this does not make it unusual in the Commonwealth. The economies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand are also among the most open in the developed world.

The Commonwealth consensus has also enabled it to leave behind debates about whether democracy or development should take priority and about whether or not there is a role for the state. Even the Pakistan coup, a sad throwback to an earlier era, can only be presented by its supporters as 'a different path to democracy'.[9] This is not just because of international pressure, but because Commonwealth countries have learnt from past economic and political failures – that it is only by combining democracy and markets that they can achieve sustainable growth which benefits their people. And a development debate which oscillated between over-intrusive stagnant, state-dominated economies and the minimalist state is now over. We now agree on the need for the genuinely developmental state – which actively facilitates and creates the conditions for growth and ensures it delivers social development.[10]

But, while Commonwealth countries have found a new consensus, there are many barriers to growth which they need to tackle first.