



2014 no.5 £5.00 (free to members)

# INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



*Anti-Rape Protestors outside the Indian Embassy*

inside

**Egypt: EU vs. Indian Elections**

**North Korea**

# EVENTS

**30th June** LIBG AGM, NLC followed by joint meeting with Liberal Democrat History Group on 1914.

**19th July** Social Liberal Forum conference, Human Rights Action Centre, 25 New Inn Yard, London EC2A 3EA <http://socialliberal.net/>

**6th – 7th September** Liberal Party Assembly, Exmouth Community College.

There will be a reception on the evening of Friday 5th September at a local hotel for those intending to arrive on that day. Further details email:

[sir.henry@ukliberals.org](mailto:sir.henry@ukliberals.org) or [www.liberal.org.uk](http://www.liberal.org.uk)

**4th – 8th October** Liberal Democrat Autumn Conference Glasgow - [www.libdems.org.uk/autumn\\_conference](http://www.libdems.org.uk/autumn_conference)

**7th - 10th November** 193rd Executive Committee Meeting of Liberal International, Hong Kong

*For bookings & other information please contact the Chair below.*

NLC= National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London

SW1A 2HE

Underground: Embankment

Liberal International (British Group)

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*InterLiB is published by the Liberal International (British Group). Views expressed therein are those of the authors and are not necessarily the views of LI(BG), LI or any of its constituent parties.*

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## Governing as Liberal Democrats

### Social Liberal Form Conference

**Saturday 19th July**

Human Rights Action Centre, (Amnesty International)  
25 New Inn Yard, London EC2A 3EA

Featuring Vince Cable, Merel Hussein-Ece, Tim Farron, Ed Davey, Sarah Ludford, Julian Huppert, Claire Tyler, Kate Parminter, David Howarth, Lousewies van der Laan (D66) and many others.

£35.00 (£20.00 concessions) including tea, coffee & lunch

Book your place at [socialliberal.net/slf-conf-2014](http://socialliberal.net/slf-conf-2014)



# Egypt Since the Coup

## Shahira Amin

Days after winning a landslide victory in the country's presidential election, former military chief Abdel Fattah El-Sisi was sworn in earlier this month as Egypt's new President. El Sisi received 96% of the vote, with a turnout of 47.45 percent in a three-day election largely hailed by analysts as "free of fraud" but criticized by some foreign observers as "falling short of international standards of democracy."

Criticism of the vote was prompted by a one-day extension of the election by Egyptian authorities, seen by the observers as "undermining the credibility of the voting process." Democracy International, a US-funded election monitoring organisation and a team of EU observers also denounced "the repressive political environment" in which the vote was held, adding that "lack of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech had made a genuinely democratic election impossible."

The election was held against a backdrop of a massive crackdown on supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood, hundreds of whom have been killed in clashes with security forces in the 11 months since Islamist President Mohamed Morsi was overthrown by military-backed protests. Since last July, thousands of Muslim Brotherhood leaders and supporters have been jailed, and the Islamist group has been declared a "terrorist organisation" by the interim government that replaced the Muslim Brotherhood regime. Millions of Morsi's supporters boycotted the vote describing it as "illegitimate" and insisting that Morsi was the legitimate president.

Many young Egyptians, who were at the forefront of the protests that led to Mubarak's ouster (and some of whom had also participated in the revolt that toppled Morsi) also stayed away from the ballot box during the vote. In their view, "a return to military rule" deals a heavy blow to their revolution which they say, has been hijacked twice: once by the Muslim Brotherhood and a second time, by the military. Some of the young pro-reform activists see El Sisi's election win as "a victory for the counter-revolutionary forces" and signals a reversal of the gains of the 2011 uprising, they lament. Several secular icons from the 2011 uprising have also been imprisoned for organizing or taking part in protests against a draconian law banning protests without prior permission from the Interior Ministry. The April 6 Group--a major mobilizing force behind the 18-day mass uprising - had also called for a

boycott of the May presidential election, rejecting what it described as a "a theatrical farce to install El Sisi as president." Most Egyptian media have meanwhile, been towing the state line, demonizing both the Muslim Brotherhood and the secular, pro-democracy activists who played a key role in the revolt against longtime autocratic president Hosni Mubarak.

Hours after his inauguration thousands of El-Sisi supporters celebrated the former army chief's election victory in Cairo's iconic Tahrir Square--birthplace of the mass uprising that toppled Mubarak. In the eyes of his supporters, El Sisi is a "hero" and their "saviour" from the Islamists. He is also seen as a strong leader who can restore order. After three years of political turmoil, many Egyptians are tired and yearn for stability. They have chosen to forsake freedom and democracy for security and stability.

It was amid this deeply polarized atmosphere that El Sisi's inauguration took place. The new president also faces a host of other challenges not least of which is an economy that is on the brink of collapse. Tourism, Egypt's main foreign currency earner, has dropped by 33 percent since the 2011 uprising and many investors have turned elsewhere as a result of the unrest. Analysts say Egypt would have already been bankrupt had it not been for the generous financial assistance from the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Almost immediately after Morsi's ouster, the 3 Gulf allies pledged US \$12 billion in financial assistance and energy supplies to shore up the ailing Egyptian economy. Soon afterwards, more funds were promised, raising the amount to \$20 billion. In March, the UAE promised another \$40 billion for a massive housing project in Egypt. Yet, the promised funds fall well short of the investments El Sisi is seeking for development projects that would help to create jobs and boost the economy. Saudi Arabia is helping Egypt organize a donors' conference with the aim of raising some \$100 billion for the construction of roads, airports and solar and wind energy projects.

Skeptics wonder how long the financial assistance from the Gulf can keep the Egyptian economy afloat. They warn that the high expectations of many Egyptians for El Sisi to offer quick solutions to their problems --if unmet-- can lead to even more anger and frustration. After all, they say, El Sisi has not outlined his plans for tackling Egypt's rising unemployment, poverty and energy shortages. Apart from Sisi's simplistic proposal for Egyptians to use energy-efficient bulbs, he has thus far, kept his economic plan

a well guarded secret, leading critics to wonder if there is a plan at all.

Images of the country's new leader riding a bicycle --which were widely circulated in the local media last week-- did however, serve to allay some of those concerns. The pictures conveyed a message to the public that "bicycles save energy." While it may be too early to tell, the move may have been an attempt by El Sisi to lead by example.

Meanwhile, Egypt has been faced with a militant insurgency which in recent months, has spilled over from the Sinai Peninsula into other parts of the country, targeting mainly police and military installations. Despite a military offensive that has continued since the military takeover of the country last July, militant attacks against the army and police have continued, becoming a near daily occurrence.

In a nation where mass protests have overthrown two presidents in the short span of three years, skeptics wonder how long it will be before Egyptians rise against the new president. While some predict another revolt if El Sisi fails to deliver, the realists in the society dismiss the idea of another uprising anytime soon. El Sisi has already made it clear that he will stop at nothing to stifle the opposition and silence dissenters, they say, adding that some of the fear (that had disappeared during the uprising against Mubarak) has now returned.

"The current human rights abuses raise a lot of worries over El Sisi's rule," rights lawyer Gamal Eid recently told Al Arabiya. Eid was clearly referring to the mass death sentences handed down to Muslim Brotherhood supporters, the detention of journalists, the return of torture in prisons and other rights violations documented by rights groups over the last eleven months.

Yet, there are many optimists willing to give El Sisi a chance to prove he is worthy of his supporters' adulation. One of the new president's first public appearances was a visit to a Cairo hospital to check on the health of a victim of sexual assault. The woman had been brutally assaulted by a mob during celebrations marking El Sisi's inauguration a few days earlier in Tahrir Square. Sisi's hospital visit sent a clear message that there was the political will and high level commitment to tackle the longstanding problem that has plagued Egyptian society for decades. Soon after the visit, the perpetrators were arrested and it is widely expected that they will be punished for their crime, unlike other harassers and rapists, who in the past, have escaped justice.

While restoring security and attracting investments are clearly Sisi's main priorities as he assumes office, it is necessary to realize that national reconciliation is equally important as it is key to achieving the other two goals. Prospects for security will remain dim as

long as the opposition continues to be marginalised and repressed and, there is little hope of luring back the investors if the unrest continues. Unifying all forces is key to stability and prosperity. It would also boost Sisi's chances of success and is a sure way of guaranteeing he does not quickly fall from grace like his predecessor did.

*Shahira Amin is an Independent Journalist. She was the former deputy head of Egyptian state-owned Nile TV and one of its senior anchors, until she resigned from the position over coverage of the 2011 Uprising. Shahira spoke at the LIBG Egypt Forum at the NLC on 2<sup>nd</sup> June.*



## **LIBERAL VANNIN PARTY**

The LI congress report in interLib 2014-4 said that the Liberal Vannin Party from the Isle of Man left without explanation. The party resigned its membership in LI last summer due to internal decision to cut of costs for their international affiliation. According to LI constitution in such cases we just take note of the disaffiliation of the member party. That had happened during the 191st LI executive committee meeting in Antigua, Guatemala in October 2013. Hence, no further details were provided in Rotterdam, where we have only notified the Congress of this development in between two Congresses. All other remarks are highly appreciated and will be part of our internal evaluation.

*Emil Kirjas*

# Prospects for Change in North Korea

## David Alton

There is an unresolved war with North Korea and we live with its consequences.

From 1910 until 1945 Korea was forcibly annexed into the Japanese empire. The Korean War (25 June 1950 –27 July 1953) saw the deaths of as many as 3 million people.

The Times Editorial, September 2010 said *“The condition of the people of North Korea ranks among the great tragedies of the past century. The despotism that consigns them to that state is one of its greatest crimes.”* Sixty years have been wasted and with them there is the danger of a Sarajevo moment. Meanwhile, North Korea has just experienced its worst spring drought in 30 years and food shortages are expected due to poor grain harvests. State administered rations have also dipped to even lower levels than usual. Kim Jong Eun has blamed the country's weather forecasters.

Professor Vitit Muntarbhorn, Former U.N. Special Rapporteur, estimates that 400,000 have been killed in the past three decades, about 200,000 are detained in the camps, and a likelihood of a new famine, following 2 million deaths in the 1990s. All eight of Muntarbhorn's reports to the UN detailed an extraordinarily grave situation, in which he says the abuses are *“both systematic and pervasive”* and *“egregious and endemic”* and he has concluded that *“it is incumbent upon the national authorities and the international community to address the impunity factor which has enabled such violations to exist and/or persist for a long time.”*

Tony Blair has said *“The biggest scandal in progressive politics is that you do not have people with placards out in the street on North Korea ... The people are kept in a form of slavery, 23 million of them, and no one protests!”*.

### **The Plight of Men, Women and Children – 200,000 in the gulags of North Korea.**

Shin Dong-Hyok --: on April 6th 1996, he was forced to watch as his mother and brother were publicly executed.

Lee Young-Kuk *“From the very first day, the guards with their rifles beat me. I was trampled on mercilessly until my legs became swollen, my eardrums were shattered, and my teeth were all broken. They wouldn't allow us to sleep from 4 am till 10 pm and once while I was sleeping, they poured water over my head. Since the conditions within the prison were poor, my head became frostbitten from the bitter cold. As I was trying to recuperate from the previous mistreatment, they ordered me to stick out my shackled feet through a hole on my cell door, and then tortured them in almost every possible way. Not a single day passed without receiving some form of torture and agonizing experience”*

Jeon Young-Ok: *“They tortured the Christians the most. They were denied food and sleep. They were forced to stick out their tongues and iron was pushed into it.”*

In March 2014 Hea Woo gave a graphic and powerful account of her time inside a the camp - where torture and beatings are routine, and where prisoners were so hungry they were reduced to eating rats, snakes, or even searching for grains in cow dung. In such places the dignity of human life counted for nothing. *“Sometimes we had soup with nothing in it, just full of dirt. In some places whole families were put into camps. They separated the men from the women and even if they saw each other they couldn't talk to each other. The guards told us that we are not human beings, we are just prisoners, so we don't have any right to love. We were just animals. Even if people died there, they didn't let the family members outside know. ”*

If you were to bench-mark the findings of the recent United Nations Commission of Inquiry into the abuse of human rights in North Korea, against the thirty articles set out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it would be difficult to find a single article which Kim Jong-un's regime does not breach.

*“the gravity, scale and nature of these violations reveal a State that does not have any parallel in the contemporary world”*. These *“unspeakable atrocities”*, include *“extermination, murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, forced*

*abortions and other sexual violence, persecution on political, religious, racial and gender grounds, the forcible transfer of populations, the enforced disappearance of persons and the inhumane act of knowingly causing prolonged starvation” and warrant a referral to the International Criminal Court (ICC).*

In paragraphs 26-31 the COI state: *“there is almost a complete denial of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion”; that religious faith has been supplanted by a cult of “absolute obedience to the Supreme Leader” and “the State considers the spread of Christianity a particularly serious threat.”*

Justice Kirby points to the use of capital punishment and “guilt by association” Execution is regularly used by the State: Kim Jong Un’s uncle, Chang Song Taek, has been executed. Others include the Minister of Railways Kim Yong-sam and Vice Minister So Nam-sin. The authoritarian dynastic regime in North Korea ruthlessly crushes dissent and through “guilt by association” and collective punishment has ensured that there is no Liu Xiabo, Kim Dae Jung or Aung San Suu Kyi to become a focal point for opposition. North Korea is the first country in history to be ruled by ghosts: Kim Il Sung is Eternal President. Kim Jong Il is Eternal General Secretary of the Workers Party. Its people often resemble the living dead. What has to happen to bring about change?



The conditions for change have been emerging: There are 25,000 refugees in the south –and a diaspora in countries like the UK –are the game changers –and they have reported signs of change. The emergence of the Jangmadang, the Market Generation -began in desperation as the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990s and famine ensued. The need for personal resilience and the emergence of black market replaced the State - a difficult process to reverse. Between 2009 and 2013 the economic situation has continued to worsen and will drive change and reform.

The economies of North and South Korea contrast more sharply than any other two neighbouring countries while North Koreans travelling to China visit a country which, only three decades ago, was poorer than theirs. This gives the lie to the propaganda that North Korea is “paradise” and that they have “nothing to envy”. Escapees say that significant numbers risk imprisonment and even execution to watch South Korea television programmes smuggled in with cell phones and radios from China. Try as they may the information genie cannot be put back in the bottle. Up to 50% of escapees make contact with their families.

### **So How Can we Foster Change?**

*Dr. Martin Luther King said “Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.”*

In March 2003 in a debate in the House of Lords David argued that: *“By championing the cause of those who are suffering in North Korea, the international community will create the conditions for the establishment of democracy ....Learning the lessons of [the] Helsinki [process], we must do nothing to licence the regime in Pyongyang to commit further atrocities against its own people. We should enter negotiations which guarantee human rights, such as free exchange of people and religious liberties ... By linking the present crisis with the human rights violations, a crisis can be turned into an opportunity. To do nothing about North Korea would be the most dangerous option of all.”*

*Learn the lessons of Helsinki and the Cold War. In 2004, in Parliament, David told the House of Lords: “I believe that hard-headed, Helsinki-style engagement is worthwhile. The Helsinki Final Act 1975 linked foreign policy to basic human rights principles. That measure recognised that increasing the pressure for human rights, in combination with a firm policy of military containment, could act as the catalyst for change. The history of the DPRK suggests that mere threats will be counter-productive, inducing paranoia, isolationism and the destabilisation of the region. ... However, the regime knows that the status quo is not an option. The DPRK now needs a face-saving exit strategy.”*

To inform yourself and inform others, David recommended three reports, Finding a Way Forward, 2003; Carpe Diem-Seizing the Moment for Change, 2009; and Building Bridges Not Walls, 2010 argued for Helsinki style human rights engagements –Helsinki with a Korean Face.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> October 2000 Robin Cook announced that Britain will establish diplomatic relations with North Korea as part of an international effort to bring the Stalinist state in from the cold, adding that the move was *'not in any way an approval of the conduct of the regime'* The U.S. and ROK should end the War and formalise diplomatic relations.

On his third visit to North Korea David was allowed to speak to the congregation at the Changchung Catholic church and met with members of the congregations at the other “show” churches. Engage - Don't isolate but don't appease.

David Hawk, in his 2010 report, *Pursuing Peace While Advancing Rights: The Untried Approach to North Korea*, says "It is the approach that has yet to be tried in North Korea". It is also the story which South Korea's experience of totalitarianism teaches us. We can learn from Kim Dae Jung's "Prison Writings" and his widow, Lee Hee Ho's, "My Love, My Country." Understand how change came in the Republic of Korea.

Lee Hee-ho described the years of imprisonment, house arrest, and persecution as *"truly an Orwellian world of illegal brutality – acting as if they would never have to answer to history of God for their barbarity."* She described how supporters of democracy were *"Deprived of any clothing they were mercilessly pummelled with wooden bats, deprived of sleep, and had water poured into their nostrils while hanging upside down like so much beef hanging from hooks in the slaughter house. Listening to these stories of horror, my body shuddered with indescribable indignation and sorrow."*

Catholic Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung was jailed for six years but became South Korea's President and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate for his engagement with North Korea. As Cardinal Kim he said *"If the police break into the cathedral, I will be in the very front. Behind me, there will be reverends and nuns. After we are wrestled down, there will be students."*

Yet Kim Dae Jung insisted that *"even those who used to oppress and those who used to take things by force must be freed from their sins and allowed to participate. Then politics will become art."* He observed that *"the real purpose of politics is to guarantee the rights and life of the oppressed"* and reiterated his belief in *"democracy, social justice, economic development, national security and the unification of our fatherland."*

Fully Engage China in the process, promoting reform, curbing aggression & protecting refugees in

accordance with Article XVI of the 1995 China-UNHCR Treaty on the treatment of refugees.

Break the Information Blockade... support the Facebook campaign

BBC를한국어로: BBC for Korea ·

<http://www.nknews.org/2013/03/why-korea-needs-the-bbc-world-service/>

Build Bridges Where You Can.

For 60 years, the Korean peninsula has longed for a lasting settlement based on justice, peace, reconciliation, coexistence and mutual respect. Instead its people have experienced suffering, division and threats.



**North Korean Border Guards.**

Whatever outside observers may think of the ideology or the system in North Korea, they should not confuse this with an unthinking hatred of North Korean people. They are a fine people who deserve much better. They deserve a liberalised economy, the implementation of the UN Conventions to which the DPRK has already committed itself, the development of an independent judiciary, a just penal system, an open society and freedom from fear. Above all, they deserve peace –and this I believe will only happen when we tenaciously pursue a robust and different strategy from that pursued hitherto.

Protest and promote human rights. Organise hearings and campaigns –make it the anti-apartheid campaign of our times.

**David Alton. Professor Lord Alton of Liverpool**

*"Prospects for Change in North Korea" Wednesday 18th June 2014 in Committee Room 4A, Houses of Parliament. The full Centre for Opposition Studies presentation, where in David explains how & why he got involved (with much good human rights stuff), can be found at [www.davidalton.net](http://www.davidalton.net)*

# Emerging Democratic Divergence – Comparing European & Indian elections 2014

## Anuja Prashar

The genesis of this article came from a combination of witnessing the rise of UKIP during the European election campaign and the simultaneous question I was asked on how I would explain the first ever majority government elected in the Indian general elections.

As a European list candidate in UK and a doctoral researcher of Indian transnationalism, I found myself in the unique place of experiencing both election campaigns at the same time, albeit from differing vantage points. It has become apparent that on both counts my political and academic colleagues are perplexed by the degree of change in electorate voting patterns.

I think that the dramatic rise of the far right across Europe and the overwhelming majority of the ‘Centrist-Right’ party in India have produced a poignant threshold moment in world history. Both sets of results are connected and even inter-related within a complex 21<sup>st</sup> century socio-political context.

This complexity requires an understanding of not only the international system through national paradigms, but must also include an assessment of the impact of globalisation on socio-political experience, over past 5 years, on the electorate in Europe and India (especially on the youth).

Both elections were based upon principles of universal suffrage and multi-party Democracy. Both have a parliamentary system of governance. Some conventional compare and contrast analysis might include the following statistics. \*\*

<b>FACTORS Compare/Contrast</b>	<b>EUROPEAN UNION</b>	<b>INDIA</b>
Land Area	•4,422,773 km <sup>2</sup> (1,707,642•sq•mi)	2,973,190 Km <sup>2</sup> ( 1,147,975 sq mi)
No of States	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>
Languages spoken	23 official languages	438 languages recognised
Total Population	742.5 million (2013)	1.27 billion (2013)
Population over 65	18.2% of total	6.23% of total
Population under 35	19.9% of total	65% of total
Population 1st time voters	65% absenteeism	168 million (10.7% absenteeism)
2014 % of voter turn out	43.09% (UK 34.19%)	66.40%
Mode of elections	Manual	Fully electronic

When sifting through theories of globalisation and economic development we can, for simplicity, place almost all theories into two camps. One set of theories narrates world economic history from a cultural/civilisational position and another set focuses upon the institutional/economic factors contributing to increased rates of national economic growth or globalisation.

Both approaches have been critiqued for being euro-centric by the likes of Pomeranz (2000), Gunder-Frank (1998) and Kaoru Sugihara (2004), who all suggest the need for a more multi-centric and multi factor approach to



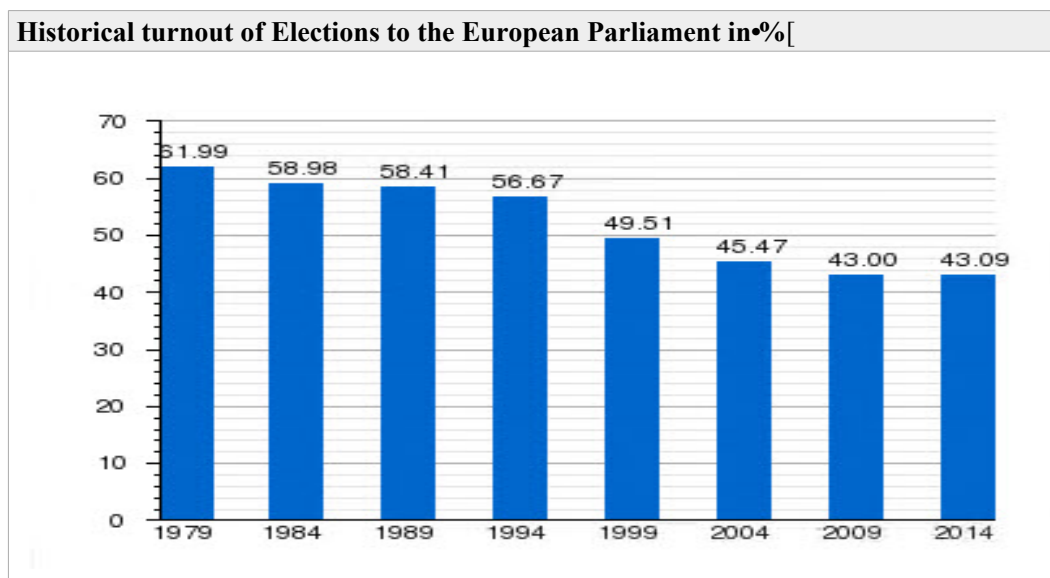
understanding historical economic changes impacting upon development and international relations. Adding the ingredient of socio-political factors, both historical and current, to our understanding of global development enables a deeper analysis of the emerging landscape of 21<sup>st</sup> century globalisation and International Relations.

The commonly accepted meta narrative of ‘Emerging Economies’ and BRICS or MINT countries assumes a euro-centric framework upon which the nation states with sustained GDP growth rates of over 5% are emerging ‘into’ the world economy of the ‘west’; as if for the first time.

Apart from the misleading impression of ‘newness’ of these countries, this dominant focus on one measure of GDP also leads to the very common and basic analytic approach of competitive measurement of one nation state with another. For instance the UK’s GDP growth will be compared with that of India’s. In 1948 the GDP of UK was 3.66% and that of India 1.15% (Subarmanium 2003; Maddison 2007)

The reversal of these growth rates, since independence of India, tells a very particular story which leads the electorate of UK & India to perceive their own country in a particular light – namely, that India as rising and UK as falling in global economic terms. The real result is to perceive global economic growth as a ‘Zero-Sum’ game.

The sense of competition generated by this binary oppositional euro-centric approach has a twofold effect upon the electorate of India and that of the European Union. First, within European mindset, to create a sense of diminishing advantage, leading to political apathy and disillusionment.



Simultaneously, the Indian electorate has been gaining an exaggerated optimism leading to a renewed political activism and public dialogue, since independence in 1947. (Brass, 1969) Some Indian 2014 election logistical statistics include:

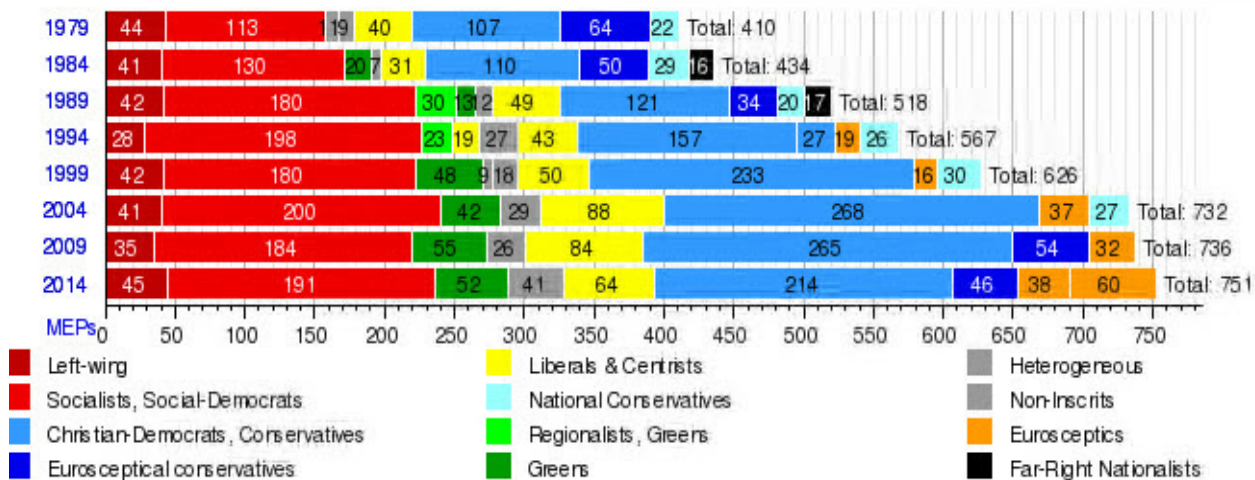
- 919,000 polling stations with 3.6 million electronic voting machines installed by Election Commission of India (ECI) which ruled that no one should have to travel more than 2 km to reach a polling station. (Bloomberg)
- 10 million people worked on polling day for elections - Elected officials, army soldiers and temporary workers are among the workforce involved in these logistics (Christian Science Monitor).

Secondly to diminish the value of the robust and foundational institutional systems that witnessed sustained growth in Europe for almost a century; and in India an equal degree of neglect of the historical value of those same adopted institutional systems, perceived as ‘not ours’. The painfully slow liberalisation of India and integration into the world economy, bears witness to the legacy of distrust from a pre-independence era. (Subarmanium 2003)

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is a moving away from the global story of Empire and a shift towards presenting the historical story of today’s global economic growth as a European or ‘Western’ story, instead of focusing upon the significant and singular role of the UK in the Industrialization across the globe. (Kurein, 2001)

The rise of UKIP, I would like to suggest, illustrates a combination of both the loss of sense of historical inclusion in the global meta-narrative and the resistance to becoming overwhelmed into the European narrative of relative global economic diminishing significance.

Source: Europe Politique: Parlemeuropeen



It is no accident that the rise of far Right parties has been pre-dominant within the countries with a glorious historical past of Empire and that the dramatic rise of the Euro-Sceptic parties has been most significant during the global era of globalisation and emerging economies of 21<sup>st</sup> Century, namely UKIP of UK, Front National of France and the Golden Dawn of Greece. If we think of UKIP as an example, their supporters are most likely to be working class men over 60 and skilled and semi-skilled men and women over 60. In UK those under 40 are least likely to vote UKIP, however the statistics reveal that the youth of UK are increasingly apathetic and are not engaging with the election process; In complete contrast the youth of India are engaging in the democratic process and making a huge impact to election results.

With the spread of capitalism and greater economic integration across the globe through businesses (Schumpeter, 1989), the aspirations and disillusionments of various geographic constituencies will reflect the patterns of this dispersal through degrees of political participation and activity.

The solution for more effective democratic participation within election processes in Europe needs to have a two pronged approach – First, to update the election process to better engage with the younger generation in Europe and the second step should be to address the global economic history from a multi-centric perspective, which provides all citizens everywhere with a more balanced and fairer understanding of the reality of globalisation.

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<http://data.worldbank.org/country/>

*Anuja Prashar is a member of the LIBG Executive.*

## **Democratic Russia needs functional democracy in Europe**

Grigory Yavlinsky, the co-founder of the LI full member Yabloko, the Russian liberal party, was welcomed in the Houses of Parliament in London by LI Vice President on the Bureau Baroness Kishwer Falkner. The discussion, which focused on the further deterioration of the situation in Russia, the Ukrainian crisis and the global perspectives for liberalism.

“The situation in Russia is deteriorating on a daily basis. Difficult times are ahead of us in Russia – both in terms of democracy and the economy. Yabloko activists and offices are under increased pressure and daily intimidation by the authorities,” said Mr. Yavlinsky. It had previously been reported that as part of a quickly intensifying oppression crusade against the opposition, the Russian law enforcement authorities have searched the Moscow headquarters of Yabloko for the first time in the 20-year history of the party. The search was prompted by a press release issued from Yabloko’s accusing Judge Elena Zolotukhina of “exercising arbitrary rule and readily implementing the orders of the authorities in issuing unlawful decisions.” Mr. Yavlinsky emphasized the importance of European democracies holding firmly to the principles of liberal democracy as a determining message towards the democratic forces in Russia: “For us to succeed we need Europe to keep its house in order”.

During the meeting Baroness Falkner expressed deep concern over the further deterioration of the situation with Russia as well as its obvious attempts to draw neighbouring Ukraine into a civil conflict. Expressing the solidarity and support of Liberal International, she shared her concern about rising xenophobia and intolerance in Europe promulgated by populist movements that saw a rise in support at the last European elections. “As liberals we are challenged not only in Europe, but in many parts of the world. We have to keep fighting for our values and we have to do it together”, said Baroness Falkner. She invited Mr. Yavlinsky to use Liberal International as a platform to reach out to the international democratic community.

The discussions also focused at the economic crisis that has been shaking the world over the past years and the future perspectives. Mr. Yavlinsky elaborated on his latest book *‘Realeconomi: The Hidden Cause of the Great Recession’*. He expressed fear that the economic crisis is not over, as the modern economic theory doesn’t include the dominant “greed” and “lack of real capital” on which the financial systems rely.

## **RDR Storms to Election Victory in Cote d'Ivoire Elections**

President Alassane Ouattara's party, the Rassemblement des Republicains (LI Full Member) has won the largest number of seats of any political party in Cote d'Ivoire's local and regional elections.

RDR secured one-third of all seats in the first elections of their kind for a decade; the poll was seen as a trial-run ahead of the presidential elections in 2015. Putting to rest concerns about violence following declarations, this election past with only minor protests from supporters of independent candidates, with the head of the UN mission in the country calling the ballot “free, transparent, calm and credible”. Commenting on the gains made by RDR, President of the Republic and LI Vice President, Alassane Ouattara, said: “The local elections are an opportunity to assess and to reassess the will of the people, and to implement the policies and projects that are wanted by the people at the local level”. Analysts have questioned the opposition party of former dictator Gbagbo to boycott the elections, describing the move as “a major risk” and suggesting that without officials in parliament and local offices, it will be difficult for them to take part in national debates.

## **UN appoints Mongolian Liberal to lead fight against climate change**

Dr. Sanjaasuren Oyun MP, leader of LI full member Civil Will Green Party. Mongolia, has just been elected the president of the first United Nations Environment Assembly (UNEA), which started this morning in Nairobi.

Speaking at the United Nations Environmental Assembly, Dr Oyun said: “The next two years will be critical for achieving progress on environmental, climate change, and post-2015 development agenda issues. It is the historical responsibility of the UNEA, UNEP, and us, Environment Ministers, to get it right. We do not have the luxury of time.” The overarching theme of the first session is “Sustainable Development Goals and the Post-2015 Development Agenda, including sustainable consumption and production”, which is designed to inform ongoing discussions on the formulation of a set of targets and indicators that would succeed the Millennium Development Goals.

# WAR on Rape & Murder

## Women Against Rape / Black Women's Rape Action Project

On 28<sup>th</sup> May 2014, two teenage girls were brutally gang raped and lynched by higher class landowners in Uttar Pradesh, India. Hundreds of villagers, including many women & girls, protested by sitting under the tree where the bodies hung. They refused to move until the authorities arrested the suspects. The local chief of police had ignored the father's report of the girls' abduction for over twelve hours. Had the police acted sooner, the girls might still be alive. The village protesters' determination to get justice resulted in the police finally arresting three of the suspects and two police officers for shielding the perpetrators. The search continues for the other men suspected of being involved, at the time of writing. The London protest was called to show international support for the victims' families and their communities.

These protests and last years mass protests all over India against the rape and murder of Jyoti Singh Pandey, and the international support for them, show how determined women are to end rape, and how we face similar violence and similar sexism wherever we are.

For years our sisters in India have been organizing against rape and murder in the family, but also by landlords, police and the military. But Dalit and Tribal women's struggles have not been given prominence and support by the media or by most middle and upper class women in India or in the UK.

In our experience of dealing with rape and domestic violence here in the UK, the police are also the main obstacle to rape survivors getting justice. Only 6.7% of rapes in the UK end in conviction, even less when rape is by a partner or ex-partner. We see daily cases dropped, as police have not gathered evidence properly or the Crown Prosecution Service has decided that it is not good enough to take to court. This is especially true for children, women of colour, women with disabilities, women who have been raped before and working class women generally.

That's why abusers and rapists like Savile and those in Rochdale and Oxford, childrens' homes in North Wales, Jersey and elsewhere, were allowed to go on for so long without being prosecuted, despite having been reported to the police and social services a

number of times. Vulnerable women and girls were treated as 'plebs' who exist to be available to sexual predators.

Vulnerable women in Yarl's Wood Immigration Detention Centre have recently spoken out about racist sexual assault and other discriminatory treatment by guards. Compelling accounts are now being investigated. In April 2014, the UN's Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Rashida Manjoo, was barred from Yarl's Wood by the Home



Office when she tried to investigate complaints about the centre as part of her fact-finding mission into violence against women in the UK. Police and government must answer for their complicity in failing to investigate complaints and deporting women despite ongoing inquiries.

The novelist Arundhati Roy has focussed on rape committed by police, army and others in authority, against women who have least. That these rapes are not prosecuted gives violent men to go ahead – they know the authorities are on the side of the rapist and women are undefended. In demanding justice in India, we demand justice for all, beginning with grassroots women everywhere, from India to the UK.

On 4th June, the Indian embassy in London, saw a massive demonstration against the rape and murder of women in India and the failure of the Indian government to act upon this. The Black Women's Rape Action Project and Women Against Rape were amongst those demonstrating.

[www.womenagainstrape.net](http://www.womenagainstrape.net) [bwrap@rapeaction.net](mailto:bwrap@rapeaction.net)  
[war@womenagainstrape.net](mailto:war@womenagainstrape.net)

**From Nawa Chhattisgarh Mahila Samiti  
(Chhattisgarh Women's Organisation),  
Chhattisgarh State, India. 4<sup>th</sup> June 2014**

We are an organization of Dalit and Adivasi women. We condemn the rapes and murders of the two young Dalit girls in Uttar Pradesh. They have not arrested the people responsible. The government has to give justice to the girls and their families. Many women's organizations in India are protesting and demanding justice. Left political parties are supporting this case as well as Mayawati Kumari, a Dalit woman leader from Uttar Pradesh Parliament (Bahujan Samaj Party). In Chhattisgarh girls and women are also raped. We help Dalit and Tribal women report rape and demand the police take statements, gather evidence and bring a prosecution of the rapist.

*NCMS is an anti-racists organization of Adivasi (Tribal) and Dalit women campaigning against bonded labour, rape, low and unequal pay and other discrimination. It brings together people from these two communities who are divided by landowners and other employers. NCMS is part of the Global Women's Strike network.*

## **BLAIR MUST GO!**

Kiron Reid has launched a petition on Avaaz to remove Tony Blair as Quartet representative in the Middle East. He explains why and asks you to sign the petition.

A cheerleader for the military in Egypt and Israeli state repression cannot be a representative of the UN and EU. Tony Blair should be removed as Quartet representative. Internationalists of most colours who believe in human rights, justice and the rule of law are horrified that Tony Blair is officially a representative on behalf of the EU, UN, US and that other paragon of the enlightenment, the Russian state. Blair is supposed to work on achieving investment and economic development in Palestine, and thereby support peace between Israel and Palestinians. This discredited ex-Prime Minister has no ability to do that while he is inexorably associated with the failed aftermath of the Iraq invasion, and obstinately refuses any kind of engagement with the militant Hamas who represent the views of many Palestinians. Margaret Thatcher-like he rejects talking to terrorists – only our friendly military terrorists are acceptable it seems, or the ones on our side.

In April, on St. Georges Day, Blair gave a speech in which he said there were two sides in the conflict

between modern values and militant Islamists and the West had to support one side. Black and white metaphors are of course the cornerstone of political campaigning but former Prime Minister Blair did not just use a metaphor. On the white charger, there with the good guys, the 'side' we have to support is former General al-Sisi, the man in charge of an elected military repression in Egypt. Tony Blair's choice is not to support freedom, justice and fairness but to side with the military against values that the Labour Party – all mainstream European political parties – long pledged to support. His excuse is exactly the same as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan used to back General Pinochet and other Latin American dictators. Tony Blair is the puppet given a job by his World leader political friends. He cannot be an honest broker in the Middle East and he cannot represent modern civilised countries when he turns a blind eye to repression by one side.

Even popular elected military leaders can be brutal and wrong Mr. Blair. Blair seems intent on writing himself into oblivion. Maybe he could never have recovered from Iraq but a decade spent quietly trying to do that could have helped. He is unapologetic. Instead of an historic election winning Labour PM who brought peace to Northern Ireland, constitutional and social reforms and progressive foreign policy he has cemented his role as the man who could rein in US militaristic policy and again has failed to do so. Mass political show trials in Egypt, mass executions ordered, the conviction of journalists for reporting the news, a sham EU overlooking of a sham election and John Kerry announcing half billion dollar US military aid to Egypt. Tony Blair could have stood against these things but he has been the reasonable voice excusing them. ENOUGH. British and EU taxpayers, those who believe in a modern world, should not put up with this. Blair must be sacked.

Search remove Tony Blair as Quartet rep and sign the petition on Avaaz to the UN Secretary General and US Secretary of State.

### ***Kiron Reid***

## **Governing as Liberal Democrats: Social Liberal Forum conference, 19th July**

This year's Social Liberal Forum conference, which takes place at the Human Rights Action Centre, 25 New Inn Yard, London EC2A 3EA on 19th July.

Tim Farron will deliver the William Beveridge Memorial Lecture and Vince Cable will give a keynote speech on the Economy.

The confirmed speakers so far include Tim Farron, Vince Cable, Ed Davey, Claire Tyler, Sarah Ludford, Kate Parminter, Julian Huppert, Louise van der Laan, Merel Hussein-Ece, David Howarth, Ibrahim Taguri, Kelly-Marie Blundell, Prateek Buch, David Boyle, Naomi Smith, Mike Tuffrey, Simon Radford and Duncan Brack.

Book your place now for £35. Concessions (students and unwaged) pay £20. Prices include tea/coffee and lunch.

<http://socialliberal.net/>

# reviews

## **Is China Buying the World? By Peter Nolan Polity 2012 £14.99**

This is a useful little book; not only for its assessment of China, but also for its résumé of the globalized West and indeed worth a look for that alone. Nolan concludes that China is not buying the world. Large western corporations may be viewed more in that light. I would argue that China is however, positioning itself, particularly in Africa, with its aid programmes and that in terms of resource scarcity these favours will inevitably be called in.

The wake up call is that large corporations are no longer closely associated with a particular country and that there 'is little incentive for a global company to contribute to a national industrial policy'. The value of this book is as much a look at ourselves as in its insight on China.

*Stewart Rayment*



## **Charter of the United Nations: together with scholarly commentaries and essential historical documents, edited by Ian Shapiro and Joseph Lampert Yale University Press 2014**

This book contains the core documents of the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, introduced by some key statements from the conferences where the foundations of this enterprise were laid. It then launches into a series of essays which offer comment and analysis on the world's overarching international organisation. Its

progress and struggles are constantly assessed with reference to its founding document, which makes this book a useful addition to work in this area.

The first section covers the UN's structure and the Charter in practice. There are differences between how the organization was envisaged, enacted and now functions to be explained. An interesting chapter on the legacy of the League of Nations argues that this predecessor should not be simplistically labelled a failure. At heart, it shared the same aspirations as today's body, and it taught the creators of the new institution how to manage the conflicting aims of restraining and harnessing power. Most of the authors share a deep respect for the Charter, which was designed for a different world, but somehow contained the ingredients for responding to new challenges. As Schlesinger writes, 'the UN's survival and growth, with all its infirmities, remains a testament to the shrewdness of its founders in formulating a Charter based on a unique mix of realism and idealism.' When you consider the history traced by this book, from the meeting of the USA, China, UK and USSR in the midst of the Second World War, to the 193-strong group of 2014, facing dilemmas such as the Responsibility to Protect, it is remarkable that one document has underpinned this journey.

The middle chapters are case studies on how the UN has become a key ingredient in every country's recognized Statehood. The Israel/Palestine section illustrates it poorly understood its role in its early days, but has since become the stage upon which progress is expected to occur. On the other hand, Namibia is a 'success story', where other States used several UN institutions and processes to provide the path to independence. It is helpful to see these two places side-by-side, and reflect on why the same UN structure could be dragged into the unhappy mire of one, but command the success of the other. This book's answer is that we must note the complex interaction between paper and practice if we are to understand the institution's track record.

In the final part, writers examine the way the UN counters modern threats to its dream that we 'live together in peace with one another as good neighbours' (UN Charter, Preamble). The primary focus of safeguarding international security is now commonly addressed through peacekeeping missions, although it is not the only international personality to commission such programmes. Dobbins recommends American and European forces should play a greater practical role in peacekeeping to improve capacity. However, perhaps greater consideration should be given to whether this development on the fringes of the Charter's provisions provides a counterbalance to the dominant powers of the Security Council. The

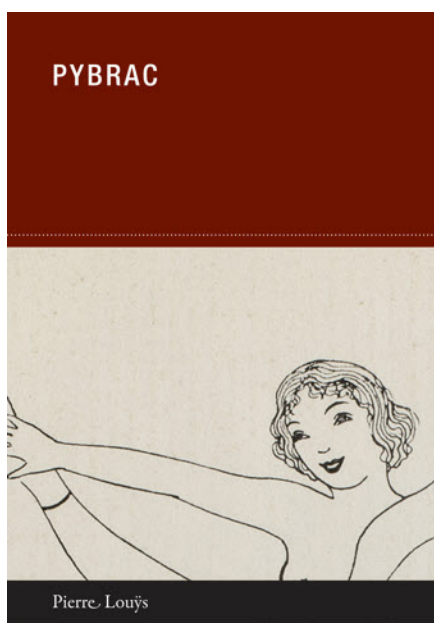
need to improvise into new territory is, of course, even greater in the fields of terrorism and climate change, which both challenge the Charter's commitment to State sovereignty. This is the battleground where the UN's future will probably be decided if we want to build international solutions to problems without borders.

The strength of this collection is that it asks us to study a familiar organization through the lens of its founding document. This perspective draws our attention to why the Charter was drafted and how it has allowed the UN to evolve. It assumes that the institution's durability will continue, and suggests States will continue to manoeuvre within the document's framework whilst the world changes. It will be for the reader to decide whether the text can withstand the global disputes to come.

*Eleanor Healy-Birt*

**Pybrac, by Pierre Louÿs  
Wakefield Press, USA 2014**

The Sixteenth century jurist and poet Guy du Faur, Seigneur de Pibrac isn't someone whose name readily rolls off an English tongue, but his quatrains were once commonplace in French moral education. Little surprise then, that someone like Pierre Louÿs would parody them, still less, since the blurb praises them as 'may well be the filthiest collection of poetry ever published', that they appeared after his death. Louÿs, whose name should be better known, brought us, amongst others *Les Chansons de Bilitis* and 'Concha Perez', respectively immortalized by Geraldine Farrer, Marlene Dietrich, Brigitte Bardot and Carole Bouquet/Ángelina Moline... yes, I suppose a bucket of water would come in handy...



This Wakefield edition combines the French side by side with an elegant translation by Geoffrey Longnecker (which he says was compiled in much the same way as Louÿs built up his collection – most of which remain unpublished, possibly lost). As a bonus, the book is illustrated with drawings by the heroic Czech Surrealist Toyen, like most of the ladies associated with that movement, only now coming into their own.

*Stewart Rayment*

**Progress at The Foundling Museum**

A visit to The Foundling Museum is worthwhile for its own sake, but their current exhibition, *Progress*, is a particular delight. The Foundling Hospital was Britain's first home for abandoned children and London's first public art gallery. Now a museum, it tells the stories of the Hospital's founder Thomas Coram, the artist William Hogarth and composer George Handel, who were early patrons, and of course the children who were taken in there.

The exhibition *Progress* takes its name from Hogarth's series *A Rake's Progress*, and three contemporary artists have taken inspiration from it. A print version of Hogarth's work is on the first floor landing (the original paintings are in Sir John Soane's Museum on Lincoln's Inn Fields, a short walk away). Hogarth's Tom Rakewell squanders his inheritance, ending up in debtors' prison and insanity. In the next room is Yinka Shonibare's 1998 *Diary of a Victorian Dandy*, a staged photographic work, clearly based on Hogarth but the moralising is only passingly implicit.

Aside from these works is David Hockney's 1961-3 *A Rake's Progress*, another print work, starkly minimal alongside Hogarth's. Hockney is of course, his own inspiration for the Rake, lately arrived in New York, though his 'Bedlam' is the threat of being indistinguishable from the grey mass of other people (an arrow indicates the Rake).

Grayson Perry's tapestries *The Vanity of Small Differences*, are in the basement. These were the output of his 2012 television survey of social class in Britain, *All in the Best Possible Taste*. Tim, rather than Tom Rakewell at least makes his fortune as he migrates across the class system, but the material comforts of his success do not bring happiness and his bedlam is a reckless death.

The Museum commissioned a work from Jessie Brennan - *A Fall of Ordinariness and Light*, which takes as its starting point a photograph of Robin Hood Gardens, in east London; one of our most

controversial examples of Brutalist architecture. The photo is progressively crumpled and folded until it resembles the pile of rubble Robin Hood Gardens will shortly become, as it is destined for redevelopment.

Poor Robin Hood Gardens, Smithson, the architect, aside, few seem to have loved it. Pevsner called it 'the apotheosis of public housing in the borough' and goes on to say 'though impressively monumental, the scheme is ill-planned to the point of being inhumane'. From the apostle of modern architecture, that is pretty damning. I visited it a few times; the 'streets' of which it was ostensibly conceived are too mean (in spirit, as well as scale). The site, next to the Blackwell Tunnel, is a difficult one, but even those features to make the most of the central space were impoverished to my mind. Were there budget problems? Not untypical in public housing. Whatever, Smithson blamed the



*The Enabling Power – Jessie Brennan*

Council and the Council blamed Smithson is all I've heard.

Jessie Brennan has just turned 30; she studied at Falmouth, Cardiff and the Royal College of Art, and won the Jerwood Drawing Prize in 2011. A limited edition of 50 prints of *The Enabling Power* is available for a modest £150.00 from The Foundling Museum. The building itself is the rake I suppose, a glorious conception, on paper at least, going through progressive degradation to its final destruction. Does Jessie see it like that?

*Progress* is at The Foundling Museum, 40 Brunswick Square, London WC1N 1AZ until 7<sup>th</sup> September 2014. The nearest tube is Russell Square. Take a handkerchief with you – much of the collection is sentimental, and notwithstanding the goodness intended, very sad.

*Stewart Rayment*

**Egypt on the brink, from Nasser to the Muslim Brotherhood, by Tarek Osman.**  
Yale University Press, revised edition 2013 £9.99

Osman provides a useful background to events in Egypt, particularly unravelling some of the issues around the Coptic Christian minority. Their disengagement in the face of various Islamisms and Arabism is seen as a contributory factor in the country's problems.

The liberal groupings that emerged out of the 2011 uprising are described as 'scattered, leaderless and inexperienced' – I don't think they would deny that, which is why they need all of the support LI can give them. Their message lacks the simplicity of that of the Muslim Brotherhood. The army, on the other hand, now operated under a collective leadership and it is hoped that they will act as a 'warden of stability'. That said since the coup I detect a marked change in the tone of our Egyptian correspondents, and a recent offer of support for people who had 'disappeared' was not taken up because of perceived risks involved. Whilst Liberals and western observers tend to think that the Muslim Brotherhood stood by the wayside in 2011, Osman contends that whilst Liberals initiated the uprising, Islamists provided the critical mass when it was most needed. Prior to Morsi's fall, Osman writes of splits within the Muslim Brotherhood. It had been 'liberalizing' since 2009 – presumably those who walk the path of Sheikh Mohamed Abdou coming onto its central council. (Abdou, like Rifa'a el-Tahtawi, went to Europe in the nineteenth century and famously observed 'I went to the West and saw Islam, but no Muslims; I got back to the East and saw Muslims, but not Islam' – an interesting paradox). The essence is that not all Islamists are hostile to liberal democracy.; but are we trying to find them?

However these divisions and the lack of experience were not able to form a stable government. Following four days of unrest, on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2013 the military intervened. Osman's optimism for the future of Egypt met an unscheduled glitch. My immediate assumption was that the coup must have had at least tacit American support. There was certainly support from the Gulf, whose states had been under-writing Egypt. The kings of Bahrain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia all congratulated the military, Kuwait backing this up with US\$4 billion in aid following Morsi's removal. Most of the liberal and left parties in Egypt are backing the coup including LI member, the Free Egyptian Party. However none of them are trying to come up with an alternative, and have been accused of wanting to get affiliated with the military at any price. Al Sisi, for his part, ignores all the political parties, which they completely deserve.

*Stewart Rayment*