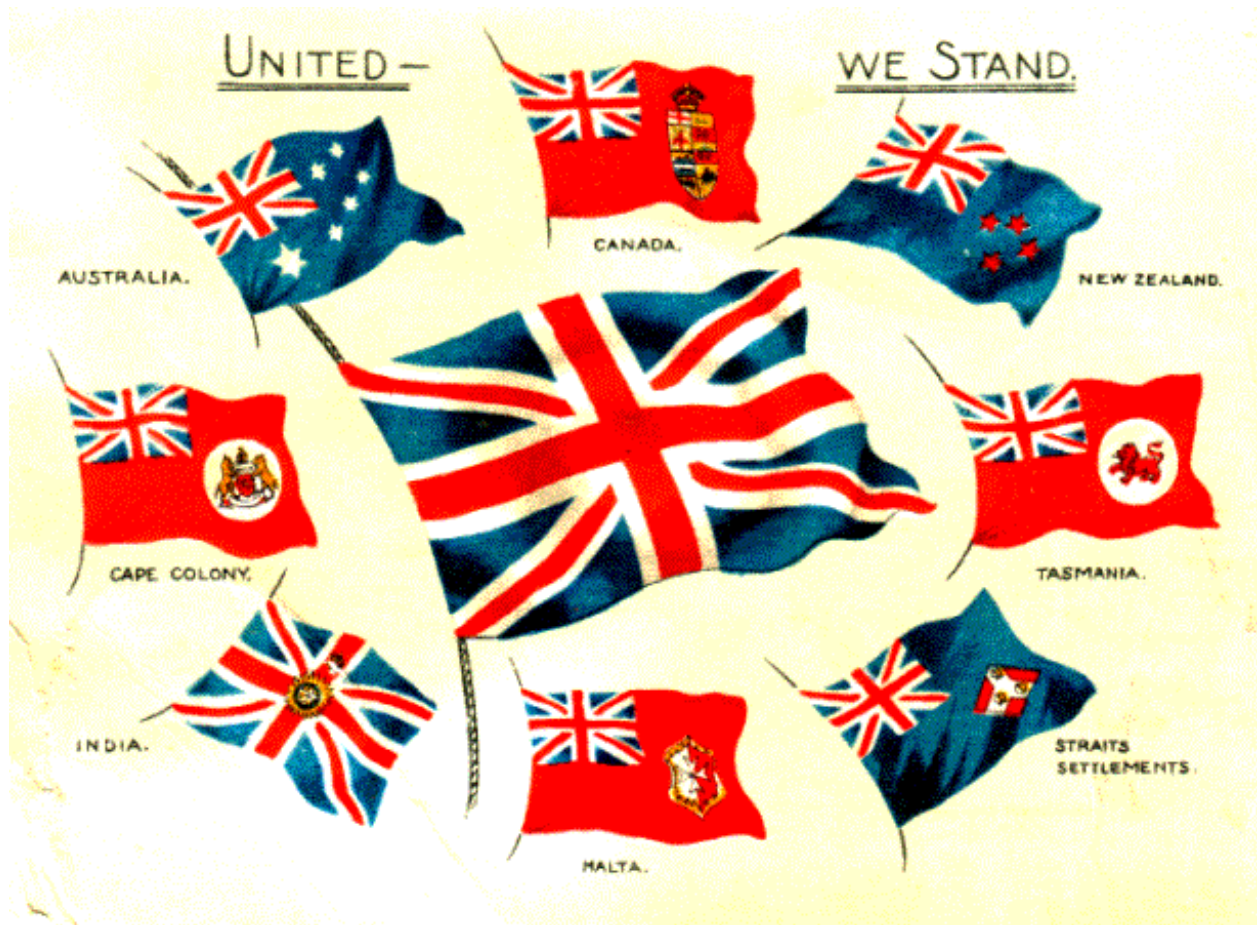


History Of The British Empire And Commonwealth



'The Greatest Empire The World
Has Ever Known Upon Which The
Sun Never Set'

James B. Alcock, B.A.

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The British Empire

(1607 – 1956)

To fully appreciate the significance of the Commonwealth, Britain's global position, and the proposal for a Federal Commonwealth, it is important to understand its origins from the British Empire. Technically, there have been three empires, the first in France, mostly lost by 1455; the second in North America, which became the United States of America after 1776; and the third was global, which became the modern Commonwealth of Nations after 1949. Each one being larger than the one before.

The origins of the British Empire can be seen as going back to the Middle Ages with the beginning of the conquest of Ireland (1169) and conquest of much of France during the Hundred Years' War. However, the modern British Empire can be considered having started in 1497 with John Cabot's claim to Newfoundland. The British Empire was the largest Empire in history; At its zenith, it held sway over a population of nearly 500 million people - roughly a quarter of the world's population - and covered about 14.3 million square miles (17.4 million including Antarctic claims), almost a third of the world's total land area. During the mid-19th century Britain was the sole developed hyper-power, enjoying unparalleled prosperity. Britain was "the work-shop of the world," and even by 1870 she still was producing well over 30% of the global industrial output, no other nation coming even close to her production superiority.

In 1885 America and Germany can be considered as having become industrialised, but Britain was still the world's most developed nation until around 1913 when she was surpassed by America. Due to the supremacy of the Royal Navy, Britain truly did rule the waves for centuries. With territories scattered across every continent and ocean and in every time-zone, the "Empire Under Palm and Pine" was accurately described as "the empire on which the sun never sets." The Empire facilitated the spread of British technology, commerce, language, and government around much of the globe through Pax Britannica and British Imperial hegemony. The contributions the British Empire made to the world, the technology, philosophy, literature, medicine, investment, institutions, and plain advancements of mankind have left a profound legacy.

The British Empire consisted of various territories all over the world conquered or colonized by Britain from about 1600. It was expanded by commerce, trade, colonization, and sometimes conquest. Over all the Empire was built on commerce, not conquest. There were colonies conquered, but they were done for a reason. For instance, France hired the Mughal Empire to fight Britain, Britain then fought back and conquered the Mughal Empire which made up the Northwest corner of present day India. The 19th century saw the largest expansion of the Empire as the British took many former French possessions in the West Indies and began to settle in large numbers in Australia in the early part of the century and later competed fiercely with other European powers for territory in Africa.

At the same time, there was serious expansion in Asia, notably the acquisition of Singapore (1824), Hong Kong (1841), and Burma (1886), and the South Pacific, particularly the settlement of New Zealand (1840). The final big expansion of the empire was following World War I, when former German and Turkish territories were mandated to Britain and the Dominions. The only serious loss of territory was the loss of the 13 American colonies in the American Revolution of 1776 – 1783, which became the United States of America.

The British Empire was at its largest after the First World War – after 1918, consisting of over 25% of the world's population and 30% of its area. Since 1949, the British Empire was replaced by the

Commonwealth of Nations. Most colonies are now independent; today's Commonwealth is composed of former and remaining territories of the British Empire.

Building the Empire

The first successful British colony was Jamestown, Virginia, founded in 1607, although there was an earlier settlement at Newfoundland in 1583. The Empire was gradually built over the next two centuries as the British established colonies and trading posts in many parts of the world, as well as capturing them from other European empire builders. Settlements were made in Gambia and on the Gold Coast of Africa in 1618; in Bermuda in 1609 and other islands of the West Indies; Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655; in Canada, Acadia (Nova Scotia) was secured from France by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which recognized Newfoundland and Hudson Bay (as well as Gibraltar in Europe) as British. New France (much of Canada) became British as a result of the Seven Years' War of 1756-63.

In North America, the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic seaboard between French Canada and Spanish Florida were firmly established by 1733. The colonists had begun to plant cotton in the 17th century, and this plantation crop was grown on a very large scale by the late-18th century. This combined with a scattering of settlements in West Africa and the trade from the West Indies to create the 'Triangular Trade': British ships took manufactured goods and spirits to West Africa to exchange them for slaves which they landed in the West Indies and the southernmost of the Thirteen Colonies. The ships then returned to Britain with cargoes of cotton, rum, sugar, and tobacco, produced mainly by the labour of the slaves. Britain's prosperity was bound up with the slave trade, until it became illegal in 1807, by which time the Empire had ceased to be dependent upon the slave trade as other forms of commerce had become more profitable and Britain was starting to emerge as the leading industrial nation, inevitably reducing the economic demand for slave labour. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Empire made Britain one of the richest and most powerful nations in the world.

Exploration to Colonisation

The early growth of the Empire was not laid down in any coordinated plan and it was held together and administered by whatever means seemed most expedient for a particular time and place. Pirates, traders, soldiers, explorers, financial speculators, missionaries, convicts, and refugees all played a part in creating the British Empire. Private individuals or companies often provided the initial impetus for the exploration and subsequent exploitation of foreign lands, frequently in the face of government reluctance, but, increasingly, British governments were drawn in to maintain them. One of the early pioneers of British settlement in North America was William Penn, who gave his name to Pennsylvania.

The British ruling class developed a great interest in science during the 17th and 18th centuries and what started out as inquiry and exploration usually led to settlement and eventually colonization. Between 1768 and 1780, scientific naval expeditions commanded by Captain Cook explored the islands and coasts of the Pacific Ocean all the way from the entrance to the Arctic to the then unknown coasts of New Zealand and Australia. However, the British government showed little interest in annexing these southern lands until the loss of the American colonies deprived it of a dumping ground for the convicts and debtors who had up until then been deported to North America. Perhaps the best-known example of private initiative leading the way was the East India Company. An important exception was in the West Indies, where many members of Parliament had commercial interests and so there was frequent government intervention. However, as the Empire grew, Britain became a rich and powerful nation and by the late 19th century British policy tended towards imperialism, annexing countries for reasons of national prestige rather than solely for commercial gain.

Religious Missions

British missionaries of all denominations took the Christian religion throughout the Empire. Although they made relatively little impression in places where advanced religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam dominated, even in those areas their converts numbered several millions. Their success was greater in the West Indies and in Africa south of the Sahara. David Livingstone, a Scottish missionary, explored much of what is now Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Like several other intrepid explorers, such as Richard Burton, John Hanning Speke, and Sir Samuel Baker, Livingstone explored the River Nile. His journeys also took him to the Zambezi River and to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa (now Malawi). Following Livingstone's journeys, the Free Church of Scotland sent a mission to Nyasaland (now Malawi) in 1875, and the country became a British protectorate in 1891, a year after Bechuanaland (Botswana).

England

For almost four centuries following the Norman conquest in 1066, England was dominated by Kings who were often more concerned with their holdings in France. For fully three quarters of the time they were native French-speakers.

Henry III was succeeded in 1272 by his son, the warrior King Edward I. He finally conquered Wales in 1282, and made it a principality to be held by the heir to the English throne. Scotland became a dependency in 1290. It regained its independence under Robert the Bruce in 1328, although with a border adjusted in favour of England by Edward III in 1334. By then, the Plantagenets were again preoccupied with France. In 1331, Edward III, grandson of Edward I, had declined to do homage to the King of France, breaking the custom which had been established in 1066. He did so because not because he wanted England to be independent from France, but because he had decided (not without some justice) that his claim to the throne of France was stronger than its incumbent, Phillip VI. He made this claim official in 1337, beginning the Hundred Years War (which actually lasted until 1453, with occasional truces). Edward overrun all of Aquitaine, but could not gain recognition of his claim to the French throne. In 1360 he abandoned that claim in return for recognition of his conquests. By this time, the ruling class in England had begun speaking English rather than French, although the royal family remained bilingual.

By 1455, for the first time since 1066 the Kingdom of England had no significant connections with the Continent. This was to continue under the Tudors (1485-1603) who instead concentrated upon bringing the whole British Isles under their rule. The siege of Orleans failed when the French were spurred to take the initiative by Joan of Arc. Although she was captured and judiciously murdered in 1431, her achievements had shattered the English reputation for invincibility. By 1453 England had lost all its holdings in France (except for Calais, which it kept for another century, and the Channel Isles, which still remain). By this time, the Kingdom of England was on the verge of civil war, between the junior Plantagenet houses of Lancaster (under the mad King Henry VI) and York (under Richard, his regent, who had claimed the throne). The war was to last 30 years (1455-85), and allowed the Scots to regain their pre-1334 frontier. The "wars of the Roses" -- both houses had Roses as their symbols -- would see the end of many noble families, creating new opportunities for "native" English and Welsh families. Indeed, the Lancastrian victor of 1485 was Henry Tudor, whose surname was derived from his Welsh grandfather. Many Welshmen even saw Henry VII's victory, at the head of a largely Welsh army, as fulfilling the prophecy that they would one day regain all of Britain. In 1536 his son Henry VIII removed the political institutions that had stigmatized Wales as a conquered country, but the new united Kingdom was still generally known as England, and it was English law which prevailed. Henry VIII is most famous of course for founding the church of England in 1534. Its ambiguous status (anti-Papist, but not really Protestant) and imposition from above caused recurrent religious and political problems in the Kingdom for a century and a half. It also made it necessary for Ireland to be made a Kingdom in 1541, in personal union with the Kingdom of England, because the lordship of Ireland had been a Papal grant. During the

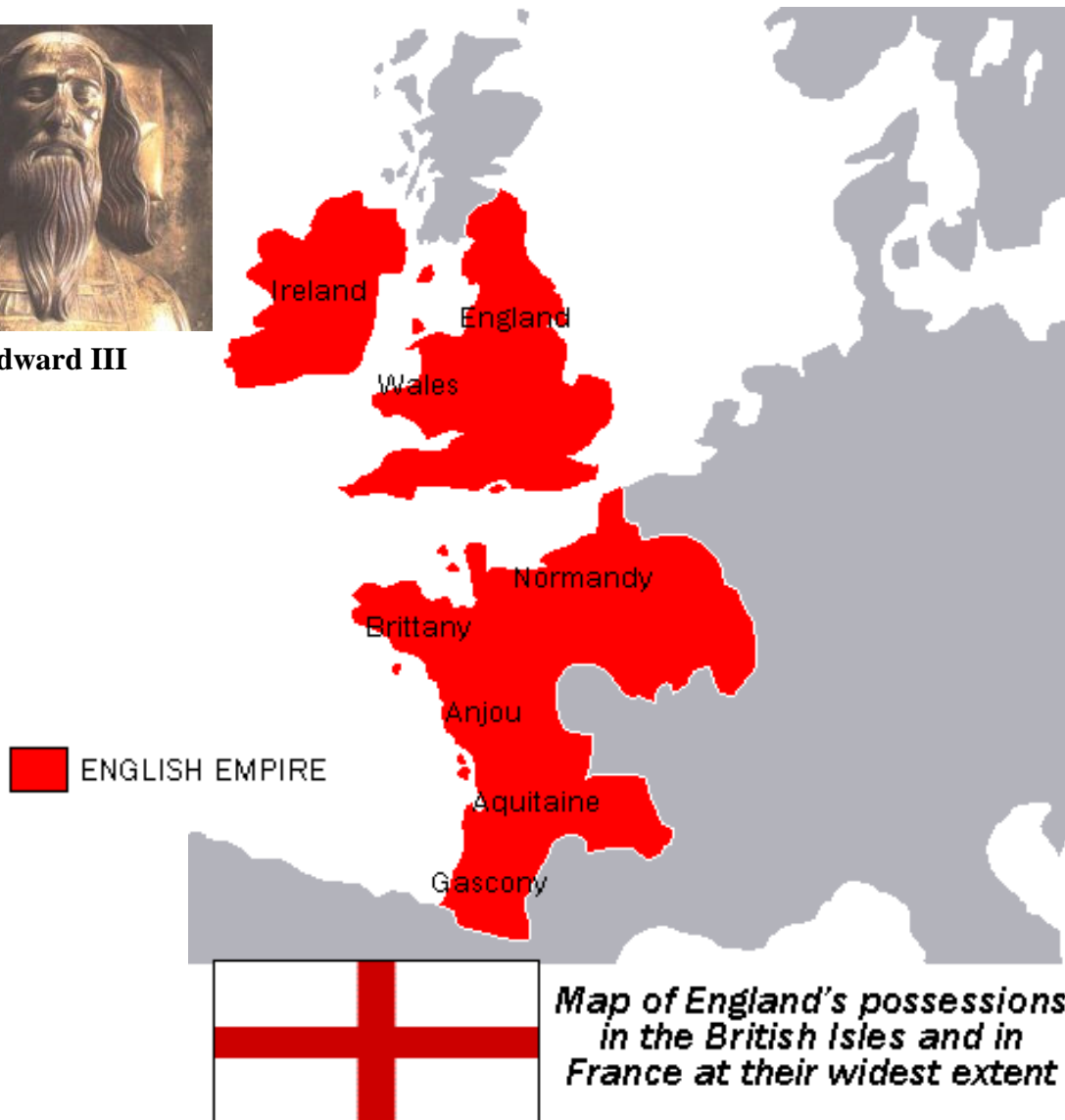
reign of Henry VIII's daughter Elizabeth I (1558-1603), English rule over Ireland was made effective for the first time. In her reign, the English fleet enabled England to found its first trans-oceanic colonies (in North America) and prevented an invasion by Europe's greatest power by defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588.

On the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1603, the Kingdoms of England and Ireland were inherited by her nephew, James Stuart, King of Scotland. In this way the British Isles came under one monarch for the first time. Although James considered himself King of Great Britain (and Ireland), the parliaments of England and Scotland remained independent of each other. Shortly afterwards the first really successful English colony in North America, was established.

THE ENGLISH EMPIRE IN 1360



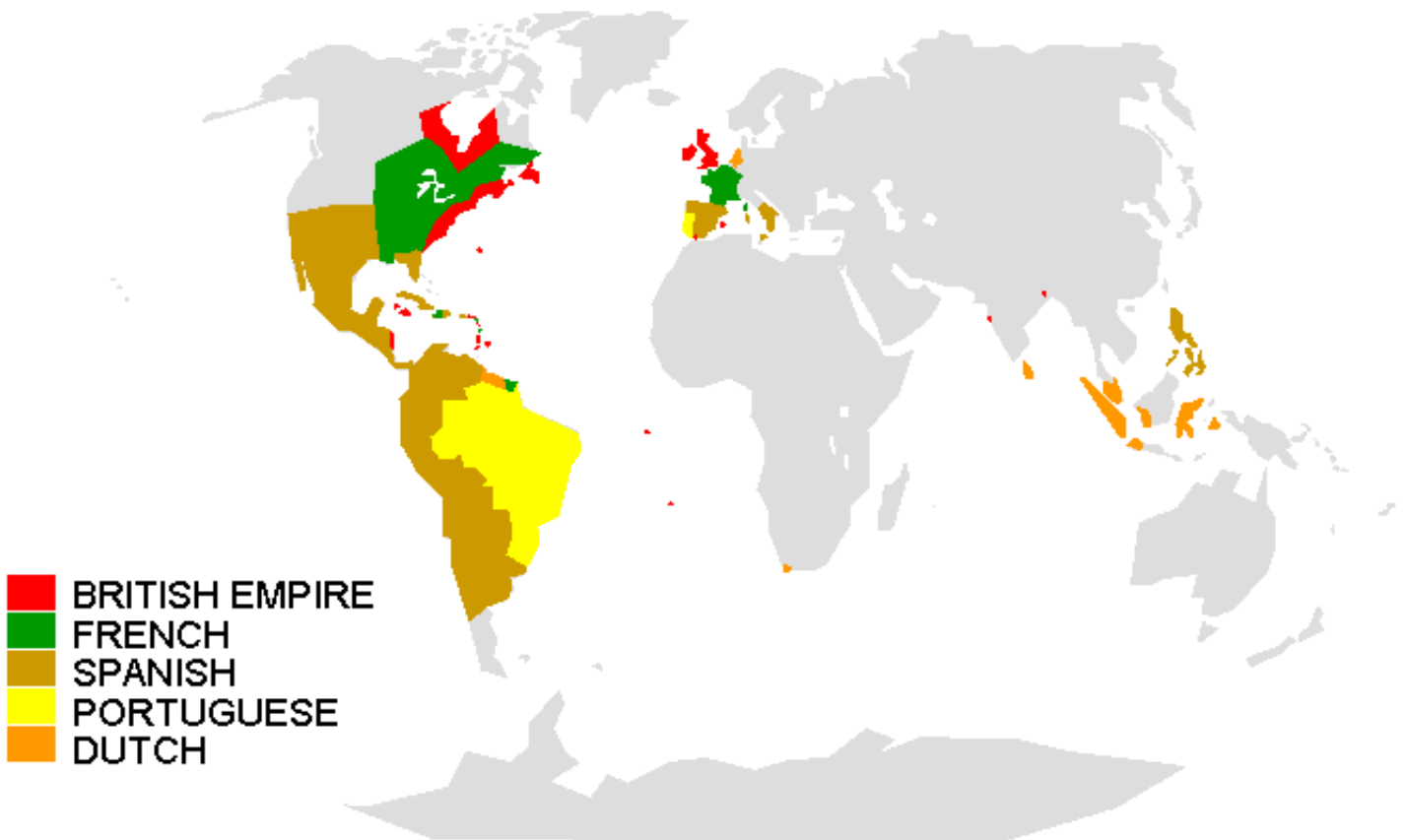
Edward III



Scotland

Scottish project to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Panama (Darién). In 1695, the Scottish Parliament passed an act that chartered a company for trading with Africa and the Indies. William Paterson directed the first efforts of the company to found a colony on the Isthmus of Panama to compete with the Dutch and Spanish for trade. Stock was subscribed in England and Scotland, but opposition by the English government and by the East India Company caused English investors to withdraw. The company's two expeditions (1698, 1699) failed because of poor leadership and equipment, disease, and the hostility of the Spanish; many lives were lost. The failure, with its immense losses to Scottish investors, vividly demonstrated Scotland's commercial disadvantage outside the British realm. By the terms of the Act of Union with England (1707), Scotland secured equality in trade. Investors in the Darién venture were partially indemnified for their losses

COLONIAL EMPIRES IN 1720



United Kingdom

Today's British state is the latest of several unions formed over the last 1000 years. Scotland and England have existed as separate unified entities since the 10th century. Wales, under English control since the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284, became part of the Kingdom of England by the Laws in Wales Act 1535.

With the Act of Union 1707, the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland, having shared the same monarch since 1603, agreed to a permanent union as the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The Act of Union 1800 united the United Kingdom of Great Britain with the Kingdom of Ireland, which had been

gradually brought under English control between 1169 and 1691, to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

After bitter fighting which echoes down to the current political strife, the Anglo-Irish Treaty partitioned Ireland into the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland in 1921, with the latter remaining part of the United Kingdom. As provided for in the treaty, Northern Ireland, which consists of six of the nine counties of the Irish province of Ulster, immediately opted out of the Free State and to remain in the UK. The nomenclature of the UK was changed in 1927 to recognise the departure of most of Ireland, with the current name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland being adopted. A devolved Scottish Parliament, a Welsh Assembly and a Northern Irish Assembly were established in 1999.

BRITISH ISLES



James Stuart, King of Scotland and England



The United Kingdom, the dominant industrial and maritime power of the 19th century, played a leading role in developing Western world ideas of property, liberty, capitalism and parliamentary democracy - to say nothing of its part in advancing world literature and science. At its zenith during the first half of the 20th century, the British Empire stretched over one quarter of the earth's surface.

The effects of World War I and World War II saw the UK's strength seriously depleted. The second half of the 20th century saw the replacement of the Empire with the Commonwealth of Nations and the UK rebuilding itself.

Europe

Much of France was held by the English kings after the Norman conquest of England in 1066. However, this was gradually lost to the French by 1455. The Channel Islands off the French coast, consisting of the Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey, and smaller islands of Sark and Alderney, remained English and are now Dependencies of the British Crown. The Isle of Man, situated in the Irish Sea, half way between England and Ireland, is also a Crown Dependency. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man are not parts of the United Kingdom, like England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, but are self-governing Dependencies with a direct link to the British Crown, but not the British Government.

During the War of Spanish Succession, which began in 1701, Gibraltar, a peninsular on the southern tip of Spain, in the Mediterranean, was besieged (1704) by a squadron commanded by Sir George Rooke and a land force of 1800 English and Dutch under Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt; after three days the city was captured (24 July). In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, it became definitively a British possession, though many attempts were made by the Spaniards to regain it.

To this day, Gibraltar remains a British possession. In 1998, it ceased to have the status of a Crown Colony and became a British Dependent Territory. Its residents are British Overseas Citizens. Spain does not recognize British control of Gibraltar and still claims it as part of its territory.

During the Napoleonic Wars of the early 1800's, the British recognized that Malta was essential for the British fleet in the Mediterranean. It was captured by the British from the French in 1800 and finally recognized as a British colony in the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Malta became a self-governing Dominion in 1921, but then reverted back to the status of a Crown Colony in 1933 for financial reasons.

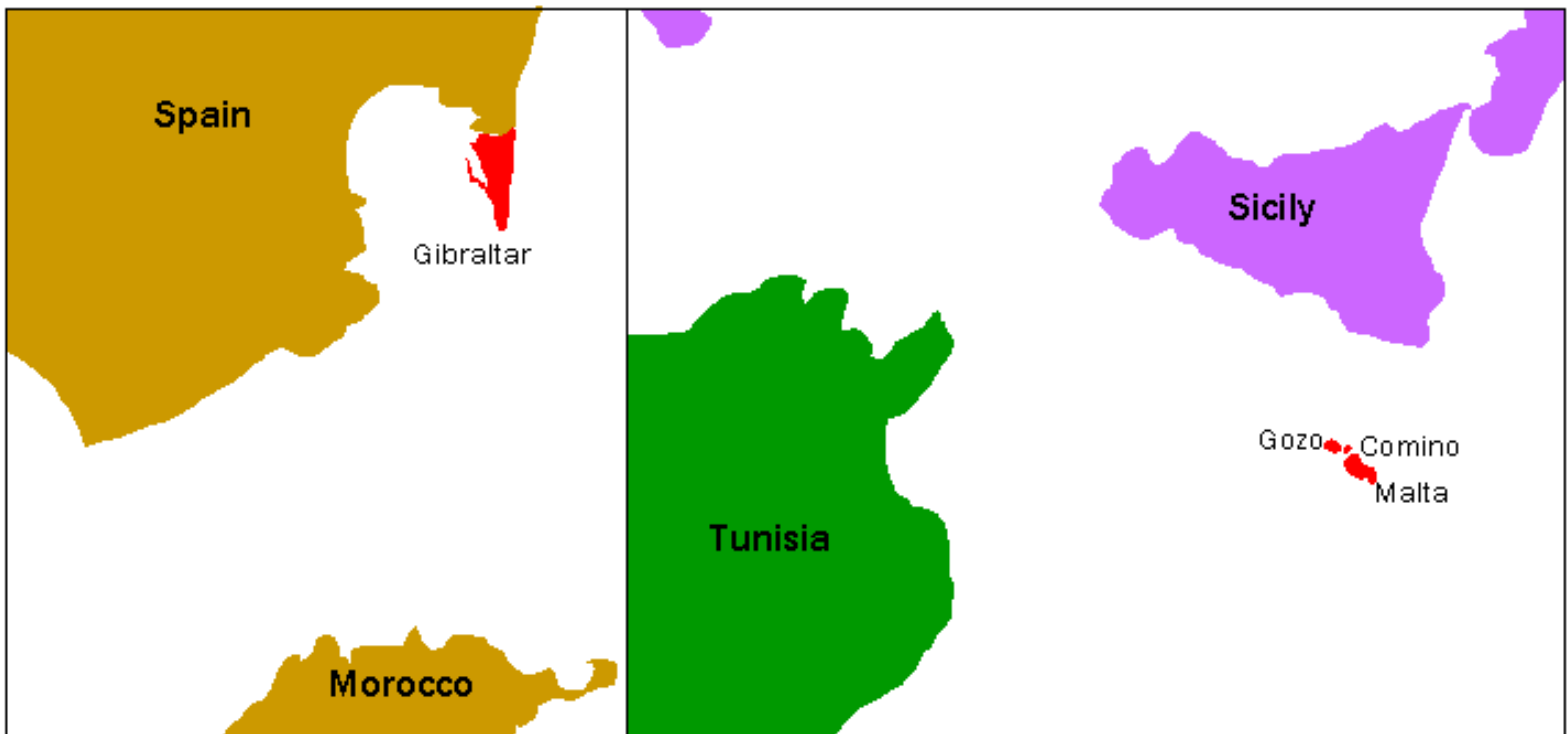
During the Second World War, in 1941 and 1942, Malta was besieged and fiercely bombarded by both German and Italian aircraft. King George VI awarded the island the George Cross medal on 15 April 1942 for gallantry in withstanding the enemy air bombardment. Internal self-government was established in Malta in September 1947.

Also as a result of the Napoleonic wars, Britain gained control of the island of Heligoland, off the northwest coast of Germany, in 1814. This was given to Germany in 1890 in exchange for British control of Zanzibar, off the east coast of Africa, next to then German East Africa (later British Tanganyika).

Another prize of the Napoleonic Wars, was the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean off the coast of Greece. The British drove the French out of the islands and annexed them in 1814. They were transferred to Greek control in 1863 out of respect for the wishes of the majority of its people.

Today, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Malta and Cyprus are all members of the European Union. Gibraltar, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man remain British Dependencies, but are not considered to be parts of the European Union.

GIBRALTAR AND MALTA



West Indies

The West Indies was a very attractive target for colonization due to the huge commercial possibilities of the region, mainly the rum and sugar produced there.

Bermuda was settled in 1609. It has the oldest Parliament outside of Britain. Between 1623 and 1632, English settlers occupied St Kitts, Barbados, St Croix (later lost), Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat. Cromwell's forces took Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, although it was not officially ceded until 1760, and the tiny Atlantic island of St Helena was annexed in 1673. Belize (British Honduras) was governed as part of Jamaica until 1884.

In 1678, England also took control of the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua in Central America. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) between the United States and Great Britain checked British expansion, but relinquishment of the coast was delayed until a separate treaty was concluded with Nicaragua (1860), which established the autonomy of the so-called Mosquito Kingdom. In 1894, the territory's anomalous position was ended when it was forcibly incorporated into Nicaragua.

North America

Following the early settlement in Virginia in 1607, British colonies spread up and down the east coast of North America and by 1664, when the English secured New Amsterdam (New York) from the Dutch, there was a continuous fringe of colonies from the present South Carolina in the south to what is now

New Hampshire. These colonies, and others formed later, had their own democratic institutions. By 1720, thirteen British colonies existed on what is now the eastern seaboard of the United States.

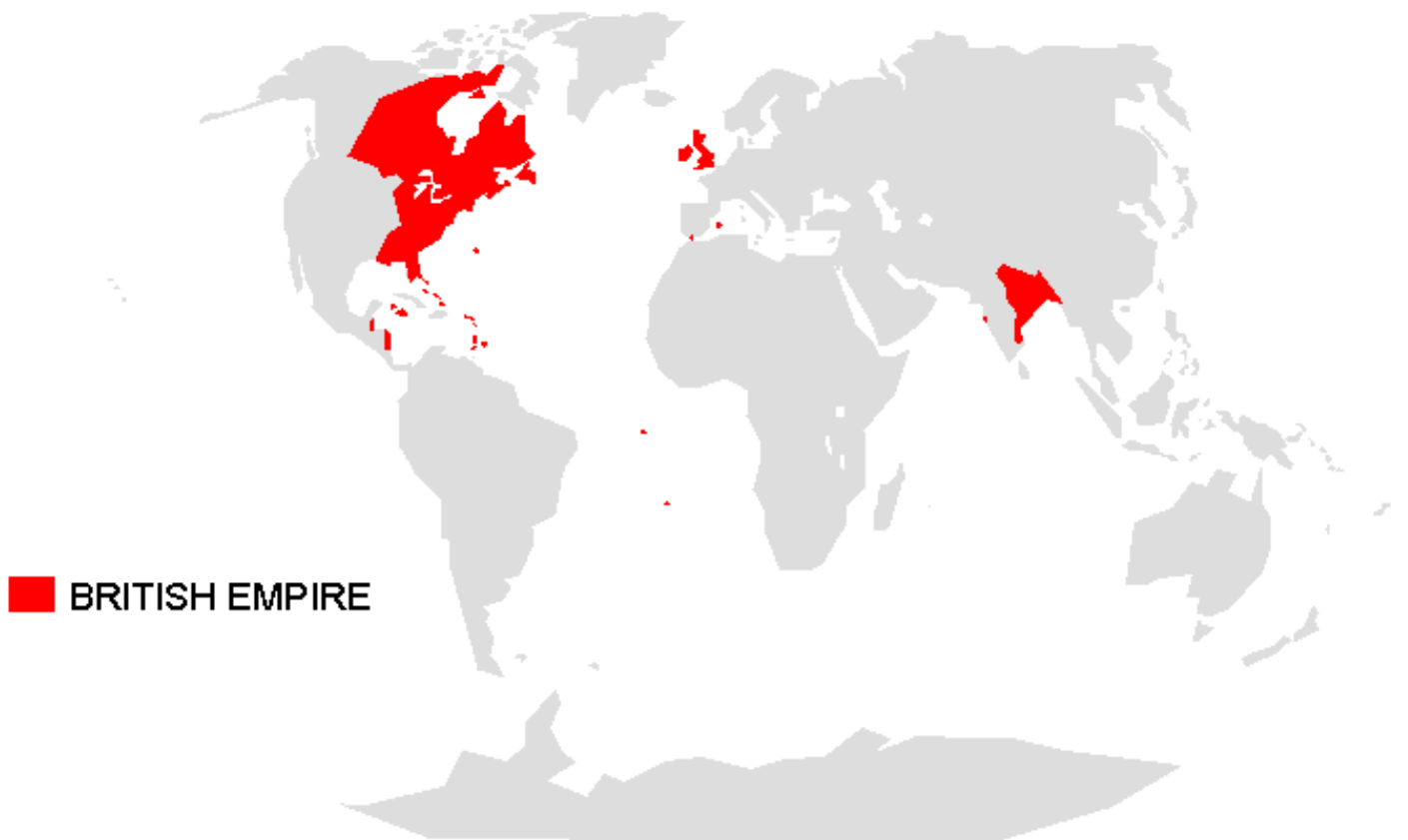
From 1756-1763, Britain, whose forces were led by James Wolfe, defeated France in North America and took control of France's possessions in the continent, mostly in what is now Canada. Britain now controlled the entire eastern half of North America from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Islands.

A dispute regarding taxes, involving the American colonists, roused them to resistance under the leadership of George Washington, which came to a head in the American Revolution of 1775-1781 and led to the creation of the independent republic of the United States of America from the thirteen British colonies. George Washington became the republic's first President. American colonists who remained loyal to Great Britain, called United Empire Loyalists, fled to Canada and settled mostly in southern Ontario and the Maritimes. Many Ontario cities and towns were founded by these loyalists.

The Canadian colonies, some of which were taken from France in 1763 remained loyal to Britain. Constitutional development in Canada started with an act of 1791 which set up Lower Canada (Quebec), mainly French-speaking, and Upper Canada (Ontario), mainly English-speaking.

In the War of 1812, the U.S.A. tried unsuccessfully to annex Canada. However, in both the Canadas, there was sufficient discontent to lead to rebellion in 1837. After the suppression of these risings, Lord Durham was sent out to advise on the affairs of British North America; his report, published in 1839, became the basis for the future structure of the Empire. In accordance with his recommendations, the two Canadas were united in 1840 and given a representative legislative council: the beginning of colonial self-government.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1763



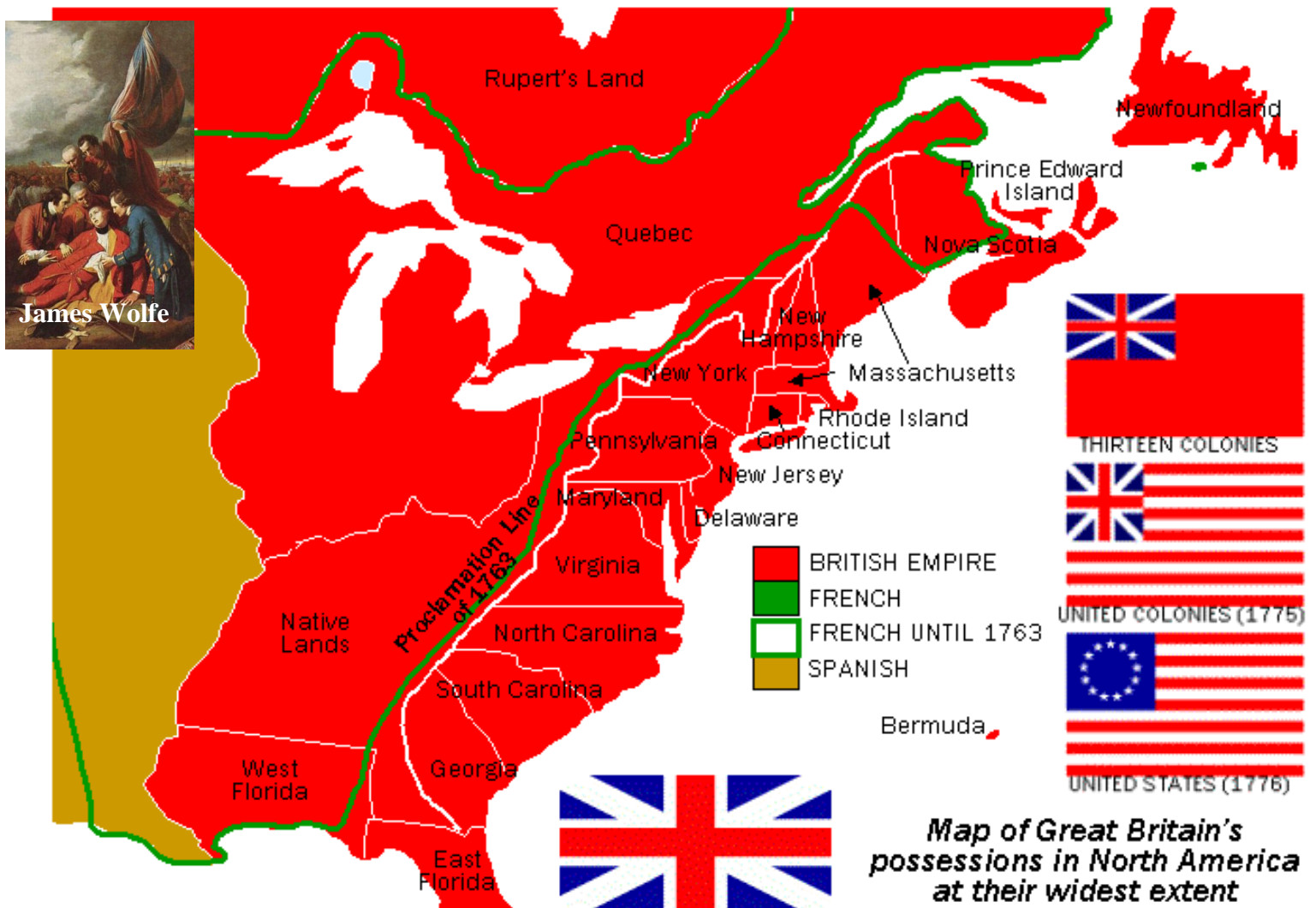
Fear of further American invasion of Canada led to a movement among leading Canadian colonial politicians for a unified federation of the British North American colonies which would be strong, united, self-governing and could defend itself.

With the British North America Act of 1867, the autonomous Dominion of Canada came into existence with the union of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Later, further territories were added until the federal government of the Dominion of Canada controlled all the northern part of the continent, except Alaska, which belonged to the U.S.A. Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, followed by Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 all became provinces of the Dominion. The British Government transferred the Arctic islands in the north to the Dominion government in 1880.

Newfoundland, a self-governing Dominion from 1917, reverted back to the status of a Crown Colony in 1933 due to financial reasons. It became the last new province of Canada, joining the confederation in 1949, after a referendum.

Currently, a movement is underway to promote the idea of the Turks and Caicos Islands, a British colony in the Caribbean, to possibly become Canada's eleventh province.

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN EMPIRE IN 1763



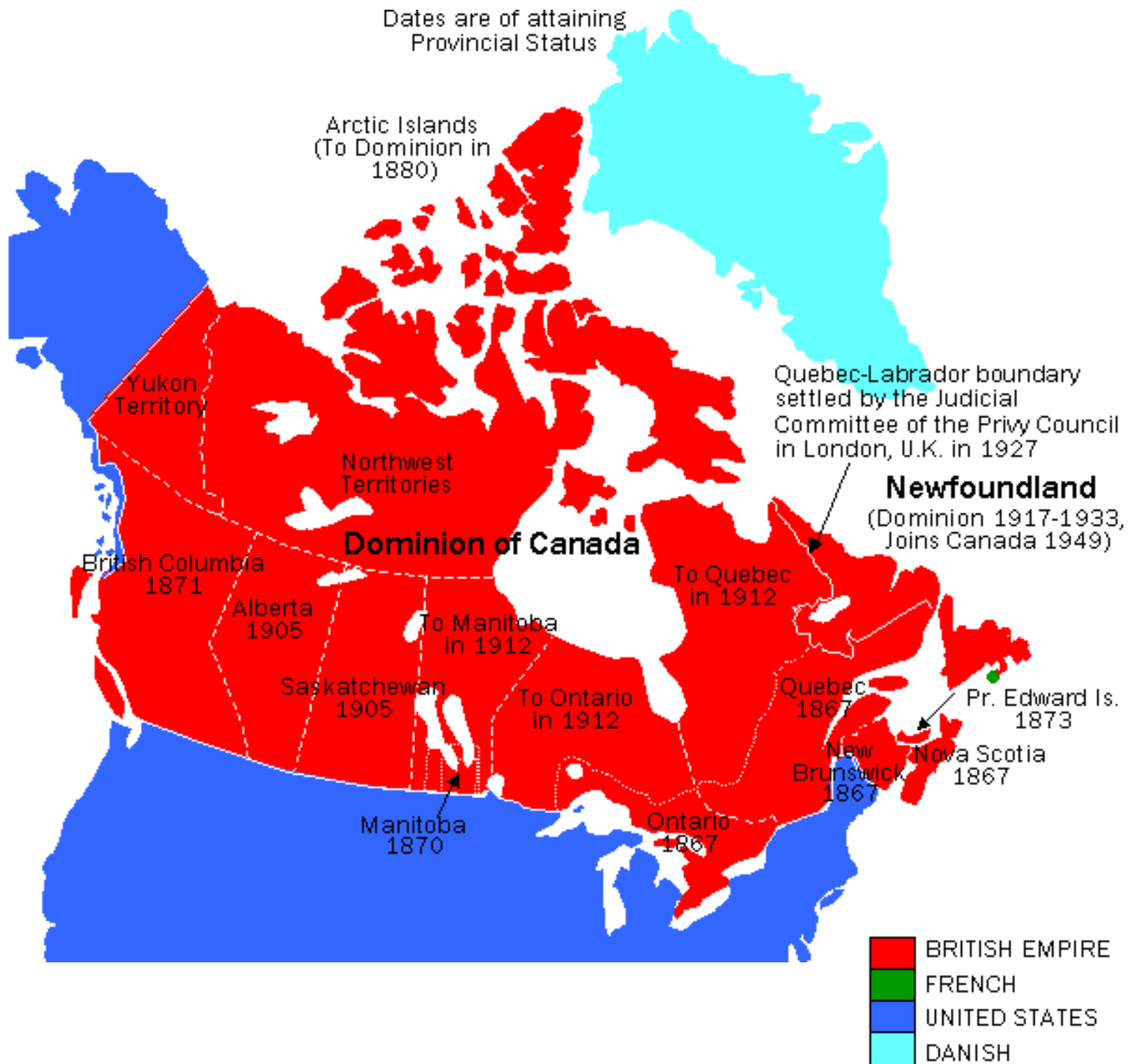
NORTH AMERICA



George Washington

-  BRITISH EMPIRE
-  FRENCH
-  DUTCH
-  UNITED STATES
-  DANISH

DOMINION OF CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND



South America

South America is the one part of the world where British expansion was rather small. Only British Guiana, taken from the Dutch in 1803, and the Falkland Islands, annexed in 1833, were successfully added to the British Empire in this part of the world.

Venezuela claimed a large part of western British Guiana, which it still claims today. Britain, at one time, did have plans for a much larger empire in South America. After the loss of the North American colonies, the British decided to expand into the Spanish Colonies of South America.

In 1795, a Scot by the name of Nicholas Vansittart wrote a white paper clearly outlining a way to take South America away from Spain. The British Government initially approved the Vansittart plan but later cancelled it, in 1797. A Scottish Major General, Sir Thomas Maitland, a friend of Nicholas Vansittart, revised the Vansittart plan in the early 1800's.

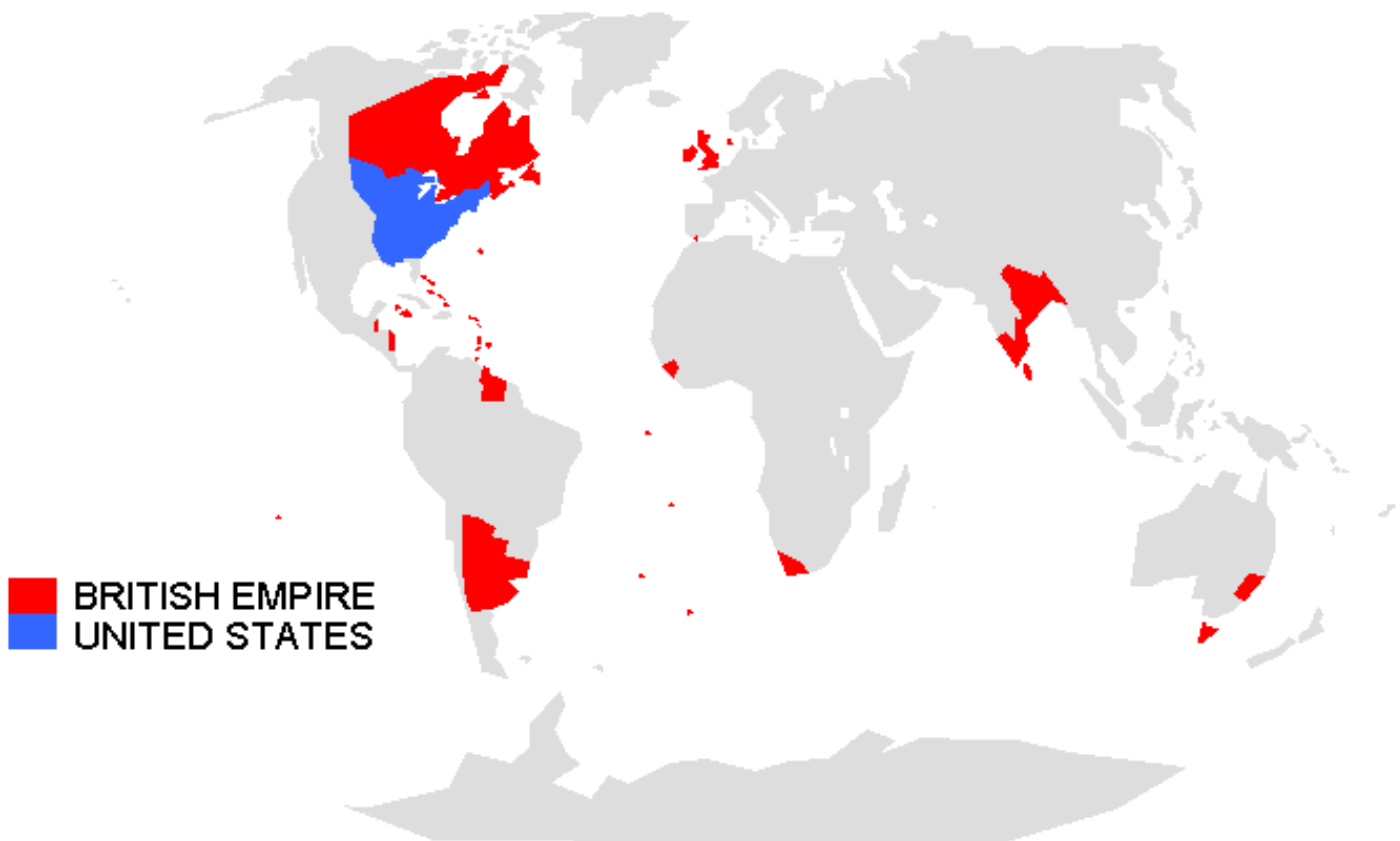
The British Government approved this plan and it subsequently changed its name to the Maitland plan. The Maitland plan was put into effect during the Napoleonic War in 1806. Great Britain used the fact that Spain was now technically an ally of France as the excuse to start the war.

Great Britain sent an expeditionary force of 1,600 men to invade Buenos Aires, in Argentina, under General William Carr. This attempt failed.

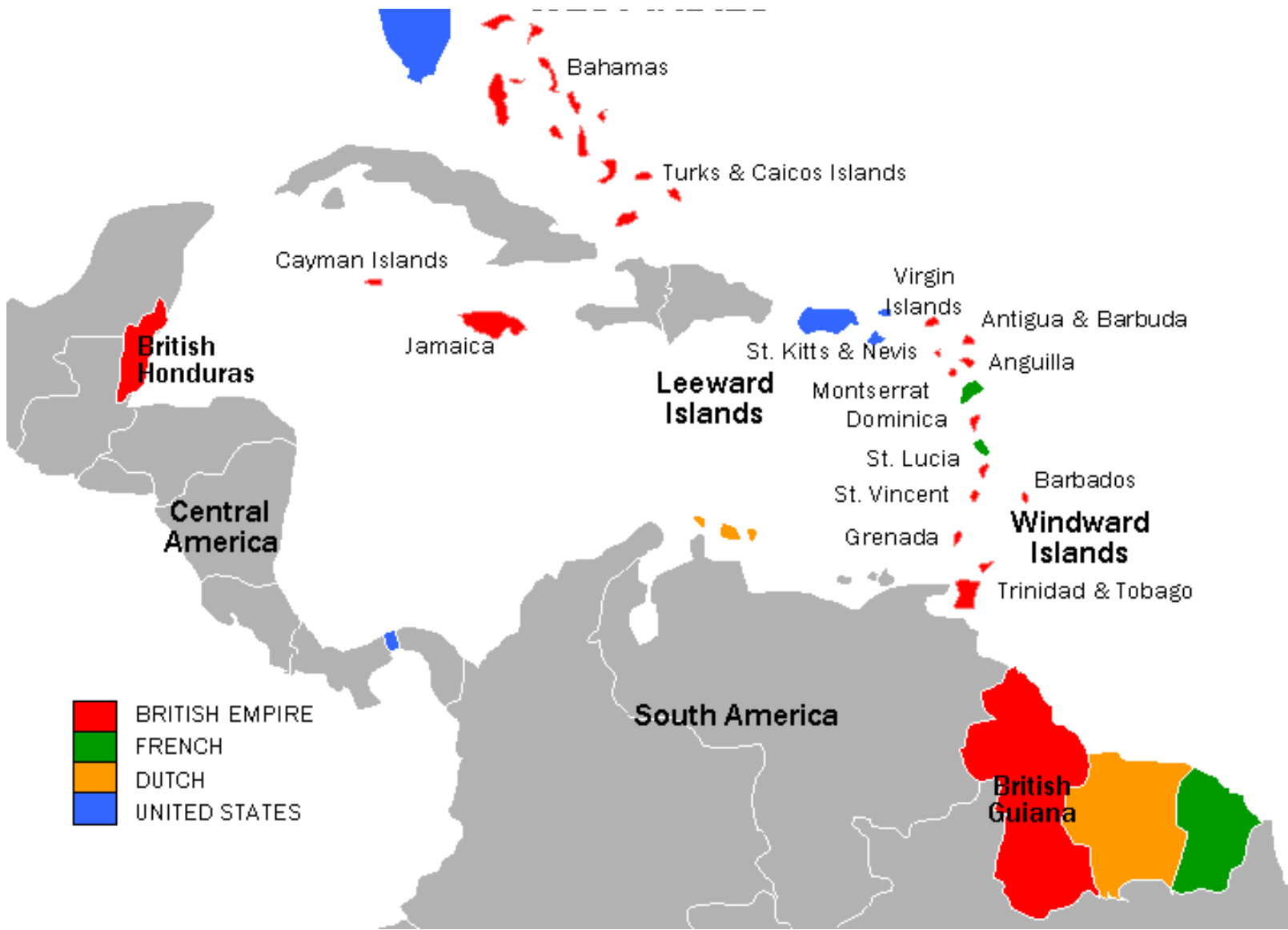
A year later, an invasion army of 11,000 men arrived in Buenos Aires under the orders of General John Whitelocke. At the same time, a second fleet with 4,000 men captured Montevideo and used the city as a staging post and communications centre. The Spanish colonial authorities in Buenos Aires were made to swear allegiance to the British Crown. The people of Buenos Aires single-handedly defeated this huge invasion force in hand-to-hand and street-by-street fighting.

The planned extensive British Empire in South America was never established as most of the countries on the continent became independent in the early 19th Century. Many British people decided to settle in Argentina and the country now has a large British community of over 500,000 people, including a Welsh-speaking community in Patagonia at the continent's southern end.

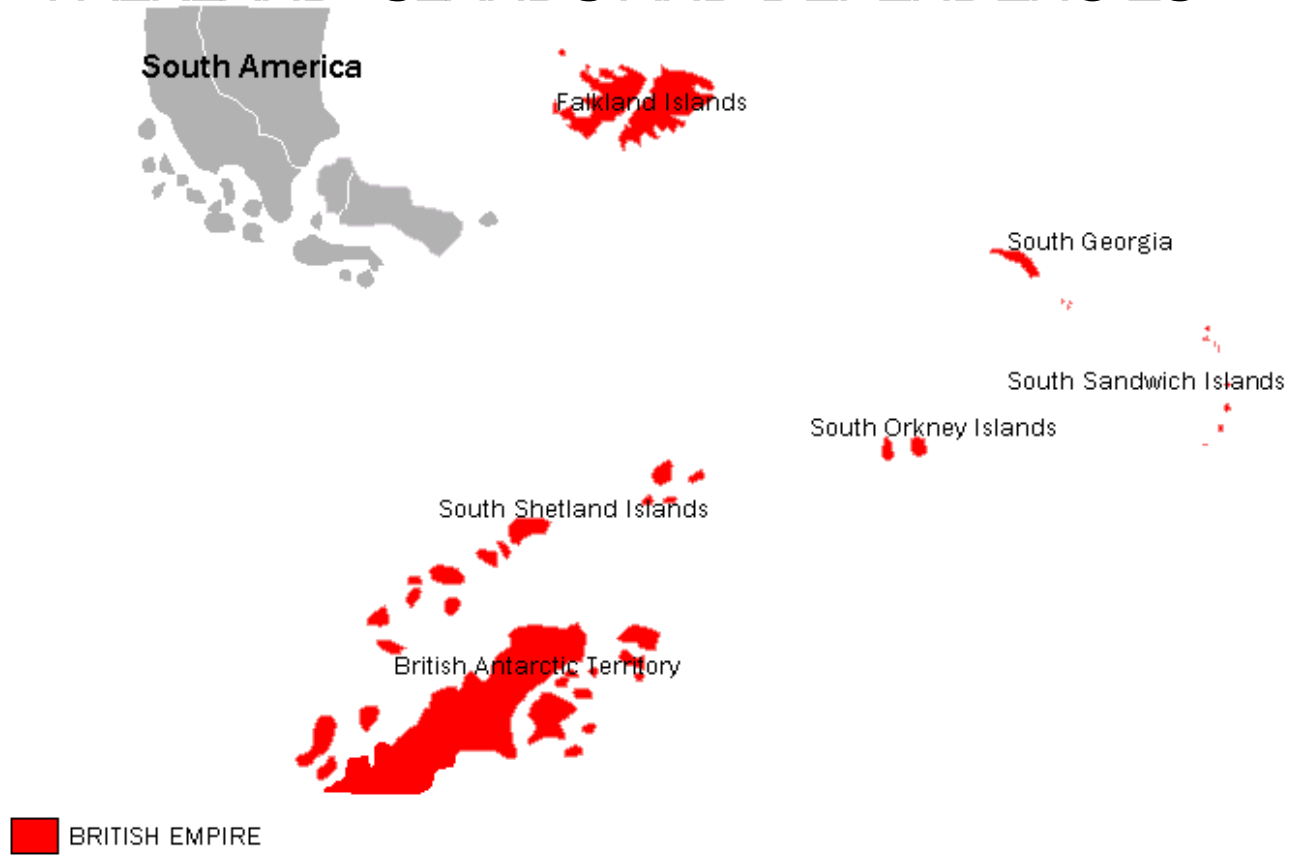
THE BRITISH EMPIRE & THE UNITED STATES IN 1807



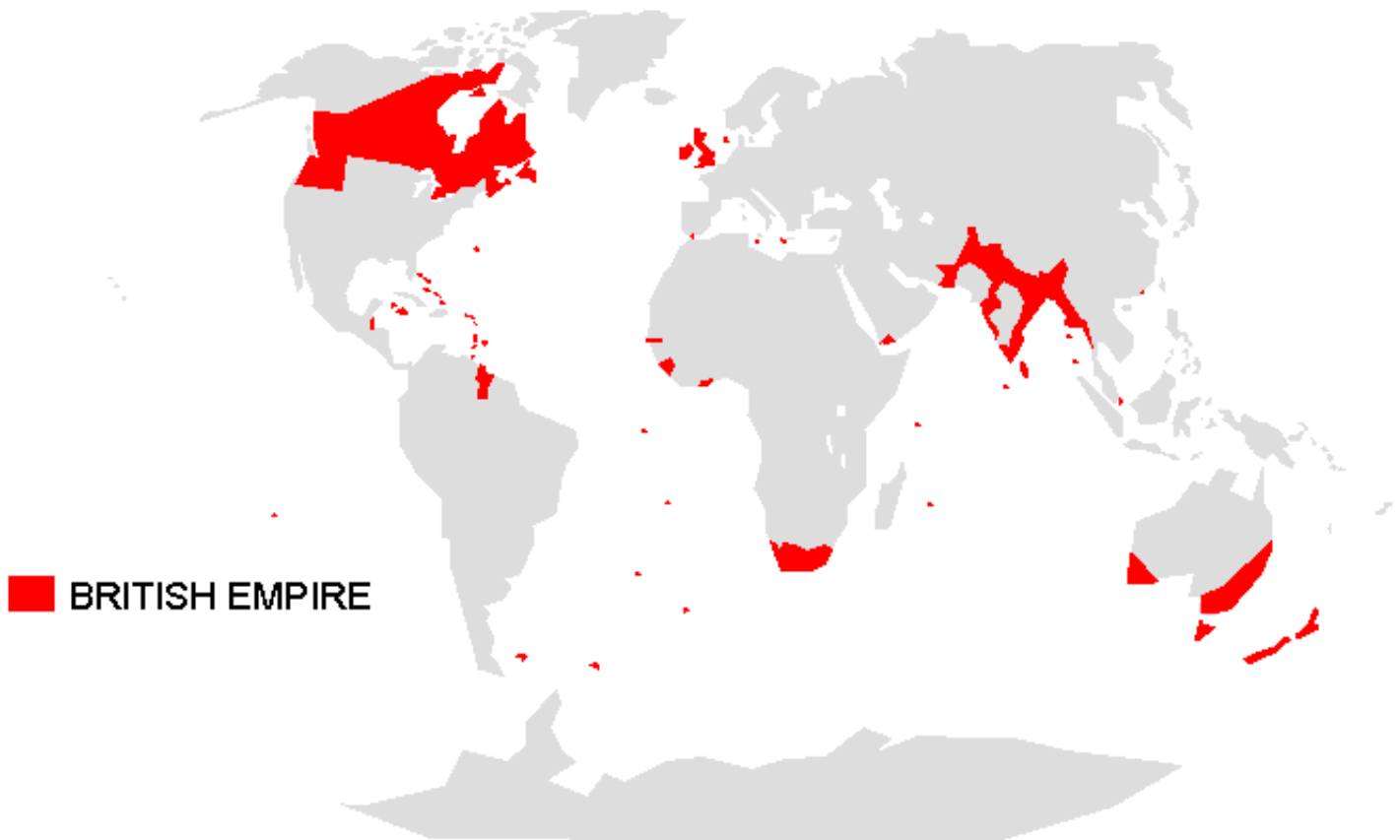
WEST INDIES, BRITISH HONDURAS AND GUIANA



FALKLAND ISLANDS AND DEPENDENCIES



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1845



Largest Expansion of the Empire

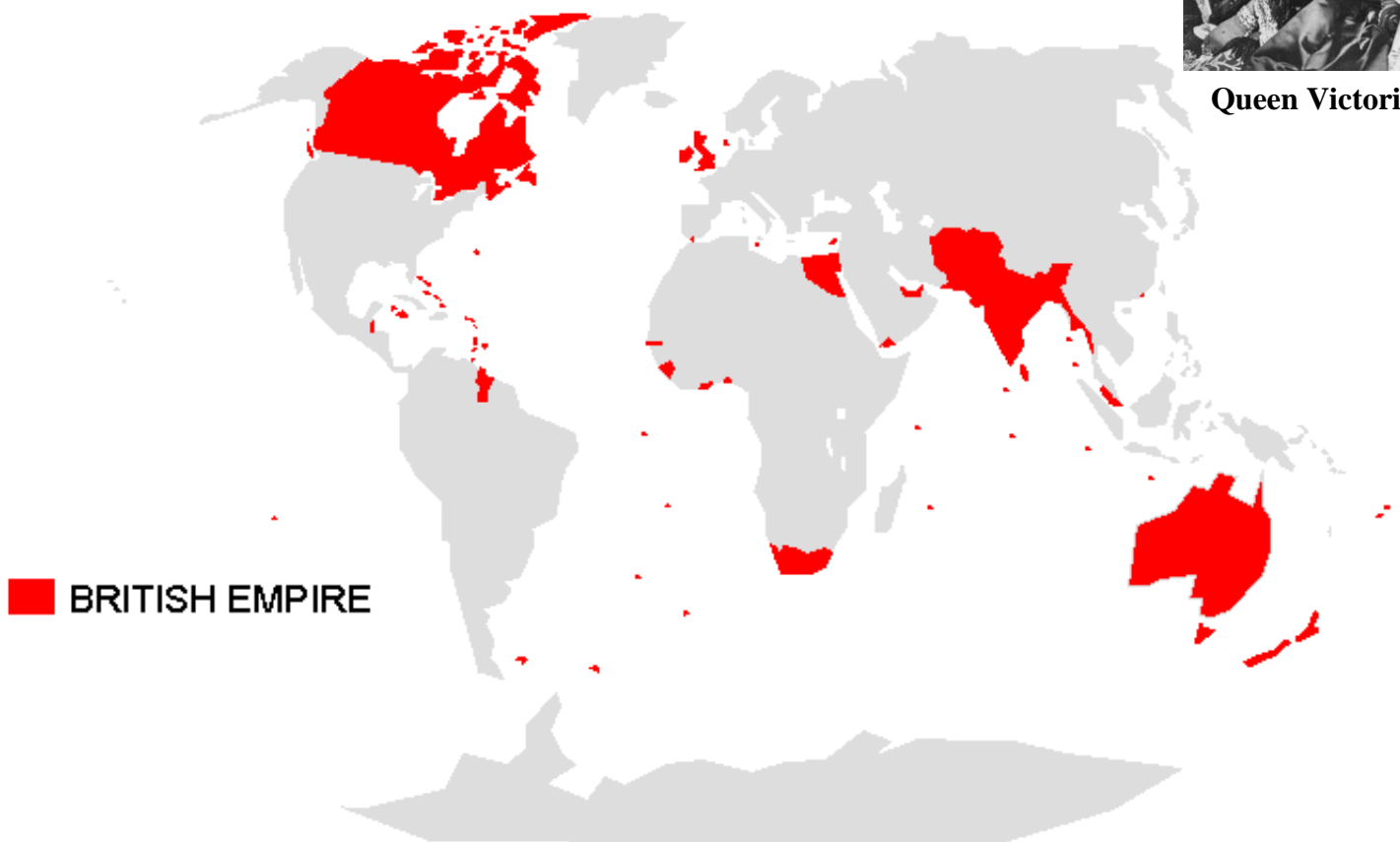
The British Empire underwent several growth ‘spurts’. Its largest expansion was during the Victorian era (1837 to 1901). During the first half of the nineteenth century, expansion of the Empire was mostly in Asia with the creation of the Indian Empire by 1877 and the annexation of Burma in the 1880’s. Aden was annexed in 1839 and an invasion of Afghanistan was launched during the same year. Britain also established a presence in Malaya and annexed Hong Kong. The surrounding New Territories were added to Hong Kong by a 99-year lease in 1898.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the ‘Grab for Africa’ with the annexation of large stretches of the African continent. In 1815, Britain had only footholds in the Cape of Good Hope and in west Africa. In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and the major African additions soon followed. Throughout the 1880’s and 1890’s, Britain’s west African possessions were expanded and a great north-south corridor of British rule was created up the east side of Africa ultimately connecting the Cape of Good Hope with Egypt under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes and his ‘Cape to Cairo’ plan. This ended with the annexation of the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on the conclusion of the Boer War in 1902. In 1910, these were united with the Cape Colony and Natal to form a new Dominion known as the Union of South Africa. Only German East Africa then stood in the way of the completion of this ‘Cape to Cairo’ corridor.



Queen Victoria

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1882

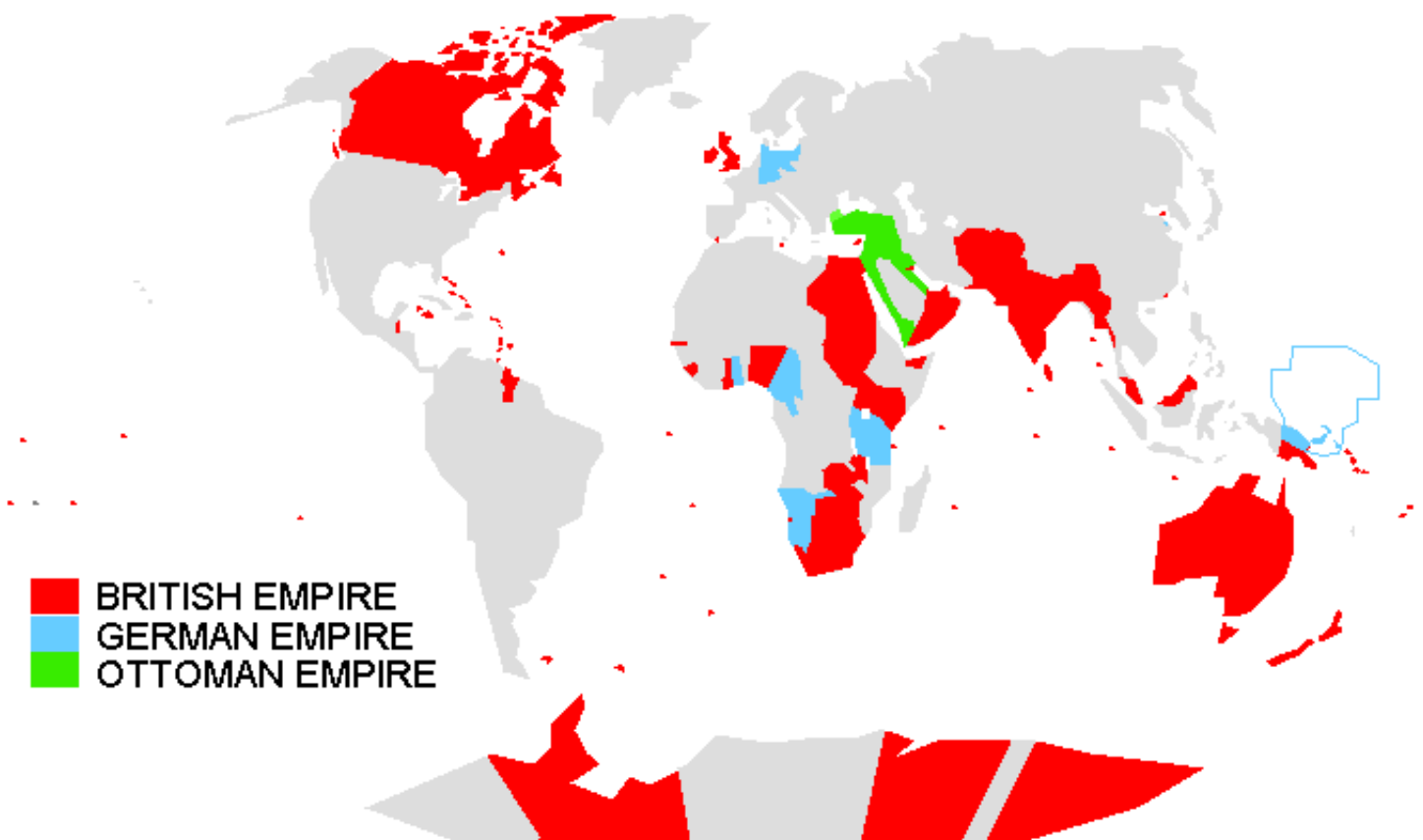


In 1908, Britain laid claim to a large section of Antarctica, immediately south of the Falkland Islands. Australia also claimed part of the Antarctic in 1933.

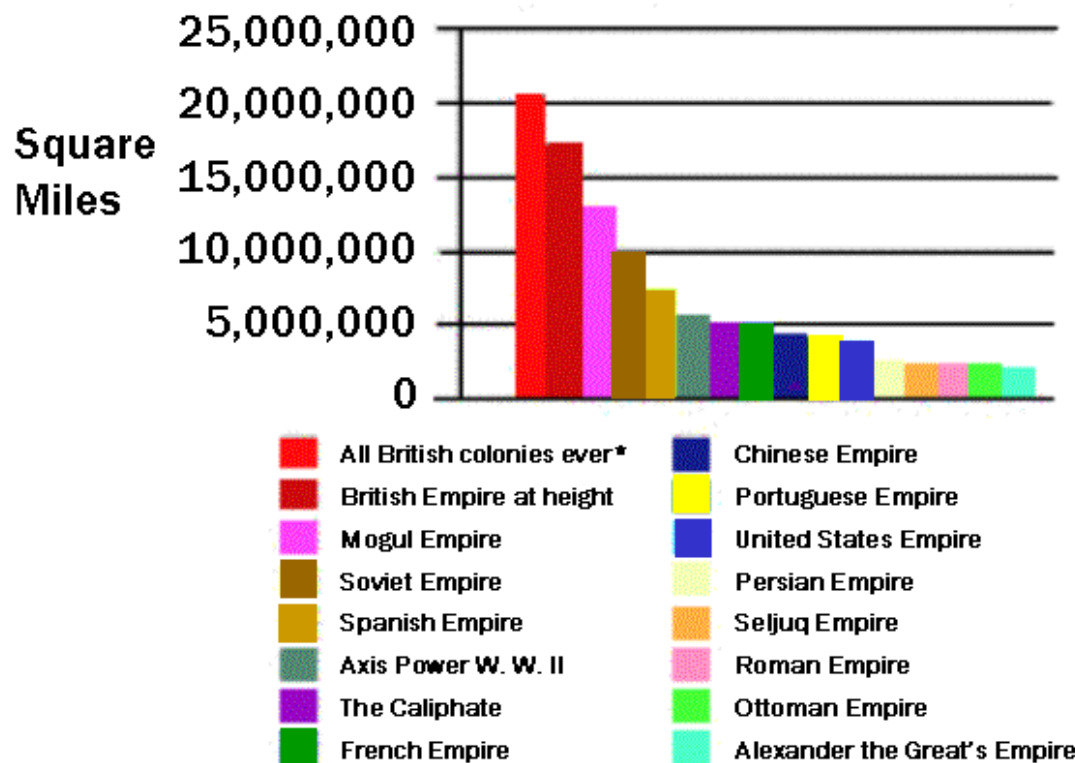
The final large expansion of the British Empire came after the First World War in 1919, when former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific became British, thus completing the British 'Cape to Cairo' corridor in Africa, and the annexation of former Ottoman Turkish provinces in the Middle East of Palestine and Mesopotamia (Iraq). After a rebellion against the British in 1919, Egypt gained independence in 1922, but with British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone continuing.

The British Empire therefore reached its widest extent between the two world wars in the period 1918 to 1942. Japan occupied the British Far Eastern possessions after 1942. These were restored to British control in 1945 and Italian territories in North Africa were administered by Britain also in 1945. However, by this time, imperialism was no longer acceptable and Britain was severely economically weakened, so by 1948, the Empire began its decline.

THE BRITISH, GERMAN AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES IN 1914



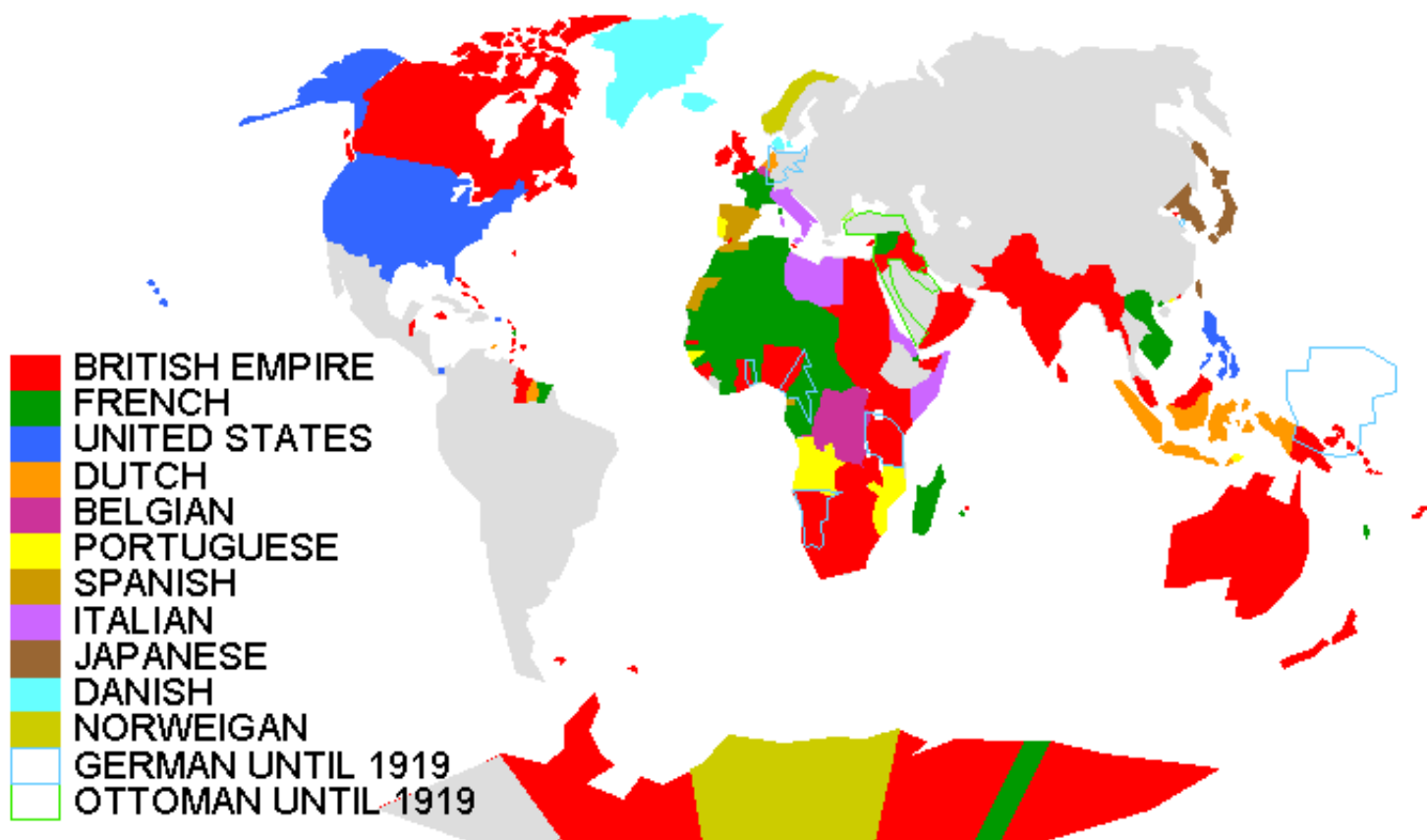
The Size of the biggest empires ever at their height



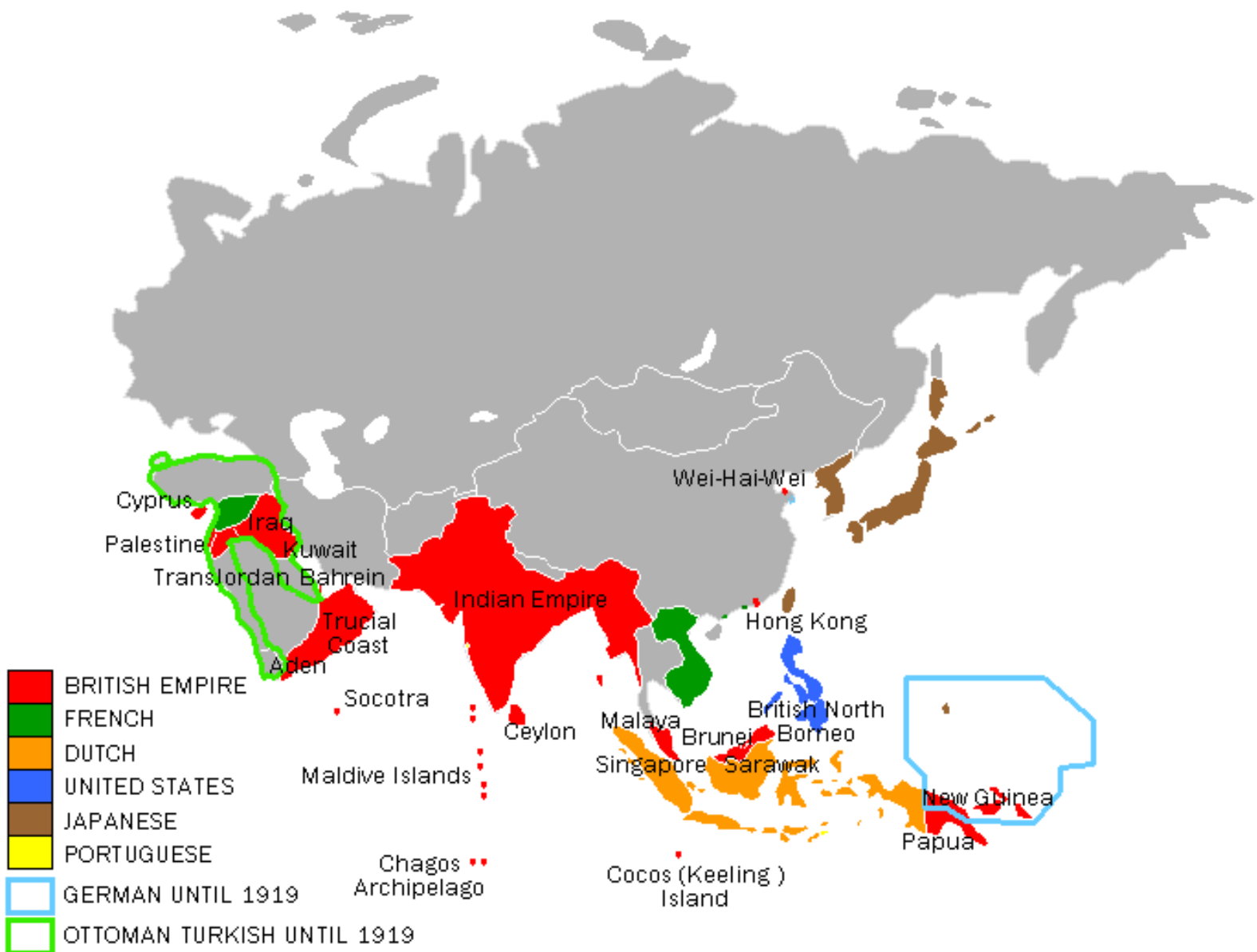
* Including Antarctica

This graph courtesy of Dylan Peacock

COLONIAL EMPIRES IN 1920



ASIA

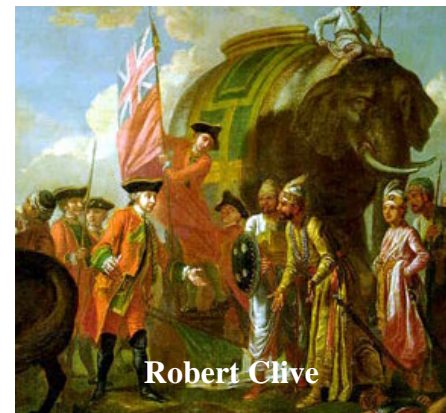


India

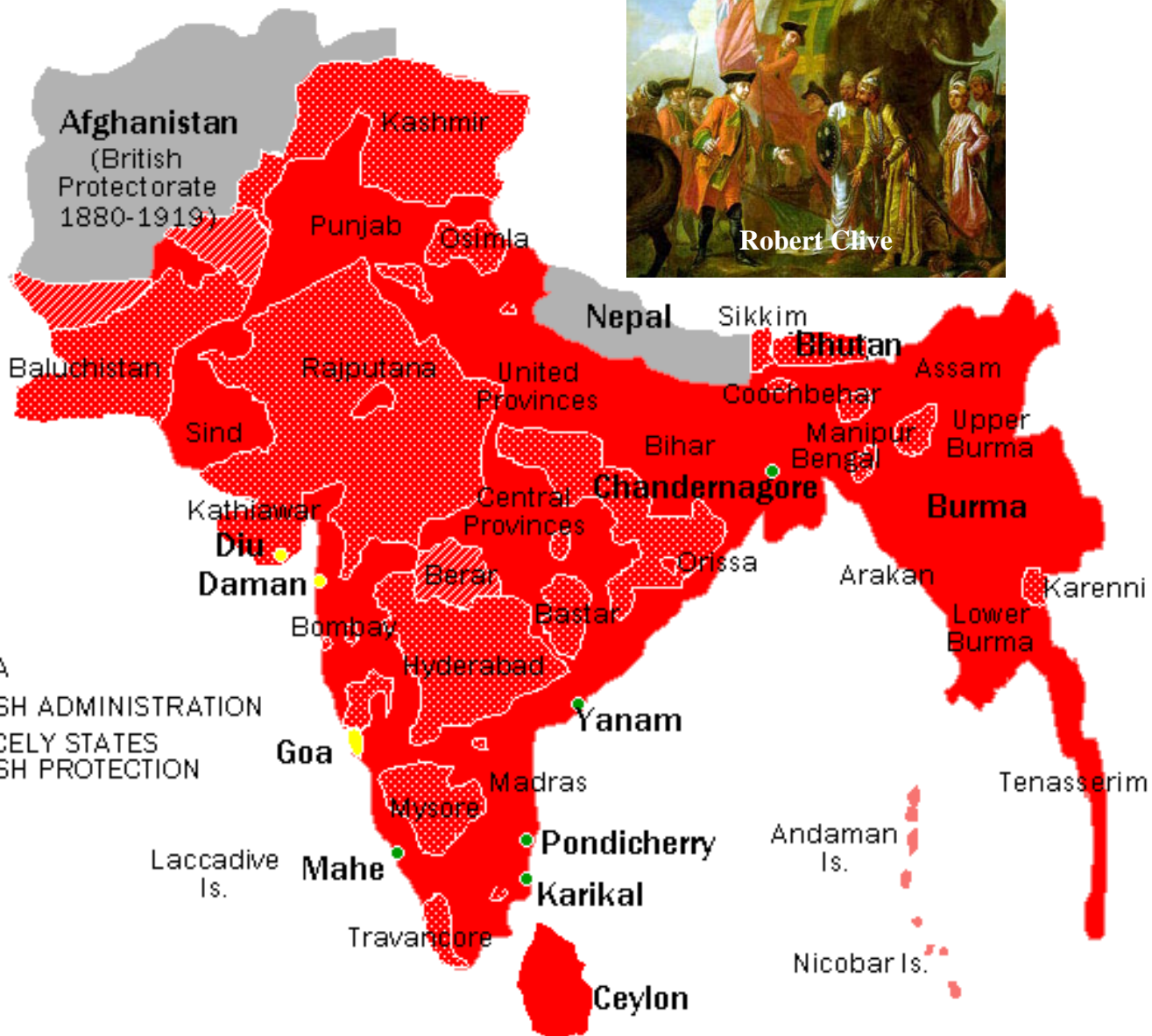
India was at the heart of the British Empire but it was initially controlled, not directly by the British government, but through the East India Company. This huge company, chartered in 1600, set up a number of factories, as their trading posts were called, and steadily increased its possessions and the territories over which it held treaty rights until its power extended from Aden in Arabia to Penang in Malaya, both vital ports of call for company vessels plying between Britain, India, and China. Robert Clive, the first British Governor of Bengal, established the Company's great military power. The East India Company was the most powerful private company in history, controlling India partly by direct rule and partly by a system of alliances with Indian princes, maintained by the Company's powerful army. The company's political power was ended by the Indian War Of Independence (referred to by the ruling British as the

‘Indian Mutiny’) in 1857. Although this revolt was put down, it resulted in the Crown taking over the government of India in 1858; Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India on 1 Jan 1877. India then became known as the Indian Empire and the vice-regal representative was called a Viceroy. The British army fought two wars with Afghanistan (1839-41 and 1878-80) to protect India's northwest frontier and invaded Tibet in 1904. A protectorate existed in Afghanistan from 1880 to 1921. After several years of non-violent protest for home rule from Indian leaders, limited self government came in 1919 and semi-Dominion status with a federal parliament was given to India in 1935. British influence in Nepal began in 1857 with the country having a very pro-British king. Nepal's independence was recognised by a Treaty of Friendship with Britain in 1923. Burma was part of India until 1937. In that year it became a separate British colony.

INDIAN EMPIRE



Robert Clive



- BRITISH INDIA
- UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION
- INDIAN PRINCELY STATES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION
- FRENCH
- PORTUGUESE

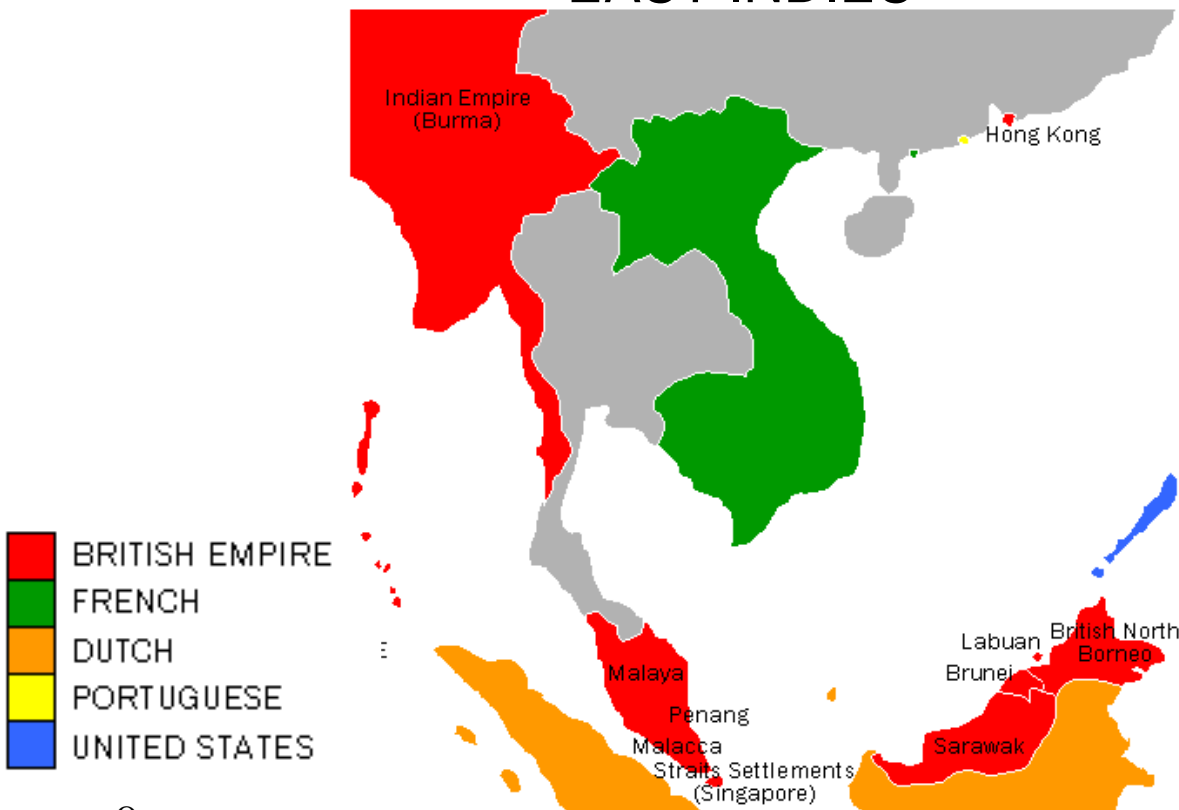
East Indies

When the Netherlands came under French occupation (1793-1815) the East India Company took the opportunity to occupy parts of the East Indies, such as Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) annexed to the East India Company in 1796. In 1819, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, an official with the British East India Company, established Singapore as a trading post and settlement.

When the British government took over from the company it also acquired the Straits Settlements and by 1914 all Malaya was under British control. Britain gained Hong Kong as a result of the Opium Wars (1839-42) and Kowloon was added to the colony after a second Opium War (1856-58). The surrounding New Territories were added to Hong Kong in a 99-Year lease in 1898. In the same year, Weihaiwei, on the northeastern coast of China, was annexed by Britain. It was returned to China in 1930.

Burma (now Myanmar) became a province of British India in 1886 after a series of Anglo-Burmese Wars from 1824. In Borneo, Sarawak was ruled as a personal possession by James Brooke, a former soldier of the East India Company, and the British North Borneo Company acquired Sabah in 1888. The sultanate of Brunei, which had formerly possessed Sarawak and Sabah (British North Borneo), itself came under British protection in the same year.

EAST INDIES



Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles

Oceania

In Australia, claimed for the British by Captain James Cook, colonization began with the desire to find a place for penal settlement after the loss of the original American colonies. The first shipload of British convicts landed in Australia in 1788 on the site of the future city of Sydney. New South Wales was opened to free settlers in 1819, and in 1853 transportation of convicts was abolished. Before the end of the century five Australian colonies - New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland - and the island colony of Tasmania had each achieved self-government; an act of the

Imperial Parliament at Westminster created the federal Commonwealth of Australia, a self-governing Dominion, in 1901.

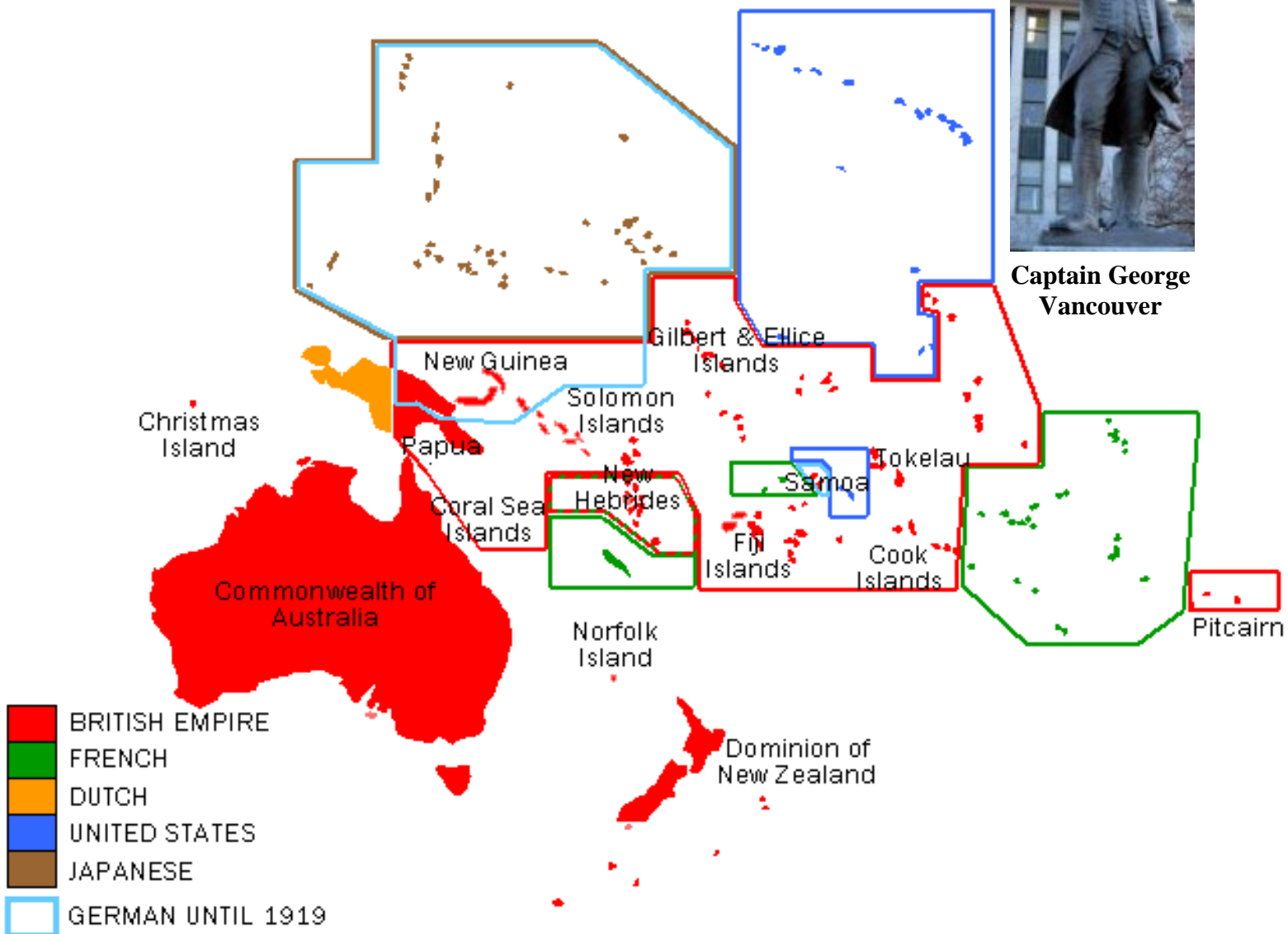
New Zealand, annexed in 1840, was at first a dependency of New South Wales. It became a separate colony in 1853 and a Dominion in 1907. The Fiji Islands were ceded to the British Crown by their Great Council of Chiefs in 1874. In 1906, a condominium between Britain and France was established for the New Hebrides islands. The German territory of New Guinea was mandated by the League of Nations to Australia in 1919, while the island of Nauru was mandated jointly to Britain, Australia and New Zealand, also in 1919. German Samoa was mandated to New Zealand in 1919 also.

Captain George Vancouver established a UK-Hawaii friendship in 1793-4 and obtained a "cession" of the Islands to the UK, but the British government apparently never took notice of it. From 1794 to 1816, Hawaii flew the British Union Jack as its National Flag.

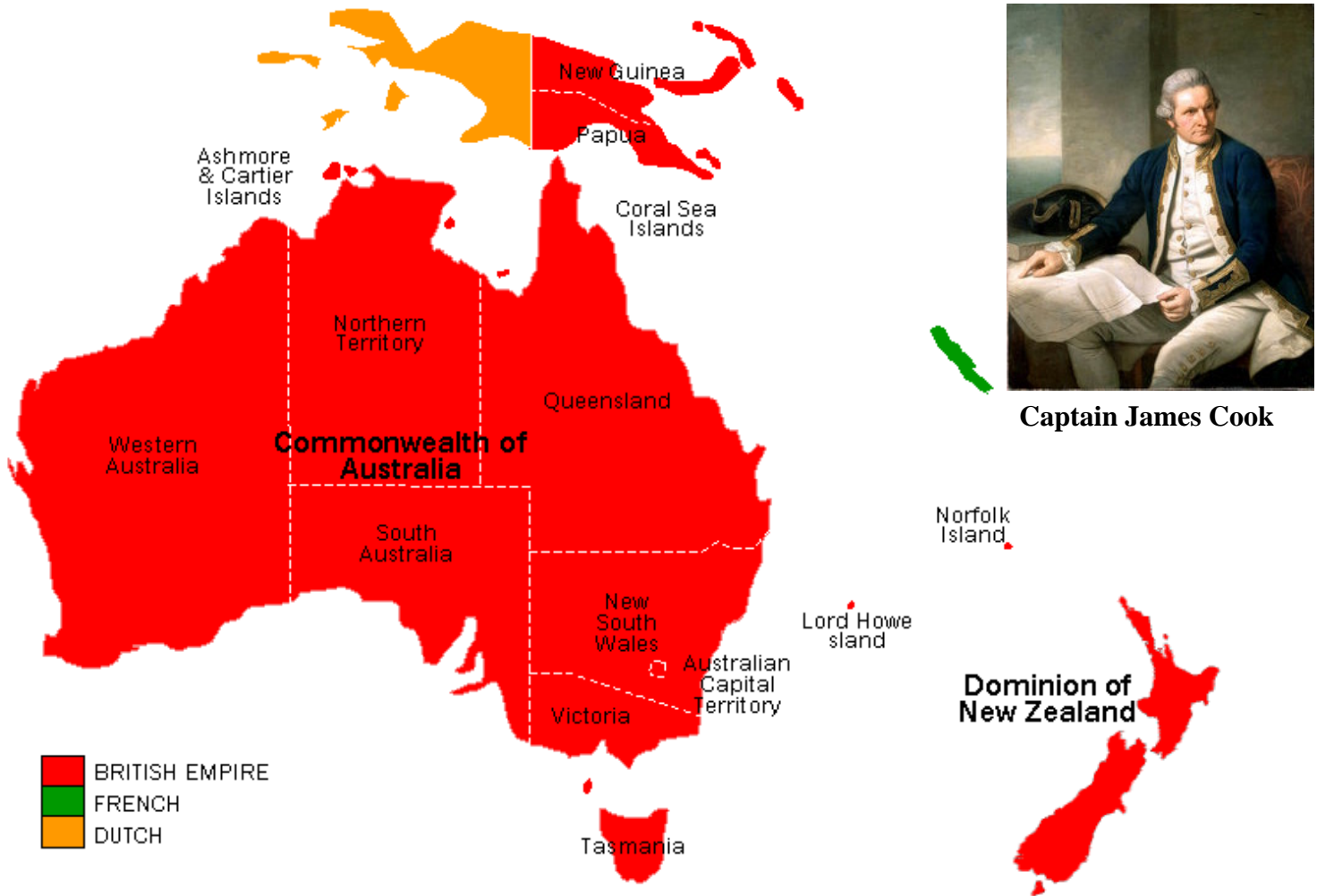
PACIFIC



Captain George Vancouver



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA AND DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND



From 1816 to 1843, Hawaii flew an early version of its present flag, containing the Union Jack. British troops occupied the Hawaiian Islands from 25 February to 31 July 1843. A Hawaiian "revolt" led to a British withdrawal in July 1843. The "revolt" consisted of the total ignoring of the presence of the British by the Hawaiians. No talking, no notice, nothing. Actually, the occupation was not sanctioned by London, and February to July is how long it took word to go to London and back again. But the Hawaiians say they defeated the British by ignoring them!

Hawaii was occupied by the United States in 1893 and became a state of the United States in 1959. Today, it continues to use a flag containing the Union Jack to honour its original friendship agreement with the UK.

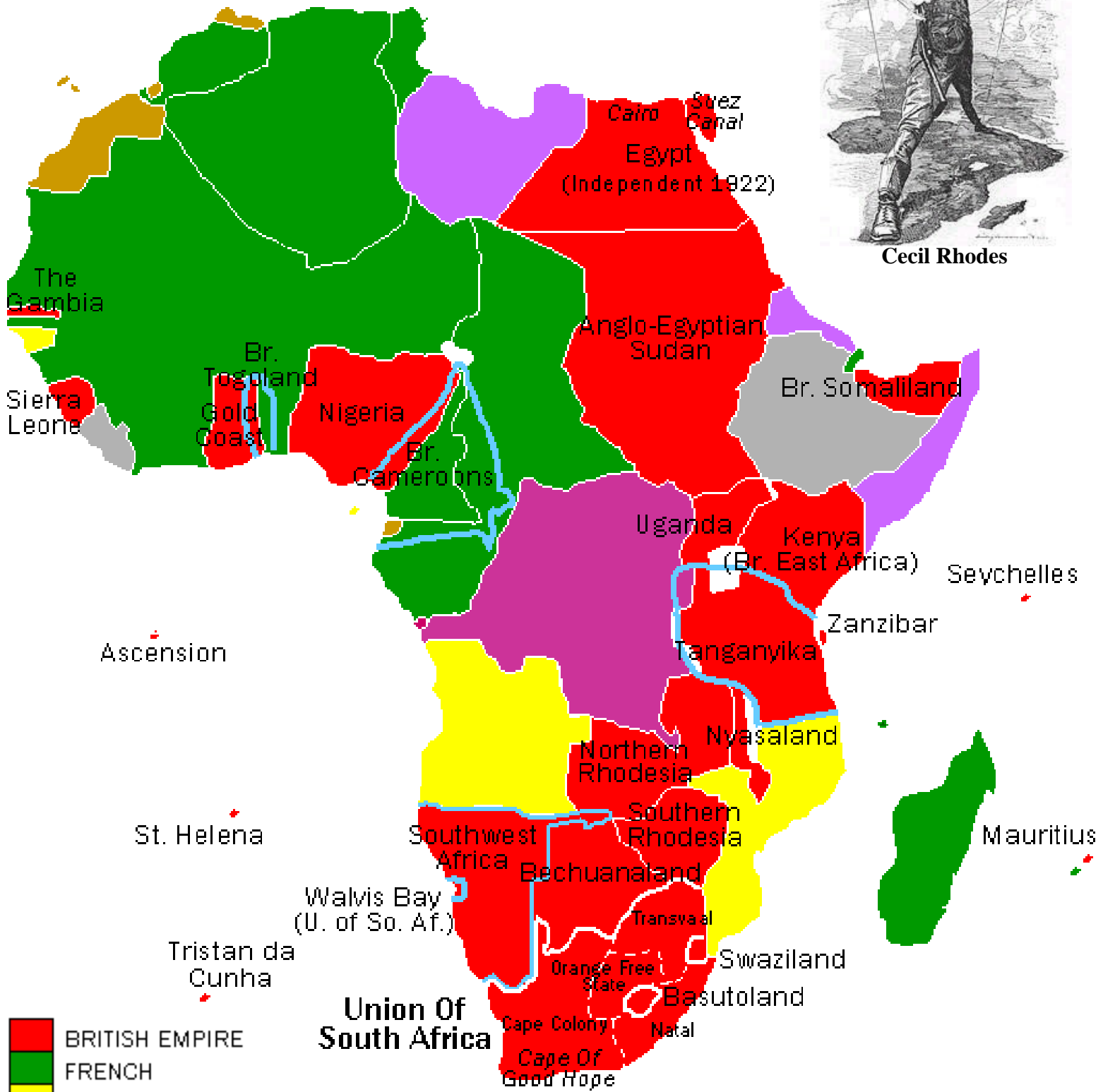
Southern Africa

The Cape of Good Hope in South Africa was occupied by two English captains in 1620, but initially neither the government nor the East India Company was interested in developing this early settlement into a colony. The Dutch occupied it in 1650, and Cape Town remained a port of call for their East India Company until 1795 when, French revolutionary armies having occupied the Dutch Republic, the British seized it to keep it from the French. Under the Treaty of Paris in 1814, the UK bought Cape Town from the new kingdom of the Netherlands for the equivalent of \$6 million.

AFRICA



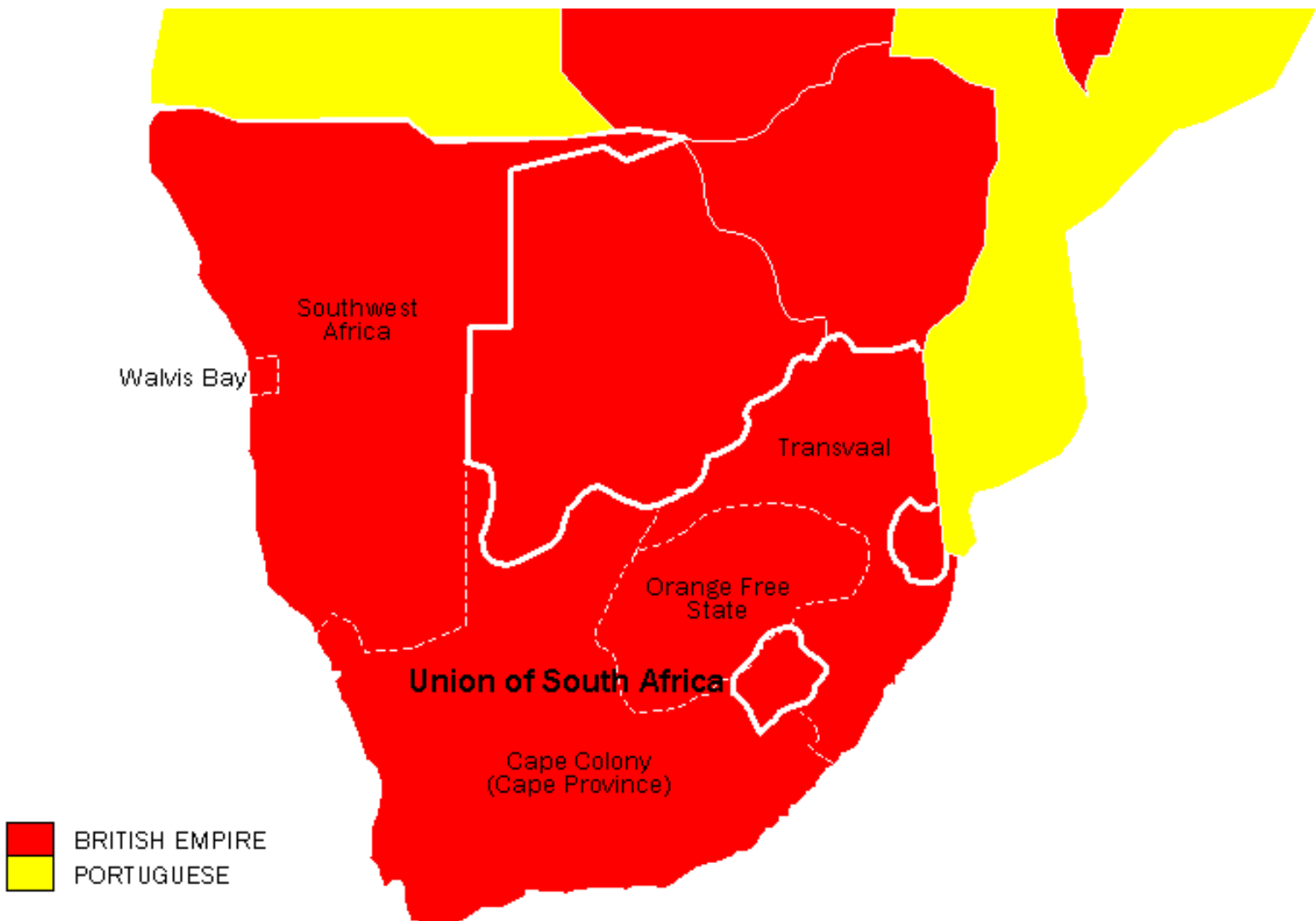
Cecil Rhodes



- BRITISH EMPIRE
- FRENCH
- PORTUGUESE
- SPANISH
- ITALIAN
- BELGIAN
- GERMAN UNTIL 1919

British settlement began in 1824 on the coast of Natal, proclaimed a British colony in 1843. The need to find new farmland and establish independence from British rule led a body of Boers (Dutch 'farmers') from the Cape to make the Great Trek northeast in 1836, to found Transvaal and Orange Free State. Conflict between the British government, which claimed sovereignty over those areas (since the settlers were legally British subjects), and the Boers culminated, after the discovery of gold in the Boer territories, in the South African War of 1899-1902, which brought Transvaal and Orange Free State definitely under British sovereignty. Given self-government in 1907, they were formed, with Cape Colony (self-governing in 1872) and Natal (self-governing in 1893), into the Union of South Africa in 1910. German South-West Africa was transferred to the Union of South Africa by League of Nations mandate in 1919 and the territory was absorbed into the Union in 1948. Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company, chartered in 1889, extended British influence over Southern Rhodesia (a colony in 1923) and Northern Rhodesia (a protectorate in 1924); with Nyasaland, taken under British protection in 1891, the Rhodesias were formed into a federation (1953-63) with representative government. Uganda was made a British protectorate in 1894. Kenya, a protectorate, became a colony in 1920, coastal areas forming part of the sultan of Zanzibar's Dominions remained a protectorate. The plan was to create a British state in Africa stretching from the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of the continent to Cairo in Egypt, known as the 'Cape to Cairo route'.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA



West Africa

The British showed little interest in Africa outside the Cape until the scramble for territory of the 1880s, although a few forts were kept in West Africa, where gold and ivory kept their importance after the slave trade was ended by Britain in 1807. An early exception was the colony of Sierra Leone founded in 1788 with the cession of a strip of land to provide a home for liberated slaves; a protectorate was established over the hinterland in 1896. British influence in Nigeria began through the activities of the National Africa Company (the Royal Niger Company from 1886), which bought Lagos from an African chief in 1861 and steadily extended its hold over the Niger Valley until it surrendered its charter in 1899; in 1900 the two protectorates of North and South Nigeria were proclaimed. World War I ousted Germany from the African continent, and in 1919, under League of Nations mandate, Cameroons and Togoland, in West Africa, were divided between Britain and France. Britain became responsible for the northern Tripolitania part of the Italian colony of Libya in North Africa from 1945 until 1951, while France got southern Libya.

East Africa

The high ground of the area made it far more suitable for settlement by white colonists than the colonies in the west. Once again, private companies under charter from the British government pioneered the way, establishing their control over Kenya in 1888 and Uganda in 1890. Somaliland came under direct control of the British government in 1884 and in 1890 Germany, which had already relinquished its interests in Uganda, ceded Zanzibar to Britain in exchange for Heligoland, an island off the German coast. In 1898, after a victorious war against the Mahdi of Sudan, a condominium between Britain and Egypt was established over the territory, known from then on as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. German East Africa was transferred to British administration by League of Nations mandate, and renamed as Tanganyika, in 1919, thus completing the Cape to Cairo route. Britain occupied and administered Italian colonies of Italian Somaliland and Eritrea from 1945 to 1952.

Middle East

British Empire in the Middle East mostly lasted for a short time. Britain was interested in securing the trade route to India, particularly after the Suez Canal was built. The British Government wanted to achieve this by annexing territories along the route. It began with the British annexation of Aden in 1839, which was later governed by the India Office. However, the main British interest over the Middle East grew when the British government bought shares in the Suez Canal in 1856. Britain subsequently occupied Egypt in 1882 and declared it a protectorate in 1914, in which British forces were led by Viscount Edmund Allenby. Cyprus was also annexed. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1919, assisted by Arab tribesmen led by British Colonel T.E. Lawrence, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq were mandated by the League of Nations to Britain. At that time, many British statesmen believed in creating a vast new British Dominion across the Middle East, however, this proved to be not possible. An uprising against British control in Egypt in 1919 led to independence for the country in 1922. Egypt was declared independent, but with Britain retaining responsibility for maintenance of communications, defence, protection of European interests and the question of Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the complete independence of Egypt and the termination of British military occupation. However, it provided for British troops to continue to guard the Suez Canal Zone until the 1950's. The British High Commissioner in Egypt became the British Ambassador. Egypt had been officially part of the British Empire for only eight years (1914-1922). A semi-Protectorate existed in Iran (Persia) from 1919 to 1921 with an offer of British military and financial assistance; abandoned after being rejected by Iranians. The British mandate in Iraq was terminated in 1932 and the country became an independent kingdom. Transjordan gained independence as Jordan in 1946 and the State of Israel was declared in a partitioned Palestine in 1948.

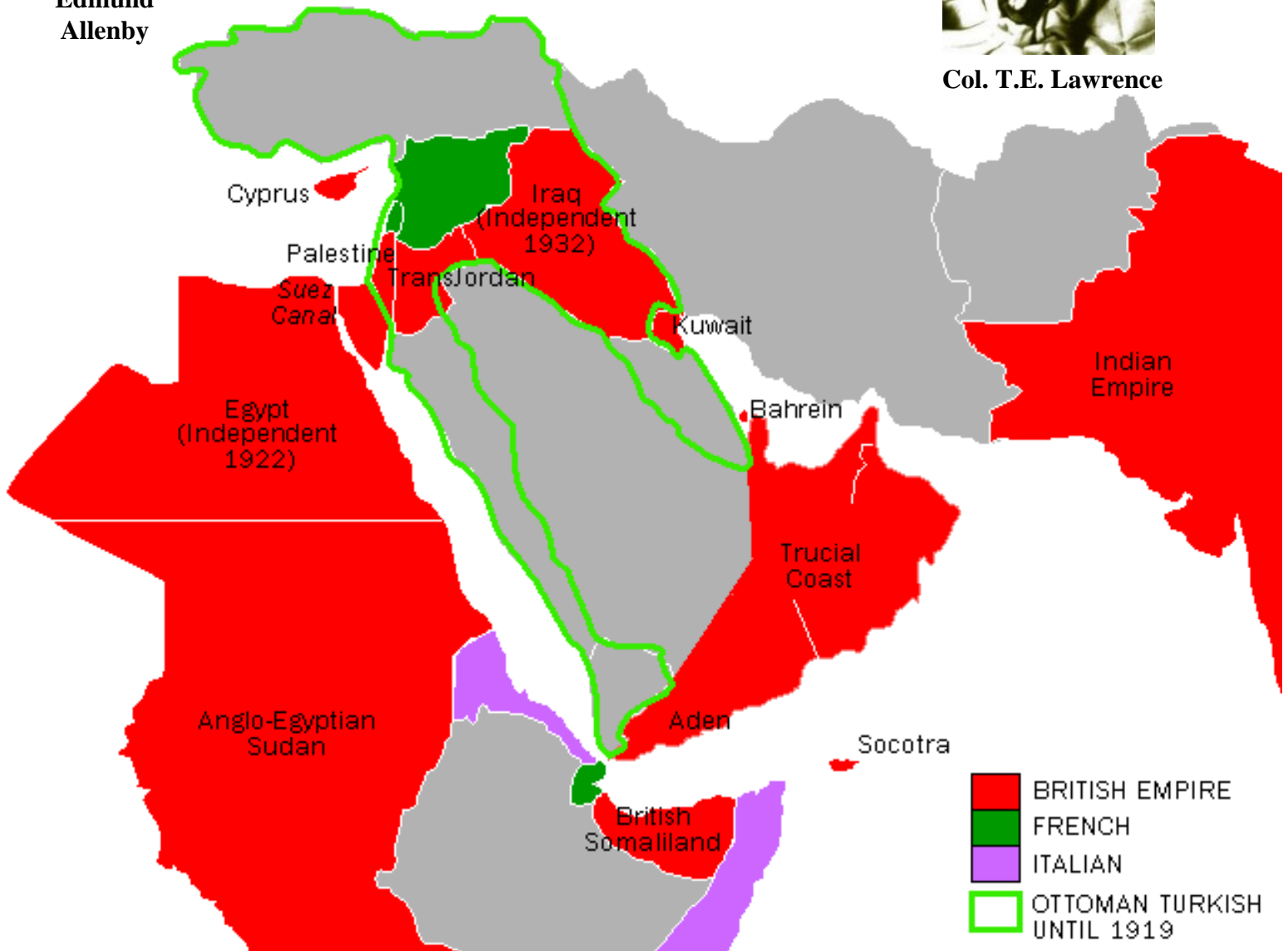
MIDDLE EAST



Edmund Allenby



Col. T.E. Lawrence

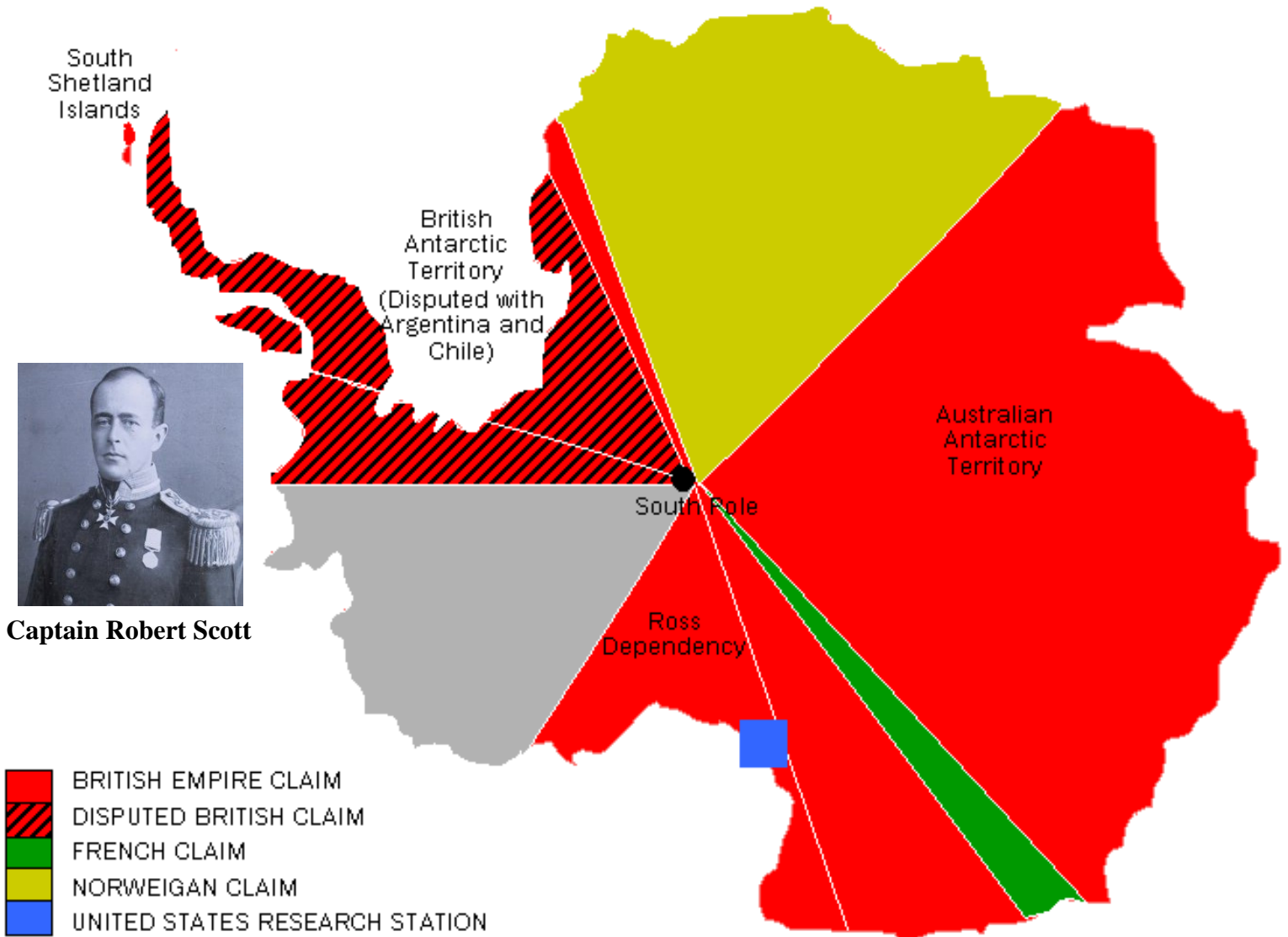


Antarctica

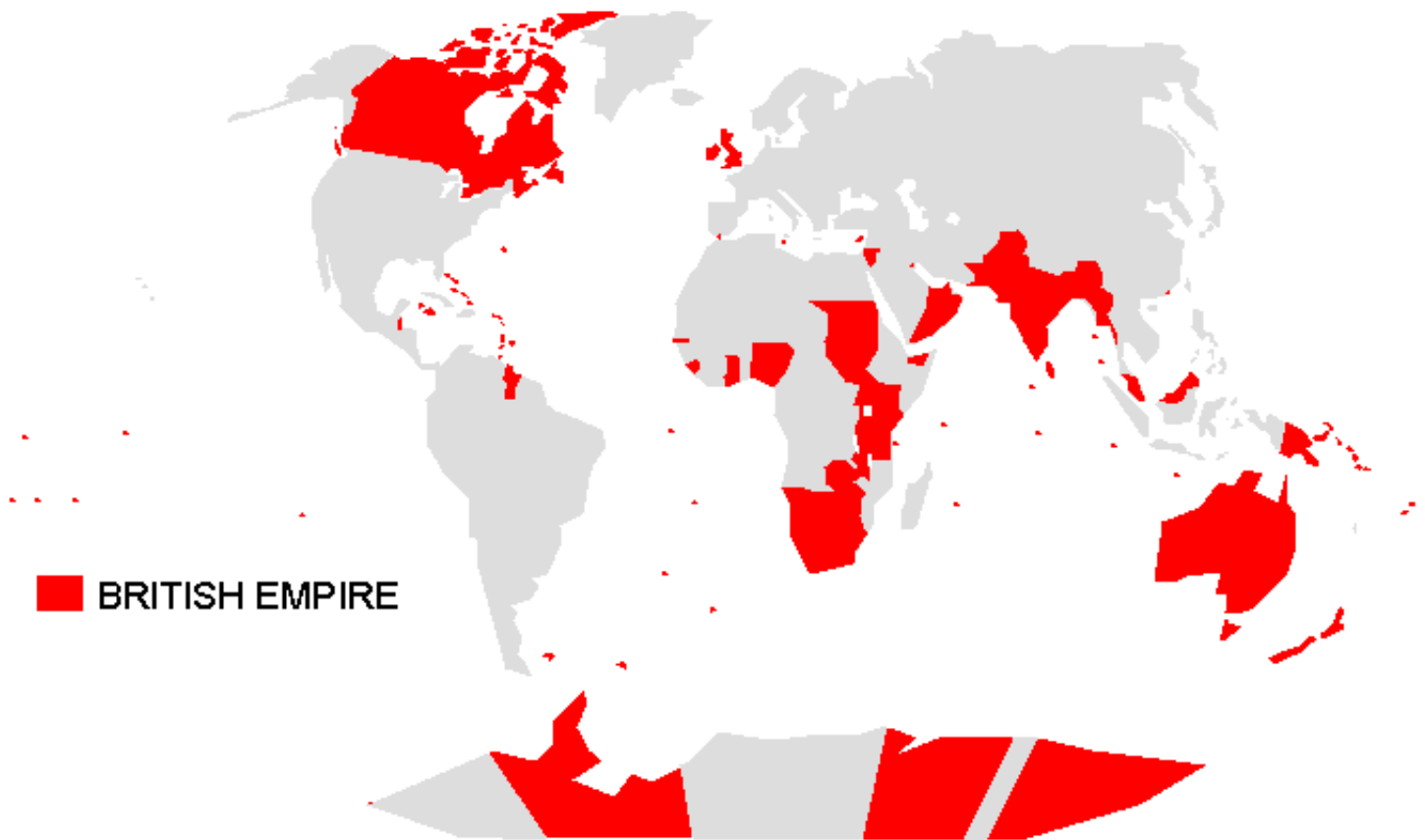
In Antarctica, as more and more government officials began to realise the potential strategic, economic, and scientific importance of the last continent, governments began to lay claim to vast tracts of land there, basing their claims on the prior discoveries of their countrymen. The oldest continuously occupied station is the weather station on Laurie Island in the South Orkneys, turned over to Argentina by W.S. Bruce in 1904. This history of occupancy forms a key element of the Argentinean claim to the Peninsula, but the first formal claim over Antarctic territory was made by Britain in 1908 to a large part of the continent south of the Falkland Islands. Captain Robert Scott explored Antarctica for Britain. In 1923 Britain handed over part of their claim, the Ross Dependencies, to New Zealand. In 1924, France laid claim to Terre Adlie. Australia claimed a large chunk of territory in 1933. In January 1939, Norway formalized its claim to Dronning Maud Land (largely to protect its whaling interests and preempt the anticipated claims

of the German Schwabenland Expedition). Finally, in 1940, Chile became the third country to claim sovereignty over the Antarctic Peninsula (after Britain and Argentina). Although the United States pursued no claims of its own, the flurry of international land grabbing may have encouraged the U.S. Congress to establish the U.S. Antarctic Service in 1939. From that moment on, the U.S. government assumed almost complete control of American Antarctic exploration. Other countries were soon to follow suit. By the late 1940s Antarctic exploration had entered a new phase, and one not just due to increased government involvement. For the first time in history, permanent bases were established. The British had been the first when they erected their secret bases in the closing days of the Second World War. Once their existence was known, however, the scramble to occupy the continent was on and other countries established bases there as well. These bases remain active in Antarctica today.

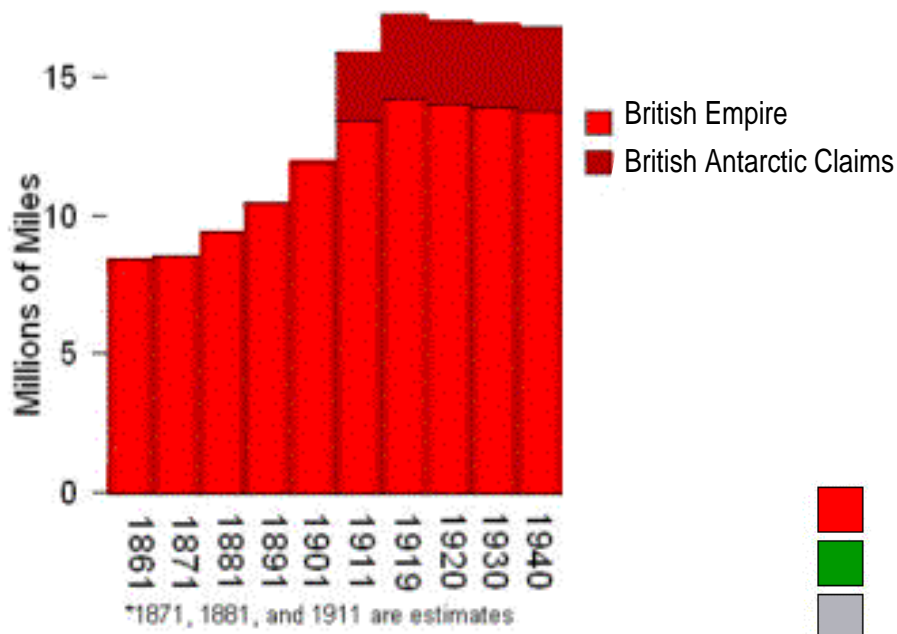
ANTARCTICA



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1937

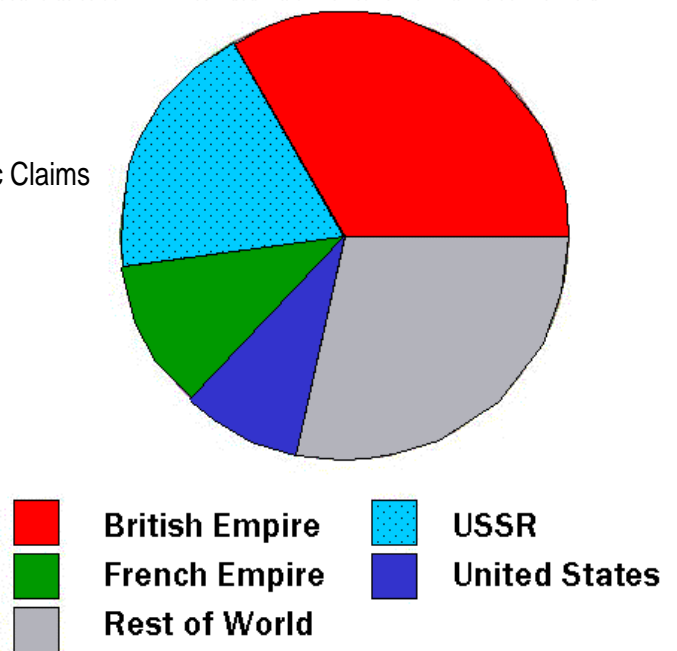


GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE



This graph courtesy of Dylan Peacock

Amount of world controlled between the two world wars



This chart courtesy of Dylan Peacock

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EMPIRE STATISTICS CIRCA 1920'S

	Area in Sq. Miles	Area in Sq. km	Population	Imports £	Exports £	Capital
GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND	120,876	313,067	47,307,601	1,003,098,889	823,202,080	London
British Tropical America						
Jamaica	4,207	10,896	858,188	5,530,000	3,394,000	Kingston
Trinidad and Tobago	1,976	5,118	365,913	6,904,000	4,684,000	Port of Spain
The Bahamas	4,040	10,464	53,031	1,096,000	378,000	Nassau
Barbados	166	430	156,312	2,642,000	1,468,000	Bridgetown
Leeward Islands	715	1,852	122,242	1,560,000	1,900,000	
Windward Islands	516	1,336	163,477	622,000	611,000	
British Guiana	89,480	231,753	297,691	3,488,000	3,639,000	Georgetown
British Honduras	8,592	22,253	45,317	688,000	627,000	Belize
British North America						
Dominion of Canada	3,729,665	9,659,832	8,788,483	222,000,000	243,000,000	Ottawa
Newfoundland	42,734	110,681	259,358	4,180,000	4,460,000	St. John's
British Dominions in Africa						
Union of South Africa	473,089	1,225,301	6,928,580	51,413,450	64,978,524	Pretoria
Bechuanaland	275,000	712,250	153,000			Gaborone
Basutoland	11,716	30,344	497,000	556,000	510,000	Maseru
Swaziland	6,678	17,296	134,000			Mbabane
South-West Africa	322,400	835,016	227,000	1,221,000	1,587,000	Windhoek
Southern Rhodesia	149,000	385,910	807,000	3,879,000	4,628,000	Salisbury
Northern Rhodesia	291,000	753,690	931,500	741,000	505,000	Livingstone
Nigeria	335,700	869,463	18,750,000	10,769,000	8,024,000	Lagos
Gold Coast	80,000	207,200	2,078,643	7,661,000	6,942,000	Accra
Sierra Leone	31,000	80,290	1,541,311	1,770,000	1,625,000	Freetown
The Gambia	4,134	10,707	209,000	924,000	793,000	Bathurst
Nyasaland	39,573	102,494	1,202,000	500,000	440,000	Zomba
Kenya	245,000	634,550	2,376,000	6,912,000	5,061,000	Nairobi
Uganda	110,300	285,677	3,132,312			Entebbe
Tanganyika	365,000	945,350	4,107,000	1,300,000	1,400,000	Dar-es-Salaam
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	1,014,400	2,627,296	5,912,402	5,206,070	2,057,230	Khartoum
Somaliland	68,000	176,120	300,000	349,000	318,000	Berbera
British Interests in the Near East						
Palestine	9,000	23,310	757,182	5,700,000	1,300,000	Jerusalem
Trans-Jordan	37,129	96,164	400,000			Amman
Iraq	143,250	371,018	2,849,282	13,769,000	6,557,000	Baghdad
British Dominions in Oceania						
Commonwealth of Australia	2,974,581	7,704,165	5,435,754	101,000,000	127,000,000	Canberra
Territory of Papua	90,540	234,499	250,000	484,770	270,481	Port Moresby
Territory of New Guinea	112,000	290,080	250,000			Rabaul
Do+minion of New Zealand	103,568	268,241	1,218,913	1,500,000	42,000,000	Wellington

British Dominions in Asia

Indian Empire	1,805,332	4,675,810	318,942,480	235,000,000	282,000,000	Delhi
Ceylon	25,331	65,607	4,504,549	24,200,000	25,600,000	Colombo
Straits Settlements	1,600	4,144	883,769	68,126,020	58,025,105	Singapore
Federated Malay States	27,506	71,241	1,324,890	12,007,000	15,745,000	Kuala Lumpur
Unfederated Malay States	23,486	60,829	1,123,000	4,299,000	4,688,000	
British North Borneo	31,106	80,565	257,804	800,000	957,000	Sandakan
Brunei	4,000	10,360	25,454	45,690	67,360	Brunei
Sarawak	42,000	108,780	600,000	1,929,000	2,983,000	Kuching

Links of Empire in the Atlantic

Bermuda	19	49	20,410	1,300,000	240,000	Hamilton
St. Helena	47	122	3,747	45,000	24,000	Jamestown
Ascension	38	98	250			
Tristan da Cunha	10	26	140			
Falkland Islands	6,300	16,317	3,275	917,000	3,133,000	Stanley
South Georgia	1,000	2,590	1,000			

Links of Empire with the Far East, Australia and New Zealand

Gibraltar	2	5	17,160			Gibraltar
Malta	118	306	224,680	3,700,000	1,047,000	Valetta
Cyprus	3,584	9,283	310,709	1,412,000	871,000	Nicosia
Aden and Perim	9,000	23,310	54,923	6,011,000	5,367,000	Aden
Sokotra	1,382	3,579	12,000			
Bahrein	280	725	110,000	1,414,000	946,000	Manama
Mauritius	800	2,072	385,074	5,159,000	6,826,000	Port Louis
Seychelles	156	404	25,176	114,000	119,000	Victoria
Zanzibar and Pemba	1,020	2,642	197,000	3,223,000	3,246,000	Zanzibar

Links of Empire in the Pacific

Hong Kong	391	1,013	625,166	81,940,000	85,673,000	Victoria
Fiji Islands	7,083	18,345	157,266	1,510,000	2,458,000	Suva
Western Samoa	1,260	3,263	38,655	282,939	365,610	Apia
Solomon Islands	13,400	34,706	168,000	252,000	183,000	Tulagi
New Hebrides (Anglo-French)	5,500	14,245	60,000	159,174	245,000	Vila
Tonga	385	997	23,562	177,000	170,000	Nukualofa
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	200	518	30,500	130,000	213,000	
Nauru	4	10	2,192	78,000		

BRITISH EMPIRE 13,307,365 34,465,915 448,998,323 1,921,695,002 1,864,551,390

Note: Figures not available for missing information



FLAGS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (CIRCA 1920'S)



BRITISH EMPIRE

UNITED KINGDOM & BRITISH EMPIRE



ADEN



ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN



AUSTRALIA



BAHAMAS



BARBADOS



BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND,
SWAZILAND.



BERMUDA



BRITISH GUIANA



BRITISH HONDURAS



BRITISH SOMALILAND



CANADA



CEYLON



CYPRUS



FALKLAND ISLANDS



FIJI ISLANDS



GAMBIA



GIBRALTAR



GILBERT & ELLICE ISLANDS



GOLD COAST



HONG KONG



INDIAN EMPIRE



IRELAND (UNTIL 1922)



IRISH FREE STATE



JAMAICA



KENYA



LABUAN



LEEWARD ISLANDS



MALACCA



MALTA



MAURITIUS



NEWFOUNDLAND



NEW HEBRIDES



NEW ZEALAND



NIGERIA



NORTH BORNEO



NORTHERN RHODESIA



NYASALAND



PALESTINE



PAPUA



PENANG



SAINT HELENA



SARAWAK



SEYCHELLES



SIERRA LEONE



SINGAPORE



SOLOMON ISLANDS



SOUTHERN RHODESIA



STRAITS SETTLEMENT



TANGANYIKA



TRINIDAD & TOBAGO



UGANDA



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
(UNTIL 1928)



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (1928)



WESTERN PACIFIC



WINDWARD ISLANDS

FLAGS OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS, GOVERNORS GENERAL & COMMISSIONERS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (CIRCA 1920'S)



ADEN



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA



BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND & SWAZILAND



BERMUDA



BR. GUIANA



BR. HONDURAS



BURMA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA



CEYLON



CYPRUS



FALKLAND ISLANDS



GIBRALTAR



HONG KONG



VICEROY OF INDIA



JAMAICA



KENYA



LEEWARD ISLANDS



MALTA



NEWFOUNDLAND



NEW HEBRIDES



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND



NORTH BORNEO



NORTHERN RHODESIA



NYASALAND



PALESTINE



SAINT HELENA



SARAWAK



SIERRA LEONE



SOUTHERN RHODESIA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN



TANGANYIKA



UGANDA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA



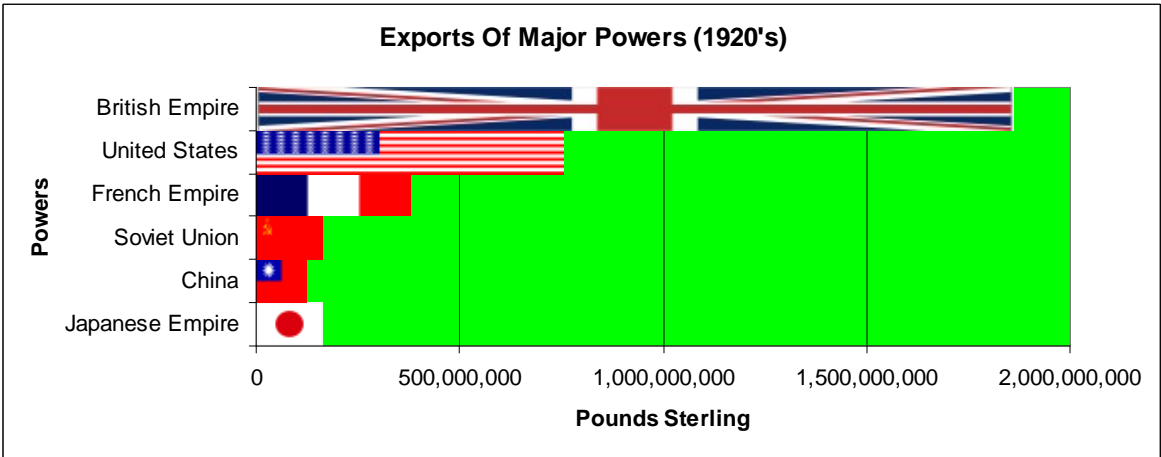
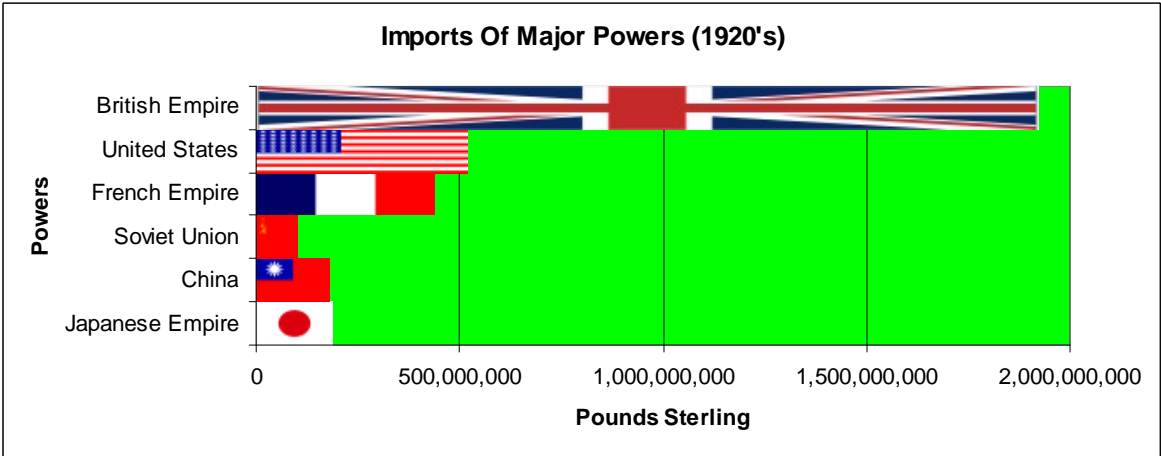
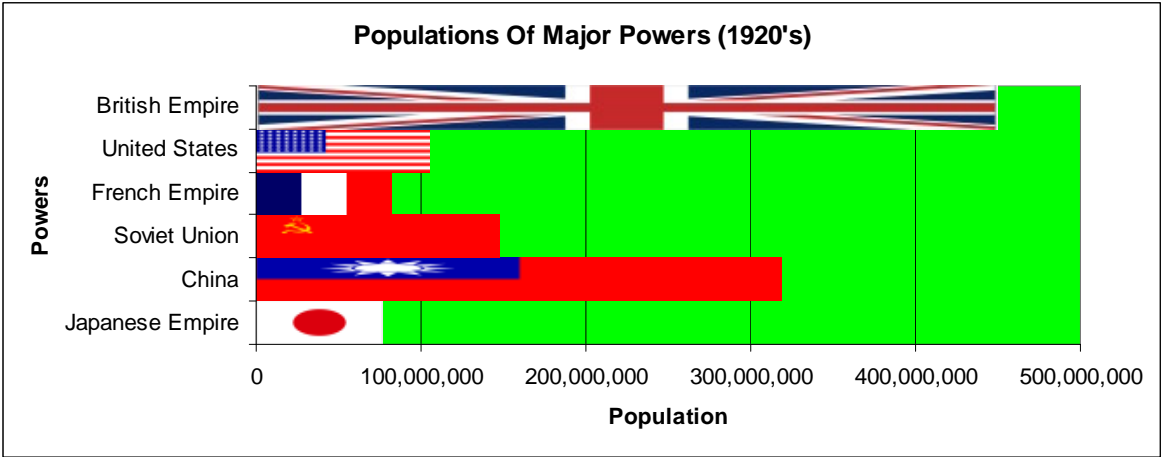
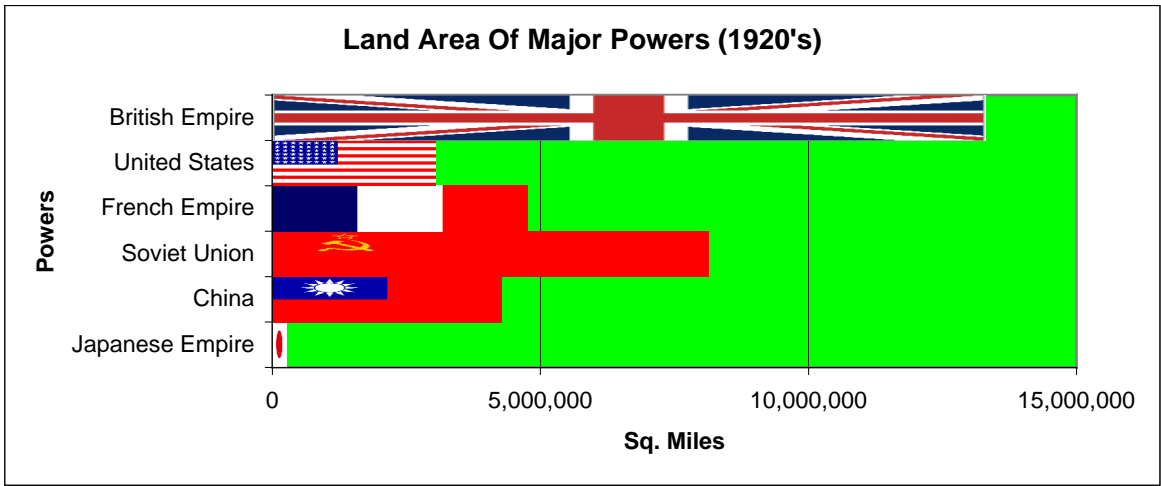
WESTERN PACIFIC HIGH COMMISSIONER



WINDWARD ISLANDS



ZANZIBAR



Imperial Federation Proposal

In 1884, the Imperial Federation League was established with the purpose of promoting a Federation of the British Empire governed by an Imperial Parliament with representatives from Britain and the colonies. Firm proposals were drawn up for imperial free trade and for a parliament in London with M.P.'s from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. It was proposed that M.P.'s from India and other colonies would be added later. The idea of a global inter-continental state was far ahead of its time as international communications and travel were very slow at this time.

Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies in the early 1900's, was an avid supporter of the idea. However, it was opposed by many Canadian and South African politicians. The movement dissolved in 1911 due to disagreement and the last proposal for an imperial federation parliament was put forward in 1919. However, the movement was successful in getting Imperial Conferences established, which continue today as Commonwealth Conferences.

Empire Free Trade was established at Ottawa in 1932. After the First World War, the idea of drawing the British colonies closer together in imperial federation faded away to be replaced by greater colonial self-government and cooperation. The last Imperial Federation proposal put forward in 1919:

British Empire Federal Parliament: 300 Seats
England and Wales: 185 seats
Scotland: 25 seats
Ireland: 40 seats
Canada and Newfoundland: 20 seats
Australia: 15 seats
New Zealand: 5 seats
South Africa: 5 seats
West Indies: 5 seats



The Informal Empire

In addition to the British territories around the world, customarily shown in red or pink on maps of the world, there was the British sphere of influence, often known as the 'Informal Empire'. These were countries which had either been occupied by British troops at one time or had been of strategic or of economic interest to Great Britain. They were independent, but British military and/or economic involvement was significant. Argentina, in South America, was occupied by the British from 1806 to 1807 in an aborted attempt by Britain to build a South American empire. After the country gained its independence in 1816, many British people continued to settle there and the country was built up on British investment and finance.

Egypt was occupied by British troops in 1882 to safeguard the Suez Canal. The country was declared as a formal protectorate of Britain in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War. However, after a nationalist revolt in 1919, Egypt received nominal independence in 1922, but British troops remained in the Suez Canal Zone until 1954. Afghanistan, on the North-West Frontier of the Indian Empire, was invaded by British troops in 1839. A formal protectorate over the country was declared in 1880, but it was abandoned in 1920 as it was difficult to defend. Nepal, a kingdom on the northern frontier of India, though never annexed into the Indian Empire, was definitely in the British sphere of influence. The famous Gurkhas in the British Army come from Nepal. In 1904, the Viceroy of India sent troops into Tibet, immediately north of Nepal, to open up a trade route to China, but this invading force quickly withdrew after meeting heavy resistance. British influence in Tibet did remain for some time.

After annexing Iraq, British troops entered Iran (Persia) at the end of the First World War and an informal semi-protectorate was declared over the country in 1919. A more ambitious plan to create new British Protectorates in the Caucasus region after the fall of the Russian Empire, in Georgia and Azerbaijan, was not pursued. The semi-Protectorate in Iran was abandoned also as unworkable. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company opened up much business between Britain and Iran. The British sphere of influence began to fade after the Second World War, but much British investment remains in countries all over the world.

Dominion Status

The concept of self-government for some of the colonies was first formulated in Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America in 1839 which recommended that responsible government (the acceptance by governors of the advice of local ministers) should be granted to Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). This pattern was subsequently applied to the other Canadian provinces and to the Australian colonies which attained responsible government by 1859, except for Western Australia (1890). New Zealand obtained responsible government in 1856 and the Cape colony in 1872, followed by Natal in 1893. A further intermediate form of government, Dominion status, was devised in the late 19th and early 20th century at a series of Colonial Conferences (renamed Imperial Conferences in 1907). Canada became a Dominion in 1867, Australia in 1901, New Zealand in 1907, the Union of South Africa by 1910 and the Irish Free State in 1922. These five self-governing countries were known as Dominions within the British Empire. Their meetings with the British government were the basis for the idea of the Commonwealth of Nations. Very limited self government was granted to India in 1919. This was updated in 1935 with a new act which organised the British Indian Empire into a partially self-governing federation, with the plan to achieve full Dominion Status for India in the near future.

Dominion status was very inexactly defined until the Statute of Westminster in 1931 established it as complete self-government, as recommended in the Balfour Report of 1926. This act was adopted immediately by Canada, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State. Australia did not adopt it until 1942 and New Zealand did not adopt it until 1947. The Canadian government requested that the British North America Act, acting as Canada's constitution, remain in the possession of the British government since Canadian politicians could not agree on an amending formula. The Dominions even gained the right to secede from the Empire, a right which Ireland soon exercised. The Union of South Africa contented itself for now by giving itself its own national flag, but it too would ultimately secede thirty years later. Canada, Australia and New Zealand remain under the Crown today.

On 11 December 1931, the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union Of South Africa, Irish Free State and Newfoundland formed the British Commonwealth. This was the collective name for the now completely autonomous parts of the British Empire held together by a common allegiance to the Crown. The United Kingdom would only act on their behalf with their consent and they made their own declarations of war at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. In 1935, a large measure of self-government was granted to India, with an expectation that it would soon gain full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. In 1933, Newfoundland reverted back to colonial status due to financial difficulties and joined Canada as its tenth province in 1949. Economically, the Empire was united. A British Empire Conference in Ottawa, Canada in 1932 established Empire preferential trade in which preference was given to goods being traded between Empire countries and at lower tariffs than for other countries. Empire countries, except Canada, also belonged to the Sterling Bloc, made up of countries which used British Pounds Sterling as their currency or the base for their currency. These arrangements lasted for the next forty years.

A major challenge to the Empire came from Ireland, where it can be argued the British Empire began when Henry II declared himself 'Lord of Ireland' in 1171. After 630 years of English rule and 120 years as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland since 1801, 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland

became the Irish Free State in 1922. The Free State had Dominion status but in contrast to the relatively amicable and gradual devolvement of the four other existing Dominions, only after centuries of hatred culminating in civil war. A new constitution adopted by the Free State in 1937 dropped the name Irish Free State and declared Ireland (Eire) to be a 'sovereign independent state'. The Governor General was replaced by a President. The break was completed in 1949 when Eire became a republic outside the Commonwealth, though remaining in a special relationship with the now United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and becoming a fellow European Union member.

It is often said that the British Empire peaked in the 1920s, following World War One (1914-18), in which it gained most of the German territories in Africa, and Ottoman provinces in the Near East by League of Nations mandates. The Dominions (Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand), were granted full self-government by the statute of Westminster in 1931. However, the British monarch remained (and still remains, except for South Africa), the monarch of these territories, represented by British Governors General and their citizens remained British Subjects until at least 1947, so the Dominions continued to be counted as parts of the British Empire. World War Two (1939-45) showed that they were indeed parts of the Empire: in 1939 the Australian prime minister informed his country that Britain had declared war on Germany and that "as a result Australia is also at war", and in 1940 millions of pounds of gold were shipped to Canada in preparation for a possible relocation of the British royal family. By this reckoning, the Empire reached its greatest extent following that war, in 1945. Most of the Italian territories in Africa (Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland) were occupied by Britain, as was all of Northwest Germany and parts of Austria and Berlin.

Egypt and Iraq were independent (since 1922 and 1932 respectively) but were in alliance relationships with Britain. The formal treaty between Britain and Egypt was not agreed upon until 1936. At that point, the British High Commissioner in Egypt became the British Ambassador. These alliances with Egypt and Iraq were ended after revolutions in those countries (in 1952 and in 1958 respectively) ousted their pro-British monarchs and replaced them with nationalistic republics. These countries had been re-occupied by the British during World War Two. Colonel Nasser declared Egypt's full independence on 18 June 1954 when the last British troops left that country. British occupation ended in Iraq on 26 October 1947, but today, British and Australian troops are back in Iraq, since 2003, supporting the United States in an effort to bring order and democracy to that country.

The major decline of the British Empire began almost immediately after the Second World War when India was partitioned into two new Dominions of India and Pakistan in 1947. Ceylon became a Dominion in 1948 and Burma broke away from the British Commonwealth to become an independent republic. In 1948, the United Nations terminated Britain's mandate in Palestine and partitioned it into a Jewish state and Arab lands. The independent State of Israel was born in 1949. To this day, it has an uneasy relationship with its Arab neighbours. At the time of independence of the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan, the other Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, which had become autonomous within the British Empire in 1931, were declared in 1947 to be of equal status with the United Kingdom within the British Commonwealth, free to establish their own citizenships and appoint their own ambassadors. This led to a final redefinition of their relationship as the modern Commonwealth of Nations of free and equal members replaced the British Empire in November 1949.

Until the late 1940's, all citizens of the British Empire were British Subjects with no distinctive Dominion citizenships. Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, etc. were British Subjects only, and travelled on British passports. However, after 1947, that began to change. The British Commonwealth countries began to establish their own distinctive national citizenships beginning with Canada in 1947, followed by South Africa in 1948 and Australia and New Zealand in 1949. Peoples of these countries remained as British Subjects in addition to becoming citizens of their own countries. Common British Subject status alongside national citizenship throughout the Commonwealth was phased out in the 1970's.

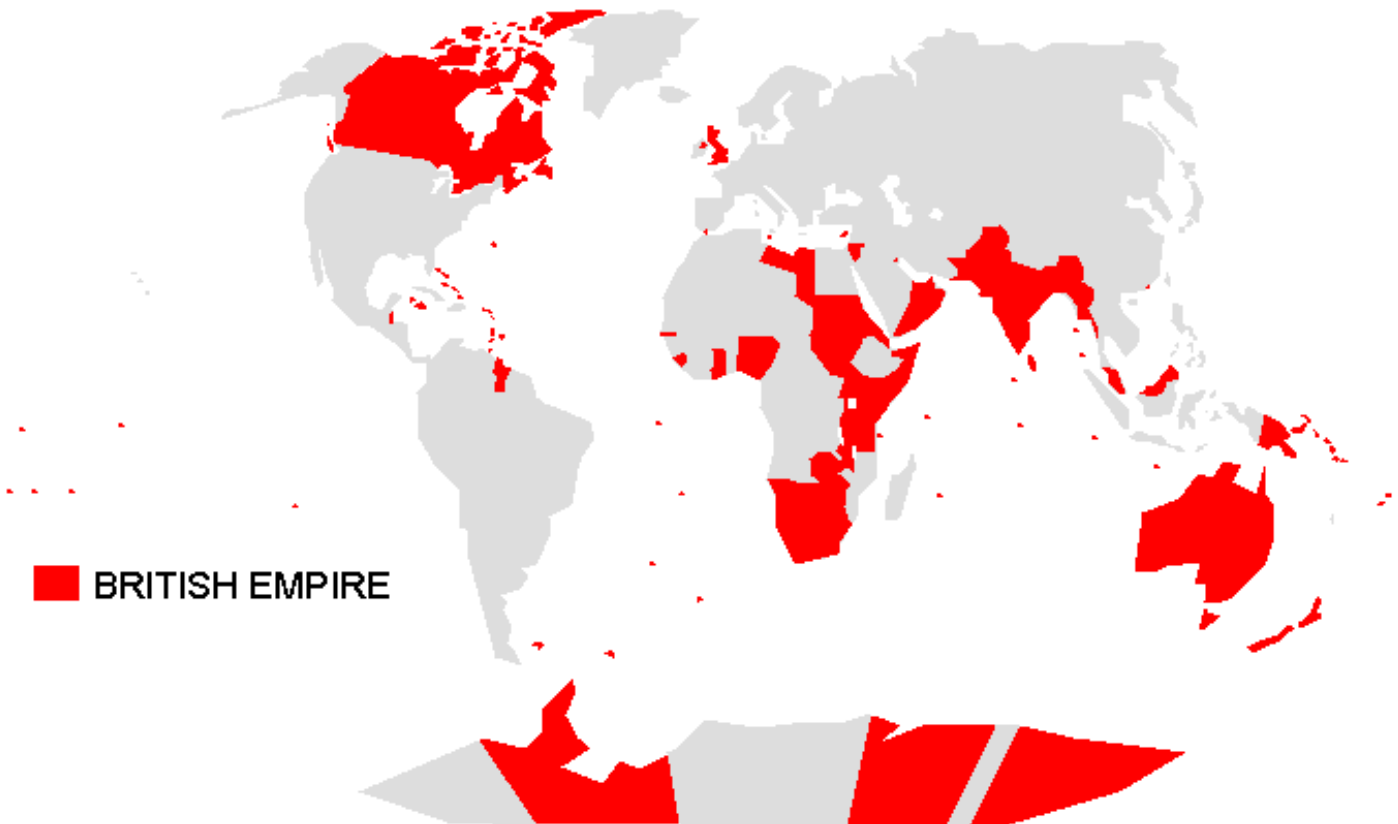
British Empire Games

British Empire Games began in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada in 1930 with teams from Australia, Bermuda, British Guiana, Canada, England, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Scotland, the Union of South Africa and Wales. Since these Games were only for the British parts of the world, the United Kingdom was represented by its four constituent countries on separate teams. However, they came together as a single Great Britain team in the Olympics. In 1930, events included track and field, bowling, boxing, rowing, swimming and wrestling. The Games were held every four years, except during the Second World War, in 1934, 1938, 1950 and 1954. In 1958, the name of the British Empire Games was changed to the British Commonwealth Games and changed again to simply the Commonwealth Games in 1966 to reflect the changing constitutional situation. These Games continue to be held today with teams from every part of the Commonwealth and consisting of many more varied events. These Games are held between each set of Olympic Games and are rotated around the Commonwealth in different locations.

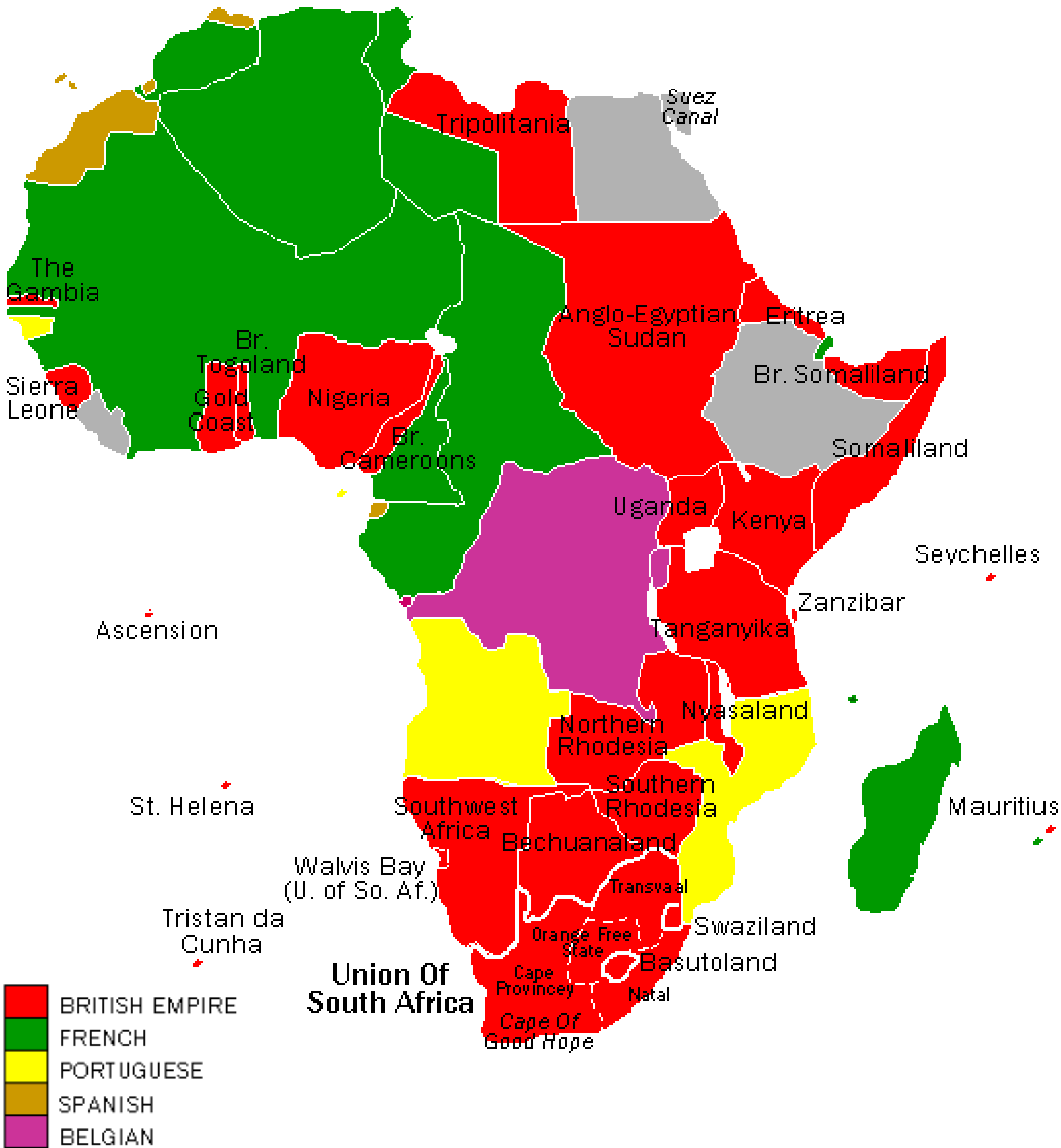
Efforts in Wars

Empire troops from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India and other colonies served loyally in the Boer War (1899 – 1902), in the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939 – 1945). In the Boer War and in the First World War, the Dominions were automatically at war when Britain went to war. However, after the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, the Dominions could choose to serve or to remain out of Britain's wars. In the Second World War, Australia and New Zealand declared war on the same day as Britain – September 3, 1939. A bitterly divided South African parliament also declared war on this day. The Canadian parliament took one week to debate and approve the declaration of war, which was issued for Canada on September 10, 1939. Ireland, which had declared itself a de facto republic in 1937, remained neutral. India, not yet fully self-governing, was automatically at war when Britain went to war, much to the anger of Indian nationalists who were demanding independence. Many Indians fought loyally with the British and others helped the Japanese.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1946



AFRICA IN 1946



Indian Independence

World War I began with an unprecedented outpouring of loyalty and goodwill towards the United Kingdom from India and the rest of the British Empire, contrary to initial British fears of an Indian revolt. India contributed generously to the British war effort by providing men and resources. About 1.3 million Indian soldiers and labourers served in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, while both the Indian government and the princes sent large supplies of food, money, and ammunition. But high casualty rates, soaring inflation compounded by heavy taxation, a widespread influenza epidemic, and the disruption of trade during the war escalated human suffering in India. The prewar nationalist movement revived, as moderate and extremist groups within the Congress submerged their differences in order to stand as a unified front. In 1916, the Congress succeeded in forging the Lucknow Pact, a temporary alliance with the Muslim League over the issues of devolution of political power and the future of Islam in the region.

The British themselves adopted a "carrot and stick" approach in recognition of India's support during the war and in response to renewed nationalist demands. In August 1917, Edwin Montagu, the secretary of state for India, made the historic announcement in Parliament that the British policy for India was "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The means of achieving the proposed measure were later enshrined in the Government of India Act of 1919, which introduced the principle of a dual mode of administration, or diarchy, in which both elected Indian legislators and appointed British officials shared power. The act also expanded the central and provincial legislatures and widened the franchise considerably. Diarchy set in motion certain real changes at the provincial level: a number of non-controversial or "transferred" portfolios, such as agriculture, local government, health, education, and public works, were handed over to Indians, while more sensitive matters such as finance, taxation, and maintaining law and order were retained by the provincial British administrators.

The positive impact of reform was seriously undermined in 1919 by the Rowlatt Act, named after the recommendations made the previous year to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Rowlatt Commission, which had been appointed to investigate "seditious conspiracy." The Rowlatt Act, also known as the Black Act, vested the Viceroy's government with extraordinary powers to quell sedition by silencing the press, detaining political activists without trial, and arresting any individuals suspected of sedition or treason without a warrant. In protest, a nationwide cessation of work (*hartal*) was called, marking the beginning of widespread, although not nationwide, popular discontent.

The agitation unleashed by the acts culminated on 13 April 1919, in the Amritsar Massacre in Amritsar, Punjab. The British military commander, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, ordered his soldiers to fire into an unarmed and unsuspecting crowd of some 10,000 persons. They had assembled at Jallianwala Bagh, a walled garden, to celebrate Baisakhi, a Sikh festival, without prior knowledge of the imposition of martial law. A total of 1,650 rounds were fired, killing 379 persons and wounding 1,137 in the episode, which dispelled wartime hopes of home rule and goodwill in a frenzy of postwar reaction.

India's option for an entirely original path to obtaining *swaraj* (self-rule, sometimes translated as Home Rule or Independence) was due largely to Mahatma Gandhi, (Mahatma meaning *Great Soul*). A native of Gujarat who had been educated in the United Kingdom, he had been a timid lawyer with a modest practice. His legal career lasted a short time, since he immediately took to fighting for just causes on behalf of the Indian community in South Africa. Gandhi had accepted an invitation in 1893 to represent indentured Indian laborers in South Africa, where he stayed on for more than twenty years, lobbying against racial discrimination. Gandhi's battle was not only against basic discrimination and abusive labour treatment; it was in protest of suppressive police control akin to the Rowlatt Acts. After several months of non-violent protests and arrests of thousands of indentured laborers, the ruler of South Africa, Gen. Jan

Smuts released all prisoners and repealed the oppressive legislation. A young, timid Indian was now blooded in the art of revolution, and well on course to Mahatma-hood. His victory in South Africa excited many Indians at home.

He returned to India in 1915, virtually a stranger to public life but fired with a patriotic vision of a new India. It should be noted, however, that Gandhi did not yet believe that political independence from the Empire was the solution to India's problems. Upon his return, he had candidly stated that if as a citizen of the Empire, he wanted freedom and protection, it would be wrong of him not to aid in the defence of the Empire during World War I.

A veteran Congressman and Indian leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale became Gandhi's mentor, and Gandhi traveled widely across the country for years, through different provinces, villages and cities, learning about India's cultures, the life of the vast majority of Indians, their difficulties and tribulations.

Gandhi's ideas and strategies of nonviolent civil disobedience initially appeared impractical to some Indians and veteran Congressmen. In Gandhi's own words, "civil disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments," but as he viewed it, it had to be carried out nonviolently by withdrawing cooperation with the corrupt state. Gandhi's ability to inspire millions of common people was initiated when he used satyagraha during the anti-Rowlatt Act protests in Punjab.

In Champaran, Bihar, Gandhi took up the cause of desperately poor sharecroppers, landless farmers who were being forced to grow cash crops at the expense of crops which formed their food supply, and pay horrendously oppressive taxes. Neither were they sufficiently paid to buy food. By now, Gandhi had shed his European dress for self-woven khadi dhotis and shawls, as is seen in his most famous pictures.

This simple Gandhi instantly electrified millions of poor, common Indians. He was *one of them*, not a fancy, educated elitist Indian. His arrest by police caused major protests throughout the province and the British government was forced to release him, and grant the demands of Gandhi and the farmers of Bihar, which were the freedom to grow the crops of their choosing, exemption from taxation when hurt by famine or drought, and proper compensation for cash crops.

It was with his victory in Champaran, that Gandhi was lovingly accorded the title of Mahatma. It was given not by journalists or observers, but the very millions of people for whom he had come to fight.

In 1920, under Gandhi's leadership, the Congress was reorganised and given a new constitution, whose goal was *Swaraj* (independence). Membership in the party was opened to anyone prepared to pay a token fee, and a hierarchy of committees was established and made responsible for discipline and control over a hitherto amorphous and diffuse movement. The party was transformed from an elite organisation to one of mass national appeal and participation.

Gandhi always stressed that the movement should not be directed against the British people, but the unjust system of outside administration. British officers and leaders are human beings, emphasized Gandhi, and capable of the same mistakes of intolerance, racism and cruelty as the common Indian or any other human being. Punishment for these sins was God's task, and not the mission of the freedom movement. But the liberation of 350 million people from colonial and social tyranny definitely was.

During his first nationwide satyagraha, Gandhi urged the people to boycott British educational institutions, law courts, and products; to resign from government employment; to refuse to pay taxes; and to forsake British titles and honours. Although this came too late to influence the framing of the new Government of India Act of 1919, the magnitude of disorder resulting from the movement was unparalleled and presented a new challenge to British rule. Over 10 million people protested according to

Gandhi's guidelines in all cities and thousands of towns and villages in every part of the country. But Gandhi made a tough decision and called off the campaign in 1922 because of an atrocious murder of policemen in Chauri Chaura by a mob of agitators. He was deeply distressed with the act, and the possibility that crowds of protestors would lose control like this in different parts of the country, causing the fight for national freedom to degenerate into a chaotic orgy of bloodshed, where Englishmen would be murdered by mobs, and the British forces would retaliate against innocent civilians. He felt Indians needed more discipline and had to understand that they were not out to punish the British, but to expose the negative effects of their discrimination and tyranny. As much as liberating India, he hoped to reform the British, see them as friends and break the back of racism and colonialism across the world.

He was imprisoned in 1922 for six years, but served only two. On his release from prison, he set up the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad, on the banks of river Sabarmati, established the newspaper *Young India*, and inaugurated a series of reforms aimed at the socially disadvantaged within Hindu society - the rural poor, and the untouchables.

Emerging leaders within the Congress --Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose, and others-- championed Gandhi's leadership in articulating nationalist aspirations. The Indian political spectrum was further broadened in the mid-1920s by the emergence of both moderate and militant parties, such as the Swaraj Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Communist Party of India and the Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh. Regional political organisations also continued to represent the interests of non-Brahmans in Madras, Mahars in Maharashtra, and Sikhs in Punjab.

Following the rejection of the recommendations of the Simon Commission by Indians, an all-party conference was held at Bombay in May 1928. The conference appointed a drafting committee under Motilal Nehru to draw up a constitution for India. The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress asked the British government to accord Dominion status to India by December 1929, or a countrywide civil disobedience movement would be launched. The Indian National Congress, at its historic Lahore session in December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted a resolution to gain complete independence from the British. It authorised the Working Committee to launch a civil disobedience movement throughout the country. It was decided that 26 January 1930 should be observed all over India as the *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence) Day. Many Indian political parties and Indian revolutionaries of a wide spectrum united to observe the day with honour and pride.

Gandhi emerged from his long seclusion by undertaking his most famous campaign, a march of about 400 kilometres from his commune in Ahmedabad to Dandi, on the coast of Gujarat between 12 March and 6 April 1930. The march is usually known as the *Dandi March* or the *Salt Satyagraha*. At Dandi, in protest against British taxes on salt, he and thousands of followers broke the law by making their own salt from sea water.

In April 1930 there were violent police-crowd clashes in Calcutta. Approximately over 100,000 people were imprisoned in the course of the Civil disobedience movement (1930-31). While Gandhi was in jail, the first Round Table Conference was held in London in November 1930, without representation from the Indian National Congress. The ban upon the Congress was removed because of economic hardships caused by the satyagraha. Gandhi, along with other members of the Congress Working Committee, was released from prison in January 1931.

In March of 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed, and the government agreed to set all political prisoners free. In return, Gandhi agreed to discontinue the civil disobedience movement and participate as the sole representative of the Congress in the second Round Table Conference, which was held in London in September 1931. However, the conference ended in failure in December 1931. Gandhi returned to India and decided to resume the civil disobedience movement in January 1932.

For the next few years, the Congress and the government were locked in conflict and negotiations until what became the Government of India Act of 1935 could be hammered out. By then, the rift between the Congress and the Muslim League had become unbridgeable as each pointed the finger at the other acrimoniously. The Muslim League disputed the claim of the Congress to represent all people of India, while the Congress disputed the Muslim League's claim to voice the aspirations of all Muslims.

The Government of India Act 1935, the voluminous and final constitutional effort at governing British India, articulated three major goals: establishing a loose federal structure, achieving provincial autonomy, and safeguarding minority interests through separate electorates. The federal provisions, intended to unite princely states and British India at the centre, were not implemented because of ambiguities in safeguarding the existing privileges of princes. In February 1937, however, provincial autonomy became a reality when elections were held; the Congress emerged as the dominant party with a clear majority in five provinces and held an upper hand in two, while the Muslim League performed poorly.

In 1939, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow declared India's entrance into World War II without consulting Indian provincial governments, unlike the self-governing Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, which declared war in their own parliaments. In protest, the Congress asked all of its elected representatives to resign from the government. Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League, persuaded participants at the annual Muslim League session at Lahore in 1940 to adopt what later came to be known as the Lahore Resolution, demanding the division of India into two separate sovereign states, one Muslim, the other Hindu; sometimes referred as Two Nation Theory. Although the idea of Pakistan had been introduced as early as 1930, very few had responded to it. However, the volatile political climate and hostilities between the Hindus and Muslims transformed the idea of Pakistan into a stronger demand.

Indians throughout the country were divided over World War II, as the British had unilaterally and without consulting the elected representatives of Indians, entered India into the war. Some wanted to support the British, especially through the Battle of Britain, hoping for independence eventually through this backing during the U.K.'s most critical life-death struggle. Others were enraged by the British disregard for Indian intelligence and civil rights, and were unsympathetic to the travails of the British people, which they saw as rightful revenge for the alleged enslavement of Indians.

In a climate of frustration, anger and other tumultuous emotions, arose two epochal movements that form the climax of the 100-year struggle for freedom of 350 million Indians.

The arbitrary entry of India into the war was strongly opposed by Subhash Chandra Bose, who had been elected President of the Congress twice, in 1937 and 1939. After lobbying against participation in the war, he resigned from Congress in 1939 and started a new party, the All India Forward Bloc. He was placed under house arrest, but escaped in 1941. He surfaced in Germany, and enlisted German and Japanese help to fight the British in India.

In 1943, he travelled to Japan from Germany on board German and Japanese submarines. In Japan, he helped organise the Indian National Army (INA) and set up a government-in-exile. During the war, the Andaman and Nicobar islands came under INA control, and Bose renamed them *Shahid* (Martyr) and *Swaraj* (Independence). The INA engaged British troops in northeastern India, hoping to liberate Indian territories under colonial rule. But the poorly equipped soldiers fighting in dense jungle and with little real support from the Japanese died by the thousands. Their die-hard courage, patriotism and spirit could not overcome the disastrous odds, and the INA's efforts ended with the surrender of Japan in 1945. It is agreed by many that Subhash Chandra Bose was killed in an air crash in August 1945. But his death is still controversial.

The Congress Party, which had not supported Bose's use of violence, embraced the INA martyrs and surviving soldiers as heroes. The Congress set up a special fund to take care of the survivors and the families of the soldiers who lost their lives or were seriously wounded. To this day, Subhas Bose's daring and courage are an awe-inspiring example for newer generations of Indians, and the INA soldiers are treated in equal regard and honour to the men who fought with Mahatma Gandhi, albeit the use of violence.

The Quit India Movement (Bharat Chhodo Andolan) was the final call, the definitive organised movement of civil disobedience for immediate independence of India from British rule issued by Mahatma Gandhi on August 8, 1942, made famous by his slogan *Do or Die*. Unlike the previous two Gandhi-led revolts, Quit India was more controversial (as it was in the middle of World War II), and specifically designed to obtain the exit of the British from Indian shores.

The Congress Party had earlier taken the initiative upon the outbreak of war to support the British, but were rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. On July 14, 1942, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution demanding complete independence from the United Kingdom. The draft proposed that if the British did not accede to the demands, a massive Civil Disobedience would be launched. However, it was an extremely controversial decision. The Congress had lesser success in rallying other political forces under a single flag and mast.

On August 8, 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC). At Gowalia Tank, Mumbai Gandhi urged Indians to follow a non-violent civil disobedience. Gandhi told the masses to act as an independent nation and not to follow the orders of the British. The British, already alarmed by the advance of the Japanese army to the India/Burma border, responded the next day by imprisoning Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace in Pune. The Congress Party's Working Committee, or national leadership was arrested all together and imprisoned at the Ahmednagar Fort. They also banned the party altogether. Large scale protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. However, not all the demonstrations were peaceful. Bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity was cut and transport and communication lines were severed.

The British swiftly responded by mass detentions. A total over 100,000 arrests were made nationwide, mass fines were levied, bombs were air-dropped and demonstrators were subjected to public flogging.

The entire Congress leadership was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years. Gandhi's wife Kasturba Gandhi died and personal secretary Mahadev Desai died in a short space of months, and Gandhi's own health was failing. Despite this, Gandhi went on protest 21-day fasts and maintained a superhuman resolve to continuous resistance. Although the British released Gandhi on account of his failing health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the complete release of the Congress leadership.

The war had sapped a lot of the economic, political and military life-blood of the Empire, but the powerful Indian resistance had shattered the spirit and will of the British government, and had made it clear that after the war, even a greater, larger movement would be launched and would succeed, as no excuse or distraction from the issue would remain. In addition, the British people and the British Army seemed unwilling to back a policy of repression in India and other parts of the Empire even as their own country lay shattered by the war's ravages. The writing was on the wall, and freedom only a matter of time.

By early 1946, all political prisoners had been released, and the British openly adopted a political dialogue with the Indian National Congress for the eventual independence of India. World War II not

only changed the map of the world, it also helped mature British public opinion on India. The Labour Party's election victory in 1945 helped reassess the merits of the traditional policies. While the British were negotiating to transfer power to India, the Muslim League renewed its demand for the formation of Pakistan. Jinnah was opposed to sharing power with the Indian National Congress, he declared 16 August 1946 as *Direct Action Day*, which brought communal rioting in many places in the north. Over 5,000 people were killed, mostly Hindus. On 3 June 1947, Viscount Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy, announced plans for partition of the British Indian Empire into secular India, and Muslim Pakistan, which itself was divided into east and west wings on either side of India.

At midnight, on August 15, 1947, amidst ecstatic shouting of "Jai Hind" (Victory to India), India became an independent nation, with its first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivering his famous speech on India's tryst with destiny. Gandhi did not support the idea of partition of India, so he did not participate in the celebration of Indian Independence. He spent the day fasting and praying in Kolkata. Concurrently, the Muslim northwest and northeast of British India were separated into the nation of Pakistan. Violent clashes between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs followed this partition. The area of Kashmir in the far north of the subcontinent quickly became a source of controversy that erupted into the First Indo-Pakistani War which lasted from 1947 to 1949.

Both India and Pakistan were Dominions within the Empire, granted full autonomy, with the King-Emperor crowned as King and Head of State of both India and Pakistan, and the Governor General as the King's representative. Prime Minister Nehru and Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited Lord Mountbatten to continue as Governor General of India. He was replaced in June 1948, by Chakravarti Rajgopalachari, a veteran Congress leader. Mohammed Ali Jinnah took charge as Pakistan's Governor General, and Liaquat Ali Khan became the Muslim state's Prime Minister. The Constituent Assemblies of both Dominions would serve as their respective legislative bodies.

One man rose to the challenges faced by the tumultuous birth of a gigantic nation like no other: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. As India's Home Minister, Sardar Patel was the leader of all-out efforts to stop communal violence; caring and rehabilitation for the 10 million Hindu and Sikh refugees pouring in from Pakistan.

As Minister for the States, Patel had the awesome responsibility of welding 565 princely states, not parts of the India that would become free on August 15, 1947, leaving it half its natural size of today. Patel nevertheless managed by ingenious *velvet glove and fist* diplomacy to obtain the accession of 562 states, appealing to the patriotism of the kings and if necessary, pointing out the insurmountable and rising threat of the people's thirst for democracy and a united nation to live in. Patel also established democratic governments to rule those states while the Constitution was being prepared. Sardar Patel however, had to use force to obtain the accession of Hyderabad state. Its Muslim ruler was holding out, and even threatening to accede to Pakistan. Its 85% Hindu majority population was being oppressed, entirely shunt out of political participation, and a Muslim terrorist group propping the ruler up, called the Razakars, attacked towns and villages in India.

The growing danger to India's stability, security and future by Hyderabad's oppressive monarchy could not be tolerated, and Indian forces were sent in by Patel to liberate it in May of 1948. The state of Junagadh in Gujarat was similarly liberated, after its Muslim nawab acceded to Pakistan despite a formidable geographical separation from it, and an 80% Hindu majority population.

India's Constituent Assembly, under its President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Chairman of the Drafting Committee B.R. Ambedkar, began the work of drafting the Constitution. On January 26, 1949, the work was officially completed and on January 26, 1950, the Republic of India was declared. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected by the Constituent Assembly to be the first President of India, taking over from

Governor General Rajgopalachari. India thus officially severed its ties with the monarchy, but opted to remain in the successor to the British Empire, the Commonwealth of Nations.

But before the full culmination of the sacrifices of a generation of Indians, terrible tragedies had occurred. Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on January 30, 1948, by a Hindu fanatic who held him responsible for partition. The whole nation trembled in shock, and literally millions of people poured out in Delhi to follow Gandhi's funeral caravan. Fond eulogies poured in from men like Albert Einstein and U.S. President Harry Truman, and even the mighty British nation, the beaten adversary of this frail old man, joined in grieving and genuine sorrow. On December 25, 1950, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Iron Man of India, the strongest Congress leader and Gandhi's loyal lieutenant died of a heart attack. Patel had suffered his first heart attack within a month of Gandhi's passing, as the bottled-up grief over the Mahatma's passing exploded and nearly killed him. Sardar Patel's most enduring contributions had come just after independence. The India which stepped into the latter half of the 20th century, free and sovereign, did not include Goa, until it was liberated from Portuguese control in 1961, and Pondicherry, which the French ceded in 1953-54. In 1952, India held its first democratic general elections, with a turnout of voters exceeding 62%, making it in practice the world's largest democracy.



Mahatma Gandhi



Jawaharlal Nehru

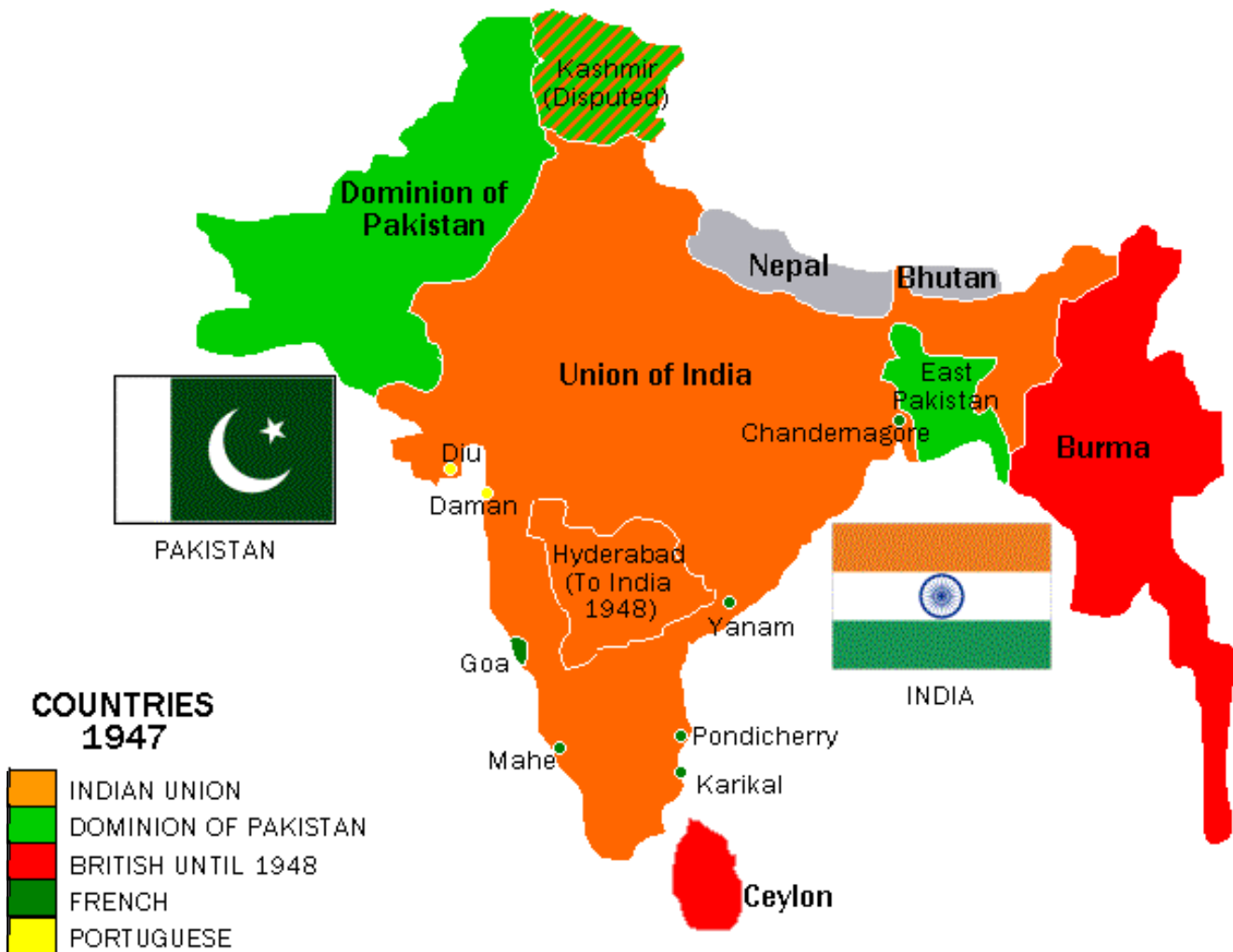


Muhammad Ali Jinnah

END OF EMPIRE: THE INDIAN FLAG FLIES ABOVE THE RED FORT IN DELHI



PARTITION OF BRITISH INDIA INTO TWO DOMINIONS UPON INDEPENDENCE IN AUGUST, 1947



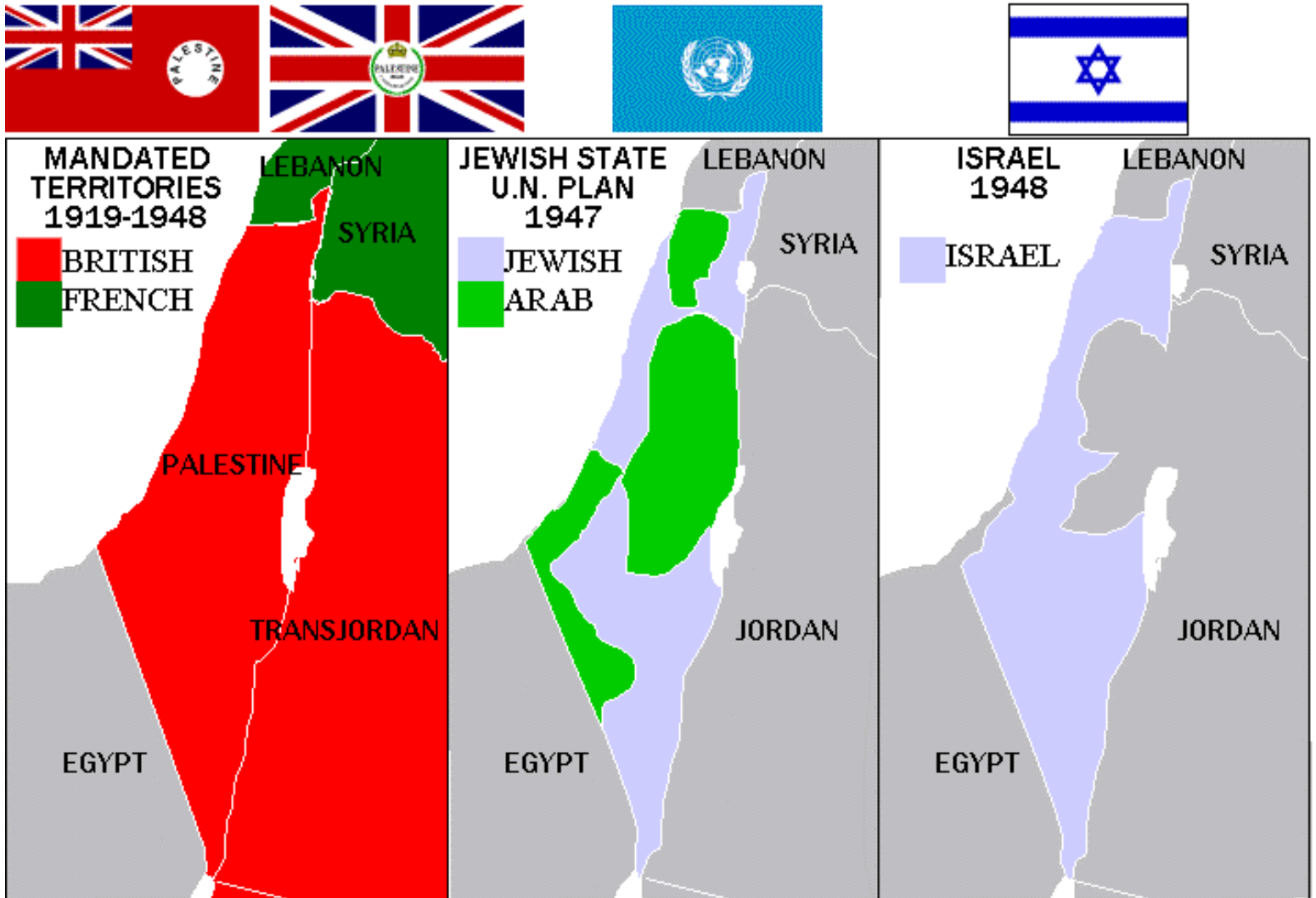
Creation Of Israel

In 1947, following increasing levels of violence by militant groups, alongside unsuccessful efforts to reconcile the Jewish and Arab populations, the British government decided to withdraw from the Palestine Mandate. Fulfilment of the 1947 UN Partition Plan would have divided the mandated territory into two states, Jewish and Arab, giving about half the land area to each state. Under this plan, Jerusalem was intended to be an international region under UN administration to avoid conflict over its status. Immediately following the adoption of the Partition Plan by the United Nations General Assembly, the Palestinian Arab leadership rejected the plan to create the as-yet-unnamed Jewish state and launched a guerilla war.

On 14 May 1948, before the expiring of the British Mandate of Palestine at midnight of 15 May 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed. The surrounding Arab states supported the Palestinian Arabs in rejecting both the Partition Plan and the establishment of Israel, and the armies of six Arab nations attacked the State of Israel. Over the next 15 months Israel captured an additional 26% of the Mandate territory west

of the Jordan river and annexed it to the new state. Most of the Arab population fled or were expelled during the war. The continuing conflict between Israel and the Arab world resulted in a lasting displacement that persists to this day.

PARTITION OF PALESTINE MANDATE AND THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948



Decolonisation Of The British Empire After The Second World War

The League of Nations granted mandates over former German and Turkish territories in Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific to Britain and the Dominions in 1919. Mandates in the Middle East in Iraq became independent in 1932 and Palestine and Transjordan became independent as Israel and Jordan shortly after World War II. League mandates granted to Britain in Africa of Togoland, Cameroons and Tanganyika became United Nations trusteeships in 1946, continuing under British guidance. They eventually became independent within the Commonwealth after 1960. The Union of South Africa incorporated its mandate of Southwest Africa into its national territory, but this was not recognised by the United Nations. Australia continued to have a trusteeship over neighbouring New Guinea.

In 1947-48, India, Pakistan and Ceylon had become Dominions in the British Commonwealth. In 1949, the Indian government stated that they wished for their country to become a Republic but to remain within the Commonwealth. In November of that year, a formula was agreed upon where the required common allegiance to the Crown was dropped. Members could have whatever status they wished, but they would all recognise the British Monarch in the new position as 'Head of the Commonwealth'. In the future, the now completely independent members of the Commonwealth would include Dominions (now to be called Realms), Republics and some even with their own Monarchies. The title of the organisation was changed from the British Commonwealth to the Commonwealth of Nations to reflect this new reality. In 1950 India became a republic but remained a member of the Commonwealth, as did Pakistan in 1956. Burma and Ceylon became independent in 1948. Burma chose to leave the Commonwealth, but Ceylon became a Dominion, eventually becoming the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972, however remaining a Commonwealth member. In 1953, Queen Elizabeth II was crowned as Queen of each of the Realms separately. She was also the first monarch to adopt separate titles for each of the Realms, and the first to include the new title 'Head of the Commonwealth' in those titles.

After years of resentment, Ireland was partitioned in 1921. The northern six counties, with a Protestant majority, remained part of the renamed United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, but with their own parliament at Stormont, in Belfast. The Catholic South became a Dominion. However, unlike the other Dominions, it took its independence seriously and remained neutral in World War Two. In 1949 Ireland became a republic and left the Commonwealth.

World War II fatally undermined Britain's already weakened commercial and financial leadership and heightened the importance of the Dominions and the United States as a source of military assistance. Australian prime minister John Curtin's unprecedented action (1942) in successfully demanding the recall for home service of Australian troops earmarked for the defence of British-held Burma demonstrated that Dominion governments could no longer be expected to subordinate their own national interests to British strategic perspectives. Curtin had written in a national newspaper the year before that Australia should look to the United States for protection, rather than Britain. From 1942 to 1945, Japan occupied almost the entire British East Asian empire, taking Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Burma away from the British along with French and Dutch possessions. These were recovered for the British Empire after the Allied victory in 1945. After the war, Australia and New Zealand joined with the United States in the ANZUS regional security treaty in 1951 (although the US repudiated its commitments to New Zealand following a 1985 dispute over port access for nuclear vessels).

Interestingly, in 1940, then British Prime Minister Winston Churchill offered full union of the United Kingdom and France in order to strengthen the resolve against German expansion in Europe. This was rejected by France. However, in 1956, French Prime Minister Guy Mollet proposed the same thing in order to strengthen France's declining position in the world, especially with the Suez Crisis in the Middle East and the war for independence in Algeria. This was rejected by the British.

The British Empire really came to an end in 1956 after the Suez Crisis, in which the United States opposed Anglo-French intervention in Egypt, seeing it as a doomed adventure likely to jeopardise American interests in the Middle East, and when serious post-war decolonisation began in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, with almost unseemly haste in the face of increasingly powerful (and sometimes mutually conflicting) nationalist movements, with Britain rarely fighting to retain any territories. Colonies of other powers such as France and Belgium were becoming independent also.

Singapore became independent in two stages. The British did not believe that Singapore would be large enough to defend itself against others alone. Therefore, Singapore was joined with Malaya, Sarawak and North Borneo to form Malaysia upon independence from the Empire. This short-lived union was dissolved in 1965 when Singapore left Malaysia and achieved complete independence.

In the Mediterranean, a guerrilla war waged by Greek Cypriot advocates of union with Greece ended (1960) in an independent Cyprus, although Britain did retain two military bases - Akrotiri and Dhekelia.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth II, the current Queen, has seen the gradual dismantling of the Empire. The end of Britain's Empire in Africa came with exceptional rapidity, often leaving the newly-independent states ill-equipped to deal with the challenges of sovereignty: Home rule and independence movements began in Africa in the early 1950's, modelled on the movement in India of the 1930's. This started with a home rule campaign led by Kwame Nkrumah in the Gold Coast (Ghana), in West Africa. This resulted in the creation of the first independent native-ruled African Dominion in 1957, known as Ghana, brought into existence ten years after Indian independence. Sudan, and Malaya also gained independence in the 1950s. Ghana's independence was followed by that of Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone and Tanganyika (1961), Uganda (1962), Kenya and Zanzibar (1963), The Gambia (1965), Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) and Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) (1966), and Swaziland (1968). British withdrawal from the southern and eastern parts of Africa was complicated by the region's white settler populations: Kenya had already provided an example in the Mau Mau Uprising of violent conflict exacerbated by white landownership and reluctance to concede majority rule. The Union of South Africa, with its white minority rule, left the Commonwealth in 1961. South Africa remained a source of bitterness until the ending of apartheid policy in 1994. South Africa returned to Commonwealth membership in that year, as did its former trust territory of Southwest Africa, which joined as independent Namibia in 1990. Starting with Egypt in 1947, most countries left the Sterling Bloc to adopt their own currencies by the 1970's.

Although the white-dominated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland ended in the independence of Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) and Zambia (the former Northern Rhodesia) in 1964, Southern Rhodesia's white minority (a self-governing colony since 1923) declared independence with their UDI rather than submit to equality with black Africans. The support of South Africa's apartheid government kept the Rhodesian regime in place until 1979, when agreement was reached on majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe. Portugal granted independence to its African colonies all at once in 1975.

Most of Britain's Caribbean territories opted for eventual separate independence after the failure of the West Indies Federation (1958–62): Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (1962) were followed into statehood by Barbados (1966). The smaller islands of the eastern Caribbean opted for the status of Associated States with the United Kingdom in 1967. However, they moved to full independence later on (1970s and 1980s).

Britain's Pacific dependencies of Fiji, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Kiribati and Tuvalu) also underwent decolonisation in the 1970's. Australia gave independence to Papua New Guinea in 1975, which subsequently joined the Commonwealth. At the end of Britain's 99-year lease of the mainland New Territories, all of Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997.

The old Dominions, which had stood loyally by Britain's side during World War II, were becoming far more nationalistic in the second half of the 20th Century.

Canada was the first Dominion to introduce its own citizenship in 1947, as distinct from the common imperial citizenship of British subjects. This was followed by the adoption of a unique Canadian flag to replace the Canadian Red Ensign in 1965 and the last constitutional control by Britain was removed in 1982 when Canada finally adopted its own constitution. However, the Queen remains Sovereign.

Australian states also had a direct constitutional link with Britain until 1986 when an Australian constitutional Act finally ended this link. A referendum was held on republican status in Australia in 1999, but it was defeated. Thus the Queen remains Sovereign in Australia; also in New Zealand, which

maintained very close links with Britain, including a Royal Powers Act, imperial honours and a vast majority of its trade, until after Britain forged closer links with Europe after 1973. The Queen also remains Sovereign in 12 other countries, which have gained their independence since the 1960's.

The Union of South Africa adopted a distinctive national flag in 1928 and was transformed into a republic outside the Commonwealth in 1961 after a very narrow victory for republican status in a referendum during the previous year. The mandate over South-West Africa, held since 1919, was terminated in 1990 when it became independent within the Commonwealth as Namibia. The Republic of South Africa also returned to the Commonwealth in 1994.

Britain's pursuit from 1961 and attainment of European Community membership weakened the old commercial ties to the Dominions, ending their privileged access to the UK market. Commonwealth preferential trade ended when Britain entered the European Economic Community (now European Union) in 1973. By then, only a few small possessions remained, most of which were proceeding toward independence. Some did not want to end their colonial status. Gibraltar, for example, felt that it risked absorption by Spain if Britain withdrew. However, Britain fought a war against Argentina in 1982 to retain control of the Falkland Islands. A referendum on independence was held in Bermuda in 1995, but it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The issue remains a priority for some of the island's politicians. Others like St. Helena and Anguilla were just too small to become independent. Politicians in the Turks and Caicos Islands, a British Dependency in the Caribbean, have often discussed joining Canada. In 1998, the remaining British territories ceased to be Crown Colonies and were given the new status of British Overseas Territories. Their inhabitants became British Overseas Citizens with UK rights.

The British Empire had completely and peacefully transformed into the Commonwealth of Nations by the late 20th Century.



Kwame Nkrumah

END OF EMPIRE: INDEPENDENCE ARCH IN ACCRA, GHANA



Today, there are 53 independent members of the Commonwealth, 16 of which recognize Queen Elizabeth II as Sovereign, 5 have their own indigenous monarchies and 32 are republics. There are also two almost-independent associated states of New Zealand and 13 remaining British colonies, now referred to as British Overseas Territories. About 95% of the British Empire remains within the Commonwealth today. Additionally, Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony in southern Africa, and Cameroon, made up mostly of a former French mandate, became members of the Commonwealth in 1995, thus, for the first time, extending the organisation beyond the borders of the British Empire. Other aspirant nations, particularly in Africa, are expected to apply to join the Commonwealth in the near future, as it offers many programmes as a stable English-speaking block. Zimbabwe (the former Rhodesia) left the Commonwealth in 2003 over criticism of its land reform policy of seizing white-owned farms and redistributing them to Africans.

Although Australia, Canada, New Zealand, plus a dozen other nations, still have the British monarch as their head of state, they are no longer referred to as Dominions, and have gradually abandoned some of their formal political ties with Britain, particularly by adopting their own constitutions in the 1980's.

The end of Britain's 400-year old trans-oceanic Empire was made official in 1998, when all inhabitants of the few remaining overseas British territories became British citizens, with equal rights to those in the United Kingdom. The unitary United Kingdom itself was transformed into a devolved federal-style nation. Since 1999 Scotland has had its own parliament, for the first time in nearly 300 years, and Wales has had its own assembly, for the first time in nearly 600 years. Nationalists in Scotland still push for complete independence. Northern Ireland, whose Parliament at Stormont was abolished in 1972 due to political troubles, had an assembly restored. The Stannaries parliament of Cornwall has been sitting again unofficially since 1974.

END OF EMPIRE: THE TRANSFER OF HONG KONG BACK TO CHINA IN 1997

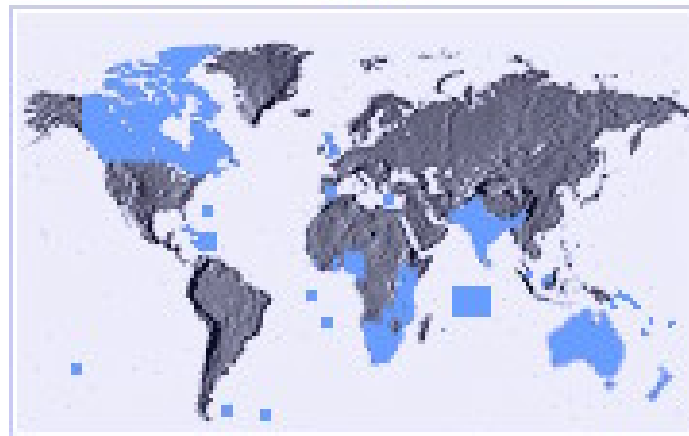


British flags flying in Hong Kong before the handover to China



Chinese flags flying in Hong Kong after the handover

The Commonwealth Of Nations (1949 – Present)



The Commonwealth has grown massively in the last few decades.
Above, the 10 representatives in 1958, below, the over 50 members in 2000

The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of currently 53 independent countries, almost all of which were formerly under British rule. While remaining entirely responsible for their own policies, member countries choose to consult and co-operate in certain areas such as strengthening democracy by good government, promoting human rights and working for social and economic development of poorer countries. Much of the strength of the Commonwealth is derived from its non-governmental and informal links, such as teacher-training schemes, youth ministries, distance education, science and environmental projects, shared sports and arts festivals. This means that it is as much a commonwealth of peoples as of governments.

After nearly 60 years of its existence, the Commonwealth is a remarkable organisation which remains a major force for change in the world today. A permanent Secretary General of the Commonwealth was established in 1965, starting with Canadian Arnold Smith. The 1.6 billion people of Commonwealth countries make up over a quarter of the world's population, and over 50 per cent of the population of the Commonwealth is under 25. The great majority of Commonwealth members are parliamentary democracies. In the 1950's, even France and Norway unsuccessfully applied to join the Commonwealth.

Membership of the Commonwealth has, since its beginning, been open to any independent state which was once ruled or administered by Britain or other Commonwealth countries, and recognises The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. (In 1995, Mozambique became the first country to join which had not previously had such links with Britain, being a former Portuguese colony.) Almost all countries, when they became independent of the United Kingdom, have chosen to join the Commonwealth but, since the link is entirely voluntary, any member can withdraw at any time - the Republic of Ireland did so in 1949, as did South Africa in 1961 (subsequently rejoined in 1994). Zimbabwe withdrew in 2003.

There are 53 member countries of the Commonwealth. These are listed below, with the years in which they joined the Commonwealth. Also listed is their constitutional status: 'realm' indicates a Commonwealth country which retained a monarchical constitution, recognising The Queen as Sovereign; 'monarchy' indicates an indigenous monarchical constitution; 'republic' indicates a constitution with a President as head of state.

Country	Date Of Joining The Commonwealth	Status
Antigua and Barbuda	1981	Realm
Australia	1931	Realm
The Bahamas	1973	Realm
Bangladesh	1972	Republic
Barbados	1966	Realm
Belize	1981	Realm
Botswana	1966	Republic
Brunei	1984	Monarchy
Cameroon	1995	Republic
Canada	1931	Realm
Cyprus	1961	Republic
Dominica	1978	Republic
Fiji Islands	1970 (left in 1987, rejoined in 1997)	Republic
The Gambia	1965	Republic
Ghana	1957	Republic
Grenada	1974	Realm
Guyana	1966	Republic

India	1947	Republic
Jamaica	1962	Realm
Kenya	1963	Republic
Kiribati	1979	Republic
Lesotho	1966	Monarchy
Malawi	1964	Republic
Malaysia	1957	Monarchy
The Maldives	1982	Republic
Malta	1964	Republic
Mauritius	1968	Republic
Mozambique	1995	Republic
Namibia	1990	Republic
Nauru	1968	Republic
New Zealand	1931	Realm
Nigeria	1960	Republic
Pakistan	1947	Republic
Papua New Guinea	1975	Realm
St. Christopher and Nevis	1983	Realm
St. Lucia	1979	Realm
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	Realm
Samoa	1970	Republic
Seychelles	1976	Republic
Sierra Leone	1961	Republic
Singapore	1965	Republic
Solomon Islands	1978	Realm
South Africa	1931 (withdrew in 1961, rejoined in 1961)	Republic
Sri Lanka	1948	Republic
Swaziland	1968	Monarchy
Tanzania	1961	Republic
Tonga	1970	Monarchy
Trinidad and Tobago	1962	Republic
Tuvalu*	1978	Realm
United Kingdom		Monarchy
Uganda	1962	Republic
Vanuatu	1980	Republic
Zambia	1964	Republic

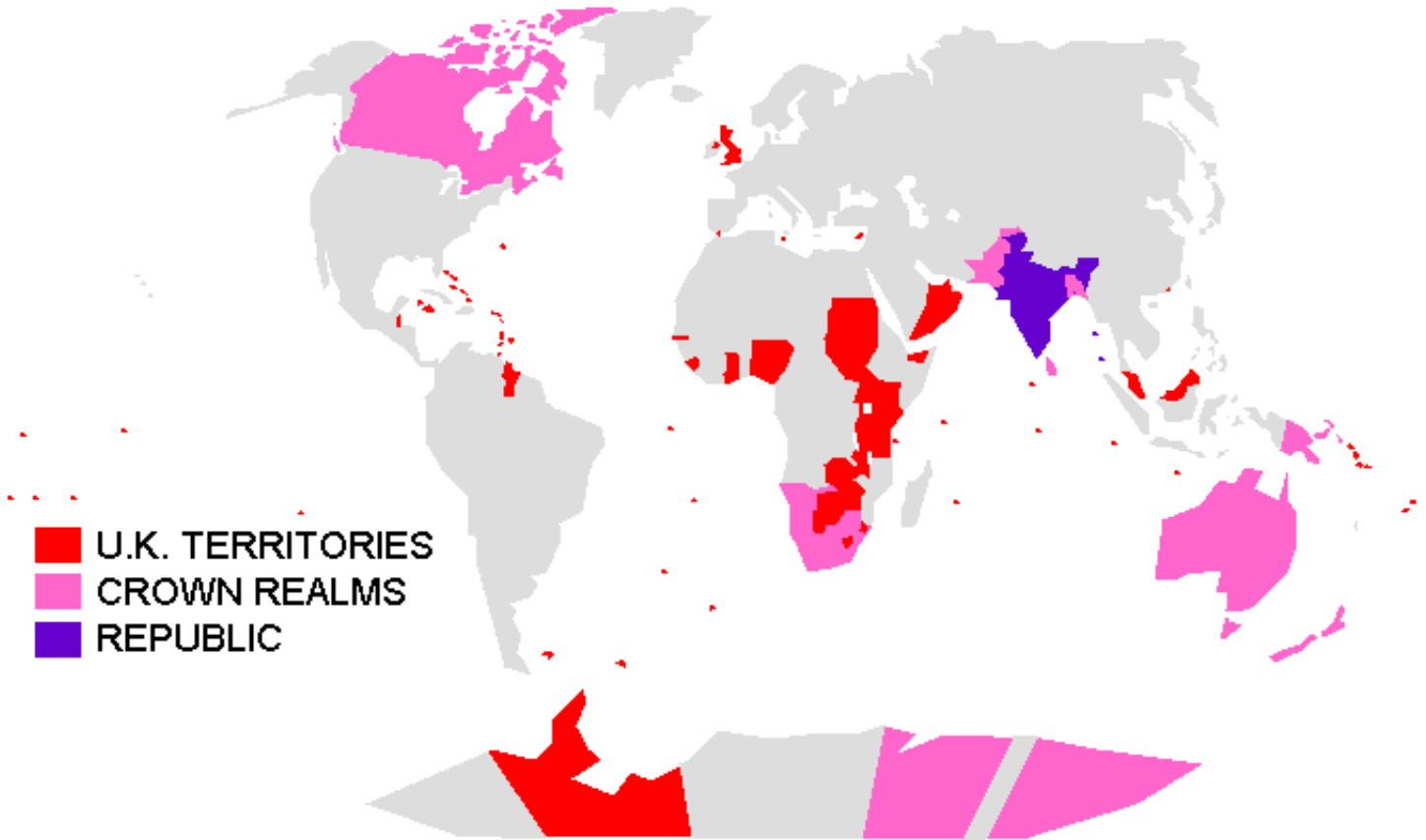
* Tuvalu is a special member, with the right to participate in all functional Commonwealth meetings and activities, but not to attend meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government.

Remaining Dependent Territories of the United Kingdom consist of:

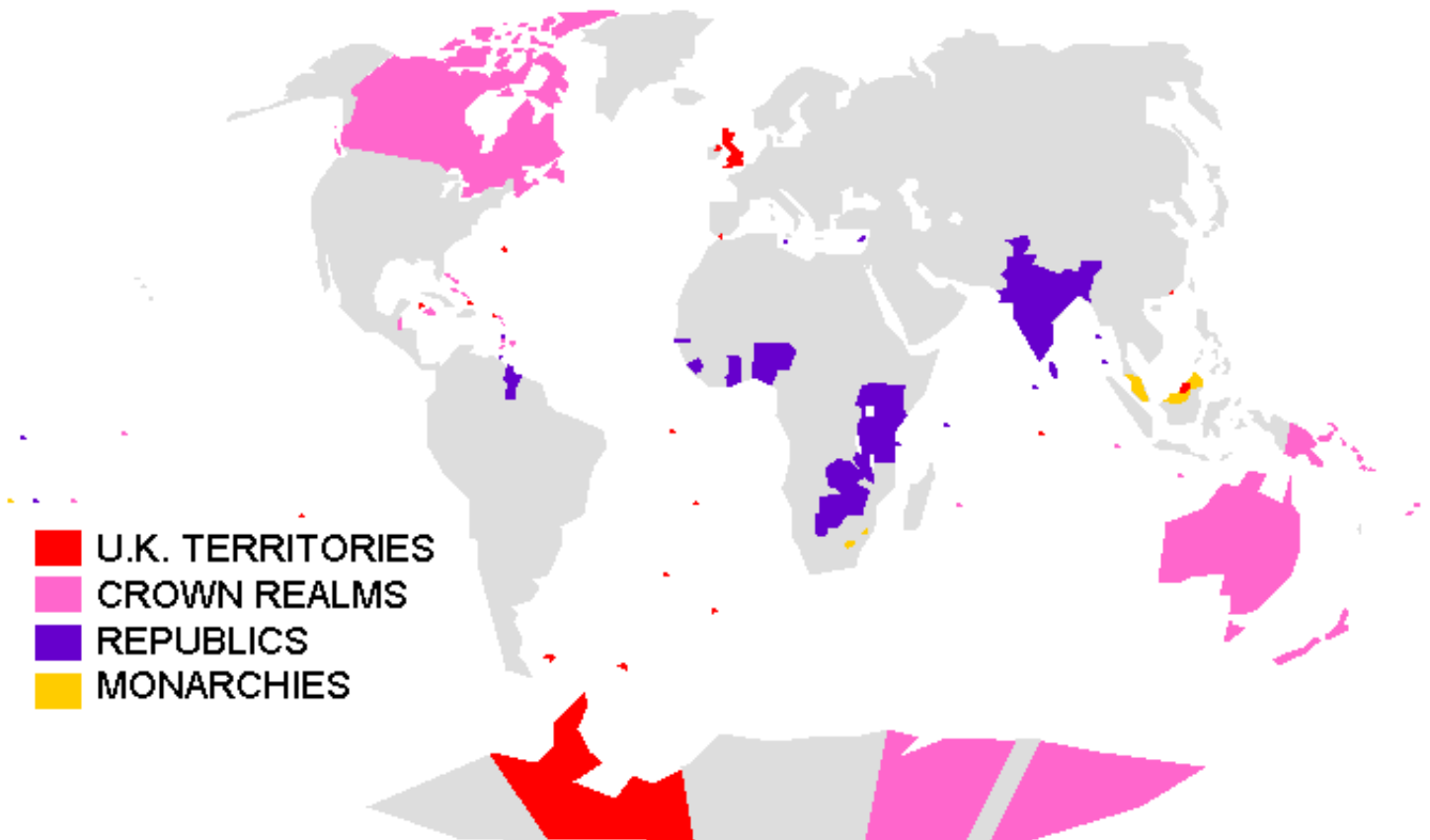
Anguilla, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Montserrat, Pitcairn, St. Helena, South Georgia, Special Base Area Cyprus, Turks and Caicos Islands

Niue and Cook Islands are Associated States of New Zealand.

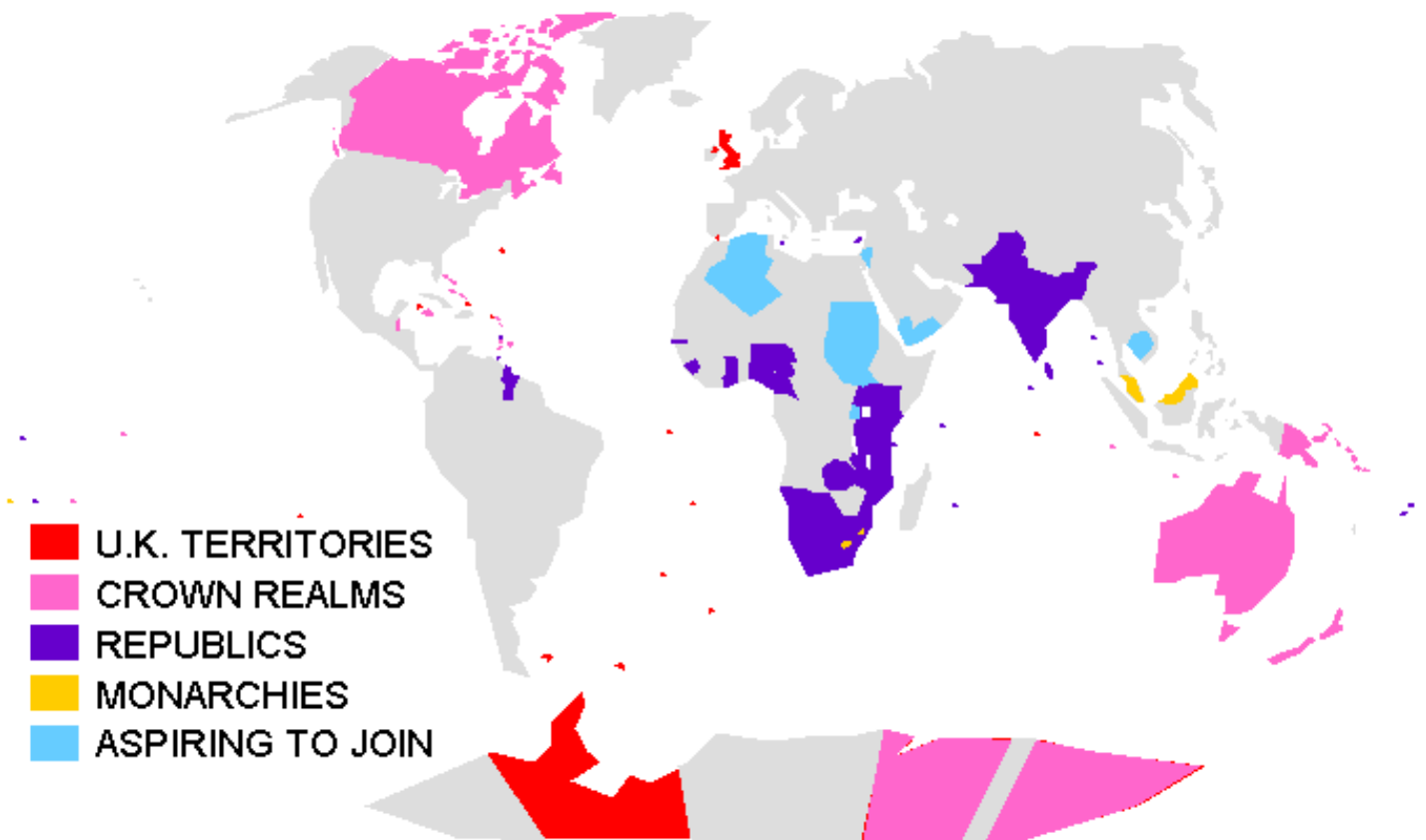
THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IN 1950



THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IN 1981



THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS TODAY



Queen Elizabeth II, the Head of the Commonwealth, with Commonwealth leaders
At CHOGM (Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting) in Malta in 2005.

Pre-Second World War British Empire territories which are not members of the Commonwealth today include: Bahrain, Burma (Myanmar), Hong Kong (part of China since 1997), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Zimbabwe.

As Head of the Commonwealth, The Queen's role is symbolic and has no constitutional functions attached to it. The Monarch personally reinforces the links by which the Commonwealth joins people together from around the world. This is done through Commonwealth visits, regular contact with the Commonwealth Secretary General and his Secretariat (the Commonwealth's central organisation, which co-ordinates many Commonwealth activities and which is based in London) and Heads of Government, attending the Commonwealth Day Observance in London, broadcasting her annual Christmas and Commonwealth Day messages, acting as patron for Commonwealth cultural events and often attending the Commonwealth Games to open or close them.

The Commonwealth adopted a new flag in 1976 containing a stylised globe surrounded by a large letter 'C' for Commonwealth. This replaced the traditional use of the British Union Flag as the flag of the Commonwealth, which was felt was no longer appropriate as it had been the symbol of the former British Empire. Commonwealth countries were independent and most were republics, so a new symbol was needed to reflect that fact.

During her reign, The Queen has visited every country in the Commonwealth (with the exception of Mozambique and Cameroon, who joined in 1995) and made many repeat visits, either as a multiple visit (e.g. Anguilla, Dominica, Guyana, Belize, Cayman Islands, Jamaica, Bahamas and Bermuda in February/March 1994) or to one country (such as Canada in June/July 1997, which included the celebration of Canada's National Day, and Jamaica in 2002). The Queen also visited India and Pakistan in October 1997, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of their independence from Britain, which led to the formation of the modern Commonwealth. One third of The Queen's total overseas visits are to Commonwealth countries. The Queen visited Canada in 2005 for the centennial anniversaries of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Duke of Edinburgh, The Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal family also pay frequent visits to the Commonwealth.

A meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) is usually held once every two years, at locations throughout the Commonwealth. The Queen is normally present in the host country, during which she has a series of private meetings with the Commonwealth countries' leaders. The Queen also attends a reception and dinner during the conference period at which she makes a speech. The latest CHOGM was held in March 2002 in Coolumb, South Australia.

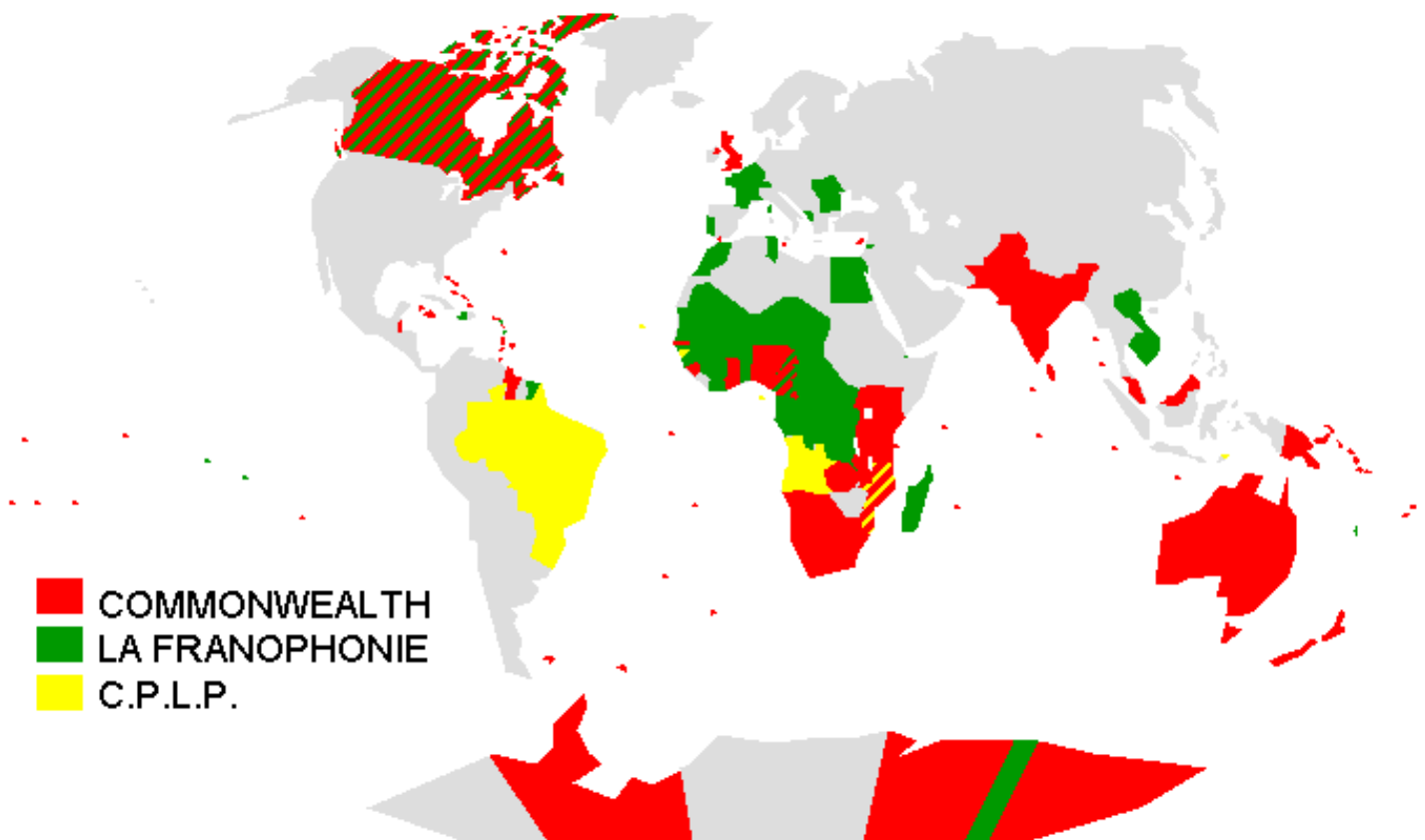
Since 1977, Commonwealth Day is celebrated throughout the Commonwealth on the second Monday in March; this was approved by Heads of Government as a day when children throughout the Commonwealth, for whom the day is particularly intended, would be at school. To mark the day, The Queen broadcasts a Commonwealth Day message which, like the Christmas Message, is delivered by The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth to the peoples of the Commonwealth as a whole. These messages are unique in that they are delivered on The Queen's own responsibility, drafted without Ministerial advice. Each year, The Queen also attends an 'Observance for Commonwealth Day' which is an interdenominational service held in Westminster Abbey, followed by a reception hosted by the Secretary General (the Head of the Commonwealth Secretariat).

In 2005, the Commonwealth Business Council recommended that the Commonwealth must strengthen its economic position in the world and that by working together, the Commonwealth has the potential to be a giant in world economics. There is great interest in the Commonwealth around the world. Some countries that have left it have also returned. South Africa left in 1961 and returned in 1994, Pakistan left in 1972 and returned in 1989 and Fiji left in 1987 and returned in 1997. Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Yemen

and Sudan are former British Empire territories that never joined the Commonwealth which have applied to join it in 2007. When a Civil Administration takes power in Myanmar (Burma), it might also apply to join. If Somaliland gains international recognition, it might want to join the Commonwealth also. Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony in Africa, was allowed to join the Commonwealth in 1995 as a special case due to its interaction with surrounding Commonwealth members. Rwanda, Cambodia, Algeria and Poland, which are all nations with no historical links to the British Empire similar to Mozambique, have also applied to join the Commonwealth in 2007. In the future, the world may see a Commonwealth that has grown far beyond the countries of the original British Empire.

Some Commonwealth member nations are also members of other post-colonial associations because of previous historical links with other European Empires. Currently, Canada, Saint Lucia, Mauritius, Seychelles and Vanuatu are also members of La Francophonie, which is the French-speaking equivalent to the Commonwealth, and Mozambique is also a member of the C.P.L.P. (the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Nations). The United Kingdom, Cyprus and Malta are also members of the European Union.

POST-COLONIAL ASSOCIATIONS TODAY



FLAGS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS TODAY



The Crown Commonwealth



Today, Queen Elizabeth II remains sovereign of sixteen Commonwealth countries and their dependencies. These are: 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, Tuvalu and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The Queen is represented by a Governor General in all except the United Kingdom, where she is in permanent residence. The Queen is also represented by Governors in Australian states and by Lieutenant Governors in Canadian Provinces. She has a Deputy Governor General on Nevis.

The Queen distinguishes between her various roles by using a personal flag - initial E and crown within a chaplet of roses - for use at Commonwealth meetings where the Royal Standard would be inappropriate, or by using special Standards in her various realms. The Queen, though not being part of the machinery of government in the Commonwealth, has become a personal link and human symbol of the Commonwealth as an international organisation.

The former realm of Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, east of Madagascar, became a republic in 1992, after several attempts to make the change were defeated by public outcry. The country's original 1968 constitution, containing the Queen and a Governor General, remained intact for a few years longer, with the republic proclaimed by an amendment added on to the constitution. This was eventually replaced by a new republican constitution. Interestingly, Fiji Islands, located northeast of Australia and south of Tuvalu, was a realm of the Queen until 1987, when a military coup against the government, due to ethnic divisions, proclaimed a republic and the country's membership in the Commonwealth lapsed. However, all royal symbols have remained in place and the Union Flag remains part of the country's national flags. The Queen's portrait even remains on Fiji Islands' currency. A move to change the country's flag in 1990 to remove the Union Flag met with so much opposition, that it was dropped. After ten years, Fiji Islands resumed membership in the Commonwealth in October 1997. The Great Council of Chiefs, which advises the Government, is considering asking the Queen to resume sovereignty over Fiji and the Prime Minister has apologised to her. If this was to happen, it would represent the first restoration of the monarchy to a Commonwealth country, but it remains to be seen if this will indeed happen, due to the continuation of frequent changes of government in Fiji Islands. The country has rewritten its constitution three times since the first coup in 1987.

Original Dominions

When she took the Coronation Oath, Elizabeth II swore *"to govern the Peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and of [her] Possessions and the other Territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, according to their respective laws and customs"*.

Of those seven countries mentioned in the Coronation Oath, today Queen Elizabeth II remains:

- Queen of the United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland
- Queen of Canada
- Queen of Australia
- Queen of New Zealand

The other countries mentioned in the Coronation Oath having since become republics:

- Queen of South Africa (1952-1961)
- Queen of Pakistan (1952-1956)
- Queen of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) (1952-1972).

South Africa and Ceylon were the first Commonwealth realms to recognise Elizabeth II as Queen of their respective countries, rather than of the United Kingdom.

Australia's external dependencies are the Australian Antarctic Territory, Christmas Island, the Cocos Islands, the Territory of Heard Island and McDonald Islands, Norfolk Island, the Ashmore and Cartier Islands, and the Coral Sea Islands Territory.

Associated States of New Zealand in the South Pacific include the Cook Islands and Niue. Both are completely self-governing and New Zealand is only responsible for their foreign affairs and defence. Otherwise, they act like independent states. Each country has a representative of the Queen, though it is not called a Governor General. It is simply called 'The Queen's Representative'. It is very possible that these two countries could take the final step and become fully independent new realms of the Queen. New Zealand also has the Ross Dependency, which is its territorial claim in Antarctica.

Africa

During the Queen's reign many of the former British colonies in Africa became independent countries. When independence was granted to these nations, as is the British colonial practice, they became constitutional monarchies by default, with Queen Elizabeth as Head of State. The new African leaders usually proceeded to quickly abolish the monarchy (and usually the parliamentary system, as well) and establish executive presidencies in its place. However, Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) became a republic on independence in 1964, as did Botswana in 1966, formerly the British protectorate of Bechuanaland.

Queen Elizabeth II was briefly:

- Queen of Ghana (1957-1960)
- Queen of Nigeria (1960-1963)
- Queen of Sierra Leone (1961-1971)
- Queen of Tanganyika* (1961-1962)
- Queen of Uganda (1962-1963)
- Queen of Kenya (1963-1964)
- Queen of Malawi (1964-1966)
- Queen of The Gambia (1965-1970)

**Now Tanzania*

From 1965 to 1970 she was also proclaimed 'Queen of Rhodesia' by the White minority government in Southern Rhodesia, although she never accepted this office.

Caribbean

When independence was granted to the British Caribbean colonies, Queen Elizabeth II became Queen of the West Indies Federation in 1958. When the Federation broke up in 1962, she eventually became Queen of each former member state.

In the Caribbean, Queen Elizabeth II is currently:

- Queen of Jamaica (since 1962)
- Queen of Barbados (since 1966)
- Queen of The Bahamas (since 1973)
- Queen of Grenada (since 1974)
- Queen of Saint Lucia (since 1979)
- Queen of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (since 1979)
- Queen of Antigua and Barbuda (since 1981)
- Queen of Belize (since 1981)
- Queen of Saint Kitts and Nevis (since 1983)

The Queen's position as Queen of Grenada remained unaffected by the overthrow of Prime Minister Eric Gairy by the left-wing Maurice Bishop in 1979, and the Governor General remained in office. Following the United States-led Operation Urgent Fury in Grenada in October 1983, in the wake of Bishop's violent overthrow, the Governor General oversaw the holding of new elections and the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

The Queen was also previously:

- Queen of Guyana (1966-1970)
- Queen of Trinidad and Tobago (1962-1976)

Unlike other British colonies in the region, Dominica became a republic at independence in 1978 with its own elected President as head of state.

Oceania

When Papua New Guinea became independent of Australia in 1975, Queen Elizabeth II was styled "Queen of Papua New Guinea", the first time she became Queen of a nation that was never a British colony in its entirety.

(Her father, King George VI, upon becoming Emperor of the Dominion of India in 1947, had also become Emperor of many former Indian Principalities which had merged with the Indian Union in 1947 which were originally never British Colonies but had been under the suzerainty of the British Crown.)

In the Pacific, Queen Elizabeth II is currently:

- Queen of Papua New Guinea (since 1975)
- Queen of the Solomon Islands (since 1978)
- Queen of Tuvalu (since 1978)

Her role as Queen of Fiji (1970-1987) was ended by a military coup. Even after Fiji was declared a republic, the Queen's portrait remained on the country's banknotes and, unlike the United Kingdom, her official birthday remained a public holiday. When Fiji was readmitted to the Commonwealth in 1997, consideration was given to restoring her as head of state, but the idea was not pursued further. However, the Council of Chiefs continues to recognise the Queen as its "Great Chief", though she no longer has any formal constitutional power.

Other former Commonwealth realms

The Queen was also previously:

- Queen of Malta (1964-1974)
- Queen of Mauritius (1968-1992)

Titles

From 6 February 1952 until 26 March 1953, the Queen's official title was similar to her late father's title throughout the Commonwealth. It was "Elizabeth the Second, By the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Queen, Defender of the Faith". With Commonwealth nations now being fully sovereign, this title was considered to be out of date, so it was changed. On 26 March 1953, the Queen's title in the United Kingdom became "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and of Her Other Realms and Territories, Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith". The Queen's title in the United Kingdom remains the same today. The Queen's other Commonwealth realms adopted their own variations of this title to show their independent status. In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Queen's title was adopted as 'Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, (the country's name) and Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith'. This title remains the same in Canada today. However, it was changed in Australia and New Zealand in the 1970's.

In the Union of South Africa and Ceylon, the Queen's title became 'Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, Queen of (the country's name) and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith'. Pakistan did not adopt a distinctive title for the Queen. These three countries are now republics.

Today, in Canada, the Queen is 'Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith'. In New Zealand, the Queen is 'Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God Queen of New Zealand and Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Defender of the Faith'. In Grenada, she is 'Elizabeth the Second, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Grenada and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth. In Australia, Jamaica, Barbados, the Bahamas, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Belize, Antigua and Barbuda, The Queen is 'Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God Queen of (the country's name) and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth'. Papua New Guinea uses the same formula, but omits the reference 'by the Grace of God'.

Role in the Realms

Apart from the United Kingdom, the Queen usually visits her realms at a rate in which each realm is visited at least once every five or six years. Though her constitutional powers in each realm are virtually identical to those she holds in the United Kingdom, the Queen does not play an active role as political Head of State in these countries, nor does she commonly perform ceremonial duties, except on occasions

of significant historical or political importance. Day to day political and ceremonial duties are instead performed by a Governor General who serves as the Queen's permanent representative, and is nominally appointed by her (though in reality they are chosen by the nation's Prime Minister, or in the unique case of Papua New Guinea where they are decided upon in a Parliamentary vote).

Generally, Commonwealth Realms have all got along well, with few diplomatic problems. The concern is sometimes raised, however, that with Queen Elizabeth being head of state of so many different countries, her neutrality and dual loyalty could come into question should a conflict ever emerge between two of "her" countries.

In Operation Urgent Fury, for example, Queen Elizabeth was the Queen of Grenada while it was being invaded by many other Caribbean countries of which she was also Queen. Even more confusingly, the invasion was also opposed by several other countries in which she was Queen, notably Britain and Belize. The Queen did not make a statement on the invasion, likely because, had she done so, no statement could adequately represent all those involved countries of which she was Queen.

The Queen's personal flag for use in the United Kingdom, Crown Territories and British Overseas Territories is the Royal Standard with four quarterings of two royal banners of England and one royal banner of Scotland and one royal banner of Ireland. The Queen uses this flag when she visits foreign countries outside the Commonwealth, also.

In Scotland, the flag contains two quarterings of the royal banner of Scotland and one of England and one of Ireland. The Royal Standard was in use in all of the Queen's other realms until 1962, when it was decided to introduce separate personal flags for each realm.

From 1962 to 1968, the Queen adopted personal flags for while she is in each realm, which is usually based on that country's coat of arms stretched into a flag. It contains the Queen's personal "E" for Elizabeth surmounted by a crown, surrounded by a garland of roses in the centre of the flag.

The Queen has personal flags for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica and Barbados. She had them for Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Malta and Mauritius before they became republics.

The symbol in the centre of the personal flags is also used by the Queen as her flag when she is visiting all other Commonwealth countries.

Her other realms have not yet adopted personal flags for the Queen (i.e. Grenada, Belize or Tuvalu). Though not done since 1968, personal flags for these realms, based on their coats of arms, may ultimately be adopted.

ROYAL FLAGS



THE ROYAL STANDARD



THE ROYAL STANDARD (SCOTLAND)



QUEEN'S PERSONAL FLAG



QUEEN OF CANADA



QUEEN OF AUSTRALIA



QUEEN OF NEW ZEALAND



QUEEN OF JAMAICA



QUEEN OF BARBADOS



QUEEN OF SIERRA LEONE
(1961-1971)



QUEEN OF TRINIDAD & TOBAGO
(1962-1976)



QUEEN OF MALTA
(1964-1974)



QUEEN OF MAURITIUS
(1968-1992)

FLAGS OF GOVERNORS GENERAL



ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA



AUSTRALIA



BAHAMAS



BARBADOS



BELIZE



CANADA



FIJI (1970-1987)



GRENADA



INDIA (1947-1950)



JAMAICA



NEW ZEALAND



PAKISTAN (1947-1956)



PAPUA NEW GUINEA



ST. KITTS AND NEVIS



ST. LUCIA



ST. VINCENT & GRENADINES



SOLOMON ISLANDS



SOUTH AFRICA (UNTIL 1961)



SRI LANKA (1948-1972)

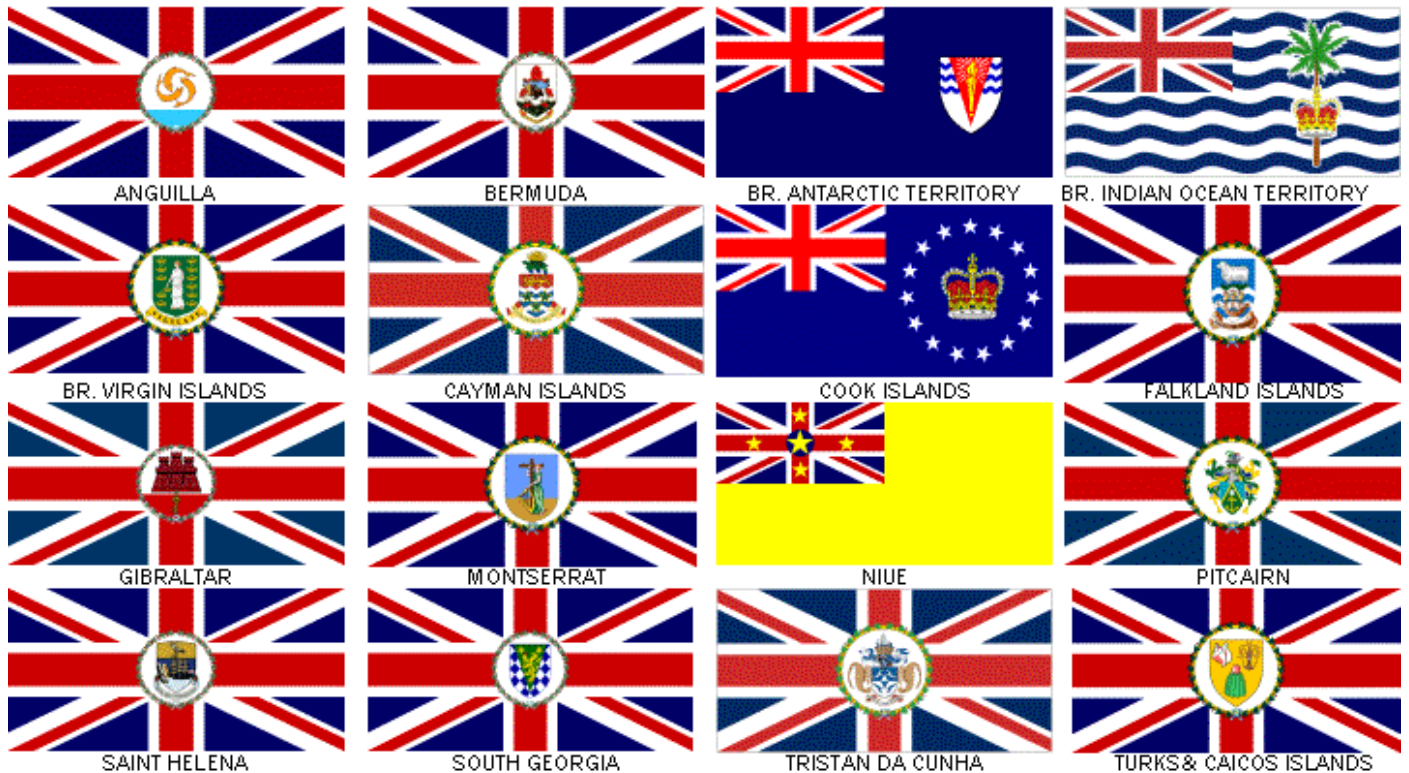


TUVALU

Until the 1930's, Governors General of Dominions, the Viceroy of India and Governors of the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates used the same design of vice-regal flags. This is the Union Flag with the country's coat of arms on a roundel in the centre surrounded by laurel leaves. This design continued to be used by Lieutenant Governors of Canadian Provinces and Governors of Australian States until the 1980's. The Lieutenant Governor of the Canadian Province of Nova Scotia continues to use this type of flag to this day. A new design based on the royal crest was adopted by Governors General of self-governing Dominions after the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, though this had been planned since 1928. The vice-regal flag based on the Union Flag continued to be used by the Viceroy of India until 1947, and by colonial Governors. The Governor General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan had his title in the centre of the Union Flag instead of a coat of arms, until 1956. Dependency Governors today still use the vice-regal flag based on the Union Flag.

Since the 1930's, with the adoption of the Statute of Westminster, Governors General in all realms use a royal blue flag containing the royal crest of a crowned lion standing on a large St. Edward's Crown in the centre. Underneath the Crown is a scroll with the country's name on it. This flag was adopted to show that the Governor General had become the personal representative of the Sovereign only and not of the British Government. The Governors General of Canada and the Union of South Africa adopted this design in 1931 and Australia and New Zealand adopted it in 1936. This design has been used by all Governors General in realms created since then and is currently used by all Governors General of the Queen's realms today.

FLAGS OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS TODAY



EVOLUTION OF THE FLAG OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA



1901-1921



1921-1931



1931-1981



1981-1998



1998-2002



2002 - PRESENT

FLAGS OF CANADIAN LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS UNTIL 1982



ALBERTA



BRITISH COLUMBIA



MANITOBA



NEW BRUNSWICK



NEWFOUNDLAND



NOVA SCOTIA



ONTARIO
(UNTIL 1952 & AFTER 1965)



ONTARIO
(1959-1965)



PRINCE EDWARD IS.



QUEBEC
(UNTIL 1952)

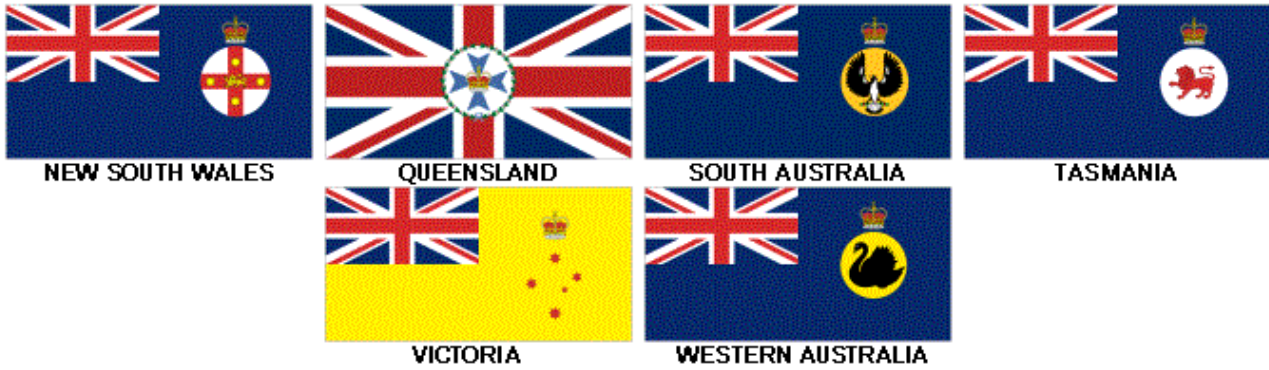


QUEBEC
(SINCE 1952)

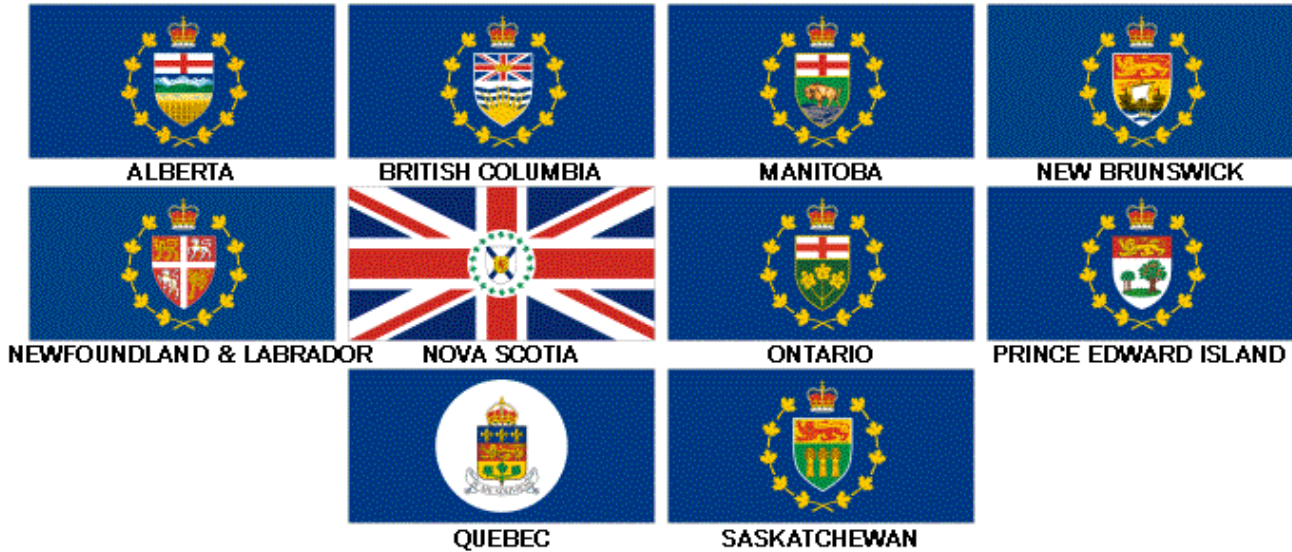


SASKATCHEWAN

FLAGS OF AUSTRALIAN GOVERNORS



FLAGS OF CANADIAN LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS



NAVAL QUEEN'S COLOURS



1939 KING'S COLOURS OF ROYAL NAVY AND ALL DOMINION NAVIES



1953 QUEEN'S COLOURS OF ROYAL NAVY AND ALL DOMINION NAVIES UNTIL 1970'S



QUEEN'S COLOUR OF ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY SINCE 1970'S



QUEEN'S COLOUR OF ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY SINCE 1970'S



QUEEN'S COLOUR OF ROYAL NEW ZEALAND NAVY SINCE 1970'S

Some variations of the blue Governor General's flag do exist to suit more local identification. The Union of South Africa's Governor General's flag (1931-1961) had two scrolls on it, one above the crowned lion with the country's name in English and the other in the traditional place below the large crown with country's name in Afrikaans 'Unie Van Suid Afrika'. India, when it was a realm (1947-1950), Pakistan (1947-1956), and Ceylon (1948-1972) did not use the scroll, but had the countries' names shown in large letters under the Crown. Fiji, when it was a realm (1970-1987), used the traditional Governor General's flag but displayed the country's name on a tabua, a whale's tooth, which is the native symbol of authority in that country. The President of Fiji Islands still uses this design today, in anticipation of a possible restoration of the monarchy in that country. Currently, Canada, Solomon Islands and Saint Kitts and Nevis use variations of this royal blue vice-regal flag. In the 1980's, Canada changed its vice-regal flag from the traditional design to one using the crest of the Canadian coat of arms, which depicts a crowned lion holding a maple leaf in its paw, with no scroll or name under it and no large crown. Canada is identified by the red maple leaf in the lion's paw. This was modified again in 1998 to give it a 'friendlier' look. The Governor General of the day objected to how the lion's tongue and claws were shown, so they were removed. However, the previous design, adopted in 1981, was reinstated in 2002. Solomon Islands uses the traditional Governor General's flag but depicts the country's name on a native frigate bird instead of on a scroll. Saint Kitts and Nevis uses the traditional Governor General's flag, but puts the motto 'Country Before Self' in place of its name on the scroll. All other Queen's realms continue to use the traditional royal blue Governor General's flag without variations, showing the crowned lion, the large St. Edwards Crown and the scroll containing the realm's name. All current Governors General are knighted except in Canada and in Australia.

It was proposed in 1867 to refer to the new Canadian confederation as the Kingdom of Canada, but this was changed to Dominion of Canada so as not to offend Americans. Canada is the only remaining realm of the Queen which is still formally styled as a Dominion in its official title, though it is very rarely used. New Zealand and its associated states and dependencies, formerly styled as a Dominion, is now known as the Realm of New Zealand. Pakistan, Ceylon and Fiji were also styled as Dominions before they became republics. South Africa and India were styled as Unions when they were realms. Australia and The Bahamas are styled as Commonwealths. Saint Kitts and Nevis is called a Federation, Grenada is considered a State and Papua New Guinea describes itself as an Independent State in its title. All other realms just officially use their country's name without any prefix. The term 'Dominion' has fallen out of use since its was used to denote the self-governing territories of the British Empire. However, members of the Commonwealth which are the Queen's realms, along with their dependencies, are officially known in legislation as "Her Majesty's Dominions".

The Queen's portrait appears on stamps, banknotes and coins throughout her realms. Her portrait appears on British banknotes, stamps and coins. Bank of England banknotes and those of British Overseas Territories, the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey, feature the Queen. The three types of Scottish banknotes and four types of Ulster banknotes do not feature the Queen, except a recent commemorative five pound note issued for the Golden Jubilee by the Royal Bank of Scotland. The 'tradition' of featuring the Queen on banknotes only began in England in the 1960's. The Queen appears on some Canadian, Australian and New Zealand banknotes and 'definitive' stamps and on all of their coins. The Queen's portrait does not appear on any Jamaican, Barbadian or Papua New Guinea banknotes or stamps, but it does appear on their coins. Other than the British Pound Sterling, all other realms of the Queen have dollars, except for Papua New Guinea, which is the only one of the Queen's other realms to use a unique name for its currency, being called a Kina. The Queen appears on some banknotes and all coins of the Solomon Islands and cameos with the royal cipher (EIIR) appear on Solomon Islands postage stamps. This same situation still currently exists in the former realm of Fiji Islands. Tuvalu does not have its own currency, but uses the Australian dollar, which has the Queen on some banknotes and on all coins. Her portrait does not appear on stamps. Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda and St. Kitts and Nevis all use the Eastern Caribbean Dollar, which has the Queen's portrait on

al banknotes and coins. However the Queen does not appear on their postage stamps. The Eastern Caribbean Dollar is also used in Dominica. Fiji Islands and Dominica are the only two republics in the Commonwealth which have Her Majesty's portrait on their banknotes. The Queen appears on all banknotes, coins and stamps of the British Overseas Territories. The ones in the Caribbean use dollars, but the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar and St. Helena use Pounds, as in the United Kingdom. Pitcairn uses the New Zealand Dollar. The Queen does not appear on any banknotes or stamps of the New Zealand associated states of Cook Islands and Niue, but she is on all of their coins. The Queen frequently visits her realms and is often asked to open parliaments and read the speech from the throne, as she does in the United Kingdom, an event usually carried out by the Governor General, in the Queen's absence. The Queen does visit the republics in the Commonwealth as Head of the Commonwealth, but spends more time in the countries in which she is sovereign. As Her Majesty gets older, many of these visits are being undertaken by the Prince of Wales, as he prepares for his future role as King. During the Golden Jubilee Year of 2002, the Queen toured throughout all regions of the United Kingdom and visited Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Jamaica.

Controversy and the Rise of Republicanism

In recent years, there has been some controversy within various Commonwealth Realms in regards to the constitutional powers given to Queen Elizabeth II. While many view the Queen's role as Head of State as generally stable, unoffensive or unimportant, some view her as an obstacle to true "independence" from Britain. While the Queen's powers in Commonwealth Realms are limited to appointing the Governor General (and even this is done on the advice of the Prime Minister), her name and image still play a prominent role in political institutions and symbols. For example, the Queen's face usually appears on Commonwealth Realm coins and stamps, and an Oath of Allegiance to her is usually required from politicians and judges. These traditions are interpreted as impediments to nationalism by some people in some realms, and have sparked the rise of republicanism.

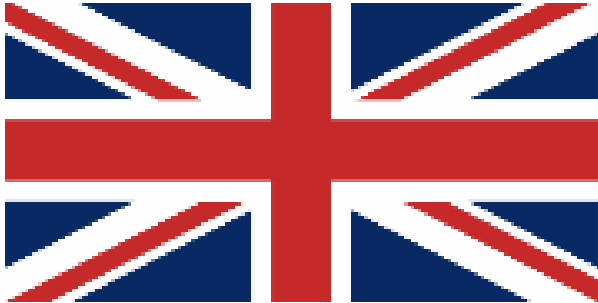
All African and Asian Commonwealth countries have dropped the Queen as Sovereign and become either republics or have their own monarchies. Additionally, some other Commonwealth Realms, including Malta, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, and Fiji, decided to become republics, and created constitutional amendments removing Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state, and replacing the Governor General with an elected President.

In 1999, a referendum was held in Australia on removing the Queen as the nation's Head of State, but it was unsuccessful. Though the move failed, it was widely seen as a vision of things to come. Helen Clark, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Percival Patterson, the former Prime Minister of Jamaica, and Owen Arthur, the Prime Minister of Barbados, have all since voiced their support for republicanism. However, no action has yet been taken in these countries on this issue. The new Prime Minister of Jamaica has not addressed the issue of republicanism. A referendum is promised in Barbados, but the date for it has not been announced. Support for the Crown remains high in New Zealand. Republicanism is not an issue in Canada as the Monarchy is seen as identifying Canada's differences from the neighbouring United States of America. However, French-speaking Quebec nationalists are predominantly republican as they see the Monarchy as being English, even though the Queen does speak good French.

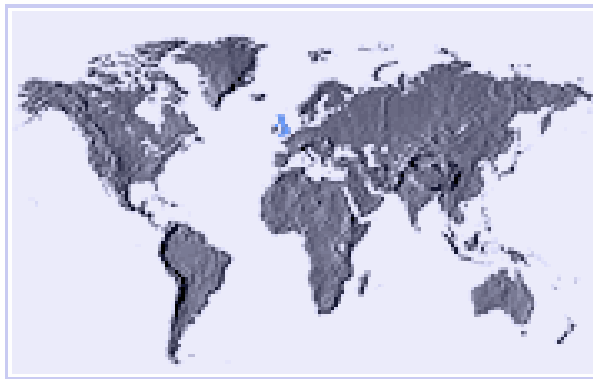
A related controversy deals with the notion that Britain itself could one day choose to become a republic. Should such an event ever happen, the British Monarch's position would remain unaltered in the Commonwealth Realms, as the Crown's position in them is affected only by their constitutions. It would certainly create a constitutional crisis. This is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future, as support for the Crown in the United Kingdom is fairly high.

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The Sovereign has important ceremonial and formal roles with respect to the British Government.



THE ROYAL STANDARD



QUEEN ELIZABETH II



The Queen is Head of State in the United Kingdom. Her official title in the UK is "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith".

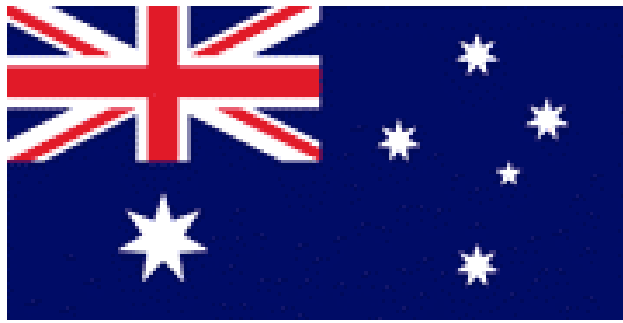
As a constitutional monarch, The Queen does not 'rule' the country, but fulfils important ceremonial and formal roles with respect to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the devolved assemblies of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The Queen is also Fount of Justice, from whom justice in the United Kingdom derives, and has important relationships with the Armed Forces and the established Churches of England and Scotland.

In addition to her role in the United Kingdom, The Queen has a special role to play in the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, which are dependent territories of the English Crown.

AUSTRALIA

In the course of more than 50 years on the throne, The Queen has developed a very personal relationship with Australia through regular visits.



QUEEN OF AUSTRALIA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA



Australia is a constitutional monarchy with The Queen as Sovereign.

As a constitutional monarch, The Queen, by convention, is not involved in the day-to-day business of the Australian Government, but she continues to play important ceremonial and symbolic roles.

The Queen's relationship to Australia is unique. In all her duties, she speaks and acts as Queen of Australia, and not as Queen of the United Kingdom. The Queen's Royal style and title in Australia is Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God Queen of Australia and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth.

In the course of more than 50 years on the throne, The Queen has developed a very personal relationship with Australia through regular visits. She has travelled throughout the different states to meet people from all cultures, walks of life and regions of this enormous and fascinating country.

CANADA

Together with The Duke of Edinburgh, The Queen has travelled through every part of Canada to meet people from all cultures, walks of life and regions.



QUEEN OF CANADA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA



Canada is a parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy with The Queen as Sovereign.

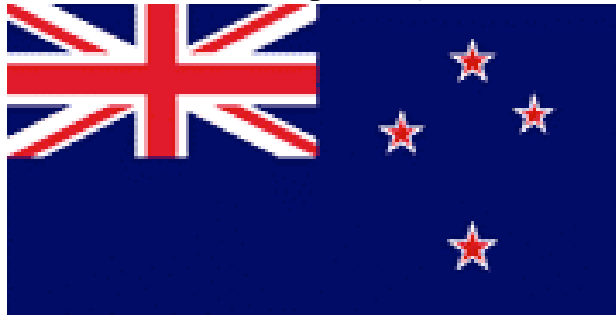
As a constitutional monarch, The Queen abides by the decisions of the Canadian Government, but she continues to play important ceremonial and symbolic roles.

In all these duties, The Queen acts as Queen of Canada, quite distinctive from her role in the United Kingdom or any of her other realms.

Over the course of more than 50 years The Queen has been a regular visitor to Canada, paying over 20 visits. Together with The Duke of Edinburgh, The Queen has travelled through every part of the different provinces to meet people from all cultures, walks of life and regions.

NEW ZEALAND

Over the course of her reign The Queen has been a regular visitor to New Zealand, paying 10 visits.



QUEEN OF NEW ZEALAND



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF NEW ZEALAND



New Zealand is a parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy with The Queen as Sovereign.

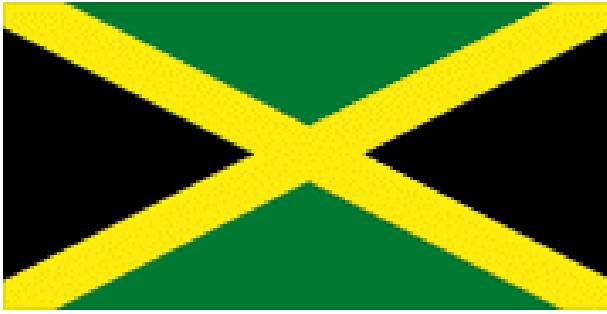
As a constitutional monarch, The Queen abides by the decisions of the New Zealand Government, but she continues to play important ceremonial and symbolic roles.

In all her duties, The Queen acts as Queen of New Zealand, quite distinctive from her role in the United Kingdom or any of her other realms.

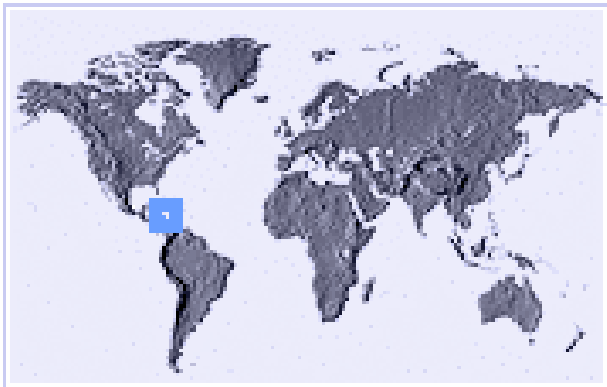
Over the course of her reign, The Queen has been a regular visitor to New Zealand, paying 10 visits. Together with The Duke of Edinburgh, The Queen has travelled through every part of the different provinces to meet people from every culture, walk of life and region.

JAMAICA

Over the course of her reign, The Queen has visited Jamaica six times to date, touring the island extensively.



QUEEN OF JAMAICA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF JAMAICA



Jamaica is a constitutional monarchy with The Queen as Sovereign.

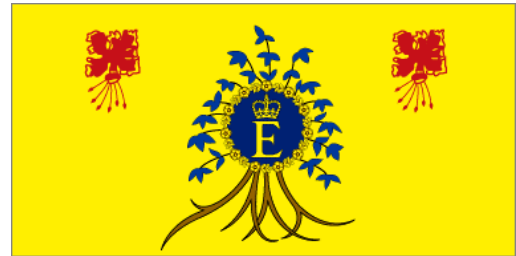
As a constitutional monarch, The Queen abides by the decisions of the Jamaican Government, but she continues to play important ceremonial and symbolic roles.

In all her duties, The Queen acts as Queen of Jamaica, quite distinctive from her role in the United Kingdom or any of her other realms.

Over the course of her reign, The Queen has visited Jamaica six times to date, touring the island extensively.

OTHER CARIBBEAN REALMS

The Queen is Sovereign of a number of nations in the Caribbean - Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, St Christopher and Nevis, St Lucia, and St Vincent and the Grenadines.



QUEEN OF BARBADOS



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
BARBADOS



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
ANTIGUA & BARBUDA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
ST. VINCENT & THE GRENADINES



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
THE BAHAMAS



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
ST. KITTS & NEVIS



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
ST. LUCIA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
BELIZE



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
GRENADA



The Queen inspects a guard of honour on the quayside at Nassau in the Bahamas

© Press Association

In addition to Jamaica, The Queen is Sovereign of a number of nations in the Caribbean. These are: Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, St Christopher and Nevis, St Lucia, and St Vincent and the Grenadines. All are parliamentary democracies and constitutional monarchies.

In January 1958 the British Caribbean island colonies of Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward and Windward Islands were brought together to form the West Indies Federation, with its capital in Trinidad.

However, in 1962, the Federation was dissolved by mutual consent after the withdrawal of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago to seek independence. Other islands followed suit, but most retained The Queen as Sovereign.

The Queen is represented in all these nations by Governors-General, who carry out the duties of Head of State.

She has also been a regular visitor to the Caribbean during her reign, carrying out many of the tours on the Royal Yacht Britannia while it was in service.

Antigua and Barbuda were granted independence in 1981 and secured Commonwealth membership. The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh included the island in their Caribbean tour of 1966, and in the Silver Jubilee tour of October 1977. The Queen visited again in 1985.

Consisting of 700 islands and over 1000 cays off the coast of Florida, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1973.

Independence Day celebrations on the islands were attended by The Prince of Wales, acting as The Queen's special representative.

The Queen and members of the Royal Family have toured the Bahamas on several occasions.

The islands were visited by The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh in the course of their Caribbean tours of February 1966 and February 1975, and during the Silver Jubilee tour of October 1977.

There was a further visit to Nassau for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October 1985.

Barbados became an independent sovereign State within the Commonwealth on 30 November 1966. The Queen has visited on various occasions.

At the end of the Silver Jubilee tour of 1977, Concorde made its first landing in Barbados, and The Queen experienced her first supersonic flight.

In 1989, The Queen marked the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Barbados Parliament.

Belize is a Central American country which has been an independent member of the Commonwealth since 1981. Visits have been made by The Duke of Edinburgh during his Caribbean tour of March 1975, and by The Queen in October 1985.

Grenada, the most southerly of the Caribbean Windward Islands, achieved independent nationhood within the Commonwealth in 1974. The island was included in The Queen's Caribbean tour of 1966. In 1985 The Queen opened Parliament in St George's.

St Lucia, in the eastern Caribbean, achieved independence in 1979, when The Queen was represented by Princess Alexandra at the independence celebrations.

The Queen visited for the first time during her Caribbean tour of 1966, and again in 1985. The Prince of Wales attended the island's tenth anniversary of independence celebrations in 1989.

St Christopher and Nevis became a fully independent state and member of the Commonwealth in 1983. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh visited St Christopher (known as St Kitts) and Nevis in 1966 during their Caribbean tour, and again in 1985.

St Vincent and the Grenadines were the last of the Windward Islands to gain independence, following a referendum in 1979. The Queen visited in 1966 and again in 1985.

SOUTH PACIFIC REALMS

The Queen is Sovereign of three island nations in the South Pacific - Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu.



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
PAPUA NEW GUINEA



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF
SOLOMON ISLANDS



GOVERNOR GENERAL OF TUVALU



The Queen visiting Tuvalu in 1982 © Camera Press

The Queen is Sovereign of three island nations in the South Pacific - Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu. All three nations are parliamentary democracies and constitutional monarchies.

The Queen is represented in all three nations by Governors-General, who carry out the duties of Head of State.

Unlike other Commonwealth realms, the Governor-General of Papua New Guinea is nominated by the country's Parliament, rather than by its Prime Minister, as is the convention elsewhere.

Developments in transportation during her reign have allowed The Queen to make several visits to these far-flung and beautiful places.

Papua New Guinea gained independence from Australia in 1975, but retained The Queen as Sovereign. Independence celebrations were attended by The Prince of Wales, as The Queen's special representative.

The Duke of Edinburgh visited the country in the course of an extended Commonwealth tour which lasted from October 1956 until February 1957.

In Papua New Guinea The Queen is known in the pidgin language of Tok Pisin as 'Missis Kwin', and as 'Mama belong big family'.

The Queen visited for the first time in February 1974, and again in 1977 during her Silver Jubilee tour, when she toured the capital Port Moresby, Popondetta and Alotau. The Queen and Prince Philip visited again in October 1982.

The islands which form Tuvalu were formerly known as the Ellice Islands.

Together with the Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati), they were proclaimed a protectorate in 1892 and annexed to the British Crown (at the request of the local governments) as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1915.

In 1975 the Ellice Islands severed constitutional links with the Gilbert Islands and took a new name, Tuvalu, achieving independence in 1978. Tuvalu retained The Queen as Head of State.

It is now a special member of the Commonwealth, with the right to participate in all Commonwealth activities and functions, but not to attend Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings.

The Queen paid a visit to these remote and extraordinary islands in 1982.

Situated in the Pacific Ocean, east of New Guinea, the Solomon Islands became an independent state and member of the Commonwealth in 1978, retaining The Queen as Sovereign.

In 1974 The Queen and Prince Philip, with Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips, visited the Solomon Islands during a tour of the area.

The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh made a further visit in October 1982, after they had attended the Commonwealth Games in Australia.

BRITISH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

Overseas territories belong to the British, Australian or New Zealand Crown and have The Queen as Sovereign.



An overseas territory is a territory belonging by settlement, conquest or annexation to the British, Australian or New Zealand Crown.

There are 14 British Overseas Territories, which are: British Indian Ocean Territory, Gibraltar, Bermuda, the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, British Antarctic Territory, St Helena and its dependencies (Ascension and Tristan da Cunha), Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, Anguilla, the Pitcairn Group of Islands, and the Sovereign Base Areas on Cyprus.

Hong Kong, a former overseas territory held by Britain on a long lease, was handed back to China on 1 July 1997, in a ceremony attended by The Prince of Wales.

In British Overseas Territories, The Queen is represented by Governors, or in some cases by Commissioners, Administrators or Residents, who are responsible to the British Government for the government of the countries concerned.

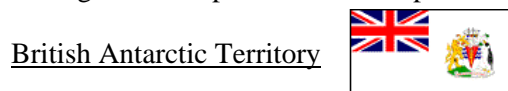
The United Kingdom is responsible for the security of the overseas territories and for their foreign affairs and defence-related matters. Most overseas territories have their own elected government.



Located in the Caribbean, tourism and banking are two of the major contributors to the island's economy. The British army intervened on the island in 1969 when there was violent opposition to being administered from St Kitts. It was formally separated in 1980.



Located in the North Atlantic, Bermuda is Britain's oldest colony, dating from 1609, and its residents are content to remain a dependent territory, as an independence referendum in 1995 showed, where independence was rejected by a 75 per cent margin. Its main trade is in insurance and investment, but fishing is also important. The independence movement continues to campaign in Bermuda.



A whaling station existed on South Shetland Island, part of what now constitutes the BAT. But now the population is about 70 scientists at the British Antarctic Survey Station, which was established in 1943. The territory has a total area of 1,709,400 square kilometres. The British Antarctic Territory is the region of Antarctica over which the United Kingdom claims sovereignty. It includes all the lands and islands in a wedge extending from the South Pole to 60° S latitude between longitudes 20° W and 80° W. It is administered by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as an Overseas Dependent Territory. The British Antarctic Territory issues its own postage stamps. Although the United Kingdom claims sovereignty over this region, there are overlapping claims by Argentina and Chile. Under the terms of the Antarctic Treaty, all territorial claims remain frozen, allowing the whole of Antarctica to be used as a continent for peace and science. The Antarctic Peninsula was the first part of Antarctica to be sighted by explorers.

In 1820, Smith, Palmer and Bellingshausen all sighted the Antarctic Peninsula. Many expeditions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries visited the Antarctic Peninsula and the South Shetland Islands, and the region contains many sites of historic interest. British Antarctic Territory has a great wealth of marine life, including large breeding colonies of penguins and seals, which attracted the first sailors to the region in pursuit of fur and seal-oil. British Antarctic Territory includes a wide range of landscapes, from the spectacular mountains and islands of the Antarctic Peninsula, to smooth plains of ice shelves and ice caps.



Access to these islands located in the middle of the Indian Ocean, south of India, is limited to the British and American military and civilian contractors working there to provide support for the UK and US navies.

British Virgin Islands



Located in the Caribbean, discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493. Tourism is now the most important factor in

Cayman Islands



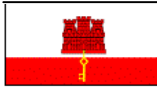
Located in the Caribbean, having been a dependency of Britain and then Jamaica, the Caymans reverted to being under the British in 1962. It is the fifth largest banking centre in the world.

Falkland Islands



Located in the South Atlantic off the southern tip of South America, the Falkland Islanders were given full British citizenship after the conflict between Britain and Argentina in 1982. Islanders have made it clear on several occasions that they want to stay British, even though nearby Argentina claims sovereignty over the islands and refers to them as the 'Malvinas'.

Gibraltar



Located on the southern tip of Spain, having been governed by at least eight different rulers, the Spanish ceded Gibraltar to the British in 1713. The British have said they will stand by Gibraltarians' right to defend who should rule them. As EU citizens, many are also British citizens. Spain continues to claim sovereignty over Gibraltar. The Gibraltar Liberal Party wants independence for Gibraltar as a Dominion.

Montserrat



Located in the Caribbean, the population is thought to have fallen since two-thirds of the island was made uninhabitable by a volcano in 2003. It was discovered by Christopher Columbus, but was first ruled from Britain in 1632.

Pitcairn Islands



Located in the middle of the South Pacific, one of the most remote parts of what is left of the Empire, it is best known for being a home to Fletcher Christian and nine of the mutineers from the 'Bounty'. It is now Britain's last dependent territory in the Pacific. Islanders speak a mixture of English and Tahitian - 18 Tahitians accompanied Christian when he landed in 1790.

Saint Helena



Located in the South Atlantic, St Helena is the only one of Britain's dependent territories which currently receives aid. The Foreign Office estimates the aid amounts to £3.2 million, although the island's government is trying to increase inward investment and tourism. Its dependencies include Ascension Island, Gough Islands and Tristan da Cunha, thought to be the world's most remote inhabited island, which has a population of 300. Ascension Island has no indigenous population but is used as a relay station for the RAF, the USAF, Cable and Wireless and the BBC.

South Georgia



Located in the South Atlantic, east of the Falkland Islands, with just a military and a scientific base, these islands were administratively part of the Falklands until 1985 when they were converted into a separate territory. Like the Falklands they were occupied by Argentine troops in 1982. Argentina still claims them.

Turks and Caicos Islands



Located in the Caribbean, south of the Bahamas, consisting of more than 30 islands, they were a dependency of Jamaica from 1874 until 1959, but then became a separate British dependency. A great many of the tourists who visit the Turks and Caicos Islands are Canadian. Owing to this and the islands' status as a British colony, some politicians, both in Canada and the Turks and Caicos, have suggested some form of union between the two countries.

In 1973, Canadian NDP MP Max Saltsman introduced the first failed attempt at annexing the islands. The idea was brought up again in 1986 by Canadian Conservative MP Dan McKenzie, but it was rejected by his party's caucus committee on external affairs in 1987. The committee, chaired by MP David Daubney, looked at immigration, banking, health care and tourism issues in making its decision. In 2004, Canadian Conservative MP Peter Goldring visited Turks and Caicos to explore the possibility once more. He plans to table a Private Member's bill in the Canadian House of Commons offering full Provincial status in Canada to the Turks and Caicos Islands. Joining Canada as a full province would require amending the Canadian Constitution. The last new province, Newfoundland, was brought into the country in 1949 by an act of the British Parliament. Joining as a territory would be easier, as territories can be created by an act of Canadian federal law.

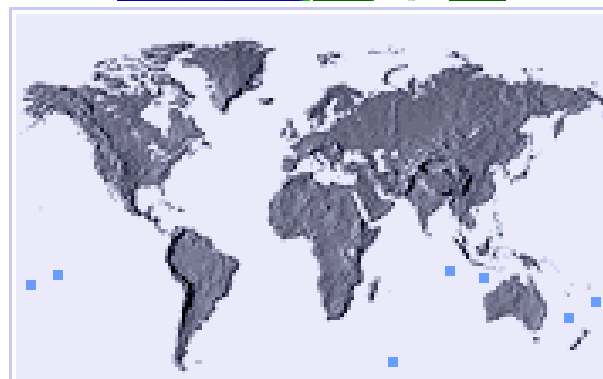
Akrotiri and Dhekelia



Also known as the Sovereign Base Area Cyprus, Akrotiri and Dhekelia are two British military bases located in southeast Cyprus. British troops and their families are stationed there permanently and the base areas are sovereign British territory. They were retained by the United Kingdom after Cyprus became independent in 1960.

DEPENDENCIES OF AUSTRALIA AND ASSOCIATED STATES OF NEW ZEALAND

There are seven Australian external territories, two New Zealand dependent territories and two New Zealand associated states: the Cook Islands and Niue.



The British Union Flag, commonly known as the Union Jack, still flies around the world today, mostly in the upper left corner of national flags, usually blue or red, of some other Commonwealth countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the Fiji Islands, Tuvalu, the Cook Islands and Bermuda. Even though it is no longer in the Canadian flag since 1965, the Canadian Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba still have it. This shows the unity of these countries in the great British family of nations around the world. Even the U.S. State of Hawaii still has it!

THE BRITISH UNION JACK AROUND THE WORLD



The Effect of New Trading Blocks on the Commonwealth

In the mid-twentieth century the Commonwealth was the leading economic community in the world. Writing in 1956, Gunnar Myrdal compared the Commonwealth favourably to Western Europe as an economic and political grouping. He commented that Western Europe lacked the Commonwealth's 'sense of solidarity'. By 1970, however, the Commonwealth had lost its *raison d'être* as an economic association. In this year Britain launched its third, and this time successful, application for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC).

Canada occupied an ambiguous position in the Commonwealth economic community. The Canadian economy was second only to the British in size and industrial sophistication, but Canada was not a member of the Sterling Area, the financial mechanism at the heart of Commonwealth economic cooperation between 1940 and 1958. Even before the Second World War, the Canadian economy was more closely integrated with the USA than with Britain. Naturally, this reliance on the USA inspired some Canadians to promote the Commonwealth nexus as a counterweight. But the purpose of this paper is not to discuss Canada's economic policy towards the Commonwealth, but rather to explain why the Commonwealth ceased to offer a viable alternative to other economic arrangements.

The British Economic Complex

American officials in the 1950s characterized the global web of financial, economic, political, and military relationships centred upon London as the 'British complex'. The Commonwealth economic community was a set of interlocking networks spanning the private and public sectors. A network is a form of organisation that is intermediate between, at one extreme, impersonal interchange among unrelated agents, and, at the other end extreme, a formal hierarchy controlled from the centre. Members of a network interact with each other more than they interact with outsiders. Networks are not inherently more or less efficient than other forms, but they can prove invaluable under particular circumstances. The notion that the Commonwealth was a network, or group of networks, is an old one. The British statesman, Stanley Baldwin, described the Commonwealth in 1924 as a 'network of contacts'. In 1940 Keith Hancock remarked that 'this network was intricate and intimate', although membership did not bar intercourse with other nations. In the public sector, networks of ministers, civil servants, and central bankers met regularly at Commonwealth economic conferences, and sat on committees and working parties such as the Sterling Area Statistical Committee. These networks discussed the overall direction of economic policy in the Commonwealth. But the Commonwealth was also permeated with networks of bankers, traders, shipping companies, and manufacturers, whose decisions may or may not have been consistent with the communiqués issued after Commonwealth economic conferences. These public and private networks were interdependent. Cain and Hopkins stress the close links between policy-makers and business leaders, especially in commerce and banking, at the core of the imperial network. It is not suggested that each component of these networks possessed equal influence. Britain's voice carried far more weight than New Zealand's, however the views of small countries could not be disregarded. Networks depend on give and take, and require a high level of mutual trust.

Private sector networks were largely responsible for creating Britain's commercial empire between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries. It was only in the 1930s that economic cooperation between governments of empire countries developed along systematic lines, in response to the global crisis of 1929-33. Sterling left gold in 1931. India and the Dominions, except Canada due to its proximity to the USA, resolved to fix their currencies against sterling, instead of letting them float or fixing them against gold or the US dollar, and thereby formed the Sterling Bloc. The establishment of central banks in India

and the Dominions facilitated greater monetary cooperation. In 1932 Britain abandoned free trade and imposed tariffs or quotas on most imports from foreign countries, while continuing to grant duty-free status to empire produce. Empire countries, including Canada, reciprocated by raising tariffs on non-British manufactures. The Ottawa Agreements codified the system of Imperial Preference.

During the 1940s, the need for cooperation between Britain and other Commonwealth governments intensified. Notwithstanding the provision of aid by the USA and Canada, Britain and the sterling Commonwealth remained desperately short of US and Canadian dollars to pay for essential imports. By 1945, the Sterling Bloc had evolved into the more restrictive Sterling Area. Members of the Sterling Area imposed various restrictions, including exchange and import controls, on dollar expenditure, and deposited dollar earnings into a central pool in return for additional sterling balances. Sterling balances could be converted into dollars to pay for imports from North America. Each year some parts of the Sterling Area were in deficit, others in surplus, with the dollar area. Fewer dollars in total were needed under this system than under the alternative of separate reserves in each country. Pooling freed member countries from the need to earn dollars directly. Since the US market for agricultural produce was tightly protected, it would have been difficult for countries like Australia and New Zealand to earn enough dollars by their own efforts. Under pooling, however, they could draw dollars that had been earned by British manufacturers and tropical colonies. Not all members of the Sterling Area had the same rights. Britain controlled dollar expenditure by the colonies, and restricted the freedom of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Iraq, and Egypt to convert sterling balances accumulated between 1939 and 1945. Australia and New Zealand faced no formal constraints on their dollar spending.

The economic goals of most governments in the early post-war period were reconstruction, stability, and full employment. After the traumas of the 1920s and 1930s, few outside North America had faith in unfettered market forces. The possibility that the world economy would fall back into depression could not be ignored. According to the economic thinking of the time, demand shocks were transmitted from country to country by fluctuations in exports and imports. A decline in exports relative to imports led to a leakage of spending and a reduction in economic activity. For example, if economic activity were to fall in the USA, Americans would buy fewer imports, and consequently in the Sterling Area aggregate demand would fall and unemployment rise. In theory, however, the Sterling Area apparatus made it possible to match any reduction in exports with an equal reduction in imports, leaving aggregate demand and employment unchanged.

Demands from the USA, supported by Canadian, for the abandonment of dollar discrimination did not prevail in the late 1940s. A brief flirtation, in 1947, with the free convertibility of sterling into dollars for current account transactions, ended in embarrassment when the dollar reserves collapsed. Similarly, early post-war attempts to negotiate the abolition of Imperial (or Commonwealth) Preference produced disappointing results for the Americans. Though the members of the Commonwealth Preference Area (CPA) surrendered the right to increase preference margins, in the GATT negotiations only Canada actually made deep cuts in preferences. Other Commonwealth countries held back because Washington declined to offer larger concessions. As the Cold War intensified, however, the Americans grew more tolerant of the Commonwealth economic community. The Commonwealth was America's only credible ally, and therefore had to be accommodated.

Self-interest was one element in the willingness of independent Commonwealth nations to cooperate with Britain in the management of the Sterling Area and the CPA. As British officials put it in 1956, 'Commonwealth countries ... are accustomed to trade with us, as we are with them. That is why it is in their interest that their currencies are tied to sterling, and the fact that their currencies are tied to sterling increases the tendency for us to trade with each other.' Aside from the benefits of dollar pooling, Sterling Area countries enjoyed indirect access to dollar loans and aid obtained by Britain. It was to the advantage of sterling balance holders to protect the value of sterling, and thereby to avoid a capital loss.

Furthermore, tariff preferences were regarded as useful bargaining counters in negotiations with other countries, and therefore not to be sacrificed lightly. The collapse of the Ottawa Agreements would have brought into question the right of Commonwealth primary producers to enjoy unrestricted duty-free access to the British market, as well as Britain's disposition to permit Sterling Area governments to float loans in London. Commonwealth and Sterling Area countries would have been worse off in the short term if they had refused to cooperate. The Sterling Area and the CPA were useful networks because of the increased transaction costs of doing business with non-members as a result of the disruption of international markets, the dollar gap, and US agricultural protectionism. Britain and, to a lesser degree, Canada occupied pivotal positions within this complex, due to their wealth and their ability to intercede with the USA on behalf of other members. It was the British, in response to an Australian request, who persuaded the Americans to allow Marshall Aid funds to be applied to cover the dollar deficit of the Rest of the Sterling Area (RSA).

Relationships within the Sterling Area and the CPA were strengthened by trust. Casson suggests that cooperation among nations is harder to sustain than cooperation among firms, since political leaders have short electoral time horizons, and little incentive to invest in a good reputation abroad. In the Commonwealth, however, the temptation to act opportunistically was balanced by the unifying bonds of a shared language, history, and culture. Judd Polk, an American observer, contended that solidarity, reinforced by habit and informality, was an important, if intangible, characteristic of the Sterling Area as an international organisation. Solidarity was not confined to politicians and officials of British birth, such as the New Zealand statesmen Peter Fraser and Walter Nash, or even British ancestry. According to Mansergh, the leaders of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon were easily incorporated into the highest councils of the Commonwealth in the late 1940s. He added that the Commonwealth did not cease to be a 'fraternal association', in Churchill's phrase, until after Suez. Trust was particularly important for the smooth working of the Sterling Area. Britain relied on independent members of this group to regulate imports so as to ensure that the central pool did not run out of dollars. During successive balance of payments crises, the RSA responded to calls for restraint, and the Sterling Area survived. A combination of 'Sentiment', 'Tradition', and 'Interest' counteracted the temptation for Commonwealth countries to behave opportunistically. The Sterling Area and the CPA were as *ad hoc* defensive networks against the economic impact of depression, war, dollar shortage, and uncertainty. They provided members with a degree of insulation from external shocks, although it was not imagined that either would be self-sufficient.

Erosion Of The Commonwealth Economic Complex

The medley of networks that comprised the Commonwealth as an economic community decayed during the 1950s and the 1960s. At the micro-economic level, Britain lost its leadership in world shipping, and its competitive advantage in many branches of manufacturing. Customers in the Commonwealth were to a limited extent prepared to pay more for a British than for an equivalent foreign product, in view of the low transaction costs of going through familiar British companies. As British firms continued to lose competitiveness, however, a point came at which customers did switch to foreign products and commercial networks. Disengagement is also discernible at the inter-governmental level. The growth in political disunity in the Commonwealth was not conducive to economic cooperation. Suez destroyed Britain's credibility as a world power. The Macmillan government scuttled the African remnants of empire, after they had been devalued in the imperial economic audit of 1957, thus completing the transformation of the Commonwealth 'from a cozy club into [just] another international association'. Nevertheless, the British endeavoured to hand power over to 'responsible' successors in order to protect residual business and political interests in these countries. This strategy was most successful in Britain's most profitable colony, Malaya, which became independent in 1957. Even in Malaya, though, goodwill towards Britain diminished as new politicians and civil servants rose to prominence. Apartheid, Rhodesia, Biafra, and Kashmir divided the Commonwealth during the 1960s, and crowded out discussion of

economic cooperation. Harold Wilson, who came to power in 1964, wished to revitalize the Commonwealth as an economic association, by linking the development plans of Asian and African members to the expansion of Britain's capital goods industries. Agreement on the basis of Wilson's project was impossible under the conditions prevailing in the mid-1960s. Australia was Britain's most important export outlet during the 1950s. Fieldhouse describes sterling markets as Britain's 'lifeline' between the 1930s and early 1950s. By 1960, however, the share of the Commonwealth in British exports was falling, while the shares of Western Europe and the USA were rising. The relative decline of Commonwealth trade preceded Britain's membership of the EEC. Western Europe's rising share of British trade, between 1955 and 1970, merely restored the state of affairs pertaining before the First World War. But Western Europe's share of British exports continued to grow during the 1970s and 1980s. The EEC required Britain, which became a member in 1973, to discriminate against non-members.

Wartime discussions between the leading Allies – the USA, Britain, and Canada – focussed on how stability could be restored to the world economy. It was in principle resolved to establish multilateral organisations to manage the post-war international economy. The purpose of the first of these bodies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was to reduce currency instability, eliminate restrictions on current account transactions, and prevent international financial crises. IMF members were obliged to fix their exchange rates against the US dollar, and to progress towards non-discriminatory and unrestricted payments. Significant changes in exchange rates required the approval of the IMF. Members could borrow from the IMF when in difficulty, but the more they borrowed the tighter the conditions imposed, and the greater the IMF's interference in their economic policies. One of the advantages of IMF membership was eligibility to join the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or World Bank), an increasingly important source of capital for development projects. The Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF and the IBRD) offered a rival structure, and source of legitimacy, to the Sterling Area. Attitudes in the Sterling Area towards the IMF were ambivalent. The IMF was highly critical of the Sterling Area's regime of dollar discrimination in the early 1950s.

Britain and the RSA endorsed the *principles* of non-discrimination and current account convertibility, and accepted the need for international coordination. After 1947, however, the Sterling Area declined to be pushed into the premature resumption of convertibility. The phasing out of dollar discrimination, starting in the mid-1950s, and the resumption of convertibility in 1958, highlighted the self-liquidating aspects of the Sterling Area. Schenk concludes that the Sterling Area was a temporary expedient.² The Sterling Area became increasingly irrelevant after 1958, and members gradually reduced their holdings of sterling. As regards commercial policy, in 1945 the Americans proposed an International Trade Organisation (ITO). Though the ITO did not win the endorsement of the US Congress, its place was taken by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Prior to the formal discussion of these schemes, the British, under intense US pressure, had conceded the principle of no new preferences. The sterling Dominions resented, but later accepted, this concession, which precluded the extension of the Ottawa system while Britain and other Commonwealth countries were members of GATT. The Commonwealth was unable to negotiate as a bloc in GATT. Canada enthusiastically supported GATT, but Australia and New Zealand were suspicious of this institution. At several points, Britain and Australia attempted to modify the no new preference (NNP) rule. However, foreign members of GATT vetoed any retreat from the NNP rule, while even the Commonwealth was divided over this issue. Asian countries were lukewarm about Commonwealth Preference, which they regarded as a remnant of colonialism. Peter Thorneycroft, the President of the Board of Trade, advised the British Cabinet, in 1954, to refrain from insisting on reform of the NNP rule, as this would cause a rift between Britain, Australia, and New Zealand in one camp, and Canada, India, and Pakistan in the other camp.

The exchange of British manufactures for imperial primary produce was at the heart of the imperial economic system. While several parts of the empire, including Canada, Australia, and, after 1917, India, placed tariffs on imports from Britain, it was not until after 1945 that import substitution industrialization (ISI) became a cornerstone of economic policy in the underdeveloped and semi-developed world. The purposes of ISI were to foster economic development, strengthen the capacity for national defence, and reduce dependency on more advanced nations.

During the late 1930s and the Second World War, Britain encouraged the establishment of munitions-related industries in the empire. It was recognized, for example, that Australia could not be defended in the absence of a large increase in population and military capacity. British and Australian ministers agreed in 1938 that a substantial rise in the Australian population was in the 'interests' of the 'Empire as a whole', and that this would entail further industrialization. Hancock pointed out that, in view of the Japanese and German threats, economic nationalism in the Dominions could be consistent with the highest imperial priorities. Industrial decentralization within the British Empire was a rational response to Britain's inability to guarantee maritime communications. British ministers advocated the development of a modern engineering industry in India, so that this country could make a mechanized contribution to imperial defence. Nevertheless, ISI cut against the grain of British industrial interests, which were to supply Commonwealth countries with a full range of imported manufactures.

Employers on the UK Engineering Advisory Council complained, in 1952, that Commonwealth countries were 'making strong efforts to develop their secondary industries, even when these are uneconomic.' Not only did ISI undermine exports, but it also drew resources out of primary production, leading to higher food and raw material costs in Britain. ISI was particularly damaging to the interests of British manufacturers of consumer products. Although import substitution policies created opportunities for exporters of capital goods, firms in this branch of engineering experienced declining competitive advantage relative to European, US, and Japanese producers. India was the most systematic exponent of ISI in the Commonwealth. Instead of investing in light industries, India was determined to modernize in depth, starting with heavy industries. This semi-autarchic strategy did not bode well for trade with Britain. In fact India's partial withdrawal from the international economy seriously reduced the scope for the Commonwealth to develop as an economic community. The persistent use of tariffs and import controls against British goods was a source of tension in the Commonwealth during the 1950s and 1960s. Although New Zealand lacked a coherent ISI programme, it restricted imports from all sources in order to safeguard the balance of payments, which was chronically weak due to zealous full employment policies.

Small-scale manufacturing firms expanded in this insulated environment, and import controls were tweaked in their favour whenever they were under threat. Britain often remonstrated with New Zealand. For instance, in 1966 the British submitted a list of exports, including televisions, gin, coffin furniture, and vices, with respect to which they alleged unfair treatment by New Zealand. Britain also faced the possibility of growing competition from Commonwealth manufactures in the UK domestic market. In 1956, the British Cabinet noted that problems might arise from the 'industrialisation of the Colonies, based on very low costs', as the 'United Kingdom would be unable to absorb Colonial manufactures in large quantities' without harming sunset industries such as cotton. Most colonial and Commonwealth manufactures were imported duty-free under the Ottawa Agreements. The government finally intervened in 1959 to impose a rather loose quota scheme on cotton textile imports from India, Pakistan and Hong Kong. In the 1960s, Britain was a party to the Short-Term and Long-Term Arrangements in GATT, which permitted Western countries to regulate textile imports from the Third World. By participating in these schemes, Britain was retreating from the principle of Commonwealth free entry under the auspices of a multilateral organisation.

Many British firms responded to ISI by opening subsidiaries in the countries concerned. Indeed, this tendency was visible before 1939. The geographical distribution of British FDI was skewed towards the Commonwealth until the surge of investment in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. Large firms, such as ICI, Unilever, and BMC, were in a better position than were smaller firms to make the transition from exporting to FDI. Some companies were coerced into establishing joint ventures in Commonwealth countries on pain of the grant of exclusive rights to foreign rivals. Leyland Motors' investment in India in the 1950s was made against the backdrop of such a threat. British plants in the Commonwealth suffered from the same competitive malaise as manufacturers in the UK. Several large British companies opened works in Malaysia, in the 1960s, to make consumer goods for the local market. Although initially successful, these businesses wilted when Japanese companies also set up plants in Malaysia. Import substitution undermined the British economic complex. Dissatisfaction with the erection of barriers against British exports inclined policy-makers in London to pay greater attention to the potential of alternative markets.

Agricultural development, the British counterpart to ISI, caused as much anxiety to Dominion farmers as import substitution did to manufacturers in Manchester and Birmingham. During the 1930s, Britain introduced food tariffs on many agricultural imports, including foreign dairy produce and beef, and quotas on foreign beef. Imports from the empire, however, remained free of duty. At the same time, certain products, notably wheat, continued to be imported duty-free and in unlimited quantities from all sources. War and its aftermath disrupted the British food economy, and the government entered into long-term contracts with Commonwealth countries in order to ensure supplies. Britain encouraged the Dominions, with mixed results, to expand their primary producing capacity. For several reasons, including fear of renewed blockade, concern about the import bill, and farmers' insistence on higher living standards, the 1945-51 Labour government introduced a lavish system of agricultural subsidies called deficiency payments. Britain's output of temperate foodstuffs grew rapidly under these benign conditions.

As the world food shortage abated, the Churchill government terminated the long-term food contracts in 1953-54, and loosened controls over food imports from the dollar area. Britain refused to join the revised International Wheat Agreement (IWA) in 1953, arguing that its price range was too high. The British welcomed the dumping of food surpluses by foreign countries, as this helped to contain the cost of living. Moreover, Commonwealth food preferences, which were specific rather than *ad valorem*, had been eroded by inflation since 1939. Commonwealth suppliers were squeezed between the deficiency payments scheme and foreign competition. Farmers in the Dominions considered that they had been betrayed. Geoffrey Scoones, the British High Commissioner, reported on opinion in New Zealand: Her Majesty's Government's frequent exhortations to New Zealand since the war to increase her exports of meat ... are very much in New Zealand minds... it is felt here that such exhortations cannot now be unsaid, and that they, no less than the Ottawa Agreement, place an obligation on Her Majesty's Government to assure New Zealand producers a remunerative return in the United Kingdom market.

As the cost of deficiency payments mounted, Whitehall began to search for an alternative means of assisting British farmers. In 1962, Nicholas Soames, the Minister of Agriculture, suggested that, whatever the outcome of negotiations for EEC membership, Britain should introduce variable import levies or quantitative restrictions on cereal and meat imports from all sources. He noted that Britain had the right to terminate at six months notice the agreements under which Commonwealth food was imported in unrestricted quantities. Cabinet decided in 1963 to work towards a regime of minimum import prices for cereals, and 'voluntary' restrictions on beef and lamb imports. In the event, it proved impossible to agree with suppliers on the control of meat imports, except bacon, but an understanding was reached with Australia, Canada and other exporters on a regime of minimum import prices and market sharing for wheat.

Although Commonwealth producers encountered far fewer restrictions in Britain than elsewhere, the thrust of British policy was hostile towards traditional suppliers. Regardless of policy changes, however, Britain would not have been able to absorb the Commonwealth's rising food surpluses at remunerative prices, in view of the slow growth of the population, and the low income elasticity of demand for food.

London's position as the world's principal capital market was undermined by the two world wars. Britain needed Canadian as well as American Lend-Lease aid during the Second World War, and in 1946 Canada granted Britain a generous loan of C\$1.25 billion. India, Egypt, Australia, and other parts of the Sterling Area also provided Britain with large wartime credits, which accounted for the rapid growth in sterling balances. However, Britain intended to resume its role as a capital exporter once the international economic situation returned to normality. Due to the parlous state of the balance of payments, overseas governments, public agencies, and companies required official sanction to issue debt on the London market after the war. Preference was given to borrowers from sterling countries, but even they were rationed. Unable to raise sufficient capital in Britain to support an ambitious development programme, Australia turned to the World Bank, in 1950, for a loan of US\$100 million.

World Bank borrowing relieved Australia's dollar shortage, and enabled it to buy more American equipment. Australia returned to the World Bank on a number of occasions. At the 1952 Commonwealth Economic Conference, Britain, under pressure from the rest of the Commonwealth, agreed to make a 'special effort' to provide more capital for development projects. However, it was acknowledged that the Sterling Area also needed to attract much more foreign, and especially American, capital. The Colombo Plan was a Commonwealth initiative, proposed in 1950, to provide economic assistance to Asian developing countries. As the British were short of capital, they persuaded the Americans to make a financial contribution, even though this compromised the Colombo Plan's branding as Commonwealth scheme. While Canada became an important capital exporter in the 1950s and 1960s, the bulk of its investments were in the USA not the Sterling Area.

By 1956-57, British government attitudes towards investment in the Commonwealth were hardening. Sir Frank Lee, the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, was in no doubt about the need for a change of course. 'We are clearly over investing abroad (particularly in the Commonwealth) and under-investing at home... But what troubles me particularly ... is the ingrained belief in so many Commonwealth countries that the U.K. must finance somehow or another the great part of what are thought to be their essential investment needs (usually on the basis of a very rapid rate of economic growth) ... My belief is therefore that we shall be forced to a drastic reconsideration of our overseas investment policy, particularly in the Commonwealth ... I fully realise that a substantial contraction ... of our investment in the Commonwealth would be likely to involve very serious political and other consequences – e.g. the future of the sterling area as we know it would be in question ... [but I am] very sceptical indeed about the real advantage to us of maintaining the sterling area...' Lee contended that too much British capital had been wasted on prestigious, but uncommercial, development schemes, with the result that British industry had been starved of capital for modernization. British industry's lacklustre performance, especially against European and Japanese competition, was a matter of growing concern. Over the longterm,

Britain's ability to provide the Commonwealth with fresh capital depended on British industry's international competitiveness. Without a current account surplus, Britain could not be a net exporter of capital. These issues were given careful consideration in 1956-57. Although the British resolved not to impose additional restrictions on lending to the RSA, they used higher interest rates to deter overseas borrowing. Britain urged Commonwealth governments to borrow in New York, and to join the IMF and World Bank, if, like New Zealand, they were not yet members. In 1966, as sterling came under renewed pressure, British investors were asked to reduce capital outflows to the Sterling Area. The practical impact of these 'voluntary' controls is uncertain. The point is that they signalled a tougher British stance.

Britain remained the principal source of capital inflows (direct plus portfolio) into Commonwealth countries, with the notable exception of Canada, during the 1950s and 1960s. Even so, the demand for capital imports exceeded Britain's willingness to supply capital. The USA, the World Bank, Japan, and continental Europe supplemented British capital flows to a greater or lesser extent. As regards FDI, the growing involvement of foreign, and especially American, subsidiaries reflected their ability to offer superior processes, products, or brands compared with British firms. In Australia, General Motors-Holden, Ford, International Harvester, Chrysler, Goodyear, Kodak, Nestlé, Philips, and Volkswagen were ranked among the top 100 companies in 1964. As the pattern of capital flows changed, Commonwealth countries reduced their dependence on British components, technology, and management services. Hence the Commonwealth economic network experienced further erosion.

Economic Alliances Excluding Britain

The weakening of the Commonwealth as an economic community owed much to the competing attraction of alternative centres of power, including the USA and Japan, and other regional networks. By 1939 Canada was in some respects already an extension of the US economy. Canada's manufacturing sector was quite closely integrated with its US counterpart. Large US firms, such as General Motors and Ford, operated plants in Ontario. The Canadian economy derived substantial benefits from proximity to the US market, and ease of access to US capital, technology, and management expertise. Intra-industry trade increased as Canadian industry became more sophisticated. Although some Canadians resented American domination, Canada achieved a much higher level of industrial development than either Australia or New Zealand, which were both isolated, and more reliant on British investment, did. The pull of the USA was much weaker in Australasia. Several Australasian products, such as beef, found a buoyant market in the USA during the 1950s and 1960s, but protection was a serious obstacle to the export of dairy produce, and even of wool, to the USA. American firms and consumers had no interest in inferior Australasian manufactures. The resurgence of Japan, under American sponsorship, threatened Britain's economic position in the Far East. Soon after the war, the Americans resolved that Japan should be developed as a bulwark against communism. However, they also determined that the revival of the Japanese economy must not be allowed to undermine US industrial jobs. Mainland China had been Japan's principal market before the Second World War, but, after the communist takeover in 1949, the Americans wished to isolate China, and therefore required alternative markets for Japan. The most convenient markets were in non-communist Asia, including the Sterling Area. Washington argued that the exchange of Japanese manufactures for Asian and Australasian primary produce would be mutually beneficial. A strong Japanese market would provide Australia and New Zealand with a serviceable alternative to the protected US market.

American pressure for Japan to be admitted into GATT presented Britain, Australia, and New Zealand with a dilemma. Washington's demands could not be ignored, and there was no denying that Japan was a potentially lucrative outlet for Sterling Area primary produce. But Japanese consumer goods posed a serious threat to Australasian industries and British exporters. When Japan joined GATT in 1955, certain countries, including Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India, refused to grant it full MFN status for several years. Australia concluded a bilateral trade agreement with Japan in 1957, and New Zealand followed suit in 1958. These agreements ended quantitative discrimination against Japanese trade, and reduced tariffs on Japanese products from the general level to the MFN level, thereby cutting actual British preference margins. In return, Japan confirmed the duty-free status of wool, and agreed to import certain quantities of selected primary produce. Australia and New Zealand came to terms with Tokyo in order to secure a bridgehead in the Japanese market. They were spurred into action by the slow growth of the British market, the lamentable state of British agricultural policy, the 1954 trade agreement between Canada and Japan, and persistent overtures from Tokyo. British exporters bore the brunt of these agreements. Relations between Australia and Japan strengthened in the 1960s, stimulated by vast mineral discoveries in Western Australia. Trade between New Zealand and Japan, which started from a lower

level, grew even faster than trade between Australia and Japan. In the 1960s, Japan floated a scheme for a free trade area embracing Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, and Canada. Nothing came of this proposal, which may be regarded as a precursor of APEC, but it provided further evidence that Australia and New Zealand might be drawn into an Asia Pacific economic network. In 1960, Malaya, Thailand, and the Philippines started to discuss the formation of a regional economic bloc as a counterweight to the EEC. India also showed interest in an Asian-African association. Britain's turn towards Europe gave added impetus to the design, if not the implementation, of regional economic arrangements in Asia. The South East Asian plans of the 1960s foreshadowed the later development of ASEAN. The New Zealand Australia Free Trade Agreement of 1965 was the main practical development at the sub-regional level. New Zealand began to transfer its economic allegiance from Britain to Australia. NAFTA (not to be confused with the North American free trade grouping) was the first step towards the reintegration of the Australian and New Zealand economies, which had drifted apart after New Zealand's rejection of membership of the Australian Federation in 1901. A Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement followed in 1983.

The newly independent Commonwealth African nations also sought to construct new economic links. Nigeria signed a preferential trade agreement with the EEC in 1966 that entailed discrimination against British goods. Commonwealth governments in East Africa reached a similar agreement with the EEC in 1968. Developing African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, including Britain's former colonies, entered into a wider preferential agreement, the Lome Convention, with the EEC in 1975. Britain could not prevent the unravelling of its economic complex east of Suez, since it could not offer new trading opportunities to match those available in the Pacific Rim and Asia. In the long run, Britain was too small to absorb the rising food, raw material, and manufacturing surpluses of the Commonwealth. New outlets were needed for Commonwealth produce, and these could not be obtained without the formation of new inter-governmental and business networks. It was inevitable that these networks should gradually displace older networks centred on London.

Ottawa Or Europe? Britain's Choice

The decision of six European countries in 1955 to form a Common Market (the EEC) coincided with a serious deterioration in Britain's relationship with Australia. Britain started, slowly at first, to refocus its external economic strategy towards the rapidly growing European market. In 1955, the British still considered the Commonwealth to be a more valuable economic asset than Western Europe. But they feared that if the EEC were to go ahead, German industry would gain an even more dominant position in Europe, while British industry would face discrimination and marginalization. Ideally, from the British perspective, Franco-German squabbling would kill the Common Market scheme. However, the Six were determined to proceed with or without Britain's blessing, since they enjoyed strong support in Washington. The demand of Australia, in 1956, for large reductions in contractual British preferential margins, in order to facilitate trade negotiations with other countries, was viewed askance in London. As far as the British were concerned, the Australian proposals would wreck the Ottawa system, of which Australasia was the core. Britain made a net loss from the Ottawa system as a whole, but a significant net gain from its preferential tariff arrangements with Australia and New Zealand. The campaigns mounted by Australia, in 1956, and New Zealand, in 1958, for reductions in contractual British preferences led to the revision of their respective Ottawa Agreements. In the event, however, foreign countries were unwilling to open their markets to Australian and New Zealand food exports for the sake of lower British preference margins, and *actual* margins did not fall by much in the late 1950s and 1960s. Economic theory suggests that the welfare implications of participation in a regional trading arrangement, such as the Commonwealth Preference Area or the EEC, are ambiguous. It appears, though, that the Ottawa system exerted a significant influence over the direction of trade. The intensity of trade was greater between Britain and the Commonwealth than between Britain and comparable non-Commonwealth countries. What really mattered in the mid-1950s was that British perceptions of the relative value of the

Commonwealth and Europe as economic communities started to change. Harold Macmillan outlined the position in Cabinet in July 1956: Australia's changed attitude to the preference system reflected the fact that the United Kingdom was no longer able to fulfill her traditional role of providing the capital needed for the industrial [sic] development of the Commonwealth. ... The preferences were still of great value to us and it was important that we should retain what preferences we could. It would now be necessary, however, to re-examine, in the light of the Australian attitude, the relative importance and future prospects of our trade with Australia and the Commonwealth, and with Europe and other overseas markets. Britain began to draw closer to Europe. At first the British promised that they would do nothing to jeopardise Commonwealth food preferences in negotiations with the Europeans. Late in 1956, they floated a scheme for an industrial free trade area in Europe, which after a lengthy delay was rejected by EEC countries. Frustrated by the collapse of this initiative, the British scrambled to establish the smaller European Free Trade Area, another largely industrial bloc, in partnership with the Scandinavian countries, Portugal, Austria, and Switzerland. In 1961-63, Macmillan launched an application for British membership of the EEC. He regarded it as imperative that British industry should have access to EEC markets on the same terms as the Germans. Large manufacturers were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the European connection. Growth in Europe continued to outstrip growth in the Commonwealth, giving further impetus to the pro-EEC stance of the British establishment.

One of the stumbling blocks to membership of the EEC was the privileged status of Commonwealth agriculture. The Six insisted that Britain must scrap Commonwealth food preferences, and adopt the projected Common Agricultural Policy, which incorporated draconian restrictions on imports from non-EEC countries. Some safeguards might have been available for New Zealand dairy farmers, and for some tropical producers, but otherwise the EEC had nothing to offer the Commonwealth beyond a vague undertaking to promote world commodity agreements. Essentially, Commonwealth farmers and manufacturers would forfeit their British markets to European suppliers. Diefenbaker was the most virulent critic of Macmillan's policy, though Canada had less to lose than many Commonwealth countries. New Zealand still consigned over 50 per cent of its exports to Britain, and feared that even partial exclusion from this market would lead to ruination. Apart from Canada, however, the mood in the Commonwealth in 1961-63 was one of sullen resentment rather than outright opposition to Britain. New Zealand could not afford to alienate the British. The Australians effectively washed their hands of the affair, taking comfort from the gathering pace of mineral exports to Japan. De Gaulle's veto of Britain gave Commonwealth food producers, especially in New Zealand, a reprieve, although there was no suggestion that Britain now planned to withdraw into a strengthened Ottawa bloc. It seemed only a matter of time before Britain submitted another application to join the EEC. Wilson's flirtation with the Commonwealth in 1964-65 was short-lived. In 1965, officials warned that Britain faced political and economic isolation outside the EEC. Britain needed to develop high technology industries in cooperation with other advanced countries, since it could not compete alone with the USA. The Commonwealth had little to offer.

A satisfactory alternative [to EEC membership] had to be considered not only in terms of the ... size of market for a major industrial complex but also in terms of the size of research and development potential for future expansion in a highly technological world. ... The Commonwealth would not provide a satisfactory alternative; the new Commonwealth was in need of technical assistance and they were in no position to contribute to research and development resources. On the other hand, among the old Commonwealth countries Canada was linked to the United States in research and development, and Australia and New Zealand pursued their own policies. Wilson's approach to the EEC in 1967-68 was rebuffed, but thereafter negotiation was virtually continuous. De Gaulle's departure facilitated success for Edward Heath's government in 1970-71. Britain joined the EEC in 1973, having obtained minimal concessions for Commonwealth producers other than New Zealand dairy farmers and Third World sugar growers. The Commonwealth Preference Area ceased to function in 1977. It is debatable whether Britain after 1973 was better off as a member of the EEC than it could have been under the various alternative

arrangements. This paper, however, is not concerned with the merits of British policy. During the 1960s the British convinced themselves that it was preferable to join the EEC than to lead a much looser Commonwealth economic community. Once the British had made their decision, the rest of the Commonwealth could do nothing to change their minds.

The Commonwealth economic community emerged as an intergovernmental network in the 1930s in the wake of the collapse of the Gold Standard and multilateral trade. During the 1940s, this community became more inward looking, as the cost of transacting with outsiders was increased by the war, the dollar shortage, and uncertainty.

The 1950s and 1960s, however, saw the reversal of this process of growing integration. When normality was restored to the international economy, transaction costs fell, and the need to discriminate against the dollar area waned. Commonwealth countries were drawn towards new centres of attraction. The Commonwealth had never been self-sufficient, and Britain could not absorb the export surpluses of Commonwealth Asia, the African colonies, and the Dominions. Import substitution policies in Britain as regards agriculture, and in the rest of the Commonwealth as regards manufacturing, undercut traditional patterns of economic interchange within the Commonwealth.

Britain was neither willing nor able to supply Commonwealth countries with sufficient capital to finance their ambitious development programmes. Commonwealth states in the Asia Pacific worked to improve their relations with the USA and Japan, ultimately to Britain's loss. Australia's demand for more leeway to reduce British preference margins helped to spark the British government's interest in European economic integration, although this was bound to happen sooner or later given Europe's proximity. Britain started to transfer its allegiance from an imperial economic grouping to a regional one. In due course, other Commonwealth countries, including Canada (NAFTA and APEC), Australia (CER and APEC), New Zealand (CER and APEC), Malaysia (ASEAN and APEC) and Singapore (ASEAN and APEC) also entered regional groupings. Commonwealth Africa and the Caribbean became linked to the EEC through the Lome Convention.

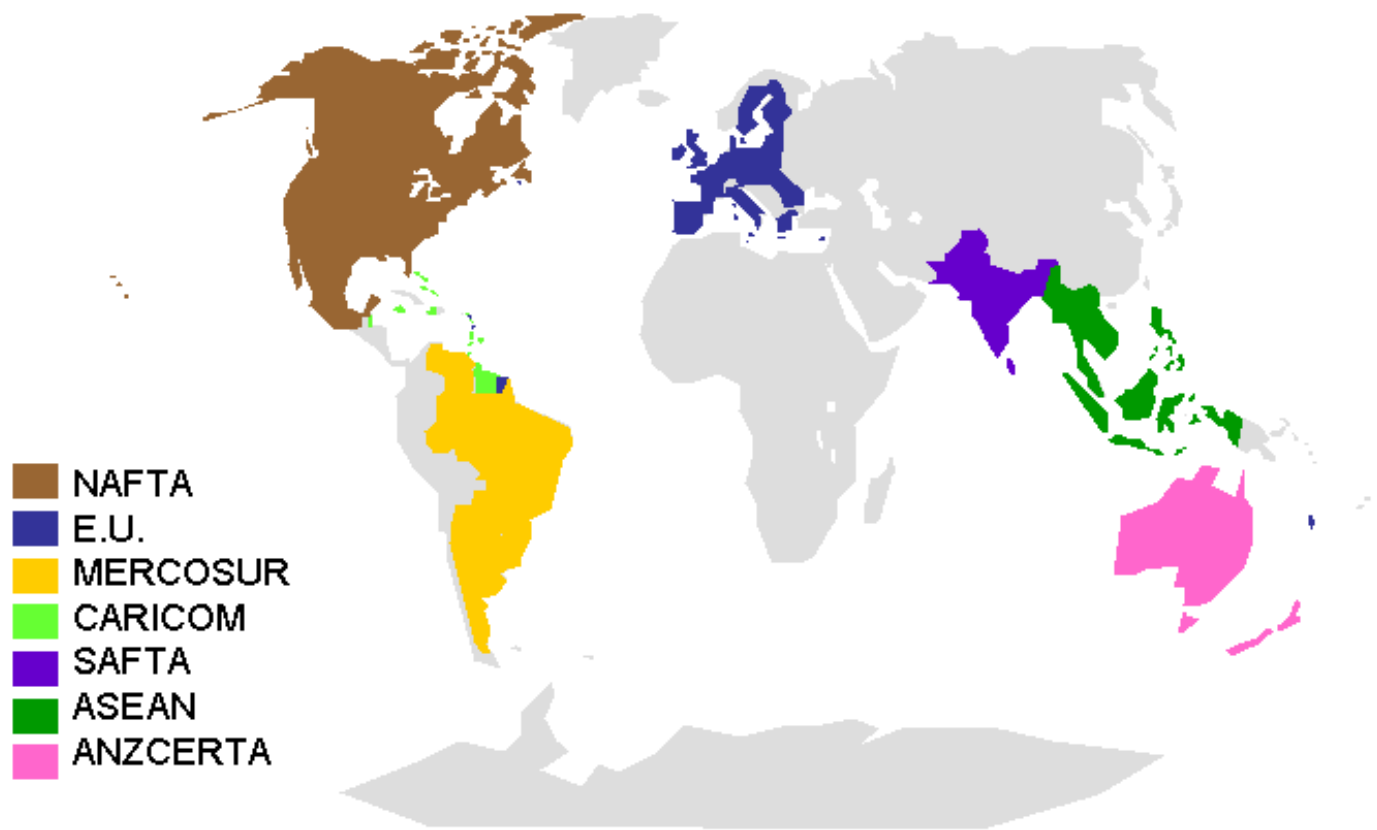
The writing was on the wall in 1958, when in conversation with General de Gaulle, John Diefenbaker, of all people, commented that the Ottawa Agreements were now mainly of 'sentimental' value.

Even though the trend has been towards the creation of regional continental trade blocs, the **Cairns Group** is a global trade bloc dealing specifically with agriculture. It includes leading Commonwealth countries. It is an interest group of 18 agricultural exporting countries, composed of Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Paraguay, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, and Uruguay. The Group takes its name from the Australian city of Cairns, where its inaugural meeting took place in 1986. The Australian Government led the formation of the group, though some of the South Asian countries had been working together on agricultural trade through ASEAN.

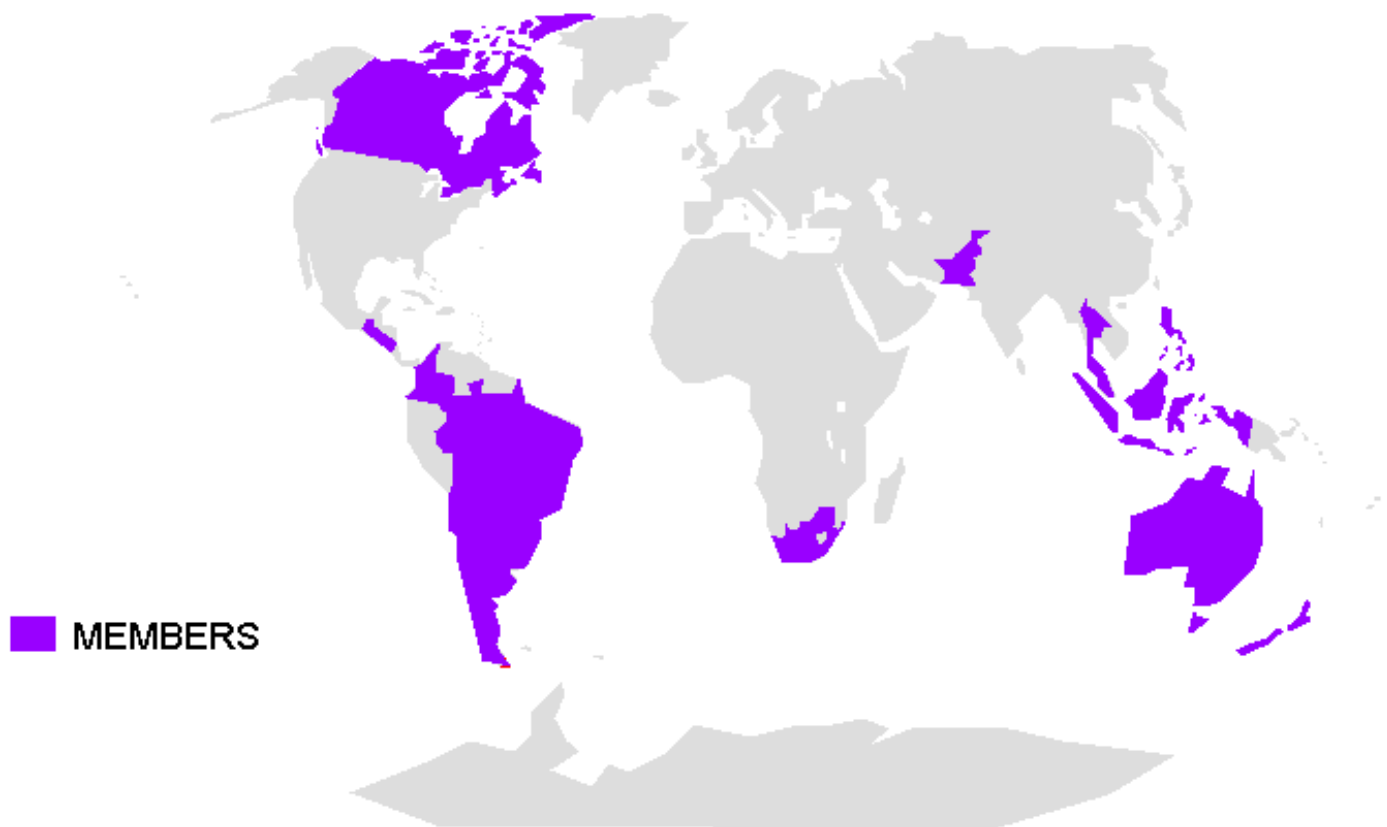
The move to form the group was largely a response to the spiralling trade subsidies of the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy and the USA's Export Enhancement Program. Particularly, the objection came to the apparent double standards between the GATT forcing countries to liberalise their economies, whilst the USA were granted a waiver for agricultural protection in the 1950's.

The Cairns Group's objective is to bring about liberalization of global trade in agricultural produce. In particular, its members aim to abolish export subsidies and trade-distorting domestic support measures for agricultural products and seek to improve market access for exported agricultural goods. The coalition attempts to present a common front in multilateral. The Cairns Group successfully forced agriculture onto the agenda of the Uruguay Round. This eventually led to the Agreement on Agriculture

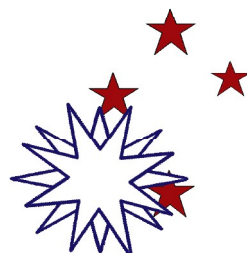
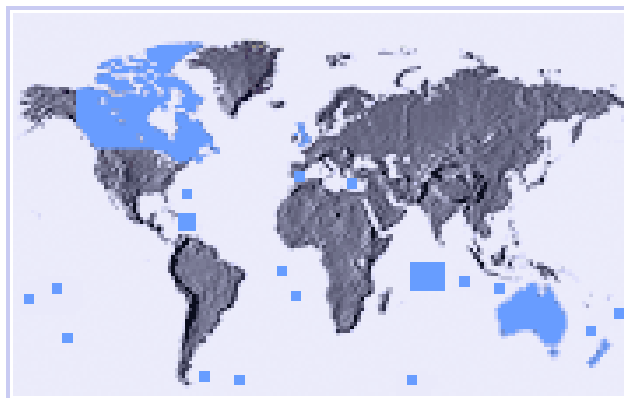
REGIONAL ECONOMIC BLOCKS TODAY



THE CAIRNS GROUP



Proposed Commonwealth Federation (The Future)



In 2002, the Federal Commonwealth Society was formed in London to promote the creation of a permanent federation of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and others. This would transform the British Empire and Commonwealth into the world's first global inter-continental economic union.

The Time For Commonwealth Federation Is Right

Until now, the British Empire and its successor, the Commonwealth, were not ready for federation. During the days of Empire, communication and transportation were just too slow and people wanted to bring government closer to home. Nationalism drove the change from Empire to Commonwealth. During these years of years of adversity, 1942 – 1973, the drive for Commonwealth Federation of C-4 countries encountered four main setbacks :

First. The Lend Lease Agreement (23rd February 1942) dismantled Commonwealth trade preference. The US was determined to see the end of the British Empire & Imperial Trade preference to the advantage of the US. Britain had no choice but to accept the terms.

Second. Quebec was immovably against a Commonwealth Federation. So, Canada could not go forward.

Third. Canada, Australia & New Zealand [the C-3] eventually decided to go it alone in trade.

Fourth. The C-3 stopped buying British civil & military aircraft [the VC10 & the TSR2 being pre-eminent]. The US succeeded in supplanting Britain in supplying advanced aviation products to the C-3 despite Britain producing top class aircraft. This demoralised Britain.

The Economic Situation Today

Each of the C-4 countries went their separate ways. Britain to the EU, Canada to NAFTA, & Australia & New Zealand with multiple bi-lateral trade deals. Each of the C-4 countries is now either in real political difficulties or are being squeezed by major trade blocs. Much of Canada is most unhappy with their relationship with the USA. The body politic, the press & the public are all seriously concerned about trade & environmental bullying as they see it by the USA. Canadian officials are even telling other countries to ask themselves if the word of the USA on a trade document is worth anything at all. [Source, The Economist, 10th September 2005].

Example 1 - The USA imposed tariffs on Canadian softwood exports to the USA. "Illegal" said Canada. "We agree" said the umpires of NAFTA in a "final" decision & imposed a fine on the USA of \$4 Billion. The USA then took the matter to the World Trade Organisation [WTO] where the decision was "overturned". But, the WTO has no jurisdiction in the matter. [Source, The Economist 10th Sept. 2005].

Example 2 - The USA is diverting polluted waters from their Devil's Lake into the river system & on into Lake Winnipeg in Canada. Despite all Canadian protests the Americans are continuing the drainage. In 1909, Canada & the USA signed a Boundary Waters Treaty that set up a joint Commission to deal with such disputes. But American officials refuse to refer this matter to the Commission. Instead they want the issue to be heard in front of a US Federal agency, The Council on Environmental Quality. [Source The Economist 16th July 2005].

Example 3 - A Mr. Jalbert took a walk from his village in Canada to the nearest petrol station which was 45 feet into the USA. This was a usual & customary practice. He was arrested & held in prison as an

illegal immigrant for 35 days until the Canadian government got the US Secretary of State to personally intervene. [Source, The Economist 27th August 2005].

The examples above are but a sample of what causes the deep & abiding resentment that Canadians feel toward their southern neighbour. That Canada's fellow NAFTA partner Mexico complains similarly about the USA reinforces Canadian resentment as being justified. Today, in the 21st Century, the time is right for Commonwealth Federation. Global free trade is opening up, fast travel and the internet are bringing the world together. There is already discussion of the main English-speaking nations working together as an 'Anglosphere' or a network Commonwealth. The Iraq War of 2004-2005 saw the military cooperation of the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia.

A Commonwealth Federation for the future beginning with free trade

The Commonwealth failed as an exclusive economic club, but continues today as a political club for the promotion of human rights, democracy and international relations. A revival of the Commonwealth as an exclusive economic grouping is most unlikely and not advantageous. However, a political reunification of parts of the Commonwealth would create the very advantageous position of tying together the regional economic blocks around the world into a large global free trade area. Global trade in on the increase and regional blocks cannot be exclusive any more. Even though the United Kingdom has been part of the European Community for over thirty years, it has the fourth largest economy in the world and is expanding its global trade. However, it is not allowed by the EU to enter into bilateral trade agreements with other non-EU countries. 85 per cent of Canada's trade is with the United States, however, it is now looking to expand its global trade and build up economic links elsewhere. The trend in the 21st Century is towards global free trade. The proposal here for Commonwealth Federation would promote just that. It is not about creating a new imperial trade area, but it would link up the European Union with NAFTA, ANZCERTA (Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement), ASEAN and possibly others. It would provide the opportunity for each member country to expand its markets while maintaining its current regional economic links. It would benefit all around, open up global free trade and puts its members in the most advantageous position of having access to four or more economic areas.

The Commonwealth Federation would have these economic advantages:

Nickel, top producer in the world.

Iron ore, second top producer in the World.

Silver, top producer in the World.

Bauxite, top producer in the world.

Gold, third top producer in the World.

Copper, third top producer in the World.

Tungsten, third top producer in the World.

Lead, top producer in the World.

Uranium, top producer in the World.

Zinc, top producer in the World.

Coal, second top producer in the World.

Natural Gas, third top producer in the World.

Oil? Well, surprising as it may seem, the Commonwealth with Britain, Canada, Australia is the second top oil producer in the World.

Politically, the C-4, which is the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, have a shared history, a common head of state and a common form of government. The political ties are there. Each now comes with regional economic ties. The economic and political integration of these countries into one, with possibly others, could be done easily and would create an economic, political and military powerhouse that can stand equally with other powers.

The Federal Commonwealth Society was formed in 2002 in London to promote the plan for Commonwealth Federation. The regional branches of FCS Canada, FCS United Kingdom and FCS Australia were formed the year after. While the organisation is in its infancy, the idea is catching on with the public, particularly young people.

In April 2006, Prime Ministers and Provincial and State Premiers of Canada and Australia met in Montreal to discuss forging closer economic and political ties between the two countries. A second conference is scheduled to take place in Adelaide in 2008. This should result in the drafting of an agreement of closer Canada-Australia ties. The Federal Commonwealth Society has been active in promoting this conference and encouraging the creation of CANZCERTA (Canada-Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement). The creation of this new economic area is seen by the FCS as the first major step towards the creation of the proposed federation, which can be realised quickly with the creation of a political administration for CANZCERTA. This will then be offered to the United Kingdom as an alternative to the European Union. Expansion beyond that will be the focus afterwards. The economic and political federation could come into existence within ten to twenty years.

Members of the Commonwealth Federation would remain as sovereign independent nations, but would be represented in a Federation Council. Phase One membership would begin with core nations including the United Kingdom, British Overseas Territories, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Cook Islands and Niue. A Phase Two economic association with the Commonwealth Federation, possibly leading to full membership later, could include India, South Africa and Argentina, as long as they are democratic and economically stable. India is an upcoming economic power, South Africa remains strong and Argentina, with a large English-speaking community, is looking to build ties with the English-speaking world.

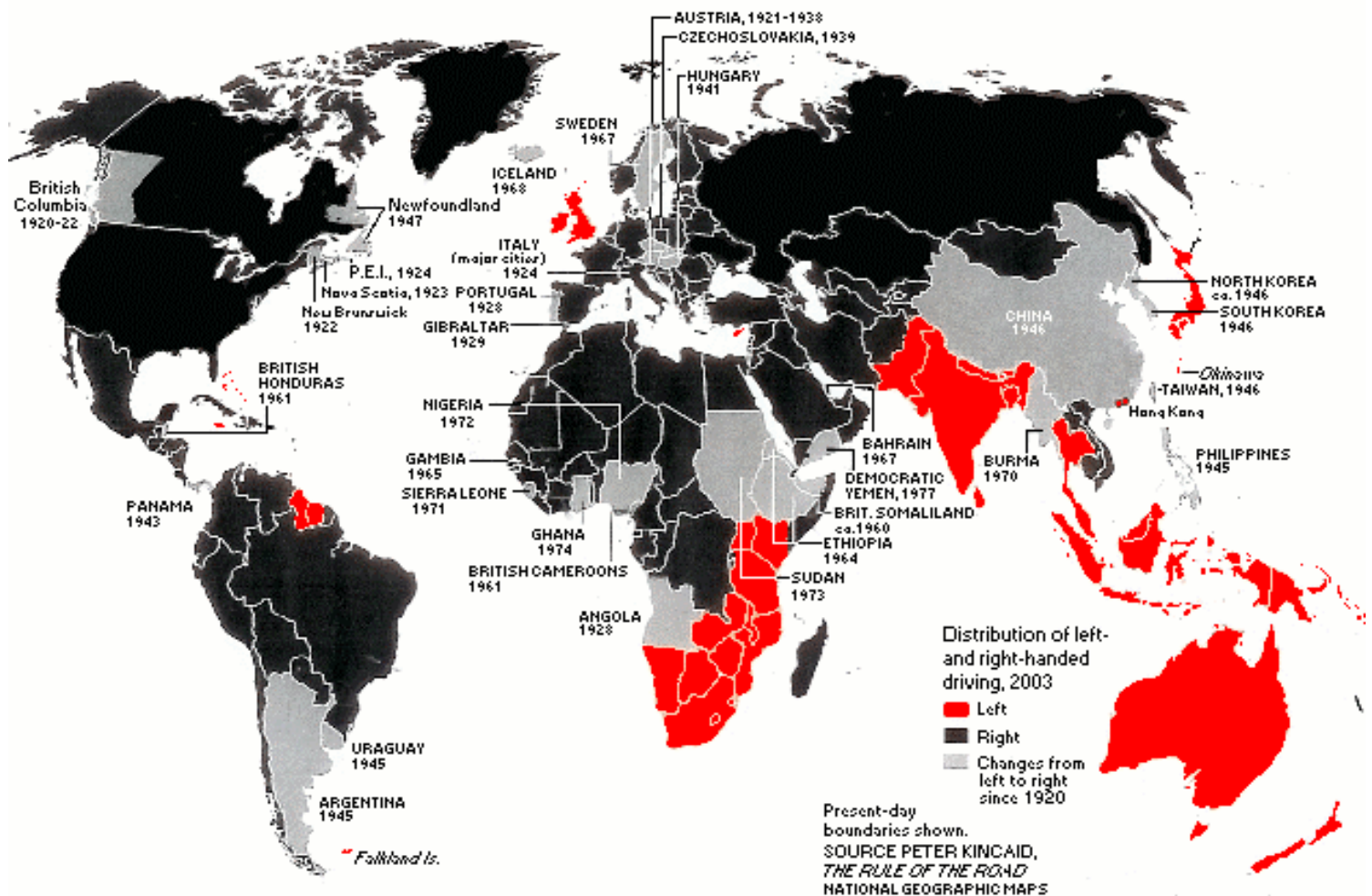
With global trade talks going nowhere in 2006, Canada is keen to explore the idea of grouping 21 countries around the Pacific Ocean into a huge free-trade zone that could extend from the United States to China, Australia to Chile. Canada is interested in a Pacific-wide trading zone - a concept being eagerly discussed as officials prepared for the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation summit. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation bloc (APEC), formed in 1989 as an economic forum, has rapidly expanded its agenda in recent years to cover political, security and even environmental and health issues.

A number of countries are very intrigued by the prospect of some evolution of APEC into a substantial free-trade grouping. APEC member countries are the United States, Russia, China, Canada, Japan, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Vietnam, Indonesia, Brunei, Hong Kong, Mexico, the Philippines, Chile, Papua New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand, Peru, South Korea and Taiwan. Together, they represent nearly half of global trade, 40 per cent of the world's population and 56 per cent of its economic output. Canada doesn't want to be left out of any trade pact emerging among the rising economic powerhouses of the region. APEC's Business Advisory Council has urged APEC leaders to consider the free-trade as a way to consolidate a plethora of free-trade deals in the region, APEC members, it said.

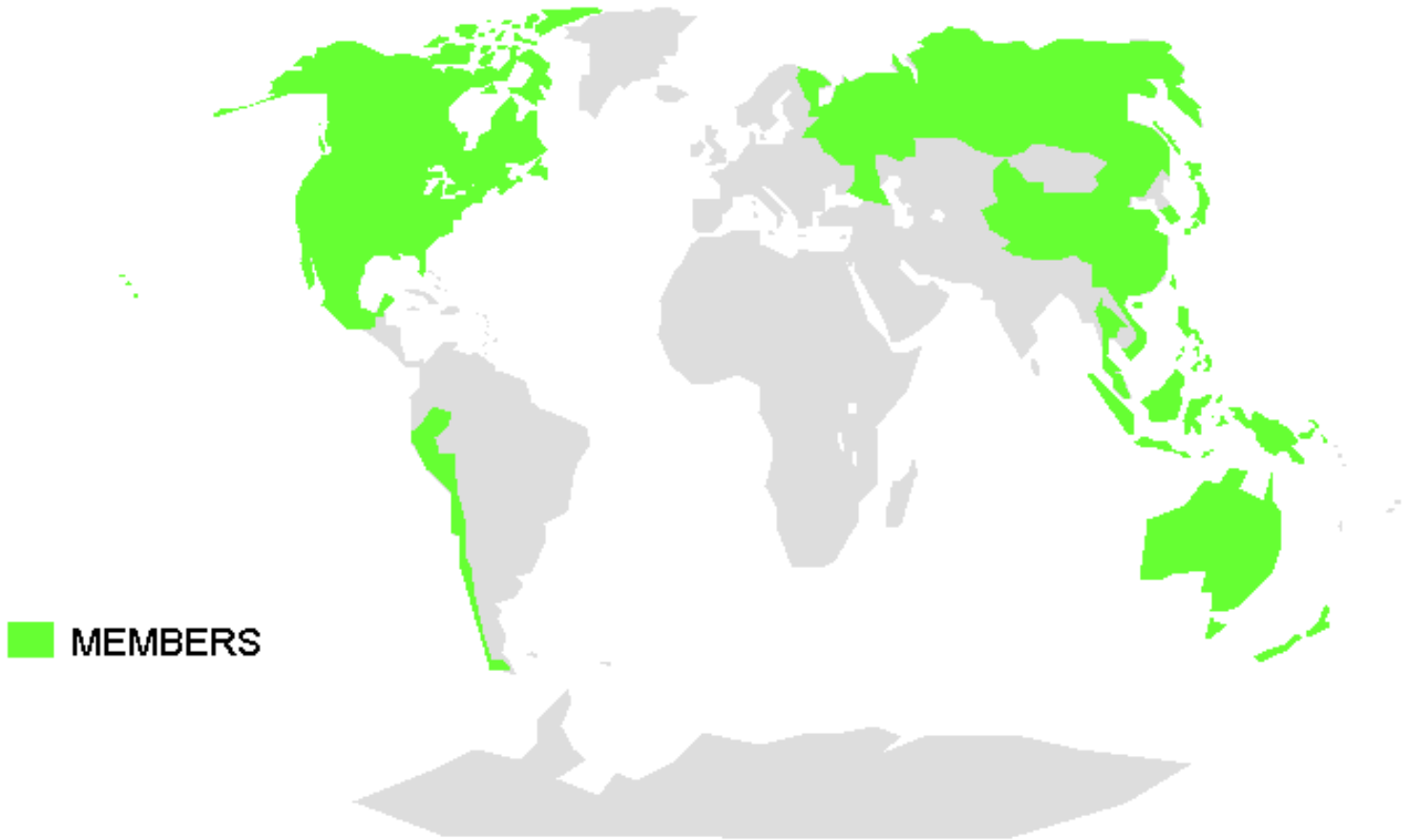
Canada has just signed a foreign investment protection agreement with Peru. It is also resuming talks with Singapore, with the hope of arriving at a trade agreement. The business council said it was time for APEC as a whole to consider harmonizing all the existing trade arrangements under a region-wide pact, dubbed the Free-Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific. APEC leaders plan to call for trade liberalization and warn that grave economic consequences would result from the failure of global trade talks. The creation of this new cross-Pacific free trade bloc will further the FCS's aims by including Canada, Australia and New Zealand in one free trade area. This should be in place within a few years.

One artifact of British influence is the side of the road on which traffic moves. In Britain, you drive on the left, and cars have the steering wheel on the right. It was probably France and United States that established the larger international pattern of driving on the right, with the steering wheel on the left. In Europe, only Austria-Hungary, Portugal, and Sweden followed the British pattern. The successors to Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary, switched to the right, ironically, only under the occupation or influence of Nazi Germany. Portugal and Sweden, however, switched on their own. Elsewhere, switches from left to right reflect the decline in British influence. This would appear to be the case with places like China, Argentina, and Ethiopia. In former British colonies, this is also understandable. However, three significant countries still drive on the left, without a heritage of British control: Japan, Thailand, and Indonesia. Otherwise, major former British possessions, like a large part of Africa, India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, etc. preserve the British preference.

LEFT AND RIGHT DRIVING



ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION (A.P.E.C.)

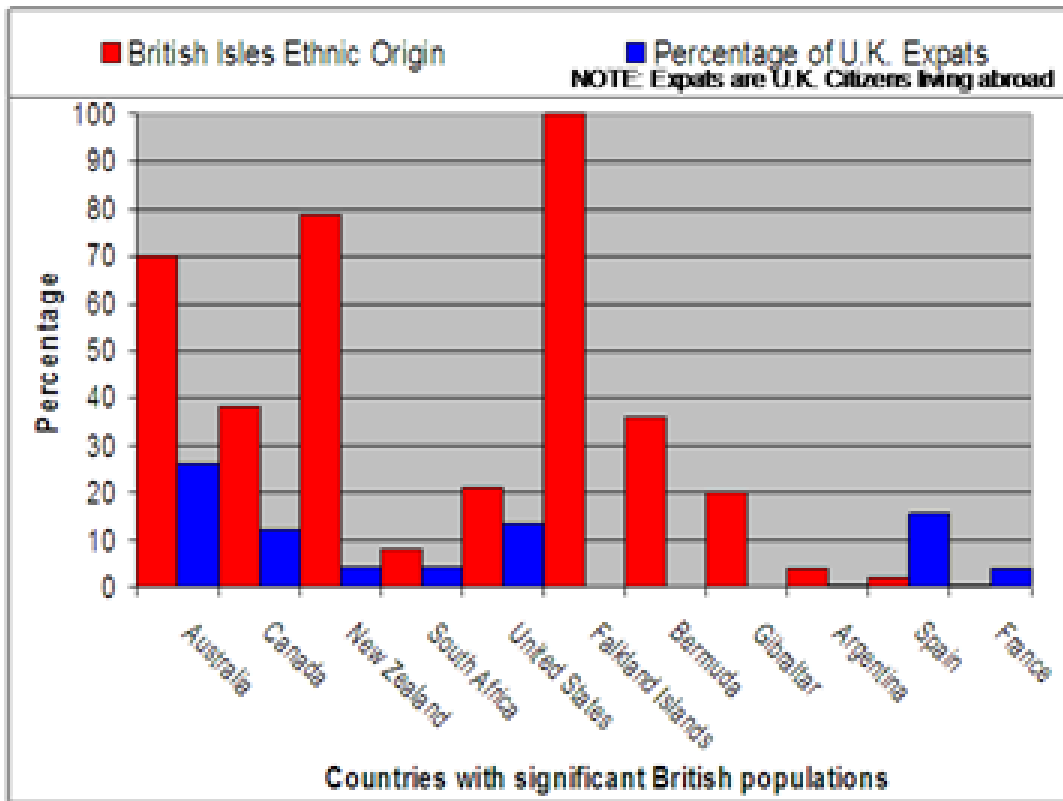


In 2006, a study released showed that 1 of every 10 British citizens (ten per cent) lives in other countries, with the main old Commonwealth countries of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa combined having about half of them. These countries still have large populations of British ethnic origin, so it is easy for British people to settle in them. This shows that the cultural and linguistic ties amongst these countries are still strong and that building closer ties amongst them should be easy.

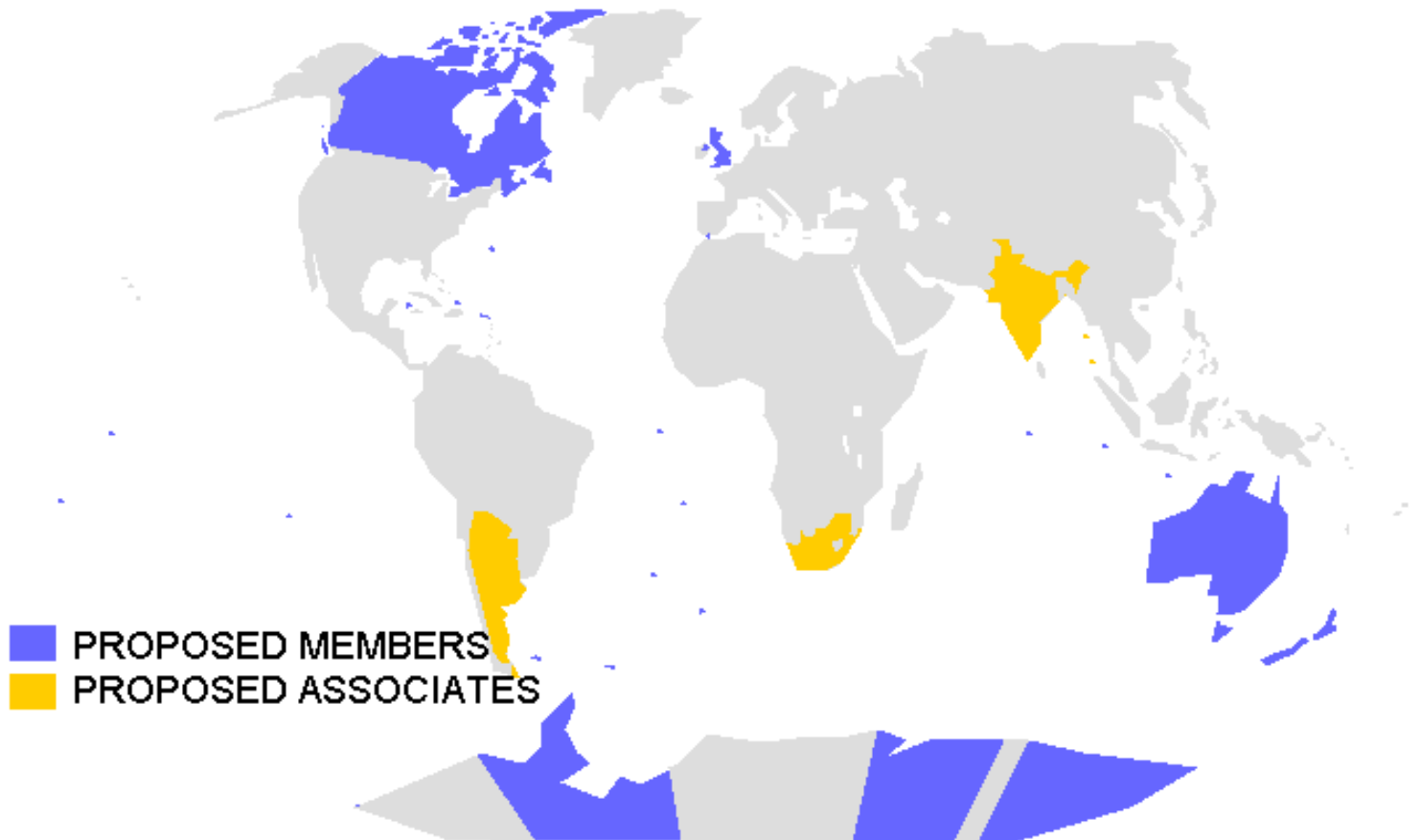
Additionally, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa all have the Westminster parliamentary system, all use English Common Law except in Quebec, all except South Africa have the Queen as head of state, all except Canada drive on the left side of the road like Britain. Australia remains by far the most favoured destination for British citizens because of its combination of a similar culture and warm weather.

U.K. CITIZENS ABROAD: THE TOP COUNTRIES

Australia - 1,300,000
Spain - 761,000
United States - 678,000
Canada - 603,000
Ireland - 291,000
New Zealand - 215,000
South Africa - 212,000
France - 200,000



PROPOSED COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION



Appendix

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

TABLE OF TERRITORIES

The following table, after the World Empires and British Empire timeline charts, explains when various territories entered or left the British Empire. It can be quite confusing as the borders of these territories could and did change, name changes were frequent, colonies amalgamated and combined with one another - not to mention various treaties and wars! It is very difficult to keep track of all of these changes over the course of the entire history of the empire. There were also different classifications of territories:

Companies - initially private companies capitalised from Britain - tried to set up their own colonies as private commercial concerns. They frequently found the administration far more expensive than they expected and frequently turned to the British government for help - particularly when wars or rebellions occurred. I have also included a few settler/missionary inspired settlements in this category.

Colonies were those areas directly ruled by the British government on behalf of the Crown - technically from London, although the governor usually had wide powers of discretion. These were the most common form of imperial control.

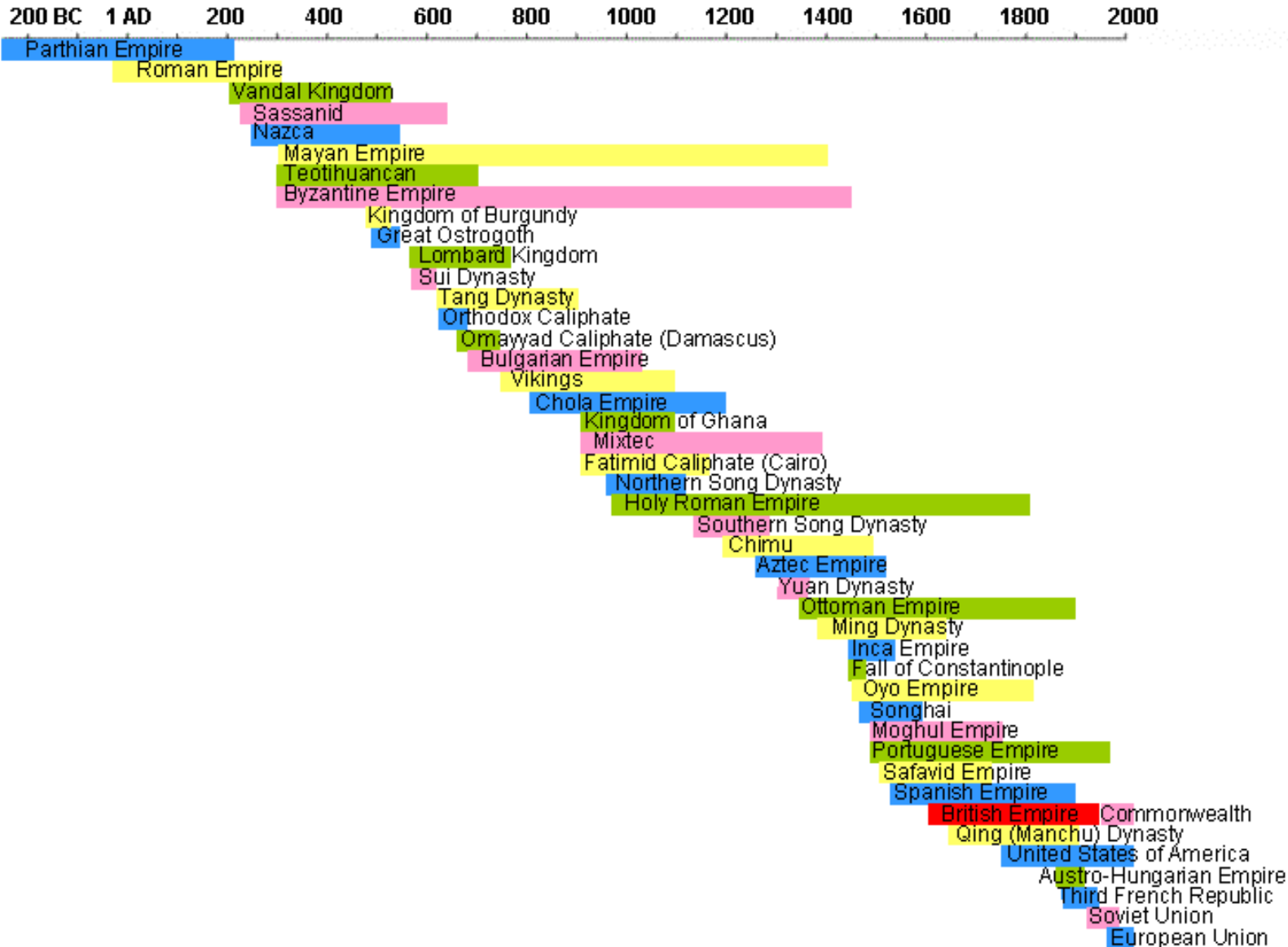
Protectorates were territories where the local rulers could continue ruling domestically but they had ceded foreign and defence to the British. In fact, even in protectorates, British advisers frequently held influence far beyond foreign and defence fields.

Dominions were those colonies that were granted significant freedom to rule themselves. The settler colonies were afforded this freedom. I have included some other examples of self-governing colonies in this category.

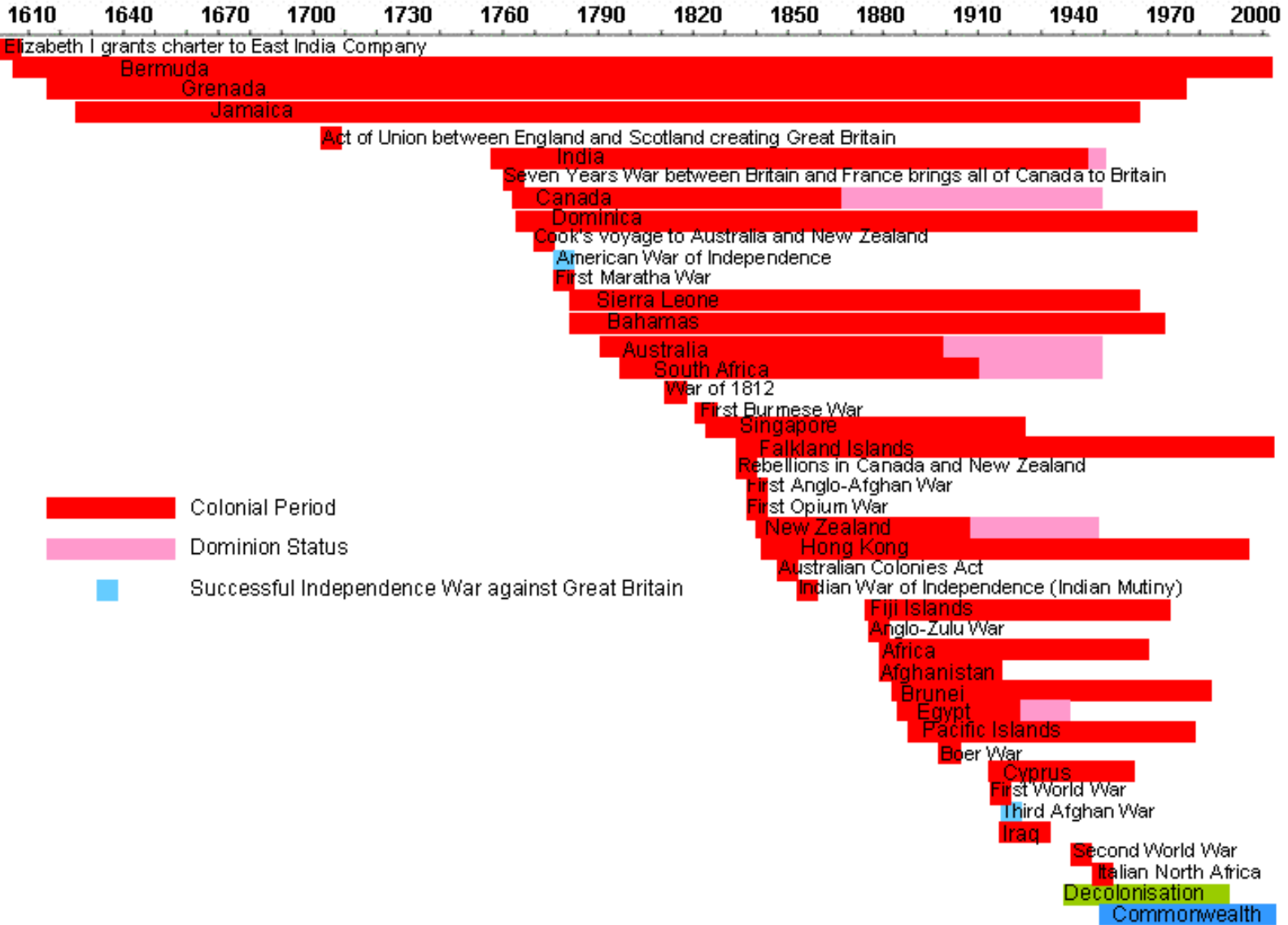
Mandates were set up after World War One as German and Turkish colonies were passed to Britain and France to prepare for self government on behalf of the League of Nations. Then, after World War Two, the United Nations issued its own mandates.

Commonwealth indicates whether or not the territory is currently a member of the Commonwealth of Nations or part of a Commonwealth member country.

TIMELINE CHART OF WORLD EMPIRES



TIMELINE CHART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE



<u>Name</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Protectorate</u>	<u>Dominion</u>	<u>Mandate</u>	<u>Independence</u>	<u>Commonwealth</u>
Aden	1858 (from India) Separate from 1936	Interior from 1873			1967	No
Afghanistan		1880			1919	No
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1858				1947	Part of India
Anguilla	1650					British
Antigua	1663				1981	Yes
Aruba	1799 - 1815					No
Ascension	1815 by Royal Navy. 1922 Civil Administration					British
Ashmore and Cartier Islands	1878		1938 to Australia			Australian
Australia			1901			Yes
Bahamas	1717		1964		1973	Yes
Bahrain		1835			1971	No
Baker Island	1886		1934 to USA			No
Baluchistan	1877, 1887 to India				1947	Part of Pakistan
Banda Islands	1796 - 1817 then back to Dutch					No
Bantam	1682 to Dutch					No
Barbados	1627				1966	Yes
Barbuda	1628 - 1632,				1981	Part of Antigua
Basutoland	1868	1884			1966	Yes
Batavia	1811 - 1816					No
Bay Islands	1742 - 1782, 1820 - 1860				1860 to Honduras	No
Bechuanaland		1885			1966	Yes
Benkulen	1825 to Dutch					No
Bengal	1858				1947	Part of India
Berbice	1814, 1831 to British Guiana				1966	Part of Guyana

<u>Name</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Protectorate</u>	<u>Dominion</u>	<u>Mandate</u>	<u>Independence</u>	<u>Commonwealth</u>
Bermuda	1684					British
Bhutan		1911			1947	No
Bombay	1858				1947	Part of India
Bonaire	1807 - 1815 then back to Dutch					No
Bonin Islands	1875 to Japan					No
British Cameroons	1914			1920	1961	Yes - Part of Cameroon
British Columbia	1849	1846	1871			
British Guiana	Conquered in 1796. 1815 became 3 colonies - unified in 1831				1966	Yes
British Honduras	1786				1981	Yes
British Indian Ocean Territory	1784					British
British Kaffraria	1847 joined Cape Colony in 1866					Part of South Africa
British New Guinea	1906	1884			1975	Part of Papua New Guinea
British Somaliland	1905	1884			1960	No
British Togoland	1914			1920	1956 to Gold Coast	Part of Ghana
British Virgin Islands	1786					British
Brunei		1888			1983	Yes
Burma	1824 expanded in 1852 and 1885. Ruled from India until 1937				1948	No
Bushire	1854				1971	No
Canada			1867			Yes

<u>Name</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Protectorate</u>	<u>Dominion</u>	<u>Mandate</u>	<u>Independence</u>	<u>Commonwealth</u>
Lower Canada	1763 Quebec colony divided in 1791 renamed Canada East in 1840		1867			Part of Canada
Upper Canada	1763 Quebec colony divided in 1791 renamed Canada West in 1840		1867			Part of Canada
Canton and Enderbury Islands	1936 - 1979 jointly with US				1979	Part of Kiribati
Cape Breton Island	1758 to Nova Scotia in 1820		1867			Part of Canada
Cape Colony	1795, 1806		1872, 1910 to South Africa			Part of South Africa
Cayman Islands	1670 from Jamaica until 1959					British
Ceylon	1796 expanded in 1802 and 1815				1948	Yes
Christmas Island	1945		1958 to Australia			Australian
Christmas Island (Pacific)					1979	Part of Kiribati
Cocos Islands	1857		1984 to Australia			Australian
Connecticut	1662				1783	No
Cook Islands	1888		1965			Yes
Coorg	1858				1947	Part of India
Cuba	1762 - 1763					No
Curacao	1807 - 1815					No
Cyprus	1914	1878			1960	Yes
Cyrenaica	1941 - 1951					No
Delaware	1704				1783	No

Name	Colony	Protectorate	Dominion	Mandate	Independence	Commonwealth
Demerara-Essequibo	1814, 1831 to British Guiana				1966	Part of Guyana
Dominica	1763				1978	Yes
Dutch East Indies						No
Dutch India	1858				1947	Part of India
Egypt	1882	1914	1922		1954	No
Eire/Ireland/Irish Free State	1801 (part of UK proper)		1922		1937	No
Ellice Islands	1916	1892			1978	Yes
Eritrea	1941				1952	No
Falkland Islands	1841	1833				British
Fernando Poo	1855 to Spain					No
Fiji	1874				1970	Yes
Florida	1763				1783 - to Spain	No
French Cameroons						Yes - Part of Cameroon
French India						Part of India
Gambia	1821 from Sierra Leone, 1888 by itself	1894 inland territory added			1965	Yes
Georgia	1752				1783	No
Gibraltar	1704, confirmed in 1713					British
Gilbert Islands	1916	1892			1979	Yes
Goa						Part of India
Gold Coast	1821 from Sierra Leone, 1874 by itself.	1830 Protectorate extended inland			1957	Yes
Goree	1663 - 1664, 1758 - 1763, 1779 - 1783, 1800 - 1817					No
Grenada	1763				1974	Yes

Name	Colony	Protectorate	Dominion	Mandate	Independence	Commonwealth
Guadeloupe	1759-1763,1794,1810-1816					No
Hawaii	1843	1794			1893	No
Heligoland	1807				1890 to Germany	No
Hirado						No
Howland Island	1886 - 1935					No
Hong Kong	1842 territory added in 1860 and 1898				1997 to China	No
India	1858		1947 to 1950		1947	Yes
Ionian Islands	1809				1864 to Greece	No
Iraq		1941 to 1945		1920	1932	No
Italian Somaliland	1941 - 1950					No
Jamaica	1809				1962	Yes
Jarvis Island	1889 - 1935					No
Kamaran Island	1915				1967	No
Kenya	1920	1895			1963	Yes
Kuwait		1899			1961	No
Labuan	1848, 1890 to North Borneo					Part of Malaysia
Lagos	1906				1960	Part of Nigeria
Leeward Islands	1671				1960	Yes
Lord Howe Island	1788		1855 to New South Wales			Yes
Madeira	1801 - 1814					No
Madras	1858				1947	Part of India
Maine	1691 to Massachussetts				1783	No
Malacca	1795 to 1816, 1826					Part of Malaysia
Malaya		1874			1957	Part of Malaysia

Name	Colony	Protectorate	Dominion	Mandate	Independence	Commonwealth
Maldiv Islands		1887			1965	Yes
Malta	1800, confirmed in 1814				1964	Yes
Martinique	1762-1763, 1793-1801, 1809-1814					No
Maryland					1783	No
Massachussetts	1691				1783	No
Mauritius	1810 confirmed in 1814				1968	Yes
Minorca	1708 confirmed in 1714				1783 to Spain	No
Montserrat	1663					British
Mosquito Coast		1655			1860	No
Mozambique						Yes
Natal	1843		1893, 1910 to South Africa			Part of South Africa
Nauru	1914			1919	1968	Yes
Nepal		1816			1923	No
Nevis	1663, 1882 joined with St. Christopher				1983	Part of St. Kitts
New Brunswick	1784		1854, 1867			Part of Canada
New Caledonia, Panama	1698 - 1700					No
Newfoundland	1713		1855, 1949 to Canada			Part of Canada
New Hampshire	1679				1783	No
New Hebrides	1906				1980	Yes
New Jersey	1738				1783	No
New York	1664				1783	No
New South Wales	1770		1855, 1901 to Australia			Part of Australia
New Zealand	1769, 1792, 1840		1907, 1931			Yes

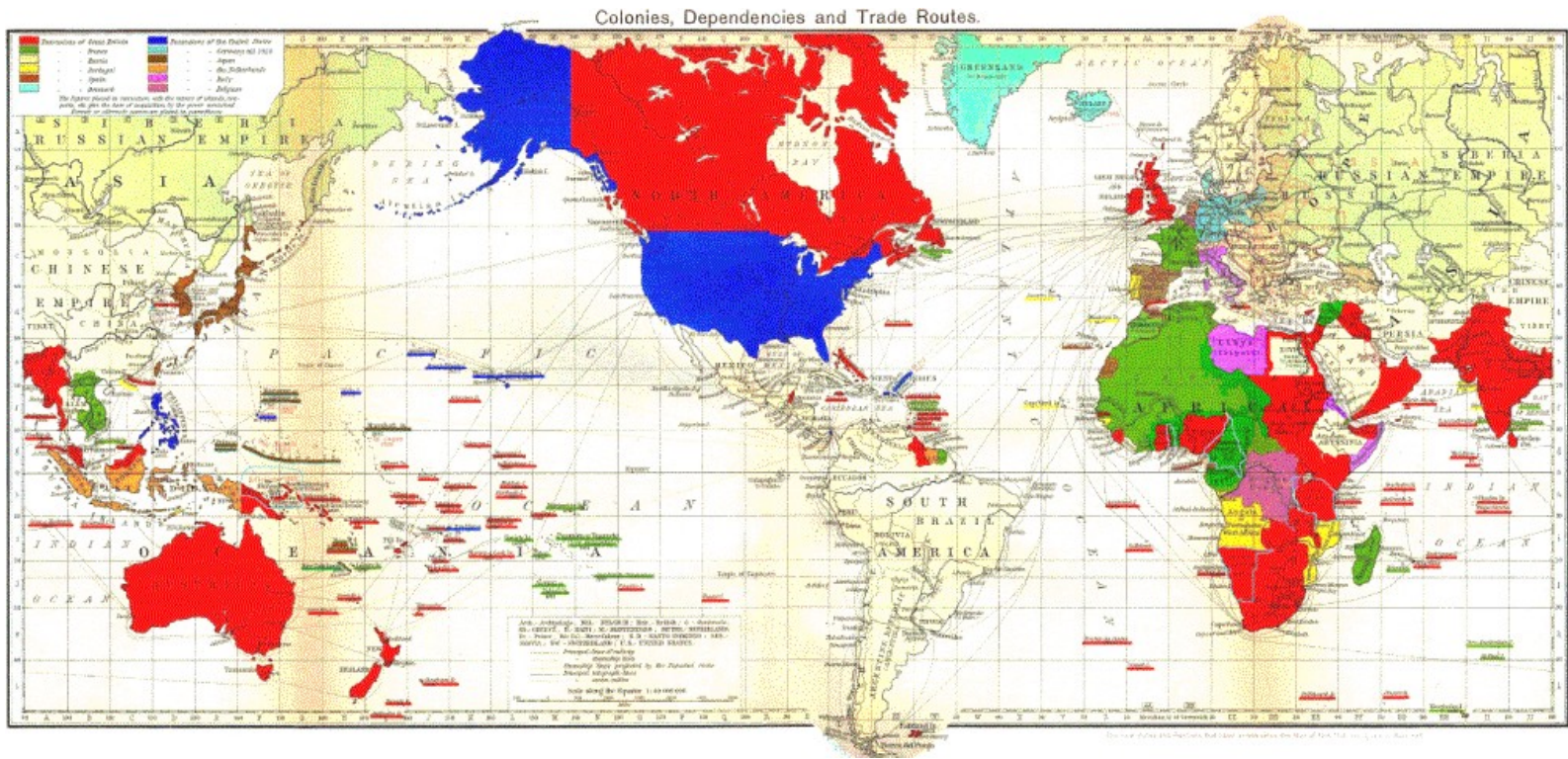
Name	Colony	Protectorate	Dominion	Mandate	Independence	Commonwealth
Niue	1901 to New Zealand	1900	1974			Yes
Nigeria	1900				1960	Yes
North Borneo Territory	1946	1881			1963 to Malaysia	Part of Malaysia
North Carolina	1729				1783	No
North West Frontier Province	1901				1947	Part of Pakistan
North West Territories	1869		1870 to Canada			Part of Canada
Northern Rhodesia	1924	1888			1964	Yes
Nova Scotia	1621 to 1632, 1713		1846, 1867 to Canada			Part of Canada
Nyasaland	1907	1891			1964	Yes
Ocean Island	1901				1979	Part of Kiribati
Oman (Muscat and Oman)		1800			1970	No
Orange Free State	1848 to 1854, 1900		1907, 1910 to South Africa			Part of South Africa
Palestine				1920	1948	No
Palmyra Atoll	1889				1898 to USA	No
Penang		1826			1957	Part of Malaysia
Pennsylvania					1783	No
Philippines	1762 - 1764					No
Pitcairn Island	1838					British
Prince Edward Island	1745 - 1748, 1758		1851, 1873 to Canada			Part of Canada
Prince Edward Islands	1776		1947 to South Africa			Part of South Africa
Pulo Condor Island						No
Punjab	1858		1937		1947	Part of India
Qatar		1916			1971	No
Quebec	1759		1841			Part of Canada

Name	Colony	Protectorate	Dominion	Mandate	Independence	Commonwealth
Queensland	1859		1901			Part of Australia
Redonda	1872 to Antigua				1981	Part of Antigua
Reunion	1810 - 1815, 1942 - 1945					No
Rhode Island	1663				1783	No
Rodriguez	1809, 1814 to Mauritius				1968	Part of Mauritius
Rupert's Land and North West Territories			1870 to Canada			Part of Canada
Saint Barthelemy	1758, 1779, 1781					No
Saint Croix and Saint Thomas	1625 - 1650, 1801 - 1802, 1807 - 1815					No
St Christopher	1663				1983	Yes
Saint Domingue, Haiti	1793 - 1798					No
Saint Eustatius	1665 - 1668, 1672 - 1682, 1690 - 1696, 1781, 1801 - 1802, 1810 - 1816					No
St Helena	1834					British
St Lucia	1778 to 1783, 1796, 1803 confirmed in 1814				1979	Yes
Saint Martin	1781, 1801 - 1802, 1810 - 1816					No
Saint Pierre and Miquelon	1713 - 1763, 1778 - 1783, 1793 - 1816					No
St Vincent	1762 to 1779, 1783				1979	Yes

<u>Name</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>Protectorate</u>	<u>Dominion</u>	<u>Mandate</u>	<u>Independence</u>	<u>Commonwealth</u>
Sabah	1801 - 1803, 1810 - 1816					Part of Malaysia
Sarawak	1946				1963	Part of Malaysia
Senegal	1758 - 1779, 1809 - 1817					No
Seychelles	1794, 1811 from Mauritius, 1888 by itself				1976	Yes
Sierra Leone	1807		1896 inland protectorates		1961	Yes
Sikkim		1890, 1918			1947	Part of India
Sind	1858				1947	Part of India
Singapore		1826			1965	Yes
Somalia	1941 - 1950					No
Solomon Islands		1893			1978	Yes
South Africa			1910		1961	Yes
South Australia	1834		1855, 1901 to Australia			Part of Australia
South Carolina	1729				1783	No
South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands	1908					British
South West Africa				1919	1960	Yes
Southern Rhodesia		1893	1923		1980	Withdrawn
Straits Settlement	1867	1858			1963	Part of Malaysia
Sudan	1898				1956	No
Suez Canal Zone	1881	1922			1956	No
Surat		1858			1947	Part of India
Surinam					1667 to Dutch	No
Swaziland		1890, 1906			1968	Yes
Tanganyika				1919	1961	Yes
Tangier	1662				1684	No

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Tasmania	1825		1856, 1901 to Australia			Part of Australia
Tobago	1762 to 1781, 1793 confirmed in 1814, joined with Trinidad 1888				1962	Part of Trinidad
Tokelau	1898	1889			1976	Yes
Tonga		1879, 1900			1970	Yes
Tranquebar (Danish India)	1801 - 1815, 1858				1947	Part of India
Transjordan				1920	1946	No
Transvaal	1877 to 1881, 1900		1906, 1910 to South Africa		1961	Part of South Africa
Trinidad	1797 confirmed in 1814, joined with Tobago 1888				1962	Yes
Tripolitania	1941 - 1950					No
Tristan da Cunha	1816, 1938 from St Helena					British
Trucial Oman		1887			1971	No
Turks and Caicos Islands	1766				1973	British
Uganda	1905	1894			1962	Yes
United Kingdom [Union of England, Wales (1534), Scotland (1707), Ireland (1801)]					Irish Free State 1922	Yes
Vancouver Island	1849		1866 to British Columbia			Part of Canada
Virginia	1624				1783	No
Victoria	1851		1855, 1901 to Australia			Part of Australia

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Walvis Bay	1878, 1884			to South West Africa 1919	1960	Part of South Africa
Weihaiwei	1898				1930 to China	No
Western Australia	1826		1890, 1901 to Australia			Part of Australia
Willoughby	1799 - 1802, 1804 - 1816					No
Windward Islands	1871 - 1960					Yes
Zanzibar		1890			1963	Part of Tanzania
Zululand	1878		1910 to South Africa			Part of South Africa



1920's Schoolroom Map of the World on Mercator's Projection showing the British Empire in the traditional red.

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