



**UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON**

**Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the future of
Commonwealth Studies at the University of London**

July 2021

Abbreviations

ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
CEIC	Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council
COVID	Corona virus disease
G20	An intergovernmental forum comprising 19 countries and the European Union.
HRC	Human Rights Consortium
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IALS	Institute of Advanced Legal Studies
ICwS	Institute of Commonwealth Studies
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
ILAS	Institute of Latin American Studies
KCL	King's College London
MA	Master of Arts
RLI	Refugee Law Initiative
SAS	School of Advanced Study
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
UCL	University College London
UoL	University of London

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Background

The *Committee of Inquiry into the future of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London* was established in December 2020 by the Vice Chancellor Professor Wendy Thomson. The Committee's establishment followed a very large number of protests at the proposal by the School of Advanced Study (SAS) to close the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICwS). This proposal originated as part of 'Transformation and Restructure of the School of Advanced Study' which was announced to SAS staff on 14 October 2020. The full proposal with respect to the ICwS can be found in **Appendix 1**.

Membership

The Rt. Hon. Sir Malcolm Rifkind KCMG QC, a former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the British Government, was appointed to Chair the Committee. After consultation between the Vice Chancellor and Sir Malcolm, the following persons were invited to join the Committee, reflecting Commonwealth diversity and their relevant knowledge and experience:

The Rt. Hon. The Lord [Paul] Boateng, PC DL	Former British High Commissioner to South Africa
Dr Anne Therese Gallagher AO	Director-General of the Commonwealth Foundation
Dr Nabeel Goheer	Assistant Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat
Professor Asha Singh Kanwar	President and CEO of the Commonwealth of Learning
The Hon. Michael Kirby AC CMG	Chancellor Emeritus of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia; Former Justice of the High Court of Australia
The Rt. Hon the Lord [Richard] Luce KG GCVO DL	Former Chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation, Former Vice Chancellor of the University of Buckingham
Dr Joanna Newman MBE	Chief Executive and Secretary General of the Association of Commonwealth Universities
Sir Ronald Sanders KCMG KCN AM	Ambassador of Antigua and Barbuda to the United States and the Organisation of American States and High Commissioner to Canada
Mr Stephen Twigg	Secretary-General: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)
Dr Conor Wyrer (Secretary)	Institute Manager, Institute of Historical Research.

Terms of Reference

At their first meeting, held on 21st January 2021, the members of the Committee considered draft Terms of Reference which were proposed by the University and, after amendments, confirmed them as follows:

- To consider future provision at the University of London for Commonwealth Studies;
- To recommend partnerships to support scholarship in this area;
- To identify potential viable sources of sustainable funding for Commonwealth Studies, beyond that which is available from the University or short-term research grants.

Approach

The Committee decided to adopt, as part of evidence it would consider, all submissions previously received by the University, regarding the proposal to close ICwS. Contact details of the Secretary of the Committee were posted on the University of London website, inviting submissions. Additionally, the ICwS used its networks and social media to publicise the fact that the Committee was inviting evidence. Due to the restrictions of the COVID-19 Pandemic, all meetings of the Committee were held virtually, including receiving oral evidence from several knowledgeable witnesses. The Committee also received written evidence from Lord Ahmad, the UK Government's Minister of State for South Asia and the Commonwealth. A full list of those who made oral or written submissions can be found in **Appendix 2**. Additionally, while not a formal part of the consultation process, an open forum to discuss the future of Commonwealth Studies in the context of the inquiry was convened by Committee members leading the Commonwealth Foundation, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the Association of Commonwealth Universities.

Chair's Foreword

In October 2020, the University of London announced its proposal to close its Institute of Commonwealth Studies as part of the University's perceived need to reduce its costs.

The Institute, created in 1949, is the only academic institute of its kind anywhere in the Commonwealth. The announcement resulted in an unexpected flood of representations from governments, academics and other concerned persons and institutions from throughout the Commonwealth asking the University to reconsider. The University agreed to suspend its decision and appointed a Committee of Inquiry to consider and respond on the future of the Institute. I was invited by the Vice-Chancellor to chair the Inquiry.

The Terms of Reference of the Inquiry, agreed between the Committee and the University, did not restrict the Committee's remit as to whether the Institute should continue or be closed, but addressed, also, the much wider question of the future of Commonwealth studies at the University. The result is a Report that not only recommends that the Institute should continue but that, in future, that it should have a much wider remit.

Commonwealth Studies can be traditionally understood as the study of empire, decolonisation, and the subsequent establishment of the Commonwealth as a post-colonial entity. Over the years, the Institute has covered these areas, alongside issues of human rights and refugee studies.

The Committee believes that a significant expansion of work dealing with contemporary Commonwealth issues is desirable and justified for the future of the Institute at the University of London. The Committee recommends that the Institute should, in future, work alongside Commonwealth institutions and organisations in addressing issues facing the Commonwealth. The Committee was unanimous and unequivocal in reaching this conclusion and making this Recommendation.

The Committee was greatly assisted, in this regard, by the oral evidence it received from the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and the Dean of the School of Advanced Study in which the Institute is situated. Neither the Vice-Chancellor nor the Dean referred to closure of the Institute. They indicated that if the Committee put forward persuasive reasons as to why the Institute should continue, they would welcome a much wider remit for the Institute's work than it has had in the past.

The new Institute which we are recommending would, of course, require a staffing and a leadership commensurate with its new responsibilities.

The Committee was asked by the University to consider the future funding of the Institute especially if it is to have a much wider remit. The Committee is firmly of the view that the University must continue to provide the core funding for the Institute as well as provide for at least some of the increased funding that will be needed to enable the institute to widen its remit. While the Committee does not have any responsibility either now, or in the future, for fund raising, it received evidence from a number of witnesses as to possible sources for new funding, both private and philanthropic. We would welcome such private funding, and this is reflected in our recommendations.

I would like to thank all my colleagues on the Committee for their commitment, energy and hard work. Because of the Covid pandemic the Committee was unable to meet in person and all our evidence sessions and deliberations have been online. I specially pay tribute to those of our colleagues based in Australia, Canada and the Caribbean who have had the added discomfort of disagreeable disruption in their normal lives as a consequence of different time zones that had to be taken into account in fixing the time of our evidence sessions and deliberations.

Finally, I would like to thank Conor Wyer, our indefatigable Secretary, who was responsible for the organisation of the Committee's meetings, arranged the presence of our oral witnesses, provided the Committee with the necessary background papers, and did all this while continuing with his responsibilities in the University's Institute of Historical Research. I would also wish to express the Committee's gratitude both to Conor Wyer and, in particular, to Sir Ronald Sanders, a member of the Committee, for their impressive drafting skills used in preparing a Draft Final Report which the Committee has approved.

Sir Malcolm Rifkind

1. Introduction

We accepted the invitation of the Vice Chancellor of the University of London to join a Committee of Inquiry into the future of Commonwealth Studies at the University with no preconceived notions, except sensitivity to the difficult financial challenges faced by a university we deeply respect, and high regard for the significant achievements of the Commonwealth and optimism about its still untapped potential to make a difference in crucial global affairs.

No support for closure of ICwS from submissions

We were impressed that none of the 78 written submissions or evidence from 11 witnesses that we received, supported the closure of the ICwS. All the submissions regarded the Institute as important to the standing of the University of London as an institution of academic excellence and considered that an enhanced Institute could contribute even more to their 72-years of valuable association. Many proposals were made concerning the ways in which work of the Institute could be widened, adding both academic value and further revenues to the University.

The notions of reducing the Institute to a ‘Unit’ or spreading ‘Commonwealth Studies’ throughout the University’s other Institutes were critically considered. But it was clear, from the testimony provided to us, that these alternatives did not satisfy the importance attached to Commonwealth studies nor did they present as attractive a vehicle as the Institute for making such studies relevant to research and policy development in practical areas of concern to the contemporary Commonwealth. Our view on this matter was bolstered by the written evidence we received from the UK Minister of State for South Asia and the Commonwealth, Lord Ahmad, who emphasised ‘the important role the Institute had played in fostering a greater, particularly a contemporary understanding, of the Commonwealth, both within the FCDO and in the wider world.... [and] the support and expertise which ICwS staff have contributed on foreign policy issues.’

All living former Commonwealth Secretaries-General value ICwS

Noteworthy is that all four of the living former Secretaries-General of the Commonwealth testified to the University of London’s “indisputable importance” within the Commonwealth, proclaiming that “the beating heart of that relationship is the Institute of Commonwealth Studies”. They made the telling point that the Institute’s work is valued throughout the Commonwealth and speaks to a United Kingdom outside the European Union, seeking a new direction as ‘global Britain.’ “It is”, they argued, “central to the global imperative to rise above resurgent nationalism and (to) reinvigorate the forces of multilateralism and international cooperation.” It is clear from their more than 40 years of collective experience that the official Commonwealth places great value on the past work and future potential of the ICwS. The current Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, the Rt. Hon. The Baroness Scotland of Asthal, shares these views of her distinguished predecessors.

Previous reviews consistent in support of ICwS

Further, in reviewing the analyses that have been conducted on Commonwealth studies in the past, particularly the 1996 report of the Commission on Commonwealth Studies¹ appointed by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, we were struck by the consistent position adopted

¹*Learning from Each Other: Commonwealth Studies For the 21st Century*, Final Report of the Commission on Commonwealth Studies, June 1996, Commonwealth Secretariat, London

by each of them that closure of the ICwS would have adverse consequences for the world of scholarly enquiry and would be potentially damaging for Commonwealth cohesion more generally.

Commonwealth studies: a window to the world

Repeatedly, we heard testimony, including from the Advisory Board to the ICwS, that “Commonwealth Studies” should not be narrowly restricted to Commonwealth countries and Commonwealth history but should be viewed as a ‘window to the world’, bringing Commonwealth experience to bear on global issues. Among the new areas of activity that were proposed are: mainstream teaching and research at taught masters’ and research degree levels in specific areas of Commonwealth Studies such as governance, conflict resolution, negotiation, diplomacy, human rights and development; providing research to institutions and governments; training for Commonwealth diplomats; widening current outreach services, including public and audience specific lectures, seminars, conferences, and policy formulation and implementation. We weighed these proposals, giving them careful attention including the implications both for financing and for the University’s future income.

Commonwealth Charter provides essential guidance for an invigorated ICwS

In considering our task, we took account of the Charter of the Commonwealth which was adopted by governments and embraced by civil society in 2013.² It is our view that, in all aspects of its work, the ICwS should be firmly focused on advancing the principles and ideals of the Commonwealth as set out in the Charter. The first declaration in the Charter could well serve as a guide for the work in which the ICwS could be beneficially involved:

“Recognising that in an era of changing economic circumstances and uncertainty, new trade and economic patterns, unprecedented threats to peace and security, and a surge in popular demands for democracy, human rights and broadened economic opportunities, the potential of and need for the Commonwealth – as a compelling force for good and as an effective network for co-operation and for promoting development – has never been greater”.

ICwS not a financial drain on the University

We were very conscious of a declaration from the School of Advanced Study (SAS) of the University in October 2020 that recent financial challenges have led the School to consider the portfolio of Institutes again. The SAS proposals include the closure of the ICwS and the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), with key academic initiatives and staff transferred to other parts of the School.

However, we also took account of the fact that SAS’s proposal did not claim that the ICwS was financially unsustainable. Indeed, when we examined the finances of the Institute, we were encouraged to see that not only was it paying its own way, but in the financial year 2019-2020, it had returned a surplus. We were further reassured of the Institute’s viability by the news, during our deliberations, that the Institute had been awarded a research grant of £600,000 by the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the project: The Windrush Scandal in a trans-national and Commonwealth Context.

We were mindful that the location of the Human Rights Consortium (HRC) and the Refugee Law Initiative (RLI) in the ICwS contributes to its financial wellbeing. In this regard, we were heartened that the leadership of both operations acknowledged that while their work is wider than the Commonwealth, it does have relevance to Commonwealth countries and, in

² The idea of a Charter emerged from the work of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which submitted its proposal to the 2011 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Perth, Australia.

any event, they were content to remain within the ICwS, recognising no particular benefit in shifting to another Institute within the University.

It is against this background that we make recommendations in fulfilment of our terms of reference to:

- Consider future provision at the University of London for Commonwealth Studies
- Recommend partnerships to support scholarships in this area; and
- Identify potential viable sources of sustainable funding for Commonwealth Studies, beyond that which is available from the University on short-term research grants.

2. Main Recommendations

The Committee makes the following recommendations to the University:

- That the proposal to close the Institute of Commonwealth Studies which included moving the Human Rights Consortium and Refugee Law Initiative, should be withdrawn by the School of Advanced Study.
- That the Institute should, in future, work alongside Commonwealth Institutions and organisations in addressing contemporary issues facing the Commonwealth.
- That following Professor Murphy's announcement that he has reduced his role at ICwS to take up the position of Director of History & Policy, the Institute should seek the appointment of a full-time Director with the appropriate qualifications to lead the expanded Institute.
- That the University and School continue to provide core funding to such a level as to allow the Institute to expand its activities to build upon the opportunities and partnerships identified in this report.
- That the constitution of the Advisory Council of the Institute be reviewed so as to enable greater representation of Commonwealth organisations and other groups relevant to the work of the Institute, while also providing a formal means by which the advisory groups of HRC and RLI can be represented at Institute level.
- That a ICwS Development Working Group be established to support the Institute in growing philanthropic income and be specifically tasked with coordinating the preparation of funding applications to Trusts and Foundations.

3. The case for Commonwealth Studies

We reached our recommendations based on the testimony and evidence provided to us, which proclaimed that Commonwealth Studies matter because the Commonwealth matters in both a historical and contemporary context, and because the Commonwealth experience is rich in lessons that benefit the world now and can continue to do so in the future.

ICwS born with the Modern Commonwealth.

We were continuously reminded that, unlike any other international organisation, the Commonwealth is a free association of sovereign states not bound by treaty or drawn by compulsion but willingly linked by reason of their individual and collective interest. This has been so since 1949 when the Modern Commonwealth was born, spawning many institutions in support of its voluntary but vital objectives. Significant among these institutions is the ICwS, created in the same year as the Modern Commonwealth within the academic halls of the University of London.

Over the 72 years of the Modern Commonwealth, the unique free association of its membership which grew from eight in 1949 to 54 today, has tackled global issues from the unique perspective of countries that share a common history, common laws (in most cases), shared cultures, similar political and judicial systems and a common language. This shared experience has empowered Commonwealth states to develop approaches to challenges which were global in their reach and their consequences. Among these are: racism, environment, development, human rights, democracy, rule of law, conflict resolution, the vulnerability of small states, debt and poverty, vulnerable minorities and more recently, refugees.

Non-Governmental Commonwealth backs ICwS

Leaders of non-governmental Commonwealth Organisations – of which there are more than eighty - were keen to tell us that, while inter-governmental relations are at the head of the Commonwealth, its heart and soul comprise a vigorous network of civil society organisations that collaborate across every continent of the world, embracing every religion, every race and every culture in pursuit of setting and achieving high professional standards that benefit their communities. These include human rights, media freedom, health, education, and law. They were firm in their position that ICwS “is a national and international centre of excellence for policy-relevant research, research facilitation and teaching”.

Commonwealth: a global leader on key issues

The pioneering work of the Commonwealth has educated other states and institutions in the global community, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the G20, and contributed immeasurably to seeking and formulating solutions to global challenges.

We are aware that, throughout the last seven decades, Commonwealth Studies have been integral to this process, providing research and analysis and producing scholars who serve the Commonwealth and the world. The University of London was especially strengthened both in its attractiveness to students (from the UK, the Commonwealth and the world) and in the value of its education, by its Commonwealth Studies carried out under the umbrella of the ICwS.

Commonwealth Studies: an underutilised resource

We recall the words of the distinguished Commonwealth Educator, Professor Thomas H.B. Symons,³ who, in his letter transmitting to the Commonwealth Secretary-General in 1996, the seminal report of the Commission on Commonwealth Studies,⁴ which he chaired, said:

“There is an urgent need to bring Commonwealth studies up to date, reflecting the evolution of the Commonwealth into a truly polycentric association, in order that teaching, research and skilling can reflect the modern Commonwealth, with all its challenges and possibilities. We see ample scope for such studies to provide useful intellectual underpinning for the policy-making process at national, regional and pan-Commonwealth levels. We believe that the potential is too great, and that the need for expertise and dissemination of knowledge is too pressing, to let pass this timely opportunity for a new approach to Commonwealth studies.”

We believe that, while some of this work has been done, much more can be done. The opportunity now exists for the ICwS to fulfil *the potential that remains viable*.

ICwS not a financial drain on the University

We became convinced that the output of the ICwS, which pays for itself as presently structured and is not a drain on the University’s funds, can now be broadened and strengthened to make it even more relevant to the Commonwealth, and to the world through the Commonwealth. In the process, the Institute could strengthen its financial viability while continuing to contribute to enhance the academic and research standing of the University.

ICwS stands as a symbol of British commitment to the Commonwealth

We believe that, as the birth of the ICwS, in the year of the birth of the Modern Commonwealth, sent a message of the significance of the emerging Commonwealth; so, would its shutting down by the University of London send a message of Britain’s waning commitment to it: a message we do not believe it is Britain’s wish to send. Certainly, it is not one that any of us would urge at this stage of world history.⁵

³Thomas Henry Bull Symons CC OOnt FRSC was a Canadian professor and author. He was the founding president of Trent University, serving as its president and vice-chancellor from 1961 to 1972. He served as chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission from 1975 to 1978, where he helped lead major advancements, particularly for the LGBT community.

⁴Op.Cit, Note 1, Letter of Transmittal to Commonwealth Secretary-General, p.1

⁵ See, for instance the letter to the Vice-Chancellor on 2 November 2020 from Lord Ahmad in which he stated: “I am aware of the important role the Institute has played in fostering a greater understanding, particularly a contemporary understanding, of the Commonwealth both within the FCDO and in the wider world. This is particularly important at a time when the UK is seeking to deepen its relationship with the Commonwealth following its departure from the European Union.”

4. Enhancing the Institute of Commonwealth Studies

We considered carefully and deeply ways in which the ICwS could be enhanced as an integral part of the University of London. In doing so, full account was taken of the submissions we received which overwhelmingly favoured its retention as well as an observation made to us by the Vice Chancellor that the University “would want assurance...that there is something distinctive about Commonwealth Studies, that it can make a contribution, that's useful to the real world”.

What constitutes Commonwealth Studies?

In this regard, we deliberated on what constitutes ‘Commonwealth Studies’ and agreed that the criteria should not be limited to the study of the Commonwealth itself - institutions, networks, and history – but should be widened to embrace the unique nature of Commonwealth multilateralism, including the use of Commonwealth experiences to help guide solutions to global challenges, in areas such as racism, climate change, conflict resolution, the plight of small states in the global economy and the present international environment. That view was overwhelmingly affirmed by the hundreds of individuals, many of them young scholars from across the Commonwealth, who participated in the Open Forum that discussed the future of Commonwealth Studies with specific reference to this inquiry.⁶

Widening the activity of ICwS

In his evidence to us, Professor Philip Murphy, the Director of ICwS, spoke about the obstacles to implementing the recommendations of the 1996 report of the Commission on Commonwealth Studies to which we referred earlier. He particularly referred to the logistical and financial challenges *at the time* of hosting and supporting networks across the Commonwealth.

Significantly, he concluded that the Institute’s use of technology in the past year, because of the COVID pandemic, has completely transformed the way the Institute now carries out its work. For instance, the financial restraints on the ICwS supporting Commonwealth-wide events and networks, were now more easily overcome. We believe that the ICwS can build upon this virtual breakthrough to help establish itself as a centre of the many non-governmental Commonwealth networks.

We are in agreement that for the ICwS to serve a contemporary purpose, it needs a contemporary focus. Without losing its independence, it must align itself to the Commonwealth as a group of states, organisations and civil society bodies and have greater involvement in contributing to debates around issues that are of concern to the Commonwealth itself and to the Commonwealth in the wider world. In other words, while the ICwS should continue to generate its own research and teaching on Commonwealth issues (as it does in partnership with other Institutions), its emphasis should be on building a unique position between academia and the official organisations of the Commonwealth.

⁶ Critical Conversations: Open Forum A Future for Commonwealth Studies? <https://commonwealthfoundation.com/events/a-future-for-commonwealth-studies/>

New Areas of Focus

Some examples of how ICwS could cultivate its unique niche, including through supporting networks, have been suggested to the us by witnesses. These include:

- Greatly enhancing the Institute's virtual conferencing and online technology to facilitate dialogue and collaboration across the Commonwealth.
- Working with Commonwealth institutions and networks to promote dialogue at a grassroots level.
- Expanding its research capability from its traditional, strong base in the Commonwealth's history and identity, to become a think-tank type generator of new ideas for the modern Commonwealth as a geo-political entity, providing thought leadership and policy solutions for contemporary Commonwealth issues.
- Helping advance Commonwealth negotiations on critical issues such as Climate Change.
- Greater engagement with civil society organisations, legal networks, academic institutions, scientific bodies, and human rights institutions in respect of Commonwealth values and aspirations, as stated in the *Charter of the Commonwealth*.

Marketable Projects

Additionally, we believe that the ICwS should position itself as the centre of Commonwealth networks, creating projects that could be marketed. Among these could be:

- Providing on-line training and skills development for Commonwealth civil servants on areas of identified need. (For example, training on climate change and trade negotiations could be especially beneficial for small and vulnerable Member States).
- Organising and preparing background papers for seminars involving investors, government representatives on specific areas of trade and investment for regions of the Commonwealth.
- Preparing background papers and policy briefs for Commonwealth government participation in events such as climate change conferences.
- Providing executive education for potential Commonwealth leaders, policy makers and organisations within the Commonwealth.

In summary, we concluded that the ICwS should –

1. Have greater engagement with the contemporary issues of the Commonwealth to build an interface between government and whole-of-Commonwealth policy and research.
2. Build its capacity to contribute in practical ways to training and policy research that could strengthen the capacity of Commonwealth institutions and governments.
3. Maintain its independence as an academic entity, while seizing opportunities to contribute to the work of Commonwealth as an organisation that is valued by its member states, professionals and civil society organisations.
4. Build on its use of technology to develop and strengthen networks for income generation from on-line teaching, offering modular courses for (a) professional development and (b) on contemporary issues that *improve the knowledge base of participants*.
5. Develop the capacity to take advantage of remunerated consulting and contracting opportunities that arise in the Commonwealth system and beyond.

6. Continue to address, as we were informed it has been doing for some years, the study of specific Commonwealth issues relating to human rights and sexual orientation/gender identity.⁷

Need for Market Research for new activities by ICwS

We acknowledge that market research and testing would have to be conducted to establish the viability of some of the ideas set out above in what is a competitive field. However, we are encouraged by testimony that the Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth of Learning are working with many universities, which are earning from paid services, in all five regions of the Commonwealth.

Entrepreneurial and other qualities which will be required in ICwS leadership

Very significantly, we concluded that ICwS should adopt an entrepreneurial approach to identifying and marketing the range of services it could provide. Such an approach would require leadership which, while grounded in scholarship, has the capacity to build strategic relationships and partnerships, allowing the ICwS to provide services for which it would be remunerated. In this regard and taking account of the much wider role for the ICwS which we are recommending, it will be necessary for the University to carefully consider the skills and qualities that will be required to lead staff at the ICwS in future.

5. Finances and Funding

We were very mindful of - and empathetic to - the financial challenges facing the University of London at present. We recognise that the Vice Chancellor and the Dean of SAS are grappling with loss of revenues, due primarily to the COVID-19 pandemic that caused a severe decline in income from student accommodation.

Sympathetic to University's financial problems: Closing ICwS not an answer

While sympathetic to the University's need to restructure and reform to effect savings, we concluded that closing the ICwS and transferring its academic initiatives and staff to other parts of the SAS, would not cure the problem of the University's finances, and, indeed, is not materially beneficial as a cost-saving device.

The University and ICwS benefit each other

Based on all the evidence we received, and our own summation, closing the ICwS would result in a greater cost to the University since it would damage its standing as a premier institution not only in Britain but also in the entire Commonwealth. The University of London, particularly since 1949 with the advent of the ICwS, has been the leading exponent of historic multi-disciplinary studies and contemporary issues, working with academic colleagues in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific and other universities throughout the Commonwealth on research, dialogue, conferences, and other areas of common academic interest. Further, throughout the 19th and early 20th century, London has attracted to the University many tens of thousands of students, lawyers, scientists and others from throughout the Commonwealth. London's transformation into what is now the most multiracial of all the world's great capital cities, with an elected Mayor of Asian origin, has made London not only a great British City but also a Commonwealth one – with the University of London as a beneficiary. That value cannot be discounted, nor can it be replaced.

⁷ Funding on these issues is sometimes available from international donors and institutions (such as The Global Fund against AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, the FCDO and the European Union) and this should be explored.

ICwS is paying its way and could perform better

We received a report from the University of London, outlining the financial challenges facing the University at present. This report also presented the ICwS financial position, within the context of the SAS. While it was clear that the University is confronting considerable financial problems, we did not feel that a financial case for closing the Institute was made. As we said in the Introduction to this report, “when we examined the finances of the Institute, we were encouraged to see that not only was it paying its own way, but in the financial year 2019-2020, it had returned a surplus”. To be fair, the original SAS proposal (Appendix 1 of this report), did not claim that the ICwS was financially unsustainable. It cast the case for closure on academic and intellectual grounds, such as enhancing interdisciplinarity and developing key projects with law and history. After analysis, we came to the view that such interdisciplinarity exists in practice at ICwS, and that ICwS should remain as part of SAS to greater facilitate interdisciplinary cooperation.

6. The role of the Human Rights Consortium and the Refugee Law Initiative

We are aware that the Human Rights Consortium (HRC) and the Refugee Law Initiative (RLI) contribute substantially to the financial viability of the ICwS. We also recognise that while the work of the RLI is not wholly related to the Commonwealth, the area provides a rich vein for case studies and analysis, and for attracting students hoping to undertake studies in the growing field of refugee law, rights and obligations. We also note that HRC originated in a previously extant Centre for Human Rights at ICwS before the SAS established it as an interdisciplinary initiative among its then twelve institutes. Similarly, we recall that, from its inception, RLI has been based at ICwS where it has enjoyed a good working relationship with the Institute’s leadership.

Human Rights Consortium

We heard evidence from the Co-Directors of the HRC, Dr Corrine Lennox and Professor Damian Short. They expressed concern about the loss of the uniquely interdisciplinary nature of the MA that HRC offers and the likely adverse impact on its marketing were it to be relocated to an Institute dedicated to the study of Law, such as the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (IALS). They drew comparisons to competing courses in the London Colleges which are predominantly taught from a legal perspective.

They also made the point that many PhD students take on Commonwealth case studies in their research projects and the academic staff rely upon ICwS fellows to provide additional supervision, subject specialism, and support to research students in their work. This interdisciplinary base, upon which research students draw to enhance their work, would be difficult to replicate at IALS.

Refugee Law Initiative

Professor David Cantor spoke with us about the work of the Refugee Law Initiative (RLI) which, despite its name, has expanded in focus to be more interdisciplinary. The RLI offers a successful MA in Refugee Protection and Forced Migration Studies, which it offers with University of London Worldwide. While observing that much of RLI’s work does not involve the Commonwealth, he, and colleagues in RLI, have no strong objection to being based at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies but were equally relaxed about staying at ICwS.

Conclusions regarding HRC, RLI and ICwS

Against this background, we came to the following conclusions:

- The work of the HRC is highly relevant to the study of the Commonwealth and therefore should remain within the ICwS structure, given that the academic and intellectual argument clearly supports this view. The evidence provided revealed that there is unease about the impact of moving to the IALS due to the well-established areas of law in which it specialises, and the lack of practitioners relevant to Human Rights within IALS.
- Uprooting the successful master's programmes of HRC and RLI from the intellectual infrastructure in which they emerged at ICwS and where they are flourishing, is highly risky. We urge that the SAS builds upon this strength rather than trying to replicate it elsewhere.
- The future of the ICwS will rely on attracting funding to support many of the proposed new areas of activity. In this connection, an appearance of financial instability would likely adversely impact fundraising. Therefore, since, in practice, the HRC and the RLI are functioning well within ICwS and contributing to its financial stability, we recommend that they should both remain there. The relocation of the RLI should, in our view, not be reconsidered until, at least, the other major changes we are proposing for ICwS take effect.

7. New revenue possibilities for ICwS

Based on our own experiences and the submissions made to us, we believe that, alongside continuing the existing taught programmes offered by the Institute, there is scope for further developing professional courses and executive training targeting Commonwealth diplomats and officials. The University may find helpful models in the 'Executive Education Programmes' of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, the Programmes on Negotiation, Leadership, Diplomacy and Mediation offered on-line by the Harvard Law School as well as the modular programmes offered by the Strand Group, and also those currently under development within the School of Government, at King's College London (KCL).

Although market research would be required to determine the type and range of courses that could be sustainable at ICwS, we would recommend courses which offer practical training on an elective model, where credits could be gained towards University of London degree programmes. The existing experience of ICwS in distance learning programmes will be of considerable benefit in helping to develop such courses.

We are fortified in our conclusion on this matter by the evidence given by Professor Mary Stiasny when we learnt about possible partnerships that the Institute could develop with the University of London Worldwide and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), to contribute towards the existing MA in Global Diplomacy. The MA offers various study pathways, and it *may* be possible for a Commonwealth pathway to be developed.

Other Possible Sources of Funds

Research Income

We accept that research income provides a modest contribution to the operational costs of running ICwS. However, we also recognise that research grants enhance the Institute's reputation, and this can be leveraged to attract other sources of income, for instance philanthropic income and commercial sponsorship. We note that ICwS has a particularly good track record in attracting research grant income, and we encourage its leadership to maintain and enhance this success.

Philanthropic Income

We believe there are possibilities for generating income from philanthropy - individual donors, Trusts and Foundations. Acknowledging that such income streams will not support operational costs, we, nonetheless, recognise the benefits for specific projects and initiatives that would enhance the standing of both the ICwS and the University.

Professorial Posts

The Committee believe that in the context of recommendations it is making in this Report, fundraising for a Professorial Post in Commonwealth Studies should be immediately explored. The Committee feels that that such a post could help leverage considerable financial support, if named after an individual whose commitment to the Commonwealth is widely acknowledged. The ICwS has had previous success in this respect, with its Chair named in honour of Emeka Anyaoku. We have estimated the cost of sustaining such a post for 10 years at an investment of £2 million, and to fund the post indefinitely, between £5 and £7.5 million.

Alumni and Friends Contributions

Encouraged by the success of such a strategy elsewhere, we are persuaded that the development of an Alumni and Friends type scheme, could generate a consistent revenue stream for the ICwS. While it might generate a modest amount of annual income to be used by the ICwS towards core activities, such schemes have a greater purpose in allowing alumni, visiting and research fellows and others to reciprocate the benefits the ICwS gave to them. The examples that exist suggest that alongside annual membership fees or contributions to an Annual Fund, there is the added possibility of named bursaries, legacies and other major donations being given to the Institute.

Establishment of a Development Working Group

We advise that a Development Working Group should be established to support the ICwS leadership in the task of identifying and approaching possible sources of funding. Such a committee should be a sub-set of the Institute's management structure and include persons with the requisite skills.

8. Networks and Partnerships to support scholarship

We were asked in our terms of reference “to recommend partnerships to secure scholarship in this area”. We take “in this area” to mean Commonwealth Studies as we defined it in section 4 of this report: “Enhancing the Institute of Commonwealth Studies”.

Using this as the contextual basis for our proposals, we were conscious that ICwS has limited academic capacity, as it presently stands, to expand teaching and training programmes in a substantial way. However, it could develop partnerships and alliances with other institutions to support the opportunities for scholarship that it could provide.

Partnership Opportunities

We list below a few of the agencies with which ICwS could partner, in specific areas:

- There is scope for collaboration with SOAS and University of London Worldwide in providing Commonwealth-specific content for their MA Degree in Global Diplomacy (see, Sections 5 of this report, “Finance and Funding” where this avenue is particularly discussed).
- The International School of Government at King’s College, London is planning a new Commonwealth Civil Service Training programme, with which the ICwS could collaborate.
- The potential exists for collaboration with the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) in two areas: (i) to organise and manage online training programmes for universities in Commonwealth countries on relevant topics such as gender violence, human trafficking, immigration and refugees: and (ii) to collaborate on studies and policy development on current issues, including: the impact of COVID-19 on skills needs; post-pandemic economic recovery; and preparation for a future pandemic.
- The Commonwealth of Learning, whose President and Chief Executive Officer is a member of our Committee, has indicated readiness to work jointly with ICwS in promoting learning for sustainable development through the use of distance learning and technologies.
- ICwS could collaborate with the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies in proposing to the Commonwealth Secretariat training in Commonwealth countries in a range of areas, including training in the financial services sector for bankers and regulators to counter money laundering and terrorism financing; legislative drafting; and penal reform particularly in relation to juveniles.
- Working with other SAS Institutes, ICwS could contribute to the reform of Commonwealth-wide school curricula, addressing in particular the public understanding of the strength and diversity of the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth Studies and Business Development

We note that the 1996 Report of the Commission on Commonwealth Studies had recommended that “A study should be commissioned, if possible with private sector support, to chart the ways in which business enterprises may benefit from programmes in

Commonwealth studies. Such a study might be sponsored by the Commonwealth Association of Business Organisations in conjunction with the proposed Association for Commonwealth Studies”.⁸ We have found no evidence that action was taken on this proposal, but we believe that the time is ripe for it to be resuscitated and implemented, particularly as businesses in Commonwealth countries are being challenged or displaced by external forces in their own markets and within the Commonwealth as a whole.

Market research to assess the market for such initiatives will be important and we would encourage ICwS to consider working with the Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council (CEIC) in identifying strategic opportunities.

Advisory Council: a role in building partnerships

We have identified here a few areas where the ICwS could partner with other Commonwealth institutions. The list and the subject matters are not exhaustive. We suggest that a revamped Advisory Council, which currently has responsibility to advise on strategic activities of the ICwS, could further explore, with the leadership of the Institute, a plan for building partnerships on a continuous basis.

9. Conclusion

We came to the task of inquiring into the future of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London determined to hear from - and to listen to - as many persons and organisations who value both the University of London and the Commonwealth. We saw an important part of our role as taking account of the new strategic priorities of SAS; the financial challenges which now face the University not because of any policy decisions, but primarily due to a loss of revenues resulting from the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic; and the views of persons and organisations who know well the importance of Commonwealth Studies and the role played by the ICwS over the last 72 years.

London is an important Commonwealth centre. It is the home of the Secretariat of the Commonwealth and many more Commonwealth inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations. The University’s location in London gives it a special responsibility to place emphasis on the Commonwealth, and on the ICwS as an important Institute of the University.

The Commonwealth remains vibrant, diverse and relevant. The Commonwealth's future - building on the firm foundation set by HM the Queen, as Head of the Commonwealth, to be succeeded by HRH the Prince of Wales - is assured. A strengthened and reinvigorated ICwS should be at the heart of a global network of Commonwealth scholars: a network that reflects and embraces the richness and diversity of our members. The University of London, with its proud tradition as a trailblazer for innovation and inclusion is the right home for the ICwS. With the support of the University, a reinvigorated and refocused ICwS will be well-placed to play its role in helping to prepare the Commonwealth for the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

⁸Ibid, recommendation 41, p.51

Appendix 1 - Proposal for the Closure of ICwS by the School of Advanced Study

The School is committed to working with, and for, disciplinary communities across the Humanities and we recognise the success of the SAS Institutes in doing this. The School will continue to work through its Institutes. However, in future it will need to operate much more as a single entity, and we have a number of exciting cross-school initiatives in the pipeline.

Since our foundation twenty-five years ago, the portfolio of Institutes has changed many times. As some have been closed or merged, new ones have been created. Our new strategy has led us to reconsider the portfolio again, and we propose redistributing some activities between Institutes and across the School, with implications for two existing Institutes.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies

The study of the Commonwealth has changed significantly since the ICWS was formed in 1949, and our engagement with issues surrounding the Commonwealth – both its past and its future – needs to change. The School's unique ability to draw on the expertise of its disciplines – history, literature, philosophy, cultures, arts, languages, and law – provides a distinctively new interdisciplinary platform to talk about the Commonwealth.

The development of its key projects in law and history

Our work in refugee law and in human rights, in decolonisation, and in Black History deserve further investment and growth, and a different configuration of the School will maximise their potential, their impact, and their reach.

We propose to move our refugee law and human rights initiatives (and all the staff) to the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, a more natural academic home, which is already the base for the Refugee Law Clinic. This will provide better, more focused support to the academics currently associated with these projects. Here, they will be able to work more easily alongside other specialists – particularly in media freedoms, social justice and environmental change – ensuring a global framework for current work on the Commonwealth. We anticipate that this new configuration will allow us to develop Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) bids to ensure that our research addresses the challenges faced by developing countries. Our refugee law and human rights initiatives make critical policy interventions and represent our continued engagement with live issues affecting the Commonwealth and its future.

The Commonwealth has an important and complex past, and the School of Advanced Study will continue to reflect on this through the Institute of Historical Research. Research on the legacies of colonialism, empire, and decolonisation will be continued at the IHR, building on the IHR's current work with key partners on decolonising the history curriculum in the UK and curating key resources for research in these areas (library guides, events, and digital projects). In particular, the IHR will invest further in Black British History, in line with the IHR's strategy launched last year. The Directors of the Institutes of Advanced Legal Studies and Historical Research respectively will be responsible for driving these initiatives forward.

Interdisciplinary initiatives that better engage with the cultures of the Commonwealth and its meaning in the present

The complexities and meanings of the Commonwealth deserve examination from multi-disciplinary perspectives, and this is better delivered through cross-School, high impact initiatives and events that make best use of the rich insights that can be drawn from across the humanities. These initiatives will be led by the Dean's Office.

As part of our commitment to this area, the School will invest in a post to join existing work across the School and Senate House Library – for example, work in Black History in IHR, the African Writers Series and Black British Writing initiatives in IES, and across our library collections, all with untapped potential.

From 2021, SAS will convene an annual cross-disciplinary Commonwealth conference to coincide with Commonwealth Day. This event will explore the cultural connections and global challenges across the Commonwealth nations. The conference will draw out debates on global challenges and opportunities that face the Commonwealth, and its historical legacy issues, alongside an exploration of the cultural connections between the UK and Commonwealth countries. This part of the conference will include artistic presentations and reflections on the cultural meaning of the Commonwealth.

Drawing on our expertise in the relationship between historical record, memory and the importance of storytelling, we will hold annual witness seminars to recollect and explore the rich and diverse histories of the Commonwealth.

Redistributing existing activity in ICwS, and dissolving the ICwS central infrastructure, provides a sustainable basis for its key academic projects and a reinvigorated environment for interdisciplinary initiatives to flourish.

Appendix 2

Dates of Meetings

Meeting	Date	Note
Meeting 1	21 January 2021	Preliminary Meeting
Meeting 2	26 February 2021	Witnesses: Jo Fox Philip Murphy
Meeting 3	10 March 2021	Witnesses: Wendy Thomson David Cantor
Meeting 4	24 March 2021	Witnesses: Corrine Lennox Damien Short
Meeting 5	14 April 2021	Preliminary Discussion Meeting
Meeting 6	21 April 2021	Witnesses: James Manor Peter Williams Lord Howell
Meeting 7	13 May 2021	Witness: Mary Stiasny
Meeting 9	9 June 2021	Discussion
Meeting 10	16 June 2021	Discussion
Meeting 11	22 June 2021	Discussion
Meeting 12	29 June 2021	Witness: Andrew Thompson and Discussion on Draft Report
Meeting 13	22 July 2021	Consideration of Written Evidence by Lord Ahmad and discussion to agree Final Report

List of Witnesses

Name	Title
Professor Jo Fox	Pro Vice-Chancellor (Research & Public Engagement) UoL and Dean of the School of Advanced Study
Professor Philip Murphy	Director of ICwS
Professor David Cantor	Director of the Refugee Law Initiative
Dr Corrine Lennox	Co-Director of the Human Rights Consortium
Professor Damien Short	Co-Director of the Human Rights Consortium
Professor Andrew Thompson	Chair of ICwS Advisory Council
Professor James Manor	Professor Emeritus of ICwS
Mr Peter Williams	Secretary to the Commonwealth Secretariat's 1995-6 Commission on Commonwealth Studies.
Professor Mary Stiasny	Pro Vice-Chancellor (International) of UoL and Dean of UoL Worldwide
Professor Wendy Thomson	Vice-Chancellor, University of London
Lord David Howell	President of the Royal Commonwealth Society and Chair of the Council of Commonwealth Societies
Lord Tariq Ahmad	Minister of State for South Asia and the Commonwealth, Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office.

List of Correspondence Received

Name	Organisation
<i>Philip Murphy and Sue Onslow</i>	<i>ICwS</i>
<i>Prof Saul Dubow</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
<i>Elanor Kramer-Taylor</i>	<i>KCL</i>
<i>Prof Keith Somerville</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Dr Edward Owens</i>	<i>Independent</i>
<i>Prof Rory Cormac</i>	<i>University of Nottingham</i>
<i>David Blake</i>	<i>Former ICwS Staff</i>
<i>Dr Katherine Roscoe</i>	<i>University of Liverpool</i>
<i>Marcus Erridge</i>	<i>Former Student of ICwS</i>
<i>Emily J. Hogg</i>	<i>University of Southern Denmark</i>
<i>Prof Angie Hobbs</i>	<i>University Of Sheffield</i>
<i>Dr Paul Sutton</i>	<i>University of Hull</i>
<i>Michael I. Ohajuru</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Prof Alan Hallsworth</i>	<i>UK Council for Area Studies</i>
<i>Professor Tony Chafer</i>	<i>UK Council for Area Studies</i>
<i>Dr. Jon Oldfield</i>	<i>UK Council for Area Studies</i>
<i>Professor Susan Hodgett</i>	<i>UK Council for Area Studies</i>
<i>Dr. Holly Eva Ryan</i>	<i>Queen Mary University of London</i>
<i>Sam Halvorsen</i>	<i>Queen Mary University of London</i>
<i>Doreen Montag</i>	<i>Queen Mary University of London</i>
<i>Dr Anne Thurston</i>	
<i>Prof Olivier Dabène</i>	<i>Sciences Po - Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean (OPALC)</i>
<i>Professor Rebecca Earle</i>	<i>University of Warwick</i>
<i>Dr Ruth Craggs</i>	<i>King's College London</i>
<i>Prof Adam Watt</i>	<i>University of Exeter</i>
<i>Dr Jelke Boesten</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>Dr Paul Segal</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>Dr Robyn Klingler-Vidra</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>Professor Andy Sumner</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>Professor Alfredo Saad-Filho</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>Professor Susan Fairley Murray</i>	<i>King's College London - Department of International Development</i>
<i>John McIlwaine</i>	<i>University College London</i>
<i>Natasha Dyer-Williams</i>	<i>University of Edinburgh</i>
<i>Demetris Assos</i>	
<i>Dr James Kennedy</i>	<i>British Association of Canadian Studies (BACS)</i>

<i>Trevor Peel</i>	<i>National Liberal Club Commonwealth Forum</i>
<i>Mahendra Ved</i>	<i>Commonwealth Journalists Association</i>
<i>M.D. Lumb</i>	<i>Commonwealth Journalists Association</i>
<i>Sir Shridath Ramphal</i>	<i>former holders of the office of Commonwealth Secretary-General</i>
<i>Chief Emeka Anyaoku</i>	<i>former holders of the office of Commonwealth Secretary-General</i>
<i>Sir Don McKinnon</i>	<i>former holders of the office of Commonwealth Secretary-General</i>
<i>Kamalesh Sharma</i>	<i>former holders of the office of Commonwealth Secretary-General</i>
<i>Malcolm Wallis</i>	<i>Formerly Executive Dean of Management Sciences, Durban University of Technology, South Africa</i>
<i>Mduduzi C. Gina</i>	<i>Trade Union Congress of Swaziland</i>
<i>Jeffrey Hyland</i>	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)</i>
<i>Lord Howell of Guildford</i>	<i>President of the Royal Commonwealth Society and Chair of the Council of Commonwealth Societies</i>
<i>Stephen Twigg</i>	<i>Secretary-General, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)</i>
<i>Lord Chidgey</i>	<i>Co-Chair, Commonwealth All-Party Parliamentary Group, UK Parliament</i>
<i>Ian Liddell-Grainger</i>	<i>MP, Chair and Lord Foulkes of Cumnock, Vice-Chair, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK Branch</i>
<i>Dr Nicholas S. J. Watts, FRSA</i>	<i>Chair, Independent Forum of Commonwealth Organisations (IFCO)</i>
<i>Lord Black of Brentwood</i>	<i>Chairman, Commonwealth Press Union Trust</i>
<i>Rita Payne</i>	<i>Chair, CJA-UK and President Emeritus, Commonwealth Journalists Association (CJA)</i>
<i>Owen Tudor</i>	<i>Deputy General Secretary, International Trade Union Confederation on behalf of the Commonwealth Trade Union Group</i>
<i>Beth Kreling</i>	<i>Honorary Secretary, Commonwealth Consortium for Education (CCfE)</i>
<i>Sonny Leong CBE</i>	<i>Chair, Council for Education in the Commonwealth</i>
<i>Brigid Watson</i>	<i>Secretary-General, Commonwealth Lawyers Association</i>
<i>Dr Karen Brewer</i>	<i>Secretary-General, Commonwealth Magistrates', and Judges' Association</i>
<i>Dr Greg Munro</i>	<i>Secretary-General, Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF)</i>
<i>Richard Rieser</i>	<i>General Secretary, Commonwealth Disabled People's Forum</i>
<i>Professor Kathleen McCourt</i>	<i>President, Commonwealth Nurses and Midwives Federation</i>
<i>Arif Zaman, FRSA</i>	<i>Executive Director, Commonwealth Businesswomen's Network (CBWN)</i>
<i>David Gomez</i>	<i>Director, The Ramphal Institute</i>
<i>Andrew Larpent OBE</i>	<i>Chairman, CommonAge</i>
<i>Mabutho Cele</i>	<i>Convener, Commonwealth Teachers' Group (CTG)</i>
<i>Sanjoy Hazarika</i>	<i>International Director and Sneh Aurora, Director, London Office, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI)</i>
<i>Mark Robinson</i>	<i>Chairman, Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC)</i>
<i>Victoria Schofield</i>	<i>Chair of the Editorial Board, The Round Table, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs</i>
<i>Judge (R) Sandra E. Oxner</i>	<i>Founding President of the Commonwealth Judicial Education Institute</i>
<i>John Gabriel</i>	<i>Oral History Society</i>
<i>Professor Dejan Djokić</i>	<i>Goldsmiths, University of London</i>
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<i>Dr Alex Drace-Francis</i>	<i>University of Amsterdam</i>

<i>Dr Russell Foster</i>	<i>King's College London</i>
<i>Dr Christian Goeschel</i>	<i>Manchester University</i>
<i>Dr Philippa Hetherington</i>	<i>University College London</i>
<i>Dr Simon Jackson</i>	<i>Birmingham University</i>
<i>Professor Lucy Riall</i>	<i>European University Institute</i>
<i>Professor Astrid Swenson</i>	<i>Bath Spa University</i>
<i>Prince Tamwo Kuate</i>	<i>Commonwealth Women's Network - CWN</i>
<i>Valerie Davey</i>	<i>former MP (1997-2005) and member of the CPA UK</i>
<i>Prof Mélanie Torrent</i>	<i>Université Picardie Jules Verne</i>
<i>Dr Keith Shear</i>	<i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i>
<i>Victoria Schofield</i>	<i>The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs</i>
<i>Alex May</i>	<i>The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs</i>
<i>Lord Howell of Guildford</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society</i>
<i>Patricia M Larby, MBE</i>	<i>Retired</i>
<i>Richard Bourne</i>	<i>The Ramphal Institute</i>
<i>Prof. Marion Schmid</i>	<i>University of Edinburgh</i>
<i>Madam Chandrika Kumaratunga</i>	<i>former President of Sri Lanka</i>
<i>James Mayall</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
<i>Ada Cheong</i>	<i>University of Exeter</i>
<i>Charles Cullimore</i>	<i>former Chairman of the Overseas Pensioners' Association</i>
<i>Peter McLean</i>	<i>former Colonial servants</i>
<i>David Le Breton</i>	<i>former Secretary of the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association (OSPA)</i>
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<i>James Chiriyankandath</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>John Cowley</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>William Crawley</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Guy Hewitt</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>David Killingray</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>James Manor</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Henning Melber</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Sue Onslow</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Andrea Pacheco Pacifico</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Sir Ronald Sanders</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Marika Sherwood</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Shihan de Silva</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Mark Simpson</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Keith Somerville</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Hugo Storey</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Mélanie Torrent</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Mandy Banton</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Leo Zeilig</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
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<i>David Blake</i>	<i>Secretary of the Commonwealth Association</i>
<i>Lord Ahmad (Commonwealth Minister)</i>	<i>Foreign and Commonwealth and Development Office FCDO</i>
<i>Michael Kirby</i>	<i>Commonwealth Lawyers Association</i>
<i>His Excellency Cenio Lewis, Dean of the Caribbean Corps of High Commissioners et al.</i>	<i>Caribbean High Commissioners</i>
<i>Lord Alton</i>	<i>House of Lords</i>
<i>Anne Gallagher</i>	<i>Commonwealth Foundation</i>
<i>The Rt Hon. the Lord Boateng</i>	<i>House of Lords</i>
<i>David McIntyre</i>	<i>University of Canterbury</i>
<i>Pedro Aires Oliveira</i>	<i>Associate Professor, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa</i>
<i>Sir Keir Starmer</i>	<i>Leader of the Labour Party</i>
<i>Peter Williams</i>	<i>Former Professor of Education in Developing Countries, UoL</i>
<i>Dr Marion Wallace</i>	<i>Chair, SCOLMA (the UK Libraries and Archives Group on Africa)</i>
<i>Pamela Scully</i>	<i>Emory University</i>
<i>Richard Wagstaff</i>	<i>NZ Council of Trade Unions</i>
<i>Dr H Kumarasingham et al</i>	<i>and 181 Academics Worldwide</i>
<i>Henning Melber</i>	<i>EADI</i>
<i>Sir Ronald Sanders</i>	<i>Embassy of Antigua and Barbuda</i>
<i>James Manor</i>	<i>ICwS</i>
<i>Prof Achilles C Emilianides et al</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Emilios Solomou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Mrs Hera Ioannou Emilianides</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Prof Constantinos Phellas</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Christina Ionnou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Mrs Anna Charlampous Katsaros</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Ioanna Jadjicosti</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Mr George Xinaris</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Andreas Karyos</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Antigone Heraclidou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Marilena Varnava</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Alexis Alecou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Yiannos Katsourides</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Anastasia Yiangou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Demetris Assos</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Melina Agathangelou</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Dr Diana Markides</i>	<i>Royal Commonwealth Society - Cyprus Branch</i>
<i>Stuart Mole</i>	<i>The Commonwealth Association</i>
<i>Richard Bourne</i>	<i>The Ramphal Institute</i>
<i>Marika Sherwood</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>

<i>David Page et al</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow & CJA Member</i>
<i>Sneh Aurora</i>	<i>Director, London Office, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative</i>
<i>Desmond Browne QC</i>	<i>Commonwealth Lawyers Association</i>
<i>Jon Davies</i>	<i>Chief Executive, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (UK)</i>
<i>Venkat Iyer</i>	<i>Editor, The Round Table and The Commonwealth Lawyer</i>
<i>William Horsley</i>	<i>International Director of the Centre for Media Freedom, Sheffield University, and head of the CJA's media freedom committee</i>
<i>Sue Onslow</i>	<i>ICwS Fellow</i>
<i>Rita Payne</i>	<i>President Emeritus, Commonwealth Journalists Association</i>
<i>Peter Slinn</i>	<i>Vice President, Commonwealth Legal Education Association</i>
<i>Dr Balasubramanyam Chandramohan</i>	<i>On behalf of the Fellows of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies</i>
<i>over 30 active fellows of ICWS</i>	
<i>IFCO- Independent Forum of Commonwealth Organisations</i>	<i>Chair: Nicholas Watts</i>
<i>Emeka Anyaoku</i>	<i>Regarding Funding</i>
<i>Arif Zaman</i>	<i>ICwS PhD Student</i>
<i>Professor Andrew Thompson</i>	<i>Chair: ICwS Advisory Council</i>

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Appendix 3: List of Organisations that comprise ‘The Commonwealth Family’

Intergovernmental Organisations

1. Commonwealth Secretariat
2. Commonwealth Foundation
3. Commonwealth of Learning

Accredited Commonwealth Organisations

A. Associated Organisations

1. Commonwealth Association of Tax Administrators
2. Commonwealth Postal Development Association
3. Conference of Commonwealth Meteorologists
4. Commonwealth Games Federation
5. Commonwealth Education Trust
6. Commonwealth Local Government Forum
7. Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
8. Commonwealth Telecommunications Organisation

B. Civil Society and Professional Organisations

9. African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
10. Association of Commonwealth Archivists and Record Managers
11. Association of Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies
12. Association of Commonwealth Universities
13. Association of Emerging Leaders’ Dialogues
14. Association of International Accountants
15. Building Understanding through International Links for Development BUILD
16. Chartered Insurance Institute
17. Commission on Science and Technology for Sustainable Development in the South
18. CommonAge
19. Commonwealth Association for Health and Disability
20. Commonwealth Association of Legislative Counsel
21. Commonwealth Association of Architects
22. Commonwealth Association of Law Reform Agencies
23. Commonwealth Association of Museums
24. Commonwealth Association of Paediatrics Gastroenterology and Nutrition
25. Commonwealth Association of Planners
26. Commonwealth Association of Public Accounts Committees
27. Commonwealth Association of Science, Technology and Mathematics Educators
28. Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy
29. Commonwealth Boxing Council
30. Commonwealth Businesswomen’s Network
31. Commonwealth Consortium for Education
32. Commonwealth Council for Education Administration and Management
33. Commonwealth Countries League
34. Commonwealth Dental Association
35. Commonwealth Equality Network
36. Commonwealth Engineers Council
37. Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council
38. Commonwealth Forestry Association
39. Commonwealth Geographical Bureau
40. Commonwealth Girls Education Fund

41. Commonwealth HIV/AIDS Action Group
42. Commonwealth Human Ecology Council
43. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative
44. Commonwealth Jewish Council
45. Commonwealth Journalists' Association
46. Commonwealth Judicial Education Institute
47. Commonwealth Lawyers Association
48. Commonwealth Legal Education Association
49. Commonwealth Magistrates' and Judges' Association
50. Commonwealth Medical Association
51. Commonwealth Medical Trust
52. Commonwealth Nurses and Midwives Federation
53. Commonwealth Organisation for Social Work
54. Commonwealth Pharmacists Association
55. Commonwealth Trade Union Group
56. Commonwealth Resounds
57. Commonwealth Women's Network
58. Commonwealth Veterinary Association
59. Corona Worldwide
60. Council for Education in the Commonwealth
61. Forum of Federations
62. Institute of Certified Management Accountants
63. Institute of Commonwealth Studies
64. Institution of Occupational Safety and Health (IOSH)
65. International Council of Social Welfare
66. International Federation for Human Rights
67. International Planned Parenthood Federation
68. International Social Service
69. Muslim Aid
70. Pacific Island Association for NGOs
71. Ramphal Institute
72. Rotary International
73. Royal Agricultural Society of the Commonwealth
74. Royal Commonwealth Ex-Services League
75. Royal Life Saving Society
76. Royal Overseas League
77. SightSavers International
78. Soroptimist International
79. Sound Seekers
80. The Commonwealth Association
81. The Duke of Edinburgh's International Award Foundation
82. The Institute of Certified Bookkeepers
83. The Round Table
84. The Royal Commonwealth Society
85. The Queen's Commonwealth Trust
86. Towards Zero Foundation
87. Transparency International
88. World Alliance for Citizen Participation CIVICUS