

be found to be problems of wider human concern. The Commonwealth, therefore, while remaining preoccupied with those matters of daily common concern to its member states for which its special character best fits it, must see itself in its global setting and stand ready to work closely with the international community and especially with the United Nations system.

My personal experience over the last year has fully confirmed my belief that if we perceive the Commonwealth as being in the service of a world community, of which it is but a part, there will be many areas discernable in which that service can be rendered. Much that we must do within the Commonwealth and through the Secretariat will be service of this kind and there are some areas of action in which the Commonwealth has a special responsibility to make a contribution and a special capacity for making it effectively.

One such area is southern Africa. It is perhaps too soon to assess with any accuracy the total impact of the most recent transgressions of humanity in South Africa itself. But there is an instinct, I believe, which alerts us to arrival at a point of departure. SOWETO activates that instinct and adds a further dimension of urgency to the need for radical change; but SOWETO itself was predictable. The fuse that fired its explosion was lit not by the children of SOWETO but by the system of repression and exclusion and human degradation that apartheid represents.

The Commonwealth that found apartheid incompatible with Commonwealth membership has long been in the vanguard of international action to secure its abrogation. Today, the Commonwealth must re-double its efforts in this direction and must be careful to avoid ambivalences at what could be a critical period in the struggle for racial justice within South Africa itself. It is necessary, I believe, to underline this need lest developments elsewhere in the region induce complacency about the prospects for human dignity within South Africa itself.

In the avoidance of ambivalence by Commonwealth countries and the international community alike one factor must surely be the refusal to legitimise the policy of Bantustans. The Transkei when it is staged will be little more than an instrument of apartheid masquerading as self-determination. I believe it to be unlikely that Commonwealth Governments, any of them, will fail to reject the deception.

But, for the present, our preoccupation must be with advancing a real independence on the basis of majority rule in Rhodesia, and ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia so that it may take its place as a fully independent state in the international community.

The Commonwealth has long recognised a special responsibility for Rhodesia; and last year at Kingston a historic decision was taken to welcome the Government and people of an independent Namibia into the Commonwealth if that were their wish, and meanwhile to make Commonwealth multilateral assistance available to help in the developmental and training needs of its people.

In recent months, the Secretariat's attention has been directed toward the task of mobilising, in close co-operation with the United Nations, international assistance to Mozambique, following its courageous decision to apply United Nations sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime. The action taken by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee twenty-four hours after Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia acted as a powerful moral assurance to the