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CABINET

INDEPENDENCE OF TANGANYIKAMemorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies

In January I agreed with the Governors of the East African territories that the aim of policy should be the establishment of an East African Federation, although it would be essential to ensure that the territories entered federation as a result of the freely expressed desire of their inhabitants, and that the aim to establish federation should not prejudice the possibility of establishing stable Governments, particularly in Kenya.

2. I recently proposed to Mr. Nyerere that, at the constitutional conference in Tanganyika to be held this month, agreement should be reached on (a) the implementation by mid-May, 1961, of full internal self-government for Tanganyika, and (b) the issue of a statement, which would set a notional date for Tanganyika's independence, subject to its possibly having to be adjusted if in the light of subsequent events it should prove practicable to lay definite plans for an East African Federation.

3. I then found that Mr. Nyerere had revised his earlier plans for achieving federation before any of the East African territories achieved independence individually. He proposed instead that Tanganyika should go forward to independence separately, although eventually he hoped to achieve federation but that, meanwhile, Tanganyika's links with the East Africa High Commission should be preserved in order to assist in that aim.

4. I see no alternative now to accepting Mr. Nyerere's view that an early date should be set for the independence of Tanganyika by itself, leaving the prospects of federation to develop, if possible, thereafter. I therefore have it in mind to agree at the conference that Tanganyika should achieve full internal self-government in April, 1961. Mr. Nyerere, as leader of the Government, would like to be designated "Prime Minister" at that stage, but I still hope to persuade him that he should be designated "Premier".

5. Mr. Nyerere is likely to represent the importance to his position of fixing a date for independence before the end of 1961. I am reluctant to concede such an early date, because of its likely repercussions in Kenya and Uganda, and also because of the difficulties in working out so

soon the nature of the future relationship between an independent Tanganyika and the East Africa High Commission. I shall aim to reach agreement at the conference on a date for independence one year from the conference, i. e., in March, 1962; but, since I would not want to impose a solution in Tanganyika, I may in the last resort, if it is not possible otherwise to reach agreement, consider bringing forward the date to 31st December, 1961. It will be necessary to get a resolution terminating the Trusteeship Agreement passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations; but, providing Mr. Nyerere is satisfied, I do not foresee undue difficulty in getting their agreement either to March, 1962 or December, 1961.

6. Mr. Nyerere wishes Tanganyika to remain in the High Commission structure, including the Central Legislative Assembly, and regards the maintenance of the Common Market as vital. It is not possible simply to maintain the status quo, since the Commission is a "colonial" institution subordinated to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. We have, therefore, to devise some other solution which is practicable, preserves the substance of existing arrangements as far as possible, does not prejudice the discharge of our responsibilities for Uganda and Kenya, and will be defensible in the United Nations as not derogating from the sovereignty of Tanganyika. I am now working on a solution to establish a new joint organisation by Agreement between Kenya and Uganda (acting with the authority of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom) and independent Tanganyika. There are difficulties in this scheme, but I hope to find a means of avoiding falling back on the alternative of keeping the High Commission in being for Kenya and Uganda only, with independent Tanganyika using its services on an agency basis.

7. My proposals generally have been endorsed by the Colonial Policy Committee.

8. I now invite my colleagues to agree that at the March conference I should agree that Tanganyika will become independent not later than the spring of 1962; and to take note of the lines on which I am trying to work out a solution to the problem of the relationship between independent Tanganyika and a regional organisation akin to the East Africa High Commission.

I. M.

Colonial Office, S. W. 1.

3rd March, 1961.

