Prime Minister's African Tour

January–February, 1960
NOTE

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CABINET

PRIME MINISTER'S AFRICAN TOUR

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF THE CABINET

By direction of the Prime Minister I circulate, for the information of the Cabinet, the attached record of the tour which he made in January-February of this year to four Commonwealth countries in Africa.

This print is circulated mainly for purposes of record. But, in addition to the notes of meetings and discussions, it also contains some material of more general interest, viz.,

(i) A general introduction (pp. 3-5).

(ii) Commentaries on the particular countries visited and a despatch from the High Commissioner in each—

- Ghana (pp. 7-8 and 27-29).
- Nigeria (pp. 30-31 and 58-59).
- Federation (pp. 60-61 and 125-128).
- South Africa (pp. 129-130 and 159-165).

(iii) The full text of the main policy speech made by the Prime Minister in each of the countries visited—

- Accra (pp. 24-27).
- Lagos (pp. 55-57).
- Salisbury (pp. 120-125).
- Cape Town (pp. 153-158).

(Signed) NORMAN BROOK.

Cabinet Office, S.W. 1,
3th April, 1960.
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INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of 1959 the Prime Minister decided to make a tour of the four Commonwealth countries in Africa which have attained, or are nearing, full Commonwealth membership—South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In reaching this decision he was influenced by three considerations. First, a visit to Commonwealth countries in Africa would round off the Commonwealth tour which he had undertaken in 1958. Secondly, he was conscious of the rising tide of nationalism in Africa and wished to inform himself at first hand of the problems to which this would give rise—for the Commonwealth and for the world at large. Thirdly, he recognised the specific challenge presented to the United Kingdom Government by the problem of constitutional advance in multi-racial societies in Africa; and he hoped that, by a personal visit, he might help to focus public opinion at home on this problem and possibly to lift it to a plane above that of narrow party politics.

2. It was not easy to determine the order in which these four countries should be visited. But the Union, as the eldest in Commonwealth membership, was entitled to expect priority of consideration. It was also conceivable that the Union Government might not welcome such a visit; and the Prime Minister felt that, if for any reason he were unable to visit South Africa, the value of the tour would be so much reduced that the whole project might have to be abandoned. He therefore decided that enquiry should first be made of the Union Government before any approach was made to the other three Governments. In the event the Union Government welcomed the suggestion that the Prime Minister should pay a visit to South Africa but said that, in view of the timing of the annual move of their Government from Pretoria to Cape Town, it would be more convenient for them if he could defer his arrival in South Africa until the end of January. The difficulty was thus resolved. As South Africa was to be visited last, by the express preference of the Union Government, it became possible to plan the tour in the rational geographical order—Ghana, Nigeria, the Federation and the Union.

3. The Prime Minister left London on 5th January and returned on 15th February. In Africa, the tour began at Accra on 6th January and ended at Cape Town on 5th February. Excluding travel time, 5½ days were spent in Ghana, 6½ in Nigeria, 8 in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and 10 in the Union.

The composition of the party accompanying the Prime Minister is shown in the Appendix.

4. During the tour the Prime Minister travelled mainly by air. The longer journeys were made, first in a Britannia aircraft chartered from B.O.A.C. (London to Accra, Accra to Lagos and Lagos to Salisbury), and later, in the Federation and the Union, in a Canadair and a Viscount belonging, respectively, to the Federal and the Union Governments. Shorter journeys, and journeys to centres with only a small airfield, were made in smaller aircraft—a Heron in Nigeria and Dakotas in the Federation and the Union. After the tour ended the return journey was made by sea to Las Palmas, in R.M.M.V. Capetown Castle—which gave the Prime Minister an opportunity to rest and to reflect upon the upshot of his journey—and from Las Palmas to London Airport in a chartered Britannia aircraft of B.O.A.C.

In all, the Prime Minister travelled 13,360 miles by air, 5,410 by sea and about 800 by road. He spent one night in the air and ten at sea. The remaining 30 were spent at 11 different places. At only five of these places (Accra, Lagos, Salisbury, Pretoria and Cape Town) did he spend more than two consecutive nights.

5. This African tour was very different from the Commonwealth tour of 1958. Outwardly the pattern was much the same—informal discussions with Premiers, more formal meetings with Councils of Ministers, civic lunches and receptions, and visits to outstanding local examples of economic development. But, despite this appearance of similarity, the substance and purpose of the journey...
was very different. In Africa the Prime Minister was concerned throughout with
the problem of race relations—a problem of immense intellectual difficulty and one
which can quickly arouse strong prejudice and bitter controversy. In the Federation
he had to engage in delicate private discussions on matters which threatened to
divide the Governments of the Federation and of the United Kingdom—e.g., the
substance and procedure of the Monckton Commission, the future prospects of the
Federation and the security position in Nyasaland. And in South Africa he had
to make plain to the Union Government the attitude of the United Kingdom
Government on such difficult questions as racial policy and the future of the High
Commission Territories. In these countries, therefore, he had difficult business
to transact in his private discussions with Ministers. But the problem of public
reference to these controversial issues was even more difficult. Almost anything
he said about them in public was likely to give offence in some quarters; and, if he
said nothing, he would be thought by public opinion at home to have failed in his
duty. Finally, there was the additional difficulty that, with the rising tide of national
consciousness in Africa, this problem of race relations was uppermost in men's
minds wherever he went—with the result that he was constantly obliged to turn
aside questions about it which were pressed upon him in Ghana and Nigeria before
he had reached the countries where he was due to discuss it with those who bear a
direct responsibility for finding practical solutions.

6. Through all these difficulties the Prime Minister contrived to steer a steady
and consistent course. He did not shirk the controversial issues, but he stressed
everywhere the difference between private advice and public criticism; and in his
public pronouncements he followed the course of concentrating anything he had to
say on these matters in a single policy speech in each of the countries visited. In
those speeches he followed the line of re-stating the policy on racial questions
which the United Kingdom Government are applying in territories for which they
bear responsibility and leaving his hearers to draw what deductions they chose
about his attitude towards the policies of other Governments. His main speeches
on these themes, at Salisbury and Cape Town, were generally applauded as
courteous but courageous affirmations of British policy.

7. The texts of the main policy speeches in the four countries visited are
included in this print. The texts of the many other speeches which the Prime
Minister made in the course of this tour are being collected in a separate volume,
which will also include the records of his various Press conferences.

8. The personal welcome accorded to the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy
Macmillan wherever they went was spontaneous and impressive. Among the
people there was evidence of a continuing warmth of feeling towards the United
Kingdom and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the Commonwealth as a whole. As was
to be expected, this varied from place to place; but, even where it was least in
evidence, there was enough to give a measure of encouragement for the future.
The statements which the Prime Minister felt obliged to make on racial
questions won, everywhere, respect for the policy and point of view of the United
Kingdom Government. Even in the Union they seemed to command the assent
of a substantial proportion of European opinion.

Perhaps the most encouraging feature, so far as concerned public speeches,
was the enthusiastic support for any reference to the solidarity of the
Commonwealth or to the contribution which it could make towards a peaceful
solution of the world's problems. It was gratifying to find that, even in those
countries of Africa which are most deeply perplexed by the racial problem, the
Commonwealth concept still seems to have a strong emotional appeal. There was,
almost everywhere, an instinctive response to the thought that unity in the
Commonwealth spells strength.

9. This tour, like that of 1958, was a personal triumph for the Prime Minister
and Lady Dorothy Macmillan. On the social occasions, and on most of the visits
to places of special interest, Lady Dorothy accompanied the Prime Minister. But,
in addition, she undertook a number of separate engagements—visiting Red Cross
establishments, hospitals, clinics, schools and other institutions for the welfare of
women and children.

Her programme had, unfortunately, to be curtailed for a time as a result of a
fall which she had in Northern Rhodesia. She slipped on the steps when entering
an aircraft at Ndola airport and cut her leg severely. After receiving first aid in

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the aircraft, she was taken to hospital on arrival at Broken Hill, where the cut was stitched. For a day or so she tried to fulfil her engagements while avoiding much walking; but at Pretoria she was obliged, on medical advice, to take two days of complete rest.

10. This tour was certainly more arduous than that of 1958. In the early part of the journey the climatic conditions were more trying and, as these eased, the weight and the difficulty of the business increased. The amount of official business to be transacted, especially in the Federation and the Union, was much greater than in 1958. In three of the countries the Prime Minister was obliged to visit outlying centres. In Nigeria he had to go to each of the three regional capitals, as well as to Lagos: in the Federation he had to spend some time in each of the three constituent territories: in the Union he had to visit each of the Provinces and each of the High Commission Territories. This involved a good deal of travel in smaller aircraft and a number of short stops. In Nigeria, particularly, the "one-night-stands" were especially exhausting. During the greater part of the tour early starts (at 7 a.m. or 7:30 a.m.) were the order of the day; and these were more than usually tiring when the party was on the move and due to spend the next night at a different place. In the Union the Prime Minister only moved his headquarters once—from Pretoria to Cape Town; and, although there was much travel, the facility of returning at night to the same place was a welcome relief.

When the programme was being planned, the host Governments were asked to provide one rest day in each country and to reserve three hours each day for the transaction of United Kingdom business. In practice all the rest days were eaten into, by work or engagements, with the exception of a single day at the Victoria Falls Hotel. The hours reserved for United Kingdom business proved, only too often, to be the hours of the afternoon during which all resident Europeans retired to bed.

11. Even so, despite the crowded programme, regret was everywhere expressed that the Prime Minister could not have stayed longer and seen more. At the end of the 1958 tour it was felt that the Prime Minister had tried to cover too many countries in the limited time available and it was suggested that on future occasions it would be preferable to confine such tours to particular regions. It was contemplated that Africa (i.e., the four countries visited in 1960) would be one of these. But experience has now shown that even this involves an arduous journey, and imposes a heavy strain on the Prime Minister. The present Prime Minister has now visited all the independent countries of the Commonwealth, save Malaya. It may therefore be possible for him, in future Commonwealth tours, to visit only one or two countries at a time. This would be more satisfactory to his hosts, as it would enable him to see more of the countries visited and to meet more of their people. It should also mean, for him, a less crowded programme and a less exhausting journey.
APPENDIX

COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY ACCOMPANYING THE PRIME MINISTER

Lady Dorothy Macmillan.
The Right Hon. Sir Norman Brook, G.C.B., Secretary of the Cabinet.
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt, C.M.G., O.B.E., Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office.
Mr. T. J. Bligh, D.S.O., O.B.E., D.S.C., Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.
Mr. S. H. Evans, C.M.G., O.B.E., Prime Minister's Adviser on Public Relations.
Mr. J. E. R. Wyndham, M.B.E., Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.
Mr. J. H. Robertson, Principal, Colonial Office.
Miss J. M. Baxter, Personal Assistant, Prime Minister's Office.
Miss P. Cheshire, Personal Assistant, Prime Minister's Office.
Miss C. J. C. Parsons, Personal Assistant, Prime Minister's Office.
Miss A. I. Barker, Personal Assistant, Prime Minister's Office.
Miss J. M. Porter, Personal Assistant to Sir Norman Brook.
Mr. W. J. Kembey, Commonwealth Relations Office.
Miss D. Webber, Commonwealth Relations Office.
Inspector A. W. Harwood.
Sergeant I. L. Gentle, Royal Corps of Military Police.
Miss E. Baker, Personal Maid to Lady Dorothy Macmillan.
Mr. S. Beecroft, Valet to Mr. Macmillan.
PART II

GHANA

COMMENTARY

The impact, and the value, of the visit to Ghana was more marked in the social than in the political sphere. No particularly important business was done in the talks with Dr. Nkrumah and his Ministers, but as an exercise in public relations the visit can be reckoned an encouraging success. From this point of view the greatest value was secured from the occasions when the Prime Minister was brought into direct personal contact with the ordinary people of Ghana. Particular highlights were the morning which he spent in the old part of Accra, which included a trip in a surf-boat and a visit to the market; and the afternoon when he drove through villages on the escarpment north of Accra on the return journey from Akosombo, the site of the Volta Dam. The market-women were vociferous, and plainly sincere, in their greeting. The drive through the country districts took on the appearance of an election tour.

The genuine friendliness of the Ghanaians was everywhere apparent. They are uninhibitedly friendly, with no trace of colour consciousness. They value European assistance, both in administration and in commerce; on the other hand there is no exclusive reliance on Britain. They seem to retain from their Colonial period no feeling of particular attachment to Britain, no lingering loyalty, but no hostility either. Their initial welcome to the Prime Minister at the airport was restrained, and there were no popular demonstrations on the day of his arrival; but this may be explained by the fact that Accra is a very scattered city—there are no built-up areas between the airport and Governor-General's Lodge, to which the Prime Minister went. By contrast, when he drove through the main business area of Accra, accompanied by Dr. Nkrumah, there were large crowds to welcome him, which had to be confined by crush barriers, and the cheering was loud and genuinely friendly.

In the business talks Dr. Nkrumah was evidently concerned to show himself moderate and reasonable. It might almost be said that he pulled his punches. The details are recorded elsewhere; it will be apparent that Dr. Nkrumah, even when discussing United Kingdom policy in East and Central Africa, a subject on which strong feelings are frequently whipped up in Ghana, was anxious to avoid any language which might offend the Prime Minister and to show himself broad-minded enough to understand the difficulties presented by multi-racial societies. The sympathetic understanding which had sprung up between the two Prime Ministers at their first meeting in August 1958 was strengthened by this further meeting. No hint of this appeared, however, in those Accra papers which are owned and controlled by the C.P.P., Dr. Nkrumah's Party; this distastefully written and mendacious Press continued its customary abuse of all Colonial Powers, including Britain, and did not spare the Prime Minister himself.

The Prime Minister had set as one of the prime objects of his tour the gathering of views on Africa from every possible quarter; and he made a point of seeing Opposition leaders in each country visited (special circumstances prevented the full achievement of this in the Union). When in Ghana he proposed that he should meet members of the United Party, Dr. Nkrumah at first objected and it was only with reluctance that he was persuaded to acquiesce in a meeting at the High Commissioner's residence. An account of the meeting is included in this print. In the event neither the views nor the personalities of Mr. Dombo and his colleagues struck the Prime Minister as particularly impressive. It must have been a consolation to Dr. Nkrumah that the Prime Minister went straight from this interview to a tea party to meet representatives of various "Pan-African" bodies. This meeting, arranged from the outset of the tour, was designed to bring home to the Prime Minister at first hand the aspirations of other Colonial and ex-Colonial territories in Africa. In fact, these supposed extremists listened with deference and without expressed disagreement to a series of cogent and skilfully phrased impromptus by the Prime Minister on the elements of democracy and the peculiar problems of multi-racial societies.

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From conversations at social functions it was evident that opinion in Ghana was scarcely disturbed at all by the suppression of the Opposition, the declining effectiveness of Parliament and the domination of all aspects of public life by a single party. It was noteworthy that among such prominent and non-political Ghanaians as the Chief Justice, or expatriates such as Lady Jackson (Barbara Ward), the view prevailed that strong government was, at any rate for a period, so essential for a State in the first stages of its independence as to outweigh the desirability of preserving to the full the rights and freedoms of a democratic society.

The only part of Ghana that the Prime Minister saw was Accra and its immediate neighbourhood. Some regret was felt that he did not visit the north. The Ghana Government no doubt found it preferable that he should not be exposed to the influences hostile to them which he might be expected to encounter in a region from which the United Party derives the greater part of its strength. But a more decisive consideration was the importance of ensuring that the visit would not be too strenuous. It was known that the Nigerian tour would be arduous, and the United Kingdom High Commissioner made a point of asking the Ghanaian authorities to spare the Prime Minister as much physical exertion as possible. It is noteworthy that the principal excursions from Accra were to Achimota College and Legon University on the one hand and on the other to Tema Harbour and to the site of the proposed Volta Dam. Newly independent countries all show an understandable preoccupation with education and with economic development. And to them economic development finds its characteristic form in spectacular projects such as dams and harbour works whose massive concrete structures are instinctively felt to be the firmest proof of political independence.
DIARY OF THE VISIT

1. Tuesday, 5th January.—The Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan left London Airport. They were seen off at the airport by the Home Secretary, the Commonwealth Secretary and other Ministers.

They travelled in a chartered Britannia aircraft of B.O.A.C. The aircraft took off at 10 p.m. and flew without a stop to Accra.

2. Wednesday, 6th January.—At 8-30 a.m. the Prime Minister arrived at Accra Airport. He and Lady Dorothy were received by the Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, and were introduced to the following:

- Chief Justice (Sir Arku Korsah)
- Minister of Finance (Hon. K. A. Gbedemah)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs (Hon. Ako Adjei)
- United Kingdom High Commissioner (Mr. A. W. Snelling) and Mrs. Snelling
- Commissioner of Police (Mr. E. R. T. Madjitey)
- Chief of Defence Staff (Major-General A. G. V. Paley)

After taking the General Salute, Mr. Macmillan inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by a detachment of the Ghana Regiment. He was then introduced to the Speaker, the remaining Ministers and Heads of Diplomatic Missions.

Dr. Nkrumah made a short statement of welcome to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

3. Mr. Macmillan’s party was then driven from the airport to the Governor-General’s Lodge and he and Lady Dorothy were received by the Governor-General and Lady Listowel.

Mr. Macmillan lunched privately with Dr. Nkrumah.

4. At 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had a discussion* with the Governor-General. At 6 p.m. he met Dr. Nkrumah at Flagstaff House for a private discussion*.

5. At 8 p.m. the Governor-General gave a dinner at State House for Mr. Macmillan.

6. Thursday, 7th January.—At 9-30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left the Governor-General’s Lodge for an informal drive through Accra.

He first visited the harbour where, after meeting—

- Mr. J. C. Lucas, General Manager, Elder Dempster Agency, Ltd.,
- Mr. G. A. Duncan, General Manager, Palm Line Ltd.,
- Mr. Edward Sam, Port Superintendent, Accra,
and being shown the warehouses, he and his party were taken for a trip in the Accra surf boats. He was later presented with a model of a surf boat.

7. From the harbour Mr. Macmillan went to the Accra Municipal Offices, where he was introduced to—

- Mr. E. C. Quaye, Chairman of Accra Municipal Council.
- Mr. O. N. Oku, Town Clerk.

He then visited the Selwyn Market and met:

- Madame Janet Mettle,
- Madame Roberta Areyetey,
- Madame Lydia Josiah,

of the Market Women’s Association. There he walked round among the stalls, meeting and talking to several of the market women and receiving friendly greetings from a large number of people.

8. Mr. Macmillan returned to the Governor-General’s Lodge about 11 a.m. At 12 noon he had his second private discussion* with Dr. Nkrumah.

9. At 6:30 p.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan attended a reception given by the Ghana Government at State House.

At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan dined with the United Kingdom High Commissioner.

* Record included in this print.
10. Friday, 8th January.—At 8.30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left the Governor-General's Lodge by car, accompanied by the Minister of Works and Housing (Mr. E. K. Bensah, M.P.), to visit Tema Harbour and Tema Township.

At Tema he was first taken to the Observation Tower where he met Mr. Harrison, the Chief Engineer, and was shown the layout of the Harbour and a model of it. He then toured the Harbour, construction works, warehouses, &c.

From the Harbour he went to Tema Township, first visiting the Tema Development Corporation Offices. There he was received by the Chairman, Mr. Joe Mainoo, and was shown an exhibition of plans and models of the Township.

He then drove round Tema Township and the industrial area, making an unscheduled stop at the Vehicle Assembly Plant of United Africa Company (Ghana) Limited, where he met Mr. J. D. Wood.

11. After the tour of Tema the Minister of Works and Housing returned to Accra, and his place was taken by the Minister of Finance, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, M.P. Mr. Macmillan then proceeded by car to the Adomi Bridge over the Volta River, where he met Mr. E. Gosschalk of Sir William Halcrow & Partners, Consulting Engineers, who described to him the construction of the bridge.

From Adomi Bridge he was taken on to the Volta River Dam Site at Akosombo. There he was received by Dr. Nkrumah, and the problems involved in the construction of the Dam were explained to him by Mr. R. W. Sheridan, Resident Manager, Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Inc. The party then lunched informally at the Observation Point overlooking the Dam Site.

12. On the return journey to Accra Mr. Macmillan was driven through a number of villages beyond the escarpment. He stopped at Somanya, where he was greeted informally by the local people; at Amanikron, where he spoke to primary schoolchildren; and at Mampong, where schoolchildren sang the Ghana National Anthem and waved the Ghana flag. Mr. Macmillan also stopped en route to look at a cocoa plantation.

13. Mr. Macmillan returned to the Governor-General's Lodge at about 4.15 p.m.

At 6.30 p.m. he attended a reception given by the United Kingdom High Commissioner for members of the United Kingdom community in Ghana. He made a short impromptu speech at this reception.

14. Saturday, 9th January.—At 8.30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan drove from the Governor-General's Lodge to the National Development Exhibition in Accra, where he was received by the Minister of Education and Information (Mr. Kofi Baako). He was then joined by Dr. Nkrumah and drove through the streets of Accra receiving greetings from thousands of people.

15. At about 10.15 a.m. Mr. Macmillan arrived at Achimota School and was received by the Headmaster, Mr. Daniel Chapman. After looking over the school he made an impromptu speech to the pupils from the main steps in front of the building. This speech was preceded by a ceremonial drum roll, followed by an inspiring song sung by the children; and it finished with another drum roll.

16. From Achimota School, Mr. Macmillan went on to the University College, Legon, at about 11 a.m. He was received and shown round by the Principal, Dr. Stoughton. He left the University College at about 12 noon, and returned to the Governor-General's Lodge.

17. At 4 p.m. Mr. Macmillan met some of the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition and had a discussion* on current political issues in Ghana.

18. At 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan went to a reception given by Dr. Nkrumah at Flagstaff House to enable him to meet and talk* with members of the African Affairs Centre, the National Association of Students Socialist Organisation, the Ghana Trades Union Congress and the All-African People's Conference.

19. At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan attended a State dinner in the Banqueting Hall at State House given by the Ghana Government. This was the occasion for Mr. Macmillan's major speech in Ghana, made in reply to a speech by Dr. Nkrumah.

* Record included in this print.
20. **Sunday, 10th January.**—At 10 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan attended Divine Service at the Garrison Church. Mr. Macmillan read the lesson.

21. At 11:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan gave a Press Conference at State House to oversee and Ghanaian Press correspondents.

22. At 1 p.m. Mr. Macmillan lunched at the residence of the United Kingdom High Commissioner and met the representatives of other Commonwealth Governments in Ghana.

23. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Macmillan saw Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Transport and Communications, and had a conversation\* with him.

24. At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan attended a farewell dinner given by Dr. Nkrumah. Mr. Macmillan made a short impromptu speech at this dinner.

25. **Monday, 11th January.**—At 10:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a conversation with Lady Jackson (Miss Barbara Ward).

At 11:30 a.m. he visited Parliament Buildings and had a discussion\* with Members of Parliament.

26. At 2:15 p.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan left the Governor-General’s Lodge for Accra Airport where they took leave of Dr. Nkrumah, Ministers, diplomatic representatives and others.

At 2:45 p.m. they left Accra Airport for Lagos in the chartered Britannia aircraft.

\* Record included in this print.
RECORDS OF MEETINGS AND CONVERSATIONS

Record of a Conversation between the Prime Minister and the Governor-General on Wednesday, 6th January, 1960, at 5 p.m.

The Prime Minister told the Governor-General that he was going to see Dr. Nkrumah at 6 p.m. that evening and expected a number of points to be raised, in particular the Volta project, Ghana's constitutional position, Cyprus and the Commonwealth, the Central African Federation and the general position in Africa.

On Volta, the Governor-General said that Dr. Nkrumah was determined to go ahead with the project, whatever anybody said and whatever the outcome of the International Bank's examination. He was of course weakening his position on the selling price of power by making it clear to possible consumers beforehand that the project would go ahead whatever the economics.

On the constitutional position, the Governor-General said that Dr. Nkrumah wanted to be on the same level as Tubman and Sekou Touré. It was likely that he would want The Queen to have a more special relationship to Ghana than that of Head of the Commonwealth. This might cause complications with the other Republics within the Commonwealth. It was not yet clear what question would be put in the referendum to the Ghana people. It might ask them to state whether or not they wanted a President.

The Prime Minister explained the position about Cyprus and told the Governor-General what line he would be taking in his talk with Dr. Nkrumah later that evening.

Turning to the Central African Federation, the Governor-General said that Dr. Nkrumah might perhaps press the Prime Minister to see African leaders, especially in Nyasaland. The Prime Minister said that this would come badly from one who did not want him to meet the leaders of his own Opposition! It would probably be of great educational value to Dr. Nkrumah if he could travel to East Africa, where he had never been and see what conditions were like there: he did not seem to realise that the position there was quite different from that in West Africa.

In commenting on the political situation in Ghana the Governor-General said that, although the Government had a large majority in the National Assembly, the back-benchers did sometimes take an independent line and it would be an oversimplification to say that the Government used the Assembly as a rubber stamp. It was also true that the ordinary man in the street in Ghana did not feel that he lived in a country with an authoritarian Government, where the police were likely to knock on the door at night.

The Governor-General said that he was rather worried about the plans that Dr. Nkrumah had in mind for expanding his armed forces. This was difficult politically and would also affect adversely the economy of the country. The Prime Minister asked whether the Governor-General thought it likely that there would be a process of Balkanisation in Africa, and particularly in West Africa. The Governor-General thought there might be some danger of this. The trouble was that many of the frontiers in West Africa had been drawn on the map without regard to ethnographical considerations and there was a strong danger of irredentism. It was rather unreal for Dr. Nkrumah to build up visions of leading Africa, as Ghana was after all a small country compared, for example, with Nigeria.

The Governor-General thought that Dr. Nkrumah was a good politician and an able leader. He certainly knew how to govern. He had no particular ideology and so adopted a pragmatic approach, although coloured by the position that he had taken publicly on black Africa. He was personally honest but the Administration tended to be rather corrupt—although not particularly so by African standards. The Minister of Finance, Mr. Gbedemah, was an able and honest man: Mr. Botsio acted as his deputy and was very loyal, but he was not particularly effective and was clearly not a rival contender for the top job. The Minister of Education was perhaps the best of the other Ministers.

The Prime Minister said that he had been greatly impressed by the atmosphere of cheerful independence which he had already sensed. There was neither hostility nor servility. The Governor-General thought that this might be due to historical reasons, as Ghana had built up its prosperity on the basis of a trading system and not a plantation system.
The Governor-General thought that on the whole a Presidential system on the American model might be the best political system for Ghana. He was however afraid that they would adopt only a part of the American system, and would do without the checks and balances. For example, it was unlikely that they would have a Supreme Court that would be the final arbiter on the constitution. It would be useful if Dr. Nkrumah could get himself advised by an expert constitutional lawyer on framing the constitution. The Attorney-General had been very useful but he was not a constitutional expert and it was desirable that expert advice should be available, especially on such things as the machinery for amending the constitution.

Record of a Conversation between Mr. Macmillan and Dr. Nkrumah at Flagstaff House, Accra, on Wednesday, 6th January, 1960, at 6 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. A. W. Snelling (High Commissioner), Sir Norman Brook, Mr. D. W. S. Hunt and Mr. T. J. Bligh.

Dr. Nkrumah was accompanied by Mr. Ako Adjei, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Education, Mr. Adu, Secretary, Prime Minister’s Department, Mr. Del-Anang, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and (for Item 1 only), Sir Robert Jackson, Ghana Development Commission.

1. Volta River Scheme

Mr. Macmillan said that he expected Dr. Nkrumah would like to talk first about the Volta project. Dr. Nkrumah referred to the formation of the Volta Aluminium Company (Valco) about which he was very pleased.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was glad to know that the Government of Ghana had now approached the International Bank. This would be helpful for two reasons. First, it would give a good basis for obtaining financial contributions from various different countries and organisations. And the support of the Bank would also be of assistance to Valco in raising the necessary capital in the United States. Secondly, the Bank could provide valuable technical advice from outside the purely commercial sphere. The United Kingdom Government were anxious to help. They were looking forward to seeing the reports by Valco and by the World Bank which would give an indication of the role which United Kingdom assistance should play.

Sir Robert Jackson spoke briefly on the likely uses of the power to be produced by the Volta Dam. He said that there were forecasts, particularly of the expansion of the automobile industry, which would indicate that the whole power output of the Dam might be used for the aluminium smelter. He himself would regret this, since he would prefer that some of the power output should be available for other purposes, particularly for rural electrification.

2. Constitutional Change in Ghana

In reply to a question by Mr. Macmillan, Dr. Nkrumah said that he now hoped that the inauguration of the Republic could take place in the first week in July. Work was already proceeding on the drafting of the constitution. When a draft was available, it would be debated in the Ghana Parliament and would later be put to the country in a referendum. He would then wish to raise the matter with the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the meeting in London in May.

Mr. Macmillan said that there were two things which would have to be done outside Ghana. One was the preparation and passing of consequential legislation in the United Kingdom. We would have to legislate about Commonwealth Preference, nationality, &c, as we had done for India and Pakistan. This would have to be fitted into a crowded Parliamentary programme. He reminded Dr. Nkrumah that Parliament would rise for the summer recess by the end of July. He suggested that it would be useful if talks could be held in London as soon as the Ghana Government had worked out the details of what they had in mind. Dr. Nkrumah said that this was entirely in line with his thinking. He thought that the Ghana Government would be ready to have such talks in London about the end of February.
Mr. Macmillan said that the other action required was to get the agreement of all the members of the Commonwealth to Ghana remaining in the Commonwealth after having become a Republic. This could best be done at the meeting in May. Such a procedure would be in accordance with precedent. If all the Prime Ministers agreed this would be recorded in a resolution carried at the meeting. Dr. Nkrumah said he quite understood what was required. He asked if he could be given copies of the resolutions passed in respect of India, Pakistan and Ceylon; Mr. Snelling undertook to provide these.

3. The Commonwealth Association

Dr. Nkrumah said that he would like to mention one or two matters concerned with the Commonwealth relationship which gave him some concern. The Commonwealth, as he understood it, was an association of independent sovereign States. For his part, he was anxious that nothing should be done which might throw doubt on the full independence of its members. He had therefore been disturbed by the suggestion that Cyprus might enjoy some special form of association with the Commonwealth. He also found it difficult to understand why an invitation to attend meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was extended to the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was not a fully independent country.

(i) Cyprus

Mr. Macmillan said that he was glad to have this opportunity to explain the objectives of the United Kingdom Government in respect of Cyprus and the stage which the negotiations had now reached. Cyprus had not been a Colonial problem: it had been a problem of international relations—our task had been to find a means of reconciling the interests of the Greek and Turkish Governments in the Island. After much difficulty an agreement of principle had been reached in the conferences of 1959 in Zurich and in London; and for some months detailed discussions had been proceeding with the aim of working out the practical application of the agreed principles. The date fixed for the declaration of an independent republic in Cyprus was now very near; and the United Kingdom Government had decided that the best way of bringing these detailed discussions to a conclusion would be to convene a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three Governments and the representatives of the two communities in Cyprus at which a final agreement could be concluded. He hoped that this conference would be held in London about the middle of January.

It was still an open question whether the Cypriots would wish, after attaining their independence, to remain in association with the Commonwealth. Their wishes in this matter were not yet known. It was possible that their attitude might become more clear in the course of the forthcoming conference in London. But, in any event, there could be no question of Cyprus becoming a full member of the Commonwealth except by the unanimous decision of all the existing members. The United Kingdom Government alone could not do more than accord to Cyprus some special form of association with the Commonwealth falling short of full membership; and it was not yet clear whether the Cypriots would in fact be willing to accept any such form of association. It might turn out that they would prefer, on attaining their independence, to sever their existing links with the Commonwealth and to become a foreign country. But, whether they did that or whether they accepted the special form of association which had been suggested, it would in either event be open to them at a later stage to apply for full Commonwealth membership. The decision on any such application would rest with all the existing Commonwealth members.

(ii) Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Mr. Macmillan said that it was, admittedly, an anomaly that the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should attend, as an observer, the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. On the other hand this anomaly was of a respectable antiquity. It derived from the fact that Southern Rhodesia had previously enjoyed the unique status of a "self-governing Colony", and on that account its Prime Minister had for many years been invited to attend Commonwealth conferences as an observer. When Lord Malvern ceased to be Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and became instead Prime Minister of the new Federation, the other Prime Ministers had all felt that, as he had attended their meetings for so many years, it would be appropriate that he should continue to
attend in his new capacity. This was the origin of the present practice. On the other hand it was clear that the Prime Minister of the Federation attended only as an observer. For example, he was not present on occasions when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers considered constitutional questions—e.g., the admission of a new member. This marked the difference of status between him and the other Prime Ministers.

Dr. Nkrumah said that it would be helpful if this fact could be made public. If at the forthcoming meeting in May the Prime Minister of the Federation did not in fact attend the sessions at which the Prime Ministers considered whether Ghana should remain within the Commonwealth after becoming a Republic and whether Nigeria should be admitted to Commonwealth membership on attaining independence, it would be valuable if it could be publicly stated that he had not in fact participated in those discussions.

Dr. Nkrumah also suggested that it would be convenient if the term "the Commonwealth" could in future be reserved as a description of the association of the independent member countries of the Commonwealth. It was confusing—and, from Ghana's point of view, inconvenient—that it should sometimes appear to include dependent territories whose constitutional relations were confined to the United Kingdom or to some other individual member of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Macmillan said that this was a point which might be considered—perhaps at the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

4. Constitutional Progress in Africa

Dr. Nkrumah said that he would like to speak about Ghana's attitude towards nationalism in Africa. The Government of Ghana were sympathetic towards nationalist aspirations in other parts of Africa. They looked forward to the day when all the dependent territories throughout Africa would attain their independence. They recognised that it was the policy of the United Kingdom Government that British dependent territories in Africa should advance towards self-government as rapidly as possible; and there was, therefore, no difference of principle between the Governments of Ghana and of the United Kingdom so far as concerned the ultimate objective of policy. The point on which a difference of opinion might arise was the speed at which the advance towards independence should proceed. The Government of Ghana would naturally like to see a more rapid rate of advance.

Dr. Nkrumah suggested that it would be helpful if the two Governments could agree upon some joint statement of policy in this matter. He was bound to make public statements supporting nationalist aspirations in various parts of Africa. He could not appear to be deserting his friends. But at the same time he was anxious to avoid making statements which might be embarrassing to the United Kingdom Government. He believed that there was in fact an identity of view on the ultimate objective of policy. This being so, it would be helpful if some formula could be found which would make this plain. He had discussed this possibility with Lord Home some little time ago. He would be glad if it could now be followed up.

Mr. Macmillan said that it would be useful if he and Dr. Nkrumah could have a full discussion on this subject. He would be glad if a further meeting could be arranged for this purpose. Meanwhile, in the relatively short time available that evening, he could give only a preliminary outline of his views.

He thought that Dr. Nkrumah would agree that in this matter the record of the United Kingdom in Africa was good. Ghana had already achieved independence. Nigeria would become independent later in 1960. Sierra Leone was moving steadily towards the same goal. In Gambia the next election would be held on the principle of "one man, one vote". In British Somaliland, despite the local difficulties, good progress was being made towards independence. In Tanganyika there would be an African majority in the legislature in 1960. In the face of this record no-one, he thought, could doubt the good faith of the United Kingdom Government and their determination to implement the general policy to which they were pledged. They were in fact determined that, in all the dependent territories for which they were responsible, the pace of constitutional advance should be as fast as was practicable in the local circumstances. Due regard must however be paid to the local circumstances; and it was a relevant consideration.
that in many parts of East and Central Africa the indigenous populations were far less advanced, and to that extent less capable of accepting the responsibilities of self-government. Nyasaland, for example, was a poor and backward country by comparison with some of the West African territories and it would certainly need a substantial measure of economic support for some time to come. Even in Kenya, when the British first went there 60 or 70 years ago, conditions were so primitive that the potter's wheel was unknown. These considerations alone would mean that the pace of constitutional advance could not in any event be as rapid in those parts of Africa as it could in some of the West African territories. But, in addition, the problem was further complicated by the existence of racial minorities, whose interests must be safeguarded. This was not solely a problem of the white settler: in most of these territories there were large Asian communities too; and constitutional solutions must be found which took account of these minority interests. The European settlers had, after all, a considerable stake in these territories. They had been there for a long time: indeed, in the Union, the Afrikanders had been settled in the Cape Province since the 17th century and even in Kenya there were European families which had been established there for two or three generations and had no other home. Moreover, they had made a substantial contribution towards the economic well-being of the territories. For these territories, therefore, a constitutional solution must be sought on the basis of a multi-racial society. It should be possible for these various communities to live together; and it was the duty of all concerned to seek constitutional means by which they might be enabled to do so. The multi-racial society was not a problem solely for Europeans and Africans. Even in Africa, as he had said, there were Indian, as well as European, minorities whose interests must be safeguarded. And elsewhere the multi-racial problem presented itself in forms which did not include Europeans at all—e.g., in Malaya, where satisfactory progress was being made towards an acceptable solution.

Mr. Macmillan said that political leaders in Ghana and in Nigeria could make a valuable contribution towards the progress of constitutional advance in East and Central Africa. If they continued to show that in their territories, after independence, Europeans were treated fairly and that due regard was paid to their interests, this would help to give greater confidence to racial minorities in East and Central Africa.

Dr. Nkrumah said that the problems of constitutional advance were certainly less in those African territories where there were no European settlers. He himself attached importance to the principle of "one man, one vote"; but he recognised that, in territories where there were important racial minorities, the constitutional system must include proper safeguards for their interests.

Mr. Macmillan and Dr. Nkrumah agreed to resume their discussion on this subject at a meeting on the following day.

Record of a Conversation between Mr. Macmillan and Dr. Nkrumah at Flagstaff House, Accra, on Thursday, 7th January, 1960, at 12 noon

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. A. W. Snelling (High Commissioner), Sir Norman Brook, Mr. D. W. S. Hunt and Mr. T. J. Bligh.

Dr. Nkrumah was accompanied by Mr. Ako Adjei, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Adu, Secretary, Prime Minister's Department and Mr. Dei-Anang, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Constitutional Progress in Africa

Mr. Macmillan said that he would like to enlarge on what he had said, at the meeting on the previous evening, about the general problem of constitutional progress in Africa.

In the territories inhabited by homogeneous communities the pace of constitutional advance could be left to be determined by the rate of development of an indigenous administrative and legislative machine. Dr. Nkrumah was, he thought, content with the progress which was being achieved in those territories—
though, even there, there were risks in going too fast, as was illustrated by recent experience in the French Cameroons. In East and Central Africa, on the other hand, the position was different because of the special problem of racial minorities. In Rhodesia and Nyasaland the position was particularly difficult because of the disparity of the economic position of the three territories. Nyasaland was a poor country, characterised by a low level of subsistence farming. Northern Rhodesia was more prosperous, because of the copper deposits. Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, was a prosperous territory with a high standard of agriculture due mainly to the efforts of the European community. The United Kingdom Government had taken the view that a viable economic unit could be formed by some sort of federation between these three territories. But they had undertaken that they would not withdraw their special responsibility for the two northern territories until the populations there had themselves been convinced that their best prospects for the future lay in some form of union with Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government were not wedded to any particular form of federal structure for these territories; there was a wide scope of choice between different forms of federation, and all these matters would be studied by the Monckton Commission. But, whatever constitutional solution was ultimately preferred, it must plainly provide adequate safeguards for the interests of the large European community which had been settled for many years in these territories and had contributed so much to their economic progress. As he had said on the previous day, he firmly believed that it should be possible to find some means by which the various communities could live peaceably together serving, as they did, the interests of one another. But, if this was to be achieved, there must be a substantial element of give and take and toleration of the views and interests of others. Certainly no progress would be made if either side insisted on maintaining extremist views on the racial question. He could not yet say what the final solution would be. He believed that, with good will, a solution could be found. But he recognised that this would be a difficult task, and he feared that constitutional progress would have to be fairly slow. Meanwhile, political leaders in Ghana and other parts of West Africa could make a useful contribution—by impressing upon African opinion in the Federation the need for patience, and by encouraging European opinion by their own example of tolerance and co-operation. There was no doubt that the worst course, for Africa as a whole, would be to allow a violent struggle for power to develop between the racial communities in these territories.

Dr. Nkrumah said that it was unfortunate that African opinion in Nyasaland had developed so strongly against the Federal Government. Mr. Macmillan said that the best course now was to convince the people of Nyasaland that it was for them to determine the course of their own constitutional development; for, if they were satisfied that the form of government in Nyasaland was a matter for their own free choice, they might be able to see more clearly the economic advantages which Federation would bring. Dr. Nkrumah agreed that the African communities were more likely to see the issues clearly if they felt that they had a free choice.

At the end of the discussion Dr. Nkrumah said that he had prepared a short statement of the views of his Government on the general African situation. He handed over a copy of this document (reproduced in the Annex to this record) and suggested that Mr. Macmillan should study it. He hoped that it would be found that there was much common ground between views held on this subject by the Governments of Ghana and of the United Kingdom.
ANNEX

GENERAL AFRICAN SITUATION

Statement of the Views of the Government of Ghana

1. Ghana believes that freedom for Africans on their native continent is essential for World Peace.

2. The great wave of nationalism at present sweeping Africa is a fact which should be recognised; it is a force which no one can hold in check and therefore it should be co-operated with in the best interests of all concerned.

3. In so far as territories with no minority settlers are concerned, the way appears to be clear for a planned phasing of progress towards independence. Ghana believes that the peoples of these territories will measure up to the responsibilities demanded by definite prospects of self-rule and will themselves propose a realistic time-table.

4. In multi-racial territories, the difficulty of formulating a constitution which will ensure safeguard for the minority communities arises. The following conditions appear to Ghana to be essential prerequisites to a just solution:

   (a) The principle that the majority of the people, i.e., Africans, should form the basis of Government in these territories should be accepted.

   (b) The African should be made to feel in his own country that he is a first-class citizen and that he is not discriminated against in any way.

   (c) The African political leaders should be permitted to share the responsibility for taking decisions on the political and constitutional future of their territories.

   (d) The African political leaders should be consulted on the policy and timetable for independence.

   (e) There should be safeguards written into the constitutions for minority communities to assure them that they will not be discriminated economically and socially and that they will still have a constructive part to play in the political and economic life of the country so long as they do not seek to perpetuate inequitable positions of privilege.

   (f) Ghana believes that, provided the African communities are made to feel that they are trusted as responsible people with a stake in their own territories, they will show a responsible and co-operative approach to the problem of deciding the future of these territories.
Record of a Discussion with Leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition, held at the
High Commissioner’s Residence in Accra on Saturday, 9th January, 1960, at
4 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. A. W. Snelling (High Commissioner)
and Mr. T. J. Bligh.
The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Danquah, was accompanied by Mr. Dombo,
Mr. Odamtten, and Mr. Appiah (who joined the meeting half-way through).

After an exchange of courtesies about Dr. Danquah’s books and the institution
of a school of law in Ghana, Mr. Macmillan asked Dr. Danquah what were the
main issues between the Opposition and the Government in Ghana. Dr. Danquah
replied that there were two:

(i) The Opposition asked for a constitution backed by the whole country.

(ii) The Opposition rejected the centralisation of power in the Government.

In discussion on the first point Mr. Dombo said that the Opposition had always
wanted a second Chamber, whereas Dr. Nkrumah thought one Chamber was right.
The United Party wanted a constitution backed by the whole country, the
Government wanted a constitution settled by their own party. The present
Chamber consisted of 104 seats, with everybody over 21 voting. Constituencies
had been drawn up by an electoral boundary commission, but this was no longer
in being and no machinery had been devised to re-draw the boundaries to meet
the change in conditions in Ghana as the country became developed. At the last
election there had been a number of parties standing, including the C.P.P. and in
some of the constituencies there had been a number of candidates. After
independence all the Opposition Parties had merged into the United Party.

Mr. Macmillan asked whether the United Party were afraid that the country
might drift into a one-party system. Mr. Dombo replied that it was already doing
so. Thus, the question whether or not Ghana should become a republic had not
yet been put to the people, and yet the C.P.P. were assuming that a republic would
be established. The United Party did not know what form of constitution the
Government had in mind for the republic.

On the second point Mr. Dombo said that the United Party wanted regional
Assemblies, but local responsibility was at present devolved to District
Commissioners, who were paid by the C.P.P.

Mr. Macmillan asked if it would be fair to say that there was a real difference
between the United Party and the C.P.P. on the general political structure of the
country. Mr. Dombo replied that this was so. The C.P.P. policies all seemed to
point in one direction namely, a state and system of government such as that in
Russia.

Mr. Macmillan asked whether the strength of the support for the United Party
in the country differed from one place to another. Mr. Dombo said that this was so:
they were stronger in the north and in the Ashanti district than they were in
the south. Dr. Danquah added that in the election of 1956 the United Party had
secured 336,000 votes against 343,000 of the C.P.P., but owing to the heavy loading
in the Ashanti district they had only secured 32 seats as compared with the 72 of
the C.P.P. He did not know when the next election would be, perhaps in 1960 or
1961, but the results would be interesting as the United Party thought their support
in Accra was growing.

Mr. Dombo said that there was also a difference between the two parties on
foreign policy [at this stage Mr. Appiah joined the discussion]. The C.P.P. favoured
a policy of positive neutralism, whereas the United Party wanted more openly to
support the West. He thought it was illogical of the C.P.P. to claim to be neutralist
when they were following a policy of creating blocs in Africa.

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majority in Ghana which supported the monarchy. It was interesting, added Mr. Appiah, that the question of republicanism had never been raised in 1957.

Mr. Macmillan suggested that it would be inexpedient to identify the difference between the two Parties as one of republic versus monarchy. What mattered was the shape of the Government, the power of Parliamentary institutions, the existence of an Opposition, and so on.

Mr. Appiah said that the people had not yet been consulted on the form of a republic. This was an issue that would have to be fought out between the two parties.

Dr. Danquah said that the United Party might well have to refrain from pressuring their preference for a monarchical system. It would be difficult for the first free African State to accept a white Queen.

Mr. Macmillan said that there were different types of Presidential Government:

(i) The Indian example, which really treated the President as a constitutional monarch. The Ministers forming the Government were in Parliament and there was an effective Parliamentary system;

(ii) The American pattern, where Ministers were not in Congress but where there were a great number of checks and balances and an all-powerful Supreme Court;

(iii) Less democratic examples, where the President was in a very strong position.

Mr. Dombo thought the danger might be that Ghana would become a Republic based on the American pattern without any of the checks and balances. He was particularly troubled at Dr. Nkrumah's recent appointment as Secretary-General of the C.P.P.

Mr. Appiah then referred to the proposed boycott on South African goods, as an indication of pressure in the United Kingdom for South Africa to leave the Commonwealth. If tests of behaviour were to be applied to Commonwealth members, Ghana might equally have to leave the Commonwealth. He felt satisfied that in the whole of Africa the great majority of the people would opt for the Western way of life. The Commonwealth had a great part to play in mobilising that opinion. The United Party endorsed the Commonwealth because it stood for the twin principles of the rule of law and the liberty of the individual.

If the Commonwealth were to put itself in the position of appearing to condone such practices as detention without trial it might become tarnished in the eyes of the African peoples. He wondered that people in England complained only of the behaviour of South Africa.

Dr. Danquah agreed that the greatest contribution the United Kingdom had made to the whole world was what was known as the British way of life. He thought it would be useful if the United Kingdom Government could summon a conference of all African territories to consider a new Charter. Mr. Macmillan might say something on these lines on his return to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Odamtten said that Mr. Macmillan would have seen for himself that the people in Ghana were not violent. Yet the C.P.P. had deported people and locked others up on the alleged grounds of public security. This was all nonsense.

Mr. Macmillan said that it had taken a long time to get the rule of law established in the United Kingdom, and it needed a continual effort to keep the system in balance. And from time to time, in emergencies, it was necessary for the security of the State that the Government should for the time being encroach on these hard-won liberties. It was up to the Opposition in Ghana to fight for their ideals by trying to win votes and to seek power in an honourable way. He was reminded of a sentence from the Epistle for the third Sunday in Advent “Judge not, save in the fullness of time”. It was difficult, he knew, to be patient, but it was necessary. They must remember that, in trying to get other people to change their minds, it was possible to say things in ways which would not exacerbate the situation. They must also remember that the United Kingdom was only one among a number of equal partners of the Commonwealth. It could not order other Commonwealth countries to follow the principles of liberty. It might be that as dependent countries attained their independence some of them would turn to a authoritarian régime. Indeed, some might think that in the future we should have a totalitarian world. He himself could not believe that this would come about, and we must all fight on with patience and determination. He would devote what was left of his life to trying to steer the Commonwealth along those lines.
Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and the “Pan-African Activists” held at Flagstaff House, Accra on Saturday, 9th January, 1960, at 5 p.m.

Dr. Nkrumah suggested that during his stay in Accra Mr. Macmillan should meet the Pan-African Activists so that he could “see what he (Dr. Nkrumah) had to put up with”. Mr. Macmillan agreed to see them and a meeting at Dr. Nkrumah’s house was accordingly arranged. Amongst the organisations represented were:

- The African Affairs Centre,
- The National Association of Students Socialist Organisation,
- The Ghana Trades Union Congress,
- The All-African People’s Conference Secretariat.

2. A list of those present is attached. Mr. Koinange of Kenya who had been invited was dissuaded by Mr. Dei-Anang from attending when it was made clear that it would be embarrassing to Mr. Macmillan to meet him as there was a detention order outstanding against him in Kenya.

3. Mr. Macmillan, who was accompanied by Mr. A. W. Snelling (High Commissioner), Sir Norman Brook and some of the other members of his party, was introduced to those present and then sat down with about ten or fifteen of them who plied him with questions. Dr. Nkrumah was not in the circle.

4. The following are some of the questions that were asked and the replies given by Mr. Macmillan:

(a) Was not “one man one vote” a proper democratic procedure, and why did we not grant this franchise, especially in Kenya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland?

Mr. Macmillan dealt with this question by pointing out how very backward for the most part the indigenous people of the Federation and Kenya were compared with the West Africans. He mentioned those tribes who until well into his own lifetime had not even invented the potter’s wheel. It was a mistake to think that these people were as ready for democracy—which was an advanced form of Government—as were the people of Ghana or Nigeria. He asked if any of those present had ever seen Kenya or the Federation and none had.

Secondly, he pointed out that, although “one man one vote” was an important feature of democracy as practised in Europe and North America, it was not by any means the only or most important feature. An equally important point was that in a democratic country the Government should show by its every word and deed that it considered itself to be in power only temporarily and that it was not in for good. He said that when asked for his address he always said his temporary address was 10 Downing Street. The Pan-Africans took the point and no more was said on that topic.

(b) Why should Sir Roy Welensky attend meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers when the Rhodesian Federation had not attained independence, while Abubakar was not being invited though Nigeria was on the eve of independence?

Mr. Macmillan explained in detail the constitutional steps which had still to be taken before Nigeria became independent and emphasised that the procedure would follow exactly that adopted in respect of Malaya and Ghana. He said that the attendance of Sir Roy Welensky was anomalous but followed the practice of some 20 years standing under which Lord Malvern, as Prime Minister of what was then called the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, had been invited as a courtesy and not as a right to attend these meetings. He said that, when the Federation was formed and Lord Malvern became its first Prime Minister, it was natural to ask him to come as hitherto, and when Sir Roy Welensky succeeded Lord Malvern invitations were extended to him also—though only with the agreement of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Sir Roy Welensky would not however attend meetings at which constitutional questions—a.g., relating to Nigeria—were discussed.
majority in Ghana which supported the monarchy. It was interesting, added Mr. Appiah, that the question of republicanism had never been raised in 1957.

Mr. Macmillan suggested that it would be inexpedient to identify the difference between the two Parties as one of republic versus monarchy. What mattered was the shape of the Government, the power of Parliamentary institutions, the existence of an Opposition, and so on.

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Dr. Danquah agreed that the greatest contribution the United Kingdom had made to the whole world was what was known as the British way of life. He thought it would be useful if the United Kingdom Government could summon a conference of all African territories to consider a new Charter. Mr. Macmillan might say something on these lines on his return to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Odamtten said that Mr. Macmillan would have seen for himself that the people in Ghana were not violent. Yet the C.P.P. had deported people and locked others up on the alleged grounds of public security. This was all nonsense.

Mr. Macmillan said that it had taken a long time to get the rule of law established in the United Kingdom, and it needed a continual effort to keep the system in balance. And from time to time, in emergencies, it was necessary for the security of the State that the Government should for the time being encroach on these hard-won liberties. It was up to the Opposition in Ghana to fight for their ideals by trying to win votes and to seek power in an honourable way. He was reminded of a sentence from the Epistle for the third Sunday in Advent “Judge not, save in the fullness of time”. It was difficult, he knew, to be patient, but it was necessary. They must remember that, in trying to get other people to change their minds, it was possible to say things in ways which would not exacerbate the situation. They must also remember that the United Kingdom was only one among a number of equal partners of the Commonwealth. It could not order other Commonwealth countries to follow the principles of liberty. It might be that as dependent countries attained their independence some of them would turn to a authoritarian régime. Indeed, some might think that in the future we should have a totalitarian world. He himself could not believe that this would come about, and we must all fight on with patience and determination. He would devote what was left of his life to trying to steer the Commonwealth along those lines.
Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and the “Pan-African Activists” held at Flagstaff House, Accra on Saturday, 9th January, 1960, at 5 p.m.

Dr. Nkrumah suggested that during his stay in Accra Mr. Macmillan should meet the Pan-African Activists so that he could “see what he (Dr. Nkrumah) had to put up with”. Mr. Macmillan agreed to see them and a meeting at Dr. Nkrumah’s house was accordingly arranged. Amongst the organisations represented were:

- The African Affairs Centre,
- The National Association of Students Socialist Organisation,
- The Ghana Trades Union Congress,
- The All-African People’s Conference Secretariat.

2. A list of those present is attached. Mr. Koinange of Kenya who had been invited was dissuaded by Mr. Dei-Anang from attending when it was made clear that it would be embarrassing to Mr. Macmillan to meet him as there was a detention order outstanding against him in Kenya.

3. Mr. Macmillan, who was accompanied by Mr. A. W. Snelling (High Commissioner), Sir Norman Brook and some of the other members of his party, was introduced to those present and then sat down with about ten or fifteen of them who plied him with questions. Dr. Nkrumah was not in the circle.

4. The following are some of the questions that were asked and the replies given by Mr. Macmillan:

(a) Was not “one man one vote” a proper democratic procedure, and why did we not grant this franchise, especially in Kenya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland?

Mr. Macmillan dealt with this question by pointing out how very backward for the most part the indigenous people of the Federation and Kenya were compared with the West Africans. He mentioned those tribes who until well into his own lifetime had not even invented the potter’s wheel. It was a mistake to think that these people were as ready for democracy—which was an advanced form of Government—as were the people of Ghana or Nigeria. He asked if any of those present had ever seen Kenya or the Federation and none had.

Secondly, he pointed out that, although “one man one vote” was an important feature of democracy as practised in Europe and North America, it was not by any means the only or most important feature. An equally important point was that in a democratic country the Government should show by its every word and deed that it considered itself to be in power only temporarily and that it was not in for good. He said that when asked for his address he always said his temporary address was 10 Downing Street. The Pan-Africans took the point and no more was said on that topic.

(b) Why should Sir Roy Welensky attend meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers when the Rhodesian Federation had not attained independence, while Abubakar was not being invited though Nigeria was on the eve of independence.

Mr. Macmillan explained in detail the constitutional steps which had still to be taken before Nigeria became independent and emphasised that the procedure would follow exactly that adopted in respect of Malaya and Ghana. He said that the attendance of Sir Roy Welensky was anomalous but followed the practice of some 20 years standing under which Lord Malvern, as Prime Minister of what was then called the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, had been invited as a courtesy and not as a right to attend these meetings. He said that, when the Federation was formed and Lord Malvern became its first Prime Minister, it was natural to ask him to come as hitherto, and when Sir Roy Welensky succeeded Lord Malvern invitations were extended to him also—though only with the agreement of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Sir Roy Welensky would not however attend meetings at which constitutional questions—e.g., relating to Nigeria—were discussed.
(c) Fears were expressed that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland would become independent soon and that the United Kingdom Government, according to their principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of independent members of the Commonwealth, would then wash its hands of the Africans, particularly in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who would be left at the mercy of Sir Roy Welensky. Mr. Macmillan replied that there would be no question of the Federation becoming independent until the three constituent parts of it agreed. This seemed to satisfy the questioners.

(d) Mr. Macmillan was asked about land tenure in Kenya. He explained that until the white men moved into the highlands there had been no African settlements there; the land had been used only by nomadic Masai who had roamed over it with their flocks. The highlands had been developed by white enterprise and now the restrictions were being removed which had hitherto prevented the sale of land to any buyer of whatever race.

(e) Mr. Macmillan was asked if he would release Dr. Banda. He replied by quoting a statement of Dr. Nkrumah at a recent Press Conference in Accra to the effect that he disliked having to lock people up but that it was sometimes necessary to do so for the security of the State.

LIST OF PERSONS INVITED TO ATTEND THE INFORMAL PAN-AFRICAN RECEPTION GIVEN BY DR. NKROUMAH FOR MR. MACMILLAN ON 9TH JANUARY, 1960

The Hon. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Economic Affairs.
The Hon. N. A. Welbeck, Minister of State.
The Hon. Ako Adjei, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
The Hon. Kofi Baako, Minister of Education and Information and Director of Bureau of African Affairs.
Mr. Abdou-laye Diallo, Resident Minister for Guinea.
His Excellency Mr. Ayeh-Kumi, Chairman, Industrial Development Corporation and Agricultural Development Corporation.
Mr. Tawiah Adamafio, General Secretary, Convention Peoples' Party.
Mr. Baidoe Ansah, Chairman, Guinea Press and Member of Parliament.
Mr. Martin Appiah-Dankwah, United Farmers' Council.
Mr. Tettegah, National Organiser, Builders' Brigade.
Mr. Joe-Fio Myer, General Secretary, Ghana T.U.C.
Mr. Amoah Awuah, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Finance.
Mr. A. Y. K. Djim, Director, Cocoa Marketing Board.
Mr. Eric Heyman, Editor, Evening News.
Mr. C. V. M. Forde, Editor, Ghana Times.
Mr. Kwaku Boateng, M.P., and Barrister.
Mr. Edward Duplan, Administrative Secretary, All-African Peoples' Conference.
Mr. Mackonnen, Business man.
Mr. J. Markham, Ghana Broadcasting.
Mr. A. K. Barden, Administrative Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs.
Mr. John Elliott, Vice-Chairman of Industrial Development Corporation and Agricultural Development Corporation.
Mr. T. O. Asare, Civil Servant, Ministry of Trade and Industry.
Mr. N. Eburey
Mr. C. A. Addison
Mr. E. A. Shardow
Mr. I. L. Vanderpuije, Industrial Development Corporation.
Mr. N. O. Blessing, Ghana Housing Corporation.
Mr. Amihere, Guinea Press.
Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Krobo Edusei on Sunday, 10th January, 1960, at 6 p.m.

I talked to Mr. Edusei for an hour. I put to him some of the questions which the High Commissioner suggested.

(a) Situation in Ashanti.—He is going to spend ten days in Ashanti in charge of the by-election. He is certain that the Government Party will win. He feels that he has a very strong following in Ashanti and that it is he and his friends who brought Ashanti over to the C.C.P. Ashanti will not slide back. He described at some length the customs, system of Chieftainship, &c., of Ashanti. He regarded it as the right policy to preserve in an honorific and traditional way the power of the Chiefs, but to allow the democratic local government to grow up with the real power gradually passing into their hands. The Chief acted as a President of the Local Authority Council, but not as Chairman. He made an introductory speech and then retired. Chiefs are being paid large sums, one, he told me, as much as £16,000 a year. No doubt this is a move by which they have been kept on the Government side. It is exactly the move adopted by the English Government after the '45. So it has quite good authority. It was indeed followed after '15, and to some extent accounts for so many of the Chieftains remaining "loyal" or at least "not coming out" in the '45.

Mr. Edusei went on to say that the Ashanti was the most effective and vital people and it was the core of the whole country.

(b) As Minister of Transport and Communications he has placed large orders with British firms and is very well satisfied with the result. According to his own account he travels round Europe and compares the different products. He gave a slightly different story about the bus contract from the one which Sir Patrick Fitzgerland gave to me. According to him they bought 200 from Leylands and 75 from a German firm. Although he had placed very heavy contracts with the British firms they really must be more active in coming out here. It was no good waiting in London. I said that I thought they had agents here and he admitted that this was true, but in many of the newer types of things they did not. He spoke about the airfield, which was a British contract, a large G.E.C. contract, &c. He went on to talk about Ghana Airways. He is trying to make a new contract with B.O.A.C., and it must be in a form that it will preserve "the African personality". For this purpose it was important that the napkins and plates and knives should not be marked "B.O.A.C.". He was determined to get a contract with them on a year-to-year basis or a long hire-purchase contract which made it clear that it was a Ghana Airways and not a B.O.A.C. enterprise.

(c) We went on to discuss the political situation. He was Joe Appiah's cousin and therefore he knew both sides. He said that Appiah and his friends had behaved in a terrible way, threatening the country with disorder. When the crisis came Dr. Nkrumah had put him (Mr. Edusei) in charge of the situation. He went to Parliament, asked for emergency powers and shut up the men he thought dangerous. I said that emergency powers were necessary in certain circumstances but it was always the duty of a Government to give them up as soon as they could. We were often in the same predicament. He said he knew it well because he had been imprisoned by the British Colonial Government. He knew what prison was. He said "I have learnt it is one thing to agitate in Opposition; it is another thing to govern." I should very much doubt whether, if Mr. Edusei has anything to do with it, the emergency will be brought rapidly to an end.

He went on to talk of political organisation. I gather that he is now concentrating on this. He had been in England during our General Election and learned many lessons from it. He knew that the Conservatives would win. They were better organised. He placed great reliance on organisation. I did not ask him directly whether he wanted a one-party State but from what he said about the elections, &c., I think that he would at least wish to preserve the appearance of a more or less free system.

(d) He began to talk himself about the Builders Brigade. He hoped to raise it to 25,000. The plan was to take the boys, give them two years' training, house them, clothe them and, I think, feed them, and give them a small weekly allowance. They were concentrating on teaching the boys agriculture. After they had served their two years they would be settled on farms along the frontiers of Ghana in the outlying and newly-developing districts. They would grow vegetables—not, I gather, cocoa.

In summary, I found Mr. Edusei a very entertaining character. He told me that he owned a considerable cocoa farm, so I take it that he is well-to-do.

SECRET
Note of a Visit by Mr. Harold Macmillan to the Chamber and Offices of the National Assembly, Accra, on Monday, 11th January, 1960, at 11.30 a.m.

Mr. Macmillan visited the Chamber and Offices of the National Assembly on the morning of 11th January. He was received by the Speaker (Mr. Akiwumi) and met a gathering of Members of Parliament at present in Accra, including the Leader of the House, Mr. Botsio, other Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, and a number of back-benchers.

Mr. Macmillan inspected the Chamber and Offices, and was photographed standing by the Speaker's Chair, which was a gift from the United Kingdom Parliament.

In reply to a short speech of welcome by the Speaker in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association room, Mr. Macmillan said that he had been profoundly moved to find in the Assembly so many reminders of the procedure with which he was familiar. Recalling the fact that he had first stood for Parliament 35 years ago, and that of his first six elections he had won three and lost three, the Prime Minister said that Parliament democracy was not an easy form of Government to work; one was apt to think when one was “out” that the people had lost their good sense, and only when one was “in” that they knew what they were about. Nevertheless, he himself believed that Parliamentary democracy had something to offer which the more monolithic forms of Government could not match. Parliamentary democracy, with its ins and outs, its ups and downs, its recognition of the right of Government to govern and of the Opposition to criticise, was, he believed, the system best adapted to give the people what they wanted. He believed, too, that inside Parliament there grew up, among members of all Parties, a sense of comradeship and of belonging to an institution that mattered. He wished the Parliament and people of Ghana all good fortune.

The proceedings ended with the gathering singing, at the invitation of Mr. Botsio, “For he’s a jolly good fellow”, and rounds of cheers.

MAIN POLICY SPEECH

Text of Speech Delivered by Mr. Macmillan at the State Banquet in Accra on Saturday, 9th January, 1960

I should like first to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, on behalf of my wife and myself for the kind words of welcome you have spoken. We are indeed delighted to be here and to have a chance of seeing for ourselves some of the remarkable developments which have taken place in Ghana. I have known Dr. Nkrumah now for several years both as a colleague and, if I may say so, as a friend. He has given us the pleasure of entertaining him in England, both in London and in our own country home. The last time we met and talked was, I think, last August. It was then he visited The Queen at Balmoral, and received the great and well-merited honour of being admitted to Her Majesty's Privy Council. And now, at last, I am able to pay a return visit and indeed we are happy to be with you all in Accra tonight.

Of the British African territories moving towards self-government, Ghana was the first to reach its goal. Your experiment in nation-building is therefore of special interest to the people of Britain. We of course have been impressed, as have other members of the Commonwealth, by the speed and efficiency with which your nation-State is progressing. We want you to know that you have the respect and friendship and all the good wishes from all the people in our country in your great adventure. We in Britain, of course, were particularly delighted at the warmth with which you welcomed His Royal Highness, Prince Philip, when he visited Ghana a few weeks ago. And reading the enthusiastic accounts of the Duke's visit in the British Press and seeing on our television and cinema screens some of the great projects which he was shown in Ghana, we can well understand...
why Prince Philip was impressed by two things which must impress every visitor to-day. First, the friendliness of your people—that is the moral and spiritual side—and secondly, the striking evidence of material progress on every side.

We are all of us delighted, Sir, at the flourishing state of your economy. Well, economies don't always flourish—sometimes it is quite difficult to steer them along an even course. We have our troubles, no doubt you will have yours. But what strikes us here is the flourishing state of your economy and the prospects of further investment and development. There is, of course, a great demand all over the world for capital. That is what all the world wants. Capital is really made by the savings of people. It is made by a lot of people who forgo the claims they might make for themselves in order to put them at the disposal of others and thus postpone their own claims to the future. Capital will flow to those countries and to those projects where the projects are sound and where the countries attract investment by creating confidence in their political and economical stability.

It is for that reason I am so sure that the strength of our connexion cannot only be maintained but increased. We have a long relationship on the moral, physical, political side. We have great economic advantages that we can give each other. We buy quite a lot of cocoa from you—timber and minerals. And we look forward to buying a lot of Volta aluminium. We have been following with great interest the progress of the Volta River project. I know it figures very high in your plans, Mr. Prime Minister, and those of your Government. I am glad to have been able to discuss with you some of the latest developments and to hear about the negotiations which you are about to bring to a rapid conclusion. We shall certainly continue to watch these with sympathetic interest and, for my part, I would say that this sympathy and interest and enthusiasm will be reinforced by all that I have seen and heard here.

As you may know, less than a year after I became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, I made a tour to four Commonwealth countries in Asia and also to Australia and New Zealand. I did this not to teach other people their business, but to see and to learn. To see something of the developments taking place in these countries and to learn from personal and intimate consultations with their Prime Ministers and leading statesmen. I found it a profoundly moving experience to see these great countries, some of them with immense populations—added together they form a great part of human society, with all their differences, creeds and backgrounds, in race, in colour, in tradition and in history. That all should be equal and willing partners in a free association is something unique, I think, in the history of the world. When great Empires have come and gone, this is something unique: a free association of independent nations, all contributors in their own way to the whole.

Two years ago for a number of reasons I could not finish my Commonwealth tour. So I made up my mind—as soon as the British people, happily well advised, made it possible—to finish my tour by seeing something of the Commonwealth in Africa. I hope you will not mind my saying that we in Britain are proud—or perhaps I should say grateful, that we have done something to help lay the foundations on which the people of Africa are building so confidently. We look forward to many years of helpful association.

We realise, of course, the problems of this vast continent, with all its differences, greater than Europe and almost as great as Asia. We realise that Africa presents a challenge—a challenge calling for the best that all can offer. It is our duty to see that the great changes taking place in Africa are carried through in such a way as to ensure a peaceful and prosperous future for all its inhabitants. We share the strong tide of feelings among all who live in Africa that it is a time of destiny. Your country which achieved its final independence less than three years ago is, of course, one of the most important independent countries of Africa. Your near neighbour, Nigeria, will I trust become independent—and will also I trust become an independent member of our Commonwealth—later this year. But these constitutional advances are not confined to the countries with which we in Britain have a particular association. The wind of change is blowing right through Africa. This rapid emergence of the countries of Africa gives the continent a new importance in the world. One hundred years ago it would not be unfair to say, in spite of the many ancient cultures which have survived in certain regions, the continent as a whole played little part in world affairs. To-day it will have to play its full part in shaping the destinies of the world.
I was most grateful for the words the Prime Minister used about the part our country is trying to play—and is determined to play—in the vast problems that confront this conflict of the idealisms of West and East. When I try to make some contribution it is not because I think that appeasement is the right answer. Peace and justice must go together.

In West Africa, where Europeans have come to work but not to make their homes, relations between Africans and Europeans have never been made difficult by any real conflict of interests. Indeed, they have learnt to live together, to work together and to play together in happiness and harmony. To-day they share the same interests and the same pride in the growing importance of West Africa. The transition from dependent and then semi-independent and finally independent status has, broadly speaking, progressed smoothly, without disturbing the traditional relations between Africans and Europeans. Everywhere I go in Ghana I hear the slogan—Freedom—you have only now the task—just as important as winning it—to preserve it through the years. But this absence of conflicts of interests between the European and the African does not mean that you do not have some kind of similar problems as face other parts of the continent. After all, the countries of West Africa are inhabited by many people of different languages, religions and customs and these peoples have to live together in peace and friendship. And the independent countries—Ghana and soon Nigeria—can give and, I believe, will give a valuable example. At the same time, your own experience in nation-building will help you to understand some of the problems that exist elsewhere.

In other parts of Africa, some of which I shall be visiting on my tour, the problem of race relations is more difficult and complex than it is here in West Africa. Nonetheless in those countries too, the essential problem is one of nation-building. It will be one of the main purposes of my visit to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to see and learn—and, in all humility, seek how we in the United Kingdom can best help. In our efforts to find the solution of the problem to which you referred tonight and which I see, Mr. Prime Minister, you have referred to at other times, we shall hope to meet with sympathy and constructive help from our friends in other parts of Africa and in the Commonwealth at large.

I recognise frankly that on every aspect of these difficult and baffling problems we cannot always see eye to eye on every point. But as you have said—and I am grateful for it, Mr. Prime Minister—in this difficult period of change and development the most important thing for us is to keep in touch, to exchange ideas, to make sure that we understand each other's point of view. For while we may all properly question the soundness of another man's opinion, we should hesitate lightly to question his sincerity. That is true inside a single country—it is indeed the very basis of Parliamentary Government. It is still more true in external affairs. This business of getting to know each other's mind is one of the things I believe our Commonwealth association is best fitted to develop.

In May of this year, we are having a meeting in London of all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, now I think eleven in number. It will be a great honour and pleasure to return, as far as we can, all the hospitality we have received from the Government of Ghana. And it will be a special benefit to me and all my fellow Prime Ministers to have, for the second time, the advantage and advice of the Prime Minister of Ghana. At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in 1957, if I may say so, he was a new boy; this time he will be quite an old hand. He will be able to join in welcoming another member to our comradeship—the Prime Minister of Malaya, a country where many of these problems exist with great pressure, where different races and different interests have to be welded together to form a single country.

Our Commonwealth association does not, of course, have the elaborate permanent machinery of other associations such as the United Nations or the various Treaty Organisations. Our Prime Ministers' Meetings are called at no fixed time, have no formal agenda, nor do they attempt to reach formal decisions or conclusions. With us, I think it is the spirit that counts. We meet because we are associated, because we wish to remain associated, because we realise the value of that association. And indeed, how valuable it is. Perhaps the very informality of it—the simplicity of it—adds to its value in an age where everything is on the radio or on the television. It isn't a bad thing for eleven—soon to be twelve—Prime Ministers of such an immense divergence in the world to be able to sit down
for four or five days and just talk quietly to each other about each other’s affairs. To talk about the problems as they see them, knowing that every phrase hasn’t to be weighed because it will be the subject of some criticism. And, indeed, how valuable it is to have in this Cabinet of the Commonwealth, representatives now of the African States. I speak not only of the value to the United Kingdom, but from the point of view of a statesman, let us say, in Delhi, Canberra or Ottawa. How extraordinary it is, that we have in every continent and all round the globe, Commonwealth representatives bound, not by legal or constitutional ties but by what I can only call this almost mystical link.

I sincerely hope that given the goodwill characteristic of this Commonwealth tradition, we—that is everyone who has responsibilities in Africa—will be able to arrive at solutions for our joint and several problems. For if we cannot co-operate, if we divide into separate camps, shouting slogans at each other, we may all suffer grievous harm and most of all those in all the countries for whom we are responsible and for whom we are trustees. What we have to do, in my view, is to take every situation as objectively as we can, and to work our way to the best answers that circumstances permit.

It is because I sincerely believe in the broad principles which I know we share together and on which we must base our attempts to resolve the many acute political problems that face us to-day, that I set out upon this journey. I am here tonight at the beginning and I am very glad and, indeed, proud to be allowed to start it here, where you are making this great experiment and where you lead the way. I hope that at the end of my journey I will have learnt something at any rate from that most eloquent of all teachers practical experience. I believe, Sir, that on that road to co-operation and peaceful development the outstanding part can be played—and must be played—by the Commonwealth. Mr. Prime Minister, and your Excellency, I would like once more to say to you all how grateful I am for this great opportunity. I am proud to feel that we are members of this family and, like the Prime Minister who has proposed this toast, I pray that as the years pass our group of nations, actuated by high principles—taking all that is best of the past—will build together for the future, and work together for the peace and progress of mankind.

DESPATCH FROM UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GHANA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS

My Lord,


I have the honour to submit a report upon the visit of Mr. Macmillan to Ghana between the 6th and the 11th January. This was the first stage of the Prime Minister’s African tour, in which he is also visiting Nigeria, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Southern Africa. Incidentally, it was the first visit ever paid to Africa South of the Sahara by a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom while in office. Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Lady Dorothy Macmillan and a party of officials, including Sir Norman Brook, Mr. Harold Evans and Mr. D. W. S. Hunt.

2. When he arrived in Accra, the Prime Minister said he had come “to see and to learn”. For this purpose he was inevitably taken to the Volta River Project Dam site at Akosombo and the now nearly completed new harbour at Tema, with the adjacent township and industrial development area. He visited Achimota School, the nursery of many of Ghana’s most prominent politicians and officials, and the still growing University College of Ghana. He saw the Second Development Plan Exhibition, which Dr. Nkrumah had kept open especially for him. He visited the National Assembly where, although the Assembly was not in session, he met a large gathering of Ministers and back-benchers and saw the Speaker’s Chair, presented to the Assembly last year by the House of Commons. He held a Press conference. He attended a State reception for 500 guests, and a party at which he met and gave a short address to the leading members of the United Kingdom community resident in Ghana. After a little difficulty with Dr. Nkrumah, the
Prime Minister also had an hour's private talk with four of the leaders of the Opposition. He went to a party given by Dr. Nkrumah to meet some of the "Pan-African Activists", including officials of the Convention Peoples' Party, the Ghana Trades Union Congress, the All-African People's Conference and other organisations. Meanwhile Lady Dorothy Macmillan saw and was photographed at a number of welfare and other institutions in this town. By way of more informal relaxation, the Prime Minister visited Accra Harbour, where he saw cargo being discharged from ships by the surfboats, which will disappear when Tema Harbour comes into full operation, and himself went to sea—and happily came back again—in one of these primitive craft. He also visited the Accra Market, where the famous mammies, though doubtless ignorant of Sir Walter Raleigh, laid down unessential parts of their voluminous wrappings for their distinguished visitor to walk upon.

3. Records of Mr. Macmillan's discussions with Dr. Nkrumah and other Ghanaians are already available to your Lordship. The main topic was naturally political developments in Africa, and particularly in the multi-racial territories of concern to us on its eastern side. Dr. Nkrumah spoke in private with great moderation, recognising that there was no difference in objectives between Ghana and the United Kingdom Governments but only on means and on speed. He brought up again the idea which he mentioned when your Lordship was in Accra last year of seeking to avoid disagreement between the two Governments over African nationalism by drawing up a charter of principles to which both of them could subscribe. He produced a draft of his own, setting out Ghana's point of view. It is an interesting document, and although we could not subscribe to it as it stands, it is by no means so unacceptable as might have been expected.

4. The Prime Minister explained to Dr. Nkrumah that he could not commit himself to such a declaration of broad principles at the beginning of a tour designed to acquaint himself at first hand with some of the problems of the Continent. The Ghanaian draft was accordingly left for subsequent study. Mr. Macmillan gave an eloquent and persuasive account of our Colonial problem in Africa. Broadly, in those parts of Africa, including West Africa, where the populations were homogeneous there was agreement that we were following the right policy at more or less the right speed. But in East and Central Africa the situation was complicated, first because the indigenous peoples were more backward than in the West, and second because of the existence of long-established Asiatic and European minorities. There, the only just solution compatible with economic progress seemed to be one based on a multi-racial society. Hence our difficult search for means by which the various communities could be enabled to live peacefully together. West African countries could help, both by impressing on African opinion in the Federation the need for patience and by setting an example of tolerance and co-operation.

5. The outcome of the talks on other topics between the two Prime Ministers can be summarised as follows:

(a) Volta.—Dr. Nkrumah was not very lucid, but it was clear that he was not yet asking the United Kingdom Government to make a contribution towards the cost of the dam and power plant. It was left that further discussions would take place, probably in London at the time of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after further progress had been made with the aluminum companies and after an International Bank Mission had reported.

(b) Republic.—Dr. Nkrumah showed himself anxious to proceed with due propriety. A republican constitution is still being drafted. Once it has been published it will be debated in Parliament and put to a referendum. Thereafter, the agreement of other Commonwealth Prime Ministers will be sought in May to a republican Ghana remaining in the Commonwealth, and consequential legislation will be necessary in the United Kingdom in time to permit the inauguration of the republic by the first week in July.

(c) Commonwealth Questions.—Dr. Nkrumah was troubled because, although the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is not a fully independent member of the Commonwealth, Sir Roy Welensky is invited to attend meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister admitted this practice to be anomalous, but explained that it had

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grown up principally because Lord Malvern had attended the meetings as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for many years, and had naturally been invited when he subsequently became Prime Minister of the Federation. Dr. Nkrumah was also disturbed about the relationship which Cyprus would have with the Commonwealth, and the Prime Minister explained the current uncertainties to him. It seems likely that more will be heard from Dr. Nkrumah on both these topics, for in his anxiety to secure from his ill-informed followers support for Ghana to remain in the Commonwealth after she becomes a republic, he needs to be able to demonstrate to them that the Commonwealth really is an organisation of fully independent States. Anything blurred about the edges is an embarrassment to him. He threw out the suggestion that the term “ Commonwealth ” should in future be restricted to the association of independent members.

In a talk by themselves the two Prime Ministers also discussed the proper role of an Opposition, Kenyatta, Banda, Sekou Toure, violence and East-West relations.

6. The reception of the Prime Minister by the general populace was warm and friendly. Some of the visiting Pressmen thought otherwise at first mainly because there were no crowds to witness the journey on first arrival from the airport to the Governor-General’s Lodge. But the Ghanaian authorities had organised a processional drive through the centre of Accra later in the programme, and on this occasion the Prime Minister and Dr. Nkrumah, sitting in the back of an open car, had a tumultuous reception from crowds lining the route for about 2 miles. And when passing through villages on the way back from Akosombo, the Prime Minister was greeted with school-children, singing, flag-waving and general jollification which he said reminded him of an election tour. At no time was the Prime Minister faced with slogans or placards about Dr. Banda, the French atomic tests or other delicate topics such as awaited him in Nigeria.

7. Press reactions to the visit were mixed. The sincerity and goodwill of the Prime Minister struck an answering chord, and the local newspapers reported him respectfully and fairly. The only act or statement of the Prime Minister in Accra on which the hostile editors of the pro-Government newspapers could seize was his remark at his Press conference that the French atomic test in the Sahara would have no effect from the health point of view, and they did their worst with that. But throughout the visit the leading articles in the pro-Government Press, couched in their customary language of 18th century vituperation, were in full cry against our “ Colonial errors ”. The daily dose of anti-British poison in those newspapers which are the voice of the ruling political Party is a disquieting feature of life in Ghana, and the Prime Minister would not have gained a true impression of the country if it had been withheld for the occasion.

8. A summing up of the effects of the visit of the Prime Minister to Ghana, both from our point of view and from that of the Ghanaians, can be undertaken only as part of an assessment of the results of his African tour as a whole. Economically, Mr. Macmillan could not fail to be impressed by the way in which, to judge by Ghana, independence is followed by a rapid acceleration in the rate of development. Politically, except for the useful discussion of one or two topics mainly of local significance, one of the valuable results of the Prime Minister’s brief stay in Accra was to enable him to hear, and Dr. Nkrumah and his followers to tell him, the point of view of Ghana upon the tide of Black nationalism which is sweeping Africa and upon the problems of the multi-racial territories in the eastern and southern parts of this Continent, some of which he had yet to visit. Mr. Macmillan for his part succeeded in demonstrating to all Ghanaians he met that the United Kingdom Government is attacking the problems of Africa in a friendly and realistic way, with due regard to African views. The visit has undoubtedly made a very considerable contribution towards the objective illustrated by the Prime Minister in his speech at the State Dinner, when he said: “ The most important thing for us is to keep in touch, to exchange ideas, to make sure that we understand each other’s point of view. For while we may properly question the soundness of another man’s opinion, we should hesitate lightly to condemn his sincerity ”.

I have, &c.

A. W. SNELLING.

SECRET
PART III
NIGERIA

COMMENTARY

The welcome accorded to the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan on their drive from Ikeja Airport into Lagos was a foretaste of the reception that awaited them throughout Nigeria. This was a journey of more than 10 miles, and quite a large number of people had assembled at intervals throughout the route; but in the city of Lagos itself the crowds were dense and demonstrative. The contrast with Ghana was noticeable. There, the spirit was one of friendly interest. In Lagos there was more warmth and enthusiasm, and more evidence of a particular attachment to the United Kingdom. This seemed to be an essentially British occasion.

The same spirit informed the official discussions which the Prime Minister held with Nigerian Ministers, both in Lagos and in the three Regional capitals. No opportunity was lost to express the gratitude of the Nigerian people for the help which they had received from the United Kingdom in the past. And the hope was often expressed that this association, though changed in form, would in substance continue in the future. Nigerians look forward with satisfaction to their coming independence and are anxious to be admitted to full membership of the Commonwealth. But their Ministers, at any rate, would evidently like to feel that within that circle they will still retain some special association with the United Kingdom.

This may be partly due to the realisation that, although they are about to achieve their political independence, it will be a long time before they are able to meet all their requirements from their own resources. Like all newly-independent countries, they are preoccupied with the need for economic development and conscious that it cannot be satisfied without substantial investment from overseas. They view with misgiving the approaching end of grants from Colonial Development and Welfare funds and the other forms of financial assistance extended to them in Colonial days; and they are anxious that this measure of assistance should be continued, even though it may flow in future through different channels. Both in Lagos and in the Regional capitals the Prime Minister was repeatedly told that Nigeria would greatly prefer that investment from overseas should continue to be drawn from the United Kingdom than from any other source.

Nigerian Ministers also admitted that they will need, not only money, but men—both administrators and technicians of various kinds. They are conscious that they will have to continue to rely on outside assistance for some time to come, until they have trained more of their own people to undertake these duties. Here too they are grateful for the help they have had from the United Kingdom in the past; and in principle there is no reluctance to contemplate the continuance of expatriate officers in Nigerian service after independence.

Defence was another matter on which Nigerian Ministers looked for continuing help from the United Kingdom. They are concerned about the defence of their frontiers. They fear that, with the disintegration of the French Colonial Empire in Africa, maladministration and unrest beyond their borders may reach a point at which their territorial integrity is threatened. They are especially concerned at the situation which may develop in the French Camerouns. They recognise that, if this position deteriorates, they may be unable without help to deal with its consequences within their own territory; and they are anxious to be assured that in this event they could count on military assistance from the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister was greatly impressed by the wise and authoritative influence exercised in all these matters by the Governor-General, Sir James Robertson. He was glad to learn that the Nigerian Government are likely, after independence, to ask that Sir James should continue in this office for a time. But he was impressed by the importance—and the difficulty—of ensuring that after independence the United Kingdom representatives throughout Nigeria will be men who have the character and the experience to enable them to give the help and guidance required by a country which, though it has achieved its political independence, will not for some time be able to stand firmly on its own feet.
Politically, Nigeria’s immediate problem is to make a success of the federal system and to weld the different races of the three Regions into a single national unity. The Prime Minister had an opportunity of judging the practical difficulties of this problem in the brief visits which he paid to each of the three Regions. The differences—of race, temperament, climate and way of life—were readily apparent, and the spirit of rivalry between the Regions was also evident. But the federal system has survived its initial period of trial; and its machinery, although it creaks in places, is working reasonably well. The Prime Minister was assured that the younger men, especially among the educated classes, are beginning to think of themselves as Nigerians rather than Ibos, Yorubas or Hausas.

The Prime Minister would not have gained a true impression of the variety of the Nigerian scene if he had not visited the three Regional capitals as well as Lagos. These visits added greatly to the strain of his journey, especially as he was able to devote only one day each to Ibadan and Enugu and only two to Kaduna. But there is no doubt that, if he had not gone to each of the Regions, the value of his visit would have been greatly reduced. And the visit to the Northern Region did at least give him one day of respite from official business, when the Sardauna of Sokoto took him to see the Emir of Zaria. This was a day of burning sunshine, free from the exhausting humidity of the south; and he was treated to a colourful display of horsemanship in Muslim surroundings reminiscent more of Morocco or Pakistan than of West Africa. In many ways this was the most memorable day of his Nigerian visit.

For the present, Nigerian Ministers are preoccupied with their own domestic problems and are showing correspondingly less interest in political developments elsewhere in Africa. The Prime Minister was not therefore embarrassed, as he had been in Ghana, with insistent advice about the pace of constitutional advance in other African territories. Nor was he under pressure to receive deputations from representatives of political organisations concerned to advance the political cause of Africans in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or in the Union of South Africa. Enough was said, however, by Federal Ministers to make it plain that there is no love lost between them and Dr. Nkrumah. An independent Nigeria will be jealous of Ghana’s leadership in this part of Africa. And, if it can soon achieve political unity and strength, Nigeria may well be able to exercise a restraining influence on any exaggerated nationalism which may develop in Ghana and in other neighbouring territories in West Africa.
DIARY OF THE VISIT

1. Monday, 11th January.—At 4·50 p.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan arrived at Ikeja Airport, Lagos. They were met by the Governor-General and Lady Robertson, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria (Alhaji Abubakar), and the General Officer Commanding, Nigerian Military Forces (Major-General N. L. Foster, D.S.O.).

Mr. Macmillan took the general salute and inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by the Third Queen's Own Nigeria Regiment.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were then presented to members of the Council of Ministers.

The Prime Minister of the Federation then made a short speech welcoming Mr. Macmillan to Nigeria and Mr. Macmillan replied.

2. Mr. Macmillan and his party then left Ikeja Airport by car for Lagos. The route was lined with thousands of people who gave Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy a warm and cheerful welcome. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at Government House, Lagos, at about 6 p.m.

3. At 6·30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had an informal meeting with the representatives of the United Kingdom Press who were covering the tour. The Governor-General was present at this meeting, which lasted about an hour.

4. At 8·15 p.m., Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended an official dinner at Government House. The Prime Minister of the Federation proposed the health of Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy and Mr. Macmillan replied.

In an informal moment after the dinner was over Mr. Macmillan and the Prime Minister of the Federation were one of a few couples who danced a brief "high-life" to the music of the Police Band.

5. Tuesday, 12th January.—At 9·30 a.m., the Prime Minister of the Federation called on Mr. Macmillan at Government House and had a private conversation* with him.

Shortly after 10·30 a.m., Mr. Macmillan left Government House for the Chamber of the Council of Ministers and was introduced to the Ministers by the Governor-General. Mr. Macmillan then had a discussion* with the Council of Ministers.

6. Shortly after 12·30 p.m., Mr. Macmillan met 50 or 60 expatriate officers, informally, at the house of the Deputy Governor-General, Mr. Gardner-Brown. Mr. Macmillan met and talked with most of those present and, before leaving, made a short impromptu speech to them.

7. At 1·30 p.m., Mr. Macmillan attended a small informal luncheon party at Government House, where he met, among others, the Ghanaian Commissioner in Nigeria and his wife, and the Belgian Consul-General.

8. At 4·30 p.m., Mr. Macmillan, accompanied by the Deputy Governor-General, the Minister of Lagos Affairs and the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Lagos Executive Development Board (Sir Kofo Abayomi and Mr. J. W. Henderson) left Government House to visit slum clearance sites and housing estates in Lagos. Mr. Macmillan saw clearance and re-development in the Central Lagos area, reclamation of land at Apapa, the housing scheme at Suru Lere and the Nigeria National Stadium which was in an early stage of construction. At Suru Lere Mr. Macmillan visited the house of a Mrs. George and was given tea by the Lagos Executive Development Board in the Biney Community Centre. He later visited the house of Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, who had moved in only three days before, and a block of newly built flats as yet unoccupied. At the Nigeria National Stadium he met Mr. Mort, the architect in charge.

After this tour of slum clearance and housing development Mr. Macmillan visited the Naval Base at Apapa, where he was received by Commander Kennedy and the other officers. He stayed for a short time in the Officers' Mess before embarking in the Governor-General's barge for Government House.

* Record included in this print.
Throughout the afternoon Mr. Macmillan was constantly greeted by large numbers of friendly people.

9. At 7:40 p.m., Mr. Macmillan left Government House for the Island Club, where he met members and was entertained by them. Before leaving the Club, Mr. Macmillan made a short informal speech to the assembled company, thanking them for their hospitality and commenting favourably on the multi-racial character of the Club.

From the Island Club Mr. Macmillan went to the house of the Prime Minister of the Federation where he was joined by Lady Dorothy for dinner.

10. Wednesday, 13th January.—Shortly before 9:30 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan arrived at the National Hall where the Senate and the House of Representatives were sitting in joint session. After the Governor-General had read the Speech from the Throne Mr. Macmillan was invited to come to the Floor of the House. After a short speech of welcome by the Prime Minister of the Federation, Mr. Macmillan addressed the two Houses. His address was followed by speeches by the Leader of the Opposition, Chief Awolowo, and the Minister of Finance, Chief Festus.

11. At 11:45 a.m. the Leader of the Federal Opposition, Chief Awolowo, accompanied by some of his colleagues, called for a discussion* with Mr. Macmillan.

12. At 12:30 p.m. the Premier of the Southern Cameroons (Mr. Foncha) and the Commissioner (Mr. Field) called on Mr. Macmillan. After their meeting* they stayed at Government House to luncheon.

13. At 3:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had an informal conversation* with the Governor-General about the future of Nigeria.

14. At 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan held a Press Conference at Government House.

15. Thursday, 14th January.—At 8:30 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan left Government House, Lagos, and accompanied by the Governor-General and Lady Robertson drove to Ikeja Airport. They were greeted at the Airport by the Federal Prime Minister, and left for Ibadan at about 9 a.m. in a Heron aircraft belonging to the Federal Government.

16. Shortly after 9:30 a.m. they arrived at Ibadan Airport, where they were met by the Governor and Lady Rankine, together with Chief S. L. Akintola, the Premier of Western Nigeria, and other Ministers. They left the Airport shortly afterwards for Government House.

17. At 11 a.m. Mr. Macmillan, accompanied by the Premier (Chief Akintola), left Government House for a tour of Ibadan. He was taken first to the Parliament Buildings where he was met by the President of the House of Chiefs (Sir Adesoji Aderemi), the Speaker of the House of Assembly (The Hon. A. Adebayo), the Leader of the House of Assembly (Chief J. A. O. Odeibi) and the Clerk to the Regional Legislature. From the Parliament Buildings he was taken to the Bodija Housing Estate where he was met by the Minister of Lands and Labour (Chief J. O. Osuntokun), the Chairman, Western Region Housing Corporation (Chief F. O. Awosika) and Mr. R. E. Lightfoot, General Manager, Western Region Housing Corporation. He was shown the plans of the Housing Estate and inspected a new house as yet unoccupied.

Mr. Macmillan was then taken to the 10-storey Co-operative Building where he was met by the Minister of Trade and Industry (Chief A. O. Adeyi), the Minister without Portfolio (His Highness Oba I. B. Akinyele, Olubadan of Ibadan), the President of the Co-operative Union (Mr. A. Obisesan, C.B.E.), the Principal Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and the Principal Town Planning Officer. He was able to see a fine view of the town of Ibadan from the top of the building.

* Record included in this print.
18. Shortly after 12 noon Mr. Macmillan arrived at the Premier’s Office and was taken to the Executive Council Chamber for a meeting* with the Premier and other Ministers.

19. At 4 p.m. after lunching at Government House, Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy, accompanied by the Governor and Lady Rankine, left Government House to visit University College, Ibadan, where they were met by the Principal (Dr. J. H. Parry, M.B.E.) and shown round the College. Some of the students staged a demonstration—with banners bearing more or less offensive slogans such as “MacNato, we who are about to die salute thee” and “Butcher Macmillan, go home.” Other slogans related to Banda and Kenyatta, to “British policy in Central Africa” and apartheid. The students continually chanted “Freedom, freedom, let everyone have freedom.” Their conduct was, however, orderly. When Mr. Macmillan waved to them some grinned and waved back: others looked surly.

20. At 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy visited the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, where they were shown round by the Acting Principal (Dr. J. M. Rowson).

21. At 6:25 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy, accompanied by the Governor and Lady Rankine, left Government House for an official reception in the grounds of the Parliament Buildings, where they were received by the Premier and stayed for half an hour.

22. At 8 p.m., Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy, accompanied by the Governor and Lady Rankine, left Government House for Lafia Rest House where the Premier gave an official dinner on behalf of the Government of the Western Region. Speeches were made by the Premier and by Mr. Macmillan.

23. Friday, 15th January.—At 8:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Government House, Ibadan, for the airport. After taking leave of the Governor and Lady Rankine, the Premier and other Ministers, they left for Enugu, in the Heron aircraft, at 9 a.m.

Shortly after 10:45 a.m. they arrived at Enugu airport, where they were met by the Governor of the Eastern Region and Lady Stapledon, and by the Premier and Mrs. Okpara, together with other Ministers. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were then driven to Government House, Enugu.

24. At 12 noon Mr. Macmillan left Government House for the Premier’s Lodge, where he was met by the Premier and other Ministers, and attended an informal meeting* of the Eastern Regional Executive Council.

This meeting ended shortly after 12:30 p.m. and Mr. Macmillan and members of his party were given luncheon by the Premier.

25. After luncheon Mr. Macmillan went to the Regional Central Library, Eastern Region, where he was met by Mr. Anderson, the Chairman of the Library Board, and shown round by Mr. Okorie, the Librarian.

26. Shortly before 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Government House and drove to the Enugu Sports Stadium to attend a reception given by the Eastern Regional Government. A crowd of some 20 or 30 thousand people was in the Stadium to greet them. After driving round the Stadium and receiving a cheerful welcome from the assembled crowd, Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy joined the Premier and Mrs. Okpara on the dais. The Premier welcomed them in a short speech and Mr. Macmillan replied. After the speeches there was a colourful and cheerfully disorganised display of traditional dancing.

27. After the reception Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy returned to Government House where, at 7:15 p.m., they attended a cocktail party. After the playing of the National Anthem at the end of the party there was a spontaneous demonstration of friendliness and loyalty.

At 8:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a Dinner at Government House.

28. Saturday, 16th January.—At 8:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy took leave of the Governor and Lady Stapledon and the Premier and other Ministers at Enugu Airport and left in the Heron aircraft for Kaduna.

* Record included in this print.
On arrival at Kaduna Airport at about 10-20 a.m., Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were met by the Governor and Lady Bell and by the Premier and other Ministers of the Northern Region. They left shortly afterwards for Government House.

29. At 12 noon Mr. Macmillan met the Premier and members of the Executive Council in the Nassarawa Conference Room for an informal discussion.

After the meeting Mr. Macmillan returned to Government House for luncheon.

30. At 4:45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan left Government House with the Premier and was driven to Lugard Hall. There the Premier introduced him to the President of the House of Chiefs, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and the Clerk to the Regional Legislature. Mr. Macmillan was shown round one of the Committee Rooms, the main Chamber and the new House of Assembly which was under construction.

31. At about 5 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and the Premier left Lugard Hall and drove to the Fives Court where they watched a game in progress.

From the Fives Court Mr. Macmillan and the Premier drove to the Kaduna Textile Factory, where they were joined by the Minister of Trade and Industry (The Hon. Malam Abba Habib). Mr. Macmillan was introduced to Mr. Thorpe, Production Manager, and Mr. Miles, the Secretary. He walked through the factory and talked with some of the workers. At about 5:50 p.m. he left the textile factory and drove back through the town to Government House.

32. At 7:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a Cocktail Party given at the State House by the Premier in their honour. The Premier made a speech of welcome at this party and Mr. Macmillan replied.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy then returned to dinner at Government House.

33. Sunday, 17th January.—At 10 a.m. Mr. Macmillan made a short farewell broadcast to the people of Nigeria on the Nigerian Broadcasting Service.

At about 10:15 a.m. he and Lady Dorothy left Government House by road for Zaria, accompanied by the Premier. Seven miles out of Zaria they were met by the Resident and the Emir and then drove through the crowded streets to the site of the Emir’s Palace.

At the Palace the Emir introduced Mr. Macmillan to the members of his Council. The Emir said a few words of welcome and Mr. Macmillan replied.

Accompanied by the Emir Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy then watched a traditional display of horsemanship by tribal horsemen. This was a colourful and dramatic occasion, which was greatly enjoyed by spectators and participants alike.

34. At about 12:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan arrived at the Institute of Administration where he was introduced to the Acting Principal, Mr. J. G. Davies. After explaining the work of the Institute Mr. Davies showed Mr. Macmillan round. He visited classes for administrative officers, barristers, local government officers, stenographers and typists.

35. At 1:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy had luncheon with the Resident of Zaria, Mr. C. J. L. Reynolds. After luncheon they returned by air to Kaduna arriving at Government House about 3:30 p.m.

36. At 7 p.m. Mr. Macmillan attended Divine Service at St. Christopher’s Church where he read the Lesson.

37. At 8:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy had supper informally at Government House, after which they saw an extract from a documentary film, “The North Rejoices”, showing the Durbar held at Kaduna in 1959 on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester.

* Record included in this print.
RECORDS OF MEETINGS AND CONVERSATIONS

Record of Conversation between Mr. Macmillan and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria at Government House, Lagos, on Tuesday, 12th January, 1960, at 9:30 a.m.

1. Constitutional Questions

Alhaji Abubakar said that on 14th January the Federal Parliament would pass a resolution authorising the Government to seek independence from 1st October, 1960, and to seek thereafter to remain within the Commonwealth as a full member. This resolution, if approved, would be forwarded to the United Kingdom Government.

Mr. Macmillan said that he wondered whether it was enough that the expression of Nigeria's desire to remain within the Commonwealth should rest on a resolution passed before the country had formally become independent. Ill-natured people might say that this resolution, passed while Nigeria was still dependent on the United Kingdom, was not the expression of the unfettered will of a free Nigerian people. The resolution to be passed on 14th January could be taken as a basis for the consultations which the United Kingdom Government would hold with other Commonwealth Governments with a view to reaching a decision, at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May, that Nigeria would be admitted to full Commonwealth membership on attaining independence. It might, however, be desirable that, in addition, the Nigerian Cabinet should, immediately after independence, say on 2nd October, make a formal application for Commonwealth membership. Mr. Macmillan undertook to consider this point of procedure in consultation with his colleagues and to arrange for further advice to be given on it.

Mr. Macmillan said that it was convenient that Alhaji Abubakar was to be in London in May, at the time of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. This would enable him to meet some of the other Prime Ministers. He might also be included in some of the informal discussions which would be taking place at that time.

2. Internal Questions

Alhaji Abubakar said that there were many immediate problems confronting Nigeria. It was a large country, comprising different peoples and different tribal groups. Considerable bitterness had been aroused during the election campaign. He now had to work hard to nurse the country into a sense of national unity.

All the main Parties had fought the election on a basis that, although they were regional Parties, they had the national interest at heart. The Action Group had made some ground in the Eastern Region by exploiting inter-tribal differences and had also gained ground in the North, where they had exploited religious differences between Moslems and non-Moslems.

Alhaji Abubakar said that he would have liked to treat the first period of Nigerian independence as an emergency period calling for a national Government. Unfortunately the Action Group had proved themselves to be very difficult partners when sharing the responsibilities of Government in the past and they would not join a coalition, although they had made approaches to him after the election results were known on the basis of forming an alliance with the N.P.C. They had also tried to form a coalition with the N.C.N.C. He himself had thought it important that the largest Party resulting from the first General Election should take the responsibility of forming a Government. He had therefore brought about an agreement between the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. on the basis that Dr. Azikiwe should become President of the Senate and be in due course a candidate for the post of Governor-General. It must be remembered that N.C.N.C. was not an easy Party and Dr. Azikiwe was a difficult man to work with. He had made it quite clear that the coalition would come to an end if there were attempts to undermine his own position.

Mr. Macmillan said that the first task was to build the new Nigerian State into a single unit. He asked what Alhaji Abubakar had in mind about a change in the Governor-Generalship. Alhaji Abubakar said that it might be a mistake...
to make too early a change. Though he had not yet finally made up his mind, he had been considering the possibility of asking Sir James Robertson to stay on for at least a year: he had been a very good friend to Nigeria.

3. External Affairs

(a) Alhaji Abubakar said that he was not very happy about his neighbours, which were now becoming independent. He had long, open frontiers which were necessarily unprotected. He did not have very large military forces and might have considerable difficulty in maintaining the security of the country. His colleagues had particularly asked him to take up the question whether the United Kingdom would come to the aid of Nigeria if there were a threat from outside. He had told them that this would not be easy after independence, but he wanted the United Kingdom Prime Minister to know about it.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would consider this request in consultation with his colleagues in London. It seemed to him that there were two problems:

(i) what assistance the United Kingdom could give in helping the Nigerians to organise their defence forces, perhaps by training, supply of arms, &c.; and

(ii) what help could be given by the United Kingdom, perhaps by way of a treaty, to protect the territorial integrity of Nigeria after independence.

(b) Alhaji Abubakar said that he had recently been in Liberia for the anniversary of their independence. He was unhappy about the situation there. He thought that Liberia, like Guinea, was playing into the hands of the Communists. Its Government, despite its past relations with the United States, did not now appear to be very friendly to them; it had, for example, given the British Minister of State a higher place than Mr. Cabot Lodge at the recent celebrations.

(c) Alhaji Abubakar spoke at some length about the attempts which the Israelis were making to extend their influence in West Africa. He had seen the Israeli Foreign Secretary when in Liberia and had told her that there were strong rumours circulating in Nigeria that the Israeli Government had given money to the Action Group to help them in the election campaign. She had said that there were many people who were ready to spread false rumours about Israel. She had asked about the appointment of an Israeli Consulate in Nigeria and he had told her that this application could be renewed after independence. He had been concerned to learn the previous day that the Eastern Region had invited her to visit Nigeria. He had put his foot down on this as external affairs was a Federal responsibility.

(d) Alhaji Abubakar said that Ghana was likely to cause difficulties in West Africa. It seemed to attract all the extremists. The Soviet Government were also trying hard to influence it.

Mr. Macmillan said that it would be easy to over-estimate this danger. Independence might have gone to their heads, but they would probably steady down when other larger countries in West Africa had achieved independence.

(e) Alhaji Abubakar referred to trouble in the French Cameroons and in particular to the movement of refugees into the British Cameroons and into Nigeria. The Nigerian Government had decided that these people must be deported to somewhere other than the French Cameroons. They had therefore sent them to the Sudan. Egypt had then taken up the case and had treated the matter as if the people had been deported from Nigeria. This was quite misleading.

(f) Alhaji Abubakar said that there was some trouble in Dahomey and also in Togoland, which was due to become independent on 27th April. Alhaji Abubakar was particularly sorry that Dr. Nkrumah should have said in Parliament in Ghana that Togoland would become the seventh province of Ghana. This statement had been made without any prior consultation with the Togoland authorities.

Mr. Macmillan said that he hoped that the Governments in West Africa would try to avoid unilateral territorial expansion.

(g) Finally, Alhaji Abubakar referred briefly to the Nigerian foreign intelligence service and said that he was expecting someone from the United Kingdom to help with this.
Nigerian Record of Meeting of Council of Ministers attended by Mr. Macmillan on 12th January, 1960, at 10:30 a.m.

Present:

Alhaji the Hon. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Alhaji the Hon. Muhammadu Ribadu, Minister of Lagos Affairs
The Hon. R. A. Njoku, Minister of Transport and Aviation
The Hon. Zanna Bukar Dibcharima, Minister of Commerce and Industry
The Hon. Aja Nwachuku, Minister of Education
The Hon. Shehu Shagari, Minister of Economic Development
The Hon. Usman Sarki, Minister of Internal Affairs
Alhaji the Hon. Waziri Ibrahim, Minister of Health
The Hon. M. T. Mbu, Minister of State

Senator the Hon. E. A. Esin, Minister of State

Also Present:

The Right Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
The Right Hon. Sir Norman Brook, Secretary of the Cabinet, United Kingdom

Secretaries:

Mr. A. F. F. P. Newns
Mr. M. Jenkins
Mallam Abdulrahman Howeidy

Discussions with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

The President entered the Council Chamber accompanied by the Right Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and by the Right Hon. Sir Norman Brook, Secretary of the United Kingdom Cabinet. The President introduced Mr. Macmillan to the Council and then left the Chamber.

Mr. Macmillan said that it was a very great honour to be invited to meet the Council at its first meeting in its present form. He said that, with the Prime Minister’s permission, he had brought with him Sir Norman Brook, who was not only Head of the Cabinet secretariat in the United Kingdom, but also Head of the United Kingdom Civil Service; he was a man of long experience in Cabinet government who had served a number of Governments.

Mr. Macmillan said that he felt great emotion at being present in that room on such an important date. The Ministers who were present and generations to come would look back to the year 1960 as a great year in the history of Nigeria. He referred to the satisfaction of the British people at the thought that the long association between Great Britain and Nigeria had resulted in the successful launching of this great experiment. That association had begun in liberty because one of the objects of the arrival of the British in the West Coast of Africa was to achieve liberty and now a new form of liberty, freedom and independence was developing. A great responsibility rested with the Nigerian Ministers for the future freedom and happiness of the people of a very large territory.
The system of government in Nigeria differed in some respects from the system in the United Kingdom, as Nigeria had a federal constitution, but there were already members of the Commonwealth, Australia and Canada, that had gained experience in the working of federal constitutions, and their experience might be of value to Nigeria. A federal constitution presented difficulties but it had also many advantages. He thought that to anyone who knew something about Nigeria the choice of a federal constitution was the right and only one, but with Regional Governments and Legislatures responsible for the matters within their own fields of competence, a great duty was imposed upon the Federal Cabinet to foster the unity of the country.

He referred to the difficulties that had come upon other countries by a lack of cohesion within their Parliaments or Cabinets which had resulted in a breakdown of Parliamentary government. For Parliamentary government to be successful, there must be loyalty to the system. One of the most important aspects of the British concept of Parliamentary government was that of Cabinet responsibility. In a Cabinet composed of Ministers of one Party, there would inevitably be differences of opinion; the differences would perhaps be greater when the Cabinet was a coalition. Ministers should be free to voice their differences in discussion in the Cabinet, but once a conclusion had been reached, then all members of the Government should stand by that decision and present a united front to the country. The Press and others would try to find and exploit differences between Ministers and so they should always be on their guard. Long experience in the United Kingdom had shown the value of this principle of collective responsibility.

Mr. Macmillan said that from the time of Walpole to 1916, no records were kept of Cabinet proceedings in the United Kingdom, and there was no Cabinet secretariat. However, that caused many difficulties because of the uncertainty surrounding the decisions taken by the Cabinet. It was the function of a Cabinet secretariat to serve the Cabinet as a whole; the loyalty of the secretariat was to the Cabinet and not to individual Ministers. Experience over the last 30 or 40 years had shown the great advantage of an efficient Cabinet secretariat. It was most important that the decisions reached by the Cabinet should be clearly recorded and when conclusions were distributed, the Ministers, should they disagree with any aspect, should say so immediately or otherwise forever after hold their peace.

He said that the future of Nigeria would depend very largely on the first years of its life as an independent country. Independent Nigeria would be launched on 1st October; it would set sail with a good captain and its future success would depend on loyal officers and a loyal crew. Mr. Macmillan concluded by saying that on behalf of his Cabinet colleagues and of all the people of the United Kingdom he wished the Council of Ministers every possible success in its task. He prayed that, under God's guidance, they would succeed in bringing the country forward to a great new era in the life of the people.

The Prime Minister of the Federation said that it was a great day for them; it was the first time that a British Prime Minister had attended their Cabinet office. He was grateful for the fine words said about Nigeria and about its future. He was grateful to the British Government for the help given to Nigeria over many years, and in particular to the Government of which Mr. Macmillan was now the head for their sympathetic consideration of the desires and needs of the people of the Federation. He was very happy to know of the goodwill of the people of the United Kingdom, particularly with the difficult time there would be ahead of Nigeria in the running of its federal constitution. It would be the aim of the Federal Government to achieve national unity. That could not be done in a short time; it would be a process over a number of years, but he felt sure that as time went on there would be understanding and co-operation between all the Governments in the country.

In a general discussion which followed, The Minister of Finance raised two points, both of which he said were fundamental to the continued existence of Nigeria:

(a) Nigeria was grateful to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for the assistance he gave towards the granting of the £15 million loan without which Nigeria could not have completed her development programme. Nigeria was a big country with a large population but also with many resources. It was the duty of the Federal Government to develop the

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resources of the country for the future prosperity of the people. They were very appreciative of the Colonial Development and Welfare grants which had been made in the past, and he hoped that as Nigeria moved from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office the United Kingdom Government would view with sympathy Nigeria’s needs for capital assistance.

(b) The position of Nigeria in Africa was very significant; the country would wish in the future to contribute to the general defence of the Commonwealth but Nigeria was not sufficiently strong to play a big part in that way. With the coming of independence they would not feel as safe as in the past. The frontiers of Nigeria were so wide and there was a risk of trouble on her borders. The subject had been discussed in the Defence Council and they were concerned about the future position.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would bear in mind the reference of the Minister of Finance to the future loan needs. As regards defence, he said that it was hoped that a Defence Agreement would be formally concluded after discussions with the United Kingdom Government at the end of the spring. Quite apart from any written word, what was most important was the spirit behind any such agreement. As regards defence generally, he said there were two types of problem:

(c) The risk of a general world conflict. The danger of that, he hoped, was receding; it was a matter to which he had referred in his speech on the previous evening.

(d) The more local danger of the breakdown of law and order in neighbouring territories, and infiltrations, revolutionary activities and subversive revolutionary movements. He agreed that there was a need to guard against such troubles. Until the 1st October, the defence of Nigeria was the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government, and the question was how best the United Kingdom Government and the Federal Government could co-operate to solve the problem after the 1st October. He was glad that the subject had been raised and said that careful study would be given to the problem against the time when there were discussions in London on the subject.

The Minister of Transport and Aviation said that Ministers responsible for policy making in the United Kingdom had had long experience of civil servants executing policy; he asked for some guidance on the relationship between the Cabinet secretariat and civil servants in Ministries. Mr. Macmillan said that the Cabinet made policy decisions, and the Minister concerned was then responsible for carrying out the decisions with the aid of the civil servants in his Ministry. There were occasions when the Prime Minister might leave a certain matter to a Minister to execute but would wish to be kept informed of progress, and then he might ask the Secretary of the Cabinet to obtain a progress report.

Sir Norman Brook added that in many matters policy was not covered by the responsibilities of a single Minister; there were many problems which touched more than one Department. It was in such matters that the Cabinet secretariat could provide the co-ordination required through the committee organisation. The Cabinet secretariat provided services for committees at all levels. He made a further point: as the Secretary of the Cabinet was present at all Cabinet meetings he was aware of the views of Ministers, and the points on which conflict of interests might arise. He was therefore able to assist in enlisting the co-operation of officials of the Departments concerned in carrying out the intentions of the Cabinet.

In answer to an enquiry from The Minister of Mines and Power about the relationship of Members of the Cabinet to the House of Lords and the House of Commons, Mr. Macmillan said that there were Members of both Houses in the Cabinet but, unlike the arrangement in the Nigerian Constitution, a Member of the House of Lords could not sit or speak in the House of Commons and vice versa. Over the years a convenient arrangement had grown up whereby certain Ministers were appointed without portfolios—for example, the Lord Privy Seal, the Paymaster-General and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. None of these offices carried any Departmental function, and it was very convenient to be able to assign special duties to their holders. Thus, the Lord Privy Seal had recently been made responsible for Science.
In reply to an enquiry from Mr. Macmillan, the Minister of Finance described the system of revenue allocation which had been established following the Raisman Commission. He said that the Federal Government collected export duty on produce and paid it all to the Region of origin. Royalties on oil and other minerals were collected by the Federal Government and were paid out as follows: 50 per cent. to the Region of origin, 30 per cent. to a distributable pool, and 20 per cent. to the Federal Government. The money in the distributable pool was shared between the Federal Government and all Regional Governments. The Minister of Works and Surveys referred to the many mineral and other resources which had not been tapped, and of which the best advantage was not being taken. He emphasised the importance of transport in developing the country. He mentioned Colonial Development and Welfare grants, and hoped that Her Majesty's Government would bear in mind Nigeria's need for the development of her road system and asked if there could be some scheme for grants for road construction. Mr. Macmillan said that that raised the general question whether there might be assistance, either by a loan or a grant. Consideration would be given to the matter but he wished to make no commitment without being able to consult his own Minister of Finance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Minister of Communications mentioned the need for the training of technical staff and said that Nigeria needed aid in the development of its technical colleges and in the establishment of night schools.

In conclusion, the Prime Minister thanked Mr. Macmillan for visiting the Council in the Council Chamber. Mr. Macmillan said that he felt it to be a very great honour to have received the invitation to do so; he would not forget the day as long as he lived.

The Council adjourned at 11.30 a.m.

Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and the Leaders of the Opposition in the Nigerian Federal Parliament held at Government House, Lagos, on Wednesday, 13th January, 1960, at 11.45 a.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. T. J. Bligh.

The Leader of the Opposition, Chief Awolowo, was accompanied by Mr. Ayo Rosiji, Chief Anthony Enahoro, Mr. Briggs (Eastern Region) and Mr. Tarka (Northern Region).

After an exchange of courtesies Chief Awolowo said that the Nigerian election campaign had lasted too long. It had in effect started after the second London Conference. He thought that in the future they should try to make their election campaigns shorter, although in view of the distances to be travelled they could not be as short as in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Macmillan asked what were the main points at issue in the election. No reply emerged to this question.

Mr. Macmillan then asked what was the strength of the Action Group Party in the country. Chief Awolowo said that their total strength in the House was 73 (two of their members had crossed the Floor since the election results had been announced). Of these, 24 came from the north, 34 from the west, 14 from the east and 1 from Lagos.

Mr. Macmillan asked what was the best time of the year for elections in Nigeria. Chief Awolowo said that the weather was best between November and May.

Mr. Macmillan asked what would be the main issues arising in the debate on the Address. Chief Awolowo said that the debate would "roam around the field". The House would then adjourn until the Budget.

The Leaders of the Opposition all paid tribute to Sir Frederic Metcalfe (Speaker, House of Representatives). Their main line in the debate on the Address would be to say that the Government should have put a few proposals, however small, in The Queen's Speech. In reply to further questions from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the following were said:

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Minister on the main issues between the Parties, Chief Awolowo said that the Action Group stood for the creation of more States, as there were some minorities in the Eastern and Western Regions.

The general feeling amongst the Opposition leaders seemed to be that the Action Group was more radical than the other Parties.

Chief Awolowo said that it was very important that communications should be opened up in Nigeria. For example, the main wealth of the north lay in cattle, but they lost a lot of value in the drive down to the south, which at present relied on fish as its main source of protein.

In the election, the main instrument of persuasion had been the public meeting, with the usual accompaniments. In most constituencies there were three or four candidates but there was no question of a transferable vote. Mr. Macmillan referred to the problems of a federal system, with reference to Australia and Canada, and quoted the French in Quebec as a good example of a protected minority. It must be satisfying to the Nigerian Government to know that similar problems to those with which they would be confronted had been solved in the past.

The meeting closed with a further exchange of courtesies.

Record of a Conversation between Mr. Macmillan and the Premier of the Southern Cameroons held at Government House, Lagos, on Wednesday, 13th January, 1960, at 12:30 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by the Governor-General and Sir Norman Brook.

The Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Mr. J. N. Foncha, was accompanied by the Commissioner, Mr. Field.

Mr. Foncha said that he was sorry that Mr. Macmillan had not been able to find time to pay a personal visit to the Southern Cameroons. This being so, he had made a special journey to Lagos, so that he might have the opportunity of meeting him there.

In reply to questions by Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Foncha first gave some factual information about the constitution, population and economies of the Southern Cameroons. Mr. Macmillan then turned to the problems involved in administering the territory during the interim period from 1st October, when Nigeria would become independent, to the date when the United Nations would reach a final decision on its future in the light of the plebiscite which was to be held before March 1961. He asked whether the existing Government in the Southern Cameroons were confident that they would be able to handle that situation.

Mr. Foncha said that it would be some months before the plebiscite was held and he hoped in that period to get some constitutional experts to help him.

Mr. Macmillan said that this would be good. But he was rather more concerned about the stability of the Administration during this difficult period. There seemed to him to be two needs: first, the Government must be ready to encourage existing administrators to stay and, secondly, the officers themselves must be willing to remain, for they could not be compelled to do so. Would these two needs be met?

Sir James Robertson said that Mr. Field, with assistance from the Federal Government of Nigeria, was now carrying out a survey of the existing staff to see who would be willing to remain. Some of the public services (e.g., Posts and Customs) were run on a federal basis and these consisted largely of Nigerian and expatriate officers. The regional service contained a larger proportion of local officers. Mr. Field said that even in those services very few of the senior posts were held by local officers; and, in some of them (e.g., health services) a high proportion of the specialists were Nigerians or expatriates.

Mr. Foncha then made a prepared statement which he had evidently hoped to make at the outset of the meeting. He said that the people of the Southern Cameroons were grateful to the United Kingdom for the benefits which had...
come to them during the period of British administration. They were also grateful for being given the chance to determine their own future. It was right that, despite the grant of independence to Nigeria, the separate identity of the Cameroons should be preserved until plebiscites could be held. They were particularly grateful to Mr. Lennox-Boyd for his readiness to preserve that opportunity for them at the conferences on the constitutional future of Nigeria. He also wished to express his appreciation of the work which had been done in his territory by expatriate officers. Finally, he expressed his appreciation for the grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for the construction of roads in the Southern Cameroons. Further investment in trunk roads would be required. Provision for minor roads could be made from the resources of the territory itself.

Mr. Foncha went on to say that the future of the Southern Cameroons must lie in association either with an independent Cameroon republic or with an independent Nigeria. The choice must lie with the inhabitants. His own Party favoured union with a Cameroon republic. They did not wish to be associated with an independent Nigeria. This did not however affect their gratitude to the United Kingdom; and they would wish to maintain some sort of connexion with the United Kingdom even if they joined an independent Cameroon republic.

As regards officials now employed in the Southern Cameroons, these were being assured that the result of the plebiscite, whichever way it went, need not prejudice their future and would not diminish the gratitude of the people for their past services.

Mr. Macmillan said that, whatever the result of the plebiscite, it was important that the Government and people of the Southern Cameroons should in the meantime maintain friendly relations with Nigeria. If the plebiscite resulted in union with the French Cameroons, the unified territory would wish to be on friendly terms with Nigeria. On the other hand, if it resulted in union with Nigeria, it would be unfortunate if a climate of opinion had been created in which the Southern Cameroons would not be welcomed back by Nigeria. On either view, therefore, it seemed desirable in this interim period to avoid any action which might endanger relations between the Southern Cameroons and Nigeria. It was also important that everything should be done to ensure that in that interim period a stable and efficient Administration could be maintained in the territory. He hoped therefore that the Government would do all they could to encourage officers to stay on.

Sir James Robertson said that it was to be hoped that Mr. Foncha would also ascertain from the Premier of the French Cameroons the precise terms on which union with a Cameroon republic could take place. If the two Premiers could agree on the principles, officials could meet and work out the details. But it was most important that, at the time of the plebiscite, the people should know clearly what union with a Cameroon republic would involve. They knew already what would be involved in union with Nigeria. Mr. Foncha said that he hoped to discuss this question with the Premier of the French Cameroons in February.

Sir James Robertson again stressed the importance of retaining during the interim period Nigerian officers who were serving in the Southern Cameroons, especially in the federal services. He reminded Mr. Foncha that these officers could not be required to stay on: they must volunteer for this duty: and the Government must make a special effort to secure their goodwill if they wished to retain their services.

In further discussion reference was made to the activities of terrorists in the French Cameroons, and the extent to which they were able, on a plea of political asylum, to operate from British territory. Sir James Robertson said that reinforcements of Nigerian troops and police had been sent to this area to control the situation. He reminded Mr. Foncha that this assistance would not be available after Nigeria became independent. Mr. Foncha said that he hoped to be able during the interim period to recruit ex-servicemen from his own country to form a Home Guard for this purpose. Sir James Robertson said that it was very brave of Mr. Foncha to contemplate union with a territory which contained these terrorists. To this Mr. Foncha replied that in a united Cameroon republic it would be easier to preserve law and order. While the territories continued to be divided the authority of the Chiefs was being progressively undermined.
Record of a Conversation Between Mr. Macmillan and the Governor-General, held at Government House, Lagos, on Wednesday, 13th January, 1960, at 3:30 p.m.

After luncheon on 13th January, the Prime Minister and Sir Norman Brook had an informal talk with the Governor-General about the future of Nigeria.

The main points which emerged may be summarised as follows:

1. The leading men in Federal politics were anxious to work a Parliamentary system based on the Westminster model. They were interested in its forms and conventions and were keen to catch its spirit. There was little risk that Nigeria would develop into a one-Party State. For the Parties were evenly balanced; and the fact that the country was organised on a federal basis would itself help to ensure the continuance of an Opposition capable of providing an alternative Government.

2. The circumstances in Nigeria—its large area and the great differences between the various Regions—had made it inevitable that a federal form of constitution should be adopted. Though there were difficulties in operating a federal system, there was no reason to suppose that it could not be made to work in Nigeria. It had in fact been in operation for five years and, although the machine had creaked, it had not broken down. It was expected that, with experience, the working of the system would progressively improve.

3. Nigeria included a number of different tribes and religions, and there were marked differences between the three Regions. But there was good reason to hope that, through the working of the federal system and with the spread of education, the consciousness of unity and nationhood would grow. It was noticeable already that the University graduates were thinking of themselves as “Nigerians” rather than Ibos, Yorubas, &c. The same was true of the senior officers in Government service and of people who had occasion to go abroad on official or private business.

4. The first years of independence would impose a heavy strain on the Administration. From that point of view independence was coming about five years too early—or, to put the same point another way, “Nigerianisation” of the public services should have begun five years earlier. Although there were large numbers of Nigerians in the public services, few of them had yet had sufficient experience to be able to take over the most senior posts. Therefore, for some years to come the efficiency of the Administration would depend on the retention of expatriate officers. The prospects were not too discouraging. Special List B had, in particular, proved useful. If the political climate continued to be reasonably friendly, it was possible that a sufficient number of expatriate officers would stay on, at any rate during the opening years of independence.

5. The Governor-General gave the Prime Minister an account of the political manoeuvres following the results of the Election. Azikiwe had evidently hoped to have a little time in which to explore the possibility of reaching an understanding with the Action Group which would have given him a majority in the House of Representatives. He had at first been irritated to find that Abubakar had at once been invited to form a Government. Later, however, he realised that any working arrangement with the Action Group would in fact have split his own Party; and he was then ready to come to terms with Abubakar. His conditions had, however, been fairly stiff. He had accepted the office of President of the Senate on the understanding that he would at a later date be appointed Governor-General: he had secured for members of his Party a larger number of offices than was strictly justified by the number of seats they had won in the Election; and he had evidently extracted other promises which had not yet been disclosed. Even so, it seemed likely that Abubakar would maintain his position.

6. Abubakar would probably wish the present Governor-General to continue in office for at least one further year. Thereafter, unless the situation changed, he would recommend that Azikiwe should be appointed Governor-General.

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Record of a Meeting of the Executive Council of the Western Region of Nigeria
held at Ibadan on Thursday, 14th January, 1960, at 12 noon

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook
Mr. T. J. Bligh
Mr. J. H. Robertson

NIGERIA

Chief The Hon. S. L. Akintola, Premier.
Chief The Hon. C. D. Akran, Minister of Economic Planning
Chief The Hon. Akin Deko, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources
Chief The Hon. A. O. Adeyi, Minister of Trade and Industry
Chief The Hon. J. A. O. Odeibi, Minister of Finance
The Hon. A. Okusaga, Minister of Education
The Hon. J. O. Adigun, Minister of Health and Social Welfare
The Hon. J. E. Babatola, Minister of Home Affairs
The Hon. S. O. Ighodaro, Minister of Justice and Midwest Affairs
Chief The Hon. J. O. Osuntokun, Minister of Lands and Labour
Alhaji The Hon. D. S. Adegbenro, Minister of Local Government
The Hon. S. O. Sogbein, Minister of Works and Transport
Chief The Hon. E. A. A. Fadayiro, Regional Minister
The Hon. Olagbegi II, Olowo of Owo, Minister without Portfolio
The Hon. Oba I. B. Akinyele, Olubadan of Ibadan, Minister without Portfolio
Dr. S. O. Biobaku, Secretary to Premier and Executive Council

Chief Akintola opened the meeting by welcoming Mr. Macmillan to Western Nigeria and saying how pleased he and his colleagues were that Mr. Macmillan was able to meet them for an informal discussion. The Premier recognised how short a time was at Mr. Macmillan’s disposal and expressed his gratitude for the fact that he had been able to fit in a visit to Western Nigeria. The visit would promote understanding between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Western Nigeria. Chief Akintola hoped that, having come once, Mr. Macmillan would come again.

Chief Akintola then went on to discuss the position of Nigeria in world affairs. He was anxious that, after independence, the Government of Nigeria should do everything it could to promote understanding between their country and the United Kingdom. He and his colleagues had been following with admiration Mr. Macmillan’s efforts to secure world peace. They thought it important also that, after Nigerian independence, the links between Nigeria and the rest of the Commonwealth should be preserved and strengthened.

Chief Akintola then raised the question of the constitutional conference which was due to be held in April or May to consider the final steps to be taken before Nigerian independence, including the drafting of the Nigerian Independence Bill to be passed through the Parliament at Westminster. He hoped that the possibility might be considered of holding the conference in Nigeria, preferably in Lagos, rather than in the United Kingdom.
Chief Akintola then turned to the wider problems of Africa. He said that what was happening in East, Central and South Africa was of interest to the people of Western Nigeria, and that the issues which had arisen there must be faced in the context of Africa as a whole. If things were done in some Commonwealth countries in Africa which were repugnant to people elsewhere in Africa and elsewhere in the Commonwealth, this would progressively undermine the cohesion of the Commonwealth. All the members of the Commonwealth should accept the same code of conduct involving equal opportunities and equal treatment for people of all races. The Premier said that Mr. Macmillan's position as the senior statesman in the Commonwealth should enable him to exert his influence on other Commonwealth countries to conform to such a code of conduct.

Chief Akintola then said that Western Nigeria was looking to the older members of the Commonwealth, and especially to the United Kingdom, for economic assistance. He felt that the less developed members of the Commonwealth, such as Western Nigeria, had the right to expect a helping hand from the United Kingdom in the future, as in the past. They would rather receive assistance of this kind from the United Kingdom than from the United States or other countries. He had in mind the provision of technical experts and advisers as well as financial assistance. After all, he said, the strength of the Commonwealth derived from the strength of all its component parts. Furthermore, it would be a pity if the impression were confirmed that it was the "naughty boys" who got the most help. When he had been in New York recently it was being said there that a country had only to send a Minister to the Soviet Union in order to ensure that the United States would offer it substantial sums of money for economic development.

Chief Akintola ended by repeating his welcome to Mr. Macmillan and thanking him for his visit.

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that he was very glad of this opportunity to meet the Premier and his colleagues for informal discussions. He counted it an honour to be in Nigeria at this historic time and he had thought that the previous day's ceremony in the Houses of Parliament at Lagos was a remarkable and moving symbol of the partnership between the United Kingdom and Nigeria.

Chief Akintola had mentioned Nigeria's position in the world after independence. Mr. Macmillan said he was sure that Nigeria would have a very important position. In population, it was the largest country in Africa, and the fourth largest in the Commonwealth. So far as the country's wealth was concerned, its new buildings alone made it clear to the visitor that development was proceeding rapidly. Mr. Macmillan was aware of the great natural resources of Nigeria, not least the mineral oil recently discovered. The part which the country would play in world affairs would depend primarily on Nigerians themselves. As he had said on the previous day to the Houses of Parliament in Lagos, a federal system of government was not always an easy one to work and it called for special loyalties. But the Nigerian federal system was not unique either in the Commonwealth or in the world. The Nigerian people had examples of successful federations in the United States, in Canada (where the French population of Quebec would not willingly have entered a unitary State) and in Australia, where the different States had their own Governments on very similar lines to those of the Regions of Nigeria. The strength of an independent Nigeria would depend largely on the power of the different Regions to hold together in unity.

On the question of the talks to be held to discuss the final steps to be taken before independence, Mr. Macmillan said that the issues involved were not broad issues of policy but rather the details of the legislation to be drafted for enactment by the Parliament at Westminster. The legislative schedule was rather tight and the convenience of all had to be considered in deciding where such discussions should be held. The Federal and Regional Governments in Nigeria would no doubt consult together about the matters to be dealt with at them.

Turning to Nigeria's role in Africa, Mr. Macmillan said that he thought it natural and proper that the Premier and his colleagues should take an interest in what was happening in other parts of Africa. But he thought, if he might say so, that they should exercise some care in voicing their opinions publicly and officially. South Africa, for example, was a completely independent country. If one independent country of the Commonwealth publicly criticised the internal policy of another, this could in time destroy the basis of their association. In matters of

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this kind there was an important difference between public and private discussion. So far as Kenya was concerned, Mr. Macmillan was glad to tell the Premier and his colleagues that things were moving forward. The emergency had recently been brought to an end and a constitutional conference was to be held in London in the following week. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland there were awkward problems to be faced: and he was now going on there to learn about them at first hand and to prepare himself for the difficult decisions of policy which the United Kingdom Government would have to take after the Monckton Commission had reported.

Mr. Macmillan went on to say that the Mau Mau movement in Kenya had been the cause of great sorrow to us all. Some 1,800 Africans had been murdered by Mau Mau, as compared with 50 Europeans. However, that was over now and the prospects looked brighter. He was very hopeful too that early progress would be possible in Nyasaland. None the less, he hoped that the Premier and his colleagues would recognise, even if they had not had first-hand experience of East and Central Africa, that the countries there were very different from those of West Africa and that the problems they threw up were much more complex. Compared to West Africa, countries like Nyasaland were poor and backward and the economies of East and Central Africa were very largely dependent on the efforts of the European settlers. In spite of this, the British Government had shown in Tanganyika, as in Ghana and elsewhere, that it was anxious to proceed with constitutional advance as rapidly as circumstances allowed. In countries where three races, Africans, Europeans and Asians, had all made their homes in the same land it would not prove easy to build a society where all would be able to play their part in a system of government which would guarantee fair treatment to them all. Success had however been achieved elsewhere, for example in Singapore, where the population was 50 per cent. Malayan and 50 per cent. Chinese, and in Malaya, where the population was 60 per cent. Malayan and 40 per cent. Chinese. There was no reason why, having succeeded in building multiracial societies in those territories, we should not succeed in other places too.

Mr. Macmillan said that he had taken careful note of the Premier’s remarks about Western Nigeria’s continuing need for external aid. He recognised this need, which he considered should be met in such a way as to increase and develop the internal wealth of the receiving country. Men and money—these were the two things required. The United States and Germany were both wealthy countries with a part to play here. At the present meetings in Paris consideration was being given to the possibility of forming a new international organisation to handle the provision of aid to under-developed territories. In addition to this, however, the United Kingdom certainly had its own individual part to play. Mr. Macmillan was sure that the Premier and his colleagues would understand that the United Kingdom’s ability to help depended on its own economic strength. It could not invest a deficit or lend an overdraft. In 1914 the British national debt had been £800 millions, now it was £27,000 millions. The servicing of this weight of debt was a heavy burden. The basic need was that the economic and financial position of the United Kingdom should remain sound. Furthermore, there were many other countries in Asia as well as in Africa looking for help of this sort. None the less, Mr. Macmillan was anxious to persuade people at home in the United Kingdom that they should adopt a “good neighbour” policy, and he hoped that, now that Britain’s economy was sounder, we should be able to do even more in the future than we had done in the past. We had given certain undertakings about continued assistance to the Nigerian Federal Government and we would do all we could to help. So far as men were concerned, Mr. Macmillan emphasised the United Kingdom’s readiness to provide experts and advisers. He thought it very important to encourage a greater interchange of experts among the different countries of the Commonwealth and quoted as an example the scholarship scheme which had been worked out as a result of the recent Commonwealth Education Conference.

Mr. Macmillan concluded by thanking the Premier for the moderation with which he had expressed his views. During the remainder of his African tour and afterwards he would ponder deeply the lessons he had learned in West Africa.
Record of a Meeting of the Executive Council of the Eastern Region of Nigeria held at Enugu on Friday, 15th January, 1960, at 12.05 p.m.

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**
- Mr. Harold Macmillan
- Sir Norman Brook
- Mr. T. J. Bligh
- Mr. J. H. Robertson

**NIGERIA**
- The Hon. Dr. M. I. Okpara, Premier, Eastern Region
- The Hon. I. U. Akpabio, Minister of Internal Affairs
- The Hon. Dr. S. E. Imoke, Minister of Finance
- The Hon. E. Emole, Minister of Town Planning
- The Hon. P. O. Ururuka, Minister of Works
- The Hon. B. C. Okwu, Minister of State Chief
- The Hon. J. U. Nwodo, Minister of Commerce
- The Hon. P. O. Nwoga, Minister of Local Government
- The Hon. G. E. Okeke, Minister of Education
- The Hon. E. P. Okoya, Minister of Health
- The Hon. O. U. Affiah, Minister of State
- The Hon. M. O. Ajegbo, Attorney-General
- The Hon. P. N. Okeke, Minister of Agriculture

**Secretary:**
- Mr. A. I. Osakwe

Dr. Okpara opened the meeting, which was quite informal, by welcoming Mr. Macmillan to Eastern Nigeria. He then said that, while their first wish was to entertain him during his short stay in the Region, he and his colleagues would also like to take the opportunity of putting their views to him on one or two matters which were causing them concern.

1. **Southern Cameroons**

Dr. Okpara said that the Government of the Eastern Region were worried about developments in the Southern Cameroons. There had been trouble in the former French Cameroons at the time of the independence celebrations there, and the Eastern Regional Government were afraid that this trouble might easily spread to the British Cameroons and then across the border into the Eastern Region of Nigeria. The Eastern Regional Government did not want to have a politically unstable territory on their border. The people of the Eastern Region hoped that the Southern Cameroons would decide to join the Federation of Nigeria. After all, many of their kith and kin lived in the Southern Cameroons. On the other hand, if the Southern Cameroons decided not to join the Federation, something ought to be done to ensure that troubled conditions in the Cameroons would not spread across the border into Nigeria.

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that he and the Governor-General had discussed this question with Mr. Foncha in Lagos. He fully understood the anxieties of the Eastern Regional Government. He felt bound to say that he considered that the timing of the Cameroons plebiscites had been unfortunate. And another 18 months might pass before a final decision on the future of the Southern Cameroons could be taken. That meant that there would be an interval of perhaps a whole year between the date of Nigerian independence and the time when the future of the Southern Cameroons was decided.
Three different problems arose out of this situation. First, there might be an administrative hiatus between the date of Nigerian independence and a final decision on the future of the territory. It was very important from the point of view, not only of the people of the Southern Cameroons, but also of Nigeria and the United Kingdom, that the administration of the territory should not collapse during this period. He hoped that, after independence, the Nigerian Governments would be ready to help the United Kingdom to ensure that proper administration continued. Secondly, it was very important that, when the time came to hold the plebiscite, the issues should be placed clearly before the voters. The conditions on which the territory might join independent Nigeria had been established. It was only fair that the conditions on which the territory could join an independent Cameroon republic should be stated equally clearly. The third problem was that of preventing the political confusion and disorder now prevailing in the former French Cameroons from spreading to the Southern Cameroons and into Nigeria. The frontiers were difficult to control, but he had discussed this point with the Governor-General and he understood that measures were being taken to tighten up control as far as possible.

Dr. Okpara thanked Mr. Macmillan for his understanding of the problem and said that he and his Government would do what they could to help. Mr. Macmillan and Dr. Okpara agreed in discussion that Mr. Foncha's policy seemed somewhat rash. Dr. Okpara derived some comfort from the fact that Mr. Foncha's majority was very small.

2. Economic Development

Dr. Okpara said that he would like to discuss the question of economic development in the Eastern Region of Nigeria. He and his colleagues were immensely grateful to the United Kingdom Government for the loan of £3 million and the promise of a further £12 million, a proportion of which was to be spent in the Eastern Region. Independence would not mean anything to the man in the street if his standard of living did not rise. It was therefore important that the United Kingdom Government should continue to assist Nigeria economically, no longer as a ruler, but as a friend.

Dr. Okpara said that he wished especially to mention the particular proposal that the Colonial Development Corporation (C.D.C.) should establish plantations in partnership with the Eastern Region Development Corporation (E.R.D.C.). In the original discussions the C.D.C. had said that a deadline would have to be drawn either in April or possibly in October 1960; and the E.R.D.C. was urged to hand over plantations to the C.D.C. immediately. The C.D.C. had now decided, however, that the projects were not sufficiently advanced. If help for this project was to be forthcoming something would have to be done quickly.

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that after independence relations between the United Kingdom Government and the Governments of Nigeria on financial matters, as on others, would be conducted through different channels and on a different basis from those which had been customary in the past. The Commonwealth Relations Office would be taking over from the Colonial Office. Its relations with Nigeria would, for the most part, be through the Federal Government. The United Kingdom Government were, however, conscious of Nigeria's need for continuing economic assistance. They would do all they could to help in the future, as in the past. Their capacity to help would, however, depend on Britain's economic strength. They must earn a surplus in order to be able to make grants or loans to friends overseas. In recent years the national economy had been built up and was now stronger than it had been for some years. Although in the future the method by which we would give assistance would differ from that used in the past our intention to carry out a "good neighbour" policy remained.

Mr. Macmillan added that he would arrange for the particular point which Dr. Okpara had raised to be examined.

Dr. Okpara thanked Mr. Macmillan for his reply.
3. Other Matters

Dr. Okpara said that there were other matters which he would have wished to raise with Mr. Macmillan if more time had been available.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would be ready to resume the discussion after the dinner at Government House that evening.

Note.—There was in fact an opportunity for further talk after the dinner. But the only subject then raised by Dr. Okpara was that of rural water supplies in the Eastern Region. He explained the need for further provision of water (by bore-holes and wells) in the rural areas, and expressed the hope that financial assistance would be forthcoming to enable the Regional Government to continue their current programme. The Governor endorsed the importance of this programme and suggested that the Regional Government would find it necessary to give it a higher priority. Hitherto they had preferred to give priority to the claims of education; but he believed that they would do well to revise this order of priority. The Prime Minister expressed interest but avoided any promise of further financial assistance from the United Kingdom.

Note of a Meeting of the Executive Council of the Northern Region of Nigeria held at Kaduna on Saturday, 16th January, 1960, at 12 noon

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**

- Mr. Harold Macmillan
- Sir Norman Brook
- Mr. T. J. Bligh
- Mr. J. H. Robertson

**NIGERIA**

- The Hon. Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, President
- The Hon. Sir Abubakar, Sultan of Sokoto
- The Hon. Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, Emir of Kano
- The Hon. Alhaji Usman Nagogo, Emir of Katsina
- The Hon. Atoshi Agbumanu, Aku of Wukari
- The Hon. Ag. Attorney-General, Mr. I. M. Lewis
- The Hon. Alhaji Aliyu, Makama of Bida, Minister of Finance
- The Hon. Alhaji Isa Kaita, Madawaki of Katsina, Minister of Education
- The Hon. Malam Abba Habib, Minister of Trade and Industry
- The Hon. Mr. G. U. Ohikere, Minister of Works
- The Hon. Malam I. M. Gashash, Minister of Land and Survey
- The Hon. Malam Abdullahi Maikano Dutse, Minister for Local Government
- The Hon. Alhaji Ahman, Galadima of Pategi, Minister of Health
- The Hon. Alhaji Mohammadu Mustafa, Minister of Agriculture
- The Hon. Malam Abdullahi Dan Jada, Minister of Animal Health and Forestry, and for Northern Cameroons Affairs
1. Opening Remarks

Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier, welcomed Mr. Macmillan to the meeting and said how pleased he and his colleagues were that Mr. Macmillan had found it possible to come to their country in 1960. By the end of the year Nigeria would be independent and the Party which he and his colleagues represented (the Northern People's Congress) would, thanks to the decision of the electorate, be in a position to play an important part in the future both of the Federation of Nigeria and of the Northern Region. As a Northerner he extended a special welcome to Mr. Macmillan—another Northerner. Like the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom the party which the Premier represented were anxious to preserve all that was best in the traditions of the past. They were grateful for the part that Britain had played in building up their country and they would never forget the help she had given in the last 60 years in laying sound foundations for a new and independent national life. During this period there had been no bloodshed or violence and the people of Northern Nigeria had worked with British expatriate officers as with friends and brothers. The Premier paid a special tribute to two great Colonial Secretaries, Lord Chandos and Mr. Lennox-Boyd. He concluded his welcome by saying that, as Mr. Macmillan's present visit was so short, he hoped he would soon be able to come again.

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that he was touched by the warmth of the Premier's welcome. He would convey to Lord Chandos and to Mr. Lennox-Boyd the kind words which the Premier had spoken about them. He was very glad to be in Northern Nigeria, among fellow Northerners and Conservatives. He hoped that the coming of independence would strengthen, rather than weaken, the ties between Nigeria and the United Kingdom. Of course a Federal structure was not an easy system to work. The Northern Region and the Northern People's Congress would have a special position and a special responsibility owing to their size and strength. He was confident that they would do all they could to make the Federal system work. The British people looked upon 1960 as the beginning of a new era of mutual co-operation between themselves and the people of Nigeria.

2. Economic Development

The Minister of Finance made a statement on economic development in Northern Nigeria. He said that agriculture and animal husbandry were the backbone of the economy and the bulk of Government revenue was derived directly or indirectly from agricultural products. It was difficult for the Regional Government to plan ahead if their annual revenue was subject to wide fluctuations in world market prices for their products. The Regional Government had assumed responsibility for the finances of the region only in 1951 and since then they had had to deal with the legacy of the neglect suffered under the Central Government. In 1954 the Northern Region began to draw up a programme of economic development. The current development programme, which was due to end in March 1960, cost £26 million, of which £6 million had been provided from
Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. There was, however, a tremendous leeway to be made up and in the two years 1960-62 development expenditure of £18 million was proposed. Of this, £13 million seemed likely to be available, including the Region's share of the United Kingdom Exchequer Loan and of the recent Commonwealth Assistance Loan. It would be difficult to find the remaining £5 million. Contractor finance had been suggested, but it carried with it heavy interest rates which the Regional Government would find it difficult to meet. There was likely to be no annual surplus on recurrent account for some years. Further capital assistance would therefore be required. A free grant would of course be most welcome; but, if produce prices remained high, the Regional Government might be able to service a loan. In the five years, 1962-67, the Minister of Finance thought that development expenditure would be of the order of £10 million a year.

The Minister of Finance said that so far the only capital assistance which the Region had received without strings had been from the United Kingdom. His main worry now was how to raise the capital finance required for the future. Would it be possible, he asked, for the United Kingdom Government to give outright grants after independence to this big Region with a population of 20 million?

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that the Minister of Finance had raised some large and difficult questions. The United Kingdom Government had already agreed to make funds available to Nigeria to cover the transitional period up to 1961 and he understood that the Northern Region would have its share of this. He assured the Premier and his colleagues that thereafter the United Kingdom would be sympathetic towards the needs of Nigeria and of the Northern Region in particular—though he assumed that after independence it would be for the Federal Government to deal with the United Kingdom Government on these matters.

The assistance required would be in two forms—men and money. So far as men were concerned the question was how, at a time when Colonial status was becoming obsolete and the present expatriate service was dwindling, we in the United Kingdom could make available the professional and technical experts required. A study of this problem had already been initiated in the United Kingdom. This should, however, be regarded as an inter-Commonwealth problem, and he hoped that it would be possible to make arrangements for a growing interchange of experts between different countries in the Commonwealth.

So far as money was concerned Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government would do all they could to help. There were heavy calls upon us and our ability to help depended on our ability to earn a surplus ourselves. It was not possible to invest a deficit or lend an overdraft. Our first efforts must be to strengthen our own economy and so provide the basis for helping others. Again we had to consider priorities. We had to think of Asia, and particularly of India, as well as Africa. None the less he was deeply impressed with the need for capital investment in Nigeria. The Premier and his colleagues would no doubt understand if he was unwilling to enter any definite commitment now, but he undertook that the United Kingdom Government would examine very carefully what they could do to ensure that capital investment continued in Nigeria after independence.

3. Northern Cameroons

The Premier said that after 1st October the United Kingdom Government would be entirely responsible for the administration of the Northern Cameroons. He thought it very important that a good administrator should be appointed, who had experience of Nigerian affairs and would be sympathetic to her interests.

Mr. Macmillan said that he had discussed this general problem with the Governor-General in Lagos. The position was undoubtedly awkward. The United Kingdom Government would be responsible for the territory until a final decision about its future was taken, and this might not be for another 18 months. He agreed that the Administration must on no account be allowed to collapse; good subordinate officers as well as a good administrator would be required. In the Southern Cameroons there was the additional problem of preventing violence spreading from the Cameroons Republic into the British Cameroons and into Nigeria. The borders were difficult to control but every possible precaution was being taken. The timing of the plebiscites had been unfortunate but we must make the best of the awkward situation which had arisen.
4. Security Liaison

The Premier said that he greatly valued the presence of a British Security Liaison Officer in Kaduna. Northern Nigeria was bordered on three sides by French territory, and this inevitably involved some security risk. The Security Liaison Officer had proved very useful in providing information about events in French territory and the Premier hoped that this appointment would be continued after independence.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was glad to hear how highly the Premier valued the Security Liaison Officer. To have him stationed in Kaduna was of benefit both to the United Kingdom and to the Northern Regional Government. It was vital that security should be maintained and he would bear in mind what the Premier had said.

5. Commonwealth Civil Service

The Premier asked whether any thought was being given to the possibility of establishing a Commonwealth Civil Service. Such a Service would be useful, not only to the undeveloped countries of the Commonwealth, but also to the older members. To illustrate what he had in mind, he referred to the problem of water supply. Dutch consultants had been invited to Northern Nigeria to study the problem and submit a report. This had been done; but what was needed now was a number of technicians who could put into operation the scheme recommended by the consultants.

Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government were conscious of the need for technical experts and advisers in the newly independent countries of the Commonwealth, and they were trying to work out some practical plan for meeting this need. It was a difficult problem because it was necessary to guarantee that a doctor or engineer, for example, would be able to resume his career in his own country after his assignment abroad was over. He was not sure what scope there would be for guaranteeing a full career for such people in a Commonwealth Service; but he would certainly see that this possibility was considered, along with others, in the review which was now being made in London.

After the meeting the Premier handed to Sir Norman Brook a note on this subject which is reproduced in the Annex.

6. Supply of Teachers

The Minister of Education referred, with appreciation, to the results of the Commonwealth Education Conference recently held at Oxford. Not enough expatriate teachers were now coming out to Northern Nigeria. He believed that, if more suitably qualified people were to come, it would be necessary to find some way of safeguarding their careers at home.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was not quite clear whether questions concerning assistance from overseas would fall to be dealt with by Regional Governments or by the Federal Government after independence. But, in the general review to which he had referred (Minute 5 above) the United Kingdom Government would certainly keep in mind the need for teachers. He was glad to know that the Northern Regional Government appreciated the results of the Commonwealth Education Conference.
ANNEX

A POSSIBLE COMMONWEALTH CIVIL SERVICE

Note by Government of Northern Region of Nigeria

Such a Service might obtain its recruits from all member States of the Commonwealth and would consist of "field officers" rather than the "expert-type" of officers. Experts have a very limited value in that they may advise on what should be done to meet a certain problem but if there are no field officers to carry out their advice no progress is made.

2. Members of such a Commonwealth Service could be hired by any Commonwealth country who required their service either when their own nationals had been trained in sufficient numbers or when some particular drive or campaign was required in connexion with a particular service.

3. The advantages of such a Service will be as follows:

(a) Civil Servants of guaranteed ability and security-safe would be available to member States of the Commonwealth when required.

(b) A member of the Commonwealth would be able to hire these Civil Servants for any period required. The general needs of all the Commonwealth would however provide continual employment for such a service.

(c) Such a Service would attract the best type of recruits as it would guarantee an interesting and permanent career.

(d) All Commonwealth members would supply recruits for the Service although probably those States with the greater number of trained personnel would supply more than others.

(e) As all members of the Commonwealth, with the exception of South Africa, have the same ideals and principles there would be no political troubles or rivalries among the staff as occur in many international organisations, and no member State would feel that there were any strings or commitments attached to the acceptance of the assistance.

(f) Such a Civil Service would help to bind the Commonwealth closer together by each member gaining advantages from the work and assistance of other members.
Mr. Speaker, nearly 400 years ago, to be exact in the year 1571, Queen Elizabeth I sent a message to the House of Commons telling them not to waste their time over matters which did not concern them and to avoid long speeches. As to the first point, the Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne, was certainly more gracious, but on the second, Parliaments, wherever they may be, would do well to bear in mind the great Queen's warning.

I am very conscious, Sir, of the great honour which has been done me to-day. For me, of course, it is an absolutely unique occasion. I am proud to feel that I am the first Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to be granted the privilege of addressing you... But, if I may say so, for another very different reason it is a unique occasion for you too, since your Prime Minister will tomorrow propose a historic motion. If this is passed, then this Parliament which opens here to-day will be the first Parliament of an independent Nigeria.... I need hardly tell you how keenly my colleagues and I in Great Britain are looking forward to the time when, as we hope, Nigeria will take its place among the full members of the Commonwealth.

This day therefore marks the end of one era in your national life and the opening of another. First, at home in my country, it represents the fulfilment in Nigeria of the policies which we have been and still are steadily pursuing in territories for whose welfare and political development we have been responsible. You have come here from every corner of this vast country, freely elected by secret ballot. You have, as is right and proper, your own local loyalties, but you come here not merely as one tribe or another but first and foremost as Nigerians... It seems to me that if the past hundred years of your association with Britain has borne no other fruit, one could at least claim with justice that it has led to the creation of a united country. Unity is strength. Your strength and your influence will be the greater by your unity.

Of course, I realise that a federal system is not the easiest form of government to conduct. In any Federation there are bound to be stresses and strains which threaten unity and this calls for an exceptional degree of understanding and forbearance. It is for you in this Federal Parliament so to order your affairs with due regard to the views and interests of all sections of the Nigerian people. That means really that you must do your best to see the other man's point of view and even if you cannot always agree with him, try to understand him and meet him half way. For that, after all, is one of the main principles of Parliamentary democracy that we have adopted and you have adopted.

Some people I know—and you have made some reference to it, Mr. Prime Minister—some people are beginning to think that Parliaments are a cumbrous way of doing business in this modern world. Sometimes one is tempted to think the same about democracy, especially when one has lost an election. I have contested in the last 37 years 11 elections. In the first six of these, if I remember, I won three times and lost three times. You cannot have it harder than that. Of course, when one loses one is tempted to think the whole thing ridiculous, the people are being misled by demagogues, but when you win, why then you say, "I always knew the people were sound at heart". Well, there it is. We should all have a sense of proportion and a sense of humour. In any case, so long as we value the freedom of speech, freedom to express our opinions within such licence as Mr. Speaker in his wisdom is willing to allow us, I know of no better system than a fairly elected Parliament for giving people the sort of Government they want.

I have spoken, Sir, of the strains and stresses within a Federation. When Nigeria becomes a full member of the Commonwealth, you will find the same applies to that association also. How can it be otherwise with so many and such diverse countries and Governments? No doubt there will be times when our points of view may not completely coincide, but let us try always to understand and respect each other's point of view. Here you are united in one purpose, the furthering of the well-being of the people of Nigeria. And likewise in the Commonwealth, despite our differences—and there must be differences of emphasis,
of mood, of approach—we are united in our common aim to work for the preservation of peace and the betterment of all mankind.

Since the Statute of Westminster, the form of our association has changed but not, I think, the spirit. Great Britain is now no longer the ruler of a great colonial empire but she is a member; I would hardly say senior but at least a found member, of the great Commonwealth. As such I feel—that with parts of Africa and Asia and of the Antipodes and of the Americas—with all these parts of the world we have close links. In all of them we have real friends and partners. Above all, we try never to forget the millions of people in the under-developed countries of the world in whom we have so close an interest. Their needs must be our needs and for us the primary purpose of policy is the preservation of peace with justice and the rising prosperity throughout the world.

Throughout my time as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, I have been conscious when speaking for my own country in many international meetings, of the hopes and wishes of my fellow members of the Commonwealth. We all, as you know, keep in constant touch with each other. For instance, in 1958, two years ago nearly, it seemed that we might be faced with a dangerous situation about Berlin, and I was supported by knowledge that our sister countries will be with me in seeking by all honourable means to avert the stark clash which then threatened. My visit to Moscow to which you referred, Mr. Prime Minister, was not undertaken without heart-searching. I saw that there were potential dangers and that I was running a risk, but all this visiting has become much more popular since then. There was a risk, but then the world is a place in which progress cannot be made by sitting at home. I believe that the conversations which we had contributed in no small degree to a general easing of tension.

Now we have at last fixed a date for the Summit meeting, between the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Soviet Russia. Moreover, as the interchange of letters between us show, it is agreed that this meeting shall be the first of a series.

There is, I know, a subject about which the people in Nigeria and other parts of Africa, and indeed all over the world, feel a special anxiety. I think it would be wrong if I did not say something about it. I mean the invention and development of nuclear weapons. Their immense destructive power must make us all feel anxious. In Britain would like to see an end of nuclear tests and in due course the abolition of nuclear weapons as part of a comprehensive scheme of disarmament; and yet by a strange paradox, until disarmament is reached, it is partly by the existence of these frightful weapons that an uneasy peace has been preserved. For even the aggressor knows that in a nuclear age there can be no victory, there can only be universal and impartial destruction. Pending disarmament both in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons, it is mutual fear which has restrained aggression, but we cannot, Sir, be content with this ignoble balance. We therefore pursue with all the vigour we can the struggle for the first steps at least in the reduction of international armaments and the key to disarmament is to be found, and can only be found, in some acceptable system of international inspection and control.

We of the United Kingdom have taken the lead. The best way we felt to make a start would be by the cessation of nuclear tests. So we, the British Government, nearly two years ago proposed a technical conference with the Americans and Russians to discuss the scientific questions involved. This proposal was accepted and from this scientific conference sprang the present meetings at Geneva in which we are trying laboriously to hammer out an agreement for the ending of tests of nuclear weapons. I know that people in West Africa have been and are deeply and genuinely concerned on this subject. In particular I heard with great respect and sympathy the representations that were made to me on this subject by the Prime Minister only a few months ago. Also there are two separate issues the immediate question as to whether a nuclear explosion in the Sahara would cause any material damage to Nigeria or other African countries. I hope and believe that our scientific advisers have been able to reassure your Government as a result of the Prime Minister's visit; but more generally this is the big issue. I want to assure you that we are profoundly anxious for all nuclear tests to be brought to an end anywhere in the world, in Africa, just as much as in Asia, Europe, America, or the Pacific. At the moment there are only three existing nuclear Powers and they are taking part in the conference at Geneva; but I have no doubt that if we can only reach agreement there then we shall be able to bring the other countries
of the world to join us and that is, I believe, the most practical step forward that we can take. I venture to speak, Sir, at some length about these problems because they are of vital importance to us all, and in facing them we shall especially value the advice and assistance of your great country in our Commonwealth team, for you certainly bring great assets to the common partnership of our Commonwealth.

In population Nigeria is the largest country in Africa, the fourth largest in the Commonwealth. It has an area four times the size of the United Kingdom. In the course of my short visit I shall, alas, only be able to see a very little of what your country has to offer, some of your principal towns. I am sorry I shall not be able to see some of the countryside and of the agriculture which is the basis of your prosperity. Your exports find places in most of the markets of the world; oil palm and groundnuts provide food for people everywhere. I think too of your cocoa, your cotton, your rubber, your timber, the workings from which you produce tin and that rare mineral columbite and the imagination of us all, of course, has been quickened in recent months by the discovery of workable quantities of mineral oil in Nigeria. I congratulate you on this discovery. Nigeria already has a diversified economy, but a flourishing oil industry will I hope strengthen this still further. This is indeed a fertile and productive country which is already contributing to the welfare not only of its own people but of the world, and I am glad to think that you have plans for further development for it is in the economic as well as in the political sense that you are going to play a worthy and notable part.

As you have said, Mr. Prime Minister, in this wonderful scene, this great Chamber, this Parliament just elected, I see people of a wide variety coming from a great area. It is not surprising that there should be divergencies, differences; we have them at home. Of course, we all know Scotland is the best part of the United Kingdom but it is not always accepted by all my compatriots! You have different races, Ibos and Yorubas in the south and the coastland; Hausas and Fulanis in the north and many other peoples too. All of them have made their contribution, each has had its great man who made for themselves a niche in the history of your country and the memories of your people. Again, if you will allow me just for a moment, for this is indeed a very notable occasion, I cannot help thinking of many of my own countrymen and women who have played their part in your history: Mungo Park, Clapperton, Mary Slessor, all these lie buried here, and later Lugard who devoted 25 years of his life to build the foundations of modern Nigeria and died only 15 years ago just when you were taking the final steps towards the goal which will be reached on 1st October next. His place, Lord Lugard's place, in your history's eye is assured, and the famous words he spoke about the dual mandate are as true to-day as when he spoke them. I will quote them. “First, to promote the moral and material welfare of the African peoples, and secondly to develop the natural resources of Africa not only for its peoples but for all mankind.”

Sir, we have tried as best we can to build on these principles and we are proud and happy to have seen this day. A country's history is made not only through its famous leaders—and I have mentioned some—but by all those who serve it loyally. Many such servants you have had, from overseas and from your own place. Humble men, whose names are perhaps forgotten, but whose work endures. Nor have those sacrifices been confined to this country; the Nigerians have proudly served the common cause in other parts of the world. I can never forget the part played in the liberation of Burma by the 81st and 82nd West African Divisions.

It is extraordinary, Sir, to reflect upon how rapid the march has been. It may sometimes have seemed slow, but in reality it has been rapid. During that period of British responsibility there have been eight Governors and Governors-General. Nigeria has come—I think we can claim this—to independence without strife or bitterness between our peoples. It has been a notable triumph of the principle of partnership in practice, and I trust that that partnership between equals will continue in the years to come. You, for your part, can be assured of the boundless goodwill of the people of Britain. If we can be of any service to you by providing experts or anything of that kind, we will do our best, and in the things which you have to offer us you will be not unmindful of an old and well-tried friendship. We have worked honourably and well together, and I am confident that in this new era which opens up on 1st October, our peoples will work together in equal partnership, and I hope I may say real affection for their common good and for the service of mankind.
DESPATCH TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, NIGERIA

(Despatch No.: Personal 17) 19th February, 1960.

Sir,

I wrote privately to you on the day of the departure of the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan from Nigeria to tell you briefly of the success of their visit to the Federation. Now that the Prime Minister has returned to the United Kingdom I think that you may wish to have my assessment of the impression made on Nigerians by the visit to Nigeria and also, in the wider sphere, of the reactions here to the African tour as a whole.

2. As I told you in my letter of 18th January, the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan received everywhere they went in Nigeria a warm and friendly welcome and the visit as a whole went extremely well. I think that it is true to say that the warmth of the welcome was genuine and spontaneous and, among those who take an interest in world affairs, stemmed from a feeling of admiration for one who has, as the Prime Minister of the Federation put it, “broken the ice barrier” in his search for peace; among the vast mass of the population it was, I think, an expression of their gratitude and affection for the British connexion.

3. Within a few months of the country’s independence the political leaders of Nigeria were, I am sure, flattered and delighted to be included in a tour of full members of the Commonwealth (or in the case of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of a country which has by convention a seat at Commonwealth conferences). It was noteworthy that suggestions made in the United Kingdom (and raised by visiting United Kingdom Press representatives) that the Prime Minister of the Federation should be invited to attend the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May found no echo in Nigeria. Nigerians are content to be entering into full membership of the Commonwealth in October and they have voiced no wish to “jump the gun”. The Prime Minister, particularly by his speech to the Federal Parliament which was extremely well received, succeeded in defining for Nigerians both the values and the difficulties of the Commonwealth connexion and in that respect the visit has created an admirable climate for Nigerian participation in Commonwealth affairs.

4. The continued unity of the Federation is, of course, essential for Nigeria’s political and economic future, but it is not always so recognised by Nigerians themselves. I have no doubt that the manner in which the need for unity was stressed by the Prime Minister has had a beneficial effect.

5. In his discussions with Ministers both in Lagos and in the Regions, the Prime Minister was informed constantly of the need of the Governments in Nigeria to continue to rely for many years on outside assistance for manpower, advice and finance. I think also that it was made clear to him that there was a genuine desire that these forms of assistance should be forthcoming from the United Kingdom and, by implication, that a general desire existed to retain thereby the closest ties with Great Britain. The Prime Minister gave clear indications of Great Britain’s willingness to give what assistance lay in her power and I am sure that as a result of their discussions with him Nigerian Ministers will be expecting help on a generous scale. Especially will they look for a continuation in some form or other (and preferably in a form which financially is of no less value) of the assistance which has hitherto come from the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and from the operations of the Colonial Development Corporation.

6. With regard to reactions within Nigeria to the African tour as a whole, there was I think disappointment that the visit to Central Africa was not marked by some such vivid gesture as the release of Dr. Banda from detention and, generally speaking, the Central African part of the visit did not get a good Press in Nigeria. But all this was forgotten in the enthusiasm aroused by the Prime Minister’s speech in Cape Town. Here at last was the categorical denunciation of “apartheid” for which African nationalists had been waiting and here too was the outspoken recognition that the nationalism sweeping Africa to-day is a fact of life which can neither be ignored nor resisted. But in Nigerian eyes the Cape Town speech will not of itself suffice; they will not easily accept in the United
Nations a United Kingdom vote which disassociates itself from a condemnation of those policies which the Prime Minister made clear were contrary to what Great Britain stands for. While Nigeria will be eager to resist interference in her own affairs she will not hesitate to support interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Commonwealth or non-Commonwealth, where racial prejudice is concerned.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Regional Governors for their information.

I have, &c.

J. W. ROBERTSON,
Governor-General.
PART IV
FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

COMMENTARY

Before the Prime Minister's arrival, the atmosphere in the Federation was already disturbed by a feeling of uncertainty. The year 1960, which was to see the visit of the Monckton Commission and the opening of the Constitutional Review Conference, was already marked in the minds of the politically conscious as a year of decision. More specific fears had been aroused by reports of what the Prime Minister was alleged to have said at a Press conference in Lagos on 13th January, and of a television interview given by Lord Shawcross. Both seemed to imply that the United Kingdom Government were prepared to see the break-up of the Federation if African opinion in the two northern territories so demanded. 

There was a general lack of confidence in the intentions of the United Kingdom Government towards the Federation—aggravated by the disappointment of the European population at realising that the result of the General Election in Britain had not, after all, resolved all their difficulties. Pleased at the defeat of the Party which they believed to represent the main threat to their interests, they were correspondingly depressed to discover that opinion in the Conservative Party did not seem likely to concur in the rapid achievement of their ambition to control the destinies of the Federation.

There was uncertainty in the business world as well. As the Finance Ministers of both the Federal and the Southern Rhodesian Governments pointed out at their meetings with the Prime Minister, firms were putting off plans for expansion and avoiding new commitments. The foundations of Federation were being questioned. More than anything else the Europeans wanted to feel that the United Kingdom was still behind them.

One of the Prime Minister's principal aims in his speech at Salisbury on 19th January was to allay these anxieties. In this he was undoubtedly successful. It is noteworthy that the audience applauded vigorously, not only the Prime Minister's strong expressions of support for the idea of Federation, but also the numerous passages in which he reaffirmed the determination of the United Kingdom Government to fulfil their obligations to the Africans and praised the concept of partnership. The immediate effect on confidence was marked. But it did not last for long. European opinion in the Federation is volatile, and soon after the Prime Minister had left there were already signs of a reversion to the earlier state of anxiety.

The business talks with Sir Roy Welensky and with Sir Edgar Whitehead opened in rather a threatening mood, and several of the subjects on the agenda seemed likely to lead to difficult arguments. After discussion it appeared that all differences had been amicably resolved. It was noticeable that the two Prime Ministers could be brought more rapidly to see, and fall in with, the view of the United Kingdom Government than their Ministerial colleagues. Both of them, too, took a more robust attitude towards the problems of the future than their colleagues, who often seemed oppressed by a lack of confidence in themselves.

The effect of the Prime Minister's visit was somewhat marred by the differences which subsequently arose over the release of Dr. Banda. Because of shortness of time and the need to digest the advice received from the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Prime Minister was not able to reach an agreement on this question with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead before he left Salisbury. In the event the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations had to fly to Rhodesia to continue these discussions.

The Prime Minister found that the Monckton Commission was still regarded with intense suspicion and hostility both by the Governments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia and by the public at large. Not only was it condemned as an undesirable intrusion but the more politically conscious suspected it as a device for postponing, and compromising, the consideration of their just claims to independence. The Prime Minister devoted much effort to countering this attitude. To the two Cabinets he pointed out that, as public opinion in the United Kingdom had not yet fully accepted the case for Federation, any suspicion that

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either of them was trying to sabotage the Commission might do irreparable harm. The sensible course was to get full value from the Commission by ensuring that cogent evidence in support of the thesis of the United Federal Party was put before it. In public he pointed out that, as with all international conferences, the Federal Review Conference should be carefully prepared in advance; and that the Monckton Commission would serve as a great briefing for the five Governments concerned.

Another point on which European opinion in Salisbury needed reassurance was the future of the northern territories. The average European was afraid that African nationalism was getting a grip on these territories. The Southern Rhodesian Cabinet made it clear to the Prime Minister that they would not wish to remain a member of the Federation if that federal bond linked them to States where political power was in the hands of illiterate voters.

In Southern Rhodesia the views of the Europeans are politically the most important. The Southern Rhodesian Africans, by and large a contented and peaceful community, have as yet scarcely achieved any organised political machinery for the expression of their views. At the meeting with African leaders organised by Sir Edgar Whitehead, the opinions put forward were moderate and reasonable. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where the proportion of African to European inhabitants is much higher, the importance of African opinion is correspondingly greater. In both of those territories the Prime Minister was faced by demonstrators flourishing placards and in some cases shouting slogans. In Northern Rhodesia the principal theme of these was universal franchise; in Nyasaland it was hostility to the Federation. In the former territory the demonstrators showed great personal friendliness towards Mr. Macmillan, waving and clapping when he waved to them; and there was no friction with the police. But in Nyasaland, where a state of emergency was still in force, there were some clashes with the police at Chilika and Blantyre. These were by no means so serious as Press reports would suggest; and they may perhaps be ascribed as much, if not more, to over-anxiety on the part of the police as to greater animosity on the part of the Africans.

The Southern Rhodesian visit was restricted entirely to Salisbury. In Northern Rhodesia the Prime Minister covered a good deal of ground and heard a diversity of opinions both from Europeans and Africans. He had to listen to a number of speeches at civic lunches which, in one form or another, expressed the generally paternalistic attitude of European unofficial opinion towards the Africans. Much the same attitude was expressed to him, in less strident terms, by Europeans in official positions, who took the view that it might be decades before there were enough educated and trained Africans to fill ministerial and administrative posts. The Africans he saw, who included leaders from all the political Parties in the territory, naturally contested this, but they did not show the extreme hostility to Federation which was evident in Nyasaland. There, the visits to Zomba and Blantyre were only brief; but there also the Prime Minister saw representatives of all political parties. The feeling of suspense and uncertainty was as strong there as anywhere in the Federation. Everything was felt to depend on the issue of the release of Dr. Banda. The prevailing impression left was that in Nyasaland the cause of Federation was almost desperate because of the systematic poisoning of African opinion against it. The only grounds for hope seemed to lie in the possibility of so rapid an advance to self-government in all matters of territorial interest as to reconcile Dr. Banda's followers to continuing in the Federal framework.

It is likely that the main impact of the visit will be the jolt which it gave to European opinion. If it results in a greater realisation of the purposes of the Federation and a closer co-ordination of policy between the four Governments, it will have been of great value.

On the physical side the tour of the Federation was rather less strenuous than the preceding tour of Nigeria, and climatically much less trying. The Prime Minister had, however, to do a lot of travelling and he had also to conduct a series of delicate and difficult discussions with each of the four Governments. The result was probably equally demanding.
DIARY OF THE VISIT

1. Monday, 18th January.—At 7:20 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan took leave of the Governor and Lady Bell and the Premier and Ministers of the Northern Region before leaving Kaduna Airport for Lagos.

At 9:50 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and his party arrived at Ikeja Airport (Lagos) where, after Mr. Macmillan had inspected a Guard of Honour and taken a general salute, they took leave of the Governor-General and Lady Robertson and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria. At 10:10 a.m. they left for Salisbury in the Britannia.

2. Shortly after 7:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and his party arrived at Salisbury Airport where he and Lady Dorothy were welcomed by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Lady Welensky, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia (Sir Edgar Whitehead) and the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom and Mrs. Metcalfe. Mr. Macmillan was warmly cheered by the crowd, which consisted almost entirely of Europeans, and before leaving for Government House he spoke a few words to them.

After a quiet dinner at Government House Mr. Macmillan had a private talk with Sir Roy Welensky.

3. Tuesday, 19th January.—At 8:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan called on Sir Roy Welensky at his office and had an hour’s discussion* with him.

At 9:50 a.m. he attended a meeting of the Federal Cabinet.*

Shortly after 10:30 a.m. he had a meeting with the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Parliamentary leaders of the Dominion Party.*

4. At 12 noon Mr. Macmillan went to the Federal Assembly for a luncheon given by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. He was met by the Speaker (The Hon. T. I. F. Wilson) and by Sir Roy Welensky—President and Vice-President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. After luncheon the Speaker made a short impromptu speech of welcome and Mr. Macmillan replied.

5. At 1:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan addressed the Rhodesia National Affairs Association at the Rhodes Cinema. The audience filled two cinemas and overflowed into the streets outside. With Mr. Macmillan on the platform were Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. F. Gordon Harper, the Chairman of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association. Mr. Macmillan received a warm welcome from the audience.

6. Shortly after 2 p.m. Mr. Macmillan left the Rhodes Cinema and drove to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He was welcomed there by Lord Malvern, Chairman of the Council, Mr. S. M. Pechey, Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. Pechey, Dr. Walter Adams, C.M.G., O.B.E., the Principal, and Mrs. Adams, and Professor Basil Fletcher, Vice-Principal, and Mrs. Fletcher.

At the University College Mr. Macmillan was first shown the new Library which was still under construction. He was then taken to Swinton Hall, one of the multi-racial Halls of Residence, where he inspected some of the studies, a common room, and the dining hall. He was then driven past the Beit Hall and the botany, zoology, physics, chemistry and agriculture blocks, to the Faculty of Arts building. There he was welcomed by the assembled staff of the College and made a short impromptu speech to them about the good work they were doing in helping to build up a multi-racial society in Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Macmillan returned from University College to Government House shortly after 3 p.m.

7. At 6 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Government House for the Drill Hall where they were met by Lieutenant-Colonel B. G. Franklin, Officer Commanding 1st Royal Rhodesian Rifles. There they met Heads of

* Record included in this print.
Commonwealth Missions in Salisbury and attended a large reception given by the Federal Prime Minister.

After a dinner party at Government House Mr. Macmillan had a private conversation with Sir Robert Tredgold, the Federal Chief Justice.

8. Wednesday, 20th January.—At 9 a.m. Mr. Macmillan called on Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, for a private conversation.*

At 9:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan attended a meeting of the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet.*

9. Shortly after 10:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan called at the Office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner and was introduced to all the staff. From the United Kingdom High Commissioner’s Office Mr. Macmillan returned to Government House.

10. At 12:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy went to Meikle’s Hotel for the Civic Lunch given by the Mayor and Councillors of the City of Salisbury. He was met there by the Mayor, Councillor Herbert Posselt, and Mrs. Posselt, and by the Town Clerk and Mrs. Neale. After the lunch the Mayor made a speech introducing Mr. Macmillan to the assembled company and presented him on behalf of the City Council with a silver globe. Mr. Macmillan gave an impromptu speech in reply.

11. At 2:45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had a further conversation* with Sir Roy Welensky.

12. At 4 p.m. Mr. Macmillan went to Sir Edgar Whitehead’s house to meet a number of Southern Rhodesian Africans.*

13. At 5:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had a conversation* with Mr. Garfield Todd at Mirimba House.

14. At 6 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a reception given by the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Mirimba House.

15. At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a dinner given by Sir Humphrey and Lady Gibbs, at Governor’s Lodge. Members of the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet were present and after dinner Sir Edgar Whitehead made a short speech of friendly welcome to Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

16. Thursday, 21st January.—Shortly before 8:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at the airport at New Sarum. They were welcomed there by the Hon. J. M. Caldicott, C.M.G., M.P., Minister of Defence, and Mrs. Caldicott; Air Vice-Marshal E. W. S. Jacklin, C.B.E., A.F.C., and Mrs. Jacklin; and Wing Commander R. H. Barber, D.F.C., and Mrs. Barber. Shortly after 8:45 a.m. they left in a Canadair aircraft of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force for Lusaka.

17. At 10 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at Lusaka airport, where they were met by His Excellency the Governor and Lady Hone, and the Acting Area Commander and Mrs. Reid. Mr. Macmillan took a General Salute and inspected a Guard of Honour, mounted by the 1st Battalion The King’s African Rifles (Central Africa Rifles), before being introduced to the Chief Justice and Lady Paterson, the Acting Chief Secretary and Mrs. Nicholson and other Ministers and notables.

18. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy then drove to Government House where at 10:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan met members of the Executive Council for a discussion.*

19. At 11:15 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a meeting with representatives of the United Federal Party.*

At 12 noon he had a meeting with representatives of the Central Africa Party.*

20. At 12:45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Government House for the Ridgeway Hotel, where they attended a Civic Luncheon given by the Mayor (Councillor H. K. Mitchell, O.B.E., J.P.) and the Municipal Council of Lusaka.

* Record included in this print.
After the luncheon the Mayor made a speech of welcome to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

After the Civic Luncheon Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy returned to Government House.

21. At 3 p.m. Mr. Macmillan resumed his interviews with leaders of political parties. He first met representatives of the Dominion Party.*

At 3·30 p.m. he met representatives of the African National Congress.*

At 4 p.m. he had a conversation* with the Paramount Chief of the Barotse, Sir Mwanamwina Lewanika, III, K.B.E.

At 4·30 he met members of African organisations not represented in the previous interviews.*

22. At 6·30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a cocktail party at Government House.

At 8·15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended an informal dinner at Government House.

23. Friday, 22nd January.—At 8·15 a.m., Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy took off from Lusaka Airport for Kitwe, where they arrived at about 9·30 a.m. They were met by:

- Mr. J. P. Murray, C.M.G., Senior Provincial Commissioner.
- His Worship the Mayor of Kitwe, Councillor J. Longman, and Mrs. Longman.
- The General Manager, Rhokana Corporation, Mr. O. B. Bennett, O.B.E., and Mrs. Bennett.
- The Assistant Commissioner of Police commanding Western Division, Northern Rhodesia Police, Mr. L. A. Hicks.
- The District Commissioner, Kitwe, Mr. D. G. Brown.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were taken on a tour of Kitwe town and visited the Club, where they met members of the Town Council. They were then taken on a tour of Rhokana Corporation, where they inspected the processes of copper smelting.

24. They took off from Kitwe Airport at about 11·45 a.m., and arrived at Ndola shortly after 12 noon, where they were met by:

- Mrs. J. P. Murray, wife of Senior Provincial Commissioner.
- His Worship the Mayor of Ndola, Councillor R. E. G. Hope, and Mrs. Hope.
- The District Commissioner, Ndola, Mr. D. J. Lewis.

From Ndola Airport Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy drove through the town to the Savoy Hotel where they attended a Civic Luncheon with the Mayor and the Municipal Council. At the end of the luncheon the Mayor made a short speech of welcome, to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

25. At about 2·30 p.m., Mr. Macmillan and his party left Ndola Airport for Broken Hill, where they arrived at about 3·30 p.m. At Broken Hill Mr. Macmillan was met by Sir Roy Welensky and the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Mr. P. G. D. Clark. He was then introduced to:

- The Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Mr. G. F. Tredwell, and Mrs. Tredwell.
- The District Commissioner, Mr. J. E. Long, and Mrs. Long.
- Officer Commanding, Central Division, Northern Rhodesia Police, Senior Superintendent B. G. O'Leary, and Mrs. O'Leary.

Mr. Macmillan then drove through the town to Broken Hill Civic Centre, where he had tea with the Deputy Mayor, Councillor B. J. Webb, and the Municipal Council. The Deputy Mayor made a short speech of welcome, to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

At about 5 p.m., Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Broken Hill Airport on their return flight to Lusaka.

* Record included in this print.

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At Kitwe, Ndola and Broken Hill, Mr. Macmillan was greeted in the streets by crowds of considerable size, among them a number of Africans carrying banners inscribed with slogans, such as "Mac, your Salisbury speech was fine. Stick to it, old boy," and "Give us one man, one vote and we will protect ourselves from white supremacy."

At 8 p.m., Mr. Macmillan attended a dinner party at Government House.

26. Saturday, 23rd January.—Shortly after 8 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Lusaka airport for Kariba after taking leave of the Governor and Lady Hone and members of the Executive Council.

At about 8:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at Kariba where they were met by Sir Malcolm P. Barrow, C.B.E., T.D., M.P., Federal Minister of Power, Mr. Duncan Anderson, K.B.E., Chairman of the Federal Power Board, and Mrs. Anderson, and Mr. T. S. Bell, Under-Secretary for Power, and Mrs. Bell. They were taken round the control building and the underground power station before driving to the top of the dam wall. On their way back to the airfield they were taken round by the African and European housing areas. They took off from Kariba airfield for Livingstone shortly after 11 a.m.

27. Soon after 12:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at Livingstone airport, where they were met by the Provincial Commissioner and Mrs. Sugg, the Mayor of Livingstone and Mrs. Olds, the Deputy Provincial Commissioner and Mrs. Bayldon, and the Town Clerk and Mrs. Morgan. Lady Dorothy drove straight to the Victoria Falls Hotel while Mr. Macmillan was taken to the Civic Centre for a Civic Luncheon with the Mayor and the Municipal Council. After the luncheon the Mayor made a short speech welcoming Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy replied.

28. At about 2:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan left the Civic Centre for the Victoria Falls Hotel.

29. Sunday, 24th January.—At 10:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan attended Divine Service at St. Andrew’s Church, Livingstone, where he was welcomed by the Rt. Rev. Oliver Green-Wilkinson, C.B.E., M.C., Lord Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, and the Rev. A. Robert Morris, Rector of St. Andrew’s. Mr. Macmillan read the Lesson.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy spent the rest of the day looking at the Falls and going for a trip in a motor launch on the Zambesi.

30. Monday, 25th January.—At 8:15 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy took leave of the Provincial Commissioner and Mrs. Sugg and the Mayor and Mayoress of Livingstone, Councillor and Mrs. Olds, at Livingstone Airport, before taking off for Chileka.

On arrival at Chileka at 11 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were met by the Governor of Nyasaland and Lady Armitage. Mr. Macmillan then inspected a Guard of Honour before being introduced to the Chief Justice, the Speaker, members of the Executive Council, and others. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy then left by road for Government House, Zomba.

31. In the afternoon after a luncheon at Government House at which members of the Executive Council and their wives were present, Mr. Macmillan had a series of meetings with the Executive Council and with representatives of various sections of opinion in Nyasaland.

At 2 p.m. he attended a meeting of the Nyasaland Executive Council.*

At 3:15 p.m. he met the Malawi Congress Party Delegation.*

At 4 p.m. he met a delegation from the Congress Liberation Party.*

At 4:15 p.m. he met a delegation from the Central Africa Party.*

At 5:15 p.m. he had a discussion* with the Governor and his senior advisers on the current situation in Nyasaland.

After dinner at Government House, Mr. Macmillan attended at 9:15 p.m. a reception given by the Governor and Lady Armitage.  

* Record included in this print.
After the reception Mr. Macmillan had a short conversation with Mr. Dingle Foot.

At about 11 p.m. he resumed his discussion with the Governor and his principal advisers on the current situation in Nyasaland.

32. **Tuesday, 26th January.**—At 10 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left Government House, Zomba, for Blantyre.

At 11:15 a.m., at the home of the Acting Provincial Commission, Mr. J. H. E. Watson, Mr. Macmillan met a delegation from the United Federal Party (Nyasaland division).

At 11:45 a.m. he met a delegation from the Nyasaland Asian community.

33. At 12:45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at Ryalls Hotel for a Civic Luncheon given by the Mayor of Blantyre-Limbe and the Municipal Council. A sizeable crowd, among whom were many Africans carrying placards and shouting slogans, were waiting for Mr. Macmillan outside the hotel. After the Civic Luncheon the Mayor made a short speech welcoming Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy to Blantyre. Mr. Macmillan replied.

34. Shortly after 2:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy took leave of the Governor and Lady Armitage and members of the Executive Council at Chileka airport before taking off for Salisbury.

35. After arriving in Salisbury at about 4:15 p.m., Mr. Macmillan went to the Federal Assembly at 5:30 p.m. to give a Press conference.

After returning to Government House at about 6:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had a conversation with Mr. Savanhu.

At 6:40 p.m. he had a conversation with Mr. Wellington Chirwa.

36. At about 7:45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan went to new Meikles Hotel for a private dinner with Sir Roy Welensky. Lord Malvern and Sir Edgar Whitehead were also present.

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* Record included in this print.

SECRET
RECORDS OF MEETINGS AND CONVERSATIONS

A.—FEDERATION AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Record of a Meeting of Ministers held at Salisbury on 19th January, 1960, at 8.45 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook

SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation
Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia
Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law
Mr. A. D. Evans, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs

Sir Roy Welensky said that he and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia were glad to have this opportunity to discuss with Mr. Macmillan a number of questions which were all, in varying degrees, related to the work of the Monckton Commission and the future of the Federation. He himself had already had some informal talk on these at the private meeting which he had had with Mr. Macmillan on the previous evening; but he was glad that Sir Edgar Whitehead and Mr. Greenfield would now be able to express their views. There were two immediate difficulties about the work of the Monckton Commission. First, the unfortunate remarks which Lord Shawcross had made in a television interview had created a widespread impression within the Federation that the Commission would go outside their terms of reference. The Dominion Party were indeed preparing to put before the Commission a case for dissolving the Federation. Secondly, there was much alarm at the possibility that extremists of both sides would use the Commission as a means of gaining undesirable publicity. All this made it difficult to find an acceptable formula about immunity for evidence tendered to the Commission.

More broadly, Ministers in Salisbury were concerned about the attitude of the United Kingdom Government towards the future of the Federation. Hitherto they had assumed that Britain favoured its continuation. Some recent developments had caused them to wonder whether there had been some change in United Kingdom policy on this.

Finally, Sir Roy Welensky said that there was concern at the rumours of the impending release of Dr. Banda. He had hoped that he would be consulted about this before any decision was taken. It now appeared that a decision to release Dr. Banda had been taken without consultation with the Government of the Federation. He himself believed that, if Dr. Banda were released in the near future, this would substantially increase the security risks in Nyasaland.

Sir Edgar Whitehead recalled that Southern Rhodesia had enjoyed self-government since 1923 and might by now have achieved independence if it had not joined the Federation. Southern Rhodesia had surrendered some of its separate powers to the Federation, and had sacrificed the early prospect of independence, in the wider interest of Central Africa as a whole. They had taken this step with their eyes open to the fact that it would postpone their independence for some years. It now seemed however that this postponement would be even longer than had originally been contemplated; and as a result feeling was now growing in Southern Rhodesia in favour of withdrawal from the Federation. Though he himself still believed firmly in Federation, he would have difficulty in controlling that feeling. The destruction of the Federation would, in his opinion, be disastrous, especially for Nyasaland. The only hope of raising the standard of living in Nyasaland lay in the continuance of Federation. Without the assistance it drew from other parts of the Federation it would degenerate into a rural slum. Nevertheless, he feared that the people of Southern Rhodesia would not be willing to continue their support for the Federation unless their minimum conditions could be satisfied in the course of 1960.
Mr. Macmillan said that in all these problems he would like to draw a distinction between strategy and tactics. If the Governments concerned could agree upon a common strategy, they would be better able to handle the difficulties of the tactical situation. The United Kingdom Government were convinced that Federation, though it involved some sacrifices by some of its members, had great advantages for the whole. The best prospect of economic progress in Nyasaland certainly lay in continued membership of the Federation. And even Southern Rhodesia, though it had postponed its prospects of independence by joining the Federation, had thereby secured the advantages of membership of a larger economic unit. The United Kingdom Government had not changed their policy towards the Federation. It was true that some uncertainties had developed in public opinion in Britain—due largely perhaps to propaganda by the Church of Scotland and to the sympathies felt for the growth of national consciousness in Africa. The Labour Party had naturally tried to make the most of this situation; and the Government had to handle the position carefully, for this was a subject on which liberal and sentimental streams of opinion in the United Kingdom could easily be exploited. Public opinion must be brought round to see more clearly the advantages, political as well as economic, which Federation could bring to all its constituent parts. Difficult decisions would have to be taken by Governments at the end of 1960, and it would be a mistake to allow propaganda hostile to the concept of Federation to build up throughout the year. There were already some signs from public opinion. And the work of the Monckton Commission should be of great value in influencing public opinion in the United Kingdom. This was a strong Commission, containing a number of highly intelligent men; and he certainly hoped that their report would present the true facts of the existing situation and an objective appraisal of the practical means of making further progress. It was certainly not the function of the Commission to destroy the Federation: on the contrary its function was to find means by which it could go forward. This was clear from its terms of reference; and he proposed to make that plain in the public speech which he would be making later that day.

Mr. Macmillan added that he also proposed to clear up, in that speech, the misunderstanding which had arisen about the statement which he made at his Press Conference in Lagos. As he would show, from the precise text of that statement, he had not then been referring at all to the possibility of secession from the Federation, but to the eventual right of all its constituent parts to decide whether they should continue in an independent Federation.

On the question of immunity for evidence given to the Monckton Commission, Mr. Macmillan said that it ought to be possible to reach agreement on a formula. In substance what seemed to be required was that witnesses should be immune from prosecution in respect of statements made in oral evidence to the Commission or contained in written evidence published by the Commission. He quite agreed that people should not be enabled to make use of the Commission by submitting written evidence which was libellous or seditious and simultaneously, or subsequently, publishing it in the Press. They should not then be allowed to claim immunity on the ground that this was a statement "made to the Commission".

As regards Dr. Banda, Mr. Macmillan undertook to consult further with Sir Roy Welensky after his visit to Nyasaland, when he would discuss the general security situation with the Governor. The timing of Dr. Banda's release was largely a matter of tactics. The main objective in Nyasaland must be to end the emergency and make a start with constitutional progress. It was in the interest of the Federation that constitutional reform in Nyasaland should proceed as rapidly as possible; for otherwise the eventual attainment of independence by the Federation as a whole would be delayed.

Mr. Greenfield said that he had been encouraged by what Mr. Macmillan had said about the Monckton Commission. He still felt, however, that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation were to some extent at cross purposes about this. The Government of the Federation had not wanted the Commission, and had agreed to it only on condition that its terms of reference should not allow it to consider alternatives to Federation. They had been seriously embarrassed by subsequent "interpretations" which seemed to have had the effect of widening the terms of reference. From this point of view the statement made by Lord Shawcross had been specially damaging. They had also been embarrassed by the emphasis laid by United Kingdom Ministers on the fact that the Monckton
Commission would be free to hear evidence from Africans, including those under detention. As a result, in the two Northern territories, active steps were now being taken to persuade Africans to give evidence against Federation. In this connexion he drew attention to material published in Nshila, the official information journal of the Northern Rhodesian Government: its issue of 5th January had contained material which, in his judgment, was a direct incitement to Africans to give evidence hostile to Federation. Officials of the Northern Rhodesian Government were by this means continuing a campaign against Federation. At this point Mr. Macmillan suggested that it would have been an even worse situation if Africans had carried out their threat to boycott the work of the Monckton Commission.

In further discussion Sir Edgar Whitehead said that he was still concerned about the question of immunity for evidence tendered to the Monckton Commission. The Parliament of Southern Rhodesia would in any event have to pass legislation about the work of the Commission; and he did not think he could persuade his Parliament to enact a provision which would give immunity to oral evidence given in public before the Commission. If the Commission decided to hear evidence in public, he had no doubt that this situation would be exploited by extremists on both sides. And public feeling throughout the Federation would be inflamed. The Press would lose no opportunity to give publicity, and the position would become intolerable, if the newspapers were filled with inflammable statements made in evidence to the Commission. He therefore felt very strongly that any immunity in respect of oral evidence must be restricted to evidence tendered in private. Mr. Macmillan said that Lord Monckton was fully alive to this difficulty and would certainly prefer that most, if not all, of the evidence should be taken in private. But it was for the Commission themselves to determine their procedure: they had not yet met to discuss it: and Lord Monckton might prejudice his position as Chairman if he gave any public indication in advance of his own preference for private sessions. Thus, although there was good reason to suppose that this difficulty would not arise in practice, it was difficult for either Government to give assurances about it in advance before the Commission had assembled. Meanwhile, however, it was evident that some agreed formula must be devised as a matter of urgency; for legislation had to be introduced in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia and some statement had also to be made in the Parliament at Westminster as soon as it reassembled on 26th January. Sir Roy Welensky said that he hoped it would be possible to reach agreement on a formula by which immunity would be restricted to oral evidence given in private and written evidence published by or with the authority of the Commission. Mr. Macmillan said that he had telegraphed to London on this subject on the previous evening: he expected to have a reply in the course of the day: he hoped that it would then be possible to reach agreement on a suitable form of words.

Sir Roy Welensky suggested that it might also be useful, especially in view of Lord Shawcross’ remarks, if a joint statement could be made during Mr. Macmillan’s visit about the terms of reference of the Commission. Mr. Macmillan said that he would be referring to this in his speech later that day; and he hoped that what he was proposing to say would have the effect of allaying the anxieties which were felt in the Federation on this question.

The meeting was terminated at this point in order that Mr. Macmillan might attend a meeting of the Federal Cabinet.

Record (made by Federation officials) of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Members of the Federal Cabinet on 19th January, 1960, at 9·50 a.m.

Present:
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation
Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Power
Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law
Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Minister of Economic Affairs, Minister of Defence and Minister for the Public Service

SECRET
Mr. D. Macintyre, Minister of Finance
Mr. F. S. Owen, Minister of Commerce and Industry and Minister of Posts
Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Minister of Education and Minister of Health

In attendance:
Sir Norman Brook
Mr. M. D. Evans
Mr. M. R. Metcalf
Mr. Parry
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt
Mr. A. J. Lamb

Mr. Macmillan explained that the purpose of his visit to the Federation was partly to complete his tour of the Commonwealth and partly to meet people here and gain impressions of the problems facing the Federation. He recognised that the period through which the Federation was going was a difficult one but he felt there was no reason for pessimism and that the aim should be to concentrate on the strategic object of the Federal concept. He considered that the Federation as a whole would be of great advantage to Central Africa and that it would be tragic if it were destroyed, a situation which could only lead to disorder and disaster. The pessimism relating to the Federation which had developed was, in his opinion, to some extent due to an atmosphere of idealism and support for the underdog which was in the make-up of the people of Britain and, on the other hand, to a narrow and selfish view by some people concerned as to what they had got out of it. Too much emphasis had been placed on the negative aspect of safeguards to the exclusion of acknowledgment of positive gains. The whole aim should be to maintain the steady forward progress of the Federation. This in fact was the purpose of the Monckton Commission which he was confident would provide a wealth of accurate information and take an informed view. The membership of the Commission was such as should promote confidence. It would in any case only be advisory to the Governments concerned and its value would be in creating a background of sensible and sound opinion. Opposition criticism was not important as such, but on this occasion it had touched a point on which the conscience of public opinion was sensitive. The Monckton Commission would help to bring it home to public opinion that the concept of Federation not only offered material advantage but was also right and fair. British people liked to feel, not only that they had their feet on the ground but that their eyes were on a horizon. As part of this concept it was necessary to ensure political advancement for Nyasaland as rapidly as was practicable in order to make the various constituent parts of the Federation more homogeneous and correct an imbalance which existed between them.

Sir Roy Welensky referred to the considerable embarrassment which had been caused in the Federation by Lord Shawcross's statements on television and mentioned that there was a strong feeling that he was no longer a suitable person to serve on the Monckton Commission.

Mr. Greenfield referred to Mr. Macmillan's view that the Monckton Commission should be trusted, but could not reconcile this with the lack of confidence engendered in the Federation by Lord Shawcross's statements.

Mr. Caldicott also referred to Lord Shawcross's remarks and suggested that, in view of what Mr. Macmillan had been reported as saying in Lagos, there was need for a firm statement correcting the position, otherwise the Federation would suffer a dangerous period of doubt and uncertainty.

Mr. Macmillan said that what he had said in Lagos had been misreported and he proposed to take advantage of his address to the National Affairs Association to put the matter in perspective. He agreed that the remarks made by Lord Shawcross were unfortunate, but he was convinced that he had an open mind on this subject and would be a valuable member of the Monckton Commission. He was confident that the Commission itself would be a source of strength. He hoped that it would hear most of its evidence in private and arrangements could be made to deal with the problem of publication of evidence. He himself sensed in the United Kingdom a reaction to extreme views and reiterated that good faith was necessary in the operations of the Commission. He felt that one should not underestimate the capacity of the British people to change to a sensible view from an emotional attitude developed by a mixture of sentimentalism and getting hold of the wrong end of the stick.
Mr. Macintyre said that he was relieved to hear Mr. Macmillan’s assurances concerning the Monkton Commission. He drew attention, however, to the need to allay any doubts as to the permanence of the Federation. If there was any impression that the Federal Government was merely a caretaker Government this would have serious effects on the ability of the Federation to raise external loans.

Sir Roy Welensky drew Mr. Macmillan’s attention to the statements concerning the Federation by Mr. Lyttelton in the House of Commons on 24th March, 1953 and the 24th June, 1953.

Sir Malcolm Barrow referred to the security position in Nyasaland which he described as extremely delicate. A vacuum had been created since the emergency in early 1959 which had been filled, with the encouragement of the Nyasaland Government, by the Malawi Congress Party under Orton Chirwa who was, of course, legal adviser to the banned African National Congress. Whatever the Malawi Party may have said at its inception it was quite clear that it did not eschew violence and a situation was building up in Nyasaland on the same lines as that before the emergency had been declared. It was understood that there was to be an accelerated release of detainees; these would reinforce the Malawi Party with militant leadership. In his opinion if Dr. Banda were to be released, even to the United Kingdom, it would not be possible to contain the position in Nyasaland since Africans would compare him with Makarios and Nkrumah. If the United Kingdom Government were a party to the release of Dr. Banda, bloodshed would ensue in Nyasaland for which they would have to take responsibility.

Mr. Macmillan said that he proposed to discuss the question of the release of detainees further with the Governor of Nyasaland and would have the opportunity of further consultations with Sir Roy Welensky on the matter when he returned to Salisbury. He was fully alive to the need to create a situation which would lead to confidence in the minds of external lenders.

Note by Mr. Macmillan of a Meeting with Representatives of the Dominion Party held at Salisbury on 19th January, 1960, at 10-30 a.m.

The Federal and the Southern Rhodesian representatives of the Dominion Party came to see me together.

I thought Mr. Field more intelligent than his colleague, who was not above “bush” calibre and seemed very young and inexperienced in affairs. He was also much more extreme about Africans.

They explained the general idea of the Dominion Party—which is to annexe the Copper Belt, the Kariba Dam, &c., and then to hand over to the Colonial Office the useless parts of Northern Rhodesia, plus Nyasaland, to administer as they wished. This enlarged Southern Rhodesia would then get Dominion status.

This seems quite a good idea from their point of view (as they explained it). Yet I doubt if they hold it very seriously. Mr. Field is obviously a man of some power and intellect. If (which would be a disaster) he obtained power, I daresay he would improve.

Note by Mr. Macmillan of a Conversation with Sir Edgar Whitehead held on Wednesday, 20th January, 1960, at 9 a.m.

This interview (30-35 minutes) was in two parts.

First, Sir Edgar Whitehead said all the things already on the agenda and repeated later, e.g., request for the removal of the reserve powers of the United Kingdom Government in respect of African affairs, &c.

Secondly, he expressed a good deal of doubt about the future of the Federation—although he added that he would not say this to anyone else.

He had caused a financial investigation to be made, and he believed that Southern Rhodesia could—from this point of view—exist quite comfortably as a separate State with a very loose federation or none.

About the African problem, he agreed that too little had been done, and too late, on such matters as discrimination. But he was up against the Opposition and (as I would see later at his Cabinet meeting) his own people. I did see.

SECRET
Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Members of the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet held on 20th January, 1960, at 9.30 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan

SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and Minister of Native Affairs
Mr. C. J. Hatty, Minister of the Treasury and Mines
Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Housing
Mr. R. M. Cleveland, Minister of Local Government and Native Education
Mr. R. Knight, Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs
Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, Minister of Roads and Minister of Irrigation and Lands
Mr. H. J. Quinton, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs

In attendance:
Sir Norman Brook
Mr. M. R. Metcalf
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

Sir Edgar Whitehead asked Mr. Macmillan if he would make an opening statement, after which he knew that members of the Cabinet had various questions to put to him.

Mr. Macmillan said he was very happy to have a chance of speaking frankly and in confidence to the members of the Cabinet, for the purpose of his visit was not to negotiate but to try to learn their point of view. Knowledge of their views would give him an invaluable background when questions concerning Southern Rhodesia came to be dealt with in London.

Mr. Hatty said that, as the Minister in charge of finance and economic affairs, he was concerned at the lack of confidence in Southern Rhodesia which was now becoming evident. There seemed to be a falling off in investment. He could not support this with exact figures; it was based more on personal impressions. He referred to the views of Mr. George Beharrel, Chairman of Dunlop's, and of one of the leading figures in the Vacuum Oil Company. Things seemed to be standing still until the Monckton Commission and the Review Conference were out of the way.

Mr. Macmillan said that he hoped that his speech of the previous day would have contributed to a restoration of confidence. He thought that the great hope for the Federation, and for Southern Rhodesia, was that, as the standard of living of all the people rose, the internal market would greatly expand.

Mr. Abrahamson said he would like to support what Mr. Hatty had said. He thought that industrialists were putting off expanding their plant, and something of the same kind was evident in relation to new housing. One of his particular worries was about African employment. The education of Africans had made such strides that by 1964 there would be annually some 30,000 Africans who had reached standard VI going on to the labour market, and he did not see how employment could be found for them all. This would only be possible in an expanding economy. Mr. Hatty said that the short-term funds lying with the Building Societies had increased to a record and embarrassing amount.

Sir Edgar Whitehead said that one statistical indication he could give was that the total reserves of the Federal banking system had shown a slight decline over the past 12 months in spite of the fact that the Federation had had a record favourable
trade balance and there had been a lot of official borrowing. He deduced that there had been some movement of capital out of the country.

Sir Edgar Whitehead said that one of the factors affecting confidence was the long waiting period before the results of the Monckton Commission and the Federal Review Conference would be known. Mr. Abrahamson and Mr. Stumbles said that they for their part had only agreed to the Monckton Commission under strong personal pressure from Lord Home, the Commonwealth Secretary, on his visit to Salisbury in April.

Mr. Quinton said that he had recently had three meetings with farmers in the most prosperous and longest-settled part of Southern Rhodesia. His aim had been to find out whether they would help to relieve the distress which the drought would cause to Africans by taking on extra labour. All the farmers had said that, so long as the state of political uncertainty continued, they could not face increased expenditure or commitments. They had confidence in Southern Rhodesia, but none in the Federation or in the two Northern Territories. Their view was that the African majority was being misled by an African minority, the latter numbering much less than the total of Europeans. The farmers could see the future clear for their own lifetime but they were worried about their children's future. Some of them, including some of the older ones, were saying they would go after the next crop. The only thing which would reassure such people would be a clear and positive statement on the future of the Federation, and, because of the need to wait at least until the end of 1960, no such statement could be made.

Mr. Stumbles said he was still not quite happy about what the Prime Minister had said in his speech about the two Northern Territories. If United Kingdom protection was not to be withdrawn until these territories were free to decide for themselves, then at that stage they could logically decide to secede from the Federation. Mr. Macmillan said that his statements in Lagos and Salisbury merely repeated what he had said in the House of Commons in July and did not go further than what was said in the Preamble to the Constitution. The real reason why the Monckton Commission was essential was that it would have been a hopeless task to start from scratch on the Constitutional Review Conference without having preliminary work done on the facts. He thought that a reaction was already beginning in the United Kingdom against the extreme critical line that had been taken in some quarters there; when the Commission started working, and he hoped it would work mainly in private, he thought that it would have a good effect in damping down criticism. The Federation existed and could not be broken up. The point he had made at Lagos, and again in his speech to the National Affairs Association, was a different one: it was directed to the conditions under which the Federation could become an independent country.

Mr. Quinton asked about the franchise in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Was it the intention that they should go over to universal suffrage, with ignorant Africans casting a ballot for one of a set of symbols? If so, Europeans would not be able to live there, nor would the territories themselves have a chance of stable government. Mr. Hatty said that changes in the constitution of the Northern Territories would lead to a great strengthening of the demand for the removal of the present restrictions on the Southern Rhodesia constitution. If there could be an advance of that sort for Southern Rhodesia it would greatly improve confidence.

Sir Edgar Whitehead said that, if this year merely produced a postponement of the issue; if it resulted in a recommendation for another review, say in five years' time; it would be fatal. There must be finality. Mr. Macmillan asked Sir Edgar Whitehead whether the point he was making was that the Federal Review Conference should lay down a definite programme, with dates, even if it could not, there and then, result in final independence for the Federation? There was general agreement to this formulation.

Mr. Macmillan said that account must be taken of public opinion in the United Kingdom. It was a part of the British character, a source sometimes of weakness but often of strength, that they had a feeling for the under-dog and wished the policy of their Government to be not merely practicable, and economically advantageous, but also fair and honourable. He would certainly try on his return to put in a proper light the part which Southern Rhodesia had played and was playing in the Federation. As he had explained in his speech,
The Federation did not arise from an act of aggression by Southern Rhodesia, but from a policy of co-operation and partnership. Meanwhile, people in the Federation must face the facts that to the north of them independent African States were arising and that to the south of them was the Union, whose racial policy offered no hope for the future. Between these two spheres of policy the position of the Federation must inevitably be most difficult. If they could make partnership work they would be much more secure. He regarded the Federation as offering a supreme chance of an honourable, equitable and safe settlement of the racial problem.

Sir Edgar Whitehead said that there was still friction between Southern Rhodesia and some of the authorities in the two Northern Territories. This was partly due to the different traditions of the two Civil Services. The Southern Rhodesians derived from the liberal tradition of the old Cape Province, before the heavy hand of the Afrikander ideology spoilt it. The Coloured Service in the Northern Territories based their doctrine on the paramountcy of African interests. There was always a temptation for officials in Northern Rhodesia to blame the Federation for anything which was unpopular with the Africans. He mentioned certain specific cases.

Mr. Quinton said that Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland did not dislike coming to Southern Rhodesia to work and some Nyasalanders had told him that, if there were an African Government in Nyasaland, they would try to settle more or less permanently in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Abrahams said that Southern Rhodesia Africans objected to the Nyasalanders taking their jobs, and put this down as one of the drawbacks of Federation. Mr. Knight agreed with what the Prime Minister had said about Africans being given the opportunity for political self-expression. But African leaders interpreted this as meaning that they would get the Government into their hands by virtue of universal franchise. He realised the strength of African nationalism throughout the continent, but here there was no place for African nationalism, only for Rhodesian nationalism.

Mr. Macmillan said that a system based on universal franchise was hard to work even in a country with a homogeneous population. It was inherent in any attempt to have fair representation in a multi-racial State that all races must have self-expression but there must be no domination by a crude majority. Mr. Knight asked whether, when Mr. Macmillan had spoken about obtaining the views of all the inhabitants, he had meant that there must be a referendum by universal franchise. Mr. Macmillan said that he would make a distinction between such matters of ultimate significance and the machinery for carrying on the normal business of government. He did not want to say anything about the machinery for ascertaining the views of the inhabitants. He agreed with Mr. Hatty that the aim must be to get people to think on the lines of Party and not of race. Sir Edgar Whitehead said that, from the point of view of the franchise, Southern Rhodesia now stood roughly where the United Kingdom did after the first Reform Bill. Mr. Macmillan said that the difference was that in Africa there was heavy pressure from independence movements elsewhere.

Mr. Cleveland said that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had remained relatively undeveloped: the concept seemed to be that of preserving the noble savage in a sort of national park. In Southern Rhodesia the ideal was that the Government should advance all the inhabitants of the country. Mr. Macmillan said that he could not agree with this. The United Kingdom taxpayer had poured money into the Colonies, even in our times of greatest economic difficulty in the 'thirties. Mr. Abrahams said that in the Northern Territories a lot of this money had been misdirected into creating a welfare State rather than in building up a sound basis for economic development. Sir Edgar Whitehead pointed out that Southern Rhodesia got no money from Colonial Development and Welfare funds and that when they asked to be allowed to borrow £1 million from the Colonial Development Corporation this was ruled to be contrary to the Act and there had to be further legislation to legalise it. Apart from this contribution, Southern Rhodesians had created the present very high standard of living there by their own efforts. This year the Government were increasing taxation to meet the rising costs of African education. This money was voted by a European electorate. It was embarrassing that his Government's responsibilities were so largely limited to African affairs, because the things in which Europeans were interested were
federal. 12½ per cent. of Southern Rhodesia's revenue was spent on African education. The fact that they had thus laid heavy burdens on a European electorate for the advancement of the Africans was a strong enough argument for removing the reservations in their constitution. He claimed that they could be trusted to continue to carry out wisely their responsibility towards Africans when the United Kingdom control of this aspect of their affairs was removed.

Mr. Macmillan said that he had referred to these great achievements of the Southern Rhodesian Government in his speech of the day before.

Sir Edgar Whitehead thanked Mr. Macmillan for coming and for speaking to him and his colleagues.

Record of a Meeting held at Salisbury on 20th January, 1960, at 2:45 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook

SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation
Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law

1. Anglo-American Talks on Africa

Sir Roy Welensky said that he had learned from the Press (the confidential supplement to The Economist) that there had recently been some Anglo-American talks on Africa. He gathered that one of the conclusions reached was that there was no immediate Communist threat to Africa. He did not dissent from this conclusion.

Mr. Macmillan took this opportunity of summarising the general course of Anglo-American relations since 1956 and referred to the intimacy of the contacts which had now been established, especially on intelligence matters. This particular meeting had been one of a series in which officials of the two countries exchanged views on matters of general interest in all parts of the world.

Sir Roy Welensky said that he had not raised this matter by way of complaint.

2. Defence

Sir Roy Welensky said that, after considering the comments which he had had from the United Kingdom Government, he had now come to the conclusion that it would be unwise to press his earlier suggestion of a regional defence pact for Africa. He was however disposed to think that it would be wise for the Federation to establish closer contacts on defence matters with the Portuguese. He would be glad if Mr. Macmillan would arrange for the United Kingdom Government to consider this and let him have their views on it.

Mr. Macmillan undertook to consider this question after his return to London.

3. Belgian Congo

Sir Roy Welensky said that Sir Edgar Whitehead was apprehensive about the repercussions in Southern Rhodesia of the constitutional developments which were taking place in the Belgian Congo. He himself doubted whether the immediate consequences would in fact be very serious. These developments did however add urgency to the problem of road facilities through the Katanga Pedicle. The Government of the Federation would themselves be content with an agreement conferring rights for a term of 50 years, as the Belgians had offered. The view had been taken in London that we should continue to press for rights in perpetuity. Time might, however, be running against us; and he thought it would be wiser to settle this matter quickly on the basis of the Belgian offer.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would arrange for the United Kingdom Government to reconsider this matter on the basis of the views expressed by Sir Roy Welensky.
4. Consultation between Governments

Sir Roy Welensky said that if he or Sir Edgar Whitehead had any consultations with the United Kingdom Government, they always did their best to keep the Governors of the two Northern Territories informed. He was sorry to say that the same procedure was not always followed in respect of consultations between the United Kingdom Government and the Governments of the two Northern Territories. For example, a conference on security had recently been held in Kenya, at which the Governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been represented: he did not suggest that the Governments of the Federation or of Southern Rhodesia need necessarily have been invited to send representatives to this conference, but he thought that they might have been informed of its results.

Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government certainly had no deliberate intention to withhold information from the Government of the Federation. In so far as this sort of thing happened, it was not by malice or by policy. It must be due partly to the shape of Government organisation in Whitehall—there were bound to be occasions on which it was inconvenient that the affairs of the Federation were handled in London by two Departments. The other cause was doubtless the fallibility of human memory—things did sometimes tend to get overlooked. He would consider on his return whether any new machinery could be devised to ensure that the Government of the Federation were kept informed of such dealings between the United Kingdom Government and the Governments of the two Northern Territories as were of interest to them.

5. Monckton Commission: Protection of Witnesses

Mr. Macmillan said that, in the light of the views expressed at his meeting with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead on 19th January, he had considered further how it could best be made plain that people would be free to express their views to the Monckton Commission without fear of prosecution. So far as concerned written evidence, a basis of agreement seemed to have been found: it could be publicly stated that no statement made to the Commission in writing would be used in evidence in any criminal proceedings, provided that words were added to make it plain that this did not apply to the re-publication, without the authority of the Commission, of written evidence given to it. No difficulty arose about oral evidence given to the Commission in private. The only problem now outstanding was that of oral evidence given at any public session held by the Commission. Even this difficulty would not arise if, as he believed, the Commission decided to take all, or most, of their evidence in private. But, as he had already explained, it would be for the Commission themselves to determine their procedure and Lord Monckton would not be able to say publicly, before the Commission had met, that evidence would be taken in private.

Sir Roy Welensky said that, if it could be assumed that the Commission would in fact take its evidence in private, the problem was solved. It was most important that the Commission should not hold public sessions if witnesses were able to use the sessions of the Commission as a public forum for ventilating extremist views on either side. One of the main purposes of the Commission would then be defeated: for the publicity which would be given to its proceedings in the Press would certainly have the effect of embittering racial relations throughout the Federation. Moreover, other difficulties would arise. For, while the Governments would not themselves be giving evidence to the Commission, the leaders of other political Parties throughout the Federation would certainly be doing so, and it would be embarrassing if they were able by this means to secure full publicity for their views while the views of the Governments went by default. In these circumstances he suggested that the best course would be for Mr. Macmillan to urge Lord Monckton to do his utmost to persuade the Commission to take all their evidence in private.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would certainly be willing to explain to Lord Monckton the reasons why it was important in the national interest that the Commission should take this course and to urge him to do his utmost to persuade the Commission to follow it. The immediate problem might then be met by the issue of public statements, by the Attorney-General in each of the three Territories, in the following terms:

“No statement made to the Commission whether orally or in writing will be used in evidence in any criminal proceedings. This does not apply..."
to statements made by witnesses outside the Commission even if merely in repetition of oral evidence or republication of written evidence given to the Commission."

Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Greenfield said that they would support the issue of a statement in these terms, on the understanding that Mr. Macmillan would communicate with Lord Monckton on the lines which he had suggested. They would do their utmost to persuade Sir Edgar Whitehead to accept this solution of the problem. They would at the same time advise him that the legislation relating to the Monckton Commission which had to be passed by the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia should be restricted to procedural matters and that this question of immunity for witnesses should be handled separately by way of a declaration by the Attorney-General on the lines proposed.

Note.—Later on 20th January a verbal message was received from Sir Roy Welensky to the effect that Sir Edgar Whitehead had accepted the conclusion recorded in Minute 5 above.

Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Representatives of African Opinion in Southern Rhodesia, held in Sir Edgar Whitehead's House in Salisbury, on Wednesday, 20th January, 1960, at 4 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Sir Norman Brook, Mr. D. W. S. Hunt and Mr. T. J. Bligh.

The representatives of African Opinion in Southern Rhodesia were:
Mr. H. W. Chitepo, Mr. N. Shamuyarira, Mr. S. J. T. Samkange, Mr. Chad Chipunza, Mr. Charles Mzingeli, Mr. P. H. Chanetsa, Mr. Aiden Mwamuka, Mr. J. Madzima, Mr. A. Nyazika, Mr. Lot Senda Moyo, Mr. I. Samuwirwi, Mr. L. M. Takawira, Mr. Aaron Iacha, Chief Chinamora, Chief Simon Sigola, Mr. R. M. Bango, Mr. K. G. Dube, Mr. S. Moyo, Mr. M. M. Hove, Mr. Jairos Jiri, M.B.E., Mr. J. W. Vera, Reverend Willie Segeca, Mr. M. G. Moyo, Mr. J. Z. Gumede, Mr. M. A. Wakatama, Reverend Nemapare, Mr. Makaye and Chief Mukanganwe.

Mr. Macmillan said he had come to Africa to learn and he would like those present to tell him their views.

Mr. Samkange hoped that Mr. Macmillan would agree to see the National Democratic Party. Mr. Macmillan said this had only been started about three weeks previously and he had thought it more important to see representatives of the other Parties. Nevertheless, he would note what had been said.

Mr. Chitepo referred to the reservations in the Southern Rhodesian constitution, the United Kingdom "reserved rights". He hoped that the United Kingdom Government would not surrender these so long as the Southern Rhodesian Government discriminated against the Africans. Mr. Mzingeli supported this. Mr. Shamuyarira said that the franchise laws, the land laws and the colour bar in Southern Rhodesia were discriminatory against the African and until these had been altered he hoped the United Kingdom Government would not allow Southern Rhodesia to become completely self-governing. Mr. Chad Chipunza also thought it would be wrong to remove the United Kingdom reserved rights at this stage. Mr. Chitepo said there was a so-called qualitative franchise at present in Southern Rhodesia. This resulted in a Government completely un-representative of the people. Rhodesia, like the rest of Africa, was experiencing a surge of nationalism. The present situation could not go on. They must set a Government which was representative of the majority of the people. It must also be remembered that the Southern Rhodesian Government had in detention at present eight African political leaders. Mr. Samkange thought the reservations on the constitution could only go when the majority of Africans took part in electing a Government. He also thought that there should be in the Southern Rhodesian constitution some sort of Bill of Rights. Mr. Shamuyarira said the reservations were very important. Perhaps they could be kept on until there was a Bill of Rights. At present there
was no right of appeal by Africans against discriminatory measures. They should have written into the constitution the same sort of protection as was written into the American constitution. Mr. Chitepo added that the Southern Rhodesian Government could not keep 2½ million people voteless for ever. Mr. Mwamuka agreed.

Mr. Macmillan said that it was important to distinguish between the reserve powers of the United Kingdom Government, which were at present under review, and the influence which the United Kingdom Government were able to exercise. On the reserve powers, they had asked for a written expression of the views of the Southern Rhodesian Government. It should be remembered that in respect of the two Northern Territories the United Kingdom Government also had definite powers, and he had repeated in his speech the previous day the pledges which the United Kingdom Government had given not to surrender those powers until the people in the territories concerned were willing that this should be done. On the other hand, there were certain things over which the United Kingdom Government had no power, and which they could only alter by using influence. Mr. Chitepo said that the United Kingdom Government could use its powers indirectly. The Reverend Nemapare hoped Mr. Macmillan would give them then and there an assurance on reserve powers. Mr. Hove supported this.

Mr. Shamuyarira said that when Southern Rhodesia had become a self-governing Colony the United Kingdom Government had relinquished some of its powers to a Government which was responsible only to a small European minority. The Southern Rhodesian Government was elected by 5 per cent. of the inhabitants and the Federal Government by 1 per cent. of the inhabitants. The United Kingdom Government should not relinquish responsibilities to such small groups. He also pointed out that the Southern Rhodesian memorandum on the reserve powers was being prepared by Europeans. He thought, and Mr. Samkange agreed, that it would be right for the United Kingdom Government to seek other points of view from Southern Rhodesia when the memorandum was being considered. Mr. Macmillan said that he took note of this point. The Reverend Nemapare said that any liberalisation that there might be in Southern Rhodesia was due indirectly to the fact that the United Kingdom had reserve powers.

Mr. Macmillan asked whether on the broader question of discrimination opinion within Southern Rhodesia was moving in the right direction. He rather thought it was. He thought it important that they should remember that the minor, and possibly most irritating, discriminations were not always the result of legislation. Such matters were often not within the powers of Parliament.

Mr. Shamuyarira said that there were many social discriminations in Southern Rhodesia. The recent immigrants from Europe, especially the women, tended to be the most arrogant. They called fully-grown African men "boys", because they did domestic work, and there were many other pinpricks of this sort. He thought that the social frictions would not disappear until legal discrimination had been removed. Mr. Macmillan suggested that they should take encouragement from the new University and the atmosphere of liberality which it encouraged. Mr. Hove said that the University was extra-territorial. Mr. Chitepo said the University was very good but they could not rely on University education to end discrimination: the pace would be much too slow. Mr. Takawira said that the Government were not giving a sufficiently good lead in education; more might be done in getting a liberal atmosphere in secondary schools. Mr. Samkange said that the University was unable to stage big occasions as there were not enough lavatories to cope with the different races. He also said that there were many discriminations against Africans in Salisbury: for example, all African offices had to be in the native quarter, even though there were many African professional men who were working as colleagues with Europeans. Mr. Mwamuka thought that it was the prevalence of racial discriminations in Southern Rhodesia which accounted for the African opposition to the idea of Federation.

Mr. Macmillan said that it might be quite a long time before they got to a position of "one man, one vote". After all, this had not been realised in the United Kingdom until after the 1946 election. In the meantime, there was much they might work for. Mr. Mwamuka thought it most important that the Federation should not be given Dominion status until social discriminations had been removed. Mr. Macmillan suggested that there were within Southern Rhodesia many
Europeans who were becoming liberal. There was general dissent from this. Mr. Shamuyarira said there was no significant body of liberal opinion in Southern Rhodesia. One had only to see what had happened to Mr. Garfield Todd. Sir Edgar Whitehead, while he had liberal instincts, was unable to display his liberalism to the electorate and had to pretend to be reactionary.

The discussion then turned to the Monckton Commission. Mr. Shamuyarira said that the wrong people had been appointed to the Monckton Commission as they were mostly Government employees, for example Chief Sigola. Mr. Bango hoped that there would be no interference with the African Affairs Board. He also thought the Africans had confidence in the Labour Party. Mr. Macmillan hoped that the Commission would do a good job. It was, after all, composed of experienced men of great good will. The Chairman, in particular, was most upright and conscientious and fair-minded. The Commission would be able to do a better job, the more evidence was given to it. They should be told as much as possible if they were to be of any help. Mr. Takawira thought that the terms of reference should have allowed the Commission to consider the possibility of secession. The Federation had already demonstrably failed, as it did not work on a basis of partnership. Mr. Macmillan said that the Monckton Commission was advisory. Its task was to find out as much as it could and then tell the Governments, who were responsible for taking the decisions, what the background was. Mr. Samkange said that the bar on the discussion of secession by the Monckton Commission really meant that territories within the Federation were like detainees. Mr. Macmillan hoped that everybody would give the Monckton Commission as much help as possible.

Sir Edgar Whitehead then came in to remind the Prime Minister that it was time to go to his next engagement and the meeting broke up with an exchange of courtesies.

Record of Conversation Between Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Garfield Todd in Salisbury, on Wednesday, 20th January, 1960, at 5:30 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan saw Mr. Garfield Todd at the United Kingdom High Commissioner's house before the High Commissioner's Reception.

After an exchange of courtesies Mr. Macmillan asked Mr. Todd how he saw things. Mr. Todd replied that, although he was usually very optimistic, he was very pessimistic now. Mr. Macmillan said he thought that much good might be got for very little, for example, if people could be got to treat the question who should or should not go into a hotel as one of money and not colour.

Mr. Todd said that the trouble in Rhodesia was that concessions were too little, too late and too grudging. He then went on to talk about widening the franchise. Mr. Macmillan observed that even in the United Kingdom the franchise had been widened only very gradually. It was true that the concessions had not on the whole been regarded by the public as too little or too late, but even in his own youth the franchise had been comparatively narrow—in a town of 20,000 people there might have been only about 8,000 voters.

Mr. Macmillan went on to ask Mr. Todd to refresh his (the Prime Minister's) memory about Mr. Todd's own Parliamentary career. Mr. Todd did so, telling how, when he was Prime Minister, he had had a majority of 26 out of 30, how that majority had included only 7 Liberals, how, so long as they were talking about Federation, they stuck together and how they split on the franchise and he went out.

Mr. Todd said that he wondered whether, with a view to fostering a non-racial society in the Federation, conditions might not be attached to United Kingdom aid for development. He said that this had been done in respect of the United Kingdom contribution towards the cost of the University college of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

There followed a discussion of other European territories in Africa, after which Mr. Todd said he believed the Federation would succeed. In reply to a question about the franchise he said that the test should be the worth of the individual, not an economic standard: some sort of educational standard should be the test.
Mr. Todd said that he had recently written in an article for publication in the United States: "The apparent weakness of Her Majesty's Government and strength of the Federal Government will lead to disaster". He sincerely hoped that time would give him cause to apologise for it. Mr. Macmillan said that one couldn't get one's way by hectoring, but there were other means. Mr. Todd remarked that there was very little time.

Mr. Todd was charming and friendly throughout; but, although his objects are clear enough, his ideas about means seemed woolly and vague.

B.—NORTHERN RHODESIA

Record of a Meeting of the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia held at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor, Northern Rhodesia
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

NORTHERN RHODESIA
The Hon. R. A. Nicholson, Acting Chief Secretary
The Hon. H. J. Roberts, Minister for Labour and Mines
The Hon. B. A. Doyle, Attorney-General and Minister for Legal Affairs
The Hon. T. C. Gardner, Acting Minister of Finance
The Hon. M. G. Billing, Acting Minister of Native Affairs
The Hon. W. G. Dunlop, Minister of Transport and Works
The Hon. A. E. Carlisle, Minister of Land and Natural Resources
The Hon. S. R. Malcolmson, Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare
The Hon. G. M. Musumbulwa, Minister of African Education
The Hon. E. M. L. Mwamba, Minister of African Agriculture
Mr. J. R. Dinwiddie, Acting Clerk

Sir Evelyn Hone welcomed Mr. Macmillan on behalf of the Executive Council. They were honoured by his visit to the Federation, and they were particularly pleased that he was travelling to each of its constituent parts. They particularly welcomed this opportunity for personal discussion with him.

The Council had recently been re-constituted: it now contained, for the first time, two African members. He was glad to be able to say that it was not divided into groups, on racial or other grounds: it functioned as a unit with no other consideration than the interests of the country as a whole.

Sir Evelyn Hone then invited Mr. Macmillan to address the Council.

Mr. Macmillan said that he had not come to negotiate any agreement on the constitutional issues which now confronted the Federation. His purpose in making this tour through Africa was to see something of the country and its problems, to meet some of the political leaders, and to gain a personal insight which would give him a clearer understanding of the problems which he and his colleagues at home would have to handle after his return.

Politicians were now principally occupied with the constitutional problems of the Federation. There was some danger that they might exaggerate the
importance of these problems. After all, the real purpose of politicians was so to arrange the affairs of a country as to enable its people to live a happy, prosperous and useful life. In Northern Rhodesia a primary objective of Government policy must be to broaden the basis of the economy, to expand the demand of the home market and to raise the standard of living of the people. For all this a political and constitutional framework was certainly required, but it was a mistake to suppose that constitutional reform was an end in itself.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would be glad to hear from the Ministers themselves something of the problems with which they were faced.

The following is a summary of the statements made by members of the Council:

1. **African Education**
   The Government were keenly aware of the need to expand educational facilities, though the financial resources which could be allotted to this were limited. A number of primary schools had been established, though these did not yet cover the whole country. A start had been made with secondary education. And training colleges for teachers were also in operation—two new colleges had been opened in the last year. These facilities were supplemented by mission schools, which received Government grants and were subject to Government control.

2. **African Agriculture**
   Subsistence-farming was traditional, but active steps were now being taken to persuade Africans to grow cash crops. Of these the main crops were maize and groundnuts, but good progress was being made with a new project for growing Turkish tobacco, for which there was now a good market. It was not easy to persuade Africans to change their traditional habits of farming, but they were showing an increasing readiness to accept Government guidance and advice.

   The traditional system of land tenure was not well adapted for cash farming. For, having no legal title to their land, Africans could not raise money by mortgage and a special scheme of assistance was needed in order to provide them with the capital required. A study was also being made of the possibility of introducing a new system of land tenure which would be better suited to cash farming.

3. **African Housing**
   High priority should be given to the provision of better housing accommodation for Africans. A higher housing standard would help to increase home demand and thus broaden the basis of the national economy. It would also make for greater contentment and political stability. An African Housing Board had been established, to which municipalities could go for financial assistance and for advice. The average cost of new housing, with drainage and other services, was about £400 per unit. There was also need for larger houses for middle-class Africans. The factor which limited faster progress was the difficulty of raising sufficient capital for this purpose. Loans or grants for housing development would be one of the most valuable contributions which the United Kingdom Government could make towards the future prosperity of Northern Rhodesia.

   Mr. Macmillan said he would be glad if the Governor would let him have a memorandum on the question of housing for Africans.

4. **Labour**
   Labour relations had been difficult in the past, but there was some hope that the position was now improving. There had been no strike in Northern Rhodesia since October 1958—largely because the attitude of the trade unions had recently been more reasonable.

5. **Monckton Commission**
   Anxiety was expressed lest the visit of the Monckton Commission to the Federation should have the effect of inflaming racial feeling. The attitude of Africans towards the Commission had been greatly influenced by the refusal of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom to co-operate in its work. It was most unfortunate that the Labour Party should have taken up such an unhelpful attitude on this question.
Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Members of the United Federal Party held at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 11:15 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

NORTHERN RHODESIA
Mr. H. J. Roberts (Leader and Minister of Labour and Mines)
Mr. G. M. Musumbulwa (Minister of African Education)
Mr. Steyn
Mr. Burney

Mr. Roberts said that he was the local leader of the Party of which the Federal Leader was Sir Roy Welensky. It was the only Party in Northern Rhodesia which had both European and African Ministers in the Government. He would like to ask Mr. Macmillan whether there could be any change in the present form of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution before United Kingdom protection was withdrawn.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was sorry that so much stress was being laid now on the negative aspect of not withdrawing protection. The reason for this was pressure, particularly from the Opposition in the United Kingdom. He thought he had now made the position of the Government sufficiently clear and he wanted to concentrate on the positive side. The Monckton Commission would be a great help in relieving this pressure. There must be many ways of ascertaining popular opinion.

Mr. Roberts said that the policy of his Party, which was completely non-racial, was to move forward to the time when the Government would consist wholly of elected Ministers, both European and African. The present official Ministers, though he did not question their capacity or intelligence, were in an anomalous position. Mr. Macmillan said that what was necessary was to get on with the job and not to waste too much time on theoretical arguments. He hoped that these controversies would die down when the Monckton Commission started work, especially as it was likely to sit in camera.

Mr. Musumbulwa said that he had been struck by what Mr. Macmillan had said in his Salisbury speech about the relatively advanced standard of education in West Africa. He agreed that this was a vital point to bear in mind when considering demands for self-government for Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Here they had simply not got enough educated Africans. He himself had been a Minister for 12 months now and realised how difficult it was to learn the arts of government.

Mr. Macmillan agreed. He said that in an old country, like France, even long periods of bad government could be endured because of the underlying strength of the country; in a new country, such as those in Africa, it was not safe to make mistakes.

Mr. Roberts, in replying to a question, gave an account of the local government system. He pointed out that the Native Authority Councils should be taken into account, in addition to the Legislative Council, when discussing representative institutions in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Roberts said that it had been a great mistake to put the Federal capital in Salisbury; it would have been much better placed in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Roberts said that he agreed whole-heartedly with what Mr. Macmillan had said in his Salisbury speech about Federation giving an example of partnership to the world. It must be remembered, however, that there were party political pressures on the Federal Government and for this reason it would be a great help if they could have in Northern Rhodesia a more representative government. He would like to suggest that there should be a division of subjects between those over which the Federal Government could have full control and those reserved to the United Kingdom Government. It was ridiculous, for example, that Parliamentary Questions could be asked at Westminster about the policy of road building in Northern Rhodesia.
Mr. Burney said that from the commercial point of view what was needed was stability. Business men drew the contrast between Southern Rhodesia, which had control of its own affairs, and Northern Rhodesia, where the ultimate control rested at Westminster. Confidence would come much more easily if there were some provision preventing the United Kingdom Government from legislating for Northern Rhodesia. 

Mr. Macmillan said he hoped that all these points would be put before the Monckton Commission. He thought that the Commission would perform a very useful function. Its purpose was to provide a briefing for all the Governments concerned in the Constitutional Review Conference. Possibly it might not make recommendations but merely set out the issues; but in his experience all conferences required to be well prepared in advance and he could not see how the Constitutional Review Conference could come to anything without the preparatory work which the Monckton Commission would undertake. 

Record of a Conversation between Mr. Macmillan and the Central Africa Party. at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 12 noon

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. T. J. Bligh

NORTHERN RHODESIA
Sir John Moffat
Mr. H. Franklin
Mr. A. H. Gondwe

Sir John Moffat said that he was concerned at the strength of the feeling against federation which was developing in Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere in the Federation. This was reported by all the branches of the Central Africa Party in all the territories. Mr. Macmillan asked to which main cause they attributed this feeling. Sir John Moffat said the attitude of the protected Africans was that their political and social progress would be hampered by federation. They differed in this respect from the Africans resident in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Franklin said that the African had believed that he need not be part of the Federation if he did not want to be. Developments were now tending to confirm his fears that Federation was a way of perpetuating European domination. During the time that the Federation had existed they had not noticed any difference in their economic, social and political life. He thought it fair to say that the hatred of Federation in the North was nearly pathological. The Africans in Northern Rhodesia were determined not to give way to Sir Roy Welensky and the Federal Party. This hostility might well lead to a process of passive resistance, strikes and so on, culminating perhaps in a revolutionary movement which could cause bloodshed. Mr. Gondwe said that Mr. Macmillan had come to Northern Rhodesia at an opportune time. He had recently toured his constituency to talk to his people about the Monckton Commission and he had found, wherever he went, that the Africans thought of Federation as synonymous with Salisbury and Sir Roy Welensky. They were indignant at the way things had gone. If Federation had an economic purpose, there need be no hurry to take irrevocable political steps. The fact that there appeared to be a rush towards implementing Federation made the Africans even more suspicious. They feared that the Europeans were aiming to create a military State under their domination. In particular his people believed that the Federation had tried to get Northern Rhodesia away from its status as protected territory. They also thought that in Southern Rhodesia the Federal Government were trying to create a South African way of life. 

Sir John Moffat agreed that the Africans in the Northern Territories feared very much that the protection of the United Kingdom Government would be withdrawn. They thought that the Europeans were determined at all costs to exercise supreme political power in the Northern Territories as in Southern Rhodesia. This was why the United Kingdom powers of protection were so unpopular with the Federal Government. It was also their reason for favouring the termination of the reserved powers in Southern Rhodesia. Sir John Moffat thought that the opportunities to explain Federation had been lost in the early days. It was now too late. If one showed an African a hospital and said this was one of the
advantages of Federation, he merely became irritated. He thought it was impossible that the political situation could continue as it was at present. They must now try to find some different sort of association which would hold the line until passions had died away.

Mr. Macmillan said Governments of the Territories concerned in the Federation were required under the law to review the position in 1960. They could not escape this. The Monckton Commission had been set up to help with this process. It had unfortunately become slightly involved in United Kingdom politics but that position had now been cleared up. Africans should realise that the Commission consisted of extremely able men of great good-will. He hoped that they would not boycott it. The Commission was purely advisory. Its function was to brief the Governments for the statutory review. It would be impossible for the Governments to conduct this review effectively without some such preparation.

Sir John Moffat said that he and his party believed in facing the facts in Northern Rhodesia, however unpleasant these facts were. There was no future in pretending that these facts did not exist.

Mr. Macmillan said that there was also some extremist body of opinion in Southern Rhodesia which was opposed to the continuance of Federation, but for different reasons.

Mr. Franklin said this sprung from Europeans who thought that Southern Rhodesia was losing money by Federation.

Sir John Moffat said that the main mistake which Europeans in Southern Rhodesia were making was their refusal to face the fact that the ultimate destiny of Africa was to be ruled by Africans.

Mr. Macmillan said that one could state a logical sequence of three possibilities:

(a) the Europeans could fight it out;
(b) they could all go away;
(c) they could try to find some workable machinery that was broadly fair to everybody and that would not necessarily mean a mere counting of heads.

Mr. Franklin said that they could not, even if they wanted to, fight it out in Northern Rhodesia. It was inevitable that in due course the country would become largely dominated by Africans. What they must try and do was to secure that in the Legislative Assembly there were a few Europeans working for a situation in which nobody would care about colour. He added that it sometimes seemed to them that the United Kingdom Government were afraid of Sir Roy Welensky as they were always adding a few face-saving words to their pronouncements.

Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government had powers which they could use in certain circumstances. But it was not always easy for them to exercise their influence by lecturing from London. People were not persuaded to change their minds by public protests: they were more effectively influenced by private talks and discussions.

Record of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and Members of the Dominion Party held at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 3 p.m.

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. J. Robertson

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**
Dr. G. Smith
Hon. G. F. M. Van Eeden
Mr. C. J. W. Fleming
Mr. C. F. Thatcher

Mr. Macmillan opened the meeting by welcoming the Dominion Party delegates and asking them to put their point of view to him.

Mr. Van Eeden said that they were grateful to Mr. Macmillan for having come to the Federation and to Lusaka to listen to all the different views and perhaps criticisms of those whom he would meet.
The view of the Dominion Party was that the Federation would not be able to continue in its present form without trouble and possibly violence. There was growing uncertainty and insecurity about the future. Many Europeans were leaving the country—more than one would think from the official figures. If Europeans were to be persuaded to stay in the Federation—and, indeed, if more Europeans were to be persuaded to settle in the Federation—it was vital that they should be convinced that their future would be secure. The Dominion Party felt that changes in the present Federal structure were needed very soon.

The Dominion Party were afraid that either the United Kingdom Government might feel, or the Monckton Commission might recommend, that it was necessary to go ahead with African political advancement at an excessive speed. Nobody wanted to keep the African down, but different people had different ideas about the speed at which his advancement should take place. It was very difficult to gauge African opinion correctly. Indeed, the opinions of Africans differed very greatly from one area to another. Africans were now subject to external influences, by no means always healthy, and it was unrealistic to talk of “African opinion” in the Federation as a whole.

It was probably true that at present most Africans would say, if asked, that they were opposed to Federation. But this need not necessarily mean that the concept of Federation should be abandoned. Admittedly, it was necessary to consider African opinion but it would be a mistake to give undue weight to it. For example, most Africans now seemed to be antagonistic to the Federal Prime Minister personally. That was not his fault, but it was a fact, and it meant that Africans would automatically suspect any constitutional proposals which were associated with him. This sort of illogical factor must be borne in mind when assessing the weight of African opinion.

The policy of the Dominion Party was set out in their proposals for a Central African alliance. They envisaged Dominion status for Southern Rhodesia, together with the European-settled areas of Northern Rhodesia, and continuance of United Kingdom protection and administration over Nyasaland and the predominantly African areas in Northern Rhodesia. These proposals had received a considerable measure of support from Europeans and Africans alike. The Dominion Party did not see how independence for the whole Federation could ever be acceptable to the people of Nyasaland. The Dominion Party supported Sir Roy Welensky in his demands for independence but thought it more realistic to seek independence for a unit smaller than the whole of the existing Federation. They would be putting their proposals before the Monckton Commission.

Mr. Fleming then said that in his view a democratic constitution on the Westminster model would not work with Africans. The chances of its working were even less in places where Europeans and Africans lived side by side. So far as he knew, the only successful democracies were those in countries with a homogeneous population, with the possible exception of Switzerland. In Rhodesia and Nyasaland the important thing was to find some way of preventing Europeans from dominating Africans and vice versa. The answer to this problem was, he thought, to give the greatest possible measure of self-government to the different component parts of the country.

Mr. Van Eeden said that the Dominion Party also suggested that there should be an Upper House to take the place of the African Affairs Board and to hold the balance between the different racial communities. Mr. Macmillan mentioned that in the United States the Supreme Court had played an important function in enabling a number of different States to grow together into one nation. Mr. Fleming agreed that American political concepts might provide useful models for Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He remained convinced, however, that Africans would always stand for block voting on racial lines and that the Europeans would also be likely to do the same.

Mr. Thatcher then asked about the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission. There seemed to be a difference of opinion between Sir Roy Welensky and Lord Shawcross on the question how widely these could be interpreted. Mr. Macmillan replied that it would be for the Monckton Commission to interpret its terms of reference. But the Commission’s purpose was to give a clear picture of the situation rather than to recommend what decisions should be taken by the Governments concerned. It would be for the United Kingdom Government and
the other Governments concerned to take decisions about the future of the Federation after the Monckton Commission had reported.

Mr. Fleming then asked what people in the United Kingdom felt about Central Africa. He had the impression that even Conservative backbenchers were now beginning to lose confidence in their own leaders who had formulated the plan for Federation. In reply Mr. Macmillan said that the British people had many good qualities: they had a lot of common sense, but they also had a quick sympathy for the under-dog. If they were to be brought to accept any particular solution of the problems of Central Africa, they would have to be persuaded that it was both practical and morally right.

Mr. Macmillan concluded the meeting by saying that he thought it important that the Europeans in Central Africa should try to get the advanced Africans on to their side. He said that in his view the small irritants arising out of discriminatory practices were as great an obstacle to this as the large constitutional and political questions.

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Record of a Meeting with Representatives of the African National Congress held at Government House, Lusaka, on 21st January, 1960, at 3:30 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan (accompanied by Sir Norman Brook) met the following representatives of the African National Congress:

Mr. H. M. Nkumbula, M.L.C.
Mr. J. M. Michelo
Mr. W. Jere
Mr. E. Milambo

Mr. Nkumbula referred to the memorandum which he had already submitted. He then proceeded to make the following points orally:

1. In 1958 the Congress had sent a petition to the Colonial Secretary asking for a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia. They were dissatisfied with the existing constitution because it did not give enough opportunity for Africans to share in the government of the country. They wished to have a constitution based on the principle of government by consent of the people. They believed that the Government should be elected by a majority of the population as a whole under a universal franchise.

2. As regards the Federal constitution, the Congress had no objection in principle to the appointment of a preparatory commission as a forerunner to the 1960 Review. They had, however, various criticisms of the Monckton Commission. They were dissatisfied with its composition, because they thought that the proportion of Africans to Europeans was too small: parity of representation, as between Africans and Europeans, would have captured African imagination throughout the Federation. Secondly, the terms of reference were too narrow to allow African witnesses to express their opposition to the principle of Federation. Thirdly, they thought that the African members of the Commission were not well chosen. Only one was capable of expressing the view of the majority of Africans in the Federation: the remainder were all known to be supporters of Federation. Unless these defects in the Commission could be remedied they would not feel able to co-operate in its work.

3. The African population of the three Territories opposed to Federation. They believed that it was introduced in order to thwart the aspirations of Africans to self-government and independence. The Europeans had evidently made up their minds to stay in Rhodesia and to rule the country. The Congress had no objection to their staying but they could not be expected to agree that a European minority should
continue to dominate the country. The Congress must continue to oppose Federation because it could do nothing to help the cause of African nationalism.

(4) The Congress demanded an educational programme which would provide a sufficient number of educated Africans to run the administrative services of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was glad to have had this opportunity of hearing the point of view of the African National Congress. He had noted the points which the delegation had made and would bear them in mind. They would not expect him to give any detailed reply. He would however like to explain the purpose and functions of the Monckton Commission. In doing so he stressed the fact that the work of the Commission would be preparatory and that the responsibility for final decisions would rest with Governments. He also referred to the impartiality of the Chairman and the qualities of the United Kingdom representatives on the Commission: these were all men of goodwill who could be trusted to deal with this problem in good faith. In conclusion he said that he hoped that, in view of what he had said about the Commission, the Congress would re-consider its present inclination to decline to co-operate in its work. He had himself been interested to hear their point of view. He would see that it was communicated to the Commission: but it would be preferable that they should submit it to the Commission directly and in full and he hoped that, on further reflection, they would decide to give evidence to the Commission.

Note of a Meeting between Mr. Macmillan and the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, held at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 4 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Evelyn Hone
Mr. G. C. R. Clay (Resident-Commissioner in Barotseland)
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

NORTHERN RHODESIA

The Paramount Chief of Barotseland, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika
The Ngambela, Imasiku
Induna Katema
Induna Kalonga

Mr. Macmillan said he was very happy to welcome the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, his Prime Minister and Counsellors. He remembered seeing the Paramount Chief at the Coronation where he specially took note of his uniform. He hoped that they would put to him frankly the points they wished to raise.

The Paramount Chief said that the Ngambela would speak for him. The Ngambela spoke in Barotse through the interpretation of Induna Katema. After thanking the Prime Minister for visiting Northern Rhodesia in spite of his onerous duties, and begging him to present their loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen, he produced a petition which he handed to the Prime Minister (copy annexed) saying that it was a shorter version of one which had already been sent to the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Macmillan thanked the Ngambela and read the petition. He said this was plainly something that required to be studied carefully. However he would give now his first impressions on the three points made in the petition.

(i) The United Kingdom Government quite understood the Barotse's desire to remain as a separate protectorate under the protection of Her Majesty's Government. He undertook that their views would be fully taken into account.

(ii) He was interested in the suggestion that Barotseland should be shown on maps as a separate territory. It was a new point to him and he would have it studied.
(iii) He took note of the desire of the Barotse to have the rights and privileges flowing from the 1900 Treaty of Protection clearly codified. He understood that such a codification was being undertaken by the Colonial Secretary.

Sir Evelyn Hone said that he had received a long memorandum from the Colonial Office which was designed as a basis for what the Paramount Chief had requested. Mr. Clay explained that some of the original treaties with the Barotse were in non-legal language, and some of the copies in the possession of the Barotse nation had been damaged or mislaid in the course of time. A codification was plainly desirable. Doubt had crept in about the precise legal status of Barotseland because of the changes which had taken place when the administering authority on the spot had changed from the British South Africa Company to the Government of North-Western Rhodesia, then to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, and, most recently, when Federation was set up.

Mr. Macmillan thanked the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, the Ngambela and Counsellors, for coming to see him. He promised that the three points, which he recapitulated, would be most carefully considered.

**BAROTSELAND PROTECTORATE STATUS WITH REGARD TO 1960 CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES**

The Barotseland National Council and the nation itself during its last annual meeting in September 1959 reaffirmed its conclusions written down in its Memorandum of September 1958 submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that if and when Dominion Status comes to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and/or Self-Government comes to Northern Rhodesia, Barotseland should remain separate as a full Protectorate under the Protection of Her Majesty's Government as petitioned for by the late Paramount Chief or King Lewanika to Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria.

The Barotseland National Council further feels that the Status of Barotseland as a Protectorate is rather obscure and therefore they petition that Barotseland should be declared and distinctly defined on Maps like other Protectorates though attached to Northern Rhodesia. This declaration should be certified and signed by one of Her Majesty's Responsible Ministers.

The Barotseland National Council considers that certain rights and privileges contained in its Agreement and Treaty of 1900 with the British South Africa Company on behalf of Her Majesty's Government have been lessened by the introduction of the Native Courts and Native Authority Ordinances and we request that these rights and privileges should be considered and restored.

The Barotseland National Council strongly recommends that, for ease and convenience of reference, it is of the utmost importance that the rights, privileges and assurances reserved to the Barotse Government and Nation in the various scattered agreements, concessions, letters and records should be compiled together in one document certified by Government.

**Record of a Meeting Between Mr. Macmillan and Representatives of Various African Organisations, held at Government House, Lusaka, on Thursday, 21st January, 1960, at 4:30 p.m.**

**Present:**

**UNITED KINGDOM**

Mr. Harold Macmillan  
Sir Evelyn Hone  
Mr. T. J. Bligh

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**

Mr. Lakement Ngandu  
Mr. S. M. Mununga  
Mr. K. Mulonda  
Mr. W. Nkanza  
Mr. S. H. Chileshe  
Mr. S. Tembo  
Mr. K. Kaunda  
Mr. M. Chona
Mr. Ngandu thanked the Prime Minister for seeing the independent members of the Legislative Council. He himself would like to see independence for the Africans in Northern Rhodesia. They had been happy under British rule but they did not like the Federation. Promises had not been kept. He was grateful to the Prime Minister for the speech he made in Salisbury, especially for repeating the pledges of the United Kingdom Government. If that Government thought the Africans were not yet ready for independence they must not withdraw their protection. The African must be given a chance to learn how to govern himself and given a chance to educate his children. It would be helpful if there were more secondary schools.

Mr. Mununga said that the independent members of the Legislative Council had consulted the Africans in their constituencies, who represented half the population of Northern Rhodesia. They could find no support anywhere for Federation. All their people would like to see it dissolve. The Federal set-up was slowing down the political and economic development of the Africans. There had been a deterioration in racial relations. Without Federation the Europeans would be prepared to treat Africans as human beings, but with Federation run by Southern Rhodesia the Europeans would continue to show no respect to Africans.

Turning to territorial problems Mr. Ngandu said that there should be more Africans on the Legislative Council. He then registered a strong protest against the composition of the Monckton Commission. He said the letter of protest from Northern Rhodesia had been ignored. There were seven million Africans and 300,000 Europeans in the three territories. The Commission should have the confidence of the majority of the people.

Mr. Mulonda supported the arguments of the first two speakers. The Africans had disliked Federation from the first and had said so in 1953. Then they were told their fears were unfounded. After seven years they could say that their fears were justified. Federation had brought oppressive legislation. If they spoke in the Legislative Council they were protected. If they spoke outside their speeches were put on a tape-recorder and this was oppressive. He did not demand a majority of Africans right away but thought that the pace should be quickened. Every African wanted to break out of the Federation.

Mr. Nkanza said that Africans in Northern Rhodesia were confident that they would be protected by the United Kingdom Government. They were glad that Mr. Macmillan had repeated, in his speech at Salisbury, the pledges given by the United Kingdom Government. He hoped that Mr. Macmillan would understand that it was not just a handful of Africans who were against Federation: all Africans throughout Northern Rhodesia were against it. They were suspicious of the Federal Government's scheme for Dominion status and they hoped the United Kingdom Government would continue to look after them. They might one day ask for independence: they were confident in the light of recent history that the United Kingdom Government would grant this.

Mr. Chileshe agreed with the previous speakers. The United Kingdom Government had come to Northern Rhodesia to teach and guide the Africans to the day when they could control their own country. But from 1948 there had been some change in the general mood and soon after the London Conference the Africans began to feel anxious. Then came 1953. The Africans saw this as a transfer of power from the United Kingdom to Europeans in the Federation and the continuance of the Federation would mean that power would always reside in the Europeans within it. He hoped that the United Kingdom Government would not forget their original purpose. They must remember that once protection was handed over it would be difficult to recapture. The dislike of the Africans for the Federation was based on their fear that promises would not be fulfilled. They liked the United Kingdom Government and wanted to stay under their protection. They had been told there would be economic advantage from Federation but Northern Rhodesia was in fact suffering economically and there had been no development of the social services.

Mr. Tembo said that the majority of Northern Rhodesians wished Federation to end as they were suffering under it socially. There were many other things than the Kariba Dam on which money might usefully be spent in Northern Rhodesia.
Rhodesia. For example they wanted more schools. He would prefer that political developments should follow social and economic developments.

Mr. Kaunda said that the main problem in Northern Rhodesia was that power resided in the minority group. That was the root cause of the trouble. Was this because the Europeans felt insecure? The whole country was divided between black and white, politically, socially and economically. It was therefore hollow to speak of partnership. It would have been better if Mr. Macmillan could have been entertained in African homes. This was considered impossible because power resided in the minority. His Party were not wild men: they simply believed in the rights of all men. For example they thought it wrong for the Governor to have so much power in Northern Rhodesia and this was not in any way a personal reflection on His Excellency, of whom they were very fond. He thought all these problems could be answered by a peaceful transfer of power to the majority in the country.

Mr. Chona said that Mr. Macmillan, if he looked round the table, would be able to see those who were described as moderates, namely, the Independent members of the Legislative Council, and those who were described as extremists, such as himself. Was there any noticeable difference between them? Both moderates and so-called extremists said the same thing, that the Federation was hated by the African people. He too was glad the Prime Minister had referred to the United Kingdom's pledges in his Salisbury speech. It sometimes surprised him that people thought it wrong of Northern Rhodesians to want to stay under British protection. They trusted the United Kingdom Government to carry out its duty to lead its Colonies to self-government. The Africans in Northern Rhodesia were not different from the Africans in West Africa, except that they had less educational facilities. Proud as they were to be protected, by the United Kingdom Government they hoped they would be treated in the same way as the West Africans. One solution would be accelerate education. Then people would be able to choose who should speak for them. He too was grateful that the Prime Minister had been well treated by the people with whom he had stayed. It would have been impossible for him to come to an African compound. He would be ashamed to show the Prime Minister his hut. If they were an independent country they would always be ready to welcome the United Kingdom Prime Minister. He asked the Prime Minister to note their views on Nyasaland and Kenya. Dr. Banda was liked by the Nyasas, although not perhaps by the settlers. Why could not they let him go?

Mr. Macmillan thanked the speakers for coming and for talking to him with courtesy and moderation. He had gained in experience by hearing what they had to say. He hoped they would not mind if he made a few comments.

Federation was meant to be a co-operative way of existence between three territories. It might or might not be a good thing. It looked as if it might work in Nigeria. It seemed to him that the objection to it in Rhodesia was not an objection of principle but an objection to certain consequences which might flow from it. As they knew from the speech which he made in Salisbury and what he had said in Lagos, the Northern Territories would not be included in a completely independent Federation, unless their people expressed their wish for this, and he had made it clear in the House of Commons that a Legislative Council could not be regarded as a final judge of what the people's wishes were.

On the Monckton Commission he said he was most anxious that this should get to work as soon as possible. All the Governments concerned had to meet at the end of the year. He could not see how a sensible solution could be reached at this conference without proper preparation. The main purpose of the Monckton Commission, which consisted of men of great good-will and good faith, was to undertake this preparatory work for the Governments concerned. He hoped that they would all feel able to give their views to the Monckton Commission.

On the broader question Mr. Macmillan said that in Northern Rhodesia there were many races and many tribes. This made the problem more difficult. One had to get some sort of unity of purpose in the hearts and minds of all the people. He hoped they would as soon as possible try to get some party system which cut across racial lines. There were other parts of the Commonwealth where there were similar problems, for example in Malaya and Singapore, and these were being overcome.

SECRET
C.—NYASALAND

Record of a Meeting of the Executive Council of Nyasaland held at Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 2 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. M. R. Metcalf
Sir Norman Brook

NYASALAND
Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland
Mr. C. W. F. Footman, Chief Secretary
Mr. R. M. M. King, Attorney-General
Mr. H. E. I. Phillips, Financial Secretary

Nominated Official Members—
Mr. R. W. Kettlewell, Secretary for Natural Resources
Mr. J. H. Ingham, Secretary for Local Government and Social Services

Nominated Unofficial Members—
Mr. A. C. W. Dixon
Mr. M. H. Blackwood
Mr. E. M. Mtawali
Mr. C. M. Chinkondenji
Mr. P. A. Richardson, Clerk

After a preliminary exchange of courtesies, Sir Robert Armitage said that the Executive Council had identified three particular subjects which they wished to discuss with Mr. Macmillan—(i) the expansion of African education in Nyasaland, (ii) the future of the public services in Nyasaland, and (iii) development finance. Brief memoranda on each of these subjects had been prepared in order to facilitate discussion. These are reproduced as annexes to this record.

1. African Education

Mr. Ingham spoke in amplification of the memorandum reproduced in Annex A. Present plans contemplated that 50 per cent. of the African population would receive five years' primary education and that, of these, about 20 per cent. would pass on to secondary schools. In Nyasaland secondary education had lagged far behind what had been achieved in other territories: it was not until 1942 that the first secondary school was opened. About 14 per cent. of the available revenues of Nyasaland was allotted to education, but little had been spent hitherto on technical training. Throughout the Federation there was a great demand for people with some technical training. It must now be a primary objective of educational policy in Nyasaland to concentrate on secondary and technical education in order to provide the numbers of qualified Africans required in the years to come both for administration and for industry. Given the money and the staff, this could be achieved. But it must be recognised that, for many years to come, the teaching staff would have to be drawn almost entirely from outside Nyasaland. This, in turn, meant that there must be a sufficient prospect of stability in Nyasaland to induce people to come out and give their services there.

2. Future of Public Services

Mr. Footman spoke in amplification of the memorandum reproduced in Annex B.

In discussion of this memorandum the following points were made:

(a) Mr. Dixon said that the fundamental difficulty lay in the lack of any sense of security, due to uncertainty about the political prospects of Nyasaland. If it were possible to build up a prospect of political stability over a period of ten or fifteen years, all these difficulties would be solved.
In this connexion Mr. Blackwood said that it was specially important that politicians should avoid making statements about the future which were ambiguous. Whatever had to be said should be stated clearly and unequivocally: otherwise it would be misunderstood, especially by Africans.

(b) Mr. Footman said that a sense of security was specially important for the recruitment of expatriate officers to a career service. He believed that the solution lay in broadening the area of service, so that recruits could look forward to a life career of service in one part or another of the Civil Services of the Crown. Without some measure of interchangeability, he did not see how people could continue to be recruited for career service in territories like Nyasaland. It was suggested that opposition to the creation of such a wider service had come from the British Treasury. In reply to this Mr. Macmillan said that decisions on such matters were taken, not by Treasury officials, but by Ministers. He went on to explain, with illustrative figures, the extent of the financial assistance which the United Kingdom Government had made available to Colonial territories since the end of the war. He also referred to the size of the national debt, and the level of taxation, in the United Kingdom and to the fact that financial aid to the Colonies could be provided only from savings.

(c) Sir Robert Armitage said that, in view of the difficulties of recruiting for career service in the Colonies, it was now essential that means should be found of employing people to serve for only part of their career in such places as Nyasaland, as was suggested in paragraph 4(b) of the memorandum. Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government were now considering means by which people with various qualifications—teachers, doctors and technicians of all kinds—could be enabled more easily to spend a relatively short period of service in Colonial territories. The main problem was to provide an assurance that, after a period of service overseas, they would be able to resume their career in their profession in the United Kingdom.

(d) Mr. King said that this was particularly necessary in the legal services. He believed that the methods of recruitment followed by the Colonial Office were out of date. From personal enquiries which he had made he was confident that by other means solicitors or barristers could be induced to give a few years’ service in Colonial territories. The Law Society and the Bar Council had ample funds at their disposal and ought to be able to help such people to resume their careers on return to the United Kingdom. He admitted, in reply to a question by Mr. Macmillan, that it might be easier to make such arrangements in respect of solicitors; but, for his part, he believed that the legal services in the Colonies could be staffed as well by solicitors as by barristers.

(e) There was already in Nyasaland a local civil service open only to persons born in Africa; and this could be extended as time went on. The difficulties in connexion with this would have been less if a unified civil service had been instituted from the outset for the Federation as a whole.

Mr. Macmillan, summing up this part of the discussion, said that three things seemed to be required:

(i) An assurance of political stability for the Federation and its constituent territories for the next 10-15 years.

(ii) Increased recruitment of local people, within the Federation, for the posts which they were qualified to fill.

(iii) As regards expatriate officers, further consideration of the possibility of (a) broadening the base of the career service, and (b) enabling people to accept short-term contracts for short periods of service overseas with a better assurance of being able to resume their careers thereafter in the United Kingdom.

In regard to (iii) he suspected that there were better prospects of advance under (b) than under (a).

3. Development Finance

Mr. Phillips spoke in amplification of the memorandum reproduced in Annex C. He said that he and his colleagues on the Executive Council were grateful for all the financial assistance which the United Kingdom had extended to Nyasaland since the end of the war. They also realised the financial and economic benefit.
which they derived from their membership of the Federation. Finally, they appreciated that the availability of funds from the United Kingdom for development of the oversea territories of the Commonwealth must depend on the level of savings in the United Kingdom over and above those required for domestic capital development. What they were less sure about was—

(a) whether the means for making public funds available for export to other Commonwealth countries were as well adapted to this purpose as they might be; and

(b) whether more money would be made available for this purpose from the private sector if it were not for fears about the ultimate security of the capital invested.

On (b) the Government of Nyasaland had already suggested that the Bank of England and the City should together devise a scheme for spreading, by insurance, the risks of providing capital for a territory moving towards independence. There might also be a need, in addition, to improve the conditions of dependent-territory loans floated on the London market, possibly by some form of preferential tax relief.

As regards (a), they strongly urged that, if the volume of savings did not justify an increase in the total amount available for investment in under-developed countries overseas, further thought should be given to the scope and functions of the Colonial Development Corporation. Its terms of reference might be amended so as to require it to invest in schemes which could only fructify in the long term. Alternatively, its scope might be restricted and funds which would otherwise be allocated to it should be made available directly to Governments.

The main need of Nyasaland was for loans on easy terms—especially with a long moratorium on repayment of capital. In theory this need could be met by the International Development Association which was now under consideration. There was, however, some room for doubt whether this Association would in fact do what it was designed to do; whether it would have enough funds at its disposal; and whether a sufficient proportion of its funds would be available for Commonwealth countries. If the United Kingdom Government shared these doubts, they might well consider withdrawing some or all of their proposed investment in this Association so as to enable them to create a new fund of their own to supply “soft” loans directly to Commonwealth countries.

If Nyasaland was to generate its own wealth, its needs for development finance could not be over-stated. At present the Government could not meet their recurrent commitments from their annual revenues, let alone increase those commitments as they should. They were in fact dipping into their reserves, which would be exhausted in about two years. They must not only maintain their present position in the Federal fiscal system; they must also obtain a greater share of Federal revenues and they must seek additional taxation powers on their own account. It was estimated that, when existing reserves were exhausted, at least another £1 million a year would be required to maintain existing services, to expand agricultural and educational services, and to provide additional cover for the borrowing of more money for capital development. Nyasaland could no longer follow the traditional doctrine of spending no more than its annual resources. It must spend more than that, in order to increase those resources. It followed that it needed financial assistance—and this must be given generously and promptly, rather than piecemeal over a long period.

Mr. Macmillan thanked Mr. Phillips for this lucid exposition of Nyasaland’s financial problem. He said that the people of the United Kingdom were anxious to help. More would have been done already, if so much time had not been lost in the 20 years of the 20th century which had been spent in war and the world economic slump. As a result we were now working against time. But the will to help was there; and, if the British economy could be kept on a sound basis, the means would be available.

4. Political Prospects of Federation

Mr. Macmillan said that he would be glad to hear how the Executive Council viewed the political future of Nyasaland and of the Federation.

Mr. Dixon said that what was urgently needed was a fixed programme of constitutional change which would enable Africans to assume an increasing share in government. No good could come of trying to move too fast, out of panic; that would bring administrative chaos and, ultimately, the economic ruin of all
of the Central and East African territories. At present there would be no profit in discussing constitutional change with the main African parties: the policies to which they were committed were impracticable because there were not sufficient Africans with enough training to take over full responsibility for government. Until there were enough qualified Africans to do this, government must remain in responsible hands. It would, however, be possible to prepare a programme, acceptable to moderate African opinion, which would provide for a gradual transfer of responsibility to Africans over a period of 10–15 years. The future of Nyasaland lay in some form of federation with Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The programme of constitutional advance must therefore be settled in consultation with the Governments of those territories and of the United Kingdom, and it must be guaranteed by them all. By this means it should be possible to secure the prospect of stability without which none of the other difficulties discussed under earlier items of the agenda could be solved.

Mr. Chinkondenji said that at the present time Africans in the Federation were disturbed by fears—including fears of one another. No progress could be made until these were removed. In Nyasaland the Africans looked to the United Kingdom Government to provide them with the training which they needed before they could assume a greater share of responsibility for the government of their country. The urgent need was for more trained Africans. The majority of Africans in Nyasaland wanted to look forward to the day when they could assume the main responsibility for the government of their country within an independent Federation. At that stage representation in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council would be determined, racially, according to the proportions of the total population. The majority of Africans in Nyasaland were anxious to co-operate with their European friends in the territory.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was glad to have had the opportunity of hearing the views of members of the Executive Council on this question.
ANNEX A

AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN NYASALAND

1. Rapid progress towards responsible Government in Nyasaland necessitates a considerable acceleration of African education to provide a reasonable number of persons who can be expected to undertake responsible positions in the Government, industry, commerce and the professions. Provision is made at present in the Civil Service alone for more than 400 professional officers.

2. The existing African education development plan covering the next four years, 1959-63, the capital cost of which is £850,000, is the most that can be done with existing or promised financial resources including the C.D. & W. allocation. It provides for an expansion plan at all levels which will take us one short stage further on the road towards providing primary education for all children and will expand the secondary system to an extent sufficient to give an estimated out-turn of school certificate passes which rises steadily from about 80 at the end of 1960 to 260 per annum at the end of 1964.

3. The out-turn at school certificate level is regarded as the key because this is the first level at which access opens directly on to positions of modest responsibility and is the reservoir from which the supply of candidates for further education is drawn to specialist and professional courses, to higher school certificate and university entrance. The number obtaining university degrees from the existing expansion programme should be about four graduates per annum at the end of 1966, rising to 12 or 13 per annum at the end of 1970.

4. On the basis of our present plan for primary education which it would be exceedingly difficult to expand, the greatest realistic acceleration of output which could be aimed at would be a doubling of the planned output of school certificate passes by the end of 1965; and for this we show below the staff and finance required.

5. It is essential that development in technical education and artisan training should go hand in hand with development in secondary education. Industry in the Federation is expanding and so are the artisan training facilities provided for Africans in the other two territories. The Nyasaland African will lose his traditional role of supplying much of the semi-skilled labour to industry throughout the Federation unless our plans for technical education and artisan training are greatly expanded.

6. To carry out the above proposals, the additional finance needed would be of the order of £1½ million capital expenditure spread over the next five years and additional recurrent expenditure amounting to a further £380,000 per annum by the end of the expansion period. The additional expatriate professional staff needed would be about 125.

7. In regard to staff, the considerations set out in the paper on the future of the public service apply. The number given in paragraph 6 of this paper is additional to the numbers required for existing plans and to fill existing vacancies. The additional finance is, of course, required in the form of grants since the return from its expenditure is both long term and indirect.

THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

1. Responsible government demands the availability of a civil service staffed largely by local officers. Without the staff to run the government machine, responsible government—or indeed any form of government—is impossible.

2. Even if standards were lowered, nothing which approached the nucleus of a locally staffed senior service would be available in Nyasaland for several decades. That this is so may, inter alia, be demonstrated by the fact that the present expanded education programme can only hope to produce about four graduates in 1966, rising to 12 graduates in 1970.

3. Although some progress has been made in furtherance of the joint announcement in 1957 by the United Kingdom Government and the Federal Government that locally based civil services should be developed, little progress has been made in the matter of interchangeability. Recruitment from outside the Federation will therefore continue to be essential to Nyasaland for a considerable time to come. Expatriate officers are and will continue to be required to ensure that the government machine continues to run, to provide the basic essential services and to enable the essential training of local candidates for higher appointments to proceed. In the present circumstances they are not forthcoming. Thus, to take a single example, the Education Department has 26 immediate vacancies in the senior section of the Service out of an establishment of 54, with a possibility of four further vacancies and only one recruit in view.

4. It is therefore clear that special measures will be required to fill a gap which, far from closing, is steadily widening through a failure to attract suitable recruits and through losses of existing staff. It is represented that the best hope of achieving this object is to be found in taking the following steps:

(a) To provide for the integration of H.M.O.C.S. with those United Kingdom Services from which Her Majesty’s Government staff their overseas posts;

(b) To produce and implement plans which will provide for a regular and comprehensive series of professional and administrative secondments from the United Kingdom Civil Service, coupled with effective arrangements whereby persons can be seconded from Local Government and even industry in the United Kingdom without loss of superannuation benefits or detriment to career prospects in their parent service;

(c) To fill gaps which cannot be filled as above by specialists under a Colombo Plan type of assistance for routine Government appointments and not only for appointments in connexion with particular projects.

5. If these steps are not taken the situation will continue to deteriorate until a stage is reached where it is impossible to provide—even in attenuated form—the services which the people of a territory have a right to expect and where the government administrative machine will cease to function with even a modicum of efficiency. This is a realistic appreciation of a situation which will inevitably materialise if nothing is done to remedy the facts as they are to-day.

6. The steps proposed in this paper provide, it is suggested, the most likely means by which the territory’s requirements of qualified professional and administrative staff could be met and by which it might be possible both to attract suitable career officers and to stem present losses to the service of valuable young officers who see no secure or attractive career in H.M.O.C.S. as at present constituted. In the context of the existing situation it is relevant to observe that against an indent for nine Administrative Cadets in 1959, the Colonial Office were only able to provide one recruit.

7. So far as the Technical and Executive grades are concerned, it will be necessary to turn to a system of improved and competitive contract terms. It will be appreciated that contract terms will not attract the type of career officer required for the professional and administrative services.

DEVELOPMENT FINANCE

1. Financing of development in under-developed countries such as Nyasaland, relying for its prosperity mainly on agricultural activity, presents serious problems.

2. Notwithstanding the substantial subsidy which the Nyasaland Government receives as a result of its association with the two Rhodesias, notwithstanding the fact that its association with the wider economy makes possible the borrowing of far more money than was ever possible before Federation and notwithstanding the additional assistance which has been given over the past few years from Her Majesty's Government by way of C.D. & W. grants, the level of productivity of the great majority of the population of Nyasaland is insufficient to generate Government income sufficient for the expansion of basic services.

3. If, therefore, the Territory is to do more than merely sustain the existing level of Government services and if it is to maintain and improve the level of public investment, and so attract further private investment, it is necessary, quite apart from the maintenance of some form of Federal association (which for the purpose of this paper is pre-supposed), for further injections of external capital to be made available and for this capital to be made available on easy terms.

4. The most important manifestation of both the difficulty and the necessity is in the provision of agricultural services. It is clearly of first importance, and the Jack Report has recently underlined this, that the potential of the Agricultural Department should be greatly increased by the provision of both staff and equipment to enable it to perform its vital function of providing day-to-day services for farmers to increase the productivity of the agricultural industry. No more internal resources are available for this without undesirable retrenchments in other fields of development but at the same time it would be clearly wrong to use money attracting high rates of interest and immediate capital repayments, even if it could be readily secured, for services of this nature which can produce no immediate economic or fiscal return. Nor can this country afford to borrow large sums of money at high rates of interest for general development, whatever its nature.

5. The most beneficial aid would be much larger allocations of C.D. & W. funds. As far as this territory is concerned, it has done well to have secured £3 million under the current C.D. & W. Act; but it understands that, having regard to other commitments, it cannot get more unless and until the total amount made available by the United Kingdom Parliament has been increased; or until it has expended or nearly expended its current allocation, whereupon some redistribution may be possible. More is certainly needed.

6. What is also needed is a source of funds which can be made available on easy terms such as, for example, on an interest-free basis in the early years, or with a substantial moratorium on capital repayments, perhaps up to as much as 10 years, or a combination of both.

7. Existing United Kingdom and international lending agencies do not generally meet these needs since, although modest deferments of loan redemption and interest can sometimes be arranged, all lending is intended to be on a fully economic basis. This greatly restricts the Government's ability to call on these agencies, because what is needed in Nyasaland is an injection of capital for developments which can be expected ultimately to produce revenue, but which cannot be carried by the Government on recurrent account at economic rates until they have generated not only sufficient income to service the capital employed, but also to pay for the recurrent cost of the expanded services needed for their maintenance.

8. It is true that the International Bank is now engaged upon constituting an International Development Association which is intended to supply this kind of money. On the other hand, certain American attitudes which have come to notice in recent months suggest that the ultimate organisation may not be in a position to achieve the effect which its original architects desired.
9. Whether or not however the International Development Association does, in the event, achieve this effect, it is already clear that the demand for the funds at its disposal will very much exceed the amount likely to be available for all under-developed countries both within and without the Commonwealth. Moreover it may well be that dependent Territories will be expected to look to the mother country rather than to the Association.

10. It is accordingly urged that Her Majesty's Government should consider setting up an organisation which would seek to carry out the objects to which reference has been made above in respect of the under-developed dependent Territories of the Commonwealth. In this connexion, the Colonial Development Corporation as at present constituted is in no position to meet the needs, and the proposals in the Sinclair Report on the Colonial Development Corporation, even if implemented, may not in the event materially alter this position. Quite apart from this, it is not always desirable, and sometimes not practicable, that the Colonial Development Corporation should themselves carry out development projects and where it would seem more appropriate for the Government's own agencies to carry out these projects, a source of loan funds on easy terms is necessary.

11. A further problem with which this Territory is faced is that certain private investors would be happy to provide loan capital for specific development projects if only they could be assured that eventual transfers of political power would not destroy the value of the asset thus created or, worse, lead to a default in the repayment of capital. On more than one occasion a request has been made that Her Majesty's Government should be approached to provide a guarantee or otherwise to underwrite a loan of this nature. This, understandably, Her Majesty's Government is not prepared to do; but it is suggested for consideration that the Bank of England and the City of London generally should be asked to consider whether such lending might not, within limits, be considered an insurable risk and, by some process of underwriting willing lenders, make it possible for them to provide finance with little or no risk to the principal monies involved.

12. This paper is not concerned with ordinary market borrowing. In so far as the Territory can afford to borrow it still has access, through the agency of the Federal Government, to the money markets of the world; and any shortcomings on the London market can be made good, in all or in part, by Exchequer loans.

13. But the Territory in fact cannot continue to borrow large sums at market rates for general development purposes as distinct from immediately revenue-earning projects. It is in this respect that its needs must be met, and met soon, either by further free grants from C.D. & W. funds or else by loans on very easy terms from an organisation which it is now proposed should be set up and capitalised by Her Majesty's Government.

Record of a Meeting with a Delegation from the Malawi Party held at Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 3.15 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. T. J. Bligh

NYASALAND
Mr. Orton E. Chirwa
Mr. Aleke K. Banda
Mrs. Dinah Khonje
Mr. James J. Mwale
Mr. John R. Ngwiri
Mr. C. M. M. Misisia

After an exchange of courtesies Mr. Orton Chirwa referred to the memorandum which had been submitted to the Prime Minister by the Malawi Congress Party delegation. Apart from Mr. Chirwa the other speakers were Mr. Ngwiri, who spoke as the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, and Mr. Mwale, who spoke as a villager and an ex-detainee. The main points that emerged were as follows:

1. State of Emergency

The delegation claimed that the situation in Nyasaland had been quiet for some time. They considered that the State of Emergency should now be ended and the detainees released. It would be very difficult to solve the constitutional problems which confronted Nyasaland while Dr. Banda was still in prison. The Nyasaland Government were not justified in claiming that two-thirds of the detainees had been freed, for many of them were still required to stay in their villages and this penalised, not only the man, but his wife and family also. Reference was made to the fact that a State training institution and a school of agriculture had been turned into a detention camp and a prison. So long as these institutions were so used no technicians or skilled agricultural workers were being trained in them; they should revert to their proper purpose as soon as possible.

2. The Territorial Constitution

The delegation said that they had no confidence in the present constitution of Nyasaland and no faith in its Government. There should be a new constitution with elections based on full adult suffrage. In this way, Nyasaland could get a Government that commanded the people’s confidence. Was it necessary that every Protectorate should follow the pattern of emergency and imprisonment before independence was granted? It should be possible to talk things over at a round-table conference.

Mr. Chirwa said that there had been a very mild demonstration when Mr. Macmillan had arrived, with people showing placards, and yet six had been arrested by the police. Mr. Macmillan said he would look into this.

3. The Federal Constitution

The delegation argued that the people of Nyasaland had never wanted federation. The whole idea was basically wrong; and, as it was not accepted by the people, their leaders could not take part in any machinery designed to make it work more effectively. It was not characteristic of British methods to try to continue a system against the will of the people. It was this more than anything else which had caused a breakdown of confidence in the United Kingdom Government. It was easier to see objections to the Federation if one had been in a prison in Southern Rhodesia. Opposition to federation should not be taken to imply any sense of personal grudge by the Nyasas against Europeans. They wanted Europeans to live in Nyasaland, not as masters, but as friends. Nyasaland was not a Colony but a Protectorate and this meant that the interests of the indigenous population should be put above those of the non-indigenous. The Nyasas had protested against federation since 1953 and it could be argued that the United Kingdom Government had not honoured the treaty of protection in the letter.

4. The Monckton Commission

The Malawi Party had decided after careful and anxious study that they could not co-operate with the Monckton Commission. They thought it was wrong in composition and in terms of reference. Moreover its purpose was to advise the five Governments concerned, and as one of these Governments did not command the confidence of the people it was doomed to failure. It would certainly not be able to carry out its work while Dr. Banda remained in detention. Would it not be possible for Mr. Macmillan, on his first visit to Nyasaland, to secure as a gesture of good-will the release of all the detainees?

* This memorandum is reproduced as an annex to this record.
Mr. Macmillan thanked the members of the delegation for coming to see him. He had come to visit Nyasaland to see things for himself and to try to get a better picture of the situation when he was considering in London the problems with which the United Kingdom Government had to deal. He was not here to negotiate. He undertook to consider the points which had been put to him both orally and in the memorandum. He would like to make the following comments:

(a) The United Kingdom Government did not like declaring a State of Emergency, but the first duty of any Government was to protect the security of the people and at times the ordinary processes of the law had to be set aside, as indeed the United Kingdom Government had done in Britain during the war. It was their earnest desire to get rid of the State of Emergency as soon as possible.

(b) The United Kingdom Government hoped for constitutional advance in Nyasaland—but there were of course other advances than the immediate introduction of universal adult suffrage. The United Kingdom Government had to consider their duty. In the countries for which they were responsible their task was gradually to develop a system of local self-government. In some countries this process was slower than in others, but it was not a process that could be short-circuited. There had first to be a Civil Service, an educational system, a proper police force, and so on. He could not promise anything definite about Nyasaland but he could say that the United Kingdom Government hoped that there would be an advance. The British record was very good and there were two recent examples in Africa—namely Ghana and Nigeria—which should encourage the Malawi Party to have some faith in the good intentions of the United Kingdom Government.

Mr. Macmillan thought the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission were fairly wide and should give scope for everyone to advance their point of view. The Governments concerned were under a statutory duty to hold a review in 1960. This was not a matter which could easily be carried out without a great deal of preparatory work. The Monckton Commission was meant to carry out that work. He very much hoped that the Malawi Party would see fit to give their views to the Monckton Commission.

It was a great sorrow to the British people that federation had given rise to so many suspicions. There were many problems which could more effectively be tackled within a federation than if the territories stood independently. The Malawi Party had said that the disadvantages outweighed the advantages, but these latter should not lightly be set aside. They should remember that it would be possible for Nyasaland to make its own constitutional advance within the Federation, and also remember that the United Kingdom Government had on a number of occasions repeated the pledges contained in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution.

After the main statement, Mr. Orton Chirwa asked whether Mr. Macmillan would not agree to see Dr. Banda. Mr. Macmillan said he was sure they would understand that he could not answer that question. Mr. Orton Chirwa then argued rather more emotionally than in his opening statement. He said that the time for constitutional advance had gone. He hoped that Mr. Macmillan, who was ultimately responsible for what happened in Nyasaland, would see that the Federal structure was hindering its progress. It worried him that the United Kingdom Government were frightened of Sir Roy Welensky. The people in England did not seem worried about the peoples in Africa. Surely they had other obligations than to Southern Rhodesia. It was not right that they should have delayed constitutional progress in Nyasaland for the last 70 years.

Mr. Macmillan hoped that the Malawi Party would keep open minds on the whole position and would try to have more faith in the United Kingdom Government. The British people were not easily frightened: they would carry out, in good faith, what they conceived to be their duty. He had listened carefully to what the delegation had said and he promised he would bear it in mind when considering the problems that had to be solved in the future.
MALAWI CONGRESS PARTY DELEGATION

Memorandum

The Party has submitted to the Prime Minister a Memorandum, the text of which is set out below together with suggested lines of reply.

"Introduction

It is not often that a Prime Minister visits any of the Protectorates and this is certainly the first time that a Prime Minister in office has ever visited Nyasaland. Normally, all Africans should be rejoicing and giving you the welcome that befits your high office. The African people of Nyasaland are, however, unable to give you that welcome which you received in Nigeria and Ghana for the following reasons:

(a) that many Africans including Dr. H. Kamazu Banda and other leaders are in prison without trial;
(b) that there is in the country a state of emergency whereby normal social and political activities are restricted;
(c) that ordinary human rights and freedom of movement, public gatherings, speech and self-determination are thereby denied to Africans and hundreds of people recently released from detention camps and prisons are heavily restricted;
(d) that the Africans have no say in the present Nyasaland Government and are not happy with the present Interim Constitution and have no confidence in any of the members nominated to the Legislative and Executive Councils;
(e) that the existence of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland against the known opposition of the Africans is the one single cause of all the frustration, bitterness, resentment and misunderstanding between Government and people.

It is therefore not so much to welcome you to Nyasaland but, unfortunately, to register the protest of the mass of the African people of Nyasaland for the present unhappy state of affairs in the land that we come to meet you. The African people of Nyasaland earnestly request you to use your influence to bring to an end the sufferings and privations of the people."

Suggested Sense of Reply

The Prime Minister might say that he notes the delegation’s protest—that he is here to learn at first hand the many problems which face the territory—that if his visit might in some way assist to produce a climate of thought which would lead to a more speedy resolution of these problems, then he would be more than content. For the rest, the points made in this paragraph are further elaborated in succeeding paragraphs of the memorandum and are commented on below.

"2. The State of Emergency and Release of Detainees

The African people demand the end of the state of emergency whose continued existence cannot any longer be justified in view of the fact that the country has returned to normal and quiet. Under the state of emergency there are still about 400 people still in detention camps and prisons without trial; hundreds who have been released are under control and restriction orders, making it hard for them to live ordinary lives as human beings. Public political meetings are banned despite the fact that under the ordinary law the Police have enormous powers of control of assemblies. It is felt by Africans that these powers are being used to forestall African demands for Self-Government and Secession from the Central African Federation and that they should be retained until the Federation has been entrenched.

The African people feel that the continued detention of Dr. Kamuzu Banda and all the other leaders is unjustifiably calculated to deprive the
Africans of effective leadership. They have therefore resolved that there can be no progress in constitutional and other matters until Dr. Banda and all other leaders are released and permitted to come and lead Nyasaland to Self-Government and Independence outside the present unacceptable Federation.

Suggested Sense of Reply

The State of Emergency must necessarily remain until the Governor is satisfied that the point of time has been reached when the powers provided by the Emergency Regulations can be abandoned without endangering public order. This is the sole criterion. It may appear that the territory is normal and quiet. What has to be judged, however, is whether this is so because of the powers now exercised under Emergency legislation and, conversely, whether this would continue to be so if the powers were abandoned. This is a matter which involves the evaluation of many factors and possibilities. States of Emergency do not spring forth full blown in one day, nor do they die in one day. It is of course the Governor's hope, as it is the hope of us all, that the time when the Emergency can be brought to an end will be speedily reached.

Detention, Control Orders, bans on public meetings are among the many unhappy but necessary consequences which attend the outbreak of violent disturbances and unconstitutional acts necessitating the declaration of a State of Emergency. They are designed to safeguard life and property and to secure the peace. They are never lightly imposed nor can they be lightly cast aside.

It is quite untrue to maintain that these powers are imposed to defeat legitimate public aims. Public order is the sole consideration.

As to detainees, it has already been found possible to accelerate the rate of release. The position regarding Dr. Banda and all other detainees however is that they will be released when the Governor is satisfied that they can be released in circumstances which will not endanger the maintenance of public order.

"3. Federation

You are no doubt aware from your reading of the Devlin Commission and other reports that the African people of Nyasaland are intractably opposed to the Central African Federation and will not agree to any political association with Southern Rhodesia. Your Government imposed this scheme on this country against the unanimous opposition of Africans in 1953. Since then their worst fears have been confirmed by events in Central Africa and by the utterances and demands of white settlers for dominion status. There can now be no doubt that your Government is determined to assist the white settlers against the Africans by the use of troops under the state of emergency. The Malawi Congress Party has the mandate to state that, whatever happens, Nyasaland Africans are determined to secede from the Federation NOW and re-assert their right to self-determination—Self-government and Independence NOW."

Suggested Sense of Reply

Federation was introduced because Her Majesty's Government felt satisfied that it provided for an association of the three territories which would be in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Protectorate. To the extent that this is so, Her Majesty's Government, in introducing it, acted in fulfilment of its paramount duty to protect and advance the interests and welfare of the peoples of Nyasaland. The object of Federation is to bring about the association of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland within the framework of a constitution designed to conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and to foster partnership and co-operation between those inhabitants. These are laudable and essentially Christian objects—which have been misrepresented in many quarters.

As to secession from the Federation, it is to be borne in mind that, at present, the peoples of Nyasaland enjoy free access to the Rhodesias to seek employment. Without Federation this could be very different. There would be no obligation on the part of the Rhodesias to make special arrangements for the Nyasas to enter their territories in search of work. The Nyasas might well find himself cut off from this source of gainful occupation. Something like 170,000 Nyasa males are now in employment outside the Protectorate. About 70,000 move every year out of and
enter into the Protectorate in search of and returning from work. These figures show the extent to which the Nyasa is dependent on getting employment elsewhere than in his own country. His opportunities for employment in the Union are being restricted considerably. If this happened elsewhere for any reason it would be disastrous for him.

It is a matter for concern that none of those who oppose Federation have ever attempted to explain this to their people or to explain what would follow secession and the consequent restriction of financial resources. There would be less and less money to be spent by the Government. Inevitably, this would mean fewer schools for African children and even now it is only some 50 to 60 per cent. of African children who get an opportunity to learn to read and write and do sums. There would be fewer beds in hospitals, fewer dispensaries and less drugs. The roads would deteriorate. There would be fewer advisory services to help the progressive farmer with his crops or with his stock. No opponent of the Federation appears to have told the Africans in the villages that this is the price that they would have to pay if they prefer what they describe as “freedom” to the alternative status of regional autonomy within the Federation. The truth is that the road away from an association between the territories leads to ignorance and want for the peoples of Nyasaland. To suggest otherwise is to mislead the people and those who do so would have a heavy price to pay should they get their way and be required to fulfil the promises they have made for a bright future outside Federation.

4. The Monckton Commission

Africans have no confidence in the Monckton Commission and we have decided to boycott it for the following reasons:

(a) Composition.—Most of the members of the Monckton Commission are biased in favour of settlers and the Federation. The African people who have been appointed to it are on the whole Government men.

(b) Terms of Reference.—You have failed to assure us that the Commission can have the power and is empowered to recommend secession in our case. Instead you have insisted that the Commission shall work within the framework of Federation and recommend as to the means of achieving its aims and objects. The people of Nyasaland are not interested in the further continuance of Federation and feel that no useful purpose can be served in even giving evidence to a Commission which is so loaded as to entrench Federation for good.

(c) State of Emergency and Dr. Banda.—We believe that the first duty of the Government is to restore confidence in Nyasaland by releasing Dr. Banda and all other leaders to enable them to come and assist in any future plans for the country. The coming of the Monckton Commission to Nyasaland in the absence of Dr. Banda and other leaders is very much resented by Africans as a means of side-tracking him and stabbing him in the back. They want Dr. Banda to come and lead them in all these matters. The concession that Dr. Banda and other detained leaders may give evidence to the Commission is regarded by Africans as a mockery, for Dr. Banda and others would feel unable to speak for the people from prisons and detention camps. They will want to be free and speak as freemen.

(d) The Nyasaland Constitution.—As the Monckton Commission is set up to advise the five Governments, we feel that no useful purpose would be served by giving evidence to a Commission that is to advise the Five Governments in which we have no confidence. Before we give evidence to this commission we would require a Government in Nyasaland that was representative of Africans.

Suggested Sense of Reply

As to the composition of the Commission, it is a Commission of individuals. They are not appointed as representatives of particular interests but are chosen because they cover a wide field of individual experience. They represent on the
Commission nobody but themselves. It is quite untrue to suggest that “most of the members . . . are biased in favour of settlers and the Federation”. Those members of the Commission who come from outside the Federation have no bias of any sort. They are completely impartial. As to the members of the Commission who come from within the Federation, they are persons of differing personal viewpoints but they enjoy in common a wide experience of the situation in the Federation and, as is illustrated by their acceptance of appointment to the Commission, a desire to find a just solution to the problems with which the Commission are required to deal. It is only reasonable that persons of this nature should have a voice in the Commission’s deliberations.

As to the terms of reference of the Commission, the Prime Minister has made it clear in the House of Commons that the Commission is in no way inhibited either as regards the substance of the evidence to which they are competent to listen, or the substance of their report, in particular with regard to the redistribution of functions and the form of association best suited to any changes.

The question of whether Dr. Banda and other detainees will give evidence before the Monckton Commission is a matter for them. Should they wish to do so, arrangements will be made accordingly. If they have strong feelings on the problems with which the Commission are required to deal, then it would seem wise of and desirable for them to take advantage of the forthcoming visit of the Commission to make their views known to it.

As to the bearing of the present Nyasaland Constitution on this matter, African members enjoy a majority on the unofficial side of the Nyasaland Legislature and to the extent that this is so it would seem inaccurate to imply that the Government is unrepresentative of Africans.

“5. Constitutional Reforms

Africans have no confidence in the present Nyasaland Government and especially in the Interim Constitution. The present members of Legislative and Executive Councils do not command the confidence of the people. Because of this lack of confidence in the Government of the country, there can be no economic and social constitutional progress. Political stability so essential to economic progress and development is lacking and overseas investors will not invest capital in the land. The answer is the immediate creation of a Government in which Africans will have the fullest possible confidence. We propose the following: African majority in both the Legislative and Executive Councils and immediate elections based on an adult universal franchise roll.”

Suggested Sense of Reply

It is accepted that the present Constitution is no more than an interim one and the Nyasaland Government is most anxious that circumstances should develop which would facilitate peaceful and profitable discussion on the matter of the next stage of territorial constitutional advancement. As soon as circumstances permit the peaceful discussion of plans to this end, such discussions will proceed.

“6. Other Matters

The Malawi Congress Party has the support of the majority of African chiefs and people of Nyasaland. We append hereto a Memorandum prepared for Malawi Congress Party by the Nyasaland Trade Union Congress for submission to you in the hope that you will use your influence to help resolve these trade union problems in the country. The Malawi Congress Party endorses the Memorandum and supports every word expressed therein.”

(Not reproduced in this print.)

Suggested Sense of Reply

The Prime Minister has already received the original memorandum prepared by the Nyasaland Trades Union Congress and will be replying to that Congress separately.
Record of a Meeting with a Delegation from the Congress Liberation Party held at Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 4 p.m.

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**

Mr. Harold Macmillan  
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

**NYASALAND**

Mr. T. D. T. Banda  
Mr. H. F. Faramenga  
Mr. C. W. G. Kaluwa  
Mr. P. M. Banda  
Mr. Y. M. L. Chirwa  
Mr. F. Kamwana

Mr. Macmillan thanked Mr. T. D. T. Banda for the Party's memorandum, which is reproduced in the Annex to this record. He promised to have this studied. He asked whether the delegation wished to add orally to what was in the memorandum.

Mr. Banda was the sole speaker for the delegation. In the course of his address he made the following points:

1. The Congress Liberation Party stood for national unity and against racial hatred. It based itself on the tradition of friendly relations between the United Kingdom and Nyasaland, cemented by Nyasaland's participation in both wars. The Party was not opposed to lawful authority, but stood for the development of African self-government.

2. The creation of the Federation marked a victory of the Southern Rhodesian politicians over the sound liberal instincts of British statesmen. The Nyasas regarded it as involving the extension to their country of those Southern Rhodesian practices to which they objected when they went to work there. Support for secession was universal in Nyasaland. The Party stood both for secession and for immediate self-government. When Africans assumed power in Nyasaland they would remain friendly towards the United Kingdom. They were ready to assure both European and Asian settlers of the security of their land rights.

3. The principal argument used in support of Federation was the economic benefit thereby conferred on Nyasaland. Mr. Banda was doubtful about this; for example, Federation had meant that the Shire project was not proceeded with. At the present moment there was severe unemployment in the Blantyre area. He was convinced that Nyasaland could very well stand on its own feet because the United Kingdom would look after it. In any case, he believed that Nyasaland had great potentialities which had not been developed. For example, they could grow quite a lot of rice. If farming were mechanised, output would be increased. Mr. Banda produced a small glass jar which, he said, contained beryllium. This was at present only used in ceramics but, with the help of British science, it could no doubt be exploited to greater purpose.

4. His Party was ready to co-operate with the Monckton Commission. He would give evidence to the Commission in favour of the secession of Nyasaland from the Federation. A detailed statement was already in preparation.

Mr. Macmillan thanked Mr. Banda for his statement. The United Kingdom Government were also anxious to promote constitutional advance in Nyasaland. His own view was that federation was at least an honest project conceived in the belief that by the co-operation of the three territories greater strength would accrue to all of them. He congratulated the C.L.P. on its statesmanlike decision to co-operate with the Monckton Commission. He had known Lord Monckton for very many years, and Mr. Banda would find him a straightforward man and a shrewd Chairman. As for the development of the potentialities of Nyasaland, the United Kingdom Government were anxious to do all they could. It was perhaps true that they had not done enough in the past, but it must be remembered that, out of his own lifetime, 10 years had been wasted in two wars, and after the first war there had been an economic depression which had inhibited development.

Mr. Macmillan told the delegation that he was grateful for the candour and the friendly tone of their representations. He asked them to believe that the United Kingdom Government would act with good will and with good faith in seeking a solution of their problems.
ANNEX

CONGRESS LIBERATION PARTY DELEGATION

Memorandum

The following sets out the text of a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by the Party, together with suggested lines for reply.

"Introduction"

The Congress Liberation Party wholeheartedly welcomes you to this country. You are the first British Prime Minister to visit this Protectorate which has always been loyal to the British Crown. We hope that, though your stay in the Protectorate will be a matter of hours, much will be gathered, and a solution sought to the unrest which had enveloped the Protectorate, and that peace and good relations between the Nyasaland Government and the African people, and also between Non-Africans and Africans Communities be restored.

Suggested Sense of Reply

It is the Prime Minister’s earnest hope, as it must be the hope of all men of goodwill, that a speedy solution will be found to the difficult problems which face the Protectorate. Such a solution can only be found if all sections of the community share a willingness to compromise, a sympathetic understanding of each other’s points of view, a desire for constructive discussion under peaceful conditions and an intention to co-operate with each other. The Prime Minister is here to learn what he can of Nyasaland’s problems at first hand and if his visit should also assist in producing a climate of opinion conducive to their solution, nothing would give him greater pleasure.

"Federation"

A great deal of memoranda have previously been submitted on Federation of Central Africa, and it will therefore not be necessary to repeat all what we, our chiefs and other political bodies had said. We will briefly state our case.

It will be recalled that Federation of Central Africa was imposed against the overwhelming opposition of the African people to the scheme. The British Government had been misled in the belief that with glaring ‘Economic benefits’ which would flow after Federation, and with implementation of ‘Partnership’, African opposition would naturally decline, and before review of the Federal Constitution completely disappear. The African Chiefs and their people, on the other hand, assured the British Government that the settlers’ Government of Southern Rhodesia would never allow sufficient funds for adequate economic growth of the Protectorate, and that ‘Partnership’ would never be implemented in Central Africa.

They also mentioned that the main reason for setting Federation was not based on economic benefits, but on political grounds to maintain White Supremacy. The British Government believed what the white settlers said and thus imposed Federation on the unwilling loyal Africans of Nyasaland.

Since the inception of Federation race relations had deteriorated gravely. We are pleased that time and events have proved Africans right, and as a result of intensified opposition to Federation, the unrest in the country, and the untold misery, starvation to several people and economic position of the country is almost bankrupt, resulting in unemployment, and lack of expansion in essential human development—Partnership Policy for 10 years has failed to be implemented.

Secession from Federation

The case for Secession from Federation was actively made on 1st January, 1958, when the Africans decided to draw up a petition which was to be presented to the British Government. We now believe that as the Europeans have totally rejected partnership everywhere, both the British Government

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and Federal Government will firmly work out a solution for letting Nyasaland quit this difficult combination of the three territories. Whilst on this point of Secession, we should refer you to what Sir Jock Campbell, Chairman of Booker Group of Companies in London wrote recently stating a clear case that Nyasaland was completely different to Rhodesia and urged the British Government to declare the country an African State. Whatever may be our lot outside the Central African Federation, we have no intention to stand on our Own Without British Guidance, Co-operation and Protection."

Suggested Sense of Reply

Federation was introduced because Her Majesty's Government felt satisfied that it provided for an association of the three territories which would be in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Protectorate. To the extent that this is so, Her Majesty's Government, in introducing it, acted in fulfilment of its paramount duty to protect and advance the interests and welfare of the peoples of Nyasaland. The object of Federation is to bring about the association of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland within the framework of a constitution designed to conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and to foster partnership and co-operation between those inhabitants. These are laudable and essentially Christian objects—which have been misrepresented in many quarters.

The financial benefits, economic improvements and the rise of standards of living which the Federation has brought about, cannot be gainsaid, they are matters of fact. To take but one example, the Nyasaland and Federal Governments between them are now spending nearly four times the amount on education and health services than was possible before Federation, notwithstanding the fact that the revenue derived from this territory has increased by no more than two-thirds over the same period. Some people have persuaded themselves that these advantages would have accrued in any case, but such an opinion is not founded on fact.

As to secession from the Federation, it is to be borne in mind that, at present, the peoples of Nyasaland enjoy free access to the Rhodesias to seek employment. Without Federation this could be very different. There would be no obligation on the part of the Rhodesias to make special arrangement for the Nyasas to enter their territories in search of work. The Nyasa might well find himself cut off from this source of gainful occupation. Something like 170,000 Nyasa males are now in employment outside the Protectorate. About 70,000 more every year go out and enter the Protectorate in search of and returning from work. These figures show the extent to which the Nyasa is dependent on getting employment elsewhere than in his own country. His opportunities for employment in the Union are being restricted considerably. If this happened elsewhere for any reason it would be disastrous for him.

It is a matter for concern that none of those who oppose Federation have ever attempted to explain this to their people or to explain what would follow secession and the consequent restriction of financial resources. There would be less and less money to be spent by the Government. Inevitably, this would mean fewer schools for African children and even now it is only some 50 to 60 per cent. of African children who get an opportunity to learn to read and write and do sums. There would be fewer beds in hospitals, fewer dispensaries and less drugs. The roads would deteriorate. There would be fewer advisory services to help the progressive farmer with his crops or with his stock. No opponent of the Federation appears to have told the Africans in the villages that this is the price that they would have to pay if they prefer what they describe as "freedom" to the alternative status of regional autonomy within the Federation. The truth is that the road away from an association between the territories leads to ignorance and want for the peoples of Nyasaland. To suggest otherwise is to mislead the people and those who do so would have a heavy price to pay should they get their way and be required to fulfil the promises they have made for a bright future outside Federation.

The allegation that the Europeans have totally rejected partnership does not accord with the facts. It would be truer to say that in every case where practices of segregation and discrimination existed before Federation, some progress has been made in removing them. Thus persons of all races are now accepted in a number of hotels and restaurants throughout the territory, whereas this was not
the case before Federation. Greater advances have been made than before Federation in affording opportunities for advancement to Africans in commerce and the Public Service. The Federal Public Service, like the Nyasaland Public Service, is open to all races with promotion on the basis of merit. A multi-racial university has been established in Salisbury since Federation. Laws criticised as perpetrating and perpetuating racial discrimination are often protective of African interests, but are gradually being amended where desirable to apply to changing conditions, as, for example, the Credit Trade with Africans Ordinance which has already been repealed. A racially shared form of local government has been inaugurated. The African now has a greater degree of representation in the Federal Parliament and a greater say in his choice of representatives. The training, placement and advancement of Africans in industry has made considerable progress since Federation. The Railway Regulations no longer discriminate on the basis of colour or race. The colour bar in Post Offices has been removed. There are many more examples which could be quoted of the progress which has been made in this context.

"Self-government Now"

Nyasaland is now ready for self-government, and we would call upon you as the Premier of Great Britain to declare that Nyasaland will now have self-government outside Federation. Such a declaration would be fulfilling promises made to the African people by Government Administrators early in 1891."

Suggested Sense of Reply

Self-government is not a matter for simple "declaration". It is a matter of evolution. It is the objective of Her Majesty's Government, as the Prime Minister explained in the House of Commons on the 22nd July, 1959, to advance Nyasaland towards fully responsible government. To say that Nyasaland is "now ready for self-government" is to ignore the facts. Thus, to take only one example, there is not available to Nyasaland even the nucleus of a trained and qualified local staff sufficient and competent to man and run the government machine. Without the staff to run the machine self-government or indeed any form of government is impossible.

"The Interim Constitution"

This Constitution should be abandoned, and a new Constitution brought about before the 1960 conference. The new Constitution should give overall African majority in both Executive Council and Legislative Council.

We shall be interested in nothing short of Representative Government based on complete democratic principles established without further delay."

Suggested Sense of Reply

It is accepted that the present Constitution is no more than an interim one. The Nyasaland Government is most anxious that circumstances should develop which would facilitate peaceful and profitable discussion on the matter of the next stage of territorial constitutional advancement. As soon as circumstances permit the peaceful discussion of plans to this end will proceed, and the present interim Constitution will be reviewed.

If the desire for a new Constitution before the 1960 Federal Constitutional Review is prompted by the wish to ensure the presence of a fully representative Nyasaland delegation at the conference, it is to be borne in mind that this can already be effected within the terms of Article 99 of the Federal Constitution which provides for territorial delegations to be "chosen by their respective Governments", i.e., the field of choice open to the Nyasaland Government is in no way restricted.

"Lifting of State of Emergency, Reinstatement of Deposed Chiefs and Release of Detainees"

(i) We feel that as the country is back to normal the State of Emergency should be lifted, and public meeting be allowed to be held.

SECRET
(ii) Chiefs deposed owing to their opposition to Federation in 1953 should be reinstated, and rustification orders placed on Mission Bvumbwe, Headman Ngamwane and others be removed.

(iii) Release of all detainees.”

Suggested Sense of Reply

The State of Emergency can only be ended when the Governor is satisfied that it is no longer necessary for the preservation of public order. It is, of course, his earnest hope, shared by us all, that the time when the Emergency can be brought to an end will be speedily reached.

The Chiefs to which the memorandum refers were not deposed but resigned. The question of their reinstatement, should they so desire it, must turn on the Governor being satisfied that it would be in the interests of good administration in their areas to reinstate them.

So far as the rustification order on Mission Bvumbwe and Headman Ngamwane are concerned, these orders which are the subject of review at six-monthly intervals, were issued on the recommendations of a Court of Law. The question of their revocation can only arise when it is clear that the interests of public security no longer enjoin the restriction of those concerned.

As to the release of “all detainees”, the release of each individual depends on whether and when the Governor is satisfied that he is no longer a danger to the maintenance of public order.

Lastly the Congress Liberation Party declare that in order to restore peace and loyalty to the British Crown, the following demands of the people of Nyasaland should be granted without delay:

(i) Nyasaland to Secede from Federation of Central Africa, and declare Nyasaland an African State without delay.

(ii) British Government to declare that Nyasaland will have self-government now.

(iii) That the Interim Constitution be abandoned, and a new Constitution be introduced with an overall majority in both Executive and Legislative Councils before the review of the Federal Constitution this year.

(iv) I.—That the State of Emergency be lifted.
    II.—Deposed Chiefs be reinstated.
    III.—Rustification Orders be removed on people affected.
    IV.—Release of all detainees.”

These points have already been dealt with in the earlier part of this note.
Record of a Meeting with a Delegation from the Central Africa Party (Nyasaland Division) held at Government House, Zomba, on 25th January, 1960, at 4.15 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. J. H. Robertson

NYASALAND
Mr. C. R. Kumbikano
Mr. W. G. Tracy
Mr. A. Marshall
Mr. C. G. Whitehead
Mr. B. Phiri
Mr. A. Nyirenda

The leader of the delegation, Mr. Kumbikano, opened the meeting by saying that they were very pleased indeed that in the short time available to him Mr. Macmillan was able to see them and hear their views. He then asked Mr. Tracy, the Nyasaland Division Secretary, to explain the party's policy to Mr. Macmillan.

Mr. Tracy described the events which had taken place in Nyasaland since the unrest in March 1959. After measures had been taken to deal with that unrest the Nyasaland Government seemed to be in a strong position, but since then it had lost the initiative. The African National Congress had been allowed to re-form under a new name. Moderate Africans throughout the territory were being intimidated and the Central Africa Party, which was late in the field in Nyasaland, found itself hamstrung.

The dominant factor in Nyasaland politics today was fear of Southern Rhodesia. The problem was essentially one of human relations. Since the Federation was formed in 1953 a considerable number of Europeans from Southern Rhodesia had come into Nyasaland bringing with them Southern Rhodesian attitudes and modes of behaviour towards Africans. In racial questions the Southern Rhodesians were closely akin to the South Africans. This provoked many Africans into extremist views and indeed the Malawi Congress Party, which had replaced the African National Congress after the latter was banned, were black racialists. If they achieved power they would no doubt turn Nyasaland into a one-party State.

The Central Africa Party's view was that Dr. Banda was the only effective leader of the people of Nyasaland. To them he was the Messiah. The Central Africa Party believed that Dr. Banda should be released but that his lieutenants should continue to be detained. If they were released it would certainly become necessary to declare another state of emergency.

The Central Africa Party would be prepared to meet Dr. Banda in negotiations and would try to persuade him that a franchise similar to the Tanganyika franchise should be adopted in Nyasaland. At the same time they thought it would be necessary to safeguard the rights of minorities by giving the Governor a veto on legislation and the right to dissolve the Legislative Council. The United Federal Party had put forward a proposal that the Legislature might be divorced from the Executive on the lines of the American system, but the Central Africa Party considered that, although this might be acceptable in principle, it would prove impossible to secure its adoption in practice.

Mr. Tracy then spoke about the Monckton Commission and said that in the view of the Central Africa Party, Mr. Wellington Chirwa would be a worthless member. He was hoping to be appointed to the Monckton Commission solely in order to secure financial advantage for himself.

Mr. Tracy went on to say that, if the Federation was to continue in existence (as the Central Africa Party desired), it would be necessary for the Federal structure to be loosened. The Central Africa Party considered that all ties should be removed except those of customs, finance, foreign affairs, communications and the monetary system. They considered that on this basis Nyasaland should continue under a temporary constitution to be a member of the Federation for five years and that a plebiscite should then be held under which the people of Nyasaland could decide whether or not to remain permanently in the Federation.
Mr. Nyirenda said that the Nyasaland Government had been unable to remove the uncertainty which was hanging over all the inhabitants of the territory. It was essential that they should put forward a firm policy so that everybody should know where they stood. Mr. Marshall said that he had lived for thirty years in Nyasaland. It had been a happy place. Relations between Europeans and Africans had been very cordial. He would do anything he could to restore that state of affairs. To-day, however, moderate Africans were being intimidated. He considered that the only way to prevent further deterioration in the situation was to give the people of Nyasaland the right to secede from the Federation if they wished to do so.

At this point Mr. Macmillan said that he had the impression that the feeling which existed in Nyasaland against the Federation was not against the concept of federation as such. It was rather, he thought, an expression of the feeling that the Federation concealed an attempt to spread racial domination. The Federation undoubtedly brought material benefits to the people of Nyasaland and the important thing was that psychological fear of it should be removed.

Mr. Tracy agreed with this. He said that the Christian missions had played a great part in the history of Nyasaland and that until recently it had been recognised that the purpose of the Government had been to bring the people of Nyasaland forward to the point where they could rule themselves. In this way a feeling of trust had grown up between the people of Nyasaland and the United Kingdom Government. The imposition of Federation in 1953 had, however, broken this trust.

Mr. Phiri agreed with this. He said that the interventions in the affairs of Nyasaland by the Federal Government which had taken place since 1953 had had the result of stimulating African racialism. Now the Malawi Congress Party were practising intimidation in the cause of this African racialism and the Nyasaland Government did nothing to prevent it.

Mr. Macmillan concluded the meeting by saying that he hoped that the Central Africa Party in Nyasaland would put their views to the Monckton Commission. On the question of federation he said that at one time it seemed almost inconceivable that it would prove possible to build a successful federation in Nigeria. Nonetheless, success had been achieved there. Though circumstances in Central Africa were in some ways different from those in West Africa, there was no overriding reason why in the fullness of time success should not also be achieved in Central Africa.

Record of a Meeting held at Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 5:15 p.m.

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**
- Mr. Harold Macmillan
- Sir Norman Brook
- Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

**NYASALAND**
- Sir Robert Armitage, Governor
- Mr. C. W. F. Footman, Chief Secretary
- Mr. R. M. M. King, Attorney-General
- Mr. J. H. Ingham, Secretary for Local Government and Social Services
- Mr. Finney, Special Branch

Sir Robert Armitage, at Mr. Macmillan’s request, gave a survey of the security situation in Nyasaland.

The General Election in the United Kingdom had marked a stage in Nyasaland. For, as soon as it was realised that there was not going to be a Labour Government, the detainees had decided that they would have to behave themselves if they wanted to be let out and things had become much quieter throughout the country. This favourable trend had been reversed with the appearance of the Malawi Congress Party which, organised by Orton Chirwa, had spread rapidly in all the areas where the proscribed Congress Party had been strong: it now had
about 100 branches, as compared with the 200 Congress branches in March 1959. It was organised on the cell system, and Orton Chirwa tried to retain direct control from his headquarters without any intervening local or provincial organisation. His declared policy was to keep everything quiet until the bulk of the detainees had been released: indeed, he admitted that his aim was to create conditions so quiet that the Government would be obliged to release the detainees. Whether or not Dr. Banda had authorised Orton Chirwa to use his name there was no doubt that Dr. Banda was the real leader. In intimidating persons loyal to Government the threat used by the Malawi Party was that Dr. Banda must come into power in Nyasaland. This intimidation had caused much unease among Europeans and others, including Africans. Unfortunately, it was not open to the Government to take a definite line to allay this unease because they were obliged to wait for the result of the Monckton Commission and of the Constitutional Review. For some months to come there would be a political vacuum.

Turning to Dr. Banda's personality, Sir Robert Armitage said that one of the most embarrassing conclusions of the Devlin Report was that which drew a distinction between him and his colleagues. Public opinion now looked on Dr. Banda as a mild little man from North Willesden. Pressure for his release was therefore widespread. Nobody cared about his lieutenants who could remain locked up without disturbing opinion in Nyasaland at all. The Nyasas were not naturally a riotous people, and were used to a paternal form of government; and he did not think they would mind how many detainees were still in prison so long as Dr. Banda was released. Dr. Banda was now a symbol—or a myth. On the other hand if, at the same time as Dr. Banda was released, his lieutenants were also released, then there might well be serious trouble.

Mr. Footman said that the Malawi Party had closer links with the Trades Unions than the Congress Party had had. This was an added danger. Dr. Banda had never shown himself able to control his own extreme followers.

Mr. Ingham said that in the Africans' mind the principal motive was hatred of Federation. They were demanding African self-government less for its own sake than because they thought that, if they were self-governing, they would be better able to fight Federation. It could therefore be argued that it was logical to settle first the nature of Nyasaland's association with the Rhodesias because, if that could be made reasonably acceptable, the Nyasas would be likely to agree to go forward to self-government at a pace more suited to their limited capabilities. The trouble was that if Dr. Banda was released he would think that we were in a hurry, that things were going as he had forecast, and that he was therefore in a strong position.

Sir Robert Armitage said that he had originally agreed with the Colonial Secretary a programme for the release of detainees, and of Dr. Banda, much more deliberate than that with which he was now faced as a result of the Cabinet's decision of 4th January.

Mr. Macmillan said that two points seemed to be agreed:

(i) that we could not detain Dr. Banda indefinitely;

(ii) that he was more of a demagogue than an active organiser so that, if he were let out and his more dangerous lieutenants continued to be detained, we might have the best of both worlds.

Mr. Footman said that the purpose of releasing Dr. Banda was to hold constitutional discussions with him. He might well, however, refuse to talk about the constitution of Nyasaland while it still remained within the framework of Federation. Sir Robert Armitage thought it might be an incentive for Dr. Banda to promise to put him on the Nyasaland delegation for the Constitutional Review. It would certainly be valuable to have him on the delegation. The result might be that he would agree to constitutional talks. He himself thought it much the best for those talks to take place in London. Perhaps Dr. Banda would voluntarily agree to go there; alternatively he could be let out on the condition that he should go at once to London, and be put back in prison if he failed to do so. The analogy of Archbishop Makarios suggested itself. Perhaps Dr. Banda could be told that he was free to go anywhere other than the Federation, that he had already been declared a prohibited immigrant in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. The reason why he must be kept out of Nyasaland was that his Party was pledged to a policy of secession and, whatever his own inclinations might be, if he were free in
Nyasaland he would be forced by pressure of his colleagues and followers to agitate for secession. This agitation would go on until November at least without any possibility of an answer being given. It could produce a security situation worse than that of 1959.

Mr. Macmillan said that it seemed to be agreed, not only that Dr. Banda must be let out, but also that we must have serious constitutional talks with him, because it was not worth while talking to anyone else. Although Dr. Banda was at present refusing to talk within the framework of the Federal Constitution he might, when released, have the sense to realise that no change could be made until, at any rate, the Review Conference; and that, meanwhile, some constitutional advance in Nyasaland would at least make things better rather than worse. He could carry on with the argument about Federation later.

Mr. Ingham said that a lot depended on how far we were prepared or able to go in giving Nyasaland an African Government. Sir Robert Armitage pointed out that any change in the territorial constitution had to be agreed with the Federal Government. A rapid advance in Nyasaland would have effects on Northern Rhodesia. Perhaps a rapid advance was out of the question, since the most that the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments would consider acceptable as a basis for self-government for Nyasaland would be very much less favourable to Africans than Dr. Banda's minimum.

Mr. Footman said that the Monckton Commission was supposed to be in Nyasaland from 16th March to 9th April. If Dr. Banda were released Southern Rhodesian Europeans might give evidence to the Commission strongly attacking Federation and wanting to be rid of Nyasaland.

Mr. Macmillan said that he did not see how Dr. Banda could be let out of prison but obliged to remain in London for months negotiating without being allowed to return to Nyasaland. Mr. Finney said that in a speech in Zomba in January 1959, Dr. Banda had recognised that negotiations would take a long time. Sir Robert Armitage said that it was only necessary to keep him in play until June or July, because from then onwards interest would be focused on the Review. We had to try to fill in six months, and he hoped that talks in London would help to this end. Mr. Ingham said that Dr. Banda might be nervous about his reception in Nyasaland and might welcome the idea of talks with the Colonial Secretary in London.

Mr. Macmillan said that if there was any question of Dr. Banda being refused permission to return to Nyasaland there would be severe public criticism, in Parliament and in the Press, in the United Kingdom. Was this not likely to endanger security in Nyasaland? The cry at present was for Dr. Banda's release; if he were released but exiled the cry would be for his return to his own country.

It was agreed to resume this discussion later on the same evening.

Record of a Meeting between the Prime Minister and Mr. Dingle Foot, M.P., held in Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 10:20 p.m.

Mr. Dingle Foot said that he was speaking as the legal adviser of Dr. Banda, with whom he had been having consultations. Dr. Banda had asked him to hand over a memorandum to the Prime Minister. A copy of this memorandum is annexed to this record. Mr. Foot was understood to say that a copy of this memorandum was being sent to Lord Home and to Lord Monckton.

In discussion Mr. Foot made the following points:

(a) Dr. Banda was strongly opposed to Federation and would never, under any circumstances, change his attitude on this.

(b) If he were released from detention at this stage he would be prepared to give evidence before the Monckton Commission and would advise his followers to do the same. His influence in Nyasaland was very great, and his advice on this point would be accepted.
(c) He would not agree to be released from detention unless his friends were also released or an early definite date were fixed for their release.

(d) Dr. Banda was extremely interested in constitutional reform as a subject of study and he would be very pleased to join in discussions on the future constitution of Nyasaland.

(e) Dr. Banda could be trusted to keep his word.

(f) Dr. Banda was opposed to violence.

(g) Dr. Banda would be very susceptible to a personal approach at high level.

(h) Dr. Banda would want to be released in Nyasaland and not be required to go anywhere else.

Mr. Macmillan asked Mr. Foot whether Dr. Banda would be prepared to take a responsible view and be ready to co-operate in good faith and with sincerity in the search for an acceptable solution of the problems confonting them. Mr. Foot seemed to suggest that Dr. Banda would only be ready to do this if his points were met.

The meeting terminated at 10:50 p.m.

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM HANDED TO Mr. MACMILLAN BY Mr. DINGLE FOOT, M.P., 25th JANUARY, 1960

Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda has carefully considered the suggestion made to him by the Chief Secretary of the Nyasaland Government on January 4, 1960, that he should give evidence before the Monckton Commission. He feels that he could not usefully give such evidence while still in detention. He would be speaking, and would be generally regarded as speaking, not merely for himself but for his followers in Nyasaland with whom he has had no opportunity for consultation since March 3, 1959. He feels that consultation would be essential for the preparation of his evidence.

2. As stated in his letter to Mr. Footman of January 5, 1960, Dr. Banda also feels that it would be impossible for him to give evidence before the Commission while over 400 of his followers were still in detention and the state of emergency still continued. He is further of the opinion that the Commission could not conduct a full inquiry while emergency powers were still in operation. Even if witnesses were fully protected against criminal or civil proceedings in respect of their evidence they could hardly speak freely if they knew that at any moment they might be arbitrarily detained without charge or trial.

3. Nevertheless Dr. Banda would be prepared to give evidence before the Commission, and to advise all his followers to do the same, if the following conditions were assured:

(a) The state of emergency would be declared at an end and the detainees released.

(b) An assurance would be given that ex-detainees would not be further detained or restricted under the statutory powers now possessed by the Nyasaland Government, or any similar powers which might be enacted, on the grounds which led to their detention under emergency powers, or on account of their evidence before the Commission.

(c) A similar assurance would be given that witnesses before the Commission who had not been detained under emergency powers, would not be detained or restricted under such statutory powers as aforesaid on account of their evidence.

(d) All evidence before the Commission would be the subject of absolute privilege in respect of both civil and criminal proceedings.
(e) All witnesses who desired to give evidence whether orally or in writing before the Commission would (so far as practicable) be afforded an opportunity to do so.

(f) It would be at the option of each witness to decide whether his or her evidence would be given in public or private.

(g) All witnesses giving evidence to the Commission would be free to express any views they might wish regarding

(i) the policies hitherto pursued in relation to Central Africa by Her Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom, the Federal Government and the Governments of the three territories, and

(ii) the future of the three territories or any of them. It would be open to them, if they so desired, to advocate secession by one or more of the territories from the Federation, association by one or more of the territories with other territories now outside the Federation, or forms of association between the three territories alternative to Federation.

4. This memorandum has been shown to Mr. H. B. Chipembere and Mr. D. K. Chisiza who are both in agreement with it.

H. K. B.
H. B. C.
D. K. C.
D F.

Her Majesty’s Prison,
Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia,

Record of a Meeting held at Government House, Zomba, on Monday, 25th January, 1960, at 11 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt

NYASALAND
Sir Robert Armitage, Governor
Mr. C. W. F. Footman, Chief Secretary
Mr. R. M. M. King, Attorney-General
Mr. J. H. Ingham, Secretary for Local Government and Social Services
Mr. Finney, Special Branch

Mr. Macmillan said that he had given much thought, since the earlier meeting was adjourned, to the question of the release of Dr. Banda. He had not yet come to a conclusion. He did not wish to intervene as principal, in a matter for which the Colonial Secretary was the Minister primarily responsible. It had, however, been very helpful to him to have been in Zomba, to have heard the views of members of the Executive Council and to have learned something of the local background.

In further discussion the following points were made.

(a) If Dr. Banda were released in Nyasaland the Africans would think this a victory for him. They would begin at once to look for the fulfilment of the extravagant promises he had made, such as the reduction of taxation and the repeal of certain legislation. Attacks on Europeans might start at once. Dr. Banda’s control over his followers was not strong enough to enable him to ensure that they behaved themselves.

Mr. Macmillan observed that these were sound reasons for not releasing Dr. Banda at all. Yet he thought that at their earlier meeting they had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to continue indefinitely the state of emergency...
and the detention of Dr. Banda. The Governor and his official advisers agreed that it would not be possible to continue direct rule in the hope that a moderate Party would emerge: Dr. Banda was the only African leader with whom we could deal.

(b) If Dr. Banda had to be at large in Nyasaland this should be postponed until after the Monckton Commission had left. There was danger that the arrival of the Monckton Commission might by itself cause disturbances and, if Dr. Banda were at large in Nyasaland at the time, these disturbances could take a serious turn. The dates of 15th or 25th February, to the latter of which the Governor had earlier reluctantly assented, had been given to him by the Colonial Secretary as an instruction, and he was left nothing but the freedom to choose between them. He had then preferred the latter date as the lesser evil; but he had talked it over much since then with his advisers and now begged the Prime Minister to allow him more time before he had to release Dr. Banda. He would like the Colonial Secretary to come and discuss the question on the spot before a decision was taken.

(c) The ideal solution, in the view of the Governor and his advisers, was that Dr. Banda should agree, when released, to go at once to the United Kingdom for constitutional discussions there. If he would not go voluntarily they would be prepared to see some legal force brought to bear on him to compel him to go. He should be forbidden to return to Nyasaland (he was already a prohibited immigrant in the other two Territories of the Federation) but might be at liberty to go anywhere else.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was convinced that it was illusory to think along these lines. To release Dr. Banda and then exile him would be indefensible to Parliament and public opinion. Rather than contemplate such a solution he would prefer to keep Dr. Banda under restraint for another year.

(d) Sir Robert Armitage and his advisers thought that it was not impossible that Dr. Banda would agree voluntarily to go to the United Kingdom for talks. Some of his associates had reported that he was nervous about what might happen if he came out of detention in Nyasaland. He rather fancied himself as a constitutional expert. It would however be a tactical error on his part, which he was not likely to make, to agree to discussions without conditions. The difficulty was that he would probably refuse to talk about a constitution for Nyasaland which presupposed that Nyasaland remained in the Federation; after all, the basis of his policy, and the ground for his popularity with his followers, was his advocacy of secession. From our side, too, it was difficult to think of a proper basis for talks on the territorial constitution until we knew what sort of shape the Federation would take as a result of the Monckton Commission and the Review Conference.

Mr. Macmillan suggested that it might be possible to engage in talks with Dr. Banda on the understanding that their result would be without prejudice to the future relationship between Nyasaland and the other two Territories. On this basis it would be good tactics on our part to make a really generous offer. There would have to be two elements in this: a genuine political advance for Nyasaland and an undertaking that Dr. Banda should be nominated to the Nyasaland Delegation to the Constitutional Review. It he turned down something which looked like a fair deal, he would lose a lot of his support in the United Kingdom (and this was a valuable source of strength to him in Nyasaland) and would also reduce his influence in Nyasaland.

(e) Sir Robert Armitage and his advisers expressed the opinion that Dr. Banda would not insist on his companions also being released before he would take part in discussions. They maintained that there was no evidence to support such an assumption, and some evidence that he was already turning against his closest associates among the detainees.

Mr. Macmillan, summing up the discussion, said that the view of the Governor and his advisers appeared to be, first, that Dr. Banda must be released and, secondly, that he must not be left at large in Nyasaland. There were two proposals for achieving the latter purpose—either to take some legal steps, the precise nature of which was not yet clear, to require him to go to the United Kingdom, or to invite him to London for talks and to hope that the result of these talks would be such as to allow him thereafter to return to Nyasaland without creating an impossible security situation. He proposed to give further thought to the problem, and he would discuss it in Salisbury with Sir Roy Welensky on 26th January.
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Record of a Meeting with a Delegation from the United Federal Party (Nyasaland Division) held at the House of the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Blantyre, on Tuesday, 26th January, 1960, at 11.15 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. J. H. Robertson

NYASALAND

Mr. L. A. Little
Mr. C. J. Matinga
Mr. R. Warren
Mr. B. W. Matthews Phiri
Mr. Surtee
Mr. Roop Singh

Mr. Little opened the meeting by saying that the United Federal Party represented all the races in the Federation. For a long time the party had taken very little interest in territorial matters and it was only within the last year or two that it had attempted to recruit African members in Nyasaland. The Party considered that the overriding need in Nyasaland at present was for stability. It was important that moderates, especially moderate Africans, should have the opportunity to make themselves heard. Without stability they would not have this opportunity. Mr. Little asked Mr. Matinga to elaborate on this point.

Mr. Matinga said that the United Federal Party had been greatly perturbed by the situation which had developed in Nyasaland since Dr. Banda returned to the country. The Nyasas were traditionally a peaceful people and the state of race relations in the territory had always been happy. The Africans recognised that the European, Asian and coloured communities had all helped them. This happy state of race relations had been destroyed as a result of the events which took place after Dr. Banda's return to Nyasaland. Intimidation now seemed to be uncontrolled. If fear was to be removed, the Government must act firmly. It was disturbing to hear rumours that Dr. Banda and the other detainees were to be released. Dr. Banda was not wanted in Nyasaland, and if he and his associates were released a situation more serious than that prevailing in March 1959 would develop. The majority of Nyasaland Africans were grateful to the Europeans for having made Nyasaland what it was to-day.

Mr. Phiri endorsed what Mr. Matinga had said. Stability was needed if further investment in the country was to be forthcoming. After all, Nyasaland's advance to its present state had been due to investment from overseas. If stability and confidence were to be achieved a multi-racial Government would be needed. Mr. Phiri knew Dr. Banda quite well. Indeed, he had been Acting President of the Nyasaland African National Congress when Dr. Banda arrived in Nyasaland in 1958. He had received Dr. Banda and had advised him that all races should work together. Unfortunately Dr. Banda had not accepted this advice. Mr. Phiri had recently visited the Central Province and had talked with a number of chiefs and sub-chiefs. Without exception they did not want Dr. Banda to be released: they wanted stability and an end of intimidation. Many people in Nyasaland had been disturbed by recent statements by the Colonial Secretary which appeared to indicate that the end of the emergency would shortly be declared and the detainees would be released.

Mr. Roop Singh said that Asian feeling was in accord with the views expressed by Mr. Matinga and Mr. Phiri. The Asian community wanted full partnership. They also wanted stability.

Mr. Surtee spoke for the coloured community and said that he was very pleased the Prime Minister had been able to meet the delegation. The coloured community also wanted peace and stability. They were alarmed at reports of the Colonial Secretary's recent interview with Mr. Orton Chirwa and they were frightened by rumours that Dr. Banda would shortly be released.

Mr. Warren said that his family had lived in Nyasaland since 1919 and that he could therefore claim some knowledge of the country and the people. One of the things which undermined confidence was that the public speeches and pronouncements made about the future of the Federation and of Nyasaland were often confused and difficult to understand. Uneducated Africans easily

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misunderstood what was being said. The standard of education in Nyasaland was very low. Fifty per cent. of the population went to Government-assisted mission schools for three years, and the remainder went to Government schools for five years: only 10 per cent. of primary school pupils went on to secondary education. The forecast was that by 1970 only 12 Nyasaland Africans would be graduating from university each year. This number was hopelessly insufficient. A massive improvement in educational facilities was necessary. This could only be achieved if the United Kingdom Government gave heavy subsidies to the Nyasaland Government or if responsibility for African education were transferred to the Federal Government.

Mr. Warren went on to speak about land tenure. Four years ago Mr. Lennox-Boyd, when Colonial Secretary, had given an assurance that the question of land tenure in Nyasaland was being examined. Nothing had happened since then. The present form of communal land ownership was a positive disincentive to efficient and productive farming. If Africans could only be given the right to own freehold land it would be possible to transform the present subsistence agriculture into profitable farming.

Mr. Little concluded the delegation's statement of its views by saying that the United Federal Party considered that a ten-year plan should be put forward for constitutional advance in Nyasaland. This would set out the steps required to bring the territory to self-government within the Federation. Once the plan had been published it should not be altered without consent of all the races of the territory.

In reply, Mr. Macmillan said that he had listened to many different points of view about the future of the Federation and of Nyasaland. Politics was always a confusing business. It was necessary to try to reconcile the various different views that were held and to reach a sensible solution. He could see that there might be merits in the proposal for a definite plan for constitutional advance. This would give people something to work for, whereas at present many people seemed to have only something to work against. Nyasaland certainly needed financial help, and the United Kingdom Government would continue to do what they could to provide assistance. Changes in the system of land tenure were no doubt required; but this was a delicate matter, for there was always a danger that any change in the system would be represented as an attempt by Europeans to seize African land for their own use. It would be much easier to introduce changes in the system of land tenure under a properly elected, fully responsible, Government.

Mr. Macmillan concluded by saying that his impression was that the opposition to federation was largely psychological. It arose primarily from the fear that federation was a cloak for European domination. If it were possible to bring about constitutional advance in Nyasaland he hoped that Africans there would be able to recognise more clearly the force of the economic arguments in favour of federation.

Record of a Meeting with a Delegation from the Nyasaland Asian Convention held at the House of the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Blantyre, on Tuesday, 26th January, 1960, at 11.45 a.m.

Present:

**UNITED KINGDOM**

Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. J. H. Robertson

**NYASALAND**

Mr. A. Sattar Sacranie
Dr. S. S. Kokri
Mr. K. J. Amin
Mr. P. T. Patel
Mr. James F. D'Mello
Mr. Daud J. Karim

Mr. Sacranie opened the meeting by saying that he and his colleagues were grateful to Mr. Macmillan for giving them the opportunity to talk to him.
Mr. Sacranie said that African opposition to federation was a fact which must be recognised. It had grown continually since the Federation was established in 1953. He was convinced that the United Kingdom Government were sincere in their attempt to bring about partnership in Central Africa. None the less the fact was that the races were drifting apart. The gulf between the different communities had now become almost unbridgeable. If the necessary transformation of attitudes was to take place it must be recognised that the Africans were strongly opposed to federation and that they wished at least to have the right to secede from it. Their opposition was not to the concept of federation as such. It was rather opposition to a form of government which they feared would involve eventual domination by the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia.

With regard to the Monckton Commission, Mr. Sacranie regretted that its terms of reference appeared to prevent it from considering the possibility of winding-up the Federation. It seemed doubtful whether the Commission would be free to make such recommendations as would fully meet the requirements of the situation. He thought that the United Kingdom Government should reconsider this point.

So far as concerned the political situation in Nyasaland itself Mr. Sacranie said that he had at one time been an advocate of racial representation in the Legislative Council. Now, however, he had to recognise that with the flight of time African political consciousness had grown to an extent which made racial parity unacceptable. Fully responsible Government ought to be introduced as soon as possible, and the minority communities would have to accept the fact that it was for them to reach a modus vivendi with the Africans. He considered that responsible Government should be introduced in Nyasaland before the review of the Federal Constitution took place so that the Nyasaland representatives at the review would have the full support of public opinion in the territory. Furthermore, the state of emergency should be brought to an end as quickly as possible. This would involve the release of Dr. Banda and other detainees. The Asians had, it is true, been worried about many of the things Dr. Banda had said but they recognised that their only policy was to try to come to terms with him. After all, the Asians in Nyasaland were dependent on the good will of the Africans and Dr. Banda was the acknowledged leader of African opinion. By bringing the emergency to an end and releasing the detainees the United Kingdom Government would remove the bitterness which existed at present among the people of Nyasaland and would enhance their own prestige and authority in the territory.

Mr. Macmillan said that he was grateful for the clarity with which Mr. Sacranie had put forward his views. He could not agree, however, with what Mr. Sacranie had said about the Monckton Commission. The Commission had as chairman and members people who were recognised to be impartial and able. The purpose of the Commission was to prepare the ground for the decisions which the five Governments would be called upon to take at the time of the review of the Federal Constitution. The Commission's work would be a massive briefing operation for the Governments concerned. Naturally it would be the responsibility of the Governments to take the decisions when the time came. He hoped that as many people as possible would give their views to the Commission. As regards the composition of the Nyasaland Delegation to the Review Conference, Mr. Macmillan did not think this need consist solely of Ministers. It would be for the Nyasaland Government at the time to choose the best representatives of the various sections of opinion in Nyasaland. When the time came they would, if they wished, be able to send Dr. Banda or anybody else.

Mr. Macmillan said that he agreed with Mr. Sacranie's view about African opposition to federation. As he saw it, the Africans were not opposed to co-operation between the three territories for economic purposes. Even in Europe recently six great countries with different national traditions of their own had come together in the European Common Market. The African fear of federation sprang from fear of white domination by Southern Rhodesia. He was sure that, if that fear could be removed, the attitude of Nyasaland Africans towards federation would change.

Mr. Sacranie said that he and his colleagues were glad to have met Mr. Macmillan and were happy to see how real an understanding of their problems he had. He assured Mr. Macmillan that the Asian community in Nyasaland would always wish to co-operate with the United Kingdom Government.
Three years ago when I became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom I made up my mind that I would try to visit, while in office, all the leading countries of the Commonwealth. It was a year before I was able to start upon my travels; and at the beginning of 1958 I made a journey to three of the Commonwealth countries in Asia—India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and then on to Australia and New Zealand. Two years have intervened, in which I have also made visits to Canada, the United States—and, of course, Russia. Two years—and a General Election at home. Fortified by all these experiences, at home as well as overseas, I have now felt able to make this further journey to four countries in Africa which have either attained or are nearing, the status of full Commonwealth membership.

Why have I made these journeys? To see for myself something of these Commonwealth countries and their peoples; to see and try to understand the developments that are taking place in them and the problems with which their people are faced; and to have personal talks with political leaders representing all shades of opinion in an informal and friendly atmosphere. Of course, the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth come to our periodical conferences in London. But I have felt that this should not remain a one-way traffic. I am not so foolish as to suppose that in these all too brief visits I can acquire a deep or detailed knowledge of these great countries and their diverse problems. I do not aim at becoming an expert, I certainly don't propose to write a book, even if I could find a publisher. But I know very well from experience already gained that all I have heard and read about these countries is brought into sharper focus by seeing something of them at first hand and meeting some of the people in their own land. I know, too, that when I get back and deal once more with the questions which will come before me and my colleagues at home I can approach them with a keener insight and a clearer understanding because of the personal contacts made during these journeys. It is in this spirit and with this purpose that I have come to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

I should like to make it quite clear at the very outset of my visit that I have not come to engage in negotiations about your constitutional future. I shall, of course, be exchanging views on this question in the conversations I shall be having with political leaders—both European and African—whom I shall meet in the course of my journeys. Naturally, all that I see and hear while I am in your country will be of the greatest help as background to the decisions which will in due course have to be taken. I have been greatly heartened by the very kind welcome which my wife and I have received since our arrival. Nor do I forget, nobody could forget, the loyalty and devotion of all your people to the Crown and to the Commonwealth. Both in war and in many difficult emergencies which have arisen since the war, whenever we are in need we know that we can look to the support of your forces for the defence of our common interests.

I am glad to be making this journey through Africa in 1960, which for many African countries will be a year of great decisions. In all parts of this continent the tide of nationalism is flowing fast. Fifteen years ago, at the end of the war, we saw something very similar in Asia and many countries, of very different races and civilisation, were then pressing their claim to independent national life. The British Government and Parliament of those days decided not to seek to stifle or restrain what they recognised as the legitimate national aspirations of peoples for whose destinies Britain had hitherto been responsible. As a result, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, all stand with us to-day as free and equal partners in the Commonwealth. Now we are faced with a similar growth of national consciousness in Africa. This is one of the facts of the African situation to-day. We must accept it as a fact. And take it into account in framing our policies.

My journey has already led me to two countries in West Africa where we have followed the same policy as in Asia. It has been equally successful. Ghana on attaining independence has freely chosen to remain within the Commonwealth.
and to continue her association with Great Britain, which has already brought such benefits to both countries. Nigeria, which I left yesterday, will become independent in October and has already made clear her keen desire to remain within the Commonwealth. I was deeply impressed during my short visit to these two countries by the warmth of their regard for the United Kingdom and the strength of their desire to remain in close and friendly partnership with us and with all countries of the Commonwealth. In Ghana and in Nigeria the last stages of advance to independence have been both rapid and uninterrupted. For in countries with homogeneous populations the rate of advance can be geared to the speed at which representative institutions and administrative efficiency can be developed. Responsibility can be transferred as soon as the institutions of government have been established and local people are ready and able to work them. Both in Ghana and in Nigeria I was struck by the smoothness of this transition. Naturally there are strains and stresses—especially in the early years. But I am confident, from what I have seen, that they will be able to manage their own affairs and prove loyal members of our Commonwealth team.

Of course this rapid evolution is partly due to the fact that these two West African countries have had a special place in the history of the continent. For centuries past their people have been exposed to the current of world affairs. Trade has flourished there for hundreds of years. The European came there by sea: and of course at the same time across the desert came the caravans from Timbuctoo and Morocco—in those distant days important centres of culture and commerce. Locally, too, there were the rudiments of industry and culture. Mines were worked there. And their people acquired skills in various crafts, produced considerable works of art, and developed a lively internal commercial system. All this proved a firm foundation for the educational opportunities which they have had under British rule. Over the last 100 years numbers of them have been trained in law, in science and in medicine. They have entered into modern commerce and their artisans have added to their traditional craft the refinements of European techniques. As a result there is to-day a large educated population to be numbered in thousands. Indeed many families on the West Coast have for generations had a tradition of sending their children to Britain to be educated. We must remember all this when we are thinking of West Africa—past and future.

From West Africa to the Federation, from Accra to Salisbury, nearly 3,000 miles—almost as far as from London to Accra—and that within a part, only a part, of a single continent. Yet some people I fear at home talk as if Africa were a single and homogeneous unity—"Oh, you're going to Africa: you are sure to see my son and daughter-in-law—they live there". Such simple talk is as wide of the mark as the ideas of those who suppose that Africa's widely divergent problems can be met by a single and uniform solution. It was only yesterday that I arrived in Salisbury. Already I have formed an impression of your vigorous mounting progress. Scarcely seventy years have passed since the Pioneer Column arrived on this spot. Rhodesians have a right to be proud of all that they have achieved since then. Out of a sparsely peopled, undeveloped land, your pioneers built up a vigorous and go-ahead country. Their successors have proved worthy of those who led the way and the great city of Salisbury growing every minute stands to-day as a monument of their achievement.

Alas, I shall have time to visit only a few of the other thriving cities and towns in the Federation. Nor shall I be able to see much of the farms and mines on which so much of your prosperity depends. But I can assure you that we in Britain appreciate and admire this hard work, energy and faith by which these flourishing enterprises have been created. All through history ladies and gentlemen our people have gone out from the old country to the most distant parts of the world when it was much more difficult than now. They have gone as missionaries, as traders, as administrators and as settlers and even the most jaundiced critic cannot deny that their work has been greatly to the advantage of every country to which they have gone. Nevertheless I know you will forgive me for reminding you how heavy is the responsibility which lies upon you all whether you were born here or came here only yesterday. You are the representatives of a great tradition of fair play and constructive work. I want to assure you that we at home, whatever you may occasionally read or hear, do not listen to them. I speak for the great mass of British people who look to you with affection and pride and equally, we, like you, share to the full the responsibility for all the peoples among whom you live and work.

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Later this week I shall be visiting Kariba. I look forward keenly to seeing this great feat of engineering. I know that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother is greatly delighted to be coming here for the official opening in May of this tremendous work which will mean so much to you all.

Much of the credit for Kariba must go to Lord Malvern. The people of this country were indeed fortunate when, over 50 years ago, Dr. Godfrey Huggins set up in practice in Salisbury. His place in the history of your country is assured. The torch which he carried so successfully has been handed to a worthy successor. I am very glad to be here to-day with my friend and colleague Sir Roy Welensky.

Kariba is a splendid example of interdependence and cooperation between the countries of the Commonwealth. You needed more power for rapid development. We joined with your Government in guaranteeing the World Bank Loan for Kariba (the largest single loan the Bank has ever made) and we also made £10 millions available from our own sterling contribution to the Bank. The Colonial Development Corporation and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company in the United Kingdom also made large loans and I cannot help being glad to know that no less than 82 per cent. of the total cost of this scheme was spent in the Commonwealth and that 85 per cent. of the mechanical and electrical plant was supplied by the Old Country in the face of intense world competition.

Of course, there are always pessimists—you referred to them, Sir—to whom the future appears clouded and uncertain. And no doubt you have some of them. We certainly have. But to them I would say—look at the facts. There are too many people outside the Federation—representatives of all countries, financiers of all countries and hard-headed business men—who have confidence in the future of your country. The proof, if proof is needed, is in the investments in undertakings in the Federation which have been and are being made. I am happy to say that in this Britain has been in the forefront.

More recently, United Kingdom firms have made substantial financial contributions to your own Industrial Development Corporation, which will assist the development of industry in the Federation stimulated as it will be by the abundant power now to come from Kariba. We in the United Kingdom are most anxious to see that other Commonwealth countries are developed industrially to the maximum possible extent and I am glad to think that a large number of firms whose names are household words in the United Kingdom have already decided to invest in industrial development in the Federation. I am told that many others have new projects in mind. This is, I think, an example of the way in which investment follows on the heels of the export trade.

For a good many years now the total United Kingdom investment in the Federation has been running at the rate of some £25 millions a year. It follows that, to a great extent, your economic future is linked with our economic prosperity. We in the United Kingdom aren't doing too badly—there are some rash people who said that " We've never had it so good ". I wouldn't go as far as that. But I will take three simple tests—earning, spending, and saving. More people are earning more and spending more than ever in our history and at the same time savings, this is the vital point, which enable us to finance overseas development, are running at a record figure. During the last war of course we mobilised our economic resources to fight the war to an extent unequalled in any other country. We paid all we had into the fight for freedom. Naturally we have had to pay the price. But our recovery has therefore been slow but on the whole steady. There have been ups and downs—receding as well as advancing waves—but broadly, it has been a flowing tide and this prosperity in the United Kingdom has its effect all over the Commonwealth—not least in the Federation. We are now investing overseas, mostly in the Commonwealth from our savings—from genuine savings—at the rate of some £200 millions a year.

Our economy and yours therefore are closely linked. They are complementary. We need many things that you produce—your copper, tobacco, tea, and now I am told you are sending us your beef. You need the products of our manufacturing industry. I see no reason why these ties should be weakened. On the contrary, the improvement of communications and transport should bring us even closer in this field as time goes by.

If, therefore, we look upon the future economically or in terms of economic progress, I say the prospects are good. We have solid ground for confidence. But our economic life must be set in a political framework. Indeed, it cannot thrive.
unless the political basis of society is sound. The great challenge to you here, in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is to establish on a sound basis a social and political structure which reflects the political realities of your country in days of change. I am confident that you will meet this challenge in the same spirit with which you have overcome other difficulties in the past.

Nor will your success be confined to your own territories. For you can be an example to the world and a model, for many areas in Africa, if you can succeed in your endeavour to create a society in which men, regardless of race, are judged on their merits as individual men and enabled to make their individual contribution to the common good. This was the goal you set before yourselves when Federation was launched. This is still your goal. This is the means by which, in this great part of Africa, you can satisfy the growing aspirations of Africans for political self-expression as well as for economic development. The task which this generation of Rhodesians have set themselves is to find a way in which the various communities in these three territories can live peacefully together and make their contribution to the life and welfare of the whole.

This is the vital challenge which faces you to-day. It is a different challenge from that which faced the founders of your country, but it demands the same qualities—vision, selflessness and courage. I—and your very many friends in Britain—in the old country—are confident that the Rhodesians of to-day will play their part in this century no less nobly than their forerunners played in the last. Within the Commonwealth we have seen how multi-racial communities can be forged into a single nation. In Malaya and in the West Indies, for example, different communities, each having a stake in the land, are beginning learning to co-operate for the common good. What is possible in Asia is, I feel sure, possible in Africa. And if you can set such an example in the heart of Africa then the consequences for good will be felt far beyond the boundaries of the Federation.

In your economic life, as I have said, much has already been achieved. Africans are rapidly acquiring the technical competence which enables them to play their full part in the industrial expansion of the Federation. To-day they hold their own in a wide and expanding range of industrial skills. Industry is increasingly practising co-operation between the races and setting an example which others would do well to follow. New wealth is being created, and all can be seen to be sharing in the process and in its advantages. And these are widely spread. The growing financial and economic strength of the Federation benefits all its members, not least the Africans.

The development of educational and health services can be and is being right through the Federation enormously increased. That is well; for, while politicians confer and frame constitutions, life goes on. But throughout our Commonwealth story we have done much more than create communities which can stand on their own economic feet. We have always proceeded on the basis that in the countries of their birth all men should have political rights and carry political responsibilities. And if we have given special importance to the spread of education it is because we have desired that throughout the dependent territories for which we have been responsible that men and women should learn to practise the arts of administration and government for themselves.

Your University College in Salisbury is giving a first-class education to men and women of all races. I look forward to the day when the same spirit will inspire your technical colleges and secondary schools. Meanwhile, here is a remarkable fact—worth repeating to all the world. In Southern Rhodesia the proportion of African children attending primary schools is already higher than in any other African country.

These are the foundations on which democracy can be built. It cannot be done in a day—especially where different races are concerned. It is often a slow growth, even with a homogeneous population. Our own democracy at home has evolved over centuries of experience. Of course we in Britain think that Parliamentary democracy is the best political system—we think that especially when we have just won a General Election. When we lose, we sometimes have our doubts. But whether the people have been wisely led, by statesmen—that's us—or misled by demagogues—that's the other side—we know that this system is not an easy one to work. It cannot be worked successfully without a high degree of tolerance and self-discipline and humour. These are political qualities which cannot be developed over-night. They call for patience and for time. And this
is why we have always wanted to be sure, before finally transferring our responsibility, our United Kingdom responsibility, that the duties and obligations of democracy were not only understood by the heads but felt in the hearts of the people. Our aim and yours has always been to ensure that every man who is subject to the law should have a right to its protection; that the rights of all communities in a country which is the home of them all should be safeguarded; and that all should have their due share in the work of government.

In the fullness of time we hope that the Federation—with the full consent of the peoples of its three territories—will add in the complete sense its strength and influence to our Commonwealth association. We hope that its people, European, African and Asian alike, will play their full part in forging the future of a great nation, of which all will be citizens and in all take a common pride. But this cannot come about unless confidence can be built up on all sides. I must therefore say again today in Salisbury what I and my colleagues have said in Parliament in London: that, whatever the outcome of the Monckton Commission on the form of the Federation and whatever the outcome of the 1960 Conference, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will not withdraw their protection from the people of Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia until their people so desire. I fear that something which I said about this at a Press Conference in Lagos on January 13 has been misunderstood or misrepresented. I should like to take the opportunity to repeat the words which I actually used and having some little experience I now go about at these conferences with a tape recording machine and I quote from the record as played back by the machine. I said this "... the Government of the United Kingdom has made it clear—abundantly clear—that we will not remove the protection of the British Government to either of the Northern Territories—Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland—until it is clear that the expressed wish of these people is to enter into a full and independent Federation ... " As you will see, I was speaking of the independent Federation of the future. I was repeating in other words exactly what I said and what Sir Roy knows I said in Parliament on July the 22nd. I said this "... the British Government will certainly not withdraw its protection from Nyasaland and Rhodesia in the short run, and in the long run our object is to advance these territories to fully responsible government. They will then be able to dispense with our protection and stand entirely on their own feet as components of the Federation. When all the units are in a position to agree, and are agreed that British Government protection is no longer needed—then, and only then—can the whole Federation go forward to full independence and full membership ... " That is the negative side and it does not rest only on my statements or those of my colleagues. It is inherent in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. But it is the negative side which it pledges to protect—we have to make them—but I want to say something about the positive side, for that is what we are engaged in and I want to say it in fairness to all concerned. First I should like to make it plain that the function of the Monckton Commission is not to destroy the Federation—far from it. It is to advise us how the Federation can best go forward. So that we have that advice when we come to the governmental meetings and this is clear from its terms of reference, to which Sir Roy Welensky has referred. And I should like to make it plain that my Government stands by those terms of reference and looks to the Commission to do a valuable and a constructive job. I am confident that it will. May I quote the words I have used in Parliament, especially in connection with the Monckton Commission, on July the 22nd immediately after the passage I have quoted, I said this "... If we were to announce our intention now to disband the Federation, or form a new one, or to divide it into different units without waiting either for the Commission or for the 1960 Review; if we were to tear up, without further thought, an experiment which is only seven years old and which was started with a good deal of good will on all sides, an experiment which has made very considerable progress, we should be guilty of an act of treachery towards the high ideals and purposes which we set ourselves ". I stand by these words—all of them—and I do not wish to add to them, except perhaps to say this. In much of the present controversy the origins of the Federation seem to have been forgotten or misrepresented. It was not an act of aggression as some critics seem to think. It was an act of consolidation. Its purpose was to benefit all both economically and politically. Naturally, for it to succeed, like every other human institution, it needs forbearance and patience and understanding, but I
say and say again it began and it lives with high and honourable purposes. I said that my main object in undertaking this journey was to see and to learn, and also to promise that Britain will play her full part to the best of her ability in helping you with your great adventure. There are many millions, hundreds of thousands, who wish to be able to call this country their home, and they have a right to do so. Europeans, Asians, Africans—all want to be sure that it will be a country of growing opportunity for their children and their grandchildren. Of course, many of your problems are difficult—but the prize is great. If you succeed—and I know that you will succeed—you will have built in this land of splendid opportunity a new society which will serve as an example of true and enduring partnership to all the world.

DESPATCH FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSIONER, FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

(Despatch No. 1) Salisbury, 15th February, 1960.
My Lord,

I have the honour to report on the visit to the Federation of the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan.

2. The Prime Minister and his party arrived in Salisbury from Nigeria late in the evening of the 18th January. They spent the following two days in Salisbury, devoting one day each to Federal and Southern Rhodesia affairs. They spent a day in Lusaka, a day visiting the Copperbelt and, after making a stop at Kariba, flew to the Victoria Falls for the week-end. After visiting Zomba and Blantyre they returned to Salisbury on the 26th January and left the following morning for Francistown on their way to the Union. My wife and I accompanied the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan throughout their tour. The Prime Minister had a number of engagements in addition to those included in the original programme, either because they were arranged subsequently, e.g., meetings with United National Independence Party leaders in Lusaka, with Mr. Dingle Foot in Zomba and with Mr. Savanhu and Mr. Wellington Chirwa in Salisbury, or because (as in the case of the meetings with Africans and Mr. Garfield Todd in Salisbury) the local authorities preferred that the engagement should not be given advance publicity.

3. Arrangements for the entire visit were co-ordinated by the Federal Government in consultation with my Office. They provided a Canadair from the R.R.A.F. V.I.P. flight for the Prime Minister's party, not only for internal flights but also for the flight to the Union via Francistown. They provided as many R.R.A.F. Dakotas as were required for the internal transportation of the Press, for courier services or other specific duties. In all the arrangements which they made they were at once generous and co-operative.

4. Although the announcement of the Prime Minister's visit was warmly welcomed by all sections of the public in the Federation and much pleasure was expressed that he was taking the trouble—the first time a United Kingdom Prime Minister had done so—to see the problems of Central Africa for himself, it could not have been anticipated that this visit, particularly as it was taking place at so critical a period in the Federation's history, would pass off as smoothly as it did.

5. Before the Prime Minister's arrival the nervousness of the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments about the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission had been revived by Lord Shawcross' reported statement that he would not (as a member of the Commission) hesitate to recommend secession if he thought it to be the right solution. Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead issued a joint statement describing Lord Shawcross' remarks as deplorable and indicating that they would take the matter up with the Prime Minister immediately on his arrival.

6. Secondly, the Prime Minister had been widely misunderstood or misrepresented as saying at a Press conference in Lagos that the inhabitants of the
two northern Territories would be given the opportunity to decide whether Federation was beneficial to them. Here, again, was the spectre of secession rearing its unlovely head.

7. In discussions with Ministers and in his main public speech to the Rhodesia National Affairs Association on the day after his arrival in Salisbury the Prime Minister gave reassurances on both these points. His plain statement that the function of the Monckton Commission was not to destroy Federation but to advise how it could best go forward, and that the United Kingdom Government stood by the Commission^s terms of reference, dispelled the gathering apprehensions on the first point.

8. His explanation of the Lagos statement in which he quoted its exact words to demonstrate that he was merely repeating a pledge made to the people of the northern Territories in the House of Commons did much to clear the air on the second point. But there is no doubt that the repetition of the pledge by a United Kingdom Prime Minister in the middle of Salisbury, and in the course of a more liberal speech than local audiences are accustomed to listen to, had an impact which no amount of its repetition in the House of Commons could have. Reading the Prime Minister^s words* in the context of the need, which he emphasised, to build up confidence on all sides before the Federation could become independent, the Press, public and political Parties proceeded to examine and make somewhat confused and conflicting pronouncements on the implications; the debate is not yet over.

9. The Southern Rhodesia division of the Dominion Party were quick off the mark with a well-publicised statement—coolly received by Europeans in Northern Rhodesia—that unless the security of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia and the country^s natural resources were assured, the Colony would have to secede from the Federation. Subsequently, the United Federal Party held a meeting of its Central Executive at which Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead were reported to have given their followers a lecture on the need firmly to counter secessionist talk and show faith and determination in the future. The Press reported and reflected the disappointment and uncertainty which were evident in political circles. The general consensus of editorial opinion during the visit was that the Prime Minister^s remarks on the future of Federation left many questions unanswered and, in particular, offered no clear-cut assurance of the permanency of Federation or the security of European interests in it. Without an assurance of permanency (such as, it was frequently pointed out, the former Colonial Secretary had given) it was thought that the pressures for secession would not slacken and financial confidence in the Federation would diminish.

10. African reactions to the Prime Minister^s major speech in Salisbury and to his visit as a whole were more uniformly favourable. His Cape Town speech would also appear to have had a good effect in these quarters. His renewal of the pledge given to the northern Protectorates was warmly applauded by the African Press and by Africans generally. It will have done much to restore African confidence in the United Kingdom Government^s intentions and to dispel the fear that dominion status will be granted before Africans can compete on equal political terms with Europeans. It remains to be seen whether it will also, as the African Press hoped it would, encourage Africans in the northern Territories to work more patiently for their ends within the framework of Federation and to abate their demands for secession. In his private discussions with African nationalist leaders in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland the Prime Minister will no doubt have had direct evidence, if this were needed, that their demand for secession is as strong as ever.

11. The chief apprehension felt by politically-conscious Africans before the Prime Minister^s arrival in the Federation was that he would not see enough and as many of themselves, whether in or out of gaol, as to give him a ^true^ impression of the state of opinion in the country. In Salisbury two or three prominent Africans publicly chose to refuse invitations to functions held in honour of the Prime Minister rather than risk giving him or anyone else the impression that they were...

* "I must, therefore, say . . . that, whatever the outcome of the Monckton Commission and whatever the outcome of the 1960 Conference, Her Majesty^s Government in the United Kingdom will not withdraw their protection from the people of Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia until their people so desire."
normally admitted to the buildings in which those functions were being held
(Meikles Hotel and the Rhodes cinema). In the event, apart from detainees, the
Prime Minister met and had discussions with Africans of every shade of political
opinion in all three Territories, including the United National Independence Party
in Northern Rhodesia and the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland. In Southern
Rhodesia he did not meet the recently formed National Democratic Party, which
in consequence issued a statement on the day of his departure to the effect that
he had "left a trail of racial animosity in the country because he had not met the
people". But at the home of Sir Edgar Whitehead (who discreetly withdrew into
another room) he had already met about 30 Africans, some of whom were as well
equipped to represent the views of politically-conscious Africans as the National
Democratic Party, and one of whom at least is subsequently reported as having
joined that Party, which, though showing promise of rapid growth, could not be said
to be properly established. In fact, the views represented to Mr. Macmillan at
that meeting were almost identical to those which the National Democratic Party
had said that they hoped to make known to him.

12. During his tour of the Federation the Prime Minister made three main
speeches—in Salisbury, Lusaka and Blantyre. As I have indicated, the speech in
Salisbury produced a somewhat mixed reaction from Europeans in the Federation.
But I should mention that in this and in other speeches the Prime Minister did
not neglect to pay tribute to the part played by Europeans in the development of
the country. His main theme, both in public statements and in private discussions
with political leaders, was that confidence must be built up and people of all races
made to realise that with goodwill it should be possible for their aspirations to be
satisfied within the concept and framework of Federation.

13. I do not propose in this despatch to give an account of the discussions
which the Prime Minister had with Governments or representatives of political
Parties. Records of these have already been sent to the Commonwealth Relations
Office. Suffice it to say that the Prime Minister's skillful handling of the discussions
with the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Cabinets created a much easier atmosphere
than I had myself anticipated, though there are signs that on some questions
complete identity of view was not achieved.

14. In discussions with African leaders in the northern Territories and in
his speech at Lusaka, the Prime Minister went to some trouble to explain the
purpose of the Monckton Commission and to encourage people to submit their
views to it. There have recently been welcome signs that this plea did not fall
entirely upon deaf ears.

15. It was inevitable that amongst the crowds of Africans and Europeans who
turned out to greet the Prime Minister there should have been some African
demonstrators and placard bearers protesting against Federation, the Monckton
Commission, the detention of Dr. Banda, the lack of independence and so forth.
But they were not numerous and on the whole they were remarkably good-natured.
The noisiest demonstration, which led to the arrest of a few Africans (all of whom
were released the same day), was made in Blantyre. It is now the subject of an
official enquiry, whose findings I shall not attempt to anticipate. But I must
record the unfortunate fact that the accounts given in some United Kingdom
newspapers of the incident and of the "brutal" behaviour of the Nyasaland Police
have left a bitter taste in the mouths of the European public throughout the
Federation. The accounts are generally held to have been grossly exaggerated and
unnecessarily malicious and they have not enhanced the reputation, never high,
which the United Kingdom Press enjoys in this country.

16. It is still too soon to sum up the results of the Prime Minister's visit on
political thinking and attitudes in this country. Dominion Party followers and
the right-wing element of the U.F.P. have inferred that the safeguards promised
by the Prime Minister to the two northern Territories will mean premature African
domination in the Federal sphere and that any constitutional advance for the
Federation must await the pleasure of the African Nationalist leaders. It was, no
doubt, for this reason that Sir Edgar Whitehead made public, at a Press conference
in Salisbury two days after the Prime Minister's departure for the Union, his
conditions for his Government's continuing co-operation in the Federation. These
included the removal of the restrictions in the Southern Rhodesia Constitution
and the establishment of the principle that the Governments of the northern
Territories must be based on partnership and not on African nationalism. His
forthright statements must be interpreted as an attempt—and a successful one—to encourage his own European following and to offset the growing appeal of the Dominion Party who have been able to pose, amid present uncertainties, as the only protector of the white man in Southern Rhodesia.

17. The outstanding feature of the Prime Minister's visit was the tremendous impact of his personality wherever he went. People in Salisbury are still discussing his visit and trying to sort out the things he said to get some clue as to their future. But even those who find nothing to give them any comfort agree that it is of the greatest advantage that the Prime Minister has taken this opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of conditions in the Federation and of its problems. From the United Kingdom Government's point of view the advantage is quite clear. The Europeans have been given a great shake-up and have been forced to pull their heads out of the sand. They have been made to think more seriously about the realities of their situation and this, incidentally, may be helpful to the Monckton Commission.

18. In concluding this despatch I should like to record that I have heard very many personal tributes paid to the Prime Minister, and to Lady Dorothy Macmillan, whose ease of manner and lively interest endeared her to everyone she met.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Accra and Cape Town, and, on a personal basis, to the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

I have, &c.

M. R. METCALF.
PART V
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
COMMENTARY

By far the most important event of the Prime Minister's visit to South Africa was his speech in Cape Town on 3rd February. The text itself contained nothing which would be considered startling or even novel in the United Kingdom—indeed one of the most effective passages was a quotation from a speech made five months earlier by the Foreign Secretary at the United Nations. What caused the sensation was that the Prime Minister should make any reference at all to racial problems in a speech delivered to the two Houses of the South African Parliament and that he should have chosen this occasion to make a clear and firm statement of British policy in the territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible. Inevitably, all of the visit that went before seemed in retrospect mere preparation, and the reverberations of the speech deprived of all interest the events of the remaining few days which the Prime Minister spent in the Union. It soon became clear that the Cape Town speech was the culmination of the whole African tour.

From the point of view of climate and of scenery, South Africa was the most attractive of the four countries visited. On the other hand it was impossible to escape from an oppressive realisation of the many unsolved and apparently insoluble problems darkening the relations between the races. The visit fell naturally into two stages. In the first, based on Pretoria, the Prime Minister travelled widely. He visited the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Northern Transvaal, the Rand, Swaziland, Durban, Bloemfontein and Basutoland. He was accompanied on these travels by Mr. Eric Louw and, from time to time, by other Nationalist Ministers. At the same time he met a good many representatives of different points of view. He was able, for example, to meet prominent industrialists from the Rand, men with open minds and with experience not limited to South Africa. He was able to hear the liberal opinions of such people as Sir Harry Oppenheimer and Mr. Flather, Editor of the Star. When he moved to Cape Town, by contrast, his time was almost entirely taken up with discussions with the Nationalist Government and under the predominating influence of the Nationalist philosophy of life, though he also met a number of leaders of Cape liberal opinion.

Dr. Verwoerd made arrangements for the Prime Minister to see the leaders of those Opposition Parties which were represented in Parliament, i.e., the United and Progressive Parties. His readiness to meet the leaders of the African National Congress, who had asked for an interview, as had also certain minor European groups, was opposed by Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues. They were not moved by the fact that the Prime Minister had, in the other countries visited, shown himself ready to meet all shades of Opposition opinion. He therefore felt obliged to fall in with the wishes of his hosts. He did have a fairly long talk with Senator Mrs. Ballinger, representing African interests, and met the Council for Coloured Affairs, a Government-sponsored body; but this was the first country in Africa in which he was denied the opportunity of discussions with African political leaders.

The Prime Minister was impressed by the contrast between the ability, enterprise and open-mindedness of the business men and intelligentsia of the Transvaal and the doctrinaire and obscurantist attitude of Nationalist Ministers. The Government, who arranged the programme, were plainly anxious, not only to show hospitality, but also to convince the Prime Minister that their native policy was both morally sound and practically reasonable. The visit to the Northern Transvaal Bantu Chiefs, who are pensioners of the Union Government, was designed to persuade him that apartheid was welcome to Africans also. It was not convincing enough to be successful. On the other hand, by contrast with what was found in the other territories visited, the general impression which he formed of African attitudes was of a people content with little and politically almost inactive. Such demonstrations as took place were on a minor scale, consisting of no more than a few people, usually women, displaying placards.

The business talks were in a low key and there was no real meeting of sympathies. It was plain that on the South African side there was a genuine desire to be understood but no comprehension of how South Africa's fixed attitudes are regarded by the outside world. A significant example of this was
that the Union Government apparently believed their unpopularity in Africa to derive, not from their own policies, but from the cold attitude shown towards them by the United Kingdom and the United States. Mr. Louw seemed to be convinced that South Africa could form an effective bridge between the Western Powers and the uncommitted African States if only the former, and particularly the United Kingdom, would show greater sympathy with their policies and objectives.

The question of the High Commission Territories was raised; but Dr. Verwoerd made it clear that he did not intend to press at present for transfer. What moved him more was the question of the change-over to a republican form of Government while retaining, at least at the outset, membership of the Commonwealth; and he endeavoured to extract from the Prime Minister some expression of view which he could use with advantage in the referendum campaign. Similar efforts were made by representatives of Nationalist newspapers at the Press conference at Cape Town. The Prime Minister refused to lend himself to this and said nothing which could be used to suggest that Britain was indifferent to the question whether South Africa would become a republic.

The Prime Minister's address to the two Houses of Parliament came in the middle of the talks with Ministers. Although Dr. Verwoerd had been given an idea of its main outlines beforehand, it was plainly a surprise to him and to his supporters. Indeed, he was so struck by the likely effects of the criticism contained in it, though mild and merely implied, that he found it necessary to make an immediate reply—putting the case, as he expressed it, for justice for the white man. The Cape Town Nationalist paper, the Burger, took an even stronger line and for a week and more after the speech devoted at least one leader to it daily. The general line was that South Africa was now left without supporters in the world and would have to rely on its own efforts. This was accompanied by a good deal of self-pity and resentment against Britain. The United Party were pleased at what they considered a blow to their Nationalist opponents, although such criticism as there was in the speech could be applied almost equally well to their own views on race relations. Liberal opinion was immensely fortified. Above all, the impact of the speech caused a marked quickening of interest in politics on the part of those elements which had hitherto been apathetic. This stirring of opinion is expected to have important political results, which may possibly affect the outcome of the referendum.

The tour involved a great deal of travelling and some of the daily programmes were extremely strenuous. On the other hand, there was none of that shifting of base which had characterised the visits to Nigeria and the Federation; the Prime Minister's time was divided between five nights in Pretoria and four nights in Cape Town. Except for Durban and Cape Town, there were few large crowds to welcome him. There would have been, without any doubt, a great turn-out in Johannesburg, but the Union authorities insisted on keeping his time of arrival and route secret, and as a result few people had assembled to greet him. When told of the reason by the Mayor of Johannesburg, the Prime Minister remarked that the security precautions seemed excessive. The Mayor later made a statement about this to the Press, which led Mr. Louw to make a counter-statement in which he took it upon himself to apologise for the Mayor's behaviour. It is a fact, however, that the Mayor had unsuccessfully tried to persuade the security authorities to let the route be known in advance. As it was, many hundreds of people guessed correctly the route by which he left Johannesburg for Pretoria and he was enthusiastically cheered.

This was only one of the facts which contributed to the general impression that the Union authorities were not anxious to allow too much enthusiasm to be publicly shown. A great deal of this enthusiasm was indeed a display of feeling by the English-speaking element. This was naturally marked in Durban, where very large crowds stood along the whole route from the airport to the King's House. The farewell in Cape Town was most affecting, both on the route to the docks and on the quayside.

The Prime Minister particularly enjoyed his visits to the High Commission Territories. The arrangements made were excellent and the programmes went off without a hitch. Popular enthusiasm was immense, and the people of the three territories were glad to renew their expressions of loyalty to the Queen and attachment to their United Kingdom connexion.
DIARY OF THE VISIT

1. Wednesday, 27th January.—At 7:50 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan arrived at Salisbury Airport, where they were met by Sir Roy and Lady Welensky. After taking a General Salute and inspecting a Guard of Honour, Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy took leave of Sir Roy and Lady Welensky, other members of the Federal Cabinet, Sir Edgar Whitehead and the High Commissioner and Mrs. Metcalf.

2. At 8-10 a.m. they left Salisbury Airport for Francistown, Bechuanaland, accompanied by Sir John Maud, the United Kingdom High Commissioner in South Africa. They arrived at Francistown at 9:45 a.m. Sir John Maud introduced them to the Resident Commissioner and Mrs. Fawcus, the Government Secretary and Mrs. Lawrenson, Air Commodore Rump and the Commissioner of Police, Colonel Bailey. After taking a General Salute and inspecting a Guard of Honour, Mr. Macmillan was introduced to members of the Joint Advisory Council, the African Chiefs and the senior Government officers. He then attended a meeting of the Joint Advisory Council, at which short speeches were made by the Resident Commissioner, Chief Bathoen II (Chairman of the African members), Mr. Russell England (Chairman of the European members) and the High Commissioner. Mr. Macmillan replied to these speeches.

3. After leaving the meeting with the Joint Advisory Council, Mr. Macmillan walked round and waved to the large crowd which had assembled on the airfield. He and Lady Dorothy then joined a large party of people in the airport hangar for refreshments. There they circulated among the guests. Speeches of welcome were then made by Mr. Morgan (European Advisory Council Member for Francistown), Mr. Chand (Chairman of the Muslim Association) and Chief Kgari Sechele II (Chief of the Bakwena Tribe). Mr. Macmillan replied briefly to these speeches. Chief Kgari Sechele presented Lady Dorothy with a kaross as a gift from the African tribes. During this function Lady Dorothy also received a plaque embossed with a small gold elephant from Mr. Glaser, as a gift from the Tati Company.

Mr. Macmillan then inspected a parade of ex-Servicemen, Red Cross nurses, Scouts and Guides. After taking a General Salute, Mr. Macmillan left Francistown Airport, together with his party, for Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg.

4. On arrival at Jan Smuts Airport at 2 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were met by the Minister of External Affairs and Mrs. Louw and were introduced to Lady Maud, the Administrator of the Transvaal and Mrs. Odendaal, the Mayor of Pretoria and Mrs. Otto, the Mayor of Johannesburg and Mrs. Gorshel, and others. Mr. Macmillan then inspected a Guard of Honour and left by road for Pretoria, arriving at Libertas shortly after 3 p.m.

5. At 4:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan gave a short Press Conference at Union Buildings.

6. After tea at Union Buildings, Mr. Macmillan left for the Voortrekker Monument, where he was joined by Lady Dorothy and was introduced to the Chairman of the Monuments Commission (Dr. William Nicol) and members of the Commission. Dr. Nicol showed Mr. Macmillan round the Monument and its museum and presented him with a signed copy of a book containing information about the Monument.

7. From the Monument Mr. Macmillan was taken to ISCOR (the Iron and Steel Corporation) where he was met by the Managing Director, Dr. du Toit. He was driven round the Corporation's works and then taken to the managerial canteen where Dr. du Toit made a short informal speech of welcome, to which he replied.

Mr. Macmillan then returned to Libertas where he spent a quiet evening.

8. Thursday, 28th January.—At 7:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left Libertas for Waterkloof Air Station and took off, accompanied by Mr. de Wet Nel, on a flight over the Witwatersrand Bantu housing schemes.

9. Mr. Macmillan landed at Baragwanath Airport and from there was driven to the West Driefontein Gold Mine, where he was met by Dr. Busschau (President of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines and Chairman of the Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd.) and Mrs. Busschau and by Mr. S. B. Gibbs,
the Manager of West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Ltd., and Mrs. Gibbs. Mr. Macmillan and his party were then taken down the mine to a depth of 4,000 feet, where they saw the operations of drilling before blasting and of loading the rock after blasting. After returning to the surface Mr. Macmillan was shown part of the process of extracting gold from the rock and himself helped to pour £12,000 worth of molten gold into a mould.

At 12.45 p.m. Mr. Macmillan arrived at the Goldfields West Recreation Club where he was entertained to lunch by the Executive Committee of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines. After the luncheon Dr. Busschau made a speech of welcome and presented Mr. Macmillan with a gold paper knife for himself and a gold pin tray for Lady Dorothy. Mr. Macmillan made a speech in reply.

10. From the Goldfields West Recreation Club Mr. Macmillan was taken by car to Meadowlands Bantu urban area where he was greeted by a large crowd, a handful of whom displayed banners saying “Please visit our leaders”; “Apartheid is dead, not even Mac can save it” and other similar slogans. At Meadowlands he visited a police station and a primary school where children sang songs to him in the vernacular. This was a moving occasion and, before he left the school, Mr. Macmillan made a suitable speech to the children.

11. Mr. Macmillan was then driven quickly through some of the other Bantu housing areas, making a short stop at the Monument erected to commemorate the slum resettlement scheme, before being taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. He was there shown round by Dr. Frack and visited a number of the wards, in some of which were Bantu children under treatment for malnutrition.

12. From the Baragwanath Hospital Mr. Macmillan, accompanied by the Mayor, drove through the streets of Johannesburg to a Reception given by the Mayor in the grounds of the Trade Fair. He was there presented by the Mayor with a pair of Veldtschoen and a set of spoons for Lady Dorothy. After a short speech of welcome by the Mayor, to which he replied, Mr. Macmillan was introduced to several hundred people.

Mr. Macmillan returned to Pretoria at about 8 p.m., and spent a quiet evening there.

12. Friday, 29th January.—At 8.45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left Waterkloof Air Station, Pretoria, for Pietersburg, accompanied by the Minister of External Affairs, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and the Minister of Bantu Education.

At Pietersburg Mr. Macmillan was met by the Mayor of Johannesburg, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Northern Areas, the Chief of Police and the Regional Director of Bantu Education, and then left for Turfloop.

At about 10.30 a.m. he arrived at the Bantu University College at Turfloop where he was welcomed by the Rector, Dr. Potgeiter. Dr. Potgeiter made a short address of welcome before taking Mr. Macmillan on a tour of inspection of the University College buildings and site.

On arrival at the Festival Site at about 11.30 a.m. a school choir sang to Mr. Macmillan and Chief Jacob Chuene made a short speech of welcome. Mr. Macmillan was then presented with a leopard skin kaross and Venda basket for Lady Dorothy by various other Chiefs. Chief Frank Maserumule, the senior Chief, draped a leopard skin over Mr. Macmillan's shoulders, a symbol of his appointment as Honorary Paramount Chief of all Native Tribes in the Northern Transvaal. Mr. Macmillan made a short speech of thanks.

The Bantu school choir sang, a Venda team danced a Reed Flute Dance, and Ndebele Dancers, and Mashongola women performed traditional dances.

After further singing Mr. Macmillan and his party left for the airfield and returned to Pretoria where they arrived about 3 p.m.

13. At 4.15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan visited the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research where he was met by Dr. Naude, the Principal, and was shown round by him.

14. At 5.30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan attended a reception given by the Hon. F. H. Odendaal, the Administrator of the Transvaal, and Mrs. Odendaal.

15. At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan attended a dinner party given by Sir John and Lady Maud.

SECRET
16. Saturday, 30th January.—Shortly after 8 a.m. Mr. Macmillan left Waterkloof Air Station for Piet Retief near the border of Swaziland. He was met there by Mr. B. A. Marwick, the Resident Commissioner of Swaziland, and other senior officials and was driven with his party to Goedgegun, the nearest town in Swaziland.

After a short stop at the house of the Principal of the Evelyn Baring High School, Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy went with their party to the show ground where they were greeted by a large crowd including several thousand Swazi warriors from all parts of the Protectorate. Mr. Macmillan was introduced to Ngweyama Sobhuza II, C.B.E., and others, and inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by the Swaziland Police. Subsequently, while walking round the arena which was lined with school children, Girl Guides, ex-Servicemen and regiments of Swazi warriors, Mr. Macmillan was presented with a Swazi shield and spears.

The Resident Commissioner made a short speech of welcome to which Mr. Macmillan replied. “Nkosi Sikelela” and “God Save The Queen” were then sung by the Mahamba Methodist School Choir.

A tea party followed, in the course of which Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were introduced to members of the European Advisory Council, selected members of the Ngweyama’s retinue, representatives of the Eurafican Welfare Association and others. Presentations were subsequently made to Mr. Macmillan, and Lady Dorothy, Lady Maud and Miss Caroline Maud, after which Mr. Macmillan and his party returned by car to Piet Retief Airfield.

17. Shortly after 1 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and his party left Piet Retief Airfield for Durban where they arrived about 2:15 p.m. He was met by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw and the Administrator of Natal, Mr. Trollip.

He was also greeted at Durban Airport by a large and friendly crowd. Many thousands of people gave him a warm welcome as he drove through the streets of Durban to King’s House. Among them were a comparatively small number of Africans displaying banners inscribed with slogans such as “Life is hell under the Nationalists” and “Please visit our leaders”.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a reception given at King’s House by Mr. and Mrs. Trollip, in the course of which Mr. Trollip made a very friendly speech of welcome to which Mr. Macmillan replied. After the reception Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were driven back to Durban Airport by a different route and were again warmly cheered by crowds lining the route.

From Durban Airport Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were flown back to Pretoria, where they spent a quiet evening.

18. Sunday, 31st January.—At 10 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a conversation with Mr. Louw. He spent the rest of the day at Libertas.

19. Monday, 1st February.—Shortly after 7:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Waterkloof Air Station for Bloemfontein. They were flown over the industrial area, Welkom, Vereeniging, Vanderbijl Park, and the scene of the mine disaster at Coalbrook.

At about 9 a.m. Mr. Macmillan, Lady Dorothy and their party arrived at Bloemfontein where they were met by the Administrator of the Orange Free State and Mrs. du Plessis, who took them to have tea at the Administrator’s Residence. At this function, where 50 or 60 guests were present, Mr. Macmillan made a short speech.

20. At 10:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan and his party left Bloemfontein by air for Maseru. On arrival at Maseru airport about 11:15 a.m. they were met by the Resident Commissioner and Mrs. Chaplin. Mr. Macmillan inspected a Guard of Honour and took a general salute before being introduced to the Chief Justice and the Paramount Chiefness.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were then driven to the Residency, where they attended a sherry party and met a number of representatives of the Bantu and other prominent personalities. At the end of the sherry party Mr. Macmillan planted a tree in the Residency garden.

During lunch at the Residency Mr. Macmillan was able to talk to the Paramount Chiefness, some of her advisers, certain selected Chiefs and Heads of Missions.
Mr. Macmillan returned to the airfield shortly after 1 p.m. The Paramount Chieftainess made a short speech of welcome, to which Mr. Macmillan replied. Mr. Macmillan then took another general salute and inspected a Guard of Honour, and just before he and Lady Dorothy entered their aeroplane a choir sang “Lesotho” and “God Save The Queen”.

21. After taking off from Maseru about 2:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy and their party flew to Cape Town over Basutoland, Transkei and the Garden Route. The weather was bad and the pilot flew high to avoid it. On arrival at D. F. Malan Airport, Cape Town, at 6 p.m. they were met by the Prime Minister and Mrs. Verwoerd and were introduced to Ministers, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and others. After inspecting a Guard of Honour Mr. Macmillan was welcomed to Cape Town in a short speech by Dr. Verwoerd to which he replied. A large and friendly crowd was at the airport to welcome Mr. Macmillan.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy and their party left the airport at about 6:30 p.m. and drove to Groote Schuur where they spent a quiet evening.

22. Tuesday, 2nd February.—At 10 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a meeting* with Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw.

23. After lunching at Groote Schuur Mr. Macmillan visited the United Kingdom High Commissioner’s Office and was introduced to all the staff. Before leaving he spoke a few impromptu words to them.

24. At 4 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a Garden Party given by the United Kingdom High Commissioner and Lady Maud. This function gave Mr. Macmillan the opportunity for private informal conversations with a number of prominent people including Mr. Patrick Duncan of the Liberal Party, the Most Reverend Joost de Blank, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P., the Parliamentary Leader of the Representatives of the Africans. Mr. Duncan, the Archbishop and Mrs. Ballinger are all well-known critics of apartheid.

25. At 7:30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy dined at Groote Schuur with Dr. Verwoerd and members of the South African Cabinet and their wives.

26. Wednesday, 3rd February.—At 9:45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan went to the Houses of Parliament and had tea with Mr. Speaker and Members of both Houses. At 10:30 a.m. Mr. Speaker introduced him to Members of both Houses and Mr. Macmillan then addressed them. After Mr. Macmillan had spoken Dr. Verwoerd made a short speech in reply in which he reiterated the Union Government’s views on apartheid.

27. At 11:35 a.m. Mr. Macmillan saw Sir de Villiers Graaff, the Leader of the United Party, and had a discussion* with him.

28. At 12:15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan had a discussion* with Mr. Steytler and Mr. Lawrence, the leaders of the Progressive Party.

29. After lunch at Groote Schuur Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by the Minister of Lands, Forestry and Public Works and Mrs. Sauer on a motor trip through Stellenbosch to Franschhoek where he met Mr. de Villiers, the Chairman of the Huguenot Society of South Africa and was shown the Huguenot Monument by him. From Franschhoek Mr. Macmillan went to Paarl, where he met Mr. Andre du Toit, the Chairman of the Co-operative Wine Growers’ Association, and was shown round the cellars.

30. From Paarl Mr. Macmillan returned to Groote Schuur, where he had an informal meeting with the representatives of the United Kingdom Press who had followed him throughout his tour in Africa.

31. After dining at Groote Schuur Mr. Macmillan had a further meeting* with Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw.

32. Thursday, 4th February.—At 10:30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a private meeting* with Dr. Verwoerd.

* Record included in this print.

SECRET
At 12.30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy lunched quietly with the Governor-General and Mrs. Swart at Stal Plein.

33. At 2.30 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy left Stal Plein and, accompanied by the Minister of Finance and Mrs. Donges, drove round by Sea Point, Chapman’s Peak and Fish Hoek to Groot Constantia, where a tea party was given by the Administrator of Cape Town and Mrs. J. H. O. du Plessis.

34. At 8 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy attended a State banquet at the Castle in Cape Town given by the South African Government, in the course of which Dr. Verwoerd made a short speech to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

35. Friday, 5th February.—At 9.30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan held a Press conference in the garden at Groote Schuur.

36. After the Press conference Mr. Macmillan had a final private conversation⁠ with Dr. Verwoerd.

37. He and Lady Dorothy were then taken by Dr. Verwoerd to see the Rhodes Memorial.

38. At 11.45 a.m. Mr. Macmillan had a formal meeting* with representatives of the Council for Coloured Affairs at their headquarters at 84, Harrington Street.

39. At 12.15 p.m. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy went to the Town Hall for a civic luncheon. The Mayor (Mrs. Newton Thompson) introduced them to the Mayoress (Mrs. Hugo) and leading members of the City Council.

At the end of luncheon the Mayor proposed the loyal toast and “God Save The Queen” was played—an event unusual in the Union. Mr. Macmillan gave the toast of “South Africa”, after which “Die Stemme” was played. The Mayor then made a speech, in proposing Mr. Macmillan’s health. Mr. Macmillan replied.

40. After the luncheon Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy returned to Groote Schuur for a short rest.

41. At 3.15 p.m., accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. Verwoerd, they left to drive through the city to the docks. On this occasion the route had been well publicised in advance: the main streets were decorated with flags and bunting and lined with large crowds on either side. Mr. Macmillan, who was driving with Dr. Verwoerd in an open car, stood to acknowledge the cheers of the crowd.

42. On arrival at the docks Mr. Macmillan took a General Salute and inspected a Guard of Honour mounted by a contingent of the South African Air Force. He and Lady Dorothy then took leave of Dr. and Mrs. Verwoerd, Mr. and Mrs. Louw, the United Kingdom High Commissioner and Lady Maud and a number of other leading personalities. They then went on board the R.M.M.V. Capetown Castle.

A large and enthusiastic crowd had assembled on the quayside. While the tugs were going alongside, the crowd sang “For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow”. As the lines were cast off the band played “Auld Lang Syne”. After it had marched off the crowd spontaneously sang “God Save The Queen”. As the ship moved away, few of them seemed to leave: a great crowd remained waving and shouting for as long as they could see the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan standing on the bridge. It was an impressive and moving scene: a fitting and heart-warming end to the Prime Minister’s tour.

43. Friday, 5th February to Sunday, 14th February.—The 10 days spent at sea in R.M.M.V. Capetown Castle gave the Prime Minister an opportunity to rest and to review his African tour as a whole. Throughout this period he was in daily touch with London by telegram and transacted a considerable amount of United Kingdom business.

44. Monday, 15th February.—At 8.25 a.m. Mr. Macmillan received on board the R.M.M.V. Capetown Castle Mr. E. L. Fox (Her Majesty’s Consul, Teneriffe), and Mr. G. Miller (Her Majesty’s Consul, Las Palmas).

At 8.30 a.m. Mr. Macmillan received the following Spanish authorities:

His Excellency Vice-Admiral Don Luis Lallemand Menacho, Vice-Admiral commanding the Naval Bases of the Canary Islands.

* Record included in this print.
At 9 a.m. the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan disembarked on to the quay. Mr. Macmillan inspected a Guard of Honour which then marched past. After this Mr. Macmillan's party travelled by car to the British Club, Las Palmas, where they were received by Mr. I. K. Park, the President of the Club, who made a short address of welcome to which Mr. Macmillan replied.

Mr. Macmillan's party were then driven by car through Las Palmas and through the countryside to the airport. Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were there greeted by a number of girls in Spanish costume singing national songs and throwing flowers in their path—a gay and colourful scene. Mr. Macmillan inspected another Guard of Honour, took leave of the Spanish authorities and was airborne in his Britannia aircraft shortly after 11 a.m.

Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy arrived at London Airport at 5·30 p.m. They were met by the Home Secretary, the Lord Chancellor, the Commonwealth Secretary and a number of other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Macmillan had a short meeting with representatives of the Press, and then drove to 10 Downing Street, where he arrived at 6·45 p.m.
RECORD OF MEETINGS AND CONVERSATIONS

Record of a Discussion held at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, on Tuesday, 2nd February, 1960, at 10 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook
Sir John Maud

SOUTH AFRICA
Dr. Verwoerd
Mr. Louw
Mr. Jooste

1. Antarctic

Dr. Verwoerd said that he would like to take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Union Government for the assistance which they had had from the United Kingdom Government in relation to the Antarctic.

2. Uranium

Dr. Verwoerd said that, in view of new discoveries, the world demand for South Africa’s uranium would in future be less than had been expected hitherto. In these circumstances it would be in the common interest of both producers and consumers if the existing contracts, which were due to expire in 1965 or 1966, could be spread out over a rather longer period.

Mr. Jooste said that exploratory discussions would shortly be opened, between officials of the United Kingdom and Union Governments, to look into the possibility of such an arrangement. The Union Government would welcome it in principle, even if it would involve some sacrifice of revenue in the next few years. He hoped that these discussions would be conducted in the friendly atmosphere which had characterised earlier negotiations about uranium contracts.

Dr. Verwoerd said that he hoped that the United Kingdom representatives in these discussions would take a sympathetic view of the difficulties which this situation created for the Union Government.

3. Commonwealth Relations: Departmental Responsibilities

Mr. Louw suggested that the United Kingdom Government should consider adjusting Departmental responsibilities in London so that other Commonwealth Governments would be able to deal directly with the Foreign Office on foreign affairs. In principle it seemed desirable that other Commonwealth Governments should receive information and advice on these matters directly from the Foreign Office, instead of through the Commonwealth Relations Office, at second-hand; and also that they should be able to put their views and representations directly to the Foreign Office. He had in the past discussed this question of organisation with the Foreign Ministers of Canada and Australia, and believed that they would both favour such a change. He also had some reason to believe that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd would not be opposed to it.

Mr. Louw went on to cite, in support of his suggestion, three instances in which he believed that the interests of the Union Government had been overlooked by the Commonwealth Relations Office. First, in 1956, the Union Government had received no advance information of the Anglo-French decision to undertake military operations against Egypt. Secondly, the United Kingdom Government had been represented at an international conference in Lisbon which considered a number of matters relating to Africa which were of close concern to the Union Government; he had obtained (not from United Kingdom or Portuguese sources) a full report of the proceedings at this conference; and he had been surprised to find that the United Kingdom representative had resisted a suggestion that, when a further conference of this kind was held, the Union Government should be represented at it. Thirdly, he had learned that officials of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada had recently met in Washington to consider African problems: he thought it strange that the Union Government should not have been invited to participate and even stranger that the Canadians (who had no direct interest in Africa) should have been asked to send representatives.
Mr. Macmillan said that in independent Commonwealth countries other than the United Kingdom there was usually a single Department of External Affairs and a single Foreign Service covering both Commonwealth countries and foreign countries. In theory it would be possible to adopt the same form of Departmental organisation in London, but this would have the practical disadvantage that there would be no single Minister in the United Kingdom Cabinet with the duty of seeing that Commonwealth interests were not overlooked. The interests of the other Commonwealth countries would not be better served if they were lumped together with all the foreign countries with which the Foreign Secretary was concerned. It was not to be assumed that, because messages came in a Commonwealth Relations Office cypher, their content had been settled by that Department. The material for these telegrams, and the advice which they contained, was provided by the Department concerned with the subject matter—whether Foreign Office, Treasury, Board of Trade or other Department in Whitehall. In this sense the Commonwealth Relations Office was a Post Office for conveying the views and advice of specialist Departments. The advice sent to other Commonwealth Governments on foreign affairs certainly came from the Foreign Office. Moreover, on matters of major importance, much business was transacted by messages from Prime Minister to Prime Minister. Finally, in London, Commonwealth High Commissioners were not required to do business solely through the Commonwealth Relations Office, but were encouraged to go directly to the Foreign Office and other Whitehall Departments for information and advice.

Dr. Verwoerd said that the Union Government did not wish to appear to be telling the United Kingdom Government how to organise their Departmental business. Nor were they suggesting that the Commonwealth Relations Office should be abolished. From their angle, however, they would prefer that the Foreign Office should handle relations with other Commonwealth Governments on foreign affairs and that the Commonwealth Relations Office should deal only with Commonwealth business.

In further discussion Mr. Jooste confirmed, from his own experience as High Commissioner in London, that Commonwealth High Commissioners were free to deal directly with the Foreign Office on foreign affairs—though they were expected to keep the Commonwealth Relations Office informed of these exchanges. There was, however, no direct link between the Foreign Secretary in London and the Minister for External Affairs in another Commonwealth country.

Mr. Macmillan said that he saw no reason of principle why Ministers for External Affairs in other Commonwealth countries should not conduct personal correspondence, when required, with the Foreign Secretary—just as other Commonwealth Prime Ministers conducted personal correspondence with him. He would consider this possibility. On the wider question he thought that the aim should be to have a form of Departmental organisation in London which would produce the result that Commonwealth countries had better facilities than foreign countries for consultation, information and advice. He would consider this question of organisation further, in the light of this discussion. It might be found convenient to have some talk about it at the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

4. The Position of the Union Government in Africa

Dr. Verwoerd said that important changes were taking place in Africa, and the Union Government were anxious to play their full part in guiding these in directions which would be helpful to the West. It was right that the Union should play this part; for it was, as it were, the resident representative of European civilisation in Africa. It was in a good position to assist the development of other African States, and was in fact already doing so. It was playing its full part in the Commission pour la Co-operation Technique en Afrique (C.C.T.A.) and in the Foundation pour l'Assistance Mutuelle en Afrique (F.A.M.A.); and, outside the work of these international organisations, it was also giving a good deal of help and advice in relation to agriculture, broadcasting, scientific development and administration. Unhappily, however, its influence with the other African States was being seriously impaired by lack of support from the United Kingdom and the United States. This was doubtless due to disapproval of the internal policies.
of the Union—a matter which he would discuss privately with Mr. Macmillan. But it was unfortunate that this should prevent those countries from appreciating the desire of the Union Government to assist in the development of the African States and the extent to which they were already doing so. South Africa was devoted to the Western cause, from conviction not from self-interest: her whole outlook was bound up with that of the West and she would remain firmly in the Western camp, however much her motives might be misunderstood. She was the one solid foundation in Africa on which the West could build. Yet the West were losing these opportunities because of their dislike of the internal policies of the Union Government. If the United Kingdom and the United States could show greater confidence in what the Union Government were trying to do to further the Western cause throughout Africa, they would thereby increase the influence which the Union could bring to bear on other African States.

Mr. Louw said that he would like to make the same point in its political context. The main need of the emergent States in Africa was for economic aid; and there was at present something like a competition to gain the influence which the grant of aid could bring. Some of the countries offering aid had ulterior motives: he was not sure that the Americans might not have commercial motives, and it was evident that Russia and Egypt had ideological motives. If we wished the new African States to work with the West, we must provide them with a link. The Union, as a white Government in Africa, could provide this link, if only the prejudices against the Union in the new African States could be overcome. At present those prejudices were being fed by statements made by the Press and by political leaders in the United Kingdom and the United States. The attitude of public opinion in those countries was frustrating the attempts of the Union Government to help the other African States and to bind them more closely to the Western cause.

The Union Government themselves were doing what they could to overcome these prejudices—for example, special arrangements had been made to enable next year's conference of the C.C.T.A. to be held in South Africa. The Union Government looked to the United Kingdom Government to help in overcoming these prejudices. The United Kingdom Government's support for South Africa, in her difficulties in the United Nations, had been helpful. Mr. Macmillan could also help by telling the British public, from his personal experience, what was being done for Africans in the Union—they were not in fact "having it so bad".

Dr. Verwoerd said that extreme expressions of sympathy for the African would make the task of the Union Government impossible. They were to-day in the same position as the United Kingdom had been in recent years in carrying out their Colonial policy under a heavy fire of criticism of "Colonialism". When the United Kingdom were under this criticism, they had received sympathy and support from the Union. It would be helpful if the United Kingdom could now show a more sympathetic understanding of the motives and intentions of the Union Government in Africa.

Mr. Macmillan said that, after the secession of the North American Colonies, British Colonialism had been concerned mainly with territories in which British people had never had any intention of settling. In most of our Colonies we had reluctantly accepted the responsibility of administration as a consequence of our desire to trade; and our intention had always been to transfer that responsibility to the inhabitants as soon as they were fit to undertake it. Sometimes we might have done so too quickly; the two wars of the twentieth century had forced the pace. But, whatever might be said on the question of timing, he had no doubt that, in countries where there was a homogeneous population, our policy should be to concede self-government and independence as soon as the inhabitants were ready for it. There were, however, within the Colonial Empire a few territories where this policy could not be followed because the population was not homogeneous. For us, this problem was most acute in Central and East Africa, where there were many European settlers who had no other home. Here we were confronted with the same problem, on a smaller scale, as that which existed in the Union. There were two possible approaches to this problem. The Union Government had chosen to follow the policy of separate development. The United Kingdom Government, on the other hand, had thought it right to work for the creation of a non-racial State, in which all the communities would have a share in the government. It was too early to say whether this could succeed; but the
Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland still believed that it was the right solution. It might also be relevant to recall the nearest foreign comparison—Algeria, a white country in North Africa, with about a million French settlers. It now began to look as though the French had lost their struggle in Algeria. If they had, it was certainly not for lack of courage or for lack of material strength and expenditure. If the experiment did fail, its failure would be due to the fact that they had tried to hold down an indigenous population by force. Mr. Macmillan said that on this question the Governments of the Union and of the United Kingdom took a quite different view. He feared that they would not be able to find a basis for agreement about it. What they could do, however, was to try to remove the bitterness from the controversy. Matters would become worse if each side imputed dishonourable motives to the other. If they could not agree on the substance, they could at least agree to discuss it coolly and objectively. The countries of the West were, after all, in great danger. Apart from the immediate threat from the Soviet Union, there loomed beyond it a possibly greater danger from China, which would have a population of 800 millions by 1970. The countries of the West, if they were to survive, would be well advised to try to understand one another's difficulties and hold together despite differences of opinion on particular issues.

Dr. Verwoerd said that he could not believe that a non-racial State was a practicable solution in a multi-racial community. If the French failed in Algeria, it would be because they had aimed at creating a non-racial State. Once you set foot on that road, you had to travel it to the end—which, in Africa, meant domination by Africans. That was why the Union preferred the alternative of enabling the two communities to live together as neighbours, not as one family. However, all that lay in the future. The immediate problem was to find means of preventing the new African States from falling under Communist influence. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States could best contribute to this by showing confidence in the good faith of the Union Government and the genuineness of their desire to assist in the development of the other emergent States in Africa.

5. United Nations
(a) Security Council

Mr. Louw, after describing the history of the Union's candidature for the Commonwealth seat on the Security Council, said that the Union Government, while they had hitherto been content that this seat should be held by one of the other Commonwealth countries, were now determined to secure it for themselves in 1961. They recognised, however, that if the Commonwealth vote were split this might destroy the convention that one of the non-permanent seats was always held by a Commonwealth country; and they were anxious to have the support of the United Kingdom Government in avoiding that situation.

After discussion it was agreed that the United Kingdom Government should now approach the Governments of the older Commonwealth countries and seek to secure their agreement to support the Union's candidature in 1961. If their support could be secured, the Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries could be consulted when they were in London for the Commonwealth meeting in May. These latter consultations would be carried out informally: it would not be expedient that the matter should be raised formally at a plenary session of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. If at that time Mr. Nehru agreed that India would support the Union's candidature, he might be willing to persuade Dr. Nkrumah to withdraw Ghana's application so as to avoid a split in the Commonwealth vote.

Dr. Verwoerd said that he would like to assure Mr. Macmillan that, if the Union became a Republic and did not remain within the Commonwealth, the Union Government would at once vacate the Commonwealth seat on the Security Council.

(b) South-West Africa

Mr. Louw described the dealings which the Union Government had had with the Good Offices Committee appointed by the United Nations to seek a way out of the difficulties which had arisen between the Union and the United Nations.
in respect of South-West Africa. The Union Government would have been ready to consider the possibility of a partition, by which one part of the territory would be incorporated in the Union and the other placed under United Nations trusteeship. The United Nations had, however, been unwilling to consider such a solution; and the second report of the Good Offices Committee contemplated an arrangement by which the whole of the territory would be placed under United Nations supervision. The Union Government were not prepared to accept that situation. As a result, the Afro-Asian group were now canvassing in the United Nations the possibility of applying sanctions against the Union. These might take the form of a boycott of South African goods, or withdrawal of diplomatic representatives from the Union, or restrictions on the use of international airports by South African aircraft. If any such proposal were made at the Security Council, the Union Government hoped that it would be vetoed by the United Kingdom and France. But it was possible that the matter might be brought to the Assembly under the "uniting for peace" Resolution and, in that event, it might obtain a two-thirds majority.

Dr. Verwoerd said that this was a matter of vital importance to the Union Government, who were not prepared to accept United Nations supervision over the whole of South-West Africa.

Mr. Macmillan said that, as he understood it, the International Court had given an advisory opinion against the view taken by the Union Government on the legal issue.

Mr. Jooste said that, while this was so, the opinion was somewhat obscure. While the Court had taken the view that the Union Government was accountable to the United Nations in respect of South-West Africa, they had not found that the Union was under a legal obligation to put the territory under trusteeship. And the Union Government had in fact been willing to consider placing part of the territory under trusteeship. They had also offered to submit information about the territory to members of the old League of Nations.

Mr. Macmillan asked whether there was not some risk that the International Court would be asked to give a definitive judgment on this issue.

Mr. Louw said that there was a risk of this, for the Union had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. In that event, however, he hoped that the judgment would give supervision, not to the United Nations, but to some former member of the old League of Nations.

(c) Internal Policies

Mr. Macmillan said that the United Kingdom Government, while continuing to adhere to the principle of Article 2 (7) of the Charter, were finding it increasingly difficult to vote against the inscription on the Assembly agenda of items relating to the internal policies of the Union Government. None of the other Commonwealth Governments now supported us in voting against the inscription of such items; we were now alone in doing so; and he thought it right to warn the Union Government that we might not be able to continue to do so. We might find it necessary, on future occasions, merely to abstain from voting on this question.

Mr. Jooste said that it would be preferable if the United Kingdom Government could declare that they would not participate in the discussion, with an explanation of their reasons for non-participation.

Mr. Macmillan said that the complexities of United Nations procedure might offer the possibility of some way out; but he doubted whether the United Kingdom Government could again register a positive vote against the inscription of this item.

Dr. Verwoerd said that the Union Government, while they had preferred hitherto to stand on the principle of Article 2 (7), had prepared a damaging case against other countries (including the United States) in which racial discrimination was practised. If they found themselves alone in the United Nations, they might be forced to change their tactics and go over to the offensive on the substance of this question.

Mr. Louw added that some countries were now arguing that Articles 55 and 57 of the Charter, which dealt with human rights, contained an implied authority
for the United Nations to discuss the internal affairs of a member country. He had, however, looked up the records of the San Francisco Conference and had verified his recollection that, when these Articles were discussed in draft, Mr. Foster Dulles had made it plain that they could not be used as a means of getting round the prohibition in Article 2 (7).

6. Procedure
   (a) Future Meetings
      It was agreed that a further meeting should be held on the evening of 3rd February to discuss:
      (i) The High Commission Territories.
      (ii) The world situation.
      The two Prime Ministers would meet alone on the morning of 4th February to discuss:
      (iii) The Republic issue and the Commonwealth.
      (iv) Representation of South Africa at the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

   (b) Press
      Dr. Verwoerd said that he assumed that there would be no public disclosure of the substance of the conversations which he was holding with Mr. Macmillan. Even disclosure of the subjects discussed would be embarrassing to the Union Government.
      Mr. Macmillan said that he had no intention of disclosing publicly what had passed in these private discussions. If he were asked about them at the Press conference which he was holding on 5th February, or at any other time, he would take the line that these were private discussions and that he had nothing to say about them.

Record of a Discussion between Mr. Macmillan and Sir de Villiers Graaff, held in Dr. Verwoerd's Room in the Assembly Building, Cape Town, on Wednesday, 3rd February, 1960, at 11.35 a.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. T. J. Bligh.

After the usual exchange of courtesies Mr. Macmillan asked Sir de Villiers Graaff if he would like to say what were the main differences between the United Party and the Nationalists.

Sir de Villiers Graaff said that these could be summed up as follows:
(1) The Nationalists stood for sectional interests whereas the United Party tried to represent the whole country.
(2) The Nationalists were in favour of State management and State control: the United Party stood for free enterprise.
(3) The United Party wanted a steady flow of immigration. They hoped that with a rise in the natural increase of the white population and a large increase in immigration the Union would be able by the turn of the century to have a larger white population than black, and this would solve a number of problems. The Nationalist Party were anxious to control immigration; they would not accept Roman Catholics and could not attract as many British people as they would like. Moreover immigrants would not necessarily vote for the Nationalists.
(4) The United Party attached more importance than the Nationalists to the dignity of the individual. Some of the Government's recent legislation had been very restrictive.
(5) The two Parties differed fundamentally on their approach to Africans. The United Party believed that there must be some consultation with the
non-Europeans and thought that it was essential that the non-European view should be constantly before Parliament. The Nationalists did not accept any of this.

(6) The United Party were opposed to the idea of a Republic and thought that the way the republican issue was being handled might cause deep bitterness in the country.

In further discussion the following points emerged:

(a) The United Party found it very difficult to get all their supporters to the polls. The English-speaking section of the community seemed to be apathetic about elections.

(b) The United Party had reminded Dr. Verwoerd that he would have to apply for South Africa's readmission to the Commonwealth on a change of the constitution. This did not appear to have occurred to the Nationalists.

(c) There was a low standard of awareness of world problems in South Africa. It was true that a considerable number of South Africans travelled abroad, especially the younger people. But they made little effort to relate South African problems to the problems of other countries, even within Africa.

(d) The United Party had lost the 1948 election by four seats, although they had had a majority of the votes cast. Since then the Nationalists had gerrymandered the constituencies and although they secured only half the votes they had established a firm hold on the country.

(e) The United Party's task of opposition had been made no easier by the splintering off of the Progressive Party. It was extremely unlikely that this party would win a single seat in the next General Election.

(f) If the United Party were ever to get a chance of forming a Government they must attract votes from the moderate Nationalists: they had, therefore, to be realistic.

(g) Sir de Villiers Graaff said that he had argued that if South Africa left the Commonwealth they would lose free entry and preferential treatment in British markets. But apparently the United Kingdom Trade Commissioner had gone round to Dr. Verwoerd subsequently and said that this would not necessarily happen at all. Mr. Macmillan said he would ask the High Commissioner to look into this. It was most important that no commitments should be made at this stage.

In conclusion Sir de Villiers Graaff congratulated Mr. Macmillan on the speech he had just made to the Members of both Houses. He thought that this would have a good effect throughout the country.

Record of a Discussion with Leaders of the Progressive Party, held in Dr. Verwoerd's Room in the Assembly Building, Cape Town, on Wednesday, 3rd February, 1960, at 12.15 p.m.

Mr. Macmillan was accompanied by Mr. T. J. Bligh.

The representatives of the Progressive Party were Mr. Steytler and Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. Macmillan welcomed the leaders of the Progressive Party and, after the usual exchange of courtesies, the following points were made in discussion:

(a) The present strength of the Progressive Party in the House was 12. Eleven of these had originally belonged to the United Party. The Progressive Party hoped to increase their strength by recruits from the Liberal Party.

(b) The Liberal Party were the first Radical Party in the field but their policies were totally unrealistic. The real point of difference between the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party was in their approach to the
universal franchise. The former wanted to introduce this at once, which was clearly impracticable.

(c) The Progressive Party had started when Dr. Verwoerd had put forward his New Vision, which had led to the setting up of Bantustans. This idea had been rejected by the United Party but they had not put forward any constructive alternative to it. The Progressives had felt it necessary, if partition were to be opposed, to accept overtly the multi-racial State. Their three main points were:

(i) Real consultation with representative Africans.
(ii) The extension of political rights.
(iii) Participation by non-Europeans in the House.

These ideas were not acceptable to the United Party, and the Progressive Party had come into being as a result.

(d) The Progressive Party were making some headway with their local organisations. They did not of course enjoy the benefit of the United Party machine in any of their constituencies.

(e) The main issue on which they differed from the Government was the colour question. They thought it utterly wrong to make a dogmatic approach to this problem; what was needed was a cautious advance at the highest acceptable rate. On the other hand the principle of "one man one vote" was equally inapplicable in practice.

(f) The Progressive Party were worried at the high rate of emigration of educated Africans. If this continued, the African community in the Union would reap no benefit from the growth in educational facilities.

(g) The Progressive Party believed that most of the intellectual Nationalists realised that apartheid could not work. The Government themselves recognised that the 3 million Africans employed by the farming community were essential to the economy of the country but they took the view that these Africans could exercise their political rights in their own territories. This was disingenuous since most of the Africans concerned had been de-tribalised and had no home territory.

(h) It was possible that Mr. Louw was beginning to recognise the need for the Nationalists to change their racial policy. He had recently indicated acceptance of the view that the Union must try to exercise some influence on the emerging black countries in Africa, and that they could not do this if their own internal policies rendered them open to severe criticism from those countries.

Record of a Discussion held at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, on Wednesday, 3rd February, 1960, at 8:50 p.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Sir Norman Brook
Sir John Maud

SOUTH AFRICA
Dr. Verwoerd
Mr. Louw
Mr. Jooste

1. World Situation

At Dr. Verwoerd's request Mr. Macmillan gave a review of the state of relations between East and West, with special reference to the problem of Germany.

The Soviet pronouncement of November 1958 had been in effect an ultimatum and had created a very dangerous situation. There was then a serious risk that the world might drift into war, as it had done in 1914. It was on this account that he had taken the initiative of making his visit to Moscow. Since then a year had been spent in visits and discussions between leading statesmen of East and West. These discussions had not perhaps gone very deep, but they had at least bought time and averted conflict.

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Berlin was the symptom, rather than the cause, of tension in Europe, but it might easily provide the spark to touch off a general conflagration. The Western countries were not in a strong position to defy the Soviet Government over Berlin. For, in the last resort, Mr. Khrushchev could make a peace treaty with Eastern Germany and invite us to deal with the East Germans on all matters relating to our rights of passage through their territory to Berlin. In such circumstances, though our juridical position might be strong, our practical position would be weak; for the British public would certainly not be willing to risk a world war over the question whether a German official or a Soviet official stamped the documents carried by a convoy passing through East German territory to Berlin. This was not the sort of issue on which a democracy could be persuaded to go to war. We had therefore done our best to negotiate some temporary arrangement about Berlin, and agreement had very nearly been reached at the meeting of Foreign Ministers in 1958. These negotiations had eventually broken down in a somewhat legalistic debate as to what the position would be at the end of the temporary period. It was hard to know what value Mr. Khrushchev put upon this point: it might be that he was determined that a final decision should be reserved for a Summit meeting.

In all this the fundamental difficulty lay in differences of view about the reunification of Germany. Dr. Adenauer, though he realised that reunification could not come for many years, was determined that nothing should be done to prejudice the possibility. The Russians, on the other hand, were determined to keep Germany divided for ever—for their main fear now was the threat which a reunited Germany would present to their security. Their aim was to get Eastern Germany recognised as an independent State, like Poland. For the present at any rate we must resist this, for it might tend to detach Western Germany from the Western alliance. Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle were inclined to think that, if we stood firm, the Russians would accept some temporary arrangement about Berlin. The United Kingdom and United States Governments, on the other hand, realised that the Western position in Berlin was highly vulnerable and could easily be undermined without the use of force: they were therefore very conscious of the dangers involved in following what was in effect a policy of bluff. If the bluff were called, the West would suffer a humiliating diplomatic defeat. It might therefore be wiser to be ready to make small concessions in order to get some temporary arrangement. Meanwhile, time had been gained, and tempers had cooled, as a result of the negotiations over the past year.

In discussion the following points were made.

(a) Would the situation become easier as the Russians became more apprehensive about China?

Mr. Macmillan said that Mr. Khrushchev was probably a little apprehensive already about the Chinese, who were inclined to follow reckless policies which might interfere with his plans—e.g., for securing a measure of disarmament. But it would probably be some years before China's strength imposed any substantial restraint on Soviet policy.

(b) Would it not be preferable to accept a permanent division of Germany and to recognise East Germany on the basis of some readjustment of boundaries which would deal with the problem of Berlin?

Mr. Macmillan said that Dr. Adenauer could not hope to sustain his political position unless he continued to affirm his faith in the ultimate reunification of Germany. It was in our interest that Western Germany should be retained in the Western camp; and, if the West Germans felt that their interests had been abandoned by the West, their morale might break and they might yield to the temptation of buying unification at the cost of a neutrality which would leave them at the mercy of the Soviet bloc. As regards the adjustment of boundaries, it must be remembered that Berlin was about 150 miles east of the boundary and could not be brought within Western Germany without something in the nature of a Danzig corridor, which would be a source of continuing friction and danger.

(c) Must it not be assumed, from youth parades and other evidence, that the younger generation in Eastern Germany had been fully converted to Communism?

Mr. Macmillan said that he doubted whether this was so. If it were, the Russians would not be so completely unwilling to contemplate the possibility of free elections.
Would the Western Powers be able to make any concessions about West Berlin without fatally weakening their position there?

Mr. Macmillan said that, if we took the alternative course of refusing to try to reach any accommodation, the Russians could make our position in Berlin entirely untenable whenever they chose.

2. High Commission Territories

(i) General

Dr. Verwoerd said that for the last 50 years it had been understood that the High Commission Territories would eventually be incorporated within the Union. The United Kingdom Government had always held that the transfer could not take place until the inhabitants had been consulted and the Parliament at Westminster had expressed its views. Before the war it had been agreed that the Union Government would be given an opportunity to explain the position to the inhabitants, so that they would be aware of what was involved before anything in the nature of a plebiscite was held. Since the war, however, successive Governments in the United Kingdom had adopted a wholly negative attitude on this question. Moreover, a new development was now beginning: for measures of constitutional advance were being introduced in the Territories without any consultation with the Union Government. It was possible that this might have the result that it would become even more difficult to arrange for the Territories to be incorporated within the Union. The Union Government therefore found it a matter of regret that they had not been consulted before these constitutional changes were introduced. Dr. Verwoerd thought it his duty to register a protest over this and to ask that no further constitutional changes should take place within the Territories without prior consultation with the Union Government.

In discussion the following points were made.

(a) Sir John Maud said that the Act of 1909 did not itself include any undertaking that the Territories would be incorporated within the Union.

Dr. Verwoerd said that this might be so; but the negotiations held in 1937–39 between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Union had clearly contemplated that responsibility for the Territories would ultimately be transferred to the Union.

Mr. Macmillan said that much had happened since then. In particular, domestic legislation enacted in the Union had affected the attitude of public opinion, in the United Kingdom and throughout the world, on the question whether further African populations should be brought within the responsibility of the Union Government.

Dr. Verwoerd said that if one party to an agreement wished to pursue a course of policy inconsistent with that agreement, the other party had a right to expect that at least it would be consulted.

Mr. Macmillan replied that the Union Government had not consulted the United Kingdom Government before introducing the legislation to which he had referred.

(b) Mr. Macmillan asked whether the Union Government had any particular objection to the constitutional changes recently introduced in Basutoland.

Dr. Verwoerd said that he was not taking any particular point on the detail of these changes. He was making the general point that they should not have been introduced without prior consultation with the Union Government.

(c) Dr. Verwoerd said that he would be glad to know what the present intentions of the United Kingdom Government were in respect of the High Commission Territories. If all thought of incorporation within the Union had been abandoned, was it intended that they should become independent States? So long as the policy of the United Kingdom Government remained obscure, this would be a bone of contention between the Union and the United Kingdom and would be a continuing source of friction.

Mr. Macmillan concluded this part of the discussion by saying that he took note of Dr. Verwoerd's protest that constitutional changes had been introduced within the Territories without prior consultation with the Union Government.


(ii) Economic Situation

Dr. Verwoerd said that it was the general desire of the Union Government to help the emergent African States. They were already, in a sense, the economic guardians of the inhabitants of the High Commission Territories which, naturally, were economically interdependent with the Union. They were, however, concerned at the development of European industries within the Territories; for this, if continued, would produce a situation inconsistent with the policy of separate development which was being pursued within the Union and was bound on that account to lay up trouble for the future. Another difficulty facing the Union Government was that they could not continue indefinitely to provide employment for the surplus population of the Territories at a time when the African population within the Union was increasing. In the Union their solution for this problem was to create industries on the borders of the areas reserved for Africans so as to provide employment for the growing population. This solution could not however be applied in respect of the Territories unless there were closer co-ordination of the economic and social policies followed in the Union and in the Territories respectively. The Union Government could make these Territories viable economically if they were able to guide their economic development and harmonise it with that of the Union itself.

Mr. Macmillan said that he would take note of what Dr. Verwoerd had said on the economic aspects of this problem.

(iii) Future Policy

Dr. Verwoerd said that he recognised the strength of the prejudices held, in the Parliament at Westminster, and by world opinion at large, against the internal policies of the Union Government. This being so, he recognised that the United Kingdom Government, even if they wished to do so, would not be able at present to transfer to the Union Government the responsibility for the High Commission Territories. He was not therefore asking for early transfer. For the present he would go no further than to ask that the Union Government should be free to tell the inhabitants of those Territories what their position would be if they were incorporated within the Union—what political and social systems would be introduced, and what prospects of economic development there would be. The Union Government could, if they chose, conduct a campaign of propaganda for this purpose without the consent of the United Kingdom Government. They did not wish to take that course. They would prefer to proceed in co-operation with the United Kingdom authorities. But they did feel strongly that they ought not to be denied the opportunity to put the facts plainly before the inhabitants of the Territories so that they would be able, when the time came, to make an informed choice. In short, the plea of the Union Government for 1960 was, not incorporation, but co-operation.

Mr. Macmillan said that Dr. Verwoerd would not expect him to give an immediate answer to this request. He would however consider it with his Cabinet colleagues after his return to London.

Record of a Discussion between the Prime Minister and Dr. Verwoerd at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, on Thursday, 4th February, 1960, at 10 a.m.

1. High Commission Territories

Dr. Verwoerd began by reiterating the points he had made in the earlier discussion of 3rd February. He said that the Union was the economic guardian of the Territories and we were the political guardian. He still thought the time had come for us to hand over the political guardianship. He recognised, however, that the British Parliament and public opinion might not be able to swallow this. He therefore made a strong plea that we should consult together and that any steps which we took on the political side should be taken in consultation, and if possible in agreement, with the Union Government.

He went on to say, and he repeated all this at the end of the conversation which ranged over a wide field, that if we used the Colonial Development Fund to set up

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European-controlled industries in the Territories which would lead to competition, the Union would have to take measures to protect their industries. I referred to existing imports from Hong Kong, and reminded him that he was bound by GATT and the Ottawa Agreements. He said that he realised this but that the Union would act to defend herself if necessary. He said again and again that, if we would only realise that his whole policy was to benefit the African population while protecting the European, we would be able to co-operate. He wished to avoid unpleasantness in the future but warned me that unpleasantness would grow.

2. The Republic

He spoke about the Republic. I said that this was nothing to do with me. It was for him to tender advice to The Queen as Her Prime Minister of South Africa. He seemed rather nettled about this. I said again that it was nothing to do with me, and I assumed that he had consulted The Queen. He said that he had not done so, and he gave me a copy of his speech of 3rd December and said that it was hypothetical only. I said that it might be hypothetical but I understood that the plebiscite was likely to take place in August, and everybody was registering for it. He seemed upset. He said it was all hypothetical and he would act correctly when the time came. He then went into a long discourse, with his usual fluency and high level of argument, to prove that if only the final question between Afrikaans and British tradition could be resolved it would remove all unpleasantness and allow the country to go forward as a single nation. That was his purpose. He believed that many industrialists and others of British descent would welcome the settlement of this matter. I said that this might be so, but he could not expect me as The Queen’s first Minister of the United Kingdom to be enthusiastic about the end of the Monarchy in South Africa. He then adopted a rather hurt attitude and said we quite misunderstood him. His only aim was to make concessions all round and to reach a peaceful settlement of a long-standing dispute. I again said that this was nothing to do with me as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and that all I could do was to take note of what he had said.

3. The Republic and the Commonwealth

Dr. Verwoerd said that he thought it would ease things very much if at the time that the plebiscite was held, whenever that might be, it was indicated that it was the wish of South Africa to stay in the Commonwealth. Five-sixths of his own Party would favour this, although one-sixth would be hostile. But, apart from other matters, he wanted to know whether we really wanted South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth. I replied that everything I had said since I had been in Africa made it clear that I regarded the Commonwealth as of permanent value—not as the setting sun of British imperialism, but as the dawn of an entirely new concept—and I hoped that South Africa would play her full part in it. He took all this quite well. I think it is likely that he will say that he wants to stay in the Commonwealth, if only to get a good vote in the plebiscite.

4. Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conference

Dr. Verwoerd said that it would be very difficult for him to come to the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers because of his other commitments. He could only come if he could tell his people that the subjects he would discuss were so important that he could not be represented by a substitute. He asked me whether I thought it would be wise for him to raise the Republican issue in May. Since the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers took place only about every two years, and on the assumption that the Republic came into being between two meetings, would it be wise to raise the question informally and hypothetically in order to test the opinion of the other members on the question whether South Africa, should she become a Republic, could continue within the Commonwealth? I felt that there might be a catch in this and said I would think about it and let him know my view. The point he made was that, if it was settled more or less informally, then when the time came no more would be needed to complete the formalities than an exchange of correspondence. He had noticed that Ghana had already notified the Commonwealth Prime Ministers of their intention to become a Republic. I simply said I would consider this and let him have my advice. The catch in this is, I think,
that he means to get us all to agree that a Republican South Africa could stay in the Commonwealth, use this for his plebiscite campaign, and leave himself free at any time to find new difficulties.

My conclusion is that he wants me to press him very hard to come to the May meeting on the understanding that we will (a) discuss the Commonwealth Republic problem, and (b) make some further agreement with him about the Territories. He will make the excuse that these two matters would enable him to miss some ceremonies in the Union, but I think it is his usual method of bringing pressure. I did observe to him that, if all the 11 Prime Ministers had to find some special reason why they should come to London for a Commonwealth meeting, things would become rather difficult. He turned this off with a laugh and said that this was a special year for South Africa. In any event they had always made it clear that meetings in the first half of the year were very difficult for them.

5. The Queen's Position as Head of the Commonwealth

Dr. Verwoerd said that there was still a strong feeling in South Africa against recognising The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. I said I was rather amazed at this. It seemed to me that, if he really believed in reconciliation, it was pretty ungenerous to the 45 per cent. of British people in South Africa, to whom the end of the Monarchy would be a serious blow, if he now tried to avoid recognising The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. If he wanted reconciliation, here was a gesture which would do exactly what he said he wished. He hummed and ha-ed a bit at this and said there was still a great feeling in South Africa against the Monarchy and it would be a help for future relations if this could be removed. He then began to talk about Ireland. I pointed out that this was not relevant: Mr. De Valera had accepted the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth and Ireland had left the Commonwealth for different reasons under Mr. Costello. He then talked about Cyprus. I said that I thought Cyprus was another matter. The question there was whether a country whose policy was more or less under the protection of two foreign Powers could be regarded as fully independent and qualified for Commonwealth membership. He acquiesced in this and said no more, but expressed his pleasure at getting my view frankly.

Record of a Meeting with the Council for Coloured Affairs held at Cape Town on 5th February, 1960, at 11:45 a.m.

Present:

UNITED KINGDOM
Mr. Harold Macmillan
Mr. D. W. S. Hunt
Mr. J. E. R. Wyndham

SOUTH AFRICA
Mr. J. F. Naude, Minister of the Interior
Mr. P. W. Botha, Deputy Minister of the Interior
Mr. da Plessis, Secretary of the Department of Coloured Affairs
Members of the Council for Coloured Affairs

(Note.—This meeting was arranged at the particular request of the Union Government and at very short notice. The Prime Minister was only asked on the preceding evening whether he would be ready to meet the Council. Many of its members had to be brought to Cape Town by a special effort made by the Union Government.

The Council is constituted in accordance with the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, 1956. It is composed entirely of coloured people, 12 elected (all from Cape Province) and 15 nominated by the Government. In the event 24 of the 27 attended. Its functions are mainly advisory. All political organisations of the coloured people boycotted the Council.)

Mr. Macmillan was met on arrival at the office of the Coloured Affairs Department by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Naude, who introduced his Deputy, Mr. Botha, and the Permanent Secretary, Mr. du Plessis. He was then
taken to a separate entrance leading to a semi-basement room, where the coloured members of the Council were assembled. Introduced by Mr. du Plessis he shook hands with all those present.

Arrangements had been made for the proceedings to be recorded by the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation but at Mr. Macmillan's request this was cancelled. Some representatives of the Union Press were present.

The proceedings opened with a speech read by Mr. Naude which set out the Government's programme of social benefits for the coloured people. After this Mr. du Plessis spoke briefly on the work of his Department. A speech of welcome was then made by the (coloured) Chairman of the Council. He expressed the gratitude of the coloured people for what the Union Government were doing for them. He claimed that they had a particular right to the sympathy and support of both white communities in South Africa, in particular because of the willing and loyal support they had always given in war.

Mr. Macmillan replied in an ex tempore speech. He said that he was very glad to have been given this opportunity of meeting the coloured people and he wished his remarks to be taken as being addressed, not only to their statutory representatives whom he saw before him, but also to all coloured people in whatever organisations and associations they might have formed for themselves. He said that he was conscious of the difficulties facing all communities in Southern Africa and that they should remember that even greater difficulties had been overcome in the past by their forefathers. He ended by extending an expression of continued good will from the people of the United Kingdom.

The members of the Council, who appeared visibly affected by Mr. Macmillan's address, rose to their feet as soon as he had finished and sang "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika".

Afterwards Mr. Macmillan chatted informally with the members of the Council and gave a number of autographs. He left at 12.20 p.m.

Note on Suggested Meetings with Representatives of African National Congress and other Parties not Represented in Union Parliament

Before he arrived in the Union, Mr. Macmillan had been asked to receive deputations from the African National Congress, the Liberal Party and a number of other organisations not represented in the Union Parliament. The fact that he had received these requests was widely known among newspaper correspondents, and it was evident that, if he did not see representatives of any of these organisations, there was likely to be criticism in Parliament and in the Press. The United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Union was aware, from conversations which he had already had with Mr. Louw, that the Union Government would be unwilling that Mr. Macmillan should see these people—and would try, if they could, to leave him with the odium of refusing. The High Commissioner felt very strongly that they ought to be seen or, alternatively, that the Union Government should take public responsibility for the decision that Mr. Macmillan should not see them.

The Prime Minister had a brief conversation about this with Mr. Louw on 27th January. Mr. Louw was unhelpful and evasive. Therefore, on 28th January, the Prime Minister sent him a letter in the following terms:

"When we had a word yesterday about the possibility of my seeing someone from the Liberal Party and the A.N.C. during my visit, you said you thought that if I wished to pursue this it was something I would need to discuss with Dr. Verwoerd.

Since our conversation I have been thinking further about this matter and I thought it would be courteous to let you know that I do feel I ought to discuss it with the Prime Minister as soon as conveniently possible after we reach Cape Town. It may be that you would like to let him know this.

Perhaps it would be helpful if I put my position very briefly like this.

There can of course be no question of my receiving from any quarter any petition regarding matters which are the domestic concern of the Union Government: if any such petition were addressed to me (and I understand you have reason to think that the A.N.C. are considering the submission of
something of the kind) I should have it returned at once to the sender, as being none of my business. But letting people come and see me is quite another matter. Dr. Verwoerd has kindly arranged for me to meet leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition Parties, which I very much appreciate. But it is generally known (and was mentioned in questions—which I evaded—at my Press Conference in Pretoria yesterday) that the Liberal Party and the A.N.C. have both said they would like to meet me. As I understand it, both of them are legal political associations: and I have had opportunities to meet what might be regarded as their equivalents in all the other African countries I have visited on this tour. I feel therefore it would be quite impossible for me to say that I was for my part unwilling to see them—though of course I would not see them without Dr. Verwoerd's agreement.

I am Dr. Verwoerd's guest and I am in his hands. My difficulty is that if he should feel it impossible to agree that I should see anyone from those Parties I fear I should eventually have to indicate when questioned in Parliament or by the Press that this was the reason. I would of course do so as tactfully as I could, consonant with making my own position clear; but I am moved by an awareness of how much credit would accrue to South Africa in the United Kingdom if it were possible for me to say that I had seen these people with the approval of the Union Government, to suggest that it would be valuable if Dr. Verwoerd and I could discuss the matter before any final decisions are taken.

On 30th January, during an aircraft journey from Durban to Pretoria, Mr. Louw told the High Commissioner that he was most reluctant to forward this letter to Dr. Verwoerd. It would be a great shock to him and would affect the spirit in which Dr. Verwoerd would meet the Prime Minister at Cape Town. Dr. Verwoerd would, he knew, be strongly opposed to the suggestion that Mr. Macmillan should meet the representatives of the African National Congress. It was, in his opinion, a subversive organisation and many of its leaders had Communist leanings. It was closely akin to the Congress Parties which had been banned in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and elsewhere. It position would be greatly strengthened if the Prime Minister saw its representatives. It would be much better if the Prime Minister would content himself with seeing representatives of the non-Government Parties in the Union Parliament. This was the line which the Union Government had taken in arranging the programme: it was a defensible line: and Mr. Louw hoped very much that the Prime Minister would fall in with it. In these circumstances he hoped that the Prime Minister would agree to withdraw his letter of 28th January.

The gist of this conversation was reported to the Prime Minister in the aircraft. He said that he was unwilling to withdraw his letter, but would be ready to discuss the matter with Mr. Louw on the following day.

The Prime Minister saw Mr. Louw at Libertas, Pretoria, at 10 a.m. on Sunday, 31st January. In this discussion Mr. Louw repeated the arguments which he had deployed to the High Commissioner on the previous evening. He went on to argue that it would be inappropriate for Mr. Macmillan to concern himself, during this visit, with the internal politics of the Union. If Mr. Macmillan were visiting a foreign country, he would not think it his duty to see all the political leaders outside the Government who asked to see him. It would be a reflection on the independence of the Union if he took a different line there merely because South Africa was a member of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Minister said that he could not accept this argument. Moreover, he was doubtful whether the Union Government would be wise, in their own interest, to appear to be preventing him from hearing the views of their political opponents. This was likely to become a matter of public controversy, certainly in the United Kingdom; and, if he were questioned about it on his return, it would be difficult for him to avoid implying that, in declining these requests, he had been deferring to the wishes of the Union Government. For these reasons he thought that this was a matter which he must discuss with Dr. Verwoerd himself; and, that being so, he saw no reason to withdraw his letter of 28th January.

After his arrival in Cape Town, Mr. Macmillan had a private talk about this with Dr. Verwoerd. From this it appeared that Dr. Verwoerd felt very strongly that Mr. Macmillan should not meet representatives of the African National Congress and that it would be both more logical, and more convenient for the
Union Government, if he confined himself to seeing leaders of the Opposition Parties represented in the Union Parliament. It was also evident that Dr. Verwoerd would be much upset if Mr. Macmillan implied, in any public statement, that he would have liked to see these people but had been prevented from doing so by the Union Government. Dr. Verwoerd felt very strongly that the distinction between Parties which were represented in the Union Parliament and those which were not was a logical distinction on which both he and Mr. Macmillan could jointly take their stand. He offered to arrange for Mr. Macmillan to see, not only the leaders of the United and Progressive Parties, but also Mr. Bloomberg (a Cape Coloured Member) and Mrs. Ballinger (the "Native" representative in Parliament).

On reflection Mr. Macmillan decided that this matter was less important than the content of his Cape Town speech. He intended, in that speech, to make a plain statement of the policy followed by the United Kingdom Government on race relations in territories for which they were responsible, and to imply that the United Kingdom Government could not endorse the racial policy of the Union Government. He thought it more important, from the point of view of public opinion at home, that he should be uncompromising about this in his speech than that he should persist in seeing representatives of the African National Congress against the wishes of the Union Government. He thought it inexpedient to risk giving serious offence to the Union Government on both points, while he was their guest; and he came to the conclusion that it would be wiser to defer to their wishes in respect of the proposed deputation from the African National Congress. He deferred his decision on the precise terms of his reply until he had been able to judge the reception of his speech.

On 4th February Mr. Macmillan wrote to the Secretary-General of the African National Congress in the following terms:

"I have read with interest the letter which you addressed to me on 25th January. I am obliged to you for giving me a statement of the views of your Party, but I regret I am not able to accede to your request that I should receive a deputation.

I have received a number of requests from different groups who wished to put their views to me in person. The arrangements which have been made for my brief visit to South Africa have not, however, enabled me to receive any deputations from organisations not represented in Parliament.

As you will be aware from reports of my speech in Cape Town on 3rd February, I have already expressed my views at length on some of the matters you raise in your letter."

Letters in similar terms were sent to the representatives of other Parties, not represented in the Union Parliament, which had asked him to receive deputations.

On 3rd February, Mr. Macmillan had seen the leaders of the United Party and the Progressive Party. Records of these two discussions are included in this print. He had also taken the opportunity, at the High Commissioner’s garden party on 2nd February, to have talks with Mrs. Ballinger who sits in the Union Parliament as the "Native" representative, Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Editor of Contact and a well-known Liberal, and the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, Archbishop of Cape Town.

Finally, on 5th February, he had a brief formal meeting with members of the Government-appointed Cape Coloured Board. A record of that meeting is also included in this print.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Meeting

In their private discussion on 4th February, Dr. Verwoerd asked Mr. Macmillan to advise him whether he should raise, on a hypothetical basis, at the May meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, the question whether South Africa could remain within the Commonwealth if she became a republic. Mr. Macmillan decided, on reflection, that it would be easier to give advice on this point orally than to deal with it by telegram after he left the Union. He therefore spoke to Dr. Verwoerd about it in a further private conversation which he had with him on the morning of 5th February. In this talk he took the line that, as a matter of procedure, it would be in accordance with precedent that this question should be raised with the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers at a meeting, on a
hypothetical basis, before the constitutional change had been introduced in the Union. And he put this as a special reason why Dr. Verwoerd should attend the May meeting.

At the end of their talk Dr. Verwoerd said that he would be grateful if he could have this advice in writing. After the civic luncheon on 5th February, immediately before he left Groote Schuur, Mr. Macmillan handed to Dr. Verwoerd a letter marked "private and confidential" in the following terms:

"I promised to try to put into writing what I said to you this morning about the procedural questions relating to the Union's remaining within the Commonwealth if it becomes a republic.

All other countries which have remained within the Commonwealth as republics have asked, before taking the formal step of constituting a republic, whether the other members would be content that they should remain thereafter in the Commonwealth. If therefore it is likely that the Union will become a republic within, say, the next two years, it would be in accordance with precedent if the matter were raised at the May meeting on a hypothetical basis. I realise that in your case there is in a sense a double hypothesis, first that the country will vote for a republic and secondly that having become a republic it will desire to remain in the Commonwealth. Nevertheless there would be advantage in raising the matter in May, when it can be done orally rather than leaving it to be settled by correspondence at a later date.

I venture to repeat that this is an additional reason why I hope that you will be able to come in person. But in any event this will be an important meeting, (a) politically, because it will immediately precede the Summit meeting; and (b) constitutionally, because it will decide whether Ghana should remain in the Commonwealth after becoming a republic and whether Nigeria should be admitted to full Commonwealth membership on attaining independence.

Moreover, as I told you, I would feel it would be a great advantage if at such a meeting you and I and, say, Menzies and Diefenbaker and Nash could have informal talks together about all these problems. I am sure we will all gain.

I shall be glad if you will regard this as a private and confidential letter. It would be a great inconvenience if what I have said were made known in any way, either directly or indirectly."

MAIN POLICY SPEECH


It is a great privilege to be invited to address the Members of both Houses of Parliament in the Union of South Africa. It is a unique privilege to do so in 1960 just half a century after the Parliament of the Union came to birth. I am most grateful to you all for giving me this opportunity and I am especially grateful to your Prime Minister who invited me to visit this country and arranged for me to address you here to-day. My tour of Africa—parts of Africa—the first ever made by a British Prime Minister in office, is now alas nearing its end, but it is fitting that it should culminate in the Union Parliament here in Cape Town, in this historic city so long Europe's gateway to the Indian Ocean, and to the East.

As in all the other countries that I have visited my stay has been all too short. I wish it had been possible for me to spend a longer time here, to see more of your beautiful country and to get to know more of your people, but in the past week I have travelled many hundreds of miles and met many people in all walks of life. I have been able to get at least some idea of the great beauty of your countryside, with its farms and its forests, mountains and rivers, and the clear skies and wide horizons of the veldt. I have also seen some of your great and thriving cities, and I am most grateful to your Government for all the trouble they have taken in
making the arrangements which have enabled me to see so much in so short a time. Some of the younger members of my staff have told me that it has been a heavy programme, but I can assure you that my wife and I have enjoyed every moment of it. Moreover, we have been deeply moved by the warmth of our welcome. Wherever we have been in town or in country, we have been received in a spirit of friendship and affection which has warmed our hearts, and we value this the more because we know it is an expression of your goodwill, not just to ourselves but to all the people of Britain.

It is, as I have said, a special privilege for me to be here in 1960 when you are celebrating what I might call the golden wedding of the Union. At such a time it is natural and right that you should pause to take stock of your position, to look back at what you have achieved, to look forward to what lies ahead.

In the 50 years of their nationhood the people of South Africa have built a strong economy founded upon a healthy agriculture and thriving and resilient industries. During my visit I have been able to see something of your mining industry, on which the prosperity of the country is so firmly based. I have seen your Iron and Steel Corporation and visited your Council of Scientific and Industrial Research at Pretoria. These two bodies, in their different ways, are symbols of a lively, forward-looking and expanding economy. I have seen the great city of Durban, with its wonderful port, and the skyscrapers of Johannesburg, standing where 70 years ago there was nothing but the open veldt. I have seen, too, the fine cities of Pretoria and Bloemfontein. This afternoon I hope to see something of your wine-growing industry, which so far I have only admired as a consumer.

No one could fail to be impressed with the immense material progress which has been achieved. That all this has been accomplished in so short a time is a striking testimony to the skill, energy and initiative of your people. We in Britain are proud of the contribution we have made to this remarkable achievement. Much of it has been financed by British capital. According to the recent survey made by the Union Government, nearly two-thirds of the overseas investment outstanding in the Union at the end of 1956 was British. That is after two staggering wars which have bled our economy white.

But that is not all. We have developed trade between us to our common advantage, and our economies are now largely interdependent. You export to us raw materials, food and gold. We in return send you consumer goods or capital equipment. We take a third of all your exports and we supply a third of all your imports. This broad traditional pattern of investment and trade has been maintained in spite of the changes brought by the development of our two economies, and it gives me great encouragement to reflect that the economies of both our countries, while expanding rapidly, have yet remained interdependent and capable of sustaining one another. If you travel round this country by train you will travel on South African rails made by Iscor. If you prefer to fly you can go in a British Viscount. Here is a true partnership, living proof of the interdependence between nations. Britain has always been your best customer and, as your new industries develop, we believe that we can be your best partners too.

In addition to building this strong economy within your own borders, you have also played your part as an independent nation in the world.

As a soldier in the first world war, and as a Minister in Sir Winston Churchill's Government in the second, I know personally the value of the contribution which your forces made to victory in the cause of freedom. I know something too, of the inspiration which General Smuts brought to us in Britain in our darkest hours. Again in the Korean crisis you played your full part. Thus in the testing times of war or aggression your statesmen and your soldiers have made their influence felt far beyond the African continent.

In the period of reconstruction, when Dr. Malan was your Prime Minister, your resources greatly assisted the recovery of the sterling area. In the post-war world now, in the no less difficult tasks of peace, your leaders in industry, commerce and finance continue to be prominent in world affairs to-day. Your readiness to provide technical assistance to the less-well-developed parts of Africa is of immense help to the countries that receive it. It is also a source of strength to your friends in the Commonwealth and elsewhere in the Western world. You are collaborating in the work of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the

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Sahara, and now in the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Your Minister for External Affairs intends to visit Ghana later this year. All this proves your determination, as the most advanced industrial country of the continent, to play your part in the new Africa of today.

Sir, as I have travelled round the Union I have found everywhere, as I expected, a deep preoccupation with what is happening in the rest of the African continent. I understand and sympathise with your interest in these events, and your anxiety about them. Ever since the break up of the Roman Empire one of the constant facts of political life in Europe has been the emergence of independent nations. They have come into existence over the centuries in different forms, with different kinds of Government, but all have been inspired by a deep, keen feeling of nationalism which has grown as the nations have grown.

In the twentieth century and especially since the end of the war, the processes which gave birth to the nation States of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other Power. Fifteen years ago this movement spread through Asia. Many countries there of different races and civilisations pressed their claim to an independent national life. To-day the same thing is happening in Africa and the most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this continent and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.

Of course you understand this better than anyone. You are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism, and here in Africa you have yourselves created a new nation. Indeed, in the history of our times yours will be recorded as the first of the African nationalisms, and this tide of national consciousness which is now rising in Africa is a fact for which you and we and the other nations of the Western world are ultimately responsible. For its causes are to be found in the achievements of Western civilisation, in the pushing forward of the frontiers of knowledge, in the applying of science in the service of human needs, in the expanding of food production, in the speeding and multiplying of the means of communication, and perhaps, above all, the spread of education.

As I have said, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we must come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends. The world to-day is divided into three main groups. First there are the Western Powers. You in South Africa and we in Britain belong to this group, together with our friends and Allies in other parts of the Commonwealth. In the United States and in Europe we call it the Free World. Secondly there are the Communists—Russia and her Satellites in Europe and China whose population will rise by the end of the next 10 years to the staggering total of 800 million. Thirdly, there are those parts of the world whose people are at present uncommitted either to Communism or to our Western ideas.

In this context we think first of Asia and then of Africa. As I see it the great issue in this second half of the Twentieth Century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government that are now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice?

The struggle is joined and it is a struggle for the minds of men. What is now on trial is much more than our military strength or our diplomatic and administrative skill. It is our way of life. The uncommitted nations want to see before they choose.

What can we show them to help them choose right? Each of the independent members of the Commonwealth must answer that question for itself. It is a basic principle of our modern Commonwealth that we respect each other's sovereignty in matters of internal policy. At the same time we must recognise that in this shrinking world in which we live to-day the internal policies of one nation may have effects outside it. We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other "mind
your own business”, but in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs: “mind your own business but mind how it affects my business, too”.

Let me be very frank with you, my friends. What Governments and Parliaments in the United Kingdom have done since the war in according independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and Ghana, and what they will do for Nigeria and other countries now nearing independence, all this, though we take full and sole responsibility for it, we do in the belief that it is the only way to establish the future of the Commonwealth and of the Free World on sound foundations. All this of course is also of deep and close concern to you for nothing we do in this small world can be done in a corner or remain hidden. What we do to-day in West, Central and East Africa becomes known tomorrow to everyone in the Union, whatever his language, colour or traditions. Let me assure you, in all friendliness, that we are well aware of this and that we have acted and will act with full knowledge of the responsibility we have to all our friends.

Nevertheless I am sure you will agree that in our own areas of responsibility we must each do what we think right. What we think right derives from a long experience both of failure and success in the management of our own affairs. We have tried to learn and apply the lessons of our judgment of right and wrong. Our justice is rooted in the same soil as yours—in Christianity and in the rule of law as the basis of a free society. This experience of our own explains why it has been our aim in the countries for which we have borne responsibility, not only to raise the material standards of living, but also to create a society which respects the rights of individuals, a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature—and that must in our view include the opportunity to have an increasing share in political power and responsibility, a society in which individual merit and individual merit alone is the criterion for a man’s advancement, whether political or economic.

Finally in countries inhabited by several different races it has been our aim to find means by which the community can become more of a community, and fellowship can be fostered between its various parts. This problem is by no means confined to Africa. Nor is it always a problem of a European minority. In Malaya, for instance, though there are Indian and European minorities, Malays and Chinese make up the great bulk of the population, and the Chinese are not much fewer in numbers than the Malays. Yet these two peoples must learn to live together in harmony and unity and the strength of Malaya as a nation will depend on the different contributions which the two races can make.

The attitude of the United Kingdom towards this problem was clearly expressed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, speaking at the United Nations General Assembly on the 17th September, 1959. These were his words: “In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well being of these countries. We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy therefore is non-racial. It offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations”.

I have thought you would wish me to state plainly and with full candour the policy for which we in Britain stand. It may well be that in trying to do our duty as we see it we shall sometimes make difficulties for you. If this proves to be so we shall regret it. But I know that even so you would not ask us to flinch from doing our duty.

You, too, will do your duty as you see it. I am well aware of the peculiar nature of the problems with which you are faced here in the Union of South Africa. I know the differences between your situation and that of most of the other States in Africa. You have here some 3 million people of European origin. This country is their home. It has been their home for many generations. They have no other. The same is true of Europeans in Central and East Africa. In most other African States those who have come from Europe have come to work, to contribute their skills, perhaps to teach, but not to make a home.

The problems to which you as members of the Union Parliament have to address yourselves are very different from those which face the Parliaments of countries with homogenous populations. These are complicated and baffling.
problems. It would be surprising if your interpretation of your duty did not sometimes produce very different results from ours in terms of Government policies and actions.

As a fellow member of the Commonwealth it is our earnest desire to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect. I think we ought, as friends, to face together, without seeking to apportion credit or blame, the fact that in the world of to-day this difference of outlook lies between us.

I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can also claim to be speaking as a relation, for we Scots can claim family connexions with both the great European sections of your population, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking as well. This is a point which hardly needs emphasis in Cape Town where you can see every day the statue of that great Scotsman, Andrew Murray. His work in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape, and the work of his son in the Orange Free State, was among Afrikaans-speaking people. There has always been a very close connexion between the Church of Scotland and the Church of the Netherlands. The Synod of Dort plays the same great part in the history of both. Many aspirants to the Ministry of Scotland, especially in the 17th and 18th Centuries, went to pursue their theological studies in the Netherlands. Scotland can claim to have repaid the debt in South Africa. I am thinking particularly of the Scots in the Orange Free State. Not only the younger Andrew Murray, but also the Robertsons, the Frasers, the McDonaldis—families which have been called the Free State clans who become burghers of the old Free State and whose descendants still play their part there.

But though I count myself a Scot my mother was an American, and the United States provides a valuable illustration of one of the main points which I have been trying to make in my remarks to-day. Its population, like yours, is of different strains and over the years most of those who have gone to North America have gone there in order to escape conditions in Europe which they found intolerable. The Pilgrim Fathers were fleeing from persecution as Puritans and the Marylanders from persecution as Roman Catholics. Throughout the 19th Century a stream of immigrants flowed across the Atlantic to escape from poverty in their homelands, and in the 20th Century the United States have provided asylum for the victims of political oppression in Europe.

Thus for the majority of its inhabitants America has been a place of refuge, of place to which people went because they wanted to get away from Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that for so many years a main objective of American statesmen, supported by the American public, was to isolate themselves from Europe, and with their great material strength, and the vast resources open to them, this might have seemed an attractive and practicable course. Nevertheless in the two world wars of this century they have found themselves unable to stand aside. Twice their manpower in arms has streamed back across the Atlantic to shed its blood in those European struggles from which their ancestors thought they would escape by emigrating to the New World; and when the second war was over they were forced to recognise that in the small world of to-day isolationism is out of date and offers no assurance of security.

The fact is that in this modern world no country, not even the greatest, can live for itself alone. Nearly 2,000 years ago, when the whole of the civilised world was comprised within the confines of the Roman Empire, St. Paul proclaimed one of the great truths of history—we are all members one of another. During this 20th Century that eternal truth has taken on a new and exciting significance. It has always been impossible for the individual man to live in isolation from his fellows, in the home, the tribe, the village, or the city. To-day it is impossible for nations to live in isolation from one another. What Dr. John Donne said of individual men 300 years ago is true to-day of my country, your country, and all the countries of the world:

"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

All nations now are interdependent one upon another and this is generally realised throughout the Western world. I hope in due course the countries of Communism will recognise it too.
It was certainly with that thought in mind that I took the decision to visit Moscow about this time last year. Russia has been isolationist in her time and still has tendencies that way, but the fact remains that we must live in the same world with Russia and we must find a way of doing so. I believe that the initiative which we took last year has had some success, although grave difficulties may arise. Nevertheless, I think nothing but good can come out of its extending contacts between individuals, contacts in trade and from the exchange of visitors.

I certainly do not believe in refusing to trade with people because you may happen to dislike the way they manage their internal affairs at home. Boycotts will never get you anywhere, and may I say in parenthesis that I deplore the attempts that are being made today in Britain to organise the consumer boycott of South African goods. It has never been the practice, as far as I know, of any Government of the United Kingdom of whatever complexion to undertake or support campaigns of this kind designed to influence the internal politics of another Commonwealth country, and my colleagues in the United Kingdom deplore this proposed boycott and regard it as undesirable from every point of view. It can only have serious effects on Commonwealth relations, on trade, and lead to the ultimate detriment of others than those against whom it is aimed.

I said I was speaking of the interdependence of nations. The members of the Commonwealth feel particularly strongly the value of interdependence. They are as independent as any nation in this shrinking world can be, but they have voluntarily agreed to work together. They recognise that there may be and must be differences in their institutions; in their internal policies, and their membership does not imply the wish to express a judgment on these matters, or the need to impose a stifling uniformity. It is, I think, a help that there has never been question of any rigid constitution for the Commonwealth. Perhaps this is because we have got on well enough in the United Kingdom without a written constitution and tend to look suspiciously at them. Whether that is so or not, it is quite clear that a rigid constitutional framework for the Commonwealth would not work. At the first of the stresses and strains which are inevitable in this period of history, cracks would appear in the framework and the whole structure would crumble. It is the flexibility of our Commonwealth institutions which gives them their strength.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear I have kept you a long time. I much welcome the opportunity to speak to this great audience. In conclusion may I say this. I have spoken frankly about the differences between our two countries in their approach to one of the great current problems with which each has to deal within its own sphere of responsibility. These differences are well-known. They are matters of public knowledge, indeed of public controversy, and I should have been less than honest if by remaining silent on them I had seemed to imply that they did not exist. But differences on one subject, important though it is, need not and should not impair our capacity to co-operate with one another in furthering the many practical interests which we share in common.

The independent members of the Commonwealth do not always agree on every subject. It is not a condition of their association that they should do so. On the contrary the strength of our Commonwealth lies largely in the fact that it is a free association of independent sovereign States, each responsible for ordering its own affairs but co-operating in the pursuit of common aims and purposes in world affairs. Moreover these differences may be transitory. In time they may be resolved. Our duty is to see them in perspective against the background of our long association. Of this at any rate I am certain—those of us who by grace of the electorate are temporarily in charge of affairs in your country and in mine, we fleeting transient phantoms in the great stage of history, we have no right to sweep aside on this account the friendship that exists between our countries, for that is the legacy of history. It is not ours alone to deal with as we wish. To adapt a famous phrase, it belongs to those who are living, but it also belongs to those who are dead and to those who are yet unborn. We must face the differences, but let us try to see beyond them down the long vista of the future.

I hope—and indeed, I am confident—that in another 50 years we shall look back on the differences that exist between us now as matters of historical interest, for as time passes and one generation yields to another, human problems change and fade. Let us remember these truths. Let us resolve to build not to destroy, and let us remember always that weakness comes from division, strength from unity.
No. 2 DESPATCH FROM UNITED KINGDOM HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

My Lord,

Cape Town, 18th February, 1960.

I have the honour to submit an account of the visit to the Union of the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan from 27th January to 5th February and of the effect which the visit, and particularly the Prime Minister's address to Parliament, has had on this country. The dust has still to settle, but one can already say that Mr. Macmillan's visit is probably the most important event in South Africa since the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948. It has had a tremendous impact on all sections of South African public opinion and the net result must have been an unexpected disappointment, not to say shock, to Dr. Verwoerd and the National Party.

2. Your Lordship will recall that, on your instructions, I first explained the idea of the Prime Minister's proposed tour to Dr. Verwoerd on the 9th November. Before this interview I had some doubt about his reactions, though I felt that on balance he would be persuaded by the advantages from his own point of view of welcoming the Prime Minister as well as by fear of embarrassment if a visit to Commonwealth countries in Africa, including Ghana, Nigeria and the Federation, omitted the Union. In fact, Dr. Verwoerd's reaction was immediately favourable. He said that he was becoming increasingly aware of the closeness and importance of ties between the United Kingdom and the Union (characteristically he did not speak of Commonwealth ties) and that he would very much welcome an opportunity for personal discussions on matters of common interest, which could better be held here than in London where Mr. Macmillan's time would inevitably be more precious. He also responded favourably to the more general idea of the Prime Minister's tour of Africa, which he seemed to see chiefly as a shrewd move to get in before Mr. Khrushchev. He wondered indeed whether the Prime Minister should not consider extending the tour to include some non-Commonwealth countries.

3. In welcoming the visit the principal conditions in Dr. Verwoerd's mind were that the Prime Minister should spend at least as long in the Union as elsewhere and that, though he did not mind the Union coming at the end, it should be seen as the culmination of the tour. Though Mr. Macmillan did not feel able to use this word in the official announcement of his intended visit, Dr. Verwoerd got what he wanted, though the world-wide impact of the Prime Minister's address to the Union Parliament in Cape Town can hardly have been the kind of culmination that he had had in mind.

4. In retrospect it is now fairly clear why Dr. Verwoerd initially welcomed the visit and what he hoped to get out of it. He set the tone in his own announcement on the 18th November, in which he said that the fact that the Union Government, "committed to the earliest possible establishment of a republic", had issued an invitation to Mr. Macmillan, was the best possible proof of South Africa's desire to maintain and promote friendship and co-operation with Britain, "whatever the constitutional position". Shortly after becoming Prime Minister, he said, he had indicated that a visit by the British Prime Minister would be welcome. It would create an opportunity for personal top level discussions of problems and future developments affecting both countries. The impression which Dr. Verwoerd sought to convey in this statement was that he, Dr. Verwoerd, had taken the initiative, that he was inviting the Prime Minister on his, Dr. Verwoerd's, terms and that the Prime Minister himself had tacitly accepted these terms. It was a corollary of this presentation that from the beginning Dr. Verwoerd consistently emphasised the importance of the private conversations which he would have with the Prime Minister and implied that the latter was coming to see him rather than South Africa. This line, faithfully reflected and elaborated in the Nationalist Press, which developed a sudden warmth in speaking of relations between the Union and the United Kingdom Government, was no doubt intended to create a climate of opinion, especially among Afrikanders, which would look upon the visit as a diplomatic success for Dr. Verwoerd and even as a deliberate conciliatory gesture on the part of Britain. It was also no doubt intended to convey to English-speaking South Africans that relations between the two countries would be unaffected by South Africa becoming a republic.

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5. I think there is little doubt that Dr. Verwoerd succeeded to a considerable extent in conditioning public opinion along these lines. By the time the Prime Minister arrived in the Union an atmosphere had been created in which the meaning of the visit would almost certainly have been misunderstood to Dr. Verwoerd's advantage, if the Prime Minister had not in his address to Parliament made it explicitly clear where he stood. Dr. Verwoerd would have been able to claim that Mr. Macmillan had bestowed some kind of tacit blessing upon the Nationalist Government and that, even if he could not approve of all its policies, he was, like Field Marshal Montgomery, in favour of giving it a chance. This would of course have been a major success for Dr. Verwoerd in breaking out of the circle of isolation and world censure into which he and his Party have worked themselves over the past years, and which has of late been manifest in increasingly disturbing ways—at the United Nations, in the boycott campaign and in criticism showered upon the Union not only in the overseas Press but also by the Governments of some nominally friendly countries, such as the Netherlands.

6. Dr. Verwoerd's intention was to divide the programme for the visit between Pretoria, the Union's administrative capital, with excursions to the adjacent sources of industrial and mineral wealth in the Transvaal, and Cape Town, the legislative capital, where Parliament would be in session and Dr. Verwoerd would be able to get down to his personal top level talks with Mr. Macmillan. The only other fixture on which the Union authorities later set their heart was a visit to a Native Reserve, where the Prime Minister could be shown something of the new pattern of "Bantu authorities". Although the Union authorities were not unaccommodating, and although they readily recognised that Mr. Macmillan would feel obliged to pay a brief visit to at least one of the High Commission Territories, we had a long struggle to secure the inclusion in the programme of all the Territories and of Natal (to be balanced by a visit to the Free State) which Dr. Verwoerd evidently considered an unnecessary complication. In the end the programme was as satisfactory as we could reasonably have hoped, given the relatively short length of the visit, and though there was some criticism that Mr. Macmillan was not able to spend longer in Natal or to visit its capital, Pietermaritzburg, the itinerary went as far as was practicable to avoid offence to anyone.

7. The Prime Minister and his party arrived in Pretoria in the early afternoon on the 27th January, after having stopped for two hours in Francistown in the Bechuanaland Protectorate on their way from Salisbury by air. For the first five days Mr. Macmillan was based on Pretoria, staying at Dr. Verwoerd's official residence, "Libertas", which was placed at his disposal. During this time he visited mining and industrial developments on the Rand, Bantu housing outside Johannesburg and a Native Reserve in the Northern Transvaal, where he was received with elaborate and somewhat artificial ceremony, and where he was also able to see the Bantu University College under construction at Turfloop. On the Rand Mr. Macmillan's social engagements included lunch with the Chamber of Mines and a cocktail party given by the Mayor of Johannesburg. In Pretoria he visited the Voortrekker Monument, the Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor) and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. He also attended a cocktail party given by the Administrator of the Transvaal. At a private dinner party in my house he was able to meet and talk to some leading figures in the Transvaal, including Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, an Afrikaans industrialist, and the Editors of the "Star" and an influential Afrikaans newspaper. On the 30th January he paid a two-hour visit to Swaziland by air and car via Piet Retief and flew from there to Durban for an afternoon reception at King's House, given by the Administrator of Natal. Lady Dorothy's leg injury prevented her from accompanying the Prime Minister during the first two days.

8. After a day free of official engagements on Sunday, 31st January, the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy flew to Cape Town on the 1st February, stopping on the way for brief visits to Bloemfontein, capital of the Free State, and Maseru in Basutoland. At D.F. Malan Airport they were formally welcomed by Dr. Verwoerd, who sent Mr. Louw north to represent him during the first half of the tour. The 3½ days in Cape Town were physically less demanding, there being no travelling beyond a visit to Stellenbosch and Paarl, an hour's drive from Cape Town, and a scenic tour of the Peninsula. The social engagements
included a State Dinner at Cape Town Castle, a lunch with the Mayor of Cape Town, tea with the Administrator of the Cape Province and a Garden Party at High Commission House. The highlight was of course the Prime Minister's address to the Members of both Houses in the dining room of the Parliament building. This relatively uncrowded public programme allowed two mornings and an evening for talks with Dr. Verwoerd, a dinner with the Union Cabinet at Groote Schuur (Dr. Verwoerd's residence at which the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy were his guests) and a private dinner with Dr. Verwoerd. The latter made available his own room in the Assembly building for the Prime Minister to talk to the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, and leaders of the Progressive Party, Dr. Steytler and Mr. Harry Lawrence. Lady Dorothy paid a visit on her own to the Malay Quarter in Cape Town. The Prime Minister, who had received the Press on his first arrival in Pretoria, gave a Press conference on the morning of his departure on the 5th February.

9. All these engagements, including the numerous shorter speeches which the Prime Minister made during his tour, received the fullest publicity from both sections of the Press, who commented with warmth and admiration on his stamina, good humour and diplomatic skill. The security arrangements were elaborate, the police being very much in evidence throughout the tour. The Union authorities also, with some exceptions, withheld from the public advance information about Mr. Macmillan's precise movements, mainly with the intention of frustrating a campaign announced by the African National Congress to picket the route with slogan-bearing supporters and impress upon the visitors that they were not meeting "the people" and that the Africans had "never had it so bad". These security precautions inevitably limited opportunities for public demonstrations of feeling. But where occasion offered, as in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, not to mention the High Commission Territories, there was an impressive turnout and scenes of great enthusiasm not only from white South Africans but, when Mr. Macmillan visited the townships near Johannesburg, from thronging Africans as well. The climax was reached when the Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy made their farewell drive to the docks to board the Cape Town Castle. Most of this popular enthusiasm no doubt came from the English-speaking part of the population; a part, at least, of the acclamation in Cape Town was contributed by United Kingdom citizens temporarily or permanently in the Cape; and there was probably an element of old-fashioned jingoism in some of the clamour. But there is no doubt that Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy also earned the respect and in some cases the affection of Afrikanders as well. The Prime Minister's numerous short addresses throughout the country, of which the main themes were the pace of change, the interdependence of nations and the importance of the Commonwealth, were felicitously attuned to his different audiences and invariably made a notable impact.

10. I mentioned earlier the regrets in Natal that Mr. Macmillan did not spend longer in the Province. The other chief criticism of his programme was that it did not permit him to meet political leaders from outside Parliament, that is to say, of the non-Europeans and Liberal Party. The Liberals received some consolation from private talks with Mr. Macmillan during my Garden Party. But although pressed by the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd was adamant in resisting his suggestion that he should meet leaders of the African National Congress, though arrangements were made for him to call upon the totally unrepresentative Coloured Advisory Council in Cape Town, at which the Prime Minister made it clear in a short address that he was speaking through them to the coloured community as a whole. The omission from the programme of any opportunity to hear the views of African leaders other than the officially approved chiefs at the tribal gathering in the Northern Transvaal was a subject of adverse comment in United Kingdom newspapers as well as in liberal circles in the Union. But most of this criticism fell away after the Prime Minister's address to Parliament.

11. I shall not try to recapitulate in this despatch the record of Mr. Macmillan's talks with Dr. Verwoerd. I should observe, however, that the attitude of Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Louw and the subjects they raised were fully consistent with the analysis, with which this despatch began, of Dr. Verwoerd's attitude to the visit. Apart from the perennial chestnuts (like Mr. Louw's desire to deal direct with the Foreign Secretary and to be excluded from no discussions on Africa) and ad hoc topics (like the Union's candidature for the Security Council),
Dr. Verwoerd's chief preoccupations were, first, to secure United Kingdom support for the Union's ambitions to play a fuller part in Africa; secondly, to draw out the Prime Minister on the subject of the republic; and thirdly to press for prior consultation about political and economic developments in the High Commission Territories, and for an opportunity to explain Union policy to their inhabitants. His remarks on the first topic were staggering in their lack of realism. The Union, he said, was the one solid foundation in Africa on which the West could build. But its influence with other African States was being seriously impaired by lack of support from the United Kingdom and the United States. If they would only show greater confidence in what the Union Government were doing to further the Western cause throughout Africa and if only the "prejudices" against the Union among new African States could be overcome, the Union Government could help these States and bind them more closely to the Western cause. It would therefore be helpful if the United Kingdom could now show more sympathetic understanding of the motives and intentions of the Union Government in Africa. This line is of course not new, but it is remarkable that South African Ministers should have thought that they could seriously present it to the Prime Minister at a time when both official and public opinion in London and in the world point so clearly in the opposite direction. The Prime Minister was obliged to warn Dr. Verwoerd at the same meeting that, far from supporting the Union in a campaign to extend its influence in Africa, we might have regretfully to stand aside when the apartheid issue next came before the United Nations. This conversation took place the day before the Prime Minister addressed Parliament and illustrates strikingly both the Union Government's lack of comprehension and the shock which Mr. Macmillan's frank statement of British policy must have caused Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues.

12. Dr. Verwoerd's purpose in raising the question of the republic was, as expected, to obtain assurances from Mr. Macmillan without, however, binding his own hands. Dr. Verwoerd gave no indication of his intentions about timing beyond enquiring whether it would be opportune to bring up the matter informally and hypothetically at the Prime Ministers' Conference in May to test the opinion of other members about a South African Republic remaining in the Commonwealth. He also asked Mr. Macmillan directly whether the British Government wished South Africa to stay in. Throughout this conversation Dr. Verwoerd was careful to express no explicit wish himself to preserve the Commonwealth connexion.

13. When the Prime Minister addressed the combined Houses of Parliament on the 3rd February, South Africa and the world outside probably still believed that the visit would pass off without controversy; and Dr. Verwoerd, though told beforehand of the lines on which Mr. Macmillan intended to speak, may still have cherished the illusion (which was so startlingly apparent in the private talks of the previous day) that he could manipulate the British Government into playing his game. Mr. Macmillan began his address with the themes that he had emphasised in earlier speeches: the "wind of change" throughout Africa, the force of African nationalism, the need to come to terms with it as a political fact, and the smallness of the world. After showing recognition of the Union's special problems deriving from its large European population with no other home but South Africa, he stated frankly and as a friend the United Kingdom's policy in the areas of Africa for which the British Government bore responsibility. In a world divided between the Western Powers, the Communist countries and the uncommitted nations, it was Britain's task not only to raise living standards but to create societies where men could grow to their full stature. This must include the opportunity to enjoy an increasing share of political power and responsibility. Individual merit alone should be the criterion of a man's political or economic advancement. Though it was the United Kingdom's earnest desire to give South Africa support and encouragement as a fellow member of the Commonwealth, there were some aspects of her policy which made it impossible for the United Kingdom to do this without being false to its own convictions. After giving the Union Government its only crumb of comfort by forthrightly condemning the boycott campaign, Mr. Macmillan concluded on the theme of the importance and fundamental strength of the Commonwealth which lay in flexible co-operation between independent countries pursuing common ends and purposes without obligation to agree on every subject. Present differences might be transitory; the friendship between the Union and the United Kingdom was the legacy of history and belonged to those yet unborn.
14. Mr. Macmillan was heard in almost complete silence, but there was warm applause at the end, though some of the Nationalist ranks forbore to join in it. When Dr. Verwoerd rose to reply the atmosphere was tense and some observers from the Press gallery reported that he was white with emotion. However, that may be, the task he chose to impose on himself was unenviable. Apart from the unpalatability of the contents of Mr. Macmillan’s speech he was faced with a direct personal challenge. He could have contented himself with a brief speech of acknowledgement, which some people thought would have been the wisest course. But he no doubt felt that he could not leave his supporters without a final word from himself and it would have been out of character for him to ignore a challenge to his debating skill. Considering the difficulties of replying *ex tempore* in such circumstances, his performance, though it sounded a little lame and harsh, was not uncreditable and seemed to delight his supporters. After a shaky start and a laboured joke, he made it clear that he did not share Mr. Macmillan’s view of Africa. He feared that British policy might well lead to disaster. There must be justice for the White man as well as for the Black. But though there was this difference between Britain and South Africa, who believed in “separate development”, the Union was with the West in resisting Communism and he hoped that good political and economic relations would continue with the United Kingdom. He did not mention the Commonwealth.

15. Apart from Dr. Verwoerd’s reply the only official comment so far on the Prime Minister’s speech has been an interview with Mr. Louw published by *Die Burger* on 8th February, in which he expressed his surprise that Mr. Macmillan should have seen fit to criticise South Africa’s internal affairs and wondered whether he would have behaved in this manner had the Union not been a Commonwealth country. In the same vein he also attacked those who had criticised the omission from the Prime Minister’s programme of any opportunity to meet representatives of the African National Congress and asked how the British Government would have reacted if the Prime Minister of South Africa, invited as an official guest, had asked to see Sir Oswald Mosley. Finally, he expressed the hope that Mr. Macmillan was not thinking of changing his views about the validity of Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter and expressed surprise that at his official Press conference he had avoided committing himself to continued support of South Africa on the apartheid item. On the 16th February Dr. Verwoerd was asked in a Parliamentary Question whether Mr. Louw had consulted him before making this statement and whether his views represented the position of the Union Government. Dr. Verwoerd evaded the question. But there is no doubt that the Union Cabinet as a whole bitterly resent the Prime Minister’s plain speaking.

16. The immediate reaction to Mr. Macmillan’s speech in both the English-speaking and Afrikaans Press was to recognise it as a major event for the Union and for Africa. Opposition newspapers, who are now representative more of the Progressive than of the United Party, welcomed its blunt realism wholeheartedly and proceeded to rub in its lesson that the Union, as a result of 12 years of Nationalist rule, now stood totally isolated. The United Party have not so far reacted officially to the speech, though unofficially they have warmly welcomed it as a blow to the Nationalists, while ignoring the implications for themselves.

17. The Afrikaans Press has been a particularly interesting object of study. For the first two days after the speech their reaction was unexpectedly mild. Since then, however, *Die Burger*, organ of the Cape Nationalists, in a daily sequence of articles, has adopted an increasingly sharp tone and apparently sought to create an atmosphere of crisis and of a parting of the ways. In an article headed “State of Emergency” it concluded that Britain had now placed herself firmly on the side of African nationalism and African self-government and that she was callously ready to sacrifice White interests in Africa for this policy. A later article objected to Mr. Macmillan’s high moral tone in explaining what was in fact an opportunist decision motivated by cold war considerations. Another article, “The End of an Illusion”, saw the speech as a warning to British communities in South Africa and elsewhere that, though they had been originally encouraged by past British Governments to settle in Africa in support of Britain’s Imperial Mission, they could now no longer expect British support or protection. *Die Burger*’s conclusion was that South Africans must now be ready to stand alone and cling together trusting to their own resources. Their differences of approach to the racial problem must take second place.
18. Other Afrikaans newspapers, including Die Transvaler, the Nationalist organ for the Transvaal and the Free State, with which Dr. Verwoerd is closely associated, have been notably more restrained than Die Burger. Indeed, their line has not perceptibly sharpened since their initial relatively conciliatory comments. In particular they have avoided giving any impression that Mr. Macmillan’s speech has faced the Union with a crisis. This is consistent with current belief that Dr. Verwoerd instructed the Transvaler (he is not in a position to instruct Die Burger) to remain as far as possible restrained and non-committal. It would seem probable that he wishes to have further time to gauge public opinion and to decide on the best tactics. Meanwhile Die Burger’s ballons d’essai may help him to decide whether a call of “backs to the wall” would succeed in creating a sense of common danger and common interest which could serve Nationalist ends and in particular help to secure a republican majority in the referendum.

19. It is still too early to judge either the effect of the speech on the general public or its likely consequences in terms of political tactics. I am told that Afrikanders on the platteland had expected something even stronger and saw nothing frightening or objectionable in the speech. At the opposite end some of the English community, who welcomed it as a personal triumph for a British Prime Minister, may be less enthusiastic when its meaning sinks in. But there is no doubt that public opinion, at any rate its thoughtful component, has been given a severe jolt and that intelligent South Africans of all political shades have been obliged to re-think their position; and some are already feeling the better for it. It is, however, too much to hope that this re-thinking, in the sense of a revaluation of policies and principles, extends to the Nationalist Party caucus. The evidence suggests that, though there is much cerebration, it is concentrated on internal political tactics. While he bides his time Dr. Verwoerd is doubtless pondering on how best to turn the present situation to his advantage and repair his prestige, now probably lower in the eyes of his Nationalist supporters than at any time since he became Prime Minister. His supporters in their turn are wondering how to corner the United Party and how best to harness the impact of the speech to the cause of republicanism.

20. Already Mr. Japie Basson, the ex-Nationalist Member for Namib in South-West Africa, had announced plans for forming a moderate Afrikaner Party which might work in harness with the United Party. Its prospects are doubtful, but his decision to canvass it at the present time must reflect the hope that a defection of Nationalists from Dr. Verwoerd’s leadership is now a serious possibility. Any such defections among the caucus would almost certainly spring from individual opportunism and personal resentment of Dr. Verwoerd rather than from a genuine clash of principle; indeed there have been rumours for many months that some of the Cape Nationalists under Dr. Dönges are awaiting their opportunity for a showdown.

21. I have mentioned these confusing cross-currents only to illustrate the greater fluidity into which South African politics seem to have been thrown. This is the result not only of the impact of the Prime Minister’s speech but also, among other things, of a gradual growth of scepticism during the past year about the practicability and tactical wisdom of the Bantustan plan with which Dr. Verwoerd had at first dazzled his supporters. But I must make it clear that in my opinion these intriguing possibilities derive in the main from tactical considerations. There is no sign that the Government intend to modify their present policies. Indeed it is more likely that they will intensify them. The Transvaler has significantly called for an acceleration of the pace of “separate development”. We must also be prepared for the possibility that our relations with the Union Government may become still less easy and even that the anti-Commonwealth faction in the Nationalist Party may grow. Dr. Verwoerd may be trying to gauge whether he could now obtain a majority for a republic outside the Commonwealth—of which Mr. Louw, among others, is rumoured to be an advocate and to which his interview with Die Burger may have been intended to point. If Dr. Verwoerd concludes that a republic outside the Commonwealth would not command majority support—he has been careful to mask his own preferences—he may now find himself in the difficulty that his own Party are less willing to back him in seeking a republic inside the Commonwealth. In other words, the Prime Minister’s speech may have upset the delicate balance of feeling within the Nationalist caucus on which Dr. Verwoerd’s recent decision to announce
the referendum was presumably based. It is not impossible, therefore, that the speech may have the paradoxical effect of forcing Dr. Verwoerd to postpone final decisions about the timing and status of the republic.

22. To sum up, Mr. Macmillan's visit has set South Africa in a ferment. There is no politically articulate section of the community which is not now engaged in some form of debate or reappraisal. The long-term results cannot be forecast, though they may indeed prove far-reaching. In the short term—and apart from its effect in the wider international context—the Prime Minister's visit has achieved the following important results:

(i) it has brought new and welcome realism into our relationship with the Union;
(ii) it has enormously encouraged the leaven of progressive and liberal opinion in the Union which seems at present to offer the main hope of progress towards a saner approach to race relations here;
(iii) it has done much to re-establish the faith of the African and coloured population of the Union in Britain and the Commonwealth;
(iv) it has, by putting our current differences of outlook into a historical context, most skilfully established the distinction between the present Nationalist Government and South Africa as a whole. This in itself is a real achievement, since it is South Africa's potential rather than her present which justifies the patience and perseverance devoted by the United Kingdom Government to our relations with the Union; but until the Prime Minister's speech no way had been found of making this distinction in a public statement.

23. I am sending copies of this despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioners in Salisbury and Accra.

I have, &c.

JOHN MAUD,