

**Dear Prime Minister, The Rt Hon David Cameron MP,  
members of the Conservative Party.**

**"I heartily commend your momentous deliberations to the  
care and guidance of Almighty God."**

**"Matters arising at Magdala a Jamaican-British Diamond &  
Golden Jubilee; OAU (AU) 2013, Constitutional inquiry"**



My reason for starting this proposition is that, until it is realised by the Government and the country that these misfortunes do not come upon us by haphazard, or by accident, but are the result of rooted errors in British policy, we shall have no improvement in a policy which leads to these retreats, reverses, and disasters abroad.

The causes of these rooted errors are twofold: first, they arise from neglect and delay in dealing with questions which seem a little awkward, and which are put off in the hope that they will disappear, instead of which they become ten times more difficult; and, secondly, there is the alienation of the old allies of this country, because it is impossible to deal with any one of these difficulties, or to suggest a remedy, unless the cause of the trouble is removed.

But people in different positions take different views, this country has suffered in every quarter of the globe from what appears to be a rooted system of indifference, neglect, and procrastination with regard to dangers that threaten it from abroad.

No one has spoken more strongly, more responsibly, in that sense than the present **Prime Minister of England**

because when this question began they allowed scares to prevail in the public mind.

They allowed, I may almost say they encouraged, an alarm for which there was no foundation at all.

These are matters of **intense solicitude** to the Government, as they must be to any **British Government**, and that they may be considered to be the **cardinal bases of our policy**

Well, if that be so, and the statement of the **Prime Minister** is true, as I am sure it is, that nobody has ever suggested the slightest intention of infringing any of the rights we enjoy under that **Treaty**, why is the country allowed to be alarmed on the subject?

The confidence and that support, of course, place a great responsibility on the shoulders of the Government, but they also, I think, may give us some confidence in believing that in pursuing the policy which I have endeavoured to sketch in outline **the Government are not acting merely as the nominees of a Parliamentary majority, but as the trustees of the entire nation.**

Though the **General Election** might not be as soon as he wished, and they would do themselves, their Party, and their country good by constantly calling attention to the wickedness, the iniquities, and the follies of the present Government

The basis of good relations between countries was reciprocity of good feeling, and that good feeling was likely to be disturbed if one used provocative and insulting language towards the other.

I should like to have from the Government a definite declaration of their policy in this matter.

The Committee might accept a complete assurance that it should be made clear to all engaged in administration on the spot that **no breach of the law would be permitted**

The Committee would notice how this would aggravate the question of compensation at the start.

**Why dance upon his prostrate corpse?.**

**Why scalp him?**

and so long as it was the law of the land, it was perfectly clear that the law must be carried out.

That being so, until the Government changed their policy there was no alternative but to take the steps that had been taken.

there had been a sort of **breach of faith** on the part of the Government.

He was struck with the fact that there seemed to be on the part of those organisations in the country which had so long interested themselves in this question a sort of set purpose to prove that the **Government in taking these steps were acting dishonestly** and were trying to render their own policy nugatory in effect,

we could never be asked to enforce a law which was abhorrent to our nature and adverse to our institutions,

there was no question of **international law** in this matter at all, that it was a question of **public policy** and of what was due to the **honour and dignity of this country**.

I do not know whether it tends to the peace of the world to attribute discourtesy to **Ministers of the Crown** with respect to a foreign nation.

The conduct of other nations was not the measure of our honour, and we ought, out of self-respect, to carry out our obligation.

**"true, we have acted dishonestly; true, we are great rascals, but then the French are bigger rascals than we are."**

He should have thought that in an assembly of honourable men and a nation of honest people an admission of that kind would absolutely conclude the question, and that it would have been unnecessary to go into arguments of expediency.

But if questions of expediency only were considered, he held that in this respect as well as in private life **"honesty is the policy."**

**The average Englishman** might not know all the reasons for these matters of high policy; but he believed, nevertheless, that any assembly of operatives or artisans, or of men of any class in the country would say, if the facts were laid fairly and fully before

them, **that they ought to abandon the position they had occupied in regard to Abyssinia.**

**Civilisation in Africa, as understood by European interference, meant the establishment of European vices—the introduction of drink and murderous weapons; and travellers had stated that the track of European civilisation was marked by the skeletons of hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants who had been cruelly slain.**

There was hardly a self-governing country in the world that had borrowed money abroad and that had not afterwards gone into bankruptcy and refused to pay.

Unless they attacked the expenditure year after year, and voted for economy, however unpopular it might be, they would not release the people from the burden of taxation that was pressing on the country.

**It was useless to quarrel with the Court, and we could not alter the law.**

**To do that we must go back to the Powers that created the law.**

He will have an opportunity of replying, and I trust he will take the opportunity of removing that impression, which, I confess, unless it is removed, I regard as one of the greatest dangers to which it is possible to expose this country at this moment.

Having regard to all the facts and forces of the situation, I greatly fear an extension of your operations will be forced upon you by the necessities of the case.

The graver part of the case was that the right hon. Gentleman had entirely departed from the past policy of **prudent Leaders of the Conservative Party on this question.**

**Why do you not have the courage of your own policy and say to the House: "It is our policy; the initiative was ours; all these philanthropic pretensions which we make are ours; we will pay for them?"**

But there again, if you are going to avenge your own follies, you ought surely to pay.

**Sooner or later England will have to pay,** for the policy that has been adopted is, yours, and the initiative is yours.

If people feel that their money is being taken from them, it matters very little whether it figures as thousands or tens of thousands.

**The Members of Government** would be called upon to justify the decision which had been arrived at here.

But how could they "**defend in debate Measures of which they do not approve**"?

it must be borne in mind that the superintending authority of Parliament is the reason and the measure of the authority exercised by the **responsible Ministers of the Crown;** and that, if the one power is limited, the other must be limited at the same time.

Full legal powers having been intrusted to **Her Majesty's Government, Parliament** would expect that care should be taken that no policy should be pursued which **Her Majesty's Government** were unable to defend.

**And no Government** can be subordinate, unless it is within the power of the superior Government to order what is to be done or left undone, **and to enforce on its officers, through the ordinary and constitutional means, obedience to its directions** as to the use which they are to make of official position and power in furtherance of the policy which has been finally decided upon by the **advisers of the Crown.**

**The people of England** know that we have the power to do what is wrong?

I cling to the belief, the well founded belief, that their desire is that we should have the courage to do what is right.

**Our colonial blunders** in former days were the results of high-handed action in **Downing Street,** disregarding the views, the

opinions, and, if you like, the prejudices of our fellow colonial subjects.

No student of history can ignore the great part which national sentiment has played in human affairs, **and every English Government**, whether the strongest English Government or the weakest, not only carefully watches the growth and spread of public opinion at home, but eagerly scans the growth and tendency of public opinion in our colonies, **whether self-governing or under the control of the Crown.**

**"England is not governed by logic; England is governed by Parliament."**

**The good name of the House and the country was involved**, and, therefore, the pressure of Party discipline should not have been brought to bear on any Member to vote either one way or the other.

The question of finality was also involved, for no one could suppose that a **Party vote** would dispose of the matter.

**Mr. Gladstone said the word "consent,"** whether used in an Act of Parliament or in the House meant previous consent.

**In 1858**, when the [India Bill](#) was discussed, **Mr. Gladstone** was so conscious of the difficulty and danger involved in the matter—was so anxious to make it clear that the **Indian Army** should not be used by the **Government of this country** in addition to our standing army in such expeditions as that was in **Abyssinia**, that he moved a clause on the point which was actually carried by the **House of Commons**, and was only altered somewhat when it reached the **House of Lords.**

**The clause was in these terms—**

**that, except for preventing or repelling actual invasion, or for meeting any sudden and urgent necessity, Her Majesty's forces in India should not be employed for any military purpose beyond the external frontiers of India without the consent of Parliament;**

**and it also contained the words that—**

**the revenues of India cannot, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, he applied to defray the expense of any military operation beyond the frontiers of that country.**

**I would point to the language used by Sir Stafford Northcote in connection with the Abyssinian expedition when in 1867,**

**he came down to the House and admitted that he and the Government had been guilty, in view of the strict construction of the law, of a contravention of that law, and he apologised to the House for it.**

**Mr. Gladstone, who was then Leader of the Opposition, congratulated him upon admitting his illegality,** and he laid down the great dictum—which I submit to hon. Gentlemen opposite when they come to consider this matter in the case of **Abyssinia—that the strictest construction of an Act of Parliament is the only construction that is tolerable within the walls of Parliament.**

The time has therefore arrived when it is needful for Her Majesty's Government to consider what further steps it may be at once possible and advisable to take in order to **vindicate the honour of the Crown and to protect Her Majesty from further harm.**

There has been no constitutional principle more thoroughly recognised and established than that when such a course of action has to be taken in a matter affecting the interests and honour of this country and adding to its burdens, **it is the duty of the Executive** to take the earliest opportunity of communicating that fact to Parliament.

**It is the Prerogative of the Crown to declare war;** it is the prerogative of Parliament to forbid expenditure until the causes of and the necessity for war and all the policy of the Government have been explained.

The right hon. Gentleman the **Chancellor of the Exchequer,** addressing the House on the **1st of August, 1862,** had asserted that, **"to hold aloof from a turbulent diplomacy, to lighten**

**taxation, and frugally and wisely to administer the public treasury" was the duty of a Conservative Minister.**

I think there never has been a time when Parliament was proceeding quietly with the ordinary Business when it had been formally announced **that the Government had not the confidence of the House of Commons.**

**The key-stone of the arch on which the Constitution of this country rests is that a Ministry should not remain in Office unless it possesses the confidence of Parliament,**

the Minister who remained in Office without the confidence of **Parliament was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour.**

I can only say that if the House has not any confidence in the general conduct of public affairs by the Government the discredit rests, not with the Government for remaining in Office, **but with the House of Commons, which does not force them out of Office by a bold and straightforward Vote of Want of Confidence.**

**"Knight without fear and without reproach?."**

**"We know that throughout Europe the conduct of our Queen** is to all peoples the object of the most entire admiration;

and it is not fitting that we should appear to be less sensitive of the great services and merits of **our Queen, or that we should appear to appreciate Her conduct less than it is appreciated by those in foreign countries in a Diamond Jubilee year.**



A Charge of sacrilege is laid at the feet of **"Our Queen's Most Excellent Majesty"; "Sovereign Lady"** of the Jamaican Constitution laid before Parliament on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1962; what can the Prime Minister and members of Parliament do to vindicate the honour of the Crown?