



Turkish Police breaking up the Saturday Mothers demonstration on 24th August.

Iraq Philippines Turkey Venezuela Malaysia

# **EVENTS**

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7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> September LYMEC Young Leaders Meeting, Budapest

*15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> September* Liberal Democrat's Conference. Brighton

16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> September LYMEC Summit of Young Elected Local & Regional Leaders, Brussels

12th-14th October LYMEC Autumn Congress

*13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> October* Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/Welsh Liberal Democrat Autumn Conference, Marine Hotel, Aberystwyth

20<sup>th</sup> October March for a People's Vote, London 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> November ALDE Congress, Madrid. 28<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> November LI Congress, Dakar, Senegal.

*December* LI Human Rights Committee, Copenhagen

16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> March 2019 Liberal Democrat Conference, York

24th June 2019 NLC Diplomatic Reception

*14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> September 2019* Liberal Democrat's Conference. Bournemouth

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**Photographs:** Rebecca Tinsley, Liberal International, Vedat Arik, Adrian Hyyrylainen Trett, Peter Hogan, Mohammed Nossier,



Monday 17<sup>th</sup> 11.30-12.30

#### Iran and the Nuclear Deal; Jaw-Jaw or War-War? An assessment.

Is the US withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal (JCPOA) a precursor to major war? Can the EU, Russia and China save the deal? Nazenin Ansari, Dr Bahram Ghiassee, and Paul Reynolds shed light on these questions, leading a debate. Hilton, Churchill

#### Exhibition

LIBG and the National Liberal Club have joined forces at H21 in the conference exhibition. All members are requested to help run the stall throughout.

## **KEEPING HOPE ALIVE ON THE PLAINS OF NINEVEH Rebecca Tinsley**

When I told American and European friends I was visiting convents in Iraq, they asked where the nuns came from. Were they missionaries from Boston, Dublin or Manila, dispatched to an unpromising frontier to win souls?

"They're local women," I replied. "They grew up there."

This illustrates just one of the challenges facing the Middle East's Christians. They have been living on the fertile land between the Tigris and Euphrates, on the Plain of Nineveh, for as long as Christianity has been around. But they struggle to rebuild the towns destroyed by Islamic State, to find work, and to feel secure in a society that barely recognises their right to exist. Uppermost among their concerns is the certain knowledge that IS members have merely shaved off their beards, melting back into the surrounding communities.



Rebecca Tinsley with the Dominican Sisters in Telusquf, northern Iraq.

The Dominican Sisters of Telusquf and Qaraqosh returned from internal displacement as soon as allied airstrikes forced IS to retreat last year. The nuns knew that re-establishing a presence among the ruins of churches, schools, markets and homes would send a signal to the 120,000 Christians who fled from IS in 2014. Together, they are rebuilding their communities. Yet, they are worried that so many bright young people are leaving to find work overseas.

The story of the sisters' escape from IS in 2014 is like the script of a disaster movie. Even as the city of Mosul fell, the Iraqi authorities repeatedly assured the surrounding Christian towns that IS would not threaten them. Then the Kurdish peshmerga, ostensibly protecting them, vanished without warning. People flooded into the streets, confused by the contradictory messages. As the sound of gunfire and shells neared, they packed a few precious belongings into their cars, heading north and east into the autonomous Kurdish region. The roads became a congested parking lot as people fled to Erbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Sister Nazik told me, "I thought I'd be gone a couple of days, but it was three years before I could return. All my books from my studies at Oxford had been destroyed."

When the sisters came back to their convent in Qaraqosh, they found the floors littered with empty Viagra packets. Their home had been used by IS as a rape centre. Girls had been held there, tortured and violated daily for two years. IS did the same to thousands of the Yezidi religious minority from the Mount Sinjar area, not far away. I was told that many of the babies born of rape were given to IS families, to be raised as future jihadists and suicide bombers. IS killed the remaining babies, cooking them and forcing the Yezidi mothers to eat them.

The nuns of Qaraqosh and Telusquf began the process of reclaiming their convent and their community from the savagery that is the IS hallmark. Now, with help from supporters overseas, the nuns are once more educating hundreds of children to a high standard. Sister Marie-Theresa was proud that within an hour of school registration opening in July, all the places had been filled.

Sister Nazik summarised their challenges: security, stability and employment. The nuns want to offer vocational training projects because so many young people are leaving the Plains of Nineveh to work overseas. They understand the financial pressures facing families, but they are also trying to preserve their outpost of Christianity in the Middle East.

LI members will be familiar with the collapse in the numbers of Christians living in Syria, Iraq, Israel and Lebanon. While we, who live in peaceful, prosperous countries, are in no position to judge Christians who leave war zones, we can at least help communities rebuild. A direct and practical way of keeping schools open is by donating to BOAT, the Blackfriars Overseas Aid Trust in Oxford (address at the foot of this article).

Western politicians boast about their success in defeating Islamic State, as if there is no need for our continuing presence in the region. Yet, surely only the deluded believe IS has been destroyed; I interviewed Kurds, Iraqis and Yezidis, all of whom know that IS soldiers remain. They live in Muslim towns across Iraq, intimidating their neighbours into silence, or receiving protection from locals who still agree with their jihad.

Everyone I interviewed was convinced that President Erdoğan of Turkey is complicit in supporting IS. Time and again, I was told that IS will bide its time, knowing the West has such a short attention span. IS assumes we will wind down our presence at the first opportunity. No wonder there has been so little justice for the women enslaved by IS or the families of those massacred and dumped in mass graves. In a system where the Iraqi and Kurdish political class is so single-mindedly dedicated to self-enrichment, there is no political will to hold IS to account.

The sisters working on the Plains of Nineveh face the Sarajevo Question: can people of different faiths and races coexist? What does it say about us if we cannot live together? Surely, it is the duty of liberals everywhere to keep that noble Sarajevo ideal alive. It is also the duty of our elected officials to hold the Iraqi and Kurdish authorities to their promises to guarantee democracy, tolerance, and accountability. That means the Western powers must pay sustained attention to events in the region. The consequences of losing interest once more are unthinkable.

#### Rebecca Tinsley.

Rebecca Tinsley is Director of Network for Africa

Please go to BOAT at http://www.bfriars.ox.ac.uk/priory/groups/boat/



The ruins of a school in the Christian town of Qaraqosh. It was shelled by Islamic State.

The ruins of a church in Qaraqosh, near Mosul in northern Iraq. Together with 36 other churches in the area, it was systematically destroyed, with every image of the cross defaced.

### "The world is watching", LI president reminds Duterte as Prize for Freedom awarded to Leila De Lima in Manila

Senator Leila De Lima, imprisoned since February 2017 on fabricated charges, has been awarded the 2018 LI Prize for Freedom at a special ceremony in Manila, the Philippines.

In a show of solidarity, LI president Dr Juli Minoves and LI deputy president Hakima el Haite, attended Sen. De Lima's court appearance during which a long list of politically-motivated charges were read out. LI's two most senior elected bureau members were able to speak directly with Senator De Lima ahead of the proceedings, during which they assured the detained liberal that "the global liberal family stands with [her]."

### the global Liberal family stands with her.

Amid a flurry of press interest throughout the two-day programme, international delegates and representative of the Liberal Party of the Philippines (LI full member) were able to meet and hear the harrowing testimonies of the wives and orphaned children of Philippines' President Rodrigo Duterte's so-called 'war on drugs.' Estimates of those killed vary but police figures estimate a number over 20,000 people.

The awarding ceremony saw Leila De Lima's brother, Vincente, receive the Prize on her behalf from the LI president. "Senator De Lima's struggle, her sacrifice, is not solely a Filipino matter, nor is it even an Asian matter. Leila's cause transcends petty political rivalries and regional nuances; she personifies humanity's shared aspiration for universal human rights and it is that we are awarding Leila the Prize for Freedom in this 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary-year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", said the LI president.



In the days leading up to this award, nearly 60 Liberal politicians and human rights defenders from 6 regions of the world — Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, North and South America — were moved to sign a statement calling for the immediate release of the senator.

### We are here, not only to give this award to Sen. Leila de Lima, but to tell the Filipino people that we are here to support you in the name of Human Rights. -LI Deputy President: Hakima el Haite

#### LI President Dr Juli Minoves' speech to the awarding ceremony guests

Vice President Robredo, President Aquino, Excellencies, Distinguished Guests and Colleagues, dear Liberal Friends: Liberal International is delighted to be here, in the Philippines, to present our foremost human rights award, the Prize for Freedom, to Liberal Party senator, Leila De Lima. The Prize for Freedom has been awarded annually since 1985. As of today, the Prize will have been awarded to two courageous Filipino women, whom we are privileged to call liberals and who fought, indeed in the case of Senator De Lima continue to fight, unwaveringly for justice and liberty.



President Corazon Aquino was the third-ever recipient of the LI Prize in 1987, as this beautiful country emerged from the yoke of a terrible dictatorship. 21 years' later, representatives of the global liberal family are in the Philippines to honour another human rights hero, although circumstances on this occasion do not give us cause to celebrate as we did in 1987. Instead, representatives of our global political family are here today to join hands with millions of Filipinos as we shine a light into what has become a shady political atmosphere and a subject of global consternation.

So seriously do we perceive the incarceration of Senator Leila de Lima, who has now been unjustly detained for 520 days, that we have come to the Philippines to present this award. For the first time in almost one decade, the Prize for Freedom is being awarded outside of Europe — in doing so, we are here to honour the sacrifice of this remarkable prisoner of conscience.

Senator De Lima's struggle, her sacrifice, is not solely a Filipino matter, nor is it even an Asian matter. Leila's cause transcends petty political rivalries and regional nuances; she personifies humanity's shared aspiration for universal human rights and it is apposite that we are awarding Leila the Prize for Freedom in this 70th anniversary-year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

With the UDHR in mind, I recall Eleanor Roosevelt's unambiguous interpretation of human rights: "Basic human rights are simple and easily understood", she wrote, "freedom of speech and a free press; the right of [wo]men to be secure in their homes... and free from unreasonable search and seizure and from arbitrary arrest and punishment. ...We must not be deluded by the efforts of the forces of reaction to...confuse the struggle... We must not allow any nation to so change that they [human rights] are made synonymous with suppression and dictatorship."<sup>1</sup> It is precisely because of the global significance that Leila's case represents that in the days leading up to this award over 60 liberal politicians and human rights defenders from 6 regions of the world — Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, North and South America — felt moved to sign a statement calling for the immediate release of the senator.

After 23 years of awarding this Prize for Freedom, our position is straightforward: If you are a human rights defender you are a liberal and liberals refuse to be indifferent. We believe in rule of law; not rule by law and we refuse to be complicit in President Duterte's callous assault on the human rights of mostly-poor people across the Philippines archipelago. So, we are here to remind the 16th President of the Philippines of three things: - human rights are for all or they are for nothing. - the world is watching. - Leila De Lima's unjust detention will not be forgotten. Friends, I would like to pay tribute to Leila De Lima. Of course, we deeply regret that the senator is not able to be here with us in person, amongst friends and colleagues from around the world, to accept this award.

I would like to recognise Leila's family, her colleagues, and her party who have all found within themselves the strength to persevere when many others may have been found wanting. I will end my speech with a quote from the father of the Philippines, Andrés Bonifacio. When the enemies of freedom were at the gates, he wrote: "We must be united in will... This is the time for the light of truth to surface." Thank you.



<sup>1</sup> Speech of the LI President LI Prize for Freedom, Manila Liberal International 1 Whitehall Place, London, SW1A 2HD office@liberal-international.org www.liberal-international.org +44.20.7 839 5905 Leila De Lima 'first political prisoner' of the Duterte regime in the Philippines.-*interLib* 2017-03 pages 3-4

# Message from the new Chair. Adrian Hyyrylainen-Trett

It's a great honour to be elected to Liberal International British Group Chair, and I intend to promote the core liberal values which distinguish our parties around the world.

We work closely with our liberal sister parties as the British Group Representative within the family of liberal parties. Whilst we seem to have turmoil and change around the world, our liberal principles of human

rights freedom, living in a democratic world of economic and social justice will take precedence and we will continue to fight for those values and views consistently.

Owing to my area of knowledge and expertise not only within Liberal International but elsewhere recognition of diversity, inclusion and intersectionality will be at the core of events, forums and meetings bringing together people from different backgrounds, ethnic minorities, sexualities, genders and gender identities, disabilities and ages in provoking open, transparent but significant debate which is happening on all those issues across the world at this moment in time. It is a core element in my mind which makes a liberal, and something we need to encourage around the world.

As a proud LGBT+ activist, Liberal International British Group will take a lead on supporting those nations around the world, where living with who you love is not possible. 43 of those nations belong to our Commonwealth group of nations for which the UK are responsible for imposing homophobic laws within those countries. Following the superb work of



Trinidad and Tobago activist Jason Jones, and his Supreme Court ruling saying that the current laws are homophonic and need to be removed, we will be helping other commonwealth countries on their journeys of decriminalisation, working with local advocates, both through LIBG but also through our links at the National Liberal Club through the Commonwealth Forum and also through the new LGBT+ Forum which will hopefully be launching its first event at the end of September.

You can follow our work via the Website, but also on social media @LibIntBg where you can guarantee our executive will be tweeting regularly on international issues, events, and meetings of informative discussion and debate. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact directly through <u>chair@libg.co.uk</u> or through other social media avenues.

Yours faithfully

Adrian

Adrian Hyyrylainen-Trett Chair of Liberal International British Group

## **Turkey: A Sinking Ship Yildiz**

Almost every day the most amazing, unbelievable totally crazy events are happening in Turkey yet all the talk all over the country is about the price of the US dollar. This year alone Turkish lira has lost nearly 40 percent of its value. There is an undeniable debt crisis looming. Total debt of Turkey private and state sectors combined reached around 460 billion US dollars. Every month the country needs between 4 and 5 billion dollars in order to turn around the debt. The biggest percentage of foreign debt its owned by the private banks which loaned the construction sector and arguably fuelled the high growth in recent years. The high growth policy has been the main goal of Erdoğan over the last few years. When the US Fed started the squeeze the money policy Turkey was in trouble.

The unusual high growth of the Turkish economy based is on two factors: artificially pumped up the construction sector and the amazingly cheap borrowing rates of the state banks. These two factors are feeding each other in a never-ending circle. There is also a lot of suspicion that the numbers are somewhat unreliable when announced every month by Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, the state-run Turkish Statistical Institute. Remember the Greek incident right after the 2008 crisis? When Greece tumbled down it was found out that the books of the state were cooked and they were very misleading.

The current crisis is not a mystery to any sane economist in Turkey but government has played it down in order to keep its ideologically important whale-size projects alive along with the handful of construction companies behind them. Those construction companies are the key element for the regime. They have been the biggest cash source for regime's media buyouts. They have been feeding the regime's ideological elements by signing whole projects such as airports, stadiums, giant hospitals. There is one important catch



This photo, by Vedat Arik, went viral on social media. It shows the mother of Hasan Ocak being arrested by police breaking up the Saturday Mothers demonstration on 24<sup>th</sup> August. Hasan Ocak, a political activist, disappeared whilst in custody in 1995. Hasan Ocan's body was found, tortured and secretly buried as John Doe.

about these giant projects; all of them are constructed on the basis of a built operate and transfer contract. The contracts were signed on US dollar terms and giving those companies certain guarantees; for example, they are building an airport for the city of Bayburt which has a population of 80 thousand, but the airport has a capacity of over million passenger a year. If the number passengers drop below a million then the state will pay the difference on the current US dollar exchange. Last year the Turkish lira lost half its value against the US dollar. As a result, someone is making a huge amount of money out of these contracts.

The US pastor Brunson's affair has burnt down the bridges between the US and Turkey on both sides. This development has fuelled the Turkish lira's losing value streak. Andrew Brunson was arrested in October 2016 in the

purges that followed the coup d'état attempt against President Erdoğan; he is pastor of the Evangelical Presbyterian Izmir Resurrection Church, which reputedly has a congregation of around 25. Given its history in the last century, the Armenian massacres, the expulsion of the Greeks, Christianity isn't a big deal in Turkey. Erdoğan hoped to exchange Brunson for Fethullah Gülen, the Islamic preacher accused of being behind the coup although in exile in the United States. Brunson has unsurprisingly become a cause célèbre of the US religious right. This is the sort of issue that allows President Trump to play to his core supporters and detract them from other problems. But the issue becomes a nightmare in the context of AmericanTurkish relations, as Trump slaps 50% tariffs on Turkish steel, whilst Congress is trying to negotiate a trade deal (and that's without considering NATO, Turkey buying a Russian missile system or Syria).

Two thirds of foreign debt belong to the Turkish private banking sector so if there will be no solution ahead we might see the collapse of the banking sector. Nobody knows the state of the government banks because there is no accountability any more. On the street level things are getting worse day by day; high inflation, high unemployment and the collapse of small businesses. There is talk of capital control but its denied by government sources. Yet people already withdrawing and emptying their accounts against possible capital controls. If there is no miracle, things will get worse.

Because of that the all-powerful leader is playing the cards of religion and highly charged nationalism. He might come out this crisis more powerful but with a bankrupted country and millions of angry people. Whatever happens we can guess that Erdoğan will try to save his position, even at the collapse of the whole economy. If a full-blown crisis happens Turkey would turn its face to China and Russia because the all-powerful leader needs to keep his throne intact. The future of the country looks like the Turkish futures on FX screens - mostly red.

Whilst the lira crumbles, political repression grows. On the 24<sup>th</sup> August the Saturday Mother's 700<sup>th</sup> gathering was attacked by the police. It takes its inspiration from the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, of Argentina, and the protest has been going on more than ten years. It may be the only protest which has been allowed to be held over recent years. The people who had been gathering near Taksim Square every Saturday are the close relatives of disappeared under custody or similar circumstances. There is no record of their detainment so the state denies any responsibility for the disappearance. There are witnesses who saw them in certain police interrogation centres and also all of them were known political figures. The vigil had been held every Saturday till the 24<sup>th</sup> August. There were more than 20 arrests but everybody released in the same day. Mothers who lost their sons and daughters will be there next Saturday but how is it going to end no one knows. One thing is certain, the regime is jumping to a new phase, probably more violent and bloodier than in the past.



The man in the middle is the son of Turkish-Armenian writer and journalist Hrant Dink; the others (including two Kurdish MPs) are trying to stop the police arresting him. Despite his seeking reconciliation between Turkish & Armenian communities, Dink was assassinated by a Turkish nationalist. Photo Vedat Arik,

Meanwhile, the people of Turkish occupied Afrin are protesting that international human rights organizations and states have remained silent about their fate. They claim murder, abduction, harassment, rape and robbery by the Turkish forces and their Islamist allies, and the confiscation of olive trees that belong to the citizens of Afrin and setting fire to them. Kurdish Rojava is taking in refugees.

An article in Al Monitor, claims that Turkey is planning to build roads to connect the invaded territories in Syria to Antep and Kilis. Does this mean they mean to make their occupation permanent? Surely Assad's friend Putin wouldn't like that? Prepare yourselves for another round of escalation in the Syrian conflict.

Yildiz,

### Why don't politicians understand price inflation? David Boyle

Venezuela's inflation appears to be set for a million per cent shortly, and their government plans to tackle it by introducing a new bitcoin-style currency (sensible), by knocking some zeros off the latest banknotes (pointless) and by a measure that seems likely to be seriously counter-productive: by increasing the minimum wage. It is hard to think of anything, apart from printing more, that is likely to make more difficulties than that. Other Latin American countries have pegged their currency to the US dollar as a way of stabilising prices, but you can see why the heirs of Hugo Chavez can hardly do that. But before we throw too many stones at the Venezuelans, remember what the Cameron government's response was to the inflationary spiral of UK house prices. They did exactly the same, poured money into tackling the symptoms and gave it to first time buyers – then they extended the scheme too.

So, I have been wondering what it is about inflation that blinds politicians to it. Is it that it is so outside their control that they discount it? Does it seem like an insult to their powerful sense of themselves? I don't know – and I hate to say this, but one of the central tenets of Thatcherite economics (though Margaret Thatcher herself simply presided over it) was that politicians cannot be trusted to control the money supply. That implies a knowing failure to act, whereas the real problem is a blindness to the mechanics of too much money and too few goods.

And I call as a witness UK government housing policy. Politicians of all parties have colluded in the idea that house price inflation has been caused by our failure to build enough homes. All the evidence suggests that it was actually too much money pumping into the housing market which caused the ruinous leaps that are excluding middle classes and working classes alike from home ownership. However many homes we build, we will not keep up with the almost infinite demand for housing investment from the Far East. What should we do instead? Follow New Zealand's lead and exclude foreign buyers from the housing market. And quickly.

And what about Venezuela? Well, let me tell you a story... Over lunch in Escondido, California in 1972, the pioneering green economist Ralph Borsodi picked up a copy of the *New York Times* and found that the Federal Reserve was devaluing the dollar. In a rage, he sat down and designed what he called an 'honest money system'. It was supposed to counteract the inflation which tends to follow when your money is based on nothing but debt. He called it the *constant* and he based the value on basket of minerals and agricultural produce arbitraged while it was on the high seas by a group of student volunteers operating out if his home in Exeter, New Hampshire. The constant echoed an idea by Keynes, whose plan for the economic system after World War II – vetoed by the American government – included an international currency that would underpin everything else and was based on commodities like wheat or oil.

This kind of stability was urgent during the post-war famine years in Europe: the grand old man of investment banking, Benjamin Graham, proposed a global currency based on the value of food kept in stores around the world. Most recently, there has been the plan by one of the original designers of the euro, Bernard Lietaer, for the 'terra' – a world currency, based on a basket of commodities (anything from copper to sugar), that would keep all the other currencies stable.

The constant was briefly a great success. I even used to have one myself until I circulated around a lecture I gave on new kinds of money, and it was gone. Borsodi died in 1973 and the experiment ended. But that is what Venezuela needs – a constant. It is a pity politicians find it so hard to grasp these things.

#### David Boyle is Director of Radix

This article originally appeared on Radix on 28th August 2018.

# **Diplomatic Reception**

The National Liberal Club's Annual Diplomatic Reception, in association the LIBG, was held on Monday 25 June and once again, was a great success.

The weather was superb for the NLC Diplomatic Reception, which was held on the NLC Terrace, with over 200 guests attending, including diplomats from over 60 countries.

Tom Brake was the guest speaker and gave an overview of the current state of "negotiations" on BREXIT - a set the scene for a peoples' vote on the outcome of negotiations and how the Lib Dems, with colleagues from other parties, will be working to achieve this.

Rupert Morris, NLC Chair also spoke and reminded the guests of some of the forthcoming international events planned by the NLC, and that the NLC is now firmly "the place to be" for liberals with an interest in International Affairs, with a strong NLC Commonwealth Forum and an equally strong NLC European Forum, organising events throughout the year, including:

- NLC Commonwealth Forum Cyprus Visit (10-14 October 2018)
- NLC European Forum will again be attending the ALDE Annual Congress, Madrid
- NLC Commonwealth Forum India Visit (24 January to 6 February 2019)
- NLC Commonwealth Forum plans Visit to Rwanda in 2020 (alongside CHOGM 2020)
- NLC Commonwealth Forum plans Visit to Samoa in 2022 (alongside CHOGM 2022)
- The date for the 2019 NLC Diplomatic Reception will be Monday 24 June 2019

If you want further information contact Trevor Peel, trevor.peel1951@gmail.com



Diplomatic Reception photographs by Peter Hogan.

## **Renewed Hope for Malaysians Marisa Regina Fernando**

May 9 will never be the same again for Malaysians. On May 9, 2018, Malaysians had cast their vote in its 14<sup>th</sup> General Election. All Malaysians had at that time, was hope and hope turned out to be all that was needed. Hope for a change, hope for a better future for our children and hope for a better future for our beloved nation.

In the days leading to the 14<sup>th</sup> General Election, many people went out to attend rallies including many young voters and mothers. As someone quite aptly said, when mothers start going to rallies, you know that something is very wrong! Candidates representing Pakatan Harapan proved to be more competent, courageous, championed the people's rights versus the typical Barisan Nasional candidates whom many Malaysians were getting tired of.

The main parties that contested in the elections were the then ruling coalition party, Barisan Nasional (UMNO-MCA-MIC), Parti Se-Islam Malaysia (PAS), Pakatan Harapan – the new coalition between the opposition parties, Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) led by Dato Seri Dr. Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, wife of former Deputy Prime Minister Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Pribumi a new party formed by Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad and the Democratic Action Party (DAP).

Tun Dr. Mahathir who was Malaysia's longest serving prime minister had defected from UMNO under the Barisan NasionaI. In a bid to save Malaysia, Anwar the de-facto opposition leader had agreed to reconcile with Mahathir in a strategy to win the election with Mahathir leading the opposition coalition.

What began with mere hope had caused the mighty Barisan Nasional to fall on May 9, 2018 in a democratic and most peaceful way. The 14<sup>th</sup> General Election was indeed Malaysia's most significant election since achieving its independence. It was an outstanding and historic election victory ending more than 60 years of rule by the Barisan Nasional party. This was Malaysia's first transition of power since gaining independence from the British in 1957. Tun Dr. Mahathir who led the opposition party had successfully defeated his onetime protégé, the incumbent, Datuk Seri Najib Razak whom he himself had put into power. Najib had come into power in 2009 and it was during his rulethat Malaysia was riddled by various allegations of cronyism, corruption, abuse of power and the One Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) scandal.

As the votes were being counted and tallied, Malaysians had begun rejoicing as more and more seats were being won by Pakatan Harapan. Everyone was closely monitoring the results. Tun Dr. Mahathir had declared victory before the official results were announced once Pakatan Harapan had surpassed the 112 seat threshold needed to form the next government. The ruling party, Barisan Nasional managed 79 seats whereas Pakatan Harapan secured. As opposition party flags danced in the air, people of all ages and races from all across the country had started to gather to celebrate the results. People were ecstatic, there were loud cheers and jubilant tears of happiness and Malaysians proudly sang our national anthem. Our faith in the system had finally been restored. The people's voices had finally been heard!

The result of this election was due to the strength of peoples' power. Everyone had gone to the ballot boxes to cast their vote in order to make a change. Malaysians were united and had come together to save their nation in the most peaceful and democratic manner. It was euphoric and amazing to witness the might of Malaysians and to be a part of history.

The political change in Malaysia has given Malaysians a voice. On May 10, 2018, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamed was sworn in as the 7<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of Malaysia. The new government led for the second time by 92 year old Tun Dr. Mahathir– the oldest Prime Minister in the world and his new Cabinet are striving to keep their promises. The previous government is not sparing them. They are scrutinizing every act and decision and waiting for mistakes to be made despite not performing satisfactorily when they were in power.

Nevertheless, Malaysians are happy and are giving the new government the chance to implement its election manifestos. Already we have seen the appointment of able and the well deserving as Ministers in the new government's pledge to serve the people well.

A lot has changed in the Malaysian political scenario in the first 100 days. The appointment of Malaysia's first female Deputy Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Wan Azizah is ground-breaking. She had proven her strength and capabilities in leading the opposition party whilst Anwar was incarcerated. She had laboured with party leaders and successfully held PKR together whilst fighting for reforms, justice and democracy.

Yet another historic event was on May 16, 2018 when Anwar Ibrahim was granted a Royal Pardon by the King. Tun Dr. Mahathir kept his word and sought for a full Royal Pardon from the King immediately upon Pakatan Harapan winning the elections. Anwar Ibrahim's Royal Pardon brought back many memories and flashbacks of what had transpired since 1998 when he was sacked as Deputy Prime Minister. That was the start of the struggle for reform and democracy, the legal battles that ensued, the trumped-up charges against him and the political assassinations he faced. The vision of the days when the court was still housed at the Sultan Abdul Samad building opposite Merdeka Square, one of Kuala Lumpur's landmark, is still vivid, FRU riot police trucks lined up the streets just outside the court together with riot police armed with baton and shields, the Black Marias, heavy police presence and blaring police sirens accompanying him to and out of court from prison, Datin Seri Wan Azizah going in and out of court as Anwar's cases were being heard with their at that time very young children, including the brilliant Nurul Izzah, now a member of Parliament, and the unforgettable and spirited "reformasi" (reforms) chants by supporters that greeted Anwar Ibrahim and the legal defense team before and after each hearing. My late father, Christopher Fernando was one of Anwar's counsel. He did not live to see these historic events as they unraveled as he passed on 10 years ago. Nevertheless, his tireless efforts, the challenges he had to face and ultimately the defense put up were not in vain and proved to be true in light of the Royal Pardon which expunged all Anwar's previous convictions with immediate effect.

Undoubtedly, numerous sacrifices were made by many since then leading to this new dawn. Their struggles and fight for democracy, justice and reforms have paved the way to this new era. The whole experience has been greatly inspiring and surreal. I never thought I would witness this day and the way the events have extraordinarily unfolded. No amount of fear and intimidation could stop the people this time.

Being led by the new government the first 100 days has been most encouraging and refreshing. We now have a solid cabinet which is backed by various institutions led by able and credible leaders.

The Pakatan Harapan government is committed to fighting corruption, reforming government agencies, the judiciary, the police and abolishing laws which are oppressive. They are also taking steps to rectify Malaysia's reputation and to regain investor confidence to the Malaysian market. Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir has been working very hard and he has succeeded in bringing about significant changes and uniting Malaysians. Whilst the government has a more lot to do and repair, we are headed in the right direction.

This year's National Day celebration on 31 August 2018 will be particularly meaningful as we rejoice 61 years of independence and welcome this triumphant new chapter in our history and the power that has returned to the people. Looking forward to the uprising of a better and new Malaysia!

#### Marisa Regina Fernando

Marisa Regina Fernando is a lawyer and has represented the former Deputy Prime Minister Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim.

## London: More than just a Cosmopolitan City! Mohammed Nossier

My earliest first-hand experience of true freedom of expression dates back a few decades, when I heard a British citizen delivering a speech attacking Queen Elisabeth II personally at London's Hyde Park Corner. I was keen to leave the crowd quickly, worried that the London police would arrest the speaker along with the audiences who had lent him their ears! In the following years, I advanced my knowledge about how freedom of expression operates in the United Kingdom, which has become home to many Arab critics and extremists.

A cosmopolitan city is often defined as a city that accommodates people who come from diversified cultural backgrounds and whose citizens are known to be broad-minded! However, London certainly is much more than a cosmopolitan city that hosts many ethnic and religious sects who tend to be hardliners and a few of

whom are certainly extremists -a category of people that I used to think only emerged in totalitarian nations that constrain citizens' freedom.

The United Kingdom's success in accommodating all of these nationalities is probably due to its strict application of rule of law. However, strong law enforcement has no impact on Londoners' manners, which have certainly changed over the years to adapt to the new habits that naturally come with the integration of new immigrants. During a recent visit to the city, I was astonished to see a native English customer jump a queue to proceed with his transaction, claiming that he was in hurry – a behavior that I had never encountered before in my long experience with the city.

London is a second home for roughly 300,000 Arabs and it receives another one and half million Arab visitors in the summer. The great number of people who speak Arabic, the *halal* food offered in many food outlets that even carry Arabic language signs and the availability of *shisha* somehow give London the appearance of an 'Arab city'



situated in Europe. During an unpleasant occasion when I was visiting a hospital in London, I was surprised to hear the Muslim call to prayer coming from a hospital personnel's mobile phone and I eventually found a prayer mat in the hospital's waiting room.

In recent years, London, sadly, has confronted many terrorist attacks that were committed by the newcomers to the city, which made me wonder why terrorism flourishes in this innovative, entrepreneurial city. Aside from the fact that I condemn terrorism, I don't know why terrorists attempt to carry out their devilish acts in the city that offers them home, assimilates them as part of a harmonized community and in many cases offers them financial aid to enable them to live decently.

The United Kingdom's readiness to engage many ethnic immigrants in its political structure should logically conclude in the dissolution of all kinds of extremists – which is not the case! Did these extremists manage to conceal their ugly side when processing their documents to enter to the country, or did their fanaticism develop after they had moved in? The United Kingdom's political environment has enabled Sadiq Khan, the descendant of a working-class British Pakistani family, to become Mayor of London and there are 15 Muslim members in the British parliament.

Meanwhile, I am unaware of any British-Arabs who have become significantly involved in their new nation's politics! Do we Arabs prefer to spend our time socializing rather than truly engaging in politics? Why do Arabs tend to break the law and engage in violent activities in a nation that offers us a clear structure to pursue any goal peacefully? If it were my call, I would prompt the British government to work on restoring the manners of Londoners by firmly applying the rule of law, regardless of citizens' backgrounds. Seeing London gradually loose its original exemplary behavior and good manners is a shame.

I am completely unclear about the best method to apply to reduce terrorism! I often criticize my country, Egypt's, repressive policy towards extremists and highly value a nation like the United Kingdom that applies rule of law strictly. However, terrorist activities have taken place in both nations equally. Our Universe is certainly in need of a clear and common strategy for fighting terrorism that is rapidly spreading across every part of the world, with the aim of unleashing its hatred onto innocent civilians.

#### Mohammed Nossier

Mohammed Nossier is an Egyptian Liberal Politician working on reforming Egypt on true liberal values, proper application of democracy and a free market economy.

### Kiat Sittheeamorn takes Thailand a step closer in battle for gender equality

After meeting with the executive management of Thai Airways International (the national carrier of Thailand), Kiat Sittheeamorn -a member of LI's Human Rights Committee and deputy leader of the Democrat Party, has won an important victory for the advancement of women's rights in Thailand.

Raising the fact that the airline has never had a female pilot in its entire history, Kiat Sittheeamorn was clear: "What Thai Airways has been doing is in clear violation of the Thai Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Fighting against gender-based discrimination is an on-going battle which is always hard but if I don't do it who will?"



Usanee Sangsingkeo, who is the Acting President of the airline, admitted that such practices were indeed discriminatory and committed to changing the airline's policy soon.

Commenting on the positive outcome Mr Sittheeamorn added: "It's easier than it may otherwise appear as long as one has the right arguments at hand. Now that I have taken the lead on this issue, many in the Thai community have come out of hiding having the courage to air their grievances."

# reviews

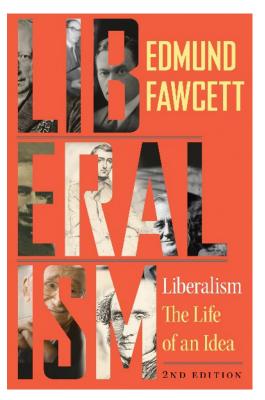
#### Liberalism, The Life of an Idea, by Edmund Fawcett. Princeton 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2018 £22.00, \$27.95 isbn 9780691180380 e-book isbn 9781400889679

Back in 2016 when reviewing Fawcett's Liberalism, I wrote *This is a brilliant book; if you have one book on Liberalism in your library, for the time being, this should be it.* (interLib 2016-07 Liberator 381). At the time, the barbarian was already at the door, Britain, once thought bastion of liberal democracy, had narrowly voted to leave the European Union, but could we seriously believe that it would get much worse with the election of Donald Trump in the United States. It was as if in a lack of confidence in the West, electorates had opted for suicide. Luckily the line has held, though shaken, in France and Germany. In the wake of this, like all good polemics, Fawcett has brought us a second edition, addressing the dilemmas of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in more detail than he first treated it.

I have not revisited Fawcett's historical account of Liberalism having no reason to believe it has changed. Suffice to say, it accounts for liberal democracy or liberal internationalism in the context of Liberalisms per se. As Ruggiero pointed out, the sum total of liberalism has never been found solely in parties that call themselves or identify themselves as Liberal. For example, like it or not, Margaret Thatcher was an economic liberal but a political Conservative, and there are far worse conservatives than her behind the Neoliberal agenda. For a fuller account of the Neoliberal position I'd commend the works of David Harvey (*A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, OUP 2005. a Marxian perspective) and Daniel Stedman Jones (*Masters of the Universe*, Princeton 2012) both of which could also do with a second edition to bring them up to at least the abject failure of the Neoliberal experiment in 2008, if not beyond. Unfortunately, as Fawcett points out, there has been no substantial switch from those failed Neoliberal policies and Liberal Democrats in Coalition have much to blame themselves for in this, especially in the field of education, whatever their attempts to ameliorate the overall situation as a minor partner. Probably better there than not is all that can be said. However, this reiterates the need for Liberals to read books like this. Adam Smith was quite clear that the Market, best suited to many things, could not be relied on in the fields of education and social welfare; around 250 years have not proved otherwise.

To the meat of the issue. Fawcett's first edition kind of petered out after 1989; there was a brief Coda of just over 13 pages for Liberal dreams for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Now extended to include nightmares, these run to just over 76 pages. I don't need to recount these events, but of particular use is a balanced assessment of the European Union, warts and all, with certain ironies concerning the role of British Conservatives in the creation of the Single Market, the extension of the EU into eastern Europe and the free movement of people. Identity is probably less of a problem for most of than Fawcett seems to think. We are not rootless cosmopolitans; I am a Maldonian, an Essexman (as opposed to Essex Man), English, British and European. I could comfortably extend that to a world citizen if the polity was there; cut us and we bleed the same blood.





An old friend, Stafford Challis, once said to that one of the reasons for the demise of Liberalism after the First World War was the loss of many of the generation that would take up the banner on the fields of Flanders. But there you are; we've been there before and one of the greatest strengths of Liberalism is its optimism. Political problems will always be there, as one is dealt with another comes to take its place – there is not a utopia out there that we might some day reach, still less an arcadia to return to. As he moves between Liberalism and liberal democracy, Fawcett might give more stress to that we are not alone in the political dialogue. For a century Liberals per se, have for the most been minor players in the UK; some of the faults of liberal democracy come down to ill-liberal players in the dialogue, or those whose partial adoption of Liberal principals is coloured by another ideology. The struggle goes on, and always will.

If you have one book on Liberalism and this is it, buy the second edition; if you don't have it, race straight down to your nearest independent bookseller, either way, you will not be disappointed and will be better equipped to face the battles ahead of us.

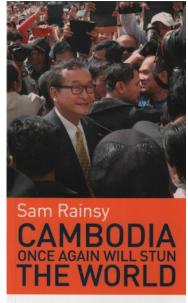
**Stewart Rayment** 

#### Cambodia Once Again Will Stun the World, by Sam Rainsy. Editions Balland 2018 €15 isbn 9782940556953

The title of Cambodian opposition leader Sam Rainsy's new book reflects the boundless optimism that the man himself displays, despite the many hard knocks he has received over the years and his involuntary status of political exile. I guess the allusion in the title is to the golden era of Angkor, where, at the start of the 12th century, an estimated one million people lived around the temple complex, which would make it the largest conurbation of its time. But for most people, of course, Cambodia entered their consciousness when the genocidal crimes of the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979) came to light. Though a sizable majority of the population today are too young to have any direct experience of the horrors of the concentration camps and killing fields, the trauma endures, barely alleviated by the kleptocratic nature of the regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen. The PM, his family and cronies have amassed great fortunes over recent decades while most Cambodians suffer a standard of living that is among the lowest in South East Asia, and much of the country's environment has been ravaged.

Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party won 90% of the seats in last month's general election, which was widely denounced by foreign governments as a sham. Sam Rainsy's National Rescue Party was excluded, having been forcibly "dissolved" by the authorities last year, though he pursues his political agenda in exile through the newly-created Cambodia National Rescue Movement. This book, in a series of sometimes sketchy, very short passages, gives some pointers to the sort of society he would like to see in a putative Cambodian renaissance, based on the rule of law, an end to corruption and full civil rights. As a devout Buddhist, he is forgiving towards his political enemies, even if they do not return the courtesy, and he is prepared to work with any outside country, including China, to build the nation he envisages.

This is not entirely pie-in-the-sky, as Sam Rainsy in the 1990s was Minister of Finance in the government of Norodom Ranariddh (which was overthrown in a coup in 1997) and he has excellent international contacts, not least through the Liberal International. But for the time being, he is an outcast, admired (often in secret) by millions of his compatriots, denounced by Hun Sen, and sadly



Balland

unlikely to be able to flesh out the bones of his vision for a new Cambodia any time soon.

#### Jonathan Fryer

Also published as Le Cambodge à nouveau étonnera le monde.

#### Edward Bawden, Dulwich Picture Gallery

#### Edward Bawden, by James Russell. Dulwich Picture Gallery/Philip Wilson Publishers 2018 isbn 9781781300657

### are you sitting Comfortably? The book jackets of Edward Bawden, Peyton Skipworth & James Russell. Mainstone Press 2018 isbn 9780957666542

Bawden is one of the artists of the English Modernism of the mid-Twentieth century that now seems fascinatingly dated, yet remains intrinsically modern. Although Bawden would still have been alive when I first discovered him, one thinks of the 30s to 50s as his heyday. Like his friend, Ravilious, he was not averse to commercial work, which likewise, may have dented his reputation with the art establishment, though his clients were an epitome of the English establishment – Fortnum & Masons, the Folio Society, the Orient Line. The retrospective cuts across this work, from wallpaper design, through his landscapes – watercolours and print media, to his portraits as a war artist in exotic theatres. Bawden was particularly a master of the linocut – at a scale that you'd hardly believe. Since we're in Brighton, here is Brighton Pier.



Edward Bawden, Brighton Pier, 1958, Linocut on paper, Trustees of the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery (The Higgins Bedford), © Estate of Edward Bawden

Not necessarily the most assiduous of art students (when he wasn't skipping off on commercial work), Bawden came to portraits late in his career as a by-product of his work as a War Artist. These are probably buried in a vault at the Imperial War Museum most of the time, so this is an opportunity to see some of them. These are frequently humbler subject, like this Sergeant from the Eritrean Police Force, set up under

the occupying Italians (there's another decolonisation that we didn't think through too clearly - if at all).

There is a considerable publishing industry around Bawden; like Ravilious, he has become well loved by later generations for his nostalgic Englishness. James Russell has produced what is in effect an extended catalogue for the Dulwich exhibition. It will probably be the standard monograph on the artist for some time. Russell has also collaborated with Peyton Skipworth in *are you sitting Comfortably? The book jackets of Edward Bawden*. Many of the titles there in are as likely to be collected for the dust jackets as the books themselves, so

Edward Bawden, A Sergeant in the Police Force formed by the Italians, Watercolour, chalk and ink on paper, © IWM (Art. IWM ART LD 1791), © Estate of Edward Bawden



a useful guide, sparkling with Russell's wit – who could resist *the fact that the text is unreadable is neither here nor there* (on Robert Herring's Adam and Evelyn at Kew, or Revolt in the Gardens, 1930).



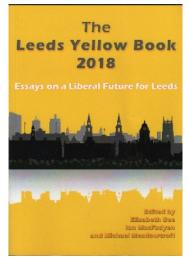
There is much to be said for seeing the works themselves, not simply the scale, also the texture. Edward Bawden continues at Dulwich Picture Gallery, south London, until the 9<sup>th</sup> September, so get there quickly. There is also an exhibition *Bawden at Home*, at the Fry Gallery, Castle Street, Saffron Walden, Essex, running until 28<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

#### Stewart Rayment

#### The Leeds Yellow Book 2018, essays on a Liberal Future for Leeds, edited by Elizabeth Bee, Ian MacFadyan & Michael Meadowcroft. Beecroft Publications 2018 £7.00 isbn 9780993090943

Steve Sadler's essay on why inner Leeds voted Leave in the Brexit referendum, whilst the city as a whole narrowly voted Remain, is the most internationally relevant article in this collection. Leeds 9 underwent

dramatic change from the 1970s, from a white working-class community enjoying full employment to a diverse community suffering high unemployment. Critical factors were the demise of Burton's, the clothing manufacturer, whose workforce reduced from over 10,000 to a few hundreds after 1975, the urban blight of supposed regeneration, changes in retail practices, the later reflecting the ethnic changes in the community, which were perceived by some, negatively, but most notably the influx of east European immigrants after 2005. With the exception of the latter, most of these had nothing or little to do with the EU but they placed it for a backlash against public authorities failing to deliver for a particular community. Whilst this may be a familiar story to us, or at least meet our expectations of why a community voted Leave, it is useful to have the detail of Steve's analysis – he after all, grew up in the community, represented it, and has a detailed understanding backed up with the facts that spread over many years.



Michael Meadowcroft gives a good account of what local government should be. He accepts the Northern Powerhouse at face value and urges politicians to pick it up and run with it. Other Liberals with whom I've spoken are more sceptical, but it could be seen as a form of regionalism that is on the table.

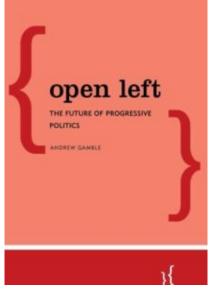
Alas, the worthy effort of this book does not appear to have impacted on the electoral fortunes of Liberalism in the city. On that, I recall when speaking at a meeting in Leeds, one the comments was that the wards in the city are so vast as to be difficult for smaller parties – a calculated move by the big two. I suspect that the changes outlined by Michael can only make this harder. However, lack of knowledge of Leeds does not mean you can't benefit from this book; there are lessons within it, and ways forward that can be adapted to your own situation.

#### Stewart Rayment

#### Open Left: the future of progressive politics, by Andrew Gamble. Policy Network 2018 isbn 9781786609083 eBook 9781786609090

Currently there are many calls for a centrist coalition in Britain or even for a new progressive party to bring some common sense into politics thereby combating the extremist tendencies around issues such as Brexit and immigration. These political extremes are spreading throughout western democracies, partly fuelled by those with vested interests. Back in 2004, when eastern European countries joined the EU as members, a gamble was taken that western values would spread eastwards but it was acknowledged that the reverse could happen leading to a battle against the challenges of corruption and nationalism. Inevitably, in a free Europe, both have happened to some extent.

So, Professor Andrew Gamble's new book is timely, especially given the talk of political party realignment before the next general election.



Gamble, writing for Policy Network believes that the place to start a new progressive project leading to a coalition is with an open left, his book being the result of seminars and discussions on the subject. This progressive project is not just for centre left socialists but also for liberals and environmentalists; instead of arguing over which party is the most progressive there is a need for a coming together.

Across Europe there has been a bleak outlook for the centre left since the 2008 crash with the challenges and dilemmas mainly focussed on four areas – security, economy, welfare and democracy. The book is structured around these four areas, focussing on Britain as the main example.

After WWII the US helped the countries of Europe (although Keynesian economics were pushed aside) but in the 1970s restructuring led to US foreign policy rebuilding the international order according to its own national interests. Now, when a new restructuring of international order is

needed, Trump is eschewing multilateralism which is essential for progressive politics.

Democracy seems to be in retreat globally after decades of progress. Russia, Turkey and some EU members have become more authoritarian, fuelled by populist nationalism. Politicians are not trusted and states have become less able to solve problems.

An open left needs to work towards strengthening multilateral organisations including those concerned with the environment and nuclear proliferation. It is committed to an open international multilateral order, no longer western centric but still rule-based and cooperative, with progressive parties in each nation encouraging their populations to realise that their security depends upon engagement with the world rather than erecting barriers. Economic nationalism is now winning much support so "How can sovereignty and interdependence be reconciled?"

An open left needs policies for the national, regional, and global levels. [Those who are against the EU often think they are fighting globalisation, yet several authors including myself think that regionalisation is actually in part a protection from globalisation.]

#### So what would a new progressive project look like?

Gamble acknowledges that 'centre left' can be seen as an old-fashioned position and out of touch. It may seem as though it focuses on industries that used to be rather than the modern global economy. So, an 'open left' needs a multilateral international order no longer focused on western democracies, as well as "an inclusive and sustainable economy, a remodelled welfare state, and a renewed democracy."

A coalition is needed to unite progressive voices – old and young, all classes, cross-party and no party.

"There is a very substantial party of progress in Britain as there is throughout Europe. The challenge is to forge the alliances to unite it under one banner." Gamble believes an open left is the first step including:

- A national vision of what is wrong and how to put it right
- A leadership that can be trusted to be honest and competent
- A mutual dependence between capitalist economies and the welfare state
- A PR electoral system which will represent more people via coalitions
- A renewed democracy

Interestingly he also discusses 'associate membership' of the EU which is something I would also expect to happen in the longer term within a two-tier EU (note that this is more than a Ukrainian-style 'association agreement'). He is also clear that the EU must avoid Balkanisation and inevitably will need to be more like a great power in order to survive in today's world.

Throughout the book Gamble compares and explains various opposing policies as being the main driving forces within politics. Corruption and self-interest are attributed to authoritarian systems rather than democracies. However, as someone who has watched so-called 'illiberal' democracies around the Black Sea for many years, it is difficult not to compare some aspects of our current 'liberal' democracy with more authoritarian governments.

Still, Professor Gamble is right to focus on policy, with his main message being that it is time for the supporters of progressive politics to unite. If in doubt read the 121 pages of the book.

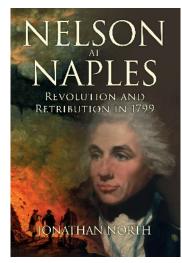
#### Dr Carol Weaver

The book can be read online free of charge at https://policynetwork.org/publications/books/open-left/

### Nelson at Naples, revolution and retribution in 1799, by Jonathan North. Amberley 2018 £20.00 isbn 9781445679372

If there is a national hero, it is probably Horatio Nelson, we tend to forgive Winston his warts, but there are many of them, he is human, whereas time masks our awareness of the victor of Trafalgar and the Nile. Champion aside, he is generally regarded as a 'good thing' for the navy, which provided the bulwark of our defence and foreign policy until the advent of the aeroplane. There is however, one stain, Naples in 1799, which shows through despite the romantic interest of Emma Hamilton.

Jonathan North details the charge. It is complicated. At various stages in the French revolutionary & Napoleonic wars, Britain was short of allies and would grasp at any that availed themselves. The Kingdom of Naples & Sicily was a backwater even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Over-burdened by the church and aristocracy, its poor, the lazzaroni, maintained a stubborn loyalty to their king. Ferdinand IV & III did little to command this loyalty, but his wife Maria Carolina attempted some kind of reform in the Enlightenment sense, though



without the means to really achieve much. Her position on the French revolution would be tempered by the fate of her sister, Marie Antoinette. Buoyed up by Nelson's success at Toulon, and influenced by Sir William Hamilton, the Neapolitan army, marched on the Roman Republic, but when the French counter-attacked, fled. Ferdinand withdrew to Sicily as the French advanced, leaving disorder behind, and without their king some of the aristocracy set up the short-lived Parthenopean Republic. Hardly men of the people, this had little popular support and would rely heavily on a French garrison. Cardinal Russo organised a counter-revolution, backed by Nelson's fleet, which with victory at the Battle of the Nile had reversed the dynamic in the Mediterranean theatre. Russo negotiated the surrender of the republicans & French, with a contractual agreement on clemency, but the king, queen, Hamilton and Nelson would have nothing of this, resulting in a judicial massacre. Louisa Sanfelice, who would inspire Puccini's *Tosca*, was the last to be hacked to death in Naples; her crime appears to have been warning republicans of an early coup attempt against them. Since mere fashion statements could lead to imprisonment or exile, what hope is there if Boris Johnson ever becomes Prime Minister?

Charles James Fox took up the attack on Nelson in the Commons, coming out of retirement in his outrage. For North, as for Bob Southey before him, Nelson is guilty as charged. Of Southey, North is wrong to attribute his condemnation to Whiggish sympathies – Southey was increasingly seen in the Tory camp from 1807 when he became Poet Laureate, which makes his condemnation all the more damning. This is however, a brief account and North brings you the full story, calling on sources previously not available in English, many translated by himself. He concludes that he cannot vindicate Nelson, nor the Hamiltons.

#### Stewart Rayment

#### Life in Motion: Egon Schiele – Francesca Woodman Tate Liverpool.

One of the great things about Art is that you can go on making new discoveries. I discovered Egon Schiele shortly after Gustave Klimt sometime in the late Sixties, I hadn't thought it could get better at the time. Something of the same could be said of Tate Liverpool's pairing of Egon Schiele and Francesca Woodman. You enter, there is a work by each artist, then Schiele's early work, progressively expressive as he finds his own style beyond Klimt. Turning a corner, you confront Woodman's small black and white photographs. They contrast with Schiele's spontaneity; deliberative. One is probably attracted to the exhibition by Schiele's name (and after fifty-odd years, familiarity – the revolutionary Marlborough Gallery having first brought his work to London in 1964). Thus, Woodman's work can be something of a challenge; I am probably not alone in being introduced to it.

There are many similarities between the two artists. Both died young; Woodman by her own hand at 22, Schiele at 28 in the 1918 influenza pandemic. Their creativity spans 9 to 10 years. Each was frequently their own model – sometimes in Schiele's case, by poverty, but as Woodman expressed it 'it is a matter of convenience, I'm always available'. The human body is the best-known subject of each; Schiele spontaneous, yet etched in emotion, almost always a delay in time, captured in motion, which is what, as an artform, the photograph is probably the simplest example of. However, motion is not only implicit in Woodman's work, but can also be in the execution, through long exposures.

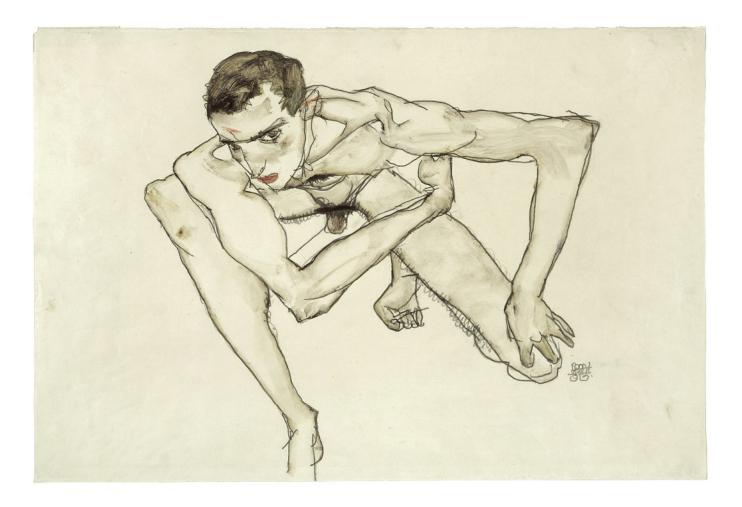
Then there is eroticism. Schiele is best known for this, models, himself or others, exploring their sexuality, though this is far from the sum total of his oeuvre. Woodman's work, at least as we have it here, primarily



Francesca Woodman, From Polka Dots. 1976

involves the female nude, often herself, though whereas Schiele's generally stand alone, there is a setting, distortion. In the note to *A Woman; A Mirror; A Woman is a Mirror for a Man* she says that the portrait is to resist the male gaze – not to objectify one might say, hence the interest in her work in feminist circle after her death. Her work is personal rather than collective, and in this does not escape eroticism, whatever her later champions might wish for.

Schiele would, before his untimely death, achieve success as a portraitist, one of those of August Lederer is included in the exhibition. Lederer was an Austrian Jewish industrialist; the portrait of his wife, Serena, is one of Klimt's best-known works – they probably had one of the best collections of that artist's work before it was confiscated by the Nazis in 1938. Why Woodman, after such precocity, committed suicide is not revealed here. Probably she



#### Egon Schiele: Self Portrait in Croaching Position. 1913 - Moderna Museet, Stockholm.

hoped for wider hoped for wider recognition of her work, and to be accepted into fashion photography. It's a tough life in the art world, in photography, perhaps tougher to gain recognition.

Liverpool is buzzing at the moment, especially around the docks, but the Biennial is on all over town <a href="https://whitney.org/artport-commissions/laughing-snake/index.html#">https://whitney.org/artport-commissions/laughing-snake/index.html#</a>

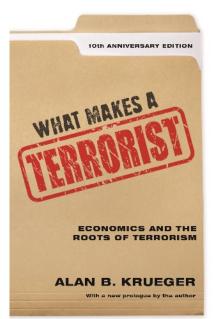
#### Life in Motion: Egon Schiele – Francesca Woodman runs at Tate Liverpool until 23<sup>rd</sup> September

The last day coincides with the People's Vote demonstration at the Labour Party Conference which would be an added bonus if you were going along. Assembly - 12,00 noon, St. George's Plateau, just up the water-front from Tate Liverpool.

#### What Makes a Terrorist, by Alan B. Krueger. Princeton University Press 2018 £22.00 isbn 9780691177823 e-book isbn 9781400888979

Terrorists, like revolutionaries, tend to come not from the impoverished masses but from the middle class, and usually have an above-average level of education. This was the shock central finding of Alan B. Krueger's *What Makes a Terrorist* when it was published a decade ago, thus challenging the widely-held assumption that poverty is the root cause of terrorism.

A 10th anniversary edition of the book has now appeared with the addition of a new Prologue, in which Professor Krueger points out that despite the high level of publicity surrounding terrorist attacks, the risk of being a victim of such an outrage is minimal and has not increased since 2008, notwithstanding blanket coverage of incidents in the media, including social media. In the 15 years between 9/11 and 2016, for example, 123 Americans were killed in terrorist attacks, whereas 240,000 were murdered.



The main body of this book comprises three lectures that Dr Krueger (Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Affairs at Princeton) gave at the London School of Economics, snappily entitled Who Becomes a Terrorist? Where does Terror Emerge? and What Does Terror Accomplish?

As a regular commentator in mainstream media in the United States, the author is adept at explaining things in layman's terms, while sacrificing none of his academic rigour. The unique quality of his work rests on the fact that he approaches the subject from the perspective of an economist (statistics and all, though there is only one mind-boggling equation to daunt the non-specialist).

He draws on useful examples, not least from Iraq and the Basque Country, as evidence to support his theories and certain quantifiable patterns do emerge. While most of us may find it impossible to imagine a situation in which we would deliberately kill random people in an act of violence, probably sacrificing our own lives, it is maybe useful to understand why

some youths — and they are overwhelmingly young men — do and what they hope to achieve.

Anger about a situation of poverty and injustice, such as the plight of the Palestinians in Gaza, can be a motive, even if the perpetrators are not poor themselves. But I found particularly intriguing Professor Krueger's assertion that there is a correlation between the origin of terrorists and the lack of civil liberties in that country. So, although there is probably still substance to the argument that reducing poverty and injustice could reduce the incentives for terrorism, improving civil liberties and good governance could be at least as effective. Egypt and Saudi Arabia, please take note.

#### Jonathan Fryer

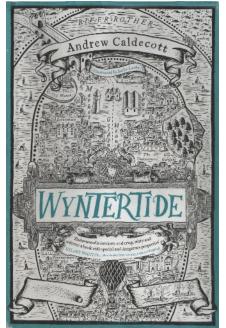
#### Wyntertide, by Andrew Caldecott. Jo Fletcher Books 2018 £14.99 isbn 9781784298029 ebook isbn 9781784298012

If you've resisted the lure of Rotherweird so far, this will grab you. There is an election, though not one as you know it, despite, given the imps who have had the audacity to stand for elected mayor, slapping their image's face with a velvet glove would seem an entirely appropriate way to mount a challenge. Elections were hinted at in Rotherweird, the Fanguin's entertaining Oblong, mused, for a moment, that none had taken place in recent memory. But that is history, in which we're not supposed to delve.

Wyntertide takes the story a step further; new characters emerge as the Summoned, Rotherweird's well-healed emigrés, return to cast their vote, in a borough whose corruption would match a northern Labour fiefdom. Old characters are clarified, though their egocentricity leaves them carelessly ill-matched to meet their challenges unless accident prevails; no Famous Five here.

Caldecott is one of the best contributors to the British fantasy genre to emerge in a long time, perhaps on par with Arthur Machen. Read the book, then go back and reread *Rotherweird*, before reading the book again. Sasha Laika's illustrations will come to life. If you haven't read Rotherweird, well as the Water Rat said what have you been doing, then? Read it first (reviewed interLib 2017-07 page 31).

A message for struggling Liberals perhaps...? Accept the truth... accumulated failure can be a potent catalyst for change.



#### Humanity, by Ai Weiwei, edited by Larry Warsh. Princeton 2018 £9.99 isbn 9780691181523 e-book isbn 9781400890347

At first sight, unpacking this book, I thought that it might be a Little Red Book for today – the *Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (now Mao Zedong, or as Mae West put it, Mousey Tongue). The obvious similarity is the scale of the books, but also the pithy quotations, by which you can reeducate yourself in Ai Weiwei thought (the Chairman is consigned to the attic here, and is probably regarded as an infantile disorder or left deviationism in the Peoples' Republic these days).

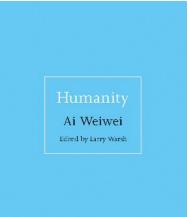
First and foremost, the Little Blue Book is about Toleration, the fine Whig principle that needs reasserting in its evangelical sense. The need for this stemming from the Refugee Crisis, particularly as observed by Ai Weiwei in Lesbos in 2016, but it goes on. Ai Weiwei was himself born a refugee, his father was a victim of Mao's Cultural Revolution, leading to the family's internal exile. Outspoken, in word and deed through his art, Ai Weiwei has constantly been subjected to state harassment and oppression throughout his career, though my impression is that he is not, himself, an enemy of China, rather he wants to straighten a few things out, Here, he wants to straighten a few things out with the global community.

Larry Warsh has done a great job in putting this collection together. It starts with an ending: *My conclusion is we are one humanity. If anyone is being hurt, we are all being hurt. If anyone has joy, that's our joy.* It closes with a call to action: *Indifference does not liberate us, but instead cuts us off from reality.* Make some space for these aphorisms in your focuses over the coming year, spread the word.

#### Stewart Rayment

Ai Weiwei on Lesvos. © Ai Weiwei Studio.

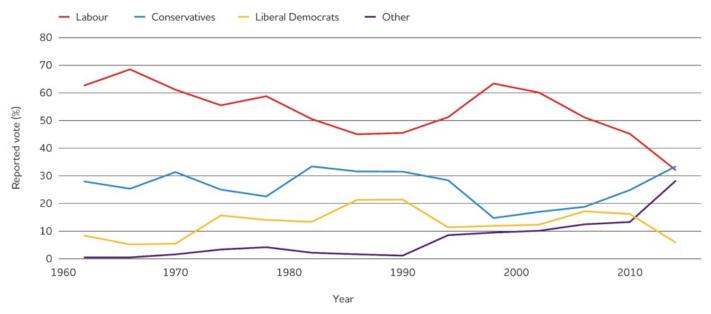




### The New Working Class, how to win hearts, minds and votes, by Claire Ainsley. Policy Press 2018 isbn 9781447344186

I was lucky enough to grow up in a town where there was still a very small residual working class Liberal vote – the fishermen; they were growing old and their industry was in decline, but they clung to the politics of their youth. Ainsley reminds us that there is still a significant working class vote and that whilst it has transformed, it can still make the difference to a party winning or losing an election.

Liberalism, once the natural home of the working class vote, has consistently failed to meet the expectations of the working class – if Dilke had succeeded Gladstone instead of Rosebery things might have been different, but he couldn't keep his trousers up. In the face of ambivalence, the trades unions set up the Labour party, and the rest is history. Since the Second World War, it is safe to say that Liberal politicians who courted the working class have been treated with suspicion, even demonization – an element of jealousy perhaps from those happy to trundle along in leafy suburbia or the shires. There was a critical point perhaps, when the Labour party was described by the more reasonable Italian Communists as an infantile disorder; when urban Liberals were striving to meet the needs and aspirations of the communities of most of our large cities, we briefly took more than 20% of the working class vote (Goodman & Heath, 2017 below).



But the party preferred to stab them in the back, always after the quick fix rather than the proper application of community politics. Blair was not the answer, and as aspirations were not met the working class increasingly did not vote. But hey, isn't the Labour party now led by the very people who were betraying working class values back in the 80s & 90s, and look where that got us (not without help elsewhere) – Brexit.

Ainsley identifies four core values: family, fairness, hard work and decency, and then sets out to identify policies that meet these aspirations. Employment rights, indeed a re-evaluation of the dignity of work are pretty fundamental to people typically working in service sectors, retail, hospitality and care. They are living off low to middle incomes are much more multi-ethnic and diverse than the usual stereotypes allow.

Claire Ainsley is Executive Director of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and previously worked for the T&GW (I'm much happier with Unions telling us what they are about rather than being a brand name). One doesn't sense that she is specifically talking to Liberal Democrats, but they are debating some of the core issues that she addresses in Brighton so pick up this book and see if it can hone some of your debating skills. When you get back, roll you sleeves up and get your hands dirty; there's the damage of at least 30-40 years to be redressed.

#### Stewart Rayment

## **International Abstracts**

#### USA

TV Anchors agape after the Trump-Putin appearance, by Michael M Grynbaum. New York Times 16<sup>th</sup> July 2018.

Is President Trump truly in the thrall of the Russians?

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/business/media/trump-putin-helsinkicnn.html?action=click&module=Trending&pgtype=Article®ion=Footer&contentCollection=Trending

Trump, at Putin's, side questions US Intelligence on 2016 election.

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/world/europe/trump-putin-election-intelligence.html

What gets in the way of an Russian-American agreement? By Renaud Girard. Sober look at the conflicts between Trump & the State Department over policy towards Russia. Originally appeared in Le Figaro.

https://radix.org.uk/what-gets-in-the-way-of-an-russian-american-agreement/

In my Iowa town we need immigrants, by Art Cullen. New York Times, 30th July 2018

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/30/opinion/trump-immigrants-iowa-farmers-workers.html

John McCain's funeral was the biggest resistance meeting yet, by Susan B. Glasser. The New Yorker, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2018

https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-trumps-washington/john-mccains-funeral-was-the-biggest-resistance-meeting-yet

5 Takeaways from Bob Woodward's Book on the Trump Whitehouse, by Noah Welland. New York Times. 4<sup>th</sup> September 2018

Woodward's Fear: Trump in the White House even made Metro in the UK. Here it is in a nutshell.

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/04/us/politics/trump-woodward-book-fear.html

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/05/books/review-fear-trump-in-white-house-bob-woodward.html

I am part of the Resistance inside the Trump Administration, a rare anonymous Op-Ed in the New York Times. 5<sup>th</sup> September 2018

No surprises really, especially to those of us familiar with Sir Humphrey. The caveat, for all councillors is make sure your officers have actually carried out your instructions; review progress.

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/05/opinion/trump-white-house-anonymousresistance.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage

#### Liberator 391

There has been a hiatus at the top of Liberal International over the past few months, as George Mackay has been unable to take up his post in London because of Home Office intransigence – the 'hostile environment'. Radical Bulletin throws a little light on to this, but there must be more.

Beyond this, it does not have international content, although David Grace provides a guide to the various groups opposing Brexit, and Wendy Kyrle-Pope looks at the impact of Brexit on the union (a certain irony that the Unionist Tories may actually break up the UK in the end, after all their treachery in the division of

Ireland). Jonathan Calder gives us an incisive review of *A Very English Scandal*, the BBC television series based on Jeremy Thorpe.

#### Journal of Liberal History Issue 99 Summer 2018

Similarly of little international content, David Steel's review of Paul Lendval's biography of Orbán and Walter Runciman's papers in Newcastle Library Special Collections (which as holds various Trevelyan papers) including his controversial report on the Czech Sudetenland. Gladstone's relations with trades unions have an international twist. Otherwise there are articles of Congregationalism & Liberalism in Edwardian Hampshire, on Asquith and on the 2017 General Election.

#### Africa/Democratic Republic of Congo

Why does Africa have so much trouble with democracy? by Renaud Girard Shady deeds in advance of December's presidential election, and the wider problem in Africa. Girard is chief foreign correspondent at Le Figaro, where this article first appeared. https://radix.org.uk/why-does-africa-have-so-much-trouble-with-democracy/

#### A Carnival of EUnity: We Demand a Final Say On The Brexit Deal



#### Sunday 16th September

Liberal Democrats assemble by the Peace Statue on the Hove seafront at 4.15pm, dressed colourfully and march to the Brighton Centre to meet up with the non-partisan marchers.

Non-partisan marchers assemble by the Palace Pier with placards illustrating the rights we enjoy as members of the EU and march to the Brighton Centre to meet up with the Lib Dems.

Talks by Catherine Bearder (Lib Dem MEP for the South East), Peter Kyle (Labour MP for Hove), Phélim MacCafferty (Convenor of Brighton & Hove City Council's Green Group) and Tom Brake (Lib Dem MP and Shadow Spokesperson for Exiting the EU) will talk from 5.05pm.



# **Brighton – the International Bits...**

#### Saturday 15 September

09.40–10.25 Policy motion: Improving Animal Welfare 10.25–11.15 Policy motion: Righting Wrongs: Restoring the Rights of the Windrush Generation 13.00–14.30 Consultative sessions: Climate Change and the Low Carbon Economy

#### Fringe Saturday mid evening 20.15-21.30

Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary (LD4SoS) AGM and an update on current issues affecting asylum seekers and refugees After the AGM an open forum discussing current issues faced by those seeking Sanctuary in the UK. Has the hostile environment become less hostile? Contributions from active campaigners including Parliamentarians and befrienders. Join us to plan further lobbying and support. Hilton, Churchill

#### **Sunday 16 September**

11.00–12.30 Policy motion: A Fair Deal for Everyone: Prosperity and Dignity in Migration 12.30-12.50 Speech: Jo Swinson MP

#### Fringe Sunday lunchtime 13.00-14.00



Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine What Hope for Palestine in the Era of Trump? Anas Al-Tikriti, President of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB); Robert Cohen, writer, blogger and speaker on Israel/Palestine and a trustee of Amos Trust. Brighton Centre, Meeting Room 1A



**GREEN** Green Liberal Democrats Is Climate Change Accelerating and What to Do about it? Latest evidence on how and why things are getting warmer quicker than expected with local campaigning ideas + Q&A panel. Speakers: Sir Ed Davey MP, Prof Keith Barnum (Imperial DEMOCRATS College London), Prof Nick Cowern (Renewables specialist), James Baker (ALDC). Brighton Centre, Meeting Room 1 C

Lib Dems Abroad Giving the Vote to all Brits abroad: Launch of Lib Dems Abroad 5.5 million Brits live outside the UK. The Tory Government intends to enfranchise all of voting age. Three local parties will campaign for those votes and overseas constituencies. Party President Baroness Brinton; FIRC Chair Robert Woodthorpe Browne; local party chairs. Hilton, Clarence

#### Fringe Sunday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

**Social Democrat Group** How should we spend the Exit from Brexit dividend? Brexit was partly a protest against globalisation. Without Brexit, the UK economy may be 5% bigger. Could we use that extra money to make globalisation work for everyone? Speakers to be announced. Hilton, Surrey 1

Lib Dems in International Development Join our new network of development professionals and enthusiasts from 1-4pm for a panel series featuring parliamentarians, NGOs and the private sector. From sustainable energy and value-based trade to human rights, whatever your experience, we want to hear your views! Hilton, Surrey 2 Note: this event ends at 16.00

#### 15.30–16.45 Policy motion: Britain at the Heart of a Changing World

#### Fringe Sunday early evening 18.15-19.15

**H.M.Government of Gibraltar** Brexit 2 years on - Views from Wales, Scotland, Nothern Ireland and Gibraltar Dr Joseph Garcia (Deputy Chief Minister Gibraltar), Jane Dodds (Liberal Democrats Wales Leader), Naomi Long (Alliance Party Leader) and Alex Cole-Hamilton MSP will give their views on Brexit two years on since the EU referendum. Hilton, Buckingham Note: this event starts at 18.00 and ends at 19.00

**Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary (LD4SoS) with Liberal Democrat Voice** (How) should the UK change its refugee family reunification policies? Can current restrictions be justified on grounds of 'push' factors? How do the Refugees (Family Reunion) Bill and the "families together" campaign aim to change them? Our informed panel explores how we can pressure the Government to change its approach. Hilton, Edinburgh



**Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel** Trump and the Middle East: potential peace maker or dangerous loose cannon? LDFI debate the impact of Donald Trump on the Middle East to date and what the future might hold. This fringe will also consider what opportunities the most maverick US President in recent history may present for Middle East peace. Hilton, Osborne



**Liberal Democrat History Group** Europe: The Liberal Commitment Why have the Liberal Democrats, and our Liberal and SDP predecessors, always supported membership of the EU? Discuss the historical origins of the Liberal commitment to Europe with Professors Anthony Howe and Eugenio Biagini. Chair: Baroness Julie Smith. Hilton, Sandringham

#### Monday 17 September

#### 10.00–11.00 F24 Policy motion: Europe Motion

#### Fringe Monday morning 11.30-12.30

Liberal International (British Group) Iran and the Nuclear Deal; Jaw-Jaw or War-War? An assessment. Is the US withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal (JCPOA) a precursor to major war? Can the EU, Russia and China save the deal? Nazenin Ansari, Dr Bahram Ghiassee, and Paul Reynolds shed light on these questions, leading a debate. Hilton, Churchill

#### Fringe Monday afternoon 12.30-13.30

LIBDEMS AGAINST TRIDENT co-host a fringe meeting with CND TIME TO SUPPORT THE UN NUCLEAR BAN TREATY : JOINING THE GLOBAL MAJORITY Speakers: Baroness Sue Miller (Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament), Kate Hudson, General Secretary of CND St Paul's Parish Church, West Street, Brighton. See page 32 https://goo.gl/maps/WrBCLcVkjJq

#### Monday 17 September

#### 16.35–17.30 Policy motion: Plastic Pollution and UN Sustainable Development Goals

#### Fringe Monday early evening 18.15-19.15

Her Majesty's Government of Gibraltar Reception Speakers: The Deputy Chief Minister and Minister Responsible for Exiting the EU, The Hon Dr Joseph Garcia MP. Hilton, Buckingham

#### Fringe Monday late evening

**Glee Club:** Glee Club is back this Autumn! Come along and enjoy as Liberator reel out the Liberal Democrat Conference Classics. Entry is free on the door. Hilton, Balmoral & Buckingham

LIBDEMS AGAINST TRIDENT LIBDEMS AGAINST TRIDENT will co-host a fringe meeting with CND at the Lib Dems Brighton Conference on Monday 17th September between 12.30-13.30 at St Paul's Parish Church, West Street, Brighton.

#### TIME TO SUPPORT THE UN NUCLEAR BAN TREATY : JOINING THE GLOBAL MAJORITY





#### **Guest Speakers:**

Baroness SUE MILLER, Lib Dem member of the Lords and Co-President of PNND (Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament).

KATE HUDSON, General Secretary of CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament).

Chaired by Kevin White, LIBDEMS AGAINST TRIDENT (LDAT).

FREE SANDWICH LUNCH AVAILABLE

Come and find out why Lib Dems should support the Treaty. Click the google link below for correct map (the church is just round the corner from the Brighton Centre) https://goo.gl/maps/WrBCLcVkjJq

#### **Chinese LibDems 12th Birthday Dinner**

#### September 16, 2018 8:15 PM - 10:00 PM China Garden Restaurant, 88-91 Preston Road, Brighton

Please join us in celebrating our 12th anniversary with a scrumptious 8 course Chinese meal at our favourite restaurant in Brighton!

Guest speakers: Layla Moran MP, Lord Paddy Ashdown and newly elected Councillor Sarah Cheung Johnson. Ticket price: £30 per head





# 62nd Congress – Dakar

#### Theme and date

Liberalism 4.0

28-30 November 2018, Dakar, Senegal

Registration: Please note that registration will open after the summer recess in Europe.

Venue: Radisson Hotel Dakar Diamniadio – Prolongement Autoroute A Peage A Cote Du Centre, De Conference International Abdou Diouf, Dakar, Senegal.

A special booking link will be made available for delegates in the coming weeks – please check back again soon before booking your accommodation.

Visa Information: Please check with your Foreign Affairs ministry as to whether you require a visa to enter Senegal as soon as possible. Contact our events organiser, Ms Anne Sullivan, should require a visa support letter.

\*\*\* Please check that you are up to date with any and all vaccinations you will require for Senegal. Travellers unable to provide proof of vaccinations may be required to pay for, and receive, vaccinations at the Dakar airport \*\*\*

#### Political deadlines

Here are some important dates to be saved ahead of our 62nd Congress in Dakar, Senegal.

Thursday 20 September – Submission of political documents (draft resolutions, world today resolution, bureau nominations, membership applications etc).

Thursday 4 October – Political documents circulated to the LI membership, including amendment forms for draft and WT resolutions

Thursday 25 October - Deadline for returning amendment resolution forms

Thursday 8 November - Text of all resolutions and amendments circulated to LI membership

10:00am (local time) Wednesday 28 November - Deadline for emergency resolutions

Please consult the constitution and standing orders of Liberal International in the first instance should you have any questions relating to the submission of political documents

#### **INTERNATIONAL OFFICE – OPEN CALL FOR CONGRESS DELEGATES**

#### Madrid, Spain – ALDE CONGRESS 2018

The International Office is supporting the Federal International Relations Committee to recruit Congress delegates for the upcoming Alliance of Liberal Democrats in Europe (ALDE) Party Congress later this year. For more information on this process, please contact us!

#### What? Delegation voting-member at the ALDE Party Congress 2018

- When? 8-10 November 2018
- Where? Madrid, Spain

Who? Staff, parliamentarians, party members, activists, volunteers can apply

#### **About the Congress**

The 39th ALDE Party Congress, will take place from 8 to 10 November 2018 in Madrid, Spain.

Preliminary information about the programme, political deadlines, venues and logistics are now available on the ALDE Party website, here: https://www.aldeparty.eu/congress

The UK Liberal Democrats are currently one of the largest voting blocs in the ALDE Party, with strong representation on the Bureau, in the Council and at the Congress. The Congress is the largest event of the year for ALDE and it is a policy-making event, with policy motions submitted by member parties for debate and voted on during the Congress.

The ALDE Party Congress is the biggest annual event gathering Liberals across Europe:

- Over 650 members of Liberal parties from around the continent.
- Top politicians including Prime Ministers, European Commissioners, Ministers, Members of the European and national Parliaments, Members of the Committee of the Regions, and many other delegates.
- An event with European visibility, acknowledging the role of the supporting party within a European and not only a national political context.
- Topical debates, high level speeches and policy discussions.

#### **About ALDE**

The Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) Party is the party for liberal democrat values in Europe.

Together with our liberal member parties across the European continent ALDE are translating the principle of freedom into politics, economics and all other areas of our societies. The ALDE Party provides an increasingly vital link between citizens and the EU institutions and is continuously growing in size and significance.

The ALDE Party consists of over 60 member parties and many individual members from 39 countries across Europe.

Liberal Democrats created their European political family in 1976 in view of the first European elections and in 1993 was established as a true transnational political party.

Formerly the European Liberal Democrat and Reform (ELDR) party, on 10 November 2012 at the Congress in Dublin, European Liberal Democrat delegates voted overwhelmingly to change the name of the party to Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party (ALDE) Party to strengthen links with the European Parliamentary group.

#### What is expected?

1. Active participation at the entire Congress, from 8-10 November 2018, including attendance at policy debates, voting in internal ALDE elections and on policy motions and participation in the whole programme. PLEASE DO NOT APPLY IF YOU ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR THE DURATION OF THE CONGRESS – attendance at voting is mandatory as your votes cannot be allocated to another delegate on the ground.

2. Ability to attend a minimum of two delegation meetings (in person or via phone) before and during the event, chaired by the Delegation Leader, Robert Woodthorpe Browne.

3. Ability to prepare for policy debates and events ahead of the Congress, including reading all policy motions and briefings provided.

#### Unfortunately, the participation in the Congress will be completely self-funded.

#### Deadline

ALDE Delegation registration closes 22nd September.

#### Contact

If you are interested in applying, please contact Isabelle Pucher (isabelle.pucher@libdems.org.uk) in the Party International

LIBG is not formally affiliated with ALDE, and demand is likely to be high. *Please note, registration for the Congress is free, but LIBG has no funds available for travel & accommodation expenses*. Even those not selected to attend as voting delegates may attend as observers - the only difference being that they do not have voting rights.



#### APPLICATION FORM LIBERAL DEMOCRAT VOTING DELEGATION ALDE CONGRESS 2017

Thank you for your interest in joining the Party's delegation to the 2017 ALDE Congress which takes place in Madrid on 8-10 November 2018. Due to a high volume of applications, we are asking those interested in attending as **voting delegates** to fill out the below form and return to the Party's International Office. The Federal International Relations Committee (FIRC) will then consider all applications and select the official party delegates.

Please note that if you are not selected you can still attend as an observer but you will need to send your details to the Party's International Office on international@libdems.org.uk so they can register and validate your credentials with ALDE.

#### 1. Please provide us with the following personal details:

*Full Name (as on Passport):* Email Address: Mobile Number: Home Address:

**Party Membership No:** 

2. Do you have any prior experience representing the Party internationally, e.g. at ALDE or Liberal International events? (max. 250 words)

3. What, if any, is your current role(s) in the Party or associated party bodies (e.g. Young Liberals, LDEG, LIBG, BELD, etc)? What party organisations, if any, are you a member of? (Max. 200 words)

4. What experience, if any, do you have working on policy proposals, resolutions and/or working groups? (max. 250 words)

5. Please outline your motivation for applying to be part of our delegation. (max. 250 words)

6. Please provide us with any further information or details of previous experience which you think might be relevant. (max. 250 words)

7. It is the aim of the Liberal Democrats to promote diversity across the organisation, including, as far as possible, meeting the constitutional diversity quotas for this delegation. To help us work towards meeting this goal, please share the following information:

Gender Identity (e.g. Male, Female, Non-Binary)

Do you self-identify as any of the following (tick the relevant box(es) for yes):

Black or Minority Ethnic (BME) LGBTQ+ Disabled