A WORKING INTERNATIONALISM

Preface by Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal

In September 1943, with the end of the Second World War just beginning to come into sight, Winston Churchill made a now famous speech at Harvard University. His theme was Anglo-American unity; but the wider Commonwealth connection—'the British Commonwealth and Empire' he still called it—was central to his conception of 'fraternal association'. He spoke of the shared heritage of law, language and literature, of common conceptions of what is right and decent—regard for fair play especially to the weak and poor, a sentiment for impartial justice, a love of personal freedom. He saw 'basic English' (on which much work was then being done at Harvard) as 'the headstream of what might well be a mighty fertilising and health-giving river'—'an advantage to many races, an aid to the building up of our new structure for preserving peace'. 'Let us go forward', he concluded, in words that have passed into legend: 'in malice to none and goodwill to all. Such plans offer far better prizes than taking away other people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. *The empires of the future are the empires of the mind*'.

The words with which Churchill ended his oration would have great significance for the future. They were words which would echo through Dumbarton Oaks, through San Francisco and the Charter of the United Nations, and, more specifically, through the decolonisation process which Britain carried forward in such a purposeful fashion in the post-war period. This book brings together the official conclusions of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings from the period just after Churchill's Harvard speech to the present time. These Communiqués, Statements and Declarations from 27 meetings tell in an authoritative way what, I believe, is the rather proud story, of this movement from empire to modern Commonwealth.

It is not for me in this foreword to make an analytical journey through the Communiqués of 42 years. It is precisely to assist that process at the hands of scholars of many disciplines that we have brought them all together in this volume. But, perhaps, it would not be out of place for me to say a word or two by way of introduction in relation to some elements of the process of Commonwealth evolution from which they have emerged.

London Declaration—lynchpin of transition

The evolution of the Commonwealth has occured in a number of distinct phases. It is the transition to the contemporary phase, that of the Commonwealth as a worldwide, multiracial association of sovereign and equal states, that this volume documents. It is a phase characterised by the admission to Commonwealth membership of newly-independent countries from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, joining and momentously changing the 'club' of the old Dominions. It was India's membership from 1947 which signalled and made possible the transition to the modern Commonwealth, both by altering its racial composition and, from the time of the 1949 London

Declaration, by showing that it was possible for the Commonwealth to accommodate republican status. That latter development meant, of course, a changed criterion of membership—allegiance to the British Crown being replaced by recognition of the King as the symbol of the free association and as such Head of the Commonwealth. Not long after the London Declaration, King George VI was succeeded as Head of the Commonwealth by his daughter Queen Elizabeth II whose reign has been virtually contemporaneous with the emergence of the modern Commonwealth.

Summit meetings of the Commonwealth have reflected its inherent flexibility and adaptability to the needs of its members in a changing world. While the Communiqués in this volume run from 1944, it is only since 1971 that they have been Communiqués of 'Heads of Government Meetings', a title capable of embracing national Monarchs, Executive Presidents and Prime Ministers alike. Before that, from 1944 onwards, the summits were known as Prime Ministers Meetings. Significantly, the latter gatherings succeeded the old Imperial Conferences at a time when, near the end of the Second World War, the foundations were being laid for a new world order encompassing many new nationhoods, an order which would decisively reject and move forward from the age of the metropolitan European empires.

With the benefit of hindsight, it would have been neater if the change of name from Imperial Conferences to Prime Ministers Meetings had taken place after 1947, following the admission to the Commonwealth of the first post-war member nations. But history is only neat in retrospect; and both the 1944 Prime Ministers Meeting, though still naturally absorbed with the conduct of the war, and the 1945 Statesmen's Meeting, though called to assist practically with founding the United Nations, together exhaled a forward-looking internationalism and enunciated principles which foreshadowed the theory and practice of the Commonwealth over ensuing decades. The 1946 Prime Ministers Meeting both affirmed the value of Commonwealth co-operation and consultation and, almost for the first time, coupled the promotion of democratic liberty with the raising of standards of living, the quest for security with economic advancement. These are central Commonwealth concerns still. There is thus a logical continuity and progression which justifies beginning this volume in 1944, with the first of the Prime Ministers Meetings, rather than with the first gathering of leaders of the multiracial Commonwealth.

Expanding association of equals

The changing concept of Commonwealth is reflected also in the venues of the summits. London was the setting of all meetings of Commonwealth leaders until the special summit held in Lagos in January 1966 to consider the Rhodesian rebellion, and continued to be so until the Singapore meeting in 1971 began the sequence of Commonwealth summits held at regular two-year intervals in different Commonwealth cities. This sequence has endured up to the present. Nothing would more effectively project the modern Commonwealth as an association of equals than these high-profile gatherings in urban centres across the world. The old Anglocentric Commonwealth had passed into history, replaced by an association with as many centres as members.

The contemporary Commonwealth took root in the great movement of decolonisation which radically transformed the international community after 1945. Now that decolonisation has, for the most part, been accomplished, its success is, perhaps, too easily put down to inevitability. Inevitable it certainly was in the long span of history; yet, in many cases, that was not how it seemed at the time. Independence had to be argued and sometimes struggled for; it

demanded sacrifice and sometimes exacted it. Its achievement required wisdom from both the coloniser and the colonised.

It is also easy to forget the great contribution which the Commonwealth itself made to the process of decolonisation—within the Commonwealth and, by example and encouragement, beyond it. This process both created the association and for long exercised the concern and action of its leaders at their summits. The admission of a new nation to membership is more than the acquisition of someone new in the family; it is a debt of honour paid. The Commonwealth has always stood ready to assist in cases of political difficulty. Normally it is only such cases that are reflected in the Communiqués—as with Belize, whose independence was delayed until 1981 by a dispute over sovereignty, and even more with Zimbabwe, victim of illegal white minority rule leading to armed conflict.

Equally, where members have grave political problems not caused by decolonisation, the Commonwealth stands ready to assist. The situation of Cyprus continues to evoke constructive attention from Commonwealth partners.

Commonwealth Secretariat established

The responsibility for the organisation of official Commonwealth consultations, including the summits, and for the conduct of joint programmes of co-operation, has devolved since 1965 on the Commonwealth Secretariat. The decision to establish the Secretariat is recorded in this volume, with initial consideration at the 1964 summit and a report by officials being followed in 1965 by further consideration, the acceptance by Heads of Government of an Agreed Memorandum on its functions and the appointment of my predecessor, Arnold Smith of Canada, as the first Commonwealth Secretary-General.

These Communiqués show that the idea of a Secretariat was considered at the 1946 summit and rejected. Between 1946 and 1965 the international scene, as well as the minds of Commonwealth leaders, had changed substantially. By 1965, the five Commonwealth members of 1946 had expanded to 21. Now, with 49 partners, and the firm expectation of others to come, it is hard to envisage a Commonwealth without its Secretariat. The great expansion in Commonwealth co-operative activities since 1965 is reflected in these Communiqués; without a central co-ordinating and servicing body, such a range of co-operation would have been impossible. Whether the decision of 1946 was a mistaken one is for the historian to judge. This volume will assist that judgement.

Summits—the Commonwealth way

Commonwealth summits are unique in their duration—normally a full week, compared to the one or two days of most other top-level international meetings—as well as in the flexibility and informality of the proceedings. Their special style and format are cherished because they allow full play to the Commonwealth spirit of friendship and understanding natural among the members of a family of nations which share a heritage of similar practices in education, law, business and administration, and a common respect for pluralism and democracy. These qualities are valued at all levels and in all types of Commonwealth activity, but specially at the summits. And it is at the summits above all that the Commonwealth's shared language of English comes into its own, enabling unambiguous contact between the leaders, a dialogue greatly fostered, without any diminution of forcefulness, by the friendly family

atmosphere, as by the holding of all meetings in strictest privacy and the discouragement of set speeches in favour of direct exchanges between the leaders.

The duration of Commonwealth summits over several days offers the leaders time to nurture personal contact, understanding and friendship between each other. Since the Ottawa summit of 1973, this facility for intimate communication outside the conference room has been reinforced, on a suggestion of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, by a 'retreat', normally at a weekend, away from the venue of the formal sessions in relaxing surroundings.

These retreats have taken the Commonwealth to important milestones of collective decision-making: the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977 seeking to bar apartheid South Africa from sporting links with Commonwealth countries; the Lusaka Accord of 1979 successfully establishing a process for Zimbabwe's independence; the Melbourne Declaration of commitment to conquering global poverty; the Goa Declaration on International Security of 1983; the Commonwealth Accord at Nassau in 1985 agreeing measures to help end apartheid—all these historic agreements were worked out, sometimes with difficulty but always with goodwill, at the retreats. All the Accords and Declarations are printed in this volume alongside the Communiqués of the meetings to the success of which they stand as testimony. The Secretariat is proud to have played an enabling proud in these achievements.

Strengthening the family

The same 1965 summit which established the Secretariat also set up the Commonwealth Foundation to enhance interchanges between professionals in Commonwealth countries. This represented recognition by the Commonwealth of governments of another very different but closely related set of Commonwealth connections, that constituted by the non-governmental, 'unofficial' Commonwealth. Any gathering of like-minded individuals, in activities and professions: from nurses to lawyers, from members of the Commonwealth's many parliaments to surveyors and sportsmen and women—so long as they are bound together by the Commonwealth connection and held under the Commonwealth umbrella, furthers the aim of increased understanding and friendship between people and nations. These Communiqués are not principally concerned with this counterpart, grassroots Commonwealth, but they frequently endorse and encourage it: recognition at the highest political level that without such unofficial contacts inter-governmental activity would be less meaningful. In reality, the Commonwealth of governments and of people are not two separate associations but, rather, two interlocking elements in our Commonwealth partnership which have advanced over the years together.

A third crucial strength was added to the Commonwealth in 1971, with the establishment within the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation to provide assistance in economic and social development to member countries on a multilateral basis. Less than three lines in the 1971 Singapore Communiqué record this decision; yet, the CFTC has grown into possibly the most visible, practical and widely-recognised mechanism of Commonwealth co-operation. With a budget only a fraction of that of many similar bodies in the international family, it has earned a worldwide reputation for highly cost-effective action focused to meet the precise needs expressed by developing countries. That it has been able to achieve so much has been due in large measure to its innovative character as a 'self-help' organisation in which, to a major degree, developing countries themselves provide the experts or

training needed by other developing Commonwealth members, with expertise and facilities also provided where necessary by the developed partner countries. Since all member countries, including the developing members, finance the CFTC on a voluntary basis, its success is a tribute to the value all place upon it.

Other landmarks in practical Commonwealth co-operation emerge from these pages—the leaders' decision to establish a Commonwealth Youth Programme in 1973; their endorsement in 1975 of the Commonwealth Science Council's promotion of the use of science and technology for development; and their support for other co-operative measures: to strengthen co-operation on key economic issues and encourage the North-South dialogue; increase food production and rural development; enhance members' potential for industrial development; promote exports; harmonise legal approaches in Commonwealth-wide schemes; improve managerial expertise, and assist women to contribute fully to national development and public life. They have led to a number of Commonwealth-wide programmes administered by the Secretariat. Education is one of the longest-established areas of co-operation and remains central today. From 1981 onwards, Heads of Government have been specially concerned to foster student mobility throughout the Commonwealth, recognising that educational interaction, endangered by high fees for overseas students in key countries, is one of the most vital strands in the Commonwealth fabric.

Principles—and practice—for our times

In 1971, the achievements of the CFTC lay in the future. In one respect, however, the Singapore meeting that year was a watershed. There, for the first time, the principles which had guided Commonwealth action, and still do today, were set down in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles. This also defined the association's voluntary characteristics and consensual working methods, both directed to enabling its diverse countries to consult and co-operate for their common good and that of the wider world community—doing so in the interests of international understanding, world peace and development. The goals and beliefs set out at Singapore—human liberty and equality, opposition to all racism and colonialism, reducing disparities of wealth between rich and poor countries—blazed a trail not only for Commonwealth member countries but for the whole international community.

I believe that history will acknowledge the Singapore Declaration as a landmark of internationalism. It is no accident that this volume of Communiqués begins with a commitment to peace and to a World Organisation by a Commonwealth locked in the war effort as part of the 'United Nations', and nears its end with the 1985 Nassau Declaration on World Order reaffirming the Commonwealth's commitment to the United Nations after 40 years of that organisation's existence. The Commonwealth has never ceased to be committed to working for a new, more just and harmonious world order of which it is, like the United Nations, an initial if incomplete expression. The principles enunciated at Singapore in 1971 remain a guiding light on the hard road towards that new world.

Recording 40 years of summit-level consultation, these Communiqués are testimony to the effectiveness of a sturdy, commonsense multilateralism true to the association's ideals. The high level of agreement on a very wide range of issues reflected here was achieved, moreover, by the Commonwealth method of consensus, rather than by voting as in most international organisations. It is the Commonwealth belief, justified by experience, that conclusions reached by

consensus, even when for some that involves modifying views to merge with the majority position, create a platform of unity on which progress can be built, while voting tends to clarify and harden division and difference.

The consensus method has demonstrated its continuing validity despite the great increase in Commonwealth membership—from the five partners of 1944 to the 49 of today. That this should be so is a tribute to the Commonwealth spirit which has been present at every summit, however difficult the agenda. And the Communiqués stand for unremitting effort, showing as they do the extent to which it is possible for men and women of goodwill to achieve consensus and eschew disagreement. That the Commonwealth was able to overcome such potentially divisive, even destructive issues as Suez in 1956, the long-drawn-out struggle for Zimbabwe in the 1960s and 70s, Grenada in 1983 and the anti-apartheid sanctions debate in 1985-6, and not just survive but retain intact the will and ability to combine in constructive dialogue towards solutions of unresolved issues, is proof of its tensile strength.

These Communiqués inevitably enshrine both solid achievement and unfulfilled aspiration. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, I believe they fully justify Jawaharlal Nehru's assertion to the Indian Parliament in 1953 that Commonwealth membership would be to 'our and the world's advantage'.

Globally representative

The contemporary Commonwealth has been able to be of benefit both to its members and in a broader international context, because it is a reflection of the modern world. It encompasses countries from every continent and ocean, at every level of development, embracing many different races and religions. Its members come from NATO, from the Non-Aligned Movement and from no particular security grouping; from the Group of Five and (overwhelmingly) the Group of 77, from the OECD and the EEC but also from ASEAN, ECOWAS, SAARC, SADCC, CARICOM and the Pacific Forum. The Commonwealth includes representatives of all types of modern nation state except for the superpowers and the Warsaw Pact bloc, making it easily the most representative body outside the United Nations.

As these Communiqués testify, the small association of old Commonwealth countries of 1944 has grown into a worldwide multiracial partnership in which the countries of 'the South' far outnumber the industrialised 'Northern' members. Yet this Third World membership was implicit even in 1944, when the Communiqué recorded that representatives of India and Southern Rhodesia had joined in the deliberations. The deep roots of Rhodesia within the Commonwealth, illustrated by this reference in the 1944 Communiqué, help to explain the parallel depth of the Commonwealth's commitment to the eventual emergence of an independent Zimbabwe and its welcome to full Commonwealth membership, a goal not fulfilled until 1980. In 1975, the leaders meeting in Kingston offered to welcome a free Namibia to the association, and to work to that end. Zimbabwe showed that the Commonwealth keeps its promises, however long and arduous the effort. That will be true of Namibia, still unjustly denied its freedom by the Pretoria régime. And, it will be true, I believe, of South Africa, a Commonwealth member until in 1961 the association's principled adherence to multiracialism and abhorrence of apartheid forced its withdrawal. The record shows that the association's concern to do all in its power to help end apartheid and enable South Africans of all races to exercise their political rights has strengthened, not diminished, during the long absence of South Africa from the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth was particularly heartened, therefore, by African National

Congress President Oliver Tambo's comment in London in 1986—speaking from the platform of the Royal Commonwealth Society—that for many South Africans South Africa had never really left the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is not simply waiting, but is working—in ways to which I will refer—to help create a situation in which South Africa will be able to resume its place in the association.

The collective positions of the Commonwealth's Heads of Government gain in authority from the unity they bring to differing perspectives. The implied contradiction between the unity of the Commonwealth, represented in the points of agreement recorded in these Communiqués, and the diversity of its membership, is resolved by its innate capacity to build bridges of understanding between different interest groups. The Commonwealth is uniquely qualified to bring 'a touch of healing' to a troubled world, to quote Nehru again. Its diversity only serves to heighten the relevance of its bridge-building and healing qualities to current needs. Because the Commonwealth represents the world, the world's problems are its own.

Serving a vision

In the interdependent global society which the world has already become, but to whose imperatives many of its governments are slow to respond, the need for bridges of understanding could hardly be greater. This volume shows Commonwealth members uniting from the start in the service of the vision of 1945, the vision of a new and more equitable world order of which the United Nations was to be the guardian and the image. Over 40 years later, the multilateral international system centred on the UN is severely strained, the vision which inspired it has dulled and the UN has had to become accustomed to a role much more limited than its founders envisaged and its Charter enjoined.

Old patterns of superpower dominance based on armed might have asserted themselves, and the rash of conflict of various sizes across the globe, often sharpened by the intrusion of great-power rivalries, together with the insecurities felt by many of the world's new nations and the spread of militarisation outwards from the superpower arms race to the countries of the Third World, all testify to the world's need for peace, and for international mechanisms to preserve and promote it. In the global economy, too, fundamental structural problems and inequities survive, and the international financial and trading system remains tilted in favour of the major industrialised nations which were parties to the founding of the Bretton Woods institutions, before the more than 100 new nations launched on to the international scene by decolonisation had made their appearance.

Against this background of general inequality, specific recent developments have worsened the lot of many developing countries—for many, an international debt crisis with repayments of a magnitude which has actually reversed financial flows and made the North a net recipient of funds from the South rather than a transmitter of them: for all developing countries, a struggle against persistent and increasing trade protectionism by the industrialised countries; for some, deepening recession due partly to commodity prices lower in real terms than at any time since the 1930s—prices geared to benefitting the buyer rather than the seller. The arguments of international think-tanks such as the Brandt Commission for mutuality of interest between North and South in an equitable system allowing the Northern economies to benefit from increased trade with an expanding and more prosperous South, have largely gone unheeded, although they have been amplified in many international fora

including those of the Commonwealth. At their worst, the resultant breakdowns in the international system are seen in human terms—in the over 1000 million of the world's absolute poor trapped in a vicious cycle of deprivation whether in the desertified landscapes of sub-Saharan Africa or in the squalid urban half-life endured by the outcasts of many of the world's great cities.

Our leaders have shown themselves alive both to the underlying economic realities and to the human consequences, in the spirit of the association's commitment to greater equity, humanity and justice. At their 1975 summit in Kingston, Jamaica, they demonstrated the Commonwealth's bridge-building, consensual qualities by acting on a proposal by a Prime Minister of a Northern country substantially expanded by a Prime Minister from the South (Harold Wilson and Forbes Burnham) which placed the Commonwealth at the service of growing efforts to establish a new, more equitable, international economic order - adding its distinctive voice to efforts at global reform through negotiation and persuasion in the Commonwealth manner. The Kingston meeting initiated a practical Commonwealth quest for international economic justice which continues to this day, conducted on many fronts and by a range of methods.

Drawing on diversity

One method which the Commonwealth has particularly made its own is the establishment, with Secretariat support, of Commonwealth-wide groups of experts independent of governments who have focussed their differing view points on common problems and proposed overall remedies. In doing so, the expert groups have often been able to assist global, not just Commonwealth, searches for solutions. Their reports have developed a reputation for quality and have received significant attention in international discussion. The report on efforts towards a New International Order resulting from the 1975 Kingston summit, the report on a Common Fund to help stabilise commodity prices arising from London in 1977, Lusaka's request for a study on the world economic crisis in 1979, Melbourne's establishment in 1981 of groups to consider the problems of trade protectionism and of obstacles inhibiting North-South negotiations, New Delhi's call for a study on the developing-country debt problem considered by Finance Ministers and then by the Nassau summit—all these were a continuation both of the general commitment of the 1971 Singapore Declaration and of the specific commitment of Kingston in 1975. The results often remain of direct utility today.

And the method proved transferable to other groups and types of issue. In 1983 the New Delhi summit set up a governmental (as distinct from independent) group from across the Commonwealth with a mandate to help promote agreement on key economic issues, including the reform of the international financial and trading system which had itself been studied by an expert group at the request not of Heads of Government but of Finance Ministers. In 1985 another expert group deriving its mandate from Commonwealth leaders as recommended by Ministers of Labour and Employment reported at Nassau on the management of technological change; and the 1983 New Delhi summit launched a pioneering investigation of direct relevance to the world's smaller nations, many of which belong to the Commonwealth family, by a Consultative Group including government representatives which examined the security problems, both political and economic, faced by small states—with results which were considered at Nassau in 1985.

Equally the Nassau summit called for an expert group to prepare a study of youth unemployment, which was presented to Labour Ministers and

commended by them to the Vancouver summit of late 1987. Also arising from Nassau, the report of another expert group was before the leaders in Vancouver; exploring with both vision and practicality the scope for new Commonwealth co-operation in the field of distance learning, it proposed to harness the Commonwealth's teaching resources and technological possiblities in nothing less than a University of the Commonwealth.

These initiatives show the Commonwealth at work, at various levels in the pyramid of consultation and co-operation but ultimately at the summit as reflected in the Communiqués, and at work in ways employing the association's unique facility to build on unity achieved out of diversity.

A safer world

While the security of small states is a new global issue in which the Commonwealth is a front-runner, the broader issues of international security have never failed to claim the attention of Commonwealth summits, despite the absence of superpowers from the membership and the diversity of alliances and groupings represented. The continuity of concern is apparent in this volume, from the meeting of wartime allies in 1944 right up to Nassau in 1985. In a world which has had to live with the threat of nulear destruction implicit in continuing superpower confrontation, there is clearly need for other voices than those of the superpowers themselves to be raised on matters of East-West—in other words, global—security: for the voice of the Six-Nations Peace Initiative including two Commonwealth countries, and for many other voices including that of the whole Commonwealth.

As far back as 1961, Commonwealth leaders issued a 'Statement on Disarmament' (included in these pages) in which they formulated principles to help the international community reactivate the stalled disarmament negotiations; eventually some of these guidelines were reflected in the new phase of US-Soviet disarmament negotiations. As in the period of detente in the 1960s, so, against a background of hardening superpower postures in 1983, the Commonwealth in its Goa Declaration on International Security urged a reduction of tension, the end of the arms race and constructive East-West dialogue. What may have seemed optimistic, even unrealistic, in India proved not to be so by the time of the 1985 Bahamas meeting. At Nassau, Heads of Government were able to welcome the resumption of US-Soviet arms talks; and in 1986 there was the superpower summit at Reykjavik—a failure in some respects but one which, in the breathtaking glimpse it provided of a world free from nuclear thraldom, lights the way to new efforts towards a secure and peaceful global society.

In the particular context of the 1961 meeting, I invite attention to a central feature of Commonwealth summits, namely, that they are constructive even when they appear most controversial. In 1961, the Commonwealth faced up squarely to the traumatic issue of South Africa's withdrawal; yet this crisis caused by adherence to principle did not prevent the leaders from conceiving constructive proposals on disarmament which proved of real benefit to the entire international community. In the same spirit, the Singapore summit of 1971 was notable not only for its disharmonies on the issue of arms sales to South Africa but also for its formulation of the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles and for establishing the CFTC. The New Delhi summit, despite differing viewpoints on the US invasion of Grenada, united in initiating an appraisal of the broad security problems of all small states. In the same way, the 1985 Nassau summit was undeterred by its failure to achieve complete unanimity on substantial sanctions against South Africa, and went on to couple

a more modest sanctions programme with a far-reaching practical effort to promote a dialogue for peaceful change in South Africa.

Ending apartheid

As a key part of this effort, the mission of the Eminent Persons Group to South Africa in 1986, although robbed of the success which seemed within reach, was in the highest Commonwealth traditions and shed fresh lustre on the association. Their conclusions led, in the short term, to the further sanctions agreed in the summer of 1986 by the London Review Meeting with which this volume concludes and, already, have been a catalytic factor in the intensification of global pressure for the ending of apartheid. Moreover, their report, *Mission to South Africa*, is widely recognised as a central text on the contemporary South African situation.

The struggle to eliminate apartheid from South Africa may be in its final phase, but it is far from over. In its Commonwealth dimension it will call to the full on all the association's consensual qualities, all its abilities to create cohesion out of what unites human beings rather than what divides them. It will demand the most vigorous application of humanitarian principles deriving from acknowledgement of our common humanity, a community of compassion written deep into the Commonwealth's Singapore Declaration.

The future must also hold unseen and undefined challenges. These Communiqués reveal a Commonwealth which will not flinch from playing its part in meeting them and from pointing the way for others to do so as well.

I hope many who peruse these pages will penetrate beyond their value as historical record to the human realities with which they are concerned. The Communiqués deal with problems often literally meaning life and death for the human beings involved, and they were written by men and women concerned to change things for the better. It is easier for me than for most readers to remember the authors of these Communiqués because in recent decades I have been privileged to know them and to share their efforts and their friendship. Many of them have been outstanding personalities who have shaped and benefited the times in which we live. They have been builders of their own nations and of a better world. They did not forget that governments exist for people, not the contrary. It is to them, and to their memories, that this record of their endeavours is dedicated.