

The wind of change (the original text)

Harold Macmillan

When, on 3 February 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (1894 –1986) addressed a supposedly informal gathering of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, at a “luncheon”, he delivered a speech he had already given a month earlier in Accra. Barring a few changes. These changes alone catapulted the speech into another rhetorical dimension: it performed politics.

Indeed, the speech delivered in Cape Town had an international impact its antecedent delivery in Accra could not, and did not have. It raised the Liberation movements’ hopes for a steadfast support by Britain. It was a precipitating agent for a surge of revolt, and the repression that followed: the Sharpeville massacre took place shortly afterwards. It was the prologue to thirty years of emergency, until F.W. de Klerk’s speech at the same Parliament in February 1990, and the liberation of Nelson Mandela.

Macmillan’s speech is an essential, if paradoxical moment in South Africa’s rhetorical foundation.

The version presented here is the exact transcription of Macmillan’s own original typescript used by him to deliver his speech, together with hand written notes and corrections. It offers a unique insight in the rhetorical processes of speech delivery, and evinces a care for kairos that should never elude politicians faced with seizing up the moment and performing politics through rhetoric.

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Primary source

Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister’s Speech at the joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament in Cape Town (typescript, first page signed by Macmillan, 56 sheets, 12cm x 14cm, bound and accompanied by a letter from the High Commission to a “colonel Shearer”, dated 1 March 1960, forwarding the typescript at Macmillan’s request).

There is no record of the speech in Hansard (the official, verbatim records of parliamentary debates) as it was not part of formal proceedings, but given at an American style luncheon. However on the typescript title page, bearing Macmillan’s signature, the occasion is correctly termed a “joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament”. This expression caused some confusion afterwards: a joint “meeting” is not a formal, joint “sitting” of Parliament, and for that reason not recorded on Hansard.

The commonly used, yet again erroneous title “Winds (plural) of change” appears on the cover of the booklet. A bookbinder’s error, presumably.

We gratefully acknowledge the kind help provided by Mr Sadeck Casoojee, Librarian, Rare and Historical Information Services Section of the Parliamentary Information Centre, Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town. The volume shelf number is: 825.91 MACM.

Secondary sources

Souvenir of visit by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to the Houses of Parliament, Cape Town on Wednesday, 3 February, 1960, pp. 5-14 (with Verwoerd's Vote of thanks, pp. 15-17) (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1960).

Transcript of the BBC's recording: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/apartheid/7203.shtml>. Collated in *The African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 2 (3), 2011.

Harold Macmillan, *Pointing the Way, 1959-1961* (London: Macmillan, 1972): 473-482, Appendix I.

Key

All handwritten changes that Harold Macmillan made to the original typewritten speech are marked with letters in superscript; the letter "p" indicates the use of a pencil, and "f", that of a fountain pen. Italics are used for insertions. The frequent occurrence of the typed "=" symbol is unfortunately a mystery. All numbers which appear are the original page numbers, which oddly only begin to appear at page three.

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}^p
for giving me this opportunity.

And I am especially grateful
to your Prime Minister,

who invited me to visit ~~your~~ ^{their} country
and arranged for me to address you
here
today.

=

My tour of Africa ~~certain~~ ^{different} parts^p of^p Africa ~~it~~ ^{it} ^{fp}
the first ever made
by a British Prime Minister in
office –
is now, alas,
~~near~~ ^{reaching} 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.

In the Union,
as in all the other countries
I have visited,
my stay has been *of course* all too short.

I wish it had been possible
for me to spend longer here,
~~so as~~ ^{to} see more
of your beautiful country
and to get to know more of
your people.

3.

But in the past week
I have travelled

~ Harold Macmillan ~

many hundreds of miles
and met many people
in from^p 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.

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.

4.

Moreover,
I *we*^f have been deeply moved
by the warmth of our welcome.

Wherever we have ~~gone~~ *been*^p,
in town or country,
we have been received
with in^f a spirit of friendship

~ 8 ~

and affection
which has warmed our hearts.
And we value this the more
because we know
that^f is an expression
of your goodwill,
not just^f 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^f*
the golden wedding
of the Union.

5.

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,
and to look forward
to what lies ahead.

=

In the fifty years of their nationhood
the people of South Africa
have built a strong economy
founded ~~on~~ upon^f 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 ~~your~~ ^{the} country
is so firmly based.

6.

I have seen your Iron and Steel
Corporation
and visited your Council of
~~for~~ ^f 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,
seventy years ago,
there was nothing
but the open veldt.

I have seen too
the fine cities
of Pretoria
and Bloemfontein.

7.

This afternoon
I ~~shall~~ ^{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*
by^f 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 ~~initiative~~ skill^f,
energy
and skill^f initiative^f
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.

8.

According to a *the*^f 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 long wars
that had bled our economy white.*ⁱ

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 and food –
and,
of course,
gold–

and we in return
send you consumer goods
and capital equipment.

We take a third of all your exports
and we supply a third of all your
imports.

=

9.

This broad traditional pattern
of investment and trade
has been maintained
in spite of the changes brought
by the development
of our two economies.

It gives me great encouragement
to reflect
that the economies
of both our countries,
while ~~developing~~ *expanding*^f 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;
but
if you prefer to fly

you can ~~do so~~ go^f
in a British Viscount.

10.

Here is true partnership:
living proof
of the interdependence
between nations.

Britain has always been
your best customer

and
as your new industries develop
we believe 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*^f world *affairs*^f.

=

11.

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 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 *on*
~~and~~^f aggression
your statesmen & your soldiers
have made their influence felt
far beyond
the African continent.

12.

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 ~~today~~^f *peace*,
your leaders in industry,
commerce
and finance
continue to be prominent
in world affairs.

Today,
your readiness
to provide technical assistance
to the less well-developed parts
of Africa

is of immense help
to the countries ~~which~~ ^{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 Cooperation
in Africa
South of the Sahara
and,
now,
in the United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa

Your Minister ~~of~~ ^{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.

14.

As I have travelled ~~through~~ ^{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 interests
in these events
and your anxiety about them.

15. and 16.

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 ~~shapes~~ ^{forms}^f,
with different ~~forms~~ ^{kinds}^f of government.

But all have been inspired
with a keen feeling of nationalism,
which has grown
as the nations have grown.

17.

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
~~on~~ ^{upon}^f 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.

Today
the same thing is happening
in Africa.

18.

And^f that^f 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 ~~may~~ takes^f different forms.

But it is happening everywhere.

The wind of change is blowing
through this continent,

Whether we like it or not,
This growth of national
consciousness
is a political fact.

We must all accept it as a fact.

Our national policies
must take account of it.

=

19.

Of course
you understand this
~~as well as~~ *better than*^f 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 nationalists.

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.

20.

For its causes are to be found
in the achievements
of Western civilisation

in *the*^f pushing forward *of*^f
the frontiers of knowledge,

in the^f applying of science *to*^f
~~in~~^f the service of human needs,

in the^f expanding of food production,

in the^f speeding and multiplying
of the means of communication
and,

*perhaps^f above all, and more than anything else
in the^f spread of^f education.*

=

As I have said,

the growth of national consciousness
in Africa
is a political fact
and we must accept it as such.

21.

This means *I would judge^f* that we must come to terms
with it.

I sincerely believe that,

if we cannot do so,
we may imperil the precarious balance
of East and West
on which the peace of the world
depends.

The world today
is divided into three ~~great~~ *main^f* groups.

First,

there are what we call
the Western Powers.

You in South Africa
and we in Britain
belong to this group,

together with our friends and allies
in ~~the^f~~ other parts
of the Commonwealth,

in the United States of America
and in Europe.

22.

We call it the Freeworld.^f

Secondly,

there are the Communists;

Russia and her satellites in Europe,

and China,

whose population

~~over the next decade or so~~

~~will rise to the level~~

~~of one thousand million.~~ *will have risen by the end of*

the next ten years to the

staggering total of 800 million people.^f

Thirdly,

there are those parts of the world

whose people are at present

uncommitted

either to Communism

or to ~~our~~ *the^f* 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.

23.

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.

24.

The uncommitted nations
want to see before they choose.

What we can 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 today,
the internal policies
of one nation
may have effects outside it.

25.

We may sometimes be tempted to say
~~to each other~~^f

“Mind your own business”.

But in these days

I would ~~myself~~
expand the old saying

so that it runs

“Mind your own business, ~~of course~~^f

but mind how it affects
my business, too.”

=

~~Let me~~ *If I may*^f be very frank
with you,
my friends.

28.

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.

=

27.

All this,
of course
is ~~alas~~^f of deep ~~and close~~^f concern
to you.

For nothing we do
in this small world
can be done in a corner
~~and~~^f remain hidden.

What we do today
in West,
Central
and East Africa
becomes known tomorrow
to everyone in the Union
whatever his language,
colour
or traditions.

28.

Let me *Sir*^f 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 you and 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 *British*^f think right
derives from a long experience
both of failure and success
in the management
of ~~our own~~ *these*^f affairs.

We have tried to learn
and apply
the lessons of both.

29.

Our judgement of right and wrong
and of 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~~ ^flife,
but 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 *of*
~~to have~~ ^fan increasing share
in political power
and responsibility;
a society...

30.

a society in which individual merit,
and individual merit alone,
is the criterion
for ~~a~~ ^fman'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~~ ^ffostered
between its various parts.

=

This problem, *Sir*^f
is by no means confined to Africa.

31.

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 & *future*^f of Malaya
as a nation
will depend on
the different contributions
which the two races
can make.

32.

The attitude
of the United Kingdom's Government
towards this problem

was clearly expressed
by the Foreign Secretary,

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd,
speaking at the United Nations

General Assembly
on the seventeenth of September, 1959

33.

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 that is the British*^f 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

34.

Will all play their full part

as citizens
in the country
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~~ *much*^f regret it.

35.

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~~^P
in the Union of ~~South~~
~~Africa~~^P

I know the differences
between your situation
and that of most of the other
states
in Africa.

You have here
~~Some~~ three million people
of European origin.

This country is their home,

36.

It has been their home
For many ~~generations~~ *hundreds of years*.^f

They have no other.

The same true of Europeans
in Central and East Africa.

Furthermore^f in most other African states
those who have come to work from Europe
have only 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 *of*
~~with~~^f homogenous populations.

37.

Of course I realise^f
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.

=

38.

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.

38. (a)

I think *that*^f as friends
to face together –

without seeking to apportion ~~credit~~ *power*^f
or blame –

the fact that
 In the world of today
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.

39.

For we Scots
can claim family connections
with both the great
European sections
of your ~~population~~ *people*^f

not only with
the English-speaking people
but with the Afrikaans-speaking
~~as well.~~^f

This is a point
which hardly needs
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 *the*^f Afrikaans-speaking people.

There always has been
a very close connection
between the Church of Scotland
and the Church of the
Netherlands.

40.

The Synod of Dort
plays the same great part
in the history of ~~both~~ *each*^f.

Many aspirants to the Ministry of
Scotland,
especially in the 17th and 18th
centuries,
went to pursue their theological
studies
in the Netherlands.

I think^f Scotland can claim to have repaid ~~the~~ its
debt
~~in~~ *to*^f 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 McDonalds,
families ~~which~~ *who*^f have been called
“The Free State Clans”
who became burghers
of the old Free State
and whose descendants
still play their part there.

41.

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~~^f today.

However the ~~It~~^f population of America,
like yours,
is a blend of many 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.

42.

The Pilgrim Fathers
Were ~~fleeing~~ escaping^f from persecution
as Puritans –
and ~~the~~^f Marylanders from persecution
as Roman Catholics.

Throughout the 19th century
a stream of immigrants
flowed across the Atlantic
from the old world to the new^f
to escape from the 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~~ *the*^f inhabitants,
America has been a place of refuge –
a place to which people went
because they wanted to get away
from Europe.

43.

It is not surprising,
therefore,
that for 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~~^f seemed
an attractive and a practicable
course.

Nevertheless, *Since my lifetime*^f
in the two great wars of this century,
they have found themselves
unable to stand aside.

44.

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 could 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 today,
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.

45.

Nearly 2,000 years ago, *at a time*^f
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 twentieth century *this*
~~that~~^f 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.

46.

Today it is impossible
for nations to live in isolation
from one another.

What Dr. John Donne said
of individual men
three hundred years ago
is true today
of my country,
your country,
and ~~all of every~~ ~~the~~ ~~countries~~^f 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~~ *are now*^f interdependent
one upon another.

46. 47^P

This is generally recognised
throughout the Western World.

I hope in due course

the countries of ~~the~~ Communist world
may^f 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^f must find a way of doing so.

I believe that the initiative
which we took last year
has had some success.

At any rate I am sure
That nothing but good can come
From extending contacts in trade
and through the exchange
of visitors.

48.48^p

I certainly do not believe
in refusing to trade with people
just because you may happen to dislike the way
they manage their internal
affairs
at home.

Boycotts will never get you anywhere.

Here ~~I would like to say~~ may I^f say,
in parenthesis,

that I deprecate the attempts
which are being made
in Britain today
to organise a consumer boycott
of South African goods.

It has never been the practice *so far with*
Of^f any Government of the United
Kingdom
~~including the Labour Government~~^f
to undertake or support campaigns
of this kind
designed to influence
the internal politics
of another Commonwealth
country.

49.

I and my colleagues
in the United Kingdom Government
deplore this proposed boycott
and regard it as undesirable
from every point of view.

It can only have serious effects
on Commonwealth relations and trade,
and lead to the ultimate detriment
of others than those
against whom it is aimed.

I said I was speaking of the interdependency of nations.^f

The members of the Commonwealth
feel particularly strongly
the value of interdependence.

They are as independent
as any ~~countries~~ *nation*^f
in this shrinking world
can be,

but they have voluntarily agreed
to work together.

48.50^p

They recognise that there may be
differences between ~~them~~, *us*^f
in their institutions
or^f in their internal policies,
and membership does not imply
~~either~~^f the wish to express a
judgement
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.

51.

Whether that is so or not,
it is 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 then the whole structure
would crumble.

It is the flexibility
of our Commonwealth institutions
which gives them their strength.

52.

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.

53.^P

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 free and independent states

each responsible
for ordering its own affairs

but co-operating
in the pursuit of common aims
and purposes
in world affairs.

54.

Moreover,

these differences may be transitory.

In time they may be resolved.

Our duty is to see them
in this perspective
in perspective

against the background
of our long association.

Of this,

at any rate,

I am certain.
Those of us who
by the grace of the electorate
are temporarily in charge of affairs
in my country and yours,
we fleeting transient phantoms in the great stage of history
we^f have no right to sweep aside
on this account
the friendship that exists
between our ~~two~~^f countries,

55.

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 a little beyond them,
down the long vista of the future.

=

I hope –
indeed, I am confident –
that in another 50 years
we shall look back
on the differences
that exist between us now
as mere matters of historical interest.

56.

For,
as time passes
and one generation
yields to another,
human problems change and fade.

Let us remember these truths.

Let us therefore resolve to build,
not to destroy.

And let us remember always
that weakness comes from division,
strength from unity