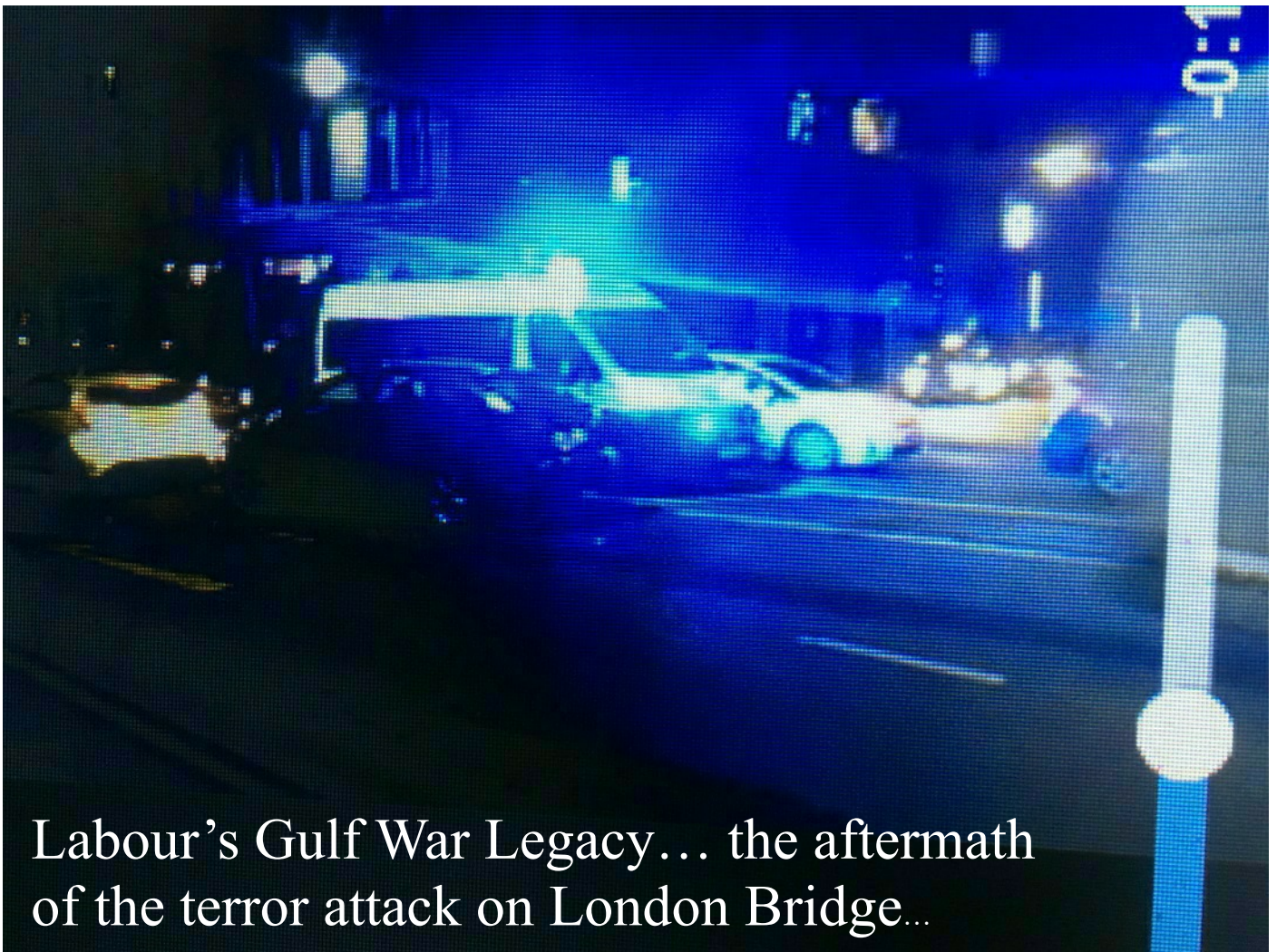




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# INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



Labour's Gulf War Legacy... the aftermath  
of the terror attack on London Bridge...

**Can Liberal Foreign Policy Survive a Politics of Fear?**

**The 2017 Garden Lecture - Nick Clegg**

**Fighting Populism: Egypt: UNESCO: Hong Kong: Qatar**

**Turkey's Justice March.**

# EVENTS

**6<sup>th</sup> September** LIBG AGM 6.30-8.30pm NLC

**9<sup>th</sup> September** Peoples' March 4EU, London  
<http://peoplesmarch4eu.org>

**16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> September** Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference. Bournemouth.

**16<sup>th</sup> September** Liberal International Manifesto Launch– Liberalism for the modern age, with Deputy Leader Jo Swinson MP. Bryanston Suite, Marriott Highcliff Hotel, Bournemouth 8.15-9.30pm

**23<sup>rd</sup> September** Scottish Liberal Democrats AGM 4 Clifton Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 5DR. 11.45am

**24<sup>th</sup> September** Brighton and Hove for Europe rally and panel discussion at Labour conference, Brighton.  
[www.europeanmovement.co.uk/brighton\\_march](http://www.europeanmovement.co.uk/brighton_march).

**1<sup>st</sup> October** #stopbrexit campaigners protest at the Conservative party conference in Manchester.  
[www.europeanmovement.co.uk/manchester\\_rally](http://www.europeanmovement.co.uk/manchester_rally)

**14<sup>th</sup> October** Liberal Party Assembly. Novotel Centre, Victoria Street, Bristol BS1 6HY

**11<sup>th</sup> November** Scottish Liberal Democrat Conference. Vine Venue, Dunfermline.

**1st-3rd December** ALDE Party Congress. Amsterdam.

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

NLC= National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London SW1A 2HE. Underground: Embankment

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**Photographs:** Dominic Buxton, Stewart Rayment, Phil Bennion, Sharon Chiu.



# Can Liberal Foreign Policy Survive a Politics of Fear?

Nick Clegg

Thank you Adam and thank you everyone at Chatham House for hosting this tenth and final Lord Garden lecture and particular thanks to Sue for inviting me. As someone in what is now in Parliamentary terms, somewhat homeless, without an address or an abode, it is particularly kind of you to take pity on us errant souls and allow us to join you here this evening. It really is an immense privilege. Fittingly, of course, given Tim's reputation and given the many aspects of his remarkable career. There has been such a distinguished range of academics, journalists and politicians who have made up the cast of lecturers who have spoken before me over the last ten years. Former Defence Secretary, George Robertson gave the inaugural lecture; Professor Peter Hennessey, Jon Snow from Channel Four News, and my party colleges and friends, Shirley Williams, Ming Campbell and Paddy Ashdown, have give speeches on subjects ranging from the future of Europe to the rise of Barack Obama, the importance of global defence cooperation, to the implications of the 2010 General Election. So it really is an immense privilege for me to be able to follow them here today to speak in honour of the memory of Tim. As Adam's mentioned, he moved so effortlessly between many varied worlds, military, academia, journalism and of course politics, which is how I came to know him, if all too briefly. And wherever Tim worked, who ever he spoke to, what ever he argued, he was always respected, not only as a voice of authority, something which is alas increasingly rare today, a voice of great reason.

For three decades he served in the RAF, during which the terrifying prospects of nuclear war was more real than at any time since the Cuban Missile Crisis, and when there seemed to be little hope of a thaw in US-Soviet relations. His military career was varied and distinguished. Tim flew Vulcan planes and Chinook helicopters, commanded an airbase, worked in senior roles at the Ministry of Defence and later had a spell as Director of the Royal College of Defence Studies. He retired from the RAF in 1996 at the rank of Air Marshall, embarking on an equally varied second phase of his career, which of course, included a spell as Director of this wonderful place, Chatham House. He had a deep and inner knowledge of the workings of the Ministry of Defence, military strategy and of international politics, but his lightness of touch meant that he was equally at ease in explaining highly complex geopolitical issues to the public as he was in discussing them in rarefied think tanks in London. And when Tim joined the House of Lords as a Liberal Democrat peer in 2004 those in the party who knew him were of course, thrilled and the rest quickly realized that a considerable talent and real asset had joined their team. Working closely with Charles Kennedy, our then leader, Tim led the challenge to the Labour government as it took the country into the disastrous Iraq war. His was also a crucial voice in debates on British military engagement in Afghanistan, the renewal of the Trident nuclear deterrent and during the passage of the Electoral Administration Bill in addressing the problems of registration and voting for members of the armed forces and their partners. It is hard to believe that his Parliamentary career lasted only three years and it is not hard to see how valuable his sage advice could have been in today's increasingly volatile world. As the UK's future in Europe is shaped by the Conservative party in collective melt down, as America is led by an unpredictable president who appears unconvinced of the merits of global leadership, let alone the special relationship, as nationalist leaders tighten their unforgiving grip in Moscow, Budapest, Istanbul and as conflict rages the Middle East and in parts of Africa, I'm sure I'm not alone in wishing Tim was here to provide some of his characteristic wisdom and maybe some reassurance too.

Throughout much his political and military career he faced a world of competing ideologies as capitalism and communism collided. Yet when the end of the Cold War eventually came, with the reunification of Germany and the reshaping of Europe, Tim, along with all of us, had to adapt suddenly to an era of considerable uncertainty and disruption. Today, nearly three decades on from the collapse of the Berlin Wall we find ourselves in a world in which once again old certainties are being questioned and the values we cherish are under threat. A Chatham House audience hardly needs to be told how we arrived in this most



unsettling of places, where a critical cocktail of historical events, sociological change and geopolitical shifts have combined to make the world feel very different today than it did even a decade ago when the first of these lectures was given. The ending of the Cold War. The rise of the Internet and social media and the challenge that has posed for traditional sources of news and information. The end of class based politics. The global economic crash in 2008 and its hugely disruptive effects. The way that people on low and middle income, millions of them, have been left searching for explanations and solutions to their predicament in the years that followed. And then, as a result, an acute outbreak of Populism, nowhere more so than in the Anglo-Saxon world that voted for Brexit and then the election of Donald Trump.

So how do we reassert the values of internationalism, of multilateralism and Liberalism? Can a liberal foreign policy survive the politics of fear? My view is it can, but only if we follow three important steps. First, quite simply, don't give up. Multilateralism is slow, it is imperfect, but there is no remedy to the challenges faced by modern Liberalism which does not require countries to work together. The truth is, we have to pool our sovereignty in order to survive and thrive in the modern world. This has to be restated, it is a simple truth, well understood here, but it has to be restated again and again with conviction and with passion. To pool decision making with others for mutual benefit isn't a loss of sovereignty. It is the only way in which we secure our strategic interests and guarantee our security and prosperity in a globalized world. A good, current example of the abject failure by politicians for making the case for the pain-staking give and take which any multi-lateral engagement involves is of course, this government's inability and unwillingness to prepare the British people for the significant compromises that Brexit must entail. The talks, which finally commenced this week, will not be easy. In my view, with the clock is ticking, there are now three possible scenarios left. A disastrous collapse; an extension to the timescale or a significant softening of the government's negotiating stance to allow a generous transition period in which many of the features of EU membership continue to apply. The humiliating climb down this week on the sequencing of the discussions has already revealed the hollowness of this government's rhetoric and highlighted the inevitability of compromise.

The Boris Johnson, Daniel Hannon view of our place in the world is of swash-buckling nation which can duck and weave if it weren't just held back by others. This is a seductive idea that we could recapture the imperial reach of the past by throwing off the shackles of multilateralism; it is a dangerous illusion. They, and other critics of the European Union, like to claim that the EU is part of the past. Instead they talk about a future in which a global Britain, unencumbered by EU membership, lies tantalisingly in prospect. The truth of course, is exactly the other way round. A global Britain is in many ways a euphemism for imperial nostalgia, while pooling sovereignty in our own hemisphere is only way to influence that aspects of the modern world, from terrorism to trade, from climate change to fisheries, which cross borders.

Those who dismiss the European Union and being a part of it are not only rejecting multilateralism, they are also rejecting the idea that we need to stand tall in our own backyard in order to stand tall in the great capitals of the world. Far from increasing our standing in Washington or Beijing, the decision to leave the EU is already seen in those capitals as a sign of Britain's decline, pushing us bit by bit to the margins in international affairs. Take the recent visit of Prime Minister Modi and President Xi Jinping to Europe; both visited a number of other countries in the EU. Xi Jinping attended a European summit in Brussels and Modi visited Germany, France and Spain, but neither came to the UK or sort one to one talks with Theresa May. Both China and India, the two supreme new global powers, see working with the EU and not the UK as their priority. China and the EU issued a joint statement on forging ahead with the Paris Accords on Climate Change, from which the UK was noticeably absent. At the head of the EU-India Summit later this year, Prime Minister Modi has talked about the India-EU trade and investment agreement being restarted during his visit, a deal which irony of ironies had been stymied by the stubborn approach of the British government, in particular its former Home Secretary, one Theresa May, whose resistance to granting admission to Indian visitors who want to come to the UK for business, work or study. You couldn't make it up. The very country that is now claiming that by leaving the EU we will be able to embark on greater free trade was the same country that blocked greater free trade with the European Union and one of the world's great emerging economic powers.

So it is clear to me that to make a difference in the world you have to be, or you have to have an anchor organised multilaterally in your own hemisphere. This applies to security as much as it does to trade. We don't know what the long term impact of Brexit will be our security relationship with America, our leadership role in NATO or our place on the UN Security Council, but all, all of those security fundamentals will be weakened if we pursue the vision favoured for Britain by the arch-Brexiteers.

Second, we must be aware that to fix populism, to address populism, also requires us to fix our own economy. I'm not going to pretend that all of our problems can be solved by pursuing a soft Brexit or indeed by persuading the public to think again about leaving the EU, although I would be the first to celebrate it if they did. The discontent that underlies Donald Trump's and Nigel Farage's politics of chauvinism is real, and if we are to beat them we have got to address an underlying discontent felt by millions of our fellow citizens. Of course we've got to overhaul our international institutions from the EU to the UN to make them more efficient, more accountable to the people of the nations they serve.

But oddly enough, that's the easy bit. We need to be much tougher on ourselves. The genesis of these problems lie within the socio-economic imbalances in our own society. The mainstream politicians of all stripes are failing to deliver on the bread and butter issues that matter to voters. The housing problem, the housing crisis of our country for example, has been festering for years with social housing in decline, too little affordable housing, sky-rocketing rents and an over-reliance on a disfunctional private sector that has not built enough homes and not enough good quality homes. Real



terms of incomes have been stagnant since 2008, and prosperity and growth that was promised hasn't arrived. According to the Institute of Fiscal Studies, the average British family will be 18% or £5,000, worse off in 2022 than they would have been if the crash in 2008 had never happened; a decline which is unprecedented since records began, possibly unprecedented in a modern industrial era. But this has erupted into a populist backlash, Syriza in Greece to Podemos in Spain, the right movements of Marie Le Pen, Geert Wilders and Nigel Farage; none of that surprises. But I think we can and should ask ourselves why Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-American economies appear to be less resilient to this wave of populism than many mainland European countries.

Populism has not been defeated in mainland Europe, but it does appear to have been contained. We were told a few months ago that Wilders would definitely win in the Netherlands; that Le Pen would take the presidency and pull France out of the Euro, if not the European Union altogether, and that Angela Merkel's position was definitely in doubt. None of those things have come about. Yet in Britain a revolution overturned four decades of EU membership and in the United States an angry populist was elected president of the most powerful nation on the planet. It is perhaps too early to tell, but important for the future to understand the impact of the different responses in the US and the UK on the one hand and Europe on the other to the economic crisis. Here and in the United States we managed to keep people in work, but we only did so by presiding over reduced or stagnant pay. In fact, the UK stands alone as a rich developed economy that experienced strong economic recovery in which real wages of workers fell. On the continent, by contrast, they experienced mass unemployment, in which the majority were protected by a generous welfare state and those who did not lose their jobs remained in work and saw their wages and their in-work entitlements grow. Did this, perhaps, create a body of voters with an inbuilt incentive to hold on to the status quo and shun the wilder risks of populism? It may be that the much-maligned European welfare model that has numerous problems associated with it, nonetheless did a much better job of preserving a sense of

common purpose at a time when our society and politics feel like they are fraying at the seams. We need to understand whether low regulation, low paid economies are as a result, less well insulated from the political storms than our continental neighbours.

Third, to beat populism we must always remind ourselves of the people and the vested interests we're up against. Tomorrow marks a full year since the referendum and the vote to leave the European Union. But time, I think it would be fair to say, has not healed and the language of that wretched campaign remains very much in use today. The liberal elite, the global elite, saboteurs, or to quote our own Prime Minister, the citizens of nowhere. Those of us who argued for Britain remaining part of the European Union, those of us who believed in the global outlook, those of us who support an internationalist view of the world were dismissed flippantly, aggressively, incorrectly, by people who do not share our values. But it is these people who are truly now an elite. They are the new Brexit elite. While the Brexit eruption of June the 23<sup>rd</sup> 2016 was at times angry, in part built upon ugly nationalism and yes, fuelled by grassroots discontent, the ideas, the money, the organisation, the propaganda of the Brexit campaign were fuelled by an unholy constellation of vested interests. The hedge-fund managers, for whom EU-wide regulations are an over-burdensome hindrance to their financial ambitions. The owners and editors of the right-wing press, many of whom don't even live here or pay taxes here, whose visceral loathing of the European Union has shaped their papers tone and coverage for decades. The Tory back-benchers, many of them still inhabit a preposterous past where Britannia still rules the waves and diplomacy is best conducted from the Royal Yacht. A handful of multi-millionaire business men who have, in some cases, over thirty years or more bankrolled which ever party or politician stands on the most aggressive EU-bashing platform, and perhaps most sinister of all, dizzy and wealthy individuals in the United States whose money is now being traced from libertarian think tanks to Donald Trump's election campaign, and now to those organisations who helped to fight to take the United Kingdom out of the European Union.

What unites that new Brexit elite? What unites those disparate vested interests? What unites them is this, a shared vision of Britain as a low tax, low regulation nation. A sort of Singapore on stilts, standing precariously on its own, cast adrift from Europe, and so they would argue, able to do as it pleases, or rather, in the case of this new Brexit elite, able to do as they please. Nothing would guarantee greater turbulence and fear than their vision of the future. For reasons which she has never managed to explain, this was and perhaps continues to be Theresa May's vision to. Brexit meant Brexit she told us, and in her case it meant the most extreme and ideologically rigid of all Brexits. Dragging Britain out of the Single Market and the Customs Union, ending Freedom of Movement, pulling Britain out of the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice, and as a result, denying this country vital access to EU-wide security databases. With so much uncertainty in the world today it is a truly dangerous vision for Britain. But it was a vision in many ways rejected at the recent general election and it is a vision that we must never ever allow to succeed in the ballot box, and to ensure that it never does we must respond urgently and with careful thought to the challenges that Liberalism, internationalism and multilateralism face today.

This speech may not have focused in depth on global affairs, but that is because at root the crisis that liberal internationalism finds itself in today is not actually about foreign policy at all, it is about domestic policy, about the socio-economic conditions that people have to contend with, and most importantly, the disruptive aftershocks of the 2008 economic crash and the different ways in which different developed economies and mature democracies have responded to those aftershocks. And these are challenges that must be and can be addressed by deep and radical thinking with a patient commitment to the causes that drive us and with a refusal to give in even when it seems that those very causes are under sustained and relentless attack. If we do that and work together with Liberalism, internationalism and multilateralism so the principles and values that Tim believed in can thrive. The problems of recent months will be seen as what I hope they are, a series of bumps on a road to a more open world. Thank you very much.

**Adam Ward:** Well thank you very much for what was a bracing but ultimately not a pessimistic assessment, rather than the opposite. Let me just provoke you on two points in response to that - why do you think its been so difficult, especially in this country to persuade people of the benefits of pooling of sovereignty? How do you account for the instinctive aversion to that? The gap between that, and what you see as a self-evident benefit?

**Nick Clegg:** I think there are many reasons, but I think clearly, because we did not experience, thankfully, some of the violent and traumatic ruptures that other European countries did, occupation, war, Fascism, defeat, we were able to draw on a sense of continuous exceptionalism which doesn't encourage the idea that in order to do the best for yourself you need to work hand in glove with others. It's something that the British political media establishment has always misunderstood. I remember shortly after I entered government in 2010, it was the height of another Eurozone crisis and I was sitting in a meeting with the then Chancellor and the Governor of the Bank of England and various senior members of the Cabinet, senior mandarins of Whitehall, I was breezily told 'Well the Euro's going to collapse in three months or so and the European Union will probably unravel in the next six'. I said 'You are completely wrong', I said the Eurozone may be built on shaky economic foundations, but you misunderstand the cultural and historical reasons why there is a commitment to what in many respects are shaky and irrational policies on the part of the EU countries. If you are one of the founding member states, France, Germany, the Netherlands etc. you know, the resonance of European integration, the association of European integration as an act of peace after the war and for Portugal, Greece, Spain, the association of entering into the European Club, of democracy after Fascism, if you are part of the family of nations that joined Europe even later, its kind of liberty after Soviet Communism.

We never had any of, we never had those profound emotional roots and the roots of our European identity have always been quite lightly held and quite shallow, which is why it's been so easy to uproot them. And I think many explanations such as the vested interests I talked about have been at it for years, but I don't think would have succeeded in uprooting our European identity as they did if we had had a different history.

**Adam Ward:** The second provocation, you seem very confident, have a strong argument that populism is something that can be attacked through technocratic policies, sound economic judgements in policies and a variety of other measures. What do you say to those people who say 'well there's actually something more to that – more ephemeral, hard to pin down, there's a zeitgeist element to this, its like a fever that infected the body politic and it just needs to sweat itself out and they'll be a return over time, more like we've been accustomed too?

**Nick Clegg:** Well I'm sure that things will change of course, and it's quite important, by the way. that populism and populists are seen to fail.

**AW:** This is an experiment and it has to run yet.

**NC:** No, no, it's very important that Trump is seen to fail. I would love to see what I see as the policy populism of Corbyn tested and seen to fail, because I think it's nonsense. Its simplistic solutions to very complex problems. I wish Theresa May was not [prime minister], I mean I wish Michael Gove or Boris Johnson had become Prime Minister last year, because they were the ones who got us into the mess and I would like to see them held accountable for it.

**AW:** So you need populists to be tested, that takes a bit of time for sure.

**NC:** But I don't regard it as the slightest bit technocratic to say that the challenge for mainstream politicians is not just to bemoan populists and say how ghastly they are, not to just to try to out compete them with emotion and vitriol, but to provide better answers, some of the underlying socio-economic dysfunction. It's a bold claim to make but I would hazard a sort of guess that if 2008 had not happened we would not have voted for the country to leave the European Union and that Trump would not have been elected as president. I think it is even impossible to exaggerate the entirely legitimate rage and powerlessness that people feel. And I met lots of them in the run-up to the referendum. In fact I remember vividly, I was standing on a street corner in a lovely part of my then constituency. I don't say that bitterly, handing out leaflets and this chap came up, a very nice guy, I'd helped his daughter with learning difficulties, and I helped her get into a school, so he says 'Hi Nick' cheerful, so I said to him how are going to vote? And he said 'Oh, I'm going to vote for Brexit' so I said 'Why are you going to do that?' So he said 'Come on, I'm not going to vote for Remain, remain sounds like everything is fine, just carry on as you are'. Its really quite interesting that the word remain should annoy him, but he said that 'I haven't had a pay rise

in eight years, every week and every month I take less money home because of problems that I didn't create, but the wretched bankers screwed up and you politicians told me it should be getting better now, the regulators messed up and not any of them are being held to account and you want me to tick the box for Remain?' I had no argument for that because he was saying that status quo was rubbish was anything better than what I'd got? Which is what I was referring to in the speech, its why the kind of Rust Belt reaction of America. The kind of lurch from one kind of false hope, false promise of salvation seems to catch on more. There's almost a sort of political nihilism, with people saying 'Oh to hell with this, I'll try anything' whereas I actually think if you look at what's happened in the Netherlands or France and Germany, Spain, I think there is an army of voters there that actually have an incentive to hold on to what they've got and not risk it on the roulette table of populism. Sorry, what was the question? [laughter]

**AW:** I don't know, but the answer will do. I note that you talk about a particular susceptibility of Anglo-Saxon economies to these challenges and the welfare model of Europe was more effective in dealing with some of these issues. It was a close run thing in France in some ways, in the run-up closer than it transpired to be in the light of Macron, do you think that there is a risk complacency about actually getting to grips with some of the root causes of some of the issues?

**NC:** Yeah, yeah, absolutely, you know, Mark Rutte had to duck and weave furiously, you know, kind of genuflect towards what the anti-immigration rhetoric in the Netherlands; Rajoy somehow scrapped his way back into power in Spain by hook or by crook, and Macron of course. We mustn't be complacent no one must at all imagine that populism can disappear, and just a word on populism, Gandhi was a populist there's a very powerful positive role for populism in shaking up a complacent elite or an unsatisfactory status quo, its an incredibly important antidote to elitism, complacency, and so on and so forth, but I just wonder I just put it to the question, given how much kind of Anglo American commentaria ... say that because its happened in America, because its happened in Britain, well of course it's a matter of time before it happens in Germany, Spain, but it didn't work out at all, in all of those countries. Except for Central Eastern Europe that's slightly different, there's an outburst of chauvinism there, but you have to ask yourself why millions of voters shunned the siren voices of angry simplistic populism and I pose those questions, at one point its because those who are in work, and there the facts are very clear, partly because the tax system works, the way in which in-work benefits are administered, the way wage bargaining operates, you have just seen for those who were lucky enough to be in work, and I'm not necessarily advocating this as a great model, because its been accompanied by mass youth unemployment, but the fact is that you've got an army in work for whom barely noticed an impact on there entitlement to pay, whereas here, particularly the public sector, there was a remorseless squeeze, when it comes year after year after year. I just think that that has a very profound effect on how you look at the world, after year after year after, however hard you work, you work even longer hours than before and you earn the same or you earn less. It has such a debilitating effect on your mood towards the future.

### *Questions from the floor*

**Ian: International Business Times** If there was an EU Referendum today, what would the result be and why?

**Nick Clegg:** Every prediction that I've made over the last ten years has been wrong so I don't see why I should get it right now [laughter]. Firstly there has been a real mobilisation of young people, generally, which is great, fantastic and we can keep that up. I mean, I think Jeremy Corbyn's manifesto is one of the most cynical, callow manifestoes I've ever seen, but he does need to be praised for becoming the rallying point for many, many young people. I really hope that remains, because it will provide balance to this terrible incentive, which is what it has been up to now, for politicians of all parties to cater for older voters at the cost of younger voters. Of course, and its very ironic that young people have rallied to Jeremy Corbyn's standard, even though his manifesto is almost indistinguishable from Theresa May's when it comes to Brexit. Anyway, but many young voters clearly that he's the new messiah and will protect them from Hard Brexit, so that I'm assuming that would happen again in the Referendum. You know young people voted in very large numbers on the 23<sup>rd</sup> June last year, over 60% of voters turning out aged 18 to 24, over 70% of those voting Remain. But that compares, I think, to over 90% turnout for some of the older



cohorts, and if that could be levelled up there would be a dramatic effect. I think now its pretty widely understood by the public that the most notable claim of £350 million quid for the NHS was a lie and crucially I think it dawning on voters that this is altogether more complex, more painful, more lengthy and economically, possibly more harmful than they thought when we tossed that coin last year. So I of course would like to think that the result would be a resounding vote to stay in the EU

**Trisha: an opinion writer:** A couple of things, on the EU, you don't mention the role of the press, but I think the last twenty years of covering the EU as its been covered in this country has made a lot of people who were Brexiteer, it was very easy for them to vocalise their emotional response to whether they stayed in or not. I've lived many many years in an area of Spain where there is no tabloid press and when one talks about the failures of a government or a system, there's not that knee-jerk reaction that one gets from these titles. How much do you think that the press played a part in the Brexit vote and it was easy to go there, whereas for Remainers it was more difficult to basically be eloquent about why they wanted to remain?

**NC:** Of course there is an impact if year after year, day after day, month after month you are constantly fed a rich diet of, you know, sometimes completely fictional stories about this directive, that directive, this monstrous bureaucracy in Brussels, which I think only used to be half the size of Birmingham City Council, whose budget is a fraction of our own national one, and all that kind of stuff. Of course that has an effect. My own view is that its reported at least that Paul Daikin, the vile editor of the Daily Mail, has said to David Cameron when they met in Downing Street, either in the run-up or during the Referendum, he pointed at the television and said 'That's why you'll lose the Referendum' and he pointed to a picture of hapless refugees in dinghies fleeing from Syrian conflict. And what he did day after day after day after day to millions of people is conflate the Mediterranean refugee crisis with violence an terrorism in the European Union, and that quite understandably made quite a lot of people go woe, woe, woe, I'm not sure if I want that. It was cynical, it was untrue, it was devastatingly effective, and so I think there were lots of things that came together to deliver this narrow majority for Brexit. But in the same way I wonder how we would have voted as a nation for Brexit if, as that chap I was talking to in Sheffield explained to me, if people weren't suffering year after year of the squeeze on their real incomes after 2008, I also wonder if they wouldn't have



*HE Ms. Mona Juul, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy & Nick Clegg at the Diplomatic Reception, NLC, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2017*

got that final edge in the debate if that Mediterranean refugee crisis had not been happening at the same time and if the British tabloid press, their point of view devastatingly effective if utterly mendacious, used that as the sort of emotional calling card to voters who were still making up their minds. So yeah, of course it has an effect. But I mean, having said that I sometime think, I mean, that sometimes we can exaggerate the influence. There's no one single influence. Looking back on it, I think it's remarkable that 48% of people voted to Remain. If you write on a piece of paper all of the forces that were concatenating to nudge people one way or the other, it's a remarkable achievement that it was such a close run thing in the end.

**Eleanor:** In the Scandinavian countries, Denmark in particular, there's a much higher standard of living than there is here, and the gap between rich and poor is infamously much smaller, but there's been a huge increase of anti-European Union, anti-European feeling, and the kind of populist vote there as well. How would explain that when there isn't the same socio-economic issues happening there that are happening here?

NC: For a start, those caricatures are not quite as neat as you imagine. Some of the caricatures of inequality in this country are, inequality is unfortunately set to increase quite rapidly in this country, though broadly speaking, it exploded in the Eighties and then remained relatively stable until, basically, now, particularly if the government goes ahead with certain measures. But inequality has dramatically increased in some previously more egalitarian countries. They've experienced, I'm not sure about Denmark, but Sweden has experienced, per head, far greater introduction of refugees from the violence in the Middle East and else where, far more, on a scale that I think would be almost unimaginable here. But I'll tell you one area where I think there is some common thread between what I was talking about earlier, which is the exceptionalism of British history, compared with some of the rupture elsewhere, is that you hear a similar way in which people talk about European integration in Scandinavia. We sort of joined with a collective shrug of our shoulders in the Seventies, it was a sort of Oh well, damn this European Community, if we can't beat them we might as well join them and we sort of shuffled in, it was almost an admission that we no longer ruled the waves and that we'd better pitch in. It wasn't done with a great deal of enthusiasm, it was sold in the Seventies, as if all taking out pocket calculators to work out whether the prices would be cheaper in the shops, there was nothing emotionally aspirational, it was almost an admission of our relative decline in the international pecking order that we decided to join the European Club. You hear very similar language, almost similar adjectives and adverbs in the way in which the act of joining Europe in Scandinavia took place first. It was also an admission that the exceptionalism of the Scandinavian welfare model could no longer continue in isolation. So it was done almost out of sense of resignation rather than out of a sense of aspiration and triumph and I think that's one of the reasons why you have quite similar Euro-sceptical language in Scandinavia and Britain.

Denis: a Liberal Democrat & member of the European Movement. Is not one of the reasons, perhaps the main reason why there is not evidence of a major shift in public opinion towards staying in the EU is the utterly unrealistic promises that they are being given? It seems to me that both the Conservatives and Labour parties are saying this – we will be able to get an agreement which will give us a virtually (sometimes they leave out the virtually) everything that we already have within the Single Market and the Customs Union, and we'll not have to pay anything, or very little, we will not have to have the jurisdiction of the European Courts and we'll not have to let anybody in, etc. if we want them coming in, immigrants. All of the other 27 will continue to have all of those obligations and everybody will be perfectly happy with that. Now you don't have to say it to know how ridiculous that is. How soon will it be shown how ridiculous that is?

NC. Well, as Mark Carney elegantly put it, there is a long, fine tradition of cake and consumption rhetoric when it comes to how the Brexiteers talk about this, and that's, by the way, combined with a British pragmatic and phlegmatic attitude, which I certainly encountered in my attempts to win the Sheffield Hallam election, I'm not bitter, I promise you that. I heard this phrase over and over again on the doorstep, 'Well, better make the best of it'. It's an admirable thing, 'well, we are where we are, move along, come on, we'd better make the best of it'. So I think the combination of the cake and consumption rhetoric, the fact that Brexit hasn't happened, the negotiations haven't started and all the economic reality has not yet impinged on people, and an admirable British shrug of the shoulders and 'oh well, we are where we are'. I think all of those things are totally understandable combined, and because no ones been asked to make another decision. All of that's quite understandably combined, I don't generally follow the polls, but I'm assuming there's a stasis if not a slight change towards Brexit in the polls, in as much as they are meaningful at all, I don't think they are, because people are being asked wholly theoretical questions. It doesn't actually surprise me. When will that change? Well it will change when the reality bites, it's coming upon us pretty soon. The negotiations have started and you have a political establishment in Westminster, you are quite right, both the Labour and Conservative parties, who refuse to spell out to the British people that you cannot enter into a negotiation with 27 sovereign governments and parliaments and expect them to give you everything that you want without entering into very difficult, sometimes controversial even unpopular compromises. The British people haven't been prepared at all, at all, because the Labour party won't. And we had this peculiar election, where the British electorate were told was about Brexit, and then Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn, both for completely different reasons, decided to talk about everything else but Brexit. Theresa May was talking to Crosby as if it was a 'Me, Me' election, and he (Corbyn), of course, has no interest in talking about the European Union, so also changed the subject. So I think it's going to be quite a rude awakening over the next months. We had a tiny sliver of what this was like when David Davies had to

capitulate on his ludicrous claim that he was going to a major row in the summer about the order of the talks, It's not even a particularly important row to have; as far as I can make out the EU had already gone some way to try and accommodate the Government's position by saying they'll shift to discussing the future trade arrangements when serious progress has been made on the, kind of, divorce issues. But we've already seen a smidgeon of what its going to be like, Everyone is already hyperventilated about what a humiliating climb down that was. If the scheduling of the subjects of the negotiations is considered to be a humiliating climb down, my golly what is going to come? Its going to be a whole lot worse, and personally, this is where I defer to economists in the audience, but my own view is, particularly because of the growing self-confidence in the Euro-zone, because of the sudden and precipitous decline of our growth rates, because of low productivity, very high levels of public and private indebtedness in this country, because we're an unusually open economy, very reliant on people and ideas and investment from other parts of the world, that I just find it defies belief that you can abruptly, in the next fourteen months, which is about all we've got in negotiating time, unplug yourself from your largest and most mature markets and not create significant economic disruption. So I think political haplessness in the negotiating chamber, combined with economic reality will be felt pretty damned quickly.

**X: Chatham House.** Let me prefix this by saying that I agree with everything that you have said but most people have not agreed with you; why are people like us re-fighting a lost battle rather than looking forward a few years, like five, to fight the next battle, which you said is going to be won on domestic issues and not on international issues? The last one was lost on domestic issues, you said, but yet you are still



talking about the world liberal order, most people don't care about that, it's the domestic ones. So why are you impressing the people who are already convinced and are so very angry about what happened last year, rather than the people who voted to leave?

**NC:** Because it's Chatham House. (laughter). Its not a forum to talk about class sizes or tax policies; its Chatham House, this lecture is about foreign policy and the interaction with government bodies. I don't think I am, in fact I'm trying to make a central observation, which is if you want to face the future with greater confidence you can only understand what's happening

*Nick Clegg & Adam Ward, Deputy Director of Chatham House*

internationally if you understand the depths of the imbalances in our own economies.

**Flora Carmichael: BBC World Service** I want to take you back to the question, like your examiner, and ask you about the fear element, because it sounds to me that its like the liberal ruling classes that are pedalling the fear and the people are looking for hope though populism. Can you address that?

**NC:** No. I don't think that is an accurate characterisation. If you feel that your job is ever more perilous, that take home pay is ever more restricted and you worry about events that are deeply alarming, most notably, but not exclusively violence, increasingly unpredictable forms of terrorist violence. In other words, if you inhabit a world of pervasive insecurity, of course you search for hope; but you do so out of fear. You do so, and it's the most natural instinct in the world. My only point is that it is not good enough for mainstream small 'l' liberal politicians and parties and thinkers, think tanks, to bemoan populism, you have to assemble better answers for what generates that fear in the first place. Otherwise, all you are doing is trying to compete with populism by complaining about it.

There is a whole separate question which I shall try to touch on. I think that there is a real, real problem in the British economy about pay progression, or the lack of it. We as an economy have quite rightly



congratulated ourselves for keeping large numbers of people in work while other countries have seen a huge explosion of unemployment, but we've done that at the cost of an explosion in work poverty. When I started in politics, poverty was basically associated with unemployment. Poverty in the Anglo-American economies is now an in-work phenomenon. I don't think we've remotely understood what that means for our welfare system, our tax system, our labour markets. We're starting to. The tax credit system was an important feature of this; minimum wage, living wage was an important feature of this, but that's my view. My view is, you cannot in a mature democracy expect millions and millions of your fellow citizens to work harder and make do with less for close to a decade and not see that phenomenon erupt into political dissatisfaction. I just think it's kind of obvious. So the question is not to complain about it, certainly not to spread fear about it, but to come up with better answers to those deep imbalances. So it's not about whether you chose fear or hope, everybody should choose hope where you can, but hope has to be a substantive hope, it needs to be a hope which is real and which can genuinely change things. That's what personally I object to so much, the highly attractive free stuff for everybody, all paid for by 3% of the tax paying population, it's a nonsense, absolute nonsense. So yes, appeal to hope but do it with credible, real, tangible solutions, not yet more false prospectuses.

**Marcus:** Incoming graduate student at Oxford In France we saw the rise of a new centrist force from the ashes of the centre-right and the centre-left. In Britain because of the historical divides in policies, and historical grievances between the parties, it's very hard for me to imagine many Tory or Labour MPs or even members defecting to the Liberal Democrats. So my question for you is are the Liberal Democrats standing in the way of a new centrist force in British politics?

**NC:** I'm not aware that the Liberal Democrats have said to some budding Macron 'How dare you', I'm pretty sure that's not in the gift of the Liberal Democrats. I've spoken to Macron and many people around him about this. It's very, very different, a presidential or parliamentary system. If you launched an En Marche on the move movement in the UK I strongly suspect that, if you're not careful, you'd get a great deal of media attention, and lots and lots of people in our country say they'd love it, the polls would show that 20% of the people think it's a great idea and you'd have widespread but quite shallow support across the country and you might get one MP because our electoral system doesn't reward widespread movements for change. We have this crazy electoral system, this crazy electoral system. If you follow me, I don't even feel any compassion for Michael Farage, but I felt a smidgeon when his party got four million votes and all they got for that was Douglas Carswell (laughter). That is such a poor return on your electoral investment. So we have historical, parliamentary, we have this system which is basically rigged against, in economic management speak, against new market entrants. So it's a very high hurdle. For what it's worth, I've always thought, and there's endless talk, and seminars and private discussions about realignment of the left, I don't really think anything is going to happen in a big way unless there is a substantive body of men and women in the Labour party who are prepared to say 'we will leave the Labour party behind', not to create a breakaway faction, but to leave it behind. I don't see where else you'd get the impetus which is going to be big enough to change the political weather. And of course, what's happening now, I think they are making mistakes, I don't understand why they're doing it, but a lot of the critics of Corbyn are suddenly discovering hitherto well-concealed enthusiasm and admiration for this excellent, excellent manifesto, of the extraordinary leadership skills of Jeremy Corbyn. I think they are making a mistake, because I think he will be found out eventually, and I think they should stick to their guns, but that's what they are doing. So with a few very notable exceptions, the Labour party's got, they clearly think that one more heave and they'll get in. Actually, what happened with the election was that Jeremy Corbyn was subjected to a huge amount of abuse, but no scrutiny. Everything's very different when you are subjected to scrutiny and less abuse. My answer to you is I think we've got some quite profound mechanical and cultural reasons that mitigate against the kind of spring a surprise type En Marche experiment and I personally think nothing in that kind of area would happen unless something quite big happened in the Labour party and that's clearly not happening now.

**Michael Pugh: lawyer, festival organiser and university lecturer.** Coalitions are very much a theme at the moment and with the DUP we're looking at how parties that make up a coalition are able to leverage their smaller number of seats to achieve their agenda. To what extent, Nick Clegg, do you believe that the participation of the Liberal party in the Tory Coalition between 2010 and 2015 led to factors that created a politics of fear which then, in turn, led to the vote for Brexit?



**Charlotte: Liberal Democrats.** My question is to do with the recent French election and you have talked about how Macron and how Marie Le Pen was seen to be rejected with a very low turn-out of around 40%. What is that a reflection of? A reflection of people accepting the status quo and not going out to vote and people being fed up with politics and therefore not participating full stop?

**AW:** Let me deal with the last question first, do you mean the low turn-out in the latest rounds of the parliamentary elections?

**NC:** I think people get a bit knackered if you been asked to vote, how many times? I think four, in the last few weeks? I don't know, but I kind of think that people felt that once they'd got through the drama of Macron becoming president, that it kind of became obvious that Le Pen wasn't going anywhere, it was, kind of, job done. I just think that people [feel] the main decision had been taken as far as the French people were concerned. In a sense, the elections for the Assemblée Nationale are a bit of a footnote, felt like a bit of a foregone conclusion, and I think I'm right in saying that historically you tend to get this sharp drop off after tight or dramatic presidential elections. So that might be a sort of amateur, human interpretation of that.

Boy, I've been accused of being responsible for almost everything, but if that's what you are arguing, that if the Liberal Democrats hadn't entered into the Coalition in 2010 that wouldn't have led to the circumstances that subsequently led to Brexit is, forgive me, I find more than absurd.

For a start (inaudible interventions by Pugh)... Firstly, the Referendum only happened because David Cameron got a majority of his own. He and George Osborne repeatedly, for a short period of time, tried to prevail on me to agree to a Referendum on this issue when we were in coalition. It was only because the Liberal Democrats steadfastly said 'absolutely not on your nelly', sort of, export your internal family dispute into this great plebiscite, that it didn't happen.

Secondly, the damage that was done to the body politic and to our economy and to our society was done because of the greatest economic heart attack and crisis our country has seen since the oil crash of the early 1970s in 2008. It wasn't invented by the Coalition government. If what you are suggesting is that the Coalition invented those terrible socio-economic scars that still haven't [healed], I know you keep saying that they don't, but they do. Let me give you the answer, the answer is no, I don't think the Coalition government invented a lot of the socio-economic problems that we are still dealing with. They were principally but not exclusively, and were certainly accentuated by the grievous, grievous downturn in 2008 and beyond. In a sense, the history books will record that the 2010 to 2015 Coalition was in many ways just an emergency clean-up operation, trying to, kind of, stabilize the ship, trying to fill the holes, trying to stop the banking system from toppling over altogether, trying to introduce changes in the tax system, to allow people to retain most of their income, sheltering, and that was my own personal intervention, sheltering schools from the most aggressive savings at the time, and so on and so forth.

But you know we were teetering on the edge of a precipice back in 2010. I remember being told when we came into government, by an otherwise expressionless mandarin that the full liabilities, toxic liabilities of the British banking system were five times bigger than the size of the whole British economy. So what that government had to do in very invidious circumstances was basically defuse a massive powder keg which if it gone off, would have made the IMF intervention of the Seventies in this country look like a Sunday school picnic. It wasn't the Coalition that invented the damage that over-leverage banking system and the deepest downturn in modern times; we were left holding the baby. [cross-talk] Was it a perfect government? Of course it was not. Was it, in my view, a brave and decent government trying to try to provide stability, both political and economic stability at a time when governments were falling like ninepins across the rest of Europe, and at the same time, to lead on to very progressive themes in education, in tax, on apprenticeships, on pension reform; that's the way I look at it. I reject the idea that somehow we sowed the seeds for Brexit. If those were sowed, they were sowed a long, long, long time before, and David Cameron and I met at Number Ten in 2010.

**Sue Garden:** Ladies and Gentlemen, ten years after Tim's death its time to conclude these lectures in his honour and very sincere thanks to Nick, not only for your warm personal words about Tim, but for such an inciting and thought-provoking lecture; we really appreciate that you have given up your time to do this. I would like to thank our ten distinguished lecturers, I know you've mentioned most of them, but for completion's sake, they were George Robertson, Paddy Ashdown, Shirley Williams, Peter Hennessey, Jon Snow, Ming Campbell, Stuart Peach, Chief of Defence Staff, Robin Niblett, the Director here, John Holmes, our ambassador and now Nick. They were all people who knew Tim personally and who shared his internationalism, his principles and his work for peace and security.

But I would just like to say a few words about the remarkable man we remember and was such an essential part of my life for over forty years. As Nick has already said, he did have a meteoric career in the Royal Air Force. He was an acting pilot officer, giddy heights, when we met in 1964 when we were both twenty-year-old Oxford under-graduates, and he was promoted through nine ranks in the earliest opportunity at each rank. It did involve us moving 24 times in 30 years, so life was not exactly a picnic. And he was tipped for

the top, and it came to a grinding halt over night, when on the eve of his appointment as a Commander in Chief he was unexpectedly called in by the Chief and told out of the blue that the appointment was conditional on my giving up work. It would be utterly unacceptable for a C-in-C's wife to work and would set a very bad example for other Air Force wives. Now Tim had long been a champion of equal opportunities, so without hesitation he profoundly disagreed out of principle; his appointment and his career were promptly cancelled. I think he would be pleased to know that there are now working wives and mothers who are themselves, now Air Vice-M Marshalls. Twenty years ago years ago, working wives were still inside.



But seeing that he would not be able to take up the top jobs for which he knew he was top choice he saw little point in hanging around, so he added his name to the volunteers for early retirement. So at 51, this brightest and best of Air Marshalls became an unemployed civilian. He turned down some lucrative offers from industry, which would certainly have helped with our late mortgage, but he couldn't see how they would help him to make the world a better place, so he was really delighted to be appointed here, Director of Chatham House. It was a very modest salary, but he figured that that would leave him time for his own research and writings. On arrival here he discovered a very different job from the one advertised. This internationally renowned organisation was very rapidly going bust, so he abandoned any thought of doing his own thing and he set about a painful rescue plan; restructuring, cut-backs, economies, redundancies which he loathed, he sweated blood to get the best possible deal for anybody who was going to have to lose their jobs, not through their own fault, but through the mismanagement. But of course, it was more important than ever to keep up the high profile of the director's job and not to let people realise what a complete case this place was [laughter] and of course we know, which Robin does so well these days, hosting heads of state, international travel, conferences, speeches, meetings, high level negotiations, it was an absolutely blistering combination with barely a day off.

But when he saw that Chatham House had turned the corner and had a sure financial future, he gave six months notice and he retired to go free-lance. Now he was a gifted speaker; as Nick has already mentioned he had great communication skills. He had a vast network of contacts and friends and an encyclopaedic mind, so he could actually talk about almost anything coherently, and in the run up to Iraq he used his media contacts to pound the studios, telling anybody who would listen that we would be absolutely wrong to

invade. War was wrong, wrong, wrong. And that's when he fell in with the Liberal Democrats, which you will remember, were the only political party to be against the war. He became an advisor to Charles Kennedy, and as Charles had to courageously had to face up to slings and arrows from Parliament and media for a stand he knew was morally right. And we have with us tonight another Liberal Democrat who courageously stood up to onslaught in coalition; what was the right thing to do. It is not all fun being a Lib Dem leader, I don't think. as we seem to be discovering again.

Anyway, at the first opportunity Charles put Tim into the Lords as the party's Defence Spokesman and he used this platform as an indefatigable platform for the armed forces, peace, security, justice and internationalism. But after only three years, pancreatic cancer cut short his life. And when I followed Tim into the Lords I was moved by people from all sides of the chamber wanting to tell me what an impact he'd made and how much he would be missed. My daughters, Alex and Antonia and the family, we remember the man we loved and these lectures have been a wonderful tribute to Tim's work. We do appreciate that ten distinguished people have been prepared to speak in his name on issues that were so very dear to his heart, So thank you to you the audience, I know that some of you have been here for most, if not all of these lectures and that has been very gratefully appreciated. Particular thanks to Robert Woodthorpe-Browne and Liberal International (British Group) for initiating these lectures ten years ago. To you Adam, for chairing tonight, to Robin, to the staff of Chatham House for your support and your hospitality, thank you very much. And our final thanks go to our ten stars, the lecturers, and most especially Nick, to you. Tim thought very highly of you; he knew you would be a great leader and he wasn't wrong in that, and he would have relished your wonderful talk tonight and the views you've expressed and the questions you've posed, he would have been more prepared to argue with you I'm quite sure. So you've done him proud and you have brought these lectures to a wonderful grand finale. A wonderful celebration of a wonderful man. So we wish you all the best for whatever the future holds, I'm so glad you're not bitter about Sheffield [laughter]. May I say that some of the rest of us are entitled to be.

*The tenth & final Lord Tim Garden Memorial Lecture was held at Chatham on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2017. Nick Clegg was Leader of the Liberal Democrats, 2007-2015; MP for Sheffield Hallam 2005-2017; Deputy Prime Minister 2010-2015. The meeting was chaired by Adam Ward, Deputy Director of Chatham House.*

## ***Liberal International Manifesto Launch— Liberalism for the modern age.***

The Liberal Manifesto for the 21st Century is on the LIBG and LI websites. Hard copies will be available at Liberal Democrats Bournemouth Conference where it will be launched by Jo Swinson MP, their Deputy Leader. The launch takes place on Saturday 16th September, 8.15-9.30pm in the Bryanston Suite of the Marriott Highcliff Hotel.

The Manifesto updates the 1947 Oxford Manifesto and its successor documents and is not intended as a replacement. A three-year work, led by Professor Karl-Heinz Paque of the FDP and involving Liberals from all over the world culminated with a presentation in Oxford in April and its formal adoption at the LI Congress in Andorra in May. UK Signatories included Lord John Alderdice, Robert Woodthorpe Browne and Dr Phil Bennion. It is available in French and Spanish as well as English.

The Liberal Manifesto was adopted by the Congress of Liberal International on 18th-21st May 2017 in Andorra, after a launching conference in Oxford in 2015, meetings of the Drafting Committee in Berlin, Taipei, New York and Marrakesh in 2016, two rounds of addenda and corrections by national liberal parties in the first quarter of 2017, discussions at a final conference in Oxford on 10th April 2017, a subsequent review and editing by John Lord Alderdice, and a final review by LI-President Juli Minoves.

<https://liberal-international.org/who-we-are/our-mission/landmark-documents/political-manifestos/liberal-manifesto-2017/>



## **Liberal Opposition to Populist Autocrats. Philip Bennion.**

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation organised this fringe debate chaired by their own Sebastian Vagt at the Liberal International Congress in Andorra and the title was enough to attract me to take a look. We in the UK may be looking forward to 5 years of populist autocracy so I hoped to pick up useful tips from the speakers; four politicians working in challenging situations.

The most extreme situation was faced by Pedro Urruchurtu of Vente party, Venezuela. At the Inter Parliamentary Union in Dhaka recently grave concerns were expressed about the current situation as the Chavista president Nicolas Maduro and his government are now by-passing the parliament. The executive arm has control of the security forces and simply ignore parliament. The economic situation is now so dire that people are starving despite the government pocketing the receipts from oil sales. The liberals are now taking to the streets as the only means of getting rid of the President, as the opposition victory in parliamentary elections has simply entrenched the government into an even more authoritarian position. They are confident that the people will overthrow the Maduro regime soon.

Nene Sato of the Liberal Party of the Philippines was clearly despondent following the mass defection of liberal legislators to President Duterte following his landslide victory. This has made opposition doubly difficult in the face of his authoritarian methods. The use of the courts to bring forward spurious charges is common amongst authoritarians who will use foul methods and fair to crush the opposition. Such is the imprisonment of Senator Leila de Lima, Duterte's most outspoken opponent. The pork barrel tradition of defections to the governing party following presidential elections has eviscerated the opposition. Ms Sato hopes for a day when Filipino politicians stick to principles rather than switching support to the holder of the government purse.

Stevens Mokgalapa is Shadow Minister for International Relations for the Democratic Alliance in South Africa. He has spent his political career helping build the DA into a government in waiting whilst opposing the populist and authoritarian ANC. He said that it was helpful to define populists. In his words they always offer simple solutions to complex problems and if authoritarian will always try to monopolise the state institutions. This is what the opposition is up against with South African President Jacob Zuma. He says that liberals must respond by making a clear political offer to the electorate. Too often we listen to our own followers and to the better educated without working out what the broad electorate want. Their wants are generally material and we have to convince them that we can provide through good governance, but the offer must be clear and not esoteric.

Zoltan Kesz was elected at a by-election as an independent MP in Hungary and famously deprived Viktor Orban of his supermajority in parliament. Mr Kesz is now working across several opposition parties, NGOs and Independents to deliver a strategy that can elect a strong opposition at the next parliamentary elections. He has persuaded many to stand aside to give the best placed progressive opposition candidate a free run at displacing government MPs. He also suggested that liberals need an understandable message when taking on populists. His own approach has been to keep using the epithet "irresponsible" when describing government politicians and policies and conversely describing liberal policies as responsible. This approach of course has to be credible, but he is optimistic that it is beginning to gain traction with the electorate.

As for lessons for us in the UK, I think the latter two speakers had most to offer. The desperate situation in Venezuela and the Philippines is unlikely to materialise in the UK and I cannot see us needing to use extra-parliamentary means to overturn a government. However, Stevens hit the nail on the head with Lib Dems at home complicating our messages and ignoring very obvious positions taken by the electorate. We need a clearer focus and to express it in direct terms. Likewise, I believe the strategic approach of Zoltan Kesz has much to offer. Not only in referring to Tory hard Brexit as irresponsible, but also in looking towards electoral alliances. This is currently difficult with Labour's progressive wing in retreat, but we should be alert to the opportunity, which may be more forthcoming from the Greens in the short term.



*Sebastian Vagt & Stevens Mokgalapa*



# Much Ado about Qatar

## Jonathan Fryer

Geographically, Qatar protrudes into the Persian Gulf from the Arabian peninsula like a thumb – a very sore thumb at present. On 5 June, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE and Egypt (which for the sake of convenient shorthand I shall henceforth refer to as the Gang of Four) broke off normal relations with the oil- and gas-rich mini-state<sup>1</sup> and imposed an air, land and sea blockade, while at the same time issuing a list of demands which the Qataris say are an unacceptable affront to their national sovereignty.

For Britain and other countries for which freedom of expression is an important matter, foremost among those demands is a call to shut down the satellite TV station, Al Jazeera, which is based in Qatar's capital, Doha. Al Jazeera (Arabic) was launched in 1996, with funding underwritten by the then Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, who had ousted his father from the throne the previous year (and who abdicated in 2013, in favour of his son, Sheikh Tamim). Sheikh Hamad was determined to modernise what was at the time he took over the sleepyest of the small Gulf states, and the Al Jazeera concept fitted in well with his vision for Qatar to be a beacon of progress in an otherwise overwhelmingly conservative region. BBC Arabic TV had recently closed down, and Al Jazeera was therefore able to lure to Doha many of the broadcasting staff previously based in London. The idea was that the new channel would offer a radically different form of programming from that of other Arabic-language channels, many of which were and remain deeply conservative and biased in favour of Saudi Arabia or whoever else is paying for them. Though Al Jazeera has never overtly criticised the Qatari ruling family it did soon achieve a reputation for a degree of impartiality and strong, in-depth reporting not only of what was going on in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region but around the world.

In 2006, Al Jazeera English was launched, and it was in a pole position four years later when the self-immolation of the poor Tunisian itinerant fruit and vegetable seller, Mohamed Bouazizi, triggered what became known as the Arab Spring. Subsequently, the minute-by-minute live coverage of what was happening in Cairo's Tahrir Square in January-February 2011 was the most riveting television I can ever remember. There was nonetheless little doubt that the Al Jazeera reporters were no longer truly objective but were ideologically right behind the pro-democracy campaigners on the streets. Hosni Mubarak's downfall was to an extent Al Jazeera's victory as well as that of the Egyptian people.

However, since those heady days, the tone and even the content of Al Jazeera's English- and Arabic-language programming have diverged markedly. In particular, the Arabic-language channel has given prominence to members and supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is why the current Egyptian government led by General el-Sisi, which followed Mohamed Morsi's ousting from power in July 2013, loathes Al Jazeera so much and was happy to swing in behind Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the UAE in trying to bully Qatar into shutting the channel down.

Of course, the current Gulf standoff is not all about closing Al Jazeera. There are 12 other specific demands made of Doha, some more unpalatable than others. None can easily be accepted lightly.

First there is a call for Qatar to reduce its links with Iran, with which Saudi Arabia is engaged in a struggle for regional supremacy, including involvement in proxy wars in Syria and Yemen. Bahrain accuses Iran of fomenting unrest among the island kingdom's majority Shia population against its Sunni monarchy. But Qatar sees every reason to have good ties with Iran, not least because they share a huge underwater gas field which these days is the main reason that Qataris enjoy the highest per capita income in the world. Second, the countries blockading Qatar called for the closure of the Turkish military base that is currently under construction. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's immediate response to that was to send reinforcements to Qatar and to pledge ongoing support.

Third, Qatar was instructed to sever all ties with "terrorist, sectarian and ideological organisations", specifically the Muslim Brotherhood, ISIS, al-Qaeda and Fateh al-Sham (aka al-Nusra Front).

Fourth, it was told to stop all funding to all individuals, groups and organisations that have been designated as terrorist by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, Egypt and the United States.

Fifth, Qatar was instructed to hand over "terrorist figures", fugitives and wanted individuals from Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt and Bahrain to their countries of origin, as well as to freeze their assets, and provide any desired information about their residency, movements and finances.

Sixth, it should end its alleged interference in sovereign countries' internal affairs, and stop granting citizenship to wanted nationals from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Bahrain, as well as revoke Qatari citizenship for nationals where such citizenship violates those countries' laws.

Seventh, it should pay reparations and compensation for loss of life and other financial losses caused by Qatar's policies in recent years. The sum would in theory be determined in coordination with Qatar.

Eighth, the government in Doha should align Qatar's military, political, social and economic policies with the other Gulf and Arab countries, as well as on economic matters, as per a 2014 agreement reached with Saudi Arabia.

Ninth, it should cease contact with the political opposition in Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt and Bahrain, and hand over files detailing Qatar's prior contact with and support for opposition groups, and submit details of their personal information and the support Qatar has provided them.

Tenth, it must shut down all news outlets funded directly and indirectly by Qatar, including Arabi21, Rassd, Al Araby Al Jadeed, Mekameleen and Middle East Eye, etc.

Eleventh, it must agree to all the demands within 10 days of list being submitted to Qatar, or the list will become invalid.

Twelfth, it must consent to monthly compliance audits in the first year after agreeing to the demands, followed by quarterly audits in the second year, and annual audits in the following 10 years. Qatar infuriated the Gang of Four, first by publishing these supposedly secret demands, and then by rejecting them out of hand, as an outrageous assault on the emirate's national sovereignty.

The result is the most serious crisis to face the 6-member Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) since the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Interestingly, it is Kuwait which, far from joining the Gang of Four, has interposed itself as mediator in the dispute. Oman, typically, as the least engaged of the GCC states has been staying well out of things.

Theoretically, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, as Qatar's two nearest neighbours, could invade, to force acceptance of the Gang of Four's demands, but that scenario is considered unlikely. The Saudis and Emiratis did send troops into Bahrain in 2011, to help quell the little kingdom's Arab Spring, but that was at the request of – or at least acquiescence of – Bahrain's ruling family.

The Gang of Four presumably hope that the air, land and sea blockade will force Qatar to comply with their demands, but with Turkey and Iran both providing support to Doha it is hard to see how Qatar could be brought to its knees. Besides, the outside world does not think a blockade of Qatar appropriate, not even the United States, with which the Gang of Four are closely allied. Indeed, the US itself has a huge airbase in Qatar and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson on 11 July pointedly visited Qatar and praised the emirate for being the first GCC country to sign a new US agreement on tackling the flow of funding to terrorist groups. Similarly, other outside powers, including Britain, just want to see the current crisis resolved, though it is not easy to predict how that can be done without the Gang of Four losing face. It is possible that by the time this article appears in print, the crisis will be over. But it is perhaps more likely that it could drag on for months or even years before eventually being buried in the sand.

<sup>1</sup> Less significantly, the Saudi-backed government of Yemen as well as the Maldives also cut ties with Qatar.

***Jonathan Fryer is Vice-Chairman of the Liberal Democrats' International Relations Committee and a freelance writer and broadcaster specialising on the MENA region.***

# New Executive Director of UNESCO: A Three Horse Race? Felix Dodds



The United Nations is starting to take shape with the new team which will work with Secretary General António Guterres. The next decision will be who will be the Executive Director of UNESCO as Irina Bokova completed her second term. She has by all accounts done a good job as Executive Director having during her term had to deal with the withdrawal of US funding. She managed to do this without too much disruption to the work of UNESCO. She may find herself on speed dial to the new UN chiefs as they deal with what she has already had to deal with.

The Director-General of UNESCO is the Organization's Chief Administrative Officer. The Director-General may be appointed initially for a period of four years, and may be appointed for a further term of four years, but shall not be eligible for reappointment for a subsequent term. Nine candidates have gone through the interview process. Mr Polad BÜLBÜLOGLU (Azerbaijan), Mr PHAM Sanh Chau (Viet Nam), Ms Moushira KHATTAB (Egypt), Mr Hamad bin Abdulaziz AL-KAWARI (Qatar), Mr Qian TANG (China), Mr Juan Alfonso FUENTES SORIA (Guatemala), Mr Saleh AL-HASNAWI (Iraq), Ms Vera EL-KHOURY LACOEUILHE (Lebanon) and Ms Audrey AZOULAY (France).<sup>1</sup>

According to "a keen observer of the UNESCO race" the odds-on favourite is insider Qian Tang (China), currently Assistant Director-General for Education. Not so much because he is a good candidate but because China will weigh heavily on this election and is likely to win fairly easily a majority of the votes needed in the Executive Board. To be fair, he is also credited with a convincing interview in front of all 58 members of the Board;

In second place comes Audrey Azoulay, Minister of Culture of France until very recently and who is also credited with a solid performance during the interview process. The Host country nevertheless surprised even its closest friends with this last minute and unwelcome candidacy.

Third in the eyes of most is Ambassador Moushira Mahmoud Khattab, from Egypt, who performed much better than expected in the interview process and has an outside chance of winning. She is supported in principle by fellow Africans, who carry a significant share of the votes. Qatari candidate Al Kuwairi, the early favourite, did very poorly in the interviews. He should be considered a distant fourth. All other candidates at this point stand very little or no chance.

The process forward is that the person to be nominated by the Executive Board shall be chosen by secret ballot, during a vote that will take place during the Board's 202nd session in October 2017. Subsequently, the Chairperson of the Board shall inform the General Conference, during its 39th session in November 2017, of the candidate nominated by the Board. The General Conference shall consider this nomination and then elect, by secret ballot, the person proposed by the Executive Board.

*Felix Dodds*

<sup>1</sup> Candidate's biographies and vision statements can be found at <http://en.unesco.org/executive-board/dg-candidates-2017>

# Terrorism in Egypt: A Disease that Needs Chemotherapy Treatment, not Surgery!

## Mohammed Nossier

“Although we invented war; I can’t understand or imagine how people can decide to blow themselves up,” said a Western acquaintance who was seeking my help to understand the sick behavior of suicide-bombers (that I personally am struggling to comprehend!) In Egypt, we have been living with this disease for years. It is certainly damaging the body now, but as Egyptians we are aware of our nation’s thousands of years of history, and this gives us a considerable degree of confidence in our aptitude for survival.

Egyptians today are paying a very high price for the chronic disease of terrorism that we have been handling very badly in recent years. Terrorism emerged in Egypt because the body is very vulnerable; it was quite easy for the disease to invade it and to spread through it – and today it has become chronic in our society. Terrorism is like a bad blood cell that not only deforms itself, but also has a strong desire to destroy the entire body. Properly understanding the symptoms of the disease will help us to treat it more efficiently, instead of persisting in using the same old remedy that has almost paralysed both the body and the mind.



Egypt has always relied on the surgical approach, because the physicians assigned to treat the disease are only familiar with

this type of treatment and they naturally want to apply what they know best. Unfortunately, we haven’t yet realized that this kind of surgical intervention has yielded no positive outcomes so far! Every now and then, we imagine that we have succeeded in completely eradicating the disease – until another major terrorist attack takes us by surprise. We have carried out so many surgical procedures that the entire body has been enfeebled; yet the disease continues to spread and thrive, until our country had to be dragged into Intensive Care recently.

The Egyptian state believes that terrorism is a matter to be handled exclusively by its security apparatus and it is working on distancing Egyptian institutions and government entities from even expressing their opinions on this topic. The state’s ongoing policy of arresting any suspicious-looking body organs has served to stimulate other cells, prompting them to engage in terrorist acts. The security apparatus is trying to drive hidden terrorist cells out of the Egyptian body; but locating and isolating those cells is almost impossible – even if the entire society is placed under the strictest surveillance.

We in Egypt need to differentiate between beliefs and action. Because a belief is, sadly, a veiled social behaviour, it is impossible to know, in this kind of repressive environment, who believes in what. Thus, the more we encourage society to speak up, the better we can identify harmful ‘terrorist belief’ cells and subject them to scientific chemotherapy treatment. Actual terrorist activity, on the other hand, must remain the business of security forces. Leaving the security apparatus to deal with both terrorist beliefs and actions is an erroneous policy; it gives the state the incorrect impression that it is reducing the number of bad cells, when in fact terrorists are reinventing themselves all the time.

Apart from the security approach, Egypt needs to attack this disease from two other angles. We need to enhance the body’s immunity to prevent the re-emergence of deformed cells. Additionally, we need to work on altering the entire society’s disposition and willingness to use violence and terror by creating conditions that allow for



constructive dialogue that will better help us to address our challenges. Citizens who have false beliefs and want to hurt society are everywhere, living among us. Logically, therefore, the entire community should be allowed to participate in overcoming the disease of terrorism by identify the deformed cells and working on their rehabilitation.

The rapid spread of deformed cells that have even invaded critical body organs should be enough reason to revisit our strategy for combating terrorism in Egypt. National institutions, community associations, ordinary citizens and others must all engage in society (regardless of their differences with the ruling regime) to send a clear message against terrorism. Chemotherapy is a lengthy treatment, requiring specialized experts to administer it, but it is certainly better than the surgical option that we have been using for years with no noticeable results. Advancing freedom of speech and opening new avenues of internal dialogue will enable us to go much further in curing this chronic illness once and for all.

*Mohammed Nossier*

*Mohammed Nosseir is an Egyptian Liberal politician working on reforming Egypt on true liberal values, proper application of democracy and free market economy.*

## Reflections on the 20th Anniversary of the Handover of Hong Kong.

**Sharon Chiu.**

As I was watching the extravagant fireworks display marking the twentieth anniversary of the handover of Hong Kong, it occurred to me that my memories of this seismic event no longer had the lucidity and brilliance of twenty years ago. It did, however, succeed in jump-starting the somewhat sluggish process of introspection and stocktaking.

Growing up in Hong Kong in the 90s, I saw the sun finally setting on the British Empire, though its significance – for me personally – had remained largely unknown until I came to the UK in 2007. It was only amidst the countless rounds of introduction during freshers’ week did I become aware of my acute identity crisis, which is embodied by this seemingly innocuous conversation starter, or rather, killer:

“Are you from China?”

“No, I am from Hong Kong.”

“But Hong Kong is part of China, right?”

“Well yes, *technically*...” – the operative “technically” dangles subversively at the end of the sentence as if to qualify the preceding reluctant submission.

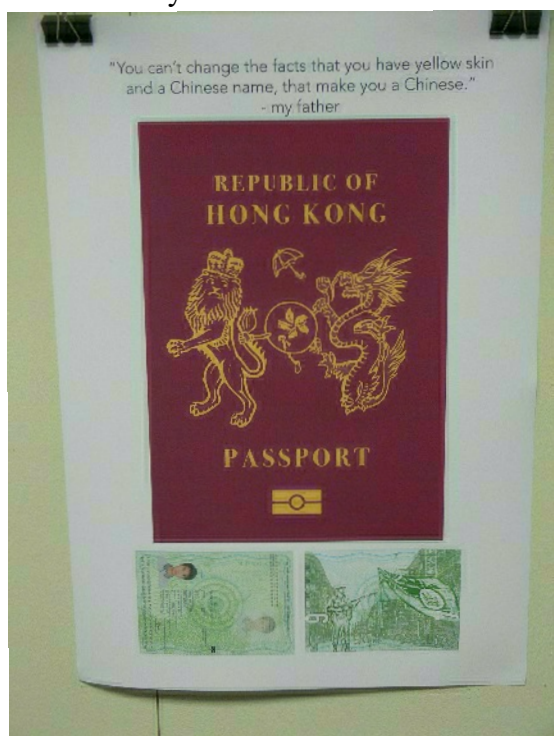
This is what I term the so-called “Hong Kong syndrome” that also afflicts many of my peers. Rather than being anchored in one harbour, I often find myself floating between different identities as a Hongkonger, Hong Kong Chinese and Briton. Perhaps, it is finally time to throw down the gauntlet by embracing an identity that transcends the stuffy confines of the nation-state.

The identity of Hong Kong itself is no less fractured. The official tale published in Hong Kong tourist guides promoting the hackneyed “East meets West” slogan conveniently elides the origins of this hybrid itself



– colonialism. After China's defeat at the end of the First Opium War in 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain as part of the Treaty of Nanking. The reason why there was indeed a transfer of sovereignty in the very first place is because Hong Kong had been under British rule for over a century and a half. As Chris Patten, the last governor of Hong Kong as a British colony, bemoans the retrograde movement in the process of democratisation, for many other Brits their nation's illustrious imperial endeavours are all but a distant, hazy memory consigned to the annals of history. Curiously enough, whilst the focus in British media has been on what Britain could have done post-1997 and can do *twenty years* after the end of colonial rule, Britain's role as a coloniser and the concomitant legacy of colonialism have somehow managed to elude scrutiny. Before the handover in 1997, I remember asking my mother why Hong Kong belonged to Britain. "Well, you see, Britain borrowed Hong Kong from China", she said. But "to borrow" something requires consent; the jarring choice of words here actually lays bare the flagrantly undemocratic nature of colonialism itself.

Unlike in other countries, decolonisation was not followed by hard-fought independence but by an awkward, fiddly process of identity refashioning. Hong Kong people realised that they were no longer just ethnically and culturally Chinese. With their new identity enshrined in the law, their metamorphosis into Chinese



***Republic of Hong Kong Passport.  
The Sir John Cass Faculty of Art,  
London Metropolitan University.  
Art Night 1<sup>st</sup> July***

nationals – through and through – took place overnight. The colonial identity of a British overseas citizen with no right of abode in the UK was superseded by a supposedly postcolonial identity determined by an alien, socialist China in a no less disenfranchising manner – which is eerily redolent of the institution from which they had just wrested the sovereignty of Hong Kong.

In Chinese media, the coverage of the twentieth anniversary of the handover is unsurprisingly different; "handover" has been diligently replaced with "return" to express ownership and proprietorial privilege. Be it a "handover" or a "return", Hong Kong had had no say in the matter from the very beginning; it was merely an object either to be traded or returned in a historic transaction between players larger than itself and beyond its own borders. Wrapped in parent-child discourse, President Xi Jinping's eloquent yet monitory words on July 1 warn the wayward twenty-year-old child, who has yet to learn the virtue of filial piety, against "crossing the red line" by "endangering China's sovereignty and security". In China's eyes, the "one country" no doubt eclipses the "two systems" in importance.

Watching from afar, I am very much taken aback by how much the political canvas in Hong Kong has changed since my

departure in 2007. Having grown up in a seemingly apolitical Hong Kong dictated by the market-led forces of capitalism, I am struck by the younger generation's eye-opening level of political engagement as they fervently defend their cherished freedoms and fight for self-determination. Their bravery and fortitude deserve nothing less than our commendation. Like the preceding years, the annual July 1st march in Hong Kong played an integral role in marking the handover of Hong Kong. This year, in particular, its juxtaposition with the official celebratory proceedings was brought to the fore. With the red carpet rolled out for President Xi's grand arrival, the epic performance could of course not do without the cringeworthy regurgitation of obsequious platitudes by Hong Kong officials.

The city has however seen a rising tide of right-wing populism championing a sinister exclusionary "Hongkongers first" identity. Another equally disconcerting observation is the mock reinstatement of Hong Kong as a British colony signified by the flying of the colonial flag at demonstrations. In post-1997 Hong Kong, there is no place for such a tasteless anachronism revived by ill-informed nostalgia. Is it not glaringly obvious that the "resumption of British sovereignty" and the "independence of Hong Kong" are mutually

exclusive? The views of those claiming otherwise smack of historical ignorance. Calls for Hong Kong to be an independent city-state are also pie in the sky.

Hong Kong has always prided itself on its pluralistic society, a place where heterogeneous discourses can coexist and flourish. Given the unique historical circumstances that gave birth to Hong Kong, the disjointed and schizophrenic nature of its identity should come as no surprise. It is the hallmark of our identity. Attempts to pathologise it will not further anyone's cause in the long run.

*Sharon Chiu*

*Sharon Chiu-Werharn is a business consultant and Friend of Chinese Liberal Democrats*

## **“Love for all, hatred for none”.**

### **David Alton**

My Lords, the noble Lord, Lord Ahmad, whom I too welcome to his new portfolio, brings with him the beautiful and challenging proclamation of the Ahmadi community, from which he springs, that we should have, “Love for all, hatred for none”. It is a proclamation born in suffering. Ahmadis themselves have experienced hateful persecution: recall Mr Shah, the Ahmadi shopkeeper murdered in Glasgow; recall the Ahmadis and Christians fleeing appalling persecution in Pakistan, who make up more than half of the 7,500 refugees and asylum seekers in Bangkok. Many are incarcerated in detention centres, which I and my noble friend Lady Cox have visited, and where Mr Ijaz Paras Masih, a Pakistani Christian asylum seeker, was recently found dead.

To counter such religious hatred, perhaps the Minister could tell us what initiatives DfID is taking to promote Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which insists that freedom of religion and belief should be a fundamental human right, how Article 18 relates to sustainable development goal 16, DfID's UK aid strategy objectives and the allocation of resources, and whether the Government see Article 18 as a key to combating violent extremism and central to the creation of a tolerant, respectful and peaceful society.

But secular ideologies can promote hatred, too. Take the situation in North Korea, referred to by the noble Earl, Lord Howe, and the noble Lord, Lord Collins. I should mention that I am co-chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on North Korea. The House will recall that, in March, the toxic nerve agent VX was used to assassinate the pro-China and pro-reform half-brother of Kim Jong-un in Kuala Lumpur International Airport. Since then, and in the face of United Nations Security Council resolutions and international sanctions, North Korea has continued the relentless, provocative testing of nuclear weapons. Although Chinese oil and coal sanctions are welcome, the Minister might like to confirm that, nevertheless, trade rose in the first six months of this year. Meanwhile, South Korea's new president, Moon Jae-in, has assumed office; the Terminal High Altitude Area Defence missile system, THAAD, has partially been put in place; the American student, Otto Warmbier, was returned to the US in a coma and tragically died on Monday last, while other American citizens continue to be incarcerated and held hostage—obscenely, being used as bargaining chips. Closer to home, last weekend security officials suggested that North Korea was behind the cyberattack on the National Health Service computer system. Maybe the Minister will comment on that when he comes to reply.

In 2014, a United Nations report found that the gravity, scale and nature of the human rights violations in North Korea have, in its words, no parallel in any other country in the contemporary world and amount to crimes against humanity. Abuses included enslavement, extermination, murder, rape and other sexual crimes, deliberate starvation, and enforced disappearances, “pursuant to policies ... at the highest level of the state”. Why, therefore, have they not been referred to the International Criminal Court or a regional tribunal? Why has nobody been held to account? How are we seeking to engage China in all this by meeting its own obligations to North Korean refugees?

China holds all the important cards. It has the experience and resources to bring about internal change to this rogue state, and its model of economic reform is the right one. It is in China's economic and security interests to do this. North Korea is a millstone around China's neck; by contrast, South Korea is a vibrant and dynamic partner. In the first four months of 2017, China's bilateral trade with South Korea surpassed \$85 billion, making this phenomenal Asian democracy China's third-largest trading partner and its number one source of imports. By contrast, trade over the same period with the emasculated North Korea was a mere \$1.6 billion. It is entirely in China's self-interest urgently to help to bring about change. Only a fundamental change will pave the way for the ending of nuclear blackmail, the de-escalation of military provocations, the formal ending of the 1950-53 war and, ultimately, the reunification of the peninsula.

Our argument is not with the people of North Korea but with a cruel ideology. We should encourage South Korea to intensify ways of reaching out to North Korea's people over the heads of their regime, whose mythology and propaganda must be debunked. Seoul should convene a high-level conference with Russia, China and the United States to demonstrate to the people of the north that the international community's argument is also not with them but with their rulers. The United Kingdom can play its part in doing more to keep human rights at the forefront and by helping to break the information blockade. Perhaps when the Minister replies, he will tell us when the BBC World Service will begin its promised transmissions to the peninsula.

The failure to bring to justice those responsible for crimes in North Korea is also pertinent to the genocide against Christians, Yazidis and other minorities in Syria and Iraq, which were referred to by the noble Lord, Lord Collins, and about which I have secured an Oral Question in your Lordships' House on Monday next. Genocide, as the United Nations itself has declared, is never a word to be used lightly, but it is what the House of Commons declared in April 2016 has been underway in Iraq and Syria. The scandalous failure to provide justice or even to establish mechanisms for trying those responsible for mass executions, sexual slavery, rape and other forms of gender-based violence, torture, mutilation and the enlistment and forced recruitment of children shames us all.

Looking to the future, perhaps the Minister will tell us how he sees the future for Iraq's minorities. Will they be able to resettle in Mosul and Nineveh? What help will they be given? Will they be provided with security and protection? Will those who have waged genocide against them be brought to justice? What is being done to prosecute those Iraqi officials who have called for Christians and other minorities to be executed?

The UN estimates that some 400,000 Syrians have been killed and more than 5 million have fled the country since the war began in 2011. Another 6.3 million people are internally displaced. Yet, in the face of all this, too often the United Nations has been missing in action. The international community failed to end the war, failed to protect civilians and failed to bring the perpetrators to justice. What does the agony of Aleppo say about the impotence of the UN and the international community?

Multiple dangers are facing humanity today: resurgent nationalism; Islamist terrorism; refugees and mass migration; globalisation; nuclear proliferation; digital technology and cyberwarfare; varying forms of totalitarianism; ideologies hostile to free societies; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the abject failure to resolve conflicts, whether in Sudan, Syria or Afghanistan; and the blights of famine, poverty and inequality. In facing all these challenges, I hope that Her Majesty's Government will make better use of the expertise, good will and experience available in all parts of your Lordships' House.

**David Alton:** Debate on the Queens Speech June 22<sup>nd</sup>

*Professor the Lord Alton of Liverpool, is an Independent Crossbench Member of the House of Lords.*

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<https://www.facebook.com/LordAltonofLiverpool>



# Turkey after the Justice March

## Barry Stocker

The leader of the Republican People's Party, Turkey's major opposition party, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, finished a march on Sunday 9th July from Ankara to Istanbul. The march was spurred in particular by the twenty-five-year prison sentence given to a RPP deputy in the National Assembly for his role in getting pictures of apparent covert state arms shipment into Syria. The government claimed this was humanitarian aid for a Turkish ethnic minority in Syria. At least one member of the government has denied the story. Nevertheless, the government, particularly President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, preempted the work of the judiciary by asserting that those involved in this investigate journalism would receive life sentences. The newspaper concerned, *Cumhuriyet* [Republic] is the oldest newspaper in Turkey and the most serious in its coverage. The editor is currently in exile and several members of staff have been detained for more than 250 days.

Such extreme actions against political opposition and critical journalism have been mounting since the Gezi Park protests of 2013. The situation was already in gradual decline by the time of the Gezi movement and is part of the reason for the protest, which was initially sparked by a development plan destroying the park. The situation has been in a downward spiral since the failed coup attempt of 15th July last year. After a few days of national unity against the return of military coups in Turkish politics, President Erdoğan declared a state of emergency, regarded by many as itself a coup, giving powers to legislate by decree and allowing long periods of detention without charge for 'terrorism' and coup suspects. The boundaries of terrorism and coup conspiracy have been broadened to such an extent as to make them meaningless. Use of a secure communications app for smart phones, ByLock, is considered evidence of coup participation, as is receiving messages from members of the Gülenist group whether answered or not, or anonymous denunciations. Tens of thousands have been arbitrarily arrested, bursting through records in the Turkish Republic, including one party state period and military coup governments. The property of the Assyrian religious minority has been seized as has the property of suspected Gülenist businesses, so that billions of pounds in the economy has arbitrarily seized by the government. Local government has been suspended in the Kurdish majority southeast, so that government appointees run municipalities. University rectors are appointed by President Erdoğan and many academics have lost their job or are in prison. About a third of the judiciary has been rearranged, with sacked judges (up to the level of the Constitutional Court) replaced by government affiliated lawyers. Prosecutors are increasingly filing cases with no real legal basis, often repeating made up accusations on government affiliated media. Evolution has been taken off the syllabus in schools and compulsory religious education is expanding.

The chances of voting President Erdoğan and his Justice and Development Party out of power look weak at present, because even if they lose support they will manipulate control of the state to interfere with vote observers, ballot boxes and then with the collation of ballot box counts. All these things happened in very obvious ways during the recent referendum on giving the President new powers, of a quite extreme kind well beyond the powers of the French or American presidencies. The official result of the referendum was a narrow win for the changes. It is clear that No had the real majority. We must presume then that the coming elections of 2019 (local, national and presidential) will be rigged if the mood in the country shifts against the government. A right-wing nationalist party has been co-opted, which was necessary to allowing the referendum to go ahead and creates the possibility of a permanent national-religious authoritarian government.

There is a shift of public opinion against the the government. Their hidden defeat in the constitutional referendum is one part of this. The success of Kılıçdaroğlu's march and the mass rally (hundreds of thousands of people, maybe over a million) is another. Erdoğan and the AKP have succeeded in turning the state and parts of civil society into their instruments. However, they have not succeeded in taking over the minds of the majority. Economic growth is now mediocre for a an emerging economy with an expanding population. A huge concealed debt problem, associated with pressure on banks to lend, government backed loans for crony construction companies, and a 'sovereign wealth fund' which in fact exists to provide debt

guarantees, means that any economic downturn is likely to spiral out of control. The semi-assimilated Nationalist Action Party, has lost its support which is likely to go to a new nationalist party founded by Meral Aksener, the most popular nationalist politician in Turkey who has signalled she wants a party that will appeal to centrists and the centre-right as well as old school nationalists. Like imprisoned leaders of the leftist Kurdish party, which is strong in the southeast, she gave support to the Kılıçdaroğlu march. The Republican People's Party is itself a social democratic to socialist party with a strong nationalist-republican element (making it perhaps most similar to the PRI in Mexico and the French Socialists). There is a Liberal Democrat Party, but it is tiny. It's important that the three-way divided opposition in Turkey can become more liberal through interaction with each other, and also resolute in resisting state pressure including election rigging. The current regime is unlikely to give up power without an economic crisis hollowing out its electoral core or mass civic protest or both. Tough times are ahead, but the march and rally has shown there is hope and that acting on hope is important.

**Barry Stocker**

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## The Liberal Internationalist

Malcolm Bruce tells us that he is (indeed) honoured to have his own cocktail – The Liberal Internationalist (aka the Bruce of Bennachie). Haunted by the nocturnal misery of Trump and Brexit, his Lordship likes to have something to hand to take the edge off of an election night, should it all get messy. He shared this with us via his Facebook page, as an indispensable election night resource, warning that these coalitions may just under-promise and over-deliver.

The Liberal Internationalist (aka the Bruce of Bennachie):

4 parts Ardmore (the hint of smoke gives Ardmore an advantage over other Gordon whiskies for this cocktail).

2 parts Limoncello.

1 part Lemon juice.

A dash of Orange Bitters.

Stir all ingredients with ice. Pour over an old-fashioned whig (I mean glass). Serve with a slice of lemon.

I wonder, if you substituted an appropriate Islay malt for the Ardmore, would you get a Michie Finn?

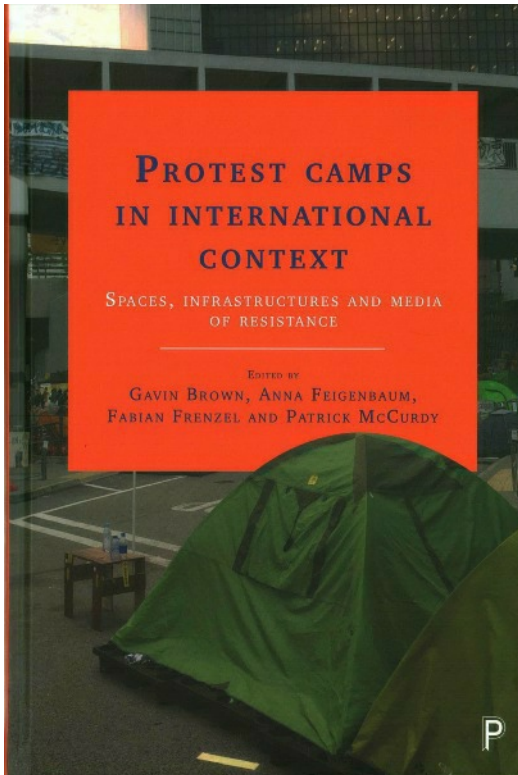
## Ming went the strings...

Ming Campbell on the BBC's Any Questions on August 11<sup>th</sup> had his own alliterative response to Trump's "fire and fury" and "locked and loaded" – inexperienced, incompetent and incoherent. He said that the UK should work with the UN to sort the USA-North Korea situation out and warned against any sort of military engagement. He said that the world was in a very dangerous situation. It hasn't got any better in the ensuing weeks sad to say.

# reviews

**Protest Camps in International Context: Spaces, Infrastructures and Media of Resistance,**  
edited by Gavin Brown, Anne Feigenbaum, Fabian Frenzel and Patrice McCurdy.  
Policy Press, University of Bristol, 2017 £60.00 isbn 9781447329411

It is highly likely that many political activists have had some involvement with ‘protest camps’ during their lifetimes. So what kind of camps might they be: well organised and planned or spontaneous arising due to a particular event? Did they have open or closed boundaries? What kept the camps going? How were they publicised and how was the decision-making handled?



*Protest Camps in International Context* is a multi-authored, multi-edited and multi-disciplinary book covering the theories and recent histories of various camp protests throughout the world and including the UK, even though at one time during the 2012 Olympics, Home Secretary Theresa May banned tents. So, what do tents represent that they should be such a threat to the authorities even in a democracy? According to the book, it is often ‘civil disobedience’. Protest camps might represent a social or environmental movement such as that of the UK Climate camps (Russell, Schlembach and Lear) or Occupy Wall Street (Gerbaudo). Alternatively, they could be ‘defensive’ or ‘reactive’ in nature. Camps might last for days, weeks, months or years. They might be peaceful and fun or violent and revolutionary. In short, they are diverse.

Feigenbaum describes protest camps as a unique sociological phenomenon functioning as representational space where participants form individual and collective identities. This book is organised into three main sections: Assembling and materialising; Occupying and colonising; Reproducing and re-creating. It is rich with examples from all over the world including Turkey, Hong

Kong, Ukraine, Israel, India, North Africa and Mexico as well as London and other EU cities.

My personal experience of visiting a recent protest camp was in early 2014 on a European Movement fact finding mission to Kiev and the ‘EuroMaidan’. Shevtsova compares this violent camp with the earlier 2004 Maidan during the ‘Orange Revolution’. Whilst both helped to effect change, there were differences in that the first was well planned and non-violent whereas the second arose almost spontaneously (with help from social media) after President Yanukovich refused to sign an Association Agreement with the EU. It began peacefully with EU flags being waved but became violent when protestors were shot and a small percentage of right wing activists joined, in part to protect the camp. The sights and smells of burnt tyres, captured ammunition, photos of those who died, street paving torn up and walking on oily mud – as well as the tents and the stage erected for speakers and entertainment - are still with me. It felt like a scene from *Les Misérables* where the barricades represented a fight for less corruption and more democracy.

Istanbul is another city that has had its fair share of political protests and violence in recent years, including in Gezi Park off Taksim Square which is the example here (Yaka and Karakayali). The role of infrastructures is analysed as well as political atmosphere. Initially the protest in 2013 was against Gezi Park and Taksim being redeveloped. A few people assembled when trees started to be cut down. The police under orders from the state retaliated violently and although the main stream media did not report this there was widespread internet coverage which resulted in increasing numbers assembling in Istanbul and other Turkish cities. Gezi was more ‘open space’ than many camps. Nothing was planned but large numbers of people

brought necessities or ordered food for the protesters via the internet. The participants became closer after tear gas was used with their actions of care increasing solidarity.

One interesting thread within the book is the role of social media and the intersection between actual and virtual space which allows many more participants than can be counted physically at any one point in time. My personal recollection is that in Ukraine there was much real-time communication via this method, including requests for activists to help to protect each other by attending hospitals in order to prevent the police from arresting the injured.

Another thread is how the camps provide an education, both in media training and in political activism as well as, in some cases, embodying a participatory study in the development of democracies. The camps are not all homogenous often attracting members from very different political and social spectrums as well as the homeless. Decision-making might be shared between all groups. The book is well written and edited and, in conclusion, has much to recommend it to academics, students, activists and practitioners. More analysis and empirical research in the future on how effective protest camps can be in achieving their goals would be useful, although it is appreciated that the outcomes desired could take many years.

Protest camps are often populated by the young and demonstrate their concern with politics and the future shape, space and quality of their world.

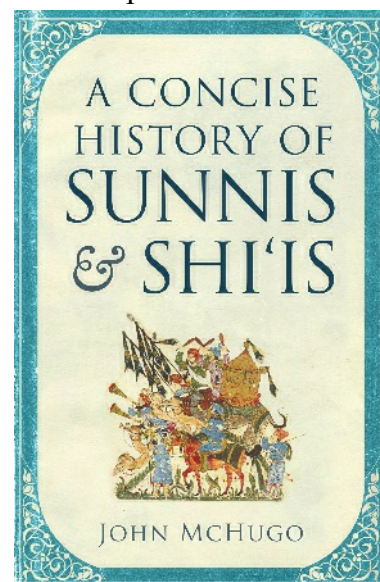
*Carol Weaver*

**A Concise History of Sunnis & Shi'is, by John McHugo.  
Saqi Books 2017 £20.00      isbn 9780863561634**

This a useful and somewhat overdue book. There are many misconceptions about Islam and particularly the Sunni-Shi'i-Sufi divide therein. When looking at the troubles of the Islamic world, and fundamentalism in particular, there is a tendency in the West to say that Islam is 600 years younger than Christianity and is at about the stage in its development when Europe was split in half by the Reformation and that is what is going on in Islam today. Since many of commentaries on Islam deal with the split fairly superficially this might not be surprising. However, McHugo argues that the split between Sunni and Shi'i is not inevitable, and despite periodic inter-communal violence, both have lived side by side for most of history, as indeed, they have with their Christian and Jewish neighbours in the Middle East. When tensions have arisen, it has been (and is) more often due to insecurities within a particular regime or their respective territorial ambitions on the Arab/Turkish-Persian divide.

Towards this argument, it is best recalled that Ali, the cousin of the Prophet, deferred his claim to the Caliphate in the interests of harmony within the community. Broadly speaking, the Sunnis might be seen as advocating a more democratic leadership of their religion, whilst the Shi'i followed a hereditary line. There does appear to be a reasonable case for the Shi'i argument, but it did not follow the real politic of the time. If those Shi'i who practice it were to abandon *sabb*, the ritual cursing of the three caliphs (literally the successor, or deputy of the Prophet Muhammed, who died suddenly) who preceded Ali, which is practiced from time to time and is held as blasphemous by Sunnis, it might go a long way towards healing the rift.

McHugo takes us through this; it is not always easy to follow the succession of what, for most westerners, are unfamiliar names. One almost wonders how the empire that the Arabs so quickly built up managed to survive for so long, ultimately to 1918, as opposed to the many Turkic/Mongol empires which rapidly collapsed. That is part of the answer of course – a succession of empires. When those empires became remote and European, a new dimension was added – new boundaries with implicit nationalisms and as armies became driving forces secular agendas. A fall-back to religious identities was a natural and predictable response.





To an extent, Islam had its reformation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab. His puritan views, which are problematic, were disputed then as now by Sunni scholars, but their resurgence can be mainly attributed to Saudi economic muscle. As of 2015 McHugo notes, despite forming 10-15% of Saudi Arabia’s population, no Shi‘i has ever been made a minister, and only one an ambassador. Intellectually, Wahhabism would influence Salafism, against a backdrop of western imperialism and its betrayals. From there, and through the Muslim Brotherhood, there is a continuity in thought towards those we generally define as Islamist radicals. Recalling Christianity’s Thirty Years War, McHugo cautions those who call for an Islamic Reformation to be careful of what they wish for.

So, we come to the present impasse which has its roots in contemporary social and economic forces in an ill-matched post-colonial world, whatever historical arguments might be wheeled out to legitimise - by ISIS for example. The often Shi‘i related insurgencies generally have a case, but are too easily conflated as proxy wars between the Saudis and Iran. Abandoning America’s hostility to Iran could go a long way towards unravelling those, but what of Iraq, Libya, Syria? one could go on. McHugo believes that the split between Sunni and Shi‘i is not inevitable and the case that he makes shows that its resolution is one of the pre-conditions for peace and security in the Islamic world, and as we know, beyond. An understanding of these issues by political communities of all stripes is a pre-condition for this, so hopefully this book will be widely read in such circles.

*Stewart Rayment*

**The Scent of My Skin, poems by Farrah Fray**  
**Palewell Press 2017 £8.99 + £2.50 p&p isbn 9781911587026**

Palewell Press is introducing a new talent with the publication of Farrah Fray’s collection. Fray was born in the UK, of Libyan parents, studied both there and here in the UK where she now lives. Any further biographical details are unnecessary as her poems speak for themselves, their narrative and sense of place are written “from every world I live in”. Her work covers a great deal of ground; some are London based and western orientated, some are on the universal themes of love and heartbreak. Her more eastern poems are not a diatribe against Islamic societies’ treatment of women, more a view from the inside, triggered by her response to the worlds she experiences. She has a foot in many camps, which does not make her conflicted, merely possessed of a wider lens than many.

In “Ambition” Fray captures the differences in expectation between men and women in Islamic societies. “She should softly pad down the stairs/be softly aroused by morning prayers... accommodate, curl, taste sweet”. But “if she had a bouncing baby boy she would encourage him to destroy”.

Her very Libyan poem *Meche* describes the fashion of highlighting hair by bleaching strands until shades of the lightest blonde are created. “The specific importance of this trend to Libyans is they believe it automatically makes you more beautiful, as it is synonymous with being fair which is also a symbol of beauty”. The poem describes Meche as “skipping over to the other side of the colour spectrum... but stripped of warmth”. And yet they are not so different from western women, as “Women” notes. “I know women who... Unsure of their identities since birth/like other women placed on earth”, as they too, like Fray, hope that “and may I know men who refuse to accept when power is given by those who are oppressed”

Many poems vividly recall the awfulness of heartbreak, of betrayal; “Life doesn’t go on, but waveringly retreats”, and who hasn’t tried “wiping old texts with fingers battling like windscreen wipers fighting off the rain”? Others note the idiosyncrasies of London, the plight of immigrants crossing the Mediterranean, the leaving of Libya in 2011 during the political unrest “and the night fell too soon for us to cope”, and the way she feels about her (Libyan) homeland today, “of the country, of the language which breaks promises”. Her best are clarion calls to all women; in “Girl Combat London” she asks, “Teach them that words are a martial art/that can be used to say no”.

Her poems get under your skin. Try them, for Fray has a lovely turn of phrase.

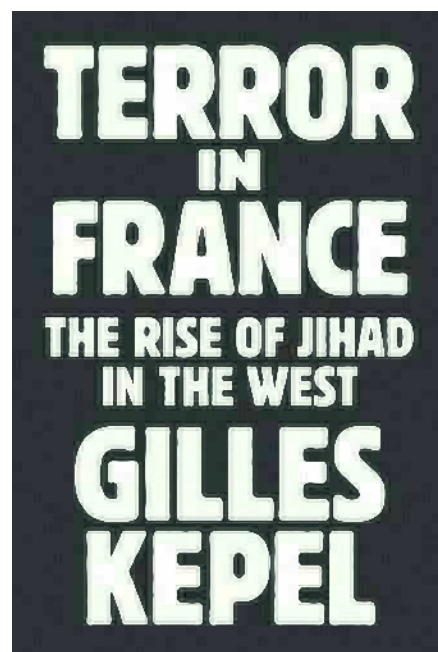
**Wendy Kyrle-Pope**

(Palewell Press can be reached and this collection ordered via enquiries@palewellpress.co.uk)

A French friend found himself struggling to save victims of shootings at the restaurant La Belle Equipe in the 11th district; other friends in a town just south of Paris told us about bullets fired during the murder of a policewoman in Montrouge landing near their house; a Jewish acquaintance with an important position at the Mémorial de la Shoah, the Holocaust center in the Marais, brought up an unexpected subject when we met for coffee: she wanted to talk about when and where she's emigrating. You do not have to look far to find someone who has been touched by violent extremism in France. According to country's Interior Ministry, there were 851 recorded anti-Semitic incidents in France in 2014, more than double the number the previous year.

"How fragile civilization is" notes Salman Rushdie. "How easily, how merrily a book burns," and he likes to quote Heinrich Heine, "where they burn books they will in the end burn people too." Rushdie has been the canary in the coal mine of Islamic extremism.

The rise of terrorism - and, by implication, the fragility of civilization - is the subject of Gilles Kepel's authoritative study, *Terror in France: the rise of Jihad in the West*. In this work he explores the emergence of jihad, looks at how various administrations have tried to cope with developing problems, and traces popular reaction and the increasingly important right-wing Front National party. He brings up the cases of individual terrorists, mentioning early experiences that turned them in this direction. Early in the work, Kepel emphasizes the importance of this subject: "If we fail to understand the genesis of French jihad, for which we now have an in-depth case study that can be considered a paradigm for other Western countries, we doom ourselves to a political myopia that constitutes, alas, the mental horizon of a ruling class whose inanity jihadism has exposed . . . "



Recent French administrations have acted in ways that missed the developing problems or even exacerbated them. Kepel regards the period from 2005 to 2012 as a time of lost opportunities and gross errors: he notes, for example, that President Sarkozy's inflammatory words in reaction to the 2005 riots were anything but constructive, reinforcing the sense of polarization in society, and that François Hollande who had originally won over the older generation of Muslims, had problems retaining their support when his administration's efforts to spur job growth didn't do enough to deal with the appalling rate of unemployment, particularly in the Paris banlieues.

One crucial error concerned the prisons: somehow it didn't occur to the authorities that prisons could be destructive, that they could, in fact, be incubators of terrorism. In prison Boubaker Al-Hakim was mentor to Said and Chérif Kouachi, the killers who attacked the cartoonists at Charlie Hebdo. Al-Hakim wrote, "Prison was hard. We were humiliated by those infidels [kuffar] but at the same time it was a marvellous gateway for calling people to Allah and explaining His path . . . Today I say to my Brothers in France: don't look for specific targets, kill anyone at all! All the infidels back there are targets." It was also in prison that Amedy Coulibaly, another leader in the 2015 attacks, was radicalized.

The Syrian-Spaniard Mustafa Setmariam Nasar alias Abu Musab al-Suri, published "The Global Resistance Call" online early in 2005. It was a break with earlier al-Qaeda policy, where agents from the Middle East were assigned attacks on the U.S. - instead, al-Suri urged terrorism in Europe, inciting the poorly-integrated younger generation of French Muslim immigrant families to join in jihad. There was even a Buttes Chaumont network, and young potential jihadists went to that park to run and train for the fight.

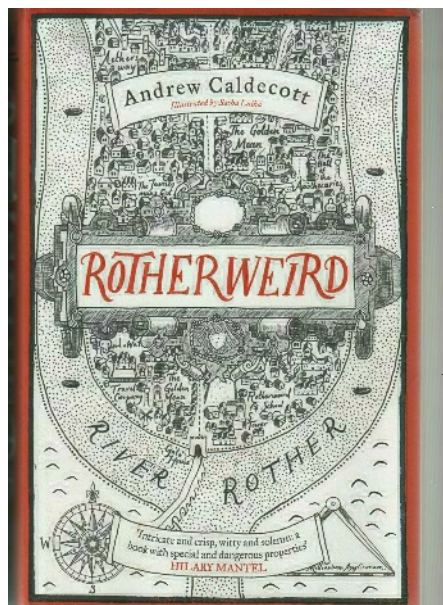
In a thorough discussion of the magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, Kepel tells us that the name came from Charles Schultz's creation, Charlie Brown in the Peanuts comic strip. Charlie Hebdo was originally Hara-Kiri Hebdo: it was closed down after printing a cover disrespecting the late General De Gaulle. Kepel observes what a profound effect on the French the attack has had, in that several of the murdered cartoonists, men with decades of experience, were beloved by the public, they "incarnated a facet of popular culture."

But Kepel acknowledges that mistakes were made. In 2006 the magazine reprinted the cartoons that in Denmark had caused such controversy. This established Charlie Hebdo's reputation for Islamophobia, and for many, it was further proven by caricatures that appeared in September 2012, including one of a naked turbaned figure prostrate in prayer, drawn at an angle that showed his dripping penis and a yellow star stuck into his rectum. Shortly afterwards, Kepel was invited to speak on a France Inter radio program. He quite reasonably criticized the caricature as an obscenity against the dignity of every Muslim. As a result, he was attacked by the magazine's lawyer and received hate-filled emails.

In an epilogue, Kepel brings into his narrative even more recent events, the humanitarian welcoming of Syrian refugees, Muslims, against the backdrop of the invariable opposition of Jean-Marie Le Pen, who tweets with the hashtag "Je suis Charles Martel." Kepel summarizes how appropriate or incompetent -- usually the latter -- the reactions of several administrations have been to terrorism.

Gilles Kepel has contributed a well-written and balanced study of the subject. *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West* deserves to be read by anyone who wants a better grasp of what is really going on.

**Christine Graf**



**Rotherweird, by Andrew Caldecott  
Jo Fletcher Books 2017 £14.99  
isbn 9781784297619**

*An old rage burned – so many startling gifts, so much knowledge gleaned along the way, and yet what a mess Mankind had made of everything.*

It is a condition of Rotherweird's independence from the rest of Britain that its history be not revealed. Teaching modern history is thus a political appointment, candidates are interviewed by the Mayor... *The price we pay for avoiding those idiots in Westminster.* If the history of Rotherweird is not to be revealed, perhaps Andrew Caldecott's novel should not be reviewed? Suffice to say that if, metaphorically, a white page is a white tile, and you step on to it, mysteries, horrors and wonders will open up before you. We know so little of the lives of the masses of Gormenghast; how would Mapp and Lucia fare in Rotherweird?

**Stewart Rayment**

**The Image of Restoration Science: The Frontispiece to Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667), by Michael Hunter, with a chapter on the instruments by Jim Bennet.  
Routledge 2017 £115.00. isbn 9781472478726**

This book is devoted to a single engraving that is the most renowned image of seventeenth-century science, and one of the most arresting images from Stuart England, namely the frontispiece to Thomas Sprat's book on the newly-formed Royal Society. Founded in 1660, this was the first European learned society devoted to science and the new experimental method. Its fellows included luminaries such as Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, Christopher Wren and Isaac Newton. The frontispiece to Sprat's book was designed by the diarist and virtuoso John Evelyn, himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, and etched by Wenceslaus Hollar, the prolific artist from Bohemia who lived in London. In the centre of the image a bust of Charles II, the society's patron, is crowned with a laurel wreath by the goddess Fame. To the right sits Francis Bacon, the philosopher and Lord Chancellor who at the beginning of the seventeenth century laid down a blue print for



the new science; to the left is the society's first president, William, Viscount Brouckner. These figures are surmounted by the Royal Society's coat of arms, and are set within an impressive interior full of books and scientific equipment, with views of a landscape in the distance.

Remarkably, this is the first in-depth analysis of the image, although Michael Hunter provided an appendix on it in his *Science and Society in Restoration England* (1981). There is no doubt that the current book



provides the definitive treatment. It has chapters that discuss how the image came into being; its overall design, the sources and their significance; the details of the books, portraits and institutional accoutrements of the Royal Society; the scientific instruments; and the publication and dissemination of the image itself. Much light is shone on both the context of the new science in its early years and the production and function of engraved frontispieces within this milieu.

The text is succinct and very engaging, and is accompanied by eighty-one illustrations, including helpful cropped details of specific parts of the frontispiece and other relevant images. This points to another of the book's strengths, in that it shows historians how to incorporate visual evidence into their research. Early modern Europe was awash with both printed texts and images, but until recently historians have, on the whole, been more at home with the former than the latter. This book shows that images can be probed in ways similar to texts, yielding just as rich a harvest. Michael Hunter considers the precedent for the composition of the frontispiece, which results in a startling discovery: it resembles another earlier frontispiece, that of Nicholas Chaperon's *Sacrae Historiae*. This is a homage to Raphael, whose bust occupies an equivalent place to that of Charles II in the Sprat frontispiece. The conclusion is that Evelyn wanted

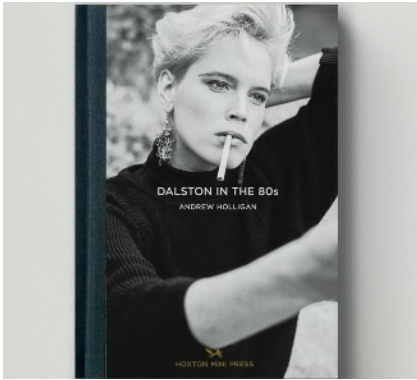
the new science to be as prestigious as Renaissance art. Turning to the books on the shelves in the Sprat frontispiece, there are tomes by Copernicus, Francis Bacon, William Harvey, John Evelyn and Robert Boyle. Thus we are told that the society pays homage to those who have provided much of its intellectual inspiration, whilst at the same time promoting the recent works of its members.

Why was Evelyn so concerned to raise the prestige of the Royal Society, and by implication the status of the new science? The answer is that at this juncture views on science included ambivalence and scepticism. Whilst some were convinced that it had the potential to ameliorate life, others mocked the seemingly absurd experiments conducted by the Royal Society's fellows – such as trying to weigh air, or extract sun beams from cucumbers. It was not until Newton published *Principia Mathematica* in 1687 that the status of science was permanently elevated. So the 1660s and 1670s were a time when science was fighting to be taken seriously. Thus Sprat's frontispiece was part of this debate, as is made clear in *The Image of Restoration Science*. Indeed, the book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the early Royal Society and its intellectual setting. The rejection of dogma in favour of empiricism, and the idea that nature worked according to set rules, would set the groundwork for the early Enlightenment. In the political world, the first huge shift in this brave new world was the Glorious Revolution, and the development of a two-party state. This means that Hunter's book will also appeal to those interested in the origins of modernity. My only misgiving concerning this excellent book is its cost of the book, which I fear makes it out of reach for some people who would enjoy owning it.

*Stephen Brogan*



**Dalston in the 80s, by Andrew Holligan.**  
**Hoxton Mini Press 2017 £14.95**  
**isbn 9781910566183**



In the dark days of the 1980s, the Focus Teams of east London worked closely with each other, so I often found myself down the mean streets and council estates of Dalston, particularly when Jeff Roberts was standing against the SDP's Ron Brown – I remember we did Jeff's good morning leaflet, before heading back to the Hamlets to do our own in the 1983 general election; we didn't go much on the Alliance.

The Rio was a fairly good cinema, the reggae scene was scorching, though you might get the piss off white trash treatment in some of the record stores. Is Rupie Edwards still around? Youth culture was edgy. You didn't want to be a punk walking down the street just before the

pubs closed at night, just as likely to get picked up so the coppers could be safely in the station charging you. I recall the police couldn't quite understand when they turned on the skinheads, why the black kids and the punks wouldn't cooperate – had enough mate; there were some serious short comings in policing in those days.

Hot summer days, and Andrew Holligan brings it all back. I wonder if we were ever in the same place at the same time? Holligan's black & white photography captures the era perfectly. I like to see someone with a snout on featured on the cover – a great antidote to political correctness which has little or nothing to do with Liberalism.

Hoxton Mini Press produce attractive little books about East London life and are worth checking out; if you can't get hold of them in an independent bookshop try [info@hoxtonminipress.com](mailto:info@hoxtonminipress.com) or follow this link <https://www.hoxtonminipress.com/products/dalston-in-the-80s-photo-book-13>

### ***Stewart Rayment***

**“They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else” a History of the Armenian Genocide**  
**by Ronald Grigor Sunny**  
**Princeton 2017 isbn 9780691175944**

It may look bit daft but we have all tried to get rid of our shadows that once were in our childhood. At least I remember myself desperately trying to shake off my shadow while running in the streets of old Istanbul, more precisely its old Armenian district. Later in the life I had learned it used to be called Tatavla, while we were living there it was actually called 'Kurtulus' means liberation.

Sunny's book, “They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else” has reminded me the shadow which I have never managed to shake it off.

Early pages of the book give a very useful and clear account of the circumstances which lays the road goes to the all the way to genocide. There is a lot of discussion whether to say or to call 1915 events to genocide or not. I think every reader should decide by themselves after finishing the book. Once again, we are able see clearly the Ottoman policy against non-Muslims were not equal or even any good as it was told to us years after years. Non-Muslims were not equal or even treated as citizens of the empire they were always second class always disadvantaged in eyes of courts or anywhere where they had to deal with the state apparatus.

The other important point which is made in this book is the role of Hamidiye brigades; which consist of mainly Kurdish tribesman. They were the main weapon against the Armenian community particularly in the south east and east Anatolia. The areas where the Armenian community used to live were promised to that

tribes and other disposed Muslims. It was a bloody wealth and land transfer has completed after Armenians forcefully pushed from their land.

The point from which I think is clearly shown in the book the importance of 1909 sharia uprising. This uprising had been crushed by army which came from Thessaloniki in Istanbul. On the other hand, same time in Adana the uprising turned into a pogrom against the local Armenian community. As result, tens of thousands of Armenians killed; the Armenian quarter of Adana community was completely burned down.

Only six years after the Adana pogroms, in 1915 the genocide started by mass arrests of Armenian community leaders in Istanbul and the rest is history as we know it.

The neighbourhood which I grew up has lost all of its Armenian residents. Moronic nationalism and hatred are almost visibly more than ever. The city's old walls once used to reflect (Istanbul) Armenian language, old Sefarad Spanish, Greek language and even some French turned into a monolithic deaf, grey silent ugly stones.

The soil of Anatolia had been soaked with so much blood and agony that none of official lies would be able clean anymore.

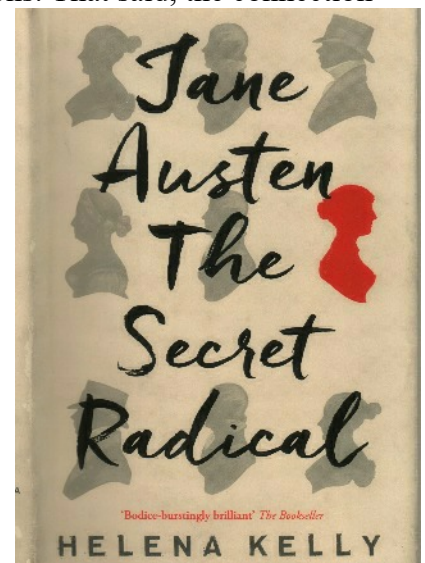
*Aslan Yildiz*

**Jane Austen The Secret Radical, by Helena Kelly.  
Icon Books 2016 £20.00 isbn 9781785781162**

A Radical Jane Austen? I hadn't given the matter too much thought, though, once put, it seems quite obvious. I read Jane Austen quite late in life; school boy prejudices against anything on the reading list, I crashed through them one after the other whilst in bed with flu – probably not the best time. And as Kelly points out, it is difficult not to carry the baggage from TV and film adaptations. That said, the connection between *Mansfield Park* and the slave trade is pretty obvious.

Kelly postulates a fictional Jane Austen in order to gain an understanding of the author in her time. That time is of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, when the south of England, where Austen mainly lived, was under the threat of invasion, at least until Trafalgar. With that comes reactionary measures, insularity (as for most of the time travel on the continent was unobtainable) and a military presence. Kelly's argument is that this bigger brushstroke is always there in the background of Austen's novels, now lost to the general reader, but that would have been taken much for granted by her contemporaries.

Austen was certainly familiar with the work of Mary Wollstonecraft and draws on her in much the same way as Shelley drew on Godwin (Wollstonecraft's husband). The condition of women in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is central to Austen's work, raising awareness of their plight in the patriarchal order, with its arcane inheritance rules



*Emma* focusses on the enclosure movement, which gained a momentum with the impact of war. The conservative Mr Woodhouse is generally opposed. What is the proto-Liberal position? Well that depends on who. Sir John Sinclair, agricultural improver and advocate of enclosure, whilst close to Pitt (the younger), is something of a utilitarian. His grandson would sit as a Liberal under Mr Gladstone, and his great-grandson lose the seat (Caithness) to the Crofters Party (some justice there given Sir John's appetites), possibly aiding Gladstone's adoption of the Highland Land League's programme. That aside, does the Woodhouse position make Austen a conservative? Marilyn Butler certainly thought so. The sum total of liberalism or radicalism is not held in any one party, particularly in a time when political parties were loosely defined. Perhaps Austen's position might be close to that of the abolitionist William Wilberforce – not a Liberal in the sense that we understand it, and again, close to Pitt, whose repressive measures (suspension of Habeas Corpus et

al) he generally supported. Kelly hints that Austen's religious position may have been closer to Wilberforce's evangelical Christianity than that of the Church of England, though unsaid.

So, was Austen's resting place – Winchester Cathedral, a tilt at the established Church? The cloth are not the most likeable characters in her novels? Their complicity in slave ownership underscores hypocrisy; did bishops read St. Paul in Austen's day? A fine conundrum to close on.

Kelly draws all of these elements together entertainingly and demands that I read Jane Austen again (I may even have to finish *Northanger Abbey*, which I abandoned (the heroine is very silly) as a botched *Mysteries of Udolpho*). Some of the propositions are a bit absurd, but I'll let you find those and chuckle over them yourselves. There may be unacknowledged sources, but the book has a freshness, as if Kelly has gone down this road of discovery herself. It is often said that a novel tells you more about its time than a history book can, but you have to know that time not to read it in your own present.

Those of you at the Bournemouth conference might like to make a pilgrimage to St Peter's churchyard, Hinton Road, BH1 2EE, where Mary Wollstonecraft is buried, along with her husband, William Godwin, their daughter, Mary Shelley and the heart of Percy Bysshe Shelley. There is also a plaque to Mr. Gladstone inside the church commemorating his last communion there. Holy Communion normally takes place at 8.00am and conference goers are welcome.

### ***Stewart Rayment***

**Germaine de Stael, a political biography,  
by Biancamaria Fontana.  
Princeton 2016  
isbn 978069169040**

Germaine de Stael, or Madame de Stael as she frequently appears, is little known as a Liberal thinker in British circles - victim of our ethnocentricity. She is perhaps better known as a novelist, and not widely read at that, her novels falling in the Romantic genre. *Corinne, or Italy* probably her best known work, and was translated into English, twice, almost immediately when it was published in 1807.

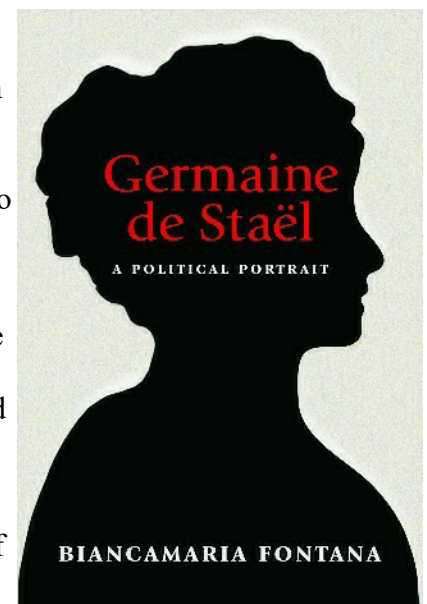
The daughter of Jacques Necker, the finance minister who tried to reform France before the Revolution, she was brought up in a political and intellectual environment which she would pursue throughout her life. A constitutional monarchist at first, she would become a moderate republican and probably only escaped death by marriage to the Swedish ambassador, whose embassy would shelter many of her friends from the Jacobins.

Since her political writing was usually addressed to a particular audience on issues of the day, that may account for lack of interest in general terms. How many of actually read Burke and Paine, her contemporaries most likely to be studied these days?

A polemicist, her *Reflections on Domestic Peace* argued that the Revolution had changed everything in terms of possible regimes, that civil liberty was needed as an end, whereas political liberty was only the means to that end. One wonders how the Brexit vote might impact in that way? It is too early to say to what extent that was a revolutionary moment.

Notoriously, her attempts to influence Napoleon were rebuked. Her circle formed part of the Liberal opposition to the dictator, but they appear to have circled each other warily. He reputedly hated her more than any other woman, perhaps because she was the most celebrated woman of her day and that was more than his ego could stand?

No so however, with her string of lovers - most notably Benjamin Constant. It is an interesting question how much Constant's work drew on de Stael - if only in formulating discussion of the political events of the day. Expert





analysis finds it difficult to determine who influenced who from their companion writings. Benjamin Constant, now less read in Britain, was an influence on Mill, so there is more to be gained from this book than you might think.

In his novel *Cécile*, Constant describes Mme. de Malbée as “Her intellect, the most far-ranging that has ever belonged to any woman, and possibly to any man either, had, in serious discussion, more force than grace, and in what touched the emotional life, a hint of sententiousness and affectation. But in her gaiety there was a certain indefinable charm, a kind of childlike friendliness which captivated the heart and established for the moment a complete intimacy between her and whoever she was talking to.” There’s an endorsement.

*Stewart Rayment*

### **Refracted: Collection Highlights and Emily Endean. Russell-Cotes Gallery, Bournemouth**

Fittingly for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the passing of Leo Abse’s private member’s bill to decriminalise male homosexual relations, under Roy Jenkins’ tenure as Home Secretary, the Russell-Cotes Gallery is staging two exhibitions – Refracted, which has been co-curated from their collection with members of Bournemouth’s LGBT+ community, and draws on the Rainbow Flag for inspiration, and Out in Bournemouth the photographs of Emily Endean.

One of the highlights of the collection displayed here is Simeon Soloman’s *Annunciation*. Soloman was a younger associate of the Pre-Raphaelites, transitional towards Symbolism and Decadence. Some of his work



*Annunciation. Simeon Soloman 1877*

1877, the work was acquired by the gallery in 1971, the gift of Dorothy Alam. Alas Sir Merton Russell-Cotes thus does not appear to be amongst those discerning patrons who supported the artist after his fall from grace. John Minton’s *Painter and Model* also features. A major exhibition to mark Minton's centenary is currently taking place at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester until 1 October 2017.

Tragedies like Minton and Soloman apart, Out in Bournemouth features the photography of Emily Endean and represents the living LGBT+ community in the town. If you’d like more details of Emily’s work she can be contacted on [emily.endean@hotmail.co.uk](mailto:emily.endean@hotmail.co.uk)

is redolent of Rossetti and Burne-Jones, with whom he was particularly associated. At his best, Soloman’s draughtmanship is often considered superior to theirs. Unfortunately, a brilliant career was terminated in 1873 when charged with attempting to commit sodomy; he would decline into the workhouse in 1884 and die in poverty in 1905, though he would still enjoy the patronage of the likes of Wilde. *Annunciation* is typical of a lot of his work, two, often Biblical individuals face to face, displaying a certain androgyny (though, of course, angels implicitly androgynous). Created in



*Out in the Park. Emily Endean*

The Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Russell Cotes Rd, Bournemouth BH1 3AA, next to the Royal Bath Hotel. It is itself an Art Nouveau building, and is open Tuesday to Sunday, 10.00am-5.00pm. It is closed on Monday and charges apply. The exhibitions run to the 17<sup>th</sup> September, so get in quick...

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# International abstracts

All the President's Menus, by Fay Maschler (on Macron's favourite restaurants). Evening Standard 22.06.2016

*Where the flavour of the month gets his flavours of the month. Our Paris correspondent says 'Funny! La Rotonde is the most tasteless-looking of the old cafés of Montparnasse. A really awful renovation. I hear on NPR that Macron acts like a little Emperor, offending many'.*

<https://www.pressreader.com/uk/london-evening-standard-west-end-final-b/20170622/281835758702155>

## **Terrorism**

In the minds of murderers, why Islamic State sympathisers consider the attack on Manchester an act of revenge, by Shiraz Maher. New Statesman 26<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> June 2017

Kabul Truck Bomb, New York Times 31<sup>st</sup> May 2017 – at least 150 dead

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/31/world/asia/kabul-explosion-afghanistan.html?action=click&contentCollection=Opinion&module=Trending&version=Full&region=Marginalia&pgtype=article>

## **Syrian Kurdistan**

Guns, bullets and nothing more, by Anthony Loyd, New Statesman 26<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> June 2017

## **Brexit**

Why 'Brexit' will make Britain's mediocre economy worse, by Simon Tilford. New York Times 29<sup>th</sup> May 2017

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/29/opinion/britain-brexit-economy.html?action=click&contentCollection=Opinion&module=Trending&version=Full@ion=Marginalia&pgtype=article>

## **India-Pakistan-Kashmir**

Special Report - The Economist 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2017.

## **Liberal Democrat Newswire**

Learning from Holland, how D66 recovered from under 2%

[https://outlook.office.com/owa/?viewmodel=ReadMessageItem&ItemID=AAMkADYxYTU2OTY0LTc4MDctNDI3ZS05MzU4LTQzMzBhZDI4Y2VIOABGAAAAAAAAAdWnoWcgiOSYNSN5BQ%2F18tBwD%2FbCEH118LQZCVKQuufOqjAAAAGfg%2BAABU5v0f1BGyQKZfDEDoeMZVAANmLx2rAAA%3D&wid=98&ispopout=1&path=#x\\_mctoc5](https://outlook.office.com/owa/?viewmodel=ReadMessageItem&ItemID=AAMkADYxYTU2OTY0LTc4MDctNDI3ZS05MzU4LTQzMzBhZDI4Y2VIOABGAAAAAAAAAdWnoWcgiOSYNSN5BQ%2F18tBwD%2FbCEH118LQZCVKQuufOqjAAAAGfg%2BAABU5v0f1BGyQKZfDEDoeMZVAANmLx2rAAA%3D&wid=98&ispopout=1&path=#x_mctoc5)

## **Liberator**

Liberator 384 was primarily concerned with the outcome of May's local government elections. Former MEP Andrew Duff called for an associate deal with the EU following Brexit. Liberator 385 was equally, primarily concerned with the UK general election, the resignation of Tim Farron and Vince Cable's accession as leader of the Liberal Democrats. Marianne Magnin wrote of Emmanuel Macron and the French elections. Alex Bourne wrote on Trump, Putin and the NeoRealist school of international relations.

## **Journal of Liberal History 95 Summer 2017**

Not especially international. Trevor Smith wrote on the New Orbits Group, of which Derrick Mirfin and Richard Moore were luminaries, later to serve in Liberal International. Alun Wynne-Powell analyses the impact on World War I on defections from the Liberal party. York Membury's interview with Chris Rennard on campaigning is worth reading for its own sake. Tony Little reviews *Joseph Chamberlain, international statesman, national leader, local icon*, edited by Ian Cawood & Chris Upton (Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), derived from the 2014 conference on the centenary of Chamberlain's death, which the History Group co-sponsored.

# Autumn Conference 2017 Bournemouth



INTERNATIONAL OFFICE



LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

## International Programme

**SATURDAY 16<sup>th</sup> SEPT**

1

11.00-12.30

**Private briefing for diplomats and international guests:**  
**Beyond Westminster: the unique challenges and opportunities in Scottish Politics**

**Venue:** Bayview 2, Bournemouth International Centre | **Capacity:** 100

**Speakers:**

- **CHAIR:** Ros, Baroness Scott, ALDE Vice President
- Jamie Stone, MP for Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross
- Christine Jardine, MP for Edinburgh West
- Other speakers to be confirmed

13.00-14.00

**'Britain's Place in the European Union: Lib Dems are not giving up the fight'**  
**Fringe debate hosted by Catherine Bearder MEP and the Alliance of Liberal Democrats in Europe (ALDE) Group**

**Venue:** Bryanston Suite, Marriott Highcliff Hotel | **Capacity:** 120

- **Chair:** Catherine Bearder MEP
- Vince Cable MP, Party Leader(TBC)
- Jo Swinson MP (TBC)
- Martin Bailey, British Chamber of Commerce

18.00

**Opening Rally with Party Leader**

19.45-21.00

**'Brexit Negotiations: what is the best option for maintaining EU citizenship rights?'**  
**Fringe sponsored by the Brussels and European Liberal Democrats (BELD)**

**Venue:** Branksome, BIC | **Capacity:** 120

20.15-21.30

**Liberal International Manifesto Launch– Liberalism for the modern age, with Deputy Leader Jo Swinson MP**

**Sponsored by the Liberal International British Group (LIBG) and the National Liberal Club**

**Venue:** Bryanston Suite, Marriott Highcliff Hotel | **Capacity:** 120

**SUNDAY 17<sup>th</sup> SEPT**

11.00-12.30

**Private briefing for diplomats and international guests: Exclusive Q&A Session with the Party Leadership**

**Venue:** Bayview 2, Bournemouth International Centre | **Capacity:** 100

**Speakers:**

- **CHAIR:** Ros, Baroness Scott, ALDE Vice President
- Sal, Baroness Brinton, Party President
- Jo Swinson MP, Deputy Leader of the Party
- Willie Rennie MSP, Leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats
- Lord Dick Newby, Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords

- 13.00-14.00 World Mayor Winner 2016, Bart Somers - A European Perspective on Local Government *ringe debate hosted by Catherine Bearder MEP and the Alliance of Liberal Democrats in Europe (ALDE) Group*  
Venue: Branksome, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 65
- 13.00-14.00 Where next for Israel-Palestine?  
*Fringe debate hosted by Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine*  
Venue: Meyrick, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 90  
Details: Professor Ilan Pappé, Israeli expatriate historian and social activist will speak on the topic: "100 Years after Balfour: Where next for Israel-Palestine?"
- 15.00-17.00 Federal International Relations Committee (FIRC) Meeting  
*By invitation only*  
Venue: Avon Room, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 40
- 18.15-19.15 "Campaigning for EU"  
*Fringe debate hosted by Liberal Democrat European Group, European Movement and Catherine Bearder MEP*  
Venue: Bayview 2, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 87  
Speakers:
  - Catherine Bearder MEP,
  - Jo Swinson MP, Deputy Leader,
  - Cllr Antony Hook, Michael Young (CEO, European Movement).
  - **Chair:** Nick Hopkinson, Chair of LDEG

## MONDAY 18<sup>th</sup> SEPT

- 11.00-12.30 Private briefing for diplomats and international guests:  
**Briefing on the latest in the Brexit process and Q&A with Tom Brake MP**  
Venue: Bayview 2, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 100  
Chair: Harriet Shone, Head of the International Office
- 16.30-17.30 From a European Perspective: is a 'successful' Brexit possible?  
*Fringe debate sponsored by the Alliance of Liberal Democrats in Europe (ALDE) Party with speakers from our European sister parties*  
Venue: Shaftesbury Suite, Marriott Highcliff Hotel | Capacity: 50  
Speakers:
  - **Chair:** Ros, Baroness Scott, ALDE Vice President
  - Catherine Bearder MEP
  - H.E. Alexandre Fasel, Ambassador of Switzerland to the UK
  - Bertie Ahern, Former Irish prime minister from the Fianna Fáil party TBC
  - Bartek Nowak, foreign affairs secretary of Poland's liberal party Nowoczesna TBC
- 18.15-19.15 Government of Gibraltar Reception (by invitation only)  
Venue: Bryanston Suite, Marriott Highcliff Hotel
- 19.35-21.00 29<sup>th</sup> Annual Diplomats' Reception with keynote speech from Leader of the Liberal Democrats  
Venue: Bayview 2, Bournemouth International Centre | Capacity: 100  
Speakers: 1. Janet Berridge (NLC) 2. Ros Scott (ALDE) 3. Sir Vince Cable

## TUESDAY 19<sup>th</sup> SEPT

- 14.15 Party Leader's Speech

The following International stands are available to visit throughout the conference at the exhibition:

- Government of Gibraltar
- Liberal International British Group
- Liberal Democrat European Group
- National Liberal Club
- Alliance of Liberal Democrats in Europe (ALDE) Party
- Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine

***Please check the Conference Daily for any variations to this schedule.  
Reports of events are welcome by the end of September.***



# Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary



Our motion, "Learning to Communicate in English", is being debated at 09.25 on the Saturday, so please do come and join in and support.

**AGM, Saturday 16th September 20.15 - 21.30** will also have an Open Forum straight after the formal business, "Asylum seekers and Refugees - WHO CARES - WE DO!" discussing the difficulties faced by those seeking Sanctuary in the UK. Contributions from those actively involved in campaigning from Parliamentarians to befrienders and those who visited Calais.

Please do come along and visit our stall, where we will have updated free information leaflets, including 20 Top Facts, and other issues relevant to asylum seekers and refugees. As well of course as our quiz to do,

**Sunday 17th September 19.45 - 21.00**, "The European refugee 'crisis' and the UK's responsibilities"

We are lucky to have as keynote speaker Professor Brad Blitz, founder of the Migration Observatory in Malta with commentary from Dr Ruvi Ziegler, Associate Professor in International Refugee Law. The session considers failed & successful models for refugee protection drawing on engagement with European stakeholders. Refreshments provided by Liberal Democrat Voice.

Ruvi Ziegler will be writing something in LDV before conference so that is something to look out for.

*Suzanne Fletcher*



## Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel

Britain and Israel: the Balfour Centenary Join us to celebrate and discuss the Liberal link in the relationship between Britain and Israel in the Centenary year of the Balfour Declaration.

Refreshments will be provided. Speakers tba.  
*Highcliff Marriott, Shaftesbury Suite*

Sunday early evening 18.15–19.15



## Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine

### Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine

Where next for Israel-Palestine? Professor Ilan Pappé, Israeli expatriate historian and social activist will speak on the topic: '100 Years after Balfour: Where next for Israel-Palestine?'

*BiC, Meyrick Suite*

Sunday lunchtime 13.00–14.00

*Emily Endean: Out in Bournemouth. Russell-Cotes Gallery.*

