

tional ties with the Commonwealth countries will continue. It is difficult to convey the picture of only a matter of 12 or 15 hours ago, when we were together as guests of the Queen and when such a change came about with so little apparent ill feeling.

BREAK UNAVOIDABLE

"Was the result unavoidable? I think it was. Over the years I have contended that in a multiracial association it had to become clear beyond doubt that if the Commonwealth is to be a force for good, as it should be, there must be a measure of general agreement that discrimination in respect of race and colour shall not take place. I do not think we can compromise that principle if we believe that the Commonwealth has a mission for all mankind. It would lose its power to meet challenges and opportunities in the future. I am more convinced than ever as to the power of this institution touching every part of the world.

"I am not going to deal today with the conclusions on disarmament, but I think the discussions on that subject brought about a new relationship among the members of the Commonwealth; but not an institutionalization, or anything that would interfere with the sovereignty of any of us. The influence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya joining with the other members of the Commonwealth on a subject that has divided the United Nations and on which there has not been that progress that the Secretary of State for External Affairs would have hoped for, represents a major step... toward a realization that only through action now can we save mankind from ultimate self-destruction.

EFFECT ON COMMONWEALTH

"The question naturally arises, has the Commonwealth been weakened? Dr. Verwoerd says it is the beginning of disintegration. There are some who view with apprehension the shifting composition of the association. It is a strange thing, but out goes Verwoerd and in comes Archbishop Makarios to represent Cyprus. Sierra Leone was accepted, and other countries will be making application to join within the next year or so. The close intimacy of the days when the present Leader of the Opposition was Secretary of State for External Affairs, with a few members gathered about, is ended.

"There are those who see South Africa's decision as the forerunner of further withdrawals as a result of campaigns of criticism related to national policy. In that connection I should point out this. All of us agreed that no national policy of any country should be examined or considered without the consent of that country. Dr. Verwoerd himself undertook the explanation of the policies of his country.

"I do not minimize the risks inherent in the emerging trends. The task before the Commonwealth is to reduce the risks by building firmly on new foundations. What has happened might be epitomized thus. We have declared

that non-discrimination on the basis of race and colour is the foundation stone of a multiracial association composed of representatives from all parts of the world. No foundation could be broader or more solidly based than the fundamental principle which, though unwritten, has emerged from this meeting.

"I have advocated in the past, and I continue to advocate, a declaration of principles. When I spoke in the House on May 16 last, I referred to the possibility that the time might not be far distant when acceptance by custom rather than by the declaration of certain basic principles, including the equality of all mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed, would be assured. No document was signed on this occasion, but that does not diminish the importance of what happened. I reiterate that we accepted the basic principle and established it as a Commonwealth custom for the future. This is the bedrock of the modern Commonwealth, the assurance, as I see it, of a stronger Commonwealth in the future.

STAND OF NEW STATES

"You will have noted... that shortly before the meeting began the Chief Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius Nyerere, published an arresting statement in which it was said that, in so far as Tanganyika was concerned, there would be no question of applying for membership in the Commonwealth if discrimination were condoned. That statement and others by African leaders in territories shortly to achieve independence foreshadowed the course and the promise of the future.

"There will be some who will say, and they will speak with great energy, that we should have pressed for the expulsion of South Africa. I remind those who speak in that vein that Ghana, Nigeria, India, Pakistan, Malaya and Ceylon did not follow that course. I think the fact that this break had to come and that South Africa should have withdrawn its application was the best course that could be followed. It provided a clearer opportunity of registering the principle of non-discrimination; for the Prime Ministers would not have been satisfied with less.

"As the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said yesterday in the British House of Commons, I regret that South Africa made this choice instead of adopting the attitude of a reasonable acceptance of a primary fact in the world in which we live.

"I have seen the Commonwealth in a different light than ever before. We took the course that anyone who recognizes the fact that Communism marches on the application of discrimination, wherever it is practised, must take. I shall detour a moment to tell Hon. Members that, in the midst of the argument the day before yesterday, Dr. Nkrumah handed me a clipping regarding the denial of admission of two negroes to a hotel in the city of Edmonton. I do not think I have to make any further observation in that connection...."