

Appendix A: Sir Geoffrey Howe's Resignation Statement to the House of Commons, 13 November 1990

Set out below is an amalgam of the full broadcast speech and various additional excerpts carried in national newspapers but not actually included in the broadcast.

The text has been edited to more closely represent the wording of the original speech thereby allowing for pauses, the use of the terms 'right honourable Friend' which newspaper journalists replace in print with the person referred to. Those parts of the speech in italic were not broadcast on television and are derived from printed sources. Those parts in plain text and bold represent the words carried on national television. Paragraphing in the parts sourced from print represents the divisions made either by the print journalists or by the written text provided to them. Paragraphing in those sections checked against the video source marks the turning of the page in Sir Geoffrey Howe's hand as he spoke from his notes. Italic text is not on the video tape and therefore has not been marked up to indicate pauses, stress or audience response. In the broadcast of the speech, the BBC political correspondent, Nicholas Jones, summarized in a 'voice over' the main points of those sections which were edited out of the video version. Dotted underlining represents emphatic movements of the head and body, continuous underlining marks hand movements made to emphasize a point.

1. *I find to my astonishment that a quarter of a century has passed since I last spoke from one of these back benches. Fortunately, however, it has been my privilege to serve for the last twelve months of that time as Leader of this House of Commons. So I have been reminded quite recently of the traditional generosity and tolerance of this place. I hope that I may count on that today, as I offer to the House a statement about my resignation from the Government.*
2. It has been suggested, / even indeed by some of my **right honourable Friends**, / that I decided to **resign** / solely because of **questions of style**, / and **not** on matters of **substance at all**. / **Indeed**, / if **some** of my / former **colleagues** are to be believed, / I must be the **first minister in history** / to have **resigned** because he was / in **full agreement with Government policy**. / [LONG LAUGHTER ON ALL SIDES]
3. The **truth** is, / Mr **Speaker**, / that in many **aspects of politics**, / **style and substance** / complement each other. / Very often **they're** / **two sides of the same coin**. /

4. *My right honourable Friend, the Prime Minister and I have shared together something like 700 meetings of Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet over the last 18 years, some 400 hours alongside each other, at more than 30 international summit meetings. For both of us, I suspect, that is a pretty daunting record.*
5. *The House might well feel that something more than simple matters of style would be necessary to rupture such a well-trying relationship.*
6. *It was indeed a privilege to serve as the Prime Minister's first Chancellor of the Exchequer, to share in the transformation of our industrial relations scene, to help launch our free market programme, commencing with the abolition of exchange controls, and, above all, to achieve such substantial success against inflation, getting it down within four years from 22 per cent to four per cent upon the basis of the strict monetary discipline involved in the medium-term financial strategy.*
7. *Not one of our economic achievements would have been possible without the courage and the leadership of the Prime Minister. And, if I may say so, they possibly derived some little benefit from the presence of a Chancellor who wasn't exactly a wet himself.*
8. *It was, too, a great honour to serve for six years as Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to share with the Prime Minister in some notable achievements in the European Community from Fontainebleau to the Single European Act.*
9. *But it was as we / moved on to consider the / crucial monetary issues / in a European context / that I have come to feel increasing concern. / Some of the reasons / for this anxiety / were made very clear / by my right honourable Friend / the Member for Blaby / in his resignation speech just over twelve months ago. / [LAWSON IS NODDING]*
10. *For like him, / I concluded at least five years back / that the conduct of our policy against inflation / could no longer rest solely / on attempts to measure and control / the domestic money supply. / We had / no doubt / that we should be helped in that battle / and indeed in other respects / by joining the Exchange Rate Mechanism / of the European Monetary System. /*
11. *There was, or should have been, nothing novel about joining the ERM. It has been a long-standing commitment. And we found, for a quarter of a century after the Second World War, that the very similar Bretton Woods regime did serve as a useful discipline.*
12. *And now, as the Prime Minister has acknowledged two weeks ago, our entry into the Exchange Rate Mechanism can indeed be seen as an 'extra discipline for keeping down inflation'.*
13. *But it must be said that this important practical conclusion has only been achieved at the cost of substantial damage to her own administration, and, more serious still, to its inflation achievement.*
14. *For, as my right honourable Friend the Member for Blaby / has explained, / the real tragedy is / that we did not join the Exchange Rate Mechanism / at least five years ago. / [MURMURED CALLS OF HEAR! HEAR!] That was, as he also made clear, / not for want of trying. /*
15. *Indeed, the so-called Madrid conditions came into existence / only after the then Chancellor of the Exchequer and myself as Foreign Secretary / made it clear that we could not continue in office / unless a specific commitment / to join the Exchange Rate Mechanism / was made. / As the House will no doubt have observed, / neither member of that particular partnership / now remains in office. /*

16. Our successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer / **has**, during the last year, / had to devote a good **deal** of his considerable **talent** / to **demonstrating** exactly how those **Madrid** conditions / have been **attained** / so as to make it ... / so as to make it **possible** to fulfil ... [LAUGHTER FROM THE OPPOSITION, SLIGHT SMILES FROM MAJOR AND THATCHER] / to fulfil a commitment / whose **achievement** / **has long** been in the **national interest**. /
17. It is **now, alas**, / **impossible** to resist the conclusion / that today's **higher** rates of inflation / **could** well have **been avoided**, / had the **question** of ERM membership / been **properly considered and resolved** / at a **much earlier stage**. / [LAWSON NODS; CRIES OF HEAR! HEAR!]
18. *There are, I fear, developing grounds for similar anxiety over the handling, not just at and after the Rome Summit, of the wider, much more open question of Economic and Monetary Union.*
19. *Let me first make clear certain important points on which I have no disagreement with my right honourable Friends. I do not regard the Delors Report as some kind of sacred text that has to be accepted, or even rejected, on the nod. But it is an important working document. As I have often made plain, it is seriously deficient in significant respects.*
20. *I do not regard the Italian Presidency's management of the Rome Summit as a model of its kind – far from it. It was much the same as my right honourable Friend will recall in Milan some five years ago.*
21. *I do not regard it as in any sense wrong for Britain to make criticisms of that kind, plainly and courteously, nor in any sense wrong for us to do so if necessary alone. As I have already made clear, I have, like the Prime Minister and other right honourable Friends, fought too many European battles in a minority of one to have any illusions on that score.*
22. But it **is crucially important** / that we should **conduct** those **arguments** / upon the basis of a **clear understanding** / of the **true** relationship between **this** country, / the **Community** / and our **Community partners**. / And it is **here**, I **fear**, / that my **right** honourable **Friend** / **increasingly risks** leading **herself** and others **astray** / in **matters of substance** / as **well as of style**. /
23. It was the / **late** Lord **Stockton**, / formerly **Harold Macmillan**, / who **first** put the **central point clearly**. / As **long** ago as **nineteen sixty-two**, / he **argued** that we **had to place** and **keep ourselves** / **within** the **European Community**. / He **saw it** / as **essential then**, / as it is **today**, / **not** / to **cut ourselves off** / from the realities of **power**, / **not** / to **retreat** / into a **ghetto of sentimentality** / about our **past** / and so **diminish our own control** / over our **own destiny** / in the **future**. /
24. The **pity is** / that the **Macmillan view** / had **not** been perceived more **clearly** / a **decade before**, / in the **nineteen fifties**. [CRIES OF HEAR! HEAR!; NODS FROM OTHERS] / It would have **spared** us so many of the **struggles** of the last **twenty years** / had we **been in** the **Community** / from the **outset**, / had we **been ready**, / in the / **much too simple phrase**, / to '**surrender some sovereignty**' / at a **much earlier stage**. /
25. If we **had been in** / from the **start**, / as almost **everybody** now **acknowledges**, / we should have had **more**, / not **less** influence / over the **Europe** in which we **live today**. / We should **never** forget the **lesson** of that isolation, /

26. Of being on the **outside** looking **in**, / for the **conduct** of **today's** affairs. / We have **done best** / when we have **seen** the Community, / not as a / **static entity**, / to be resisted / and contained, / but as an **active process** / which **we can shape**, / **often** decisively, / provided we **allow** ourselves to be fully engaged in it, / with **confidence**, / with **enthusiasm** / and in **good faith**. /
27. We must at **all costs** / **avoid** presenting ourselves yet **again** / with an **oversimplified choice**, / a **false antithesis**, / a **bogus dilemma** / between **one alternative** / **starkly** labelled / 'co-operation between independent sovereign states' / and a **second** / equally **crudely** labelled alternative / '**centralised federal super state**', / as if there **were** / **no** / **middle way** / in between. /
28. We **commit a serious error** / if we think always in terms of / '**surrendering**' sovereignty / and seek to **stand pat** for **all time** on a **given deal** / by proclaiming as my **right** honourable **Friend**, the Prime Minister, did two weeks ago, / that we **have** / '**surrendered** / **enough**'. / The **European enterprise** / **is not**, / and **should not** be seen, / like **that**, / as some kind of / **zero sum game**. /
29. Sir **Winston Churchill** put it **much** more positively / forty years ago, when **he** said, / '**Is it not possible**, / and **not less agreeable**, / to regard this / "sacrifice or merger" of national sovereignty / as the **gradual assumption** by **all the nations** concerned / of that **larger sovereignty**, / which can **alone** protect their diverse and distinctive customs and characteristics, / and their **national traditions**'. /
30. **I have to say**, Mr **Speaker**, that I find / **Winston Churchill's** perception / a **good deal more convincing**, / and **more encouraging** for the interests of our **nation**, / than the / **nightmare image** sometimes conjured up by my **right** honourable **Friend**, / who **seems** ... [SOUNDS OF SHOCK OR DISAPPROVAL FROM SOME, FOLLOWED BY OTHERS SHUSHING THEM; HOWE CONTINUES BUT WITH BACKGROUND TALKING CONTINUING] / who **seems** **sometimes** to look **out** / upon a **continent** / that is **positively** teeming with **ill-intentioned people** / **scheming**, in **her** words, 'to **extinguish** democracy', / 'to **dissolve** our national identities', / to **lead** us 'through the **back door** into a federal Europe'. /
31. **What** / **kind** / of vision / is **that**, / Mr **Speaker**, / for **our** **business people**, / who **trade** there each **day**, / for our **financiers** who **seek** to make London the **money capital** of Europe / or for **all the young people** of today? [BACKGROUND TALKING CEASES] / These **concerns** are especially important / as we approach the **crucial topic** / of Economic and Monetary Union. / **We must** be **positively** / and **centrally** involved in this **debate** / and **not** **fearfully** / and **negatively** detached. / The **costs** of **disengagement** **here** / could be very serious indeed. /
32. There is **talk** of **course**, / of the **emergence** / of a **single currency** for Europe. / I **agree** that there are **many** difficulties about the **concept**, / both economic / and **political**. / And of **course**, / as I **said** in my own letter of resignation, / **none** of us **wants** the imposition / of a **single currency**. / **But that** / **isn't** / the **real risk**. /
33. The **eleven others** / **cannot** / **impose** their solution on the **twelfth country** / against its **will**. / But they **can** / **go ahead** without us. / **The risk** is not / **imposition** / but **isolation**. / **The real threat** / is of **leaving** ourselves with **no say** / in the **monetary arrangements** / that the **rest** of Europe

- chooses for itself / with Britain once again scrambling to join the club later, / after the rules have been set, / and after the power has been distributed by others to our disadvantage. / That would be / the worst possible outcome.
34. *It is to avoid just that outcome, to find a compromise both acceptable in the government and sellable in Europe that the Chancellor has put forward his hard Ecu proposal. This lays careful emphasis on the possibility that the hard Ecu, as a common currency, could, given time, evolve into a single currency.*
35. *I have of course supported the hard Ecu plan. But after Rome, and after the Prime Minister's comments two weeks ago, there is grave danger that the hard Ecu is becoming untenable. Two things have happened.*
36. The first was that my right honourable Friend has appeared / to rule out from the start / any compromise at any stage / on any of the basic components / which all the eleven other countries / believe to be part / of EMU, / a single currency or a permanently fixed exchange rate, / a central bank / or common monetary policy. /
37. Asked if we would veto / any arrangement / which jeopardised the pound sterling, / my right honourable Friend replied simply, / 'Yes'. / That statement means / not / that we can block EMU, / but that they can go ahead / without us. / Is that a position that is likely to ensure, / as I put it in my resignation letter, / that we hold and retain / a position of influence in this vital debate? / I fear not. /
38. Rather to do so, we must, as I said, / take care / not to / rule in / or rule out / any one solution / absolutely. / We must be seen to be part / of the same negotiation. / The second thing that happened was, I fear, / even more disturbing. / Reporting to this House my right honourable Friend / almost casually remarked / that she didn't think many people would want to use the hard Ecu anyway, / even as a common currency, / let alone as a single one. /
39. It was remarkable, / indeed it was tragic, / to hear my right honourable Friend dismissing, / with such personalised incredulity, / the very idea / that the hard Ecu proposal / might find growing favour among the peoples of Europe, / just as it was extraordinary to hear her assert / that the whole idea of EMU / might be open for consideration / only by future generations. / Mr Speaker, / those future generations / are with us / today. /
40. How on earth / are the Chancellor and the Governor of the Bank of England, / commending the hard Ecu as they strive to do, / to be taken as serious participants in the debate / against that kind of background noise? / Mr Speaker ... [AUDIBLE EXPRESSIONS OF SHOCK AND DISAPPROVAL FROM TORY BENCHES, LAUGHTER FROM OPPOSITION] / Mr Speaker I believe that both the Chancellor and the Governor / are cricketing enthusiasts. [SLIGHT LAUGHTER] / So I hope there is no monopoly on cricketing metaphors. / It is rather like sending your opening batsmen to the crease / only for them to find, / the moment the first balls are bowled, / that their bats have been broken before the game, / by the team captain. / [VISIBLE MOVEMENT EXPRESSING DISQUIET AND DISCOMFORT ON TORY BENCHES; LAUGHTER FROM THE OPPOSITION]

(Order!)

41. The **point**, / Mr **Speaker**, / was perhaps more **sharply** put by a British businessman, / trading in **Brussels** and elsewhere who **wrote** to me last week. / 'People throughout Europe' he **said**, / 'see our **Prime Minister's** finger wagging / and hear her **passionate** / "**No!** / **No!** / **No!**", / much **more** clearly / than the **content** of the **carefully worded formal texts**.' / **'It is too easy'**, he **went** on, / 'for **them** to believe / that we **all share her attitudes**. / For **why else'**, / he asks, / 'has **she** been our **Prime Minister** for so long?'
42. 'This is' my **correspondent** concluded, / 'a **desperately serious** situation for our **country**'. / And **sadly**, Mr **Speaker**, / I **have** to agree. / **The tragedy is**, / and it is for **me personally**, / for **my party**, / and for our **whole people**, / and for my **right** honourable **Friend** herself, / a very **real** tragedy, / that the **Prime Minister's** perceived attitude towards Europe / **is running** increasingly serious **risks** / for the **future** of our **nation**. [CRY OF NO! FROM TORY SIDE; AITKEN VISIBLE BEHIND HOWE SHAKES HIS HEAD IN DISAGREEMENT] / **It risks minimising** our **influence** / and **maximising** our **chances** / of being **once again shut out**. / We have **paid** heavily in the **past** / for **late starts** / and **squandered** opportunities in Europe. /
43. **We dare not let that happen again**. / If we **detach** ourselves completely, / as a **party** or as a **nation**, / from the **middle ground** of Europe, / the effects will be **incalculable** / and **very hard ever** to correct. / Mr **Speaker**, in my **letter** of resignation, / which I **tendered** with the **utmost** **sadness** and **dismay**, I **said** / that **Cabinet government** / is **all** about **trying** to persuade one another / from **within**. / That was **my commitment** / to **government** / by **persuasion**, / **persuading** colleagues and the **nation**. /
44. I **have tried** / to **do that** / as **Foreign Secretary** / and **since**. / But I **realise now** that the **task** has become **futile**, / of trying to **stretch** the **meaning** of **words** / beyond what was **credible**, / of **trying** to pretend there was a **common policy**, / when every **step forward** **risked** being subverted / by some **casual comment** or **impulsive answer**. [AUDIBLE EXPRESSIONS OF DISMAY AND DISAPPROVAL FROM TORY SIDE. AITKEN SHAKES HIS HEAD IN DISAGREEMENT] / The **conflict of loyalty**, / of **loyalty** to my **right** honourable **Friend**, the **Prime Minister**, / and after **more than two decades** together / that **instinctive loyalty** is **still very real**, / and of **loyalty** to what I perceive / to be the **true** interests of this **nation**. /
45. **That conflict of loyalty** / has **become** / **all too great**. / I **no longer believe it possible** / to **resolve** that **conflict** / from **within** this **Government**. / **That is why** I have **resigned**. / In **doing so**, I have **done** what I believe to be **right** / for my **party** and my **country**. / The **time** has **come** for **others** to consider / their **own response** / to the **tragic conflict** of **loyalties** / with **which** I have **myself wrestled** / for **perhaps too long**. [HOWE SITS DOWN]

Appendix B: Speech by Hubert H. Humphrey to the Democratic National Convention, July 14, 1948

From Wilson (1996) pp. 3–5

Mr. Chairman, fellow Democrats, fellow Americans, I realize that in speaking in behalf of the minority report on civil rights as presented by Congressman Biemiller of Wisconsin, that I am dealing with a charged issue, with an issue which has been confused by emotionalism on all sides of the fence. I realize that there are those here – friends and colleagues of mine, many of them who feel just as deeply and keenly as I do about this issue, and who are yet in complete disagreement with me. My respect and admiration for these men and their views was great when I came to this convention. It is now far greater because of the sincerity, the courtesy, and the forthrightness with which many of them have argued in our prolonged discussions in the platform committee. Because of this very great respect, and because of my profound belief that we have a challenging task to do here, because good conscience demands it, decent morality demands it, I feel I must rise at this time to support a report, the minority report, a report that spells out our democracy. A report that the people of this country can and will understand and a report that they will enthusiastically acclaim on the great issue of civil rights.

Now let me say this at the outset, that this proposal is made for no single region, our proposal is made for no single class, for no single racial or religious group in mind. All of the regions of this country, all of the states have shared in our precious heritage of American freedom. All the states and all the regions have seen at least some of the infringements of that freedom. All people, get this, all people, white and black, all groups, all racial groups have been the victims at times in this nation of, let me say, vicious discrimination.

The masterly statement of our keynote speaker, the distinguished United States Senator from Kentucky, Alben Barkley, made that point with great force. Speaking of the founder of our party, Thomas Jefferson, he said this, and I quote;

He did not proclaim that all the white, or the black, or the red, or the yellow men are equal: that all Christian or Jewish men are equal: that all protestant and catholic men are equal: that all rich and poor men are equal: that all good and bad men are equal. What he declared was that all men are equal; and the equality which he proclaimed was the equality in the right to enjoy the

blessings of free government in which they may participate and to which they have given their support.

Now these words of Senator Barkley are appropriate to this convention, appropriate to this convention of the oldest, the most truly progressive political party in America. From the time of Thomas Jefferson, the time when that immortal American doctrine of individual rights, under just and fairly administered laws, the Democratic Party has tried hard to secure expanding freedom for all citizens. Oh yes, I know other political parties may have talked more about civil rights, but the Democratic Party has surely done more about civil rights.

We have made progress, we have made great progress in every part of this country. We have made great progress in the South, we've made it in the West, the North and in the East, but we must now focus the direction of that progress towards the realization of a full program of civil rights for all.

This convention must set out more specifically the direction in which our party efforts are to go. We can be proud that we can be guided by the courageous trail blazing of two great Democratic Presidents. We can be proud of the fact that our great and beloved immortal leader, Franklin Roosevelt gave us guidance. And we can be proud of the fact, we can be proud of the fact that Harry Truman has had the courage to give to the people of America the new emancipation proclamation.

It seems to me, it seems to me that the Democratic Party needs to make definite pledges of the kind suggested in the minority report to maintain the trust and the confidence placed in it by the people of all races and all sections of this country. Sure we are here as Democrats, but my good friends, we're here as Americans. We are here as the believers and the principle and ideology of democracy. And I firmly believe that as men concerned with our country's future, we must specify in our platform the guarantees which we have mentioned in the minority report.

Yes this is far more than a party matter. Every citizen in this country has a stake in the emergence of the United States as a leader of the free world. That world is being challenged by the world of slavery. For us to play our part effectively we must be in a morally sound position. We can't use a double standard. There's no room for double standards in American politics for measuring our own and other people's policies. Our demands for democratic practices in other lands will be no more effective than the guarantee of those practices in our own country.

Friends, delegates, I do not believe that there can be any compromise on the guarantees of the civil rights which we have mentioned in the minority report. In spite of my desire for unanimous agreement on the entire platform, in spite of my desire to see everybody here in honest and unanimous agreement, there are some matters which I think must be stated clearly and without qualification.

There can be no hedging. The newspaper headlines are wrong, there will be no hedging and there will be no watering down if you please of the instruments and the principles of the civil rights program. To those who say that we are rushing this issue of civil rights, I say to them we are 172 years late. To those who say that this civil rights program is an infringement on state's rights, I say this, the time has arrived in America for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadows of state's rights to walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. People – people – human beings, this is the issue of the 20th century. People of all

kinds, all sorts of people – and these people are looking to America for leadership and they are looking to America for precept and example.

My good friends, my fellow Democrats, I ask you for a calm consideration of our historic opportunity. Let us do forget the evil passions and the blindness of the past. In these times of world, political and spiritual, above all spiritual crisis, we cannot and we must not turn from the path so plainly before us. That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. And now is the time to recall those who were left on that path of American freedom. For all of us here, for the millions who have sent us, for the whole two billion members of the human family, our land is now more than ever before, the last best hope on earth. And I know that we can, and I know that we shall begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope. That promise of a land where all men are truly free and equal, and each man uses his freedom and equality wisely and well.

My good friends, I ask my party, I ask the Democratic party to march down the high road of progressive democracy. I ask this convention, I ask this convention to say in unmistakable terms that we proudly hail and we courageously support our President and leader, Harry Truman and his great fight for civil rights in America.

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