

I stand to support this motion, from the perspective of National Security, and specifically, the damaging impact that the Prime Minister's improper actions have had on the safety and security of the people of Jamaica.

There is an argument, being peddled by the apologists, spin doctors, and others heavily invested in this JLP administration, that they summarize with the biblical quotation – "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." This is a warning against arrogance and self-righteousness in speaking the truth. It is not a charter to engage in a free for all where nothing matters. It is a challenge to be fair and humble while holding others accountable.

From the end of August 2009, on the arrival of the extradition request for Mr. Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, reputed leader of the international criminal organization called the 'Shower Posse', also known as the 'Presidential Click', the Prime Minister and certain of his collaborators in the Cabinet, the Executive, and the JLP immediately commenced acting outside of the normal legal and diplomatic channels provided under the Extradition Act and the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty by 1) engaging the U.S. law firm Manatt, Phelps & Phillips, and 2) diverting the resources of the Attorney General's Department to the objective of finding some defect with the request for extradition, or some other reason to stall, delay, or frustrate the legitimate extradition request, and 3) deliberately concealing these improper activities.

The Prime Minister and others came up with a whole series of reasons for the delays in proceeding: the request for extradition was not properly served; it did not disclose the identity of the witnesses; and, after those initial excuses were refuted, that some evidence was not authorized by the Interception of Telecommunications Act. Finally, when it became clear that the evidence was lawfully obtained, the government settled on the excuse that the information was passed to the U.S. in breach of the Act. This was a breach that was supposedly so egregious that the Government was now seeking to prosecute this Constable John Doe, now more aptly renamed by no less informed a person than the **then** Commissioner of Police, as Constable Red Herring. This recent disclosure by Rear Admiral Hardley Lewin now leaves the citizens of Jamaica to speculate on the real

reason for the Prime Minister's effective frustration and dismissal of the Police Commissioner, a man known to be intolerant of any improper interference.

The Prime Minister was vigorous and combative in the defence of the human rights of this one individual – Mr. Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, alleged leader of the internationally renowned 'Shower Posse', legendary in its renown for viciousness, responsible for the murders of thousands of people not only in Jamaica but across the world. This is the individual whom the Prime Minister chose to make his poster boy for human rights as he passionately defended Mr. Coke's cause in this Parliament on the 2nd of March of this year.

Prime Minister Golding declared then that "I am not defending the wrongdoing of any person but, if I have to pay a political price for it, I am going to uphold a position that constitutional rights do not begin at Liguanea."

The Prime Minister's strident defence of Christopher Coke was not only counter-intuitive but inconsistent as the Prime Minister was also calling on the United States government to give greater cooperation in stemming their flow of illegal guns and ammunition into Jamaica - the precise objective that this extradition request was addressing.

This long running pantomime, which has played for the last nine months, has now exposed to local and international audiences the insincere, hypocritical, and tangled web of deception that was sanctioned by the Prime Minister and his collaborators in the Executive of the Government and the Jamaica Labour Party.

What I have briefly summarized thus far is the Prime Minister's actions and the initiatives he has led, but there have also been serious consequences for Jamaica:

- The behavior of the Prime Minister has caused the international community, particularly the countries which traditionally cooperate with Jamaica in law enforcement (USA, UK, and Canada) to question the real commitment and political will of the government to address the crime problem, and to question whether the government is so compromised and so entangled with the 'Shower Posse', that it cannot trust them with secret and confidential information and intelligence which is so essential to

combating transnational crime. The US State Department, in its 2009 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report issued in March this year, says “The GOJ’s unusual handling of the August request for the extradition of a high profile Jamaican crime lord with reported ties to the ruling Jamaica Labor Party, which currently holds a majority in parliament, on alleged drug and firearms trafficking charges marked a dramatic change in GOJ’s previous cooperation on extradition, including a temporary suspension in the processing of all other pending requests and raises serious questions about the GOJ’s commitment to combating transnational crime.”

- There is another reason our international law enforcement partners have to question the wisdom of sharing information with the Jamaican Government. In an affidavit, a cooperating witness recalls a conversation recorded on October 29, 2007 – less than two months after this administration took office – in which Coke is alleged to have said “they’re coming out with an indictment ... they’re saying one is to be there for me too”. Only a very few persons at the very highest levels should have been privy to this confidential brief from the US authorities that an indictment and related extradition request was being prepared. How was Coke informed at such an early stage of his coming indictment?

If this international cooperation and assistance is withheld, it will seriously compromise the effectiveness and the sophistication of our local law enforcement.

- The Prime Minister’s action has emboldened the criminal gangs across Jamaica while simultaneously demoralizing the security forces.
 - The statistics show that for the last quarter of last year, murders rose by 30% taking us to a new record year, and for the first five months of this year, it is again up 16%! Statistics have their limitations in representing the gravity and horror of a situation, so let me compare it with the graphic consequences of the Tivoli Gardens/West Kingston operation. The increase in the number of lives lost in the last eight months, not the total just the increase, represents almost three times the number of lives lost in the Tivoli Gardens operations.

- I have previously referred in this Honourable House to the debilitating impact the action of the government has had on the morale of the best of the men and women in our security forces, who as serving professionals are not able to defend themselves in public. They have felt like they were in a surreal environment - a sort of twilight zone - when the enthusiasm of the Government was directed at prosecuting the heroic constable whose life is now at risk for attempting to do his duty in the service of his country, while the Prime Minister championed the rights of the fugitive leader of the murderous Shower Posse.
- In the last two weeks we have seen criminal gangs challenge the state: they have carried the fight to the security forces by attacking 14 Police Stations, in some cases burning them completely after personnel were evacuated; attacking and in cases ambushing police patrols, resulting in the deaths within the security forces.

The serious loss of life from last week's operation could have been avoided if the Prime Minister had allowed this request for extradition to follow the normal channels. The processing and signing of the authority to proceed through to the issuing of the arrest warrant should all have proceeded in secret, so as not to telegraph the impending action to Coke and his criminal affiliates. Even to the very end, some small element of surprise for the security forces could have been retained if the Prime Minister had not come on a national television broadcast to state that the warrant would be issued...TOMORROW. Dudus must have appreciated the heads up!!

In all of this, the Pantomime of Deception, the Prime Minister/the MP for W. Kingston/the Leader of the JLP was a principal player, not just a member of the supporting cast.

- He improperly interfered and appropriated the ministerial authority and discretion of the Minister of Justice in first threatening her dismissal if she did sign the authority to proceed and subsequently instructing her to proceed. If this was contemplated by the Extradition Act it would have named the Prime Minister as the Minister with authority. This behavior from

a former evangelist for the gospel of reducing the powers of the Prime Minister.

- He chairs the National Security Council and the Defence Board and was integrally involved in the evaluation of the performance of the previous Commissioner of Police by stating his loss of confidence.
- He sanctioned the scheme to use Manatt, Phelps & Phillips for what exactly we still do not know. What we do know is that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has publicly catalogued the extensive communication with the US Government right up to the Secretary of State by himself and other legitimate representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- He vacillated on giving the authority to proceed and then telegraphed the eventual issuing of the arrest warrant which frustrated the normal extradition process. This allowed Coke and the criminal elements in Tivoli Gardens to prepare to challenge the authority of the Jamaican State and resulted in the need for a State of Public Emergency, the current operation by the security forces in West Kingston, the regrettable and unnecessary loss of life to civilians, the damage to the reputation of the country, economic and social loss to the society, and the generally increased level of insecurity, anxiety and reduction in the quality of life of the Jamaican people.

Mr. Speaker, someone must be held accountable for this fiasco. Today, the Government, after nine (9) long months of delay, dilly dallying, dithering has come right back to where they should have started. The arrogance, belligerence, crudeness, disrespect and downright discourtesy from the Prime Minister and others were unnecessary. It is the country and our people, in particular, the poor who have suffered from this inept, incompetent and partisan position adopted by the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet.

Jamaicans have had to suffer - thousands of unfavourable articles on the internet, almost 700 articles in the foreign press, damage to the National economy e.g. Bartlett on Tourism, Azan on Manufacturing, Ocho Rios affected, vendors , innocent lives lost including members of the security forces. We express our condolences to their families, friends and colleagues.

We regret the loss of lives of those killed in Tivoli Gardens as well. No joy in the loss of lives anywhere and under whatever circumstances.

The Prime Minister's spin doctors are now trying to re-position him as the person to lead Jamaica's fight against crime. However, based on all that has transpired, it is manifestly clear that the Prime Minister has neither the moral authority nor the confidence of the Jamaican people to lead this fight against crime and this country. The only appropriate action available to the Prime Minister is to do the honourable thing and resign with immediate effect.

This is why I support the motion and call on all colleagues on both sides of this House to let decency and honesty triumph over political expediency. As our National Anthem demands – Justice, TRUTH be ours forever.