

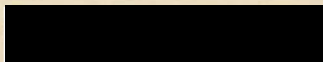
Class A



1st
Page

MARGARET RATCLIFFE.

BORN



4 THORNCROFT DRIVE, GLASGOW. S. 4.

KING'S PARK SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL, GLASGOW. S. 4.

What would you consider to be the main advantages and disadvantages (if any) of remaining within the Commonwealth for (a) a non-self-governing territory approaching independence, and (b) an independent country of the Commonwealth and Empire?

SUMMARY.

The Commonwealth represents a family; Dominions being the older children and Colonies the less mature.

Every community is motivated by the same desires as its constituent members.

The main motive for leaving the Commonwealth is nationalism; for nationalism takes no notice of economic or political benefits. Once nationalism has abated, there is no disadvantage in remaining within the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth membership gives protection

from internal disorder and external aggression. There are also benefits in the way of weapons and training.

The advisability of being a member of the Commonwealth because of its close cultural contacts with other peoples. view?

British governmental institutions are a guide to the inexperienced.

The Commonwealth bond strengthens economic stability. Technical and monetary aid is available, and trade is helped by Imperial Preference. Withdrawal from the sterling Commonwealth could lead to a disruption of economy.

Many similarities between Dominions and Colonies. Advantage of external pacts without a consequential withdrawal from the Commonwealth. The ties of trade and economy are equally strong for the Dominions. The Commonwealth gives its members a power and prestige which they would not otherwise have.

The importance of the Commonwealth as a link between East and West.



THE COMMONWEALTH.

INTRODUCTION.

"In the Commonwealth, our relations, one with another, are not so very different from those which exist between the members of any family.

"We all know that these are not always easy, for there is no law within a family which binds its members to think, or act, or be alike.

"And surely it is this very freedom of choice and decision which gives exceptional value to friendship in times of stress and disagreement. Such friendship is a gift for which we are often truly and rightly grateful."

H.M. the Queen
in her 1956

CHRISTMAS
BROADCAST.

In the Commonwealth family the older children, the Dominions, have set up house for themselves, while the less mature, the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Protected States, are still in varying stages of dependence upon the United Kingdom.

In any family the children are individuals, each with its own problems, urges and ambitions, its jealousies, and its outside friendships and enmities. In the ordinary course of development most have a longing for independence, and the right to

settle their own affairs. Mutual goodwill depends upon the time when independence is granted.

2.

Any community consists of individuals and collectively is motivated by the same desires as its constituent members. These are the wish for economic prosperity, for security and for power; a love of freedom and self-expression; and the necessity for a feeling of self-respect.

Can these desires best be attained by maintaining links with, or by severing all connections from, the family?

NATIONALISM.

"Nationalism is a very powerful thing and all sorts of people are prepared to give up economic advantages for its sake."

Joseph
Grimond M.P.
broadcasting
on 8.1.57.

However much disguised by economic or cultural motives, the underlying cause for any urge to leave the Commonwealth is nationalism.

Love of country is today one of the most powerful motivating forces which exists, and it provides a simple slogan which can arouse the passions of unthinking

people so that they act against their own economic and social interests.

3.

"Again it is the consciousness of kind, and nothing else, which distinguishes social conduct, as such, from purely economic, purely political, or purely religious conduct; for in actual life it constantly interferes with the theoretically perfect operation of the economic, political, or religious motive."

Prof. Liddings
in
"PRINCIPLES OF
SOCIOLOGY."

When independence is granted only after a bitter struggle, it may happen that the desire to gain self-respect by the militant nationalists will force the former territory to leave the Commonwealth. The moment of parting is the crucial one. If time and tolerance are allowed to work, the likelihood of separation will diminish, for as Bernard Shaw has said,

"A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the nationalist is granted."

Preface to
"JOHN BURN'S
OTHER ISLANDS"

But once freed from nationalist bias it is clear that for a country approaching independence, the advantages of remaining within the Commonwealth are as many and varied as the problems with which it will be faced. Indeed, to remain within the Commonwealth would, in many cases, go a long way towards a solution of these problems.

DEFENCE.

Any country, large or small, is concerned with the protection of its people and territory against external aggression. But it has been truly said,

"It is now obvious that few, if any, countries are in a position to guarantee their own security against physical aggression without being partners in some common scheme of defence."

Sir Drummond
Shields in his
Essay, "SELF-
GOVERNMENT
FOR ADVANCED
COLONIES."

Many of the states at present under the protection of the United Kingdom would find that, if on gaining their independence, they decided also to leave the Commonwealth, some other great world power would be anxious to play the part



BRITISH HONDURAS — part of the
COMMONWEALTH of GUATEMALA.

of "Mr. Mother Country".

5.

Since Burma left the Commonwealth, China has infiltrated so far into Kachin and the Wa States, that Kachin is now likely to be ceded to China. If Burma had had behind her the protection of the Commonwealth, this would not have happened.

Similarly, if the Caribbean Federation, which is in the process of becoming an autonomous community, left the Commonwealth, the United States would fear the consequential political vacuum, and they would perhaps find it strategically necessary to establish bases similar to that already leased.

See also
opposite page.

Not so very long ago the case for "almost complete independence forthwith" was rejected by Singapore herself on the grounds that "too hurried an emancipation would merely offer an opportunity to Communist and other disruptive elements to infiltrate into the Government and Administration, and to bring about a state of disorder and ~~security~~ aimed at bringing Singapore eventually under Communist leadership."

KEESING'S
ARCHIVES OF
CONTEMPORARY
AFFAIRS.

Thus it can be seen that by remaining within the Commonwealth the newly formed independent countries would guard against disorder and aggression.

Apart from the actual assistance of manpower in times of war, the new states would have at their disposal all the benefits of the Staff Colleges, of training, and of Commonwealth armament research, which would make available to them atomic weapons and supersonic rockets. From Commonwealth countries also would come their equipment, which would thus be standardised and facilitate the supply of munitions if hostilities commenced.

CULTURE.

It has been suggested that a country might hesitate to become a member of the Commonwealth through fear of losing its language and culture. However, these fears are groundless, for in the countries still controlled by Britain the native dialect takes precedence over English in elementary education. The instruction of English is, nevertheless, very important, for the principal literature on



SOME STATES and LANGUAGES of INDIA.

the arts and sciences is written in English rather than in a native dialect which lacks artistic and scientific vocabulary. This is supported by Sir W. Ivor Jennings who says,

"It is doubtful if any of the ~~other~~ languages has yet been sufficiently furnished to enable even primary education to be as good as that which might have been obtained in English."

"The Commonwealth in Asia."

By remaining within the Commonwealth and continuing to teach English, the people would have readier access to technical writings and they would be able to send their children to English and Commonwealth universities. An additional advantage to countries such as Nigeria, is shown by India which has, in English, one common language - instead of the multiplicity of languages and dialects which are her native heritage - with which to conduct her affairs of government.

Map opposite.

"The imitation of one people by another has been a principal condition of the progress of civilization in all its stages, but more especially in its later stages."

It is true that if a country were to

William MacDougall in "Social Psychology."

pursue a policy of separation, its own culture would survive uninfluenced by any other; but it is also true that without any external influences the native culture would remain stagnant. Every culture in the world owes much to its origins and subsequent contacts. There is no intrinsic benefit in maintaining any culture in its entirety unless it is wholly good. By association with other cultural forms, the people could measure the native mores with the customs of her sisters in the Commonwealth, and so evolve a higher culture. Just as "Friendship is something that needs to be kept in constant repair," so culture is something that must be constantly tilled to produce fresh growth.

DOCTOR
JOHNSON.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

By entering into the Commonwealth partnership and sending its youth to English universities, a new partner would have always before it, as an example, the finest system of government in the world; an example which,

9.
apart from giving "the vague sense of sharing with Britain in the distinguished traditions of parliamentary government," would also show the way towards a practical and efficient method of governing in the new democracies. Because of the variation among the colonies, the system adopted need not be slavish in its imitation, and this too would be in keeping with Commonwealth tradition, described as follows:

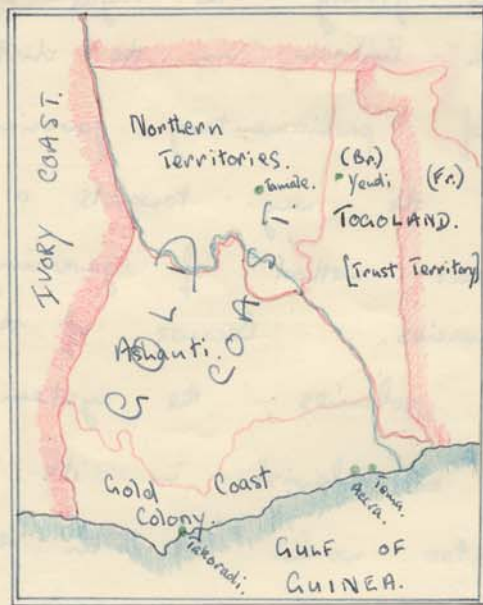
"Commonwealth policy has developed in the same way as the British Constitution - namely, by constant adaptation to new conditions, by AD HOC solutions of specific crises and problems, and by constant compromise and adjustment of both practice and theory."

John Coatsman
in
"THE BRITISH
FAMILY OF
NATIONS."

Thus those countries whose needs demanded a federal government could seek the advice of Australia, while those who wished for a centralised government could turn to Britain if any difficulty should occur.

"A country which emerges suddenly from tribalism into a money economy is inevitably in danger from inexperience and corruption."

EDITORIAL of
"THE NEW
STATESMAN"
July 21, 1956.



GHANA.

These dangers are shown in Ghana where not only are many of the tribes at variance with one another, but where, on a larger scale, the Ashanti and the Northern Territories are at loggerheads with the Gold Coast. In this country differences of speech and race are intensified by great gulfs in literacy and resources. A similar problem exists in Nigeria, where there is variety in tribal loyalties and in stages of development. Here it is already clear that the more highly educated natives may show little regard for those still living in primitive conditions. Complete severance from the Commonwealth would leave the minorities in these communities at the mercy of the strongest sections and "the indigenous exploiter has often fewer scruples than his prototype in western countries."

How are these minorities to be protected? By remaining within the Commonwealth minorities could retain their right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which could judge disputes impartially; and the constitution of the new Dominion should contain adequate safeguards for the interests of all

10.

Map
opposite.

SHIELDS.
ibid.

minority groups, so framed that they could not be altered without the consent of the minorities. 11.

ECONOMY.

"It is important to keep in mind that social and economic development is the necessary condition of freedom and independence. The mere declaration of freedom is of no avail if the people of a territory are too weak, too poor, and too inexperienced to stand on their own feet. In this insecure world of power politics, small peoples are, of themselves, likely to be unable to maintain independence and meet the needs of defence and economic stability."

A. Creech Jones in
"SOCIAL POLICY
and its
COSTS."

How can a country approaching independence best secure for itself this necessary economic stability — by remaining aloof and struggling for its livelihood, or by remaining in economic partnership with the Commonwealth?

The basis of economic stability is a

ready supply of raw materials and a sufficiency of labour, trained and skilled, to make efficient use of those materials. But since no country has all the raw materials necessary for modern civilised life, it follows that there must be a large measure of exchange by way of trade. Many of the individual parts of the Commonwealth, especially those now approaching independence, are particularly ill-suited to economic independence because they produce only a few basic agricultural or mineral raw materials and their manufactures are mainly of the handicraft type. These countries must therefore be linked by trade with other economic units which can balance and supplement their limited production by taking from them surplus raw materials and returning manufactured goods. At present close trade connections with the United Kingdom exist, and it would be folly to sever all ties and leave the Commonwealth. There is, however, no question of exploitation by Britain, for these economic ties are of mutual benefit. This is stated quite clearly as follows:

See
APPENDIX II.

"The Colonies need the United Kingdom's products and experts, and the United Kingdom needs colonial foodstuffs and raw materials."

13.

Fifth Report
of the Select
Committee on
Estimates.

1947-48.

In all probability the nationalist element in the individual countries would rather see its own industries developed so that as little as possible need be imported from Britain, but this is necessarily a lengthy process and could best be carried through with the help of British and Commonwealth experts and finance.

For the development of industry and agriculture these countries must have capital, and this they would ensure by remaining within the Commonwealth, for then they could obtain capital and financial aid from the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation.

See also
APPENDIX I
for Colonial
Development
Corporation.

What is the still struggling country to do with its products? Unaided it would certainly experience difficulty in breaking into world markets, but as a member of the Commonwealth she would find a ready market in the other Commonwealth countries. The system of Imperial Preference, with its reduced tariffs, enables goods to be sold at a higher price and therefore makes

available to the Colony greater purchasing power for necessities.

14.

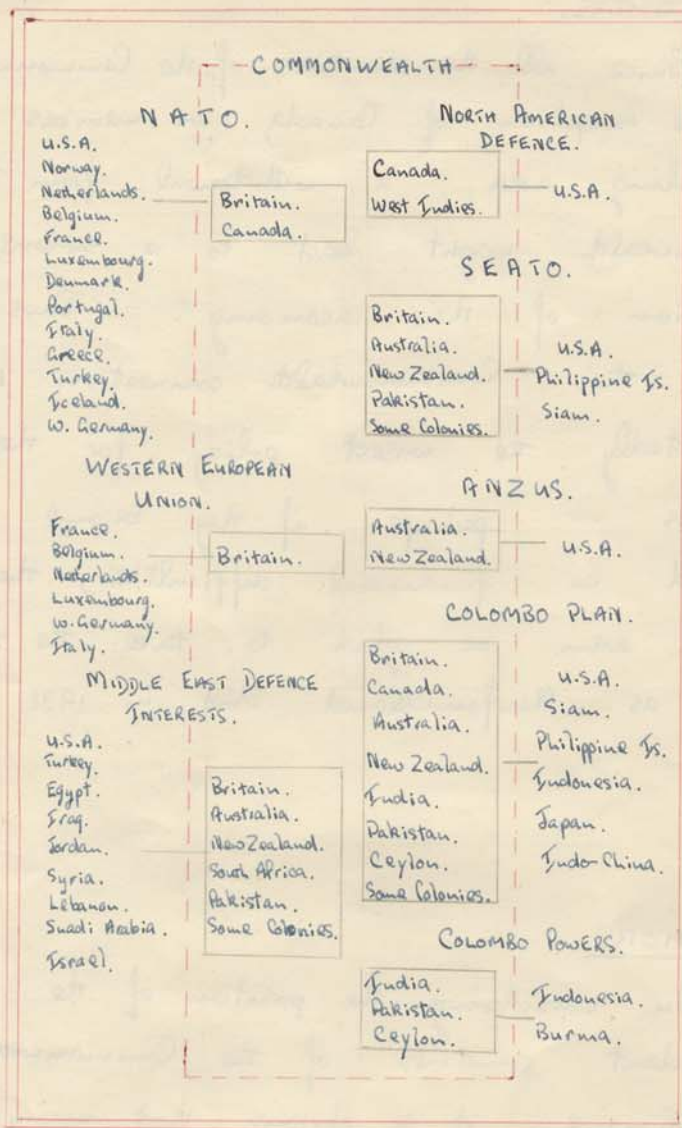
Since all the countries of the Commonwealth, with the exception of Canada, are members of the sterling area, a withdrawal from the Commonwealth might lead to a serious disruption of their economy. Thus to retain their Commonwealth connection is undoubtedly the wisest policy for these countries — perhaps, if they become involved in financial difficulties, they might even be glad to take the same step as Newfoundland did in 1931.

DOMINIONS.

In considering the position of the independent countries of the Commonwealth and Empire, it is obvious that many of the arguments advanced for the countries approaching independence are of equal application.

Since each of the Dominions is "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs," and since each is free to leave the Commonwealth at any time, there can be no disadvantage in remaining

Balfour
Declaration
and STATUTE
of
WESTMINSTER.



member countries.

15/

In addition to the advantages they have in being autonomous communities, these countries have also all the benefits derived from their Commonwealth association; thus although Australia and New Zealand have an external defence pact in ANZUS, although the United Kingdom and Canada are members of NATO, and although Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bandaranaike pursue a policy of neutralism, there is nevertheless among these countries, each with its own independent foreign policy, the feeling that the Commonwealth alliance might well be the answer to the rather alarming power of the United States and the U.S.S.R., for

See diagram opposite.

"Modern technique has not only facilitated the psychology of cohesion in large groups. It has also made large groups imperative both from an economic and a military point of view."

Bertram Russell
in
"Authority and the Individual"

The economic ties with the Commonwealth are just as strong for the Dominions as they are for the Colonies. Apart from the strong blood-ties between Australia and New Zealand, on the one hand, and the

United Kingdom on the other, membership of the Commonwealth is essential to these two countries, for Britain is their greatest customer in wool, beef and dairy produce. 16.

For Canada also there are economic advantages in her Commonwealth association, for although she is, in many ways, closely connected economically with the United States, her membership of the Commonwealth allows her to reap the harvest of both associations; and - important to Canadian pride - she cannot be considered merely a satellite of the United States.

It is however in a comparison between India and China that the economic advantages of remaining within the Commonwealth can best be seen. While China endures conditions of austerity with its five-year plans, India, because of the financial and technical aid given by the Commonwealth, is advancing rapidly in her industrial and agricultural projects with less personal sacrifice.

"We are each as independent and sovereign as any country in the world, but each of us, Britain included, is more powerful than we

otherwise would be by virtue of our membership of the Commonwealth."

17.
P.C. Gordon
Walker.

There can be no doubt that the Commonwealth gives to its members a power and prestige which they would not have otherwise. India is an important country in the world today, but the greatness of India and Mr. Nehru rests much upon the fact that while being on amicable terms with her natural friends in the East, she has retained her connection with the Commonwealth.

Why should any country wish to be a member of the Commonwealth?

"We join the Commonwealth obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world which we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations in the Commonwealth and therefore they join."

Pandit
Nehru
in 1949.

Even after the strong disapproval shown at Britain's intervention in Suez, Mr. Nehru reaffirmed his belief in the Commonwealth

association saying that "any attempt to have uniform policies is doomed to failure" and that the Commonwealth's "friendly approach and attempt to co-operate is more important than an artificial unity in policy."

18.

CONCLUSION.

Since the different parts of the Commonwealth are connected by a network of air, sea and rail routes, and in addition there is a constant exchange of ideas by way of university scholarships and the B.B.C. which has a link in all the Dominions and many of the Colonies, it can be seen that the Commonwealth is an important factor in joining together peoples of different races and religions in a common understanding.

In the Commonwealth, with its great family of nations, large and small, lies the solution for the future peace of the world, for in a world torn by Communism in the East and Americanism in the West, it is a possible link

between East and West; and, with the past
experience of flexible growth and adjustment,
may well prove to be a solution to
many of the problems prevalent in the world
today. I can do no better than close
with the words of H.M. the Queen,

"I believe that the way in which
our Commonwealth is developing
represents one of the most hopeful
and imaginative experiments in
international affairs that the world
has ever seen."

19.

1956

CHRISTMAS
BROADCAST

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REPORT of COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

1954

The report of the Colonial Development and Welfare Corporation for 1954, published on April 23, 1955, showed an improvement compared with 1953. The Corporation's activities are summarised below:

Projects. During 1954 the Corporation invested funds in seven new projects now being developed "in association with experienced private enterprise", and at the end of the year was interested in fifty-six continuing projects and investigations.

Trading. At December 31, 1954, the Corporation was managing - either directly or through controlled companies - sixteen fully developed trading projects with an aggregate annual turnover of about £6,000,000. The fifteen schemes which had reached the trading stage made a profit in

1954 of £350,000 compared with £280,000 in 1953. The commodities and services sold by the Corporation included beef and hides, rice, bananas, rubber, hemp, timber, cement, electric current, housing finance, and hotel accommodation.

REORGANISATION of SCHEMES.

At the end of the year five schemes representing about £4,000,000 capital and showing an aggregate trading loss in 1954 of about £500,000 were being abandoned or reorganised as follows:

Falkland Islands' Freezer. This plant would not be reopened in 1955, the estimated loss in 1954 having been £42,000; and in 1954, 17,000 sheep had been delivered to the Ministry of Food, but 5,000 of these had been rejected as "fit only for tallow."

British Guiana Timbers. A net loss of £114,676 had been incurred in 1954, and there was "no chance of the company being out of the red in 1955."

British Handwas Rame Grass Scheme. The scheme for growing rami grass in British Handwas would probably be shut down, and most of the expenditure would probably have to be written off.

Bechuanaland Cattle Ranch. Trading losses on this project totalled £68,256 and losses could be expected for several years.

Swaziland Irrigation Scheme. Owing to bad management and supervision, the 1953-54 rice crop had proved "a shocking disappointment."

ACHIEVEMENTS and PROSPECTS.

The report stressed that the Corporation was now looking forward instead of back; and the Corporation's staff had now "been brought to the point where they are capable of contributing fully to the planning and execution of large development projects."

DISTRIBUTION and ALLOCATION of FUNDS.

Caribbean Area. A total of £18,179,000 (taking into account the estimated unspent

portion of previous allocations) including £3,000,000 each for British Guiana and Jamaica.

West Africa. A new allocation of £14,480,000, making available a total of £22,312,000, by far the largest portion of which would be devoted to the Federal and Regional governments of Nigeria.

East Africa. An allocation under the new Act of £10,960,000 (including £8,000,000 to Kenya and £4,000,000 to Tanganyika) bringing total to £14,426,000.

Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar. A total allocation of £1,250,000.

APPENDIX II

UNITED KINGDOM LOANS and GRANTS to

COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES, 1954

The Treasury published figures showing that the total amount of loans and grants authorized by the U.K. Government during 1954 was £120,000,000, details being as follows:

London Market Loans Authorized:

a) Colonial:

East African High Commission	7,045,000
Trinidad	4,245,000
Nairobi City	1,000,000
Malaya	4,000,000
TOTAL	16,290,000

b) Other Government Loans:

Rhodesia and Nyasaland	10,000,000
New Zealand	10,000,000
Ceylon	5,000,000
TOTAL	25,000,000

c) Consent for Private Capital Issues - 48,327,000

TOTAL MARKET LOANS - 86,617,000

Loans and Grants from Government Funds

- a) From United Kingdom Contribution to:
World Bank, ----- 1,020,000
India, ----- 5,000,000
Pakistan, ----- 2,750,000
- b) Under Colonial Development Act, ----- 15,567,000
- c) Colonial Development Corporation ----- 6,014,000
- GRAND TOTAL ----- £119,969,000