

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK 7UDQ

\$ WZR GHFDGH 'RFXPHQW 3DWKZD\ XS WR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK +HDGV RI \*RYHUQPHQW  
/RQGRQ DQG DW :LQGVRU \$SULO

%\ 'DYLG +RZHOO

7KH 5W +RQ /RUG +RZHOO RI \*XLOGIRUG  
3UHVLGHQW RI 7KH 5R\DO &RPPRQZHDOWK  
&KDLUPDQ RI WKIR &RPPRQZHDOWK&6RFLHWLH

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freely

&RYHU 'HVLJQ E\ .DWH %DLQ  
%RXQG DQG 3ULQWHG E\ %RRN 3UL

This booklet is also available at

KWWSV\_ZZZ\_ORUGGDYLGKRZHOO\_FRP\_FRP

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&217(176

3UHDPEOH DQG ,QWURGXFWLRQ 3DJH

([WUDFW IURP 7KH (GJH RI 3RZHD0DFPL

/HWWHU WR 3URIHVVRU 'DYLGDJGIV

\$ 1HJOHFWHG &RORVV 6SHHFK WR 7K  
&RPPRQZHDOWK 6RFLHW\ 3DJH

7LPIRU 1HZ 3DUWQHUV 2SIKHUHG3WRH'DL

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK 1)RZDQJWDFOH

7LPHV 3DJH

\$ )DOVH \$QWLWKHVLV 7KH <RDNVAKLUH :

2XU 5HDO )SLKCHW IRDPWKH &HQWUH IRU  
3ROLF\ 6WXGLHV 3DJH

\$ 1HR &RQVHUYDWLYHO)REDHJQ 3ROLF  
6WUDWHJ\ )RUXP SDPSKOHW3DJH

0DOWD )XWRPQRZHDOWK R/HFWXUH WR  
WKH 6WULFNODQG )RXQGDWLRQDJH

\$ :HOFRPH 6KLIW" -DSDQ 7LPH3DJH

3HUKDSV 7KH\ +DYH 1RW 4XLWH 5HDOLV  
7KH \*OREDOLVDWLRQ ,QVWLW3DJH

&RPPRQZHDOWK V \*URZLQJ ,PSRUWDQFH  
-DSDQ 7LPHV 3DJH

|

7KH 1H[W %QW H G Q D O ; 1RWH 3DJH  
7KH 2386 3URM H V M U H W K Z R U N F H 3DJH  
-DSDQ 2QH 0RUH 7D J R \ D H F W X U 3 D U Q  
\*LGHR Q P B Q F K 3URYRFDWLYH \$UWLFOH  
)LQDQFLDO 7LPHV 3DJH  
3XW W K Q J & E D F N L Q ) & 2 ' D L O \ 7 H O H J U D  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K 0 L Q L V W H U V \ 3 D J H U H Q F  
(XUR S X V H % U L W D L Q ( 8 D Q G B R P P R Q Z  
2O G / L Q N V D Q G 1 H Z 7 L H V % B R N ([WU  
& K L Q P P R Q Z H D O W K D Q G 7 U D G H \$ 1 H Z  
' D L O \ 7 H O H J U D S K Z L W K 7 L P 3 H H Z L V K  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K ' D \ 2 E V H U Y D Q F H  
: H V W P L Q V W H U \$ E E H \ 3 D J H  
( Q J O L V K B I U W W R F 3 O D Q H W 1 R W H I U R P &  
+ L G D O J R \ V , Q R R R U N D K W L R Q \* U R Z V  
3 H Q J X L Q 3 D J H  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K 7 U D Q V I R U P H B D J  
\$ 6 X G G H Q & K L W Q H K D L O O \$ U W L F O H I R U  
7 K H 5 R X Q G W D E O H 3 D J H  
2 K 1 R R W ( P S L U H 5 & 6 % U L H B I L Q 1 R W  
7 K H P P R Q Z H D O W K & L Q W X U \ 2 [ I R U G  
8 Q L Y H U V L W \ ) R U H L J Q 6 H U Y L F H 3 D J H U D P P H

/RUGHEDWH 6RIW 3RZHU 3DYHDJWKH :D\  
6DIH \$QFKRUDJH IRU ,VODQG 6WDWHV  
%UDQFKDRI&RPPROGZFLDHWK 3DJH

\$ &DQ 'R 0RPHQW IRU WKH &RPPRQZHDO  
5RDO 6RFLHW\ ,QWHUQDWLRQDO )RUXP  
1HZ =HDODQG +RXVH 3DJH

7KH 0RWKHU RI \$OO 1HWZRUV 6SHHFK  
%UDQFK RI WKH 5RDO &RPPROGZFLDHWK

8QIKHLG 2G\VVH\ 3DJH

\$SSHQGL[ &RQFOXVLRQV RI +RXVH RI  
)RUHLJQ \$IIDLUV &RPPPLWWHH )LUVW 5  
7KH )XWXUHRI WKH &RPPRQZHDOHWK

3 U H D P E O H D Q G , Q W U R G X F W L R Q

'But, it will inevitably be asked, how can such a disparate and scattered grouping possibly be a force and a weight in these dangerous and contentious times? Who will take the lead? It can never be a trade bloc. Where is central control going to be?

To understand the answer to these questions requires the biggest shift of all between the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 21<sup>st</sup> century mindset, a shift which many still find it impossible to make.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century the solution had to be in terms of blocs, consolidated organisations, centrally controlled in the name of efficiency, organisational pyramids perhaps with some delegation, but basically radiating down from a superior and central point.

All this has now been invalidated, not only in business but in governmental affairs and in relations between countries and societies. Thanks to the extraordinary power and pervasiveness of the information revolution we live in an era now not of blocs and pyramid tiers of power and management but of networks and meshes, both formal and informal.

By accident as much as design the Commonwealth emerges from a controversial past to take a perfect place in this new order of thinking and acting ¶

([WUDFW IURP D VSHHFK WR WKH 5R\DO  
1RUWKXPEHUOD <sup>WK</sup> QG \$ DMQXH

7KLV LV D VWRU\ RI DQ LGHD DZDNRXQWJ  
IURP RQH SHUVRQDO YLHZSRLQW DQG W  
OHFWXUHV SXEERWKHGODHUWLHFOVGOVRPHV

WZG HFDGHRV IDLO X UUH I DLOE W W O B R W  
JOLPPHRJL Q X F F H V V  
7 K I U H L V L O O R U L X P S R P I Q W F R P S H W M R O M K H  
G L V F R Y H V A H W V D R U L Q J K H D V E V N D F Z D V K O W K H  
Z D O O D K J D W H Z T K H L F R W R C W D L O Q W H H V I S V W I Q D O O  
: K L W H K H V O P U Q D V C H H A L K H Q H U P D D O D V E H V O V R  
P H O W D Q G W K H I L U L V Q W M S S H L R W U M B P L B M P H Q W I  
D U H E H J L R Q Q Q Z

, D P W D O D E G W W H Q R R X P R P P E D Q W K Z Z U N F K  
V S U H D F G W R K O V K H D U V O Q V P D M X Q V G H U W R C H  
K X B Q N L Q E R X L W W W V O I R O V P D W L R G W K R Q P R V W  
H Q W Q U H Z O D Q G D E R X W B W R V Q Y L X G H % U W R Z D U G V  
2 Q F B R O J R L Q M K S R Z D W H D U V W R O I D F M Q W W K H  
& R P R Q Z H D O V R K D M R U % B Q W M K I Q F H V W I Q O H N B I  
D E R X W % X W W D H C S R V L W L R Q L Q W K H Z R U O G

7 K I Q M H F R C H U Q I Z D G P D G U J L Q D D O L P M R V G W R W R Z H Q  
G H F D G D H M Q G I R W H F D Q Z K L R C V R P T X D H U U W V V O Q B W  
I X O J D V S I Q G V B O G R W H D H D H W O U O W V H K H D B W  
W K H % U L W L V K J R M H O Q D H F Q W H , R V & R I P P R Q Z H  
2 Q H I X U W K H L Z D Z R Q L G P D V R V R U N 7 K H J Q H Z W  
P D U N H W V D Q G D W K R I Q V R P F O R Z H U D F O W K Q R D W  
L Q W H Z K N Q H C E R M H D L V E B K S P W B I O % K D E W B Q Q  
D Z D D O R O J L P R W K L L W D U D Q J H P H Q R O W B R Z G U L G W V  
V W X G H Q W P P R O Z P H B R O W U H L E H Q Z H O F R O X E K J  
Z L C O S H R C D F T X M U K B E J B W U H J D V D L O W , K D O L K H  
& R P R Q Z H D O W K M S U V K R X G H V S H I P W L W W H Z  
U H O D W Z R Q O K L S Y E H U X O R O U J H G R O C C F R B I D V H I X O O  
E X U L H G

2Q 1RYHPEHU WQGH )RUHLJQ \$IIDLUV &R  
+RXVH RI &RPPRQV DW :HVVPLQVWHU LV  
FRQWDLQHG D UHYRHOXWZKQDU\PPHVVDJ  
&RPPRQZHDOWK IDU IURP EHLQJ UHUFXIQG  
DQG D OHIWRYHU IURP LPSHULDOLQVRRJLH  
PRGHUQ QHWZRUN RI HQRUPRXV SRFVHQW

7KH IXOO FRQFOXVLRQV DUH DWHWDFKRG R  
SDSHUV

7KH UHSRUW FRQFOXGHG WKDW WKH &R  
VLJQLILFDQFH LQ D UDSLGO\ HPHUHLQJ Z  
VKRXOG EULQJ WR LW PHIRUHFKDOWHRWWKH

)URP WKH 8. SRLQW RI YLHZ LW DUJXH  
RSSRUWXQLWLHV ZKRFKQLWKIRXDGGEVHLJHC  
H[SORLWHG ZLWK YLJRXU DQG LPDJLQDWL

7KH YLHZ WKDW &RPPRQZHDOWK UHQDWLR  
WKH VKDSLQJ RI %ULWLVK IRUHLJQLSROL  
LQWHUHVW DOWORXWKHWHIZKRGSEHPRH  
WKH LQTXLU\ VHHPHG DOO WRR FOXHJG V  
VWURQJHU HPSKDVLV RQ WKH &RPPRQZHD  
JRYHUQPHQW DV D ZKROH

7KH PHVVDJH ZHQW QRZKHUH \$ WHSLG  
JRYHUQPHQW VRPH VL[ PRQWKV ODWHU  
OLQLVWHUV ZRXOG GLVFXVV WKH RSMRUL  
WKH DGYDQWDJHV ZKLFK WKH &RPPRQZH  
%ULWLVK FRPSDQLHV DQG LQVWLWXWLRQ  
OLQNV FRXOG EH XVHG WR EHVV HIIHFV

%XW WKDW ZDV LWLOHRIHUVHVDUZGDA DQ  
UHFRPPHQGDWLRQV IURP WKH FRPRQLWWH

:KLWHKDOO KLHUDUFK\ WKH &RPPRQZHDOW  
LWV FRQFHUQV 7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK 2IILFH  
KDG WKH SRVW RI &RPPRQZHDOWK 6HFU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK 2IILFH D KDQGIXO RI RIIL  
EUDYHO\ WR NHH SDWKHODVEXH D OGY ZEMKLG  
D IHZ \HDUV WUHQG\ YRLFHV LQ WKH )RUH  
DUJXLQJ WKDW WKH W D P R W R V M R X H O G H S H F K  
ZRUG &RPPRQZHDOWKHUGIWRSPSHGVIWUKWVOH )  
ZHUH IUXVWUDWHG

6RRQ DIWHU WKH QPHSRU WKV Q JHGRWRBQWKH  
RI WKH QHZ DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ WXU QKH HO  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ZHUH PDGH E\ WKH /DERXU  
)RUHLJQ 6HFUHWDU\ 5RELQ &RRN EXW  
\*RYHUQPHQW /LWVOH RU QR DFWLRQ IRO  
1HZ /DERXU GLVFRYHUHG LWV QHZQIRXQG I  
DQG DGGUHVVHG (XURSHDQ LVVXHFZLWKHV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VDN IURP VLJKWOLFU DW  
PDNHUV RSLQLRQ IRUPHUV DQG WKH :HVW

)URP RQH VRXUFH DOPRVW DORQH FDPH V  
PRGHUQ &RPPRQZHDOWK ZDV D KLGGHQ DV  
7KH 4XHHQ DQG PHPEHUV RI KHU IDVILON :  
JRYHUQPHQWV ORRNHG WKH RWKHU ZYUKH  
ILUVW YRZV DV PRQDUFK ZDV WKDWWKW ZI  
IXWXUH QRW WKH SDVW

7RGD\ WKH VLWXDWLRQ KDV FKDQJHG EH\F  
ORQHO\ JURXS ZLWKLQ WKH )RUHLJQV DQG  
QRZ D OLYHO\ &DELQHW 2IILFH 8QLW DQGV  
SUHSDUDWLRQV IRRQ D HPDORUK &RBXPPLV



\*RYHUQPHQW PHBWLICQJRQVRRQHLQHSOULO  
DQG RIILFLDOV QRZ ZRUN ZKHUHLVUWV  
WLPH LQ KLVWRU\ ERWK %XFNLQJKDP 3D  
RSHQLQJ GRRUV IRUYEWOHMHUHQFHWDQWV RI  
7UDGH 0LQLVWHUUVLYKHGYH&RPPRQZHDOWK  
0LQLVWHUV PHHW UHJXODUO\ DQG JHQHU  
WZHQW\ \HDUV WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV E  
/RQGRQ DQG DFURVV WKH QDWLBQO WVD  
WLPH DJR 7KH FRQWUDVW EHWZHHQXVGH  
KDUGO\ EH JUHDWHU

+RZ KDV WKLW H[WUDRUGLQDU\ LI YRUW\ E  
VRPH LW LV WKH FXOPLQDWLRQGRDQFHU  
WKURXJK PDQ\ FKDQQHOV WR D KLWKKDUW  
JUHDW RSSRUWXQLW\ ZDREKHLQV PLKMHVU  
WKH %ULWLVK GHFLVLRQ WR OHDOYHGWKR  
VKDUS UHYLYDO RVWKLWZLDGOJOWEEDOKQ  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV XQGRXEWHGO\ RQ

%XW LQ WUXWK WKH EXLOG XS WRDVKH G  
VSDVPRGLFDOO\ RYHU PDQ\ \HDUV JHULYH  
WKDQ DQ\ JRYHUQPHQW 7KLV FRGOHF  
SDSHUV LV LQWHQG HG WR KHOGS HLYDQWV  
HYHQW RSLQLRQ VORZO\ EHJDQ WR HY  
UHGHZHG FRPPLWPHQW 7KHUH LV VRPH U  
LQIRUPDWLRQ RYHUWDRGUFEMDWDJHOKDDJ

%XW RQH WKLQJ WKH\ DOVR VKRZORQHJQR  
MXVW DQ DUJXPHQW DERXW WKH &RPPRQ  
HYHQ ELJJHU VWRU\ 'RZQ WKH \HDUV D

IXQGDPHQWDO FKDQJH LQ %ULWDWQH ZIRUH  
%ULWDLQ YLHZV LWVHOI LQ D UDSLGO\ F  
EHIRUH %UH[LW LW KDG EHFRPH LQRUMBML  
LWV PDLQ GHVWLQ\ DV O\LQJ ZLWKRQKXUR  
LQ WKH QHZ FRQGLWLRQV RI WKH VW FHQ

7KH VWDJHJHULQJ H[SDQVLRQ RI FRPRXQLFD  
\$VLD DQG WKH H[WUDRUGLQDU\ FKDQJHV L  
DERXW E\ ZKDW KDV EHHQ ODEHOORFGUWKHH  
VHFRQG ZDYH RI JOREDO LFRQWLSRQLZHH LORQ  
WR LPSHO %ULWDLQ WR UHWKLQN LWV ZRU

2QH RWKHU VHHPLQJOM WKUHGHFDQERQ P  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KHDGV RI JRYHUQPHQW PH  
WR ORFDWH WKH QH[W KHDGVGRIQJRY  
HDUO\ LQ DW ZKLFK SRLQW %ULW  
FKDLUPDQVKLS RI WKH W&RPIPSUZHLOWD  
DQG EHIRUH WKDW E\ 6UL /DQND

7KH GHFLVLRQ DW ODOWD WKDW %UOWELQ  
+HDGV RI \*RYHUQPHQW KRWW KDG DQVWL  
ZDV PDGH DW D WLPH ZKHQ IHZ EHIRUH Y  
%UH[LW GHFLVLRQ DV DW DOO OLNHO\ +  
DOWKRXJK WKHUH ZHUH FHUWDLQOLV VRP  
FRXUVH 3HUKDSV LW VKRXOG EHHXGW GR  
WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK OHVGHU  
SODFH UDWKHU WKDQ ODXULWLXFKDQFHU  
FRQYHUVDWLRQ LQ DQ DHURSODQH7KH \  
RXWFRPH SURYLGH D FODVVLH[D]FSOOR  
FRLQFLGH E\ FKDQVRI DOWGHU LQKWRISDJWWHU

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK FRQQHFWLRQ LV E\ C  
%ULWDLQ V SRVW %UH[LW UROHLRQ ZHKQRZ  
OLYH LQ D ZRUOG RIUMHYSOGGYRQ GHWZO  
XQLPDJLQDEOH SRZHU DQG LQIOXHQFH  
RQH QHWZRUN DPRQDYLWKKHBO\ODQRM V  
VLQHZ DQG YHU\ ZLGHO\ PLVXQGHUWVRRG  
DQ\ FHQWUDO DXWKRULW\ RU JRYHUHQPHQ  
RSSRVLWH QDPHO\ WKDW SRZHU QEZ OL  
ZLWK WKH JUDVV URRWV DQG ZLWK WKH  
LQWHUHVWV SURIHVVLRQV FLYLQGV DQGH  
LQGLYLGXDOV DV ZHOO DV ZLWK FLWLHV

7KLV LV DQ HQWLUHO\ GLIIHUHQW ZRUOG  
FKHVVERDUG DQG LW MXVW KDSSHQV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VWGLQWUDQDQHUHWRQYMH  
DQG LV FRQLQXLQJ WR GR VR

(YHU\ SUHMXGLFH ZLOO ILQG D OLWWO  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VWRU\ 7KRVH ZKR ORRN  
WKH ROG %ULWLVK (PSLUH FODVK ZLWK W  
RQO\ D OHJDF\ RI FRORQLDOLVP DQBFUSW  
SORW WR IUXVWUDWH (8 LQWHJUDGLRQ  
RUJDQLJDWLRQ RI DQ HQWLUHO\ GLIIHUHQ  
QRVWDOJLD ZLWKRXW VHHLQJ WKDW H  
PLVJXLGHG RIILFLDO HYHQ WULHGHR ODE

\$FURVV WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ZLWK FKH  
KLVWRULDQV ZLWK KLVWRULFLVWV WRQG  
REYLRXV IDODLQQLQWK QSWW\OHECFRQHPQW  
\$QG DOO WKH ZKLOH WKH PHGLD KRYHU  
VFDQGDO VRPHZKHUH D GHYLDWLRQDQ Q  
ZKR VXUYH\ DQ DVVRFLDWLRQ FRYXODLQJRC  
DUH ERXQG WR ILQGHUHPHWKVLQWLVQVWZHI

%XW ZKHQ DOO LV VDLG DQG GRQH HWKH  
ZKLFK DUH QRZ SXOOLQJ WKH &RPPRQZH  
VWURQJHU PXFK VWURQJHU WKDSDW WH IR  
7KH ODVW SLHFH LQ WKH ERRN GHDDYHU  
2YHUVHDV /HDJXH LV HQWLWOHG μ7KM 0R  
ZKDW WKH &RPPRQZKXDOOHWK VIRJORQH DQG  
LQ WKH OLVW RI %ULWLVK LQWHUHVW LV

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Autumn of 1997. After the dismal reception for the Commons Report it was hard even to raise the subject of the Commonwealth. Many people lost heart. The most positive thing I can find from this low period was from a draft of a new book I was writing called 'The Edge of Now'. The book actually appeared in 1999 published by Macmillan. It's a good starter because it opens up the main theme of many of the items ahead, namely that the digital revolution was going to reinvigorate the whole Commonwealth network – not a bad guess in 1999, when the great social media engines had hardly been invented, and nobody had ever heard of Facebook, let alone blockchains! Here it is, from Chapter 26, entitled the Real New International Order

### Extract From The Edge of Now

7KH QHZ SUHPLXP RQ QHWZRUN UHODWLR  
ZKLFK VHHPHG OHVV XVHIXO LQ WKH SD  
&RPPRQZHDOWK IRURRQZHDOWK VZK&RPPH  
IRUP WKH SHUIHFW LQWHU JRYHUQRORZD  
ZKRVH XPEUHOOD OLWGRQJRYKXQSHUQRD  
RIILFLDO &RPPRQZHDOWK ERGLHV FUHDW  
XQHTXDOOHG LQ DQ\ RWKHU JOREDO DUUD

7KXVH FRQQHFWLRQV VWUHWFK ULJKW DF  
LQWR ILIW\ WKUHH QDWLRQ VDWLWIDQG  
PLOORQV RISHRSOH LQ WKRXVDQG WKJ  
SROLWLFDO SKLORVRSK\ RU WKH SKDOLF\  
SKLORVRSK\ ZKLFK HYHQ UHFRJQLMHV W  
JURZLQJ UROH"

\$ QDWLRQ ZLWK D GHYHORSHG μJOREDO  
WRGD\TV FRQGLWLRQV RXJKW WR JLY  
HQFRXUDJHPHQW WR WKLV NLQG RI QHV

UHODWLRQV ,W LV FOHDUO\ WKH RFRDOW H  
FRQFHUQV GHIHQVWQV DQ R QDQCG UG W XHUVQ WQH  
D JOREDOLVHG HQYLURQPHQW

<HW WKH SROLF\ PDNHUV KDYH EHHQ KHXUL  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN SRWHQWLDO KD  
%ULWLVK RIILFLDO WHPSHQWQWZKLODFHWVFKDFC  
LV HLWKHU WR OHDYH LQWHUQDWLRFKDFP V  
XSZDUGV WR XQDFFRXQWDEOH LQVPHOODWL  
UHVLOLHQW

7KHUH FDQ EH QR TXHVWLRQ WKDLWLQKHDO  
JOREDQ DSSURDFK LV JHWWLQJ PXRQ EVLRJI  
HQYLURQPHQWDO FRQWURO DQG IWRPOVHVF  
KHDOWK DQG VDIHW\ VWDQGDUGV LVRXHFDO  
KDYH WR EH KDQRONGODURHJUDQKHQWLKH QI

%XW WKH TXHVWLRQ LV μZKDW VRQWDRI R  
ZLUHG XS SULDYDVLVHG ZRUOG RIUHFHQW  
HOHFWRUDWHV LV QHWZRUN RUJDOREDFDL  
V\ VWHP QRW QDUURZHU UHJLRQDOLEOVKWH  
NLQG RI LQWHUQDWLRFKWHVHUHQDOLFRQQ PD  
DOUHDG\ XQGHUVWDQG DQG RSMUZHWHQ \$WV  
WKH WLPH ZKHQ RSLQLRQ IRUPHUV DQG O  
FRDFK

2000. A year later I find a letter replying to the renowned Professor David Dilks, who had kindly sent me his highly constructive ideas on Commonwealth development. I have to say that most academics were fairly unhelpful on Commonwealth matters, being mostly of what can be called the Chatham House tendency – namely that our destiny was in Europe and that Commonwealth connections were of not much interest. Professor Dilks was one admirable and expert exception to the general apathy.

I emphasize that this changed considerably over the subsequent decade.

'H DU 3 URIHVVRU 'LONV

7KDQN \RX VR P XFK IRU OHWWLQJ PH VHI  
&RPPRQZHDOWK UHSRUW ZKLFK , UHDG ZL

<RX DVN IRU P\ FRPPHQWV VR KHUH JRHV

, I , PD\ VD\ VR ZKDW LV P <sup>the basic case</sup> URRU W

KDYLQJ D &RPPRQZHDOWK <sup>is necessary</sup> BROLFRX @LDN

QRW MXVW GHVL <sup>is necessary</sup> LQE WM UPPWRD @OLW

WR KDYH DQ DFURVV WKH ERDUG SBQGF\

GHYHORSLQJ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK QAWZR

LW

1RQH RI WKH DGPLD <sup>is necessary</sup> EHUW <sup>is necessary</sup> W <sup>is necessary</sup> HQIV <sup>is necessary</sup> V <sup>is necessary</sup> RQIVVW

RIILFLDOV SROLF\ PDNHUV DQG R <sup>is necessary</sup> SL <sup>is necessary</sup> W <sup>is necessary</sup> K <sup>is necessary</sup> HQ

PRUQLQJ VHQVLQJ WKDW WKH IXUWKHUD

VRPH VKDSH RU <sup>is necessary</sup> W <sup>is necessary</sup> B <sup>is necessary</sup> PWL <sup>is necessary</sup> KH <sup>is necessary</sup> HU <sup>is necessary</sup> S <sup>is necessary</sup> X <sup>is necessary</sup> QS <sup>is necessary</sup> R <sup>is necessary</sup> DV <sup>is necessary</sup> DQG

3XWWLQJ WKLW PRUH SUHFLVHO\ <sup>is necessary</sup> K <sup>is necessary</sup> W <sup>is necessary</sup> W <sup>is necessary</sup> K <sup>is necessary</sup> DV

&RPPRQZHDOWK FDQ GR IRU WKHLU <sup>is necessary</sup> B <sup>is necessary</sup> ROLF

ZKDW WKH (8 FDQQRW GR DQG HYHQ ZKDW

|

2I FRXUVH WKHUH FDQ EH QR VXJJHVWLR  
VRPHKRZ D VXEVWLWXWH IRU DQ\ RQ WKH  
DQVZHU WR VRPH RI WKH YHU\ REYWRXV  
VWUXFWXUHV DQG SHUIRUPDQFHV ,Q RW  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KDV WR EH PDGH DJDLQV  
ZHDNQHVVHV DQGHWWURHQWKKVLRQVWKHQRDULR

7KXV LI UDWKHU RYHUVLPSOLILQHLJQQH  
SROLF\ JRDOV DV D SUHVHUYLQJ%ULWVDOQ  
SURVSHULW\ FRPPHUFH DQG EXVLQHVV  
HIIHFWLYHO\ WR JOREDO VWDELOLWWKDG  
EDFNGURS DJDLQVW ZKLFK WR DUJXHUWKD  
RQ WKHVH IURQWV LI LW FDQ LVQVZVXWWR  
DQG IUDPHZRUNV FDQQRW

7DNLQJ WKH WKUHH DERYH LQ WXUQRG 81  
FDVH FDQ EH PDGH IRU VD\LQJ WKDYLQKH  
KXPDQLWDULDQ LQWHUYHQWLRQV WKH Q  
LQFUHDVLQJO\ FRQVWUDLQHG DQGYWKH 81  
PRUH XQVDWLVIDFRU\ IRUXP LQ ZKLFK W  
DPRQJVV QDWLRQV DERXW KXPDQ ULJKW  
VPDOOHU VWDWHV LW LV UHDOO\TXRWRKKE  
OHYHO LW UHPDLQHSVUDQGVHGVFLD& DZNZ

7KLV LV QRW DQ DQWL 81 VWDWHPHYQWDR  
%XW LW PDNHV D FOHDU FDVH IRUVVRPH  
QDWLRQDO IRUXP ZKLFK LV MXVW ZKDW WK

6LPLODUO\ ZH DUH LQ DQG PXVWIDQW W  
WRWDOO\ WR VDWLVI\ %ULWDLQV ZRGRXU  
HQRUPRXV LQYHVXPHSHVDQGXWDLVGR(XWK LV  
EH RXU WUDGH YRLFH LV QRW HWHGHYDULC  
WKH JOREDO WUDGH V\WHP %\ ZRUNKQJ Z

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VWDWHV ± &DQDGD \$XVWUDOLD UDSL  
ODOD\VLD 6RXWK \$VXBDO± ZHYHDS SR  
RSSRUWXQLWLHV DQG HQWUPHV LQW(R WKI  
PHPEHUVKLS VLPSON GRHV QRW RIIHU R  
FDVHV

\$V WR RXU VHFUXULW\ DQG ZLGHU WORBD  
WKRXJKW DQG VWLOO LV E\ RXUWOHWS  
1\$72 SOXV WKH UGERSHDXVHQHOFH QBUFH  
WKH SURWHFWLRQ DQG ZLGHU VHFUXULW\ Z

1RW VR 1\$72 LV LQ WXUPRLO \$PHLLVFDRO  
DQG WKH (55) LI LW HYHU JHWV RLIQWKKH  
(XURSHDQ UHJLRQ <HW WKH PDMRUOHF  
SUREDEO\ OLH DQG WKH QHDU DQGVWU  
SRVVLEOH PLOLWU\ OLDLVRQ ZLW&DQFH  
LVV 86 FORVHQHVV ZLWK RWKHU OZLQW/  
ODOD\VLD ZLWK 6LQJDSRUH ZLWKUERRXWK  
EH HVVHQWLDO 7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK SU  
HQYHORSH IRU WKHVH GHYHORSPHQW

:H FDQ VHH WKDW )UDQFH KDV QRHQHUV  
OLQJXLVWLF DQG FXOWXUDO OLQNFHRYH  
LQFUHDVH LVV RZLVHVDWLRQLDQDODV  
XQEOXVKLQJO\ IRUFLQJ WKH LQWHUWRVRI  
WKH (8 DJHQGD :H VKRXOG EH GRLQJ W  
DQG D PFK PRUH VROLGO\ EDVHGORFDOH  
OD IUDQFDLVH EXW EHFDXVH LQVRKXVHHC  
HVVHQWLDO IRU D QHWZRUN SODWDLQV  
EH ZLUHG LQWR WKH VRUW RI V\WHP WKH

2QFH RXU GR]\ )RUHLJQ 2IILFH JHMVVW~~W~~K~~D~~W  
WKHPVHOYHV H[SDQG WKHLU &RPPRQZH  
GHYHORS~~L~~QJ D UH~~F~~POOZHS~~P~~OW~~L~~W~~S~~YH~~O~~&~~R~~PDQ  
MXVW RQ DLG DQG GHYHORS~~P~~HQW H~~X~~H~~V~~W~~L~~  
%ULWLVK LQWHUHVW DQG FRQFHUQV

:LWK EHVW ZLVKHV

'DYLG +RZHOO

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2001. The Changing Role of the Commonwealth. A Neglected Colossus Emerges as an Ideal Model for International Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. This was a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society a year or so later – from which the extract at the beginning is taken long but it does bring together the whole interrelated set of arguments and trends which were beginning to revive the Commonwealth ‘case’ - at least from Britain’s point of view. Begins:

7KH LGHD RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK XDWLRQ D  
GRLQJ JRRG ZRUNV XWWHULQJ YKURWWRM  
XQRIILFLDO RUJDQLVDWLRQV LV QRZ FRPS

:H QRZ IDFH HQWLUHO\ QHZ LQWHUQDWLRQ  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG VKHG LWV SDRW  
WDNH D OHDG LQ VHWWLQJ WKH JOREDO

7KLV ZLOO UHTXLUH WRHURRPRQWMDODPH  
H[SDQG LWV DPELWLRQV DQG DFWLRQLWLH  
PHPEHUV ,W QHHGV WR GHPRQVWUDKWHQE  
WKH SURPRWLRQ RI ZRUOG WUDGHODHGWL  
KDV DOUHDG\ EHJXQ WR FDUYH RXWGHQ W  
JHR SROLWLFDO VWDJH

7KLV LQ WXUQ GHSHQGV RI FRXUVH SQRWSD  
WKH\ ZDNH XS IXOO\ DQG XQGHUVWHDQSZW  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZROUNPRGMODQRULGLQ  
FROODERUDWERQWLXQWKMKH EDFNLQJ QHH  
7KLV PHDQV SHUVXDGLQJ &RPPRQZHDOWK  
DQG UHFRJQLWLRQ WR WKH &RPPRQZHDOW  
RYHUVHDV HFRQRPLF DQG GHYHORSPHQW  
YDULRXV UHDVRQV PRVWO\ QRZ EXWSDGRH

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WKH ELJ H[FHSWLRQ EHLQJ ,QGLD IZKILIFUK D  
DQG G\QDPLVP KDV UHFRJQLVHG WKH &R  
SODWIRUP IRU EXVLQHVV DQG WUDGH¶

6R WKH ILUVW WDVN LV WR EULQJHQRZHQZV  
IDFWV DERXW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK V\VVWH  
WKHP

YLUVMDU IURP EHLQJ D UXQ GRZQ FOXE KH  
GHFRORQLVDWLRQ¶ VILSRVPIPROQZHDVORQD QRZ  
WKLUWHHQ RI WKH ZRUOG¶V IDVWHHPV VWRJ  
SRWHQW HPHUJLQJ PDUNHWV 2XWWLGHJWK  
HGJH FRXQWULHV LQ LQIRUPDWLRQ WHFK  
&RPPRQZHDOWK PHPEHUV 7KH QHZ µMHZ  
&URZQ¶ WXUQV RYHUWRGEUDFKMLRQDQNUH  
VHW QDPHO\ ERRPLQJ ,QGLD WKH ZRUOG  
SRSXODWLRQ VHW WR H[FHHG &KLQD¶V

7KLV SUHVHQWV D SLFWXUH VR IDUHUHPR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ERJJHG GRZQ LQ GHPD  
DUJXPHQWV DERXW 6RXWK \$IULFD RU OD  
VOHHS\ SROLF\ PDNHUV ILQG LW V\PSO\  
XQORYHG XJO\ GXFNKLDQJ JURJZDQDVOPRWD RY  
WUXH VZDQ 2U WR XVH D GLIIHUHQWDPHWD  
DQG WRPRUURZ KDV EµHKKH GHVGHHEWHG &R  
VKRXOG EH QHJOHFWHG QR ORQJHU

6HERQW KDV EHHQ UHFHQWO\ HVWLDPDWHG  
FRQWH[W WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK¶V RFRQDQJ  
DFFRXQLQJ V\VVHPV DQG EXVLQHFRVWHJX  
DGYDQWDJH RYHU GHDOLQJ ZLWK FRXQWUL

\$V IRU ILQDQFH WKH PDUNHW FDSQW DOL  
/RQGRQ DORQH FRPELQHG H[FHHG 1HZ  
ILQDQFLDO VHUYLFHV VHFWRUV RI WDKHH&  
DFWXDOO\ QRZ ODUJHU WKDQ WKRVH RI W

7KLUGRQ WKH HFRQRPLF DQG FRPPHUFLD  
WKDW UHFHQW GHVODVLOVH GKDDV D LGHHQVFLIDG  
μ&RPPRQZHDOWK HIIHFW↑ ± QDPHO\ D SH  
WHUPHG WKH SV\FKLF GLVWDQFH EHWZHI  
DQG D FRQVHTXHQQV LQ FUIRDV & R P S R S H D  
HVSHFLDOO\ WKH VPDOOHU GHYHORSDGGH  
DQG LQYHVWPHQW DFWLYLW\ EHWZHSULRID  
WR WUDGH DQGLQYHVWPHQWJ 0000 FRP

\$ :LGHU 5ROH WKDQ 7UDGH

%XW WKH QHZ VWRU\ VKRXOG QRW WVKUW  
DQG QHZ HFRQRPLF RSSRUWXQLWLKHWV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHHGV WR EH UH DW VLQV  
VHFXULQJ ZRUOG VWDELOLW\ LQ6EDDDQW  
LQ OLQNLQJ ULVLQJ \$VLD DQG WKHLFHOWHY  
RI LVVXHV VXFK DV WKH 0LGGOH (DMW D  
GHYHORSPHQW OLQNV LQ EULQJLQDQW  
ULFKHU WRJHWKMSHREWIXXOWDQG ONUDQG ILQ  
EULGJLQJ WKH IDRWKHLV LGHHW ZKROFK SORL

,Q DOO WKHVH DUHDW WIRHU RIRP RIGZ 0SRUF  
DQG HQODUJHG RIIHUV DV WKH ,Q1GLVQ ,  
ZLVHO\ SHUFHLYHV μWKH LGHDO SODWIRU

,W ZLOO RI FRXUVH LQH YLWDEOWEIH DQGNH  
VFDWWHUHG JURXSRLOFJHSRQGLDZHEJHKWRKQ \  
DQG FRQWHQWLRXVNDUHWKM'OKFDZ"LOKHWH  
FRQWURO JRLQJ WR EH"

7R XQGHUVWDQG WKH DQVZHU WRWKKLVHWT  
RI DOO EHWZHHQWKKH DQGHQWXU\ PLQGVHW  
ZKLFK PDQ\ VWLOO ILQG LW LPSRVVLEOH W

, Q WKKHHQWXU\ WKH VROXWLRQ KDG WR  
FRQVROLGDWHG RUJDQLVDWLRQV FHQWU  
HIILFLHQF\ RUJDQLVDWLRQDO S\URQLGXWS  
EDVLFDOO\ UDGLDWLQJ GRZQ IURP D VXSHU

\$OO WKLV KDV QRZ EHHQ LQYDOLGDWHG  
JRYHUQPHQWDO DIIDLUV DQG LQULHODLWLR  
7KDQNV WR WKH H[WUDRUGLQDU\ SRZHU  
LQIRUPDWLRQ UHYROXWLRQ ZH OLVWPLQGDQ  
WLHUV RI SRZHU DQGRIPWDDQHPHQDWLQDQ  
PHVKHV ERWK IRUPDO DQG LQIRUPDO

%\ DFFLGHQW DV PXFK DV GHVLJQ WKH &R  
FRQWURYHUVLDO SDVW WR WDNWKKDQNLQJ  
DQG DFWLQJ 7KH IDFW WKDW WKH &RPPR  
PHPEHU VWDWH RU HYHQ D FRWUDH RI  
ZHDNQHVV LV QRZ D VWUHQJWK

%HFDXVH WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV IRXQGHC  
HDFK IROORZLQJ LWV RZQ SDWK \HW UH  
LQWHUGHSHQQWDEHMXPVPHQWV FDOQJNH S  
ZLWK SDUWQHUVKLSV DQG FRDOLWLQKQZ E  
VFHQH

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7KLV DQVZHUV WKUHH GLOHPPDV

7KHLUVW WKDW SHRSOH ZDQW PRUH WKD  
JOREDOLVDWLRQ WR GHYHORS WKHLDQ B Z  
ORFDOLWLHV WR WDNH SOG GH LQVGHQDQ  
RI LQWHUGSHQGHHQH EXW WKH\ QJQH HT  
RI LQGSHQGHHQH 6XSHULRU LGHDG RI  
VXSHU VWDWHV DGRQPLZLWDIOWZHHVSKHUH  
QDWLRQ VWDWH FDQ SOD\ QR SDUHWLQJ  
QHHGV DQG LQGHHG XWWHUO\ IDLO WR  
LQWHQWLRQH G LQWHJUDWLRQLVWV DV LQ

6HFRQJLJG EORF DOOLDQFHV FDQQRW NH  
FKDQJH 7KH PRUH WKDW WKH (XURSDQ  
LQWR D ULJLJG DQG XQLLHG SROLHFWIDYCH  
EHFRPHV 7KH PRUH WKDW WKH ZRUXOGH IRM  
EORFV HVWDEOLVKHG LQ ULYDOULVW FURFV  
QHWZRUN RI ELODWHUHQDQDQDQV LVEKLVJ  
MXVW WKLW QHZ DQG PRUH IOH\LEOHVSDV  
JXDUDQWHH RI VWDELOLW\ DQG VHFUXLW\

7KLUWKH QHZ WH\WXUH RI LQWHUQDWLRQ  
LQWHU JRYHUQPHQWDO DQG RIILFLDO FR  
JRYHUQPHQWDO DQGLVXE DQDWRILQDQVHKLV  
WLPH WR JURZ EXW JURZ LW KDV XGHHU  
DQDPD]LQJ RQ RUJDQL]DWLRQV DQGVDOO  
WKH DFDGHP LF DQG VFKRODVWLF ZRUO  
VFLHQWLILF DQG OHJDO FRPPXQLWRKSDO  
OLQNHG WRJHWKHU DFURVV WKH QDWLR

)LOOLQJ D 'DQJHURXV 9DFXXP

7KH WUDJLF FROODSVH RI \$PHULFDIV μ  
LQIOXHQFH DOPRVW DFURVV WKH HQWLUF  
YDFXXP ,QWR WKLV YDFXXP FDXPRLXQJO\  
WKH &KLQHVH ± ZLWKPBM SURMHHOW Z  
DQG GHDOV WR VOFQSDDFHWXSORRUVLQ  
ZRUOG ZLWK PLOWSSRUDQDSBZLWLQJWHFK

7KLV LV D JDS ZKLFK RXJKW WR EMRIUOLHSG  
EXW E\ WKH IUHH GHPRFUDFLHV RI WKH &R  
DQG 6RXWK EDQGHG WRJHWKHU E\ D FRPI  
UXOH RI ODZ DQG UHGD\ WR PDNH UHDO  
LQWHUHVW RI D SHDFHIXO DQG VWUDEVOLF Z  
JRYHUQQQFH LQ PDQ\ GLIIHUHQW IRUPV

7KH &RPPRQZHDWK SRVVHVHVH WKHWKLD  
QHZ ZRUOG ZKLFK HXROGQVWLWXWLRQV  
ODFN

,W VWUHWFKHV DFURVV WKH IDLWUV ZLWK  
VWUHWFKHV DFURVV DOKXWKE\ &RQWLYOHU  
QXOOLILQJ WKH GDUN DQDO\VLV RI%HWPH  
VWLOO LI D PRUH FRQILGHQW &RPPRQZHDQ  
IULHQGO\ DVVFLDWLRQV ZLWK RWKRSHOLI  
DQG \$VLD -DSDQ ZLWK VRPH HOVYHQ SHU  
DQG ZLWK LWV FRQILGHQFH DQG GRQFLVP  
OLQNV ZLWK WKH &RPPRQZHDWK HVSHF  
WRJHWKHU 3RODQG DQG VRPH RWKHU &H  
KDYH DVVFLDWLRQ ZLWK D JURXSORFDOHV  
(XURSHDQ 8QLRQ (YHQ 5XVVD GHVSLWH  
PRRG DQG ODWHQW QDWLRQDOLVXVHQW  
FULWLFLVP IURP WKH 8 6 9LFH 3UHWLSDHQW



GHPRFUDWLF SDQWREUQBWLDDWL PDIQWK W  
FOX E

7KH QHHG QRZ LV IRDOWKH6&RPPRQZHDW  
E\ LWV PHPEHUV WR JURZ ZLQJV 7KLDWDLV  
PXFK PRUH SRZHUIXIUVW\ WKKDQFDSWDELOI  
JOREDO SROLF\ LVVXHV 3HUKDSV DW HGR  
KLJK RIILFLDO WR ZRUN ZLWK WKH 6HFU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK¶V +LJK 5HSUHVHQWDWLYH

\$Q HQKDQFHG &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG DO  
LVVXHV \$W SUHVHQW WKHUH LV QRIJURHE  
QDWLRQV ULFK DQG SRRU EXW DOO ID  
VWDJJHULQJO\ KLJK RLO SULFHVDDOQDHF  
DQG DOO IDFHG ZLWK WKH PXFK ORQJURQW  
DQG FUHDWH D JURQUHWBQB HQMDORHOP  
WRJHWKHU LQ DQULQIRUPDDQDWFRMSKNDQC  
DQG GHYHORS VRPH FRPPRQ FORXWQW ID  
SURGXFHUV 7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG

ODNH VXFK D PRUHHDEWKYHQDQ &RPPRQZH  
SODWIRUP RI WKH LQWHUQDWLRQDO IXW  
HQOLJKWHQHG DQG UHVSQVLEOH JURXS  
\$PHULFD¶V FDQGLG IULHQG EXW SHRWHW  
IRUFH ERWK LQ HFRQRPLF DQG WULGLQJ  
VHFXULW\ DQG SHDFH NHHSLQJ

\$ .H\ 8. 3ULRULW\

7KLV LV WKH ERG\ WKH VWUHQJWKHQHQJ  
LWV NH\ IRUHLJQ SROLF\ SULRULWAGDQV  
EXLOG LWV RZQ IRUHLJQ SROLF\ SUWRUMV

|

URXWH RIIHUV IDU WKH EHVW ZD\ ZELRWKKLNR V  
KLVWRU\ DQG PL[ RI H[SHULHQFH DQG VN  
FRQWULEXWLRQ WR PHHWLQJ WKH ZRUOG¶V

,Q SDUWLFXODU WKH 8. VKRXOG FROVLROGRU  
WKDW SDUW RI LWV RYHUVHDI GHYHORSP  
WKURXJK WKH (8 IURP WKDW XQKDS\ FKD  
V\ VWHP DQG HQFRXUDJH ERWK RWKHU & F  
OLNHZLVH DQG WKH 6HFUHWLUL DQG OMR VGIKLY  
UROH 7KH FXUUHQW ELDV LQ (8 SURJUDPP  
VWDWHV FRXOG WKHUHE\ EH XVHIXOO\ FRU

7KLV VLQJOH PRYH&RPPRQZHDYDWWKKKXJH QH  
DQG UHVRXUFHV DV ZHOO DV SWUYHFOMLV  
SRRUHU &RPPRQZHDOWR FZKREPH W K/W D WFK/H  
RZH WKH VWURQJHVW GXW\

6R ZKHQ WKH %ULWLVK 3ULPH 0LQJWWHU F  
µJUHDWHU VHQVH RI %ULWLVK LGHQWLW\  
&RPPRQZHDOWK LGHQWLW\¶ 7KDW DORQ  
RXWZDUG ORRNLQJ QGHQWH FDI QLG VHWG ZKH F  
PHVVDJH ZLWK ZKLFK \RXQJ %ULWLW¶ FKL  
ZRUOG

2I FRXUVH WKH 8. PXVW FRQLQXHP ERUJH  
RI RXU (XURSHDQ UHJLRQ LQ ZKLFK QVHROJOD  
LW QHDUO\ DOZD\ V KDV EHHQ VKHGD\ QH P  
RI VDYLQJ (XURSH IURP LWVHOI DQJ VHF)  
VRPH SHRSOH IRUJHW WKL

%XW (XURSH LV QR ORQJHU WKH ZRUOG¶V  
SULRULW\ WDVN QRZ LV WR EXLOLW DSQ¶M  
FDVH ZHUH VR VWURQJ LQ WKHLQJVVWIDQV  
ZRUOG¶V PRVW SURVSHURXV DQG GVDPLF

|

ZLWK WKH VPDOOHU QDWLRQV DV QZHSRDU  
RQHV DV ZHOO DV WKH UDSLGO\ JQGMFKU  
RQHV 7KLV LV ZKDW DQ HQODUJH & R  
WKDW WKH (XURSHDQ 8QLRQ FDQ QRUHU  
ZKLFK LW ODFNV WKH W HEDFK D S B O L K H V W U  
7KDW LV ZK\ %ULWDLQ TV H[WHUQBO UHOD  
DOLJQPHQW \$QG DV DQ DIWHUWK R X D Q W  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K 2 I I L F H W K Q T K R P H O R U D Q G  
G L S O R P D W L F V H U Y L F H R X J K W Q R Z W W K E H  
D Q G ) R U H L J Q 2 I I L F H ± W K H & ) 2 Q R W Q W K H )  
D O R W

Feature offered to the Daily Telegraph. - British Foreign Policy  
- Time for New Partners.

7 K M W K X P E Z Q I U R J U D C F C H G K H H W K H U R U W D Q I H O H G D W  
( 8 & R Q V W L W K X R O V L H D Q R F F D R O O R R V Q O R U W K P R U H  
S D V V L R Q D W H ( X U R S H D Q L Q W H J U D W L R Q L V W  
E H D W L P H I R U W K H E U D L Q V L Q R X U R Z Q ) R  
W K L Q N D E R X W % U L W D L Q Q † V I R U H L J Q S R O L F V

μ : R U N I Z Q W R K U X U R S S D U Q W Q K H U E V H H M Q K P H D Q V R U D  
) & 2 W K L Q I R L W K U G H F F D S H U R D G O \ R X S B O I L F D M L J Q  
E H H Q K Z W L O E L O D V O H L Q I B G W Z H % H L Q W D Q Q W K H U  
F R X Q W U H P H M P S U W D Q V R X D Q O L Q N V Z L H F K L D S P O H U  
L P S J W D Q W D Q Z O U E H Y M K O H O L R Y G I E U H D T Q V K H  
% O D L U E R G W K E L B H Q W W K B V K D V H H Q U R S K I L W  
Z K H U % H L W P G A Y W D Z R † J G X V H G U D W K H U O H V  
V X S S R V H G W R O L X J K D Q V K H L R V O D M F W K B V R I O \  
U H O D Z L L V R Q Z R U Q B O X G W L Q D Q V \$ W O D Q W H F E H H O  
Z R U N H G R X W

, I W K H U H Z D V D E L J Z R E E O B C R G Y H D Q R W K K I H , U B R  
W K S R Q V W Q I W D W V L R E M Q W G B V D V L E B P M E H D O H L Y  
D Q G Z I H Q R Q G R O D U J H H P E R G L Q M G K F I R Q F R I S D V  
& R P P R R Q U H D Q G H F X B R V L E \$ 5 6 Z L W B Y L G H R O D Q D  
W K ( B † Z R X O G E H ) R U H L U W H U L K O O G W I H U V W D U X P H C

% X W K B Q L V E H V R ' 7 K H E U X W W D O L W W K P S W F R P P R Q  
I R U G I S R O L L F Q V R I D W L M [ L V D W V O L V Q R W H U Y R U Q J  
S U R W H % W L W Q W K I L O P R V M F U R Q L W I D R M O Z H O B Z  
Z R X G L G / D J W K O R V D G D \ V H I I H F W L Y H I R U S H D L W Q Q S I R  
D Q G D O O L H W K E D P R H U L E W K R V H W Z B U H Y H Q V K H  
K D U G O H L Q W R L W P H O U R F O W V L L Q J W R I Q Q R Z D F N Q F  
W K D W

%XW GRHV WKH (8 SURYLGH XV KHUV" LQV W  
WKH FHQWUH RI HFRQRPLF JUDYLW\ (LQ W  
KHOSLQJ XV LQ RXKUGDDWLWRQ, QZGMK"  
WXUEXOHQW 0LGGOH (DVW" :LWK 5XVLQD"  
UHSXEOLFV" \$QG DERYH DOO ZLWKPQJKV  
VHHPLQJO\ VR SRZHUIXO DQG \HW DOVR V

7KH EULHIHVW UHDOLW\ FKHFN \$RDXØGRM  
OLWWOH SRVLWLYH EHQHILW LQ \$RVLRLW  
KLQGUDQFH 7KH 7UDQV \$WODQWLFQUHODV  
(8 KDQGV LW KDV QRZ IDOOHQ WR WKRPOR  
WKH (8 FDOPLQJ DQG FODULI\LQJ WUDQV  
ZLWK RQH FOHDU YRLFH LW VHHPDWWZH E H  
RQFH FRQWDLQDEOH VHFRQG FODVWRGLII  
GDPDJLQJ ILUVW FQRW DVZDVOUHLW% ULWD

)RU DOO LWV DUPHG PLJKW \$PHULFDHGHV  
IULHQGV QRW MXVW WR IXOILQ WRVVRZHW  
,UDT FRSH ZLWK WQXFOHDUZRQZGUAJDQG  
&KLQD EXW WLVGHVRYHWWRZQ FLWLJHQV

+RZHYHU WUXH IULHQGVKLS DQG VXSSRU  
FRPSOLDQFH 7UXH IULHQGVKLS PHZDQVQU  
DSSURSULDWH DV ORQJ DV LWXVW EDVULQ  
LOO ZLOO FRPSHWX PXWXDO WRXQVDDQDQ  
UHVWUDLQLQJ KDQG

7KH (8 GRHV QRW JHW WR 6TXDUH HZQRULQ  
RI (8 86 SDUWQHUVKLS PD\ FRQWLQXQIG EX  
DUWLFXODWH D FRPPWQZ(XWRSHVQCH SFPULL  
KH FDQQRW ZK\ VKRXOG KH JHW PRUH  
\$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ" QKWFRQJLQGI DVKHW\$HF  
DQ HQWLW\ ZKLFK LW VHHV ± QRWVZLDQVR

\$PHULFDQ VRXQGLQJ OHVV DQG OHVV OL  
LQFUHDVVLQJO\ OLNH D FRQVWDQMLQKRXW  
IURP KHOO SLFNHQ\ LTXDUHURR RV VPD

6L[W\ \HDUV DJR %ULWDLQ IXOILHOGHGRKH  
DW OHDVW XS WR D SRLQW DOWKRWKL DV  
EHFDPH YHU\ GLIILFXOW DV \$PHULFD EHJ  
FRQGXFWLQJ \$OOLHOG SBOLFZRLQK:RO WKH  
.HQQHG\TV WZLQ SLOODUV LGHD LQ WZM &  
QHYHU D SKUDVH WKDW FRXOG VWDQW WR  
JRLQJ WR EH WKH ELQGLQJ OLQN RI HTXDO

%XW QRZ DOO WKDW LV KLVWRU\ ZHGHWKH  
ZH ORRN IRU WKH SDUWQHUVKLS RUWJURX  
UHDOO\ ZLOO OLVWHQ WR DQG ZRUNDZLWK  
HVSHFLDOO\ %ULWDLQ ZRXOG VR REYLRXV

7KH VWDUWLQJ SRLQW LV WR LGHQWDO\ W  
\$PHULFD\TV EHVW IULHGGV ZKR DUH QRW  
\$PHULFDQ UHVHQWPHQWV DQG ZKLEK ZRXO  
WZR ZD\ VWUDWHZILW KU MOKHWLURQDWLQSDHUS  
SRRGOH FDSDFLW\ EXW DW DQ HTXDO DQG

%ULWDLQ REYLRXVO\ TXDOLILHV HGFSLWH  
DV GRHV QRZDGD\V D PRUH µQRUPDO\ -D  
H[SDQGLQJ DQG LQFUHDVVLQJO\ ZHDOORVFXLS  
WKDQ HYHU ZLWK WKH 86 EHVLGBLQKDYLQJ

\$XVWUDOLD DQG 1HZ =HDODQG DOVR EHO  
,QGLD VRRQ TXDOLI\LQJ DV LW GHYKORSHV  
\$PHULFDQV ,Q (XURSAHMKHDURQWODQW  
%DOWLF Wkuhh WKH &]HFKV DQGS\$DVEHLW  
RZQ KR XVH LQ RUGHU 1RUZD\ WRRRQPDO  
WKH ELJJHVW RLO DQG JDV UHVHVWYKHLQRXMM

%DUHQW 6HD DOVR EHORQJV LQ WKH JU  
\$PHULFDQ EXW QRW XQFULWLFDOO\ VR  
SUHWHQVLRQV

\$GPLWWHGO\ WKRLVUDSJKQSDFOH\ DVJFRWWWKJHH  
VRUW RI UHJLRQDO DOOLDQFH RXU% KWWWR  
WKH DJH RI WKH LQWHUQHW ZKR FDEUOLV'NS  
DZD\ IURP HDFK RWKHU 6LW GRZQRXKQGV E  
WKH WDEOH ZLWK \$PHULFD\ V OHDGH DV D  
SDUWQHUVKLS RI UHDO HTXDOLW\ KUDQ  
HQRXJK LQIOXHQFH DQG FORXW DV HZHOO  
LPSXOVHV

7KLV ZRXOG EH D OIHBJXZLORULQJHVDRLRQ  
FXOWXUHV DEOH WR HVWDEOLV\ D DLOHWHI  
ZD\ V ZKLFK WKH VRXUHG DQG GLVFUHGLV  
ORQJHU FDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

%ULWDLQ\ V IRUHLJQ SROLF\ SULRWLQVZVK  
NLQG RI DOOLDQFH LQVWHDG RI ZLLWKHU  
(XURSH DQG WKH OLNH 7KH %ULWLK\ YUHF  
EHHQ DOO DORQJ KDYLQJ VDYHG (XURSH  
ZKHQ LW FRPHV WVRXWZHQWUDM\ HV\ VLF\ DQDQHV  
WKH WLPK KDV FRPH WR WKLQN HQWLUHOV

6DOYDJLQJ FRPPRQ (8 IRUHLJQ SROIQFG IUF  
QRZ WU\LQJ WR WRS LW XS ZLWK RPDVWQFC  
FRUSV ZLOO QHLWKHU UHVWRUHV\ DIKH\ D W  
%ULWDLQ\ V ZLGHU LQWHUHVWV :HZLQVHKG  
ULVLQJ \$VLD DQG XFWQBHS\ WVRQFRUQKDSVZ  
UHDOO\ ZRUNV \$QG WKDW PHDQV ZH QHHC

24th December- Article for Financial Times on The Commonwealth Now

7HQ \HDUV DJR WKH +RXVH RI &RPPRQV )  
LVVXHG DQ RSWLPLVWLF 5HSRUW RQ WKH &  
+LJK KRSHV ZHUH HFRSODFHOXVHLGRQ, Q W V W S H D S R  
IDU IURP EHLQJ D UHOLF RI WKH SDVW WKH  
WKH NLQG RI QHWZRUN LQVWLWXWLRQ ZRQ  
UHYROXWLRQ ,W ZHQW RQ WR UHFRPPHQ  
VWUHQJWKHQ ERWK WUDGH DQG LQYHVW  
FRXQWULHV DQG JRRP RZHDORV K S P W U H K B  
RI %ULWLVK IRUHLJQ SROLF\

+DYH WKHVH KRSHV VEKHHQ XFFDHOGLGHH G HFD  
UDLVHG WKH SURLOH RI WKH &RPPRQZHI  
LQVWLWXWLRQ" \$QG ZLOO WKH\ EH KHIOH  
+HDGV RI \*RYHUQPHQW PHHWLQJ G R W L Q  
LQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK %XVLQHVV )RUXP  
LW"

7KH UHDOLVWLF EXW JORRP\ DQVZHU WR  
ODQ\ ZRUWK\ DQG ZRUWKZKLOH GHFODUDW  
ZLOO QR GRXEW HPHUJH IURP ODOO D D D Q G  
&+2\*06 DUH IULHQGO\ DQG VR PDQ\ SDU  
RFFDVLRQV TXLWH6XQDLWM R R P H F B W K H K L Q

%XW IRU WKH ZLGHU SXEOLF DQG WKH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK UHPDLQV DW EMVW  
ZRUVW D PHUH UHOLF RI SDVW JOH R P E H H V V  
VWDWHV WRJHWKHU ZLWK FRPPRQ FRPLV  
GHPRFUDWLF YDOXHV EXW LQ SUDFWLFH  
GLVWLQFWO\ XQGHP R F U Z D W E K K D V E D R Z Z D



DQ\ZD\ ± DQG WKH CEHMKD YLRXQJ \$HI URUQ FWR  
PHPEHU VWDWHV

<HW SHUKDSV ZH DUH EHLQJ EOLQG HG  
SHUFHSWLRQV IURP VHHLQJ WKH &RPPRQ  
GLIIHUHQW OLJKW ,W FRXOG MXVWZ HEHWWK  
FHQWXU\ LQVWLWXWLRQV SHUIRUPJLQREVD  
LQVWLWXWLRQDO DUFKLWHFWXUH KDV RS  
PRGHO LI LWV OMRGDIGDVSZHUUW UHROGD G HII

7KH WKRXXJKW UHVWV RQ ERWK QHJDWLYH  
QHJDWLYH VLGH ZH KDYH WKH 81 ZLWUK LV  
IXQGDPHQWDO LVVXHV DQG ZLWK VHHYHU  
KDYH WKH (8 DSSDUHQWO\ μVWDOOHSQ\ R  
GLYLGHG YLHZV DPRQJVV LWV PPHZHUOGR  
DIIDLUV :H KDYH WKH :72 WU\LQWPWR  
VXEVLGLHV DQG WKRJVH RXWVLGH WKH  
LQFUHDVLRQJO\ IUXVWUDWHG DWHWKMLR W  
ULFKHU PDUNHWV

7XUQ WR WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK DQG WKH  
,QWUD &RPPRQZHDOWK WUDGH DSSPHDOW W  
IORZV DQG WKLV QV KXUG&RPPRQZHDOWK  
VL[ RI WKH FXWWLQJ HGJH FRXQW DWHLRQD  
WHFKQRORJ\ H FRPPHUFH DQG WKHVURZV  
,QGLD \$XVWUDOLD 8. &DQDGD 6LQJDS  
SURFHGXUHV ODFNHUV ODKH&RPPRQZHDOWK  
&RPPRQZHDOWK JDWKHULQJV DQG PDQ\  
PDNH OLIH HDVLHU IRU GLUHFV LQYHVWPH

ORUH WKDQ WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK  
NLQG RI IRUXP LQ ZKLFK ULFKHU DVSHIDV  
SRRUHU DQG VPDQOHN QDWHLRQD FVQURV



\$ FORVHO\ DOOLHGRJURXISQGG ZBSEDQ L DQG  
DQG WKH 8. IRU DGMHGUWH ZRFBPRQ IR  
ZHDOWK DQG SRZHU HQWLWOHG WR DQWX  
DQG DEOH WR VWDQG XS IRU FRPPRQQYDO  
ZD\ WKDW QR RWKHWLWMLRQWFLRQF UUH  
7KLV ZRXOG EH D &RPPRQZHDOWK ODUN 7  
FRQVWUXFWLYHO\ LQWR WKH JORJWUFRQ  
LV ZRUWK ZRUNLQJ IRU

2006 . 23rd January. Now we have got to 2006, when at last there seemed a spark of media interest.

Article on British Foreign Policy and The Commonwealth Published in The Yorkshire Post

%ULWDLQ XUJHQWO\ QHGGV D UHRRBHHQWWD  
WZHQW\ ILUVW FHQWXU\ ZRUOG FROGLWLF  
(XUR FHQWULF DSSURDFWKPJZKJFXRWWVUR  
LV WKH JXLGLQJ PDQWUD LV QRWHVFRWLC  
EHLQJ SURWHFWHG DQG SURPRWHGQDWRWK  
JOREDO SHDFH VWDELOLW\ DQG LGHYDORLSV  
FRXOG EH DQG RXU RZQ LGHD RI RXUVVHOY  
ZRUOG LV EOXUHG DQG GLOXWHG IFRSC  
%ULWDLQ LV EHWZHHQ (XURSH DQGR\$DULF  
DIIDLUV ZH DUH FRQGHGMCZHWKFKLRV SC  
LQWR WKH (8 EORF LQHIIHFWLYKHVQGDQGY  
EHLQJ WKH ODSGRJ RI WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWH

%XW WKH DQWLWKHVLV LV D IDOVHVRQHV :  
KLJKO\ LQWHUGSHQGHQW ZRUOG SDKWGDV  
IRU WKH \$PHULFDQV DQDQWVFRPHHOB DND  
IRU RXUVHOYHV 7DON RI µD VRYHVRKQVLC  
ILQH RQ WKH \$DQWVFRPHHOBV LWH PHDQLQJO

%XW RXU SDUWQHUV PXVW EH WKH QJJKW  
SRZHU VKLIWLQJ WR \$VLD DQG ZGWWKUDQV  
\$WODQWLF UHODWLRQV KLS LW LYDFKQVFRPH  
UHJLRQDO DVVRFLDWKRIQMLE LQRWHXSDWLRQ

2Q WKH FRQWUDU\ LW VHHPV WR DQDQWLF  
GLVSXWHV 7KH \$WODQWLF LV JURZLQJ ZI  
%ULWDLQV RU WKH ZRUOGV LQWHUHVWV

6R ZKHUH VKRXOG ZH ORRN IRU OLNRHUPDQ  
JURXSLQJ ZKLFK FDQ PDLQWDLQ D KULHQ  
\$PHULFDQV ± EDVLFDOO\ VXSSRUW UYUW LFXD  
RU HYHQ UHVWUDLQLQJ DQG OLWWZHQH  
LW LV

2QH DQVZHU LV RQ RXU GRRUVWHS %U  
UHDG\PDGH QHWZRUN RI HQRUPRXV UHDF  
PDQ\ IDLWKV DQG ERXQG E\ FRPPRQ WL  
FXOWXUDO OHJDO VSRUWLQJ ~~EDVLFDOO~~  
QRQ JRYHUQPHQWDO 7KLV QHWZRUN  
7KLV PD\ XQGHUVWDQGDEO\ UDLVH HRHEU  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK DV D IRUFH IRUKSDF  
QRW LQ WKH SDVW EHHQ DOO ~~WKDW~~ ~~EDVLF~~  
WDONLQJ VKRS" +DV LW QRW IXPEOHG Y  
WUDJHG\ " \$QG DQ\ZD\ ZLWK DOO ~~WKRVH~~  
PHPEHUV ZKHUH V WKH HFRQRPLF RU  
RUJDQLVDWLRQ"

%XW WKDW FRXOG EH \HVWHUGD\ V V  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KDV QRW \HW FDXJKW XS  
7RGD\ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK FRQWDLQV  
HFRQRPLHV LQ WKH ZRUOG ,QGLDD\$XV  
6LQJDSRUH DQG &DQDGD ± VHYPHQ XJKZHWC  
LV QRZ VOLSSLQJ

)RUJHW WKH ROG LGHDV RI SULPDUH ~~SWR~~  
RU :HVWHUQ LQYHVWPHQW LQ WKH ~~WRSRY~~  
JURZLQJ FDSLWDO IORZV DUH EHJLQW LQJ  
(DVW ± DV ,QGLDQ DQG &KLQHVHVH ~~DOO~~ ~~IRLV~~  
ZD\ LQWR (XURSH WKH KLJK WHFK ZIDYHP LV  
,QGLD LQ SDUWLFXODU VFKHGXOHG ~~VE\~~

ODUJHU WKDQ WKH ZKROH RI :HVWHWQH XU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN RI WKH IXWXUH

%XW GHVSLWH DOO WKLW VRPH GRXDEOW KUH  
DV LW VWDQGV UHDOO\ FRKHUH RQDQD  
SRZHU DUJXH WKH FRUQHU RI WKH ZPD  
WKDW WKH (8 PRVW QRWDEO\ GRHWKRW G  
UHDOO\ NH\ LVVXHV RI GHPRFUDF\ UXOH  
ULJKWV ZRUG SROLFLQJ DQG D HWQDQDO  
IUHH HQWHUSULVH"

7KH DQVZHU LV WKDW WKH PRGHUQJ&RPPR  
XQGHUO\LQJ FRPPRQ YDOXHV EXWPIWMLV  
IUDPHZRUN QHGWKWRHEG DQGHQODUJHG

,Q HIIHFW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG GH  
VKRXOG VWUHWFK RXW DQG ZRUN ZKWK RW  
DORQJ ZLWK PDQ\ H[LVLWLQJ PHPEURW ZDQ  
VXEVHUYLHQW DQG KDYH WKHLU RZQRSHU  
DQ \$PHULFDQ LPSRWRGHRQBYLBSDQHLRSON  
DUH FRXQWULHV OLNH 3RODQG 7DUNBQGR  
DQG HYHQ VRPH RI WKH GHPRFUDWLVLQJ \*X

3XW WKLW JURXS WRJHWKHU ZLWKRWB H[  
KDYH D NLQG RI &RPPRQZHDOWK ODUN 7Z  
SODQHWV μJRRG JX\V DQG D FRDQDLQRC  
RYHU D WKLUG RI WKH HZRH[GHULHOF H,W DQG  
ZRXOG DOVR EH YDVWO\ JUHDWHU VIRXU FH  
%ULWDLQ WKH IRQVHRXQGRURW DNEQZRWKIDQ  
IURP %UXVVHOV ± HRELDQVHUGUBIP>OLNHQ  
KDQGOLQJ ,UDQ ZKLFK LV D PDWWHLDIRU  
MXVW DV PXFK DV IRU WKH :HVW J BQCKDS

ZLVH YRLFH IURP WKLW JUHDWHU &RPPR  
UHFHSWLRQ WKDQ WKUHDWV RI IRUFH IU  
GLSORPDF\ RI WKH (8 7KUHH @

\$ 0DUN 7ZR &RPPRQZHDOWK LV QRW WKH  
GR EHWWHU WKDQ DQ\WKLQJ IRUWKH  
LQVWLWXWLRQV ZH KDYH LQKHULWHGRU,W  
%ULWDLQ WR PDNH KHU IXOO FRQWLEX  
FXUUHQW IRUHLJQ SROLF\ MXVW GRHV QR

4<sup>th</sup> February The Commonwealth and British Foreign Policy  
Proposed pamphlet for the CPS on the Commonwealth as an  
alternative platform for the conduct of British foreign policy and the  
protection and promotion of British interests in an interdependent  
world.

%ULWDLQ EDGO\ QHHGV D QHZ IRUHLJQ S  
WZHQW\ ILUVW FHQWXU\ 2XU LQWHUHVWV  
SURPRWHG DV WKH\ VKRXOG EH 1RU LV R  
SHDFH VWDELOLW\ DQG SURVSHULW\ EH  
HIIHFWLYH DV LW FRXOG RU VKRXOG EH

7R GR EHWWHU ZH QHHG SDUWQHURUDQG D  
EXW ZH QHHG WR DFTXLUH DQGLZROO\ Z  
RXU SROLF\ DQG LQWHUQDWLRQDO(XWBQFH  
FHQWULF DQG EH DGDSWHG WR PDNRUHPXFK  
PRGHUQ DQG IDU PRUH DGDSWDEOH &RPP  
RXU GLVSRVDO

7DXQWHG UHFHQWO\ E\ 0(3V WKH 3ULPH 0  
DVVHUWHG WKDW µRXU IXWXUH HDOXHW LQQG  
SDUWQHUV† KH DGGHG

2I FRXUVH KH LV ULJKW WKDW JHRDQG SKL  
QHLJKERXUKRRG DQG KH LV ULJKWK WRR  
VWDELOLW\ DQG SURVSHULW\ RI WFKLVQRQ  
%ULWDLQ†V LQWHUHVW :H PXVW DOOZD\V  
DOOZD\V EHHQ ± JRRG (XURSHDQV DQV ZH F  
ZH KDYH FHUWDLQSDGFRWQHWBQWKL V HQG

%XW DODV WKH 3ULPH 0LQLVWHWUKPMDQV  
ZKHUH WKH IODZV DQG ILVVXUHV LQSKLRV V  
%ULWLVK IRUHLJQ SROLF\ EHJLQ



:KDW KH EHOLHYHV DQG PDQ\ OLNHOKH P LI  
WKH (XURSHDQ 8QH RQV ODFOW KVKHJ K DFDY KLO  
(XURSH EXW WKDW R XUD QLFHWS) QDSRIVHQ/D  
VKRXOG EH ORRNHG DIWHU E\ WKH LQV/VL  
VXEVXPHG LQ D EURDGHU FRPPRQ (8 IRUH

μ:H PXVW ZRUN¶ VDI\ WKH SROLF\ PDNH  
SDUWQHUV¶ 7KDW LV RXU GHVWLQ\

,Q RWKHU ZRUGV KH DQG RWKHUV ZQRDQ  
WKUHH PDMRU SDUWLHV VHHV %ULWDLWKR  
FRQWULEXWH WR WKH ODUJHU (8 SHRV LW  
SROLF\ ZRUN HIIHFWV HOKH KFLHQMHU DLOHIFD  
ZHOO RI WKH )RUHLJQ DQG &RPPRQZHMOW  
DV VHW RXW LQ )&2LGRFXRHO QW DVL PD NH  
SROLF\ D UHDOLW HGH FLDZKHUUM KQXUMRQ V X U

μ:RUNLQJ ZLWK RXU (XURSHDQ SDUWQHUV  
WKLQNLQJ IRU WKUHH GHFDGHV ZKH KH DWH  
EHHQ WKDW ZKLOH W ZODHWQH UZQ LOWDNHQ E  
UHPDLQ LPSRUWDQW DQG RXU OLQQW ZL  
DQG JLYHQ QHZ OLIH E\ WKH DOOLQDFH  
ERQG WKH PDLQ DQG FHQWUDO FIRQFH¶U  
,W LV WR WKH (XURSH RI HYHU FORQHWKXQ  
%ULWDLQ¶V μGHVWLQ\¶ D ZRUGWKVHSDV  
LV VXSSRVHG WR EWHNRQJKVW DQ QSKRVDQ

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6HH IRU H[DPSOH W&W U&Z IS DLSH BUHLRU LWKHHV  
)RUHLJQ 2IIZKH )RUHLJQL ZMLH BBS:KUSRIQ WKK HR BU  
WKH (8¶ GXULQJ WKH 8. 3UHVLGHQ FVHFQ  
PRUH GLVPDO UHDGLQJ ZLWK HLWKYHUQQRHJ DWH  
HLJKW GHFODUMGH&. ISULR (XURSH¶V UROH LQ W

UHODWLRQV ZLWK WKH ZRUOG LQFOHGLWJ  
ZRUNHG RXW RU VR LW LV VDLG

,I WKHUH ZDV D ELJ ZREEOH RYHUWKYHU  
WKH &RQVWLWXWLRQ ILDVFR WGDYHFDQQ  
ZHOO LQ /RQGRQ ODUJHO\ HPERGLHG LQ  
)RUHLJQ DQG 6HFXULW\ 3ROLF\ &)63 ZLV  
ZRXOG EH )RUHLJQ DWQLWUDJOG DQG LQVW

%XW VKRXOG LW EH VR" 7KH EUXWDO WUJ  
SROLF\ LQ VR IDU DV LW H[LVWVLDW%DQW  
LQWHUHVWV LQ PRGHUQ FRQGLWLRQWYHU  
QRZDGD\V HIIHFWLYH IRUHLJQ SROLFHQRHC  
WKDQ HYHU LQ WKLV QHWZRUN DJHH (YHC  
PHUFKDQWV LQ :DVKLQJWRQ QRZ DFNQRZOH

%XW GRHV WKH (8 SURYLGH XV KHUV" LQ WK  
WKH FHQWUH RI HFRQRPLF JUDYLWKLQ (8KH  
KHOSLQJ XV LQ RXU UHODWLRQV ZLWK &  
GHYHORSLQJ ZRUOG LQHQGHOTXUDHFWLRQV  
WXUEXOHQW 0LGGOH (DVW" :LWK 5XVLDQ" :  
UHSXEOLFV" \$QG DERYH DOO ZLWDFOLJKW  
VHHPLQJO\ VR SRZHUIXO DQG \HW DOVR VR

7KH EULHIHVW UHDOLW\ FKHFN VROXGRWH  
OLWWOH SRVLWLYH EHQHILW LQDQURRXW  
KLQGUDQFH 7KH WUDQV \$WODQWLEJUH,QDW  
(8 KDQGV LW KDV QRZ IDOOHQ WR WKHPOR  
WKH (8 FDOPLQJ DQG FODULI\LQJ WUDQV

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7KH SURSRVHG EXW&EQVWVQVLFZ(FUHDWHV V  
)RUHLJQ 0LQLVWHU

ZLWK RQH FOH DU YRLFH LW VHHFDWWZH B H  
RQFH FRQWDLQDEOH VHFRQG FODVQWGLII  
GDPDJLQJ ILUVW FODVV URZV 7KHL \$VQRDVC  
DW DOO LQ %ULWDLQTV LQWHUHVW

)RU DOO LWV DUPHG PLJKW \$PHULFDHGH  
IULHQGV QRW MXVW WR IXOILQ WRVVBRZHW  
, UDT FODULI\ LWV RZQ WKLQNLQJ DFRZVW  
ZRXOG EH QXFOH DU SRZHUV DQG KDQGO  
VHFXULW\ WR LWV RZQ FLWLJHQV

%XW WUXH IULHQGVKLS DQG VXSSRUW  
FRPSOLDQFH 7UXH IULHQGVKLS PHZDQVQIU  
DSSURSULDWH DV ORQJ DV LWXVW EDVULCF  
LOO ZLOO FRPSOHWH PXWXDO RQDVO\DC  
UHVWUDLQLQJ KDQG

7KH (8 GRHV QRW JHW DG\ 6TIXVUHVZDRIOR  
RI (8 86 SDUWQHUVKLS PD\ FRQWLRQXCH  
DUWLFXODWH D FRPPWQZ(XWRSHDQCH SFPOLLFL  
KH FDQQRW ZK\ VKRXOG KH JHW PRUH  
\$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ" :K\ VKRXOG :DVKLQDFW  
DQ HQWLW\ ZKLFK LW VHHV ± QRWOZLDQVR  
\$PHULFDQ VRXQGLQJ OHVV DQG OHVV  
LQFUHDVLRQJO\ OLNH D FRQVWDQWQVJKERX  
IURP KHOO SLFNLIQ\LVXDUUDURE RY VP

6L[W\ \HDUV DJR %ULWDLQ IXOILQDGHGRK  
DW OHDVW XS WR D SRLQW DOWKRXVJLQV  
EHFDPH YHU\ GLIILFXOW DV \$PHULFD EH  
FRQGXFWLQJ \$OOLHG:SRORZFR LQKHGUVEH  
.HQQHG\TV WZLQ SLOODUV LGHD LQWZM &

QHYHU D SKUDVH WKDW FRXOG VWDQG WR  
JRLQJ WR EH WKH ELQGLQJ OLQN RI HTXDO

%XW QRZ DOO WKDW LV KLVWRU\ ZKHUWKH  
ZH ORRN IRU WKH SDUWQHUVKLS RUWJURX  
UHDOO\ ZLOO OLVWHQ WR DQG ZRUN DZGWK  
HVSHFLDOO\ %ULWDLQ ZRXOG VR REYLRXV

2QH FRQFOXVLRQ WKDW PXVW EHOULXVHG LV  
%ULWDLQ DORQH \$ WLPH ZDUSHG FRDQGLV  
DORQJ EHHQ WKDWKLSHFDLQV RUFKQZLEH  
EHWZHHQ /RQGRQ DQKDWKILQVWRQWRG UH  
DQG WKHQ ZLWK 3UHVLGHQW \*HRUJH %X  
FKHPLVWU\ FDQ HQVXUH WKH FRQWRQXDW  
\$PHULFDQ WKLQNLQJ

\$ YDULDQW RI WKLV LV WKH LGHD EHKDZHP  
WKH 86\$ DQG (XURSH 6LU &KULVWRSKHU  
FULWLFLVHG DFFRXQW RI %ULWLVK WLPH  
:DVKLQJWRLQJ KRPH WKH YDLQJORULF  
GUHDPV GHVFULELQJ YLYLGO\ DXVWGRH  
DQG DZH VWUXFN GHIHUHQFH VKRZQWRQ  
WR WKH 3UHVLGHQW DQG KLV HQWURDJH  
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XQFRQGLWLRQDO FRPPLWPHQW WROEIEHμZ  
ZLWK \RX WR WKH ODVW IRU :DVKWKDWRQ  
FDSWXUH ZDV FRPSOHWH DQG OLVWLRQMT  
RU TXDOLILFDWLRQV IURP WKH %XVWLVWZHE  
ULWXDO GLSORPDWLF SROLWHVVHEFKHQ :D

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' & & RQILGHQWHDG DGGHGFROVRQ

HDV\ WR UHDG DOO DORQJ 1LFHRWR KEXW  
QR QHGG WR WDNH PXFK QRWLFH RI ZKDW

-XVW DV WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV KBW JURDGM  
DORQH RQ WKH QHZ LQWHUQDWLRQBOHVF  
VWURQJO\ WR WKH 8QLWHG .LQJGRP LQDQ  
LQWHUGHSHQGHQW ZRUOG DQG FKHUWLQJ  
IRU :DVKLQJWRQ WRR VDEW DQROVWRKHQKHP  
1HLWKHU FRQGLWLRQ DSSOLHV LQ DQWLF  
\$PHULFDQ VWDQFH PDNHV WKHP XQZHOF  
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VWDJQDQW HBRQLPHDQDQGFH FRZRUOGXV  
SROLFLQJ

\$ ZKROH DUP\ RI (XURSHDQ OHDGHUVWWS  
KDYH ZDVWHG \HDUV DV ZHOO DVIORUZHVC  
EHOLHI WKDW (XURSHDQGRPHKIRZEVFOI  
FDDU\ ZHLJKW RQ WKH ZRUOG VWDJHQ\FRX  
DQG FRQIURQW \$VLDQ FKDOOHQJHV

7KHVH SHRSOH VHHP QRW WR KDYH JUD  
UHSODFHG KLHUDUFKLHV DQG EORGVWKRW  
WKH DGYHQW RI WKH LQIRUPDWLRQDQJMKV  
KXJH FRQVHTXHQLDO GLVSHUVDQV\DOIF  
FHQWUDO DXWKRULW\ DQG JRYHUQDQFH  
EHHQ H HQDEOHG KXPEOLQJ KLJK DXWK  
EXVLQHVV RI JRYHUQPHQW PXFK PRUH

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6LU &KULVWRSKHG DWKBDUJKHWDLRQSRVKBVW  
XVHG PRUH OHYHUDJH ZLWK WKHSPXHEWFLDQV  
DOWKRXJK WKLQJV PLJKW KDYH EZLWOKGLIHZUH  
FUHGLEOH DQG KHDY\ZHLJKW IULHQGV L H QF

|

WUDQVIRUPLQJ QRW PHUHO\ JI Retweld QPHQ  
JRYHUQPHQWV DV ZHOO

7KLV DSSOLHV DV PXFK WR WKH (8 DVUWQJW  
WR UHFUHDWH WKH (8 LQ WKH LP DJH ZDIVWK  
D IRROLVK P, WVVZDWHZRUVH EHFDXVH LW  
(XURSHDQV IURP WKH UHDO QHZ WLVQV WF  
WKHLU FRPELQHG VWUHQJWK QDPHILOU RFR  
FULPH DQG WKH ZDUSHG SRZHU RI MDQDW  
GDQJHURXV JURZWK IURP WKH LQIRUPDWL  
VLGH RI JOREDOLJDWLRQ

2XU 5HDO )ULHQGV

:KHUH WKHQ VKRXOG WKH 8. LQ WKHRWZHQ  
UHDO IULHQGV DQG DOOLHV RQ ZKRIP ILWW F  
FDQ PDNH D WUXO\ HIIHFWLYH QQS XW WKH  
QHJOHFWHG DQVZHU OLHV RQ LWV GRRU  
YROXQWDU\ DVVRFLDWLRQ RI LQGHSHQ  
DGYDQFHG μRSHRQTHVVDWHPQRD QG QPVDZRUN  
DQG LQIRUPDO RIIHUV WKH EDVRWHRQWIDD  
DQG UHOHYDQFH WR WKH FRQGLWLRQV RI V

7KH ORQJ VWDQGLQJ QHJOHFW RI WKH &R  
SUHFLVHO\ WKH WUDGLWLRQDO PIERWKKHLQ  
WKH KLJKHU UHDFKHV RI %ULWLVK LQRYHUC  
2IILFH WKH %ULWLVK PHGLD DQGLWLV %UI

)LUVW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LQ GD\KJRQH  
EDVKLQJ WKH 8. FULWFLVLQJ LWV FRO  
GHPDQGLQJ PRUH DLG DQG JHQHUDQO\ PD

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\$V SURSRVHG E\ IRUPHU 3UHVVLGH SWHVDLGLQJ\*  
RYHU WKH (XURSHDQ &RQYHQWLRQWZLVKLRDQYH

EODPH IRU XQGHU SHUIRUPDQFH LQ QXP  
FRXQWULHV HVSHFLDOO\ LQ \$IULFDV 7R  
FULWFLVLP VHHPHGR & DEDHU DQGG LQIURHIG  
UHODWLYHO\ VXFFHVVIXO GH FRORQLVDWL

6HFRQG WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ZKLOVWVHV  
DWWUDFWLRQV ZKLOH WKH RULJLQDQGH(XU  
GD\ V RI (PSLUH SUHIHUHQFH ZHUH JRQH  
PDUNHWV UHIXVHG WR HPHUJH ZLWK WK  
IRUHLJQ LQYHVWPHQW ORRNHG HOVHZKHU

7KLUG WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ZKLOVWVHV  
WLWXODU KHDG VHHPHG WR KDYYHQDWRVWJ  
FHQWUH ,W DSSHUHG LQFDSDEGH BQW  
DFWLRQ

\$V ZH VKDOO VHH WKH ILUVW PHHWKLOHV  
QLQHWHHQ±QLQHWLHV RU HDUOLHU 7KH  
RYHUWDNHQ E\ PDMRU VKLIWV LQ W & V  
HFRQRP\ 7KH WKLUG YLHZ PD\ EGZRUL  
PHWDPRUSKRVLQJ LQWR D VWUHQJWK DC  
QHWZRUN DJH ,Q D VSDFH RI WLPHHVHH  
DWWLWXGHV RI WKH SROLF\ PDNLQJ HV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KDV FKDQJHG DOPRVW EH  
ORRNQJ QRW DWG D JURVSDQJLBIWVQWZ  
VWDJQDQW HFRQRPLHV EXW DW RQBQRM W  
FROOHFWLRQV RI QDWLRQV HYHU ZLWK  
HFRQRPLF JURZWK LQ LWV PLGVW

\$VLGH IURP WKLV XWWHUO\ WUDQVIRUPH  
SHRSOH SHUFHQSVRFXOWKHLZRUJHWKIRZ  
LQ WKH H[LVWLQJ &RPPRQZHDOWK EE\EURI  
FRXQWOHVV FXOWXUDO DQG VSRUWLQJ

&RPPRQZHDOWK \*DPHV DUH WKH PRVW RE  
PRUH E\ ZLGHVSUHDG XVH RI %ULWPLWK H  
DQG E\ D KXJH QHWDZLRUN RHDFKDFJHW ± DQC  
IURP WKH %ULWLVK USHDLQW HRKRYLHZ BI W  
LQIOXHGFH DQG RSSRUWXQLW\

7KDW WKH %ULWLVK \*RYHUQPHQW WKDRQID  
WKLW JOREDO SCDWHVEWDFLCHDQWVWLVW LV

7HQ <HUV RI 'LVDSSRLQWPHQW

7HQ \HUV DJR LQ WKH +RXVH RI &  
&RPLWWHH SURGXFHG D VHPLQDO UHSR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK

:KHQ LW DSSHDUHG WKLW 5HSRUW ZDVLWJH  
VHHPHG WR EH VD\LQJ VRPHWKLQJVDHJ ,W  
ZDV WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK IDU IUR  
DFTXLULQJ D QHZ VLJQLILFDQFH LQWVKH  
XQLTXH QHWZRUN TXDOLWLHV 7KH 5HSRUW  
RI \HVWHUGD\ ZLWK LWV KLVWRULF FRG  
VRPHWKLQJ TXLWH QHZ DQG QRW \HWGXOC  
QRW D IDGLQJ DQG FRQVWDQWO\ ZRGGJHL  
GUDPDWLF UHVRXUFH IRU WKH IXSHFLDCHG  
%ULWDLQ DQG RI WKH ZKROH JORLWREUDG  
DQG VXSHUILFLDO PDUNFRCEJHQHDXDQW JD  
SKRWR RSSRUWXQLWLHV DQG EXWQGI UH  
UHOHYDQFH



6WULQJV RI UHFRPPHQGDWLRQV IRWUHH F  
DGGHG VRPH RI ZKLFK KDYH LQGHG EHH

<HW ORRNQJ EDFN RQH FDQ RQO\ ERZ SU  
WKH JUDQG QHZ YLVLRQ KDV QRW WJPHUJH  
WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK KDV ORW VODVW  
WHQ \HDUV DV LW KDV VWUXJJOPED EJDHWK  
WUDJHG\ DQG DVDPK/HKDJHSDVVVHG LW E

:DV WKH 5HSRUW WKHUHIRUH DOWKLPXJK  
EHLQJ LQVXIILFLHQWO\ UDGLFDOWDQGQLP  
EXLOG QHZ KRSHV DQG QHZ VWUXFWXUHV

7KDW LV ZKDW , EHOLHYH ZHQWZepRQU  
VKDUHG YDOXHV FXVWRPV ODQJXDWK D  
JRYHUQPHQWDO DQG QRQ JRYHUQPMQWDO  
RU HYHQ PRUH VR EXWframeWork &RPPRQZHDOWK  
DVVHPEOLQJ RQ D VRPHZKDW PRUH DPZLW  
QHHGV QRW PHW MOWDZKRUFHGQORZDO  
SUHYDLOLQJ

<HVWHUGD\ WHQ \HDUV DJR ZH VLOWV  
DQG VR ZH WKRXJKW LQYXOQHUDEOGI VX  
SHDFH UHVWHG SHUKDSV WRR KHDYGLD\  
ZH WKRXJKW D XQLWHG (XURSH FRXQGH SO  
EDODQFLQJ 86 PLJKW DQG SURWHFWWHQJ D  
LQWHUHVWV DQG LQIOXHGFH

1RZ ZH VHH WKDW WKHVH SHUFHSWLRQV  
7KH QHZ VHFUXULWWRKDDOOHQJEREDWRU, VV

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6HH UHFRPPHQGDWLRQV IRU VWURDQHEURWR  
RIILFLDO DQG LQIRUPDO OHYHOV HLRQWKHRI W  
&RPPRQZHDOWK†

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HQHUI\ VHFUXULW\ PLJUDWLRQ GLVDHGH  
GLVDVWHUV ± DOO GHPDQG D ZRUOG ZLO  
0HDQZKLOH WKH FHQWUH RI HFRQRPLR  
WKH ROG :HVW DQG LQWR \$VLD ZLWK  
-DSDQ &KLQD DQG ,QGLD DW WKH KHDUW R

%XW WKH VKLIW RI FLUFXPVWDQFH WKDQHY  
WKLW 7KH SDWRDQDQFSLWVWUODRZEKDQJH  
,QYHVWPHQW ZKLFK XVHG WR IORZ IURP :  
\$VLD LV JRLQJ LQWR UHYHUVH ZQWK &KI  
(XURSH IRU H[DPSOH WFRXVPEJWLPH D  
VWUHDQ RI LQYHVWPHQW LV EXLOGLQJ X  
0DOD\ULD DQG 6LQDQSRXEVWDOVEHBRWDS  
WR RWKHU PDLQO\ &RPPRQZHDOWK GHYHC

\$Q HYHQ PRUH SRZHUHW XEOWHEDWR RIGKGH  
VXSSO\ FKDLQ SKHQRPHQRQ ZKLFK HQDEO  
DQG RXWVRXUFH FUXFLDO VHJPHQWVURI W  
VHUULFHV RU PDQZHDFFRXULQRJSHWBQLRQV  
FRXQWULHV

7KH DOOLDQFHV DQG JURXSLQJV RDOVKH Q  
FRPSUHKHQVLYH DQGRHFIRGLHW RQGERGK  
GHYHORSLQJ FRXQWULHV WR WDNH IXOO  
HFRQRPLFV :KLOH LW LV WUXH WKDEWHMCKH  
DEOH WR EHQHILW IURP ORZ FRVW BSHUD  
FHQWUDO (XURSHDQ PHPEHU VWDWHV DF  
XQIDLU ORZ ZDJH FRPSHWLWLRQVWEGQZK  
ILUPV DUH EXV\ RXWVRXUFLQJ QDVSLLWHKHW  
RSSRUWXQLWLHV DUH IDU ULVNLDHOGWKDQ

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-DSDQ RI FRXUVBKHKDG RIRVKE\$MDDVLDQFLDQ  
(XURSH HVSHFLDOO\ LQ %ULWDLQ

WR WDNH XS DV WKR VH RIIHUG BOWKH  
QHWZRUN D VWUXEOWVUHHZKQRKPLHODW Y  
OHYHO RI WKH SHU FDSLWD LQFRPM BQGI  
ULFKHVW DQG KLJKHVW LQ D QHWDRGN F  
OHJDO SURFHGXUHV

7KHUH LV DOVR WKH TXHVWLRQ RIUWJHG 6  
WKH ODVW WKLUW\ \HDUV DQG HPSRZHNUH  
D PRUH HTXDO YRLFH ZLWK WKH ODUJHU  
FRQVSLFXRXVO\ EXW LQGGWKIL & RPPRQZHDQ  
GLIIHUHQW VWRU\ 7KHUH WKLUW\ WIZRPW  
DQG ZLWKRXW EHLQJ SDWURQLVHG LWZLW  
,QGLD DV WKH JLDQW EXW D JLDQW WFRQ  
E\ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK 6HFUHW DULQW HG  
WR XQGHUVWDQG DQG DVVLVW ZLW WK  
WRGD\ V ZRUOG FRQGLWLRQV XQGH WK  
FUHDWLQJ DQ DPELHQFH RI ZHOFUDVWRWY  
WKH ELJ SRZHU GRPLQDWHG (8

%XW WKH PRVW VWULNLQJ µQH ZH & RPPR  
RI ,QGLD ,Q WHUPV RI SXUFKDVLRQ USRZHM  
IRXUWK ODUJHVW HFRQRP\ 3UHGLFWGRQV  
ODUJH SLQFK RI VDOV EXW ZKDW WKHRID  
ZRUOG \*13 ZLOO ULVH IURP SHUFHQW QI  
,QGLD V \*13 ZLWK H[FHHG WKDVZLWK:HY  
\$PHULFD DQG &KLQD ,QGLD ZLOO IDOP V

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5HIHUHQFH 3UHVLGHQWLQ & KLQDIXM WLDVLRQV  
WKH (8 WKDW RQWZDIV, UDFGLVWXHQWHFRQVUX  
%ULWLVK )&2 SROIFRQV XSOWR EHQFWDQDQ \*  
DWWHPSW WR IRUFKURPH GRPLQD VWRUHQGG LJ  
GDPDJH WKH LQVCHUW VWRUHWKHP BODRRINZKQ P  
%ULWDLQ DV WKHLU FKDPSLRQ

HFRQRP\ &XUUHQWO\ ,QGLD LV JORZHQJ D  
WKDQ &KLQD DFFRUGLQJ WR RIIHF RDOWKWD  
ZRUOGTV ELJJHVW SURGXFHUV DQG H[SRUW

2I FRXUVH WKHUH DUH GDUN VLGRQ VQHOT  
OLYHV LQ DEMHFW SRYHUW\ LW WDVWKDOH  
YDVW %XW WKH QHZ RYHUDOO SLFWDOH L  
HFRQRPLF SRZHUKRXVH ,W LV LQGWHGQWK  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK

7KXV ZH KDYH D UHDG\ PDGH DQG LEWLPD  
DQG VPDOO ULFRSHQGDSRGUHGCHOFGLQJ D  
WKH VDPH ZLGH ZHE RI OLQNDJHV

1RW RQO\ GRHV WKLW SXW VLGH E\WLGH  
JURZLQJ NQRZOHGJH EDVHG HFRQRDOLLHV ±  
1HZ =HDODQG 6LQJDSRUH ODOD\VIDDS&DQ  
FRQWUD GLVWLQFWLRQ WR RWKHUZQLW (X  
IRQG RI UHPLQGLQJ XV ± ZLWK VRPH RI WH  
VXSSRUW DQG IULHQWZKDSWFKV &RPPRDO  
SURYLGHV D SHUIHFW XPEUHOOD IRU D  
DILOLDWLRQVZDQFK EROBVD VXEVWDQFH  
LQWHUQDWLRQDO UHODWLRQV RI QWLDQG  
H[FKDQJHV FDQQRW SURYLGH

:KDW DOO WKLW PHDQV LV WKDW WKH &R  
ODERUDWRU\ IRU WKH W\SHV RI ERDQLWLR

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/RRNHG DW LQ SHW KFD SLRWDDV HQ FV D QREHWHV V  
FDWHJRULVHG DV KLJK LQFRPH WZHQDQGWKUHF  
WZHQW\ IRXU DV ORZ LQFRPH SRRU  
7KH )\$& 5HSRUW RQ WKH )XWXUHWKPH RI  
QXPEHU RI XQRIILFLDO &RPPRQZHDOWKWKUJJDQL  
WRGD\ PD\ EH ELJJHU VWLOO

ZRUN LQ WKH WZHQW\ ILUVW FHQWXU\ \$  
KHDOWKLHVW DQG PRVW IUXLWIXOUNLFGHV  
DQG SRRUHU ZRUOGW\ DQG KFWLSRQYHDQC  
GHYHORSPhQW LW SURUS HD WDW KHDOWWQALR  
LQKHULWHG IURP WKH SDVW FHQWRXOUKQWSE  
V\ VWHP H\FHOOHQWO\ DGDSWHG WR GVK  
UHTXLULQJ QR KHDY\ FHQWUDO LQ VWLWYXN  
FHQWUDO EXGJHW ZQRWPHNFRLOW ZBUN WKH  
PDLQWDLQV RQ WKH VOLPPHVW RI UHV  
WRZDUGV KLJKHU VWDQGDUGV RI KXP  
HQWUHQFKPHQW RI DQGH WRZDUH BV QBRXQG  
ZLWKRXX WKH QHHG IRU DQ\ ODUJLRQHFRQW  
SRZHUV

%\ FRQWUDVW ZKLOH EHLQJ SDUW (8 WK  
PD\ EH XVHIXO LW LV QRW JRLQJGW W KFHQV  
7KH GLILFXOW\ LV RQH RI KLVWRURQDQ  
WZHQWLHWK FHQWXU\ OLQHV RI KFHQVWDF  
RI SRZHUV RU FRPSHWHQFHV , WUHQWF  
ZRUOG IURP WKH RQH WKDW LV QRZWHPHU  
VWDU FROXPQLVWV RI WKH )LQDQFLDQ 7L  
WKH (8 KDV EHFRPH μ WKH ZURQJ LQKWL  
JOREDOLVDWLRQ† :ROIJDQJ 0XQFKDQ  
PRUH WR NHHS XV FRQQHFWHG UHIUHVKH

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7KH DQXXDO EXGJHW DQ WKH QLRKQDQZHQWUDQ  
WLPHV VPDOOHU WKDQ WKH DQXXDO DEKNGJHW F  
7ZR PLJKW UHTXLUH VRPH VWUHQWV KHQLVQV QH  
DQG VWURQJHU μ YRORFNW LQ GZBFW ZBQDQGL VWLQ  
UHODWLYHO\ VPDOO DIIDLU

7RZDUGV D &RPPRQZHDOWK 0DUN 7ZR

2Q SDSHU WRGD\TV &RPPRQZHDOWKGDV S  
QHHGHG IRU WKHVH QHZ SXUSRVRW QHDWU OY  
ZLGH HQRXJK QRU FRQILGHQW HQRXJK WF  
)RU D VWDUW WKH ROG UXOH DERQJWIFRQII  
VSHDNHUV DQG H[ DOXPQL RI WKHQ %DEWLLW  
KDV DOUHDG\ EHHQ EURNHQ ZLWK WKH L  
&DPHURRQ (QJOLVK LV DQ\ZD\ WDKHH ODQ  
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JHWLQJ PRUH GLYHUVH DQG WKDW DV ZH  
PXF 6SDQLVK DV (QJOLVK 2OG GLDQHFV  
YLJRURXVO\ UHYLYHG RU SUHVHUYHIGV :LW  
DUH UHJXODUO\ VSRNHQ DQG WKHDGHWERSI  
RQ HPHUJHQFLHV LQ RYHU RQH KXQGUHG O

6R WKH (QJOLVK VSHDNLQJ ZRUOG QRZ PH  
7KH EHVW DSSURDFK LV WKHUHIROWRWRKWW  
QHWZRUN RI FRPPRQ ZHDOWK DQGGLOWHUH  
DVVRFLDWLQJ ZLWK &RPPRQZHDOWK YDOX  
UHDOO\ DUH JRLQJ WR GHGLFDWH QV KHPV  
SURPRWLQJ RXU FRPPRQ LQWHUHVVV  
LQFOLQDWLRQV 7IRDFWVVKRDOVUEXO%WIKMO WIK  
IRUHLJQ SROLF\

:KLFK FRXQWULHV VKRXOG DQ HQODUJ  
&RPPRQZHDOWK HPEUDFH DQG ZKR VKRXOC  
7KH H[FOXVLRQV VKRXOG EH WKH KBQGHW  
\$PHULFD RQ SULQFLSOH KDWH WKHW DGOOC

|

VXEPHUIJHG LQ DQWL FRORQLDO ELOWWHDUQ  
D MRW DERXW SRYHUW\ UHGXFWRQR R  
GLVSRVVHVHVG DQG GR QRW ZDQWRQD MI  
V\ VWHP RI WUDGH DQG VHFUXLW\

7KH QHZ LQFOXVLRQDWKRQOGZIER KDKYH V  
EDJJDJH ZKR VHH WUDGH HQWUHSULHUH  
JXLGLQJ VWDUV ZKR KDYH QR WLPWLIRHV  
ZKR GR QRW EHOLHYH DV WRR PDQSRHQU  
LV DOO D TXHVWLRQ RI ELJJHU DGGWRRQB  
WKHLU IXOO ELW WR SUHVHUYH\ SWKHFB 1D  
VHHPV LQFDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

6R WKH LQMXQFWLRQ WRKRXKIG ERP WRR  
WKHLU ERRNV DQG PLQGV WR OLNHUPHQG  
DQG VPDOO ZKLFK EURDGO\ VKDUXWWKHKV  
PHPEHUVKLS VHHPV WRR UDGLFDORVWKHQ  
IRUP RI DVVRFLDWLRQ 2QH REYLRXV  
UHODWLRQVKLS LV -DSDQ D QDWLRQ UH  
LQFUHDVLRQJO\ GHGLFDWHG WR KPSWQJH  
WR RSHQ WUDGH DOEHLW ZLWK DKIDYHVK  
WKR VH DQG VHHNLQJ D UHODWLRQVKLS  
ZLWKRXW EHLQJ FRPSOLDQW RU VHEVHUYL

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7KH FDYDOLHU EHOLHI WKDW JLSLQJ FRXUWU  
JRYHUQPHQW SURPRWHV GHYHORSPHQW DQGLV  
GDPDJLQJ FRQYLFWRQV DPRQJVV DWDFDPSLB  
IORZV DFWXDOO\ S DUDSQRGRGHYSFRVSLQDQG  
JRYHUQPHQW DUH LJQRUHG  
&DQDGD WRR DOUWHG & BPPHRCZHUCWK DQG  
NHHQ WR VWUHQJDKHQDQWKLWVHQZHQD  
UHODWLRQVKLS ZLWKVWKHEBIGLRQDWHQECOW EDV

,I LW LV DVNHG ZKH WKHU HDLQ RQR P  
PRQDUFK LQ WKLV HSDQGHG R I & R P W R Q V W  
WKDW ZH DOUHDG\ KDYH WKLV VLDX DHG L R G  
DQG H[SDQGHG ZDUPO\ DQG JUDFHIXOO\

7KH JUHDWHU & RPPRQZHDOWK RI WKH IXV  
FRXUVH LW DOUHDG\ LQFOXGHV VDKHZ HDV  
DV VHYHUDO RI WKHU ZRZLOGG I D QIG VPRHW D  
NQRZOHGJH GULYHQ DFRQ \$ R M HDOL V X FK1HZ  
6LQJDSRUH DQG ODOD\VLD 7KDLQDQG F  
DVVRFLDWLRQ QHVZ R U N G Q R Z G I Z R R O H J F  
PHPEHUV WRR 3RODQG DQG 1RUZD\ ZRXO  
PHPEHUV RI WKH WHDP DQG 7XUNMLGW RRI  
LQQRYDWLRQ RSWO D Q U D L G H O L V Q V R P R O S V G I R I L  
SHDFH DQG VWDELOLWKDVD P V R X E J K U G N Q N  
GRRUVWS 7KHQ WKHUH LV 5XV P L F K V W  
PLVXQGHUVWRRG F R V P H W Z K I H Q D D F R I X Q R Y D W  
VKHGGLQJ DOO LWV SDVW FRPSOH[HV  
& RPPRQZHDOWK DQG SOD\ D WUXO\ C F R Q V W  
VRPH /DWLQ \$ P H U V F H Q F Y D Q G L R G N H G L Q G X H

\$W WKH RWKHU H Q G H R I W K L V & R J P P R Q Z H D O  
RXJKW WR RIIHU D SDUWLFXODUO\ D W K H U D  
VPDOOHVW QDWLRQV LQ D GDQJHURXQ ZRU  
WKH\ DUH FXUUHQWO\ ILQGLQJ ZKH WKHU  
1DWLRQ Q H F D Q R Q O \ D G P L U H W K H W U H P H Q  
VWDWHV OLNH 6ORYHQLD LQ WKH % H D O N D O  
LQFOXGLQJ G\QDPLF (VWRQLD Z K G F W R K D M W

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)RU LQVWDQFH WKH ODOD\VLDQ 7XQNX  
\$W WKH ODVW FRW Q M 81 Z H R I E H Q R V S I G H D F R F U D F  
JRYHUQPHQWV ZKLFK GLG QRW E H D O L X I Y H # Q K R I U  
SULFH RI XQLYHUVDO PHPEHUVKLS



LWV RZQ SDWK DQG DGG LWV RZQDODOX  
FRPPXQLW\ UDWKHU WKDQ EH ORVW LQ EI  
:HDYH WKLV NLQG RI JURXSLQJ WRJGHWKH  
RQH EHJLQV WR KDYH D VHULRXV IROV FH  
ZRXOG FRXQW GHFLVLYHO\ LQ WKHRKDGQF  
EH QRW MXVW LQ KLJK VRXQGLQJ KBVDO  
JURXSLQJ WKHUH LV D YDVW ZHDOWKHRO  
DV RI VKHHU HFRQRPLF SRZHU WHFKQR  
ZHLJKW :LWK -DSDQ DGGHG WKLV ODUN  
FRPPDQG ± WRGD\ MXVW XQGHU RSHUFH  
ZKR VD\ WKDW VXFK D JURXSLQJ ZRX  
JHRJUDSKLFDOD\ IRUJHW WKDW LOVESHRQ  
D FRPSXWHU NH\ERDUG QRZDGD\ VDRGE\ S  
EULQJ DOOLHV LQWR WKH VDPH URRP

7KH PLJKW VLJH DQG UHDFK RI WKH  
RUGLQDWHG ZRXOGWKYH FLKVDQFHPEWURV  
GLVPDO IHDWXUH RI WRGD\TV JHR SROL  
\$PHULFDQ VRIW SRZHU WKURXJKRXW DOF  
PHDVXUH RI \$PHULFDQ SROLF\ PLV RYGGO  
D KXQGUHG VWDWHV VKRZHG WKDWVQUQH  
WLHV ZLWK &KLQD DERYH WLHV ZLJKKW WK  
SHUKDSV HYHQ DPD]HPHQW RI %HLMLQJ

\$ VWUHQJWKHQHG &RPPRQZHDOWK FRPPL  
WKH UXOH RI ODZ UHDFKLQJ DFOGVVDORV

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7KH QHZ &RPPRQZHDOWK \$QXOXG\VOJFHDSXQW  
XQGHU RI WKH ZRUOGTV SRSXOD\BLBW R  
DSSUR[LPDWHO\ WULOOLRQ VOILJWWOPRRHU  
WKDQ WKH (8 6RXUHYH\ORRUSQGHQ\QQGLFDWRUV  
7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK FXUUHQWO\ LQFOXGHV

D GHHS SXUVH VKRXOG EH DEOH WR GR E  
RIIHU DQ DOWHUQIBW WXL WRX & KLELDI D XJHS  
DQG KRSHIXOO\ LQ GXH FRXUVH WR QJLYH  
\$PHULFD↑V EDWWHUHG FUHGLELOLWRDOW  
PHUHO\ D UHILQHPHQW RI \$PHULFDHQ IRUHL  
RI WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV PLQG WRKLRVHWQ  
KDV EHHQ ZRHIXOO\ FXW RII LQ UHFQW \H  
VSHDN WR DQRWKHU LQ WHUPV RI MQXLC  
ZKLFK MXVW GR QRW H[LVW DW SUHVHQW

\$ )UHVK )RUHLJQ 3ROLF\ IRU %ULWDLQ

7KH LPSOLFDWLRQV RI DOO WKLW IRDUHUL  
SURIRXQG SRVLWLYH:H DOKR XH[GLWRZ DED  
PLVJXLGHG EHOLHI WKDW RXU IRUHLJQ SF  
LQWHUHVWV SURWHFWHG DQG SURPRWHG  
FROOHFWLYHO\ 7KHLU DLPV DUHGQRW QRW  
VXIILFLHQW DQG WKHLU UHODWLRQV LKWK  
%HVLGHV NH\ ZRUGVWV DQW DQGXHV DU  
JOREDOLVHG DQG EHVW KDQGOHG WKURX  
WKURXJK %UXVVHOV RU :DVKLQJWRQH RU U  
WZR \$JDLQ WKH QHZ JUHDWHU &RPPRQZHD  
FDUU\ D IDU ELJJHU DQG SUREDEWLDGHU  
QHJRWLDWLRQV WKDQ WKH (8

6R LW LV WKLW ZRQH QHGHQDQSDRUVXHOEVKHS  
WKH IRXQGDWLRQLRQ \$RUMFLQJ VGRHU FKHO

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7KLV LV QRW WRH SODFWXWR DMRXKH ROG LG  
&RPPRQZHDWK )UHWKUDGH \$UHDNQRVQGDWR  
WKH (8 μYRLFH↑ IRWWDHURVWVWKH DQGLVQVQV  
LQWHUHVWV RU WKH FDXVH RI SRQWV\ UHGXFV

WZHQW\ ILUVW FHQWXU\ 7KLV QH8 G@VDH  
LQWHUQDWLRQDO IRU D ZKHUH %ULWDLQ  
KDYH D YRLFH

%XW WKH LPSOLFDWLRQV DUH Q@W D@V@D@  
DQG VWDQGLQJ LQ WKH ZRUOG DUBQGLUH  
KHDOWK RI WKH \$WRFDSDWQ\ZLWKLQOHUVXFF  
-XQLFKLUR .RL]XPL SXW LW UHFH@W@R μ  
LQWHUQDO DIIDLUV†

3ROOVWHUV DUH K@Q@G L@I@W@H@O@W@U@O@R@V@W@  
ZHOO GRZQ WKH O@F@W@S@B@W@L@Y@R@Q@W@H@U@Z@S@U@H@E@H@R@  
HGXFDWLRQ DQG FULPH %XW WKLUVGV E  
μIRUHLJQ SROLF† DV D FRPSDUWPH@V@W@Q@O@I@  
WKH ZURQJ TXHVWLRQ @RVW SHRSH@F@D@Q@  
VHH EXW PD\ QRW H[SUHV V KRZ @W@K@L@Q@D@  
WKH ZLGHU ZRUOG LQ SUDFWLFHLY@V@G@L@W@F@  
WKHLU MREV WKHLU IDPLOLHV† LZH@Q@D@H@V@  
DQG FRXQWOHV V IHDWXUHV ZKLFK GHWHU

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\$W WKH 1RYHPEHU PHHWLQJ RI &RPPRQZ  
ILUP FDOO ZDV PDGH IRU &RPPRQZHDOWK  
UREXVW IURQW IRU D IDLU DQG EGDOLDQ FKHG OLYE-  
:72 IDLOXUH IRU FRQVLGHUDWLRQ W@R@G@H@D@J@R@Y@  
&RPPRQZHDOWK )UHH Z@R@D@R@Q@S@U@H@D@D@W@K@O@H@G@K@O@W@D@  
UHJLVWHUHG KLV GLVDSSRLQWPHQW DW@R@Q@W@K@H@  
0LQLVWHULDO PHHWLQJ RXWFRPHV %X%U@W@W@H@U@  
DWWHPSWV WR FDUU\ WKLV DOV@H@W@D@W@L@S@R@U@L@V@  
FRPPRQ &RPPRQZHDOWK IURQW DW DOO RQ ZRU

1RW IRUJHWWLQJ KRZ WR KRZ PDQD@F@H@X@W@ W@

|

)RU H[DPSOH WKHUH KDYH EHHQ ZHOO IR  
PXOWLFXOWXUDO VRFLHW\ LQ %ULWDLQWKH  
DQG HYHQ KRVLQH FRPPXQLWLHV ZLWK  
UDOO\LQJ SRLQW IRU LWKLMK DURG DOWXHSUL  
ZKLFK H[SUHVHV LWV FHQWUDO LQJHLJG  
SROLF\ WR WKH (8 0DNH D UH GHVLQHG &  
RXU LQWHUQDWLRQDO DLPV DQG KRUSMK D  
ORYLQJ UHVSHFWLQJ DQG ZRUNLQJ IRU

,Q %ULWDLQ ZH VHHP DOVR WRRR ~~Q~~HWKWK  
E\ DFFLGHQW RU GHVLJQ WKH FRXQWU\ K  
H[LVWLQJ &RPPRQZHDOWK DQG WKLVLQKRX  
WKH QH[W VWDJH RI &RPPRQZHDOWK G  
μ&RPPRQZHDOWK ZLWKLQJ FRXOG EHFDSRZ  
VHQVH DV ZHOO 7KH GHHS NQRZOHGJH D  
PDUNHWV DQG EXVLQHVV QHWZRUNV RI D  
PDUNHW ± QRW MXVW DV WKH EWJWFRUSBU  
PRUH LQWLPDWH DQG FRISHUQRD ~~D~~OGG ID  
PXVW EH D FRORVVDO QHZ DVVHW DV \HW X

)RU HYHU\RQH WKHUH LV D QHHGWRZHKDYH  
XQIDVKLRQDEOH LW PD\ KDYH EHHQPKQWHP  
IRU HDFK RQH RI XV EH D SODFHRVSRHWDLQ  
SODQWV QHHG VRLO LQ ZKLFK WRV\H\ZHG  
FDQ DOO OLYH QRZDGD\V ZLWKRXLW\KFRX  
WUHQG\ QRWLRQV URQ WWHWSRVDQGRWKH  
FRPPXQLW\ RU HYHU\SRPHQKORKDOW\XDU  
/RYH RI FRXQWU\ULLQQRVQB E\WXELG\HYHU\G

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)RU H[DPSOH E\ 7&KDYRUPDQLGDMSW%5DFHG5HO

7KH JHQLXV RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWNK LWA W  
ZLWK WKH HTXDO QHFHVVLW\ IRU FRPPRO  
EODQN FKHTXHDWRBROVXOUDHQXQFLDWLRQ

7R VXPPDULJH ZH PXVW ILUVW UHIRUP  
&RPPRQZHDOWNK EURDGHQLQJ WKH YHU\  
IRXQGHG DQG 7+(1 VR IDU DV %ULWDL  
FRQILGHQWO\ DW WKH YHU\ KH DUWUBW\RX  
SROLFLHV ZKLOH HQFRXUDJLQJ DOO RV  
OLNHZLVH

7KLV GRHV QRW PDNH XV, EWGP (XUHSRQJLR  
ZLWK RXU (XURSHDQ QHLJKERXUV FRVDDQG  
DUHDV 1RU GRHV LW PDNH XV ODSZHRJV F  
ZRXOG KDYH WKH RSSRUWXQLW\ WRLOKDS  
GLDORJXH ZLWK WKH \$PHULFDQV WKQW  
,W GRHV QRW PDNH XV QHJOHFWIXOHRWWDK  
FDQ EH GRQH WR WKH 81 UHIRUPHG RU  
GHPDQG RI LW WKH SXUSRVH DQG DXQLWH  
GHOLYHU

)LQDOO\ LW GRHV QRW PDNH XV FRPSQDO  
LQVWLWXWLRQV LQ D ZRUOG DOUHDGRIRYI  
WKHP IDU OHVV DFFRXQWDEOH WKDQYWH  
WKH WRROV RI WKH LQIRUPDWLRQRIDJH  
EXUHDXFUDWLF FR RUGLQDWLRQ LQDMERIC  
DQG FRKHUHQFH

6R OHW XV VWDUW PRYLQJ WRZDUGVOD &  
WKR VH KRSHV RI WKH )\$& 5HSRUW D GH  
PDQQHU ZKLFK FDQ KDYH WKH KDSSQFRQ  
WKH RULJLQDWLQJ PHPEHU ZLWK DZLWIZ D

|

UHDO HGJH LQ WXUQ JLYLQJ WKRLHQDQGC  
FRKHVLRQ ZKLWKVLRWGDHFRSUHWUHQDEO\ ODFNV

&RQFOXVLRQ

7KH FKRLFH IRU %ULWDLQ LV RIWHQ VDL  
\$PHULFD 'HSHU UHIOHFWLRQ VXOHHVDWQGW  
WKDW WKLV LV QRW UHDOO\OWKH± F  
SRWHQWLDQO\ D JORREDOHQHWZFDUNORRI U  
FHQWXU\± ZKLFK LV WKH QHJOHFWHG HV  
DQWLWKHVLV

&RQVLGHU WKH UHDOLWLHV RI WEHJDREGC  
/HW XV FDOO WKHP WKH %LJ )DFWV

%LJ )DFW 1R 7KH 8QLWHG 6WDWHW LV  
SRZHUIXO PLOLWDU\ SRZHU WKH ZRUOG K  
GRPLQDQW PRVW VXFFHVVIXO DQG B\QDPI  
PXFK IRU DOO WKH IDVKLRQDEOH DQGUQRZ  
EDFN DERXW \$PHULFD LQ GHFOLQH DQG V  
LPSHULDO SRZHU DV VRPH VXJJHVWVWKHXW  
JXDUGLDQ DQG SURPRWHU ZRUOGZLGH RI G

%LJ )DFW 1R )RU DOO LWV VLJH DQG SF  
DIIDLUV DORQH DQG ZLWKRXW IULFDQO\ %  
ZKHQ WKH HQHP\ LV QRW VR PXFKLBDWLRQFH  
WR WHUURU DQGNLWOLNQH DQKZWHUH

%LJ )DFW 1R 7KHVH IULHQGV HLIQVWHMXPV  
FRPSOLDQW EXW UHVWUDLQLQJ DQGRFRQV

|

DOZD\ V FRUUXSWV DQG PRUH WKDQ CHYHU  
DQG UHVSHFWHG SHHU JURXS WR NHHS LW

%LJ )DFW 1R 7KH (XURSHDQ 8QLRQ FD  
EDVLFDOO\ DQWL \$PHULFDQ :DVKLQJWRQ  
SDUWQHUVKLS ZKWKKXGSHLWEXDZZWHQRVEF  
IXQGDPHQWDOO\ KRVWLOH" (YHQ LI HXURS  
PDLQ JOREDO LVVXHV ZKLFK WKH\ RHUHQ  
QRW FDUU\ DQ\ UHDO ZHLJKW ZLWK \$PHUL

%LJ )DFW 1R &KLQD FDQQRW IXVLOWRV  
ULYDO \$PHULFD DQG ERHZMUKHG\$FLQDQW  
WHHWK E\ EXLOGLQJ XS LWV PLOLDU\  
DJJUHVVLYH RYHU 7DLZDQ DQG E\GRLQJ  
ZLWK HYHU\ FRQFHLYDEOH URJXH UHQRP  
RQO\ %XUPD O\DQPDHURQG WXGHDQXWGLPH  
OHDVW WKHUH DUH RLO DFFHVV MXW WL  
OXJDEHIV =LPEDEZHVDKHZHODUHZQRUHI (Y  
\$PHULFDQV DQG &KLQHVH FXUUHQWQG QH  
SRVVLEO\ LQ UHVROYERUWKFRLVWXMKH V  
QHYHU EH IULHQGV

%LJ )DFW 1R -DSDQ DQG %ULWDLQGDUH  
WRGD\ DORQJ ZLWK \$XVWUDOLD 1DGD=HE  
DQG FHUWDLQ FRXQWULHV LQ &HQWKHDO  
&JHFK 5HSXEOLF 6ORYDNLD 7KH\HWKRXD  
DQG DGGUHVV PLJKW\ \$PHULFD LQ DIUL  
VRPHWKLQJ IDPLOLDU DERXW SDUWHDRQWK  
DUH DOO SDUW RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK  
PHPEHUVKLS WRGD\ FRQWDLQV VLDRFHWK  
DQG NQRZOHGJH EDVHG HFRQRPLHV LQ W  
SODWIRUP RQ ZKLFK WR EXLOG D VXFHGHV

6WDWHV 2I FRXUVH LW PDNHV WHQV HRIU  
SURVSHURXV FRPPHUFH LQ WKH (XURSHDC  
KHDOWK\ LQYHVWPHQW IORZV ORZ WIDULI  
FRXUVH LW PDNHV VHQVH WR KDYH QHLJ  
FROODERUDWLRQ ZLWK QHLJKERXUWLRIQ LV  
DQG LPPLJUDWLRQ 7KH (8 FDQ QWOCURSBV  
GHVSLWH LWV GDWHG VWUXFWXUH DQG SUP

%XW LW PDNHV HYHQ PRUH VHQVH WR UH  
\$PHULFD V GRPLQDQW SRZHU DQG VRR VHH  
WKDW FRORVVDO SDCU FRQVWLWXFWLGH Z  
&RPPRQZHDOWK WR VSHDN WR &RPPRQZHD  
HTXDOLW\ DQG JHQXLQH PXWXDO UHVSHFW

7KLV LV VRPHWKLQJ &KLQD ZLOO QKDYH GF  
VKRZQ WKH\ FDQQRW GR )UDQFH KDQ SOI  
DVVLVWLQJ \$PHULFDQ OHG SROLF\ SQW ,UD  
UHFHQWO\ RYHU /HEDQRQ \*HUPDQWLHROGH  
RQ DQ DQWL \$PHULFDQ WLFNHW

6R UDWKHU WKDQ IDFLQJ D FKRLFHWKKH  
QHWZRUN SOXV OLNH PLQGHG DOOCBV VX  
FRQVWUXFWLYH ZD\ IRUZDUG \$V \$KRUXDFD  
IRUP D FRKHVLYH DQG LQVSDWDFHQHQRX SU  
VWXUG\ FRDOLWLRQ RI WKH ZLOOLRJDQG  
PRGHO IRU WKDW JURXSLSHQVQRXGGRUEZDU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK RI QDWLRQV LQFOXJLQJ E  
ULFKHU DQG SRRUHU EXW DOO RGHQRDVO  
E\ SDWURQLVLQJ FRQGHVFHQVLRQ EXWI E\ F  
VRPH RI PLJKW\ \$PHULFD V DWLWLWXGHV D  
VKRXOG VD\ VR DQG WKH\ ZLOO EHHOLVW  
LQIOXHQFH RWKEQ DQRFV LQVWLWXWLRQV F



7KDW LV QRZ PXFK WKH VXUHVW ZDQWRZ  
LQ WKLV GDQJHURWVFOHQWQVWDEQG ERHWUV  
JXLGH IRU WKH UHWGLLQFWHLRQREOHG IRU

17th October. Global Strategy Forum A Post Neo-Conservative Foreign Policy Time for New Partners This was pulling together the whole set of arguments and themes from earlier articles, and putting the Commonwealth issue in the much larger frame of British geopolitical strategy (or absence of!)

:H PLJKW DV ZHOO IDFH LW %ULWRLVWKHRUHH  
LW ZLOO UHPDLQ XQWLO 7RQ\ %~~QDLV~~ ELQDC  
PD\EH KLV VXFHVVVRU ± VRPHKRZ FRQVWU  
\$PHULFDQ†V 0LGGGOH (DVW SROLF\ DNQJXJQW  
DERXW %ULWDLQ†V RZQ SRVLWLRQDNZKQJFK  
DFW RI VHOI GLVDVVRFLDWLRQ RQUD :DOWWV  
XQGHU ZD\ :KHWKHU WKLV KDSSHQVWRQFH  
NQRZ DOWKRXJK WKHUH KDYH EHHQ KLQW  
WKDW KH PLJKW PDUJLQDOO\ GLVWDDQFH %  
IURP WKH HYHU UDIFRGLQ\$J1%ZVKGGOH (DVW

0HDQZKLOH ZKLOH \*HQHUDO 6LU 5LFKDU  
HYHU\RQH LV SULYDWHO\ VD\LQJ† %ULWL  
:DVKLQJWRQ SROLF\ LQ D ZD\ ZKLFK GRHV  
\$PHULFDQ UHODWLRQV 6RRQ -DPHWZDNHU  
DQG 5HSXEOLFDQ FKDWLRQDQ μRUDDVWQXG\  
WUXVWHG DGYLVHU WR WKH %XVQDQDQD\  
GRXEW KDYH TXLWH WDONV ZLWK:WZHOJUH  
KDYH WR ZDLW RXWRQGHZKQW WDMQEHHQ C  
ZD\ RI ZKDW 0U %DNHU KDV GHVFULQVHGDV  
WKH FRXUVH† DQG μFXW DQG UXQ†

7KLV ZLOO EH , VXVSHFW VRPH NLQG R  
FRQIHUHQFH RQ 0LGGGOH (DVW VHFWRUVEHW  
LQYLWHG VXFK DV 6\ULD DQG ,UDQWZQRVZH

RULJLQDO LQYLWDWLRQ OLVW %DNQHU WKH  
WKHP :H↑OO KDYH DQVRRM WKHLZKHLW KSHR%XLKCO  
UHPDLQV LQ WKH :KLWH +RXVH

(LWKHU ZD\ ZH KHUH PXVW EH QHDKUHWKH  
DIIDLUV ,W LV DOO YHU\ GLIIHUHQW IU  
WRJHWKHUQHVV 7KH RULJLQDO LLGDIDQ WWR  
D EULGJH RU ZDV LW D SLRW" EMMVZH  
EULGJH LI LW HYHU VWRRG XS IRU SD RPI  
FRQFUHWH RQ WKH ULYHU EHG

2Q SDSHU LW ORRNHG JRRG OLNHXORF EDIQ  
D IXOO\ VLJQHG XS PHPEHU RI WKH (8↑V &  
3ROLF\ DQG DW WKH VDPH WLPH QXPHU  
XQVZHUYLQJ IULHQG IURP DFURVVPWKLF\$W  
LQ LWV GHPRFUDF\ FUXVDGH 7KH EOLQNH  
WKH WZR

7KH GHVLJQ ZDV QNYHFDRLVQJWKRLDQKUR  
VLGH ZRXOG QHYHU KDYH VXSSRUWHG LW

2Q WKH 86 VLGH IRU DOO WKH SURWHV  
\$PHULFD↑V WUXVVOHG DQGDMTZDO QBYWU  
YLHZ ,W ZDV QLFH WR KDYH %ULWDXQ RC  
DQG VR RQ %XW WKH \$PHULFDQV QHHGH  
(XURSH WR WKHP 7KH WKHFRXOYMHM WKH  
\$PHULFDQLVP LQ μROG (XURSH↑ DQGDWKHV  
LW WXUQV RXW WKH\ FRXOG PDQDJH DOR

2Q WKH (XURSHDQ VLGH WKHUH ZDV ±  
UKHWRULF LV SOHQWLIXO EXW WKH RUHLDQL  
DQG 6HFXULW\ 3ROLF\ ZKLFK OHDEUQEH8

|

GDLO\ DV EHLQJ HVVHQWLDQ WR VUHGXUH  
VWDJH DQG ZKLFK RXU RZQ )RUHLJQ DQG  
VHHPV UHJDUG DVOMFKH\$ULRULW\JQp BRUNLQ  
(XURSHDQ SDUWQHUV† HWF LV D IHHEOH  
FRQFHUQHG ZLWK SURWHFWLQJ DQG SURP  
HQDEOLQJ %ULWDLQ WR PDNH LWVEBBVW  
SHDFH VWDELOLW\ DQG GHYHORSHPHQW

4XLWH VLPQSO\ ZKLOH HIIHFWLYHGIRODLJQ  
± PRUH VR WKDQ HYHU LQ WKLW QHWZR  
QHLJKERXUVRDJSDUWQHUV† HWF VVWZHU  
SDUWQHUVKLS ,8 WRKQVFLSWLWHLQ UV GUD  
IORDWHG DV LV FOHDUO\ SODQWDFWWRKH W  
IRUHGHFN %ULWDLQ VKRXOG VWD\ DV FOH

7KH PRVW REYLRXV UHDFRQ IRU WKLW LV  
LQWHUQDWLRQDO ERPRQ QR FRKLWUHQW H  
WZHQW\ ILYH PDUYHOORXVO\ GLYHUNHQW  
SHUVSHFWLYHV RQ WKH ZRUOG DQWKLQJ  
ERXQG WR EH PXIIHG IX]]\ DQG QGLQJWL  
7KLW LV VR ZKHWKHU WKH LVVXH HVRUJDT  
/HEDQRQ RU 5XVVD DQG KRZ WR KDQGD  
ZHDSRQV RU 7XUNH\ DQG HQODUJHPWQW  
WDON WR WKH \$PHULFDQV

7UDQV \$WODQWLF UHDOOHLQQRWRKWKHRORZ  
GHFDGHV )DU IURP WKH (8 FDOPLQJ DQ  
GLVXWHV E\ VSHDNLQJ ZLWK RQHIEQH DU  
WKHP VR WKDW ZKDW ZHUH RQFH FRQWHLQ  
EHLQJ HOHYDWHG LQWR GDPDJLQJ ILUVV  
ODQGHQVRQ†V SURVGHVWVLEQVHUNHQEIR  
URXQG ZDV VXQN E\ WKH YHU\ H[LVWHQFH

GHVFULEHG DV μWKLWUWHHQ RU IRXOϱVHHQ  
RUFKHVWUDWHG E\ )UDQFH† 1RQHWBLQW K  
LQWHUHVW

\$PHULFD 1HQGW )LXLM QRW /DFNH\

%XW WKHUH LV D GHSHU UHVRQKDRQ O  
&)63 DV D IRUHLJQ SROLF\ YHKLFOH

)RU DOO LWV DUPHG PLJKW \$PHULFDHGH  
IULHQGV QRW MXVW WR IXOILO IEXW DVZRH  
GHOLYHU VHFUXLW\ WR LWV RZQ IFRWLJHQ  
:DVKLQJWRQ DUH QRZ FRPLQJ WR UHFRJQL

/HVV HDV\ WR VZDOORZ LQ :DVKLQJWRQ  
IULHQGVKLS DQG VXSSRUW PHDQ PRUWHHWK  
IULHQGVKLS PHDQV IUDQNQHVV FDQGRXU  
ORQJ DV LWV LV EDVLFDOO\ FRQZWOQFW  
FRPSHHW PXWXDCHFWU DQG DQGYHQ VISI RF  
UHVWUDLQLQJ KDQG

7KH (8 GRHV QRW JHW DQ\ GRTXVUHVWURIOR  
RI (8 86 SDUWQHUVKLS PD\ FRQWLQXKH E  
VWUXJJOLQJ ZRXOG EH (8 μIRUHLRQFFLQ LV  
(XURSHDQ SROLF\ WRZDUGZKWKH \$PHULFDQ  
KH JHW PRUH WKDQ D FROG QRG IURP WH  
:DVKLQJWRQ JLYH D UHVSHFWIXO KH DQRLV  
ZLWKRXW MXVWLILFDWLRQ ± DV EDMLFDQ  
OHVV OLNH D IULHQG DQG SDUWQHUKFDQGL  
EORF ± D WUDQVDWODQWLF QHLJQ ERYXUUL  
LVVXH ODUJH RU VPDOO

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6L[W\ \HDUV DJR %ULWDLQ IXOILHOGG G RACKH  
DW OHDVW XS WR D SRLQW 7KHQGW BHLUQ Z  
WKH &ROG ZDU FRQWH[W DOWKRXVW DQ Z  
WRR PXFK DQDO\VLV 1\$72 WRR ZDVI JRLC  
HTXDOV

%XW QRZ DOO WKDW LV KLVWRU\ ZIQGUMWKH  
ZH ORRN IRU WKH SODWIRUP RQ ZRXLFLQWR  
ZKLFK WKH \$PHULFDQ JLDQW UHDOG\IZRBO  
ZKLFK WKH ZRUOG DQG HVSHFLDOH\WULW

7KH VWDUWLQJ SRLQW LV WR LGHULI\  
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UHVHQWPHQWV DQG ZKR ZRXOG EH FRPIR  
VWUDWHJLF UHODWLRQVKLS ZLWK WKH JU  
FSDFLW\ EXW DW DQ HTXDO DQG IXOO WUX

\$ VWUXFWXUH LV WR KDQG ZKLFK FRXO  
XQGHUSLQQQLQJ IRU VXFK D SODWRWRH 7KL  
QDWLRQ &RPPRQZHDOWK ZKLFK IDUQIURP  
IXOO RI JRRG ZRUNV DQG QRVWDOPIRQH QV  
IRU LQWHUQDW\WKH DQHZHFRQGLRQV WKH

7RGD\ V &RPPRQZHDOWK QRZ FRQWDLQV W  
JURZLQJ HFRQRPLHV LQFOXGLQJ WKH PR  
2XWVLGH WKH 86\$ DQG -DSDQ WKH NH\  
LQIRUPDWLRQ WHFKQRORJ\ DQG HFRPPHU  
PHPEHUV 7KH QHZ μMHZHO LQ WKH &RP  
EH WKH ROG MHZSRQGV DQDQV DQFRB DQVW  
,QGLD WKH ZRUOG\ V ODUJHVW GHPRFGRDF  
&KLQD\ V

7KLV SUHVHQWV D SLFWXUH VR IDKUHHP  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ERJJHG GRZQ LQ GHP  
DUJXPHQWV DERXW 6RXWK \$IULFD RU O  
VOHHS\ SROLF\ PDNHUV ILQG LW VHP SO\  
XQORYHG XJO\ GXFQKLDWJ JURJZQ DVQPRW R  
WUXH VZDQ 2U WR XVH D GLIIHUHQW DPHW  
DQG WRPRUURZ KDW EPHKQ GHVGH EPHHG &  
VKRXOG EH QHJOHFWHG QR ORQJHU

7UDGH \HV EXWPRQZGHDOWR 5ROH DV ZHO

7KH QHZ VWRU\ VKRXOG QRW MXVW DEHGDE  
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&RPPRQZHDOWK QHHGV WR EH UH DWVLQV  
VHFXULQJ ZRUOG VWDELQW\ LQ6EDDDQW  
LQ OLQNLQJ ULVLQJ \$VLD DQG WKHFNOLWY  
RI LVVXHV VXFK DV LQ WKH 0LGGDQGLQV  
WKH (DVWHUQ 3DFLILF LQ SURPRWLQJ  
FRPELQLQJ JOREDO HQHUJ\ VHFXUULQJZLV  
VPDOO DQG ODUJHDQGDWLRQHU SWRQHWWK  
UHVSHFWIXO DQG WUXO\ IULHQGOLYWGHPV  
ZKLFK RWKH\SVRFLMNDQGLGHQ

,Q DOO WKHVH DUHDW WIRHU &RPPRQZHDOWR  
DQG HQODUJHG RIIHUV DV WKH ,QVWQ ,  
ZLVHO\ SHUFHLYHV μ WKH LGHDO SODWIR

%\ DFFLGHQW DV PXFK DV GHVLJQ WKH &  
FRQWURYHUVLDO SDVW WR WDNHWKSENLIQ  
DQG DFWLQJ 7KH IDFW WKDW WKH &RPP  
PHPEHU VWDWH RU HYHQ D FRWHUDH RI  
ZHDNQHVV LV QRZ D VWUHQJWK

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HDFK IROORZLQJ LWV RZQ SDWK \HW UH  
LQWHUGSHQGHQFH XWPFHQWVFDQWWDNM S  
FKDOOHQJHV ZLWK SDUWQHUVKLSUHQWRF  
HDFK QHZ VFHQH

7KLV DQVZHUV WКУHH GLOHPPDV ZKLFK %U

7KH ILUVW LV WKDW SHRSOH ZDQW PRUH  
JOREDOLVDWLRQ WR GHYHORS WKWLDQZC  
ORFDOLWLHV WR WDNH SDQGHLLQVWPHQUM  
RI LQWHUGSHQGHQFH EXW WKH\ QJQHHT  
RI LQGSHQGHQFH 6XSHULRU LGHD RI V  
VXSHU VWDWHV DGRPLZLWDOWRHHSKBUH  
QDWLRQ VWDWH FDQ SOD\ QR SDUWLQJUH  
QHHGV DQG LQGHG XWWHUO\ IDLO WR  
LQWHQWLRQH LQWHJUDWLRQLVWV DV LQ

6HFRQG ULJLG EORF DOOLDQFHVRSBQIRW  
FKDQJH 7KLV LV ZKDW 7RQ\ %ODLU DQG  
SDLQIXOO\ GLVFRYHUHG 7KH PRUHGWKZV  
LWV PHPEHUV LQWR D ULJLG DQG XKLLOHG  
HIIHFWLYH LW EFRPHV 7KH PRUEJWKBDV  
VWUXFWXUH RI EORFV HVWDEOLVKWGHLOHJ  
FULVV FURVV QHWZRUN RI ELODWJHDFVGG  
<HW LW LV MXVW WKLV QHZ DQG PRDH WKH  
EHVW JXDUDQWHH RI VWDELOLW\ DQG VHF

7KLUG WKH QHZDWHRQOHURODQWVWVR  
LQWHUJRYHUQPHQWDO DQG RIILFLDO FRQ  
JRYHUQPHQWDO DQGLVXE DQGLUDQDNLHWL  
WLPH WR JURZ EXW JURZ LW KDV XGHU



DQ DPD]LQJ RQ RUJDQL]DWLRQV DQGVDOO  
WKH DFDGHPLF DQG VFKRODVWLF ZRUO  
VFLHQWLILF DQG OHJDO FRPPXQLW\K\$VDC  
OLQNHG WRJHWKHU DFURVV WKH QD

(QWHU &KLQHVH SRZHU

7KH GHFOLQH RI \$PHULFDQMSXWDLBQZD  
DOPRVW DFURVV WKH HQWLUH JORWKH G  
ZD\ ZLWK LW LV D WUDJHG\ 7KH GZLDGC  
GDQJHURXV YDFXXP ,QWR WKLV YDGBXP  
DUH PRYLQJ QRW WKH (XURSHDQV ZLWK  
LQZDUG ORRNLQJ PHQWDOLW\ EXW WKH  
LQYHVWPHQW SURMHFWV ZLWK WGDJH G  
VXSSOLHV LQ DQ HQHUJ\ KXQJU\ ZRUSBUZ  
DQG ZLWK WHFKQRORJ\ \$ UHSOD\XUQ UHY  
XQIROGLQJ ZKHQ &KLQD UHWUHDWHG LQ  
RXWZDUGV WR HYHU\ FRUQHU RI WKH SOD

1RZ LW LV H[DFWO\ WKH RWKHU ZD\ URXQQ

7KH &KLQHVH KDYH EHHQ TXLFN OHDUQHU  
WKLV QHZ ZRUOG DQG DERXW DSSOZBQJ V  
WKRXVDQG \HDUV DJR E\ 6XQ 7]X RIWKHQ  
QHR FRQ LQWHOOFWDXDOV KDG UH DG WKD

7KH YDFXXP LV RQR ZKLFKORXGKQWRW E\  
GLFWDWRUVKLS EXW E\ WKH IUHH GHFWU  
OLNH PLQGHG DVVRFLDWHV IURP ERWK 1  
E\ D FRPPLWPHQW WR IUHHGRP XQGHUHWK  
UHDO DQG FRPPRQ VDFULILFHV LQWDEH

|

ZRUOG DQG WKH VSUHDG RI GHPRFUDWLF  
IRUPV

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK SRVVHVHVHV ~~WV~~WKHWKLLWV  
QHZ ZRUOG ZKLFK WKH ROG WK FMQWXU  
ODFN

,W VWUHWFKHV DFURVV WKH IDLW ~~W~~KUV ZLW  
VWUHWFKHV DFURVV DOO WKH &RQWLQHC  
QXOOLILQJ WKH GDUN DQDOVLV RI D FRPL

%HWWHU VWLOO LI D PRUH FRQILGD ~~HQ~~QV &R  
PDNHV IULHQGO\ DVVFLDWLRQV ZK ~~W~~LQ RW  
(XURSH DQG \$VLD ~~+~~DSVZHOYZL ~~V~~SKUFRW R  
ZRUOG ~~V~~\*13 DQG ZLWK LWV FRQILGH ~~V~~QFH  
UHDG\ WR PDNH OLQNV ZLWK WKH &RPPRQ  
DQG %ULWDLQ WRJHWKHU 7KH WKK ~~U~~HDG Z  
WKKUH QDWLRQV WRJHWKHU ± -DS ~~O~~QD, QG  
VWURQJ RQH SUHVHQWLQJ XV ZLWK ~~K~~ DQWR  
KXJH PLVWDNH LQ QRW EXLOGLQJ ~~B~~BQH VV  
HVSHFLDOO\ ZKHQ LW LV GHDOLQ ~~X~~ZLW ~~L~~V  
WDVN ZKLFK WKH QHZ SULPH PLQLV ~~S~~URU 6K  
%ULWLVK LV DGGUHVVLQJ ZLWK JUHDW VNI

\$XVWUDOLD DQG 1HZ =HDODQG DOVR EHO  
,QGLD VRRQ TXDOLILQJ DV LW GH ~~W~~KI ORSH  
\$PHULFDQV ,Q (XURSH WKH IURQW ~~U~~OLQW  
%DOWLF WKKUH WKH &JHFKV DQ ~~G~~HLD ~~R~~IZ QV  
KRXXVH LQ RUGHU

\$GPLWWHGO\ WKR ~~V~~JUD ~~S~~K ~~O~~SD ~~E~~HO DV ~~V~~JH ~~R~~WWW ~~M~~K ~~H~~I  
VRUW RI UHJLRQDO DOOLDQFH RX ~~U~~% ~~K~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~

WKH DJH RI WKH LQWHUQHW ZKR HDEUOLVFN  
DZD\ IURP HDFK RWKHU 6LW GRZQRXKQGV E  
WKH WDEOH ZLWK \$PHULFD\ V OHDGHU DV D  
SDUWQHUVKLS RI UHDO HTXDOLW\ KUDQ  
HQRXJK LQIOXHQFH DQG FORXW DV HZHOO  
LPSXOVHV

7KLV ZRXOG EH D OHHUJZLORU QJH QZMLR  
FXOWXUHV DEOH WR HVWDEOLVH D DLOHWH  
ZD\ V ZKLFK WKH VRXUHG DQG GLVFUHLV  
ORQJHU FDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

%ULWDLQ\ V QHZ IRUHLJQ SROLF\ S ULRZLV  
NLQG RI DOOLDQFH LQVWHDG RI GKUHDP  
(XURSH DQG WKH OLNH 7KH %ULWLK\ YUHF  
EHHQ DOO DORQJ KDYLQJ VDYHG (X\XSH  
ZKHQ LW FRPHV WR WZHQW\ ILUVVLDQFWX  
WKH WLPH KDV FRPH WR WKLQN DIUHVK

6DOYDYLQJ WKH &356 DQG WRSSLQU DWGL  
GLSORPDWLF FRUSV ZLOO QHLWKRQVKS  
QRU VDIHJXDUG %ULWDLQ\ V ZLGHU UQWH  
FRQQHFWLRQV ZLWK UHLGJW\$VIEBQVGSXF  
ZLWK WKH 86 WKDW UHDOO\ ZRUNV

7R SOD\ D SDUW LQ WKLV WKH &RPPRQZ  
HQFRXUDJHG WR GHZHORSQV VPFKZFRQJH  
WKDQ KLWKHUWR DQG SHUKDSV KDYLZLVK  
WKH 6HFUHWDU\ \*HQHUDO DQG DFW DV  
5HSUHVHQWDWLYH 7KDW ZLOO RI FRX  
FRQWULEXWLRQV IURP WKH PHPEHUHG  
&RPPRQZHDOWK WKH FHQWUDO SODQGRUF

WKHUH ZLOO WKHQ EH DQ HQOLJKWKHQHG  
SODQHW UHDG\ WR EH \$PHULFD\W FDQGL  
VHULRXV DQG UHVSHFWHG IRUFH DRGKLQQ  
WHUPV RI XSKROGLQJ VHFXULW\ DQG SHDFH

(QHUJ\ 6HFXULW\ DQG &OLPDWH 6HFXULW\

\$Q HQKDQFHG &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG DOV  
DQG FOLPDWH LVVXHV \$W SUHVHQW DWKHU  
YDULHW\ RI IUHQGDSRIRUQVEXULFDKODPDIHFG  
SUREOHPV RI VWDJJHULQJO\ KLJKHRLQHSUL  
DQG ZLWK WKH ORQJHU WHUP QHHGVMWDFX  
JUHHQHU DQG FOHDQHU ORQJ WHUP HQY  
H\FKDQJH YLHZV DQG GHYHORSRVRBPAQFRPP  
IDFH RI 23(& DQG WKH RWKHU JLDQW SURG)

7KH SUHVHQW HGHUJ\ DQG FOLPDWH DQGLDOR  
WKH GHYHORSLOW DQWLFDOWK RIMEDEOHVW  
GHYHORSLQJ FRXQWULHV VXFK DV ,QGL  
SUHGLFWDEO\ FGH WRZDUVKR XGQ QJZ VO  
JURZWK DQG XVH PRUH H[SHQVLYH HGHUJ  
FDUERQ WKH DOUHDG\ LQG XVWULDO KLWHG  
DWPRVSKHUH

,QGLD &KLQD DQG \$PHULFD KDYH &DOKHWKI  
LQWHQG WR EXUQ WKHP <HW \$V WKH ,QGL  
VD\LQJ WKH RWKHU GD\ μ:H DUH GHYHORS  
DQ\ SURPLVH DQ\ FRPPLWPHQW WRQMGXFX

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK PLJKW EH WKH URUXP  
WKHVH GLILFXOW GLYHUJHGFHV PLJKW EH

\$ .H\ 8. 3ULRULW\

,W LV WKH VWUHQJWKHQLQJ RI WKLW H[  
ZKLFK WKH 8. VKRXOG QRZ PDNH LWG NH  
WRJHWKHU ZLWK ZKLFK ILW W RFXQJRUHLWQI  
,W VKRXOG GR VR EHFDXVH WKLW URXWB  
QDWLRQ VXFK DV RXUV ZLWK RXUL QDWWRM  
PDNH D PD[LXP FRQWULEXWLRQ WRGPHHV  
HYHQ PRUH EHFDXVH LW LV WKH EHRVZQZD  
LQWHUHVWV ZRUOG ZLGH

,Q SDUWLFXODU WKH 8. VKRXOG EDOALRQ  
RI WKDW SDUW RI LWV RYHUVHDVWGHRRHO  
WKURXJK WKH (8 IURP WKDW XQKDSS\ FK  
V\WHP DQG HQFRXUDJH ERWK RWKHU &  
OLNHZLVH DQG WKH 6HFUHWLULDQV OVR VGI  
UROH 7KLV VLQJOH PRYH ZRXOG JLYH W  
SUHVWLJH DQG UHVRXUFHV GLUHFWD\RWB  
SRRUHU &RPPRQZHDOWK PHPEHU VDDQGHV  
WR ZKRP ZH RZH WKH VWURQJHVW G\W\ D  
RZQ SUHVWLJH DQW KHIFG WEDG CHWHDR SP

\$QG ZKHQ WKH 3ULPIR ULFKLVOGHUHF DKOHOVH  
µJUHDWHU VHQVH RI %ULWLVK LGHQDQGV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK LGHQWLW\ 7KDW DORQ  
RXWZDUG ORRNLQJQHCHH RILQV KHWGZKH  
PHVVDJH ZLWK ZKLFK \RXQJ %ULWLW\W FKI  
ZRUOG

OU %ODLU LV TXLWH ZURQJ WR GHORFEDGH  
FLWL]HQV DV KH GLG LQ ODQFKHWWHLQF:M  
DQG KLVWRU\ \$QG KLV ZRXOG EH VORFHV

|

ZURQJ LQ KLV QDUURZ HPSKDVLV RQRµ%UL  
%ULWLVK LQIOXHGFH LQ WKH ZRUOG L RZK LVFR  
RXU VPDOO VL]H KDV EHHQ WR ULVIGDER  
WKLQN DQG WHD WK IRXNU FDELROXWU IDQZ WGRHU F

21 FRXUVH ZH PXVW DOZD\ EH WKH R E U V W  
(XURSHDQ QHLJKERXUKRRG ± DV LQFLGHG  
EHHQ DOWKRXJK VRPH SHRSOH IRUJHW  
LQVWLJDWHG 7RU\ ORYHPHQW IRU (XURSHDQ  
KXJH VWRFN ZH KDYH RI LGHDV IRU GHYH  
IOH[LEOH VWUXFWXUH RI (XURSHDQ FRRS  
FRQWULEXWRUV WR ORFDO DQG UHJLRQDO

%XW (XURSH LV QR ORQJHU WKH ZRUOG µV  
GXW\ WR EXLOG XS RXU OLQNV PDQLVFRIDZK  
SDVW ZLWK ZKDW DUH EHFRLQJ WKH ZR  
ZKLFK ERWK HFRQRPLZHDQGSURORZWRUFRZLQ  
MXVW WKH ELJJHU RQH V EXW WKH JORDOOH  
SRRU RQH V DV ZHOO DV WKH UDSGLGOLJKQG  
WHFK RQH V 7KLV LV ZKDW DQ HQODQJHG &  
ZD\ WKDW WKH (XURSHDQ 8QLRQ FDOVQH YH  
UHDFK DQG WKH ULJKW EDVLF SROLF\ VWUX

,W DV FHUWDLQO\ QRW HQWHUHG R WKH DM  
WKH 86\$ LV QR ORQJHU WKH FHQWUHU RI W  
IOHHWV DQG PLVVLOHV LW PD\ SRVVHV  
µOHDGHU¶ RI WKH GHPRFUDFLHV GDVW WKH  
VHWWLQJ LWVHOI \$QG , DP QRW FRMLQF  
SROLF\ PDNHUV LQ /RQGRQ HLWKHU

<HW WKH PHPEHU VWDWHV RI DQ RUJD  
&RRSHUDWLRQ \*URXS FRXOG QRZ EHU DV L

VHQVLWLYH LVVXHV OLNH ,UDQ QXQOHD  
EHKDYL RXU DV WKH \$WODQWLF SRZHUV  
SRZHU KDV VKLIWHG WR \$VLD DP LKQKEDVH  
WR IROORZ WKURXJK WKH LPSOLFDWLRQV

:HOO LW LV WLPH ZHW ZRNKDXSSHQRQZKDQ  
%ULWDLQV H[WHUQDO UHODWLRQV SUWRD  
LV ZK\ D V\PEROLF UH FKULVWHQ VRRXOG  
RXU DEOH DQG HPSHWLVHQKRXGGLSØRUH  
&RPPRQZHDK DQG )RUHLJQ 2IILFH ± W  
FKDQJHV FDQ VLJQLI\ D ORW

13<sup>th</sup> October Text of a speech on the Future of the Commonwealth, to a seminar at the Strickland Foundation in Malta .

:KHQ , ZDV DVNHG WR SUHSDUH WKLW W  
&RPPRQZHDOWK DV D SRVVLEOH SURORJX  
+HDGV RI \*RYHUQPHQW PHHWLQJ V~~UR~~UFWO\  
LVODQG , QDWXUDOO\ ZHQW ED~~X~~UHW~~SR~~W~~HK~~  
RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ~~ZRX~~W~~WR~~Q &RPPRQ  
\$IIDLUV &RPLWWHH LQ D &RPP~~R~~WWHH  
FKDLU DW WKH WLPH

:KHQ LW DSSHUHG WKLW 5HSRUW ~~Z~~D~~V~~L~~W~~H  
VHHPHG WR EH VD\LQJ VRPHWKLQJ~~V~~~~O~~H~~Z~~ ,W  
ZDV WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK IDU IUR  
DFTXLULQJ D QHZ VLJQLILFDQFH LQWKH  
XQLTXH QHWZRUN TXDOLWLHV :H DUJXH  
\HVWHUGD\ ZLW~~R~~Q~~Q~~M~~V~~W~~LR~~Q~~W~~D~~K~~J~~G~~H~~W~~L~~H~~Q~~Z~~  
TXLWH QHZ DQG QRW \HW IXOO\ DISS~~S~~L~~L~~Q~~F~~L~~D~~  
WDONLQJ VKRS EXW D UHDO DQG ~~Q~~H~~I~~D~~W~~M~~I~~L  
DOO LWV PHPEHUV~~J~~~~O~~R~~S~~H~~R~~±~~W~~Q~~H~~R~~Z~~K~~E~~W~~H~~R~~D~~W  
KLVWRU\ DQG FOXE FRQJHQLDOLWG ~~E~~~~D~~W~~N~~H  
RI UHDO YDOXH SDVLRQ SXUSRVH DQG L

:H DGGHG VWULQJV RI UHFRPPHQGDWLRQ  
UHDOLW\ VRPH RI ZKLFK KDYH LQGHHG EH

\$ 'HFDGH RI 'LV~~D~~S~~S~~I~~R~~L~~Z~~W~~P~~H~~L~~  
%XW ORRNLQJ EDFN , UHPDLQ SURIRXQGO  
JUDQG QHZ YLVLQ~~Q~~ ~~K~~Q~~G~~H~~W~~L~~M~~P~~E~~R~~S~~H~~D~~K~~J~~W~~H~~  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK KDV ORVW VW~~W~~W~~W~~PC



\H DUV DV LW KDV VWUXJJOHG ZLW K UWKH  
JUHDW GUDPDV KDYH SDVVHG LW E\

6R , DVN P\VHOI ZHUH ZH EHLQJ L QDWXLMHF  
DW WKDW WLPH " :HUH ZH PHUHO\ ZVU\LG  
VWUXFWXUHV RQ ROG DQG ZHDN IRXQGDW

<HV , VHQVH WKDW LV MXVW ZKDW ZDV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KDUHG YDOXHV DQG FRXQV  
JRYHUQPHQWDO DQG QRQ JRYHUQPHQWDO  
EXW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK UH DVVHPEOLQ  
PRUH DPELWLRXV VFDOH WR PHHWKHUHLU  
LQ WKH WUDQFRQLHG RQRQROZ SUHYDLOL

<HVWHUGD\ WHQ \H DUV DJR ZH VWLQD V  
DQG VR ZH WKRXJKW LQYXOQHUDEOGL VX  
SHDFH UHVWHG SHUKDSV WRR KHDYGLD\  
ZH WKRXJKW D XQLWHG (XURSH FRXQVH SO  
EDODQFLQJ 86 PLQKLVVQGHSPURHUHVW DWHV

1RZ ZH VHH WKDW WKHVH SHUFHSWLRQV  
7KH QHZ VHFUXULW\ FKDOOHQJHV DURUWR  
HGHUJ\ VHFUXULW\ PLJUDWLRQ GLVDHOSI  
GLVDVWHUV ± DOO GHPDQG D ZRUOG ZL  
0HDQZKLOH WKH FHQWUH RI HFRQRPLRPUJ  
WKH ROG :HVW DQG LQWR \$VLD ZGWGLDHF  
DW WKH KHDUW RI WKH QHZ RUGHU

%HLQJ SDUW RI WKH (XURSHDQ FOXENDD\  
JRLQJ WR KHOS XV PXFK LQ WKHVH QHZ F  
PRUH WR NHHS XV FRQQHFWHG UHIUHVKH

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK KDV WKH NLQG RI VS  
SXUSRVHV EXW LW LV QRW ZLGH DWRZHK

GURS WKH ROG QRVWUXP DERXW FRQILQLQ  
VSHDNHUV 7KDWTV ULGLFXORXVRQEDOLLVRKQ  
DJH DQ\ZD\ WKH QHFHVVDU\ XQLYHVWDO  
ODQJXDJHV DUH JHWLQJ PRUH GLYDHOVH  
VSHDNV DOPRVW DV PFK 6SDQLVK DV (Q  
FXOWXUHV DUH UHYLYHG RU SUHVHUYHG  
RYHU ODQJXDJHWSBNHQUBQXGOWKQDLOHFWUF  
DORQH SUHSDUH DQWLLQHRVQHFRQJHKKQKQ  
6R WKH (QJOLVK VSHDNLQJ ZRUOG QRZ PH  
/HWTV EHJLQ LQVWHDG E\ EULQJLQJOWKWR  
DQG LQWHUHVW DOO WKH QDWLWQMPWKDWH  
LQ HDUQHVV RU SURWHFW DQG SURPBOGQ  
GHPRFUDWLF LQFOLQDWLRQV

\$ &RPPRQZHDOWK ODUN 7ZR 2U LW QRZ 7K

7KH H[FOXVLRQV IURP RXU HQODUJHG &R  
YHQGHWWDFRXQWULHV WKH RQHWHWVW  
DGYDQFHG ZRUOG RQ SULQFLSOH DOH VV  
ELWWHUQHVV DQG SUHMXGLFH GRWRW L  
UHGXFWLRQ RU WKH SODFH RI ZRPZHQWU W  
WR MRLQ RU VWUHQJWKHQ WKH QWVWUQDW

7KH QHZ LQFOXVLRQVWKRQOGZKH KDKH V  
EDJJDJH ZKR VHH WUDGH HQWUHSUHQHX  
JXLGLQJ VWDUV ZKR KDYH QR WLPWLIRUV S  
ZKR GR QRW EHOLHWHLODVGRRRWRKDOOGBYH  
TXHVWLRQ RI ELJJHU DLG GRQDWLRQVU D  
IXOO ELW WR SUHVHUYH SHDFH DQGHUVRQ  
LQFDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

6R P\ ILUVW LQMXQFWLRQ WR WKH &RPPR  
RSHQ WKHLU ERRNDQGGSRZQIGXVPHPEZHU  
VPDOOHU QDWLRQV ZKR VKDUH WKRXVH L  
PDMRU FDQGLGDWH LV -DSDQ D QDQWRG  
LQFUHDVLQJO\ GHGLFDWHG WR KPSWVWHZ  
WR RSHQ WUDGH DOEHLW ZLWK DKIDYHVK  
WKRVH DQG VHHNLQJ D UHODWLRQVHLS  
ZLWKRXW EHLQJ FRPSOLDQW RU VXEYHUYL

,I VRPHRQH DVNV ZKHWKHU WKHUH LV U  
PRQDFKV LQ WKLV HHSODQGHG QDQWRQZ/  
WKDW ZH DOUHDG\ WKLV VLWXDWLZDQDQG  
DQG JUDFHIXO\

0\ JUHDWHU &RPPRQZHDOWK RI WKH IXW  
FRXUVH LW DOUHDG\ LQFOXGHV RQHDRIDW  
ZHOO DV \$XVWUDOLD 1HZ =HDODQG 6LQ  
7KDLQDQG VKRXOG EH LQYLWHG EXW ZH  
(XURSHDQ PHPEHUV WRR 3RODQG DQG  
PHPEHUV RI WKH WHDP DQG 7XUNMLGWRR  
LQQRYDWLRQ RSWODQGLFHOLQVWRDQV  
SHDFH DQG VWDELOLWKDVDQVGRXEXKUGHQ  
GRRUVWHS 7KHQ WKHUH LV 5XVXEDK VW  
PLVXQGHUVWRRG , NQRZ %XW WKH GD\  
5XVVDL VKHGGLQJ DO LWV SDVW FRPSC  
&RPPRQZHDOWK DQG SOD\ D WUXO\GRQV  
UXOH RXW VRPH /DWLQ \$PHULFDQ FDQGLG

\$W WKH RWKHU HQG RI WKH VLJH VFDC  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ODUN 7ZR RIIHU D SDUWL  
WKH VPDOOHVW QDWLRQVIGQDESDVXU\  
RZQ ODOWD KHUH EXW , DP DOVRGRXOR  
YLJRXU DQG FRXUDJH RI VWDWHV QLNH

DPD]LQJ %DOWLF WQDPHF LQWQGGDQZKLEK  
WKDW LW LV QRW DIUDLG WR VDEH LWRLR  
WR WKH LQWHUQDWLRQDO FRPPXQDOLWU

:HDYH WKLW NLQG RU DOOLBQFHEWRLQHWWR  
IRUFH RI UHDO ZHLJKW QRW MXVM PRUD  
ZKRVH RSLQLRQV ZRXOG FRXQW GHFOLYH  
7KHUH LV D YDVW ZHDOWK KHUH RO DMDFIH  
VKHHU HFRQRPLF SRZHU WHFKQRORJLFD  
7KRVH ZKR VDI WKDW VXFK D JURXSLQJ  
JHRJUDSKLFDQO\ IRUJHW WKDW LQVSHRQ  
D FRPSXWHU NH\ERDUG QRZDGDV WQGE\SD  
EULQJ DOOLHV LQWR WKH VDPH URRP

)RUHLJQ 3ROLF\ LQ D &KDQJHG :RUOG

7KH LPSOLFDWLRQV RI DOO WKLVPRIWZKH  
FRXQWU\ DUH SURPRQZGDEHQKRXOWKH PLV  
WKDW RXU IRUHLJQ SROLF\ FDQ EHWFRQGXQ  
SURPRWHG WKURXJK RXU (8 SDUWQRWV F  
RXUV WKHLU ZHLJKW LQ WKH ZWDBQLWZLR  
WKH 86 DUH KRSHOHVVO\ FRPSURPLVHG %  
LQYHVWPHQW LVVXEREDUHQHZDQBXKH  
WKH :72 IRUXP UDWKHU WKDQ WKURXJK  
UDXFRXV H[FKDQJHV EHWZHHQ WKH WZR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK , GHVFULEH ZRXOG FDUU\  
PRUH XQLILHG YRLFH LQ ZRUOG WUDGH QH

6R LW LV WKLW ODUN 7ZR RU VKRXQFKW E  
VKRXOG EH WKH IRUHQVDMRURHQJRI SROILM  
ZRUOG RI WKH WZHQRW\ ILUVW FHQWXU\

%XW WKH LPSOLFDWLRQV DUH QRW DZHO  
VHHP WR IRUJHW WKDW LQ WKH ODWWRGH  
GHVLJQ ZH KDYH EHFRPH D PLFURFRVP R  
DQG WKLW VKRXOG EH EXLOW XSRQ DV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK GHYHORSPHQW

7KHUH KDYH EHHQ ZHOO IRXQG HG FRPSC  
VRFLHW\ LQ %ULWDLQ KDV PHUHOHWHG V  
KRVWLOH FRPPXQLWLHV ZLWK QR \$REWQ  
IRU WKHLU OR\DOWLHV 7KLV LV KDU GO  
H[SUHVHV LWV FHQWUDO IRUHLJQSDUOL  
GHVLJQH &RPPRQZHDOWK WKH FRQWH[W  
DQG %ULWDLQ EHFRPHV D FDXVH ZRUWK  
IRU ,QGHG WKH μ&RPPRQZHDOWKRZLWK  
LQ DQ HFRQRPLF VHQVH DV ZHOO 7KH G  
DFFXPXODWHG DERXW HYHU\ &RPPRQZHDOW  
WR LW ± QRW MXVW DV WKH ELJ FORDSG  
JURZLQJ HQWHUSULVH OHYHO ± PXVW EH  
XQUHFRJQLVHG

,Q VXPPDZH ILUVW UHIRUP HQODUJH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK EURDGHQLQJ WKH YHU\  
IRXQG HG DQG 7+(1 VR IDU DV %ULWDLQ  
FRQILGHQWO\ DW WKH YHU\ KH DUWURX  
SROLFLHV , KRSH WKDW DOO RWKHU PHPE

7KLV GRHV QRW PDNH XV, EDGP (XVIRSRQJLR  
ZLWK RXU (XURSHDQ QHLJKERXUV FIVDQ  
DUHDV ,W GRHV QRW PDNH XV SRRZGHV  
ZRXOG KDYH WKH RSSRUWXQLW\ WRLOKDS  
GLDORJXH ZLWK WKH \$PHULFDQV WKDQ WK  
,W GRHV QRW PDNH XV QHJOHFWIXDHRWVW  
FDQ EH GRQH WR WKH 81 UHIRUPHG RU

|

GHPDQG RI LW WKH SXUSRVH DQG DQGLWH Z  
GHOLYHU

)LQDOO\ LW GRHV QRW PDNH XV FRPSXDOO  
LQVWLWXWLRQV LQ D ZRUOG DOUHQGRIRYH  
WKHP IDU OHVV DFFRXQWDEOH WKDQWKH  
WKH WRROV RI WKH LQIRUPDWLRQI DJH  
EXUHDXFUDWLF FR RUGLQDWLRQ LQDMFRQ  
DQG FRKHUHQFH

6R OHW XV VWDUW PRYLQJ WRZDUGVOD &R  
WKR VH KRSHV RI RXU 5HSRUW D GHDSGH D  
VLGH HIIHFW RI JLYLQJ %ULWDLQ WKH R  
HIIHFWLYH IRUHLJQ SROLF\ ZLWKUHODWHB  
DQG VRFLHW\ WKH SXUSRVH DQG FRKHV  
GHPRQVWUDEO\ ODFNV

|

\$UWLFOH IRU 7KH -DSDQ 7LPHV <sup>Wk</sup> \$XEOD  
:HOFRPH 6KLIW LQ %ULWLVK )RUHLJQ 3ROD

'DYLG &DPHURQ WKH OHDGHU RI WKH 8. ¶  
KLJKO\ OLNHO\ WR EH %ULWDLQ¶V QBIOW  
(OHFWLRQ FRPHV LQ WZHOYH WR HFW KWKHH  
3ULPH 0LQLVWHU LQ ZDLWLQJ

+LV YLHZV DERXW WKH LQWHUQDWLWDU\ WODDQ  
QRW MXVW WR WKH ~~W~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~V~~ ~~E~~ ~~X~~ ~~Z~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~X~~ ~~K~~

Very recently he made a speech, while visiting Pakistan, of great  
significance. It indicated that the Conservatives are beginning to  
shape out a distinctive and up-to-date view on international affairs  
and British foreign policy. )DU IURP EHLQJ PDUJLQDO  
KLV ZRUGV FRQWDLQ WKH VHHGV GRHGWKR  
LQGLFDWH WKDW D &RQVHUYDWHLYHQ HZYHU  
DQG GLIIHUHQW WR RIIHU

:KDW &DPHURQ KDG WR VWD\ DERXW WKH  
GHPRFUDF\ DV D SDFNDJH RU RULP DWLHQ  
WKRXVDQG IHHW RQ VRPH HUULQJWSXOXO  
WKH VLPSOLILHG \QWMLRQW \$RIGGOV RQVWRC  
ZKLFK WKH IRUPHU 8. 3ULPH 0LQLVWHU  
QDPHO\ WKDW µGHPRFUDF\¶ LV VRP BKDZ µ  
V\ VWHP WR EH µLPSRVHG¶ RQ RWKHU FXOV

6HW WKLV UHDO LPHULF DUHQHFWLIRSO UDOFOQ  
&RQVHUYDWHLYH DLP RI UHIRUPLQJ WQHG (8  
OHVV FHQWUDOLVHG EORF ZLWK IRUZOG S  
VWDJH DQG ZH KDYH WKH EHJLQQLOQ V R

|

UHDG\ WR SOD\ DQ HIIHFWLYH SDGMQJLQRQWK  
LWV WUDGLWLRQDO ZRUOG VNLQDVLWLRQO  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK

7KH PHVVDJH WKDW RORZMLQURBK&DPKHWWWKD  
QRW EH KREEOHG LQ LWV LQWHUQDMLRQDHO  
E\ :DVKLQJWRQ V WZR GLPHQVLRQDORUVL  
RXU (XURSHDQ SDUWQHUV DV WKHRQWUX  
IRUHLJQ SROLF\

7KH ZKROH VWDUWLQJ SRLQW LQ HBJKIDU  
SROLF\ LQWHUHVWV ZLWKLQ WKH (XJKIDU  
XQLW\ JXDUDQWHHV ZHDNQHVV WKURXJ  
FRPSURPLVH 7KH UHIRUPLQJ SURYDVLQRQV  
QRZ EHFDOPHG E\ WKH ,ULVK UHMHFWR  
ZHDNQHVV ZRXOG PDNH LW PXFK PRUH SUP

%XW WKH RWKHU HTXDOO\ LPSRUWDQW  
KDYH DFFHSWHG WKH DERWHIRUHZJQSRQ  
WKDW WKH 8. PXVW WKUHIRUH FRUZXSH  
ZH ZLOO EH LVRODWHG 7KH VLJQVILFDQ  
WKDW WKH IDOVLW\ RI WKLV DUZKUPHQZRUOC  
D QDWLRQ OLNH WKH 8. ZLWK LWV KLVW  
FRQQHFWRQV FDQ EH PRVW HIIHFWDQFH L  
IURDth WKHVH EORFNV 6ROLG EXW QRW V  
VXPPDU\ E\ :LOOLDP EBJ&BPOLNIDQXKRW  
OLQLVWHU RI KRZ 8. 86 UHODWLRQV VKR

7KLV FOHDULQJ ZKHUWKH DERXWSHQ VV  
WKH ZD\ IRU D YLJRURXV DQG FUHDWLYH  
LQWHUHVWV ZLWK WKH QHZ SOD\HUF RQ W  
KDSSHQ DQ\ZD\ WR EH %ULWDLQ VKDQGH IUL



EHHQ ORRN LQJ RQ ZLWK VRPH GLVFDVH ZKL  
WKHP LQ IDYRXU RI WKH (8

7RS RI WKH OLVW FRPH WKH ULVLQRIDFWL  
DQG SROLWLFDO LV IDVW VKLIWLQJ IDZDV  
WUHQG DERXW ZKLFK RQH KHUV OLWW  
FDQGLGDWH %RWK VWLOO VSHDN DV  
SRVVHVHV LQWHUQDWLRQDO OHDGHUVK  
VHFWRQV RI WKH 86 PHGLD KDYH JBDVSH  
SHUFHLYH LV WKDW ZKLOH \$PHUVEDH LQRY  
ORQJHU GHOLYHUV LQIOXHQFH 1HZ SRZ  
JURZQ

7KH YDVW QHWZRUN RI WKH PRGHUQRPP  
D TXLFN ZD\ LQWR WKHVH QHZ DOORJDQFH  
OLQNV ZLWK ,QGLDVL\$XVWLOOOSBUH DORQ  
QDPH EXW D IHZ RI WKH QHZ JOREDO SOD\

%XW WKH OLVW RI QHZ IULHQGVZRUNZKJ  
PXFK KDUGHU LV QRW OLPLWHG WR &RPP  
WKH\ FDQ EH WKDQNV WR FRPPRQ ODQJ  
ZHOO VKHHU LQIRUPDO IULHQGVKLS

:DLWLQJ IRU WKH %ULWLVK WR FVDIWHX  
IRU HDPSOH WKH -DSDQHVH ZKORHDOJO  
WK FHQWXU\ LQWLPDF\ WKH OLGGOH (  
DGPLUHG WKH %ULWLVK DQG ZRQGHPHFKH  
RI WKH QHZHU (8 PHPEHUV ZKR ORRN X  
UHPHPEHU %ULWDLQ V ROG OR\DOWNHWG\  
VWDWHV

\$V IRU WKH RWKHU QHZ JLDQWV ODNVBN  
IDVW EHRPLQJ OLNH &DQGD D WHDPGLC  
IRU WKH 8. WR HVWDEOLVK LWV RYZKHGHV

|

FRXQWULHV ZHOO DZD\ IURP \$PHULFDQ  
SRVWXUHV

6R LQ VXP WKH QHZ %ULWLVK OHDXGLHGKLS  
E\ D EROG DQG SURRIBXQGLFDQWLTWHDG  
WKH QHZ ZRUOG DQG DQ HTXDOOLFRQLQ F  
ZKLFK WRR PDQ\ DUH VWLOO WU\LOO VRS  
WKH ZD\ IRU D WUXOLFRQVWUXFQGLMDFH Z  
QHWZRUN ZKLOVW UHPDLQLQJ LQ DWV U  
UHIRUPHG (XURSH NHHSLQJ D VRXQGVKLSW  
ZLWK \$PHULFD DQG VXVWDLQLQJ LWV S  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ± ZKLFK LV HPHUJLQJ DV  
FHQWXU\ JOREDO UHODWLRQV KLSV

&DPHURQ V UHPDUNVWRSZDQGWKWKDWFXSD  
,W LV RQO\ D VWDUW EXW LW LV D YHU\ ZH

|

7KH \*OREDOLVDBMURKQ S,VQ WVKLWX X WCHY H C  
5HDOLVHG

Easternisation revisited , a re-examination of the Atlantic role in global developments and a call for a new theme in British foreign policy.

7KLV LV D VWRU\ D SOHD DQG D SURSRVD  
7KMWRLM KRZ %ULWLVK IRUHLJQ SROLF\ O  
RI WKH WZHQR\ ILUVW FHQWXU\ WHDUWLRXO  
DQG LQIOXHQRH DV ZHOO DV WVKLWX X WCHY H C  
DQG SXUSR VH

7KH SOHDV IRU RXU SROLF\ OHDGHUV WR  
XQGHUVWDQG WVKLWX X WCHY H C  
RI LQWHUQDWLRQDO UHODWLRQV DQG F  
VHFXULW\ LV VDIHJDUGHG DQG LQIOXHQRH  
ZKLFK KDV HOXGHG QRW MXVW PLQGV I  
:DVKLQJWRQ HVWDBOLZKWKQWLVWVWGLVD

7KBURSRWDOKDW ZLWKRXW LQ DQ\ ZD\ EHV  
FHDVLQJ WR EH \$PHULFDV JRRG SDUWQ  
(XURSHDQV ZH ILQG D UHVWRUHGRSPHGH  
JOREDOSDWWHUQ XVLQJ RXU KMLWRUWLRXO  
SRVLWLRQ DQG RXU QDWLRQDO WDOHQWV

7KH %ULGJH RI 'UHDPV

7KH WKHRU\ RI WVKLWX X WCHY H C  
EHWZHHQ DQ \$PHULFD FRQILGHQW KQSLWQ

WKH DJH RI JOREDOLVDWLRQ DQGRDVH XURS  
DQG G\QDPLF

7KLV ZRXOG SXW WKH %ULWLVKHSQFH QHWU  
ZRUOG HYHQWV ZRQGEHUXZOHQ SFD[L\$RIRQ  
3D[ (XURSD \*RQH ZRXOG ERXWUHEJKLWQGH  
%ULWDLQ DV WKH \$WKHQV WR :DVKHLQJWR  
GD\ V RI +DUROG 0DFPLZRXDG \$HQGHVWKR  
LVRODWHG RIIVKRUH LVODQG RI (XURSH  
0DFPLODQ HUD DQG RQH ZKLFK) VWHLQGV  
2IILFH LQ /RQGRQ WR WKLV GD\

7R ZRUN LQ SUDFWLFH WKLV YLVLB QHZRXV  
QHHGHG DQG ZRXOG EH XVHG E WKDW  
UHVROXWH LQ LWV JOREDO SXUSRIWVZDGG  
DV D FRKHVLYH DQG HIIHFWLYH IRUFRHVRQH  
\$WODQWLF DOOLDQFH OLQNLQJ WKHLWZ  
GHVWLQLHV RI WKH 8QLWHG 6WDLVHVWDF  
GRPLQDQW DJHQGDVSHWVUQRSDOVDQHLUV

8QIRUWXQDWHO\ QRQH RI WKHVH FGHDLW  
ZDV SHUKDSV IDQFLIXO IURP WKHWRUDUDQG  
WKH 6HFRQG :RUOG :DU :KDW ZDV PFK PR  
WKDW GHVSLWH IDVW FKDQJLQJ ZQGOVKFR  
WHUULEOH ZRXQG RI WKH 8QLWHG 6V  
VWHDGLO\ DW WKH KHDG RI WKH GBQBFUD  
PLJKWLHVW QDWLRQ LQ PLOLWDU\ WHUP  
H[SHULHQFHG WRWELRHVQDWXUEXQGHWRXV  
FRQGLWLRQV

6XUHO\ WKLV ZRXOG EH WKH VDIQVWKBIV  
QDWLRQV RQ HDUWKW\$PHURLOFD ZRQXDG ERXC  
DGDSW LWV RXWORRN PRVW VZLUMODDQGH

DQG ZRXOG XQGHU\WZRI\GU\PRJ\VR\FD\O\H\MD\W  
WDNLQJ HYHU\ERG\ DQG HYHU\WK\LV\QB\R\SHW  
RU OHVV LQYHQW WKH LGHD"

\$QG ZDV QRW :DOO 6WUHHW WKH QIFUL\VO  
LPSOLFDFWLRQV ± DOWKRXJK /RQGRQ" ZDV  
\$QG KDYH QRW D ~~MXL\DG\U\K\G\W\SHU\H\VO\G\SHW\K\EH~~  
UHIHUHQFHV WR WKH QHZ JOREDO ~~VR\IG\HU~~  
7RQ\ %ODLU \$PHULFD\TV PRVW WUXVWHG  
HVSHFLDOO\ DIWHU ZLWK KLWFR\SHG  
EHLQJ VKDNHQ XS DQG VR RQ "

7KH &DUGV 5H 'HDOW

<HW IRU DOO WKH IORZ RI ZRUGV ~~K\H\B\VEF~~  
ZHUH VRPHZKHUH HOVH :KDW ~~WD\QG\K~~  
IXQGDPHQWDO SRLQW DERXW ~~WK\LD\O\B\O\H\Y~~  
WKDW ZKDW DSSOLHV WR PRQH\ ~~D\QG\V\Z\K\DV~~  
QRZ DSSOLHV WR SRZHU 7KH ~~DPD\J\U\K\W\UH~~  
DERXW E\ WKH ~~LQ\RO\W\B\W\Q\RO\W\B\W\Q\W\H\K\H\R\Q\V~~  
QHWZRNLQJ WHFKQRORJLHV DQG ~~Z\K\W\K\FR~~  
JOREDO IUHH PDUNHWV KDV QRW RQO\ GL

,W KDV GLVSHUVHG DQG UH DOORIF ~~D\W\H\G\US~~  
EHIRUH NQRZQ ,W LV QRW MXVW ~~DE\TX\O\H\LV\W~~  
RI QHZ DGKHUHQWV LQ ERRPLQJ \$VLD 7  
FRQWURO WKH SRZHU WR FUHDW ~~ED\H\Q\Q\J\W~~  
OLIWHG RXW RI KDQGV RI WKH ~~R\G\G\SO\O\V\E\H~~  
WKH ELJJHVW SOD\HUV DW WKH ~~W\B\H\SO\H\V\H~~

1RZKHUH RQ WKH VXUIDFH DUH UHVXLOWG  
DQG VWDUNHU WKDQ LQ WKH OLG\G\SHH\H\DK

3UHV LGHQW %XVK DQG KLV FROOHDDQMV KD  
KRZ \$PHULFDQ VWUDWHJ\ ZLOO UHVKDSH V  
PLOWDU\ PLJKW ± E\ PDQ\ WLPHV WKHH JU  
ZRUOG ± PXVW DQG ZLOO SUHYDLO \$PHUL  
KHOS %XW ZLWK RU ZLWKRXW IULHQGV \$  
ZLOO μVXUJH† ± WKH ODWHVW PLXVFDHGLQJ

,W LV QRW MXVW WKH :KLWH +RXVHVHDG V  
WKLQJV WKLW ZD\ 7KH DEXVHG QHRDFRQV  
PRQRSRO\ RI PLVXQGHUVWDQGLQJ LQ WKL  
KDUVKHVW FULWLFV DVVXPH LQ WGHMWHFRF  
ZD\ RXW RI WKH PXOWLSOH FULVHVHZKLFK  
H[DP SOH WKH ,UDT 6WXG\ \*URXS ZKLFK  
VWUDWHJ\ LV VWHHSHG LQ WKH VQFHDVV  
UROH \$QG IRU WRREWVZKWKIDYHLC WKH  
RXWVLGH WR SURJLHDQMLIFUHSFRQRVDPOR  
VHQWLPHQW 'RHV QRW DOO WKH QRLVH  
\$PHULFDQV DOUHDG\ NQRZ WR EH VWKH W  
K\SHUSRZHU DQGV WKDW OLNH LWRVUDQR  
FHQWUH VWDJH DQG VWD\ WKHUH"

8QSRSXODU ± QRZ DOPRVW XQLYHMVGEQ\ ±  
RI ZRUOG OHDGHUVKLS" +DV QRW BVQHWZ  
VKDSHG WKH ZRUOG VLQFH DQG ZLWRKGD  
RU ZLWKRXW FRPSOLVQRWODGQRWVWDQVWZKH  
μUHVSHFWHG OHDGHU† RI QDWLRQV"

1RZ %DFN &RPH WKH \$QVZHUV

:HOO WKH DQVZHUV DUH QRZ ZLQJLQJ WK  
XQFRPIRUWDEOH RQH V ± VR XQFRPHRSVDEC  
MXVW GR QRW ZDQW WR NQRZ

:KDW ZDV REYLRXV WR VRPH IURP WKH  
DOWKRXJK QRW HYLGHQWO\ WR QVRKZH E  
%XVK DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ QRU WR %WLWL  
GHPRFUDF\ FRXOG QRW EH GHOLYHUHG  
μGHPRFUDF\ ZDV WRR YDULHJDWHGHGQG  
XS DQG VHQW RYHUVHDV DQG WKDWURYH  
RYHUZKHOP

:KDW UHPDLQV PXFK OHVV REYLRXV XS V  
EHQHDWK WKH VXUIDFH WKH HQWLUH V  
\$PHULFD\ SRZHU WR FRQWURO DQGLQIC  
IODZHG ± LQ ZD\ V ZKLFK ZHUH DOZD\ VFR  
DQG WR VWUDWHJLF IDLOXUH LQ HWKHWBLE  
JUDVSHG E\ WKRVH% DURXOG ZHHQJHDV KL  
RSSRQHQWV DQG E\ WKRVH DURXOG HWKH  
)RU WKHP LW UHPDLQV XQWKLQNDV BHWKH  
GHEDWH ± WKH DZKOKFRDQGVHWHHMSPERL  
WKH \$PHULFDQ QLJKWPDUH

\$QG ZKDW LV WKLW UHDOLW\" ,W IDUJWKD  
FRPPDQG RU FRQWURO ,W LV QFWDLQHFKL  
WKH /HEDQRQ ODVW VXPPHU ,W LV QRW  
3DOHVWLQH FRQIOLFW ZKHUH VR PIDQ\WFR  
μWDNH D OHDG\ RU μGR VRPHWKLQJ\

,QFUHGLEOH" 6XUHO\ \$PHULFD LV WKH E  
QDWLRQ MXVW DV LW KDV EHHQ VLQFH  
ZRUOG LV QR ORQJHU RUJDQLVHG WKDW  
:DVKLQJWRQ LV QRW 5RPH EHFDXVH WKHU  
QRW DW WKH FHQWUH RI WKH ZRQV LQHW  
ROG SRZHU SROLWLFDO VHQVH

)RU UHDVQRV ZKLFK DUH DERXW ~~WZ~~ ~~W~~ KHH[S  
ZKROH VWUXFWXUH RI UHODWLRQVWLSV  
PRYHG RQ ± IURP D YHUWLFDO SDW~~W~~ ~~H~~WQ R  
SRZHUV FDOOLQJ WKH VKRWV ± WR ~~D~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~  
FRRSHUDWLRQ RI LQILQLWHO\ JUHDWHU VX

,Q WKLW QHZ SDWWHUQ SRZHU KDV ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~F~~  
SXW OHWKDO IRUFH DV ZHOO DW ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~V~~ ~~D~~ ~~I~~ ~~G~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~  
KDQGV ZKHUH RQH ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~Y~~ ~~W~~ ~~X~~ ~~O~~ ~~P~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~W~~ ~~B~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~K~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~I~~  
PLQLVFXOH DQGR~~X~~ ~~W~~ ~~Z~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~C~~ ~~D~~ ~~K~~ ~~M~~ ~~H~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~Z~~  
IDU EHORZ WKH UDGDU VFUHHQ VRI ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~F~~  
OHYHOOHG WKH SOD\ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~ ~~I~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~R~~ ~~D~~ ~~S~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~J~~ ~~F~~  
WR WUDGLWLRQDO WKLQNLQJ

2Q WKH RQH VLGH JLJDQWLF V ~~W~~ ~~D~~ ~~I~~ ~~G~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~  
DQG QXFOHDU ZDUKHDGV RQ WK ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~  
WHUURU WHDPV WLQ\ JURXSV ZLW~~X~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~J~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~  
VTXDGV SORWWHUV VWUHWFKLQJD ~~R~~ ~~X~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~R~~  
HYHQ VLQJOH LQGLYLGXDO IDQDWL ~~V~~ ~~F~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~  
WR WDNH RQ JLDQWV DQG WR GR VR RQ WI

7ZHQLHWK & HQWXU\ 0LQGVHWV

7KVVH DUH GHHSO\ GLILFXOW DQG FRPSC  
7KH\ RYHUWXUQ WKH PLQGVHWV R ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~O~~ ~~M~~ ~~\~~ ~~\~~  
WZHQLHWK FHQWXU\ %XW XQWL ~~O~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~E~~  
QRW RQO\ \$PHULFDQ LQIOXHGFH UHSXV  
HIIHFWLYHQHV ZK ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~P~~ ~~V~~ ~~Z~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~X~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~ ~~H~~ ~~P~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~  
SRVLWLRQ DV ZHOO 7KLV LV ZKHU ~~V~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~H~~ ~~F~~  
QRW MXVW DERXW WKH ZD\ IRUHL ~~J~~ ~~O~~ ~~H~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~  
SRZHUV EXW DERXW WKH YHU\ ~~O~~ ~~D~~ ~~L~~ ~~V~~ ~~T~~ ~~X~~ ~~I~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~E~~  
XQOLNH DQ\ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~D~~ ~~V~~ ~~J~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~E~~ ~~H~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~

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'RHV WKH SRVVHVLRQ RI D VWLOO HQRU  
QRQHWKH OHVV JLYH \$PHULFD WKHWUBWHLGJ  
DQG JXDUDQWHH QDWLRQDO VHF XUQW\"  
:DVKLQJWRQ GHVSLWH WKH FUXHO7KMLG  
UHDOLW\ LV WKDW QXFOH DU ZDUKH E&W U  
QR ORQJHU ZHDSRQV RI SRZHU

7KH SURVSHFW RI WKHLU SRWHG WLOO RX  
WKH DJH¶V PRVW VHULRXV LVVXHV

%XW QXFOH DU ZDUKH DGHVW DUHU ZHDSRQV Z  
WR WKH H[WHQW WKDW SRZHU KDRV WKZUG  
KDQGV WKH\ DUH JXDUGLQJ WKH ZRURQFKD  
WKLQJ DV DQ LQGHSHQG HQW QXFOH DU F  
QXFOH DU ZHDSRQV RZQHUVKLS LV LQWHU  
ZD\ RI ILJKWLQJ QXFOH DU WHUURBHVPRLV  
WKH PRVW LQWLPDWH FROODERUDXVYOH DU  
SRZHUV LQFOXGLQJ REYLRXVO\ 5XVVD  
µGHFODUHG¶ QXF DGHU3 VMLDWH DV ZKHWH  
,VUDHO WRR KDV WR EH SUHVHG

7KH IRUPHU ILYH µH[LVWLQJ QXFOH DU SR  
QHWZRUN LQ ZKLFK QYRW\XSRWK DGR ZLV  
GHFRPPLVLRQ RU WR XSJUDGH RQVZWRKE  
RWKHUV 1HLWKHU WKH :DVKLQJWRQ GH  
SRRUO\ RUFKHVWUDWHG GHEDWH LQGHVHW  
EDOOLVWLF PLVRLKH VHVWDPHQH E QVDFR  
SRZHU GLVWULEXWLRQ

\$VLD WKH QHZ (SLFHQWUH (XURSH QR 6XS  
,I WKH \$PHULFDQ GHOXVLRQ LV ~~WPHWDL~~  
JOREDO VXSUHPDF\ DXWRPDWLFDO~~WRUDW~~  
(XURSH~~V~~ SURJUHVV 7KH KLJK YLVI~~FOR~~ EV  
RU VXSHUSRZHU ~~E~~~~R~~~~W~~~~K~~~~F~~~~S~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~W~~~~H~~~~Z~~~~H~~~~W~~~~R~~~~W~~~~D~~  
\$PHULFDQ EHKHPRWK DQG DOO ~~S~~~~K~~~~H~~~~W~~ RI  
:HVWHUQ ZRUOG WKH ~~μ~~DGYDQFHG~~↑~~ ZRUOG

,Q D VWDJJHULQJO\ VKRUW VSDFHGRD~~Q~~~~G~~~~L~~~~P~~~~H~~  
WXUQH WR GXVW ~~μ~~\$VLD LV ~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~R~~~~E~~~~S~~~~S~~~~E~~~~H~~~~Q~~~~↑~~  
GHFODUHV 3URIHVVRU &KXQJ 0LQ /HH R  
DXWKRULWLHV RQ (DVW \$VLDQ VHF~~X~~~~U~~~~L~~~~W~~~~V~~  
&RPPLVLRQ HVVD\ RQ WKH UHJLRQ~~Z~~~~K~~~~D~~~~V~~~~W~~~~D~~  
KH DVVXPHV DOO EXW WKH EOLQG~~H~~~~V~~~~W~~ Q  
\$WODQWLF ZRUOG DUH QR PRUH 7KDW SKD

\$UPLHV RI VWDWLWLFV QRZ VXSSRUW WKH  
WKH -~~\$~~~~,~~~~.~~~~6~~ -DSDQ \$~~6~~~~Q~~~~S~~~~I~~~~L~~~~D~~~~&~~~~R~~~~Q~~~~C~~~~D~~.RUHD DF  
SHUFHQW RI WKH ZRUOG~~↑~~V \*13 XS IUR  
HDUOLHU DQG DERXW WKH VDPH QRZ DV  
DURXQG SHUFHQW RI WKH ZRUOG~~↑~~W WRV  
PRUH WKDQ WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV~~L~~~~O~~~~D~~~~D~~~~O~~~~V~~  
UDZ PDWHULDOV RQ D VZHoolQJ V~~F~~~~D~~~~O~~~~V~~ D  
H[~~S~~~~D~~~~Q~~~~G~~~~L~~~~Q~~~~J~~ D~~Q~~~~E~~~~R~~~~X~~~~O~~~~V~~~~H~~~~E~~~~R~~~~C~~~~H~~~~V~~~~X~~~~F~~~~C~~~~H~~~~U~~~~P~~~~D~~~~U~~~~N~~~~H~~~~W~~~~V~~

%XW WKLW LV QRW HYHQ KDOI WKH~~P~~~~D~~~~V~~~~U~~~~R~~~~H~~~~U~~  
FDSLWDOLVP KDV QRZ EURXJKW L~~Q~~~~W~~~~K~~~~H~~~~H~~~~S~~  
ELOOLRQ QHZ FDSLWDOLVWV~~↑~~ LQWR WKH  
RSSRUWXQLW\ KDYH VKLIWHG HDVWZDUGV  
ERXQG WR VSUHDG DQ\ZD\ RQFH WKH &RP  
ROG IUHH ZRUOG VROLGDULW\ DJDLQ~~V~~~~W~~ &F  
FRPPHUFLO GLI~~I~~~~H~~~~F~~~~U~~~~L~~~~F~~~~H~~~~O~~~~V~~~~D~~~~G~~~~G~~~~V~~~~H~~~~R~~~~V~~~~W~~~~H~~~~G~~~~Z~~~~L~~

%XW LW LV WKH VHDPOHVV RSSRUWVWQWUOL  
\$PHULFDQ OHG FDSLWDOLVP LQWR ZKDW  
FDSLWDOLVP DQG VLPSON\ ZDVKHV DZDW\$P  
D OHYHO SOD\HU LQ WKH IODWWHQHG VFH

7KH SURFHVV JRHV HPXZLQGXILUWKHNSUPFEG  
WKURXJKRXW \$VLD PL[LQJ ZLWK &RQIXFI  
KDYH SURGXFHG D JLJDQWLF ILQDQFLQJ  
VXSSRUWV WKH GHILFLW ULGGHQWIFXWDD  
9DVW \$VLDQ GROODU UHVHUYHV HFDQGGU  
LQGHG FDUU\ RQ DFFXPXODWLQJ WKHP  
JURZWK &KLQDQV WULOOLRQ GROODLRQH  
SOXV 7DLZDQV DQGGQGGV.RQJFVOKLRQ  
EHVLGHV NHHSV FWXZRWJGFVLEGGQDW  
\$VLD QRZ OLWHUDOO\ KROGV WKHHSSILSHU  
«

7KDW \$PHULFDQ OHDGHUV VKRXOGQCFHFWX  
GHPRFUDF\ DQG SROLWLFDO YDOXHWRU  
OHDGHUVKLS UROH UHPDLQV XQFKIDVJZDG/  
QRW LQWHQVHO\ GDQJHURXV

(DVWHUQLVDWLQ

/LNH LW RU QRW SRZHU LV VKLHW&KJQHWF  
DQG ,QGLD DUH DERXW WR EHFRPHWUKH  
DQG LW LV VKLIWLQJ HYHQ PRUH VQGLQG  
WKH FRORVDO RSSRUWXQLWLHVFRKUDFHO  
IDOOHQ LQWR WKHLU KDQGV 2I FBXUVH  
IRUHFVWV FDQ RIWHQ EH ZURQJQIRVWHHC  
QLQHWLHV , GHVFULEHG WKH FRPLQJ UL  
HFRQRPLF WHUPVEXSMULQRWHPVVDLIDQG V

LQ D SDPSKOHW MDWLROTHGWK(HD WREXVHTG H  
E\ WKH \$VLDQ FXUUHQF\ WXUPRLOUFLWLVFLW  
QRWDEO\ LQ WKH 7LPHV WR SURYH WKDW

,W ZDV ZURQJ IRU DERXW VL[ PRQWKV EI  
XQGHUO\LQJ WUHQQV GULYHQ E\ WKH G  
SODWIRUPV VHQW WKH IRUWXQHWYDQGLG  
\$VLDQV VRDULQJ VN\ZDUGV DJDLQ

7KH VDPH VRUW RI FKRUXV FDPH RIQWWDJH  
GRWFRP ERRP LQ \$FWXDOO\ WKWV HY  
HQDEOLQJ PXOWLWXGHV RI VPDOOHU HQ  
FRPPXQLFDWLRQV LQIUUVWUXFWXUHV VX  
RSHQLQJ QHZ IUHHDOO\WIRSHQ WRKULQJQJ  
D WRUUHQW RI QHZ FROODERUDWLVHWDKSC  
HQWLUH SODQHW

7KH HIIHFWV ZHQWQHYNQ WRUMKXWLYQWDGGR  
WKH ZHE DQG WKH JRRJOH LVDWGRQGRIDM  
NQRZQ WR KXPDQNLQG DQ HQWLUHDO\ QH  
GHYHORSHG DFURVV WKH ZRUOG UKLQJLV  
FKXQNV RI SURGXFWLRQ DQG SURFDQGHV I  
HOVHZKHUH 1RU LV LW MXVW VLQSAVWRPDM  
RII VKRULQJ WKHLU SODQWV DQG DLWVKWV  
ORZHU ODERXU FRVWV

:KDW KDYH QRZ PXVQRPHZ LHDWKDBH VX  
LQILQLWH FRPSOHMLMRVDQGGZLVKDV IORZ  
GLUHFWRQV ± WR DQG IURP WKH OHLQJFR  
&KLQHVH DQG \$VLDQ PDUNHWV MXVWLVFV P  
RQHV +XQGUHGV RI PLOOLRQV RI QWZ PL  
DUH QRZ EHJLQQLQJ WR FRQVXPH DV ZHO  
7KXV D VLQJOH ILQDSDPRGKFZDVZKDW KP D

,SRG RU VRPHWKLQJ DV FRPSOH[ DV DQ  
FRPSRQHQWV DQG NQRZOHGJH LQSXWV IU  
VRXUFHV 1DWLRQDO EDUULHUV DQG W  
LQVLJQLILFDQFH DQG UH DUJXDUGRSURKWH  
WKURXJK WKLQO\ QLG JXDVHW\ KHDJXV DWD  
VSHFLDOLW\ GHVSHUDWHO\ WUDLQJ WZR UF  
RI WUDQVDFWLRQV WR DQG IURD FURVV W

6HOI RUJDQLVDWLRQ DQG FROODERUDWL  
GHFLPDWH WKH SRQWV DIQGRYHULPHU XC  
DXWKRULWLHV WKH JRYHUQPHQWV RI  
LQFOXGHG DQG WKHQFCXYGHG\ P,QWRWQGL  
ZRUOG ZLGH EURZVHU KDV WLSSHG WKH  
SHUVRQDOLVHG ZRUOGV DQG LQWLPHWH  
RI WUDGLWLRQDO VRFLDO DQG RIILFLDO V

7KLV LV WKH FRQWH[W VXSHU JOFVHG D  
QDWLRQ VWDWH OHDGHUV KDYH 'RZQ WR  
WKH ODGGHU JR QRWLRLVRDQDMLRQDRL  
RQH EHLQJ VXSUHPH LQ D QHWZRUNVZRU  
WRZDUGV H[FOXVLYH RXUVHOYHUWDORRQW  
JOREDQ QHWZRUN EHLQJ YXOQHUDELOHWDQ  
EHLQJ DQ DWWDFN RQ DOO

'RZQ WKH ODGGHU DOVR JR QRWLRLVR RI C  
DQ LGHD RI EUHDWKWDNLQJ XQUHDOLWPE  
\$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ GHPRQVWUDWLQJ KHHW  
QRZ WRWDOO\ LQWHJRWDELOHQDWKZVSKHL  
ODGGHU JR FRQFHRWDODEGQWXQLQDWLHU  
PDQDJHPHQW DQG SDWRVHEDORRQFRQDPOHV  
LQWHUZRYHQ DQG WRWDOO\ LQWHUGHSHQ

%\ FRQWUDVW XS WKH ODGGHU FRPWHSHPD  
EH FRPSOHWHO\ RSHQ DQG WUDQVSDUHQ  
VHUYLHV ZLWK LQILQLWHO\ JUHDUMVSHFIM  
ORFDO GLYHUVLW\ DQG LQLWLDWQDMDUHP  
DQG VHFUXLW\ DQG GLVFRXUDJH ODZOH  
FRPSUHKHQLVHO\ 2Q WKH JHR SRWLWLF  
PLVLRQ WR MRLQLWDRQV DQG QFRVZRUNV  
WKUHDWV WR QDWLRQDO VHFUXLWK DQG PI  
QDWLRQ FDQ PDNH WR JOREDO SHDQJ DQ  
DOVR DQ\ QDWLRQIV VHQVH RI SXLRVH V

)ULHGPDQIV :RUOG

)HZ EHWWHU H[SOIDZLWLRQG/ KIRZVWKR V H  
WUDQVIRUPDWLRQ LQ WKH JHR SRDQWWKDO  
RIIHUHG E\ WKH ZRQGHUOXO\ SHUFHSWLY  
KLV ERRN μ7KH :R)WLGGLVDQDVI DUULYHG  
FRXQWU\PHQ KLJK DQWLRKHK\$YPLQRWU)UL  
XQGHUVWDQGV WKDWIRUHDVZQVOMKHDQD  
SURFHVV DQG WKHHFRPPXQLFDWLQNLQJL  
PLFUR FKLS VHW LQ PRWLRQ VRPHVZHQW  
WKLUG SKDVH ZKLFK FDKQJHV HYHU\WKLQJ

7KLV WKLUG SKDVH LV WKH RQH HEVZKLYFKVC  
WKURZQ LQWR LQWHLQGHQHQRLQDMEGB  
LPDJLQHG DV ZDOOV DQG EDUULHUV WX  
FRPSDQLHV DQG EXVLQHVVHV HYHU\ZKHUH  
HQWLUHO\ QHZ JOREDO QHWZRUNDQW MURY  
WKH GHYHORSHPHQW RI PRUH DQG PBUH ,Q

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7KH :RUOG LV )ODHGPDQ73RFDXLDQ LDQG \$OOHG

SRVVLELOLWLHV WKH EXLOGLQJ RM FJRDGL  
DQG EDG QRZ IDOOV LQWR LQGLYLB&DO  
DQG IODWWHQHG WR DQ LQILQLW&QHJUH  
DXWKRULWLHV DQG JRYHUQPHQWVUEWUH  
DQG FRQIURQWHG E\ WKH QHGH WR DGDSW

&RUUHFWRQ QRQH RI WKLV LV HQWLOHND  
ODQXHO &DVWHOOV ZHUH GHVFULELQJ I  
LQIRUPDWLRQDO KH FDOOHG LW QHYR  
JRYHUQPHQW EXW WKH ZKROH VW\$QSWX  
WKDW VRPH RI XV DGGHG RXU RZQ ZDQQL  
DQG DV FDSLWDOLVP EHFDPH WRWDOO\  
DFFXUDWHO\ ORQJ DJR E\ .DUO ODUF\ :HY  
ZRXOG SDVV WR PDUNHWV WR ULWLFJ V  
EDVLQ DV ZHOO DV WR PDOLJQ DQG  
DQDUFKLF SDWWHUQ

%XW WKH SRLQW LV WKDW )ULHGQDQWRDSX  
WKH FDVH WR KLV SHHUV ZLWK XZSLFKDO  
SUREDEO\ H[SODLQV ZK\ KH ZLQV BQWUM]  
DQG WKLV LV VXUHO\ D FDXVH RI ZEFWKW  
PD\EH D WKLUG WR FRPH

<HVWHUGD\¶V (XURSH

7KH GLUHFV H[WHUQDO LPSOLFDPHQWVGRVGRF  
.LQJGRP RI WKHVH IXQGDPHQWDO UHHDOL

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µ7KH 5LVH RI WKH 1HWZRUN 6RFLH&DVWHOOVK  
%ODFNZHOO 3XEOLVKHUV /WG  
µ7KH (GJH RI 1RZ¶ ± µ1HZ 4XHVWLRQV IRU 'H  
\$JH¶ E\ 'DYLQ +RZHOO ODFPLOODQ

|

DQG RI WUHQGV LQ KXPDP DIIDLUV WFRVXKIG  
\*HUPDQ &KDQFHOURU \$QJHOD OHUNHO ZD  
IXUWKHU DGYDQFH WRZDUGV D EORFOFRPP  
KDYH JOREDO LPSDLQV OHWFRZDUGV WFRVXKIG  
WLHV ZLWK WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV WLFKPHV  
\*HUPDQ\ V FXUUHQW 38 QHVLG HDQF B W WKH  
(8 6XPPLW

\$JDLQVW WKH EDFNJURXQG GHVFULHG DE  
YHU\ ZLGH RI WKH WDUJHW DQG WKRVRHG  
\*HUPDQ\ DQG IRU WKH (8 DV D ZKROZLGR  
KROG WRJHWKHU XQGHU WKH LPSDFW RI V  
FKDLQ SURGXFWLRQ DQG GLVLQWHJWLVHG  
ZHE KDYH XVKHUHG LQWR EHLQJ

,I \*HUPDQ\ RU DQ\ RWKHU (XURSHDQ QD  
SURWHFWLRQ RI LWV FLYLO VRFWHDQDQD  
HQHUJ\ VHFUXLW\ DQG UHDO DQDQDQDQD  
D IXOO\ UHVWRUHG UHSXWDWLRQ RYXDGIEV  
ORRNQJ QRW RQO\ DW JUHDWHU (RFRSHD  
LVVXH ZKLFK LV DOZD\V GHVLVDEOZLWQ  
WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV ZKLFK DUH DOZD\V  
QRZ WKDQ HLWKHU RI WKRVRH JRDZLWIKV WKH  
ULVLQJ SRZHUV DQG PDUNHWV RI \$VEE ZK  
PDGH ZKLFK ZLOO PDNH RU EUHDN ZRKHG  
OLGGOH (DVW DQG OLIV WHQV RI PLOOLRQV

,I \*HUPDQ\ RU DQ\ RWKHU (XURSHDQDQD  
VHFUXLW\ DV ZH DOO DUH LW VKRXDG EH  
GLUHRVSHUFWLRQ LQ LKQW LQZKHORIEGDFZ  
PRUH LQIOXHQLDO LQ FOHDQLQJ WKRQDWF  
WUDGLQJ VFKHPH LQ (XURSH ZLOO KDYH WF



,I \*HUPDQ\ RU DQ\ RWKHU (XURSHDQWQDV  
VKRXOG EH ORRNKQJHDWRWQKXPDHJUSIBZMU  
\$VLD DW &KLQHVH PDUNHWV DQG DW WQMA  
(8 LWVHOI LV WKH ZRUOGTV ELJJHGVWVWPM  
QR ORQJHU WUXH

,I \*HUPDQ\ ZDQWV PRUH VHFUXH HQVHUWRV  
1RUZD\ UHGXFH LWV RYHUGHSHQGHQFH  
SRZHU VWDWLRQ EXLOGGLQJ ZLWK WDWKOH  
WKDQ SXW LWV IDLWK LQ DQ (8 FRPHURQH  
KDSSHQ

7KH VHDUFK VKRXOG EH RQ LQ HYHU\ (>  
QHWZRUNV DQG OLQNDJHV ZKLFKHZLHDOVE  
LQ WKH QHZ FRQGLWLRQV 7LPH DQGHQ  
XQDFKLHYDEOH DPELWLRQV IRU D XQLWH  
(XURSHDQ VWDWHTV SODFH LQ WKHKMXQ  
6HFRQG RU VWUHWFKLQJ IRU GUHDDPWR  
IDU EHWWHU VSHQW UHDFKLQJ RXWI DQG  
SRZHULQJ LQ WKH QHZ JOREDO QHWZRUN

\$PRQJVW PHPEHU VWDWHV )UDQFH KBV VK  
QHZ SULRULWLHV ± LQ \$VLD DQG HOVHZ  
DGPLUDEOH GH[WHULW\ WR μSOD\TVWKH (>  
EHVW GHVLJQHG WR DVVLVW )UDQFHVWVWV  
UHVXUJHQFH RI DQ RYHU PLJKW\ \*HUPDQ\

\$ /XFN\ /HJDF\

%XW WKH PRVW IRUWXQDWHO\ SODFWGH(>  
8. DQG WKLV LQFRVWDXQQOHWKDHOYHLHJHV

RI WKH 8QLRQ¶V PHPEHUVKLS DV WKH\ O  
SRVLWLRQ

\$QG ZKDW DURXVHV WKLW HQY\" 6LPSO\ W  
EHQHILFLDU\ RI D ODUJH EHTXUHVWVG\  
PDGH QHWZRUN ZKLFK JLYHQ D OLLQWVROW KQ  
QHZ JOREDO HQYLURQPHQW

7KLV QHWZRUN LV WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK +  
ODWWLFHG DVVRFLDWLRQ RI OLNPHXPLVGH  
IDLWK HPEUDFLQJ ULFK DQG SRR¶V DQGV  
DOPRVW YLUWXDOPRURQSDHFDWVWUVRUWK DQ  
VHFUHWLULDW LQ WKH KHDUW RI /RQGRQ D

)DU IURP EHLQJ D UXQ GRZQ FOXE KHOC  
GHRORQLVDWLRQ¶VILSRVPRQZHDVORGD QRZ  
WKLWVHHQ RI WKH ZRUOG¶V IDVWHVWVWR  
SRWHQW HPHUJLQJ PDUNHWV 2XWVWGHJWK  
HGJH FRXQWULHV LQ LQIRUPDWLRQ WHFK  
&RPPRQZHDOWK PHPEHUV 7KH QHZ µMHZ  
&URZQ¶V WXUQV RXW WR EH WKH RDQGMHZH  
VHW QDPHO\ ERRPLQJ ,QGLD WKHDZRUO  
SRSXODWLRQ VHW WR H[FHHG &KLQD¶V

%\ DFFLGHQW DQG OXFN WKLW LV WRZNL  
DOPRVW SHUIHFWO\ WDLORUHG WRIRIWHUV  
ERWK LWV PHPEHUV DQG WKH ZLGHU LQW  
SODWIRUP RQ ZKLFK WR ZRUN WRJHWKHU  
RSSRUWXQLWLHV ERWK DV SRZHU \$DWWHV  
7KRPDV )ULHGPDQ¶V IODWVWHU ZRUOG

,W PLJKW EH WKRXJKW WKDW WKH REYL  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN PRGHO ZRXOG E  
/RQGRQ RQ %ULWVSRVLWLRQHQZQWRPLVWVW

|

DOWKRXJK WRGD\TV DFWXDO &RPPRQZHDOWK  
IXQGHG WKH RSSRUWXQLWLHV IRU DQG &I  
EH GHYHORSHG LQWRXDIQ ELQMIUXPFLQV OBO  
LWV PHPEHUV EXW HVSHFLDOO\ WRURQWU DQ  
SUHVHQW VNLOOV ZRXOG EH FHQDQDLOQ JV  
LQ WKH FRUULGURDQG WKIP)RQZHDOWK 2II

2QH PLJKW DOVR KDYH WKRXJKW WKD  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN VWUHQQJWKHQH  
FLUFXLW E\ ZKLFK WR FRQQHFH IDURQJH  
DQG WKHLU PDUNHWV

%XW RQH ZRXOG EH UHDOVHVZWRQQ LMR Y  
&RPPRQZHDOWK SRWHQWLDO LQ WKHRQHZ  
RIILFLDO LPDJLQDWLRQ KDV EHJXQ GWR I  
EHQHILWV 1RW D VLQJOH PHQWLRQWRKHWK  
PRVW UHFHQW 5HSRUW RQ WKH :RUN RI V  
2IILFH ± H[FHSW LQ WKH XQDYRLGRQJHU I  
LQWHUHVW LQ \$( \$1 RIILFLDOV IURV BQQJ  
FHQWUHV VLJK DQG DGPLW WKDWLQWKHUKV  
LQ WKHLU UHJLRQ 7KH QRWLFH RQ WKH\ G  
ZLWK RXU (XURSHDQ 3DUWQHUV &DOO %D

)RU D IRUHLJQ SROLF\ WKLQNLQJ DZSRUDQ  
RI EORFV DQG DOOLDQFHV RI WKH\ SVDKM  
FRQYLFWLRQ WKDW DQ LQWHJUDWHGQ(8 L  
ZKLFK %ULWDLQ JHWV μOHIV EHKLQQGRTQDW  
UHDG\ PDGH VWUXFWXUH RI WKH IXWXUM  
DSSDUHQWO\ EH\RQG UHDFK

7KH 1HZ 3ODWIRUP

%XLOGLQJ XS WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK FORGHO  
LWV OHDGLQJ PHPEHU VWDWHV 8DQGLQVWH

|

VWDJJHULQJ SRWHQWLDO RI WKH QHDO & RPP  
PRGHO IRU LQWHUQDWLRQV B B Q F R X O D E A R K U D V  
QHHGHG ZLOO QRW EH WKHUH 7KLV PHD  
\*RYHUQPHQWV WR JLYH SODFH DQG UHFR.  
QHWZRUN LQ WKH WWHH B V H H F B Q D R P G F R D E G C  
SROLFLHV DW D OHYHO ZKLFK IRW W B G L R X  
WKH\ KDYH KLWKH W W K R E L L O H I G F H S R W Z R Q F E H L  
DOPRVW DORQH ZLWK LWV QHZ IODKHU DQ  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K D V μ W K H L G H D O S O D W I R U P

1RW -XVW %UHDG DQG %XWWHU

%XW WKH QHZ VWRU\ VKRXOG QRWWKXVUW E  
DQG QHZ HFRQRPLF RSSRUWXQLWVH\$VVVW DU  
EHFRPHV μWKH H S P F R H Q Z H D O W K Q H I & B V G W R I  
LQ WHUPV RI LWV UHDO ZHLJKWDLOF V H F X U K L  
GLDORJXH ZLWK WKH 8 6 JLDQW V W O L Q N  
KHOSLQJ WR KDQGOH WKH SULFN D L V W W D Q G  
,UDQ LQ SURPRORLS P H E W W O L H O U N G O Y D Q E G U L  
ODUJHU QDWLRQV SRRUHU DQG U X E K D I Q G W  
WUXO\ IULHQGO\ WHUPV DQG LQ K E W U G J L Q H N  
WR H[SORLW DQG ZLGHQ

,Q DOO WKHVH DUHDV WKH & R P P R Q Z H D O  
XSRQ DQG HQODUJHG GRHV LQGH Q G V R M H H U  
OU .DPDO 1DWK ZLVHO\ SHUFHLYHV μ WKH

,W ZLOO RI FRXUVH LQHYLWDEOD V H I D Q G  
VFDWWHUHG JURXS S L O F J H S D Q G L E Q V E J H K U R K Q V  
DQG FRQWHQWLRXV N D U H W K H ' O K R D G ' L O K H W H D  
FRQWURO JRLQJ WR EH"

|

+HUH ZH DUH EDFN WR WKH :DVKLQJWR  
FRQWURO

%\ DFFLGHW DV PFK DV GHVLJQ WKH &  
FRQWURYHUVLDO SDVW WR WDNWKLQSHLQ  
DQG DFWLQJ 7KH IDFW WKDW WKH &RPP  
PHPEHU VWDWH RU HYHQ D FRWHUDH RI  
ZHDNQHVV LV QRZ D VWUHQJWK

%HFDXVH WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV IRXQGH  
HDFK IROORZLQJ LWV RZQ SDWK \HW U  
LQWHUGHSHQGHQFH VWPFRQVFDQWDDM S  
FKDOOHQJHV ZLWK SDUWQHUVKLSVHQWR  
HDFK QHZ VFHQH

7KLV DQVZHUV WKUHH GLOHPPDV

7KHLUVW WKDW SHRSOH ZDQW PRUH WKD  
JOREDOLVDWLRQ WR GHYHORS WKWLDQZ  
ORFDOLWLHV WR WDNH SOGHILQVNDQJ  
RI LQWHUGHSHQGHQFH EXW WKH\ QHQHT  
RI LQGSHQGHQFH 6XSHULRU LGHDG RI  
VXSHU VWDWHV DGRPLZLWDWZHHVWGHUH  
QDWLRQ VWDWH FDQ SOD\ QR SDUWLQJ  
QHHGV DQG LQGHG XWWHUO\ IDLO WR  
LQWHQWLRQH G LQWHJUDWLRQLVWV DV LQ

6HFRQLJG EORF DOOLDQFHV FDQQRW NH  
FKDQJH 7KH PRUH WKDW WKH (XURSHDQ  
LQWR D XQLLHG SROLWLFDO DLQPHLPLWH  
7KH PRUH WKDW WKH ZRUOG LV VHQFDV  
HVWDEOLVKHG LQ ULYDOU\ WR HDRKVRW

QHWZRUN RI ELOD~~WZHUHQ~~QOQD~~MLRQJ~~HL~~VE~~Q~~N~~JC  
MXVW WKL~~V~~ QHZ DQG PRUH IOH[~~LE~~EHV~~S~~WDW  
JXDUDQWHH RI VWDELOLW\ DQG VHF~~X~~ULW\

7KLU~~Q~~KH QHZ WH[WXUH RI LQWHUQ~~D~~WERQD  
LQWHU JRYHUQPHQWDO DQG RIILFLDO FRQ  
JRYHUQPHQWDO D~~Q~~G~~L~~V~~H~~E~~D~~R~~V~~I~~D~~W~~R~~I~~B~~U~~D~~W~~D~~L~~N~~H~~K~~V  
WLPH WR JURZ EXW JURZ LW KDV X~~Q~~GHU  
DQ DPD]LQJ RQ RUJDQL]DWLRQV D~~Q~~G~~V~~DOOL  
WKH DFDGHPLF DQG VFKRODVWLF ZRUOG  
VFLHQWLILF DQG OHJDO FRPPXQLW~~R~~H~~S~~VDQ  
OLQNHG WRJHWKHU DFURVV WKH QDWLRQ

\$PHULFDQ  $\mu$ SRVW SULPDF\¶

7KH IDLOXUH LQ :DVKLQJWRQ WKLQNLQJ  
%UXVVHOV FLUFOHV WR XQGHUVWDQG ZH  
FROODSVH RI \$PHULFD\¶V  $\mu$ VRIW SPZHUM\ U  
DFURVV WKH HQWLUH JOREH LV OH~~X~~Y~~L~~QJ  
QHZ 3HQWDJRQ VWXG\ GHVFULEHV WKLY  
SULPDF\¶ ,QWR WKL~~V~~ YDFXXP F~~D~~X~~W~~L~~R~~  
PRYLQJ WKH &KLQHVH  $\pm$  ZLWK FDV~~K~~UZ~~L~~G~~H~~K  
GHDOV DQG GHDOV WR VHF~~X~~UH D~~F~~I~~C~~H~~M~~W\WR  
KXQJU\ ZRUOG ZLW~~K~~Q~~P~~L~~O~~K~~S~~R~~U~~W~~D~~Q~~S~~R~~Z~~W~~F~~

7KLV LV D JDS ZKLFK RXJKW WR EMRIU~~V~~OL~~H~~SG  
EXW E\ WKH IUHH GHPRFUDFLHV RI V~~K~~KH &R

|

DQG 6RXWK EDQGHG WRJHWKHU E\ D FRP  
UXOH RI ODZ DQG UHGD\ WR PDNH UHDO  
LQWHUHVUV RI D SHDFHIXO DQG VFWUDEVOLF  
JRYHUQDQFH LQ PDQ\ GLIIHUHQW IRUPV

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK SRVVHVHV WKHWKLV  
QHZ ZRUOG ZKLFK HXWROGQVWLWXWLRQ  
ODFN

,W VWUHWFKHV DFURVV WKH IDLWLVV ZLWV  
VWUHWFKHV DFURVV DOKWKHE\ &RQWLQH  
QXOOLILQJ WKH GDUN DQDO\VLV RI D FRP

%HWWHU VWLOO LI D PRUH FRQILGHGG &F  
PDNHV IULHQGO\ DVVRFLDWLRQV ZKWLQ RV  
(XURSH DQG \$VLD -DSDQ ZLWK VHRPH  
ZRUOGV \*13 DQG ZLWK LWV FRQILGHQFH  
UHGD\ WR PDNH OLQNV ZLWK WKH &RPPR  
DQG %ULWDLQ WRJHWKHU 3RODQGWLDQW  
ORQJ WR KDYH DVVRFLDWLRQ ZLWKURJUR  
ORFDO (XURSHDQ DQGRHVS(LWHQ 15WVSNLQFN  
PRRG DQG ODWHQW QDWLRQDOLVXVHQV  
FULWFLVP IURP WKH 8 6 9LFH 3UHVLGHC  
HPUJH DV VXLWDEOH GHPRFUDWLRQSDGJH  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK FOXE

7KH QHGH QRZ LV IRU WKH &RPPROZHDOW  
E\ LWV PHPEHUV WR JURZ ZLQJV 7KH &R  
IRUHLJQ SROLF\ GMPWRWLRQLWQKMDXGFK

|

PRUH SRZHUIXO ZD\ WKDQ KLWKHUV ~~WR~~ WK  
SROLF\ LVVXHV 3HUKDSV LW VKRX ~~Q~~ KEHJL  
RIILFLDO WR ZRUN ZLWK WKH 6HFUHWDU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ~~V~~ +LJK 5HSUHVHQWDWLYH

\$Q HQKDQFHG &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG DO  
LVVXHV \$W SUHVHQW WKHUH LV ~~R~~ IURHED  
QDWLRQV ULFK DQG SRRU EXW DOO IDF  
VWDJJHULQJO\ KLJK RLO SULFHV ~~DOO~~ ~~Q~~ ~~DFV~~  
DQG DOO IDFHG ZLWK WKH PFK OR ~~Q~~ ~~UR~~ ~~Q~~ ~~W~~  
DQG FUHDWH D JU ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~U~~ ~~B~~ ~~Q~~ ~~B~~ ~~F~~ ~~Q~~ ~~M~~ ~~D~~ ~~U~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~  
WRJHWKHU LQ DQ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~P~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~F~~ ~~R~~ ~~M~~ ~~S~~ ~~K~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~G~~  
DQG GHYHORS VRPH FRPPRQ FORXW ~~Q~~ ~~W~~ ~~I~~ ~~D~~ ~~F~~  
SURGXFHUV 7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK VKRXOG I

0DNH VXFK D PRUH ~~Q~~ ~~D~~ ~~M~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~D~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~V~~ ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~Z~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~O~~  
SODWIRUP RI WKH LQWHUQDWLRQDO IXW  
HQOLJKWHQHG DQG UHVSQRVLEOH JU ~~R~~ ~~X~~ ~~S~~ ~~L~~  
\$PHULFD ~~V~~ FDQGLG IULHQG EXW ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~W~~ ~~L~~ ~~H~~ ~~G~~ ~~/~~  
IRUFH ERWK LQ HFRQRPLF DQG ~~W~~ ~~O~~ ~~R~~ ~~L~~ ~~D~~ ~~I~~ ~~C~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~  
VHFXULW\ DQG SHDFH NHHSLQJ

\$ 1HZ %ULWLVK 3ULRULW\

7KLV LV WKH ERG\ WKH VWUHQJWKPH ~~D~~ ~~N~~ ~~L~~ ~~Q~~ ~~J~~  
LWV NH\ IRUHLJQ SROLF\ SUL ~~R~~ ~~U~~ ~~L~~ ~~O~~ ~~G~~ ~~\~~ ~~U~~ ~~H~~ ~~D~~ ~~G~~  
EXLOG LWV RZQ IRUHLJQ SROLF ~~V~~ ~~S~~ ~~I~~ ~~U~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~V~~  
URXWH RIIHUV IDU WKH EHVV ZD\ ~~Z~~ ~~E~~ ~~L~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~ ~~L~~ ~~I~~ ~~R~~ ~~V~~



KLVWRU\ DQG PL[ RI H[SHULHQFH DQG  
FRQWULEXWLRQ WR PHHWLQJ WKH ZRUOG¶

,Q SDUWLFXODU WKH 8. WKHQ DGHUFRQWL RY  
RI WKDW SDUW RI LWV RYHUVHDQVGHJRHQ  
WKURXJK WKH (8 IURP WKDW XQKDSS\ FK  
V\ VWHP DQG HQFRXUDJH ERWK RWKHU &  
OLNHZLVH DQG WKH 6HFUHWLULDOVGRVGHK  
UROH 7KH FXUUHQW ELDV LQ (8 SURJUDF  
VWDWHV FRXOG WKHUHE\ EH XVHIXOO\ FRU

7KLV VLQJOH PRYH&RPPRQZHDOWKWKXJH C  
DQG UHVXUFHV DV ZHOO DV HFLWLYHFDLQ  
SRRUHU &RPPRQZHDOWKRPFRUWKWDULFK  
RZH WKH VWURQJHVW GXW\

:KHQ WKH %ULWLVK 3ULPH 0LQLVWMMDFD  
µJUHDWHU VHQVH RI %ULWLVK LGHQGLW  
&RPPRQZHDOWK LGHQWLW\¶ 7KDW DORC  
RXWZDUG ORRNLQJQGHQFHFDLQVXWGHK  
PHVVDJH ZLWK ZKLFK \RXQJ %ULWLWFK  
ZRUOG

2I FRXUVH WKH 8. PXVW FRQWLQXPHWHUEH  
RI RXU (XURSHDQ UHJLRQ LQ ZKLFK JH  
LQFLGHQWDOO\ LW QHDUO\ DOZD\ DV E  
PRVW LQ WKH FDXVH RI VDYLQJ (XURSH  
IUHHGRP V DOWKRXJK VRPH SHRSOH IRUJ

%XW QHLWKHU (XURSH QRU WKHWRDQVUS  
QRZ VHW WR EH WKH GULYHUV RIQRURDQ

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FLUFXPVWDQFHV MRKHVXQHHVTHUWROZIKDFK S  
DGMXVWPHQW KDV WR EH VRPHKRZ PDIGH  
FRQFRFWLQJ GUHDPV RI ZRUOG LQIOXIRQFI  
EXLOG XS OLQNV PDQ\ RI ZKLFKWHRQJ%LQJ  
WKH GLVWDQW SDVW DQG QRW RQGFVZLV  
PRVW SURVSHURXV DQG G\QDPLF DUWVW LQ  
5XVVLDQ \$VLDQ QHLDKOE/RXZKWRGWKHEXWPDOO  
ZHOO DV WKH ODUJH RQHV WKH VUDUSLJGOL  
LQGXVWULDOLVLQJ DQG LQFUHDVIDEFKOWKDJ  
DQ HQODUJHG &RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZHRUN F  
(XURSHDQ 8QLRQ FDQ QHYHU GR DLQV QH  
ODFNV WKH UHVFKDDQIGSRKCHLVWUXFWXUH

/LYLQJ E\ RXU ZLWV RQ WLDLDDHODXWKIXDO  
LWV DSSHQGDJHV LQ D VXEWOL HXDRVOYH  
JURZQ RYHU FHQWXULHV DQG ZKLFK RQO\  
VLJKWHG ZDQW WR SXOO DSDUW WZHWFKHQ  
WUDPOLQHV RI SDVW WKLQNLQJ BEGQWXWK  
DQG GLVWULEXWLRDQGIQBEVWODSDRZHUVOR  
WKH KXJH DGYDQWDJHV ZKLFK E\ JRJG IRU  
SDVW OHJDFLHV

)RUHLJQ 3ROLF\ DQG 7KH 3RZHU RI ,GHQWL  
3ROOVWHUV DQG IRFXV JURXSVJQWSRDLFJH  
LV D ORZ FDWHSRRSOLHQVWFRHQFKHVDWWRKX  
FULPH FRQWURO DQG VRFLDO SROLF\ FRPH  
%XW WKLW LV WR PLVXQGHUVWDQBSWZKDXW  
DQRWKHU FDWHJRU\ ,W LV WKHDFHQVDDOR

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DERXW LWV SODFH DQG LGHQWLWLD  
LGHD RI D QDWLRQ WKH ZD\ LWDQGRWK  
ZD\ LW FDQ EHVW FRQWULEXWH WR WKH  
RZQ IXWXUH VWDQGV RU IDOOV

,W LV WKH SULPDU\ GXW\ RI D QDWLRQ RI W  
LGHD 7KLV WDVN KDV QRZ EHFRRPHRQV  
VHFXULW\ KDV WR EH UH GHILQH D DQG  
DV WKH FRQWURO RI VR PDQ\ SDRUWHV  
RU WKH DQRQ\PLW\ RI WKH PDUNHWLV  
UHYROXWLRQ

\$W WKH VWDUWR RI WKH VPBUH ROKRJKWHG X  
FRXOG VHH DQGRWOLWSZRQDFWIFGDKH V  
\$ERYH DOO LW KDV FKDQJHG WKH ZD\ ZH  
YDOXHV RXU VRFLHWLHV DQG RXU HQYL

1HYHU ZDV LW PRUH LPSRUWDQV QH  
FOLFKp±ULGGHQ VLPSPRFUWELV DIBXWV  
µRXU ZD\ RI OLIH DQG WR XQDRZHUIXO  
SKUDVHV 1HYHU ZDV LW PRUH LPSRUWD  
7HUULEOH 6LPSORLXUWRDXUHW VDKRSK  
ZRXOG KDYH XV WDNH FRYHU EHKLGDW  
PLQGVHWV 1HYHU ZDV LW PRUH LPSRU  
SRVLWLRQ WR VHHN RXW DQG ZRULRQKW  
ZLWK WKH ULJKW QHZ SDUWQH  
FRQGLWLRQV ZHGFKQYHPSUHYDLO

2XU ROG SDUWQHUV RU VR ZH WKRXJKW  
GRRU LQ FRQLQHQWDO (XURSH QXDVWH  
\$VLD LQ QHDU DQG FHQWUDO \$VLB DQ  
UHJLRQV ZKHUH WRPRURZ LV EHLQJ VK

VWUDWHJLFD00\ ,QGHHG DUH QHZE SDUW  
HQDEOHG OHYHOOHG SODQHW

7KDW LV WKH VWULGRUZHGLW ODOORWKW & S  
SOHD DV WR ZKDW PXVW QRZ EH KH DVSH  
SUSRVDO DERXW ZKDW QHHGV WR EH GRG

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29<sup>th</sup> November. Japan Times - Commonwealth's Growing Importance

(YHU\ WZR \H DUV WKH KHDGV RI JRVHURQP  
ZKLFK WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK KDV VRDIDU I  
WKLUG RI WKH SODQHW¶V HQWLUB\QDPXG  
HFRQRPLHV PHHW WR GLVFXVV LVVXHV RI  
1RWKLQJ XQXVXDO DERXW WKDW H[FHSHW  
JDWKHULQJ LQ 7U&LQ2G\*DG I RDUOMK R U V  
VLJQLILFDQW GLIIHUHQFH

7KH IDPLOLDU IHDWXUHV ZHUH FHUWEDIVKO  
IURP WKH 8QLWHG .LQJGRP DUULYRQWBM  
&RPPRQZHDOWK WR SUHVLGH DW WKHURIDU  
ZUDQJOLQJ DERXW SDVW IXWXUH DQG P  
=LPEDEZH DQG ZKHWKHU LW VKRXOG Q  
PHPEHUVKLS 7KLV ZDV ERXQG WR WKHD C  
GUHDGIXO 5REHUW 0XJDEH VWLOO FOLQJV

%XW WKH ELJ GLIIHUHQFH LV WKDW RVIKLV  
JRYHUQPHQW ZHUH ORRNQJ RXWZDUGV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN D FOHDURBQG X  
DJHQGD 7KH\ LQYLWHG WKH 3UHVWGHQW  
6HFUHWDU\ \*HQHUDO RI WKH 8QLWHG V1DW  
WKHP DQG PLQJOH ZLWK WKH PHPEHUVKLS

7KLV ZLGHQLQJ RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK¶V  
WKLW ZD\ EHIRUH DQG LV WKRURXJKWKM  
&RPPRQZHDOWK LV UDLVLQJ LW¶V JDBH D  
VLJQLILFDQW SODWIRUP LQ WKH QHZ JORE

7KL V H[SDQVLRPPRQZHDOWKIV UHDFQJ ZKL  
DUJXHG IRU LV DOO WKH PRUH UMRKHUWZRC  
PRVW QRWDEOH QHZ LQYLWHHV WRLVQKH P  
VHQVH RUJDQLVDVORQV WKHUHFMOUWV  
V\ VWHP

)UDQFH KDV ORQJ DWWHPSWHG WR PQWFK  
XQLRQ RI IRUPHU PHPEHU VWDWHV RI WKI  
IRUPHU )UHQFK VSHDNLQJ GHSHQGHQHF LHV  
SRLQW RI KROGLQJ )UDQFRSKRQLH[DFPHV  
HPXODWLRQ RI WKHD&RPPRQZHDOWKUR IR  
3HUKDSV 3UHVLGHEW LQYLWRLQJZVOKH %ULV  
DGGUHVV WKH QH[WKHWLQBRLSKBDUHKRZ GRX

\$V IRU WKH 8QLWHG 1DWLRQV RUREHJVDWH  
SROLFLQJ DXWKRULW\ RI WKH ZRGHGDVDDGGV  
LGHDOV <HW LWV IDLOXUHW R DYH  
PDQ\ RI LWV PHPEHUV DUH LQ TXHVGDLVHQ  
7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK SURYLGLQJ D HDWQ PRU  
RI FRQWDFW EHWZHHQ ULFK DQG SRRULQD  
PDQ\ ZD\ V D VWDQGLQJ UHEXNH WR H81 LQ  
WKDW D EHWWHUWUOXHEUDQSDJMIROFGHPRF  
VWDWHV LV EDGO\ QHHGHG

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QRWKLQJ PRUH WKDQ D QRVWDOJLRUHQG J  
%ULWLVK FRORQLHV DQG SRVVHVQVWMLQZIL  
YHU\ XVHIXO DQG ERXQG RQO\ E\ DDFRPPF  
ORYH RI FULFNHW

%XW VXFY YLHZV HQWLUHO\ PLVVWSRIZSRIL  
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QXPHURXV VXE JRYHUQPHQWDO LQIRUF  
EHWZHHQ &RPPRQZHDOWK FRXQWULHV LW  
XQGHUVWDQGLQJ FRPPRQ YDOXHV HDQG  
LGHDO DPELDQFH LQ ZKLFK GLIHXUHLQW V  
LQYHVWPHQW FDQRPSURYSEDODQGLFRD  
WLV QR VXUSULVH WKDW VHYHUDORQWZK  
IRUPHU %ULWLVK HPSLU  
&RPPRQZHDOWK PHPEHUV ,QIDFWGDKH  
RQFH )UHFK VSHDNLQJ EXW QRZ (QJOLV  
IRUPDOO\ DOORZEGWRHMRLQVDPDHW LQWR  
,QHYHU\WKLQJ IURP MRLQW DFWLBOVRKHF  
7ULQLGDG JDWKHULQJ WR FRRSHUDJKWRQ  
VDIHJDUGV WKH H[LVWHQFH RI DDQVP &  
PRUH DQG KDWLFRUHFSODFH LQJGHFDQOV  
ORIW\ DQG RIWHQ HPSW\ 81 UHVROXWLR  
7KH GHQLJUDWRUV DQG VFHSWLFV PVLV D  
7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK PRPHQWXP FRPHV IURP  
LQGLYLGXDO PHPEHU VWDWHV MRLZKLRQJ Z  
VWLOO FOLQJ WR WKH ROG LGHDW SRKHUHM  
RI LQIOXHQFH WKLV JUDVV URRWFKGOLY  
DFURVV DOO FRQLQHQWV DQG P#VW IDLV  
)RU H[DPSOH D SURPLQHQW )LQDQFLDO  
UHFHQWO\ DVVHULQJ WKDW ZH DUH EH  
μXQVHQWLPHQWDOF\*UJHDVQ ZKZHFU SBRQWKL  
JRHV RQO\ QDWLRQV EXQGOHG DQGFDOV  
PDVWHUV ZLOO ZDYHKKWHJFDXVUDIGWR PI  
1R DQDO\VLV FRXOG EH PRUH ZURQFKHD  
VXSHU SRZHU EORFV RI ZKLFK PDQ\ SH  
(XURSHDQ 8QLRQ WR EHFRPH RQH HV D

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IXWXUH EHORQJV QRW WR JLDQW EORIFV D  
LQGHSHQGHQW VW DWKHU J B W KHUR QDQV R JF  
FKRLFH LQ FRPPRQ W W F W L R D Q G ± F R E D F W O \  
ZKLFK WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV EHRPLQJ

7KH RQO\ GLVDSSRLQWPHQW DW 7KHQLGD  
ZRUOG V JUHDW GHPRFUDFLHV GSDRHI OOH D  
SUHVHQFH -DSDQHVH OHDGHUV DW DRFDC  
VWURQJ LQWHUHVW LQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOW  
RQH RI PDQ\ VXFK OXERJ RLYH M Q E W Q W D R V E D O  
ZRXOG KDYH EHHQ JRRG WR VHH -DSDQ UH  
ZHOO WR VKDUH YHSORUS HQHFZ M O L M L D W H L  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN DQG ILIW\ WKUH  
VKRXOG EH SXW ULJKW QH[W WLPH WKH\ PH

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. Next Big Idea and a Modest Proposal. Paper to mark the New Year, for internal circulation amongst colleagues who kept asking, but where is the Big Idea? Here it is

As far as possible we want to manage our economy independently and flexibly. But everyone knows that we are interdependent as well, in fact more so than ever nowadays. It is therefore a crucial part of sound economic policy to make sure we have the right external partners and to handle all the external influences on our lives and work in the right way.

But today we have the wrong partners and we are under the wrong influences. We have let our interest and our foreign policy dangerously diverge. We put our faith in our so-called European partners to promote and protect our national interests. But in reality they are doing us no favours at all while our interests increasingly lie elsewhere. We proudly claim to be members of every conceivable international organisation and alliance, but this blinds us as to where our real interests lie.

It is time for Britain to review and alter her alliances radically and work much more closely with our true friends, which may not be the same thing as our geographical neighbours. Nor is it the same thing as obediently agreeing, poodle-like, with the Washington Administration. We are America's friends, but not its uncritical friends.

In India, Australia, New Zealand, in Japan, in the oil and gas-rich Gulf States, In Norway and the Baltic, in Poland and other parts of central Europe, our friends are waiting for us and people are asking 'where are the British?'

These are not only the countries that want to work with us, and think broadly like us about the world. They are the network of the future and the powerhouses of the future. Together with giant China they are the areas where economic dynamism flourishes and to which the centre of global economic gravity is shifting. That's where the action is going to be and that is where the British, with their long history of adventure and their vast global reach, should also be .

A Modest Proposal follows:

&KDQJH <RXU 3DUWQHUV

\$W WKH VSRW LQ WKH ZDWHU ZKHUZHWH (GRZQ WKHUH LV D ODUJH SLHFH RDEZUJHFNLQWDFW

7KLV LV WKH (81V &RPPRQ )RUHLJQ LDOG 6H (8 0LQLVWHUV FRQWLQXH WR GHVFXEHJH GI (XURSH1V LQIOXHQFH RQ WKH JOREDO VW (XURSKLOHV LQ :DVKLQJWRQ VXSSRUW ± GLFWXP DERXW RQHWRHFDHSCLOH(XURSHUUF UHDOO\ KDYH VDLG DQ\WKLQJ VR VLODQG ± &RPPRQZHDOWK 2IILFH VWLOO UHJDWJ DV μZRUNLQJ WKURXJK RXU (XURSHDQ SDUWQ

7KH EULHIHVW UHDOLW\ FKHFN VZKXHQGLWHFRPHV WR SURWHFWLQJ DQG SURP&W1QJ %KDV EHHQ LV DQG LV OLNHO\ WB EXWRD PHQDFH DQG FHUWDLQO\ QRW ZRUWK VDOY

4XLWH VLP SO\ ZKLOH HIIHFWLYH IBOJLHV ± PRUH VR WKDQ HYHU LQ WKLW QHWZRU

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QHLJKERXUV DUH WKH ZURQJ SDUWQHUV  
ZURQJ SDUWQHUVKLS

7KH PRVW REYLRXV UHDVRQ IRU WKLV  
LQWHUQDWRQDO ERPRQ QR FRKLVHFRQV  
WZHQW\ ILYH PDUYHOORXVO\ GLYHUVWQD  
SHUVSHFWLYHV RQ WKH ZRUOG DOWWKUQL  
ERXQG WR EH PXIIHG IXJJ\ DQG DGLQW  
7KLV LV VR ZKHWKHU WKH LVVXHQLV RUD  
5XVVD DQG KRZ WRRUD QGLQD DQGXVHQSR  
DQG HQODUJHPHQW RU WKH 81 RU DE  
\$PHULFDQV

7UDQV \$WODQWLF UHODOWLR QWR KDKHRLRQZ  
GHFDGHV )DU IURP WKH (8 FDOPLQJ DG  
GLVSXWHV E\ VSHDNLQJ ZLWK RQHIEQHDU  
WKHP VR WKDW ZKDW ZHUH RQFH FRQWDL  
EHLQJ HOHYDWHG LQWR GDPDJLQJOIQLUQV  
%ULWDLQIV LQWHUHVW

%XW WKHUH LV D GHSISGU WHDZRIQVZDWHGH  
)RU DOO LWV DUPHG PLJKW \$PHULFDHGH  
IULHQGV QRW MXVW WR IXOILQ IEXW DVZ  
GHOLYHU VHFXULW\ WR LWV RZQ FRWLJHQ  
:DVKLQJWRQ DUH QRZ FRPLQJ WR UHFRJQL

/HVV HDV\ WR VZDOORZ LQ :DVKLQKWSRQQG  
VXSSRUW PHDQ PRUH WKDQ WLFN WKH ER  
PHDQV IUDQNQHVV FDQGRXU FULWLFLWRY  
EDVLFDOO\ FRQVWUXFWLYH DQG QRWXDQV  
WUXVW DQG UHVSHFW DQG HYHQ LI RFFD

7KH (8 GRHV QRW JHW WR 6TXDUH H20RULLC D  
RI (8 86 SDUWQHUVKLS PD\ FRQWLQXHD EX  
FRXOG DUWLFXODWH D FRPPRQ (XURSHDQ  
ZKLFK KH FDQQRW ZK\ VKRXOG KH KH W P  
\$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ" :K\ VKRXOG :DVKLVWRW  
DQ HQWLW\ ZKLFK LW VHHV ± QRWOZLDVWRX  
\$PHULFDQ VRXQGLQJ OHVV DQG OHVV O  
LQFUHDVLQJO\ OLNH D FRQVWDQWVJKERXW  
IURP KHOO SLFNHQ\ D TXDUH DURE RY VPD

6L[W\ \HDUV DJR %ULWDLQ IXOILHOGGRCKH  
DW OHDVW XS WR D SRLQW 7KHQGWHDHU Z  
WKH &ROG ZDU FRQWH[W DOWKRXVQW Z  
WRR PXFK DQDO\VLV 1\$72 WRR ZDVI JRLC  
HTXDOV

%XW QRZ DOO WKDW LV KLVWRU\ ZIQUWKH  
ZH ORRN IRU WKH SDUWQHUVKLS RUWJURX  
UHDOO\ ZLOO OLVWHQ WR DQG ZRUNDZGWK  
HVSHFLDOO\ %ULWDLQ ZRXOG VR REYLRXV

7KH VWDUWLQJ SRLQW LV WR LGHQWLI\  
\$PHULFDV EHVW IULHQGV ZKR DUH QRW  
\$PHULFDQ UHVHQWPHQWV DQG ZKLEK ZRXO  
WZR ZD\ VWUDWHZILWKUWKDWLURQVWLOS XSHUS  
SRRGOH FDSDFLW\ EXW DW DQ HTXDO DQG

%ULWDLQ REYLRXVO\ TXDOLILHV HQFLSLWH  
DV GRHV QRZDGD\ V D PRUH µQRUPDO -  
H[SDQGLQJ DQG LQFUHDVLQJO\ ZHDORVFXLS  
WKDQ HYHU ZLWK WKH 86 EHVLGBLQKDYLQJ

\$XVWUDOLD DQG 1HZ =HDODQG DOVR EHO  
,QGLD VRRQ TXDOLI\LQJ DV LW GHVWIKORSHV

\$PHULFDQV ,Q (XURSGHWKHDURQMO DQW  
%DOWLF WKUHH WKH &JHFKV DQGHPLD\ERZQ  
KRXVH LQ RUGHU

\$GPLWWHGO\ WKRLYUZFJKQSDFOH\ DVJHFWWWWKHH  
VRUW RI UHJLRQDO DOOLDQFH RXW\XWLVLW  
WKH DJH RI WKH LQWHUQHW ZKR FDEOH\VFNS  
DZD\ IURP HDFK RWKHU 6LW GRZQRXKQV E  
WKH WDEOH ZLWK \$PHULFD\ V OHDGH\ DV D  
SDUWQHUVKLS RI UHDO HTXDOLW\ KUDQ  
HQRXJK LQIOXHQFH DQG FORXW DV HZHOO  
LPSXOVHV

7KLV ZRXOG EH D OIHBJXZLROULQHWZRMVLC  
FXOWXUHV DEOH WR HVWDEOLV\ D\ DLOHWHI  
ZD\ V ZKLFK WKH VRXUHG DQG GLVFUHGLV  
ORQJHU FDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

%ULWDLQ\ V QHZ IRUHLJQ SROLF\ S\ULRZLV  
NLQG RI DOOLDQFH LQVWHDG RI LPX\W  
(XURSH DQG WKH OLNH 7KH %ULWLK\YUHF  
EHHQ DOO DORQJ KDYLQJ VDYHG (X\RS  
ZKHQ LW FRPHV W\XWZH\W\DM\HV\W\FL\DO\Q\NV  
WKH WLPH KDV FRPH WR WKLQN DIUHVK

6DOYDJLQJ WKH &356 DQG WRSSLQU DVGL  
GLSORPDWLF FRUSV ZLOO QHLWKRQV\KHSV  
QRU VDIHJXDUG %ULWDLQ\ V ZLGHU UQWF  
FRQQHFWLRQV ZLWK Q\H\G\JW\SV\EB\Q\MS\XF  
ZLWK WKH 86 WKDW UHDOO\ ZRUNV

Commonwealth article for Opus project- THE COMMONWEALTH TODAY AND TOMORROW – THE NECESSARY NETWORK. This was drafted while I was serving as Minister for the Commonwealth in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office – a post which the Foreign Secretary, William Hague, had kindly (and of course I felt wisely) assigned to me

µ7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV LQ PDQ\ ZDXM WKH  
ZHUH WKH ZRUGV RI +HU ODMHVW\ 4XHHQ  
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WKH WLPW WKH\ DUH QRZ D IHZ FLDUWHQ  
DV D ZKDW WKH\ WUXO\ ZHUH ± QDPWUHD  
LQ D WRWDOO\ WUDQVIRUPHG LQWHLJKQDWL  
VXGGHQO\ LOOXPLWUWHQZKDFKORFHOIRZ  
IXOO\ XQGHUVWRRG RU DFFHSWHG

)RU ZKDW WRGD\TV &RPPRQZHDOWK LV GH  
TXLWH GLIIHUHQW IURPWKHHSDFVWVDFULQHE  
WKH<sup>W</sup>FHQWXU\ 9HU\ IHZ SODQQHG RU IRUH  
ZLGHVSUHDG YLHZ LQ WKH<sup>W</sup>FHQWXU\GZDFDGH  
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IDPLO\ RI \HVWHWGEU EKDLQVWGEHDP RUH WK

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SDWWHUQ LV VRPHWKLQJ UHPDUNDEGOWKFR  
WHFKQRORJLFDU UHFRZRWLORQLVQQZLFXJ  
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KXPDQNLQG KDYH IRXQG LQ WKH PRGHU  
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WUDGH DQG LQYHVWPHQW WLOWV DZG\IU  
WRZDUGV ULVLQJ \$VLD DQG \$IULFD WKH  
PRUH DQG PRUH UWHFYLQVH RRU DQCKDUP  
PHDQLQJ MREV DQG LQYHVWPHQW LQ DQ

7KLUG WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK VXUYLYHV D  
WKH ZRUOGV RWKHU PXOWLWDWHU DO R<sup>WK</sup>  
FHQWXU\ DUH IDLOLQJ XV DQG UGUGHSHV  
1RUWK 6RXWK GLDORJXH RQ HTXDO UDWKH

)RXUWK LQ DQ DJH RI VPDOO VWDWGH\ P  
JOREDQ WUHQQV DQG WRVVHG LQ QKW\VV  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK SODWIRUP RIGHUV  
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SUREOHPV RI VPDOOYHU D VMDWHQHUBVW  
FRQVLGHUDWLRQ QRWDEO\ LQ PHHWLQJ  
FKDQJH HQHUJ\ VFDUFLW\ IRRG DQBXZHW  
IURP SRYHUW\

\$W OHDVW SRWHQZHDOWK WKH &RPPHQGU  
RI IRUXP LQ ZKLFK ULFKHU DQG IDRWHUJ  
DQG VPDOOHU QDWLRQV FDQ VSHWK RQDQ  
VLW GRZQ DQG GLVFXVV WKHLU SURQOHP  
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)LIWK WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK XQOLNH P  
RUJDQLJDWLRQV DQG FRPELQDWLRQ RI  
DVVHPEO\ RI SHRSOHV QRW MXVW VRS HURV H  
PD\ EH KHDGV RI JRYHUQPHQW JDWKHULQ  
RIILFLDO OD\HU OLHV D YDVW VXE LQWUHFHW  
DQG SURIHVVLRQDO ERGLHV FLYLQQRFDLHO  
SURXGO\ FDUU\LQJ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ED

0LJKWLHVW DPRQJVW WKH QRQ JRYHUQPH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK LV WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK  
EULQJLQJ SDUOLDPHQWDULDQV DQFQHULV  
RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK \$ORQJVLGH V  
FRQYRFDWLRQ DUH W KH &RPPRQZHDOWK V  
SDUOLDPHQWU\ DGPLQLVWUDWLRQDQV  
ZHOO DV VKDULQJ OHVVRQV OHDUQERXW  
WKH RSHUDWLRQ RI FRPPLWWHHV RI 3DU  
\$FFRXQWV &RPPPLWWHH

&ORVH EHKLQG FRPH WKH RWKHU FDLW KJSL  
&RPPRQZHDOWK %XVLQHVV &RXQFLO WKU  
EHIRUH DV LQWUD &RPPRQZHDOWK WUHDGH  
DUH WKH OHJDO ERGLHV XQGHUSLQW KH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VXFK DV WKH &RPPRQZHD  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK 0DJLVWUDWHV DQG -  
VSUHDGLQJ FRPPRQ VWDQGDUGV RI MXGLFL

7KH RWKHU SURIHVVLRQV ± WKH GBRQRUV  
QXUVHV HGXFDWLRQDOLVWV MRXUQKHLV



&RPPRQZHDOWK QHVHZ RUKNWH \$ORQWVHG &R  
/RFDO \*RYHUQPHQW \$VVRFLDWLRQ DFW  
&RPPRQZHDOWK RI /HDUQLQJ VSUHDGLQJ  
OHDUQLQJ RQ D ZRUOG VFDOH DQGWROQRX  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK JDPHV DGPLQLVWUD  
DQG JURZV ZLWK DOO WKH QHZ SLUROHVV  
DQG WHFKQRORJLHV WKH DJH SURGXFHV

6L[WK IRU QDWLRQV OLNH WKH 8QVWVHG  
GHFDGHV WR ORVFRQZHDOWKLRQVWVW  
QHWZRUN DVVXPHV D QHZ DQG FUXFLDO  
QHZ PDUNHWV DQG QHZ VRXUFHV RI ILQ  
QLQHWHHQWK DQG WZHQWLHWK FHQWX  
&RPPRQZHDOWK FRXQWULHV EHFRPH QHZ  
PDUNHWSODFHVJUHVGITKFDLWVJURJRXWK  
\$XVWUDOLD DQG WKH 3DFLILF &RPPRQZH  
&KLQHVH PDUNHWV YLD WKH RQFH %ULV  
.RQJ 2LO ULFK 7ULQLGDG DQG 7REDJR  
\$PHULFD DJDLQ PRVWO\ ZLWK ZHOFR  
FRQVXPHU FODVVHV

:KDW KDV FKDQJHG DIWHU UHFHQWDGHWDC  
WR WKH VXUIDFH"

,I WKHUH LV D VLQJOH XU H[SODDQVQRQ  
WKH PRGHUQ &RPPRQZHDOWK LW SURJEDC  
WKH WKH LQIRUPDWLRQ UHYROXWLZQLDQ  
LV LV OLQNHG 4XLWH VLPSON\ WKH &RPP  
VRFLHWLHV LQWHUHVWV DQG SHREOVKHK  
SKHQRPHQRQ RI LQVWDQW JOREDORPPX

7KLV KDV RFFXUUHG DQG LV RFXUQKQD  
WKH JRYHUQPHQWDO DQG IURP WRHWKXPE

ODUJHVW VWDWH 7KH ODWWLFHZRJUN RI  
GHVFULEHG DERYH VWUHWFKLQJ DFUR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN RQ D VWDJJHULC  
DV QHYHU EHIRUH HQDEOLQJ DOPRHW FR  
H[FKDQJH ± D NLQG RI XQHQGLQJ FRQP  
FRPPRQ LGHQWLILFDWLRQ DQG SXUSRVH

,W LV WUXH WKDW PFK RI WKHVEH[WUDR  
\$ PLG QLQHWLHV UHSRUW IURP WKH V-RXVH  
&RPPPLWWHH SRLQWHG RXW KRZ WKH FK  
VXSSRUWHG E\ D EDVWUDQPLRQW D BI ORUQ DQ  
FRYHULQJ D YDVW UDQJH RI LQWHZUDVW R ID  
WUDQVSDUHQF\ DQG DFRXQWDELOGLWKKZRU  
PRELOH SKRQH FDPHUUHURISZQQGGRWDFW  
VRFLDO WUHQG FRIQLWDFMWKZDUNERHQI JLY  
EORRG WUDQVIXVL & RPPRQZHDOWKFRVW GJH  
D VRXJKW DIWHU DVVHW ± DQ HQVULDELVORV  
DQG WUDQVSDUHQF\ ZKLFK WKH ZRUOGVTV  
VHDFK IRU 7KLV LV FHUWDLQOF RQHWULSH  
ZLWK RQO\ D UHPRYHG%LQWZLVKWKDQDQ  
KDYH HLWKHU DOUHDG\ MRLQHG WRH RUPP  
DW OHDVW VHHWWRY DUQRXXSVZISRUWLQJ J

2I FRXUVH WKH JOREDO FRPPXQLFDWLRQ  
WUDQVIRUPLQJ IRUFH LQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK  
ZLWK WKH RWKHU NH\ ELQGLQJ IDFWRU ±  
HPEHGGHG ZLWKLQ LW WKH '1\$ RI FRPPR  
LQVWLQFWV PDQQHUV LGHDV RI ZKDW FI  
ORRNLQJ DW WKH ZRUOG ZKLFK D ODQJX  
%HFDXVH WKH ODQJXDJH LV (QJOILQKWKH F  
EDFN WR %ULWLVK WUDGLWLRQV DQG YD  
%ULWLVKQHVV IDFWRU KDV ORQJUZRYHQ EH  
ZLWK PDQ\ RWKHU FXOWXUHV \$VLDQ \$IU

FDVHV PXFK ROGHU DQG PRUH SRZHU KXO  
OHJDF\

7KHUH PXVW EH UHDOLVP DERXW WKH &R  
WRGD\ :LWKLQ DQ\ IDPLO\ WKHUH DUHHG  
7KDW LV LQHYLWDEOH 6R LW LV LQWU  
VHH H\H WR H\H RYHU HLWKHU JRYHUQD  
QHZ SDWWHUQV DQG DQWLRQDOH FRODOQK  
SURFODLPHG DOO WKH WLPH VXFK D  
UHVSRQVLELQW\ WR SURWHFW WHOHU  
KDUGO\ VXUSULVLQJ 6L[WHHQ UHDFPMQX  
FXUUHQWO\ UHSXEOLFV DQG LQVPSHQGH  
RQ HYHU\WKLQJ WKDW WKLHWSRILQHDIWH  
ZLWK IRUHLJQHUV QDWLRQV WXMREMMWZH  
IDPLO\ DOO YLHZLQJ HDFK RWKHUHQW  
IHHO DQG DWLWXGH IURP IRUHLJQ VWDV

\$ VFRQG UHDO&RPPRQZKIDWDK QHVMZROJ  
DJUHH DV WR KRZ EHV DQGRUFGV KRZ  
KLJK VWDQGDUGV LQ WHUPV RI IXQGDPH  
EHKDYLRXU DQG JRYHUQDQFH WR ZKLFK  
DGKHUH LV QRW LLQWKHGLVRLQFH QD  
LW UHTXLUHV FHUWDLQ VWDQGDUG WRHE  
HQWU\ GRRU

%XW KRZ WKRVH VWDQGDUGV VKRXOGHSH  
LV PXFK PRUH FROVSRQBUQIDOR WKH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK OHDGHUV KDYH VRXJKW  
PHWKRGV IRU HQVXULQJ SULQFLSOHW DMH  
ZRUN LQ SURJUHVV ZRUN WR μDGYDQFH V  
WKH PRVW UHFHQW 5HSRUW DQG 5HFRPP  
&RPPRQZHDOWK μEUDQG SXW LW QJLV  
UHVXOWV

6R ZKDW HPHUJHV IURP WKLV FRPSYXVQG D  
DQG DVSLUDWLRQHZ DQSS HJWRXUPLRXVHLG DDOV W  
UHYROXWLRQ UDFH"V HXVHVIDWVADHW UDRHDDG  
SHUWLQHGW" \$QG ZKDW LV WKH URH DLOWVPS  
WZR ELOOLRQ FLWLJHQV QRZ DQG WRPRUU

7R XQGHUVWDQG FOHDUO\ ZKDW LV RFFX  
&RPPRQZHDOWK ILWV LQ LW KHOSVRWR W  
JOREDO HTXDWLRQ 7KLV FDQ EH SXBDWVQW  
%XVLQHVV DQG 'HYHORSPHQW

,Q HVVHQFH WKH PHVVDJRI LWXSLQU WRDQGH  
WUDQVSDUHGF\ WKR VH FRXQWULHSHQQG V  
WR &RPPRQZHDOWK YDOXHV DUH WKR RH Z  
LQYHVWRUV DQG GHYHORSHUV 7KSUBDIEO  
ZKHUH FRPPHUFLDO ODZV DUH IDPLOLDU  
DVSLUDWLRQ WR FKHFN FRUUXSWLRLQH WKQ  
SODFHV WR VHW XS QHZ HQWHUSUMVBDIQLQ  
SURVSHULW\ -REV DQG -XVWLFH ULGH WR.

\$W WKH VDPH WLPH WKH WZHQR\ DILUNDEOFH  
UHYHUVDO RI UROHV 7KH FDSLHMDVOW LZQ  
WKH ODVW WZR FHQWXULHV IURR WKKH JU  
GHYHORSLQJ RQH V WR EXLOG WKHLWKHQI  
RWKHU ZD\ ,W LV WKH KLJK VDYLDJLQDVV  
SDUWLFXODU ZKIDFK KKDYHFWRKZBDWLRQ V  
PHHW LWV RZQ UBXGLHMPHDQV VXSODX  
GLODSLGDWHG IDFLOLWLHV

2Q WRS RI WKDW WKHUH LV WKHKTIXZNDQWQ  
LI FDUHIXOO\ PDQDJHG WKDW LWQFDQ E  
HFRQRPLHV 5HYROXWLRQDU\ FKDQJHV LQ  
DFFHVV KDYH DOWHUHG WKH SLFWXUH K

IDYRXU 7KH ROG UHVRXUFHV ZHUIZ RLO  
UHVRXUFHV DUH VEDOCORZD\Q± YDFVWV\Q Q  
DQG \$IULFDQ FRXQWULHV ZKLFK SUHYLRX  
SOXV QHZ ZD\ RI KDUQHVVVLQJ VXQVZLQ  
PHWDOV DQG UDUHXQHCHUWHORSLGVKHUWRH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK FRXQWULHV ZKR ZHQH UH  
WR VHH WKHPVHOYHV DV UHVRXUFH ULFK

7KH WKHUH LV WKH RUDVZWKHOGREHQPEH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK IDPLO\ 7KH ULJLG UHT  
GHPDQGHG VRPH SUHYLRXV DVVRFLODVLJRQ  
VLQFH EHHQ UHOD\HSDOCDDPDLGTXKH &DI  
QRZ HQWKXVLDVWLFBRUPPRQZKHODVNHKPH  
GRRU RU VHHNLQJ WR DVVRFLDWH WKHP  
RUJDQLVDWLRQV DW QRQ VWDWH OHYHO

\$ FDUHIXO EDODQFHEHMDZHMREWKVWQJDNH  
WKH LQYLJRUDWLRQ RI QHZ PHPEHUV HQW  
(LWKHU ZD\ WKH IDFW WKDW VWDWUHV D  
SULYDWHO\ XUJLQJ WKHLU \*RYHUQPHQW  
DFWXDOO\ VHQGLQJ UHSUHVHQWDWLYHV  
VRPHWKLQJ ,W VD\W WKDW WKH &RPPRO  
SUHIHUHQFH WKH JURXS WKDW FRXQVUL  
WKH\ VKRXOG MRLQ

,Q D PXFK ORRVHU ZD\ WKH IRUPHU RPHLW  
SXOO 6RXWK 6XGDQLKGVWROEHH DGP DSHU  
<HPHQ RQFH \$GHQ DUH VWLOO LQEWWH  
FRXOG \HW WXUQ WKHLU DWWHQWLRQ HWR  
DJDLQ ZLWK KLVWRULF OLQNV KDNHSDVWLV  
FORVH WRXFK ZLWK &RPPRQZHDOWK DFWL

:HOO RXWVLGH WKH WUDGLWLRQDO &RPPR  
FORVH LQWHUHVW LQ &RPPRQZHDOWK DFFW  
EHHQ KHDUG LQ QDWLRQV DV IDU DSDUW  
XUJLQJ FORVHU OLQNV ZLWK WKH &RPPRQZ  
FR RSHUDWLRQ EHWZHHQ WKH &RPPRQZHD  
PHPEHU VWDWH )UDQFRSKRQLH KDV WKHQ  
VLGHV ZLWK &DQDGD QDWXUDOO\ KSD\ LQ  
UHODWLRQV KLS

7KH SUHFLVH VWDWXV RU FDWHJRURID  
+HU ODMHVW\ LV PRQDUFK TXLWHLVWSD  
&RPPRQZHDOWK FRXQWULHV WKH ERFFD  
RU VHSUDWH NLQJGRP 1HZ DSSVHFBQW  
XQOLNHO\ DOWKRJK LQ WKLV PRGLRQW  
DQG UHYHUVDOV DWHUHQSHQWGLQKWKH  
2YHUVHDV 'HSHQGHQW O HULQWRGLHUS%ULW  
EXW DVSLUH LQFUHDVLQJO\ WR KDYMKD EL  
WDEOH

7RGD\ WKH 81 VWUXJJOHV WR UHIRUP  
RZQ UHIRUP RYHU IXQGDPHQWDO LVVXHV  
SUREOHPV WR ERRW 1RWLQJ FRXQWUW  
EH QHHGHG LQ WKH WZHQR\ ILUVWDFHGWX  
DQG RUJDQLJDWLRQV DUH JURZLQJWKHSR  
JOREDO VSUHDG WKH &RPPRQZHDOWKRIH  
ELJJHVW DQG SRWHQWLDQO\ WKH ERVWWSR  
E\ IHUIXO FXUUHQW SUREOHPV ZKLFK K  
HFRQRPLF DFWLYLW\ 7KH :72 VWOR KDUX  
RQ IDUP VXEVLGLHV ZKLOH WKRVHHRKOVV  
LQFUHDVLQJO\ IUXVWUDWHG DWHWKHLB W  
ULFKHU PDUNHWV

%\ FRQWUDVW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK VF  
SRVLWLYH ,QWUD &RPPRQZHDOWK VLUODGH  
DV DUH LQYHVWPH &RPPRQZHDOWK HFRQVWU  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV KLVWRULFDOD\  
FROOHFWLRQ RI QDWLRQV LQ ZRUOGDQLW  
JOREDOD IDPLO\ RI FXOWXUHV HFRVFLD  
JURXS

1RQH RI WKLV PD\ DPRXQW WR WKH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK )UHRORJLGH \$WDLHODD W  
WKH WZHQLHWK FHQWXU\ DOWKRXWKLU  
LV SDVW %XW LW GRHV VXJJHVW D SD  
H[WUDRUGLQDU\ QHWZRUN ZLWKLROVDFK  
FRQLQHQWV DQG HFRVFLDOD\ WKH SRXU  
FDQ EH VWUHQJWKHQHG LPDJLQDWLWYHOA  
EDWWHUHG LQWHUQDWLRQDO LQVWLWXW

,Q SDUWLFXODU LW LV VXUMOD\  
&RPPRQZHDOWK RI 1DWLRQV FRXOG  
RSHQLQJ XS WKH ZRUOG LQFRVFLDOD\ ZH  
DQG UHVSRLQVLEOD\ FRVFLDOD\ WBRWKUDJRI  
VXFK DV WHUURULVP SDULDK QDYLHQW  
SURWHFWLRQLVP LQVWLWXW SIKRQ FDQVH  
WR QDPH D IHZ

\$OWKRJK FRXQWULHV FRQLQXH WRDVTXH  
LW LV ± ZKLFK PXVW VD\ VRPHWKLUH IRU  
present form LW FRXOG HYHU FDUU\ HQRXJK FC  
UROH ,V LW ILUP HQRXJK DQG VWURQKH  
KLJK VWDQGDUGV LQ WHUPV RI KXPDQ

GHPRFUDF\ LQ LWV YDULRXV IRK PFKH 7  
OHDGLQJ PHPEHU VWDWHV RI WKH &RPPRQ

,Q DGGLWLRQ RQH RWKHU ZD\ IRUZDWHG P  
DVVRFLDWLRQ LI QRW DFWXDO PHPEHUV  
FRXQWULHV ZKR DUH RXWVLGH WKHWHKILQW  
WKHP EXW SODLQO\ EHORQJ LQ WKH GHPRI

\$Q LQWLPDWHO\ DOOLHG JURXSLQJ ZKLFK  
-DSDQ ,QGLD &DQDGD ODOD\VLDKH B XWK \$  
IRU D VWDUW DQG KDG WKH JRRG ZVZKHVO

ZRXOG LQGHG EH D QHWZRUN RIZFRUPPR  
DEOH WR VSHDN RQ IULHQGO\ EXWHULLFDDQ  
DQG &KLQHVH JLDQWRVVDDQD EXSHIDQVFRPP  
MXVWLFH DQG GHPRFUDF\ LQ D ZD\WVWVWQ  
FXUUHQWO\ VHHPV FDSDEOH RI GRLQJ

,Q D IHZ VKRUW \HDUV WKH SDWVGHUQRIZZ  
DQG RI HFRQRPLF HJSDHGV LDDG LFDVOWK (YH  
DIIHFWHG \$W WKH VDPH WLPH SHRISZHV H  
VHQVH RI HPSRZHUPHQW VRPHWLPHV VH  
SURJUHVV DQG HQODUJHG IUHHGRPV VR  
IUXVWUDWLQJO\ EORFNHG

7KH &RPPRQZHDOWK WHPSODWH VWQJHDFKH  
FOHDU DQG FDOPLQJ SURVSHFW RI EHVWH  
URRWV DUH ROG VWUHWFKLQJ EDPNHEDMURV  
EXW LWV FKDUDFWHU WRGD\ LV \RDXKIXKH  
WZR ELOOLRQ FLWLJHQV RI WKH &RPPRQZH  
ZRPHQ LWV GHFODUHG DLP LV IDU EHVWH

2YHU LW DOO SUHVLGHV 4XHHQ (OLJDEHWK  
\HDUV SDVW ± DQ XQGHQLDEO\ XHFWLQJL  
DQG OHDGLQJ WKH ZD\ WR WKH IXOVXKHZL

|



SDUDGR[HV DUH SRKZ HX LGO QJ DWPKRQZDUUFGWR  
RUGHU

Commonwealth ,China and Trade - A New Phase Opens - By  
David Howell and Tim Hewish – Daily Telegraph, 2012

'DYL G &DPHURQ KDV EHHQ XUJLQJ %HUMWLV  
LQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK \*HRUJH 2V EFRUQH  
EHFRPH RXU VHFRQG ODUJHVW WUDQGLQJW S  
WRJHWKHU"

<HV WKH\ FHUWDLQO\ GR %RWK DW HSHDW  
DW ODVW WR KDYH EHHQ JUDVSHG E\ WK  
SODQQHUV RI :KLW KDW OGHV SLDPH OVKHLU  
SUHRFFXSDWLRQ ZLWK (8 UHQHJR WQDWKLRQ  
IXWXUH OLH HOVHZKHUH

,W LV LQ WKH YDVW QHZ PDUNHWPHBLSDVLD  
WKDW RXU VWLOO ZRHIHO WUDGH SHQJRU  
ZKLFK %ULWDLQ ZLOO HLWKHU VXUYLYH R  
REYLRXVO\ WKH FRORVVXV DPRQJWWDWKWKI  
QDWLRQ &RPPRQZHDOWK ZKLOH LW KD  
VWDWHV DOVR HPEUDFHV VRPH RI WKHWIDV  
OXFUDWLYH QHZ FRQVXPHU PDUNHWV RQ H

,QGLD \$XVWUDOLD ODOD\VLD &DLQDGD 6  
PD\ KDYH WKHLU SUREOHPV EXW \$QGHQDU  
WXUQ WKH\ IRUP WKH JDWHZD\V WRWVGR  
URXWHV WDNLQJ VKDSH DQG WR WKHFQGL  
KDYH EHFRPH WKH HFRQRPLF DQG EULQH  
ZRUOG )RU LQVWDQFH WKH JLDQWFRQR  
IULHQG LQ \$VLD DQG ,QGLD DUH GUDZLQJ

,W LV WUXH WKDW WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK L  
YLHZHG LQ FRQYHQWLRQDO HFRQRONRHU  
RXU RIILFLDO WUDGH SROLF\ LV XQVWOM

RIILFLDO VORJ DZD\ WU\LQJ WR SXZ\ WVKR J  
RWKHU UHJLRQV D GLIIHUHQW ZRUVK\ LV  
KDUGO\ VHHP WR UHFRJQLVH

7KDQNV WR WKH GLJLWDO DJH DQGRW\K  
JOREDO FRQQHFLL\LV\W\DV\W\G\H\PR\Q\W\Q\ND\G\H\O  
LQIRUPDWLRQ LQWHQVLYH WKDQ HRHQ D  
H[SRUW DQG LPSRUW EHLQJ VROHOX D PD  
PDQXIDFWXUHV DQG UZ PDWHULDORQRZ  
HYHU\ NLQG DQG GLJLWDOLVHG LQIRUPD  
LQWHUQDWLRQDO EXVLQHVV WKDON\Y\H\G  
VXSSO\ FKDLQV KDYH JURZQ LQILQLWHO\  
RXWGDWLQJ DQG L\G\Y\H\O\G\W\S\O\W\W\K\H\Q RI  
SURWHFWHG DUHDV

7DULIIV SOD\ D GLPLQLVKLQJ SDUW IRUW  
H[DPSON JOREDO WUDGH LQ KLJKHV\HFK  
PLFURFKLSV WHO\B\B\G\DS\LR\G\W\E\W\Q\P\SR\G\W\H  
GXWLHV UHPRYHG ([FKDQJHV LQ WKHVH  
WULOOLRQ D \HDU VXUSDVV WRG\O\W\Z\H\O  
FRPELQHG 7KH UHPDLQLQJ EDUULR\B\W W  
XQGHUVWDQGLQJ GLIIHUHQW FXOWXUDO D

7R DOO RI WKHVHK\H\Z\B\K\H\O\&\H\Q\H\Q\Z\W\DO  
LGHDOO\ VXLWHG QRW E\ DQ\ LPSRVHG  
DGDSWDWLRQ \$QG LW LV RI FRXUVH\Q\W\K\H  
DQG VKHHU DIILQLW\ RI RXWORN E\H\K\Z\H\H  
OLQNV &RPPRQZHDOWK PDUNHWV DRQ\K\H\J  
FRQGXFV RI WKLV QHZ NLQG RI EXVLQH  
LQYHVWPHQW SURMHFWV DQG WKH DUU  
GHDOV 6WXG\ DIWHU VWXG\ FRQIG\U\L\Q\W\K  
EXVLQHVV ZLWKLQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK I  
WKDQ FRSLQJ ZLWK RWKHU IRUHLJQ PDUNI

,QWUD FRPPRQZHDOWK WUDGH ZKLFKRVKU  
WKH V LV QRZ ULVLQJ DQG WKWUQJDUW  
WR FRQWLQXH UDSLGO\ LQ WKHVH FRVPSOH  
FRQGLWLRQV

)RU %ULWDLQ WKH LPSRUWDQFH RIUWKHV  
HPSKDLVHG 7KH JUHDW %ULWLKWLROHQ  
DJH OLHV LQ WKWLPORQWQWLDQDQXZHUU  
RI RXU VHUYLFH VHFWRU 6XFFHVVH LDOOD  
ZRYHQ WRJHWKHU ,Q DOPRVW HYFHU SUR  
DOO NLQGV WR ODZ WR DFRXQWDQF\ I  
VFLHQWLILF UHVHDFK IURP ORFDUJYHU  
SUDFWLFH IURP MRXUQDOLVP WR SURII  
PDQDJHPHQW WR QYERQPHYQWDLRO WHFI  
VFKRROLQJ ULJKW IURP WKH \RXQDWLVQOH  
IURP PXVHXP GHVLJQ WR HYHU\ NLQG R  
FRQFHLYDEOH IRUP RI WUDLQLQJ ± DRQ H[W  
OLYH LQVWDQW UDDGRPPQWZQDBXKDUQWOD  
QRZ HPHUJHG WKDQNV WR WKH XQLZHUV  
DUH DOO FRQQHFWHG DW WKH FOLFN RI D E

\$QG DV YLWDO QGUEKMHQDZQWDXSSO\ F  
ERWK PDULWLPH DQG VQDNLQJ DFURVV  
ODQGPVV WKHLWKSURWDEMLRQ\ RDQW\ KUL  
UHJLRQV WKH\ FURVV VXGGHQO\ OHDSKMS  
VHFXULW\ DQG GHIIHQF\ &RPPRQZHDOWKRV  
2SHQ VHD DQG DLU URXWHV DQWHLQSLHJDF  
VKDULQJ DQWLWHUURULVP FRRSHOHWHLRQ  
DQG PLOLWDU\ WUDLQLQJ DUH DOO ILQ  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN DJHQGD

)RU DOPRVW DOO RI WKH PHPEHKLWUWVW  
WKH KXPDQ UDFH %ULWDLQ YHU\ PLXVFK LC  
ZKLFK WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK RIIHUV LQ W  
DGYDQWDJHV DQG XQGHUSLQQLQJV LV  
RSSRUWXQLWLHV ,W LV EHRPLQJ D PDWV

19<sup>th</sup> February. Nagoya, Japan. One more attempt to explain – to a Japanese audience- how the ~~Commun~~ fitted into Britain's future. But how WRONG I was about the EU prospect.

%ULWDLQ (XURSH DQG WKH 1HWZRUN :RUO

:H DUH ZLWQHVVVLQJ WKH ELJJHVW ~~D~~ODQV  
ODQGVFDSH VLQFH :RUOG :DU 7ZR H'G PRFU  
YLVLEO\ WR WKH VWUHHWV \$ WRW~~W~~OO\  
HPHUJLQJ 1HZ LQWHUQDWLRQDO JURXSL  
DORQJVLGH ~~WKH~~ ~~WR~~ ~~OG~~ VWUXFWXUHV

)RU %ULWDLQ D NH\ QHWZRUN LQ ~~FK~~DLQJ  
NLQG QRZ QHHGHG LV WKH ILIW\ IR ~~XU~~ QDV  
MXVW XQGHU D WKLUG RI WKH KXP~~D~~OGUDFH  
GRJHQ RI WKH IDVWHWV JURZLQJ ~~WK~~ ~~DLN~~ ~~DLV~~  
DQG -DSDQ WKH FKDOOHQJH LV WR DGM  
LQWHUGHSHQGHHQFH

%DFNJURXQG

x 7KH LQIRUPDWLRQ UHYROXWLRQ DQG  
PHDQ WKDW PDUNHWV ZHDOWK DFFX  
SROLWLFDO SRZHU KDYH DOO VKLIWHG

x 1HWZRUN FRQQHFWLYLW\ FUHDWHV QH  
LQWLPDF\ EHWZHHQ VWDWHV ZLWK ZH  
SURFHGXUHV FDQQRW FRSH %ULWDLQ  
JOREDQ VKLIW E\ GHYHORSLQJ PDUNHW  
XVH ZLOO EH PDGH RI WKH &RPPRQZ  
FRXQWULHV ZLWK FXOWXUDO DQG ODQ

x 1HYHUKKHOHVV QXURSHLWDLQIV L  
QHLJKERXUKRRG DGGFRPIRHWVDEHG U  
PXVW EH IRXQG ZLWKLQ LW 7KH &DP  
QRW MXVW WR VHFUXH D EHWWHU GH  
ZH LQWHQG WR VWD\ EXW WR KHOS  
PHPEHU VWDWHV WXUQ LQ PRUH PR  
OHVV FHQWUDOLVDFWLRQDQGGRUHQD

x 7KH %ULWLVK SHRSOH ZLOO YRWH GI  
NLQG RI (XURSH +RZHYHU LW LV WKH  
WR HQG LWV SUHVHQW WXUPRLO DQG  
SDWWHUQ LQ D FKDQJHG ZRUOG FRQW

x )DU IURP WKH 8. EHLQJ μLVRODW  
¶PDUJLQDOLVHG¶ RU μRXW LQ WKH F  
FDVH ,Q ZDQWLQJ QHZ GLUHFWRQV  
XQUHDOLVWLF GHJUHHV RI (8 LQWHJU  
LQ RWKHU (XURSHSHFDQSHWDLQ LV WKH  
FRQGLWLRQ IRU HYHU\ FRXQWU\ LQ W

x ,W LV QRW RQO\ LQ \$VLD WKDW YDVV  
HPUJHG 7KH \$IULFDQ VWRU\ LV WD  
PRUH IDYRXUDEOH WXUQ

x \$OVR %ULWDLQ¶V WLHV ZLWK /DWLQ  
QHHG WR EH UHIUHVKHG 7KH )DONOD  
VKRXOG QRW EH DLOWRZYHIGQVZLVSR LWRI  
HYHU TXDUUHOVRPH \$UJHQWLQD

x )LQDOO\ WKH JOREDO HQHUJ\ SDWW  
VXFFHVVLVYH UHYROXWLRQV LQ D GHFD  
FDUERQ DQG JUHHQHU HQHUJ\ IRUPV  
GHPDQG VLGH WJGH VVHFRQJ JDRZDQG R

)RUHFDVWV WHOO XV WKDW PRVW RIWKH  
QH[W WZR GHFDGHV ZLOO FRPH IURDQQRQ  
\*'3 DOUHDG\ OLHV RXWVLGH WKH 86 DQG W

)XUWKHUPRUH LI RQ B QGR R Q V HDWV HHSKWWHDLRZ  
WLOWLQJ VWLOO IXUWKHU DZD\ IURDPUXUR  
SURMHFW LQYHVWPHQW WR WKH 8KHWRGD  
ELJJHVW EXW ZLWK ,QGLD -DSRPLQXVW  
RQ I ~~Source~~ UKTI 2010-11 report

0HDQZKLOH QRWKLQJ VHHPV WR E7KH B HQJ  
LV QR HQG LQ VLJKW WR WKH NLOO B QULDQ  
EXW QRW RQO\ WKHUH ± GHVSLWH \$CKH KL  
EDFN LQ (XURSH LWV EDG QHZV DFOU DUX  
ZKLOH EXW EH SURQH WR FRQVWDQW FULV

<HW WJKB UKRSHIXO PHVVDJH WR EH GLVWL  
PHVVDJH SDUWLF WCRD% OL WDLQX W DFOG7, KKR S  
HVVHQFH RI LW LV WKDW ZH QRZ ODIYHQQR  
VXSHUSRZHUV EXW LQ D ZRUOG RI LQHWHQ  
HYHQ WKLW ZRUOG DOWHULQJ QHZ \$FHQH  
QHZ UHYROXWLRQ LQ UHVRXUFH UHFDYHU\  
DQG PLQHDOV GIBRNEWDOZUWBEK RQ DQ  
VFDOH

,1 680 D QHZ FRQVWHOODWLRQ RI QDWL  
IRUFHV KDV HPHUJHG (YHQ ZKDW LWDPHDC  
FKDQJHG LQ WKH WQLRQDQJH DQPG XHREWDFVWH  
\*HQHUDOO\ D ~~Source~~ UKTI 2010-11 report



GHYHORSLQJ VWDWHV DUH IDVW EHFRPLC  
EHFRPLQJ WKH OHVV LQGHEWHG ~~ZKQ~~ ~~OHG~~ ~~TW~~  
QDWLRQV DUH PLUHG GHSHU LQ ~~GHEW~~  
VDYLQJV RI WKH (DVW DQG WKH 6R~~X~~WK D  
1RUWK DQG WKH :HVW

(1'6

2013 23.07. Letter to Financial Times - Commonwealth has much to offer a troubled world.

6LU <RX KDYH SXEOLVKHG D QXPERHU RI  
5DFKPDQ¶V SURYRFDWLYH DUWLFOH 3\$ 6U  
&RPPRQZHDOWK' -XQH 2 WKH ODVW  
(GZDUG 0RUWLPHU 36UL /DQND UHTXLUH  
WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ¶ -XO\ %XW WK  
HYROXWLRQ DW %ULWLVK IRUHLJQ &RPP  
QHZ LQWHUQDWLRQDO ODQGVFDSH WKDW  
DQG IODZHG SHUFHSWLRQV FDQQRW EH  
XQFKDOOHQJHG

0U 0RUWLPHU PD\ NQRZ D ORW DERXW 6  
VXVSHFW DV PXFK DV &DUO :ULJKW RI  
\*RYHUQPHQW )RUXP /HWWHUV -XOH Z  
VKDUS HQG RQ WKH JURXQG LQ WKDW FR  
YHU\ OLWWOH DERXW WKH PRGHUQ &RPP  
KLV YLHZV IURP IRFXVLQJ RQ WKH JRYHU  
RI WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ¶ -XO\ WKH RI

DUH RQO\ WKH WLS RI D YDVW UDQGHU R  
&RPPRQZHDOWK DFWLYLWLHV 2 QRQ JR  
HGXFDFWLRQDO VFLHQWLILF SDUOLDPHQ

MXGLFLDO DQG EXVLQHVV DQG LQYHVW  
RQO\ WKULYLQJ WRGD\ EXW QWKPONW  
ZHDULQJ WKH ZKROH &RPPRQZHDOWK QH  
V\ VWHP ,W VKRXOG EH QR VXUSULHUQJWK  
XS WR DSSO\ WR MRLQ WKLV 'SODPHQRUP  
KDV GHVFULEHG LW %ULWDLQQLVERKQD  
VXSUHPHO\ ZHOO SODFHG RQH JLYHQ V

ODQJXDJH DQG JLYHQ RXU KXE SRVLV  
ILQDQFH

OU 0RUWLPHU PDNHV D QXPEHU RI  
&RPPRQZHDOWK WKDW DUH QRW F  
FKDLU DOO &RPPRQZHDOWK PHHWLQJV  
WUXH 7KHUH ZLOO EH GRJHQV RI &RPP  
VXFK ERGLHV DV WKH &RPPRQZHDOW  
&RPPRQZHDOWK )RXQG DWLRQ DQG QXP  
/DQND PD\ RU PD\ QWV ENWU ZSO O VHQ

+H VD\ V WKDW WOKWK &LRP PVRQZHDU LQJ XQG  
UHZDUGV' RQ WKH 6UL /DQNDQ UHJLPH  
+H VD\ V WKDW UDQW KVR &RPPRQZHDOWK S  
GHULYHV IURP LWV DELOLW\ WR VHW VW  
3XVKLQJ IRU VW DRXGD EG V RRYHEHQPDHQ WV  
RQH RI LWV DVSHFW VGEJWYHVI UFRWD SIB  
SROOLQD WLRQ RIF BV QDQ/G V W WMLK EXOCHLD Z  
URRP D ODWWLFR ZRUXQRD WFC G B FEWLDQ\  
LQVWLWXWLRQ RU QHWZRUN

)RU 6UL /DQND WKH FKRLFH RI ZKLFK D  
RI JRYHUQPHQW PHHWLQJ ZDV SXW RRI  
DJUHHG E\ D PDMRULW\ IRU WKH DQ  
VWLFNV DV ZHOO DV FDUURWV 7KIRFSHUH  
IURP ZLWKLQ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK 2 LW  
RI FRPLQJ IURP DQ\ZKHUH HOVH %XV  
&RPPRQZHDOWK V\ VWHP DQG IDPLO\ ZK  
EDGO\ VHHPV WR JR IODWO\ DJDLQZHW %  
DV VKRZLQJ VFDQW XQGHUVWDQGLQJ  
&RPPRQZHDOWK KDV EHFRPH DQG  
WURXEOHG ZRUOG

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Article offered to The Daily Telegraph – Why the Commonwealth Now..

7KH )RUHLJQ 6HFUHWDU\ :LOOLDP \$XWXH  
WKH & IRU &RPPRQZHDOWK EDFN LQWR WK

%XW ZK\ ERWKHU VRPH DVN 7KH &RPPRQZ  
JHQWHHO FOXE VRKHROVERIUVBQQGZLWK VRPH  
KLVWRU\ DQG DWWULEXWHV EXW ZKDW K  
SURVSHULW\ DQG SUKRWSHUFRVLRQRHURKURVQDW

7KH DQVZHU LV μGOODQJHHDQJGQUJDSBRZRW  
YHU\ SUDFWLFDO UHDVQRV

)LUVW WRGD\TV &RPPRQZHDOWK XQDLNH\I  
RI WKH ZRUOGTV IDVWHVW JURZLQJGHFRQR  
WKH JDWHZD\ WR VWLOO PRUH RI WKH H  
DFFXPXODWLQJ DQG SXUFKDLVQJ SRZHU I  
FRQWLQHQWV DQG IDLWKV DQG FRWHLLQWK  
VRIW SRZHU QHWZHUWSDW%FLHODLQJQHH  
LQWHUHVWV LQ WRGJWKH QWZDQJREDO OD

6HFRQG WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK LV XQGHUSL  
SULQFLSOHV ZKLFK JLYH LW D XQHTXHQGLQ  
ZKLFK DUH QRW MXVW ILQH LQ WKHPVHC  
LQFUHDVLQJQO\ JR KDQG LQ KDQG ZWWKGGY  
H[SDQVLRQ 7KH\ DUH WZR HALVGHV  
ZLWK RU WKURXJK FRXQWULHV DQG HF  
&RPPRQZHDOWK EDGJH DQG ZKLFK DUH F  
SUDFWLFHV XSKROGLQJ WKH UXOHQBI OD  
JHQGHU HTXDOLW\ VWDUWV WR FRPPDQG D

,W LV QRW MXVW D TXHVWLRQ RI DOVFR FDFQ  
DGKHUHQFH WR QDGLDQG DUIDPHJODDFWHSO DWO  
SUDFWLFH DQG ODZLQJ DFDLQJ DRW D FDFRSXOR HH  
DQG DFFUHGLWDWLRQV DQG DGRJFHQ RWK

,W LV QR VXUSULVH WKDW JLMRQXWKL  
LQWUD &RPPRQZHDH DQGLQZVHRW FHLQV D

%ULWDLQ FDQ WDNH FOHDU DGYDQW DJHDY  
HOVHZKHUH LQ WKH SROLF\ ILHOG 'D\RLPH  
&DPHURQULJKW WR VD\ WKDW VD\ V ZH Q  
GLIIHUHQW ZD\ QRW RQO\ DERXW RXU GR  
H[WHUQDO UROH ,DQGDGLUW KWLWQR DVSH  
UHODWHG

)LUVW ZH KDYH WR DGMXVW WR WKHQDFW  
ORQJHU DQ \$QJOR FHQWULF DIIDVR DRW ID  
WKH SDVW -XVW DV SRZHU DQG ZHBDWK  
WKH :HVW VR DOVR ZLWKLQ WKH &RPPRQ  
RI LQIOXHQH DUH JRLQJ WR OLH LQ \$VL

6HFRQG WKH SURFURGLQQRDQG LWDRLQJ DWR  
UHTXLUH D QHZ GLSORPDWLF DJLQW\ DQ  
ZLOO ZRUN FORVHO\ ZLWK (8 SDUWQHUV  
OLQNV XV XS QRW MXVW ZLWK WKH ELJ  
VPDOOHU QDWLRQV ZKR ZDQW D YRDLQ K  
GHVHUYH PRUH UHVSHFW DQG DWLHFHQWR  
\HDUV RU WKH\ IHHO WKH\ JHW IURP RWKH

([DPSOHV DUH 7ULQLGDG DQG 7REDJRR Q  
/DWLQ \$PHULFDQ PDUNHWV EXW OLNH RW  
VRXUFH RI VZHOOHQJ LQYHVWPHQW HXQ Q/R  
WDS WR IXQG RXU YDVW LQIUDVWUXKWX  
VDPH JRHV IRU 6LQJDSRUH DQG RWKHU \$

QH ZFRPHUV WR WKW F H Q W R V X J F K I Z V B D S X K D  
\$ G G L Q W K H V R Y H U H R U J Q W Z H H D E M W K H I U D Q S G O V \ H  
, Q G L D \$ X V W U D O L D O D O D \ V L D D Q G L O W K D Q  
R I W R P R U U R Z F R X O G Z H O O E H F R P H R X U E  
I U L H Q G V

\* H R U J H 2 V E R U Q H Z K R Z D V W K H I L U H D W V % U L  
W R D W W H Q G W K H & R P P R Q Z H D O W K I L Q D Q F H  
W K H R W K H U G D \ L V F O H D U O \ D O H U W W R W H

7 K L U G L W V L V W L P H W R E H F R P H D W L Q L J W D W C  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K F D X F X V D Q G V S H D N L Q J X S  
L Q W K H P D Q \ L Q W H U Q D W L R Q D O L Q Q V H W X W  
V H H P V W R K D Y H I H Z L Q K L E L W L R Q V U D E R V X W  
L Q ( 8 F L U F O H V D Q G H O V H Z K H U H & R P P R Q  
U H V K D S L Q J W K H Z R U O G W U D G L Q J M U L V Q H P  
' R K D U R X Q G D Q G U H E D O D Q F L Q J W K M , 0 )  
U H D V V H U W L R Q E X W F R X O G D O V R D Q G W K R V %  
D Q G R W K H U I R U X P V

) R X U W K Z H V K R X O G V W D U W Y D O X L C R J W P R U  
W K D Q N V W R W K H & R P P R Q Z H S O W K P O Q U H O F \ H  
W K H O H J D O D Q G D F F R X Q W D Q F \ S U R I H V V L  
& R P P R Q Z H D O W K E U D Q G H G D V V R F L D W L R Q V  
D U F K L W H F W X U H W R D J R R O R S D W D G O L E R N Y H I G X  
W K D W Q R W R Q O \ P D N H V % U L W L V K [ S R J U K M V H  
E X W D O V R V H Q G V D V W U H D P R I \ R X Q J H U  
F R X Q W U L H V

, Q V K R U W W K H H P H U J L Q J P D U N H F V D V V W  
S X U F K D V L Q J S R Z H U D F E R F R Q W K H H Q D G L D D F U  
V R X W K H D V W D Q G 3 D F L I L F \$ V L D B F U R Q G / \$  
D F U R V V / D W L Q \$ P H U L F D D U H Z K H U G G Z H

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ZKHUH OXFNLO\ ZH KDYH D JUHDWR ~~ERXO~~ R  
SDVW KLVWRU\ WR VHFUXH RXU HQWU\

2XU ZD\ LQ LV WKURXJK GLSORPDFG ~~LEQJ~~ D  
FXOWXUDO HGX ~~EWLFLDQ~~ LVLFF ~~FRQ~~ ~~OHFW~~  
WKURXJK WKH ODWWLFHZRUN RI OLO ~~QGEH~~  
FLWLJHQU\ DOUHDG\ KHUH LQ %ULW ~~HLQ~~ RD  
FDOOHG μ&RPPRQZHDOWK ZLWKLQ†

:KHQ WKH \$VLDQ ~~GKJH~~ ~~QH~~ ~~HV~~ ~~SH~~ ~~FLDLQ~~ ~~WH~~ ~~QH~~  
UHTXLUHPHQWV ZH ZDQW KLP WR ~~ORRN~~ V  
GHVLJQV KLV RU KHU RSHUDWLQJ ~~QFRP~~ Z  
HTXLSPHQW :KHQ DFFRXQWDQF\ VNHOOV  
ZDQW WKH SURIHVVLRQDOV WR ORRN WR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK VWDQGDUGV DQG DFFUHG

)RU WKH 8. WKHVH ~~SEHWQ~~ ~~GWHFD~~ ~~GHD~~ ~~UKD~~ ~~WKL~~ F  
DWH

2XU FRPSHWLWRUV LQFOXGLQJ RXU ~~DTXHF~~  
QRW EHHQ QHDUO\ VR VORZ WR JUDE V  
WKHPVHOYHV LQ WKLV QHZ DQG OXFUDWLY

,W LV WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK FRQQHFWLRQ  
FKDQFH WR FDWFK XS DQG HYHQ ~~RWKU~~ ~~WBN~~  
JUHDW QHZ PDUNHWV ± &KLQD -DSD ~~QD~~ %U  
DUH KDUGO\ &RPPRQZHDOWK %XW ~~WKL~~ ~~LU~~  
DQG QHLJKERXUV FHUWDLQO\ DUH WRJ ~~WKL~~  
ZLGHU QHZ VFHQH

\$UH ZH WKHUH \HW" 7R IXOILO LWVHBRWH  
QHHGV EULVN PRGHUQLVDWLRQ DQG DW  
GLVWLQJXLVKHG &RPPRQZHDOWK OH ~~B~~ GHU

LV KDUG DW ZRUN RQ D SODQ IRUFUHHWDELV  
6LU 0DOFROP 5LINLQG LV WKH %ULWLVK PH

7KH\ KDYH VRPH NH\7DHP S RLOL FR BXGRW KHW D  
LQVLVWHQFH RQ KXPdq ULJKWV DQG JRR  
&RPPRQZHDOWK PXVPRUEHFV R VWHPPDFWLF DQ  
WKH FKDPSLRQVKLS RI VRIWSRZHU PXV  
DGPLQLVWUDWLYH PDFKLQHU\ RI WKH &RP  
DOWKRXJK WKH RUJDQLJDWLRQ P S V K H D Y \ H  
DQG RYHU FHQWUDOLVHG ZKLFK R D W E W C H Y  
SRWHQWLDO YDOXH RI WKH P R I C W I Q G & I R  
PRUH HIIHFWLYHO\ J W C H W K M L R Q X Z K I R U P D N H  
PHPEHUV

,I WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK FDQ UDLVH LWY  
PHPEHU ZLOO EHQHILW EXW QRQH PRUH VF

1LFKRODV %ROHV D QHZ &RQVHUYDNDLVH C  
GHVFULEHG WKH SUREOHP IRU %ULWDLQ R  
EHLQJ μQRW GHXXVEXQVGRHOXVDQGM RV LF  
WLPH IRU D PRUHFQMLGHOQFWLRUHHNDQWSDRLOLV  
RXU SURVSHULW\ DQG SURPRWHV RXBIYDOX  
WKH NH\ ZD\ V RI OLIVZLQDWRXUWHPPDIGHVQRXWK  
D VLOR RI G, M H D W W L K P PRGHUQ URXWH WKU  
VHFXUH RXU LQWHUHVWV EXW DOWRHR3RHSU  
REXHUYHG RQ KLV UHFHQW YLVLWRI<sup>3</sup> VEKIHRL  
&RPPRQZHDOWK DQG WKH JUHDW IDPLO\  
WKURXJKRXW WKH ZRUOG'

6R WKLV LV ZK\ :LOOLDP +DJXH LV2SXYWWLQ  
LV WKH IDFH RI WKH IXWXUH DQG RWKHV SODV



. 7<sup>th</sup> July . Article for the Commonwealth Ministers Reference Book .

7R WKH SRRUO\ LQIRUPHG REVDHUYHURHU  
PDQ\ WKH &RPPRQZHDOWK ORRNVLN  
JRYHUQPHQWV RI H[ %ULWLVK 'RPLQZRRQV  
DGGHG PHHWLQJ IURP LQWHUPLWWHQW  
DWPRVSKHUH IRU ROG WLPHV VDNH

1RWKLQJ FRXOG EHXFRUEHZZURHU ZD\ PRI X  
WRGD\ V &RPPRQZHDOWK QHWZRUN LV W  
SHUVSLDFDLRXV ZRUGV RI +0 4XHHQ (OLJ  
EURDGFVDVW EDFN LQ 7KH &RPPRQZHI  
ZD\ WKH SODWIRUP RI WKH IXWXUH†

:KDW KHU ZRUGV PHDQW DQG RQH ZRQGH  
RU RWKHU &RPPRQZHDOWK OHDGKHU  
GLJLWDO DJH RI DPDJLQJ JOREDO FRQQ  
QHWZRUN VSUHDGLQJ DFURVV D WKLUG  
DGDSDWHG VWUXFWXUH XRU WKKHQ WRPH  
KLHUDUFKLFDO DQG WRS KHDY\ LWWHUQDV

7KLV LV DQ HUD DLZLQLEHQGQRPPXQLFDW  
KDV WUDQVIRUPHG DOPRVW HYHU\ DQSHFV  
JURXSU RUJDQL]DWLRQV LQGLQHWG  
QHYHU EHIRUH LQ KLVWRU\ ,Q IXHHQVHLW  
SRZHU ± DQG LQ ERWK JRRG ZD\ DQG EDC

7KH JRRG VLGH RI WKH VWRU\ LV WKH  
DFURVV WKH ZRUOG KDYH EHHQ JLYHQ Q  
7\UDQWV KDYH IDOHU\ZRYHU KPHYRVEG  
FORVHO\ WR WKH SHRSOH ZRPHQ KDFYH IF

DQG WKH SDUWLFLSDWLRQ RI WKH ULWLQJ  
\$PHULFD LQ JOREDO LPSURYHPHQW DQG H[  
SURVSHULW\ KDV EHHQ YDVWO\ H[SDQG HG

7KH EDG VLGH LV WKDW SRZHU KROV DWRW  
JURXSU ZLWK HYLO LQWHQW GHW DQGLQH  
FKDOOHQJH DOO OHJLWLPDF\ DV DQWWRD  
WKH \$UDE ZRUOG

\$PLGVW DOO WKLW WXUPRLO WKH DOWLMDRLO  
QHWZRUN RI SRVLWLY FROFROSEHUJLWLRQV DZK  
OLNH D EHDFRQ JXLGLQJ XV WR DK EWWW  
QHWZRUN LV WKH PRGHUQ &RPPRQZHDOWK

7R XQGHUVWDQG ZKDW LV UHDOO\ KDSS  
EHQHDKW WKH FDRSLRIFRYHUGD DQG FRI

:KDW KXUULHG DQG LQVWDQW PHGZHDQHSR  
JRYHUQPHQW OHDGRULVLD DQGFROPHJLWLRK  
WKH 6UL /DQNDQ \*QYH UQHJDQW DRLRSH RU  
ODZV LQ VRPH &RPPRQZHDOWK PHPRHU VWI  
WKH GHPRFUDWLF SDWKZD\ DUH FODVVLF H

:KDW DUH QRW SLFNRGXVDSQ GUDHQWKHQH WK  
FRQQHFWRQ DW WKH YROXQWUAFKLRDUP  
VSHDN WR VFKRROV HYHU\ PRUQLQJFKRWOL\  
SXSLOV KDYH GLVFRYHUHG WKH\ FHQ RXWV

ORUH YLVLEO\ DQG WHOOLQJO\ WKH \$VY  
8QLYHUVLWLHV ZRUNV ZLWK ILYHLKWKVGLRQ  
DFURVV WKH ILIW\ Wkuhh &RPPRQZHDOWK  
/HDUQLQJ RSHUDWHV E\ IDU WKH DQBJWKW  
SODQHW IURP LWV %ULWLVK &ROXWELHD KH

&RPPRQZHDOWK DUH LQ DOPRVW GDWQVFR  
0XVHXP

3DUOLDPHQWV VWXG\ HDFK RWKHU DQG  
PHFKDQLVPV OLNRXWVHV 3XREFPLFW\$FHF BW+XGJ  
DQG ODZ\HUV FRRUGLQDWH LGHDWVZRGNH[  
\$OPRVW HYHU\ SURIHVVLRQ ± GRFWURUV  
VXUYH\RUV HGXFDWLRQDOLVWVWVZURV\$GEU  
SURPRWHUV DQG GHYHORS\$PHUW H[SEDOV  
RUJDQLVDWLRQDO OLQNDJHV DFURVV WKH

\$OO DUH RSHUDWLQJ LQ DQ HQYHORSH R  
(QJOLVK ± DQG LQ WKH VXUURXQGLQG DPL  
FRPPRQ SURFHGXUHV μZD\V RI GRLQ WK  
WKH ODQJXDJH LQVWUXFWV

7KHHV DUH OLQNDJHV DQG LQLWLDWYHHW  
LQ UHDOLW\ MXVW DV LQIOXHQWLDLQV  
JDWKHULQJV OLNH WKH \* RU HYHQ PRU

(YHQ WKH VWDWLVLVLFV PLVOHDGYLWHSLEF  
FRQWDLQHGH UHJLRQDO EORFV ZKLFK WKH

&OHDUO\ LV QRW DQG LQ WKH GLJLWDO D

7KLV JLYHV DQ RSHUDWLRQDWHRG \$VODQV  
HFRQRPLF VLJQLILFDQFH ± VLPLODUHQV RIF  
WKH OHUFDWRU SURMHFWLRQ RI WKH ZRUO

6RPH LQWUD &RPPRQZHDOWK GHYHORS\$PHU  
LJQRUH RU UHPDLQ EHZRZ WKH UDOGDWVHV  
,0) HVWLPDWHV RI ZRUOG HFRQRPL\$XWJQ  
\$PHULFD WRS RI WKH OLVW ZLWK &KL  
&RPPRQZHDOWK QDWLRQV WKLUG DQG WKL  
WKH ODUJHVW IRUHLJQ RZQHU RIDQGXVW

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FDSLWDO LV WUDRQIRQLQJDFHQWUWPKGIGI  
WH[WERRN VWHUHRW\SH SLFWXUHLBOIFDISG  
μ:HVW↑ WR DQ LPSRYHULVKHG HDVWHDQG  
LQWR UHYHUVH ZLWK WKH FRORVVDD VD  
FRXQWULHV EHLQJ VRXJKW DIWHUGHEVFRP  
ULGGHQ :HVW

,W VKRXOG EH QR VXUSULVH WKDMQDROXPE  
RU QRQ H[LVWHQW FRQQHFWLRQ ZLWK WK  
(PSLUH VKRXOG EHHQVFNQRJUDWQWRH & R  
PHPEHUVKLS RU DW OHDVW VHHNLQJ D  
LQFUHDVLQJO\ OLNH D WUXO\ ZRUWKZKLFH  
EH LQYROYHG

6RPH PD\ KDYH GLI&RFXPRQZDDGWKKKIDV KLV  
FKDU\ RI FRQWDFW ZLWK FRXQWULHV ZK  
GHPRFUDWLF JRYHUQDQFH KDV EHHQFKDW  
\*XOI HPLUDWHV DUH DOO FDVHV LQ TXHVWL

,W KDV EHHQ VDLG E\ VRPH WKDW ZKLC  
WR FRPPRQ YDOXHV WKH UXOH RI ODZ D  
DGPLUDEOH DQG DUH DOO QRZ UHIOHFWH  
&KDUWHU DJUHHG EHWZHHQ DOO PVPDEHU  
WKH VFHSWLFV RQH FDQQRW HDWDYDQXHV  
EHWWHU OLYLQJ VWDQGDUGV RQ WKH WDEO

1RW VR ,I RQH WKLQNV LQ WHUPV RRIYDC  
PXWXDO WUXVW DQG XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DQ  
qua non HVVHQWLDO IRU LQYHVWPHQW EXLOG  
ULVN WDNLQJ DQG HQWUHSUHQHXLGDO V  
EHFRPH WKH IRRG RQ WKH WDEOH DQG  
FRQGLWLRQV LQ ZKLFK ZHDOWK FUHLDWLR  
ZKLFK WKH DFFXPXODWLRQ RI DVVHWV EHF

,Q D ZRUOG ZKLFK DOWKRXJK K\SHUWR  
VHHWKLQJ ZLWK GLVWUXVW EHWZHHQ F  
UHOLJLRXV GLYLGHV DQG KLGHRXV SH  
&RPPRQZHDOWK FRQQHFWLRQ VWDUWV W  
HPEUDFHV ERWK ULFK DQG SRRU VPDOO  
VRPHKRZ KHOG EDFN E\ XQV\PSDWKHWLF  
VPDOOHU VWDWHV E\

7KRVH ZKR DVN ZKRRUVZKQ EKDUJWKH &R  
IURP WKH WRS KDYH WR UHDOLVH WKDW  
WKH ZHE D GLIIHUHQW TXHVWLRQ KDRXWR  
LPSXOVHV ZKLFK EXLOG XS D SHRSDFW S  
URRWV DUH EH JLYHQ VKDSH DQGDSDVSB  
DQG GHDGHQHG E\ WRS KHDY\ FRQWURO  
IUDJPHQW LQWR DQDUFK\ RQ WKH RWKHU

7KLV LV WKH QHZ FKDOOHQJH RI OBB/HWV  
± KRZ DW RQFH WZLV&RHDQVKLQ&XWQD  
SHUPLW D WKRXVDQG IORZHUV WR JURZ

7KH ROG VHSDUDWLRQ RI JRYHUQKQWUDC  
DQG SULYDWH LQLWLDWLYH EHJGQJOWRDE  
EHKDYLRXU SDWWHUQ 9ROXQWU\ ERGLH  
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LQWHQVHO\ EXV\ ZHHEORWIK&RPPSRQZDWRQ  
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WKLW FKDOOHQJH

**2013. October 8<sup>th</sup>. Speech at Europe House - Britain, the EU and the Commonwealth**

### **Riding Two Horses**

It was James Maxton, the veteran Labour leader in the inter-war years, who said that if you can't ride two horses you had no right to be in the (bloody) circus.

Today this is exactly what an agile Britain has to do if we are to survive and prosper. We have to take a constructive lead in the reform of the grievously divided and troubled European Union, AND we have to use every available network to penetrate deep into the giant and rising markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

And of course the best channel we have to hand to assist with that is the ready-made Commonwealth network – re-invigorated in the age of almost total connectivity and interactivity, with a common working language, embracing now a dozen or more of the world's fastest growing economies and providing a gateway to still more of the great emerging markets of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This is the opposite of what we were told forty year ago, in 1972/73. Then the received wisdom was that Britain's global interests were finished, the Commonwealth could be ignored and our destiny lay in wholehearted participation in the great European single market.

That may have been right then, but today, four decades later, we are the other side of the internet revolution and the entirely new pattern of international power and markets it has created. The wheel of economic fortune has turned full circle. It is now outside the EU where all the growth for the next two decades or so is likely to occur and where much of the wealth is going to be generated to finance the

capital projects the world needs – including those in the debt-ridden West.

On the best estimates the EU share of global GDP is set to shrink (to 15% by 2020) while other areas expand. The Euro-zone share could be as little as 11.9% according to the IMF).The Commonwealth countries are projected to grow over the next five years by 7.2%.

Of course the modern Commonwealth (54 member states, with several more in the waiting room to join) has no specific trade track. That would have mattered twenty years ago, but today not only are tariff barriers mostly far lower or negligible, but trade flows are taking a completely different shape, with complex supply chains snaking through economies on several continents, South and North, East and West.

Determinants of trade flows are now set as much by foreign direct investment decisions (themselves driven by local conditions, culture, political risk, familiarity , trust etc) and by non-tariff barriers, regulations, procedures , customs and attitudes, as by yesterday's tariff walls. Services and knowledge products, barely featuring in trade calculations forty years ago, or earlier when the original EEC was founded, now have a central position in international exchange.

*Trade now follows not the flag but the relationships built up layer upon layer by soft power deployment and diplomacy.*

It should be no surprise that some of the biggest leaps in UK exports-of both goods and services in the last two years (2010-2012) have been to Commonwealth countries – viz 33.5% to India , 31.2% to South Africa, 30% to Australia, 18.3% to Canada.

All the EU member states have got to equip themselves with these new relationship techniques of soft power deployment if they want to

maintain their prosperity and survive in a super-competitive new world. But for Britain the dice could have truly landed the right way up. At Government level (most visible to the media) there may be intra-Commonwealth differences, even family quarrels and stand-offs. Adherence to common values may fall short; back-sliding occurs.

But that is just the visible tip of things. The genius of the Commonwealth network is that it is people-driven, civic society driven, community driven, common interest driven and, increasingly, market and business driven. That is why the age of hyper-connectivity has acted like a blood transfusion to a network covering almost a third of humankind - half of them under 25, half of them women struggling to have their full and rightful place, millions of them young entrepreneurs aspiring to break out of the development dead-ends, many of them from smaller states and islands (32 of them in the Commonwealth) to whom globalisation has given no chance.

And that is why old links of the old Commonwealth have been replaced by new ties of an intensity and density unequalled in history – ties between universities, schools, scientists, science, medicine, accountancy, the creative arts and literature, judicial systems, military forces, and a hundred other interests. And that is why, when the Queen describes the Commonwealth as ‘in many ways the face of the future’ she is a lot closer to the truth than many of her past Ministers.

The transformed international scene is now filling up with a quilt of new networks and alliances, some involving the old West, some excluding it altogether. The Commonwealth is only one of these new, or renewed, systems. But it is a mighty one and for a heavily *interdependent* Britain it is a huge potential asset in every respect, both from the trade and business point of view and from the point of view of our contribution to peace, stability and development.



We should both grasp the opportunities this brings , and share them where we can with our struggling European neighbours. The two horses can be ridden- so long as we keep our balance , and our confidence!

**2013.** *November 8<sup>th</sup>. Old Links and New Ties by David Howell, published by I. B. Tauris . Chapter 12- The face of the future How and why Britain should re-join (Yes, re-join) the Commonwealth*

‘The Commonwealth is in many ways the face of the future.’ these were the words of Queen Elizabeth, Head of the Commonwealth, in her Christmas message of 2009. Scarcely attracting the attention of commentators at the time, they are now beginning to be appreciated, a few years on, as what they truly were – namely, a prescient glimpse of the future in a totally transformed international landscape, a beam of light suddenly illuminating a global future which even now may not be fully understood or accepted.

for what today’s Commonwealth is developing into is something quite different from the past. it is becoming the necessary network of the twenty-first century – a set of relationships between nations large and small, and between their peoples, which is not provided by any other multilateral institution, but which is increasingly needed and, as the membership waiting room confirms, sought after.<sup>1</sup> As virtual linkages spread, almost to the point of creating virtual nations, and as hard physical relationships become more complicated, the outstanding characteristic of the Commonwealth is that it spans both worlds

– the actual and the virtual, the public and the private, the official or governmental, and the non-governmental linked and e-enabled world of markets, professions and peoples. As with quantum particles, it is possible within the Commonwealth to be in two places and two states at the same time.

very few planned or foresaw this. on the contrary, a wide-spread view in the later decades of the twentieth century was that the

Commonwealth had lost its relevance. it was a club of the past, a family of yesterday, held together by little more than nostalgia.

Yet contrary to expectations, what is emerging instead from the old pattern is something that fits amazingly closely with the future and with the technological revolution in which the world is now caught up.

first, the Commonwealth today, far from being a backward- looking coterie of states, is proving (to the surprise of some) to be a living network of relationships and like-minded values and principles that stretches across all continents – Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas – and across almost all religions, at a time when global reach is essential to tackle global problems. the great themes of democracy, human rights, good governance and the rule of law, the aspirations of all humankind, have found in the modern Commonwealth a fresh and resilient means of propagation in the network age.

Second, the Commonwealth, again to the surprise of some, is one of the fastest-developing associations of nations in the world – in some parts faster even than China – and contains at least seven of the most dynamic, knowledge-driven economies in the world.<sup>2</sup> As the west's trade and investment tilts away from Europe and the Atlantic, and towards rising Asia and Africa, the Commonwealth network becomes more and more relevant for all its citizens in hard commercial terms, meaning jobs and investment in an age short of both.

Third, the Commonwealth survives and attracts new members when the world's other multilateral organisations, designed for the twentieth century, are failing us and in deep trouble. it provides scope for a real North–South dialogue on equal rather than patronising terms.

Fourth, in an age of small states, many of them feeling bypassed by global trends and tossed in the storms of world economic volatility,

the Commonwealth platform offers a life-raft of opportunity and influence, where smaller voices get a bigger hearing, and the problems of smaller states receive genuine attention and consideration, notably in meeting the severe challenges of climate change, energy scarcity, food and water needs, and other escape routes from poverty. it gives Britain yet another chance to recover its once strong reputation for helping the smaller and weaker states of the planet, to be a source of supportive partnership and not pressure, free of any suggestion of dominance, exploitation or control.

At least potentially, the Commonwealth is thus emerging as the kind of forum in which richer and faster-growing countries and the poorer and smaller nations can speak on equal terms, in which people from different faiths can sit down and discuss their problems calmly (there are 500 million Muslims in the Commonwealth), and in which almost all members are seriously committed – or under steady pressure to be committed to good governance and to contributing to global peace and stability, rather than pursuing vendettas against America and ‘the West’.

Fifth, the Commonwealth, unlike most other multinational organisations and combinations of states in today’s world, is an assembly of peoples, not just of governments. its most visible aspect may be heads of government gathering together, but beneath the official layer lies a vast substructure of alliances and groups, interests and professional bodies, civil societies and voluntary associations, all proudly carrying the Commonwealth badge.

### **The family**

Marlborough House in the Mall is the visible centre of the Commonwealth. it makes a good setting, with its superb murals commissioned by Sarah Churchill, first duchess of Marlborough, and

its echoes of a glittering past as the home of 'Bertie', Prince of Wales (later Edward VII). From here 'the Marlborough House set' radiated out and enlivened Victorian London society (some would say a little too much). Here, down the years, Secretary Generals such as Arnold Smith,

Sonny Ramphal, Chief Enayaku, Don McKinnon and currently Kamelesh Sharma, a former Indian diplomat and statesman of the highest calibre, have been able to look out across the world on the Commonwealth family.

But appearances are deceptive. What you see is not what you any longer get. The Secretariat is not a head office because the modern Commonwealth is not managed, or led, from the top down. The strength comes from below, from the dizzying range of Commonwealth-oriented organisations and initiatives across the world which the internet has now connected and enlivened. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association brings parliamentarians and legislators together from every corner of the Commonwealth. Alongside this global parliamentary convocation are the Commonwealth-wide organisations promoting parliamentary administration and techniques of accountability, as well as sharing lessons learnt, at Westminster and elsewhere, about the operation of committees of Parliament, not least the Public Accounts Committee.

Around this parliamentary network, other main 'pillar' organisations proliferate, such as the Commonwealth Foundation, the umbrella body for civil societies, the Commonwealth Business Council, thriving and expanding as never before as intra-Commonwealth trade and investment grows. Or there are the legal bodies underpinning the vital common law pattern of the Commonwealth, such as the Commonwealth Lawyers Association, or the Commonwealth

Magistrates and Judges Association, all in turn spreading common standards of judicial administration.

The other professions – the doctors, accountants, surveyors, planners, nurses, educationalists, journalists, broadcasters, social workers – all have their Commonwealth networks. there is also Commonwealth Connects, a strategic digital initiative, showcasing the Commonwealth and its values, increasing public visibility and personalising the Commonwealth connection for millions of individuals. its website connects audiences and enables professional and expert collaboration on a titanic, trans-world scale.

Then there is the Commonwealth Local Government Association (active at a highly practical level in many countries), the Commonwealth of Learning spreading teaching through open and distance learning (ODL) on a world scale, the Association of Commonwealth Universities (530 of them!), and of course the whole world of sport and the Commonwealth Games administration. the list goes on and on, and grows with all the new professional skills, interests, specialisms and technologies the age produces.

The Commonwealth of Learning, based in Vancouver, is a particularly fascinating example of networking at the most practical level. Supported by 50 Commonwealth governments, it is literally the world's only intergovernmental organisation solely concerned with the promotion and development of distance education and open learning.

All this is usually called 'the Commonwealth family'. what exactly is this vast family? in Annex d there are 82 bodies listed as accredited organisations with the Commonwealth 'family'. Many more lie outside the official accreditation list. ranging across almost every conceivable branch of human co-operation, they are the programme

material and data for the ultimate global network. Alan Turing, said to be inventor of the computer, would have built a 'thinking machine' to handle them in no time. But his work would not have been necessary. the Commonwealth network machine is busy building itself.

For nations like the United Kingdom, which seemed in past decades to lose interest in its Commonwealth connections, the entire network assumes a new and crucial significance, as the gateway to new markets and new sources of finance – the reversal of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century pattern. Not only have Commonwealth countries become new and demanding consumer marketplaces, ready for the highest- quality goods the UK can turn out. Australia and the Pacific Commonwealth nations lead the way to Chinese markets, via the once-British and still welcoming Hong Kong. oil-rich Trinidad and Tobago leads the way into Latin America, again mostly with welcoming and Britain-friendly consumer classes.

A flood of figures is beginning to provide more eloquence than words could about the Commonwealth impact on world and British affairs. in the Fraser institute's index of freedom, six Commonwealth nations are in the top ten. in the world Bank's 'ease of doing Business' rankings, seven Commonwealth countries are in the top 25. in the international Corruption Perception index, six Commonwealth nations are in the top 25 for being least corrupt.

Commonwealth nations are among the fastest growing, and the momentum is spreading out from the traditionally rich states to the historically poorer ones, particularly in Africa. trade between the UK and the rest of the Commonwealth (goods and services) has expanded over the last decade by some 150 per cent. intra-Commonwealth trade and investment flows are also growing fast, although it is hard to extract precise figures. At the Heads of Government meeting in Perth, Australia, in October 2011, a cascade of new investment projects was

announced, together with tie-ups between mining interests – for example, between Australia and Nigeria – and a new business forum between the Commonwealth and China.

What has changed after recent decades to bring this amazing vitality to the surface? If there is a single basic explanation for what has occurred to galvanise the modern Commonwealth, it probably lies in the microchip, meaning the information revolution and the globalisation process to which it is linked. Quite simply the Commonwealth network of countries, societies, interests and peoples has been brought to a new and intensely interactive life by the phenomenon of instant global communication and connection. Language connects; electronically and digitally linked language connects totally.

This has occurred and is occurring at all levels, from the individual to the governmental, from the remotest school to schools everywhere, from student to student, farmer to farmer, doctor to doctor, from the humblest group or organisation to the largest state. The lacework of live associations and linkages described above (and in Annex d), stretching across the whole 54-nation Commonwealth network on a staggering scale, has become wired up as never before, enabling almost continuous dialogue and creative exchange – a kind of unending concerto of co-operation and common identification and purpose.

It is true that much of this extraordinary network was there before the turn of the century. A mid-1990s report from the

House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee<sup>3</sup> pointed out how the changing Commonwealth was supported by a battalion of non-governmental organisations, covering a vast range of interests and activities.<sup>4</sup> But in the new age of transparency and accountability



worldwide, in which the web and the mobile phone camera open almost every window of activity and social trend, this meshwork of contacts has been given a kind of blood transfusion. In effect, the Commonwealth 'badge' has become a sought-after asset – an entrée to the community of trust, reliability and transparency for which the world's investors and traders constantly search. This is certainly one explanation of the fact that, as we have seen in Chapter 4, countries with only a remote link with the old British sphere, or none at all, have either already joined the Commonwealth, or aspire to do so, or at least seek to link up with its various supporting groups.

Of course, the global communications miracle is not the only transforming force in the Commonwealth network. It interacts closely with the other key binding language factor, and embedded within it the DNA of common attitudes, assumptions, instincts, manners, ideas of what constitutes humour and ways of looking at the world which a language contains and purveys. Because the language is English, the origins of many of these things go back to British traditions and values, but by no means all. The Britishness factor has long since become enriched by and interwoven with many other cultures, such as Asian, African and Caribbean, in some cases much older and more powerful than the traces of the British legacy.

### **Quarrels and awkward family members**

There must be realism about the Commonwealth as it is developing today – at least at the official and governmental level. Within any family there are differences, even quarrels at times. That is inevitable. So it is in the Commonwealth family, where not all see eye to eye over either governance issues or world issues. Some are well off, some are not at all well off, and the gap may be widening. With new patterns and doctrines of international behaviour being aired and proclaimed all the time – such as humanitarian intervention, the

responsibility to protect, the right to intervene – a constant debate is hardly surprising. Sixteen realms, under the Queen, and 37 (at the time of writing) republics and independent states are hardly likely to agree on everything. But the point is that if there are disputes they are not with ‘foreigners’, not lost in translation, but between members of the family, all viewing each other as closer than, and subtly different in feel and attitude from, foreign states. Heads of government may clash – the aspect most of interest to the media, of course. But below the surface lies a real Commonwealth network, outside the range of governments and their media camp followers, which continues to knit together across the world as never before.

A second reality is that as the Commonwealth network evolves, not all agree as to how standards should be enforced. that there should be high standards in terms of fundamental values and principles of behaviour and governance, to which all members should aspire to adhere, is not in question. that is the distinctive nature of the club, that it requires certain standards to be matched. Not anyone can march through the entry door.

But how those standards should be upheld, policed and even enforced is much more controversial. responding to the times, the Commonwealth leaders have sought, and continue to seek, new methods for ensuring principles are upheld in member states. this is work in progress, work to ‘advance the Commonwealth’s values’, as the most recent report and recommendations on strengthening the Commonwealth ‘brand’ put it.<sup>5</sup> it is work that is yielding growing results.

A new Charter of Commonwealth values has now been agreed and validated. Cynics may say that this is not for the first time. there have, after all, been a string of declarations and manifestoes down the years, from the Harare declaration of 1992 (irony of ironies, when one thinks

what the Mugabe regime did for human rights there) to the Milbank declaration of 1994, to the Auckland Charter of 1996.

What is the difference this time? the difference is connectivity and information. this is a Charter – a Maxima Carta– that sets standards for an age of almost if not completely total transparency. To say there is no hiding place now for brutal and illiberal rulers and their ways is going too far. Many things can still be hidden, and not just in totalitarian regimes. But the hiding places are now much more limited, and for nations that wish to wear the Commonwealth badge on their lapel far more limited still.

There are miscreants and there are bad sheep (black is the wrong word here for obvious reasons). Many families have them. Some Commonwealth countries have wanted far more in the way of policing within the club to ensure good behaviour and examine deviations. other countries have seen this as unwarranted intrusiveness, either because they fear that examination would show too many deficiencies or because they reckon that internal controls, exercised by accountable internal authorities, are best, or because they see an outside inspecting body to be another unnecessary layer, or for a jumble of all these reasons. whatever the motive, the proposal for an independent Commonwealth-wide Commissioner for Human rights has been rejected as going too far.

So what emerges from this compound and fusion of changes, motives and aspirations and enormous new opportunities as the technological revolution races ever faster ahead? why is that royal insight so pertinent? what is the real impact on the lives and hopes of the Commonwealth's 2 billion citizens, now and tomorrow? where should British policy now be reinforcing these enormous trends?

To understand clearly what is occurring, and how the evolving Commonwealth fits in, it helps to think in terms of a new kind of global equation. this can be presented as values = trust = Business and development.

In essence, the message in this era of super-connectivity and transparency is that those countries and societies that adhere most openly to Commonwealth values, or are clearly looking and moving in the right and same direction, are those that will be most attractive to investors and developers. the places where justice is likely to prevail, where commercial laws are familiar, where there is a serious aspiration to check corruption, if not stamp it out completely, are the places to set up new enterprises, invest new money and grow jobs and prosperity. Jobs and justice ride together.

There are obvious backsliders – sometimes nations have simply failed to update legislation inherited from their colonial pasts many decades ago. Attitudes to gay rights and to capital punishment, long since altered in Britain, are examples of this time lag. But the Commonwealth genius is that it acts as the constant pressure source and channel for change. to be pressed collectively from within the system is surely more likely to find a response than being lectured from afar by other nations claiming a moral superiority that they may not actually possess.

At the same time the twenty-first-century world is seeing a remarkable reversal of roles. the capital that used to roll from west to east in the last two centuries, from the great industrialised nations to the developing ones, to build their infrastructures, is now flowing the other way. it is the high- saving, fast-exporting nations of Asia in particular that have the wealth accumulations the west needs to meet its own requirements, square its budgets and update its often dilapidated facilities.

On top of that there is the question of natural resources and the wealth, if carefully managed, that the Commonwealth can bring to previously struggling economies. As we saw in Chapter 10, revolutionary changes in raw materials potential and access have altered the picture heavily in the Commonwealth's favour. The old resources were oil, coal and iron ore. The new resources are shale gas – accessible now in vast and potentially commercially recoverable quantities in Asian and African countries that previously had to import all energy – plus new ways of harnessing the sun, wind and tide, plus precious metals and rare earths hitherto undeveloped or even discovered. Commonwealth countries that were resource poor are beginning to see themselves as resource rich.

There is the matter of new or would-be members of the Commonwealth family. The rigid requirement that membership demanded some previous association with the British empire has long since been relaxed. Mozambique, Rwanda and Cameroon are now enthusiastic Commonwealth members. As Chapter 1 revealed, others are knocking at the door or seeking to associate themselves with some of the pillar organisations at non-state level. South Sudan, as already mentioned, has applied to be a member. Burma (Myanmar) and Yemen (once Aden) are still in the throes of political upheaval but could yet turn their attentions to the Commonwealth. The Gulf states, again with historic links, have also shown an interest in being kept in close touch with Commonwealth activity. Kuwait has voiced strong interest and believes it qualifies with the standards and conditions that membership requires.

### **The Irish dimension**

There are other states where serious voices can be heard talking about membership but nothing is said by ministers or at government level. The most interesting country in this category is the Republic of Ireland.

the historical baggage here is almost crushing. Ireland declined to join the 1949 Commonwealth, which first admitted republics, although history has it that Eammon de Valera, who could hardly be described as pro- British, oddly wanted to stay in. in any case there would have been an instinctive dislike of any British-tainted institutions, and the 1949 Commonwealth must have looked to many very much like the old British Commonwealth in new packaging.

Today the picture is different. first, as has already been explained earlier, the Commonwealth of today and tomorrow is no longer such an Anglo-centric entity, whatever its origins and history. Second, Ireland has been wounded by its euro association. Commonwealth membership would not be some sort of ricochet impulse, but it might be a steadying reinforcement for a nation temporarily knocked off balance by financial misfortune – a situation in which Britain was ready with prompt and substantial help. third, the Queen’s visit of May 2011 proved outstandingly successful in healing old wounds and promoting reconciliation. fourth, there is a question of mindset. Bringing Ireland and the UK, as fellow members of the Commonwealth, alongside each other in that orbit ought to be an opportunity not just for reinforcing the institutional links. the Council of the isles has long existed, although hardly in a state of public prominence. the new thought, yet to mature fully in either Dublin or London, is that Britain and Ireland need each other as never before. the combined voice of the whole British Isles would carry new weight both in a European and a wider international context. the Northern Ireland issue would at last fade away into inconsequence. the mutual economic benefits would multiply. New areas of co-operation in every- thing from cultural creativity to offshore energy possibilities would open out. inter-island transportation might lend itself to revolutionary technical possibilities. these are the areas to which the

first step, membership within the Commonwealth network, might lead.

It will all take time, but there is a growing campaign for this to happen and there are now no obvious obstacles. No allegiance to the Crown is involved and the Commonwealth of today is a very different institution from the one which Ireland walked away from in 1949.

Lingering fenian suspicions of course remain of anything that appears to involve British intrusion. But this would be partnership without dominance in a changed world, and fellow-membership in the worldwide Commonwealth network, opening up links and access opportunities to many other regions. And what a partnership it could be! value would be added for both countries. in a way that has never occurred within the EU context, joint Commonwealth membership would enable the so-called Irish dimension, seen from the London side, to begin to fuse with the English dimension, as seen from the Dublin side. there would be the question of the impact on the North, but the idea's supporters in Dublin see such a move as a strong gesture of reconciliation.

In reality the overlap of interests between Ireland and the Commonwealth already exists and is growing. Some 40 million Irish people live in Commonwealth countries. A changing world landscape may have turned the idea of Ireland's return from a possibility into a probability.

The existence of a queue of interested applicants is itself a kind of message. it does not, of course, guarantee that they will be admitted. A careful balance has to be struck between the danger of dilution and the invigoration of new members entering the Commonwealth family. either way, the fact that

States and societies round the world are privately urging their governments to consider applying, or are actually sending representatives to Commonwealth events, says something. it says that the Commonwealth is today's club of preference, the group that countries ambitious for improvement feel they should join.

The precise status or category of new member states matters not at all. Queen Elizabeth is the ruler, the monarch, quite separately and independently of 16 Commonwealth countries, the so-called realms. the rest are republics or separate kingdoms. New applicants for returning to realm status seem unlikely, although in this modern turn-turtle world of contradictions and reversals, stranger things have happened. fourteen other British overseas dependent territories nestle in under British membership, but increasingly aspire to have a bigger role at the Commonwealth table.

In the end the Commonwealth will succeed or wither away as a multilateral forum, depending on its practical usefulness and the clear benefits it brings to its members, very much including Britain. today the UN struggles to reform but remains at loggerheads over its own reform, over fundamental issues and facing severe internal problems to boot. Nothing could replace it, but something else seems to be needed in the twenty-first century. the various regional alliances and organisations are growing in power, but by definition lack the global spread the Commonwealth offers. the European Union is the biggest and potentially the most powerful regional bloc, but is beset by fearful current problems which hold it back and becalm its economic activity. the world trade organization (WTO) still struggles to avoid deadlock at Doha on farm subsidies, while those outside the existing trade blocs feel increasingly frustrated at their still substantially barred access to the richer markets.



By contrast, the Commonwealth scene looks somewhat more positive. Intra-Commonwealth trade appears to be expanding steadily, as are investment flows between its countries. A recent research paper by the Royal Commonwealth Society showed that the importance of Commonwealth members to each other in trade matters had grown substantially over the last two decades, with intra-Commonwealth exports up by a third. Ranging over issues from competitiveness to gender questions, to human development to environmental performance, the paper found the evidence 'seemed to suggest' that Commonwealth membership brought measurable trade advantage'.<sup>6</sup>

Much more work remains to be done in establishing the full picture of contemporary Commonwealth exchanges. None of this may amount to the case for anything like a Commonwealth free trade Area (an old idea attempted twice in the twentieth century, although in very different conditions). That era is past. But it does suggest a pause for thought as to how in today's very changed trading conditions, this extraordinary network, with a reach stretching right across regions and continents and embracing a third of the world's population, might (if it can be strengthened imaginatively) do a better job than the existing battered international institutions.

In particular it is surely time to think how a more ambitious Commonwealth of Nations could become a distinct force in both opening up the world economy and uniting the more well-intentioned and responsible countries in facing up to the ugly dangers of the age – such as terrorism, pariah nations, entrenched and paralysing poverty, protectionism, inter-ethnic wars, corruption and rotten governance.

What the Commonwealth requires now is perhaps less intergovernmental grandeur and more practicality. What governments need to do, the British government included, is to study more closely, and then reinforce, the strong developments now taking place within

the Commonwealth network. For example, as intra-Commonwealth business expands, and intra-Commonwealth cultural and professional ties multiply, the need for easier intra-Commonwealth travel increases. It ought to be possible to replicate something like the business travel card system operating between six members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group (APEC).

Better information about the Commonwealth potential

– not just its history but its beckoning future – needs to be embedded in the educational curriculum of member countries, Britain most definitely included. Scholarship and study opportunities in all directions need to be fostered and increased

– not just one way towards the UK and not just at governmental level. All universities, British and Commonwealth, have a part to play in enlarging the volume of scholarship schemes. A Commonwealth trade and investment Bank has been proposed by Indian advocates to boost Commonwealth trade and investment potential. Numerous new Commonwealth initiatives are springing up of their own accord, unheralded and unnoticed by officialdom, such as the Commonwealth environmental investment Platform, bringing entrepreneurs throughout the Commonwealth together. There is Commonwealth exchange, the brainchild of two inspired young activists, Tim Hewish and Jim Styles, determined to get at the new facts. web searches reveal many more.

For Britain specifically, in addition to external opportunities and benefits, there are internal gains to be harvested. No one has a precise estimate of the numbers of British citizens of Commonwealth origin or with close Commonwealth connections. But the guess is that this ‘Commonwealth within’ is very large. A Britain with a more clearly articulated Commonwealth role could be a friendlier and more

unifying place for millions who are uncertain where their loyalties lie or with what causes they should identify. when disunity is tugging at every edge of British nationhood, the Commonwealth story could pull powerfully the other way, whether against Scottish separatism, alienated cultural and ethnic groups, or rootless younger generations.

Although, as we have seen, countries continue to queue up to join the Commonwealth as it is – which must say something for it – the question is whether it could ever carry enough clout in its present form to perform this wider role. is it firm enough and strong enough to meet and police its own high standards in terms of human rights, the rule of law and democracy in its various forms? that is the key issue on which the leading member states of the Commonwealth are focusing. in addition, one other way forward might be to offer a much closer association, if not actual membership, to some other important countries that are outside the existing blocs or uncomfortable within them, but plainly belong in the democratic camp.

An intimately allied grouping that embraced (if loosely) Japan, India, Canada, Malaysia, South Africa, Australasia and the UK, for a start, and had the good wishes of the Gulf states on board as well, would indeed be a network of common wealth, interests and power, able to speak on friendly but firm and equal terms with the American and Chinese giants. it would be able also to stand up for common values of justice and democracy in a way that no other international institution currently seems capable of doing.

The Commonwealth template stretches over this new scene, bringing a clear and calming prospect of betterment and common purpose. its roots are old, stretching back into the histories of its original members, but its character today is youthful – in the most literal sense. Half the 2 billion or more citizens of the Commonwealth

are under 25. for women, its declared aim is a far better future and a much better gender balance generally.

Over it all presides Queen Elizabeth ii, as she has done for 60 years past – an undeniably unifying influence, held in high affection and leading the way to the future with vast experience and skill. the paradoxes are powerful – a monarch guiding the way to a new world order! Succession to the role of head of the Commonwealth is not automatic. when the time comes, the Commonwealth membership will want the right to choose. But there is every reason to suppose that the choice will continue to fall on the occupant of the British throne.

As a bloc, the Commonwealth is historically one of the most successful collections of nations in world history. But of course it is not a bloc in the conventional sense. its links are electronic, not geographical; they are digitally networked, not hierarchical; they are between peoples and societies and the modules within each social structure. the challenge from the back of the hall, or from the journalists in the front row – who is in charge? – cannot really be answered in the usual terms. the nearest answer would be that the people are in charge, or perhaps it is nearer the mark to say the network is in charge. the Commonwealth is a creation of self-assembly. it is not the United Nations, nor even a pale replica of it. And it is not a regional bloc like the battered European Union. it is an escape from these structures and it leads to territory that these organisations do not reach, and often cannot see. this is its power and its weakness. it is a truly vibrant global family of cultures, economies, societies and political groups, far from perfect but looking in the same direction.

**2014.** *Article for Daily Telegraph - It's The Commonwealth After All*

Has the penny dropped? Has the British Establishment, which for a generation has turned its back on the Commonwealth – with the noble exception of the Queen and members of the Royal Family – at last begun to see that it made a terrible mistake?

Have the policy-making grandees of Whitehall and Westminster at last realised that far from being a nostalgia-ridden club of the past the modern Commonwealth network, with its colossal reach across almost a third of the human race, is for Britain a golden asset of the future?

A few facts (although these are still hard to come by from official sources) may help shift outdated perceptions. Today's Commonwealth of fifty three nations may contain some of the world's poorest nations but it also embraces a growing number of the fastest-growing and the richest on earth. Trade between them fell spectacularly in the second half of the last century but is now rising fast, as are capital and investment flows, not least because these are countries generating enormous savings looking for a profitable outlet. Indeed some of it is coming our way - and very useful it is as 'inward investment' boosting our home economy and financing our capital projects.

This of course is the opposite of what we read in our nineteenth and twentieth century textbooks about the West pouring capital into the developing nations. Now it is starting to be the other way round. Exports from Britain to the rest of the Commonwealth are now about 15 percent – far below the figure in the post-war heyday when the Commonwealth took almost half Britain's exports, but notably above

the even lower figure of recent years and, more to the point, rising fast.

Countries like Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Malaysia now offer not only some of the wealthiest consumer markets, but also growing sources of international capital, with others like Nigeria, and Sri Lanka, for all their internal troubles, or Mozambique or Ghana coming up fast.

And these countries are in turn potential gateways to the biggest rising powers of all, China and Japan, now respectively the second and third largest economies in the world.

It may be said that the Commonwealth does not amount to a trade bloc and anyway our trade policy is all handled nowadays by the European Union. It is true that EU officials set tariffs on imports from outside the Union and negotiate on behalf of all EU members, or try to negotiate, deals to cut tariffs with outside trading partners.

But this portrays a remarkably dated view of trade. Tariffs today are one of the less important elements in the flow of international business. The average tariff on internationally traded goods is only 3 percent, though of course there are some higher ones on things like footwear and some pharmaceuticals.

Besides, it is increasingly information and services which are going to make up the bulk of international transactions and exchange –and indeed are already doing so. It makes less and less sense nowadays to distinguish between ‘manufactures’ and ‘services’, as the statisticians persist in doing. . A telling adage these days (which I think comes from HSBC) is that ‘in the future goods will be transmitted rather than exported’.

Almost all physical products now have a significant information and service content, whether via actual electronic parts, or via the machines which make them, the design input which shape them, the research behind them, the marketing and sales which transports and distributes them or endless other connections at every point in the production process.

So we can forget the steady moaning about ‘declining’ British manufacturing, as though metal-bashing was the only virtuous kind of industry. Aero-engines, intricate and incredibly advanced machinery, ultra high tech health equipment, training systems, defence equipment, car components, even simple households goods— it is all one big and compacted bundle of goods and services combined.

In short, modern manufactured products nowadays have become vehicles for exporting knowledge-intensive services, creative items and technology expertise in which the UK has developed an enormous advantages. Typical examples are the whole fields of education and health care. These are so now so large that with all the industrial and research ecosystems they have spawned and carry with them they are beginning to stand alongside the biggest ‘service sector’ of all, namely financial services in every shape and form.

And there’s more still. By far the most promising markets for our huge services exports are countries with English as the working language and the same or similar systems of commercial law, accountancy and general business practice, in a word - the Commonwealth. By contrast the EU Single market for services barely exists. Always on the verge of being ‘completed’, so we are told, it remains a forest of obstacles and deterrents.

Since the days in the last century when the original European single market was conceived completely new patterns of international

commerce have grown up. These have been described as a spaghetti bowl of regional and neighbourhood trade arrangements . Modern cars (computers on wheels, some call them) may be ‘created’ in six differ places before being finally marketed, making it almost impossible to apply rules of origin (i.e to say where they were actually made).

Meanwhile, East Asia, which for centuries past has been seen as a remote area of deserts and scattered primitive communities has suddenly begun to sprout new (or rather revived old) trade routes and activities. China’s ambitions for new rail, road and air routes, indeed whole new cities, are moving off the drawing board in the form of a ‘New Silk Road’ linking Asia and Europe as never before.

Some argue that these great new markets are the alternative to being involved in Europe so closely. But the truth is that we have to be in both. Europe is still our neighbourhood, our locality with whom we need to be on the best of terms , even if the big play is now moving elsewhere. In the same way we must stay on the best of terms with the United States, but always as partners, not as slavish subordinates, as we so nearly became during the Blair years.

Of course trade is not the only consideration. The mounting horrors of terrorism remind us that a globally connected response is required. NATO membership is vital but not nearly enough. Commonwealth military chiefs and security experts already work quietly but closely together. The South East Asian Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) , which includes Britain and four other Commonwealth powers, , is just one example. Another is that Britain and Commonwealth countries increasingly train together, exercise together, plan together.

Besides, victories are secured nowadays not just by force deployment but by winning the narrative, by using so-called ‘soft’ as well as hard



power methods to safeguard and gain grass roots support for our values, and reject and defeat nihilism and anarchy. For deploying Britain's undeniably immense, but still underused, soft power assets the Commonwealth is the ideal network and platform, even though it has some backsliders.

To see things through this new lens demands a changed mindset amongst policy makers and the flag-carrying developers of Britain's global business, brand and reputation. We are talking about nothing less than a grand repositioning of the UK in a world utterly transformed by the digital age.

**2015.***The Daily Telegraph. China, Commonwealth, and Trade - A New Phase Opens*

By David Howell and Tim Hewish

Last week in China we saw George Osborne calling for China to become our second largest trading partner. Back in May we heard David Cameron say: “I want us to be nothing less than the modern world’s most open, trade-minded nation. To do that, we must tap into markets outside Europe; to look to the Commonwealth and beyond.” But do these two ambitions fit together?

Yes - they certainly do. Both are part *of a* much wider vision that seems at last to have been grasped by those in Whitehall - namely that despite their understandable preoccupation with EU renegotiation the big economic prizes for Britain in the future lie elsewhere away from just one continent.

It is in the vast new markets of Asia, Africa and even Latin America that our export underperformance has to be reversed and in which Britain will either survive or succumb. And while China is obviously the colossus amongst these much less notice is given to the 53-nation Commonwealth which, while it has many *small* and developing states, also embraces some of the fastest growing economies and most lucrative new consumer markets on earth.

India, Australia, Malaysia, Canada, Singapore, South Africa, Nigeria are emerging economic players in an increasingly networked world. And in turn they form the gateways to the other rising markets and new trade routes taking shape. Some people believe that India could yet prove the winning tortoise to the Chinese hare. Either way the UK would be foolish to miss out.

It is true that the Commonwealth is not a traditional trade ‘bloc’ and nor should it be seen as such. And it is true that the bulk of our official trade policy is in the hands of the EU. But as Brussels officials slog away trying *to* put together elaborate trade deals with other regions a different world is unfolding round them which they hardly seem to recognise.

Thanks to the digital age and the stunning advances in almost total global connectivity modern trade is vastly more knowledge-laden and information-intensive than even a few years ago. The picture of *eKport* and import being solely a matter of giant container ships, manufactures and raw materials now has to be revised. Services of every kind and digitalised information now form a larger part of international business than ever before. UK services are world leaders. International trade links and

supply chains have grown *infinitely* and rapidly more complex, outdated and invalidating the 20<sup>th</sup> century pattern of trade blocs and protected regions.

To all of these new challenges the modern Commonwealth network is ideally suited, not by any imposed design but by evolution and adaptation. And it is of course the common language, understanding and sheer affinity of outlook between Commonwealth countries which links Commonwealth markets, allows the communication of complex ideas and significantly lowers barriers to the conduct of this new kind of business.

Intra-commonwealth trade which shrank steadily from the 1950s to the 1990s, is now rising, and there are strong grounds for expecting it to continue rapidly in these completely transformed world business conditions.

For Britain the importance of these new patterns cannot be over-emphasised. The great British strength nowadays, in the information age, lies in the immense ingenuity, novelty and sheer creative power of our service sector. Success in manufacturing and services are all woven together. In almost every professional field an extraordinary and dense weave of live, instant and continuous intra-Commonwealth relationships has now emerged, thanks to the universal use of English and the way we are all connected at the click of a button.

Importantly too, as vital and rich new trade routes and supply chains open up, their protection, stability, and the friendliness of the regions they cross suddenly leap up the scale of importance for the security and defence dispositions of many Commonwealth states. This should become a growing priority.

Britain is correct to woo China early, but we should not put Britain's future prosperity all on red. As in personal investment it is prudent to have a diverse portfolio, spread across numerous zones. The same is true for a country's trade and investment strategy. The modern Commonwealth is emerging as a key part of the new pattern. With all of the Commonwealth's advantages and underpinnings, it is becoming not just a matter of opportunities. It is becoming a matter of survival.

**2015. March 9<sup>th</sup>. COMMONWEALTH DAY OBSERVANCE**  
*MESSAGE . This is my forward to the folder for the great Commonwealth service of celebration held annually at Westminster Abbey.*

In an age of renewed global dangers and uncertainties , while Governments may differ and nations struggle to maintain coherence, the Commonwealth family continues to knit together as never before. The team between peoples, the partnership, the unifying association of common values and purpose which is the modern Commonwealth, stands out increasingly as a network of hope across the planet.

Today's Commonwealth is one of the world's best pressure groups for gender equality, for youth opportunity, for mutual help and respect between peoples from large nations and small. Sometimes it falters but always the pressure is there

Our Commonwealth Day Observance at Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the Head of the Commonwealth, H.M. the Queen and HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, , allows us to give thanks for what has been achieved and for the chance to achieve much more. It proclaims the vitality, and ever increasing connectedness, of peoples across a third of the planet (with others knocking at the door) who are determined to work together in every field from the defeat of poverty and the stability of governance, to sport and games , to art, music and literature – and all in the best causes of humanity.

This year the Observance event, and the day of the Commonwealth, will reach out as never before in recent times and be matched by ceremonies, services and flag displays across the towns and cities of United Kingdom ,and of other Commonwealth countries, as a reminder of our common family purpose and of what together we can do.

**2015. June . *English, the hub language , the protocol of the planet and the Power of Language across the Commonwealth***

*A Note for circulation on taken from Cesar Hidalgo's book (Why Information Grows. Penguin 2015)*

Language allows people to weave networks by empowering them with the ability of communicate complex ideas, to coordinate their actions and establish commercial links . Language is the quintessential standard. It is the difference between the network of people who built the Tower of Babel and the fragmented network that was left after 'God' punished them with linguistic fragmentation.

Today our world is still linguistically fragmented but that fragmentation is both declining and structured.

Ten thousand years ago humans spoke an estimated twelve thousand languages. An estimated six thousand are spoken world-wide today but most of the world's population communicates in a few global languages, and in many important on-line and off-line forums, including Twitter, Wikipedia and book translations , English has emerged as THE 'hub' language, bridging communication between languages.

**2015. 13<sup>TH</sup> MAY.** *Perhaps the most important Commonwealth – and global – issue of all.*

*SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE COMMONWEALTH YOUTH, GENDER AND EQUALITY NETWORK, HELD WITH SUPPORT FROM THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE CHOGM TASK FORCE*

*9.50. a.m. Corinthia Hotel. MALTA.*

Your Excellency, President of Malta, representatives of the Maltese Government and CHOGM Task Force, and a special thank you to the Australian Government, which has so generously supported this conference, and the network going forward.

The Key to Economic Progress:

The link is obvious - or ought to be. Gender equality is the key to economic growth. A society in which women and girls have full equality of opportunity, equal access to education , to work , to all forms of training and personal development, to all positions in government, business and the professions is a healthy and balanced society. And a healthy and balanced society is one which develops and grows. No other does.

This may not always have been the case in history. But in today's world it certainly is so. An economy and a state in which half the population is set below the other half , in which half the potential workforce is set below the other half , and denied equal status, is bound to stagnate and retreat. It is a sick society. It cannot go forwards. It cannot prosper.

In short, equality is not just a matter of fairness, and not just an ethical and social concern. It is the high road to sustainable economic progress and development.

You may say that we knew this all along. Yet millions of women and girls are still oppressed, abused, forced into marriages, degraded, barred from living a full life. Outright discrimination against women and girls continues – and quite an amount of it in Commonwealth countries.

What are the factors behind this, the walls we have to break down? We know that the opponents of gender equality are ignorant and worse, in places apostles of pure evil – guarantors of continuing poverty and suffering.

But even where discrimination against women is less blatant and less violent we still hear the arguments that custom and culture must be respected. This is outdated nonsense. Finally I attribute some of the blame to the economists and to statistics about women and work – which fail again to depict how real economies now work, or to quantify the real burden women carry, the most important, and yet unpaid, roles they perform.

As I say, this is common knowledge and the subject of copious discussion and proclamation. We have the G20 committing to new efforts, the UN with all its committees, the OECD campaign of recommendations, national and international institutions and movements in profusion, think-tanks galore – all declaring their



dedication to women's equality. Yet the abuse continues, tolerated, condoned, ignored.

### **The Commonwealth Reinforcement.**

What can the Commonwealth really add? What can the world-wide Commonwealth network bring to the campaign in real and practical terms?

First we must be clear, as many are not, about what the Commonwealth itself is today. It is not, for example, 'just another international institution' as I heard it described, regrettably by a senior British official. The Commonwealth has evolved, like no other global entity, as a giant network, a family, embracing one third of the human race – and of course half of its 2.3 billion are women and girls.

I have described the Commonwealth today as being not merely relevant but 'necessary' – something like it would have to exist in this deeply troubled and unstable world if it had not already grown from the roots of the past.

I have also described it as above governments, above most official global institutions, even above history and past grievances and bitternesses. It is family- the strongest and most lasting, and yet the most self-critical and flexible bonding of all.

The age of the internet, of almost total connectivity – between almost every age group, every interest and profession, between schools, universities, professions and causes – has made it so.

Armchair critics and columnists like to point out that when it comes to shared values, and the place of women in particular, the 53 member

states of the Commonwealth include many backsliders and many examples of female abuse and deep discrimination.

Well that is true but negative. What the commentators do not say is that the Commonwealth offers a forum and an opportunity to remedy like no other. What the columnists, who like to scratch their heads and focus on negative aspects, and who do not, with noble exceptions, grasp the nature of the modern Commonwealth - what they fail to see is that this is the ideal assemblage for addressing the challenge.

### **The Practical Contribution**

The Commonwealth can deliver the focus, the pressure for grass roots action, which no amount of media sermonizing can do.

We, the Commonwealth family, can drill right down to the details – of both abuse and required remedy – like no other body.

We can send the message into schools. We can shape the business opportunities through new forms of funding and enterprise support, we can promote the local democratic systems, we can challenge the laws, we can expose and reject the twisted justifications of custom and culture and tribe. We can push for female labour force participation in ways that exactly match local conditions. We can campaign for dozens of local changes, country by country, which better recognize the place of women in the workplace. We can be the bespoke reformers in dozens of societies, as against the generalist vocalizers who fill the airwaves and the printed columns.

### **A Time for United Strength.**

It is time we used our muscle. I see this gathering today here in Malta as not just a message-sender, not just a nucleus of a wider network of

discussion, but as a launching point for a thousand actions and a thousand pressures.

The Royal Commonwealth Society will play a vigorous part in the struggle for gender equality, but within the Commonwealth there are many driving forces. We have within our network, ready to work side by side, all the dynamic organizations large and small, ready to carry forward the agenda on all fronts.

They include the Commonwealth Investment and Enterprise Council, the Commonwealth Local Government Forum, the Commonwealth Education Trust, the Commonwealth of Learning, the Commonwealth Secretariat itself, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the lawyers , the magistrates, the doctors, the teachers, the scientists, -and many more , rank upon rank ready to march.

Let them all prosper, all cooperate, all fight as one army. These are the many spearheads of the new international order, the battlegroups that can win against the giant global evils of today.

The degrading and subordination of women is one of the greatest of those evils. And the utter defeat of discrimination against women opens the gateway in countless states to a more prosperous, peaceful and stable future for all.

Thank you.

David

Howell

13.05.2015

**2016 July.** *Now there is the sound of gears changing in Whitehall. Suddenly, the Government and media start sounding interested. This article for The Roundtable, is a first shot at the Opportunities for the UK in Commonwealth markets post-Brexit*

In the swirl of post-Brexit debate the role of, and the implications for, the Commonwealth have been raised with increasing frequency.

**One question** is whether the Commonwealth network of 53 nations, with its growing markets and trans-continental spread, could in any way be for the UK a substitute for EU single market membership.

**A second question** is how EU withdrawal by the UK impacts upon various Commonwealth countries, bearing in mind the strong pre-referendum message from many Commonwealth leaders that the UK should remain and not leave.

This stance is of course in striking contrast with Commonwealth views back in 1972 which were understandably hostile to British EU (then EEC) membership – evidence of how radically world trade conditions have changed in the intervening decades.

In one sense posing the first question is to confuse apples and oranges on a grand scale. The two bodies, Commonwealth and European Union, are of course totally different - in character, origin, structure and relevance to the UK economy.

While the EU is a political construct the Commonwealth is much more organic. While the EU is a mixture of supranational tendencies and intergovernmental cooperation, today's Commonwealth draws its strength from the extraordinary connectivity at countless non-governmental levels, including flourishing business and professional links, which a common working language, common legal procedures,

common accounting and commercial practices, and common cultural links both allows and reinforces.

What has emerged in the modern Commonwealth network is not an old-style trading bloc but something much more novel and suited to the network age - a grass-roots-driven type of organisation. Perhaps surprisingly to some, this is proving more suitable to the expansion of trade and commerce in the digital age, with its growing emphasis on information and data exchange, than the more dated EU hierarchy, with its heavy and top-down bias towards centralisation, scale and integration. Thus the assumptions of 1972 – that the UK’s ‘destiny’ and best trade prospects lay in Europe and not in the Commonwealth, are being turned on their head.

For example, according to a recent report, published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth trade and investment flows of all kinds are now growing noticeably faster than overall world trends, and now account for some 15 percent of total world exports. The report also found a ‘Commonwealth Advantage’ of up to 20% which is described as the practical economic value, in both trading and investment interchanges, of a shared language and systems between members when compared to non-Commonwealth nations.

UK exports to Commonwealth states, once, half a century ago, 50 percent of the total, have over the years fallen to a low point of about 10 to 12 percent. But from here the upward direction of travel is clear. Whatever relationship the UK ends up agreeing with the EU Single Market the time for a sharply increased focus on both Commonwealth and adjacent markets is now ripe, and crucial for the UK’s continuing prosperity, and because of connectivity, for other European economies as well.

The EU referendum result means the UK will regain control over its trade and investment agreements once the EU deal is signed. A number of Commonwealth nations have expressed interest in trade talks such as India, Australia and New Zealand. Australia and NZ have offered trade negotiators to help the UK.

However, the UK must see any trade deals from Commonwealth perspective as well. It must avoid sounding narrowly Anglo-centric. Successful trade and investment relations should be a partnership of equals. Further deals must also cover non-economic relations, including in many cases security. Having shown other Commonwealth members the door back in 1972, we now need to knock politely and ask to be let back in.

When we do so we will find ourselves entering a very different world from the one we turned our backs on all those years ago. Then it seemed that all the best growth opportunities lay in Europe. Now it is to Asia, Africa and Latin America we need to look for the big prizes, and the Commonwealth network is the gateway to many of these fast-growing new economies.

There has been significant structural Departmental change with the Ministry of International Trade under Dr Liam Fox being set up. This new creation is welcome but two further changes are required.. First there needs to be a much stronger and freer standing Commonwealth unit inside the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Second, the Commonwealth needs to be given a place and a voice at the Brexit negotiating table – or tables.

For the UK to respond to the new situation requires a vastly expanded degree of attention to Commonwealth member states, large and small. The legacy of common working language and past friendships can certainly help. But much more will be needed. Relying on unreconstructed old ties with Commonwealth member states will no longer suffice.

Successful business has to cover not just actual deals and contracts but a whole framework of supporting soft power deployment – including everything from cultural and professional links to easier and friendlier travel and visa policies.

As the new Commonwealth Secretary-General, Patricia Scotland, told a parliamentary committee: ‘Much, much more energy will now go into enriching the Commonwealth relationship’, adding that she saw the need now ‘to turbocharge the Commonwealth trade advantage’.

This doesn’t mean just piling on more trade missions. It means involving the UK more deeply than ever in the new connected world system, and especially in the immense expansion of Chinese infrastructure connections across Central Asia and right into the heart of Europe. Here the Hong Kong connection, with its substantial UK-friendly bias and past history, can be an invaluable aide.

We live in a world seemingly falling apart yet paradoxically coming together as never before through the staggering power of constant and instant communications. Fragmentation versus super-connectivity – the two contradictory forces prevail simultaneously, bringing bewilderment and confusion to governments and governed alike.

For the UK in a post-Brexit world it is high time for more Commonwealth togetherness .The case for a decisive strategy of redirection of trade and investment, both ways, and for the supporting policies, towards Commonwealth and developing country markets was strong long before Brexit and will grow still stronger long after the Brexit dust has settled.



**2016 OH NO! NOT EMPIRE. 2.0!** *Riposte to an absurd 'leak' , allegedly from a senior FCO official, that the reviving interest in the Commonwealth was somehow a return to the British Empire – a real piece of wrong-headed and woeful ignorance and misunderstanding.*

A number of reasons explain the undoubted heightening of Westminster interest in the potential and prospects of the Commonwealth in recent months.

The first and most obvious is that with Brexit in prospect attention has turned, sometimes a bit shamefacedly, to the trade possibilities in Commonwealth markets - possibilities which were not only cast aside back in 1972 but studiously ignored by London policy-makers ever since.

Suddenly , all the talk is of making new links and refreshing old ties. Free Trade Agreements are to be eagerly sought on all sides. Commonwealth countries who received the cold shoulder back in 1972 can be forgiven for a certain scepticism. But the hope is that the snubbed ones – especially those that have developed vastly richer consumer markets in recent decades - will forgive, forget and cooperate. As with those BA Business Class seats, the dividing screen has been briskly lowered and its smiles for the family all round.

The second reason is a mixture of serendipity and prescience. Back in November 2015, at the Malta Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, Britain agreed – at the time with a good deal of pushing from some of us and without much enthusiasm – to host the next Commonwealth summit in the Spring of 2018.

Scroll forward to late 2016 and in London it all looks different. The Commonwealth Summit becomes a major staging event in the great British re-positioning, away from the EU as Britain's destiny and towards Britain as a global power in a network world. The Commonwealth ceases to be just one more international body in the foreign policy portfolio and becomes a central part of the future strategic picture. A handful of Civil servants in the Foreign Office is briskly replaced by an army of officials in a new Cabinet Office unit charged with taking the whole affair forward and coordinating activity right across Whitehall and the private sector.

Some protesting voices and scepticism there is bound to be, especially from within the bureaucracy. One civil servant is reported to have likened the shift to

'Empire 2.0'. But overall these administrative changes are good and very encouraging. Yet I believe there are deeper reasons still to explain the new and growing sense of relevance of the Commonwealth network. These lie not in Brexit, or just in renewed British commitment and interest but in something much deeper and with far more global significance.

Put bluntly, the world system of communication and cooperation has been changed totally and beyond recognition. Connectivity has transformed traditional notions of diplomacy, patterns of behaviour between nations and forms of international cooperation.

Within this revolutionary new context it so happens, without any master plan or ideological impulse, that the Commonwealth network emerges as the ideal platform – the self-associating and non-hierarchical type structure which is utterly suited to the digital age. And this becomes so not just in terms of business and trade but in terms of common culture, common legal procedures, common

attitudes ,underpinned by common working language ,common security interest, common values an aspirations and a hundred other linkages of likemindedness and soft power intimacy.

We are entering here into a world which even the most assiduously compiled statistics cannot cope with or reflect. No figures of past Commonwealth trade – in the British case modest in recent years – can pick up the trends which will build the future. The bedrock for future commerce ,increasingly in the form of service, data and information flows, rests upon secure political conditions and relations, minimised instability an maximised friendliness , open and unhindered connections and shared values.

This in turn demands cooperation on security, national defence, collaboration against international crime and drug operations and safeguarding of trade routes by land and sea. Those who argue that shared values may be fine but don't put food on the table or promote economic growth are wrong in every respect. It is precisely these commonalities and the trust which they engender which make business easier and project cooperation freer from misunderstandings and lost-in-translation screw-ups.

Before our eyes the modern Commonwealth is evolving to meet these conditions and to create a zone of highly professional cooperation and trust which stands in sharp contrast to the volatile and dangerously unstable world outside the family network.

Not the only network but without doubt the one which gives Britain a flying start over competitors, as the London policy-planners, after years of neglect and disinterest, are belatedly realising. *About as far from Empire as you can get!*

**2016** *Text of comments on the Commonwealth, Europe and 2016 Prospects to the Oxford University Foreign Service Programme .*

## **The Commonwealth in the 21st Century**

What does 2016 bring for the family of Commonwealth nations, and Britain within this worldwide network?

The answer is a considerably better prospect than for the European region and the EU within it.

Not that the two are alternatives for Britain, as some suggest. On the contrary the two are quite different systems both of which we need to prosper.

But both the modern Commonwealth network and the EU are undergoing immense reform and structural transformation, as profound changes in the whole global trade and investment landscape unfold.

Of course, you don't hear much about these developments in the British press.

Not only is the soaring intra-Commonwealth trade potential ignored, but the media coverage of the EU issue has reached new depths of pathetic inadequacy and ignorance.

What they are portraying on the European front is a Punch and Judy show between ins and outs, leavers and remainers.

What they SHOULD be telling us about, if they remotely understood it, is the huge transformation of the whole EU structure now going on,

making the so-called ‘British question’ only a part of a far larger and deeper upheaval.

While there is the usual rump to feed off of know-nothing, entrenched diehards – at both extremes- whose comprehension of real European developments , or wider world trends, appears to be zero, for the rest of us, and for the public as whole , the coverage is mostly plain insulting.

Let me share briefly with you some of the new facts about our world, Britain’s interests in this changed place, and about both the Commonwealth and Europe, which seem to have escaped British public comment almost entirely.

First, it needs to be recognised that fundamental transformations have *already* taken place in global trade, with many more on the way.

These changes are influencing the sources and direction of trade and business linkages and their pattern and characteristics. And this in turn alters profoundly the competitive and comparative advantages of individual countries.

This means that the new pattern and shape of trade is driven:

- by powerful digital factors;
- by the greatly increased overlap between, what the sleepy statisticians still distinguish as, merchandise goods and export of services and information;
- by the phenomenal growth of the of developing countries;
- by entirely new and different global value chains;
- by numerous new regional trade arrangements; and

- by climate concerns and upheavals in world energy and commitments to sustainable development.

These shifts mean that the old picture of trade consisting only of container goods being transported between ports and markets has already given way to a new template.

Today's international trade is composed increasingly of knowledge-laden, or knowledge-attached, services and information products. Manufacturing and services of every kind are now largely inseparable.

Furthermore we are seeing globalisation of not just finished goods, but of *processing, value-adding, and cross-border production networks*. *Conventional 20<sup>th</sup> century ambitions for protected single markets scarcely fit into these 21<sup>st</sup> century realities.*

This invalidates many of the assertions and figures to which we are constantly treated about sources, origins and destinations of international trade. In these new conditions of intense complexity and connectedness old-style multilateral trade negotiations, as well as regional bloc arrangements have stalled or become unravelled.

Rather than conventional tariff-based preferences and protected single markets the modern trading environment involves behind-the-border forms of integration and soft power relationships that have far more driving power in trade promotion. The Commonwealth with its common standards, legal structures, commercial methods, numerous soft power linkages and - above all common working languages - is ideally suited to this new milieu.

Let me nonetheless give you some facts about Commonwealth trade and business, and their trends within the new trade-connected global architecture now emerging. *(These figures come mostly from a highly*

*illuminating new publication from the Commonwealth Secretariat, 'The Commonwealth in the Unfolding Trade Landscape' which I strongly recommend to anyone who wants their minds opened about new British or world trade realities)*

- Between 2000 and 2013 the combined total exports of Commonwealth countries increased from \$1.3 trillion to \$3.4 trillion - about 15 percent of global exports. There was obviously a check in 2009-10, as for everyone else, but today the figure is almost certainly substantially higher and still on a strongly growing trend.
- Intra-Commonwealth trade (which is between Commonwealth members) has also been growing rapidly – at 10 percent per annum since 1995, now above \$600 billion and heading for \$1 trillion by 2020, and projected to reach \$2.75bn by 2030.
- The ‘Commonwealth Advantage’ (which describes the practical economic value of shared language and systems between these nations) has been calculated to be an average 19% higher than with non-Commonwealth nations – which is broken down as an average 17% for goods, 28% for services, and 10% for FDI.
- While since 2000 total Commonwealth exports to China have grown fourteen times – from \$19 billion to \$268 billion plus. It is worth mentioning that Hong Kong, as part of the PRC, still sends delegations to Commonwealth business gatherings. They know where the future prizes lie!

Moreover, modern Commonwealth countries are not only generating capital and output on a vast scale, but also skills. India alone produces 500,000 engineers a year. The advanced technological and engineering skills we in Britain need to prosper are going to be drawn heavily from Commonwealth countries. It is interesting (and regrettable) that our current immigration policy is heading in *exactly* the opposite direction, making it much harder for skilled workers and technicians to enter Britain from the Commonwealth.

There is also another important contrast between the Commonwealth and Europe today. In Europe, the already large disparities are between poor and rich countries, mostly, but not all, between Western and Eastern Europe. Latest figures show they are growing larger still. In the Commonwealth system the distinctions are between developed and developing countries and they are much more blurred. All are either mature trees or growing saplings in the same great forest.

New trade patterns also mean new security challenges. NATO may look after Europe, but there is an increasing need to safeguard new global routes and patterns, both physical trade routes and cyber routes as well. Closer security and armed forces co-operation through the Commonwealth network, stretching from the Pacific, across the Atlantic and round the globe again, can provide the ideal support frame for the new security and lifeline protection arrangements required.

Europe and the EU, in its 20<sup>th</sup> century structure, have been shaken to the core by waves of crises. Immigration on an unimaginable scale, severe currency disruption with more to come shortly, extremist politics, over-centralisation and regulation, low growth, high



unemployment, the need, only half understood, to adapt radically to new world markets and the new digital age – all beg for a new approach.

Let us hope 2016 allows us to see through pasts mists and clouds of misinformation and misunderstanding and perceive more clearly, and in a more balanced way, the real prospects for UK, for Europe and for all the Commonwealth peoples, young and old, women and men, smaller and bigger member nations – in short the whole gigantic 2.3 billion strong family of which we in Britain are so fortunate to be part in a troubled, dislocated, and dangerous world.

**2016. 12<sup>th</sup> November – Notes for a Speech in the House of Lords**

I want to begin by quoting a newspaper comment from this Tuesday which said that the best vision of what our 21<sup>st</sup> century could become was a Britain which rediscovers the Asian and wider global links that propelled the country's economic growth in the past AND COULD DO SO AGAIN.

Entirely right. Not a dream but a PRACTICAL vision .Here, in what we now call the emerging powers is where our future clearly lies.

Having been saying so for twenty years, and of course the Commonwealth network is a vital part of this new scene, or the Necessary Network as I have described it, in the sense that if it did not exist we would certainly want to invent something very like it in the internet age.

My RHF the Foreign and Commonwealth Sec. was therefore showing commendable prescience when he called the Commonwealth ‘ a cornerstone of our foreign policy’ a year or so ago - a central feature of our future and the gateway to the great new emerging markets where all the trade expansion is going to occur for decades ahead.

The peoples of the Commonwealth are family – well, extended family - not foreigners. Commonwealth Governments may be unfriendly at times, awkward, even hostile, but these are family matters, not foreign matters.

Today's Commonwealth is an all-powerful network concept. Government and the policy making establishment may not have entirely understood this, but outside Government the peoples, businesses and civil societies of the Commonwealth nations certainly have. It is people driven - a network of peoples and societies as much

as of Governments and states ,possibly even more so. And it is a generator of soft power linkages and contacts on an unparalleled scale.

And that, ML, is crucial to our interests. It used to be said that trade follows the flag. Today the situation is that trade, capital flows and investment - inward and outward - follow the softening up of markets through intertwining of cultures, language, social contacts, professions and common interests , all nowadays instantly and continuously connected. This can be more important in winning orders than any one-off trade mission.

So now soft power paves the way for trade and economic expansion. Trade follows not the flag but this soft power connectivity. As the Australian PM said recently the Commonwealth today has become ‘a softpower network which represents the realities of a changing world’.

The Commonwealth family today has evolved as a design of great intricacy, subtlety and complexity – a true reflection of a very complex world. Perhaps it is appropriate that the old Commonwealth Institute site in Holland Park is having a new life as a centre of Modern design.

What happened in 1972 was that Britain itself tried to walk out of the family. It believed that there was another family nearer home called the European Community and the European demos. It feared economic collapse if it did not discard Commonwealth and global ties and join in the European trade and growth scene.

Large numbers of people followed the ruling establishment , slightly confused and uneasy at the break with the family, but it seemed the right thing to do at the time.

But the European demos was not there and the economics began to turn out differently. The rise of the network world and the global

information revolution have changed everything. The wheel has tuned full circle.

So completely were Commonwealth markets washed out of British concerns in the last century that even today it is hard to come by the statistics of what is now happening with incredible speed . Most are gloriously out of date, so we have to go largely on trends.

But we do know that fast growing Commonwealth GDP is poised to overtake EU GDP, that intra-Commonwealth trade has been rising fast, that vast new consumer markets are opening up in India, South Asia, parts of Africa and Latin America. We know that, thanks in part to the new shale oil and gas energy resource revolution – which is totally transforming the world’s energy balance - many African countries now face a far brighter prospect, with much better governance .Thirteen African countries have a bigger per capita GDP than China. Fifteen of the twenty top states in which it is said are best to do business in Africa are in the Commonwealth.

We know that countries like Australia, Canada and Malaysia are turning out to be both our best allies and powerful sources of finance for our own investment needs. As I pointed out to the FAC (page 40 in their impressive report – which was incidentally very kind to me ) we should “concentrate ... very much more” on seeking finance for infrastructure projects in the UK from sovereign wealth funds, including those in fast-growing Commonwealth countries.

And we do know that almost half our invisible earnings come from Commonwealth sources - and rising.

One estimate claims that by 2050 the UK’s Commonwealth market will be nine times bigger for us than the rest of the EU market . Perhaps that is way too much but it shows the trend. Dare one hope

that for once the UK gets ahead of the game instead of too often being the Johnny-come-lately into many new markets?

It should be no surprise that other countries want to join what is clearly seen as one of the world's best clubs, with clear advantages for its members. Of course they do. Anyone can see that the Commonwealth badge of trust and commitment to the rule of law, once earned, is good for business. A string of countries have expressed interest. Could even the Republic of Ireland now be amongst them? I have had clear signs of interest from Dublin.

Of course any family has its problems. Commonwealth Government heads are due to meet again in Sri Lanka this Autumn. It would be a major defeat for diplomacy and common interests if that did not proceed smoothly. Of course even if heads don't meet Commonwealth toes and fingers will! The Commonwealth network will continue networking. And of course the anti- Commonwealth or uncomprehending media would make the most of it. We'll just have to see how that works out.

But most important of all are the links of learning, education and the personal contact that brings to every point of the network. We know that this is where the real spread of sympathies vales and good business begins. From Tavistock Square the Association of Commonwealth Universities runs the world's biggest network, and the oldest, connecting over 500 universities, supplying service and support and administering several large scholarship schemes. For us this is part of a gigantic export earnings flow from the education-related sector, - at £28 billion larger than any single industrial sector.

The story is similar in area after area - in judicial administration, in medicine, in accountancy, in the creative arts, in science. The

Commonwealth today may no longer be Anglo-centric, but these are where our ready –made opportunities lie.

This is our great re-positioning. This our strategy ; this is our narrative. Not everyone yet sees or understands what has happened .But this where our energies need to be directed as never before if we want to survive and prosper in a thoroughly dangerous and uncertain world.

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**2016** - *Address to the Jersey Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society - The EU and The Commonwealth.*

### **A Safer Anchorage for Island States**

The European Union and the Commonwealth are not alternatives for Britain, whether economically or in security terms. They complement each other. But it can be said with certainty that, stay or leave the EU, the world-wide Commonwealth network is going to assume an ever-growing importance in Britain's affairs and prospects.

Why is this? The basic answer is because the modern hyper-connected world and the architecture of the modern Commonwealth are ideally suited. Unlike the EU, with its heavy and centralised top layer of intrusive administration and its governmental hierarchy of authority and control, the Commonwealth is a quite different kind of entity and structure.

It binds together not through officialdom and treaties but to a far greater extent through non- governmental and voluntary linkages and cohesion in short through its peoples. Connectivity brings together, on a daily and continuous basis, every kind of profession, activity and interest in a way that no imposed order from above can ever do.

Connectivity links up the doctors, the lawyers and court administrators, the accountants, the scientists, the educationalists, the sportspeople, the creative artists, the health administrators, the authors, the artistic designers, the journalists, the vets and agricultural experts, the communications experts, the museum specialists, the parliamentarians, the women's rights movements, the young entrepreneurs, the architects, the ecologists and environmentalists, the archaeologists, the engineers, the city planners, even the expert trainers in security, in military matters and policing procedures.

And of course the cementing agency which brings all these people and interests together as never before in the Commonwealth context is the common working language (along with all the common attitudes and identities hidden within it).

Language allows the communication of complex ideas and cultural stances. It is the quintessential standard. In an age of information transfer and big data it creates a platform for trade and exchange like no other in the world. English has emerged as THE 'hub' language, bridging communications between other languages. When Asian 'tiger' economies meet to plan progress they talk in English. Even Chinese corporations are instructing their workers to use English, as a more powerful medium for innovating ideas than their own Chinese.

Are not we lucky, and are not we in the UK absurdly short-sighted and inept in failing to utilize the colossal potential of the Commonwealth connection today and the even greater potential tomorrow.? And is not HM The Queen more percipient than all her Ministers put together in seeing – as she forecast several years ago – that the Commonwealth was becoming 'in many ways the face of the future'.

Of course it is. In the age of the internet mesh, in the age of platform business models and blockchains, in the age of totally new trade flows and supply trains, it is becoming daily more obvious where our national assets lie and how they should be used and developed. The Commonwealth is not only offering the fastest growing new markets; it is not only generating investment capital and new skills on a phenomenal scale. It is also the gateway to all the other rising powers of Asia and Africa and Latin America.

In addition it is the harbour and safe anchorage for dozens of small island states and communities who would otherwise be left out of the



globalisation process. They, too, are loaded with potential, whether they be Crown Dependencies, British Overseas Territories, Commonwealth Realms or Republics. They are all part of the one family system, stretching across continents and faiths , which offers trust and cohesion in today's fragmenting world of violence and conflict which seems almost to be falling apart.

Under the last Secretary General, Kamelesh Sharma, the Commonwealth gave especial attention to the plight of many smaller island states. It is high time the British Government did the same, and time that the endless stream of negative measures and policies for smaller states emanating from Whitehall was replaced by much more supportive approaches, whether the subject is tourism, financial services, energy support, agricultural exports , local crafts and skills, or any other potential growth areas.

And let me end with one particular asset right here in front of me. The Crown Dependency and Island of Jersey is in fact a major and massive asset for the United Kingdom. It supports 140,000 British jobs and earns at least £2.5 billions a year for the UK Treasury.

Its record on openness about beneficial ownership is exemplary and long-standing. Instead of criticising and bemoaning such assets as 'tax havens' the opinion-formers and commentators in London should be reminding people how lucky we are to have such skills, resources and potential within our kingdom and nation or within our Commonwealth family. We should look after our assets, instead of denigrating or neglecting them.

**2016** . November. *Speech to the RCS International Forum- New Zealand House*

### **A 'CAN-DO MOMENT AND THE COMMONWEALTH**

The former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott has said that this is 'a can-do moment' both for Britain and for Australia — and indeed for the whole family of Commonwealth nations. With Brexit in clear prospect it is indeed a time for making both new links and refreshing old ties.

This is why today's and tomorrow's Commonwealth Network of 53 Nations has to be viewed in the CONTEXT of current and developing world events.

Last year, in 2015, a little noticed but profound London School of Economics report was published called 'Investing in Influence' backed by the high expertise and authority, reminded us of some new home truths about the world, namely:

- That the processes of globalisation have eroded both the dominant role of the Western core and of states writ large
- That we are in the process of a shift from an industrial world to an information world
- That this will be a world of network relationships and not of superpowers
- That relationships are not born, they are made, but that the Commonwealth network offers enormous opportunities for mutual trade, influence and business that have yet to be fully capitalised
- That for too long British foreign policy has been the preserve of 'grandees' with an understanding that reflects their own reading of history

- That the UK now operates in a world that is networked, interdependent and with power diffused across a wide-range of state and non-state actors
- That large scale military force does not have the same importance that it did 60 or 70 years ago, and that the tools of international diplomacy need to be renewed.

They could usefully have added that trade and exchange are becoming dominated by information flows, data transmission and process—sharing. As a matter of record almost half the export earnings of a country like the UK come not from actual goods shipped but from services of every kind, and this proportion is rising fast.

Also, it must be added that huge new supply chains now wind across the world and that business relationships between states now only flourish in a powerful framework of ‘soft power’ connections at all levels, governmental and non-governmental, including common language, common values, cultural and sporting links, educational links, common standards (especially in relation to gender and racial equality), and trust and friendship to an unprecedented degree of trust, intimacy and connectivity. The English language in particular has now become the protocol of the cyber-entwined planet—a binding force par excellence with its own internal DNA.

*It is in this completely revolutionary world context that we should be analysing and reviewing the Commonwealth system today.*

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the Commonwealth today is tailor-made for this new kind of milieu. It may have become so by accident, not by design. But it is nonetheless now the perfect platform for business and relationships the digital age.

H M the Queen presciently observed just this almost seven years ago, although I fear that few of her Ministers cottoned on to it, and still haven't.

The focus now has to be on strengthening the values which bind us and the potential, both social and economic , for advancement for each and every Commonwealth member, large and small. And remember that in a world *of* networks, unlike a world of exclusive trade blocs, the interests and welfare of the smallest community or island state, become just as important, and just as influential to the whole system, as the largest .

And it is in this context that the call of the Secretary General for the Commonwealth trade advantage to be 'turbo-charged' can be realized .

There is one caveat. Values on paper, fine speeches and calls for more trust, become weak and impotent unless underpinned by security, physical and political, by good and honest governance and by the rule of law. Thanks to the information revolution it is an age of people power, but also an age when good governance is demanded more strongly than ever.

That is why in this 'very unsettling and rather dangerous world' (the Secretary-General's words again recently to the Lords International relations Cttee) the security dimension of the Commonwealth network, long rather ignored, should now be brought to the fore in foreign policy.

In South-East Asia, I believe that close Commonwealth co-operation, both maritime and military, is going to become of increasing relevance.

We may all admire and seek to do business with the massive Chinese economy, but we do not want to see an Asia entirely Chinese dominated. Nor do we necessarily want to see the region grow into a confrontational battle-ground between American super-power ambitions and rising Chinese power — what has been called the Thucydides trap.

That kind of stand-off, full of conflict escalation potential, is inherently unstable and a danger to world order. A better pattern in Asia has to be between the Commonwealth powers of India, Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, maybe with Japan in alliance, not to challenge but to BALANCE the Chinese titan. Britain can play a supportive role. There is plenty of past experience on which to build.

Of course there are flaws in this new tapestry. Tension is high again between two Commonwealth members, India and Pakistan. Other countries are lagging badly in good governance, human rights and treatment of women. But at least within the Commonwealth family the pressure is on them night and day.

But despite these problems I see the Commonwealth network of today and tomorrow, and I ask you to see it, not as a fading association bound by memories and history, but as a uniquely relevant and immense network in today's transformed international order—and one to which every member, large and small, should vigorously subscribe and which every member benefits increasingly. It is also a *network with which several other countries seek to be associated, and my own view is that they should be welcomed into suitable forms of association, if not full membership, without delay.*

That should provide a safer berth for states and communities who do not seek full Commonwealth membership but do want honoured and close friendship with the club and its non-governmental agencies . I have in mind the Republic of Ireland, a number of Middle East and African nations and even the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

In a chaotic and uncertain world, with even the United Nations struggling to bring order, the Commonwealth milieu is the sort of association that more and more countries find valuable and supportive.

So these are some of the objectives for which the Royal Commonwealth Society is working , and in doing so can set a pathway for governments, statesmen, international institutions and societies to follow.

**2017 Ministers' Reference Book, Commonwealth 2017 Looking ahead to CHOGM 2018, Commonwealth Development and the New World Trading Agenda**

*The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting scheduled for London in April , 2018, offers the opportunity not just for the development of the Commonwealth and its causes but for a major step forward in the redefining and enhancement of the whole global trade environment.*

If skilfully planned, approached and managed during the course of 2017 it could be a pivotal occasion for the interests of the entire Commonwealth network, as well as a milestone in the re-positioning of Britain in the post-Brexit era.

**Trade, Investment, Markets and Gateways**

During the stormy debates during 2016 in the UK about Brexit it came as a surprise to some that the services sector of the British economy had grown to no less 78 percent of total GDP. Yet this growth pattern of services domination is of course the chief feature of most advanced economies in the digital age. and behind it lies a highly significant development.

This is that we are in the midst of an all-embracing technology-drive revolution that is transforming business activity and transforming world trade in the developed and the developing world alike. Analytics, automation, the Internet of Things, use of amazing new lightweight materials — all these developments are rippling through economic life.

Against this shifting background the current 'snapshot' of intra-Commonwealth trade and business activity, and of British trade links with the rest of the Commonwealth, is both blurred and misleading. It

illuminates yesterday's patterns rather than the trajectory of current trends, which is where trans-Commonwealth cooperation should be focussing.

A first understanding is that the modern Commonwealth is no longer a uniform group of 'developing' countries (an increasingly outdated categorisation anyway) but a fascinating amalgam of some of the fastest-growing and high technology economies on the planet and some of the smallest and most vulnerable ones. British policy needs to be attuned to both groupings—and to their very different concerns (for example in energy and climate matters and in development and trade policies).

People everywhere are on the move as never before. The Commonwealth collectively needs to take a creative lead in addressing the consequent fast-growing pressures. This is not just a one-way matter of British entry conditions and visa requirements. And no-one is seeking entirely free movement of labour (of the kind to which the EU is said to be fundamentally committed but which in practice has been abandoned under current pressures), nor for the British open-door approach of the 1950s which did so much damage to immigration policy and prepared the way for today's antagonisms.

But Britain should be proposing a raft of improved conditions for trans- and intra- Commonwealth movement and travel. These should include a new regime of Business Visas throughout Commonwealth countries, easing of restriction on post-graduate employment, fewer bars to incoming *bonafide* students, incentives for British students to attend *Commonwealth* universities. Post-EU the whole pattern of British port and airport reception and classification will also need re-design more in favour of Commonwealth citizens.



## **Commonwealth Networking and Communication.**

The Commonwealth network offers the ideal platform on which, and from which, to advance all kinds of interests, public and private, official and voluntary, and at every level of society and between all age groups..

Half the world's population is now on the web and the same , or higher, proportions may apply throughout the Commonwealth . More mobiles are in use than human beings, and within what used to be designated as developing countries the mobile penetration is 90 percent.

The impact of networking density on all levels of education and on all professional linkages is now growing at an exponential rate, as total and continuous connectivity takes over. Building on the work of both numerous professional Commonwealth bodies and organisations such as the Commonwealth Telecommunications Organisation (CTO) major new initiatives should now be worked up to enhance cyber-security, increase cyber-defence and further expand the already massive distance-learning systems operated by Commonwealth of Learning, the world's largest such operation. The latter could also be empowered with leading the whole Commonwealth digital transformation, accelerating the connectivity linkages between professional and civil bodies throughout the Commonwealth network.

**Commonwealth Values, Promotion of human rights, gender equality, rule of law, good governance standards and more democratic systems.**

The search must be for new grassroots initiatives, especially from the Indian sub- continent and from African societies and culture. At the same time continuous Ministerial and official dialogue and discourse needs to be intensified as communications technology now allows .

The Commonwealth Charter stands but it must not be insistently over-promoted as the instrument of Western values in a post-Western age. Instead there needs to be greater emphasis on the ‘golden thread’ theme that highlights the linkage between values

adherence and trust generation on the one hand and entrepreneurial and innovative investment decisions which are the real drivers of economic advance on the other.

The Commonwealth agenda needs to define more clearly where its efforts can *add* unique and original value to existing world-wide causes, including economic development. Practical steps to promote gender equality and defeat corruption are two examples.

And the Commonwealth needs to be far more sensitive (especially in trade meetings and at the forthcoming CHOGM) to the need for reconciliation between the fundamental energy needs of, say, India or South Africa, or Malaysia, and the low carbon objective. Expensive and complex methods for greening power are of poor advantage to struggling communities who at present have neither water nor electricity. The constant and seemingly insensitive harping by some Commonwealth voices on climate measures *regardless of cost* is a huge negative for millions of Commonwealth citizens.

## **Developing Commonwealth Structures and Organisation: The Agenda Tasks**

Strong leading voices need to be combined with a powerful non-governmental chorus of support and reinforcement. Steps to open up the Commonwealth opportunities are

as the host country for 2018, should make the maximum use of outside expertise from now on and over the next fifteen months up to the

CHOGM (from business, academic, parliamentary and technical sources) in substantiating and publicising the benefits of Commonwealth membership.

The Commonwealth is not of course the only path to future global trading and security prospects or its future 'global influence'. But by its evolving and organic nature the modern Commonwealth structure and character happens to fit remarkably well with the new template that rapid technological advance and consequent popular empowerment are imposing on our times. No apology is needed for constant return to the piercing golden words from the Head of the Commonwealth, HM the Queen - 'The Commonwealth is in many ways the face of the future'

*To head out through 2017 to the 2018 CHOGM with imaginative vigour and enthusiasm promises great benefits for the wider Commonwealth Within the global framework. To fail to take this path can only lead to missed opportunities on a historic scale at a time when every ounce of effort should be going into refreshing old links and building new ties in a world in which almost all preconceptions must now be reset.*

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<sup>2</sup> Christmas Broadcast 2009

2017. 2<sup>nd</sup> November . *Speech to the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Societ.-*

### **The modern Commonwealth as ‘the Mother of all Networks’ and Britain after Brexit.**

- *The Commonwealth today is the newest and most dramatic example of a network in the modern sense which is living and growing as all networks do. The successful expansion of free trade depends not just on WTO rules but on trust and affinities between trading entities. **That is the Commonwealth ‘premium’.***

The Commonwealth summit and gathering of over 50 heads of government has been planned in London next April. This presents a massive opportunity for Britain to set its new direction in the utterly transformed international conditions which are unfolding before us in the 21st century. Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union Treaties is a part, but only a part, of this new unfolding scene.

And I want to stress at the outset that the Commonwealth network and a vibrant flourishing Europe are not alternatives.

But as we proceed we need to bear mind one crucial factor about the Commonwealth. Unlike the EU it is more than an assembly of governments and officials within a strong central hierarchy. It is a network of peoples - far the largest and most extensive in the planet . And like all large networks in the modern digital age it behaves and develops in ways of which conventional thinking and conventional diplomacy find hard to explain or keep track .

Some call it the fourth industrial revolution. Some call it the second globalisation wave. But I call it the hour of the Commonwealth

network, linking up no less than 2.4 billion peoples, a third of the world population, larger than any nation – even larger than Facebook!

It is this network phenomenon which I want to enlarge upon this evening .

Why am I choosing this opening theme? Because the Commonwealth today is the newest and most dramatic example of a network in the modern sense which is living and growing as all networks do.

Trendy historians and journalists are churning out books and columns nowadays about global networks and clusters, and their predominance in the pattern of international events , as though they were new discoveries. But these are developments which some of us have been pointing out ever since the digital age began some 30 to 40 years ago . This the reason why we now see the world, and the UK's position within it, in terms of 'old links and new ties' (if I may indulge in a literary 'selfie' – the title of a book I wrote in 2013), or to use the UK Prime Minister, Theresa May's language ,in 'old alliances and new partners'.

The hub and spoke model of the past typically put Britain at the centre of a sort of wheel with lines going out to all our Commonwealth partners, now 52 in number (with more lining up to join). The network and cluster concept is quite different. Instead of links from a central point to the various points on the rim there emerges a fantastic network of linkages without any particular centre. In the case of the Commonwealth this currently means not 52 connections but 1326 individual connections - a very different story!

Is this possible or practical? Yes ,in the digital age it now is. Of course some of the linkages will be stronger between bigger trading partners and associates and some will be thinner, but the modern network is a pattern without a dominant or dictating centre. Furthermore because

networks talk to other networks all the time it is a continuously growing system, so that unless one is deliberately exclusive fantastic series of linkages opens up ready and in effect lead to networking the entire planet.

And furthermore again, while borders will of course remain, time-consuming impediments to trade flows will be largely eradicated by split-second digital clearance. Decisions from official authorities will become instant. Customs officers and much of the paraphernalia of frontiers will become redundant.

All networks of course require a framework or what used to be called in the language of the past a hierarchy of control and governance. Today the old links about which we are talking provide the framework, (in some cases, such as Hong Kong, quite regardless of national boundaries). Meanwhile, the new ties provide the explosion of connections and gravitational effects which now govern international trade, made vastly more powerful day by day by the emergence of new technologies such as block chains which allow the ever multiplying part of the microchip to handle and validate the commands, wishes and opinions of tens of millions of people instantaneously. There has been nothing like it ever before in human history. Even the largest super-powers have to accept nowadays that they are part of this ever-evolving global network of networks.

However in making sense of this new world two cardinal points need to be born in mind.

The **first** is that the successful expansion of free trade depends not just on WTO rules but on trust and affinities between trading entities. In more practical terms successful trade depends upon intimate and

closely linked patterns of finance, of trade insurance ,of common approaches on tax and interpreting a range of regulations.

This is a pattern which has to be replicated in relation to every market. An American shipper exporting into the European Union has to conform with a vast variety of EU regulations and legal requirements as well, and dare I say it with the rulings of the European Court of Justice. The same goes for a Chinese exporter into the EU or a Japanese exporter into the EU. And the same will go for the UK, too, whatever the final outcome of our negotiations with the EU. Every market has its rules.

When exporting into the EU, just as much as into the USA, or China, or India, or Commonwealth countries, trust is the key, and trust comes in many forms. . I have to say in passing that the present badmouthing of the European Union by some of my countrymen, and the constant reference to UK negotiations with it as seeking a deal with a hostile body, when it should really be described as an agreement with friends and neighbours, , hardly helps build up this trust we are going to need in that direction .

There is talk in the media of ‘No Deal’ between the UK and the rest of the EU.

In practice, any attempt at NO Deal will end up with dozens of practical agreements - for instance to keep planes flying, massive supply chains flowing, countless agreements on policing, customs, health checks, environmental controls, educational exchanges – the list goes on and on.

In short there is no such thing in today’s world trading conditions as No Deal. A whole new set of arrangements ,covering not just trade but

a web of deep and special arrangements in Europe, not least in defence and security areas, is inevitable. Be assured of that.

What those who call for 'No Deal' fail to appreciate is that successful free trade under WTO rules (the 'No Deal' prospect), far from automatically ensuring a nirvana of flowing trade volumes, requires a massive amount of conformity with the systems, habits and jurisdictions of other markets. Trade requires trade *relations* – a whole hinterland of connections, understandings and friendships.

Nowadays trade expansion also requires lots of common understandings and trust in the fields of security and defence.

The **second** point to bear in mind is that services are the new growth area in international trade. They now make up 1/4 of all trade receipts and indeed McKinsey suggests that more than half the wealth generated by international trade comes from services and various forms of data transmission. All the trends point to much more expansion of trade in this form, especially with the growth of digital fabrication.

I am very glad to say that the British government is aiming for a new global services trade framework - because of course the services aspect of the European single market has yielded very slim pickings over the years. I repeat that trust is even more the key ingredient when it comes to trade in services, data and knowledge products. And remember that the UK is overwhelming a services economy.

This is the aspect that seems to be forgotten even as we seek to expand our trade links within the growing Commonwealth.

Trust also means a high degree of mutual respect. It means treating the citizens of the particular country with whom one is dealing in a respectful and sympathetic way. It means making one's nation attractive in all respects and exemplary.. It is quite deplorable that in



our attitude to students from India we have deliberately discriminated in a hostile way, halving the number of Indian students in Britain , seeing them diverted to America and to Germany and making life as difficult as possible for many newcomers and visitors from India . That is not the right basis of trust and of course no satisfactory expansion of trade will be built without that trust. Our actions harm ourselves, harm our brilliant universities and harm the Commonwealth.

So let us remember that while world free trade is a powerful force for good ,(and indeed the key means nowadays of upholding a rules-based order in a troubled world), the key ingredient is trust and it's supporting pillars of common language, common values, standards and above all, respect for the rule of law, all underpinned by close affinities and feelings of fair dealings , friendship and cultural and educational exchange .

Nowadays it is called soft power. It is no surprise that China, like many other nations, is investing in soft power of all kinds

When I speak in those terms what am I really describing? The answer is I am describing exactly the nature of the modern Commonwealth network. The Commonwealth has emerged in the digital age in a way which is organic rather than governmental. It is increasingly woven together not so much by governmental linkages and directives but by professions, civil society and interest networks of incredible density and power, all *outside* the governmental range.

I refer to the networks of scientists, of schools and universities, of creative industries, of parliamentarians, of doctors, of financiers, of farming reformers, veterinary experts, engineers, architects, environmentalists, of women's groups of all kinds and all ages, energy and climate specialists, of judges, of lawyers ,small business

promoters– the list goes on and on. These are the skills and binding forces which generate trust and attract capital investment, from which trade follows.

Networks grow all the time and connect with other networks all the time . Networks never rest. Networks allow and impel the opening out of links for the United Kingdom through the Commonwealth to the great trading groups in South-East Asia such as Mark Two ASEAN, to the emerging trading groups around the Indian Ocean, to the entirely new networks and clusters forming in Central Asia, in Africa and in Latin America, to the Pacific Alliance, to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, now abandoned by America, and to NAFTA .

Above all I expect to see massive connections grow between Commonwealth networks and the great China networks, clusters and global supply chains now snaking across the world. These are bound to expand with the (BRI) Belt Road initiative and the tying up of Chinese, Central Asian and European markets as never before in history. And of course all this has to move forward with the necessary infrastructure of finance, trade facilitation , insurance and so on.

These connections are already producing new levels and depths of relationships between China the UK and between China and the network of Commonwealth countries.

Hong Kong fits superbly into the new pattern. It becomes what has been described as a super-connector between all the inter-active network connections which are shaping the digital age and transforming international trade and commerce.

This is the new world which leaves the old 20<sup>th</sup> century centralised European model of integration and protection far behind. Indeed, in this new age I have heard the Commonwealth described as the "the mother of all networks" . It may not yet be quite that. But through the

energy of its peoples, the understanding of its leaders and the unstoppable powers of communications technology that is what it is now destined to become.

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**2018.** *Here the trail halts, an odyssey unfinished but with one enduring and central fact standing out just as clearly as it did at the start to some of us 23 years ago . In the age of digital revolution - disrupting, connecting, empowering , challenging - the Commonwealth network has acquired, and is continuing to acquire, momentum, potential and significance on a scale hitherto unimaginable. The transformation continues in a radically changed international landscape now taking shape, driven by immense new forces*

*Networks are living systems. They connect communities, groups, cells, interests, professions, projects, enterprises, inquiring and creative minds, with a frequency and intensity which has never before existed.*

*In the Commonwealth case there is the added immense binding power of a common working language, and the DNA within that language, which multiplies network power many times over*

*This means that we can watch linkages and common endeavour connecting all the time between every Commonwealth country and every conceivable sector - between scientists, doctors, vets, teachers, lawyers, universities, schools, enterprise in all shapes and sizes, designers, authors, military organisations, engineers, administrators, legislators, cities and villages, youth movements, museum experts – the list is endless.*

*Above all it means that the Commonwealth assumes, or re-assumes, a central place in our nation's overseas priorities and policies; it becomes a vast transmission system in the exercise of soft power.*

*This may not be what national governments or political leaders planned or intended. Indeed in the British case such an outcome has been actively resisted for decades until very recent times.*

*But while at government level Commonwealth countries may differ and clash, all the while, beneath the media radar, the network process is continuing and expanding regardless - each new connection sparking not only to fresh initiatives and activity but leading through to further contacts with yet further networks beyond. Thus, on a 'friend of a friend' basis, entrée to the whole global connected system, to the new networks and new institutions of the 21st century, opens up before us.*

*Positive official and governmental policies obviously assist, but with or without them the networks carry on expanding unceasingly .*

*Some call this the fourth Industrial Revolution. Some call it the second wave of globalisation. For us here in Britain I call it the hour of the Commonwealth, and it feels good to survey the infinite opportunities for our nation which now spread out before us.*

**David Howell. December 2017.**

## APPENDIX

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House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. First Report 20<sup>th</sup> November 1995

### CHAPTER X EXTRACT

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

204. Our inquiries and evidence have surprised us. At the outset of our enquiry we were fully aware of the historic and sentimental attachment which constituted Commonwealth relations; space but our study has identified opportunities and potential which would make Commonwealth relationships meaningful in a rather different way, while at the same time, building upon the natural affinities of shared language and accord political and cultural beliefs.

205. Our report therefore has a central and explicit conclusion. Space it is at the Commonwealth is acquiring a new significant in rapidly transforming world and that United Kingdom policy-makers should bring this major change to the forefront of their thinking. Space Are enquiries show that the Commonwealth of yesterday, still stirring perception here has given way to something quite new and not yet fully appreciated. Space from being a 'club' of countries all too ready both criticise and make demands on the former imperial power, space the Commonwealth is rapidly metamorphosing into a network quite different interests and ambitions.

206. Our report shows the wide-ranging nature of these changing interests and aspirations. These include extensive changes in political and economic relations. However, no less important is the changed

emphasis on promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights, where the Commonwealth is increasingly willing to stand up for the values and objectives it espoused at Harare in 1991.

207. From the United Kingdom's point of view this transformation of vast potential which is quite essential that we exploit with vigour and imagination. If energy is created by shared language in the Concord cultural attitudes and political beliefs make these opportunities all the more attractive, although it's up to us, and no one else, whether we made the best of them or let them pass by.

208. The new positioning of the Commonwealth network, and of Britain within that network, is to be seen in the context of growing Asian importance, both economic and now in political terms, in the world scene. The recent Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok, which Asian and European leaders were meeting not and more demands for a to the developing world, still less to go back to recriminations over the past wrongs, and instead to discuss on equal terms the ways in which the powerful economies of the two regions could co-operate and reinforce each other, was a reminder of this new context.

209. This is precisely the sort of occasion-and there will be more of them - when this country's unique links with many of the other nations involved through the Commonwealth connection, can be deployed to considerable advantage. We would have liked to have heard more from the policymakers about the emerging possibilities in this respect.

210. However in our enquiry we were not enormously encouraged that such new ideas not yet taken hold. We were struck by the cautious downbeat FCO memorandum on the whole subject, although in their evidence Ministers undoubtedly sounded a more positive note.

211. We note that Lady Chalker refuted any suggestion that the ‘C’ in FCO represented a Cinderella within the department.<sup>339</sup> that is welcome; but our own conclusions in Report now lead us to recommend something much stronger still, namely a whole new strategy to reinforce bilateral Commonwealth ties, to sustain the overall Commonwealth organisation and to deploy the advantages which Commonwealth membership gives us far more systematically, both in diplomatic endeavours and in the furtherance of this country’s world-wide commercial interests.

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212. We do not wish to impose more administrative structures or overheads on the Commonwealth system. But we believe that within our own national administration, and certainly the FCO, more minds should be focussed on our Commonwealth role.

- The Importance of the Commonwealth dimension does not appear always to be reflected fully in government policy. Decisions seem to be taken on what appear to be perfectly sound grounds, but account necessarily being taken of the Commonwealth dimension, or regard to the way they will be perceived in the Commonwealth. Examples include:
- reporting, the outcome of CHOGM to Parliament by the way of written answer rather than an oral statement;



- the absence of any reference to the Commonwealth institution in the new mission statement of the FCO diplomatic Wing when any of its 17 long-term aims and objectives<sup>340</sup> and
- the removal (under the guise of a removing anomalies remaining after bringing United Kingdom law into line with European Community requirements) from 1 June 1996 Of the right of Commonwealth citizens to apply for posts in the United Kingdom Civil Service which constitute "employment in the public service" within the meaning of the European Community treaties.<sup>341</sup>
- **A Larger more pro-active role for the FCO's Commonwealth Co-ordination Division- presently a seven-person operation is essential.**

213. We also wish to see a stronger emphasis on the Commonwealth dimension across the Government as a whole. In hard practical terms this means:

- greater readiness to speak up for the interests of our Commonwealth friends in the various forums of the world to which the United Kingdom belongs, as well as a greater readiness to remind our Commonwealth fellow members speak up for ours-for instance in the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum structure and in ASEAN;

- giving a new governmental attention to the educational and cultural interchanges which used to characterise the Commonwealth and which must not be allowed to languish. On the contrary, they should be fostered more energetically than ever; and
- recognising in shaping our industrial and trade policies, that growing interests and opportunities for British business now lie in the emerging markets of the world, of which several happen to be Commonwealth members.

214. We have heard often our enquiry, and we do not tire of repeating in our report, that Britain's Commonwealth connections and the integration the global network of communications and friendships which go with the, are the envy of our trading competitors. Surprise is expressed that this country has not utilised them to greater advantage.

<sup>340</sup> Foreign and Commonwealth Office including Overseas Development Administration, 1996 Department report, CM3203, HMSO, London p.1.

<sup>341</sup> See Ev p. 7 for the present basis of employment of non-United Kingdom Commonwealth citizens in the civil service and HC deb, 1 March 1996, Vol involved 272, Col.771w for details of the changes. Approximately 25 per cent (some 132000) Home Civil Service posts currently constitute such “employment in the public service”). (Source office of public service.

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215. Perhaps it was understandable for a few decades after the end of the Empire that the Commonwealth was seen in the United Kingdom

as a relic of an imperial past—a political albatross around the country's neck. Trauma and uncomfortable adjustment were inevitable, although they should never be forgotten that the unwinding of that was achieved, the most part, in a relatively peaceful and constructive way.

216. But that era is over, and so is its successor phase of 'decolonisation'. A new global pattern opens out in which the competition to maintain, let alone advance, living standards will be more intense than ever. In this new situation for the United Kingdom has both friends and opportunities. They should be recognised and seized.

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