's intentions, and with good reason, cannot ask for the troops to be withdrawn until negotiations are resumed and a settlement is reached assuring Belize's territorial integrity. Thus, a stalemate has been reached which destroys Belize's hopes for the early attainment of full independence. In refusing to come to terms, Guatemala negates the rights of Belizeans to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and twentieth century morality; yet Belize lacks the means to oblige Guatemala to comply.<sup>31</sup>

Guatemala has steadfastly refused invitations by Great Britain to submit the matter to the International Court of Justice. Although she is a member of the United Nations, Guatemala has opposed Britain's proposals to have the question determined by the World Court.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Mendoza, Britain And Her Treaties On Belize (British Honduras): Guatemala Has The Right To Reinstate The Entire Territory of Belize, p. 295.

<sup>31</sup>Deputy Premier of Belize, C. L. B. Rogers, Address before the United Nations Fourth Committee, United Nations Headquarters, New York, November 29th, 1974 (Mimeographed by Government Printing Office, Belize), p. 6.

<sup>32</sup>D. A. G. Waddell, "Developments In The Belize Question, 1946-1960," The American Journal of International Law, 55 (April, 1961), p. 459.

Among observers and writers on the subject, there is a consensus that Guatemala's preoccupation with Belize is impelled by two factors. Latin Americans are widely known for their national pride; consequently it would be surprising if Guatemala casually relinquished a position of such long standing and one in which she has invested so much national honor. The other incentive lies no doubt in El Petén, Guatemala's largest department, an area which accounts for about one-third of her national territory and which is separated from the rest of the country by a mountain barrier. The natural outlet for El Petén is eastward to the Atlantic Ocean and that route is denied her by Belize's position along the seacoast. Although believed to be rich in resources, El Petén has remained sparsely populated and undeveloped.<sup>33</sup> To the leaders of a highly populated and underdeveloped country like Guatemala, any claim of reasonable or even marginal merit which held forth the prospect of some relief for her economic and social woes could prove very tempting.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>In this context, see Ibid., p. 463, and Dobson, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

<sup>34</sup>While it may be large compared to Belize, Guatemala is a small country; and it is crowded. Its five and a half million people live in a land area smaller than that of Tennessee. The population growth rate is 2.9 persons per year which means that in 25 years the population will be 12.5 million. The population density is also high, 80 persons per square mile, although El Petén, the largest department, has few people in it. The per capita income is low, 355 U.S. dollars. Contrast this with Belize's population of 120,000, density per square mile of ten, and per capita income of \$540. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Yearbook 1973 (New York: United Nations, 1974), pp. 69 and 541.

And what are the merits of Guatemala's claim? While many South and Central American writers maintain that the rights of Spain devolved automatically to successor states, no precedent can be adduced in international law which provides for an institution or a principle that has the effect of operating to justify the aforesaid devolution. "No institution called 'inheritance' is known in international law as a means of acquiring territory. . . ."35 It is a matter of undisputed historical fact that neither Spain nor Guatemala ever occupied Belize. Nor can Guatemala's pretensions be brought to life on the basis of any type of cultural irredentist spirit. Belize is now and has been since its origin, socially, culturally, politically, racially, linguistically and economically different from Guatemala. "Protected by the flag of empire, the colony remained so distinct and so separate from surrounding areas . . . that it retained an aspect of artificiality," and there "radiated from Belize a distinguishably original culture."36 Lastly, if the principle of self-determination has any significance in deciding where a state's sovereignty lies, then Guatemala's case is further weakened. There is no confusion about the sentiment of the people of Belize regarding integration into another nation.

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<sup>35</sup>Bloomfield, The British Honduras-Guatemala Dispute, pp. 87-88.

<sup>36</sup>Wayne M. Clegern, British Honduras: Colonial Dead End, 1859-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), p. 157.

They are adamantly opposed to it and any Belizean politician of any party who voiced the slightest sympathy for absorption would face political ruin. The Government's policy both encourages and reflects this attitude.

Let every citizen be assured that we do not intend to be integrated, reincorporated, assimilated or taken over by any country. The whole world knows that our political aims are self-government within the Commonwealth and independence. . . . we shall not surrender even one square centimetre of our national territory . . .<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion it can be deduced that while Guatemala continues to pursue a course of dubious legal merit, the fact that she persists in pressing it precludes Belize from consummating her aspirations for national independence. Hence, Belize is neither colony nor independent nation, but semi-sovereign. Paradoxically, in her autonomous status she is both captive and free.

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<sup>37</sup>Government Information Service, The PUP Government and the Guatemalan Claim: A Collection of Policy Statements by the PUP Government on the Unfounded Claim of the Republic of Guatemala to British Honduras (Belize City: Government Printing Department, 1966), p. 27.



## CHAPTER III

### POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONY

The story of British Honduras seems almost too romantic for the pages of sober history. The long drawn-out, perilous, often well-nigh desperate, but finally triumphant struggle of a few English buccaneers to establish a foothold on the Spanish Main, and of their descendants to win recognition of their tiny holding as a Colony of the British Empire, makes as colourful a record of adventure as any work of fiction, yet it is a record of historic fact.<sup>1</sup>

The original occupants of Belize were the Mayas. Their descendants remain in substantial numbers in Belize today living in ethnic communities of various sizes in the southern and western parts of the country.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest Europeans in Belize were British privateers attracted by the lucrative past-time of preying upon the rich Spanish trade between Europe and New Spain. These buccaneers acted with the connivance of their Government.

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen L. Caiger, British Honduras: Past And Present (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Narda Dobson, A History of Belize (Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean, 1973), p. 252. Lack of precision in census returns makes it difficult to state the exact population of the Maya in Belize. Dobson estimates their number to be about 10,000, ibid. The most recent population figure for Belize is 119,972. Government Information Office, Belize Population Census, 1970.

The first English colony in the area was on the island of Providence, off Nicaragua, in 1629. The origin of the settlement in the middle of the seventeenth century on the Belize River is shrouded in obscurity. Legend has it that the founder was one Captain Peter Wallace. The word Belize is a Spanish corruption of Wallace.<sup>3</sup> Despite considerable research by scholars, little is known of Captain Wallace. This is undoubtedly to his credit, "for the fame (or notoriety) of a buccaneer was usually in proportion to his crimes and cruelties rather than to his virtues."<sup>4</sup> The little colony was thus composed of ex-buccaneers and pioneers from the extensive logwood-cutting British communities previously established on Providence Island who immigrated to Belize after the capture of the island by the Spanish in 1641.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>D. A. G. Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 7. The settlement located on the Belize River and later moved to nearby Haulover Creek was known from the beginning as Belize. It is today Belize City. The larger area occupied and exploited by the colonists was called British Honduras to distinguish it from (Spanish) Honduras which lay to the south. The Bay of Honduras lies off the coasts of both countries. For the purpose of clarity, in this study the country shall be referred to as Belize, except for references to the period 1862-1973 when its official name as a British Colony was British Honduras. It nevertheless must be noted that historical figures and writers recognized no such precise temporal boundaries with regard to changes in nomenclature.

<sup>4</sup>Caiger, British Honduras: Past And Present, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 60. Logwood and later mahogany were the principal industries of the colony until the 1930's when a decline in forestry was caused by poor management and decreasing world demand for timber. Waddell, British Honduras, pp. 19-22.

The Public Meeting, whose rules were based upon the old privateers' code, was the initial political structure of the Baymen, as they came to be called. This form took shape at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It consisted of periodic meetings of all free settlers who simply came together to resolve immediate problems requiring common action. Justice was dispensed by seven magistrates, who were chosen from members of the Public Meeting. They functioned more as arbitrators than as judges because there was no written code of laws.<sup>6</sup> The Public Meeting continued as the government of the settlement until 1853.<sup>7</sup>

As time passed the composition of the population changed. Early in the eighteenth century Negro slaves had been brought from the West Indies to work in the forests; the slave population soon outnumbered the white.<sup>8</sup> The membership of the Public Meeting came to reflect the British reaction to this demographic reversal. Although all historical accounts of working conditions in Belize indicate a liberality and harmony between master and slave unknown elsewhere in the New World, the colored inhabitants of the colony

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<sup>6</sup>A. R. Gregg, British Honduras (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968), p. 20.

<sup>7</sup>Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

were gradually excluded from membership in the Public Meeting by eligibility qualifications designed to favor free white men of property.<sup>9</sup>

The Baymen had the belligerence of Spain to thank for their first formal legal structure, for it was their military savior turned lawgiver who introduced the colony to written law. Early in the seventeenth century, the Spaniards had become alarmed by the increasing number of logwood-cutters on "their" shores. Spain realized that as the British logwood settlements grew steadily in strength, the loggers would be more inclined to demand as a right what they had once sought as a concession. Concurrently, she also perceived that England was awakening to the commercial and perhaps the political importance of these far off outposts of empire.<sup>10</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Spanish mounted such a formidable armed offensive that the survival of the colony was threatened. The Governor of Jamaica came to the defense of the Baymen by sending Admiral William Burnaby in 1765 to make a demonstration off the beleaguered coast.

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<sup>9</sup>At first there were no qualifications for the Public Meeting. Rules were gradually introduced. In 1808 it was decided that in order to vote, one must be a British subject. If he were white, an individual had to have been a resident for one year and own 100 pounds worth of property. Free colored had to be residents for five years and own 200 pounds worth of property. The requirements were increased in 1820 to include a one year residency and 500 pounds in property for whites, and lifelong residency and 1000 pounds in property for free colored. Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 112-114.

<sup>10</sup>Caiger, British Honduras: Past And Present, pp. 65-67.

Sir William Burnaby, "a respectable modern version of the old-time buccaneers who had founded the settlement," was not satisfied with merely reinstating the logcutters. He believed that the Baymen should be bound together in a form more organized than had hitherto prevailed. After much research and consultation with knowledgeable residents, Burnaby proceeded to gather all the old case law and custom of buccaneering practice into a consolidated pact which came to be known as Burnaby's Code.<sup>11</sup> The code is summarized as follows:

1. No swearing and profane cursing, penalty half a crown fine.
2. No theft allowed.
3. No enticing seamen to abandon ship.
4. No hiring servants without a written agreement.
5. No kidnapping, i.e. press gang methods of recruiting, except for pilots for one trip only.
6. Taxes to be imposed by elected representatives.
7. Courts of Justice to be seven elected magistrates and 13 jurors, all housekeepers.
8. In emergency the authority of the commander of a warship in the Bay should take precedence.
9. Disputes as to interpretation to be submitted to an arbitration panel of seven.
10. Crimes not specified to be punished according to custom.
11. Future legislation to be approved by a majority vote of the inhabitants.
12. No distraint on property without a magistrate's order.<sup>12</sup>

Burnaby's Code was not an imposed charter; it was an organic outgrowth of the circumstances of the time and place, as is verified by a contemporary observer.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 79-82.

<sup>12</sup>Gregg, British Honduras, p. 21.

These yet retain the name of their founder, and Burnaby's laws have always been considered the fundamental or statute law of the settlement. An examination of this code will discover that it comprehends little more than what is adapted to society in its most contracted state, and which never could have been intended to embrace any thing connected with a more extensive population and growing increase in property. When these regulations were therefore enforced, it must be believed, it was merely intended, that some direction or restraint should be imposed on a description of persons, who had before lived without respect to rules of any kind; and whose irregularities, murders, piracies, and atrocities of every sort, were continually perpetrated with a barbarous indifference, because punishment was unknown. Such unquestionably was the state of society in this remote quarter, and one that, no doubt, powerfully activated the British commander to adopt such measures as he very properly considered might be productive of results more consonant to justice and humanity.<sup>13</sup>

If there was a defect in Burnaby's Code it was that there was no provision for an executive. Returning to the settlement after only a short absence, Burnaby found the inhabitants once more in a state of "anarchy and confusion." Seeing this, Burnaby recommended the appointment of a paid superintendent to act as enforcer of the code.<sup>14</sup> However this was not done until 1786 when the British Government acquiesced to the settlers' petition for an official Superintendent. So by this time there existed in the nascent polity

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<sup>13</sup>Captain George Henderson, An Account Of The British Settlement Of Honduras: Being A Brief View Of Its Commercial And Agricultural Resources, Soil, Climate, Natural History, Etc. (London: C. And R. Baldwin, 1809), pp. 62-63.

<sup>14</sup>Caiger, British Honduras: Past And Present, p. 83.

a constitutional government complete with law courts, a legislature and a governor (in all but name).<sup>15</sup>

In 1798, the Baymen, supported by a small British force from Jamaica, repulsed a last Spanish thrust in the Battle of St. George's Caye; the colony was not to be bothered again by Spain.<sup>16</sup> This triumph, coupled with the progressive development of self-government throughout the previous 150 years, seemed to inaugurate the nineteenth century for the Baymen in a very auspicious manner. At this point, however, the trend toward democratic government suffered a reversal. The nineteenth century was for Belize a time of struggle for incorporation into the British Empire. "The victory of 1798 was only the beginning of a still more exacting struggle on the part of the settlers to make it worth England's while to gather them into the Imperial fold."<sup>17</sup>

In the nineteenth century, life in Belize became far more complex than it had been in the previous century. English manufactured articles were in great demand in Central America and Belize grew swiftly as a commercial center. Large wholesale firms sprang up to carry this entrepot trade. Also a class of shopkeepers emerged with the development of sugar cane, rum and other agricultural industries. The rise

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>16</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 78-79.

<sup>17</sup>Caiger, British Honduras: Past And Present, p. 121.

of these new social forces had a disruptive effect upon the simple form of government which existed at the time. The Public Meeting began to split into factions. Lumbermen, wholesalers, and retailers soon were at odds with each other.<sup>18</sup>

In response to the advancing paralysis of the Public Meeting, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century there was a gradual decline of self-government in Belize. In the 1830's, with the consent of the citizens, the Superintendent curtailed the rights of the Public Meeting by usurping the power to choose the magistrates.<sup>19</sup> He also created an Executive Council consisting of himself and his appointed officials. In 1840 Burnaby's Code was replaced by English Common Law. A year later a Colonial Secretary was appointed by London to assist the Superintendent. By 1849, the Executive Council had become a nominated body of ex-officio positions composed of the Superintendent, the Colonial Secretary, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General and the Public Treasurer. The Public Meeting was abolished in 1853 and a

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<sup>18</sup> Gregg, British Honduras, pp. 23-24.

<sup>19</sup> The magistrates were the colony's earliest public officials. They served in an all-purpose capacity. Their original role was juridical. Later, Burnaby's Code assigned to them a legislative function and after 1786, they shared executive responsibility with the Superintendent. When the executive duties were assumed by the Executive Council, the old administrative institution of the Magistracy disappeared. Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 105-112.



new constitution provided for a Legislative Assembly of 18 elected and three nominated members. In 1862, the British Government bowed to the persuasion of the settlers and declared the settlement a British Colony. The Superintendent was replaced by a Lieutenant-Governor who was subordinate to the Governor of Jamaica. The last vestiges of representative democracy were abandoned in British Honduras in 1871 when the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and the status of territory was changed to that of a Crown Colony.<sup>20</sup>

The reasons for this voluntary repudiation of home rule are obscure; but it was thought at the time that the various factions in the Assembly preferred any master rather than each other. It seems that the elected members formed themselves into cliques, representing various interests, such as the land-owners, the commercial houses and the shopkeepers. These interests had their henchmen in the Assembly, and as this or that interest was numerically strongest at any given time, so surely did the Assembly adjust the burden of taxation. In short, there was a state of perpetual discord. Eventually the various interests decided that, rather than be at the mercy of each other, they would prefer to hand over the ultimate responsibility to the British Government. 'What's best administered is best.' In retrospect, it can be seen that the change may also have been due to the realization by vested interests that an elected Assembly would soon be taken over by popular representatives, whereas Crown Colony government might ensure that they, the well-to-do, would be nominated to serve on the Legislative Council, and thus they could protect their own interests.<sup>21</sup>

It was not long, however, before the Queen's new subjects were clamoring for representative government. In 1890

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<sup>20</sup>Gregg, British Honduras, pp. 25-26

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

and in 1921, movements demanding elected officials were rebuffed by London.<sup>22</sup> Dobson declares that, "The loss of representative rights was soon bitterly regretted and the constitutional history of Belize since 1871 can best be interpreted as a prolonged struggle to win back some of those rights."<sup>23</sup>

British Honduras after 1871 was administered under a system of Crown Colony rule which had evolved early in the nineteenth century. The Governor<sup>24</sup> was head of state in the territory and answerable only to London. He was advised by a council, nominated by him, who passed on but could not veto his legislative and executive decisions.<sup>25</sup> At the time of British Honduras' inclusion into the Imperial system, that system had advanced to the stage at which the Governor's Council was divided into executive and legislative sections. The majority of the members were ex-officio and they were all nominated by the Governor.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, p. 290.

<sup>24</sup>British Honduras had Lieutenant-Governors from 1862 to 1884. In 1884, the Lieutenant-Governor was promoted to Governor and the supervisory function which Jamaica had hitherto exercised was abolished and direct control for the colony was assumed by the Colonial Office in London, Dobson, ibid., p. 300.

<sup>25</sup>Christopher Fyfe, "The Legacy of Colonialism-Old Colony, New State," Phylon, 25 (Fall, 1964), pp. 247-250.

<sup>26</sup>Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey, p. 54.

The early part of the twentieth century was a quiet period in Belizean politics. This somnolence was consistent with the slow advancement toward self-government being made in the Empire at large.<sup>27</sup> In 1932, in return for a much needed reconstruction loan in the aftermath of a terrible hurricane, the colonists conceded reserve powers to the Governor, enabling him to pass legislation without the consent of the Legislative Council. Having gained this leverage, the Colonial Government allowed a limited restoration of elected representation. From 1936 to 1954 a minority of the members on the Legislative Council were elected on a qualified franchise.<sup>28</sup> In 1954 an important advance toward self-government was made when British Honduras received a new constitution which provided for universal suffrage. Thereafter a majority of members of the newly constituted Legislative Assembly were popularly elected and the Governor was excluded from membership. The Executive Council was also reorganized so as to include only members from the Assembly. The following year brought another increment in responsible government when a quasi-ministerial arrangement was introduced. The elected members of the Executive Council were named to head

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<sup>27</sup>B. B. Schaffer, "The Concept Of Preparation: Some Questions about the Transfer of System of Government," World Politics, 18 (October, 1965), p. 52.

<sup>28</sup>Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey, p. 55.

Natural Resources, Public Utilities and Social Services.<sup>29</sup>

The 1954 Constitution was revised in 1960 to (1) allow for a larger Legislative Assembly with a higher proportion of elected members and (2) to extend the system of ministerial government from three to six posts.<sup>30</sup> In the next chapter the political history of the colony shall be completed by describing its present government.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-56.

<sup>30</sup> Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 312-313.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

Belize is governed by a constitution which took effect on January 1, 1964.<sup>1</sup> Incremental revisions to a series of constitutions in Belize have resulted in full, internal self-government under the current constitution. The most significant changes incorporated into the latest constitution are the relegation of the Governor to a purely formal role in internal affairs, the establishment of an entirely elected representative legislative body, and the expansion of the former partial ministerial arrangement into a complete cabinet system, headed by a premier, which replaces the Executive Council.<sup>2</sup>

Belize has a cabinet government modeled after that of Great Britain. Such an emulation is a natural consequence of Belize's British colonial heritage.<sup>3</sup> A basic feature of this

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<sup>1</sup>Narda Dobson, A History of Belize (Trinidad and Jamaica, 1973), p. 313.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 312-316.

<sup>3</sup>Sir Ivor Jennings, The Approach To Self-government (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 157-158.

type of parliamentary government is the fusion of the executive and legislative structures, the former being an extension of the latter.<sup>4</sup> The parliament in Belize is called the National Assembly. It consists of two houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The House is composed of eighteen persons elected from single member constituencies, called divisions. The divisions are designed to reflect population distribution. There are six representatives from Belize City where approximately one-third of the population resides and twelve from the countryside. The representative from each division is the candidate who received at least a plurality in the preceding general election. General elections must be held once every five years but may take place more often if the Premier advises the Governor to dissolve the National Assembly and call a new election. All citizens twenty-one years of age and older may vote.<sup>5</sup>

The House of Representatives is presided over by a Speaker chosen by its members. It is not necessary that the Speaker be a member himself but if he is not, he is not entitled to vote. There is also a Deputy Speaker who must be

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<sup>4</sup>Harold Zink, Modern Governments (Princeton: P. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958), pp. 24-25.

<sup>5</sup>Government Information Service, How We Are Governed (Belize City: Government Printer, No date given), pp. 3-4.

a member and who presides in the absence of the Speaker. No minister may be Speaker or Deputy Speaker.<sup>6</sup>

The primary concerns of the House of Representatives are legislation and finance. Legislative bills are proposed by the House, the Senate, or by the Cabinet. These bills are reviewed by the House which has the power to approve or veto all bills. In the realm of finances, the Government annually presents a budget which the House accepts or rejects. Although the House does not determine allocation amounts, it does supervise expenditure through the oversight functions of its Finance Committee. In addition to legislation and finance, the House may consider other administrative or political issues of topical interest.<sup>7</sup>

The Senate is composed of eight members appointed by the Governor. Five are chosen on the advice of the Premier, two on the advice of the Opposition Leader, and one is of the Governor's own choosing. The Senate is presided over by a President who may be selected either from amongst its own number or from outside the Senate. If the President is not a member, he does not vote. There is also a Vice-President, who must be a member of the Senate, and he presides in the President's absence. No minister can be President or Vice-

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<sup>6</sup>British Honduras, Legislative Assembly, British Honduras Constitution Ordinance, 1963, December 23, 1963 (Belize City: Government Printing Office), Section 8, and Section 20, Subsection 3.

<sup>7</sup>How We Are Governed, p. 5.

President of the Senate.<sup>8</sup> The Senate ratifies but cannot veto bills passed by the House. Bills not approved by the Senate can be delayed there for up to six months, except for financial bills which cannot be delayed for longer than one month. The Senate can also initiate non-fiscal bills.<sup>9</sup>

Following its British model, the executive function in Belize is carried out by a Chief of State, and by a Cabinet which is called "The Government." The role of Chief of State is vested in a Royal Governor who is appointed by and responsible to the Queen of England.<sup>10</sup> The areas in which the Governor retains authority are foreign relations, defense, internal security, and the terms and conditions of service of public officers.<sup>11</sup> He is assisted in the discharge of these responsibilities by an External Affairs Committee and a Security Council. These consultative bodies include the Premier and other Government ministers and officials. The Governor is not bound by the advice of these groups.<sup>12</sup> In internal matters, the Governor occupies a ceremonial post.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>British Honduras Constitution Ordinance, 1963, Sections 9, 14 and Section 20, Subsection 3.

<sup>9</sup>How We Are Governed, pp. 6-7.

<sup>10</sup>Elizabeth The Second, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, The British Honduras Letters Patent 1964, Our Court of St. James this 2nd day of January in the twelfth year of our Reign (Belize City: British Honduras Gazette, January 6, 1964), Section 3, Subsection 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., Section 15.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Sections 24 and 25.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Section 16.



The management of the country's internal affairs is conducted by a Cabinet composed of the Premier and his ministers. Each minister is a political superintendent over one or more ministries. A ministry can be defined as a department of national business carried forth by a staff of professional, civil service employees. The regulations for the appointment of civil servants are outlined by the Public Service Commission and no government minister has any influence over their appointment.<sup>14</sup> The number of ministries may vary. Currently there are nine. They are officially listed as follows:

Ministry of Finance

Ministry of Home Affairs and Health

Ministry of Agriculture and Lands

Ministry of Works

Ministry of Social Services, Labor and Local Government

Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives, and  
Consumer Protection

Ministry of Education and Housing

Ministry of Power and Communications

The Attorney General's Ministry and Ministry of  
Economic Planning.<sup>15</sup>

The Cabinet is the principal planning agency in the country. Its personnel formulate the policy and program of

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<sup>14</sup>How We Are Governed, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup>Government Information Service, "Assignment Of Responsibility For Departments And Subjects To The Ministers Of Government And Parliamentary Secretaries" (Belmopan, Belize: Mimeographed, No date given), pp. 2-5.

the government. After each general election, the political party which gained a majority of seats in the House of Representatives picks from among its victorious candidates a member who becomes Premier. He then chooses his ministers from the National Assembly. "The Government then is really the Cabinet . . ." and it is compulsory that it act as a unit. There may be policy debate in closed, secret Cabinet sessions, but each and every member is expected to defend the Government's program both in the National Assembly and in public. Ministers who disagree with Government policies are expected to keep silent in public or to resign.<sup>16</sup>

The most important instrument of a country's policy is the national budget. In parliamentary systems the Government has the exclusive right to draw up and present the budget.<sup>17</sup> The government of Belize is no exception to this rule. The country's finances are the preserve of The Government.

The expenditures to be made during the year are based on Government policy which is party policy, which the voters have approved by giving the party a majority at the last general election and the House leaves the expert officials of the departments and the Ministry of Finance to decide how much it will cost to carry out the policies. The House will debate the merits of the policies, but does not try to discuss the cost.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>How We Are Governed, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup>Inter-Parliamentary Union, Parliaments: A Comparative Study on the Structure and Functioning of Representative Institutions in Forty-One Countries (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), pp. 207-208.

<sup>18</sup>How We Are Governed, p. 5.

If the Premier loses support for his program, he may either call new elections or resign. In the event that a vote of "no confidence" is registered in the House of Representatives for the Premier and his program, another member from the majority party may be selected to form a government, thus making a dissolution of the Assembly unnecessary. However, if there is no clear choice for a successor, then the Legislature is disbanded and new elections are held.<sup>19</sup>

Belize's government, therefore, is party government. In its operation Belize follows the example of Great Britain where cabinet government rests upon a parliamentary majority determined by two party competition.<sup>20</sup> The government in Belize conforms to the general pattern for two party competition as outlined by Professor Austin Ranney.

There must exist two (and preferably only two) unified, disciplined political parties. Each has its conception of what the people want and a program of various measures designed to satisfy those wants. In a pre-election campaign each attempts to convince a majority of the people that its program will best do what the people want done. . . . The party which secures a majority of the offices of government in the election then takes over the entire power of the government and the entire responsibility for what the government does. It then proceeds to put its program into effect. . . . At the next election the people decide whether, on the whole, they approve of the general direction that the party has been taking--in short whether

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<sup>19</sup>British Honduras Constitution Ordinance, 1963, Sections 33 and 34.

<sup>20</sup>Maurice Duverger, Party Politics and Pressure Groups: A Comparative Introduction, trans. David Wagoner (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972), p. 78.

their wants are being satisfied. If the answer is yes, they return that party to power; if the answer is no, they replace it with the opposition party.<sup>21</sup>

Belizeans pride themselves on having an independent judiciary. Judges there are forbidden to participate in partisan politics. The court system is divided into the Supreme Court in Belize City and the lower courts, called Magistrate's Courts, located in each district capital.<sup>22</sup> The Magistrates are appointed for terms of good behavior by the Governor in consultation with the Judicial and Legal Service Commission. The members of this commission are the Chief Justice, a Puisne Judge, and the Chairman of the Public Service Commission. The Magistrates try minor offenses and refer the more serious cases to the Supreme Court. Supreme Court Judges are appointed by the Governor for a term of good behavior, but must retire at age 62. There is a Chief Justice and one associate or Puisne Judge. They hear all matters, civil or criminal. Trials are by jury. Appeal from the Supreme Court is to the Court of Appeal in Belize and after that to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Austin Ranney, The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government: Its Origins and Present State (Urbana: The University Of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>22</sup>How We Are Governed, p. 11; The country of Belize is divided into six districts: Belize, Stann Creek, Toledo, Cayo, Orange Walk and Corozal.

<sup>23</sup>Personal interview with Mr. Benjamin Knight, Deputy Registrar, in the Supreme Court Building in Belize City on November 20, 1974.

When Belize makes its transition to complete independence, certain constitutional revisions will be enacted. The functions presently assumed by the Governor shall be transferred to the Cabinet. Machinery for amending the constitution will be established. A decision will be made regarding the disposition of the ceremonial role of the office of Chief of State which the Governor now holds.<sup>24</sup> Also it appears that Belizeans will receive a Bill of Rights, for both political parties are publicly committed to the adoption of citizen guarantees.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Personal interview with Senator Said Musa in his office in Belize City on January 16, 1975.

<sup>25</sup>See appendix for The Peoples' United Party, The Manifesto For The Independent Belize 1974-1979 (Belize: The Belize Times, 1974), p. 2, and The United Democratic Party's Manifesto for Belize 1974-1979 (Belize City: Reporter Press, 1974), p. 12.

## CHAPTER V

### THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Ever since the early nineteenth century when property qualifications were established as eligibility requirements for the Public Meeting, the politics of British Honduras had been controlled by a small, wealthy minority. This trend continued until 1954 when Britain's Colonial Office granted universal suffrage to the British Honduran people.<sup>1</sup>

As has been noted in Chapter II, in the mid-1930's limited elected representation had been restored in the Legislative Council. However, the narrow opportunity for

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<sup>1</sup>The economic structure of the colony was in large part responsible for this pattern of limited political participation. Throughout its history, the economy of British Honduras was based almost exclusively upon the export of forest products. Although the logging industry was in a state of decline in the period before World War II, the nature of the export economy remained essentially the same in the post-war years as commercial agricultural products such as citrus fruit and sugar were developed to relieve the trade deficit created by the decline of forestry. For its food, the colony has always relied on imports. The economy, until very recently, was based on the export of a few commodities whose production and preparation was monopolized by an oligarchy of landowners and businessmen. Norman Ashcraft, Colonialism and Underdevelopment: Processes of Political Economic Change in British Honduras (Columbia University: Teachers College Press, 1973), chapters III and IV.

participation in electoral politics generated little interest among the people.<sup>2</sup>

Before 1950, there were no political parties in British Honduras. Throughout its empire, the British Crown branded political parties as fractious and as contrary to the "government." "In later days, as colonies became politically conscious, governors would appeal to elected members to eschew party politics and work together with him and his officials for the common good."<sup>3</sup>

The first national organization in British Honduras was a trade union which emerged in the early 1940's. The General Workers Union, composed of shipwrights, longshoremen, stevedores, loggers, and Public Works and Agricultural Department employees came into being under the leadership of Nicholas Pollard. Pollard was part of a group of young dissidents who were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in British Honduras and demanded change. He achieved quick success in organizing workers across the country to protest the deplorable working conditions of the time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>A. Shoman, "The Birth of the Nationalist Movement in Belize, 1950-1954," Journal of Belizean Affairs, 1 (December, 1973), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Fyfe, "The Legacy of Colonialism-Old Colony, New State," Phylon, 25 (Fall, 1964), p. 251.

<sup>4</sup>Nicholas Anthony Pollard Sr., Secrets Of A New Nation (unpublished autobiographical manuscript, Belize City, unfinished, begun May 1971), p. 30.

In 1950 several elements combined to produce a popular movement which resulted in the creation of a political party. First, there was in British Honduras a feeling of widespread unrest caused by several factors: poor living and working conditions, low wages, high unemployment, expensive imported food, and lack of meaningful political input.<sup>5</sup> Second, since 1945 a pet project of Great Britain had been the promotion of a possible federation composed of British Caribbean territories. She was prompting British Honduras officials to push for the colony's inclusion into such an association.<sup>6</sup> The West Indian Federation was becoming a topic of much debate in Belize City and people were almost unanimous in their hostility to it.<sup>7</sup> Their fears were expressed by a rising young politician named George Price.

What Federation spells is this: that cheap labor can be imported into this country to enforce and implement a system of exploiting us poor people, a system to further degrade our already low standard of living.<sup>8</sup>

Third, on December 31, 1949, the Governor employed his "reserve power" to pass, over the disapproval of the Legisla-

<sup>5</sup>Philip Goldson, "The Formation Of The PUP In 1950," (Belize City: mimeographed, no date given), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>D. A. G. Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 118.

<sup>7</sup>Shoman, "The Birth of the Nationalist Movement in Belize, 1950-1954," p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Excerpt from a speech by George Price quoted in The Belize Billboard, January 18, 1950, p. 1.



tive Council, a measure calling for the devaluation of the British Honduras dollar. This enactment spelled further hardship on the people as it meant a substantial increase in the cost of living when the colony was already impoverished.<sup>9</sup> These grievances were publicized by The Belize Billboard, an anti-colonial, pro-labor newspaper begun in 1946. It was edited by two nationalist leaders, Philip Goldson and Leigh Richardson, and was an important instrument in raising the political consciousness of the people.<sup>10</sup>

Led by George Price, John Smith and Leigh Richardson a People's Committee was formed to protest the devaluation which the colonial authorities had promised would not be put into effect in British Honduras.<sup>11</sup> The activities of the People's Committee began to arouse Belizeans from their former political lethargy. Before, political meetings were considered large if a few hundred gathered; now thousands of citizens were attending meetings and demonstrations sponsored by the People's Committee.<sup>12</sup> These rallies were anti-colonial

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<sup>9</sup>Goldson, "The Formation Of The PUP In 1950," p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Personal interview with Philip Goldson at his office in Belize City on January 7, 1975.

<sup>11</sup>Government Information Office, untitled history of Belizean political parties (Belmopan, Belize: mimeographed, 1974), p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>Shoman, "The Birth of the Nationalist Movement in Belize, 1950-1954," p. 10.

in spirit and generally dealt with devaluation, federation, and the poverty and political subjugation of the colony.<sup>13</sup>

In September 1950, the leaders of the People's Committee dissolved the group and formed the People's United Party (PUP). The PUP continued the anti-colonial crusade begun by the People's Committee. It was aided in this endeavor by the General Workers Union (GWU). The PUP-GWU partnership was very close.<sup>14</sup> This attachment can be seen by noting the overlapping leadership. In 1950, the President of the GWU was Nicholas Pollard, John Smith was Vice-President and George Price and Philip Goldson were on the Executive Council. For the PUP, John Smith was Party Leader, Leigh Richardson was Deputy Leader, George Price was Secretary, and Philip Goldson was Assistant Secretary.<sup>15</sup> The official press organ of the party was The Belize Billboard, which, it may be recalled, was operated by Philip Goldson and Leigh Richardson.

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<sup>13</sup>The Belize Billboard, March 9, 1950, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>The association between the first political party in British Honduras and its first labor union is typical of the connection between these groups in the early stage of political development in the new nations of the Third World. "There is no doubt that during the infancy of the union movement in these countries the area of protest encompassed the entire spectrum of political and social needs and was never limited to specific industry-oriented problems. Thus the union partnership with political parties was an inevitable and on the whole triumphant part of the drive for nationalism." Bruce H. Millen, The Political Role Of Labor In Developing Countries (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1963), p. 71.

<sup>15</sup>Goldson, "The Formation Of The PUP In 1950," p. 3.

In 1951 a PUP-GWU slate of candidates won a decisive victory in Belize City Council elections. The strident tone and uncompromising stand of the PUP-GWU-Billboard alliance provoked the colonial government into a retaliatory action. Richardson and Goldson were tried and sentenced to one year at hard labor for "seditious writing" in The Belize Billboard. After that, John Smith resigned from the party. Richardson and Goldson were released from prison in July 1952 to a hero's welcome. For the next few years Richardson and Price were the party leaders while Goldson and Pollard served as their lieutenants.<sup>16</sup>

During the late 1940's and early 1950's, some of the moderate, British-oriented British Honduran politicians, working in cooperation with the Colonial Office, formulated a new constitution which provided for universal adult suffrage. It went into effect in 1954.<sup>17</sup> In the election of that year,

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<sup>16</sup>Interview with Philip Goldson, supra.

<sup>17</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize, pp. 308-310. This constitutional reform was undoubtedly an attempt to allay escalating political agitation led by the radical PUP. However, when viewed from the perspective of the British Empire as a whole, British Honduran advance toward self-government can be seen to be in tune with events of the time for reasons emanating both from the mother country and from the dependent territories. After World War II, Britain recognized that she was a second class power. The Labor Government of Clement Attlee therefore tailored British colonial policy to fit her weakened position in a world of growing nationalism. That policy called for rapid decolonization. Concurrently, great pressure was being exerted on Britain by nationalist groups in the colonies. In the West Indies, universal adult suffrage was granted to Jamaica in 1944 and to Trinidad in 1946.

the first under universal suffrage, the PUP was triumphant, capturing eight out of the nine elected seats on the Legislative Assembly. The PUP was opposed in 1954 by the National Party, a pro-British faction formed to counteract the PUP's anti-colonial drive. Its first and only leader was the late Herbert Fuller. The National Party never gained a seat in a national election.<sup>18</sup> The PUP's sweeping victory can be attributed to two factors. First, the PUP had captured the imagination of the people with their anti-colonial campaign,<sup>19</sup> a fact that PUP leaders were not bashful about admitting.

. . . the leaders of the PUP who are now in the position of chosen leaders of the people, chosen by an overwhelming majority in a free election, refuse to knuckle under or become cowards and betray the people who so confidently elected them to lead the country out of servitude.<sup>20</sup>

Second, the PUP had developed an organization devoted to turning out voters in large numbers. The image which the two competing parties presented to the voters could hardly have been more different, either in policy or in structure. The

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British Honduras was the last of Britain's West Indian colonies to receive it. Stewart C. Easton, The Twilight of European Colonialism: A Political Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart And Winston, 1960), pp. 31, 89, 91.

<sup>18</sup>Government Information Office, untitled history of Belizean political parties, p. 2. The remaining seat was won by an Independent from a remote district. Waddell, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>19</sup>Personal interview with Nicholas Pollard in his home in Belize City on January 2, 1975.

<sup>20</sup>The Belize Billboard, September 13, 1954.

National Party was a colonialist group possessing neither a platform nor an organization. Its elitist tactics were designed for a past era when the electorate was small and the colonial administration monopolized political power. By contrast, the PUP was specifically geared to new conditions based upon the recent grant of universal suffrage. It put forth a program framed to meet the needs of the working class and worked hard to build a mass-based political party through which it mobilized support.<sup>21</sup>

In 1956, a split in the PUP occurred. Misappropriation of GWU funds by Nicholas Pollard was the ostensible reason for the division, but the real cause was a difference in outlook regarding the future development of the colony among the PUP leadership. Richardson and Goldson desired constitutional reform but were willing to delay self-government in order to work with the Colonial Office for economic development. Also, while they did not advocate federation, they were in favor of economic ties with the West Indies.<sup>22</sup> Price, on the other hand, was totally committed to self-government and was implacably against any cooperation with the colonial authorities unless it resulted in immediate constitutional advancement.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Shoman, "The Birth of the Nationalist Movement in Belize, 1950-1954," pp. 29-31.

<sup>22</sup>Interview with Philip Goldson, supra.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

In his battle with the British, Price was not above dealing with Guatemala. A constitutional convention in London in 1957 broke up when it was discovered that the leader of the British Honduras delegation, George Price, had been consulting with the Guatemalan Minister there.<sup>24</sup> The accusation of being "soft on Guatemala" has been one that Price has lived with ever since. His defenders maintain that he was merely maneuvering between two adversaries, Britain and Guatemala, and that at no time did he ever entertain a notion of any type of union with Guatemala.<sup>25</sup>

After the schism in the PUP leadership, Price and Pollard retained control of the PUP and formed a new trade union, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The GWU came under the management of Richardson and Goldson who formed another political party, the Honduras Independence Party (HIP), to contest the 1957 elections. The election proved to be little more than an exercise in personal vilification. HIP charged Price with Guatemalan sympathies and Pollard with speculation.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Dobson, A History of Belize (Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean, 1973), p. 335.

<sup>25</sup>Personal interview with Peter Thomas, People's United Party Secretary, at PUP Headquarters in Belize City on January 10, 1975.

<sup>26</sup>In 1956, Nicholas Pollard was dismissed from his post as secretary of the GWU and expelled from the union for alleged misuse of union funds. Waddell, British Honduras, A Historical And Contemporary Survey, p. 114. The legality of Pollard's action has never been conclusively determined. This event is part of the political lore of Belize and is

The PUP retorted that HIP stood for colonialism and attachment to the West Indies. The PUP's superior organization and the enormous popular appeal of George Price carried the day as the PUP won all nine elected seats in the Legislative Assembly.<sup>27</sup>

In 1958 the National Party and HIP merged to form a new party, the National Independence Party (NIP), under the leadership of Herbert Fuller. Leigh Richardson became "discouraged" and left the country to live abroad. As of this writing, he was still absent from Belize. Philip Goldson discontinued his involvement in active politics until 1961, when he returned to the political arena to assume direction of the

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still subject to debate. Sources in the country are in disagreement over the truth of the matter and opinions elicited on the subject largely reflect the partisan identities of the respondents.

<sup>27</sup>Waddell, op. cit., pp. 114-115. Although the GWU formed the basis for the PUP as the first mass political party, after 1956 the political parties ceased to be dependent upon labor unions for their success for several reasons: (1) Even though the GWU had initially made progress in securing benefits for workers, by 1956 its subordination of industrial to political interests had compromised its stature as a labor union with employers. Ibid., p. 100. (2) The GWU was further weakened by the split. Out of an estimated 25,000 workers, GWU membership dropped from 12,000 in 1955 to 700 in 1957. Ibid., pp. 99-100. The political parties it was associated with after 1956, HIP and NIP, never achieved electoral success. (3) The CDU, which supported the PUP after 1956, was never a strong union. In 1957 it claimed only 1,600 members. Loc. cit. (4) The PUP, the only successful political party of the time, had by 1956 become strong enough to maintain its predominant position on its own resources. Nicholas Pollard, long the country's leading union organizer, found this out when he defected from the PUP in 1958. The PUP's domination over British Honduran politics was not diminished in the slightest by his departure.

NIP upon the death of Fuller.<sup>28</sup> Goldson remained leader of the opposition until 1974.

A United Front of British Honduran political parties was formed in 1960 to negotiate with Great Britain for constitutional reform. In February of that year a conference was held in London between British and Belizean officials which gained for British Honduras a full ministerial system with a First Minister and a promise of full internal self-government within five years.<sup>29</sup> At this conference the PUP and the NIP issued a joint denunciation of the Guatemalan claim to Belize. The two political parties also agreed to resist all imperialistic schemes by Guatemala and to support Britain in her efforts to reach a solution to the dispute.<sup>30</sup>

After 1957, the PUP continued to dominate the politics of British Honduras. The only real opposition until 1974 came from the NIP, and that party proved itself to be a weak opponent. The PUP won all 18 seats under the Ministerial System in the 1961 election, in 1965 it secured 16, and in 1969, 17.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with Philip Goldson, supra.

<sup>29</sup> Philip Goldson, "How The United Front Was Formed In 1960" (Belize City: mimeographed, no date given), p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Government Information Service, The PUP Government and the Guatemalan Claim: A Collection Of Policy Statements by the PUP Government on the Unfounded Claim of the Republic Guatemala to British Honduras (Belize City, Government Printing Department, 1966), p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Government Information Office, untitled history of Belizean political parties, p. 2.



To what can the overwhelming ascendancy of the PUP during the first 25 years of party politics be ascribed? Ideology appeared to play a negligible role in this supremacy. Both the PUP and the NIP were pragmatic rather than ideological parties. The distinctions between the parties consisted more in personality clashes and power struggles among the leaders and in policy differences than in a divergence regarding basic political philosophy. Both parties advocated self-government and independence, denunciation of the Guatemalan claim, economic development, free enterprise, industrialization and social welfare.<sup>32</sup> Both parties also extended their appeal to Belizeans of all races, to the rural population as well as to the residents of Belize City, and to the labor, agricultural and business sectors alike.<sup>33</sup>

Several factors seem to have contributed to the PUP's dominance in Belizean politics: (1) The PUP got the jump on its rivals and has simply never relinquished the advantage

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<sup>32</sup>The Government Of The People's United Party, Manifesto For The New Belize In the Surging Seventies: A Belizean Plan For Accelerated Development To Bring Prosperity To All Belizeans Regardless Of Race Or Creed Or Colour (Belize City: The Government Printer, no date given). This manifesto was the platform upon which the PUP campaigned for the 1969 election. It presented the same general plan adhered to by the PUP throughout the 1960's. For the NIP platform, see The National Independence Party, The National Manifesto Of The National Independence Party: The Basic Policy And Programme That Will Guide An NIP Government In Bringing To This Country: National Security, National Independence, Economic Viability, Social Progress, Equal Justice (Belize City: The Central Office of the National Independence Party, no date given).

<sup>33</sup>Interview with Philip Goldson, supra.

attained by its headstart. From the outset the PUP established itself both as the heart and soul of the nationalist movement and as the champion of labor.<sup>34</sup> (2) Early on the PUP built a grass-roots organization of dedicated workers with which the opposition simply could not compete.<sup>35</sup> Over the years, its opponents have charged that the PUP used Government personnel and resources in support of its electoral program. This allegation seems to meet with considerable credibility in Belize, and the response to its ethical merits varies with whom one discusses it. The point remains, however, that the PUP developed a roster of experienced, dedicated, and effective party workers and the opposition did not. (3) Under successive PUP governments from 1954 onward, the living conditions in the colony steadily improved. Also Belize advanced to self-government with PUP leadership. These improvements are naturally associated with the PUP and thereby serve to strengthen its position in the country. (4) Probably the most valuable asset of the PUP has been George Price. His adversaries credit him with being largely responsible for the PUP's success. Supporters and neutral observers corroborate this judgment. His personal charm, eloquence, industry, probity and vision, together with his

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<sup>34</sup> Interviews with Philip Goldson and Nicholas Pollard, supra.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

singleminded devotion to Belizean affairs, have generated a magnetism unmatched by any other individual or group in Belize.

A new era in Belizean politics has begun. In March of 1974 the NIP ceased to exist when it merged with two smaller parties to form the United Democratic Party (UDP).<sup>36</sup> Dean Lindo emerged as the UDP leader and he led the party to the first significant electoral showing ever recorded against the PUP. The returns for the election of October, 1974, revealed that the UDP had carried 6 of the 18 divisions in Belize.<sup>37</sup> Today, one-third of the members of the National Assembly are opposition members. While there is no question that in the last election the PUP achieved yet another decisive victory, it is also true that in Belize there is a strong popular feeling that in 1974 the party system made the transition from a one-party dominant to a genuine two-party system.

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<sup>36</sup>In 1969, an attorney named Dean Lindo challenged Goldson for the leadership of the NIP and, proving unsuccessful, formed another party, the People's Development Movement (PDM). The Liberal Party was formed in 1973 for the express purpose of reconciling the strife between the NIP and the PDM so as to enable the opposition to confront the PUP in 1974 in unison. The UDP, then, is an amalgamation of the NIP, the PDM, and the Liberal Party. Government Information Office, untitled history of Belizean political parties, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup>"National Elections 1974 Results," The Reporter: Belize's Only Independent Newspaper, November 4, 1974, p. 4.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONTEMPORARY PARTY POLITICS

#### Political Modernization

This is a study of the role of political parties in political development. Specifically it seeks to determine if the Belizean political party system is contributing to the process of building a modern political system. As has been pointed out by John Kautsky and Samuel Huntington, political development and political modernization are not synonymous.<sup>1</sup> To be politically developed a nation need not necessarily proceed according to the modern Western model.<sup>2</sup> Even though a nation need not be modern to be politically developed, if modernity is what new nations desire, it is logical to examine their progress toward that goal.

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<sup>1</sup>Political development as used here simply means that state of social authority or governmental and administrative maturity consistent with the realization of social values for a given society.

<sup>2</sup>See John H. Kautsky, The Political Consequences of Modernization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), pp. 13-17, and Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development And Political Decay," World Politics, 17 (April, 1965), pp. 389-394.

"There are very few states today which do not aspire to modernity."<sup>3</sup> A modern society can be said to be one in which is found a relatively high per capita income, extensive geographical and social mobility, a comparatively high degree of commercialization and industrialization of the economy, an extensive network of mass communication media, and widespread participation and involvement by members of the society in nontraditional social and economic processes (e.g., cash economy, voluntary associations).<sup>4</sup> In the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, modernization is occurring, gradually in some aspects, more rapidly in others. " . . . urbanization is rapid; literacy is slowly increasing; industrialization is being pushed; per capita gross national product is inching upward; mass media circulation is expanding. All these are facts."<sup>5</sup>

Political modernization is a facet of the general trend toward comprehensive social modernization. There are many definitions for political modernization.<sup>6</sup> Among all the definitions of political modernization four factors invariably

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<sup>3</sup>Edward Shils, Political Development in the New States (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1968), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>James S. Coleman, "The Political Systems Of The Developing Areas," The Politics Of Developing Areas, ed. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 532.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup>See for example Huntington, ibid., p. 34, for a discussion of several of the current definitions of modernization.

appear: (1) rationalization--functional differentiation and achievement criteria stressed, (2) national integration--i.e., nation building, (3) democratization--competitiveness, pluralism and equal distribution of power emphasized, and (4) mobilization--i.e., mass participation.<sup>7</sup> According to Huntington, among the criteria for political modernization, the one most frequently underscored is participation. "Modernization means mass mobility; mass mobility means increased political participation; and increased political participation is the key element of political development."<sup>8</sup> In a direct sense political modernization is a consequence of mobilization caused by social, economic and cultural modernization. "The increasing numbers of mobilized population and the greater scope and urgency of their needs for political decisions and government services tend to translate themselves . . . into increased political participation."<sup>9</sup>

Just as general social modernization has become the trend throughout the Third World, so has political modernization and especially the emphasis on popular participation. "In all the new nations of the world the belief that the ordinary man is politically relevant--that he ought to be an

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<sup>7</sup>Huntington, "Political Development And Political Decay," pp. 387-388.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 388.

<sup>9</sup>Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization And Political Development," American Political Science Review, 55 (September, 1961), p. 499.

involved participant in the political system--is widespread."<sup>10</sup>

The reason why political development has become commonly identified with political modernization is suggested by Lucian Pye.

. . . it is possible to discern in the movement of world history the emergence of certain conventions and even social norms that have increasingly been diffused throughout the world and that people generally feel should be recognized by any self-respecting government. Many of these standards do trace back to the emergence of industrial society and the rise of science and technology, but most of them have by now a dynamic of their own. Mass participation, for example, reflects the sociological realities of industrialized life, but it also has been taken to be an absolute right in the spirit of current world views. Other ideals, such as the demand for universalistic laws, respect for merit rather than birth, and generalized concepts of justice and citizenship, seem now to hold a place above any particular culture and thus reasonably belong to some universal standards of modern political life."<sup>11</sup>

In order to effect the rationalization, democratization, national integration and mobilization needed for political modernization, certain structural instruments have been established in modern polities.

What is peculiar to modern political systems is a relatively high degree of structural differentiation (i.e., the emergence of legislatures, political executives, bureaucracies, courts, electoral systems, parties, interest groups, media of communication), with each structure tending to perform a regulatory role for that function within the political system as a whole.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown And Company, 1965), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development (Boston: Little, Brown And Company, 1966), pp. 35-36.

<sup>12</sup>Gabriel A. Almond, "A Functional Approach To Comparative Politics," The Politics of the Developing Areas, eds. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 18.

The movement toward social and political modernization much in evidence in the other new nations is also manifest in Belize. The government and people of Belize are strongly committed to modernization. Statements by government officials are replete with references to the social goals of the community. For example:

. . . the Manifesto for the New Belize proposes how to accomplish projects that will strengthen the foundation or infrastructure of our economic development and social progress. We must now 'take-off' on this economic adventure.<sup>13</sup>

A modern state . . . has a duty to maintain law and order to ensure a climate of stability in which its economy can develop and its society progress. The PUP will ensure that law and order will not only be maintained but enforced at all times. . . .<sup>14</sup>

The manifestoes of Belize's two political parties are self-professed modernization plans. The development called for in these programs includes not only economic progress, but also social, cultural and political advancement as well.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>George C. Price, Premier and Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Budget Speech to The House of Representatives on Friday, 22nd December, 1972 (Belmopan, Belize: mimeographed), p. 25.

<sup>14</sup>The People's United Party, The Manifesto For The Independent Belize 1974-1979 (Belize: The Belize Times, 1974), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup>See The People's United Party, ibid., and The United Democratic Party's Manifesto for Belize 1974-1979 (Belize City: Reporter Press, 1974).



### Political Parties

The aim of this study is to demonstrate that the political party system in Belize is contributing to the construction of a modern polity. Actually, as LaPalombara and Weiner observe, the mere presence in Belize of political parties is evidence of political modernization to some degree. ". . . the emergence of political parties is a useful institutional index of a level of political development and their emergence is related to the modernization process. . . ."16 Apter agrees: "The relationship between party and modernization, whether modernization in technology or organization, appears clearly in the campaigns and manifestoes of the various political parties."17

Throughout history numerous factions and cabals calling themselves parties have vied for power. However modern political parties did not appear until the rise of mass politics in the 1790's in the United States and in the 1830's in England.18 Since then, they have become a universal phenom-

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16 Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, "The Origin And Development of Political Parties," Political Parties and Political Development, ed. Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 7.

17 David E. Apter, The Politics Of Modernization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 183.

18 Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, Democracy And The American Party System (New York: Harcourt, Brace And Company, 1956), Chapter 5.

enon.<sup>19</sup> A political party may be said to be an organized group which competes for popular support with another group or groups for the right to influence or control government policy and the selection of government personnel.<sup>20</sup> The functions of political parties include: (1) the selection of official personnel, (2) the formation of public policies, (3) the linkage of the individual with government, (4) the conduct of criticism of the government, and (5) political education.<sup>21</sup>

Key declares that modern political parties are ". . . the lineal descendants of two sorts of groups that recur in the annals of governance: those that conspire to overthrow the government and those that rally around to defend and maintain the regime."<sup>22</sup> This genealogy finds confirmation with those theorists who hold that the most basic natural distinction between parties is between the in-group and the out-group,

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<sup>19</sup>Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 115.

<sup>20</sup>Sigmund Neumann, "Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties," Modern Political Parties, ed. Sigmund Neumann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 396.

<sup>21</sup>Howard A. Scarrow, "The Function Of Political Parties: A Critique Of The Literature And The Approach," The Journal of Politics, 29 (November, 1967), p. 770.

<sup>22</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties & Pressure Groups 5th ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 9.

or between government and opposition.<sup>23</sup> The logic of this division is obvious, particularly in view of the fact that the basic activity of parties consists of the contest for and the exercise of power.

The pattern of relationships whereby parties seek to control power is known as a party system. A party system consists of interrelated components each of which has its own function.<sup>24</sup> The preceding definition implies that a polity containing only one political party really does not have a party system. In fact, some authorities even question whether a solo party qualifies as a true political party. "A one-party system is a contradiction in itself. Only the coexistence of at least one other competitive group makes a political party real."<sup>25</sup> Leiserson observes that where there is only one party, "The selection and change of rulers in practice becomes a personal and factional struggle for power within

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<sup>23</sup>Neumann, "Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties," p. 400; Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, p. 432.

<sup>24</sup>Key, Politics, Parties & Pressure Groups, p. 206; Ranney and Kendall, Democracy And The American Party System, pp. 154-155.

<sup>25</sup>Neumann, op. cit., p. 395. Neumann maintains that the widespread use of the terms "one-party system" and "one-party state" derives from acceptance of propagandistic pronouncements by proponents of such groups. Ibid., p. 403. However the position taken in this study is that a political system with only one party can be said to possess a political party system.

the one-party group."<sup>26</sup> Classification of a nation's party system is vital to the understanding of that nation's politics. The character and policies of political parties are determined in large part by the structure of the party system.<sup>27</sup> In a modernizing country, the nature of the modernization plan adopted is quite often decided by its parties.<sup>28</sup> Duverger asserts that the place of a nation in a typology of party systems is that country's most significant political fact.

The development of parties has burst the bonds of the old political categories inspired by Aristotle or Montesquieu. The classic contrast between parliamentary, presidential, and National Convention regimes can henceforth no longer serve as the pivot for modern constitutional law. . . . In fact the distinction between single-party, two-party and multiparty systems tends to become the fundamental mode of classifying contemporary regimes.<sup>29</sup>

A most natural manner of classifying party systems is into competitive and non-competitive systems<sup>30</sup> or, similarly, into pluralistic and one-party systems.<sup>31</sup> In the pluralistic

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<sup>26</sup>Avery Leiserson, Parties And Politics: An Institutional And Behavioral Approach (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 81.

<sup>27</sup>Neumann, op. cit., p. 403.

<sup>28</sup>Apter, The Politics Of Modernization, p. 179.

<sup>29</sup>Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization And Activity In The Modern State, trans. Barbara and Robert North (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954), pp. 392-393.

<sup>30</sup>LaPalombara and Weiner, "The Origin And Development Of Political Parties," pp. 33-41.

<sup>31</sup>Maurice Duverger, Party Politics and Pressure Groups: A Comparative Introduction, trans. David Wagoner (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972), pp. 18-37.

category of party systems there are two types, the two-party and the multiparty versions.<sup>32</sup> A multiparty system is one in which voters elect officials from three or more parties, none of which in the fairly recent past has won a majority of either votes or offices. In the two-party variety, either of two major parties has the potential to gain an electoral victory by winning a majority either of the votes or of the offices or both. If one party is temporarily weak, it has shown its credibility by past success. In a one-party system, a totalitarian or authoritarian party allows no genuine opposition. Finally there is the dominant party system, or the modified one-party type. It is an intermediate kind of political system, one situated between a one-party and a two-party system. In the dominant party system, the major party has won all or nearly all the offices for an extended period of time. However a minor party or parties, although seldom capturing any offices, has demonstrated significant opposition by receiving a substantial percentage of votes.

In discussing the classification of party systems, it must be recognized that we are not always dealing with entities amenable to precise taxonomy. Uncertainty sometimes arises as compartment boundaries shade into one another. A notable example of this ambiguity is the party system of the

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<sup>32</sup>Party system typology is derived from four sources, all of which offer the same general model. Duverger, ibid.; Ranney and Kendall, Democracy And The American Party System, pp. 156-158; Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. 419-424; LaPalombara and Weiner, loc. cit.

country dealt with in this study; at what exact point does a dominant party system expand into a competitive two-party system? Also Duverger notes that it is not always easy to make the distinction between two-party and multiparty systems, that the typology of the multiparty system is difficult to establish, and that sometimes multipartism is even confused with an absence of parties.<sup>33</sup>

A purely contemporary classification of the Belizean party system, one that would ignore a powerful trend, would undoubtedly have to label it as a dominant party system. This seems necessary since it does not fit the multiparty mold of numerous parties nor does it satisfy the two-party requirement of alternation in office. Ever since the advent of mass politics in Belize in 1954, the major party has outdistanced its rivals by a wide margin. A succession of minor opposition parties, essentially realignments of the same forces, has shown significant opposition by acquiring a substantial and, in recent years, steadily increasing share of the vote.<sup>34</sup>

It must be mentioned, however, that the people and leaders in Belize believe, since the recent strong showing by

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<sup>33</sup>Duverger, Political Parties, pp. 207, 229 and 228.

<sup>34</sup>In 1954 the HIP got 35% of the vote, in 1957, 41%. D. A. G. Waddell, British Honduras: A Historical And Contemporary Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 115. In 1961 the NIP received 23% of the vote, in 1965, 39%, and in 1969, 39% again. Personal interview with Philip Goldson at his office in Belize City on January 8, 1975. In 1974, the UDP won 44% of the popular vote. "National Elections 1974 Results," The Reporter: Belize's Only Independent Newspaper, November 4, 1974, p. 4.

the opposition party, that there really is a two-party system in operation. There is authority to support their claim. Duverger notes that continued domination by a party causes it to lose its vigor, to wear itself out in office. ". . . every domination bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction."<sup>35</sup> He also contends that the classification of a dominant party system is vague and imprecise, and that at some indefinite point along the spectrum, typing a party system in the dominant pattern rather than as a weak or "pseudo two-party system" is arbitrary.<sup>36</sup>

#### The Party System in Belize

There are two political parties in Belize. By local accounts, they are pragmatic parties.<sup>37</sup> They thus tend to rationalize party organization and policy in terms of protecting and promoting the interests of the nation, the constitution and the common welfare of all the people.

In the last national election (October, 1974) the major party, The People's United Party, received 12,259 votes and

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<sup>35</sup>Duverger, Political Parties, p. 312.

<sup>36</sup>Duverger, Party Politics and Pressure Groups, pp. 37, 23.

<sup>37</sup>All respondents interviewed during the course of the field research reported that the political parties in Belize are of the pragmatic type. A pragmatic party, also known as a nonideological party, is one whose ideological attachment is to an underlying constitutional order. Leiserson, Parties and Politics, p. 259.

the opposition party, The United Democratic Party, tallied 10,449. Another 889 ballots were cast for independent candidates. No independent candidate came close to winning in any of Belize's eighteen electoral divisions.<sup>38</sup> Every party member and government official interviewed held the opinion that success in electoral politics in Belize today is based upon affiliation with one of the two political parties. This judgment was expressed in the electoral edition of The Reporter. "It must be clear by now, even if it had not been before, that the days of independent candidates are dead. In competition with organized parties he [sic] simply cannot make the grade. . . ." <sup>39</sup>

The total number of votes cast in the October election was 23,597. This figure represents roughly 40 per cent of the eligible voting population of Belize.<sup>40</sup> The level of electoral participation found in Belize is thus within the same general range as that of the United States.<sup>41</sup> The

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<sup>38</sup>"National Elections 1974 Results," The Reporter: Belize's Only Independent Newspaper, November 4, 1974, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup>Editorial, ibid., p. 2.

<sup>40</sup>The estimate was reached by matching the approximate number of ballots cast with the approximate number of Belizeans 21 years or older (the voting age). About 50 per cent of Belize's total population of 119,972 is under age 21. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Demographic Yearbook (New York: United Nations, 1973), pp. 171-177.

<sup>41</sup>Participation in presidential and congressional elections in the United States from 1950 through 1968 averaged between 50 and 55 per cent. Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System And The American People (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 10.



success of the opposition in capturing one-third of the National Assembly seats created a great deal of excitement and increased interest in politics. A popular prediction current in Belize is that this greater attention to politics will result in higher voter turnout in future elections.<sup>42</sup> Regardless of the accuracy of this prognostication, however, it must be noted that a 40 per cent turnout is sufficient participation for a stable democratic government, as the American experience shows. Popular participation in elections is a matter that is related to such a multitude of variables, many of which are not quantifiable or even known, that the exact significance of percentage of voter turnout is not postulated by political scientists.<sup>43</sup> For example, a small turnout may reflect cynicism in the democratic process or it may indicate a widespread belief that affairs are proceeding so well that people need not be deeply concerned.<sup>44</sup>

The Belizean political party system operates on two levels, the national and the divisional (local) level. On the local level, the party organization in Belize parallels the formal electoral structure: the country is divided into

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<sup>42</sup>It has been found that increased party competition does indeed promote greater interest in politics. Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How And Why Do People Get Involved In Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 96.

<sup>43</sup>Key, Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups, Chapter 21.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 575.

into eighteen electoral divisions. This type of parallel structure is found in all developed party systems.<sup>45</sup> In each division there is a committee composed of up to 15 members, seven or eight of whom are active workers. Committee membership recruitment is done on a voluntary basis. There is a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The post of chairman is held by the party's divisional candidate for the National Assembly for the preceding election.<sup>46</sup>

At election time, a divisional convention is held. The convention chooses the division's candidate by a vote of all card-carrying members in the event that there is more than one nominee. Any party member can be nominated. Any registered voter in the division may be a party member. The new candidate becomes the next committee chairman as well as the party's standard bearer from his division. His campaign is financed by such party-sponsored social affairs as bingo games and dances. Campaigns in Belize do not reach the level of expense found in some other countries since they consist mostly of public meetings, canvassing by the candidate and

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<sup>45</sup>Leiserson, Parties And Politics, pp. 187-188.

<sup>46</sup>Descriptions of local party organization drawn primarily from: personal interview with Philip Goldson, UDP member of the National Assembly and member of The Belize City Council, in his office at UDP Headquarters in Belize City on January 8, 1975; personal interview with Jose Encalada, PUP member of The Belize City Council, in his office at the Incatecu Shoe Store on January 16, 1975.

committee members, and circulation of relatively inexpensive mass communication devices such as posters, billboards and sample ballots.<sup>47</sup>

The preceding description of local party organization represents a goal which has been reached only in some divisions. Leadership recruitment within the Belizean party system is currently responding to pressures for change. In the past, the union party possessed no effective national organization and the modus operandi of the major party was much criticized as being undemocratic and entirely controlled by top party leadership. Candidate selection by the PUP formerly was not carried out at open conventions but rather was imposed upon the divisions by the central party organization.<sup>48</sup> The result was the installation of "machine hacks" and "corrupt politicians" whose main asset was loyalty to the leader.<sup>49</sup> The evolution of nominating machinery in Belize seems to correspond to the general institutional development of political parties, especially as it occurred in the United States.

Through the history of American nominating practices runs a persistent attempt to make feasible popular participation in nominations and thereby to limit

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<sup>47</sup>Personal interview with Jose Encalada, supra.

<sup>48</sup>Nicholas Anthony Pollard Sr., Secrets Of A New Nation (unpublished autobiographical manuscript, Belize City, unfinished, begun May 1971), pp. 5-6.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.; also personal interview with Dean Lindo, UDP Party Leader, in his law office in Belize City on January 18, 1975.

or destroy the power of party oligarchies. The legislative caucus fell before those who demanded that the people be given a voice in nominations.<sup>50</sup>

It appears that the trend away from personalist recruitment tactics and toward the institutionalization of more democratic techniques is now well established; although still incomplete it seems likely that the change will soon be comprehensive. It is said that the Party Leader himself is leading the way in the movement from an appointed system to an elected one. Other factors at work in the modernization of party procedures are: (1) the emergence of a serious opposition party, (2) popular demand, and (3) the rise in Belize of a larger pool of educated, qualified people from which to recruit.<sup>51</sup>

While it may be said that the modernization of the PUP took place in one generation, it is intended by the UDP leadership that the modernization of the UDP will occur in the span of one election period. For the UDP, formed in 1974, candidate selection for the election of that year was of an improvisational nature. However, in the aftermath of their strong showing (44%) in the 1974 general election, and with several years in which to prepare for the next election,

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<sup>50</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 371; see also Ranney and Kendall, Democracy And The American Party System, pp. 274-277.

<sup>51</sup>Encalada, supra.; also interview with Maclovio Alamilla, PUP member, in his office in Belmopan on January 14, 1975.

the new party plans to standardize their operations and hold open conventions in all divisions for future elections.<sup>52</sup>

At the national level the structure of the two parties is quite similar.<sup>53</sup> The goals, organizational structure, policies, and procedures for each party are outlined in a party constitution. The parties are directed by executive committees: the Central Party Council for the PUP and the Steering Committee for the UDP. Executive committee members are chosen at national party conventions. National conventions are held regularly (every two years for the PUP). The convention assemblies are composed of delegates, ten to eighteen in number, selected from each division who are picked in the divisions by the divisional Party Chairmen. All certified party members may attend national conventions, but only delegates may vote. At their national conventions, the parties ratify their constitutions, elect their officers, and present their manifestoes for approval. National conventions also offer occasions for rejuvenation of party spirit and renewal of ties among party members from different divisions. Belize's national party conventions thus closely conform to

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<sup>52</sup>Personal interview with Paul Rodriguez, UDP member and Mayor of Belize City, in his office at City Hall in Belize City on January 15, 1975.

<sup>53</sup>Descriptions of national party organization drawn primarily from interviews with Jose Encalada, supra., and Paul Rodriguez, supra.

the convention model characteristic of modern political party systems.<sup>54</sup>

A party manifesto in Belize is the development plan for the country put forth by a political party. It acts both as a campaign platform and later as an operational guideline for the majority party in office.<sup>55</sup> Government officials look upon their manifesto as a working instrument and adhere to its provisions in their conduct of public affairs.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Leiserson, Parties And Politics, pp. 205-206.

<sup>55</sup>See The PUP, Manifesto For The Independent Belize 1974-1979, and the UDP, Manifesto for Belize 1974-1979.

<sup>56</sup>Personal interview with Assad Shoman, Attorney General of Belize, in his office at the Ministries Office Building in Belmopan on January 14, 1975.

## CHAPTER VII

### FINDINGS: THE POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM AND MODERNIZATION IN BELIZE

The path which political modernization has followed in Belize is in many respects a paradigm for political modernization in a new state. Belize was first launched upon its political modernization course because education and change effected by colonialism led to new groupings which produced a nationalist movement. This is the usual origin of nationalist movements.<sup>1</sup> "Through nationalist struggle participation is expanded and organization developed."<sup>2</sup> That is exactly what happened in Belize. The nationalist movement next commonly leads to the establishment of a dominant party political party system which provides unity and stability to the nascent polity.<sup>3</sup> In Belize a dominant party did appear and it has led the country to its present state of political modernization. The PUP was aided in its modernization endeavor by Great

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<sup>1</sup>Coleman, "The Political Systems Of The Developing Areas," p. 552.

<sup>2</sup>Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 424; Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 41.

Britain which supplied external protection and acquiesced in its incremental advance toward self-government.

This period of incubation of parties during colonial rule requires an imperial power which is willing to permit and to contend with a nationalist movement for many years, thus furnishing the time, the struggle, and the slowly increasing responsibility which are the ingredients of institution-building.<sup>4</sup>

Modernity is not an absolute. According to Coleman, no political system is entirely modern; all are mixed, falling somewhere along a continuum between traditional and modern.<sup>5</sup> It seems clear, judging by the criteria cited above for political modernization (rationalization, national integration, democratization and mobilization), that Belize is far along on the route to political modernization and that it is her political party system that has propelled that progress.

Rationalization has been realized, in the manner Almond suggests, by the establishment of a modern parliamentary-style government complete with legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and with a modern civil service, electoral system, party system, and mass communication media.<sup>6</sup> Many of these structures existed before the advent of party politics in Belize, but, as can be noted from recent political history,

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<sup>4</sup>Huntington, ibid., p. 418.

<sup>5</sup>Coleman, op. cit., p. 533.

<sup>6</sup>In Belize, there are three major newspapers: The Reporter, an independent paper, The Belize Times published by the PUP, and The Beacon put out by the UDP. There is also a government operated radio station, Radio Belize.



from its inception the party system has been vigorously used by its leaders to develop parliamentary government.

National integration is well along in Belize and there can be no doubt that it has been the party system which has led the way toward nation building. A glance at the parties' manifestoes will immediately confirm their vision of a new nation.<sup>7</sup> The building of a new capital city and the renaming of the country, both projects sponsored by Belize's party government, give strong symbolic support to the commitment of the party system to national integration in Belize.

Democratization in the British mold has attained near modern proportions. Democracy remains a stated goal of the Belizean party system. Whether by democracy one means popular sovereignty, majority rule or political equality, it is clear that party government in Belize has contributed to the democratization of political life. Rather than moving toward an

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<sup>7</sup>See appendix for The Government Of The People's United Party, Manifesto For The New Belize In The Surging Seventies: A Belizean Plan For Accelerated Development To Bring Prosperity To All Belizeans Regardless Of Race Or Creed Or Colour (Belize: The Government Printer, No date given); The People's United Party, The Manifesto For The Independent Belize, 1974-1979: A Plan for the Belizean People To Clear the Last Hurdle In the Glorious Struggle to Create an Independent Belize in the Heart of The Caribbean Basin (Belize City: The Belize Times, 1974); The National Independence Party, The National Manifesto Of The National Independence Party: The Basic Policy And Program That Will Guide An NIP Government In Bringing To This Country: National Security, National Independence, Economic Viability, Social Progress, Equal Justice (Belize City: The Central Office of the National Independence Party, No date given); The United Democratic Party, Manifesto for Belize, 1974-1979 (Belize City: Reporter Press, 1974).

authoritarian, one-party polity, politics has been directed toward a competitive, pluralistic party system. Other interests such as trade unions, religious groups, and business and financial associations have been encouraged. Education, an important aid to equality in the modern world, is encouraged by the government in Belize. The aims of the PUP government are announced unequivocally in its manifesto:

The Independent Belize will require a constitution guaranteeing civil liberties and ensuring the preservation of democratic government. The PUP will continuously strive for constitutional advance that will bring all the reins of government into the hands of the elected representatives of the people, streamline the democratic process, and promote the efficient management of the country's affairs.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, in the key area of political mobilization, the party system has truly been the engine of modernization. Mass politics was inaugurated by the PUP. The evolution of the party system itself is synonymous with the evolution of mass participation in Belize. As the party system has expanded, grown more competitive, and undergone reform, mass politics has become institutionalized in Belizean political life.

At the onset, the declared purpose of this study was to determine if the party system in Belize is significantly involved in the process of constructing a modern political system. The conclusion is that the hypothesis has been sub-

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<sup>8</sup>The PUP, The Manifesto For The Independent Belize, 1974-1979, p. 2.

stantiated. The data show that Belize possesses a modern party system, one "in which competing parties are broadly based in structure and pragmatic in program and tactics."<sup>9</sup> The party system is moving Belize in the direction of political modernization according to the currently accepted definition of that concept.

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<sup>9</sup>Coleman, op. cit., p. 551.

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APPENDIX A

British Honduras Constitution

Ordinance 1963

## BRITISH HONDURAS CONSTITUTION ORDINANCE, 1965

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**BRITISH HONDURAS.**

No. 33 of 1963.

I assent,

**P. H. G. STALLARD,***Governor.**20th December, 1963.*

**AN ORDINANCE to make fresh constitutional provisions for British Honduras, conferring internal self-government upon the Territory.**

[ 31st December, 1963 ]

*ENACTED by the Legislature of British Honduras:***PART I****GENERAL****1.—(1) This Ordinance may be cited as the****BRITISH HONDURAS CONSTITUTION****ORDINANCE, 1963.***Citation and commencement.*

(2) The provisions of this Ordinance shall, except where otherwise provided, come into operation on such day as the Governor, acting in his discretion, may by proclamation published in the *Gazette* appoint (which day is hereinafter referred to as "the appointed day").

(3) The provisions of Part II of this Ordinance shall come into operation on the day next following the first dissolution, after the appointed day, of the Legislative Assembly established under the British Honduras Constitution Ordinance.

(4) Part V of this Ordinance shall come into operation on such day, after the appointed day, as the Governor, acting in his discretion, may by proclamation in the *Gazette* appoint.

Ch. 3.

Interpretation.

2.—(1) In this Ordinance, unless it is otherwise provided or required by the context—

"the Cabinet" means the Cabinet constituted under the British Honduras Letters Patent, 1964;

"clear income" means the gross income received by a person for his own use, less such outgoings and expenses incurred by him in the production of the income as would be allowable as deductions in arriving at a chargeable income under the provisions of any Income Tax Ordinance, or any regulation made thereunder, in force in the Territory;

"financial year" means the twelve months ending on the thirty-first day of December in any year or on such other date as may from time to time be prescribed by any law of the Legislature;

"the *Gazette*" means the British Honduras Government *Gazette* and includes any supplement thereto;

"high judicial office" means the office of judge of a court having unlimited jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters in some part of the Commonwealth or a court having jurisdiction in appeals from any such court;

"House" means either the House of Representatives or the Senate as the context may require;

"the leader of the opposition" means the member of the House of Representatives who in the judgment of the Governor, acting in his discretion, is the leader in the House of the party which commands the support of the largest number of members of the House in opposition to the Government;

"the Legislative Assembly" means the Legislative Assembly established by the British Honduras Constitution Ordinance;

Ch. 3.



“the Legislature” means the Legislative Assembly until the date of the coming into operation of Part II of this Ordinance, and on and after that date means the Legislature established by the said Part II;

“the Letters Patent” means the British Honduras Letters Patent, 1964;

“Minister” means a Minister of the Government of British Honduras;

“police officer” means any member of the British Honduras Police Force;

“Premier” has the meaning assigned to that word in the Letters Patent;

“public office” means any office of emolument in the public service;

“public officer” means a person holding or acting in any public office;

“the public service” means, subject to the provisions of subsections (5) and (6) of this section, the service of the Crown in a civil capacity in respect of the Government of the Territory;

“session” means, in relation to a House of the Legislature, the sittings of that House commencing when it first meets after this Ordinance comes into force or after the prorogation or dissolution of the Legislature at any time and terminating when the Legislature is prorogued or is dissolved without having been prorogued;

“sitting” means, in relation to a House of the Legislature, a period during which that House is sitting continuously without adjournment and includes any period during which the House is in committee;

“the Territory” means the Colony of British Honduras.

(2) Where by this Ordinance any person is directed, or power is conferred on any person or authority to appoint a person, to perform the functions of an office if the holder thereof is unable to perform those functions the validity of any performance of those functions by the person so directed or of any appointment made in exercise of that power shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that the holder of the office is not unable to perform the functions of the office.

(3) Except in subsection (1) of section 11 and in section 18 of this Ordinance, references in this Ordinance to a member or members of the House of Representatives or to a Senator or Senators do not include references to a person who, under subsection (2) of section 4 of this Ordinance, is a member of the House by virtue of holding the office of Speaker or under sub-

section (1) of section 9 of this Ordinance is a Senator by virtue of holding the office of President.

(4) Unless the context otherwise requires, references in this Ordinance to the special responsibilities of the Governor are references to the matters for which the Governor is responsible by virtue of Article 15 of the Letters Patent, that is to say—

- (a) external affairs;
- (b) defence (including the armed forces);
- (c) internal security;
- (d) the terms and conditions of service (including leave and passages) of public officers.

(5) In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires, references to offices in the public service shall be construed as including references to the offices of judges of the Supreme Court of British Honduras and references to the offices of members of the Police Force and to the offices on the Governor's personal staff.

(6) In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires, references to an office in the public service shall not be construed as including references to the office of the Premier or other Minister, the Speaker or Deputy Speaker or member of the House of Representatives, the President, Vice-President or member of the Senate or a member of any Commission established by this Ordinance.

(7) For the purposes of this Ordinance, a person shall not be considered as holding a public office by reason only of the fact that he is in receipt of a pension or other like allowance in respect of service under the Crown.

(8) References in this Ordinance to the power to remove a public officer from his office shall be construed as including references to any power conferred by any law to require or permit that officer to retire from the public service:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as conferring on any person or authority power to require a judge of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General or the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Principal Auditor to retire from the public service.

(9) Any provision in this Ordinance that vests in any person or authority power to remove any public officer from his office shall be without prejudice to the power of any person or authority to abolish any office or to any law providing for the compulsory retirement of public officers generally or any class of public officer on attaining any age specified therein.

(10) In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires, a reference to the holder of an office by the term designating his office shall be construed as including a reference to any person for the time being lawfully acting in or performing the functions of that office.

(11) For the avoidance of doubt it is hereby declared that any person who has vacated his seat in any body, or has vacated any office established by this Ordinance may, if qualified, again be appointed or elected as a member of that body or to that office, as the case may be, from time to time.

## PART II

### THE LEGISLATURE

3.—(1) There shall be in and for the Territory a Legislature which shall consist of Her Majesty and a National Assembly.

Establishment  
of Legislature.

(2) The National Assembly shall comprise two Houses, that is to say, a House of Representatives and a Senate.

#### *The House of Representatives*

4.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the House of Representatives shall consist of eighteen members who shall be elected in the manner provided by any law for the time being in force in the Territory.

Composition of  
House of  
Representatives.

(2) If any person who is not a member of the House of Representatives is elected to be Speaker of the House he shall, by virtue of holding the office of Speaker, be a member of the House in addition to the eighteen members aforesaid.

5. Subject to the provisions of section 6 of this Ordinance, a person shall be qualified to be elected as a member of the House of Representatives if, and shall not be qualified to be so elected unless he—

Qualifications  
for election  
as member.

- (a) is a British subject of the age of twenty-one years or upwards; and
- (b) has resided in the Territory for a period of at least three years immediately before the date of his nomination for election; and
- (c) is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the House of Representatives; and

- (d) is in receipt of a clear income in his own right of not less than three hundred dollars per annum; or
- (e) is the owner in his own right of real property (which for the purpose of this paragraph includes a leasehold interest) situate within the Territory of the value of not less than five hundred dollars over and above all charges and incumbrances in respect thereof; or
- (f) is in receipt of a clear income in his own right of not less than ninety-six dollars per annum derived from real estate.

Disqualifications  
for election  
as a member.

6.—(1) No person shall be qualified to be elected as a member of the House of Representatives who—

- (a) is, by virtue of his own act, under any acknowledgement of allegiance, obedience or adherence to a foreign Power or State; or
- (b) is an undischarged bankrupt, having been adjudged or otherwise declared bankrupt under any law in force in any part of the Commonwealth; or
- (c) is a person certified to be insane or otherwise adjudged to be of unsound mind under any law in force in the Territory; or
- (d) is under sentence of death imposed on him by a court in any part of the Commonwealth or is serving a sentence of imprisonment (by whatever name called) exceeding twelve months imposed on him by such a court or substituted by competent authority for some other sentence imposed on him by such a court, or is under such a sentence of imprisonment the execution of which has been suspended; or
- (e) is disqualified for membership of the House of Representatives by any law in force in the Territory by reason of his holding, or acting in, any office the functions of which involve—
  - (i) any responsibility for, or in connection with, the conduct of any election, or
  - (ii) any responsibility for the compilation or revision of any electoral register; or
- (f) is disqualified for membership of the House of Representatives by virtue of any law in force in the Territory by reason of his having been convicted of any offence relating to elections; or

- (g) is disqualified for membership of the House of Representatives under any law for the time being in force in the Territory by virtue of—
- (i) his holding or acting in any office or appointment specified (either individually or by reference to a class of office or appointment) by such law;
  - (ii) his belonging to any of the armed forces of the Crown or to any class of person that is comprised in any such force; or
  - (iii) his belonging to any police force or to any class of person that is comprised in any such force.
- (h) is a party to, or a partner in a firm, or a director or manager of a company which is a party to, any contract with the Government of the Territory for or on account of the public service and has not within one month before the day of election, published in the English language in the *Gazette* and in a newspaper circulating in the electoral division for which he is a candidate a notice setting out the nature of the contract and his interest, or the interest of any such firm or company, therein:

Provided that if it appears to the Governor, acting in his discretion, that it is proper so to do, he may by order direct that any such disqualification shall be disregarded for the purposes of this section, but no such order shall be made if proceedings have been commenced calling in question the right of that member to be a member of the House of Representatives on the ground that he is disqualified under this paragraph.

(2) For the purposes of paragraph (d) of subsection (1) of this section—

- (a) two or more sentences of imprisonment that are required to be served consecutively shall be regarded as separate sentences if none of those sentences exceeds twelve months, but if any one of such sentences exceeds that term they shall be regarded as one sentence; and
- (b) no account shall be taken of a sentence of imprisonment imposed as an alternative to or in default of the payment of a fine.

Tenure of  
office of  
members.

7.—(1) Every member of the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House at the next dissolution of the Legislature after his election.

(2) A member of the House of Representatives shall also vacate his seat in the House—

- (a) if he is absent from the sittings of the House for such period and in such circumstances as may be prescribed in the Standing Orders of the House; or
- (b) if he ceases to be a British subject; or
- (c) subject to the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, if any circumstances arise that, if he were not a member of the House of Representatives, would cause him to be disqualified for election thereto by virtue of subsection (1) of section 6 of this Ordinance.
- (d) if he shall become a party to any contract with the Government of the Territory for or on account of the public service, or if any firm in which he is a partner, or any company of which he is a director or manager shall become a party to any such contract, or if he shall become a partner in a firm or a director or manager of a company which is a party to any such contract:

Provided that if in the circumstances, it shall appear to them just so to do, the House of Representatives by resolution may exempt any member thereof from vacating his seat under the provisions of this paragraph if such member shall, before becoming a party to such contract as aforesaid or before, or as soon as practicable after becoming otherwise interested in such contract (whether as partner in a firm or director or manager of a company) disclose to the House of Representatives the nature of such contract and his interest or the interest of any such firm or company therein.

(3) (a) If circumstances such as are referred to in paragraph (c) of subsection (2) of this section arise because any member of the House of Representatives is under sentence of death or imprisonment or adjudged to be insane or otherwise of unsound mind, or declared bankrupt and undischarged or convicted of an offence relating to elections and if it is open to the member to appeal against the decision (either with the leave of a court or other authority or without such leave) he shall forthwith cease

to perform his functions as a member of the House but, subject to the provisions of this sub-section, he shall not vacate his seat until the expiration of a period of thirty days thereafter:

Provided that the Speaker may, from time to time extend that period for further periods of thirty days to enable the member to pursue an appeal against the decision, so however, that extensions of time exceeding in the aggregate one hundred and fifty days shall not be given without the approval, signified by resolution, of the House.

(b) If, on the determination of any appeal, such circumstances continue to exist and no further appeal is open to the member, or if, by reason of the expiration of any period for entering an appeal or notice thereof or the refusal of leave to appeal or for any other reason, it ceases to be open to the member to appeal, he shall forthwith vacate his seat.

(c) If at any time before the member of the House vacates his seat such circumstances as aforesaid cease to exist, his seat shall not become vacant on the expiration of the period referred to in paragraph (a) of this subsection and he may resume the performance of his functions as a member of the House.

8.—(1) When the House of Representatives first meets after any general election and before it proceeds to the despatch of any other business it shall elect a person to be Speaker of the House; and, if the office of Speaker falls vacant at any time before the next dissolution of the Legislature, the House shall, as soon as practicable elect another person to that office.

Speaker and  
Deputy Speaker

(2) The Speaker shall be above the age of thirty years and may be elected either from among the members of the House of Representatives who are not Ministers or from among persons who are not members of either House:

Provided that a person who is not a member of either House shall not be elected as Speaker if—

- (a) he is not a British subject; or
- (b) he is a person disqualified for election as a member of the House of Representatives by virtue of subsection (1) of section 6 of this Ordinance.

(3) When the House of Representatives first meets after any general election and before it proceeds to the despatch of any other business except the election of the Speaker, the House shall elect a member of the House, who is not a Minister, to be Deputy Speaker of the House; and if the office of Deputy Speaker falls vacant at any time before the next dissolution of the Legislature, the House shall, as soon as practicable, elect another such member to that office.

(4) A person shall vacate the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker—

(a) in the case of a Speaker elected from among members of the House of Representatives or in the case of the Deputy Speaker—

(i) if he ceases to be a member of the House: Provided that the Speaker shall not vacate his office by reason only that he has ceased to be a member of the House on a dissolution of the Legislature until the House first meets after that dissolution;

(ii) if he is appointed to be a Minister;

(b) in the case of a Speaker elected from among persons who are not members of either House—

(i) when the House first meets after any dissolution of the Legislature;

(ii) if he ceases to be a British subject; or

(iii) if any circumstances arise which would cause him to be disqualified for election as a member of the House by virtue of subsection (1) of section 6 of this Ordinance;

(c) in the case of the Deputy Speaker, he is elected to be Speaker.

(5) (a) If, by virtue of subsection (3) of section 7 of this Ordinance, the Speaker or Deputy Speaker is required to cease to perform his functions as a member of the House of Representatives he shall also cease to perform his functions as Speaker or Deputy Speaker, as the case may be, and those functions shall, until he vacates his seat in the House or resumes the performance of the functions of his office, be performed—

(i) in the case of the Speaker, by the Deputy Speaker or, if the office of Deputy Speaker is vacant, by such member of the House (not being a Minister) as the House may elect for the purpose;

(ii) in the case of the Deputy Speaker, by such member of the House (not being a Minister) as the House may elect for the purpose.

(b) If the Speaker or Deputy Speaker resumes the performance of his functions as a member of the House, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of section 7 of this Ordinance, he shall also resume the performance of his functions as Speaker or Deputy Speaker, as the case may be.

#### *The Senate.*

9.—(1) The Senate shall consist of eight members (in this Ordinance referred to as "Senators") who shall be appointed



by the Governor in accordance with the provisions of this section:

Provided that if any person who is not a Senator is elected to be President of the Senate he shall, by virtue of holding the office of President be a Senator in addition to the eight members aforesaid.

(2) Of the eight Senators—

- (a) five shall be appointed by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Premier;
- (b) two shall be appointed in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of this section;
- (c) one shall be appointed by the Governor after consultation with such persons as he may consider appropriate.

(3) The two Senators referred to in subsection (2) (b) of this section shall be appointed—

- (a) by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the leader of the opposition, or
- (b) if there is no opposition party represented in the House of Representatives or if, in the opinion of the Governor, in his discretion, two or more opposition parties are equally represented in the House, then—
  - (i) by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of a person selected by him, in his discretion, for the purpose of tendering such advice, or
  - (ii) if the Governor, in his discretion, decides to select two such persons, by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of such persons, each of whom shall advise him on the appointment of one Senator.

10. Subject to the provisions of section 11 of this Ordinance, a person shall be qualified to be appointed as a Senator if, and shall not be qualified to be so appointed unless, he is a British subject of the age of twenty-one years or upwards.

Qualifications for appointment as Senator.

11.—(1) No person shall be qualified to be appointed as a Senator who—

- (a) is, by virtue of his own act, under any acknowledgement of allegiance, obedience or adherence to a foreign Power or State;
- (b) is a member of the House of Representatives;

Disqualifications for appointment as Senator.

- (c) is an undischarged bankrupt, having been adjudged or otherwise declared bankrupt under any law in force in any part of the Commonwealth;
- (d) is a person certified to be insane or otherwise to be of unsound mind under any law in force in the Territory;
- (e) is under sentence of death imposed upon him by a court in any part of the Commonwealth or is serving a sentence of imprisonment (by whatever name called) exceeding twelve months imposed on him by such a court or substituted by a competent authority for some other sentence imposed on him by such a court; or is under such a sentence of imprisonment the execution of which has been suspended;
- (f) is disqualified for membership of the House of Representatives by any law in force in the Territory by reason of his holding, or acting in, any office the functions of which involve—
  - (i) any responsibility for, or in connection with, the conduct of any election; or
  - (ii) any responsibility for the compilation or revision of any electoral register;
- (g) is disqualified for membership of the House of Representatives by virtue of any law in force in the Territory by reason of his having been convicted of any offence relating to elections;
- (h) is disqualified for membership of the Senate under any law for the time being in force in the Territory by virtue of—
  - (i) his holding or acting in any office or appointment specified (either individually or by reference to a class of office or appointment) by such law; or
  - (ii) his belonging to any of the armed forces of the Crown or to any class of person that is comprised in any such force; or
  - (iii) his belonging to any police force or to any class of person that is comprised in any such force;
- (i) is a party to, or a partner in a firm, or a director or manager of a company which is a party to, any contract with the Government of the Territory for or on account of the public service, and has not disclosed to the Governor the nature of such contract and his interest, or the interest of any such firm or company therein;

Provided that if it appears to the Governor, acting in his discretion, that it is proper so to do, he may by order direct that any such disqualification shall be disregarded for the purposes of this section.

(2) For the purposes of paragraph (e) of subsection (1) of this section—

- (a) two or more sentences of imprisonment that are required to be served consecutively shall be regarded as separate sentences if none of those sentences exceeds twelve months, but if any one of such sentences exceeds that term they shall be regarded as one sentence; and
- (b) no account shall be taken of a sentence of imprisonment imposed as an alternative to or in default of the payment of a fine.

12.—(1) Every Senator shall vacate his seat in the Senate at the next dissolution of the Legislature after his appointment.

Tenure of  
office of  
Senator.

(2) A Senator shall also vacate his seat in the Senate—

- (a) if he is absent from the sittings of the Senate for such period and in such circumstances as may be prescribed in the Standing Orders of the Senate; or
- (b) if, with his consent, he is nominated as a candidate for election to the House of Representatives; or
- (c) if he ceases to be a British subject; or
- (d) subject to the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, if any circumstances arise that, if he were not a Senator, would cause him to be disqualified for appointment as such by virtue of subsection (1) of section 11 of this Ordinance; or
- (e) if the Governor, acting in accordance with the advice of the Premier in the case of a Senator appointed in accordance with that advice, or acting in accordance with the advice of the leader of the opposition in the case of a Senator appointed in accordance with that advice, or acting in his discretion in the case of a Senator appointed by him in his discretion, declares the seat of that Senator to be vacant; or
- (f) if he shall become a party to any contract with the Government of the Territory for or on account of the public service, or if any firm in which he is a partner, or any company of which he is a director

or manager shall become a party to any such contract, or if he shall become a partner in a firm, or a director or manager of a company which is a party to any such contract:

Provided that if in the circumstances it shall appear to him to be just so to do, the Governor, acting in his discretion, may exempt any Senator from vacating his seat under the provisions of this paragraph, if such Senator shall before becoming a party to such contract as aforesaid or before, or as soon as practicable after becoming otherwise interested in such contract (whether as partner in a firm or director or manager of a company) disclose to the Governor the nature of such contract and his interest or the interest of any such firm or company therein.

(3) (a) If circumstances such as are referred to in paragraph (d) of subsection (2) of this section arise because a Senator is under sentence of death or imprisonment or adjudged to be insane or otherwise of unsound mind or declared bankrupt and is undischarged or convicted of an offence relating to elections and it is open to the Senator to appeal against the decision (either with the leave of a court or other authority or without such leave), he shall forthwith cease to perform his functions as a Senator but, subject to the provisions of this subsection, he shall not vacate his seat until the expiration of a period of thirty days thereafter:

Provided that the President of the Senate may from time to time extend that period for further periods of thirty days to enable the Senator to pursue an appeal against the decision, so, however, that extensions of time exceeding in the aggregate one hundred and fifty days shall not be given without the approval, signified by resolution, of the Senate.

(b) If, on the determination of an appeal, such circumstances continue to exist and no further appeal is open to the Senator, or if, by reason of the expiration of any period for entering an appeal or notice thereof or the refusal of leave to appeal or for any other reason it ceases to be open to the Senator to appeal, he shall forthwith vacate his seat.

(c) If at any time before the Senator vacates his seat such circumstances as aforesaid cease to exist, his seat shall not become vacant on the expiration of the period referred to in paragraph (a) of this subsection and he may resume the performance of his functions as Senator.

Appointment  
of temporary  
Senators.

13.—(1) The Governor may declare a Senator to be, by reason of illness, temporarily incapable of performing his func-

tions as a Senator and thereupon such Senator shall not perform his said functions until he is declared by the Governor again to be capable of performing them.

(2) Whenever a Senator is incapable of performing his functions as a Senator by reason of his absence from the Territory or by virtue of the provisions of section 12 of this Ordinance or by reason of a declaration made under the last foregoing subsection, the Governor may appoint a person qualified for appointment as a Senator to be temporarily a member of the Senate.

(3) Subsections (1) and (2) of section 12 of this Ordinance shall apply in relation to a person appointed as a Senator under this section as they apply in relation to a Senator appointed under section 9 (except that paragraph (d) of the said subsection (2) shall apply as if it were not expressed to be subject to subsection (3) of the said section 12) and an appointment made under this section shall in any case cease to have effect when the person appointed is notified by the Governor that the circumstances giving rise to his appointment have ceased to exist.

(4) In the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this section the Governor shall act—

- (a) in accordance with the advice of the Premier in relation to an appointment to be temporarily a member of the Senate in place of a Senator appointed in pursuance of paragraph (a) of subsection (2) of section 9 of this Ordinance;
- (b) in accordance with the advice of the leader of the opposition in relation to an appointment to be temporarily a member of the Senate in place of a Senator appointed in pursuance of paragraph (b) of subsection (2) of the said section;
- (c) in his discretion in any other case.

14.—(1) When the Senate first meets after any general election and before it proceeds to the despatch of any other business, it shall elect a person to be President of the Senate; and, if the office of President falls vacant at any time before the next dissolution of the Legislature, the Senate shall as soon as practicable, elect another person to that office.

President and  
Vice-President.

(2) When the Senate first meets after any general election and before it proceeds to the despatch of any other business except the election of the President, it shall elect a Senator to be Vice-President of the Senate; and if the office of Vice-President falls vacant at any time before the next dissolution of the Legislature, the Senate shall, as soon as practicable, elect another Senator to that office.

(3) The President and the Vice-President shall be above the age of thirty years and the President may be elected either from among the Senators who are not Ministers or from among persons who are not members of either House:

Provided that a person who is not a member of either House shall not be elected as President if—

- (a) he is not a British subject; or
- (b) he is a person disqualified for election as a member of the House of Representatives by virtue of subsection (1) of section 6 of this Ordinance.

(4) A person shall vacate the office of President or Vice-President of the Senate—

(a) In the case of a President elected from among members of the Senate or in the case of the Vice-President—

(i) if he ceases to be a Senator:

Provided that the President shall not vacate his office by reason only that he has ceased to be a Senator on a dissolution of the Legislature until the Senate first meets after the dissolution;

(ii) if he is appointed to be a Minister;

(b) In the case of a President elected from among persons who are not members of either House—

(i) when the Senate first meets after any dissolution of the Legislature;

(ii) if he ceases to be a British Subject; or

(iii) if any circumstances arise which would cause him to be disqualified for election as a member of the House of Representatives by virtue of subsection (1) of section 6 of this Ordinance.

(c) In the case of the Vice-President if he is elected to be President.

(5) (a) If, by virtue of subsection (3) of section 12 of this Ordinance, the President or the Vice-President is required to cease to perform his functions as a Senator he shall also cease to perform his functions as President or Vice-President, as the case may be, and those functions shall, until he vacates his seat in the Senate or resumes the performance of the functions of his office, be performed—

- (i) in the case of the President, by the Vice-President or, if the office of Vice-President is vacant, by such Senator (not being a Minister) as the Senate may elect for the purpose;
- (ii) in the case of the Vice-President, by such Senator (not being a Minister) as the Senate may elect for the purpose.

(b) If the President or Vice-President resumes the performance of his functions as Senator, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of section 12 of this Ordinance, he shall also resume the performance of his functions as President or Vice-President as the case may be.

15. There shall be a Clerk to the National Assembly (who shall be the Clerk of both Houses) and such other assistants as may be necessary.

Clerks to Houses of National Assembly.

#### *Powers and Procedure*

16. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, the Legislature may make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Territory.

Power to make laws.

17.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, each House of the National Assembly may make, amend or revoke Standing Orders for the regulation and orderly conduct of its own proceedings and the despatch of business, and the passing, intituling and numbering of Bills and the presentation of the same to the Governor for assent.

Regulation of procedure in National Assembly, etc.

(2) A Minister shall be permitted to address the House of which he is not a member but shall have no vote in that House.

18.—(1) Except for the purposes of enabling this section to be complied with, no member of either House shall sit or vote therein, or be entitled to receive any salary or emoluments in respect of his office until he has made and subscribed before that House the oath or affirmation of allegiance:

Oath of allegiance.

Provided that the election of a Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives and the election of a President and Vice-President of the Senate may take place before the members of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, as the case may be, have made and subscribed such oath or affirmation.

(2) If between the time when a person becomes a member of the House of Representatives and the time when that House first meets thereafter, a meeting takes place of any committee of that House of which that person is a member, that person may, in order to enable him to attend the meeting and take part in the proceedings of the committee, make and subscribe the oath or affirmation before the Speaker or, if the Speaker is absent from the Territory or the office of Speaker is vacant, before the Deputy Speaker; and the making and subscribing of the oath or affirmation in such manner shall suffice for all the purposes of this section.

(3) The provisions of subsection (2) of this section shall apply in relation to a person who becomes a member of the Senate as they apply in relation to a person who becomes a member of the House of Representatives but as if references to the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker were references to the President and the Vice-President.

Presiding in  
House of  
Representatives  
and Senate.

19.—(1) The Speaker, or in his absence, the Deputy Speaker or, if they are both absent, a member of the House of Representatives (not being a Minister) elected by the House for that sitting shall preside at each sitting of the House.

(2) The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, or, if they are both absent, a Senator (not being a Minister) elected by the Senate for that sitting shall preside at each sitting of the House.

(3) References in this section to circumstances in which the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, President or Vice-President is absent include references to circumstances in which the office of Speaker, Deputy Speaker, President or Vice-President is vacant.

Voting.

20.—(1) Save as otherwise provided in this Ordinance, all questions proposed for decision in either House shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the members thereof present and voting.

(2) A Speaker elected from among persons who are members of the House of Representatives or a President elected from among persons who are Senators or a member of either House presiding in that House shall have an original but not a casting vote

(3) A Speaker elected from among persons who are not members of the House of Representatives or a President elected from among persons who are not Senators shall have no vote.

(4) If upon any question before either House of the National Assembly the votes of the members are equally divided the motion shall be lost.



21. A House of the National Assembly shall not be disqualified for the transaction of business by reason of any vacancy in the membership thereof (including any vacancy not filled when the House is first constituted or is reconstituted at any time) and any proceedings therein shall be valid notwithstanding that some person who was not entitled so to do sat and voted in the House or otherwise took part in the proceedings.

Validity of proceedings.

22.—(1) If at any sitting of either House any member of the House who is present draws the attention of the person presiding at the sitting to the absence of a quorum and, after such interval as may be prescribed in the Standing Orders of that House, the person presiding at the sitting ascertains that a quorum of the House is still not present, the House shall be adjourned.

Quorum.

(2) For the purposes of this section—

- (a) a quorum of the House of Representatives shall consist of seven members of the House;
- (b) a quorum of the Senate shall consist of three Senators;
- (c) the person presiding at the sitting of either House shall not be included in reckoning whether there is a quorum of that House present.

23.—(1) A Bill other than a money Bill may be introduced in either House. A money Bill shall not be introduced in the Senate.

Introduction of Bills, etc.

(2) Except on the recommendation or with the consent of the Governor, signified by a Minister, neither House shall—

- (a) proceed with any Bill (including any amendment to a Bill) which in the opinion of the person presiding, makes provision for any of the following purposes—
  - (i) for imposing or increasing or reducing or abolishing any tax;
  - (ii) for imposing or increasing any charge on the revenues or other funds of the Territory or for altering any such charge otherwise than by reducing it; or
  - (iii) for compounding or remitting any debt due to the Territory;
- (b) proceed upon any motion (including any amendment to a motion) the effect of which, in the opinion of the person presiding, would be to make provision for any of the purposes aforesaid; or

(c) receive any petition which in the opinion of the person presiding, requests that provision be made for any of the purposes aforesaid.

Restriction on powers of Senate as to money Bills.

24.—(1) If a money Bill, having been passed by the House of Representatives and sent to the Senate at least one month before the end of the session, is not passed by the Senate without amendment within one month after it is sent to that House, the Bill shall, unless the House of Representatives otherwise resolves, be presented to the Governor for assent notwithstanding that the Senate has not consented to the Bill.

(2) There shall be endorsed on every money Bill when it is sent to the Senate the certificate of the Speaker signed by him that it is a money Bill; and there shall be endorsed on any money Bill that is presented to the Governor for assent in pursuance of subsection (1) of this section, the certificate of the Speaker signed by him that it is a money Bill and that the provisions of that subsection have been complied with.

Restriction on powers of Senate as to Bills other than money Bills.

25.—(1) If any Bill other than a money Bill is passed by the House of Representatives in two successive sessions (whether or not the Legislature is dissolved between those sessions) and, having been sent to the Senate in each of those sessions at least one month before the end of the session, is rejected by the Senate in each of those sessions, that Bill shall, on its rejection for the second time by the Senate, unless the House of Representatives otherwise resolves, be presented to the Governor for assent notwithstanding that the Senate has not consented to the Bill:

Provided that the foregoing provisions of this subsection shall not have effect unless at least six months have elapsed between the date on which the Bill is passed by the House of Representatives in the first session and the date on which it is passed by that House in the second session.

(2) For the purposes of this section a Bill that is sent to the Senate from the House of Representatives in any session shall be deemed to be the same Bill as a former Bill sent to the Senate in the preceding session if, when it is sent to the Senate, it is identical with the former Bill or contains only such alterations as are certified by the Speaker to be necessary owing to the time that has elapsed since the date of the former Bill or to represent any amendments which have been made by the Senate in the former Bill in the preceding session.

(3) The House of Representatives may, if it thinks fit, on the passage through that House of a Bill that is deemed to be the

same Bill as a former Bill sent to the Senate in the preceding session, suggest any amendments without inserting the amendments in the Bill, and if agreed to by the Senate the said amendments shall be treated as amendments made by the Senate and agreed to by the House of Representatives; but the exercise of this power by the House of Representatives shall not affect the operation of this section in the event of the rejection of the Bill in the Senate.

(4) There shall be inserted in any Bill that is presented to the Governor for assent in pursuance of this section any amendments that are certified by the Speaker to have been made in the Bill by the Senate in the second session and agreed to by the House of Representatives.

(5) There shall be endorsed on any Bill that is presented to the Governor for assent in pursuance of this section the certificate of the Speaker signed by him that the provisions of this section have been complied with.

26.—(1) In sections 23, 24 and 25 of this Ordinance, “money Bill” means a public Bill which, in the opinion of the Speaker, contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following matters, namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition, for the payment of debt or other financial purposes, of charges on public money, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; the grant of money to the Crown or to any authority or person, or the variation or revocation of any such grant; the appropriation, receipt, custody, investment, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof, or the establishment, alteration, administration or abolition of any sinking fund provided in connection with any such loan; or subordinate matters incidental to any of the matters aforesaid; and in this subsection the expression “taxation”, “debt”, “Public money” and “loan” do not include any taxation imposed, debt incurred or money provided or loan raised by any local authority or body for local purposes.

Provisions relating to sections 23, 24 and 25.

(2) For the purposes of section 25 of this Ordinance a Bill shall be deemed to be rejected by the Senate if—

- (a) it is not passed by the Senate without amendment;
- or
- (b) it is passed by the Senate with any amendment which is not agreed to by the House of Representatives.

(3) Whenever the office of Speaker is vacant or the Speaker is for any reason unable to perform any functions conferred

upon him by section 24 or 25 of this Ordinance or subsection (1) of this section, that function may be performed by the Deputy Speaker.

(4) A certificate of the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker under section 24 or 25 of this Ordinance shall be conclusive for all purposes and shall not be questioned in any court.

(5) Before giving any certificate under section 24 or 25 of this Ordinance the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker, as the case may be, shall consult the Attorney General or, if the Attorney General is absent from the seat of Government, such member of the Attorney General's staff as the Attorney General may designate for that purpose.

Governor's  
reserved  
powers.

27.—(1) If the Governor considers that any bill or motion that is before either House of the National Assembly or any committee thereof affects his special responsibilities, he may give notice thereof to the House or committee concerned and no further proceedings shall then be taken upon the bill or motion without his consent.

(2) The Governor may send by message to either House of the National Assembly a draft of any bill or motion which, in pursuance of his special responsibilities, he considers should be introduced or proposed in that House and may (whether in the same or a later message) request that the bill or motion be so introduced or proposed not later than a date specified in such message.

(3) If a request made by the Governor under subsection (2) of this section is not complied with by the date specified, the bill or motion to which it relates shall be deemed to have been introduced or proposed in the House concerned on that date.

(4) If the House concerned fails to pass the bill or carry the motion within such time as the Governor considers reasonable and in such form as he considers expedient, he may, by writing under his hand, declare that it shall have effect as if, on the date of such declaration, it had been passed or carried by the House concerned either in the form in which it was introduced or proposed (or is deemed to have been introduced or proposed) or (as the declaration shall specify) with such amendments as the Governor thinks fit that have been moved or proposed in that House or any committee thereof; and the bill or motion shall be deemed thereupon to have been passed or carried in the form specified in the declaration and on the date thereof, and the provisions of this Ordinance shall have effect accordingly.

(5) Any notice or consent given or message sent by the Governor under this section may be given or sent in such manner as

the Governor thinks fit and, in the case of a notice or consent given or a message sent to the House of Representatives may be given or sent to the Speaker (whether he is presiding over the House or not) or to any other person who is presiding over that House and in the case of a notice or consent given or message sent to the Senate may be given or sent to the President (whether he is presiding over the House or not) or to any other person who is presiding over that House and in the case of a notice or consent given to a committee of either House may be given either to the person who is presiding over that committee or if the committee be a committee of the House of Representatives to the Speaker or if the committee be a committee of the Senate to the President or if the committee be a joint committee to the person who is presiding over that joint committee or to the Speaker or the President

(6) References in this section to the special responsibilities of the Governor, shall, during any period when the control of the finances of the Territory rests with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, include the responsibility for maintaining or securing the financial and economic stability of the Territory and ensuring that any condition attached to a financial grant or loan made by the United Kingdom Government to the Government of the Territory is complied with.

(7) The powers vested in the Governor by this section shall be exercised by him in his discretion.

28.—(1) A Bill shall not become law until—

- (a) the Governor has assented thereto in Her Majesty's name and on Her Majesty's behalf and has signed the same in token of such assent; or
- (b) Her Majesty has given Her assent thereto through a Secretary of State and the Governor has signified such assent by proclamation published in the *Gazette*.

Assent to  
Bills.

(2) A Bill shall be presented to the Governor for assent if, and subject to the provisions of sections 24 and 25 of this Ordinance shall not be so presented, unless it has been passed by both Houses of the National Assembly either without amendment or with such amendments only as are agreed to by both Houses.

(3) When a Bill is presented to the Governor for assent he shall declare that he assents or refuses assent thereto or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure;

Provided that, unless he has been authorised by a Secretary of State to assent thereto, the Governor shall reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure any Bill which appears to him, acting in his discretion—

- (a) to be inconsistent with any obligation imposed on Her Majesty by any treaty, convention or agreement or arrangement relating to any country or international or similar organisation outside the Territory;
- (b) to be likely to prejudice the Royal prerogative; or
- (c) to be in any way repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Ordinance or of the Representation of the People Ordinance as amended by the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960.

Ch. 4.

No. 8 of 1960.

(4) The Governor, acting in his discretion, may refuse his assent to any Bill which appears to him to affect his special responsibilities or may reserve any such Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

Words of enactment.

29.—(1) In every Bill presented to the Governor for assent, other than a Bill presented under section 24 or 25 of this Ordinance, the words of enactment shall be as follows:—

“Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the House of Representatives and the Senate of British Honduras and by the authority of the same as follows:—”

(2) In every Bill presented to the Governor for assent under section 24 or 25 of this Ordinance, the words of enactment shall be as follows:—

“Be it enacted by The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the House of Representatives of British Honduras in accordance with the provisions of section 24 (or section 25, as the case may be) of the British Honduras Constitution Ordinance, 1963, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—”

(3) Any alteration of the words of enactment of a Bill made in consequence of the provisions of the preceding paragraph shall not be deemed to be an amendment of the Bill.

Power of disallowance in respect of laws relating to British Honduras Government stock.

30.—(1) Any law of the National Assembly which has been assented to by the Governor and which appears to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to alter, to the injury of the stockholders, any provision relating to any stock to which this section applies or to involve a departure from the original contract in respect of any such stock, may be disallowed by Her Majesty through a Secretary of State.

(2) Whenever such a law has been disallowed by Her Majesty, the Governor shall cause notice of such disallowance to be published in the *Gazette* and the law shall be annulled with effect from the date of publication of that notice.

(3) On the annulment of any law under this section any enactment repealed or amended by or in pursuance of that law shall have effect from the date of the annulment as if that law had not been made but save as provided in the foregoing provisions of this subsection the provisions of subsections (1) and (2) of section 19 of the Interpretation Ordinance shall apply to that annulment as they apply to the repeal of an Ordinance.

Ch. 2.

(4) The stock to which this section applies is stock forming the whole or part of the public debt of the Territory—

- (a) in which a trustee may invest, or might at any time have invested, by virtue of section 2 of the Colonial Stock Act, 1900; or
- (b) by the conditions of issue of which it is provided that this section shall apply to it.

31. The Legislature may by law determine and regulate the privileges, immunities and powers of the two Houses of the Legislature and the members thereof, but no such privileges, immunities or powers shall exceed those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom or of the members thereof.

Privileges  
etc. of  
Houses.

32.—(1) Each session of the Legislature shall be held at such place within the Territory and shall begin at such time (not being later than six months from the end of the preceding session if the Legislature has been prorogued or four months from the end of that session if the Legislature has been dissolved) as the Governor shall appoint by Proclamation published in the *Gazette*.

Sessions of  
Legislature, etc.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (1) of this section, the sittings of each House of the National Assembly shall be held at such time and place as that House may, by its Standing Orders or otherwise, determine:

Provided that the first sitting of each House of the National Assembly after the Legislature has at any time been prorogued or dissolved shall begin at the same time.

33.—(1) The Governor may at any time prorogue the Legislature.

Prorogation  
and  
dissolution  
of  
Legislature.

(2) The Governor, acting in accordance with the advice of the Premier, may at any time dissolve the Legislature:

Provided that—

- (a) if the House of Representatives passes a resolution that it has no confidence in the Government of

the Territory and the Premier does not within three days either resign from his office or advise a dissolution, the Governor, acting in his discretion, may dissolve the Legislature;

- (b) if the Premier at any time advises a dissolution and the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that the government of the Territory can be carried on without a dissolution and that a dissolution would not be in the interests of the Territory, he may, acting in his discretion, refuse to dissolve the Legislature; and
- (c) if the office of Premier is vacant and the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that there is no prospect of his being able within a reasonable time to appoint to that office a person who can command the support of a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, he shall dissolve the Legislature.

(3) The Legislature, unless sooner dissolved, shall continue for five years from the date when the two Houses of the National Assembly first meet after any dissolution and shall then stand dissolved.

General elections and appointment of Senators.

34.—(1) A general election of members of the House of Representatives shall be held at such time within three months after every dissolution of the Legislature as the Governor, acting in accordance with the advice of the Premier, shall appoint.

(2) As soon as practicable after every general election, the Governor shall proceed under section 9 of this Ordinance to the appointment of Senators.

Determination of questions as to membership of National Assembly.

35.—(1) Any question whether—

- (a) any person has been validly elected as a member of the House of Representatives or validly appointed as a Senator;
- (b) any member of the House of Representatives or Senator has vacated his seat or is required, under the provisions of section 7 (3) or section 12 (3) of this Ordinance, to cease to exercise any of his functions as a member of the House of Representatives or as a Senator; or
- (c) any person has been validly elected as Speaker of the House of Representatives or President of the Senate from among person who are not members of the House of Representatives or Senators, or, having been so elected, has vacated the office of Speaker or of President,



shall be determined by the Supreme Court in accordance with the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Territory.

(2) Proceedings for the determination of any question referred to in the preceding subsection shall not be instituted except with the leave of a judge of the Supreme Court.

(3) No appeal shall lie from the decision of a judge of the Supreme Court granting or refusing leave to institute proceedings in accordance with the preceding subsection.

36. Any person who sits or votes in either House of the National Assembly knowing or having reasonable cause for knowing that he is not entitled to do so shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars for every day upon which he so sits or votes in that House, which penalty shall be recoverable by action in the Supreme Court at the suit of the Attorney General.

Unqualified persons sitting or voting.

### PART III

#### THE SUPREME COURT

37.—(1) There shall be for the Territory a Supreme Court which shall have unlimited original jurisdiction to hear and determine any civil or criminal proceedings under any law and such jurisdiction and powers as may be conferred on it by this Ordinance or any other law.

Establishment of Supreme Court.

(2) The judges of the Supreme Court shall be the Chief Justice and such number of other judges (hereinafter referred to as "the puisne judges") as may from time to time be prescribed by the Governor:

Provided that the office of a judge shall not be abolished while there is a substantive holder thereof.

(3) The Supreme Court shall be a superior court of record and, save as otherwise provided by any law for the time being in force in the Territory, shall have all the powers of such a court.

(4) The Supreme Court shall sit in such places as the Chief Justice may appoint.

38.—(1) The Chief Justice and the puisne judges shall be appointed by the Governor, in pursuance of instructions given to him by Her Majesty through a Secretary of State, by instrument under the Public Seal.

Appointment of judges of Supreme Court.

(2) A person shall not be qualified to be appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court unless—

(a) he is qualified to practice as an advocate in a court in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland or any other part of the Commonwealth having un-

limited jurisdiction either in civil or criminal causes or matters; and

(b) he has been qualified for not less than five years to practise as an advocate in such a court.

(3) If the office of Chief Justice is vacant or the Chief Justice is for any reason including his absence from Belize City unable to exercise the functions of his office, then, until a person has been appointed to and has assumed the functions of that office or until the person holding that office has resumed those functions, as the case may be, they shall be exercised by the puisne judge, or if there be more than one then by such one of the puisne judges as may for the time being be designated in that behalf by the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier.

(4) If the office of any puisne judge is vacant or if any such judge is appointed to act as Chief Justice or is for any reason unable to perform the functions of his office or if the Chief Justice advises the Governor that the state of business in the Supreme Court so requires, the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier, may appoint a person who is qualified to be appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court to act as a puisne judge of that court:

Provided that a person may act as a judge notwithstanding that he has attained the age prescribed for the purposes of section 39 (1) of this Ordinance.

(5) Any person appointed under subsection (4) of this section to act as a puisne judge shall, subject to the provisions of subsections (4) and (6) of section 39 of this Ordinance, continue to act for the period of his appointment or, if no such period is specified, until his appointment is revoked by the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier:

Provided that, notwithstanding the expiration of the period of his appointment or the revocation of his appointment, he may thereafter continue to act as a puisne judge for so long as may be necessary to enable him to deliver judgement or to do any other thing in relation to proceedings that were commenced before him previously thereto.

Tenure of  
office of  
judges of  
Supreme  
Court.

39.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, a person holding the office of a judge of the Supreme Court shall vacate that office on attaining the age of sixty-two years or such later age as may be prescribed by the Legislature.

(2) Notwithstanding that he has attained the age prescribed for the purposes of subsection (1) of this section, a person holding the office of a judge of the Supreme Court may continue in office for so long after attaining that age as may be necessary to enable him to deliver judgement or to do any other thing in

relation to proceedings that were commenced before him before he attained that age.

(3) A judge of the Supreme Court may be removed from office only for inability to perform the functions of his office (whether arising from infirmity of body or mind or from any other cause) or for misbehaviour, and shall not be so removed except in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(4) A judge of the Supreme Court shall be removed from office by the Governor if the question of his removal has, at the request of the Governor, made in pursuance of subsection (5) of this section, been referred by Her Majesty to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council under any enactment enabling Her Majesty in that behalf and the Judicial Committee has advised Her Majesty that the judge ought to be removed from office for inability as aforesaid or for misbehaviour.

(5) If the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that the question of removing a judge under this section ought to be investigated, then—

- (a) the Governor shall appoint a tribunal, which shall consist of a Chairman who shall be a person who holds or has held high judicial office, and not less than two other members, selected by the Governor acting in his discretion;
- (b) the tribunal shall enquire into the matter and report on the facts thereof to the Governor and recommend to the Governor whether he should request that the question of the removal of that judge from office should be referred by Her Majesty to the Judicial Committee; and
- (c) if the tribunal so recommends, the Governor shall request that the question should be referred accordingly.

(6) If the question of removing a judge from office has been referred to a tribunal under subsection (5) of this section, the Governor, acting in his discretion, may suspend the judge from performing the functions of his office, and any such suspension may at any time be revoked by the Governor, acting in his discretion, and shall in any case cease to have effect—

- (a) if the tribunal recommends to the Governor that he should not request that the question of the removal of the judge from office should be referred by Her Majesty to the Judicial Committee; or
- (b) if the Judicial Committee advises Her Majesty that the judge ought not to be removed from office.

(7) The provisions of sections 5 and 7, section 8 (other than the words "not inconsistent with their commission" and "subject only to the terms of their commission") sections 9 to 11 inclusive and sections 13, 14 and 16 of the Commissions of Inquiry Ordinance, as in force on the appointed day, shall apply in relation to a tribunal appointed under this section as they apply in relation to Commissioners appointed under that Ordinance, and for that purpose those provisions shall have effect as if they formed part of this Ordinance.

Oaths to be taken by judges of Supreme Court.  
First Schedule.

40. A judge of the Supreme Court shall not enter upon the duties of his office unless he has taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and such oath for the due execution of his office in the form set out in the First Schedule to this Ordinance.

#### PART IV

##### THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Composition of Public Service Commission.

41.—(1) There shall be in and for the Territory a Public Service Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and four other members.

(2) The chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission shall be appointed by the Governor acting after consultation with the Premier, by instrument under the Public Seal.

(3) No person shall be qualified to be appointed as a member of the Public Service Commission if he is a member of the House of Representatives or the Senate or if he holds or is acting in any public office.

(4) A person shall not, while he holds or is acting in the office of a member of the Public Service Commission or within a period of two years commencing from the date on which he last held or acted in that office, be eligible for appointment to any public office.

(5) Subject to the provisions of this section, the office of a member of the Public Service Commission shall become vacant—

(a) at the expiration of five years from the date of his appointment or such earlier time, being not less than three years, as may be specified in the instrument by which he was appointed; or

(b) if any circumstances arise that, if he were not a member of the Commission, would cause him to be disqualified for appointment as such.

(6) A member of the Public Service Commission may be removed from office by the Governor, acting after consultation

with the Premier, but he may be removed only for inability to discharge the functions of his office (whether arising from infirmity of body or mind or any other cause) or for misbehaviour.

(7) If the office of a member of the Public Service Commission is vacant or a member is for any reason unable to perform the functions of his office, the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier, may appoint a person who is qualified for appointment as a member of the Commission to act as a member of the Commission, and any person so appointed shall, subject to the provisions of the last foregoing subsection, continue to act until he is notified by the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier, that the circumstances giving rise to the appointment have ceased to exist.

42.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, power to appoint persons to hold or act in any offices in the public service of the Territory (including power to confirm appointments), to exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in such offices and to remove such persons from office shall vest in the Governor acting after consultation with the Public Service Commission.

Appointment,  
etc. of  
public  
officers.

(2) The provisions of this section shall not apply in relation to any of the following offices—

- (a) any office on the personal staff of the Governor;
- (b) the offices of a judge of the Supreme Court or Principal Auditor;
- (c) except for the purposes of making appointments thereto or to act therein, the office of the Attorney General or the Director of Public Prosecutions;
- (d) any office to which section 47 of this Ordinance (which relates to the appointment of judicial offices) applies;
- (e) so far only as the proviso to section 45 (1) of this Ordinance affects the appointment of persons thereto or to act therein, the offices of Principal Secretary and the office of the Secretary to the Cabinet;
- (f) subject to the provisions of section 48 of this Ordinance, any office in the Police Force below the rank of Inspector.

43.—(1) The Governor, after consultation with the Public Service Commission may, by instrument under the Public Seal, direct that, subject to such conditions as may be specified in

Delegation  
of  
Governor's  
powers.

that instrument, power to make appointments to such offices, being offices to which this section applies, as may be specified in that instrument and power to dismiss and power to exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in those offices, or any of those powers, shall (without prejudice to the exercise of such powers by the Governor acting after consultation with the Public Service Commission) be exercisable by such public officer as may be so specified.

(2) This section applies to offices with respect to which power to make appointments is vested in the Governor by the last foregoing section and the remuneration of which is calculated by reference to any period less than one month.

Governor's  
personal  
staff.

44.—(1) The Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier, may, by order published in the *Gazette*, prescribe the sums payable in respect of the expenditure attaching to the office of the Governor (including the sums payable in respect of the salaries and allowances of the members of the Governor's personal staff) and any sum so prescribed shall be a charge on the revenues of the Territory.

(2) Power to appoint persons to hold or act in the offices on the personal staff of the Governor, to exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in such offices and to remove such persons from office shall vest in the Governor, acting in his discretion, but the powers of disciplinary control and removal from office so conferred shall be exercisable in relation to any such person only as respects his service on the personal staff of the Governor and not as respects his service as a public officer.

Appointment  
of Secretaries  
to Ministries,  
etc.

45.—(1) Power to appoint persons to hold or act in offices to which this section applies shall vest in the Governor acting after consultation with the Public Service Commission:

Provided that appointments to any such office upon transfer from any other such office carrying the same emoluments shall be made by the Governor in accordance with the advice of the Premier.

(2) The offices to which this section applies are the office of any Principal Secretary or the Secretary to the Cabinet.

Judicial and  
Legal Service  
Commission.

46.—(1) There shall be in and for the Territory a Judicial and Legal Service Commission.

(2) The members of the Commission shall be—

- (a) the Chief Justice, who shall be Chairman of the Commission;
- (b) a Puisne Judge designated by the Chief Justice; and
- (c) the Chairman of the Public Service Commission.

47.—(1) Power to appoint persons to hold or act in offices to which this section applies (including power to confirm appointments), to exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in such offices and to remove such persons from office shall vest in the Governor acting after consultation with the Judicial and Legal Service Commission.

Appointment,  
etc. of judicial  
officers.

(2) The offices to which this section applies are the offices of Registrar or Deputy Registrar of the Supreme Court and the office of Magistrate.

(3) In this section references to the office of Magistrate do not include references to any administrative office the holders of which are, under the provisions of any law for the time being in force in the Territory, entitled by virtue of that office to hold a subordinate court.

48.—(1) Power to appoint persons to hold or act in any office in the Police Force (including power to confirm appointments) below the rank of Inspector and to exercise disciplinary control over persons holding or acting in such offices and to remove such persons from office shall vest in the Commissioner of Police.

Appointment  
etc. of  
junior  
police  
officers.

Ch. 59.

(2) The Commissioner of Police may, subject to such conditions as he thinks fit, delegate any of his powers under this section, by directions in writing, to any other officer of the Police Force.

(3) The Governor may act on the advice of the Public Service Commission in cases of appeals made to him by officers of the Police Force below the rank of Inspector or against the decision of the Commissioner of Police in matters of disciplinary control or removal from office in so far as any law for the time being in force in the Territory confers a right of appeal to the Governor from a decision of the Commissioner of Police in such matters.

49.—(1) The Governor, acting after consultation with any Commission established by this Ordinance, may by regulation make provision for regulating and facilitating the performance by the Commission of its functions under this Ordinance.

Performance  
of functions  
of Commission.

(2) Any decision of any Commission established by this Ordinance shall require the concurrence of a majority of all the members thereof and, subject as aforesaid, the Commission may act notwithstanding the absence of any member other than the Chairman.

(3) Subject to the provisions of this section, any Commission established by this Ordinance may regulate its own procedure.

The Attorney  
General.

**50.—(1)** A person shall not be qualified for appointment to hold or to act in the office of Attorney General unless he is qualified to be appointed as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

(2) If the office of Attorney General is vacant or the Attorney General is for any reason unable to perform the functions of his office, the Governor, after consultation with the Public Service Commission, may appoint a person qualified for appointment to that office, to perform those functions, and any person so appointed shall, subject to the provisions of section 52 of this Ordinance, continue to perform those functions until he is notified by the Governor, acting in his discretion, that the circumstances giving rise to the appointment have ceased to exist.

Qualification,  
etc. of  
Director  
of Public  
Prosecutions.

**51.—(1)** A person shall not be qualified for appointment to hold or to act in the office of Director of Public Prosecutions unless he is qualified to be appointed as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

(2) If the office of Director of Public Prosecutions is vacant or the Director is for any reason unable to perform the functions of his office, the Governor, after consultation with the Public Service Commission, may appoint a person qualified for appointment to that office to perform those functions, and any person so appointed shall, subject to the provisions of section 52 of this Ordinance, continue to perform those functions until he is notified by the Governor that the circumstances giving rise to the appointment have ceased to exist.

Tenure of  
office of  
certain public  
offices.

**52.—(1)** The provisions of this section shall apply in relation to persons holding the offices of Attorney General, Director of Public Prosecutions and Principal Auditor.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this section, a person to whom this section applies shall vacate his office when he attains the age of fifty-five or such later age as may be prescribed by any law for the time being in force in the Territory.

(3) A person to whom this section applies may be removed from office only for inability to exercise the functions of his office (whether arising from infirmity of body or mind or any other cause) or for misbehaviour and shall not be so removed except in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(4) A person to whom this section applies shall be removed from office by the Governor if the question of his removal from



office has been referred to a tribunal appointed under subsection (5) of this section and the tribunal has recommended to the Governor that he ought to be removed for inability as aforesaid or for misbehaviour.

(5) If, the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that the question of removing a person to whom this section applies under this section ought to be investigated, then—

(a) the Governor, acting in his discretion, shall appoint a tribunal which shall consist of a Chairman who shall be a person who holds or has held high judicial office and not less than two other members selected by the Governor acting in his discretion; and

(b) the tribunal shall enquire into the matter and report on the facts thereof to the Governor and recommend to him whether the person ought to be removed under this section.

(6) If the question of removing a person to whom this section applies has been referred to a tribunal under this section, the Governor, acting in his discretion, may suspend the person from the exercise of the functions of his office and any such suspension may at any time be revoked by the Governor, acting in his discretion as aforesaid, and shall in any case cease to have effect if the tribunal recommends to the Governor that the person should not be removed.

(7) The provisions of sections 5 and 7, section 8 (other than the words "not inconsistent with their commission" and "subject only to the terms of their commission") sections 9 to 11 inclusive and sections 13, 14 and 16 of the Commissions of Inquiry Ordinance as in force on the appointed day shall apply in relation to a tribunal appointed under the last foregoing subsection as they apply in relation to commissioners appointed under that Ordinance, and for that purpose those provisions shall have effect as if they formed part of this Ordinance.

Ch. 14.

53.—(1) The law to be applied with respect to any pensions benefits that were granted to any person before the appointed day shall be the law that was in force at the date on which those benefits were granted or any law in force at a later date that is not less favourable to that person.

Pension laws  
and protection  
of pension  
rights.

(2) The law to be applied with respect to any pensions benefits (not being benefits to which subsection (1) of this section applies) shall—

- (a) in so far as those benefits are wholly in respect of a period of service as a public officer that commenced before the appointed day, be the law that was in force immediately before that date; and
- (b) in so far as those benefits are wholly or partly in respect of a period of service as a public officer that commenced after the appointed day, be the law in force on the date on which that period of service commenced,

or any law in force at a later date not less favourable to that person.

(3) Where a person is entitled to exercise an option as to which of two or more laws shall apply in his case, the law for which he opts shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be more favourable to him than the other law or laws.

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(4) All pensions benefits shall (except to the extent to which, in the case of benefits under the Widows' and Orphans' Pensions Ordinance or under any law amending or replacing that Ordinance they are a charge on a fund established by that Ordinance or by any such law and have been duly paid out of that fund to the person or authority to whom payment is due) be a charge on the general revenues of the Territory.

(5) In this section "pensions benefits" means any pensions, compensation, gratuities or other like allowances for persons in respect of their service as public officers or for the widows, children, dependants or personal representatives of such persons in respect of such service.

(6) References in this section to the law with respect to pensions benefits include (without prejudice to their generality) references to the law regulating the circumstances in which such benefits may be granted or in which the grant of such benefits may be refused, the law regulating the circumstances in which any such benefits that have been granted may be withheld, reduced in amount or suspended and the law regulating the amount of any such benefits.

Grant and withholding of pensions, etc.

54.—(1) The power to grant any award under any pensions law for the time being in force in the Territory (other than an award to which, under that law, the person to whom it is payable is entitled as of right) and in accordance with any provisions in that behalf contained in any such law, to withhold, reduce in amount or suspend any award payable under any such law shall vest in the Governor.

(2) The power vested in the Governor by the preceding subsection shall be exercised by him—

- (a) in the case of an award payable in respect of the services of any person who, having been a public officer, was, immediately before the date on which he ceased to hold public office, serving as —
- (i) A Judge of the Supreme Court;
  - (ii) Attorney General;
  - (iii) Director of Public Prosecutions;
  - (iv) Principal Auditor; or
  - (v) A member of the personal staff of the Governor, in his discretion;
- (b) in the case of an award payable in respect of the services of any other person, after consultation with the Public Service Commission.

(3) In this section, "pensions law" means any law relating to the grant to any person, or to the widow, children, dependants or personal representatives of that person, of an award in respect of the services of that person in a public office, and includes any instrument made under any such law.

## PART V

### FINANCE.

55.—(1) All revenues or other moneys raised or received by the Territory (not being revenues or other moneys payable under this Ordinance or any other law into some other public fund of the Territory established for a specific purpose) shall be paid into and form one Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Establishment  
of Consoli-  
dated  
Revenue  
Fund.

(2) No moneys shall be withdrawn from the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Territory except to meet expenditure that is charged upon the Fund by this Ordinance or any other law or where the issue of those moneys has been authorised by an appropriation Ordinance or an Ordinance passed in pursuance of section 57 of this Ordinance.

(3) No moneys shall be withdrawn from any public fund of the Territory other than the Consolidated Revenue Fund unless the issue of those moneys has been authorised by a law enacted by the Legislature of the Territory.

(4) No moneys shall be withdrawn from the Consolidated Revenue Fund or any other public fund of the Territory except in the manner prescribed by the law of the Territory.

56.—(1) The Minister responsible for Finance shall prepare and lay before the House of Representatives in each financial year estimates of the revenues and expenditure of the Territory for the next following financial year.

Authorisation  
of expenditure  
from Con-  
solidated  
Revenue  
Fund.

(2) The heads of expenditure contained in the estimates (other than expenditure charged upon the Consolidated Revenue Fund by this Ordinance or any other law) shall be included in a Bill, to be known as an Appropriation Bill, providing for the issue from the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Territory of the sums necessary to meet that expenditure and the appropriation of those sums for the purposes specified therein.

(3) If in respect of any financial year it is found—

- (a) that the amount appropriated by the Appropriation Ordinance for any purpose is insufficient or that a need has arisen for expenditure for a purpose for which no amount has been appropriated by the Ordinance; or
- (b) that any moneys have been expended for any purpose in excess of the amount appropriated for the purpose by the appropriation Ordinance or for a purpose for which no amount has been appropriated by the Ordinance,

a supplementary estimate showing the sums required or spent shall be laid before the House of Representatives and the heads of any such expenditure shall be included in a supplementary Appropriation Bill.

Authorisation  
of expenditure  
in advance  
of appro-  
priation.

57. Any law of the Territory may make provision under which, if the appropriation Ordinance in respect of any financial year has not come into operation by the beginning of that financial year, the Minister responsible for Finance may authorise the withdrawal of moneys from the Consolidated Revenue Fund for the purpose of meeting expenditure necessary to carry on the services of the Government until the expiration of four months from the beginning of that financial year or the coming into operation of the Ordinance, which ever is the earlier.

Contingencies  
Fund.

58.—(1) Any law of the Territory may provide for the establishment of a Contingencies Fund for the Territory and for authorising the Minister responsible for Finance, if satisfied that there has arisen an urgent and unforeseen need for expenditure for which no other provision exists, to make advances from the Fund to meet that need.

(2) Where any advance is made in accordance with subsection (1) of this section a supplementary estimate shall be presented and a supplementary Appropriation Bill shall be introduced as soon as possible for the purpose of replacing the amount so advanced.

Public debt.

59.—(1) There shall be charged on the Consolidated Revenue Fund all debt charges for which the Territory is liable.

(2) For the purposes of this section debt charges include interest, sinking fund charges, the repayment or amortization of debt, and all expenditure in connection with the raising of loans on the security of the Consolidated Revenue Fund and the service and redemption of debt created thereby.

60.—(1) The Principal Auditor for the Territory, shall be appointed by the Governor acting after consultation with the Premier and the Director General of the Overseas Audit Service.

Principal Auditor.

(2) If the office of Principal Auditor is vacant or the Principal Auditor is for any reason unable to perform the functions of his office, the Governor, acting after consultation with the Premier and the Director General of the Overseas Audit Service, may appoint a person to act as Principal Auditor, and any person so appointed shall, subject to the provisions of section 52 of this Ordinance, continue to act until he is notified by the Governor, acting in his discretion, that the circumstances giving rise to the appointment have ceased to exist.

## PART VI

### MISCELLANEOUS AND TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

61.—(1) There shall be paid to the holders of the offices to which this section applies such salary and such allowances as may be prescribed by or under any law for the time being in force in the Territory:

Remuneration etc. of certain offices.

Provided that until other provision is made under and in accordance with the provisions of this section such salary and allowances shall be those to which the holders of those offices were entitled immediately before the appointed day.

(2) The salaries and any allowances payable to the holders of the offices to which this section applies shall be a charge on the general revenues of the Territory.

(3) The salary payable to the holder of any office to which this section applies and his other terms of service (other than allowances) shall not be altered to his disadvantage after his appointment.

(4) Where a person's salary or terms of office depend upon his option, the salary or terms for which he opts shall, for the purposes of subsection (3) of this section, be deemed to be more advantageous to him than any others for which he might have opted.

(5) This section applies to the offices of Governor, Judge of the Supreme Court, member of the Public Service Commission, Attorney General, Principal Auditor and Director of Public Prosecutions.

Emergency  
powers.

62.—(1) If at any time the Governor is satisfied that a public emergency exists in the Territory the Governor may by Proclamation published in the *Gazette* (hereinafter called “a Proclamation of Emergency”) declare that a public emergency exists in the Territory.

(2) Where a Proclamation of Emergency has been made, the following provisions shall have effect—

- (a) The Governor may make such regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of the Territory, the maintenance of public order and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion and riot, and for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community;
- (b) Any such regulations may empower such authorities or persons as may be specified in the regulations to make orders and rules for any of the purposes for which such regulations are authorised by this section to be made and may contain such incidental and supplementary provisions as appear to the Governor to be necessary or expedient for the purposes of the regulations;
- (c) Any such regulation or any order or rule made in pursuance of such a regulation may amend or suspend the operation of any law and shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any law;
- (d) In this subsection, unless the context otherwise requires, “law” means any enactment or instrument having the force of law which can lawfully be amended by a law made by the Legislature of the Territory.

(3) Where a Proclamation of Emergency has been made the provisions of subsection (2) of this section shall continue in operation until a further Proclamation directing that they shall cease to have effect is made by the Governor and shall then cease to have effect except as respects things previously done or omitted to be done.

(4) A Proclamation of Emergency may be made so as to apply only to such part of the Territory as may be specified in

the Proclamation (in this subsection called "the Emergency Area"), in which case regulations made under the provisions of subsection (2) of this section shall except as otherwise expressly provided in such regulations have effect only in the Emergency Area:

Provided that for the avoidance of doubt it is hereby declared that the expression "the Territory" in subsection (2) of this section shall not be construed as referring only to the Emergency Area.

(5) The powers conferred upon the Governor by this section shall be exercised by him after consultation with the Premier.

63.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, any person who is appointed or elected to any office established by this Ordinance may resign from that office by writing under his hand addressed to the person or authority by whom he was appointed or elected:

Resignations.

Provided that—

- (a) the resignation of a person from the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker of the House of Representative shall be addressed to that House;
- (b) the resignation of a person from the office of President or Vice President of the Senate shall be addressed to the Senate;
- (c) the resignation of any person from the office of member of the House of Representatives shall be addressed to the Speaker;
- (d) the resignation of any person from the office of member of the Senate shall be addressed to the President.

(2) The resignation of any person from any such office as aforesaid shall take effect when the writing signifying the resignation is received by the person or authority to whom it is addressed or any person authorised by that person or authority to receive it.

64. Where a power is conferred by this Ordinance upon any person to make any appointment to any office, a person may be appointed to that office notwithstanding that some other person may be holding that office, when that other person is on leave of absence pending the relinquishment of the office; and where two or more persons are holding the same office by reason of an appointment made in pursuance of this section, then, for the purposes of any function conferred upon the holder of that

Concurrent appointments.

office, the person last appointed shall be deemed to be the sole holder of the office.

First  
general  
election.

65. The first general election of members of the House of Representatives shall be held on such day, within three months of the first dissolution of the Legislative Assembly after the appointed day as the Governor may appoint by proclamation published in the *Gazette*.

How elections  
held,

66. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance until other provisions are made by law the members of the House of Representatives shall be elected in accordance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Ordinance, as amended by the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960.

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First session  
of Houses of  
Legislature.

67. The first session of the House of Representatives and of the Senate shall begin within three months of the first general election mentioned in section 65 of this Ordinance.

First Standing  
Orders.

68. The Governor shall cause to be made and laid before the House of Representatives and the Senate respectively when they first meet such Standing Orders with respect to the matters mentioned in section 17 of this Ordinance as appear to him expedient to enable the House of Representatives and the Senate to commence the transaction of their business in an orderly manner, but any such Orders may be amended or revoked by the House to which they relate.

Continuation  
of Legislative  
Assembly.

69.—(1) During the period beginning with the appointed day and ending on the coming into operation of Part II of this Ordinance—

- (a) Part II of the existing Constitution Ordinance shall, subject to the provisions of this subsection and the modifications to the said Part II set out in subsection (2) of this section, continue to have effect;
- (b) section 2 of the existing Constitution Ordinance shall have effect for the purpose of interpreting Part II of that Ordinance, and for no other purpose;
- (c) except for the purpose of interpreting the expressions "Premier" and "Cabinet" and the references to the special responsibilities of the Governor, section 2 of this Ordinance shall not have effect for the purpose of interpreting the provisions contained in subsection (2) of this section;



(d) references in section 2 and Part II of the existing Constitution Ordinance to the First Minister and the Executive Council shall be construed as references to the Premier and the Cabinet, respectively;

(e) the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General shall cease to be members of the Legislative Assembly and, accordingly, the existing Constitution Ordinance shall be construed as if references therein to the *ex officio* members of the Legislative Assembly were omitted.

(2) The modifications to Part II of the existing Constitution Ordinance, referred to in subsection (1) of this section, shall be as follows—

(a) the following section shall be substituted for section 28—

"Governor's reserved Powers.

28.—(1) If the Governor considers that any Bill or motion that is before the Legislative Assembly or any committee thereof affects his special responsibilities, he may give notice thereof to the Legislative Assembly or committee concerned and no further proceedings shall then be taken upon the Bill or motion without his consent.

(2) The Governor may send by message to the Legislative Assembly a draft of any Bill or motion which, in pursuance of his special responsibilities, he considers should be introduced or proposed in the Legislative Assembly and may (whether in the same or a later message) request that the Bill or motion be so introduced or proposed not later than a date specified in such message.

(3) If a request made by the Governor under subsection (2) of this section is not complied with by the date specified, the Bill or motion to which it relates shall be deemed to have been introduced or proposed in the Legislative Assembly on that date.

(4) If the Legislative Assembly fails to pass the Bill or carry the motion within

such time as the Governor considers reasonable in such form as he considers expedient, he may, by writing under his hand, declare that it shall have effect as if, on the date of such declaration, it has been passed or carried by the Legislative Assembly either in the form in which it was introduced or proposed (or is deemed to have been introduced or proposed) or (as the declaration shall specify) with such amendments as the Governor thinks fit that have been moved or proposed in the Legislative Assembly or any committee thereof; and the Bill or motion shall be deemed thereupon to have been passed or carried in the form specified in the declaration and on the date thereof, and the provisions of this Ordinance shall have effect accordingly.

(5) Any notice or consent given or message sent by the Governor under this section may be given or sent in such manner as the Governor thinks fit and, in the case of a notice or consent given or a message sent to the Legislative Assembly, may be given or sent either to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (whether or not he is presiding over the Legislative Assembly) or to any other person who is presiding over the Legislative Assembly and, in the case of a notice or consent given to a committee of the Legislative Assembly, may be given either to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (whether or not he is presiding over that committee) or to any other person who is presiding over that committee.

(6) References in this section to the special responsibilities of the Governor shall, during any period when the control of the finances of the Territory rests with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, include the responsibility for maintaining or securing the financial and economic stability of the Territory and ensuring that any condition attached to a

financial grant or loan made by the United Kingdom Government to the Government of the Territory is complied with.

(7) The powers vested in the Governor by this section shall be exercised by him in his discretion."

(b) the following subsections shall be substituted for subsection (2) of section 29—

"(2) When a Bill is presented to the Governor for assent, he shall signify that he assents or that he withholds assent or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure:

Provided that, unless he has been authorised by a Secretary of State to assent thereto, and subject to the provisions of Subsection (3) of this section, the Governor shall reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure any Bill that appears, to him, acting in his discretion—

(a) to be inconsistent with any obligation imposed on Her Majesty by any treaty convention or agreement with or arrangement relating to any country or any international or similar organisation outside the Territory; or

(b) to be likely to prejudice the Royal prerogative;

(c) to be in any way repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Ordinance or of the Representation of the People Ordinance as amended by the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960.

(2A) The Governor, acting in his discretion, may refuse his assent to any Bill which appears to him to affect his special responsibilities or may reserve any such Bill for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure."

(c) the following section shall be substituted for section 30—

30.—(1) Any law of the Legislative Assembly that has been assented to by the Governor and that appears to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to

Ch. 4.

No. 3 of 1960.

1960, No. 3 of 1960.

alter, to the injury of the stockholders, any provision relating to stock to which this section applies or to involve a departure from the original contract in respect of any such stock may be disallowed by Her Majesty through a Secretary of State.

(2) Whenever such a law has been disallowed by Her Majesty the Governor shall cause notice of such disallowance to be published in the *Gazette* and the law shall be annulled with effect from the date of publication of that notice.

(3) On the annulment of any law under this section any enactment repealed or amended by or in pursuance of that law shall have effect as from the date of the annulment as if that law had not been made; but save as provided in the foregoing provisions of this subsection the provisions of subsections (1) and (2) of section 19 of the Interpretation Ordinance, shall apply to that annulment as they apply to the repeal of an Ordinance.

(4) The stock to which this section applies is stock forming the whole or part of the public debt of the Territory—

(a) in which a trustee may invest, or might at any time have invested, by virtue of section 2 of the Colonial Stock Act, 1900; or

(b) by the conditions of issue of which it is provided that this section shall apply to it."

(d) the following section shall be substituted for section 34—

"Prorogation  
and dissolution  
of Legislative  
Assembly.

34—(1) The Governor may at any time prorogue the Legislative Assembly.

(2) The Governor, acting in accordance with the advice of the Premier, may at any time dissolve the Legislative Assembly:

Provided that—

(a) if the Legislative Assembly passes a resolution that it has no confidence

in the Government of the Territory and the Premier does not within three days either resign from his office or advise a dissolution, the Governor, acting in his discretion, may dissolve the Legislative Assembly;

(b) if the Premier at any time advises a dissolution and the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that the Government of the Territory can be carried on without a dissolution and that a dissolution would not be in the interests of the Territory, he may, acting in his discretion, refuse to dissolve the Legislative Assembly; and

(c) if the office of Premier is vacant and the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers that there is no prospect of his being able within a reasonable time to appoint to that office a person who can command the support of a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, he shall dissolve the Legislative Assembly.

(3) The Legislative Assembly, shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the first writ at the last preceding general election if it shall not have been sooner dissolved."

(e) section 35 shall be omitted.

(3) For the purposes of this section the existing Constitution Ordinance means the British Honduras Constitution Ordinance as amended by the British Honduras Constitution (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960, the British Honduras Constitution (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1960, and the British Honduras Constitution (Amendment) Ordinance, 1963.

Ch. 3.  
No. 12 of 1960,  
No. 16 of 1960,  
No. 4 of 1963.

70.—(1) The Supreme Court in existence before the appointed day shall, as from that day be the Supreme Court for the purposes of this Ordinance and of any other law in force in the Territory, and the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court holding office immediately before that day shall, as from that day, continue to hold the like offices as if they had been appointed thereto under the provisions of this Ordinance,

Supreme  
Court.

and shall be deemed to have taken any necessary oath or affirmation under this Ordinance.

(2) All proceedings commenced or pending immediately before the appointed day before the Supreme Court shall be carried on before the Supreme Court as established by this Ordinance.

Existing  
offices.

71. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, where any office has been established by or under an existing Ordinance and this Ordinance establishes a similar or equivalent office any person who, immediately before the appointed day, or, as the case may be, the day upon which Part II of this Ordinance comes into operation, holds or is acting in the former office shall, so far as is consistent with the provisions of this Ordinance, be deemed as from that day to have been appointed to hold or to act in the latter office in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance and to have taken any necessary oath or affirmation under this Ordinance.

Offices of  
Attorney  
General and  
Director of  
Public  
Prosecutions.

72. The provisions of this Ordinance relating to the Attorney General (except section 26 (5) and section 54(2)) shall be of no effect after the office of Attorney General has ceased to be a public office, and the provisions of this Ordinance relating to the Director of Public Prosecutions shall be of no effect until the office of Attorney General has ceased to be a public office.

Existing  
laws.

73.—(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 74 of this Ordinance, the existing laws shall continue in force as from the date of the coming into operation of Part II of this Ordinance, but all such laws, and any other laws enacted by any legislature established for the Territory before the appointed day and in force immediately before that day, shall be construed with such modifications, adaptations, and exceptions as may be necessary to bring them into conformity with this Ordinance.

(2) The Governor may by order made at any time within a period of two years from the appointed day and published in the *Gazette* make such amendments to any existing law or any other law such as is referred to in the foregoing subsection as may appear to him to be necessary or expedient for bringing that law into conformity with the provisions of this Ordinance or otherwise for giving effect or enabling effect to be given to those provisions.

(3) The provisions of this section shall be without prejudice to any powers conferred by this Ordinance upon any person or authority to make provision for any matter, including the amendment or repeal of any existing law.

(4) In this section "existing laws" means all laws enacted by any legislature established for the Territory before the date of the coming into operation of Part II of this Ordinance, and in force immediately before that date and includes any instrument in force as aforesaid and made in exercise of a power conferred by any such law.

(5) An order made under this section may be revoked or amended by a further order made under this section or, in relation to any law or instrument affected thereby, by the authority having power to repeal, revoke or amend that law or instrument.

(6) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, in any law which continues in force as from the appointed day or which, having been made before that day, is brought into force on or after that day, unless the context otherwise requires—

- (a) references to the Chief Secretary shall, in relation to any period on or after the appointed day, be construed as references to the Minister for the time being charged with the responsibility for the matter in relation to which the references are made or, if no Minister is charged with responsibility for that matter, to the Governor;
- (b) references to the Legislature or to the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council shall, in relation to any period beginning on or after the date on which Part II of this Ordinance comes into force, be construed as references respectively to the Legislature or to the Houses thereof, established by this Ordinance.

74. Subject to the provisions of section 69 of this Ordinance the Ordinances set out in the first column of the Second Schedule hereto are hereby revoked to the extent set out in the second column of the said Schedule.

Revocation.

Second  
Schedule.

*PASSED the Legislative Assembly this 23rd day of December, 1963.*

S. E. HULSE,

*Clerk of the Legislative Assembly.*

FIRST SCHEDULE (Sections 18 & 40)  
FORMS OF OATHS AND AFFIRMATIONS

1. *Oath of Allegiance*

I .....

do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law.

So help me God.

2. *Affirmation of Allegiance*

I .....

do solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law.

3. *Oath for the due execution of the office of Judge*

I .....

do swear that I will well and truly serve Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second in the office of Judge and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages in force in this Territory without fear or favour, affection or ill will.

So help me God.

4. *Affirmation for the due execution of the office of Judge.*

I .....

do solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare that I will well and truly serve Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second in the office of Judge and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages in force in this Territory without fear or favour, affection or ill will.



## SECOND SCHEDULE (Section 74)

*Ordinances affected**Extent of Repeal*

1. The British Honduras Constitution  
Ordinance (Chapter 3)      The Whole Ordinance
2. The British Honduras Constitution  
(Amendment) Ordinance, 1960  
(No. 12 of 1960)      The whole Ordinance
3. The British Honduras Constitution  
(Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance,  
1960 (No. 16 of 1960)      The whole Ordinance
4. The British Honduras Constitution  
(Amendment) Ordinance, 1963  
(No. 4 of 1963)      The whole Ordinance
5. The Supreme Court of Judicature      Sections 3, 4, 5, 6 and  
Ordinance (Chapter 5)      7.
6. The Supreme Court of Judicature  
(Amendment) Ordinance, 1960  
(No. 15 of 1960)      The whole Ordinance

APPENDIX B

The National Manifesto of the  
National Independence Party

# The National Manifesto

## Of The National Independence Party

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The Basic Policy And Programme That  
Will Guide An N.I.P. Government  
In Bringing To This Country:

*National Security*

*National Independence*

*Economic Viability*

*Social Progress*

*Equal Justice*

**:-O-:**

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# Prelude To Independence

A Statement By The Leader  
Of



## The National Independence Party

FROM the moment of its inception on July 1, 1958, the declared aim of the National Independence Party has been independence for British Honduras as a free, sovereign and democratic nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But we do not mean Independence today and Dictatorship tomorrow; or Independence today and Communism tomorrow; or Independence today and Absorption by a neighbouring claimant country tomorrow.

Nor do we mean Independence with social and economic backwardness.

For the National Independence Party independence means national security at least equal to that we now enjoy; it means a fuller, happier and better life for our people as a whole; it means that we must at least pay our way among the nations of the world in the basic necessities of national life.

From the very foundations of our country, our forefathers enjoyed a practical form of democracy, first through government by public meetings, later through elected representative government.

But our forefathers exchanged self-government for Crown Colony rule a century ago because at that time Crown Colony rule meant the protection of Great Britain, a protection which our Government felt they could not provide on their own.

As far as security goes, the decision of our ancestors proved wise. The generations which came after the inception of Colonial rule enjoyed internal peace with justice under law to all and complete freedom from external invasion. During this period, hundreds of citizens from neighbouring republics fled to this country seeking here the freedom and security which their own republic nations could not offer them.

But along with security, colonialism also brought economic stagnation. The resources of the forests were exploited to provide raw material for the mother country; lit-

Manifesto of the National Independence Party Page 3

tle was done to conserve and expand our known resources to provide a sound economic foundation for the country.

So now, we must retrace the steps our forefathers trod. We must go back to full self-government and, in fact, beyond to full Independence.

But in doing so, we dare not forget the reasons why our forefathers, who came from sturdy, self-reliant, pioneer stock gave up self-government in the first instance. They did so because they put national security above national pride. If we rush headlong, unthinking and unprepared into Independence we may, for a brief time satisfy national pride only to lose national security. We would thus fall into the trap our ancestors sought to save themselves and us from.

We dare not forget nor ignore the fact that two neighbouring countries, far larger than we are in size, population and resources, claim our country, and that one of these countries is persistent in its use of subversion and even threat of force in its ambition to accomplish the absorption of our country.

With these thoughts in mind a National Independence Party Government would devote the first three years of its five year term to:

1. Security—laving the foundations for the Security of the country after Independence.

2. Economic Growth—using our present resources and the growing skills of our people to build an economy that can truly sustain us as a modern Independent State.

3. Social Progress—improvement of education, health, and housing and such public facilities as water, sewerage, electricity and roads.

I will elaborate on these three aspects of our Three-year Pre-Independence Plan, but let me say first that if at the end of the three year period our country has adequate arrangements for its security plus the basic economic and social foundation for independence then the National Independence Party will lead the country into full Independence within the Commonwealth.

But not otherwise. No matter what other countries may be doing, we must remember that we comprise less than 100,000 people in a country twice the size of Jamaica, and as big as the entire British West Indies; a country without a single modern highway; without cheap and reliable electricity; without modern water and sewerage in a single town or city; a country which must seek foreign subsidy to balance its very annual budget; and a country liable to yearly destruction by hurricanes. And hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles is the claim of Guatemala and Mexico to our country.

We do not regard these problems as insuperable. On the

Page 4 Manifesto of the National Independence Party

contrary we believe that with three years of preparation we can put our country in such a state that the venture of Independence can be undertaken with some reasonable chance of survival and progress. But first things first.

### SECURITY

A country needs soldiers to defend it and diplomats to argue for it.

British Honduras has neither soldiers nor diplomats.

During the three-year Pre-Independence period the National Independence Party Government will undertake, with the help of Great Britain and other friendly nations, the training of the soldiers and diplomats who will help to maintain our future Independence among the nations of the world.

We are aware that the defence of our country can never be completely undertaken by us alone. But we do not intend to stand with arms folded while calling on other nations to send soldiers to defend our national territory.

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

A nation should be able to feed itself from its own soil. In British Honduras we still import each year large quantities of rice, corn, beans, vegetable, poultry, eggs and fruit, all of which can be produced here in quantities sufficient for local consumption and for export.

The national Independence Party under its three-year Pre-Independence Plan will therefore dedicate time, money and effort to help the farmers become progressive and prosperous.

It is a known fact that in any country where the farmers are poor, the country is poor and where the farmers are prosperous the country is prosperous.

And with the farmers we of course include our fishermen who under a proper plan and with the right encouragement and support can help to increase the national wealth considerably.

Our Pre-Independence Plan calls for the establishment of at least one big industry in each district; and for this foreign capital, management and Know-how must be sought and obtained. But our industrial programme will be aimed mainly at the setting up of light industries in which British Hondurans can directly participate as owners, organisers, managers and directors and workers. The resources of our forests, farms and seas can be utilised by our own people to produce profitable products for the local and foreign markets.

In this connection our workers, whether Government or private employed must share increasingly in the growing national wealth.

for the mother country: lit-

We have confidence that our workers, like our farmers  
 \*[an]d fishermen, will understand the important role they can  
 [pla]y in national development. With proper national targets  
 [an]d with the right incentives our workers will prove them-  
 [sel]ves to be second to none in the production of high quality  
 [go]ods and services in increasing quantities at economic costs.  
 [An]d under an NIP Government the rewards to each worker  
 [wil]l be in proportion to his contribution to the national  
 [he]alth.

#### SOCIAL PROGRESS

The aim of the National Independence Party is that  
 [ev]ery Honduran family should have opportunity to live in a  
 [mo]dern home with such basic facilities as running water and  
 [mo]dern sewerage and electricity. Each child must also have  
 [th]e opportunity of enjoying good health and of acquiring the  
 [ed]ucation suitable to its abilities and interests. Well laid  
 [out], pleasant communities, must replace the haphazard vil-  
 [lag]es and townships that now dot the country.

As far as the National Independence Party is concerned  
 [in]dependence must bring greater opportunities to all of us.  
 [Th]ese greater opportunities can only come if our approach  
 [to] Independence is carefully planned and carefully carried  
 [out].

Above all, living examples in numerous other countries  
 [ha]ve taught the lesson that the time to fight for your coun-  
 [try] is before you lose it. That is why the National Independ-  
 [en]ce Party gives the highest priority to national security. We  
 [mu]st hold onto our country at all costs. We must save it from  
 [ab]sorption and from undue influence by any other country.  
 [W]e will cooperate fully and responsibly in regional economic  
 [an]d social programmes, but not to the sacrifice of our sov-  
 [er]eignty and national self-respect.

I invite you to study our National Manifesto with care  
 [an]d as a voter in this country to give us the opportunity to  
 [lea]d our country to national prosperity as a free, sovereign  
 [an]d democratic nation within the British Commonwealth of  
 [Na]tions.

PHILIP S W. GOLDSON,

Leader, National Independence Party

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\* Interpolations made to reconstruct page not completely printed.

# The National Manifesto Of The National Independence Party

*Approved by the Annual Party Conference (1963)  
of the National Independence Party held at  
Belize, British Honduras, April, 1963*

## BASIC AIM

THE BASIC Aim of the National Independence Party is to create the political, economic and social conditions that will enable citizens to develop their natural and supernatural capacities to the highest extent, and to this end, the Party in its NATIONAL MANIFESTO seeks:

- (1) To secure and protect the national territory.
- (2) To achieve Independence for British Honduras as a Sovereign Nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations, under a democratic Parliamentary system of Government.
- (3) Stable economic progress under the Free Enterprise System.
- (4) Social Progress under the concept that each man is his brother's keeper.
- (5) Equal Justice for all citizens under the Law.

## 1. NATIONAL SECURITY, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

(a) NATIONAL SECURITY: The first concern of an NIP administration will be to preserve the country from external invasion and from internal subversion. To this end an NIP Government will:

- (1) Foster national Patriotism in schools and elsewhere;
- (2) Establish universal military training for men and a voluntary training programme for women;
- (3) Establish a National Defence Militia, a nucleus of which will be on fulltime service;
- (4) Seek to establish treaties and agreements of mutual defence with countries of the Commonwealth and neighbouring countries.
- (5) Take such other steps as may be necessary (in-



cluding the establishment of an efficient Military Intelligence Service) to preserve the National integrity of the country and the safety of its people.

- (6) Establish a National Security Council under the Chairmanship of the Premier to coordinate and direct the Defence Policy and programme of the Government.
- (b) **PLANNING:** A National Planning Board will be set up under the Chairmanship of the Premier. The first job of the Planning Board will be the preparation of a national, economic, social and physical Plan of Development for the whole country, including Planning of existing and new townships.

In simple terms, the Planning Board will survey things as they are, find out in consultation with the people what needs to be done, determine the means available to do it with, and work out practical ways of carrying it out.

The National Plan will be continuously reviewed and revised by the Planning Board to meet the changing development needs of the country.

- (c) **DEVELOPMENT:** To assist in the carrying out of the National Development Plan, the NIP Government will establish:
- (1) A National Development Bank;
  - (2) An Industrial Development Corporation;
  - (3) An Agricultural Development Corporation;
  - (4) A National Research Council.

The National Development Bank will provide loans on long-term or short-term basis to citizens to assist them in establishment of industries and to assist farmers in developing productive farms.

To qualify for loans citizens will be required to produce sound plans for the industrial and agricultural enterprises they wish to invest in.

To assist citizens in the preparation of such plans and also to assist them in acquiring and developing the necessary know-how and skills for the successful management of industries and farms, will be part of the functions of the Industrial Development Corporation, the Agricultural Development Corporation, the Agricultural Development Corporation and the National Research Council.

These agencies will generally stimulate, encourage and assist industrial and agricultural development in the country.

- (d) **EXTERNAL AFFAIRS:** In preparation for Independence, an NIP Government will immediately commence a training programme for the diplomatic staff of the future Missions which will represent the country abroad.

## 2. FINANCE

(a) **THE BUDGET:** The NIP will seek to balance the national budget by careful control of expenditure and by seeking sources of extra revenue without imposing undue financial burdens on the people. The achievement of a balanced budget is the concern of all the people. It is a matter of honour and national pride, and a necessary step towards true political, social and economic progress.

The NIP Government will at the start of its administration set up a Budget Review Committee whose job will be to assist in 'brain storming' the problems in the way of balancing the budget. The NIP Government will draw heavily upon the experience of private persons in the community in addition to the experience and knowledge in the public service for the Budget Review Committee. This emergency body of budget advisors to the Government will remain in operation until a balanced budget is achieved.

(b) **GRANTS AND LOANS:** The NIP will canvass Commonwealth and International sources for the additional funds required to develop the country. After some 300 years of colonial administration, this country is being handed back to its people with a bankrupt economy and without many of the basic facilities that any country should have. The NIP feels that the country can therefore justifiably present a case to the British Government for substantial grants and loans towards providing such basic facilities as water, sewerage, roads, cheap electric power and for development financing.

(c) The Social Security programme of the NIP Government will be developed in coordination with the economic progress of the country, the aim being that in the long run no citizen should fall below a certain minimum standard of living.

(d) **THE PUBLIC SERVICE:** The NIP policy is to promote the development of a dedicated and inspired public service capable and willing to serve their country with integrity and efficiency through the Government of the day.

Public officers will be guaranteed full protection from political intimidation. They will enjoy all the rights of free citizens consistent with duties and responsibility as public officers. The training programmes for Honduran officers will be intensified.

Expatriate officers serving the Government will be accorded fair and equitable treatment, but not to the disadvantage of local officers.

## 3. JUSTICE

It will be the constant endeavour of the NIP Government to keep the administration of Justice free from

political control or interference. To this end the administration of Justice will be organized along the following lines:

- (a) The ATTORNEY GENERAL will be the legal advisor to the Government, but will not be concerned with public prosecutions.
- (b) A DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS will be appointed from within the Public Service and this officer will have sole authority to start or stop criminal proceedings against any person.

#### 4. NATURAL RESOURCES, TRADE AND INDUSTRY

(a) The NIP Agricultural-Industrial Policy is to produce enough for the local market and for a growing overseas market and by progressive steps to reduce the unfavourable trade gap.

(b) Agriculture, Industry and Trade must be closely linked as industrial development, in many instances, grow out of agriculture, and local and export trade develop from both agriculture and industry. There is no reason why British Honduras should be behind any other country in the production of good quality agricultural and industrial goods at reasonable cost.

(c) In carrying out its Plan of Development, the NIP will encourage, cooperate with and assist the small farmer and the small manufacturer as well as the big farmer and the big manufacturer. All will receive fair and equitable treatment under an NIP Government.

(d) The NIP Government will promote the establishment of at least one major industry in each district of the country.

(e) Under this Ministry the NIP Government will establish a Board of Trade to channel the marketing of our products and assist the development of trade generally.

(f) The preservation and expansion of our forests will be continued under an NIP Government.

(g) The resources of our seas and rivers will be fully exploited, including the development of industries from fish and other resources of our seas and rivers.

(h) The cattle, cane and citrus industries will be developed and expanded. Rice, corn, beans, poultry, eggs, vegetables and other crops which can be produced in abundant quantities in our country will be produced in quantities sufficient for local demand and for export, under schemes promoted by the Government.

(i) LAND: The NIP Government will encourage and assist farmers to acquire permanent ownership of their farm-lands and to build modern-type farm houses. The Land Use Survey report compiled by a team of soil experts headed by

Mr. A. C. Wright will be used as the basis of planning for farm settlement projects designed to achieve maximum land use.

(j) The system of supervised farm credits which has worked so well in the United States and other countries will be promoted here.

(k) **TOURISM:** The NIP believes that tourism has limitless possibilities for British Honduras. The NIP target during the first phase of tourist development is five thousand tourists annually, drawn principally from middle income families in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. The creation of a tourist industry will not require top-heavy investment. A reasonable sum, well spent on sound schemes will bring profitable returns.

A Tourist Board with the necessary powers and funds will be established to promote the tourist industry.

#### 5. HOME AFFAIRS

(a) **THE POLICE FORCE:** The NIP Government will take steps to ensure that the Police Force retains its essential character as impartial Guardian of Law and Order. Appointments, promotions, and discipline will be kept free of political influence. The Police Training Programme will be intensified. Conditions of service of Police Officers will be reviewed from time to time to ensure adjustment of anomalies.

(b) **HURRICANE PRECAUTIONS:** Under the direction of the Home Minister hurricane regulations and system will be constantly reviewed and revised to be ready for all eventualities. Hurricane precautions will include encouragement in the building of hurricane-resistant housing and buildings.

(c) **IMMIGRATION:** The NIP agrees in principle to pursue an active Immigration Policy designed to increase the population as the development of the country creates the need for more workers. An impartial Immigration Board will be established to advise and assist the Government in carrying out its immigration policy.

(d) **POST OFFICE:** The internal Postal Service will continue to be improved to the end that postal articles can be safely and speedily delivered to every part of the country. Improvements to the overseas postal service will continue to be made.

(e) **TELEPHONE SERVICE:** The NIP policy calls for the establishment of an efficient countrywide telephone service at reasonable rates; and continued improvement of the external telephone link to all countries of the world. Internal and external wireless service will continue to be improved.

(f) **BROADCASTING:** The Broadcasting Service of the Government will be dedicated to education, information and entertainment in the interests of the people. The Broadcasting Service will not be reduced to the medium of a mere vehicle for propaganda by the ruling party.

To this end the Broadcasting Service will be established as a corporate body with a charter and a Board of Directors who will enjoy complete independence in the day-to-day operations of broadcasting including programmes and administration. The Home Minister will exercise general supervision of the work of the corporation, in keeping with its charter, and will be responsible to the Legislature for broadcasting affairs.

Consideration will be given to applications for the establishment of private broadcasting stations.

The NIP Government will also give consideration to the establishment of a Television Service either by Government or private enterprise or a combination of both.

(g) **LOCAL GOVERNMENT:** City Councils, Town Boards and Village Councils will be encouraged and assisted to develop, exercise and assume increased local authority and responsibilities. Village Councils will in due course be granted legal status.

(h) **FIRE PREVENTION:** The NIP Government will establish a commission to advise and assist in the establishment of fire-prevention measures and practices and on the provision, management and maintenance of efficient fire fighting apparatus in each community in the country and in the setting up of a country-wide Fire Brigade.

(i) **PRISONS:** The NIP Government will appoint a standing Prison Commission to advise on the reconstruction and improvement of Prisons, the vocational training of prisoner in skilled trades, on rehabilitation of prisoners and on Prison administration generally.

## 6. HOUSING, POWER AND WORKS

(a) **HOUSING:** The NIP Government will give high priority to its Housing Programme which has as its aim the stimulation of home building in the public and private sector to the end that each Honduran family should have reasonable opportunity of owning and/or living in a modern-equipped home. Freehold titles to lots, hire-purchase housing schemes, housing loans, housing finance companies and cooperatives, are some of the mediums through which the NIP Government will encourage and stimulate modern home building programmes.

(b) **WATER AND SEWERAGE:** Hand in hand with housing development will go house to house water supply and efficient sewerage disposal in all communities, on a planned

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basis.

(c) **ROADS:** Based on the recommendations of the Planning Board the NIP Government will establish a system of roads to facilitate and stimulate the agricultural and industrial development of the country. In particular the Northern Highway to Mexico will be modernized and a bridge erected at Tower Hill as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained.

(d) **TRANSPORTATION:** The NIP Government will immediately set up a Transport Commission to study and make recommendations for the improvement of transportation with the aim of providing cheap and efficient transportation to every part of the country. Particular study will be given to:

(a) A bus system for the city of Belize;

(b) A countrywide transportation system;

(c) Transport facilities for tourists by land, air and sea.

(e) **POWER:** Cheap electric power is an urgent need in a developing country like ours and the NIP Government will immediately institute action towards countrywide improvement in the provision of electric power to the people. In this connection hydro-electricity will be studied and instituted where practicable.

(f) **CIVIL AVIATION:** A training programme to qualify Hondurans as pilots, mechanics and servicemen in connection with the operation of a local airline will be encouraged. Every effort will be made to keep local air travel rates as low as possible.

(g) **PORTS AND HARBOURS:** Decision and action will be taken regarding a deep water pier for this country. Ports and Harbours will be constantly improved.

(h) **DRAINAGE, SANITATION, RECLAMATION:** Proper drainage, sanitation and reclamation of residential and other areas will receive continuous attention from an NIP Government, in accordance with the recommendations of the Planning Board.

(i) **PUBLIC BUILDINGS, PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS AND MONUMENTS:** Public buildings, parks, playgrounds and national and historical monuments will be erected and maintained with the view to their rendering the maximum benefit to the country and its people in utility, artistry and cultural development. National Parks and Gardens will be established.

## 7. EDUCATION AND HEALTH

(a) **EDUCATION:** The NIP will organize effective schemes of education in order that Hondurans may competently meet the demands for trained personnel which will increase each year as the country develops. We see the need for establishing larger technical, industrial and agricultural schools at

secondary schools level and of instituting short term courses to meet the immediate demands in industry and agriculture and of further training at University level for deserving Hondurans.

With this in view the NIP Government will:

- (1) Continue and improve the Church-state School System;
- (2) Aim at eventual free secondary schools, but in the meantime increase the number of secondary schools scholarship;
- (3) Work towards an expanded agricultural and industrial school programme;
- 4) Intensify adult education programmes through radio, press films, seminars, evening courses, lectures and community movements.

*Teachers' Provident Fund:* The NIP considers that an injustice was done to the teachers by the arbitrary seizure of their Provident Fund Savings and the NIP Government will investigate the possibility of refunding these savings to the Teachers concerned.

*Apprenticeship System:* A study of the Apprenticeship system will be made and if practicable this system will be established.

*Libraries:* The expansion of the Public Library system will continue.

*Museums:* A National Museum will be established.

(b) **HEALTH POLICY:** The task of developing our country will require a vigorous and healthy citizenry and, for logical and economic reasons, the NIP will continue and further emphasise the preventive, rather than the curative system.

Our children must not only get a fair start through prenatal and maternity services, better food and housing conditions, but they must grow in an atmosphere that will, by nature, give them better health standards. They must have playgrounds and parks, a national stadium, access to our beaches, organized sport programmes, youth education and youth movement; and on the whole, all that is conducive to give healthier bodies and minds.

Preventive and curative health centre services must be improved and expanded, hospitals must have more and better equipment, specialists services, more doctors both in Belize and the districts, and round-the-clock public services.

The functioning of Hospitals must be organized through the services of qualified administrators.

The NIP will aim at achieving these high standards in our medical and health services.

(c) **INFORMATION:** The Government's Central Office of Information will function under the general direction of the Ministry of Education and Health. The functions of the

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Information Office will include the production and publication of information for all Government Departments and Ministries, the production of booklets and leaflets, films, broadcasts, photographs, exhibitions, etc., for the benefit of readers at home and persons abroad interested in British Honduras. In particular it will publish material of interests to prospective tourists and investors. It will also organize tours of the country for visitors on behalf of the Government.

The functions of the Information Office will not include the publication of propaganda on behalf of the ruling party.

**8. LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE**

(a) **LABOUR:** The main aim of the NIP Labour Policy is to maintain a high and stable level of employment.

To this end a countrywide system of labour exchanges will be established to assist workers in finding suitable employment and employers in finding suitable employees.

A Youth Employment Service will be included with the special aim of assisting young people in securing employment and in acquiring the vocational training needed to acquire suitable employment.

Assistance will also be given where possible to help citizens become self employed.

Labour Unions will be encouraged and every effort made to give training to Trade Union leaders. The NIP realises that the success of its National Development Plan will to a large extent depend on the harmony existing between Government, private employers and labour.

The NIP Government will set the example in payment of wages and salaries and conditions of service by paying just wages and salaries in so far as the Government's revenue can afford.

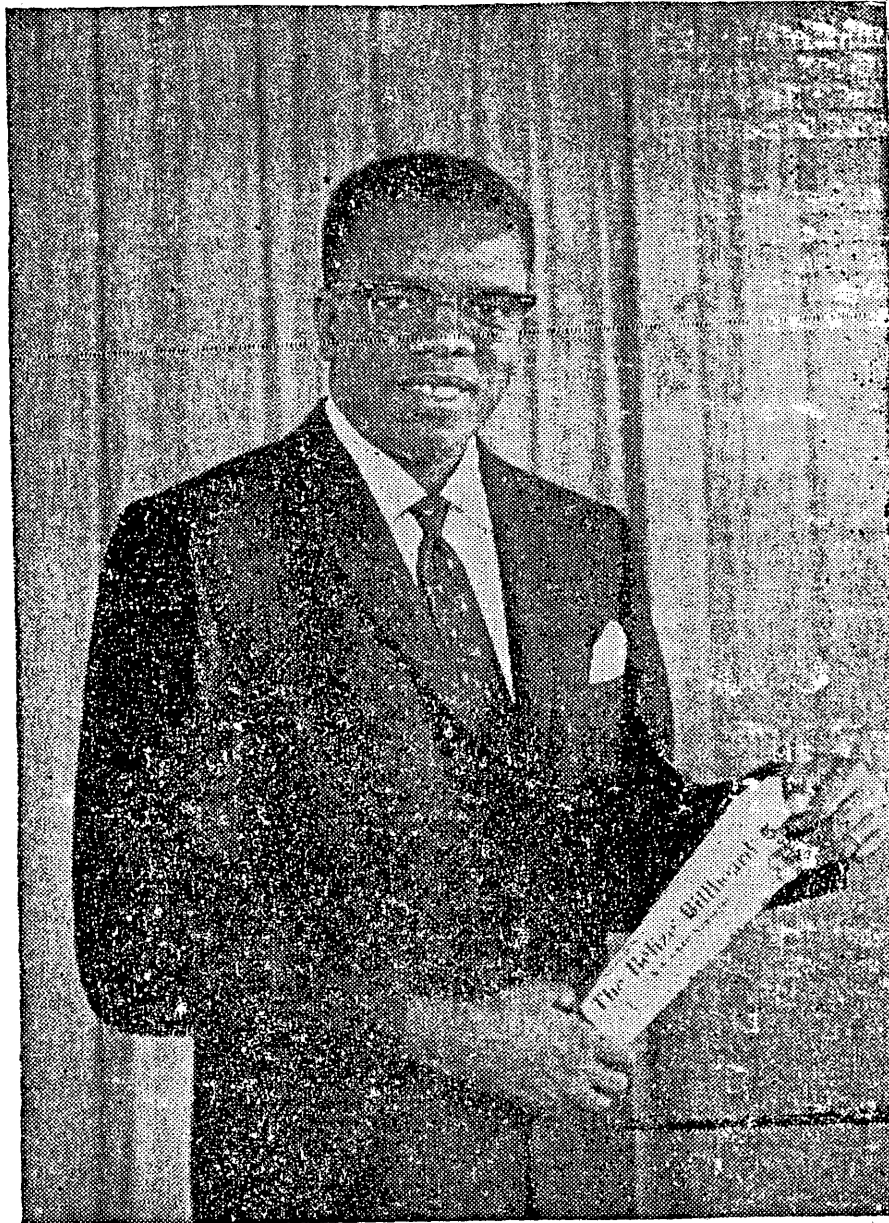
(b) **SOCIAL WELFARE:** The NIP Social Policy is to help youth develop into responsible citizens. Assistance will therefore be given to youth organizations such as the Scout and Guide movement, Pen Pal Clubs, sport clubs, young farmers groups and 4-H organizations.

The Organization of the Council of Voluntary Social organizations will be completed so that the work of all these social development bodies may be coordinated to the greater good of the community. A Community Chest to be administered by this Council will be authorised.

The NIP Government will establish special juvenile courts and specially trained juvenile magistrates, including women magistrates, will be appointed.

The NIP Government will set up a Commission to study ways and means of helping the aged, the crippled, the destitute and the disabled to live a more dignified and worthwhile life.





PHILIP GOLDSON, Party Leader

APPENDIX C

Former People's United Party  
Manifesto for the 1970's

# Manifesto For The New Belize In The Surging Seventies

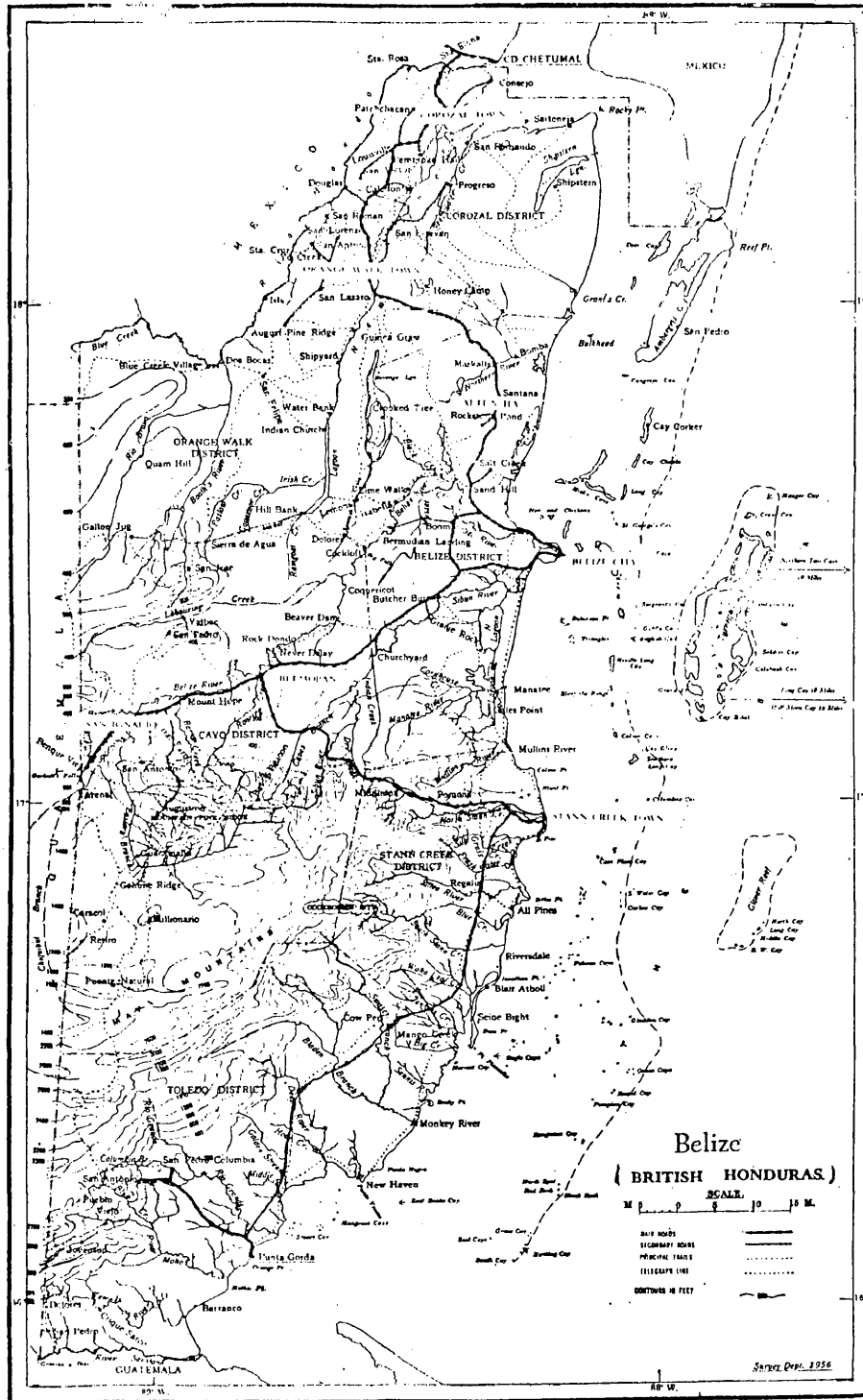


Miss Wright  
1/14/75

Party Manifesto (platform) becomes the  
govt program once they're elected

official

A BELIZEAN PLAN FOR ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT TO  
BRING PROSPERITY TO ALL BELIZEANS REGARDLESS  
OF RACE OR CREED OR COLOUR



# THE NEW BELIZE



SAFEGUARDED

BY AN INDEPENDENCE GUARANTEE

AND

COMMITTED

TO A VIGOROUS, DYNAMIC AND PROGRESSIVE

ECONOMY



PRESENTED

BY

THE GOVERNMENT OF

THE PEOPLE'S UNITED PARTY

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### THE BELIZEAN NATIONAL PRAYER

Almighty and Eternal God, who through Jesus Christ has revealed Your Glory to all nations, please protect and preserve Belize, our beloved country.

God of might, wisdom and justice, please assist our Belizean government and people with Your Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude.

Let the light of Your divine wisdom direct their plans and endeavours so that with Your help we may attain our just objectives. With Your guidance, may all our endeavours tend to peace, social justice, liberty, national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety and useful knowledge.

We pray, O God of Mercy, for all of us that we may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Your most holy law, that we may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world itself cannot give. And, after enjoying the blessings of this life, please admit us, dear Lord, to that eternal reward that You have prepared for those who love You. *Amen.*

## THE BELIZEAN ANTHEM

### LAND OF THE GODS

O, Land of the gods by the Carib Sea,  
 Our manhood we pledge to thy liberty!  
 No tyrants here linger, despot must flee  
 This tranquil haven of democracy.  
 The blood of our sires which hallows the sod,  
 Brought freedom from slavery oppression's rod.  
 By the might of truth and the grace of God  
 No longer shall we be hewers of wood.

Arise! ye sons of the Baymen's clan,  
 Put on your armour, clear the land!  
 Drive back the tyrants, let despots flee—  
 Land of the Gods by the Carib Sea!

Nature has blessed thee with wealth untold,  
 O'er mountains and valleys where prairies roll;  
 Our fathers, the Baymen, valiant and bold  
 Drove back the invader; this heritage hold!  
 From proud Rio Hondo to old Sarstoon,  
 Through coral isle, over blue lagoon;  
 Keep watch with the angels, the stars and moon:  
 For freedom comes tomorrow's noon.

Arise! ye sons of the Baymen's clan,  
 Put on your armour, clear the land!  
 Drive back the tyrants, let despots flee—  
 Land of the Gods by the Carib Sea!

S. A. Haynes

The Belizean people must once again elect a new House of Representatives to the National Assembly from which their new government will be formed. This election will be held with complete freedom for all and in accordance with accepted democratic principles. The democratic system of government was established in Belize by the PUP Government because the PUP Government maintains that it remains the best system yet discovered by man to govern a people. For its part in introducing free democracy to Belize, for successfully operating a free government and by its pledge and determination to perpetuate democracy in the NEW BELIZE, the PUP Government has earned and deserves your vote.

The PUP Government merits your confidence and your vote because it has awakened the Belizean people to their future destiny as a united, sovereign and independent nation; it has attained with your support self-government within the Commonwealth; it brings to the people a better life in a growing economy and intends, with your help, to lead Belize to independence within the Commonwealth; but the PUP Government will not lead Belize into independence until that independence is real and secure.

#### THE CHALLENGE NOW

To guarantee the security of the NEW BELIZE is now the challenge. The PUP Government, already supported by the unquestionable will and determination of the Belizean people to secure their independence, will move forward boldly but cautiously to make sure that after independence Belize will continue to exist as a free and sovereign nation.

There can be no doubt that independence is best for Belize. For unless we have independence, we cannot have the means of shaping our economic, social, agricultural and industrial future. It is the inherent right of a people to control and command their own resources unfettered by the intervention of colonialist masters.

#### ASSOCIATED STATEHOOD

Independence is a better status than a non-self-governing territory or an associated state, either of which is an affront to the dignity of a people and to their right to vindicate their separate identity and to self-determine their destiny as a sovereign member state of the United Nations.

The independence of Belize will bring finally to Belizeans their own unique identity. It will uphold their dignity as a people, determined to be free, distinguished by a heritage and culture of their own and identified by their Belizean flag, anthem and other national symbols.

#### ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

We can rest assured that independence cannot make worse the economic problems of Belize. Instead, it shall create a situation where progress, generated by the desire and the needs of a people awakened by a peaceful and constructive PUP Government revolution, will depend solely upon the initiative and industry of the people. It will open avenues for Belize to obtain in its own right the capital and technology required



to multiply existing assets and to develop an adequate system of services for every Belizean to enjoy.

Furthermore, the enhanced status of independence develops a new patriotism that inspires in a people a dedication to make more effective use of available resources, that generates a creativity hitherto undisclosed and that unifies effort into a complimentary national whole. This is the NEW BELIZE.

### INDEPENDENCE GUARANTEE

The PUP Government policy for independence remains constant to the proposition set out in its Manifesto for Belizean Progress of 1965 in which it was declared that the defence of Belize against outside aggression required military aid from the United Kingdom. This aid could take the form of a guarantee backed up, if necessary, by military action or by international sanctions or by the preservation of our borders through international agreements.

This policy was set out in more detail in the petition handed to Lord Malcolm Shepherd on the 5th October, 1969, at the largest national rally and parade in our history in these words:

"It is the wish of the Belizean people that the United Kingdom Government—

- (1) meet with the Government of Belize and representatives of the other political party in the National Assembly to agree the terms of the new independence constitution;
- (2) so that the new nation shall be free from want, grant such financial assistance as shall overcome the requirements of the transition; and
- (3) so that the new Belizean nation shall be free from fear, organise such defence arrangements as shall insure the new nation against military aggression."

While it is the wish of the Belizean people to live in peace and tranquility with all their neighbours and while they have no desire to perpetuate ancient disputes or to fight wars, it remains the policy of the PUP Government that any negotiations for the settlement of the Anglo-Guatemalan Dispute can only proceed, as stated in the Premier's Memorandum to the United Kingdom of the 8th August, 1967, in respect of mediation, namely—

"That it be clearly understood that the sovereignty and independence of Belize is not for negotiation . . . Any agreement, if it is to be approved by us, must accept the aspirations and rights of the Belizean people to be an independent and sovereign nation in the full sense of the word."

### WITH THE AID OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The surging seventies dawn amidst advances in science and technology and the challenge of this decade is for man to share the riches and the treasures of earth. Specifically for us this challenge is to develop our resources and our treasures within,

above and below our earth by hard work, increased savings and investment in productive activities so that our Belizean people might attain a fuller and happier life. It is a challenge to work together with our neighbours of the Americas and the rest of the world to ensure that not only Belizeans but our fellow Americans and the peoples of all nations enjoy the fruits of a better world.

There is hope in the World Bank Pearson Report on Partners in Development which tells us how the rich and poor nations can work together to increase the world's stocks and assets of food, housing, clothing, jobs and services.

The Pearson Report says in part: "We live at a time when the ability to transform the world is only limited by faintness of heart and narrowness of vision. We can now set ourselves the goals that would have seemed chimerical (fantastic) a few decades ago, and working together we can reach these goals."

Lest we expect these improvements to come to pass overnight, the Report sounds a wise warning: "Even in the best conditions, development will be untidy, uneven and ridden with turmoil. GREAT FORWARD MOVEMENTS IN HISTORY USUALLY ARE. The thing to remember is that the progress, global in scope and international in nature, must succeed if there is finally to be peace, security and stability in the world.

"International development is a great challenge of our age. Our response to it will show whether we understand the implications of inter-dependence or whether we prefer to delude ourselves that the poverty and deprivation of the great majority of mankind can be ignored without tragic consequences for all."

#### PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

When we look at the Manifesto for Belizean Progress presented to the people in 1965 and when we compare what has been achieved by 1969, the record of promise and performance demonstrates a remarkable political maturity. Almost all promises have been fulfilled and those remaining incomplete show a considerable preparation so that during the next term a new government can immediately proceed to their completion.

Only recently, in keeping its promise, the PUP Government sent a delegation to the United Nations to tell the world of the will of the Belizean people to self-determine their destiny as citizens of a united, sovereign and independent nation of Belize.

The message given to the missions of the United Nations says in part: "The Belizean people now call upon the United Kingdom to deliver up to them *free and clear from all claims and obligations* the territory which they have inhabited, conquered and civilized from angry tropical vegetation or alternatively arrange such assurances for the preservation of the Independent Belize that her people shall be free to conduct their own affairs and to enjoy the fruits of their labour without fear.

"It is this right to self-determine their own existence independent of the wishes of the government and people of Guatemala that they now call upon the government of the United Kingdom, as a member of the United Nations and subscriber of its Charter, to uphold."

## MUCH DONE, MORE YET TO BE DONE

The PUP Government has done much to free Belizeans from crushing poverty and deprivation and a drab existence. Many Belizeans, who never owned property, now have their farms and their homes. They have more and better jobs and greater opportunities for advancement, for education and training abroad, for medical attention and participation in business and economic activities, and for participation in the affairs of the country.

Yet more has to be done to take care of those who have not been brought into the growing economy in order to share the benefits of the Belizean revolution. It is for this reason that the Manifesto for the New Belize proposes how to accomplish projects that will strengthen the foundation or infrastructure of our economic development and social progress. We must now "take-off" on this economic adventure.

The PUP Government has answered and will continue to answer this challenge. It does so because of its firm belief that the state belongs to the citizen and not the citizen to the state. The PUP Government further believes that the enhancement of human dignity and the consequent capacity to lead a fuller, freer, more human life, is the ultimate objective of development and that economic progress is a means to that end.

The PUP Government holds that the most precious assets of our natural resources is the Belizean citizen and that all investment of public fund should redound to his best interest and welfare. The wealth we produce shall be shared by all and all our political, economic, social and cultural endeavour will be aimed at promoting growth and prosperity for the Belizean citizen.

## A CALL TO YOUTH

In his 1969 United Nations Day address the Premier called on youth to place their strength, energies and zest for life, not in spreading hatred, not in destroying our democratic structures and our human values and systems which vindicate the sovereignty and the precious worth of our Belizean people, but in working together in love and peace for the common good and the social welfare and the sovereign dignity of the Belizean people. It is a goal of the PUP Government to create opportunity whereby youth can constructively contribute to the economic and social welfare of the New BELIZE.

"Together" the Premier said "we can build the new nation of Belize and spread the benefits of our Belizean revolution to the farthest corners of our land.

"To change the world is a vital and tremendous undertaking that should concern all of us young and old. It is the challenge to put in place of the thing we change a better thing. An act of change should never be the pretext for violence and destruction."

"This new militancy with its new thinking, new attitudes and new policies should be aimed at correcting those long established patterns and systems that are the root cause of today's problems. But our young people should not assume that everything which exists today is wrong, nor should they assume that the solution is the total destruction of existing edifices."

"Our Belizean youth are a vibrant and integral component of the forces and energies which in our Manifesto for Belizean Progress we describe as forces and energies engaged in an intense struggle against poverty, malnutrition, disease and ignorance."

### COMMITTED TO PROGRESS

The hallmark of the PUP Government is progress. Because its creed is equal opportunity in a vigorous, free society, the PUP is committed to the creation of a society, equal in justice, free from want of opportunity and steadfast in the precepts of the rights of man. It is committed to an accelerated development of the natural resources of Belize in a free democratic society so that every Belizean working in harmony shall reap the fruits of his own endeavour. It will guide the Belizean economy into the mainstream of self-generating growth so that it shall operate complimentary to the family of nations that surround us.

### DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The PUP Government's new economic development plan will aim at further diversification and strengthening of the economy. It will aim at a careful transformation of the economic structure so as to lessen dependence on external factors. It will aim at full employment. To accomplish this objective everything will be done to increase national ownership of productive activities, to induce national participation in the economic development of the NEW BELIZE and the PUP Government shall continue, where necessary, to protect viable domestic enterprises.

### TAXATION

Taking full account of the recommendations of the Fiscal Review Committee set up by the PUP Government, tax structures will be modernised to encourage economic expansion, to influence investment in favour of productive activities, social betterment and an equitable distribution of income. At the same time the PUP Government adheres to the principle that the tax structure must not create additional impediment to low income earners and recognises the fact that redistribution of income can best be accomplished through an expanded active economy.

### FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The PUP Government will take further steps to modernize the financial system and institutions of Belize to make fullest possible use of all domestic resources and to encourage the growth of savings.

A fresh effort will be made to strengthen and streamline the Development Finance Corporation with capital from at home and abroad to enable it to provide medium and long term loans for viable projects and thus to make a greater contribution to our economic development.

An advanced political constitution and membership in the recently formed Caribbean Development Bank should attract more investment capital to the Corporation. However, we remain conscious that true and lasting development comes from within and that no foreign help will suffice where national participation fails to make the fundamental improvements needed to promote the economic development of Belize.

The PUP Government is committed to preserve the solidity and stability of our currency. It will therefore continue to hold adequate reserves at all times, although more diversified in order to insure the full value of the currency of the NEW BELIZE. Based on preliminary advice from the Bank of England and other financial experts, the PUP Government will replace the existing Currency Board by a more effective and modern Monetary Authority in keeping with our advanced political status. In the NEW BELIZE a modest money and capital market will be established, treasury bills issued, stocks, securities and saving bonds will be offered on a regular basis.

#### DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The PUP Government will continue to spur investment by the grant of tax incentives to projects which are either new in kind or which represent substantial expansion of productive enterprises, but which at the same time involve considerable risk and which contribute foreign exchange either by creating exports or reducing the need for imports. Projects must show a net gain to the economy in order to qualify for concessions and must also redound to the best interest and welfare of the Belizean people. Preference will be given to projects either wholly or partially nationally capitalized.

#### LAND REFORM

Land is a most important physical national asset and all necessary steps will be taken to ensure that all fertile land is put into maximum production within the shortest possible time for the greater glory of the NEW BELIZE. To this end the PUP Government proposes to continue its programme of land reform—making available for Belizeans more land on freehold title for housing, farming and industry. The PUP Government is resolved to uphold the dignity of the Belizean and his first right and claim to the natural resources of the NEW BELIZE and shall where feasible assist by the organization of land settlement programmes.

While the PUP Government recognises and will protect the rights of property owners and will promote security of tenure on a fair and equitable basis, it does not regard as the best interests of the Belizean people, the substitution for the present constitutional colonialism of any form of foreign economic domination. The PUP Government sees clearly, however, a place in the NEW BELIZE for foreign nationals wishing to participate fully in the social and economic development of the NEW BELIZE.

#### SURVEY OF MINERALS

The PUP Government believes that the geological structure of Belize contains yet undiscovered minerals of commercial wealth and proposes to seek technical assistance from the United Nations and every available source to make a complete and thorough survey of these potential and latent resources.

#### AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Capital and modern technology from abroad is not only needed but welcome to achieve the development of the NEW BELIZE. It is however desirable that foreign investors approach and accomplish development in partnership with Belizeans in equity and with equality. The PUP Government stand ready to discuss any sound project for development and to negotiate suitable terms for any worthwhile enterprise.

To accelerate the pace of modern agricultural development the PUP Government shall participate by increasing the impetus of its land clearing and agricultural extension services, it will improve and streamline its farm planning unit, it will step up the pace of its research projects and will increase the availability of credit for agricultural development. The PUP Government is committed to modern agricultural communities approaching production as diversified as possible for it is by this means that job stability, increased incomes and thriving urban communities will prevail in the NEW BELIZE.

The PUP Government is dedicated to improved technology and modern farming methods as a means to increased yields from which to feed the growing Belizean population and reduce the dependency on imported foods. A well conceived import-substitution programme will be initiated and from this agricultural revolution will come a new network of decentralised regional urban communities where services, processing and light manufacture will create prosperity and happiness for the Belizean people.

Entry into CARIFTA (The Caribbean Free Trade Association), possible association with CACM (The Central American Common Market) and other international alliances shall offer greater opportunity for industrial and agricultural prosperity and the Belizean must be ready to utilise every opening for the greater benefit of the NEW BELIZE.

#### LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY

Belize is well favoured both by its climate and by its geography for the development of a prosperous beef cattle industry of considerable magnitude.

The PUP will continue to foster and to encourage the industry through the National Livestock Association. The aim will be to build up a national herd large enough to meet national consumption and to support an abattoir for export markets. The programme will concentrate on improving both quality and productivity.

Our dairy herds will be further expanded. Swine and poultry production will be encouraged.

#### MARKETS AT HOME AND ABROAD

The PUP Government accepts that much remains to be done in the important area of marketing and undertakes to take effective action to develop an efficient marketing system. The PUP Government's aim is to organise more facilities for marketing domestic agricultural produce and to encourage greater use of domestic goods.

The PUP Government will continue its efforts to protect and expand our preferential sugar and citrus markets and develop further our vegetable export market.

#### REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

The PUP Government has successfully negotiated Belize's membership in the Caribbean Development Bank and proposes to pursue negotiations now for entry into the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA). It will continue to support efforts of CARIFTA countries to secure suitable undertakings from the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community (EEC) countries to safeguard our essential interests in the event of the United Kingdom's entry into that community, particularly for the protection of sugar and citrus.

The PUP Government will continue to support fully the University of the West Indies and its activities throughout the region and to participate actively in regional activities such as population census, statistical services, citrus research, pulp and paper studies, agricultural research, money and management research.

At the same time the PUP Government will continue the study of possible relationship that is mutually advantageous with the Central American Common Market (CACM) countries. Our association with ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) will be strengthened. This regional relationship places the NEW BELIZE in the heart of the Caribbean Basin.

### FORESTRY

Although much of our forest wealth has been exploited by logging and saw-milling, there yet remain forest resources in the less developed areas of Belize. The PUP Government proposes to conserve and increase our forest assets and to promote total processing of more species of timber and by-products such as plywood, veneer and wallboard plants as well as pulp and paper manufacture. Furniture making for export will be given fresh impetus.

### FISHERIES

Our continental sea shelf, rivers and lagoons constitute a substantial area of Belizean territory and provide scope for more modern and scientific fishing techniques in both shallow and deep water. The PUP Government will encourage national fishermen through their co-operatives to diversify and open up fields of catch other than the traditional lobster industry. The newly organised Fisheries Research and Control Department will be used as the instrument to achieve this goal.

Investors with the necessary technological background will be invited to do experimental work on aquaculture of all types of fish.

### TOURISM

The friendly nature of our people, the accommodating climate of Belize, its geographic position, its scenic attractions, fishing, hunting, wildlife, coastal and island resources offer untapped potential for the development of tourism as an important source of foreign exchange earnings and of employment. The PUP Government will intensify its promotional and publicity activities and will continue to encourage investment in tourist facilities and attractions and infrastructure requirements.

For the welfare of the Belizean people, the PUP Government will develop the opportunities offered by the realization of the Maya Circuit and the tourist business in Quintana Roo, Mexico, which our northern good neighbour is promoting with vast sums of money. In this development the PUP Government will ensure that the dignity of every Belizean is preserved, that they retain access to beaches and facilities and that tourism is used to promote the growth and development of Belizean culture, art, food and handicraft as a way of life to show the world.

### LIGHT AND POWER

Having provided electrical light and power in a day and night service in Belize City and in every district capital, the PUP Government proposes to promote increased electric capacity and to extend services in the rural areas.

The growth of agriculture, industries and community development in the course of time will provide a large enough market for a hydroelectric power station which the geographic contour and water resources of Belize will make possible.

### WATER

Water is basic to health and economic development. The PUP Government will continue its work of providing more communities with water supply systems. Existing water systems, such as those of Belize City, Corozal Town and elsewhere, will be improved. With the co-operation of the World Health Organisation plans already prepared will be put into operation to provide a better supply of water for Belize City and Corozal Town and for other communities which offer scope for improvement.

### SEWERAGE

The PUP Government has brought the first modern sewerage system to the country of Belize. It is the system installed at the new capital. A sewerage system for Belize City has reached its preliminary stage and the PUP Government proposes to seek the necessary funds to finance its full execution.

The PUP Government will work toward providing suitable sewerage systems for the rural and urban areas.

### ROADS AND BRIDGES

The non-independent political status of Belize has not made it easy to obtain loans to construct and improve our highway and road systems. However, the newly founded Caribbean Development Bank should be the first source of obtaining such money.

In addition the PUP Government proposes to allocate to roads a larger portion of capital revenues and C.D. & W. (Commonwealth Development and Welfare) grants to reconstruct and improve the Northern, Western, Humming Bird and Southern Highways. In this programme a start has already been made on the Western Highway. The feeder road system will be improved and, where necessary, extended to serve agriculture and industry.

Having built the Tower Hill Bridge, the Belcan Bridge and other bridges, the PUP Government proposes new bridges to span the Swasey River on the Southern Highway, to span the Belize River on the Burrell Boom Road which connects the Northern and Western Highways, and to span the New River at Orange Walk Town. Wooden bridges will be systematically replaced by concrete ones.

### PORTS AND HARBOUR FACILITIES

The PUP Government proposes to improve port facilities in Belize City and to complete the Commerce Bight Pier. It has commissioned a full scale independent feasibility study to determine the economics of a modern seaport for the country of Belize at the most appropriate location to assure the smooth flow of goods to and from the NEW BELIZE as economically and efficiently as possible.



### TELEPHONE SYSTEM

A new telephone service has been installed in Belize City and will be expanded to take care of growing demand for this service. Negotiations are now in train for the complete overhaul of the major district lines involving substantial expenditure. Whenever the situation warrants, villages will be connected to the new system.

Radio telephone services, telex and external telegraphic communication will be expanded to meet the growing demands of the NEW BELIZE.

### AIR TRANSPORTATION

The PUP Government, having considerably improved the Belize International Airport and the Belize Municipal Airstrip, will take steps to expand the Terminal Building and other facilities including air traffic and meteorological services. It will continue to improve and build landing strips throughout the country.

### DREDGING AND RECLAMATION

The PUP Government proposes to obtain new and suitable dredging equipment to reclaim swampland around Belize City and Stann Creek Town in order to provide for urban expansion, and where necessary will reclaim land in other urban areas by other types of reclamation and filling equipment.

### EDUCATION

Education has been given top priority and this is reflected in the budget. As a result, there has been substantial progress in education. The number of trained and qualified teachers has increased considerably and the quality of education has accordingly improved. More classrooms have been provided and more will be provided. In Church-State partnership secondary schools have been established in all district capitals. Facilities for the teaching of science have been established; agricultural subjects and vocational training have been increased. A start has been made with Junior Secondary Schools; and there has been substantial increases in the number of our students entering universities and other training institutions abroad on government scholarships.

Efforts will be intensified to create a national system of education; a system adapted to the economic and social needs of the NEW BELIZE. This will involve an expansion of educational facilities at all levels, particularly at the vocational, agricultural levels. It will involve revision of curricula and syllabuses, improved teacher-training services and extension of library facilities.

The PUP Government pledges its continued support to the Church-State school system; but where this system is unable to provide technical and vocational training, the PUP Government proposes that government directly provide the service.

The PUP Government will continue to encourage agricultural schools in the rural areas and will direct the educational system towards modern science, useful technology, practical agriculture and adult education.

### HEALTH AND WELFARE

The PUP Government will pursue the improvement of the medical services as the population increases and will remove, where possible, existing deficiencies. With

the establishment of a nursing school and several modern hospitals and clinics, the PUP Government proposes to proceed with the programme of providing the districts with modern hospital facilities.

The PUP Government will continue to co-operate with organizations as WHO and UNICEF in all projects such as malaria eradication, tuberculosis control and environmental sanitation programmes designed to improve the health of the people of the NEW BELIZE.

### HOUSING

The PUP Government considers good housing essential to development. While suitable finance facilities continue to be hard to come by, much has already been done to enable many people to own their own homes. Much more needs to be done and the PUP Government will double its efforts in co-operation with the private sector and external and international agencies, to attract considerable funds for housing—particularly for those with low income.

### TOWN PLANNING

The PUP Government has accomplished the making of plans for Belize City, the district capitals and some villages and it proposes to keep up the work of town and village planning and to assist local authorities to carry out these plans so that Belizeans living in rural and urban areas can enjoy the benefits of well-planned communities which will grow and expand as Belize moves forward to independence and prosperity. The NEW BELIZE will require proper zoned communities and the PUP Government will provide them.

### CO-OPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS

The PUP Government proposes to continue its work in forming and helping co-operatives and credit unions to flourish so that Belizeans can organise themselves. This is one way to ensure that the benefits of economic development and social progress can be enjoyed by citizens who by their individual endeavours are not able to obtain an equitable share in the fruit of production of the nation's wealth.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The PUP Government will continue to co-operative fully with local authorities and to grant subventions in order to improve streets, drains, garbage disposal and other services and assets. It is committed to provide for urban expansion development in the NEW BELIZE.

The PUP Government believes that democracy should reach deep down to all the people and will therefore encourage the development of Village Councils. It will assist them with practical programmes for adult education, community self-help improvement, handicraft development, home economics and civic teaching. It will also intensify its efforts to encourage thrift and savings for development projects.

### LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

The PUP Government is committed to providing an adequate distribution of income and resources among all sections of the community in a manner compatible

with the maintenance of incentives for the achievement of adequate levels of production.

The PUP Government will continue to improve and consolidate labour legislation so that the Belizean worker is able to produce more of the nation's wealth and to obtain his fair share for himself and his family. A well drawn-up Social Security Scheme has already been prepared with the help of a United Kingdom expert and will be implemented to reduce the hardships of the competitive world in which we live.

Full employment is the goal for the NEW BELIZE. Efforts shall be made to maintain the right balance between capital and labour-intensive activities and between the supply of skilled and unskilled workers to maximise output through full utilization of the total labour force.

#### BENEFITS AT THE NEW CAPITAL

Now that the New Capital is about to throw open its gates to receive the good Belizean people as the first phase of building is completed the PUP Government proposes to assist in the transfer of government to the heart of our beloved country and thus safeguard the nerve-centre of government against ravages of hurricane wind and tidal wave. The new capital will accommodate many families and offers in general a better standard of housing than we have enjoyed in the past. Progress is on the march in PUP Government style.

#### DEFENCE, LAW AND ORDER, JUDICIARY

Having established the special, highly-trained and mobile unit of the Police Force, the PUP Government intends to increase the strength of the Unit into a tough, impregnable core of fighters. Together with the Volunteer Guard, enlarged and reinforced, and a Sea Patrol, and supported by such defence allies as guarantee the independence of the NEW BELIZE, they shall ensure that we remain free and sovereign against all odds.

The PUP Government will demand that the United Kingdom undertake and organise such arrangements as will secure the NEW BELIZE against external aggression.

The PUP Government will continue to maintain political stability through a democratic system of parliamentary government under the rule of law. Disorder and lawlessness have no place in the NEW BELIZE and with the new constitutional advance under the independence constitution and with the assistance of our system of law the PUP Government will preserve the peace.

Law and order will be maintained at all times and the full independence of the Judiciary will be preserved.

#### SEA PATROL

The PUP Government proposes to acquire suitable modern vessels to patrol and guard our coast and to prevent intrusion by unauthorised vessels into our territorial waters. It is these coast guards that will protect our fishermen engaged in developing our fishery and marine resources.

## IMMIGRATION

The PUP Government will maintain its open-door policy of immigration and welcomes to Belize immigrants who are willing to participate with good will and dedication in the economic and social development of the NEW BELIZE.

## SPORTS AND GAMES

The PUP Government will complete the building of the National Stadium in Belize City, it will continue to provide and improve sports facilities in the rural and urban areas. It will also encourage the promotion of sports and games in the schools and will co-operate with and assist legitimate sporting groups in coaching and in sponsoring national representation at international games to advance the image of the NEW BELIZE.

## ARTS AND CULTURE

The PUP Government will promote creative arts and a national culture in the NEW BELIZE so as to help bring about a greater feeling of national identity and unity.

## MUSEUM, ZOOLOGICAL PARK AND BOTANICAL GARDEN

The PUP Government proposes to establish a Museum at the new capital to store and display our archaeological and artistic treasures. It also plans to develop the Mount Pleasant Valley of the New Capital into a Botanical Garden, the foundation of which already exists in a substantial and precious collection of Belizean orchids. In this same area there is scope for the creation of a zoological park.

## TRAINING AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The development of the NEW BELIZE and its control by Belizeans depend on trained people. The PUP Government will continue its policy of training Belizeans in administration, management, science, technology and trade at all levels in order to prepare them to manage with authority and responsibility the complex apparatus of a modern independent state. It is from this body of trained personnel that the Foreign Service of the NEW BELIZE must come.

## INDEPENDENCE AND STABILITY

We have stated clearly in this Manifesto and now repeat, that the PUP Government will not lead Belize into independence WITHOUT a suitable and adequate independence guarantee by the United Kingdom and as many other friendly nations as possible.

This is an essential foundation to our independence. But at the same time we reaffirm our belief that political stability and economic development cannot be gained by a once-and-for-all effort. There must be a daily struggle to preserve the stability against acts of subversion and violence—a situation critical to developing countries. There must be constant vigilance and determination to maintain the forward movement of our advance to economic growth and social betterment in the NEW BELIZE.

We repeat the burning words of our Manifesto for Belizean Progress that "There is no short-cut to progress. The way to the plateau of plenty is through hard work, dedication and loyal service to Belize and Belizeans."

Belizeans are an integral part of mankind and they well deserve the splendid future which the Creator of the World intended for them. For He made man a little less than God and has raised him to unheard-of heights. The Psalmist proclaimed his grandeur.

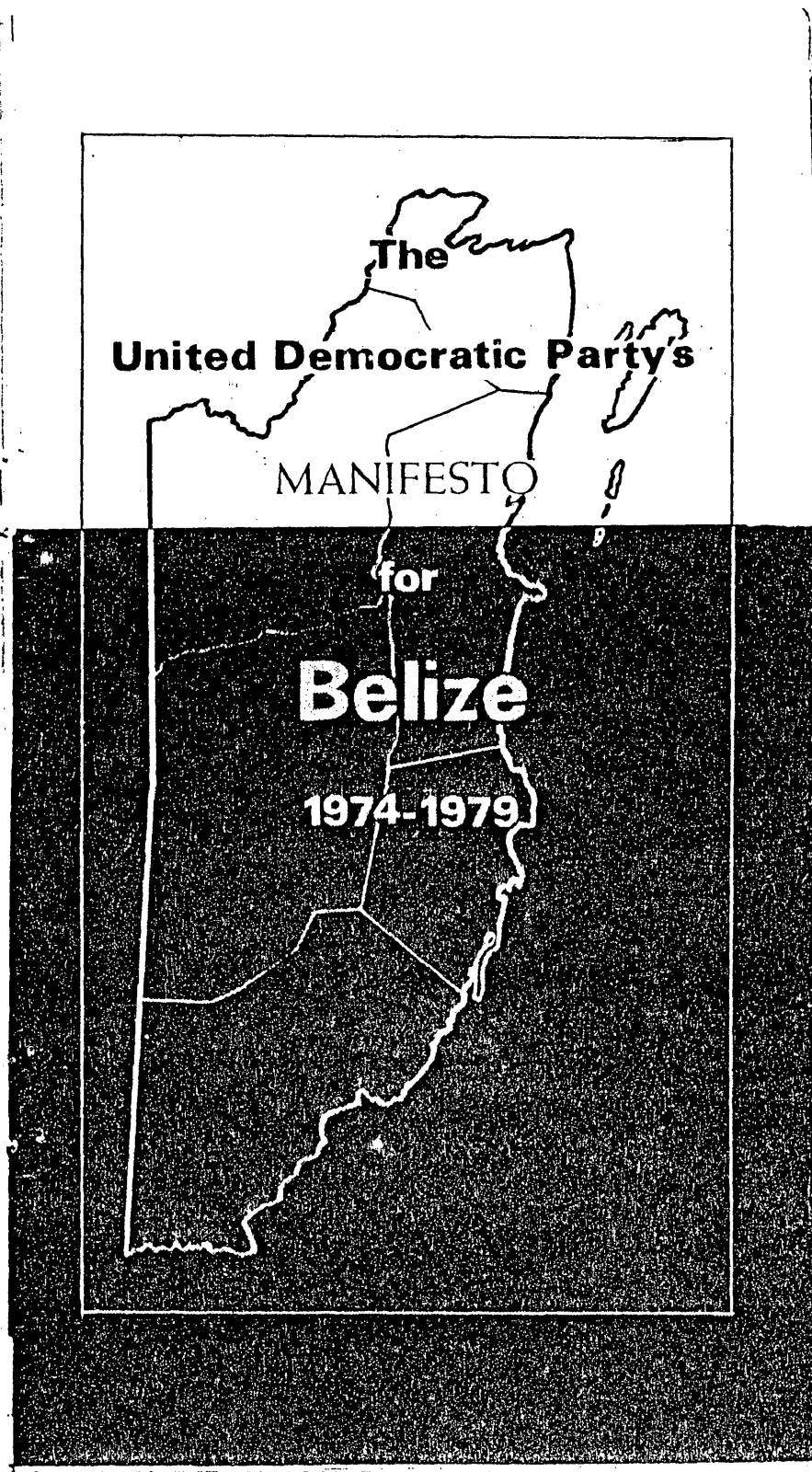
"Thou dost crown him with glory and honour.

Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands;

Thou hast put all things under his feet." (Psalm 8)

APPENDIX D

The United Democratic Party's  
Manifesto for Belize 1974-1979



The  
United Democratic Party's

MANIFESTO

for

**Belize**

1974-1979

THE MANIFESTO  
OF THE  
UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
PART I  
THE NATIONAL PLAN

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY is a party devoted to liberty, a mixed economy and equal opportunities for all people of this land. It is a party of unity, committed to obtain cohesion out of the diversity of our people to promote decency and integrity in Government.

THE PARTY will implement a new program of development which will open new opportunities and restore confidence to the people and ensure their full participation.

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY presents its Master Plan which with increasing momentum will resolve the problems of overcrowding under-employment, high cost of living and chronic money shortage at home. This plan will build a firm economic base from which we will secure a stable and meaningful independence.

THE MASTER PLAN is based on the firm foundation that there are three great national resources in our Country - THE LAND, THE SEA AND THE CITIZEN.



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## THE LAND

IN ITS NATURAL STATE land has only an intrinsic worth. It becomes valuable when people make it productive - generating wealth and the job opportunities needed by a growing country. This is the problem which all third world countries face. The solution is a sound land use policy. With all the people fully behind it.

THE PLAN for the land to make it produce more to generate wealth and the job opportunities cannot be achieved only by creating new laws or by sharing out more land. It can only be done by people, working towards a well-defined goal. This goal and the steps towards it are set out in the party's new FIVE -POINT PLAN FOR THE LAND.

### (1) OWNERSHIP

Ownership by freehold title is the only just reward for genuine farming effort and any national who wishes to make a living by farming will be able to acquire land for this purpose.

### (2) LAND USE

Wise use of the land means planting the crops that the land can grow best. This concerns not just agriculture but also forestry, since much of the country's second and third class lands are best suited for tree crops.

The planting and harvesting of quick growing trees is a legitimate and logical form of land use in those areas where the soil is not suited for anything else.

On the other end of the fertility scale much of our country's best soil is being used for single crops - grain and

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legumes.

Good land use will recognize that repeated use of soil for the same crop year after year will result in sustained build-up of pest, and diseases and certain weeds which in turn have to be treated with more expensive chemicals.

The United Democratic Party proposes a plan to rotate crops with pasture on all top quality soils adapted to this system.

Wise land use will also use low-lying Pine Ridge lands and other suitable ponds and lagoons for fish farms.

To give maximum effect to this new land use policy the United democratic Party pledges itself to remove controls and abolish restrictions which hinder production and promote activities which will stimulate efforts and encourage enterprise on the land.

### (3) CO-OPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

Cooperative efforts can go a long way in bringing prosperity to the farming communities of our country when the whole community becomes involved in permanent farming pursuits. For example, construction of a creamery or a milk pasteurization plant in a locality well suited for dairy production; the setting up of grain centers for the collection, drying, processing and storing of corn, beans and peas in areas well suited to this production, construction of seed cleaning drying and polishing operation in areas proven to be suited for rice production. These are the projects which will provide the thrust for co-operative production.

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The United Democratic Party will go all the way in helping farmers by advancing a line of credit to clear land, to prepare and fertilize it, to provide the seed and technical and advisory facilities to make the projects outlined above succeed. In time the co-operatives themselves will become owners of the various installations and plants, running them and using them to create a better life style for their families and country.

#### (4) INFRASTRUCTURE

The United Democratic Party recognizes that the country must improve its exports trade without depriving the home market of basic foods for its tables and that it must provide an adequate network of roads to move the produce from farm to town and from farms to storage bins and wharves.

To accomplish these things the Party will expand storage and shipping facilities, will make an all out effort to upgrade our existing main and feeder roads and will extend the Southern Roads from Toledo to link the country by highway with the rest of countries of Central America.

The party will also set about to organize the collection, grading, processing and marketing of those crops grown in areas well suited to their production.

#### (5) LAND TRIBUNAL

The United Democratic Party considers that the present system of land administration where the Ministers have all the say in all land matters to be intolerable. There will be a proper Land Tribunal composed of prominent local farmers

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among others operating in public sessions to whom appeals complaints and explanations can be made.

The Land Tribunal is expected to advise the Minister on all matters pertaining to the ownership and the correct use of land in the country.

The operations of real estate agents will be regulated by law to secure their cooperation with Government's policy for the conservation and maximum use of the country's land.

#### (6) AIRPORTS

Airports and airstrips are essential for quick and easy transportation. The Party's attitude towards private airstrips is that these help to develop the country and serve a useful purpose in community fulfillment. These will be encouraged subject to safety and security regulations. The further modernization and expansion of the Belize International Airport will receive priority treatment.

#### (7) TOURISM

The Tourist Industry will be called upon to increase its room accommodation by expanding existing facilities and by an all out drive to attract new hotel investments, with Government working hand in hand with investors. The United Democratic Party will establish an independent statutory Tourist Authority to promote and supervise the tourist industry, and tourism will be managed to make nationals full participants and beneficiaries.

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THE SEA

## TWELVE MILE LIMIT

The Plan for the sea calls for an immediate extension of territorial waters from three to twelve miles beyond Half Moon Caye. We need this extra area of the sea to preserve the country's marine resources and to have some degree of control over the environment.

In pursuit of our rights under international law we shall seek to explore and exploit the natural resources of the seabed and subsoil beyond our territorial waters.

## FISH FARMS

Urgent attention given fish farms and other methods of marine husbandry should allow the fishing industry to double its marine production in a few years.

As with agriculture, essential fishing equipment such as boats, outboard motors and gears will be allowed to come in duty free to bona fide fishing cooperatives.

## SEAPORT

The United Democratic Party will give priority to the construction of a modern deep water port based on the most modern concepts of freight movements. These facilities are urgently needed to strengthen the country's exporting position, to eliminate waste and to reduce the high cost of imports and to provide the extra warehouse space which the country needs so badly.

## COASTAL SERVICES

Cross country road transportation has hurt the traditional coastal boat services causing hardship in many of the

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coastal communities. United Democratic Party plans call for new docking and warehouse facilities in Belize City to serve both northbound and southbound traffic as a first step in the programme, to serve the coastal communities better.

#### THE CITIZEN

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY is committed to the principle that People are more important than policies. Policies are made to bring about benefits to the people. When these benefits do not occur, old policies must give way to new ones, which can work.

#### THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The United Democratic Party realizing the hardship caused by the ever increasing cost of living proposes a long term and a short term solution to this serious problem.

The long term solution is based on increased production which in turn will bring about import substitution. Therefore many high priced foreign goods will be no longer necessary.

The short term solution of the United Democratic Party to enable citizens to meet this problem is to increase immediately their earning power, and to this end:

1. To reduce a wide range of customs duties to bring down the cost of food and building materials.
2. To revise further the Income Tax Laws to provide more personal allowances especially health, education and accident allowances.
3. To revise the Income tax Laws so that no one earning less than \$2400.00 a year will pay income tax.

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4. To remove all taxes on Interest earnings.

5. To remove controls on locally cultivated farm produce.

COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES The country's experience with cooperatives show that these societies provide the most efficient distribution of resources to the widest number of people in the shortest possible time.

The efficiency and versatility of the cooperative movement will be used more often and in more areas of development.

United Democratic Party policy will be geared to increase the size and number of cooperatives in the country.

Cooperatives have a great deal to offer not only in the fishing and agriculture sectors but in the consumer and tourist fields as well. The party proposes to use the cooperative philosophy as one of the most successful tools at its disposal for spear-heading the kind of development needed to bring maximum benefits to the widest number of people.

#### NEW JOBS

The Party recognizes the need for a radical change in the country's development climate to bring about desired development. The country needs to have at least two thousand new jobs a year to absorb the number of students who are released from primary and secondary schools. To achieve this the country needs to have many new investments every year.

#### WAGES

The Party aims to see wages improve to keep pace with the cost of living. Accordingly it proposes to introduce a consumer index to keep a sensitive finger on the pulse of inflation. It further in-

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tends to propose legislation which will enable those who are earning substandard wages to reach a realistic statutory minimum.

While this is a desirable improvement we recognize that for the most part it is more important to provide competitive job opportunities which lead to advancement for those who make the effort.

#### INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The United Democratic Government will promote industrial democracy in acceptable forms adopted in consultations with the trade unions, workers and management. The United Democratic Party Government will enact a Labour Code to embody modern labour legislation and practices.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The United Democratic Party supports a Social Security Programme with clearly specified benefits to the people and also a National Health Scheme.

#### HOUSING AND LOTS

It is the aim of the United Democratic Party that every family should own a home. Housing cooperatives, revolving housing schemes and other projects will be established to assist families to acquire their own houses and lots on reasonable terms.

#### EDUCATION

At the primary level the party aims at making more places available to the infant classes so younger children can get an early start in school. We also propose to abolish the scholarship age as a qualification for free secondary education.

At the secondary school level as a fir-



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st step the Party will increase secondary school scholarships from its yearly level of 80 to 300, thereafter to increase the level every year until Secondary education becomes available to all responsive students free of charge.

Beyond the secondary level, until the country can have its own institutions of higher learning, the party proposes to expand the number of scholarships available to overseas institutions.

The Party further proposes that immediate consultations begin among parents and educators to find a way to adjust classroom hours to allow more students including dropouts to use existing school plants for Special Classes without causing a decline in primary school education standards.

The Party will make every effort to establish a polytechnic college to teach agriculture, dairy farming, engineering and architecture, road-building and construction among other practical subjects.

#### TOWN BOARDS AND VILLAGE COUNCILS

The United Democratic Party policy aims at de-centralizing the Government to give local bodies autonomy in running their own affairs. Independence would be a cruel joke if Central Government had all the authority it needed to get things done and the district town boards and village councils had no power to bring about changes and to effect improvements.

Under these proposals town boards would have enough land, independent income and authority to plan their own town improvements and expansion. As a first step a United Democratic Party government will convene a Joint Conference of town boards and village councils to pool ideas, to make plans and project action for the development of the districts.

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As district communities learn to identify themselves with their own problems and start taking new steps necessary to improve their efficiency they will be by their action freeing the Central Government to pursue its bold and dynamic programme of planning, reviewing and ensuring performance.

#### INCREASING HOUSE

The United Democratic Party Government will consider the possibility of enlarging the House of Representatives to achieve more adequate representation of the people and ensure that the Cabinet, while large enough to cope with the business of Government does not usurp the functions of parliament.

### CENTRAL BANK

The United Democratic Party plan calls for the beginning of a Central Bank to direct and regulate development and to make the country attractive for investment. One of the Bank's prime functions will be to work towards a realistic bank rate and towards free and easy convertibility and all that this aspiration implies for the country's trading position, and its currency of intervention.

Urgent efforts are needed to mobilize national savings to form a reservoir of development funds to substitute for expensive development money now coming from abroad through commercial banks.

### BILL OF RIGHTS

One of the first things the Party proposes to do is to bring about an amendment to the country's Constitution to provide specific guarantees on the following basic human rights.

a. that no citizen shall be deprived of his right of access to a court of law in any matter touching his constitutional or property rights.

b. that no legislation shall impinge on, curtail or conspire to transfer the judicial powers of the courts of law to any Minister, or group of Ministers or to any Cabinet, Government department or statutory body.

c. that to ensure that Parliament becomes the supreme legislative body in the land, it shall not be lawful for the Cabinet to be comprised of more than one third plus two of the elected Members of the House of Representatives.

d. that the right to vote shall be guaranteed to all citizens 18 years of age and above. That an Electoral Commission repre-

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representing political parties and independent citizens be established to supervise the fair conduct of elections.

e. that certain basic changes in the Constitution, including a political or economic affiliation with other countries, be effected only by a two thirds majority vote of the Representatives in the House.

f. that an Ombudsman be appointed under Letters Patent by Her Majesty the Queen, to investigate citizens' complaints concerning maladministration and the infringement of any citizen's constitutional rights.

g. that the public officers be appointed and promoted on merit; and that appointments, promotions and discipline shall be in the hands of an independent Service Commission.

h. that there shall be reasonable and fair access by all shades of public opinion to the radio and television, whether publicly or privately owned and that as a means of achieving ethical and fair operation, publicly owned radio and television shall be vested in public corporations not subject to Ministerial control, and that a Communications Commission be established by law to control the licensing and operation of both publicly and privately-owned radio and television companies.

#### IMMIGRATION

The party will substitute a balanced immigration programme for the present "open house" policy to preserve as far as possible the existing ethnic balance, and will re-write the Immigration Law to re-classify immigrant status as follows.

##### A) TOURIST

Any person passing through. Maximum stay

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30 days; may not work or set up business within the country.

#### B) VISITOR

Any person passing through. Available to persons with bona fide interests and to students. Maximum stay of six months. May not work or set up business within the country.

#### C) RESIDENT

Any acceptable person who by qualification or experience or marriage or investment desires to reside in the country. May not work without special permission and may not enter into any of the following business undertakings reserved for citizens unless government priorities so dictate. The areas of business undertakings reserved for citizens are:

1. Any consumer trade
2. Any importation for this trade
3. Lottery operations
4. Newspaper and Communications media
5. Real estate transactions for profit

#### D) CITIZEN

Any person who after five years or more of steady residence becomes a naturalized citizen. No restrictions.

### INDEPENDENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY

The United Democratic Party holds that a free and open society is the only worthwhile goal for free men and women. For this reason the Party rejects the pretensions of the Republic of Guatemala in claiming this land; and for the same reason insists that when our Independence comes, it comes to us without strings. The Party will strive resolutely towards political and economic independence.

The Party is accordingly committed to a policy of economic and industrial stre-

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ngth before all else, consolidating our bonds of friendship with Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean Community, with Canada and the United States. The Party is further committed to support our emerging democracy and Independent Nation with a balanced Parliamentary system capable of interpreting and reflecting the true will of the people whom it seeks to serve.

## PART TWO

Part I of the United Democratic Party Manifesto outlined the broad objectives of the Party to develop the land, sea and human resources of the country for the benefit of the citizen.

Part II lays out the means by which the Party proposes to carry out its National Development Plan during the next five years.

The United Democratic Party Government intends to institute certain Instruments of Development to make sure that every citizen has a fair chance to grow and develop to the fullness of his capacity.

The Instruments of Development are:

1. A Job Placement Bureau
2. A National Enterprise Corporation
3. A National Research Institute
4. The Development Finance Corporation.

APPENDIX E

The Current People's  
United Party Manifesto: The  
Manifesto For The Independent  
Belize 1974-1979



1974 — 1979

## THE PEOPLE'S UNITED PARTY



PRESENTS

## THE MANIFESTO

FOR

## THE INDEPENDENT BELIZE

A Plan for the Belizean People

To Clear the Last Hurdle

In the Glorious Struggle to Create

an

Independent Belize in the Heart of The

Caribbean Basin

Five years ago the People's United Party presented to the Belizean people its Manifesto of the NEW BELIZE in the surging seventies; and the Belizean people in free, democratic, national elections gave the People's United Party a popular mandate to govern and to fulfill that manifesto.

The state of the nation message which the Premier read from the National Assembly in Belmopan on 6 September 1974 recounted the performance of the People's United Party in fulfilling the Manifesto for the NEW BELIZE. In most cases entire projects were accomplished. In other cases, finances have been arranged and preparations are underway for their commencement. With a renewed mandate the remaining proposals will be completed.

As the 1969-1974 government of the People's United Party reaches its conclusion, there is a note of confidence that more can be done in the future to improve the quality of life of the Belizean people. Confident of and with full reliance upon the sense and judgement of the Belizean people to reject proposals built upon false hopes, to discard principles based in the injustices of the colonial era, and to reject the leadership of those committed to serve interests other than the cause of a free Belize and the true welfare of the Belizean people, the PUP comes to the electorate again, courageous and confident.

The People's United Party presents this new Manifesto for a renewed mandate to govern Belize and continue leading the Belizean people forward during the years 1974 to 1979 — Forward to the fulfillment of the people's just and undeniable aspirations for independence. This is therefore the MANIFESTO FOR THE INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

The Belizean people are invited to give their support to the Manifesto for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE, to renew the mandate of the People's United Party to govern and to accomplish the projects of the manifesto for the benefit of the people and in preparation for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

**THE INDEPENDENCE OF BELIZE**

It was the people of Belize who themselves gave birth to the struggle of the peaceful, constructive, Belizean revolution. It is a revolution founded by the people to peacefully, but decisively improve the quality of life of all Belizeans and to free Belize from further exploitation by an unjust colonial system. It was the people who first sounded the call for the independence of Belize. And, it was out of this desire and out of the shackles and sufferings of the people that the People's United Party was born entrusted with the duty to fulfill the people's aspirations.

The independence of Belize is therefore the first aim and objective of the PUP. It is a sacred trust of the people to the political Party they formed and it is the purpose of this manifesto to show the plan for moving towards fulfillment of that solemn duty.

Although Belize has already satisfied every inter-

**Page 2**

national test set for determining the readiness of a people for independence, an international situation has prevented the people of Belize from the achievement of their aspirations for freedom. Although the United Nations has declared the right of a people to self-determine their own political future and has established a committee specifically to supervise the implementation of this principle throughout the world, Belize has been prevented from the exercise of this sacred right by the threat of aggression and absorption from abroad.

This threat arises out of the unjust claim of Guatemala to Belize; unjust, not only because the claim of the Republic of Guatemala to Belize is unfounded in law and in equity, but also unjust, because it continues wrongfully to deprive the Belizean people of their God-given right to freedom.

The PUP is determined that the present form of colonialism will not be replaced by colonialism in any other form or from any other source. Likewise, while the PUP is committed to persuade and assist the United Kingdom Government to settle this dispute, the Party's policy remains firm that the sovereignty and independence of Belize is not for negotiation. The People's United Party is not prepared to allow this threat indefinitely to postpone the independence of Belize and is prepared to assume the same with any suitable security arrangement that will ensure the safety of the people of Belize and preserve the independence of Belize.

**THE SYMBOLS OF INDEPENDENCE**

The symbols of a nation proclaim its national and international identity and personality. An independent Belize must have symbols in order to project its true personality at the international level. The ancient name of Belize is now restored to our land. The Belizean anthem and the Belizean flag, as distinct from the party flag of the People's United Party, have continued to gain acceptance at home and abroad. We propose to formalize these symbols of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE in anticipation of the glorious day of independence.

**PREPARATION FOR INDEPENDENCE**

The PUP Government established an Independence Secretariat in order to help prepare Belize to take its place in the United Nations and to function on the international level.

The PUP now proposes to continue this work and to strengthen the Secretariat which, working with our Civil Service, will provide the administration of the independent Belize. Training and all other facilities that will equip the Secretariat to effectively and efficiently perform its role will be provided.

**CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE  
AND EIGHTEEN YEAR VOTE**

The INDEPENDENT BELIZE will require a constitution guaranteeing civil liberties and ensuring the preservation of democratic government. The PUP will continuously strive for constitutional advance that will bring all the reins of government into the hands of the

elected representatives of the people, streamline the democratic process and promote the efficient management of the country's affairs. No perfect system of government has so far been devised. Many are the errors that have resulted in slavishly following constitutional patterns devised by other societies. To avoid these pitfalls the PUP believes in the adoption of a system of government best suited to meet the needs of the Belizean people. Among the constitutional measures proposed is the reform of our election law and practice, to correct abuse and the expansion of franchise. The People's United Party will grant the vote to every individual above the age of eighteen years.

We have built on firm ground a democratic system of parliamentary government. It is a government which adheres to and accords with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights that "the will of the people shall be the basis of government". We have done this because we believe that a democratic system of government remains the best political system yet discovered by man.

The PUP respects the supremacy of the will of the people; it supports the United Nations principle which recognizes a God-given right vested in the Belizean people to self-determine their political future as a united, sovereign and independent Central American nation in the heart of the Caribbean Basin.

We propose to continue to pursue a foreign policy which has a threefold objective: (1) to achieve the independence of Belize with suitable security arrangements to ensure its continued independence; (2) to obtain international recognition and support for our independence; and (3) to live in peace and harmonious cooperation with our neighbours of the Americas and with the peoples of the world.

It is by the consistent and skillful use of this foreign policy that we propose to obtain for Belize an independence that is meaningful, secure and lasting.

**ON THE ROAD TO PROGRESS**

The PUP continues its commitment to progress. Because its creed is equal opportunity in a vigorous, free society, the People's United Party will continue the creation of a society equal in justice, free from want of opportunity and steadfast in the precepts of the rights of man.

The development of a country economically, politically and socially demands a partnership between government and people. This is neither the privilege of the few nor the burden of the masses; it is only by certain, competent leadership working to an accepted plan, winning the support and effort of all that the interests of the nation can and will prosper.

It is in recognition of this principle that the PUP presents a sound and comprehensive plan to which all Belizeans can pledge support. To the young demanding a greater say in the affairs of state and anxious to make their contribution to the glory of Belize, the PUP will recognize this desire and accept this participation by a reduction of the voting age. To the more experienced citizen the PUP recognizes your wish for a better life and therefore presents a plan by which you can work to achieve this.

## THE CHALLENGE WE FACE

The challenge Belize and the world face is the danger of inflation and rising prices which inflict misery and hardships. It is a worldwide problem. We in Belize, with a small dependent economy, cannot expect to be completely insulated from these serious worldwide inflationary pressures.

To the extent that we must import goods, the inflation in the developed countries will continue to be imported into Belize. This challenge can only be met by the resolute re-organization of the Belizean economy to meet these pernicious external forces. The PUP holds that it is the sacred duty of government to intervene in the economy where necessary for the good of the people and to continue to take measures to combat inflation and secure a better life for all Belizeans. To do this Belize must have a plan.

## THE ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES

The PUP's new economic plan will have as its primary objective the continued and accelerated growth of the Belizean economy. It will aim at a greater degree of self-sufficiency; an expansion of food production and the substitution of Belizean manufactured goods for imported goods. To so reduce dependence on external factors, Belizean resources and national treasures will be harnessed, controlled and owned by Belizeans to serve Belize and the Belizeans. The plan will continue the process by which the public sector provides the economic infrastructure and institutions and stimulates the private sector to make full use of every economic opportunity. Economic development will be ordered to blend and complement the growth and needs of the region and to grasp and take full advantage of the opportunities to export. At the same time the new economic plan must abide the principle of an equitable distribution of wealth. It must be so geared that from its bounty, provision is made for the social services and amenities required by the people of an INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

Foreign investment and technology is welcome and needed in the development of Belize. It is, however, mutually beneficial when it operates in partnership with Belizeans. Moreover, it is desirable that the way remains open for Belizeans to assume an ever increasing participation as their expertise and capacity allow.

## AGRICULTURE

The development of agriculture for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE must have two aims; production of adequate food to feed the growing Belizean population and the exploitation of export opportunities.

**FOOD:** To foster and encourage the farmer to produce more and better quality food for the local market the PUP proposes to continue to provide the farmers with fertile farming lands, loans, a land clearing service at economic rates, good and reliable seed material at the best prices possible, expert advice and assistance in planting and tending crops, assistance in harvesting, a secure market at guaranteed prices, storage and process-

ing facilities for their products and protection against competition from competing imported products. To meet the need of farmers to sell their products directly to the consumer and thereby earn the best prices available, farmers' markets will be established in Belize City and all District Towns.

**EXPORTS:** The PUP will continue to secure the best possible export arrangements for Belizean products. Apart from the opportunities for preference to the Caribbean Common Market, to Commonwealth Countries, to the European Community markets, the PUP will seek to secure the best market arrangements for Belizean products, such as sugar, rice, bananas, citrus, beef, fish and forestry products.

There remains room for increased efficiency of production if Belizean exports are satisfactory to compete on world markets. Research, the provision of experts, agricultural education co-operative ventures are some of the devices that will be introduced to achieve efficiency. Every opportunity must be taken to process and prepare agricultural products in their retail form by the development of agro-industries making use of agricultural products. The PUP will encourage and intervene where necessary to achieve these goals.

**EXPANSION:** The agricultural sector must not only grow by increased production of the crops already established but scope is abundant for development of new exports. Fruits, vegetables, tobacco and cattle are but some of the areas ripe for further development and assistance. The PUP recognises the need for agricultural expansion and diversification and will be prepared to intervene and participate in the promotion of viable enterprises.

## INDUSTRY

To balance the economic planning for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE, to fully utilize the natural resources of Belize, to achieve maximum exploitation of our primary products and to profit from the many talents and skills of Belizeans, the expansion and development of the industrial sector of the economy is critical. The PUP has the proposals following:

**FISHING:** The fishing industry, already wholly nationally owned, managed and operated is organized in fishing co-operatives. The expansion of this industry is assured by government's support for the international proposal to extend Belizean territorial waters from three to twelve miles and for the proposal to introduce an economic zone of two hundred miles.

**FORESTRY:** The PUP programmes for control, for sustained yield, for regeneration and for fire protection are now bearing fruit and helping to provide a world short of timber. Intensification of these programmes will go further to assure Belize of this commodity and provide valuable exports. Renewed effort will be made to convert forestry produce into saleable retail commodities and to manufacture by-products from waste material in the sawmilling process.

**TOURISM:** The independent Belize will profit from a policy for the orderly and systematic growth of a tourist industry in which Belizeans as far as possible

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maintain control and ownership of facilities and plant, which minimizes the negative social, economic impact of an uncontrolled industry, which safeguards the dignity of the Belizean citizen and which ensures that the industry serves first the Belizean people.

The PUP is committed to these principles and recognizes at this stage the need for a large first class hotel to encourage the further growth and development of the industry in the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

**MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISES:** Items manufactured for the local market operate to reduce economic dependence on foreign goods and often help to stem the importation of foreign inflation. The manufacture of export goods earn much needed foreign exchange. Manufacturing enterprises also assist to provide jobs for Belizeans.

The PUP believes that manufacturing undertakings form an integral part of the development strategy and will therefore continue to promote industry by tax benefits, the establishment of more industrial sites assistance in providing finance in accordance with the contribution each makes to the Belizean economy. Industry which further processes and further refines Belizean primary products and natural resources shall enjoy priority. Increasing Belizean participation and ownership shall be encouraged.

**PETROLEUM AND MINERALS:** In view of the present world situation of petroleum supplies and prices the PUP government will continue to encourage reliable and efficient oil companies to extend oil exploration and will pursue aggressively the possible establishment of an oil refinery in Belize. At the same time, through the recently formed Geological Unit, intensified exploration for other minerals will continue. The known natural resources of Belize must be used wherever possible to augment the nation's wealth. The PUP government has already made efforts to establish a cement plant to utilize our limestone and other rock material.

### **INFRASTRUCTURE**

A PUP government accepts a responsibility to provide an adequate infrastructure upon which development can thrive. The major task is the transformation of the inadequate and insufficient facilities to meet the economic and social needs of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

**LAND:** The PUP, recognizing that land constitutes one of the most precious assets for the development of Belize and committed to the protection of the natural resources of Belize to serve the best interests of the Belizean people, will advance its programme of land reform. To accomplish this, land will be acquired by government, not confiscated. To land owners a just price is paid in accordance with current market prices.

Development of land will continue to be encouraged by a strict and skillful implementation of the Rural Land Utilization Tax Ordinance. The Alien Land Holding Ordinance will ensure that aliens intending to own national land will do so only for purposes of using and developing the same. It is against the national interests of Belize for aliens to hold land and speculate that later

it may be resold at a higher price themselves without improving the value of the land but taking advantage of any benefits accruing from government's investment in infrastructure. This also has the effect of withholding the land from nationals for development and ultimately preventing them from purchasing it at the unrealistic and inflated prices that speculation brings.

The PUP land policy will go yet further in keeping with the objective of securing Belizean ownership and control of our natural resources and national treasures. Legislation will be introduced to preserve the right of every citizen to the use and enjoyment of waterfront property. The tax structure will be used as an instrument to induce the proper development of this precious commodity to meet the development objectives in the agricultural, tourist and allied sectors.

A PUP government will not shrink from continuing the programme of surveying and making available land for the development needs of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE and to generate agricultural development.

**TERRITORIAL WATERS:** The PUP proposes to assert the ownership and control of the Belizean people over the territorial waters and continental sea shelf of Belize.

We endorse the claim to twelve miles of territorial waters and the principle of special rights over the "economic zone" which extends two hundred miles from our shores.

**ROADS:** Roads are a necessary ingredient in the development pattern of any nation. The PUP is therefore determined to upgrade the old colonial network into a modern highway and secondary road system that meets the developing needs of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

The Northern Highway will be reconstructed at a cost of over eleven million dollars, from Corozal Town to the Village of Sand Hill. Western Highway reconstruction will continue from Roaring Creek to Benque Viejo del Carmen. The Hummingbird Highway will be continuously and systematically improved to ensure safe travel. The Southern highway will be improved for all year round use.

The bread line of the country's development, however, are its feeder roads. Urgent upgrading of these roads to serve the agricultural and industrial needs of Belize will be undertaken in conjunction with the construction of over one hundred miles of new roads to serve the sugar industry, over thirty-two miles to serve the banana industry and other roads to serve the rice industry and other agricultural development and to join communities still unconnected to the road network of Belize, particularly in the Toledo District.

Urgent replacement of the Middlesex Bridge of the Stann Creek Valley road will be undertaken and other bridges throughout Belize, the subject of a recent feasibility study, will be constructed in order of priority.

**AIR COMMUNICATION:** The PUP proposes to invest an additional three million dollars on the Belize International Airport in the continuous struggle to keep Belize abreast of the rapid technological advances of the twentieth century. The project includes a new terminal building with modern air traffic control equipment, suitable accommodation for customs and immigrat-

ion, airlines offices, concourses and passenger amenities.

District airfields will be improved and modernized and new ones built. The Silva Airstrip near Belmopan nears completion and preparations are in progress to start work on new airstrips at San Pedro, Ambergris Caye, and at Sarteneja in the Corozal District. Airstrips for Caye Caulker and Placencia are now in the stage of planning and preparation.

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS:** The Belize Telecommunications Authority, created by the PUP government has brought Belize closer to the rest of the world and the district towns and villages of Belize closer to each other.

We support the continuation of work on the extension of the service until the whole country is connected by telephone. We also support plans to expand the fully automatic system to include telegraphic and "telex" services and to increase our international outlets into Mexico and into the Republic of Honduras. It is the aim of the PUP to secure greater control and ownership of the external telephone services.

**LIGHT AND POWER:** The PUP Manifesto for the New Belize has brought to reality an increase of electric capacity and its extension to the urban and rural areas of Belize. Although the present programme is yet incomplete, the PUP is already in search of funds to further expand the present service.

World experts predict that the days of cheap and abundant energy have gone for good. While the PUP agrees that the cost of generating electricity by fuel has increased and that Belize is exposed to this inflated cost of fuel, it believes in the hydroelectric potential of our rivers to produce abundant energy for light and power.

Preliminary studies of potential sites will have to be completed and our proposal is to obtain for Belize a hydroelectric plant or plants which will supply electricity to all parts of Belize and thus provide less expensive light and power for the economic development of our resources and the social progress of our people. We must become self-sufficient in energy in order to face the international uncertainties of mineral fuel.

**MODERN SEAPORTS:** The PUP government has secured from the Caribbean Development Bank the necessary finances for a modern major seaport in Belize City.

With the continued support of the Belizean people we propose to bring to reality this project by engaging a responsible international company to execute the project and thus provide for Belize a suitable seaport.

The PUP proposes to continue negotiations for funds to build a new and better pier at Commerce Bight in the Stann Creek District and so provide the south with another suitable port.

### **FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

To finance the development plan for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE and to meet the challenge of inflation, the financial institutions of the colonial era have proved inadequate. The People's United Party continues to create the vehicles by which the accumulation of sav-

ings, the provision of capital and the regulation of the flow of money in the economy can be assured for the new development needs of Belize. At the same time the PUP's commitment to a just distribution of wealth in the INDEPENDENT BELIZE and its determination to achieve for each Belizean an equitable share of the fruits of Belizean prosperity further emphasize the need for more improved financial arrangements.

**BANKS:** The present Currency Board arrangements merely perform the passive function of issuing and redeeming currency notes as required by the commercial banks. The Belizean economy has grown too complex to depend on such a Board with such limited functions. There is need for a more efficient mechanism for monitoring more effectively the operations of the financial and monetary sectors of the economy and to be able to play a more active role in directing these sectors. The PUP therefore proposes to create a monetary authority to achieve these objectives and to ensure that the interests of an independent Belize are best served.

Development banking services are provided by the Caribbean Development Bank which offers financing not only to government but also to developers. On the national scene the Development Finance Corporation, restructured to serve the development needs in Belize, provides a service to the smaller developer. The Reconstruction and Development Corporation makes its contribution in the housing sector of the economy and in rehabilitation after disaster. The PUP will continue to support these institutions and will leave no stone unturned to improve and expand the service they offer to the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

Recognizing, however, that the accelerated pace of the growth of the Belizean economy demands the availability of additional finance the PUP believes in the encouragement of more local savings, the prevention of the flight of capital to foreign countries, as well as securing new avenues for loan funds.

**INSURANCE COMPANIES:** Insurance companies provide a service to induce savings against calamity to person or to property. In so doing large funds at their disposal have found little willingness to serve the economy of Belize. The PUP will legislate to supervise and control the insurance industry to ensure that it serves more effectively the needs of the Belizean people and to monitor the investment of insurance moneys in the economy of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

Many claimants, particularly those involved in motor accidents, suffer while their claims are disputed or rejected in frustration of the intention of the insurance contract and the country's laws. New legislation to bring immediate protection to the injured will be introduced.

**CREDIT UNIONS:** Credit Unions have performed a valuable contribution to the Belizean economy in stimulating thrift and making family loans. The PUP believes that the co-operative movement can and will form the backbone of the Belizean economy and sees the credit union movement as an ideal instrument for helping to distribute the fruits of the development of Belize. Not only has this movement earned the full sup-

port of the PUP but it has won the Party's commitment to foster and assist the spread and growth of the movement throughout Belize.

**TAX STRUCTURE:** The PUP commits itself to continue to modernise our tax structures in order to achieve three objectives: (1) to increase revenues for economic expansion; (2) to influence investment in favour of productive activities; and (3) to achieve social betterment and a just distribution of income.

We firmly believe that a government can give back to the people only what it gets from the people. We must fashion a just tax structure to ensure that the burden of taxation is equitably distributed, and to ensure that low-income earners be not subjected to unbearable burdens.

While we propose to collect as much revenue as the economy can constructively bear, we favour a policy of tax concessions which is intended to attract new development projects in agriculture industry and tourism.

### **SOCIAL SERVICES**

In every society there are those less fortunate than others. Old age, physical handicap, misfortune or other diversities have made some citizens' needs greater than others. It is the design of the PUP's economic plan for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE that the expanding and thriving Belizean economy must be able to provide for the needs of these Belizeans. Moreover, in the new social order envisioned in this MANIFESTO FOR THE INDEPENDENT BELIZE its major objective is the correction of the imbalances of life and eradication of the injustices of the old colonial social pattern. The PUP therefore propose a dynamic new social order for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

**EDUCATION:** The PUP is committed to providing education for all the Belizean people to satisfy their individual capacity and to meet the needs of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE. It is not the intention of this objective however, to create by higher education a privileged class of elite citizens who will perpetuate the social injustices of colonialism.

To meet the educational needs of Belizeans, a PUP government will support the Church-State school system but, wherever this system is unable to provide for the needs of a community, government will supply the necessary service. Continued extension and improvement to technical and vocational, agricultural and scientific education will be directed to meet the demands of the developing economy. The struggle to reform curriculum so that education is related to the Belizean situation and needs, continues as fast as new textbooks can be prepared.

The task of providing new classroom space continues with the construction of a Primary School and the Ecumenical High School in Corozal Town, the new Belize Teachers' College in Belize City and the University Centre for the Extra-Mural Department of the University of the West Indies.

Funds for loans to students for university and professional education are now augmented by loans secured from the Caribbean Development Bank.

The PUP is determined that education should serve the INDEPENDENT BELIZE and is committed to the view that education must provide the Belizean youth with a better understanding of our culture, history, natural resources and problems and so allow him to contribute to our political and economic independence and the progressive enrichment of our culture.

**HEALTH SERVICES:** The Belizean people must have good health in order to work and to perform the tasks of the peaceful, constructive revolution.

The PUP is committed to improving the medical services as the population grows, to expand its mobile health delivery system to reach all communities, to invest more in training nurses for the urban and rural areas, to provide medical scholarships and to train other workers in the health service.

The PUP proposes to continue preventative campaigns and to provide more and better facilities for medical care. The PUP propose to build a new and better hurricane-proof hospital for the biggest community in Belize — the metropolis of Belize City. This hospital will continue to provide specialist medical care for all six districts of Belize. A new mental hospital with ancillary services will also be provided.

To further care for the sick the PUP will strive to implement a health insurance system.

**LABOUR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS:** A nation's house is built on firm foundation if it guarantees social justice by an equitable distribution of its wealth for the benefit and happiness of all its people. Fair labour laws and practices contribute towards this objective.

The PUP continue to improve and consolidate labour legislation so that the Belizean worker is able to produce more of the nation's wealth, earn and receive a fair share of the fruits of his endeavour for himself and his family.

The PUP proposes also that regular and systematic reviews must be made to determine a just and fair wage level. The PUP proposes further to work for the establishment of minimum wage combined with the provision of one job for every able bodied man and woman.

The PUP is committed to a Social Security Scheme. Much work has been done on this scheme and it now remains to be implemented under conditions that will guarantee its successful operation in the best interests of the Belizean people. Likewise, the PUP proposes to continue to protect the rights of pensioners and to maintain levels of pension in line with improvements to salaries and wages.

**THE SOCIAL ORDER:** Accepting its responsibility to improve the quality of life for all, the PUP proposes to review and improve its system of social assistance to the senior citizen.

In recognition of the equality of man and to banish the injustices of illegitimacy the PUP proposes to introduce legislation to remove the legal handicaps of illegitimates.

To care for abandoned and mistreated infants and children the PUP proposes to review and modernize the system in order to make these less fortunate youth into good Belizean citizens.

**TOWN PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVE-**

**LOPMENT:** In order to assist the orderly growth of communities, the PUP will strengthen its town planning services and will introduce legislation to zone residential areas and regulate the growth of business areas.

Economic development and social progress advance faster when there is united community action and where the people are determined to work for the improvement of their community by aided-self-help measures. The PUP will support community projects and continue subventions to municipal bodies for projects that improve the life in the community. Communities will be encouraged to make counterpart contributions by either sharing costs or providing labour.

**MORE WATER AND BETTER SEWERAGE FOR BELIZE:** The PUP Government has successfully negotiated the financing of an improved water system and a modern sewerage system for Belize City by an agreement with the Canadian International Agency at a cost of over thirteen million dollars. The Pan American Health Organization will be directly involved in its execution. The PUP proposes to move forward with the accomplishment of this project.

The PUP proposes to continue its programme of building better water supplies for all communities both rural and urban and to seek ways and means to improve sanitary services throughout the country. We propose to

move to completion a municipal water system for Punta Gorda and Orange Walk Town and to improve the water system in Corozal Town.

**HOUSING:** People must have shelter and a growing population needs more and more houses in both urban and rural communities. There is need for more housing finance.

We are committed to continue to obtain more finances for housing through the Reconstruction and Development Corporation and also other housing agencies of government.

We propose to proceed with our slum clearance and to continue to encourage the aided self-help programme which has contributed greatly to the transformation of many villages from thatched houses to wooden and concrete buildings.

Moreover, the PUP will protect the homes of Belizeans from fire by the urgent upgrading of fire fighting equipment until each District has its own service equipped with at least one large self-sufficient fire engine.

**LAND RECLAMATION AND SOIL EROSION:** Large urban communities have arisen on low-lying coastal lands and this presents the need for land reclamation. The PUP proposes to continue giving priority to land reclamation and land preparation in the rural and urban development programmes.

The PUP proposes to continue its dredging programme to reclaim swampland in Belize City in the Leyola Park and Farber's Road areas, and Stann Creek Town and in other communities. This reclaimed land will be subdivided into lots and thus provide housing sites for hundreds of Belizean families.

Nature's action of sea and river has eroded valuable

Belizean property at several places and the PUP will make the necessary studies and take remedial measures to protect our assets.

**STABILITY AND SECURITY:** A modern state, through its security forces, has a duty to maintain law and order to ensure a climate of stability in which its economy can develop and its society progress.

We hold that without law there can be no freedom and that in a world of growing violence, individuals need the law's protection against the disturbers of the peace.

The PUP proposes to improve and strengthen the Police Force, the Para-military Units and the Volunteer Guard and to provide them with better equipment, transportation and more suitable accommodation.

We propose to bring to reality plans for a new police training school and to reconstruct and expand the present school to be used exclusively by the Para-military Units.

The PUP will ensure that law and order will not only be maintained but enforced at all times by the preservation of the full independence of the Judiciary and improvement of the machinery of justice. To this end the PUP proposes a new Supreme Court for the Northern Judicial District. Steps will also be taken to review and expand the system of legal aid.

**IMMIGRATION:** The population of Belize is small in proportion to its land area and its potential to support more people.

The PUP will continue to maintain its open-door policy of immigration and welcomes to Belize immigrants who are willing to participate, with good will and dedication, to the economic development and social progress of the peaceful, constructive Belizean revolution.

The PUP will insist that all immigration plans and projects offer participation to the Belizean people and safeguard the best interests of Belize. Immigrants to Belize will be admitted on the basis of their ability and willingness to develop the land, to use technology and expertise for our development and introduce capital where the economy shows a shortage.

### **THE BELIZEAN ARTS**

As the peaceful, constructive revolution affects the lives of our Belizean people, we see its effects in our dances and in our dramatic presentations, in our paintings and in our music. There is a new vibration of national awareness among those involved in the various and diverse art media.

The PUP will continue to give inspiration and encouragement to this cultural awareness that we the Belizean people have our own identity and our place in the Caribbean Basin and in the Americas. And to preserve our heritage, a PUP Government will establish a fund to purchase Belizean art in order to prevent their sale abroad.

We are committed, and, with a renewed mandate, we shall press on with our preparations for a Museum in Belmopan, for a botanical garden and zoological park and for a civic centre in Belize City.

**SPORTS LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL**

Belize has made its mark on the international scene of sports, most notably in Ladies Softball and cycling.

The PUP proposes to intensify its programme to provide and improve sports facilities in the rural and urban areas; and will give encouragement to sports.

The PUP proposes to implement the recommendations made by a National Sports Director for the establishment of a National Sports Council in order to co-ordinate all sporting activities and to advise government on all aspects of sports including the appropriation of national funds for the further development of sports.

**CONCLUSION**

This then is the plan proposed by the People's United Party to the people of Belize. It is a dynamic plan. It is designed to accelerate the economic development of Belize, to provide the new social order bringing all aspects of social democracy to Belizean life, adjusting and balancing the injustices and inequities of the colonial system and facing the world challenge of inflation.

Inherent in this plan for the INDEPENDENT BELIZE is the determination of a political Party to honour the sacred trusts bestowed upon it by the people. Government and people young and old working together can accomplish the projects of this MANIFESTO FOR THE INDEPENDENT BELIZE.

We can do all these things and more, when we stand firm together and work ardently to carry forward the peaceful, constructive Belizean revolution. For in this revolution we have succeeded in making a breakthrough to tomorrow. The pendulum has swung from isolation and privation under colonialism to international recognition and steady progress under a government based on the will of the people, the People's United Party.

Let all Belizean patriots vote to continue this good work of the People's United Party. There is no time to make a change for the worse. Change for better and transformation for progress are daily happenings in the life of the PUP.

Let us also remember: that by ourselves we are small and helpless, but in community and in unity we are strong. In a community of nations such as the Caribbean Community we grow stronger. We are strongest when we walk the paths of righteousness and when our confidence is the fear of God and our hope is the integrity of our ways.

**BELIZEANS:** You owe it to yourselves, to your children, to your children's

children to vote PUP ALL THE WAY!

\* \* \*

**THE PEOPLE'S UNITED PARTY  
POLITICAL CREED**

I am a member of the People's United Party, because I believe:

1. that all human beings are equal regardless of race colour, creed, or sex;
2. that every Belizean has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
3. that every Belizean has the right to protection of life and property according to law;
4. that every Belizean is an integral part of the nation and has a right and a duty to participate in the building of the INDEPENDENT BELIZE;
5. that every Belizean has a right to receive a just return for his labour and to enjoy a fair share of the fruits of the peaceful, constructive, Belizean revolution;
6. that every Belizean has the right to an adequate and ever improving standard of living for himself and his family;
7. that the ownership and control of our national resources and treasures belong in the hands of Belizeans;
8. that it is the sacred duty and responsibility of Government to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation where necessary in order to secure a better life for all Belizean;
9. that the new nation of Belize has a right to exist as a free, sovereign and independent nation of Central America in the heart of the Caribbean Basin.

**LONG LIVE**

**THE PEOPLE'S UNITED PARTY!**

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