

# Document Analysis

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Master 1

Civilization and literature

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Analyze these documents following the steps explained in the first semester.

You are expected to email your analysis



57 **Harold Macmillan: The Wind of Change Speech, 3 Feb. 1960**

Harold Macmillan (1894-1986), a major figure in the Conservative Party, was Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963. Under Mrs Thatcher's rule, he became increasingly critical of her policies and one of her personal opponents in the Lords. This is the famous speech where Macmillan first spelt out the end of the Empire.

*Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960*

[...] 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 fifty years of their nationhood the people of South Africa have built a strong economy founded upon a healthy agriculture and thriving and resilient industries. [...]

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 oversea 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. [...]

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. Today 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. [...]

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 today is divided into three main 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 other parts of the Commonwealth. In the United States of America 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 ten years to the staggering total of 800,000,000. 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 today 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."

50 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  
55 can be done in a corner or 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. [...]

We have tried to learn and apply the lesson, of our judgement 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  
60 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  
65 community can become more of a community, and fellowship can be fostered between its various parts. [...]

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 17 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  
70 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 three 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  
75 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. [...]

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  
80 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 today this difference of outlook lies between us. [...]

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.

This 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  
90 association. [...]

I hope – indeed, I am confident – that in another fifty 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.



## 132 Independence as a spiritual issue, 1964

Hugh MacDiarmid, a Scottish writer, is politically a mixture of Marxism and extreme nationalism. Here he advocates independence irrespective of the debate on its economic viability, on the basis of cultural identity.

So far as I am concerned the spirit that animates me is that expressed in the passage from the Declaration of Arbroath which reads, "For so long as one hundred men of us remain alive, we shall never under any conditions submit to the domination of the English. It is not for glory or riches or honours that we fight, but only for liberty, which no good man will consent to lose but with his life." Earlier on today we had some very subtle arguments as to the lets and hindrances if Scotland recovered a measure of self government, from economists. Last night for about eighty minutes on television another team, including Dr McCrone though, debated the same matter. I don't intend to go into these questions at all. The words in the quotation I have just given you from the Declaration of Arbroath, that we fight not for riches, covers all that. I am not interested in economics. I believe, and my whole nationalist position is grounded in the belief, that where there's a will there's a way, and if we are sufficiently intent on having independence, nothing will stand in our way. We are quite prepared to meet all the sacrifices, if any, that are required. However, it is particularly urgent I think at this juncture – one of the great problems of the modern world is the search for identity – to remember just who we Scots are, and what part we've played in the world. We are too apt to be dismissed by the believers in big units as a small people of no particular consequence in relation to the major problems of modern times; but I think the historian, James Anthony Froude, was right when he said that no small people in the history of the world had so profoundly affected the whole of mankind as the Scots people had done [...].

[...] When I was demobbed in 1920, after being abroad for four or five years, in the interests of the rights of small nations, and poor little Belgium and all that, I found I didn't know anything about Scotland. I applied myself to learn. Travelling since in recent years, in most other European countries, talking to university students, I found that most of them didn't realise that Scotland was a separate country, with history, traditions and achievements of its own quite different from those of its southern neighbour. English propaganda had ensured that, by using the adjective English as if it were synonymous with British. The fact that Scotland has a very different and distinctive identity was lost sight of, but that is being overcome at last [...].

[...] Only a few years ago the Scottish Department of Education ruled that pupils deviating into Scots in the classrooms should not be punished but encouraged. That rule could not be implemented, however, simply because most of the teachers themselves were Anglo-Scots, Scots with no knowledge of the Scots tongue, and none of our independent Scottish literary tradition, which, they said, they could not teach because they had never learned how to evaluate it. That change is more significant than the mere party political quibbling about what seem to be important issues. It is the cultural questions, the language and literary questions, that have been the decisive factor in the national regeneration movements of many European countries, and it will not be otherwise with Scotland. No nation was ever restored to its proper dignity owing to a demand for merely practical measures, better wages, better conditions of employment, better transport, and all the rest of it. These are vitally important, but they are subsidiary and first things must be put first. It is because too many people in the National Party have no concern with the things of fundamental importance, with the great spiritual issues underlying the mere statistics of trade and industry, with the ends to which all other things should merely be means, that I don't feel the destiny of Scotland lies with it. At present they are anxious above all not to go too far, they deprecate anglophobia, many do not envisage armed action. Well, no one in his senses wants warfare, but if we are determined to be absolutely independent, it may be, and almost certainly will be forced upon us. I do not believe the English have learned anything from the Irish affair and I believe that they will be more determined to hang on to Scotland than ever, by fair means or preferably foul, since their world rule has diminished so greatly. In any case, even if it doesn't come to that, we'll have violence anyway in Scotland. Scotland never fought while it was independent any aggressive war, but since the Union, it has been dragged at the heels of England into scores of wars, none of which were of any value to Scotland itself. We have a great deal of violence in Scotland today; I could only wish that it were possible that it could be channelled in better directions.

[...] We're going for devolution right to the end, that's to say for complete independence and we rest our case on the virtue of our own personality and the strength of our own determination.



85 **Freedom and Property, 1984**

A clear and direct presentation of the "property-owning democracy" concept.

## FOREWORD

by

**The Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, MP**

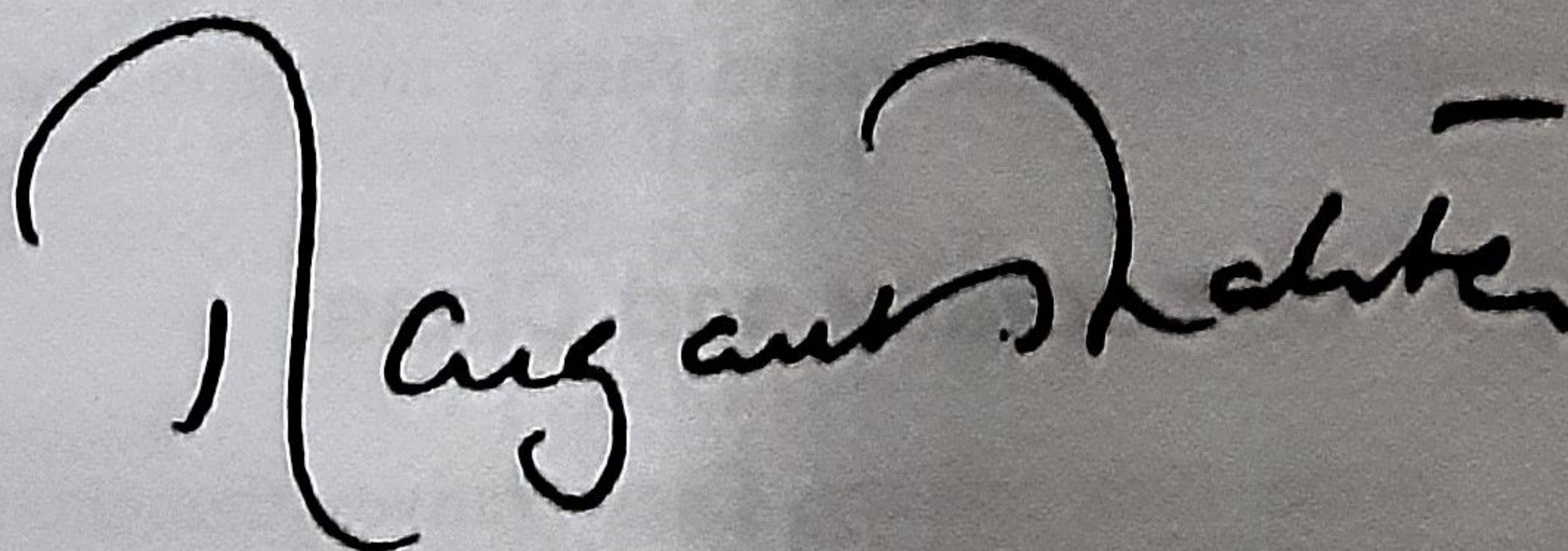
The history of freedom is bound up with the ownership of property. If you look round the world today, you will see that in those societies where property is widely shared, freedom flourishes; and where property is concentrated in the hands of the State, freedom is denied.

In the Conservative Party, we welcome the growth and extent of property ownership throughout Britain. And we can take pride in what this Conservative government has achieved, most notably by allowing people to buy their own council houses and by our programme of de-nationalisation which has allowed tens of thousands of employees to acquire shares in the companies for which they work.

But there is much further to go. The climate of opinion in Britain has changed dramatically. The once fashionable philosophy of State ownership is now on the retreat in the face of the intellectual case mounted by those who believe that society and its members, and freedom itself, are best served by the widest possible diffusion of personal property.

In this pamphlet, Max Beloff argues the case with power and persuasion. Those of us who share these beliefs will have our convictions strengthened. And those who may at first be sceptical will, I hope, have their doubts removed.

This pamphlet deserves to be read by as many people as possible of all political persuasions.





## The New Frontier

Now man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and to abolish all form of human life. And, yet, the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forbears fought are still at issue around the globe — the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the State but from the hand of God. 5

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a cold and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage — and unwilling to witness or 10 permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today.

Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty. 15

This much we pledge and more.

To those old Allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new co-operative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do — for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and 20 split asunder.

To those new States whom we now welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our every view. But we shall 25 always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought to find power by riding on the tiger's back inevitably ended up inside.

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them 30 to help themselves, for whatever period is required — not because the Communists are doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If the free society cannot help the many who are poor, it can never save the few who are rich.





"You've given us a world torn with dissension, a world steeped in fear, mistrust, and rancor, a world festering with unresolved conflicts and trembling in the shadow of the H. bomb, — a state of affairs with which we, who follow in your footsteps, will do our best to cope."



To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent its becoming merely a forum of invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the area to which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

So let us begin anew — remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring the problems that divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms — and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

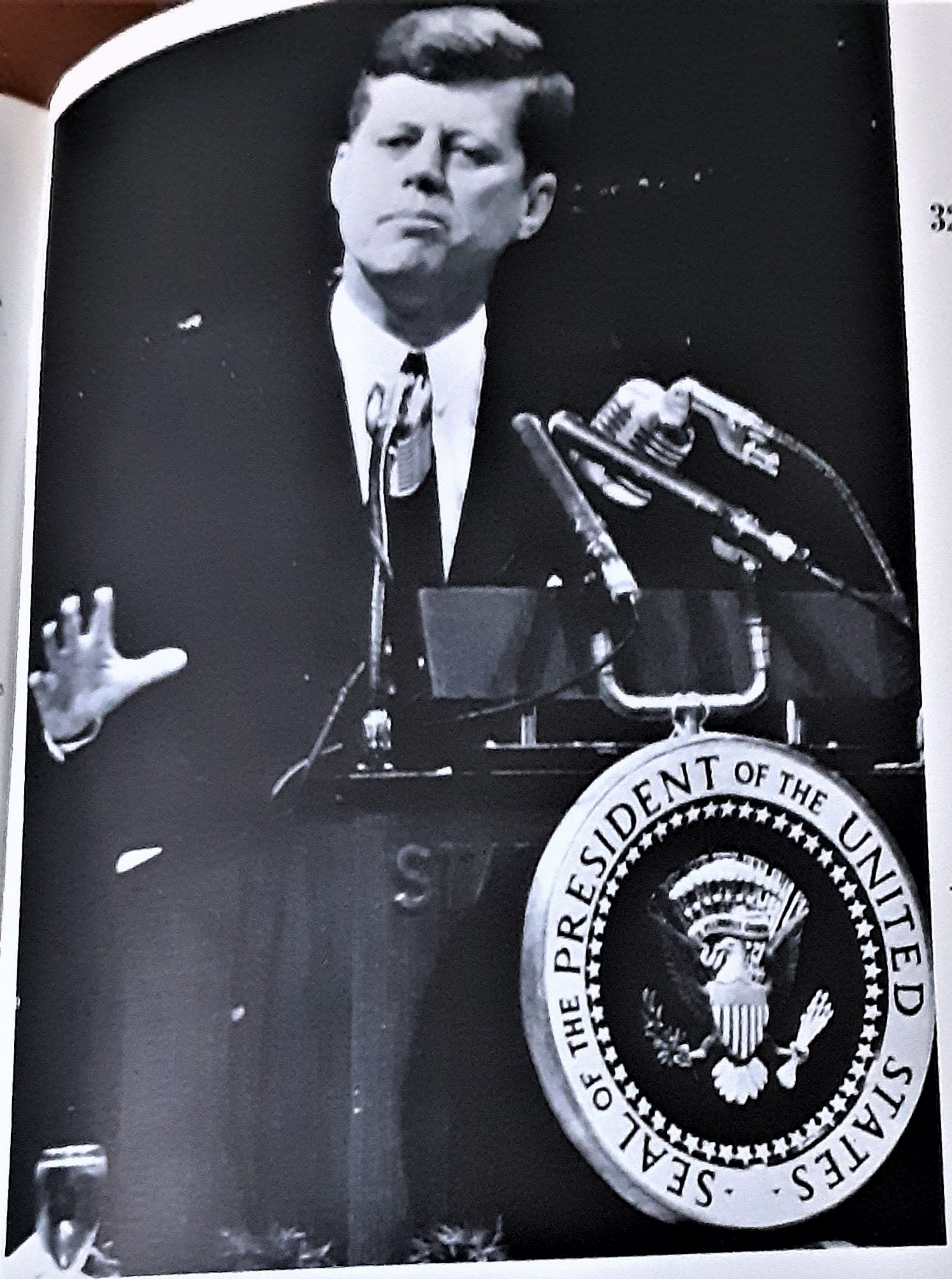
Let both sides join to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah — to “undo the heavy burdens... (and) let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of co-operation can be made in the jungles of suspicion, let both sides join in the next task: creating, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved for ever.

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I





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do not shrink from this responsibility — I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith and the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it — and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: Ask not what your country will do for you — ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

JOHN F. KENNEDY (*Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961.*)



## 126 The Act of Union (Ireland), 1800

Forced Union.

Whereas in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved, that [...] it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following:

ARTICLE FIRST – That it be the first article of the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January [...] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland [...].

ARTICLE SECOND – That it be the second article of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

ARTICLE THIRD – That it be the third article of union, that the said united kingdom be united in one and the same parliament [...].

ARTICLE FOURTH – That it be the fourth article of union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom [...].

ARTICLE FIFTH – That it be the fifth article of union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called The United Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union [...].

ARTICLE SIXTH – That it be the sixth article of union, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall [...] be entitled to the same privileges [...] as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made [...] with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges [...] as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain [...].

ARTICLE EIGHTH – [...] And whereas the said articles having [...] been humbly laid before his Majesty, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles: in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, [...] be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles [...]

40. Geo. III, c. 67.