

What are the aims of the new Africa, and how far do we in Britain share these aims? This is the key question we have to answer before we can say that Africa and Britain, which have so much to give each other, will, in fact, march forward together towards a more prosperous, tolerant, free and peaceful world.

If I were asked to summarise these aims, I think I would describe them as follows, placing them in order of urgency:

- (1) The decolonisation of Africa.
- (2) The economic and political integration of African countries.
- (3) The rapid development of the economic resources of the African Continent to the point of self-sustaining growth.
- (4) The safeguarding of peace by non-alignment with the rival power blocs and support of the United Nations.

I have already pointed out that we welcome the movement towards closer political and economic association between that this is essential to the strength, stability, and economic growth of Africa. I am, therefore, left with questions (1), (3) and (4).

(1) We are, of course, committed to a policy of decolonisation in Africa.

I believe there are good reasons why we have had to move more slowly in granting independence in southern Africa than we moved in West and East Africa. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had to be liquidated before Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland could become independent as separate States. This process is now going forward though we hope that they will retain the economic links and common services which have increased the prosperity of the whole Federation. Both these countries have only to settle some minor internal problems before they become independent. Nyasaland will be independent in July, 1964.

Southern Rhodesia is a much tougher problem, because it is ruled by a European minority. We have refused to hand over the power of government to a minority of the population. On the other hand, the British Government no longer has the authority to dictate to the Government of Southern Rhodesia. People overseas often do not realise, particularly if they live in countries with written constitutions, that in the British constitution convention is as important as law. But I believe the Government of Southern Rhodesia is beginning to realise that neither Britain nor the Commonwealth would accept

Lord Listowel, a former Governor-General of Ghana and Secretary of the State for the Colonies, was a member of Britain's wartime Coalition Government and of the two post-war Labour Governments.

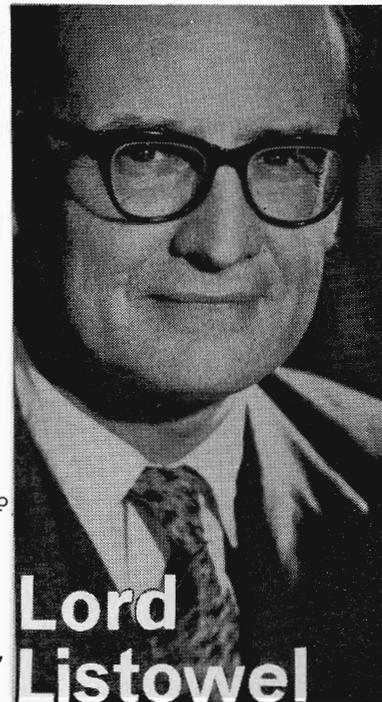
a white dominated Southern Rhodesia as an equal partner, and that it will not have independence until there is a constitution which will produce an African majority in its Legislative Assembly. But persuasion takes a long time to work, and we realise how hard it is for the Africans in Southern Rhodesia to wait while they are denied the rights accorded to their brothers in neighbouring countries.

The only other British territories in southern Africa are the so-called High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. These countries will need our protection so long as they feel in danger from the Republic of South Africa. They are poorer than other British territories because we did not spend money on them when we thought they might join South Africa. But if we make up for our neglect of their economic development there is no reason why Bechuanaland and Swaziland should not become fully independent countries, while Basutoland should at any rate be able to manage its own internal affairs. Whatever may happen, Britain will never surrender these territories to South Africa.

But the real challenge to Britain is our attitude to white domination in Southern Africa, as exemplified by Portugal and the Republic of South Africa. We realise that Africans will judge our sincerity by our reactions to apartheid and Portuguese colonial policy, and that this is far more important to them than our own colonial record. World opinion is being brought to bear (we hope it will always be peaceful) on the policies of South Africa and Portugal, because they cannot be changed by the actions of any single country. This is also the policy of the African countries at the U.N. We are not in favour of expelling any country from the U.N., because we believe that the value of the U.N. lies in its universality, and that if you start to expel countries on ideological grounds it will be difficult to stop. But we do believe that arms should not be sold to these countries of a sort that would be needed to enforce apartheid or an unacceptable colonial policy respectively.

This shows that in spite of British investment in South African industry, and in spite of the importance of South Africa to British trade, there is a large section of public opinion in Britain that puts moral values above material interests. It is certainly true that the ordinary Englishman is disgusted and horrified by apartheid and, so far as he understands events in Africa, is on the side of the African when exploited or oppressed by the white man.

(3) Africa is a so-called "developing" area, like Asia and South America. Its export earnings depend too often on one or two crops. The vast majority of its people depend for their livelihood on cultivating the soil, on subsistence crops and on the export of foodstuffs and raw materials. The incomes of primary producers are more



Lord Listowel
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susceptible to changes in terms of trade, and in this context the Africans have suffered particularly during the 1950s. But the "developed" countries and their diversified economies (that is the industrial nations of Europe and North America) have through the deployment of their scientific techniques, raised their standard of living to the level they enjoy today from the low level of a few hundred years ago, which compared more closely with the African standard of living today.

This industrial revolution is starting in Africa. The difference between Europe and Africa is that Africa began later, and must, therefore, reach the point of "take-off" into self-sustaining growth much more quickly.

The success of this economic revolution is as important to the West as it is to Africa. Its economic importance is that it will provide an expanded market for the exports of Western countries with the new purchasing power generated by higher wages and salaries. Its political importance is that if the democratic procedures and economic assistance of the West fail to improve the lot of people living often on a bare subsistence, they will adopt the totally different methods employed by Russia and China.

It is, therefore, in the interests of the Western countries, as well as in accord with their humanitarian feelings and their long record of association with Africa, to provide the capital and technical skill required to raise Africa to the level of material well-being enjoyed by the West.

What Africa needs is a rapid and sustained expansion of world trade in primary products, and a great increase in financial and technical aid to hasten forward the day when it starts to pay its own way. By commodity agreements, which prevent violent fluctuations in world prices for primary products, and the reduction and removal of tariff barriers, we have been doing our best to promote trade with Africa.

We have already made agreements to fix the price of a number of commodities, of which the most recent was coffee. We have reduced many tariffs through the instrumentation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and we would have secured free entry for African products from former British as well as former French African Territories into the whole of Western Europe if we had succeeded in entering the European Economic Community. We may still join it. We would like to see easier access for tropical agricultural products to the markets of the West, and we recognise that the new industries in African countries must also be able to sell us their products.

Trade is more important than aid, and more lasting, but money and skill must also be forthcoming without any immediate return if we are to speed up the economic

development of Africa. Aid "without strings" is a national policy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has just described Britain's "aid programme" as "a great outlet for the energy and enthusiasm of the British people".

The British Government has given large sums in grants and loans to British independencies and to independent Commonwealth countries in Africa. In the last six years Britain has doubled the amount of its capital aid, and it is still rising. It is now running at about £150,000,000 a year, and is expected to exceed £200,000,000 in the 1963/64 period.

Britain has just set up a new government department, the Department of Technical Co-operation, to deal with technical aid. This Department is responsible for the 15,000 British civil servants, advisers, teachers and technical officers serving in British dependencies or newly-independent countries, mainly in Africa. It also recruits teachers, doctors, agricultural and veterinary officers, as well as members of the professions, to serve on short contracts with the governments of these countries. About 1,000 highly-qualified persons are going overseas in the current year, of which about half are young people who want to serve Africa in the same way as the American Peace Corps.

These links of trade, aid, and investment are taking the place of the old political links between Britain and Africa and are forging a new relationship based on equality, mutual respect and mutual advantage.

(4) So far as foreign policy is concerned, we respect the desire of African countries for neutrality between the contending power blocs. We share with African countries their loyalty to the United Nations. While we do not wish to involve them in our alliances, we hope that those who belong to the British Commonwealth will stay, as the Commonwealth represents a wide area of the globe in which war has been renounced. Peace and disarmament are our mutual objectives.

We have now examined the principal aims of African policy, decolonisation, African unity, economic development and world peace, and compared with them the aims of the British policy. It appears that there is no fundamental divergence between African and British policy. Where they differ, the differences concern methods and timing, not ultimate aims.

On the contrary, the interests and the welfare of the peoples of Africa and the peoples of Britain are so intimately connected that their happiness and prosperity will depend on whether they are able, in the future, to work even more closely together. This will benefit, not only Britain and Africa, but the world community of nations and races to which they belong, and whose welfare is inextricably bound up with theirs. We have the same vision of the future of Africa, and its place in the world. Together we can achieve it.