Course: Orientalism

COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS Heritages of the Crown's Territories And a Manifestation of Orientalism



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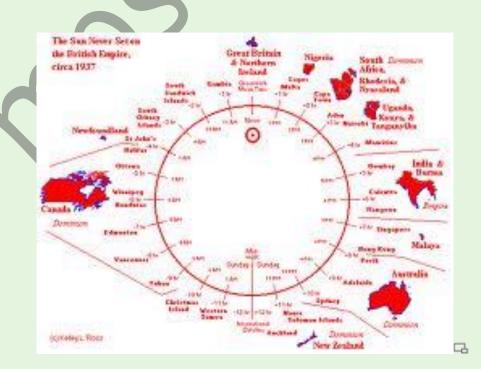
By Dr Mohamed Samiei

In the Name of God the Munificent the Merciful

"They have produced and reduced nations, massacred populations, dispossessed people of their land, culture, language and history shifted vast number of people from one place to another" (Pennycook,1998: 19)



THE SUN IS NEVER SET IN BRITISH EMPIER



Introduction:

The Commonwealth of Nations as international organization has two main historical subdivisions; the first era is include colonial time and at the existence of British Empire and the second period is after World War II and fall down of the Empery and finishing colonial time. In this article we will see if with the collapsing of colonial system, ex-colonists approach toward "the others" is changed or not. expected after collapsing the British Empire and escaping nations from the colonial system, after long struggle for freedom, these nations would keep aside from colonists, but London with the

help of some immigrant-made countries (like Australia, Canada and New Zealand) via a diplomatic-political movement, brought these nations under UK's rule again, and London's superiority continued over them, even with a lesser level. Although Colonialism was a production of a most economic aimed and military way movement, by some sense is the output of Orientalists and colonialist's common works. In this sense some orientalists are intellectuals, whose studies aim is to gather, formulise, theorise or shorten collected information and subjects that colonists should know about a vast region, named the "orient", and answer to a necessary question of, what colonists should do or not to do, or should be care of or be aware of, during colonizer performance in the colonialized lands. Orientalists stand side by side with colonists, prepared information and summarized facts, to help

colonialists to know better and govern the colonialized territories scientifically and sophisticatedly. So there is a bilateral two-sided partnership and relationship between colonists and orientalists.

By the end of World War II and old colonial era as well, colonists direct ruling over the "others" [1] nations is completely came to over and new era is start, but modern era shows itself the same as old era fairly and old colonised nations that are expected to be free of colonists superiority, face with



new ways of colonizing. The world nowadays faces with ex-colonists and new imperialism [2] domination, which controls the world and nations via and with the help of international organization mechanism as tool in this regard. The West upper hand in international organisation naturally and forcibly put their agenda on the priority. They look their interests by use these capacities. Commonwealth of Nations as international organization is one of the alive and semiorganised in this concern that plays its role to

mobilizing ex-colonials British territories capability. In fact it is the Continuation of colonial role of British colonists in the present time to safeguarding the interests of ex-dominated masters (colonists)

over its ex-Slavered nations in diversified forms such as trade, commerce, literature, culture, politic and Knowledge...

The duty of some orientalists in between is (and was) prepareing information that naturally they need to achieve efficient result of colonial's domination as well as influence on the natives mind that, colonialist were come to lighten their dark situation, to inter this idea in the native's head, that if the colonizer's superiority remove, and they leave "territories of the Crown" [3], they will back into barbarism, humiliation and cruelty [4].

Colonized lands is vast area in Africa, America, Asia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Indian subcontinent, most of Indo-China, parts of the Middle East and the Islands of the Indian, Atlantic and



the Pacific oceans as well as Caribbean territories [5]. Colonial system imposed to "others" by colonists and they did whatever they could to take best revenue of their imposed economic, cultural, political domination structure over colonised nations. But every starting inevitably has to end, and colonial system also is not an exception. It has successful starting and prideful centuries-continuation for colonists and it's following long plaintive existence for colonised, but something is obvious that the termination of British power in colonial regions was because of British Empire weakness to control inhabitants of the "territories of the Crown" force, not a desire of a colonists to putting away colonial structure as bad, Injustice or wrong system. The process of

British Empire sun set is start in 18th century when United States of America, starts its struggling toward liberation from UK in 1781[6] and continues in 19th century and it come to end in 20th. Based on colonials demand, pressures and freedom straggles, London starts to reduce its control and authority over colonialized territories. Most of colonized country became independent after World War II, when Great Britain was under tough and dangerous pressure of German Nazism's power and USA or side effect of it, and at this atmosphere so many nations catch best opportunity to escape from B. Empire ruling system. The best example is Indian Subcontinent that freedom straggle makes them free of



British ruler in 1947. So in most territory, colonizers did not go out by own decision, and local residents kicked them out by force and freedom straggle... so imperialistic mind set toward the "others" had not

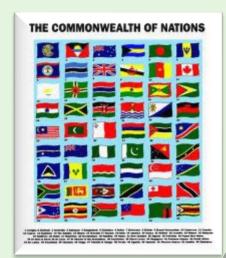
change in their approach toward slaved nations and this "withdrawing", was imposed to them.

After this big defeat, the colonists search for new way to save the previous position or changing defeating atmosphere. It was "The Commonwealth of Nations" an appropriate idea by London to reestablish their ruling or domination, to re-produce their Greatness and dreams over ex-colonised lands again. Commonwealth of Nation in modern era [7], is consider as consequence of this atmosphere. It formed to continue colonial era mechanism relatively as new process of colonial time in new and modern way, to achieve dominions over the "others" in 20th century and farther.

Orientalist as specialist or high rank advice-giver, in ex-colonists and new imperialist's administration era, directly lead them to take last advantage of their action toward the "others" and also indirectly makes possible with their scientific activity. Orientalists' influence on the new West superiority process in world is not evitable. Have a look at orientalists and orientalism as well, the same looking, thought, way of interpretation of the "others"... is going on and some of them looking westernising and civilizing the "others" now. [8]

The Commonwealth as outcome of old Colonial era, is a system of ruling that one side is having control and the other side is controlled,... the two-part word mad by "Common" and "Wealth", But the question is which wealth is common in between "occupier" and "occupied", long time colonising slopes the "others 's" Wealth and resources to colonizers side, so this system of ruling, give Wealth to the "Occident's" side and poverty to "Orient" side.

"The Commonwealth of Nations" is a 53-countries group that after freedom, keep their relation



with the "Crown" or the colonialist head power through this international mechanism [9]. The Commonwealth term, with particular meaning first time used by a colonist, the Lord "Roseberry" in 1884 "to refer to the British Empire as a Commonwealth [14] of Nations" [11]. It was before its modern establishment era that by inking The London Declaration in 1949 starts to shape a new and modern Commonwealth of Nations, that named birth day of the modern Commonwealth of Nations [12]. In 1971 also this community (include 30% of glob) base on Singapore declaration, agree to have multilateral co-operations on common values like Human right, law governances, individual's freedom, equality, democracy, free trade and world peace, but Now (in 21th

century) as continues of colonial period, 16 out of 53 countries of them rule by Queen Elizabeth II [12/1] and this 16-group help London to continue his hegemony over ex-crown territories as London' new pattern of action first time was come to exist by this group and then it generalized to other members of this group. As sample is commonwealth games.

The U.K monarch heading over the new and modern Commonwealth of Nations, as well as old colonial one is questionable and debatable aspect of the new era. Queen Elizabeth (as British monarch head and symbol of proud in Great Britain Empire system) and the executives like General-Secretary and staff of secretariat that is located in London, are running this

international organization. Accepting British monarchy head as head of Commonwealth is necessary for its members at the re-entrance time

[13-15], as it mentioned in 1949 London Declaration. Although in normal situation such an international organisation should run by an elected governmental body like the Prime Minister (the most important and main decision maker) of U.K. but in symbolic and practice way, accepting the Queen [14] as head of it, is a kind of

showing loyalty to Crown by the ex-colonised members again. When independent-India wants to rejoin in modern shape and new commonwealth, although it was a member of ex-one in the colonial period, it should formally accept the Crown as head [15]. So the Ex-Crown territories after long freedom struggle and victory again come under colonial-ruler and London can influences via a big international group like the Commonwealth of Nations again. And with this move, the role of British royal in post-colonial time is saved. This process is showing continues of new U.K' superiority over the "others" inferiors that after and before independence formally show no change.

Colonial's language remarked in commonwealth document as "common heritage of the English language" that hold them together [16]. So one of the imposed subjects to the colonialized culture, now in post-colonial era is consider as common wealth. English Language Spreading was colonialists [17] and the commonwealth's goal. In this issue colonists and commonwealth's move have the same direction [18]. English language is as container of their culture, value, thought... for colonists and now the Commonwealths, and brings a kind of cultural domination in post-colonial era for them over the "others". They can take its advantage with continue their relation with ex-colonized nations. English language as common language among ex-colonists and ex-colonised, plays very essential role that one of it is, use it as connector to control nations' public feeling in the world via the west-dominated mass media. English as common heritage as well as its literature, especially post-colonial literature make an enormous potential for dominated-superior. As some of the expertise believes, Daniel Defoe's famous novel and "The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe", was the early literary works to spread English language, to familiarize the colonised with the 'superior' English culture [19]. Crusoe's story as example of English literature and especially post-colonial's one, have role in spreading English language via the world and appear as justifier of colonial process. One of the post-colonialism discourses after Second World War II, is English "Commonwealth literature" that is starts form 1950s. Its purpose was describing English literatures in the tasted-colonising countries. It was an attempt to gathering the written materials in the former colonies that spread all over the world, on one stage. From the time of announcing English language as the official language of education, and then opened universities and literature of Europe to the colonialized nations a diverse community with literature in English (produced in India, Canada, Australia and the Caribbean's ...) is start. The colonial discourses developed during late 1970s and 1980s and help to understand how and why this happened. The theories of the colonial discourses have played a significant role in the development of post colonialism. They explore the ways to keep the colonised peoples subservient to colonial rule. The colonised people were seen as lacking history, culture, religion, intelligence and craft of administration, and thus it became clear that it was the European's duty to fill the vacuum. [20]

World economic-military hegemony of the United States of America was came to emerge at the vacuum and blankness time of collapsed-great European Empires (British, Portugal, French, Spain...)

and replaced itself instead of them, and now at the dominance time of mass media forces, the Occident (west) side has to rethink of classical frontiers toward the "others". In this new era of international movement, Commonwealth of Nations' mechanism will be effective to guardian colonists' historical

achievement. English language as heritage of colonial ages, is considers important to be spread. collecting English' materials is one of a main agenda of U.K cultural diplomatic mission and in this filed, US is as neck to neck alliance for English language bloc and not as rival for UK. Because US 'local English speaker established its hegemony on others languages speaker in US, as their power come to surface at the time of determine US official language in US' constitutional debates, that pro-English language' front, had big victory on US' German, French, Spain,... speakers. Alltough sum of these languages speakers (especially German), was more than English speakers there at that time. So in English language regard, US attempt is parallel with Commonwealth of Nation's founder's as post-colonial target.

Today Post-colonial English writers' spread and enrich it and make it prepare to be the first diplomatic, scientific, formal and international language in the world. The sense of duty, that starts in colonial time and continues in post-colonial era till now. English language as representative of



colonists, is speaking in so many countries as formal and non-formal now and contains settler's values, culture, and as a tool plays it role to connect them together very well. Now great community of English publishers in the world has main role to vast this capacity in the form of books, magazine, newspaper and E-Net written material and they are more ready to welcome Globalized era than others and in this period also ex-colonists wants to show their domination again and extend it for long time, and alarm bells are ringing and alarming that new colonial time is going to show itself and ex-colonists

are going to shape new face of colonial system in new world.

So some scholars such as Masao Miyoshi and Arif Dirlik question the premature appellation of the prefix postcolonial when the globalisation of culture and capital may be leading humanity towards a neo-colonial condition (Murray, 1999: 870). Although some English writers like late Edward W. Said and Frantz Fanon (who speaks of psychological levels of colonialism)... criticise this situation, as Mr Said wanted to acknowledge the West's their radical 'otherness', but most of Writers accept this domination and move in ex-colonists path. So some scientist like Ngugi speaks of 'decolonising the mind' of people to answer the problem. It is clear to controlling nations' mentality, it is necessary to take relation with them and the relation need a common and understandable language between two sides, English language is come to help ex-occupier to take effective relation with their ex-occupied nations. Because of this we can say the Occident's action in English language regard in colonial and post-colonial era both, is the same and they have great emphasize to spreading English.

USA as one of the Ex-U.K' Crown's territories is never joining to modern Commonwealth of Nations [21], But UK nowadays have very near policy with US in international process to re-shaping the World after world war II, and they appeared neck to neck-mover in most world' policy. US as upper hand and real heritor of big E.U Empires, appeared with UK in same front, and US-UK role in international

maters is as completer now [22]. In this period Existents of Neo-colonialism is raise when the scientist fined that after finishing colonial era the same rule or discourses is going on in international debate, and capitalist's bodies are going to replace themself instead of ex-coloniser toward the "others" and again continuance of previous process. [23]

Developing Models: The Nations who tasted colonizing ages, face with this question that what they should to do after independent from colonists? During long living under colonial system, the colonised' routine life, consumes model, cultural and economic behaviour, way of thinking, also their life style... were changed, and new models of living were coming to emerge in their traditional lifestyle. So these nations' needs and condition are completely deferent from pre-colonizing time, and after escaping, their post-independent rulers of ex-crown territories were facing with a kind of hesitation that how they should response to this changes and new situation. At this time some international organisation like the Commonwealth of Nations which (had and) have focusing on excolonized region, are available to say and lead them to some path, to pass and solve the maters, but this leading also is based on its founder's interests. One of the West scientists' suggestions at this time is, "Developing Models", as solution to move toward developing path. The processes that worry third world' intellectuals and in contrast some of them are against these models and avoid Third World to move toward this process. [24]

Christianizing the world was the colonists' goal, so Christian's agents had multi-role in colonializing the "others". Thence that adopting the Western Values and religion [25] (Christianity



[1]) were the slogan and aim of colonialists, Commonwealths as well, and a Post-Colonial era phenomenon, so the Christian missionaries groups stood side by side with colonists. In British colonies "the colonized population had to convert to Christianity, learn the English language, and read English literature in school. As a result, they adopted Western values, and the colonizers were eventually able to rule by consent rather than violence" [27]. "The Impact of European Colonialism on the Indian Caste System" [28] bring the

missionary desire to spread Christianity, to surface. "The growth of evangelical Christianity and it was this evangelical trend that was most instrumental in the invention and systemization of Hinduism. This is due to evangelical attempts to create a singular definable religious opponent [28]." Christian missionary group before, during and after colonist's job have a defined role and arm to arm played their roles. So many jobs make their presentation necessary for colonists during the process, from first steps to colonize a land at the end, and also manage new colonised nations after it.

History is considers as common wealth, although in exact duration colonists and colonises have common history, but in fact there are two deferent history, at one side a history of power and domination and the other side history of colonised territory and people. The links of history and the

bond of the English language have been reinforced by professional, sporting, scientific, trading and political associations amongst members of the Commonwealth.

Law and Parliamentary system is considering as common heritage of this two. How and why this subject is became the Commonwealth of Nations goal? After launching its secretary-general office in London (1965), new program to have an effective system of high judicial decisions, among some of the Commonwealth countries became available, the reason that makes this aim achievable is one century working of Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, So in new and modern era they aim to improve it and make it as "very high standards of judicial integrity, maintained the essential unity of common law legal doctrine, upheld constitutional principles and frequently defended basic civil



rights". But the main goal is to have a "Commonwealth-wide international court" [29] that will have judges from Commonwealth countries. As it is clear the Commonwealth with this system of Judicial will has legal opportunity to interfere in its members' matters and important dis-satisfaction among internal political or social groups, will lead them to

London to solve it and it is imaginable that London also will works based on its interests. So it will make prepare, possible and provide ex-colonists interferes in the "others" affairs legally. With this dream UK seeks its old influence on the ex-Crown territories on basis of a foundation bodies like law (judicial) and law-makers (parliamentary). In this field they had some successful steps like establishing the Caribbean Court.

Another Program that make link between Commonwealth countries is having further Law & Judiciary publications. Something like Commonwealth Law reports, Bulletin and Net and also scholarships that will lead them to exchange information in this regards. The other aim is establish relation within their parliamentary institutions; this is also a successful step that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association now is working [30]. In a recent speech to the Commonwealth Legal Forum, Sir Sridith Ramphal said that the most celebrated links within the Commonwealth of Nations were centred on language, learning and law. [31]

So as it clear Commonwealth's organiser is targeting vast relationship with ex-crown territories' Law men. After that London will be able to monitor and follow its national and international goal by Law & Law-makers. In this respect Law and law-makers as fundamental part of any country targeted. So excolonist has tough emphasis on having relation with this important wing of the Crown territories will be tangible.

Commonwealth have No constitution [32] and this is another space and capacity that make situation ready for U.K to play its own role. London by using its superiority to impose owns procedures make it possible to move the commonwealth forward based on its interests in whole. So London superiority makes The Commonwealth "as it is today evolved with the advance of British domestic constitutionalism" [33]. Although the Commonwealth is working on some joint declarations

and formal announcement and the decisions that come out from its common governmental meeting, but it has uncertain goals and unclear movement.

The capacity of the Commonwealth of Nations' mechanism that had gotten during last decades, is using by British power as tools on the road of achieving its and west-bloc' interest and this is the main purpose of organization's founder to found it. One of the good example of this process is take action against anti-western countries among its members, so when Zimbabwe under Mr Robert Mugabe don't listen to their suggestion toward its white people's rights, faces with penalty such as suspension of its membership, that in diplomatic manner is meaningful and important, Two Commonwealth member that witnessed membership suspension because of democracy or human rights defaults, are Zimbabwe in 1994 and the Fiji Islands in 2009. [34]

Electoral observers is a Commonwealth organ, and as commonwealth consider electoral democracy as a core principle of the Commonwealth of Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat naturally define a role for itself to play an important role in encouraging and safeguarding election



process and result in Commonwealth' members. This makes a worthy opportunity for them to keep an eye on their interests in this regards. This process also consider efficient, and supported by some other western-lead organization like the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Carter Foundation in U.S.A and various agencies of the United Nations that become involved in international electoral observance. [35] And because of common English language as known language and historical knowledge that as result of long ruling was collected by EX-colonialists and also

the information that gather via commonwealth involvement in its member... they can play influential role in ex-colonial territories. So the commonwealth of Nations consider as good solution for internal and international conflict among the members in the time of internal and outside tensions. All these actions make London able to search and continue its ex-role in modern era and UK as stable super power amongst this 53 Nations will be superior.

Commonwealth and western Value is seen equal so some slogan like "equality and respect for protection and promotion of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all without discrimination on any grounds, including the right to development, foundations of peaceful, just and stable societies, and rights of universal, indivisible" is the best excuse and capacity for ex-colonists to achieve their goals, And although the role of Commonwealth of Nations has no seen in its 53 countries people's life sufficiently and effectively [36] but in governmental level is obvious. Have a look in the Commonwealth slogan, that nowadays is rise, regardless it is right or not, it's the exact and repeated values and slogan that Westerners narrate. But it is a fact that most of commonwealth members classified in the "others" category. It is the world western common goal toward second worlds that accepted as a core value of the Commonwealth. [37] So in this regard also commonwealth is in path of ex-colonists. [38] The process of colonist's westernising and civilizing of the "others" is going on,

and they working on some values that is succeeding by the Commonwealth rulers now. The result of some slogan likewise Women's equality, gender equality and the participation of women in high-level decision-making in political, public and private sectors, is not completely the "others" value or cultural goal and it is westernising women's world to globalise liberal culture. They want to change the world based on their value and they don't care of "others" cultures and values. Generally these slogans and values provide vast capacity for Commonwealth' head to have interference in so many countries under the flag of this international organisation.

Human rights are not seen only as a reflection of civil and political rights but as involving the need to address the challenges of development and economic equality; and a more specific recognition that poverty and economic vulnerability are critically involved in the core values of human rights within the Commonwealth. One of the Commonwealth concern is human right problems, but in this subject also the borders are unclear and based on your culture and value you can have deferent interpretation and so human right also make big and vast opportunities for them to selectively put disobedience of western rule under pressures. So in somehow the liberal value (even not Western Value) is come to stage and imposed to other nations by pressure of commonwealth. [39]

The organization that itself suffers from lack of democratic process in its running system; want to promote democracy (the common slogan of Commonwealth and Westerner in 20th and also 21th century) in ex-colonized world. Under this slogan they shadow their agenda to replace the governments that are more cooperative with them amongst "others". So some member of this community has criticism of lack of democracy process in the Commonwealth of Nations ruling [40]. Seeing "others" as inferior in the commonwealth of Nation ruling is very clear and this international organisation has not clear path and goal and under influence of London don't have proper attention to "others" opinions.

Commonwealth of Nations Olympic Games held every four year in one of these 53 countries. it



was start in 1891 at crown anniversary of British king Gorge the 5th [41], with four countries participation and generalized to other members of community in 1931. Last Game was in New Delhi (India) in 2010 and in 2014 in Glasgow in Scotland will inaugurate.

India's game in 2012 cost 6 billion dollar for its host

[42]. This games is a symbol of colonial era, its starting is directly and symbolically related to the Crown'

family of UK that ruled the Crown territories for long time. The Games that are playing mostly belonging to occupying time, the sports that occupier played, and transpire by coloniser. This game firstly remember colonizer's Greatness and superiority and secondly is contain their values and culture and thirdly show symbolically continues of ex-colonists cultural influence over "others" [43].

More than 90 associations [44] have been established that have the word "Commonwealth" in their title. This is an indication of the very large number of civil society organisations and NGOs with an international character that has a links to the Commonwealth of Nations, The professional associations that cover a vast spectrum of human activities that provide a potential of gathering

information and monitoring of "others" and interference capability for ex-colonists. London can use the capacity of so many NGOs that establish around this international organization.

The strategic positioning of 53 members of Commonwealth of Nations that spread in all over the world is very important. their location in Africa (19), Asia (8), the Americas (3), the Caribbean



(10), Europe (3), and the South Pacific (11) with different date of membership, include the most populated country like India and vast countries like Australia and Canada or small islands in pacific, Indian and Atlantic oceans that most of them re-join to the Commonwealth after world war II [45] make another tempter capacity for ex-colonists. Arrangement of this 53-member in every strategic corner of world in geopolitical manner

will provide for ex-colonists best opportunity to use these lands as juncture to have military action in the world, the strategy that they used it in colonial and post-colonial as well. Now ex-colonists marine power is working properly and commonwealth' member can be as a facility-maker in this regard to provide safe and backed movement toward their military targets, like the role of Indian's island in the two Persian Gulf wars or UK Falkland' war in Atlantic ocean.

Promotion of an information technology capacity as one of the commonwealth goal, make a big gateway to allow full access in each other information, it would make this community more close to each other, the situation that always is beneficial for superior.

Conclusion:

- A- Capacity-making is as top diplomatic goals, and Commonwealth of Nations makes enormous opportunities for United Kingdom policy-maker in national and international level. Most of commonwealth members suffer from different maters and problems in contrast a semi-stable country like U.K is available that can based on commonwealth agreement have effective interference toward them. It is big victory for ex-colonists toward Ex-colonised.
- B- The Commonwealth of Nations is a colonial era-established organisation, but the question is which wealth is common that they can share it. The two side (colonised-colonist) are very different in one side is occupier and another side are so many occupied. One side is looted and other said is looter [46].
- C- After the collapse of British Empire, London's decision-makers offer new mechanism to reshape and re-conclude ex-crown territories under a re-new umbrella with the same name (Commonwealth of Nations), head (Queen) and headquarter (London). In this new pattern again London re-takes his role toward new independent countries relatively.
- D- 20th century brings end of old Emperors (like British Empire, USSR Empire), and they became realised that the old shape of colonial-system is finished and in new world, and maybe in near future will not happen again, and they should expand and give new priority to their sources of power and the tools which can Carrey and put it, in front. They understood well that in 20th century the time of international organisation is start, to supply its capacities and these elements will play efficient role

in international stage in future, better and more lawful than the role of military marine power that worked sufficiently in Emperors ages.

- E- As the marine and military power had priority and put itself in the front of colonists practice in 15thtill 19th centuries, now it need lawful cover for such an action in new international policy and they should make military movement lawful and then use marine power to fulfil the jab, so with this future estimating, London starts his effort to make its bloc in new international atmosphere and they start to bring the ex-crown territories under a big international organisation by re-shaping existed commonwealth community under the head of British Empire's symbol (Queen) and they successfully establish a 53 membered organization under the rule of The Crown.
- F- London, by establishing Commonwealth of Nations in one hand shows its continues leadership over ex-crown territories by putting the Queen as head of this international wing symbolically and in other hand shows the ex-interrelate is going on relatively. It show that although UK direct ruling over



the Crown land is finished but the long cultural influence over this territories is start and their long working come to fruit.

- G- Long-time ruling over foreign lands have some result for them that today they can make a platform on it to catch new aim, and continue ex-process fairly.
- H- One of basic colonial result is spreading colonist's English language and as result today this language is formal in so many ex-colonial territories and by the Commonwealth mechanism they make it more stronger and vast, so in this subject with the effort of London, Commonwealth is the continues of

colonial era

- I- Post-colonial literature and English usage speed up raising English language in modern commonwealth period. With the expanding of English language and also English-based media, colonist's culture and language also spread, so today English language is going to became significant diplomatic, scientific, international-formal language and in this regard colonial and commonwealth time does not have different. In this regard the USA also moves in the same direction with his Excolonizer in UK.
- J- One of its basic agreements is human right declaration that Commonwealth of Nations uses this capacity to impose liberal (even not Western) Value to East, for example in this regard homosexuality can name.
- K- Expanding and safeguarding democracy as core value of organisation and human right issue are the two things always use to put "others" under pressures. It is obvious fact that pure and absolute democracy and human right order does not exist in any country. And the "others" weak point in this regard change to a good tool in the hands of ex-colonists to put their enemy under pressure and follow their interests. So interference in other's internal affairs is continuing by different excuse now by the London –established commonwealth capacity.
- L- Missionary group with use of liberal and western's values capacities; under flag of free expression and free speech and back of their safe western-establishment, continue the process of

spreading Christianity among other nations, the process that was strongly going on during colonial time and continue till now, a sensitive job that in India make a strong reaction in Hindu society for example. The Orissa riot that start against Christianity, is a recently anti-Christianity [47] movement that show the deep reaction and worried that ex-colonialized culture feel about such action.

REFERENCE

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- 2- Childs and Williams define imperialism as the extension and expansion of trade and commerce under the protection of political, legal and military controls (Williams as qtd. in McLeod 2000: 8) Elleke Boehme defined colonialism as the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and attempts to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands (Boehmer as qtd. in McLeod 2000: 8). Observe Colonialism as a radically diaspora movement, involving the temporary or permanent dispersion and settlement of millions of Europeans over the entire world (Ashcroft et al., 2001: 69). Colonialism is only one form of practice, which results from the ideology of imperialism. Childs and Williams define imperialism as the extension and expansion of trade and commerce under the protection of political, legal and military controls (Williams as qtd. in McLeod 2000: 8) "The colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (Homi K. Bhabha, 1994:70).
- 3- Page 67 http://web.usal.es/~anafra/Empire-Commonwealth-History.pdf
- 4- The total result looked for by colonial domination was to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the native's head the idea that if the settlers were to leave; they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality (Fanon 1967:169).
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- 6- War for Independence http://www.cliffsnotes.com/study_guide/War-for-Independence.topicArticleId-25073,articleId-25022.html
- 7- Modern era is the time of re-joining of Indian subcontinent countries to commonwealth of Nation after world War II In 1949," In 1947, India and Pakistan became independent after a long struggle against Britain. Two years later India decided that it also wanted to stay in the Commonwealth as a republic and agreed to accept the British king or queen as a symbol. The Commonwealth became 'a free association of independent nations.' The modern multi-racial Commonwealth was born' http://www.youngcommonwealth.org/the-commonwealth-story/
- **ŏ-** like Bernard Lewis role in G.W.Bush administration,.. Professor Lewis (1916 -) is for his admirers, 'a sage in Christendom', 'doyen of Middle Eastern studies', 'the prophet from Princeton' and is for his critics, a demagogue, the 'vulgar propagandist' and the 'Orientalist tiger'. Lewis's influence over President Bush and the neoconservative lobby is evident through a lecture delivered in his honour by Vice President Dick Cheney. On the 1st May, 2006, at the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia luncheon, honouring Professor Bernard Lewis, Cheney remarked: [Bernard Lewis] was a man I wanted to keep in touch with, and whose work I should follow carefully in the years ahead... [W]e have met often, particularly during the last four-and-a-half years, and Bernard has always had some very good meetings with President Bush. He is always objective, thoroughly candid, and completely independent. These, combined in the depth of his knowledge and the great discipline of his mind, make Bernard the very ideal of the wise man... And in this new century, his wisdom is sought daily by policymakers, diplomats, fellow academics, and the news media... we'll continue to rely on Bernard Lewis's rigorous thinking, his sound judgment, his realism, and his optimism as well (Cheney, 2006). Or Professor Huntington (1927 2008) has been a long-time Harvard Professor; a well-known political scientist; an influential figure in US foreign policy in the Cold War and post-Cold War eras; and the theoriser of the "The Clash of Civilisations".
- 9- Except Cameron and Mozambique that they have been never Crown Territory, Cameron and Mozambique joined, although they were French and a Portuguese colony. http://www.lmg.pf.bw.schule.de/faecher/englisch/landeskunde/pageo/pageo.html
- 10- Commonwealth literally means a form of administration signifying government by the common consent of the people. Two eminent political thinkers of the 17th century, Hobbes and Locke, in their writings described the term 'commonwealth' as an organised political community similar to what is meant in the present day by the word 'state'. Certain states of the United States of America. http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/C_0315.HTM
- **11-** The British politician Lord Roseberry while visiting Adelaide, South Australia in 1884 termed the empire as a Commonwealth of Nations which perhaps inspired the formation of the present-day forum of the same name. http://althistory.wikia.com/wiki/Imperial_Commonwealth_(Central_World)
- http://www.thecommonwealth.org/document/181889/34293/35468/214257/londondeclaration.htm London declaration sign by United Kingdom, and some country like Canada (independent in 1867), Australia (1901), South Africa (1909), New Zealand (1910), and now India, Pakistan and Ceylon which are going to taste their independent

- 12/1 http://althistory.wikia.com/wiki/Imperial_Commonwealth_(Central_World) (Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu, that called "imperial Commonwealth realms")
- 13- Prime Minister Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the replacement of the term 'British Commonwealth' by 'Commonwealth of Independent States'. The other members agreed that the British monarch should be 'the symbol of the free association (Commonwealth) of member nations and as such head of the Commonwealth', regardless of whether a member country retained the British monarch as its head of state or not. Therefore, Queen Elizabeth II is the Queen of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, monarch of a number of other states, and the head of the Commonwealth for all the member states. She is present at all summits, but doesn't attend the meetings. http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/C_0315.HTM
 - 14- (After death of King George VI his daughter the Queen Elizabeth II, as his successor is the monarch head till now)
 - 15- "owe a common allegiance to the Crown,... which is also the symbol of their free association.... acceptance of The King as the symbol of the free association the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations ... united by common allegiance to the Crown." Some of the civil society and organisations such as the Royal Commonwealth Society (RCS), that have grown within the Commonwealth have a broad general focus that lays emphasis on shared experience, plays an important function in stimulating and maintaining the links that exist within the Commonwealth. Most importantly, in recent times, the RCS has taken a lead in exploring attitudes of Commonwealth citizens, and their knowledge, concerning the Commonwealth; their criticisms of present arrangements; and their suggestions for ways in which the Commonwealth links might be strengthened.
 - 16- "It has often been said that the Commonwealth is held together by a common heritage of the English language, law and parliamentary democracy and while it is claimed that these characteristics help to generate a family feeling at its basis." http://www.parliamentarystrengthening.org/commonwealthmodule/1/1c.html
 - 17- "The English language has spread across the world, initially because of the British Empire from the 17th to the mid-20th century, and subsequently due to the dominance of the United States, and has become the main international language of business as well as the most widely taught second language." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United Kingdom
 - 18- "The contemporary emergence of the English language as an essential international language is itself, now is considers as a product of the intercontinental character of the Commonwealth of Nations." www.thercs.org/society/.../Michael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdfSimilar
 - 19- http://www.gutenberg.org/files/521/521-h/521-h.htm Penny cook argues that the novel, The Life and Journeys of "Robinson Crusoe" projects Crusoe as the model for the rational and dedicated way in which the British created their Empire (Penny cook, 1998: 12). During his long stay on the Island, Crusoe saves the life of a native from the hands of savages and names him Friday to commemorate the day of their meeting. Phillipson (1992) argues: Crusoe's lesson to Friday, in which he made it his business to teach him everything that was proper to make him useful, handy and helpful, is perhaps the locus classics of the start of English linguistic imperialism Crusoe's relationship with Friday reflects the racial structure of Western society at the heyday of slavery. Crusoe's assumption of mastery over Friday and his immediate start on the project of teaching Friday English are iconic moments in the long history of the global spread of English. (Phillipson as qtd. in Pennycook 1998: 11). A.G Eyre's (1971)
 - 20- http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=+%E2%80%9CCommonwealth+literature%E2%80% The real aim of colonialism was to control people's wealth and this was imposed through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relation to others (Ngugi 1981: 16).

Ngugi notices two aspects in the process of colonialism: The destruction or deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orator and literature and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised (Ngugi 1981: 16).

The postcolonial writers attempt to give resistance to colonialism and its exploitative ideology through various strategies. The shackles of cultural imperialism are to be overthrown. The dominant ways of thinking, speaking and writing are to be challenged. Salman Rushdie emphasises the need to decolonise language: The language, like so much else in the colonies needs to be decolonised, to be remade in other images, if those who use it from positions outside the Anglo- Saxon culture are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms (Rushdie as qtd.in McLeod 22). 15- http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=+%E2%80%9CCommonwealth+literature%E2%80% The real aim of colonialism was to control people's wealth and this was imposed through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relation to others (Ngugi 1981: 16).

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images, if those who use it from positions outside the Anglo- Saxon culture are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms (Rushdie as qtd.in McLeod 22).

- and (also the same) Ireland, that it not join to this international organisation, and the Commonwealth of Nations' founder's hope to see Ireland re-joined to the Crown territory not to come true, till now. "Also to be hoped is a restoration of the membership of Ireland, which was associated as a dominion of the Crown between 1931 and 1949. As his pain of past history is softened by time, the restoration of Irish membership would be an important achievement" (Michael Kirby, retired judge of the High Court of Australia) http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=HISTORICAL+ANACHRONISM+OR+FOCUS+FOR+UNIVERSAL+Michael+Kirby&source=web&cd=1&cad=rj a&ved=oCDAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.thercs.org%2Fsociety%2FFilestore%2FPDFDownloads%2FMichael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdf&ei=WZPUUJq2OejhoQGvoIHQAQ&usg=AFQjCNFivTlkmalljWPsIT_qPzWnnoIMFg&bvm=bv.1355534169,d.cWE
- 22- As the contemporary cultural critics "Aijaz Ahmad", "Arif Dirlik" and "Rey Chow" have emphasized, the rise of post-colonial studies in the US academy is co-extensive with US foreign policy and economic investment in the 'Third world'. Morton observes: This historical parallel might suggest that post-colonial studies indirectly serve the interests of US foreign policy and global economic expansion by producing knowledge about the Third world. To counter this difficulty, Spivak (an Indian born US scientist) persistently emphasises how in her own critical thought she resists the temptation to appear as a spokesperson or 'native informant' for the 'Third World' in the 'First World' academy, even though she acknowledges that the position of a famous postcolonial intellectual who lives and works in the Western metropolitan academy and champions the cause of minority groups is a position that is beset with contradiction and paradox (Morton, 2003: 8).
- 23- "Debate goes on in the current academic arena on the issue of how neo-colonialism and global capitalism have taken up the control of ex-colonies or Third World countries. Critics argue that "the new elite brought to power by independence and often educated and trained by colonial powers were non-representative of the mass and even acted as unwitting or willing agents (compradors) for the formal colonial rulers. In a wider sense, neo-colonialism has come to signify the inability of so-called Third World economies to develop an independent economic and political identity under the pressures of globalization" (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 163).

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- 24- For example the philosopher Vandana Siva assesses development as a post-colonial project, a choice for accepting a model of progress in which the entire world is remade itself on the model of the colonising modern West, without having to undergo the subjugation and exploitation that colonialism entailed. Development was thus reduced to a continuation of the process of colonisation; it became an extension of the project of wealth creation in modern Western patriarchy's economic vision, which is based on the on the exploitation and degradation of nature and on the exploitation and erosion of other cultures (Merchant, 1996: 273).
- 25- Christianity as Westernize Abrahamic religion, although colonists and imperialists has no feeling of any danger from it, but also colonialist and settlers in their work in the battlefield of new territories take help and enjoy of them, and under the umbrella of this westernize reformed religion, colonialist will feel no worry to take any action toward colonialized people. The servants of this religion also in the name of spreading Christianity help warriors to achieve their goals in captured territories and as cultural arm of settler, they start their jab after victory. In fact their missionary job after taking control of new land is start and by their religion technique they convert colonized people to Christianity. Also their teaches help colonizer to change colonialize d's mind to accept new situation and the process of people's mind changing toward being a member of the Crown territories is start. Another role of this missionary group is arise when coloniser cannot interfere directly in some area, at this time missionary groups will be good representative for settler to go there and make the situation ready for armed force to go there or collect the information that they need to go to new lands, in this role missionary group play the role of orientalists to gather and analysis the material and facts that they need. So the missionary group are very useful for settler as path provider before the siege and controller after victory. Coloniser for achieving full advantage of their job during starting, taking victory and after victory and expanding of their achievement need to this kind of Christianity sidelong himself
- 26- "Christianity and colonialism are often closely associated because Catholicism, Russian Orthodoxy and Protestantism were the religions of the European colonial powers [52] and acted in many ways as the "religious arm" of those powers. [53] Initially, Christian missionaries were portrayed as "visible saints, exemplars of ideal piety in a sea of persistent savagery". However, by the time the colonial era drew to a close in the last half of the twentieth century, missionaries became viewed as "ideological shock troops for colonial invasion whose zealotry blinded them."[54] Christianity is targeted by critics of colonialism because the tenets of the religion were used to justify the actions of the colonists.[55] For example, Michael Wood asserts that the indigenous peoples were not considered to be human beings and that the colonisers was shaped by "centuries of Ethnocentrism, and Christian monotheism, which espoused one truth, one time and version of reality" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Christianity

"Post-Colonialism" - In British colonies, for example, the colonized population had to convert to Christianity, learn the English language, and read English literature in school. As a result, they adopted Western values, and the colonizers were eventually able to rule by consent rather than violence

27- www.keepschool.de/.../Themenbereich_Post-Colonialism.pdf

- 28- http://www.e-ir.info/2012/11/26/the-impact-of-european-colonialism-on-the-indian-caste-system/- Pennington states that, "Alongside evangelical Christianity emerged the concept of a unitary Indian religion later known as Hinduism Without the evangelical drive to spread the teachings of Christianity, the religious requirement for the construction of Hinduism would not exist. An example of generalization demonstrated by Pennington is the missionary obsession with idol worship. He states that "it was the idol that was blamed for commanding Hindu fascination and worship and thwarting the missionary's crusade for the sweeping religious transformation of India." The vast Hindu population was defined as Hindu not because of their one singular religious worship, but, on the contrary, to cope with the multifaceted religious worship of a vast population.
- 29- www.doughtystreet.co.uk/files/Commonwealth%20Today.pdf
- **30-** www.michaelkirby.com.au/.../2462-DOUGHTY-STREET-LECTURE... They believe that "Links of this kind are a useful and still continuing heritage. We do well to preserve them and to continue to learn from each other within them"
- 31- The Trinidad and Tobago Affirmation, also agreed at the CHOGM conference in 2009, declares recognises "that parliaments and representative local government and other forms of local governance are essential elements in the exercise of democratic governance". Of course, today such legislatures have the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) with its broader membership base and global operation. However, there is something specially comfortable and friendly in judges, magistrates, lawyers and parliamentarians severally meeting together with Commonwealth colleagues. In such meetings there is, inevitably, a wider span of shared traditions and interests: often unspoken and sometimes even unconscious.
- **32-** www.thecommonwealth.org/subhomepage/151236/
- 33- THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS TODAY: HISTORICAL ANACHRONISM OR FOCUS FOR UNIVERSAL VALUES? (Michael Kirby)
- **34-** www.thercs.org/society/.../Michael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdf
- **35-** Electoral observer missions in Nigeria, Cameroon, Zanzibar, Kenya and Zimbabwe, Ghana and Sri Lanka can names as some of their practical mission in this concern.
- 36- www.doughtystreet.co.uk/files/Commonwealth%20Today.pdf so when they asked who is the Head of the Commonwealth, 85% of Australian respondents correctly and named the Queen. But the figure was lower in other countries. In the United Kingdom, 70%; Canada 61%; Malaysia 54%, and India 41%, In Jamaica, 50% got the answer right. But their response was somewhat damaged by the fact that 25% of Jamaicans think that President Barak Obama is the Head of the Commonwealth. So Commonwealth of Nations activity is under shadow and doubt in the eye of its community. It has no effective role toward people and it has done its job with government level than people levels.
- 37- www.ausaid.gov.au/partner/Documents/comsec-assessment.doc Some slogan like "Democracy, democratic processes and institutions which reflect national circumstances, just and honest government and fundamental human rights, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, freedom of expression and the enjoyment of such rights by all individuals regardless of gender, race, colour, creed or political belief are consider as Commonwealth's fundamental political values and also Human rights declaration"
- 38- www.thecommonwealth.org > Secretary-General > Ask Sharma As well as respect for protection and promotion of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all without discrimination on any grounds, including the right to development, are foundations of peaceful, just and stable societies, and that these rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and inter-relation and cannot be implemented selectively.
- 39- www.thercs.org/society/.../Michael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdf For example in two African members of commonwealth countries that affecting sexual minorities, one of is the Anti-Homosexuality Bill in 2009 in Uganda and the other case that about punishing of two young men in Malawi to the maximum sentence of 14 years imprisonment on sentence of sodomy. That sentence followed an event described as a symbolic wedding which led to a charge and conviction of the crime of violating the "order of nature". The Commonwealth Lawyers "Association (CLA) criticised both of these measures.
- **40-** Page 32 www.thercs.org/society/.../Michael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdf so one of the Caribbean senor at RCS meeting say that "The commonwealth says one of its founding principles is the promotion of democracy. But here is absolutely no democracy in the way the commonwealth itself operates. And the think tank, director is recorded as observing. There is a lack of openness about the way in which the Commonwealth works; a lot is done behind closed doors. If the Commonwealth is supposed to stand for democracy and transparency, this needs to change."
- **41-** www.weareengland.org/page.asp?section=56
- **42** www.thenational.ae/.../indias-6-billion-commonwealth-gamble-begin...
- 43- For example Cricket is one of the most famous Games that is very popular in Indian subcontinent and in every local place, city, stat, and in national and international level is played. It is good example of colonial time's sport, like football in Iran that is more famous than our national playing like resealing. It is point young colonial's people and by mass media is project to whole body of colonial's people. So a Cricketers are much influenced person in these countries. same as Mr Imran khan a Pakistani Cricket-based Politian personality, that nowadays is speak of his becoming Pakistani prime minister in future, And so many like this, Cricket-base big person in these countries.
- 44- http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Internal/191086/191247/the_commonwealth/
- **45** http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Internal/142227/members/

- **46-** These colonial powers were interested in increasing their own political power and exploited the colonies' resources. Most of the indigenous peoples of colonial territory were oppressed and enslaved by the occupying power. Sometimes they were even murdered or deported from fertile land to make room for new settlements. www.keepschool.de/.../Themenbereich_Post-Colonialism.pdf
- 47- http://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/english/country/india/25389

Some sites address that used in this article is:

- A- http://www.thecommonwealth.org/document/181889/34293/35468/214257/londondeclaration.htm). 1949 اعلاميه لندن در سال
- **B-** THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS TODAY: HISTORICAL NACHRONISM OR FOCUS FOR UNIVERSAL VALUES? http://www.thercs.org/society/Filestore/PDFDownloads/Michael_Kirby_Lecture_June_2010.pdf
- C- CHAPTER II Post colonialism: A Globalized Perspective
- D- The Impact of European Colonialism on the Indian Caste System
- **E-** http://www.bloomsburyacademic.com/view/WritingPostcolonialHistory_9781849663298/chapter-ba-9781849663298-chapter-oo1.xml?print Postcolonialism, Decolonization and Globalization
- F- http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/2541/8/08_chapter%202.pdf A Glocalized Perspective
- **G** The distribution of New Commonwealth immigrants in the London Borough of Ealing, I 961-66 M.DALTON Senior Lecturer in Geography, Ealing Technical College AND J.M.SEAMAN Senior Lecturer in Geography, Ealing Technical College Revised MS received I7 M http://www.istor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.isp
- H- Imperial geographies of home: British domesticity in India, 1886-1925 Alison Blunt- http://www.jstor.org
- What is Post/Colonial Literature, and why are they saving such terrible things about it? Theo D'haen Leiden University September 1996 http://ddd.uab.cat/pub/lal/11337397n4p11.pdf
- J- Research Note Questions of identity in the millennium round of Commonwealth censuses A. J. Christopher Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University http://www.istor.org/stable/30040496
- **K-** Cabinet Handbook (7th Edition March 2012) the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet of Australia http://www.dpmc.gov.au/guidelines/docs/cabinet_handbook.pdf
- L- http://ebooks.cambridge.org/chapter.jsf?bid=CBO9780511563096&cid=CBO9780511563096A020 the post-imperial commonwealth
- M- Professional Development for Parliamentarians and Staff-Parliamentary Staff Training for Commonwealth Countries Prepared by Raja Gomez http://www.parliamentarystrengthening.org/commonwealthmodule/pdf/commonwealth%20module.pdf
- N- http://www.wisegeek.com/what-was-the-balfour-declaration.htm- the Balfour Declaration
- O- THE BIRTH OF THE COMMONWEALTH http://www.know-ritain.com/general/commonwealth.html
- P- The Commonwealth of Nations Turns 60 http://www.english-online.at/current_affairs/commonwealth-of-nations/commonwealth-turns-60.htm
- R- Contemporary Trends within the Commonwealth by Charlotte Gogstadfor Dr. Gina Hames PLU, May 1999
- S- The Commonwealth Of Nations (1949 Present) http://cnrsociety.org/Commonwealth Today.pdf
- T- Dominion http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion
- U- A COMMONWEALTH OF THE PEOPLE Time for Urgent Reform http://www.thecommonwealth.org/files/241620/FileName/EminentPersonsGroupReport.pdf
- V- The British Empire and Commonwealth in World War II: Selection and Omission in English History Textbooks Stuart Foster, Institute of Education. University of London hntres.exeter.ac.uk/history resource/journal10/papers/f
- **W-** A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS http://cnrsociety.org/Empire_and_Commonwealth_History.pdf
- X- History Of The British Empire And Commonwealth http://web.usal.es/~anafra/Empire-Commonwealth-History.pdf
- Y- the COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETINGS http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humansecurity/assets/downloads/IHS-WP-02-Stambolis.pdf