

to maintain such white minority supremacy, a genuine crisis in the history of the Commonwealth.

The central question in this crisis is whether the 8 percent minority of whites can rule a 92 percent minority of coloured until they, the minority, are ready to turn over such rule to the majority. The present régime in Rhodesia accepts that conception and has declared illegally, as I see it, independence on that basis. It did that because Britain, which still has the primary responsibility for Rhodesia, under Commonwealth pressure and under its own domestic pressures was forcing the pace to effective participation of the majority in the rule of their country.

At the present time, to Africans in the Commonwealth, the central and crucial question as it appears to them is, will Britain, supported by the other members of the Commonwealth, allow an illegal minority white régime, as they put it, "to get away with it". Or will they take effective action to change that régime? If that question is not settled, to the satisfaction of all the members of the Commonwealth, there is not likely to remain any multi-racial Commonwealth. Surely therefore it is our duty to do what we can to ensure that we can find this kind of satisfactory settlement.

At the Conference in Lagos, at which we dealt with this problem, the African members demanded - most of them demanded - that Britain use military force to overthrow the Smith régime. Canada and some others in the Commonwealth opposed this demand. We thought that we should try economic sanctions. We decided to do that, as you know. The sanctions haven't worked as quickly as expected. There have been leaks, especially oil leaks, which have prevented the quick action that some people at that time hoped would take place. Yet I feel the economic pressure is having its effect. That is, I think, the main reason why the talks have been going on - talks about talks - in London. I consider this to be an encouraging development and not, in any sense, a betrayal by the British Government of its obligations to the other members of the Commonwealth undertaken at the Conference last January.

CONTINUE SANCTIONS

I think it would be a great mistake to adopt now, military measures, or even compulsory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, such as those in the current resolution before the Security Council of the United Nations. If we took that kind of drastic action at this time we would drive South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia closer together. I don't think this kind of compulsory action, military action or compulsory economic action, would act as quickly as we might hope. Racial disturbances would spread and there would be bloodshed. We would not, I believe, have as good an opportunity of achieving a settlement that would be permanent and orderly. If we can show a little more patience, allow economic sanctions, the kind we have in effect now, to continue their pressure, we may resolve the situation without force. We shouldn't despair because in six months the existing sanctions haven't produced that kind of settlement. A lasting and good solution

is worth waiting for especially when the hasty use of force could lead to a poor solution.

AID DEVELOPING NATIONS

There are danger signals for the Commonwealth. But there are also encouraging developments in our association. The fact that we are, within the association, accepting obligations to each other in the form of mutual aid and collective assistance of every kind, that is important and encouraging. We are increasing our own external aid every year, until I hope within a few years we will be able to reach a point where we put aside 1 per cent of our national income for external aid. Much of that is going to Commonwealth countries as we all feel a certain special obligation to Commonwealth countries. I know that feeling, more even perhaps than the aid itself, is appreciated by the other Commonwealth members. We Canadians have been privileged to assist in the economic development of some of the materially under-developed countries in the Commonwealth. We have assisted in defence aid, in training and equipment, noticeably in Tanzania at the present time. There are hundreds of Commonwealth scholars and trainees in Canada and Canadians are serving in Commonwealth countries. Wherever I go I find Canadians helping in every form of activity imaginable and, when I talk to them, as I always try to wherever I travel, I find that not only are they willing to be there, they're proud and happy to be there, to take part in the exciting development of new countries.

WEST INDIES

In Canada, I think we should have a special feeling of obligation to help the West Indies members of the Commonwealth. We have a long and constructive tradition in our contact with the West Indies. As Britain is giving up some of the burden of responsibility, asking to be freed from some of the obligations and privileges it has undertaken over the years, and as these countries in the West Indies become independent, I think Canadians should be very proud to move into the West Indies, and help, in a special way, to help fill the gap which may be brought about, in material development, by the withdrawal of Britain. We are hoping to do that.

We are having a conference of all the West Indies members of the Commonwealth and Empire in Ottawa in early July; not only those three countries which will be independent by that time, but every colony. We are doing this with the approval and the participation of the British Government which is still responsible for the British colonial part of the West Indies. Out of this conference I hope there will develop stronger relations, mutually profitable, between Canada and our friends in the West Indies.

UK IS THE CORE

These multi-lateral relations, then, are growing. That is encouraging. We should never forget, however, as the Commonwealth changes, that Britain still remains the very centre and the heart of the association. That is natural and that is right. It seems to me the Commonwealth would be quite impossible