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# INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



Vaisravana/Namtose, the Guardian King of the North

**BRAZIL JAMMU & KASHMIR HONG KONG**

**INDIA RICHARD MOORE UKRAINE**

# EVENTS

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

**29<sup>th</sup> September** Manchester for Europe Cirque de Resistance.

**7<sup>th</sup> October** Decompressing pre-colonial history – are colonial clouds beginning to clear? NLC 6.30pm

**19<sup>th</sup> October** *Brexit March, London*

**26<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> October** Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/Welsh Liberal Democrat Autumn Conference, Brecon Castle Hotel, Brecon.

**16<sup>th</sup> November** Scottish Liberal Democrat's Autumn Conference, Carnegie Hall, Edinburgh.

**22<sup>nd</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> November** 203<sup>rd</sup> executive committee meeting of LI, Fes, Morocco *see page 18*

**25<sup>th</sup> November** Lloyd George Society: Joyce Arram Lecture – Alistair Cooke, Lord Lexden. NLC 7.00pm *see page 21*

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

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Underground: Embankment

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Photographs: Phil Bennion, Jonathan Fryer, Seth Thévoz, Richard Moore's family, Stewart Rayment.  
Cover - a mural of Vaisravana/Namtose, the Guardian King of the North, from Ladakh. Gia Scala, licensed under the Wikimedia Creative Commons

# Kashmir; A Disputed Territory.

## Phil Bennion

The recent unilateral constitutional changes made by the Indian government of Narendra Modi have brought the disputed nature of the status of Kashmir back into focus. The extended curfew has been criticised by human rights groups worldwide and the role of the Indian Army in Kashmir has again come under question. Kashmiri activists both at home and in the diaspora have found a sense of unity in raising their voices against human rights abuses such as disappearances and deaths at the hands of the army and the banning of political movements advocating independence. The latter is equally an issue on either side of the line of control as pro-independence politicians are banned from standing for the parliament of the self-styled “Azad” Kashmir occupied by Pakistani military forces. In the area of Kashmir under Indian control political leaders such as Yasin Malik are imprisoned and the Special Powers Act gives the Indian Army the right to be judge and jury over its own actions.

For the purpose of this article I will focus on the history and legitimacy of various claims and propose a tentative solution. The territory of Jammu was annexed from the crumbling Mughal Empire by Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab in 1808 and Kashmir followed in 1821. He bestowed the territories on his military commander Gulab Singh, who extended his territory into Ladakh and Baltistan. After a war with the British the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir was set up as part of the British Indian Empire in 1846 with Gulab Singh acknowledged as Maharajah. The northern border was never defined as Gilgit was rarely under stable control.

On British withdrawal in 1947 the Maharajah Hari Singh was minded towards joining India rather than Pakistan, despite the majority of the population of Jammu and Kashmir being Muslim. This resulted in a rebellion in the Punch province in the south west of Kashmir. Singh called on Mountbatten to bring in Indian Dominion troops to put down the rebellion and a hurried verbal agreement was made to the effect that the Maharajah would opt for India with a condition of a confirmatory plebiscite. It seems that the accession agreement was signed by Singh and Mountbatten in October 1947 at the same time as the troops arrived. However requests to see the document were continually denied leading to deep suspicions that it did not exist. Its existence seems to have been confirmed by Freedom of Information activist Venkatasah Nayak only in 2016, who had gained access to the archives and taken photographs. It does show a similarity to the accession agreements of the other princely states, restricting Indian sovereignty to defence, foreign affairs and communications, but there is a clear clause retaining all other sovereignty for the Maharajah and his heirs and declaring that any subsequent constitutional changes in India would not apply.

The military action by Indian troops reached a stalemate at what is now the line of control and most of Punch province is now the semi-independent “Azad” Kashmir occupied by Pakistani forces, which soon regularised the militias during 1948/49. The matter was referred to the United Nations which resolved that following the suggestions of both Mountbatten and Nehru the accession to India should be subject to a plebiscite. The UN went further by introducing an option to join Pakistan. After two further wars between India and Pakistan the Line of Control is still in place.

The current situation is defined by a number of pertinent issues:

- 1) Suspicions regarding the veracity of the Accession Agreement and the restrictions on its scope of application
- 2) The unmet promise of a plebiscite for the Kashmiri people to decide its fate
- 3) The human rights abuses by Indian forces and restriction of political rights in Azad Kashmir
- 4) The genuine belief in India that Kashmir is an integral part and similarly in Pakistan that Kashmir should have been given the choice
- 5) The growing support for independence as a non-partisan solution.

The suspension of autonomy by India is a clear breach of the Accession Agreement, even accepting that it is

a genuine document. Large numbers of Kashmiris do not accept that they are an integral part of India and hence did not agree with any of the constitutional provisions in the first place. Direct rule is not going to encourage the dissidents (and no-one can say whether they form a majority or not) to adhere to the state of India.

The claims of Pakistan may have some moral authority but calling on the UN to implement resolutions over 70 years old is unrealistic and refusal to withdraw Pakistani forces was a contributory factor in the failure to hold the plebiscite. India as a nascent superpower would in any case refuse to cede Kashmir to Pakistan. Additionally it is questionable whether Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, has a constitution fit for purpose in ruling over a religiously diverse territory such as Jammu and Kashmir. Many Muslims in the territory also favour a secular constitution. Pakistan has been accused by India in the past of sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir, but the signs are that under Imran Khan, Pakistan is taking a more responsible line. The people of Kashmir are divided over allegiance to India, Pakistan or an independent Kashmir. However they are united in the view that partition along the Line of Control is a bad thing and that they want movement restrictions lifted.



*Phil Bennion speaking at rally in Birmingham on 31<sup>st</sup> August*

I would like to propose the examination of the idea of a Joint Protectorate whereby a treaty is drawn up allowing India and Pakistan a continued military presence in their current areas of control for external security purposes, but full autonomy is restored to a Kashmiri Regional Government operating across the Line of Control, with authority over all domestic policy. A secular constitution would be appended to the treaty. In this way all parties would give up some of their aspirations but all would see their key requirements fulfilled. Jammu and Kashmir would not be an integral part of India; Pakistan would relinquish all sovereignty claims on the territory, Kashmiris from the

Muslim majority would have to accept that they would never be joining Pakistan. But India and Pakistan would have the rights enshrined to protect their external borders; a cooperative future would ensure access to water and electricity resources for both; the ending of conflict would bring much needed investment particularly in tourism; the Kashmiri people would be largely reunified and have rights protected by a secular constitution and India and Pakistan could see an expensive and dangerous pressure point de-escalated. Ideally such an agreement should include Gilgit-Baltistan, but I see no chance of China coming on board regarding Aksai Chin.

This maybe a pipe dream, but India and Pakistan need to start talking about Kashmir with no advance red lines. Modi has 5 years before he needs to face the electorate again and Imran is bold enough to make the first move.

***Phil Bennion***

*Phil Bennion is a former chair of LIBG and is a MEP for the West Midlands*



# Jammu and Kashmir

## Dinesh Dhamija

In 1947 when India gained independence from the British, there were over 600 princely States in India. They were asked, if they wanted to join Pakistan or India, after the partition of India, into India and Pakistan.

The kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, chose at the time (1947), to go with India. There was a Muslim majority, but the King, Hari Singh, who was Hindu, signed with India. Similarly, the Navab of Junagarh who was Muslim, but with a Hindu majority, signed to go with Pakistan. (There were 2 Pakistan's formed: West Pakistan and East Pakistan. In 1971, East Pakistan became Bangla Desh, a separate country.)

Jammu and Kashmir, under this accession agreement, gave up to India, its right to Defence, Foreign affairs and Communications. (Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution)



Subsequently a UN resolution was passed to hold a plebiscite, agreed, by Pakistan and India, if the State of Jammu and Kashmir, would like to remain with India or join Pakistan. Admiral Nimitz of the US was put in charge, by the UN. The plebiscite could not happen, as the Pakistani army refused to move back, to the border of Kashmir and Pakistan. (See video below.) Thus, the plebiscite was cancelled by Admiral Nimitz, of the UN. (Video 1)

There were 2 wars fought between India and Pakistan, on this issue. All gains and losses were exchanged subsequently. Militant cells were established by Pakistan, in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK), to create trouble in Jammu and Kashmir, including bombings in crowded markets etc. From 1990, Hindu's in Jammu and Kashmir (Kashmiri pundits) were targeted, over 3 or 4 years, by Muslim militants, some died, some had their properties destroyed. (See video 2)

The result was 400,000 left their homes, and the state. The central government was very weak then, and could not protect them. Some saw this as the total Islamisation of J and K. The Northern part of Jammu and Kashmir, is called Baltistan and Gilgit. (See map below)

This province was predominantly Hindu, as the invading Muslim armies, over the centuries, bypassed it, to get to the riches in Delhi etc.

This province of Jammu and Kashmir, was annexed by Pakistan around 1990, and people from the rest of Pakistan could buy land and invest. On the other hand, Indians from the rest of India were not allowed, in the Indian part of Kashmir, under Art 370.

Pakistan also ceded a part of Kashmir called the Shaksgam valley, to China. If Jammu and Kashmir are disputed territory, this was an illegal act, by Pakistan.

Jammu and Kashmir, is under the control of 2 other countries: Pakistan and China. (Pakistan and China. The Chinese area is called Aksai Chin) - see map below.

If Jammu and Kashmir have to become one, all 3 parts should be merged again.

According to the accession agreement, the whole state should be put under article 370, and India should have Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

China, having a veto, in the Security Council, will never agree to this. Nor will Pakistan.

Art 370 was supposed to be temporary, as written in the Indian Constitution. So, abrogation after 72 years, of Art 370 on the 5th August 2019, fulfilled the term "temporary".

Human Rights abuses have been highlighted by the UN, by the Indian side, but not by the Pakistani and Chinese side.

My gut feel is, that there must have been some, done by all.

Indian Army's presence, is needed in Jammu and Kashmir, for 2 main reasons:

Protecting India's water security interests, and

Defending territory from any Chinese or Pakistani incursions or invasion.

Extended Curfew, and loss of communications: I have no clue, why.

The Indians must have some method in their madness! Time will tell.

### ***Dinesh Dhamija***

*Dinesh Dhamija is a MEP for London, Deputy Treasurer of the Liberal Democrats & Vice Chair of their Federal Board*

*PS Some dates above are approximately.*

Videos can be accessed from our online edition at [www.libg.co.uk](http://www.libg.co.uk) (where you will also find all of the other issues of interLib published (only the Autumn conference issue appears in print)

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B76ydQOye-oCQjZ6a1JaUGlFN0RHVTNXWUHLQVc0WEhMOFJZ/view>  
[6](#)

### **VID-20190811-WA0037.mp4**

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B76ydQOye-oCa1hqV2toQ0lsREJYb04zRUMyNy1IZ0MwN21V/view>

### **VID-20190831-WA0019.mp4**

The text of the Mission to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, of 27 July to 3 August organised by the Jammu & Kashmir Self Determination Movement International (JKSDMI) in collaboration with the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs, appears as an appendix to the online edition.



# How British liberals should advocate for the human rights of the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir.

## Imaduddin Ahmed

The 72-year history of Kashmir since the British Raj dissolved is fraught with unconfirmable contentions and theories and riddled by complex problems. For a start, the issue of self-determination of the people of the various parts of Kashmir under Pakistani, Indian and even Chinese administration is not straightforward: self-determination by whom, given migrations since 1947? The wider stakes at play for the two nuclear powers in dispute over the region is multifaceted, including the way by which sectarian Pakistanis and Indians identify their nationhood; revenge for the partition of Pakistan in 1971; and water security. The Raj, a coterie of deep state officials in Pakistan, non-state actors from Pakistan, the Governments of India



*Kashmir under the Raj - 1904... what a mess we made...*

and even China have all played their part in the troubled decades that Kashmiris, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir, have had to endure. With all this in the background, it is important to not lose focus of the need for action against the most immediate and pressing concern for human rights in the region.

On August 5th and 6th, the Government of India revoked the special status accorded to the state of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Under Article 370(1) of the Constitution of India, such a revocation may only be affected with the “concurrence” of the state government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Jammu and Kashmir have not had a government in months, and so the revocation under the President’s direct rule and the federal Government abrogated the spirit of Article 370.

Accompanying these actions, the Government of India escalated military presence in Jammu and Kashmir, already perhaps the densest in the world, enforced curfews, enforced a media blackout and blocked all communications. Further, under a draconian public safety law, the Government of India detained and arrested Kashmiri politicians without issuing warrants. Reports of the torture of civilians are now coming through the BBC<sup>3</sup>.

Civilian casualties over the past 12 months were already at a decade high. 100 civilian deaths in 2018<sup>1</sup>. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights found in its 2018 report<sup>2</sup> the Indian state to be guilty of ‘excessive force that [...] led to unlawful killings and a very high number of injuries’, and to be guilty of denying access to justice to Kashmiris. The report recommended measures to reduce the impunity with which security forces were able to act and improve accountability for human rights violations of the state, as well as for the self-determination of Kashmiris in both Pakistan and Indian administered Kashmir.

Instead of adopting its recommendations, the Government of India's recent actions will worsen the situation.

British liberals, being committed to fair, free and open societies, will be itching to intervene. However, British involvement in the bilateral (but asymmetric) issue between Jammu and Kashmir and India could reek of colonial tones given the UK's history in South Asia. The best outcome would be for the Indian Supreme Court to quickly find the Government of India's actions unconstitutional, and to reinstate the special status of Jammu and Kashmir under Articles 370 and 35A. Given that the Supreme Court will not start hearing the petitions against the revocation of these articles until October, and that the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir are effectively under house arrest, to mitigate against the accusation of being colonial, British liberals should agitate for the UK government to work multilaterally within the European Union, United Nations and Commonwealth of Nations.

The first priority should be for the comity of nations to reset affairs to the status quo as of 4th August, and to use instruments at their disposal to achieve this outcome. First, the media and communications blackouts in Jammu and Kashmir must be lifted and politicians and party workers detained without warrants for arrest must be released. Second, the original conditions of accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India (ie. those laid out in Articles 370 and 35A) must be recognised.

The secondary priority should be to improve the human rights conditions for Kashmiris from what they were on 4th August, per the recommendations of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Chief amongst these recommendations should be interventions that end the legal use of lethal and arbitrary force by Indian security forces and that improve accountability of the security forces' use of force. This means calling for a. the repeal of the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act, which prohibits the prosecution of security forces personnel unless the Government of India grants a prior permission to prosecute, and allows any army officer to use lethal force against any person contravening laws or being in an 'assembly of five or more persons'; and b. extending the competence of the Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission to investigate all human rights violations in the state, including those allegedly committed by central security forces.

*Iman Ahmed*

*Imad Ahmed is an infrastructure investment economist at University College, London & a member of LIBG.*

<sup>1</sup> 2018 is the worst year in a decade in Kashmir. Next year could be worse, by Joanna Slater & Ishfaq Naseem. Washington Post 23.12.2018

<sup>2</sup> Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Kashmir: Developments in the Indian State of Jammu & Kashmir from June 2016 to 24<sup>th</sup> April 2018, and General Human Rights Concerns in Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 14.06.2018

<sup>3</sup> "Don't beat us, just shoot us": Kashmiris allege violent army crackdown, by Sameer Hashmi, BBC News, Kashmir 29.8.2019

**An emergency policy motion has been submitted to the Liberal Democrat's Autumn Conference.**

**LIBG members attending the conference are encouraged (helping out at the stall aside) to support international emergency motions - their party has got to think beyond Brexit, even if the British Parliament can't!**



# Hong Kong Hot Spot

## Larry Ngan

Back in May 2019 I wrote an article on what being a British National (Overseas) (BN(O)) is and now Brexit diminishes their rights (interLib 2019-03 page 13).

Since then the political situation in Hong Kong has deteriorated seriously. Peaceful protests against the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance (Extradition Bill) were organised on a weekly basis. The Hong Kong government refused to accept most of the Five Points Demands of the protestors, which included upholding the Basic Law (HK's constitution), retracting the description of the movement as a riot, the setting up of an independent commission to investigate the police's actions and the resignation of the Chief Executive, Ms. Carrie Lam.

The Hong Kong police used excessive force to disperse the civilian protest movements, including firing tear gas canisters into crowded and enclosed areas and firing rubber bullets at close range on multiple occasions. According to the press release of OHCHR of the UN in August and from Amnesty International in September, these tactics are 'prohibited by international norms and standards.' In recent weeks the police have repeatedly refused to approve the peaceful protests to be organised in the city. The Freedom of Assembly, which used to be guaranteed by the Basic Law, was now under threat.

There are more than hundreds of thousands of BN(O) holders residing in Hong Kong and they have suffered from deteriorating human rights such as freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. Therefore, the British government should pressure the Hong Kong government to uphold the Basic Law which guaranteed fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression and assembly of the Hong Kong citizens. The United Kingdom is the co-signatory of the Joint Declaration and failure to honour the terms of such an international agreement would damage our reputation as a global power.

Our government should also grant the right of abode to BN(O) holders for two reasons. First, BN(O) is a class of British nationality and it is a duty for the British government to protect BN(O) holders from repression by the Hong Kong police. Second, under the current law, BN(O) holders cannot stay in the UK for more than six months, and if they have suffered from political persecution in Hong Kong there is no rule for them to extend their stay. They are able to seek political asylum either, because technically they are still British, so they can't while they are in the UK. Two BN(O) holders, Ray Wong and Alan Li, who skipped bail in 2017 while awaiting charges related to the Mong Kok Riot, chose to seek political asylum in Germany while travelling to EU states with visa exemption. However, if Brexit takes place, BN(O) holders like them would lose this option to escape from political persecution, since they could be repatriated after staying in the UK for more than six months.

We continue to monitor how the situation in Hong Kong will develop, with grave concerns.

**Larry Ngan**

*Larry Ngan is Brexit spokesperson of Chinese Liberal Democrats*

## **Chinese Liberal Democrats Emergency motion - BNO right of abode**

Emergency motion for debate at the autumn party conference 2019.

The motion reads as:

### **Motion on Hongkong and Rights of British Nationals (Overseas)**

Drafted on behalf of Chinese Liberal Democrats 24.8.19

#### **Conference Notes that:**

1. The human rights of Hong Kong (HK) citizens have deteriorated following the peaceful protests in June/July and a city-wide strike in August this year. The HK police used excessive force including use of tear gas and plastic bullets to suppress the protests, and many civilians were beaten up and arrested by the police. The activists continue to be at risk of being charged with causing riots.

2. The HK Government has shown no intention of accepting the 5 points demanded by the protesters on 2<sup>nd</sup> July. Chief amongst these is the withdrawal of the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance ("Extradition Bill") which would allow alleged criminals under Chinese law to be arrested and extradited from HK to the Peoples Republic of China. In addition, they call for the HK Government to uphold the terms of the Basic Law (HK's Constitution), retract the description of the movement as a riot, the setting up an independent commission to investigate the police's actions and the resignation of the Chief Executive, Ms Carrie Lam.

#### **Conference believes that:**

The Chinese Government by dismissing the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed in 1984 as a historical document, has put the human rights of the HK people at risk. Several senior party figures, including the late Lord Paddy Ashdown and Sir Ed Davey MP, have endorsed the campaign on giving HK's British Nationals (Overseas) ("BNO") passport holders the right of abode in the UK thereby protecting their fundamental human rights.

#### **Conference calls for:**

3. The UK Government to abide by its treaty obligations towards HK under the Sino-British Joint Declaration, and guaranteeing HK people's lifestyles, rights and freedoms (including freedom of expression, right to assembly and to a fair trial under the HK judicial system) would be protected under the Basic Law and "one country, two systems".

4.  
4. A new liberal democrat policy for all HK BNO holders to be given right of abode in the UK.

**PLEASE SEE UPDATED NEWS  
ON PAGE 39.**

# Brazil: Back to Darkness

## Jonathan Fryer

Brazilians long had an ironic favourite saying, that Brazil is the country of the future – and always will be. But there is a new riff, which is less amusing: that Brazil currently risks becoming the country of the past. That past is the period of the military dictatorship, between 1964 and 1985. Like their neighbours in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, the Brazilian junta made torture endemic. Leftists, intellectuals, students and anyone else the regime did not like were in danger of imprisonment, disappearance or death. No wonder many tens of thousands fled the country.

Today, some Brazilians are once again packing bags and leaving them in the hall in case they have to flee at short notice. The reason is the election to the presidency of former soldier Jair Bolsonaro, who took office on 1 January. He likes to portray himself as the Donald Trump of South America and they certainly have many traits in common. Only Bolsonaro makes Trump look like a liberal. He declared at one point that the problem with the military dictatorship was that they tortured too many people and did not kill enough. And despite the fact that Brazil has acquired an excellent reputation in modern times for bringing in equal marriage and free anti-HIV/AIDS treatment, his verdict on homosexuality is reflected in his statement that if his son were gay, he would rather he was killed in a car accident.



*PT demonstrators*

His views on women aren't much better. One of five sons, he has four sons himself; his fifth child was a girl, prompting him to joke to his macho entourage that "I must have been weak that night!" He has called for a return to the old values of God, country and family – a mantra of Latin America's dictatorship years – in which women fulfil their true destiny as wives, mothers and homemakers. The Roman Catholic Church in Brazil for a long time supported such conservative traditionalism, until a generation of Liberation Theologians preached the Gospel of the Poor and championed

solidarity with the oppressed. A wave of secularism then swept the country post-1985, but Bolsonaro is determined to reverse that, decrying godlessness.

He was born a Roman Catholic but his wife is an Evangelical Protestant very much of the kind that dominates the Bible Belt of the United States and provided the bedrock of Christian fundamentalism that helped elect Donald Trump. They believe wives should obey their husbands and that a man with many children is blessed by God. Some also sign up to the eschatological concept of Rapture, which in a nutshell maintains that Christ's second coming is imminent and that it will happen in the biblical territory of Israel, when all Christians will rise up to Heaven, but all others (unless they convert) will be damned. No wonder Mr Bolsonaro loves Netanyahu's Israel almost as much as he loves Trump's America, though so far he has not carried out his threat to move the Brazilian Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Interestingly, even worryingly, the demographic that predominantly supports Jair Bolsinaro in Brazil is made up not of the elderly but of young, well-educated men. Moreover, that is true among the sizeable Brazilian diaspora here in the United Kingdom. Most of these migrants are young, many attend evangelical churches and more than 50% of them voted for Bolsonaro. If one asks them (as I did) why, often the answer is that he will bring back Order to a country that was "ruined" by years of left-wing rule by the Partido dos



Trabalhadores, the Workers Party (PT), notably under President Luiz Inácio da Silva, “Lula”. Lula brought in family benefits and other measures designed to lift tens of millions of Brazilians out of poverty and reduce what still remains the biggest national wealth gap on the planet. This did not please the rich or the aspirant middle class. Moreover, the PT and its leaders were accused of massive corruption, which eventually did for Lula as well as his successor, Dilma Rousseff. But those that took over from them were equally accused of corruption. Indeed, just about everyone in Brazilian politics, including the MPs, is seen as corrupt.

Lula was effectively prevented from standing for election last year, but the Minister of Justice is now accused of having been mixed up in the “car wash” plot to bring him down. On a regular basis there are demonstrations of red-shirted PT supporters – especially in the impoverished North East – calling for the Minister’s resignation. But equally large demonstrations have come out in support of him. Brazil is now an even more divided country than Brexit Britain. So, while Bolsonaro’s political agenda appals many liberal-minded Brazilians, the conservatives are cheering him on. Under him, the deforestation of the Amazon basin is accelerating, as mining companies and cattle ranchers are given freer access to virgin territory. The indigenous communities living in the forests are under particular threat. Rather like 18<sup>th</sup> century European colonialists, many urban Brazilians consider the “Indians” sub-human, who can be chased off their land or even killed, if necessary. Other candidates for murder are the landless activists who occupy unoccupied or under-used farmland. Bolsonaro has given a green light for them to be turfed off, with whatever force is required.

He has a cavalier attitude to human life, other than unborn babies and people like himself. Of mixed Italian and German stock he is an unashamed believer in the theory of white – i.e. European – supremacy. He has referred to Arabs as “scum” and has a dim view of Africans. So much for the myth of the happy rainbow nation propagated by the anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro and others. Racial disparities are still marked in Brazil and prejudice lies just below the surface.

Still in his first year in office, Jair Bolsonaro is Trumpian in his dismissal of critics and even if he does not resort to twitter like the US President, he has come out with some pretty wacky ideas. To a degree Congress and the media are holding him to account, but only to a degree. And even if he were to fall (yes, some people are talking about that already), opponents are not exactly encouraged by the fact that his Vice-President is a retired army general and there isn’t a rich field of alternatives. Besides, just as with Trump, Bolsonaro has quite a solid base of support. He’s a Marmite politician; people love him or hate him and many middle class families find themselves split right down the middle over this. And he has strong support from Washington.

Economically, Brazil still hopes to be the country of the future and given its natural resources, including hydrocarbons, as well as its young population, in principle it should have good prospects. Nearly two decades ago, the British economist Jim O’Neill promoted the concept of the BRICs – emerging economies that might overturn the hegemony of older industrialised powers as the century progresses. Bolsonaro certainly believes that, and rather echoing the line taken by Putin’s Russia and Xi’s China, he is prepared to demolish a few liberal shibboleths to achieve it.

*Jonathan Fryer is a Vice-Chairman of the Liberal Democrats’ Federal International Relations Committee and over the past 30 years has made several radio documentaries on Brazil for the BBC. This article is based on a talk given to the AGM of Liberal International British Group (LIBG).*

# Ukraine's Comedian is no Comic.

## Kiron Reid

Ukraine's April presidential election made headlines around the world because of the landslide election of 'comedian' Vladimir Zelenskyi, and the totally peaceful transfer of power. Zelenskyi is still an unknown political commodity, but his party has since made history again by taking outright control of the parliament, the first time any party has done this.

He has great hopes pinned on him. Early signs are that Zelenskyi will bring people together and accelerate reform in a way that outgoing president Petro Poroshenko could not manage.

Zelenskyi's mostly young activists are idealistic and optimistic. They want economic development and fair chances. While behind the throne lurk dubious henchmen, oligarchs and money. Not to mention Vladimir Putin's small nasty war that has killed 13,000 people. People are impatient for change – often contradictory changes.

So, reasons to be cheerful? This comic is no Trump or Boris, this man is serious, a real star, a successful (and wealthy) businessman, but still we know little about what he believes or stands for.

### COMEDY TROUPE

Zelenskyi started as a comedian but he is a highly successful comic actor who owns the production company, Kvartal 95 – name of the comedy troupe that made him famous across the former Soviet Union. He is best known abroad for 'Servant of the People', where he plays an innocent schoolteacher who chance is elected president as people vote for a break from corrupt politics. He rose to prominence as an alternative comic in the post-Soviet days, a bit like the Al Murray, David Badiel, Herring & Lee generation in the UK.

He is no highly educated liberal intellectual like Al Murray. His family-friendly films are loved by babushkas and young people alike – a bit Python, but not a Michael Palin, more a Rowan Atkinson image turned political activist like Tony Robinson.

As a star he is akin to one of the great US comic actors, perhaps an Eddie Murphy, Mike Myers or Jim Carey. Highly notable is that the new president is a first language Russian speaker from a post-Soviet industrial city. This screws Putin's Russian nationalist narrative. His election victories – from personality, and protest voting against the incumbent / establishment – gained majority support from nearly every part of the country except some parts of pro-Russian south east, and more nationalistic west.

Part of the mythology is that Zelenskyi's victory was won via the internet and without big money. The political and media analysts for the OSCE election observation missions showed that television is still the most important media in Ukraine. The volume of Zelenskyi billboard, poster, television and internet advertising was huge. Even if very cheap, the volume still required a lot of money. True mythology is that there was no physical campaign. Except offices to coordinate volunteers, Sluha Narodu (Servant of the People) party won the presidential election with no ground war.

It was the most surreal election I have ever seen. I was a long-term election observer from February to May in Chernihiv, north of Kyiv, east of Chernobyl. In this historic region which my team covered, the winner, unlike previous presidents Petro Poroshenko, Yuliya Tymoshenko and local challenger Oleh Lyashko, did not visit. After round one defeat the incumbent's campaigners stopped (our region one of few where former President Tymoshenko did better; her team ran a technically brilliant campaign in the rural districts around Bakhmach). There was no election campaign to observe at all.

How could the incumbent lose in a system where the people in power control jobs and patronage and people are afraid to not vote for the winning side in case they or their children lose their job?

People were desperate for change and voted for it. The incumbent ran his campaign against his main rival – Orange revolution leader Yuliya Tymoshenko – and too late saw the real chance of the new man winning. Three weeks out I still thought that Zelenskyi would not win because conservative older voters would in the end pick the safe choice; the administrative/party/politician/oligarch machines would get the vote out; the coffee loving youngsters who liked the TV star would not get off their bean bags to vote.

They did, and the babushkas voted for the nice young man off the television, so did many in the west who want a western European-facing Ukraine, in the east who want peace and a roll back on nationalist language policies, and every taxi driver I talked to who had served in the war and blamed Poroshenko for not stopping a war only Putin can stop. Poroshenko's Solidarnist bloc concentrated on the man as statesman, a role that many European and North American leaders acknowledge he has performed well.

There were many allegations of illegality, and much practice outside the spirit of the law. A lot of dodgy money swimming around, but a lot less than in previous elections and it didn't influence the result.

There were 39 candidates who paid a €79,000 deposit - the vast majority did not campaign. So called technical candidates were put up to split the other sides' votes and give an advantage in the party nominated elections commissions that run the elections. There were so many technical candidates that they cancelled each other out and the commissions mostly ran the elections professionally and in a collegial fashion.

The Government was keen to show the outside world that this would be a genuine free and fair election. Administratively it was and it became clear that mass abuses of the past by the main parties was not happening this time. Voters were not bought. The President's sense of fair play handed an opportunity for people to realise they could freely vote against him. Also deployed against Poroshenko was the TV channel of oligarch Kolomoisky that did not pretend to be at all impartial. (Billionaire Victor Pinchuk's channel was neutral, while multi-billionaire Rinat Akhmetov and fugitive oligarch Dmytro Firtash's channels leaned towards the pro-Russian state opposition block spin off candidate).

Of 1.7bn hrynia officially spent by candidates, 67% was on mass media according to declarations to the Central Election Commission. Poroshenko spent more than €8m on media in round one.

The lack of independent journalism is a huge problem. In many newspapers political content is only covered if paid for – the same with the financially struggling local and regional press in Georgia and North Macedonia. In the south east regions, next to the war zone, many people get their news from Russian language sources and believe the Russian propaganda.

Policies designed to increase use of Ukrainian by promoting it over Russian even in majority Russian speaking areas have ensured that Putin propaganda has more fertile ground to spread - unbelievable given that 95% is obviously untrue. Unfortunately people who dislike their political leaders seem keen to believe the parts that they agree with.

One side effect of the wholesale change in Ukraine was that some genuine reformers and hardworking MPs lost their seats as well.

## **BLOODY WAR**

There is a small bloody war in the far south east of the country occupied by Russian controlled terrorists and Russian troops. Ukrainian soldiers are killed and injured every few days. Civilians are killed as sides fire at each other and 100 Ukrainians are held as political prisoners (hostages).

Putin toned down the war before election day to embarrass Poroshenko, then turned the war on again when Zelenskyi was elected - gift to a new president he refused to congratulate. The British, Americans and Canadians are active in training Ukrainian forces and contrary to propaganda spread by Russia's far left and far right stooges in Europe they are not fighting the Russian occupiers.

Disappointingly the illiberal old order of Opposition Platform for Life polled well in the south east and are the main opposition, but with only 13%. At one point the new candidate against the establishment was



likely to be pop star Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, front man of Ukraine's most popular band, Okean Elzy. Vakarchuk did not stand and formed his Holos (Voice) party, late. It gained 20 seats.

Older reformist parties were swept away. Anatoliy Hrytsenko, former defence minister and leader of ALDE member Civic Position earlier in the year did a deal with mayor of Lviv, Andriy Sadovyi. The latter leader of Christian Democrat-like Samopomich ('Self Reliance') backed Hrytsenko for president. They ran against each other in the parliamentaries and both disappeared.

Boris Johnson has repeated the consistent British line of total support for Ukraine, while undermining stability in Europe, and making our political car crash headline news in Ukraine.

This cannot be an easy time to be a British diplomat. The UK Embassy in Kyiv is highly active and has increased its work across the country, to all major cities and regions. UK programmes include Active Citizens - training for young people to take action in their own communities - and support citizen journalism, especially on fact checking.

The man of the people's right hand, Chief of staff Andriy Bohdan, is the lawyer of oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky. Kolomoisky helped stem Kremlin unrest in the major city of Dnipro but was in self-imposed exile since the collapse of his Privat Bank at great cost to the public. He has now returned.

Zelenskyi has picked a political fight with mayor of Kyiv, famous boxer, Vitaliy Klitschko. It begins to look as if the new administration is settling political scores.

Many of the candidates for Zelenskyi, now MPs, were linked to his business, many others are new to politics. The whole parliamentary party was sent to a special university crash course on government and economics.

Putin goaded the new president by announcing it would be easier for Ukrainians to gain Russian citizenship. Zelenskyi issued an inspired rebuff saying that Ukraine would give citizenship to freedom loving Russians. Judicial reform is a longstanding demand to ensure rule of law, and stability for business. Reformers want wholesale replacement of existing judges, which interferes with judicial independence. The many local and regional judges I've met are as educated and professional as judges anywhere. The failure of high level political / oligarchic and killing of journalist and activist cases is a very real concern. I first went to Ukraine five years ago when Poroshenko was elected in a landslide.

Returning each year, I see many improvements in the country and that many people have a good quality of life, though utility prices are high and many, especially pensioners, have very little money. Poroshenko did not expect to be a war president, and Ukraine was saved as a state under his tenure. Millions of Ukrainians have invested their hopes in the TV star and gave him a huge mandate to carry out major reforms. Zelenskyi has the chance to make history again.

### ***Kiron Reid***

*Kiron Reid is a member of LIBG and spent four months in Ukraine as a professional election observer and*

# India Sees A Landslide.

## Seth Thévoz

In India's 2019 Lok Sabha election, a simple story dominated – “Modi tightens his grip”. But the election was marked by a series of complexities and changes. I was fortunate to spend seven weeks travelling around India, during six of the seven phases of voting, and to take in much of the campaign, from Darjeeling to Kochi, from Shimla to Chennai. I very much agree with Ruchir Sharma that India comes alive at elections, and that the enthusiasm is infectious. Forget the humble British election window-poster – in India, entire streets are decked out in hordes of party flags, as far as the eye can see.

And that was certainly the first hint of the BJP landslide to come. It wasn't that the Congress Party didn't have a campaign presence. It was that the Congress's presence was made up of occasional, large, slick, expensive-looking billboards, whereas the BJP presence felt more “grassroots”, with thousands upon thousands of shopkeepers proudly displaying everything from party flags to life-size cut-outs of prime minister Modi – and expecting these proud displays of divisive partisan loyalty to help rather than hinder their business.



### FINANCIAL SCANDALS

I went into the election aware of a number of key psephological advantages which the opposition parties should have had. The ruling BJP has overseen a stagnating economy, with the highest levels of unemployment since the 1970s. A series of financial scandals has shown many of the BJP's politicians to be no less corrupt than their rivals. And crucially, as Prannoy Roy and Dorab Sopariwala have highlighted, women's turnout in India is rising far more sharply than men's turnout (indeed, the former is likely to overtake the latter in the near future), while women voters are the very group that the BJP do worst among.

And my early forays, in the southern states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, provided some basis for the feeling that a Congress Party comeback might be on the cards – never natural BJP territory, the Congress was clearly making some headway in the south, and the final results reflected that – although it should be noted that the Congress's progress was largely at the expense of the long-flourishing Communist parties of the south, rather than gaining ground from the BJP. But even then, the fact that the BJP could even command a good one-fifth or one-quarter of the vote in areas that they weren't seriously contesting suggested a resurgence in BJP fortunes. And the less populous south is not where elections are won or lost.

The further north I went, the clearer it became that this would be a BJP rout of the Congress Party. Indeed, in recent years, the Congress Party has lurched from crisis to crisis. Its status in Indian politics as a centre-left establishment party was once akin to the position of the ANC in South Africa – as the party which fought for and won independence, voting Congress used to be the patriotic thing to do. But having totally dominated Indian politics for so long, a lasting reputation for venality set in, and the image still mars the party to this day.

Rahul Gandhi has also come in for much criticism, most of it deserved. His gaffe-prone leadership in the 2014 elections saw the Congress suffer a landslide defeat, shedding a third of its vote share. And while he has noticeably improved as a public speaker in recent years, Gandhi remains as perennially wrong-footed as ever.

Early in the campaign, a fired-up Gandhi told a rally that India's Supreme Court had accused a BJP minister of corruption. Not only was the allegation false, bearing little relation to the court's statements around an ongoing case that was still sub judice, but the Supreme Court promptly responded, with an almost

unprecedented demand for a formal apology in dragging the institution into a blatant piece of defamation. Instead of resolving the matter swiftly, Gandhi spent three weeks of the campaign going through every iteration of response, from complete refusal to apologise, to ‘clarification’ that he got his facts wrong while refusing to apologise, to humiliating climb-down ‘unreserved apology’ as legal action was pending.

While the Congress had much to offer voters – their policy to roll out universal basic income across India could be revolutionary – they squandered half the campaign talking about whether or not Rahul Gandhi had libelled a cabinet minister. The Congress also failed to dispel their decades-old reputation for corruption, even after five years out of office.

The BJP, by contrast, could scarcely have had a slicker operation. Traditionally, campaign professionals from around the globe have descended on US elections, to pick up the latest cutting-edge polling techniques. But aficionados of politics and tech would have a field day in following the major Indian parties.

The BJP's social media strategy was miles ahead of rivals in 2014, and in 2019 it remained remarkably advanced, in a country with 650m mobile phone owners (including 350m smartphones), and where an increasing proportion of voters get their news from their phones. The term “multi-media” barely does justice to the full scope of the BJP's campaigning; and just as impressive as the variety of such work are its slick production values.

It is a mark of the kind of operation the BJP ran that the Supreme Court deliberated over whether or not to permit the release of a multi-million-dollar blockbuster biopic, portraying Modi as a strong leader fending off foreign and domestic enemies. This slickness of output covered everything from ‘fake news’ bulletins, to Modi soundbites that clearly had an addictive effect on many voters – I lost count of the number of times I was on a remote hillside, only to hear Modi's distinctive voice emanating from the mobile of a passer-by, the only visible person in sight, who was fixatedly listening to the prime minister's demagoguery, while out for a walk up the mountains.



And, of course, it is impossible to discuss Modi's electoral triumph without discussing Modi himself. It is no exaggeration to say that Modi utterly dominates Indian politics – traditionally a highly fractured, and regionally-based arena.

Indeed, before his rise to the premiership, he was frequently dismissed as just another parochial chief minister, overlooking just how totally he had dominated local politics in Gujarat, and just how ruthlessly he had relied on the race card to play off one group against another, dominating divided public opinion. And so he has proven as prime minister of the country. Modi has a mere plurality of the vote, on 37% (up from 31% in 2014).

## FRACTURED OPPOSITION

But it doesn't feel that way on the ground. The fractured opposition is led by a stagnant Congress Party, remaining static on 19% for two general elections running. Through sheer force of personality, actively courting controversy to fire up his base while enraging his opponents, Modi has made this election about himself, and about his leadership. The current generation of frontline Indian politicians are widely derided as minnows; so by default, Modi is seen as the only substantial politician on the national stage. And as long as elections are predicated around talking about Modi, the die have been very heavily loaded towards his re-election.

India's first-past-the-post electoral system, bequeathed by the British, exaggerates this trend. Asked to describe the Indian electoral system to other foreign observers, I usually ask them to imagine British first-



past-the-post, only with the SNP breakout in Scotland having been matched by comparable breakouts of regionally-based parties in every remaining county of the UK. Faced with such fractured politics, the bar to getting elected is rather low. And so Modi may not have much more than a third of the popular vote, but against a divided opposition he's quite capable of achieving stonking landslides. We need only look at the decade-long grip on power of Stephen Harper's conservatives in Canada, on barely more than a third of the vote. And there are lessons for Britain, too, on how a populist right-winger clinging on to a third of the vote can 'divide and rule' through the vagaries of the electoral system. All the same debates found in Britain,



around a Progressive Alliance to beat the Conservatives, were also found in the run-up to this year's Indian elections – and they came to little, as internecine squabbling over individual seats led the few pacts that were already in place (as in Delhi) to fall apart – so Modi's third of the vote was still enough to let him steamroller all the other parties, with an increased majority. In the 2014 election, the BJP secured 282 of 545 seats, just past the minimum “winning post” of 272 seats – but it was still the first time since 1984 that an Indian party had won an overall majority in the Lok Sabha. In 2019, Modi increased his seat tally to 303, while the Congress languished behind on 52 seats.

I attended one of Modi's rallies as an observer, in Mangalore – it couldn't have been more different from the rather jovial Communist rally I observed in Kochi, more akin to a carnival – and it scared me to death.

Until then, I'd often heard people comparing Modi to Hitler, and the BJP to modern-day fascists, and I'd regarded such comparisons as crass and crude – Hitler is over-deployed as an analogy in the era of Godwin's Law. But having now seen a Modi rally up close, I'm fully converted to the comparison – the whole thing was terrifying. The sheer scale of the open-air event was extraordinary, and the huge crowd, stretching over hillsides as far as the eye could see, were whipped up into an aggressive, hate-fueled frenzy, chanting anti-Muslim abuse. And even though we were on the fringes of the city, I could quite understand why every bar in Mangalore was locked up or even boarded up on the day of the BJP rally – and when I asked one bar owner, he said, “You don't serve alcohol when the BJP are in town. Bad things happen.”

*Seth Thévoz*

*Dr Seth Thévoz was research assistant on India's bestseller, Prannoy Roy and Dorab R. Sopariwala's The Verdict: Decoding India's Elections (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2019).*

## **The 203<sup>rd</sup> executive committee meeting of Liberal International**

The 203<sup>rd</sup> executive committee meeting of Liberal International will take place in the gateway to the trans-Saharan trade route and the ancient capital of **Morocco, Fes**.

On **22 – 24 November 2019**, the global liberal family will convene in what was once one of the world's largest cities famed for its political power and cultural influence. Today Fes is home to a world heritage site and the world's oldest university. At a time of global disruption, there is no better moment to meet in one of Africa's centres of understanding and learning.

Delegates of LI member parties are invited to **save the date** – (22-24 November 2019) – noting that an event venue is presently being secured and that a well-provisioned hotel at a preferential rate is being identified.

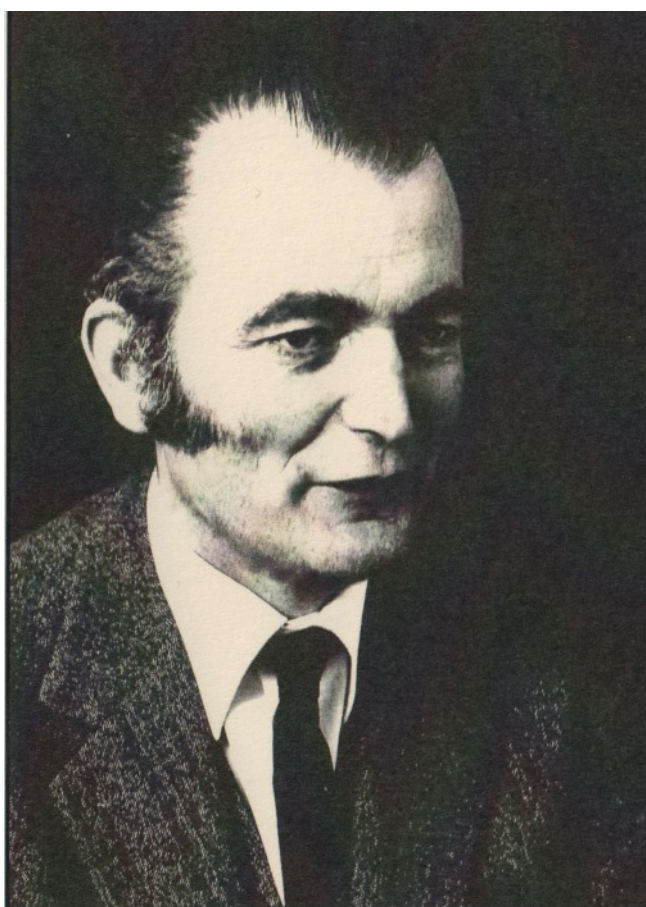
Visit the LI website at <https://liberal-international.org> for developing details.

# Richard Moore

Since, I recently became Chair of Liberal International British Group in 2018 and had been attending ALDE Congresses and the like for the past five or six years regularly, Richard had become a political confidant and advisor to me on his thoughts on the current international political situation, which when he sadly and suddenly passed away on the 15th May 2019, I felt duty bound to attend his funeral in Whatlington, near the picturesque village of Battle in East Sussex on 31st May 2019.

Many of you who knew Richard, realise that he hated modern forms of communication, and over the intervening years, I became a regular sender of materials via post or finding him hard copies of documents at conferences to avoid emails, apps, and any other social media device! It was more that I could do to ensure he could follow the programme in the way he was accustomed to.

Along with my esteemed international colleagues, Robert Woodthorpe-Browne (Vice President of Liberal



International), Gordon Mackay (General Secretary of Liberal International) and my fellow LIBG Member, former Chair, LI Human Rights Council Member and recently elected Member of the European Parliament Phil Bennion, were there to ensure a Liberal presence at a very politically notarised event.

Of course, Charles his son, Daily Telegraph commentator and arch Brexiteer was present, alongside the unmistakable Sir Oliver Letwin MP, who gave a most gracious tribute to Richard, in how he had treated his family over many years, and how they were such close friends even with the significant political divide- just shows how friendships can be continued even when the greatest of debates are upon us.

Richard's liberalism was present with him, even being a devout atheist, he wanted his service to be conducted in the beautiful church, filled with appropriate orange and gold flowers representing his Liberal History. Sadly, Richard was never elected to Parliament but his work behind the scenes for the party was extensive not only when the party was located at the National Liberal Club but also supporting our European

colleagues in Brussels.

It was a moving ceremony, with contributions from across his family especially from his wife Ann Moore; extracts from Richard's memoir, "Battle at War" read by Jake Smith and Stella Moore and the hymn "Abide with me" which always for me lights tears of emotion (probably one of my most emotive footballing songs ever) meant that at the end of the service my eyes glistened like a circling glitter ball but I knew I had represented LIBG and the party in the way I only know best.

RIP Richard Gillachrist Moore - 20th February 1931 - 15th May 2019

Adrian Hyyrylainen-Trett  
Chair of Liberal International British Group.



# Richard Moore

Bon viveur, Dandy, Liberal. What more could be said for a man (or woman for that matter, Baudelaire's objections notwithstanding). However, in Richard's case one can go further. Richard's Liberalism was heroic. Those of us who watched the political situation in Northern Ireland slipping towards the Troubles from the mid-Sixties saw the writing on the wall, ignored in Westminster. Recognising the danger, Richard chose to contest North Antrim in 1966 receiving a creditable 21.9% of the vote against the Ulster Unionist's Henry Clark. By 1970 it was unwise for him to take his family campaigning as Ian Paisley had entered the fray and his supporters didn't take kindly to such articulate opposition, attempting to drive him off the road on one occasion. Alas, this was the only time he lost his deposit, a mere 3.8% of the vote as Paisley unseated Clark.



Richard had previously fought Tavistock in 1955 and 1959, clawing his way up to second place. In 1961 he fought the Cambridgeshire by-election against Francis Pym. The Liberals hadn't contested the seat since 1950, but he took a creditable 24% of the vote, fighting the seat again in 1964. Having read history at Trinity and President of the Cambridge Union there was an affinity with the area. He fought Somerset & West Dorset in the European Elections of 1984 taking 30.2% of the vote.

At this time, Richard was Jeremy Thorpe's speech writer and remained a staunch supporter of the man to the end. Through this he undoubtedly made contributions to day-to-day policy development, notably on Europe and the party's opposition to the immigration controls that successive Labour and Tory governments would introduce.

Richard was inextricably associated with Liberal International, being Secretary General twice. In between he worked for the nascent ELDR (later ALDE). After his funeral, a former Dutch MEP spoke of how this disparate band of Liberals from many countries had been brought together, and Richard told them what they all meant, what their common platform was, and held them together. He was chair of the British Group, in many respects, the British Group was the last bastion of the Thorpe Old Guard, well into the 1990s.

He was a great orator. Even if you disagreed with him, you would not want to miss the performance, and there were some great ones – nuclear weapons, the Iraq War (he supported it – against tyranny) and always on Europe. No occasion was too small – one of the photographs is of an impromptu on Europe at a Hastings & Rye constituency lunch. Of course, his height and style added to this.

Always sartorially elegant, one of his last acts was to order two hand-tailored jackets, arguing at the age of 88 that they'd last him for years. Generous, almost certainly beyond his means, his understanding of the word liberal was all-encompassing. He is missed; the taxi driver taking me to Whatlington church (a devout atheist, where else could the service be held?) had his anecdotes. One thing that most struck me at that event was the closeness of his large family, through many generations. He leaves behind Ann, who became a Liberal County Councillor, and children Charles, Charlotte and Rowan, grandchildren and great-grand children. I only knew Richard politically; despite living close we never got around to meeting for coffee, but I conclude from that another accolade, a family man, and what more could a man ask for.

*Stewart Rayment*





# Liberal International Democratic Training Academy

## Call for Application

At LI's 202<sup>nd</sup> Executive Committee in London last month, we launched the LI Democratic Training Academy in partnership with our sister party VVD.



The Democratic Training Academy is Liberal International's dedicated academy for training politically oriented, high potential and talented youth. In the first year, the academy will be offering one course broken down into multiple modules, across multiple weekends, wherein a carefully selected group of highly qualified individuals will be trained on different personal and political skills that prepare participants for successful political careers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Academy's curriculum offers teachings on the most modern and effective political strategies to date, as well as equipping participants with the tools to build on their leadership skills. Internationally recognised expert trainers follow students throughout the process, ensuring the highest quality supervision and development support.

The first event will take place during the weekend of 15 -17 November 2019. Full details including the application process, appear on the LI website at <https://liberal-international.org/news-articles/liberal-international-democratic-training-academy-call-for-application/> and on the online edition of this interLib at [www.libg.co.uk](http://www.libg.co.uk)

## Joyce Arram Memorial Lecture

The Lloyd George Society will be holding a meeting on the evening of Monday 25 November 2019 in the Lady Violet Room at the National Liberal Club to mark the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles, to look back at the role played by David Lloyd George at the Paris Peace Conference and the consequences of the treaties.

Our speaker will be Alistair Cooke OBE, Baron Lexden, historian of the Conservative Party and author of many works on political history. The meeting which will be chaired by Lib Dem peer Baroness Sarah Ludford, starts at 7.00pm and is free to attend.

The event will be Joyce Arram Memorial Lecture, in memory of our long-standing Society member who was also prominent in other party groups, not least LIBG.



# reviews



## **Matt on Brexit, by Matt** *Orion 2019 £7.99 isbn 9781409192251*

Matthew Pritchett, Matt, is The Daily Telegraph's pocket cartoonist (I thought the term was Osbert Lancaster's but it appears to have become generic). Usually to be found on the front-page, Matt's cartoons are one of the few things worth buying the Torygraph for these days. Brexit has soured it as a paper and when I bought a copy a few weeks ago the gloat over the election results (as with international news, their coverage used to be the best) I found it rather unpleasant. Matt does not have to follow the political line of the Telegraph, so his cartoons often have a sanitising effect.

Brexit has been a gift to cartoonists of all hues; almost daily, Matt has been able to express something in his archetypal Tory man and

woman (rather old, I note). Since many of these views reflect my findings on the doorstep and outside the polling station, Matt surely follows a rich vein and will be much visited by historians of the crisis.

Speaking at Chris Beetles' Gallery at the opening of his exhibition, Matt told us that on the fatal night of 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016, the editorial team of the Telegraph had decamped, as usual, to a Chinese restaurant to await events, David Cameron had phoned them to say that Remain had won convincingly 55:45%, so they settled in for another round of dim sung, only to find, as the exit polls became available, that there was a somewhat different result, and that he had to rethink his cartoon completely, a Leave result having not been anticipated. Since we were ostensibly leaving on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019, Matt's publisher had planned the book accordingly; he now anticipates a second, or third, or as we all chimed, fourth volume. Neither of these are in the first volume, so please consider them your Brexit bonus...

Matt's work was displayed at Chris Beetles Gallery until 22<sup>nd</sup> June – probably much longer for some of it, but can be viewed online at <https://www.chrisbeetles.com/artist/35/matt-matthew-pritchett-mbe> attractive £250.00 unmounted, £350.00 framed.

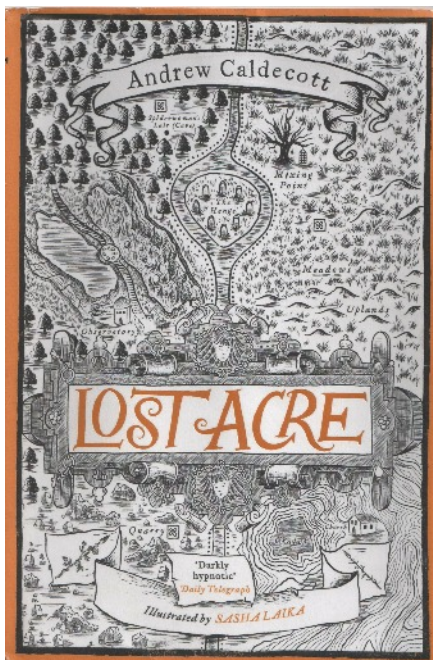
## **Stewart Rayment**

I first discovered Rotherweird, and thus Lostacre, whilst browsing in Rye and so formed an association between the two. I've never known if this is valid, but those who know the town can pick up on the associations. There is only one person who can deliver Focus in the Citadel of Rye, Anne Wood, and she has recently been given the Freedom of the town, despite having never held elected office. There are two other rivers Rother in England, a tributary of the Arun in West Sussex; the other rises near Clay Cross, flows



The originals can be purchased for an

## **Lostacre, by Andrew Caldecott.** **Jo Fletcher 2019 £16.99** **isbn 97817873768**



through Chesterfield before joining the Don at Rotherham.

Britain is full of mystical landscapes; the gateway to Faery is just over there, the descent to Hell by my side. Conjoin this with adjacent dimensions brought together by cosmic cataclysm and you have the scene. People this with a mix of over-bearing egos that only just get along with each other and you get an episodic start before the main theme pulls them altogether (the bruising of the previous volume, Wyntertide partly accounts of this).

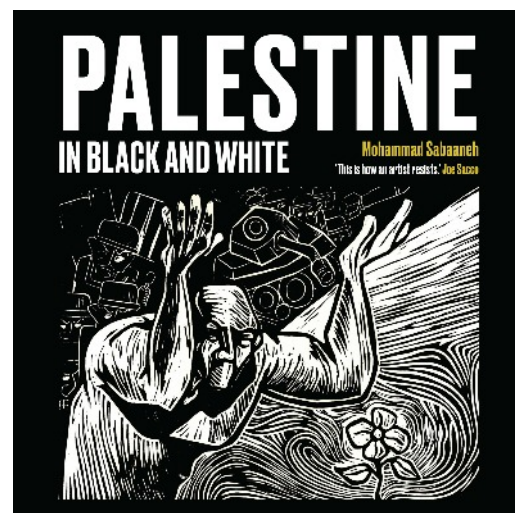
Does this mixture of cosmic and environmental disaster with human conflict match the times over which, one presumes, it was written? A referendum opens Pandora's box; things best left awoken. Is there salvation? The Green Man has not been seen in our woods for centuries. One thing, Sasha Laika's illustrations gain clarity as the trilogy progresses – the author even noticed that.

Arriving late, I have not yet had the luxury of reading *Lostacre* in the context of the earlier volumes. Reviewing *Wyntertide* (interLib 2018-07), I commended this and didn't regret it. *Rotherweird* was reviewed in interLib 2017-07. Looking forward to this over autumnal evenings, I recall that there are (of course) four quarter-days; although a trilogy, you won't miss the scope for the next book.

*Stewart Rayment*

**Palestine in black & white, by Mohammed Sabaaneh.**  
**Saqi 2018 £10.99 isbn 9780863569401**

Mohammed Sabaaneh's work appears primarily in the Palestinian daily newspaper *Al-Haya Al-Jadeda*, The New Life, which is an official publication of the Palestinian National Authority. He is a progressive thinker, tweeting earlier this month 'We can not establish a strong society with out give the #women their #right . Slaves can not raise up free generations.' Within the struggles of the Palestinian people to assert themselves, he is one of the people that sees the wider picture. His work is available elsewhere through the International Cartoon Movement. Predictably the Israeli government doesn't find this palatable and he has spent time in gaol, ostensibly for his links with HAMAS (a book



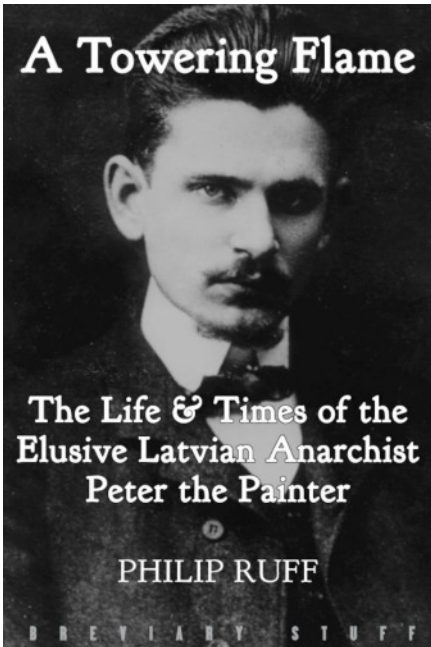
published by his brother contained some of his cartoons). Actually, Mohammed is just as likely to be in trouble with HAMAS as he is with the Israelis – they are not renowned for their sense of humour. We all know that the pen is mightier than the sword, and two months in Israel's al-Jalameh prison and three in the Naqab only sharpened his quill.

*Stewart Rayment*

**A Towering Flame, the life & times of the elusive Latvian Anarchist Peter the Painter, by Philip Ruff,**  
**Breviary Stuff, 2019 isbn 9780992946654**

The 1911 Siege of Sidney Street was not Winston Churchill's finest moment, even if it did much to add to the myth. Peter the Painter, Janis Žaklis, unlike Winston, probably wasn't even there, nor at the attempted robbery in Houndsditch, where Police Sergeants Bentley & Tucker, and Constable Choate were gunned down by the felons making their escape. Gardstein, the operational leader of the gang died of wounds, but particularly given their acquittal, whether any of those rounded up by the police were guilty of anything





other than association is an open question. Amongst the things that remain puzzling is why the doctor who attended Gardstein didn't notify the police immediately?

A question that Philip Ruff tries, convincingly, to put answers to. The book might more accurately be subtitled 'the times & life of Peter the Painter'. Ruff provides details of his early life in Latvia; his transition from the Latvian Social Democrats, associated with Lenin's mob, to the Anarchists. Always the victim of Russia and their German aristocracy, Latvia suffered heavily in the aftermath of the 1905-06 revolution. Žaklis honed his skills in this arena, particularly in the field of expropriation – robberies to fund revolutionary activities and support prisoners. Finding Latvia too hot, he moved around a bit, ending up in London. It is probable that he had a hand in the logistics of Houndsditch, but not operationally.

Apart from Riga as a drinking venue on the European circuit, we know little of Latvia, little indeed of the Russian revolution of 1905, except as a prelude to 1917, and then not much on its wider impact, Sergei

Eisenstein's Odessa Steps aside. For the record, our sister party in Renew Europe (ALDE) is Attīstībai/Par! (Development/For!).

Philip Ruff helps fill that gap, with the attraction of writing history from the bottom upwards. He reminds us that Latvian freedom is precious and hard-fought for. He also provides insight into the radical émigré communities that settled in Edwardian England. Some of the Tolstoyan community in Purleigh, Essex, where the Latvians printed their newspapers, would relocate to Tuckton House, in Christchurch, Bournemouth (now 9-17 Saxonbury Road). An interesting contrast, the peaceful Tolstoyans could appreciate the comparative freedoms of England, but for some the trauma of Latvia's Russian occupation brought violence with it that failed to adjust.

Of the others mentioned in the book, Frīdrihs Vesmanis would go on to be the first Speaker of the Saeima, the Latvian parliament, in the first republic; he would die in Russian captivity in 1942. Jēkabs Peterss would rise to seniority in the Cheka before receiving his just desserts in Stalin's purges of 1938.

There is an amazing piece of detective work in Ruff's book; you could read it for that alone, but you'll come out much better informed about some of the gaps in our history.

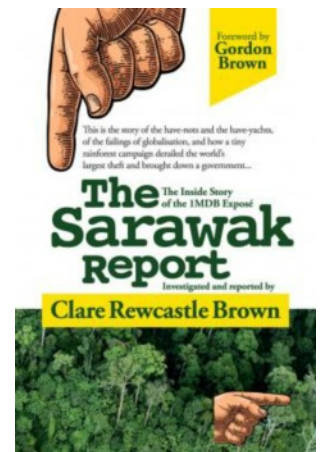
*Stewart Rayment*

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## The Sarawak Report Reader's Offer

Following Howard Henshaw's review of The Sarawak Report (interLib 2019-01) the publishers are delighted to arrange a special offer for readers of interLib of 25% off the price of the book. To take it up, they should simply find the book on the Central Books website:

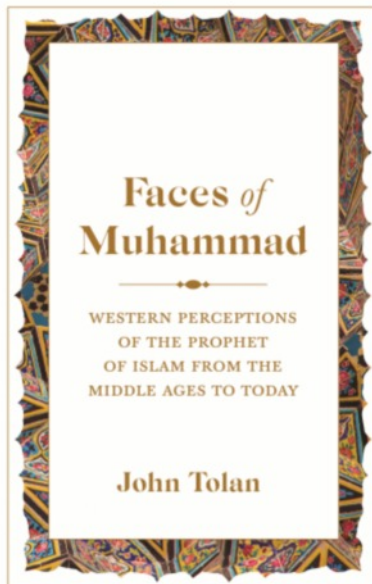
<https://www.centralbooks.com/sarawak-report-the.html> and use the coupon code SARAWAK25





**Faces of Muhammad: Western perceptions of the Prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to Today, by John V. Tolan**  
Princeton University Press 2019 £24.00  
isbn 9780691167060 e-book isbn 9780691186115

What do Napoleon, Goethe and Gibbon have in common? The answer is that they were all admirers of Muhammad. John Tolan is a renowned academic in Islamic Studies and this highly readable book is an account of the ways in which the figure of Muhammad has been portrayed in Europe from the Middle Ages to the present. It is not a biography of Islam's prophet which some of us who have worked in this field might consider a critical impossibility anyway.



Given that we know very little about the historical Muhammad with any reasonable degree of certainty (the Quran tells us next to nothing and the main source for Muhammad's life is a ninth century edition of an eighth century text about a seventh century figure), Tolan's book is about the diversity of 'faces' which have been given to Muhammad over the centuries. Reflecting the societies in which they emerged, the faces of Muhammad have varied from that of religious imposter and trickster, major heresiarch, sexual libertine, religious reformer, republican revolutionary, prophet of the Enlightenment, lawgiver (he is included alongside Moses and other lawgivers in the 1935 frieze in the US Supreme Court), statesman and hero. Thus, for Napoleon, Muhammad was a brilliant general, a model statesman and a leader who changed world history; indeed, he was Napoleon's role model. For Voltaire, Muhammad was a great man and religious reformer against whom other great men should be judged. Thomas More regarded Luther to be guilty of as much religious error as Muhammad but Luther regarded Muhammad as a saint when compared to the Pope.

More recently, some liberal Christian theologians have argued for a positive theological assessment of the prophet of Islam, viewing him as a genuine prophet within the shared Abrahamic tradition of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

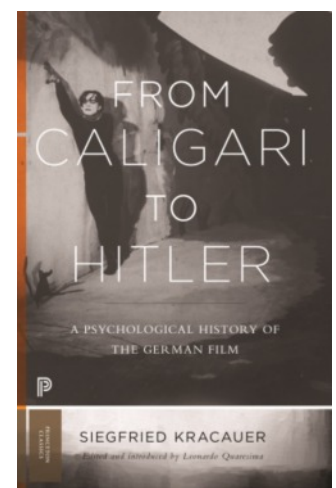
Positive faces of Muhammad in European thought – and we should not forget Jefferson's positive perception across the pond – have become increasingly common since the Reformation. However, the older, negative faces – brutal warlord, sexual libertine, imposter, fraudster and existential threat to European civilisation – remain current, not least in the rhetoric of some Christian evangelicals, UKIP and the Dutch politician Geert Wilders.

The European faces of Muhammad reflect the fears and hopes of western society across the centuries. Recognition of that would do something to diffuse the current anti-Islamic rhetoric more fitting to the Middle Ages.

### ***Paul Hunt***

**From Caligari to Hitler, a psychological history of the German Film,**  
**by Siegfried Kracauer.**  
Princeton 2019 \$22.95  
isbn 9780691191348

Siegfried Kracauer's *From Caligari to Hitler* is one of the seminal works of film criticism (not least Marxist & Marxian film criticism), in particular, that of the early German cinema and expressionism therein. It also focuses on the mindsets of the German people throughout the inter-war period and the use of cinema as a propaganda tool. In this it has certain resonances with the problems of German Liberalism, whose failure to meet the challenges of the 1930s have their roots in Bismarck and before. Written by an émigré Kracauer in America and published in 1947 it is part of the vast corpus of such literature alongside the likes of Hayek and

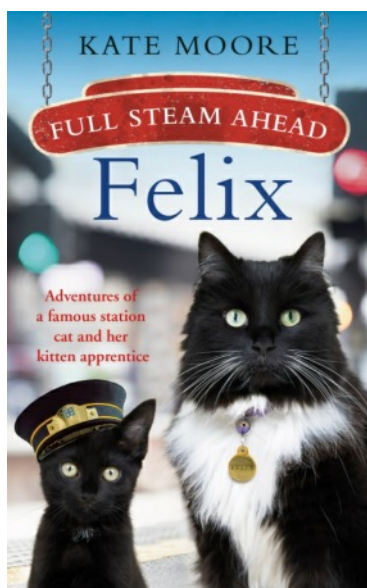


Popper, it to is conditioned by assumptions of its time and experience, and of course, access to materials that weren't then available.

Robert Wiene's *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* is certainly amongst the eight DVDs that I would take to a desert island; if you haven't seen it, I'd recommend the Hampstead Everyman for atmosphere. Of course, you could use up your 8 from the subject matter of this book alone - Lang, Murnau, Pabst.

The new introduction to this edition by Leonardo Quaresima, Head of Film Studies at the University of Udine, provides an account of Kracauer's modus operandi and the reactions to his ideas over time. One negative criticism. Whilst it is always valuable to have this work in print, the quality of the paper of this edition is somewhat lacking, particularly when it comes to the images (themselves from murky black and white originals).

### ***Stewart Rayment***



**Full Steam Ahead Felix, by Kate Moore**  
**Penguin/Michael Joseph 2019 £7.99/ £12.99**  
**isbn 9781405942300/9780241364819**

In this sequel to the Sunday Times best-sellers chart-topping 'Felix the Railway Cat' the adventures of Felix the (female) feline are further recounted. Felix is getting a bit middle-aged now so she is not so agile, and indeed given to over-indulgence in foodie treats, but her empathy for distressed humans is undiminished. Of course, the book is 'heart-warming' and gentle, but not everything in the lives of Felix's carers is happy or easy. So this isn't just sentimental slush. I rather think this is a story of how a group of ordinary employees can create a special and positive force in the world if they are given the space and time to develop their own initiative. Full marks to Transpennine Express (though no doubt it boosts their passenger numbers too), and to Kate Moore for striking the right note throughout.

Highly recommended for all lovers of railways and the Liberal Democrats for Cats. Follow Felix the Huddersfield Station Cat on Facebook. The royalties from the sale of the book go towards Action for Children and Huddersfield Samaritans.

### ***Gwyneth Deakins***

**Iran, Islam and Democracy, by Ali M. Ansari**  
**Ginkgo 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 2019 £30.00**  
**isbn 9781909942981**  
**e-book isbn 9781909942950**

Contemporary Iran is much maligned and little understood in the West, especially in Washington, where the Trump administration (like several of its predecessors) views Iran as the devil incarnate. Of course, the Islamic Republic returns the compliment by frequently calling the United States the Great Satan. Each country has good reason to object to some aspects of the society and government found in the other. Yet international relations would be much smoother, and the world safer, if both made a greater effort to work out what makes the other tick. Hence the great value of Ali M. Ansari's monumental *Iran, Islam and Democracy*. Through his close examination of the leadership records of Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Mohammad Khatami, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hassan Rouhani in particular, the author presents a penetrating view of the complexities and tensions within Iranian politics, far different from the two-dimensional picture proffered by Donald Trump or Binyamin Netanyahu.

The very name "Islamic Republic" illustrates a contradiction at the heart of the system in Iran. Republics — particularly those influenced by French or indeed American revolutionary thought — are inherently bottom-up societies in the sense that ultimate authority derives from the people. But religious societies in contrast



are usually top-down. For much of Iran’s history a patrimonial shah or king was in charge, with a firm hand on the driving wheel, and even after the last shah was overthrown in 1979, a new top-down type of authority was imposed, by the Ayatollah Khomeini and since his death, Ayatollah Khamenei. This new authority has the added status of being in principle God-given and it is significant that the spiritual Leader of Iran takes precedence over the elected President, even when the latter has clearly been the Leader’s intellectual superior (not something one could say about Ahmadinejad).

There is an ongoing dialectic between conservatives and reformists within Iranian society and one of the most stimulating parts of this significant book is an extended examination of the record of and expectations regarding the comparatively “liberal” Mohammad Khatami (previously published as a separate volume, now supplemented with additional and more recent texts). Just as conservatives in the country’s religious hierarchy sometimes exaggerate the “threat” of reformist politicians and intellectuals — periodically leading to the closure of

allegedly offensive newspapers and magazines — so the West has often put undue faith in the ability of reformists and in particular the Green Movement to affect rapid change. Things move slowly in Iran, where the ousting of Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq in 1953 still rankles. But even revolutions evolve with time. And it seems clear that if the outside world wants Iran to become more “normal” in its internal and external behaviour, then engagement rather than confrontation is likely to produce better results.

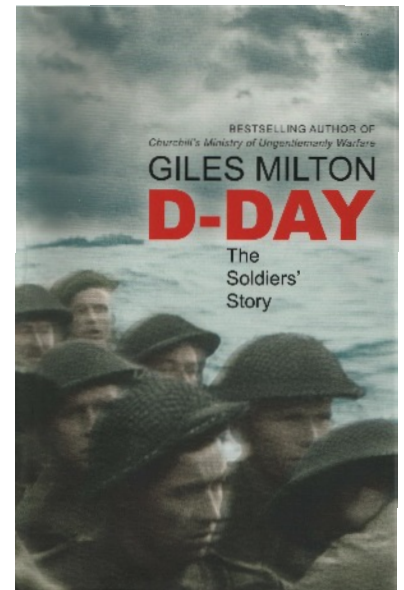
*Jonathan Fryer*

**D-Day, the soldiers’ story, by Giles Milton.  
John Murray 2018 £25.00 isbn 9781473649019**

This isn’t a very pleasant story; it wouldn’t be. Landing an army on a heavily fortified French coast was a horrendous job, the risks of failure high. Few of the first wave survived; much of the technology failed. Seasick soldiers pile out of their landing craft, comrades cut down beside them. Milton relates this in detail and his language isn’t appealing. Buckets of blood are used to create a makeshift red cross for a makeshift hospital; an amputated hand falls out; the blood dries brown, but there’s plenty of fresh blood to replace it.

Why do I mention this? When weighing up the ‘whys’ of the European Union, the original six were bound together by the commonality of war and occupation; the east added to this the tyranny of Communist occupation. The UK was bombed, lost lives, but didn’t have the same trauma, maybe the opposite. When arguing for Europe it is common for us to fall back on Peace. One of us said the other day that too few of us had experienced war,

so your average Brexiteer doesn’t know what it is about. I didn’t enjoy Milton’s book, yet read it compellingly. Perhaps this is what your average Brexit voter should pick up for bedtime reading; they might wise up.

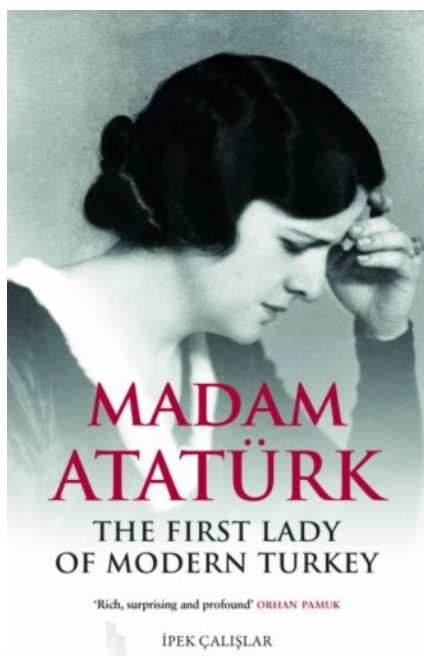


*Stewart Rayment*

**Madam Atatürk, the First Lady of Modern Turkey, by İpek Çalışlar.  
Saqi 2019 £12.99 isbn 9780863563355**

As father of the modern Turkish nation, Mustafa Kemal posthumously continues to enjoy a super-human status, which in fact he had already acquired during his lifetime. He was a brilliant military commander who played a pivotal role in preventing the further dismemberment of the territory by foreign forces following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and almost single-handedly he shaped his country’s destiny, as a largely secular, Westward-looking land that would be dragged through the process of modernisation. Honoured

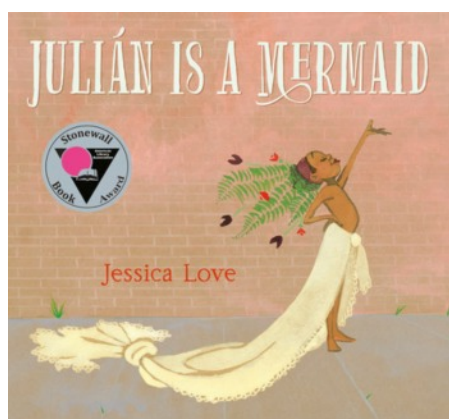




with the surname Atatürk, Father of the Turks, he obliged his countrymen to take on European-style family names and discouraged the use of Oriental dress. On that latter point he was influenced by someone currently little acknowledged in the outside world for the significant role she played in Turkey's evolution, his wife Latife. They were only together for two-and-a-half years, before he dismissed her; though she was devoted to him, she both fascinated and exasperated him. She incurred the wrath of both her husband and his cronies when she tried to curb his drinking and to stop him staying up half the night. Damned by some of her contemporaries after the divorce, Latife was an exceptional force of nature at a time when women were supposed to be obedient and quiet. The daughter of a fabulously wealthy businessman from Smyrna (Izmir), she was educated partly in Europe, was fluent in several languages and intellectually robust. Despite intermittently poor health, she outlived Atatürk by nearly four decades and could doubtless have had a brilliant international career as a speaker and writer had she not been effectively silenced and for a long period forbidden to travel.

İpek Çalışlar's biography *Madam Atatürk*, now available in a new paperback edition, fills an important lacuna in presenting this remarkable woman in a largely favourable light. As the author laments, some valuable source material remains inaccessible because of the family's wishes, but she drew heavily on the memoirs of people who knew Latife and her husband intimately, as well as on Western journalists' accounts of the time. Mustafa Kemal was a notorious womaniser (my own Austro-Hungarian honorary grandmother had to flee Turkey to escape his persistent attentions) and while he largely supported female emancipation he clearly found some of Latife's admonishments irksome. What is really fascinating about this biography, though, (in spite of sometimes veering perilously towards hagiography) is the vivid image it gives of Izmir in the 1920s and of the hick town of Ankara, which Atatürk had chosen as the infant nation's new capital. There is a cornucopia of telling detail as well as a different perspective on Mustafa Kemal himself, much of it conveyed between the lines.

*Jonathan Fryer*



**Julian is a Mermaid by Jessica Love.**  
**Walker Books 2018 £6.99**  
**isbn 9781406286424**

Every child should have this book. It is wonderful. First of all, it is well observed, the facial express goes way beyond the few words that you'd expect it a picture book aimed at 4-8 year-olds, the primary market. Add to this fluidity of line and use of colour and you'll be amazed. It captures a Brooklyn, certainly of the imagination, (I've not been there), but my experiences of Afro-Saxon carnival suggest the same. An aside – the struggling British carnival scene has been rather sorry for itself in

recent years, but these groups really help the revival. Mermaid Day hasn't taken hold yet in the UK; Hastings tried it; Bexhill ran one this year. In Brooklyn, it has taken place around the Summer Solstice, since 1983; the Mermaids descending on Coney Island.

It is a praise of tolerance. Julian is travelling on the Metro with his Abuela, Nana. He sees some mermaids; he loves mermaids and goes off into a dream. Back home Julian dresses as a mermaid, which child wouldn't? Nana takes him to the mermaid parade.

Visit Jessica Love's website <https://jesslove.format.com/julian-is-a-mermaid> to see more of her work.

*Stewart Rayment*



# International Abstracts

Radi><

**Does the West wish to offer Russia up to the Chinese? by Renaud Giraud. 12.6.2019**

*It is profoundly disappointing that Western leaders omitted to invite Russia, and indeed China (World War II started in that theatre) to the D Day commemorations.*

<https://radix.org.uk/25145-2/>

**Xi was right to backdown. This is why, by Renaud Giraud. 19.6.2019**

*London's China Town also saw demonstrations against Carrie Lam. Decency prevails for once.*

<https://radix.org.uk/xi-was-right-to-back-down-this-is-why/>

**Why Morocco needs to stay exceptional, by Renaud Giraud. 31.7.2019**

*Looks at Morocco's stability alongside other Maghreb countries, but does not mention imperialism in the Western Sahara.*

<https://radix.org.uk/why-morocco-needs-to-stay-exceptional/>

**Don't leave the Afghans too early, by Renaud Giraud. 10.9.2019**

*When the USA and its allies sought revenge for 9:11 it was widely mooted that they would need to be in Afghanistan for at least 30 years. It was a mistake, but we're not two-thirds of the way there yet. It is right to have dialogue with the Taliban, but they have to recognise the rules of the game.*

<https://radixuk.org/opinion/dont-leave-the-afghans-too-early/>

USA

**The man who couldn't take it anymore, by Jeffery Goldberg. The Atlantic. October 2019**

*As former Secretary for Defense, James Mattis is one of Trump's major casualties.*

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/10/james-mattis-trump/596665/>

Brazil

**Amazon burning? – well maybe not so much, by Catte Black. Off-Guardian 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2019**

*Its good to get your facts right on Climate Change issues. I recall back in the 1980s (I think) seeing something from Friends of the Earth about a piece of legislation going through the Brazilian Parliament, so I phoned them asking for more details, since I would be meeting members of the Brazilian member party of LI that evening and they were in the government coalition at the time. FoE said that the story was made up, but justified it on the grounds of consciousness raising. Ho hum...*

<https://off-guardian.org/2019/08/23/amazon-burning-well-maybe-not-so-much/>

**Liberator 396**

Internationally, Liberator 396 carries Rebecca Tinsley's article Tiananmen comes to Khartoum, which appeared in interLib 2019-03. David Grace gives a corrective guide to the results of the European Parliamentary elections, where the Liberals and the Greens were the clear winners, contrary to what one might suppose from the BBC and other British media. Steve Yolland writes on the Australian elections. Otherwise, there is a fixation with the Liberal Democrats' leadership election. A rather fine cover on the Bollocks to Brexit theme.

**Liberator 397**

Liberator 397's international coverage largely mirrors this interLib, with Jonathan Fryer's follow up to our Brazil Forum and Seth Thévoz's article on the Indian General Election. There's a lot of Brexit stuff, in which Beki Sellick, who fought the Peterborough by-election draws parallels with the recent experiences of Turkey for meeting the challenge of the Brexit Party. Another brilliant cover. After you've paid your dues at the LIBG Stand (47), go across to Liberator, laugh and subscribe.



## LIBG Fringe

# “Lampedusa”

**the colliding point of the International migration crisis?**

**Sunday early evening 18.15–19.15 BIC, Durley**

The discussion will focus on the international migration crisis colliding on such a remote Italian island and the consequences for the world’s peace and security, chaired by Adrian Hyrylainen-Trett, with speakers Lord Roberts of Llandudno and Suzanne Fletcher of Lib Dems for Seekers of Sanctuary.



# BOURNEMOUTH: THE INTERNATIONAL BITS...

Ignoring the parish council business of Brexit, the Climate Emergency is at the forefront of the international agenda in Bournemouth... but look at the Business Tax Reform motion. Please submit your reports of international matters asap ([lockharthastings@btconnect.com](mailto:lockharthastings@btconnect.com)) – don't rely on your colleagues, diverse opinion is good.

## Saturday 14 September

### Conference Hall

09.00–09.05 F1 Opening of Conference

10.30–11.30 F7 Policy Motion: Business Tax Reform: Fair for Business and Fair for Society

11.30–11.50 F8 Speech: Wera Hobhouse MP – spokesman for Environment & Climate Change

### Fringe Saturday lunchtime 13.00–14.30

**Green Liberal Democrats Climate Emergency Policy and Motion – Options and Outcomes** Briefing by Duncan Brack outlining LibDem policy on Climate Change with Q&A panel including Wera Hobhouse MP and Catherine Bearder MEP (TBC) on the CC conference motion (based on Policy 134) with key principles, sector actions, targets and reasoning. **BIC, Branksome**

**Liberal Democrat Voice What sacrifices are you prepared to make for the Planet?** Climate Change is the greatest challenge facing humankind. Panel: Ed Davey, Jo Swinson, Cathy Bakewell, Mark Campanale of the Carbon Tracker Initiative and Luke Murphy, Head of IPPR's Environmental Justice Commission, Associate Director for Energy, Climate, Housing and Infrastructure. **Highcliff Marriott, Dorchester North**

**Social Liberal Forum and Liberator Why Core Social Liberal Agenda is at the heart of British Politics** Will Hutton – an economist, Observer columnist, Principal of Hertford College Oxford, Chair of the Big Innovation Centre and author, amongst other works, of 'The State We're In' – will propose this idea. Chaired by Denali Ranashinghe (member of the SLF Council). **Highcliff Marriott, Dorchester South**

### Training Saturday 16.30–17.30

**Campaign workshop – Campaigning on Climate Change** We can make a difference in our areas and local councils on one of the World's most pressing issues. Come and share your ideas and find out more from others. ALDC Hermitage Hotel, Hardy Suite

Fringe Saturday mid evening 20.15–21.30

**Liberal Democrat Christian Forum LDCF reception and panel discussion on our UK immigration policy** Is a coherent and fair UK Immigration policy possible for the 21st Century? Join Tim Farron MP and other agencies involved with refugees and asylum seekers for a discussion on the causes of migration, the issues and possible solutions. **Highcliff Marriott, Sherborne**

# Sunday 15 September

## Fringe Sunday lunchtime 13.00–14.00

**Lib Dems Overseas and Lib Dems in Europe Local Parties** Stop 5.5 million Brits abroad being left out in the cold! At a time of possible Brexit, launch of first policy of any political party for Brits abroad: [www.libdems.org.uk/abroad](http://www.libdems.org.uk/abroad). Debate with Baroness Brinton, President Liberal Democrats; MEPs Irina von Wiese and Phil Bennion; local party chairs George Cunningham and Rob Harrison. **BIC, Meyrick**

**HM Government of Gibraltar Brexit today – Update from Gibraltar, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland** Dr Joseph Garcia (Deputy Chief Minister of HM Government of Gibraltar), Jane Dodds (Lib Dem Wales Leader), Alex Cole-Hamilton (MSP) and a representative from Northern Ireland will give an update on Brexit 3 years on from EU Referendum. **Highcliff Marriott, Bryanston**

**Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine Trump, Palestine and the UK Role** Discussion led by Dr Husam Zomlot, Palestinian Envoy to Great Britain, and Chris Gunness, former UNWRA spokesman and human rights campaigner. **Highcliff Marriott, Dorchester North**

**Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary (LD4SOS):** “I just want to study” Young asylum seekers and refugees in the UK see education as the key to unlocking their futures. Senior leaders from Refugee Support Network explain how policy and practice could be changed to overcome the educational barriers facing them. Plus Q&A. **Highcliff Marriott, Shaftesbury**

## Fringe Sunday early evening 18.15–19.15

**LIBG (Liberal International British Group) “Lampedusa” the colliding point of the International migration crisis?** The discussion will focus on the international migration crisis colliding on such a remote Italian island and the consequences for the world’s peace and security, chaired by Adrian Hyyrylainen-Trett, with speakers Lord Roberts of Llandudno and Suzanne Fletcher -of Lib Dems for Seekers of Sanctuary. **BIC, Durley**

**Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel: The forthcoming Israeli General Election** (17 September 2019) – what to expect and why An expert panel debates the forthcoming Israeli General Election. From the Peace Process to the electoral prospects for the centrist, secular, Zionist Blue and White Party – it promises to be an exhilarating discussion. Chaired by Gavin Stollar (Hon. Chair, LDFI). **Highcliff Marriott, Blandford**

# Monday 16 September

## Fringe Monday early lunchtime 11.30–12.30

**The Paddy Ashdown Forum in association with the European Liberal Forum Launch of The Paddy Ashdown Forum** This new Think Tank brings together academics and policy makers to produce new thinking on domestic, European and international issues. It will issue publications and organise meetings. Speakers include ELF Chairman, Juergen Martens, and Lord William Wallace. ALL WELCOME. **BIC, Bayview 2**

## Conference Hall

14.30–16.10 F29 Policy Motion: Tackling the Climate Crisis Together  
17.15–18.00 F32 Emergency motion or topical issue discussion



# Monday 16 September

## Fringe Monday early evening 18.15–19.15

**Her Majesty's Government of Gibraltar 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. **Highcliff Marriott, Dorchester North** By invitation

## Fringe Monday late evening 22.00–1.00

**Glee Club** The Glee Club is back this Autumn! Come along and enjoy as we reel out the Liberator Song Book classics with guest appearances. Entry is free on the door. **Highcliff Marriott, Dorchester Suite**

# Tuesday 17 September

## Conference Hall

09.00–09.45 F33 Emergency motion or topical issue discussion

09.45–10.30 F34 Policy Motion: Deprivation of Citizenship

## Fringe Tuesday lunchtime 13.00–14.00

**The International Observatory of Human Rights: The True Cost of Citizenship in the UK** The International Observatory of Human Rights hosts a panel considering themes of citizenship in today's Britain. Join us in exploring the political motivations underlying our current citizenship policies and what can be done to make the system equitable going forwards. **BIC, Durley**



## Lib Dem Friends of Palestine – in and around Conference.

We have invited Ambassador Dr Husam Zomlot from the Palestinian mission in London to speak at our fringe meeting the conference in Bournemouth, together with Chris Guinness who was formerly chief spokesperson for the United Nation Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which looks after the Palestinian refugee camps. The topic will be “Trump, Palestine and the UK role.” We will also have a stand at the Exhibition. We tried, but failed, to get a motion accepted for debate that mentioned Palestine. Thanks to the many of you who were signatories.

I am pleased to say that the Federal Board, following investigation of our social media policies and practices lifted the suspension of LDFP. There is still unfinished business in that we believe the Board acted contrary to the Constitution in the way it has treated us and furthermore it refuses to accept that we have not made posts that are anti-Semitic or defamatory.

We have issued a statement about anti-Semitism that is posted on our Website which is now up and running again at [www.ldfp.eu](http://www.ldfp.eu)

We have formally adopted social media policies and these have been reviewed by the Federal Board and appear to meet their expectations. They will be posted on our Website in the next day or so. We are looking for help from members and supporters who use social media to help us with Facebook and Twitter and possibly also Instagram. If you would like to be involved in this way in supporting the work of LDFP, then please do let me know.

We have recently updated our Overview Position Paper and this is at <http://www.ldfp.eu/position/>

If you're not already a member we would encourage you to do so. The easiest way to do so is at [www.ldfp.eu/join](http://www.ldfp.eu/join)

**John Kelly**  
Secretary. LDFP

## **Out and About in Bournemouth William & Evelyn De Morgan at the Russell-Cotes Gallery.**

Looking back over the record of Art Nouveau, the Arts & Crafts Movement and that kind of stuff, one is surprised at how little reference was made to William De Morgan. His tiles in particular are now well known, but he seems, to my recollection, to have arrived more recently. Decorative tiles are not a mainstream building material in Britain (as they are in Mediterranean countries for example) although they enjoyed a vogue in primarily urban middle-class housing in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century. De Morgan was typically faced with two problems – insufficient demand at the upper end of the market and cheaper imitations of his

work at the lower. Although he had periods of success, money appears to be a recurring problem (ask any artist). Dissatisfied with his raw materials, he was constantly working on the chemistry of ceramics, rediscovering lost Eastern techniques and meeting the challenges of our increasingly polluted cities when coal was our primary fuel.

De Morgan probably first met William Morris through Edward Burne-Jones. There was natural affinity between the men, and Morris & Co. would be a distributor his tiles throughout his career. He initially worked on stained glass, which would later impact on his technical ceramic innovations. De Morgan also worked with Arthur Mackmurdo's Century Guild. His designs were influenced by Morris but there is a step in the direction of Modernism, rather than the Gothic Medieval. The high point of this period of collaboration is probably the recreation of 16<sup>th</sup> century Damascene tiles for Lord Leighton, said to be indistinguishable from the original. One wonders if, after the ravages of civil



*Floral Ogee Tile Panel, 1872-1907, shows the influences of Islamic Art on De Morgan's work, the near perfect symmetry broken by the realism of the birds. (De Morgan Foundation)*



war in Syria, whether further copies might be needed to return there?

A technical potter as much as an artist, it is appropriate that Bournemouth's Russell-Cotes Gallery's exhibition *Sublime Symmetry*, focusses on the mathematical perfections of William De Morgan's work. This is on loan from the De Morgan Foundation, now based in the Watts Gallery. De Morgan's father, Augustus was a mathematician and one of the first lecturers at the London University, now University College, London.

Little coincidence, but the Gallery also houses a painting by Evelyn De Morgan, William's wife, who was associated with the Pre-Raphaelites. Merton Russell-Cotes had bought the painting *Aurora Triumphans* in 1901. Angels trumpet in the dawn, or do they? Many of Evelyn's paintings were of mythical subjects, did the goddess have companions? Monogrammed EBJ 1870, it was assumed to be the work of Edward Burne-Jones. Wilhelmina Stirling, the sister of Evelyn, recalled the creation of the painting and had some preliminary drawings to prove it. It transpired that an unscrupulous dealer had changed the letters 'EP' – Evelyn Pickering, her maiden name to 'EBJ' and added the date. The drawings and painting are now reunited for the first time, along with Wilhelmina Stirling's letters exposing the fraud, appropriately as this year is the centenary of Evelyn's death.

*Sublime Symmetry* runs at Bournemouth's Russell-Cotes Gallery until 20th February 2020. The Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum is at East Cliff Promenade, Bournemouth, BH1 3AA. Open 10.00am – 5.00pm, it is closed on Mondays. Charges apply.



# St. Peter's - a site of pilgrimage for Liberals

There are many reasons why you might wish to visit St. Peter's, Bournemouth during the conference. Mr. Gladstone received his last communion there, but most notably it is the burial place of seminal Liberal thinker Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Although she and her husband William Godwin, anarchist and utilitarian theorist, were originally buried in St Pancras Old Churchyard, their remains were moved to St Peter's by the Shelley family. The remaining monument there



was moved when the railway line blazed out of St. Pancras station – high cathedral of the Industrial Revolution. The Shelley vault also contains the remains of their daughter, Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein*, and the heart of her husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, whose poetry made Godwin's thinking popularly accessible. Mary had wanted to be buried with her parents.

The Rev. Dr. Ian Terry would doubtless welcome you to his services, as indeed would any of the other churches in the town. I would add the St. Peter's has a fine musical reputation. On Sunday Holy Communion is at 8.00am and Sung Eucharist at 10.00am. Fraternise, win hearts and minds...

And a special event while the Lib Dems are in town...

## **LEAP OF FAITH – ABSEIL ST PETER'S TOWER SATURDAY 14<sup>th</sup> 9.30am-4.00pm**

*The following is taken from St. Peter's website..*

*Once again, we are joining forces with RBH to raise money and asking you to plunge down the south face of our tower, on Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> September from 9.30am-4pm.*

*This year our aim is to raise £4.5k for the Development Project, who are seeking to approach various Grant-making bodies and secure match-funding for new, ground level toilets, which has become clear we desperately need, given all of the events that take place at St Peter's on a weekly basis. The cost of the new loos is approximately £9k, so the fundraising target is for 50% of that amount.*

*Please pluck up the courage, tick off a 'bucket list' item, coerce your children, family & friends and get them to sign up with Alice Miller asap. The minimum sponsorship level per abseiler is only £70, so achievable for all and it would be wonderful if people from every corner of the St Peter's family were represented, from Readers, Sides, Choir, Bell-ringers, Friends, Assistants etc. so get chatting and let's see what we can do. Last year we only had 9 volunteers (RBH had over 50!) but still raised a huge sum – so come on St Peter's – let's show them what we're made of.*

***This is a mega opportunity, I'm sure Paddy would have been up for it if he was still with us, so come on Team LD!***





**Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel**

invite you to our annual

**Conference Fringe Meeting**

**The forthcoming Israeli General Election (17 September 2019) - what to expect and why**

Two days before Israel goes to the polls in its second General Election this year, an expert panel debates the election, from the impact on the peace process to the electoral prospects for the centrist, secular, Zionist Blue & White Party.

**Speakers:**

James Sorene, Chief Executive of the Britain Israel Communications & Research Centre (“BICOM”)

Baroness Sarah Ludford

Lord Monroe Palmer (LDFI President)

**Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> September 2019 – 18.15 to 19.15**

**Blandford Room, Highcliff Marriott Hotel, Bournemouth**

(This is outside the Conference Secure Zone – Conference passes not required)

**Refreshments provided**

# A lot will have changed by September – first thoughts on the Israeli Election

Following the election on April 9, Benjamin Netanyahu's was unable to form a coalition amongst his right-wing and ultra-orthodox allies, due to the disputes about conscripting the ultra-orthodox into the army, so the Knesset has been dissolved and there is another election on September 17.

Netanyahu still hopes to retain the premiership following the election. He recently overtook David Ben-Gurion as Israel's longest-serving Prime Minister, having been in charge for over 13 years on and off. The Likud party remains one of the dominant forces in Israeli politics. Netanyahu again hopes to form a coalition with other right-wing and religious parties.

Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid's secular Blue and White party are still the largest threat to the Likud following their strong showing in April's elections.

Avigdor Lieberman, the head of the secular right-wing Yisrael Beiteinu party that refused to form a coalition with Netanyahu are likely to increase their vote share due to their stance on the issue of the ultra-Orthodox and military conscription. Lieberman has supported the idea of a National unity government including the Blue and White party and Likud but excluding the religious parties. National unity governments are not uncommon in Israel. However Blue and White party have consistently said they will not sit in a National unity government with Netanyahu while he is facing a corruption trial.

In terms of the other political parties and their mergers, Moshe Kahlon, the Finance Minister, and his Kulanu party have decided to support Likud on a joint-electoral ticket. Former Prime Minister, Ehud Barak has returned to frontline politics, forming the Israel Democratic Party. Barak has already merged his party with the left-wing Meretz party. Two Labour members of the Knesset have also joined with them to form the 'Democratic Camp'.

On the right-wing, the prominent leader of the New Right party, Ayelet Shaked has urged the small right-wing parties to merge. She said the 'public will not forgive such lack of unity'.

It is likely that the four main Arab parties in Israel will once again come together to form the Joint Arab List, like at previous elections.

## **The first opinion polls**

A first 'poll of polls' (July 3 – 18) states that Likud would win 31 seats and Blue and White 30. It is predicted that the Arab Joint List will win around 10 seats, with Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu party gaining 9 seats. In total the right-wing block, including the Likud, is expected to win around 56 seats. The centre and left-wing parties are predicted to receive around 55 seats overall, leaving Yisrael Beiteinu (9) holding the balance of power, and leaving the Knesset at a major impasse.

*Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel*

# CHINESE LIB DEMS LATE FINAL

Thank you for the many of you who helped support the Chinese Liberal Democrat Emergency Motion for autumn party conference. The motion asked to grant right of abode for British National (Overseas) holders and urged the UK government to fulfil its obligations to the Sino-British Joint Declaration 1984.

Unfortunately, our motion was rejected in favour of another motion on the same topic which is substantively the same but calls for right of abode for all HK citizens, which goes beyond our own calls - and would cover 8 million people versus the estimate 3 million eligible for BNO - only 169,000 currently hold a BNO passport.

Despite our own motion being rejected, we received positive feedback from members and the public, and attracted a few press coverage on the issue.

We would like to say thank you for your support! We wouldn't have made it happen without your support.

If you can make conference please do come and support the emergency motion on the Hong Kong issue. It was submitted by 11 other party members and the details of the motion is on page 24 of the Conference Extra document (Available on the Autumn Party Conference app)

Since the Federal Committee selected 5 emergency motions and only 2 will be selected to be debated by ballot at F32 at 17:15 on Monday 16<sup>th</sup> September and at F33 at 9:00 am on Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> September, without your vote, the motion will not be chosen to be debated. Therefore, please come on the date and time mentioned if you are still in Bournemouth to make the motion to be selected and debated.

We will not be having a Chinese LibDem dinner at conference this year but a small group of us are meeting up on Saturday morning. Please do join us! We are going to arrange a lunch in the following venue:

Date: 15<sup>th</sup> September (Saturday)

Time: 1 pm

Venue: Tien Thai Restaurant (105 Saint Michael's Road, Bournemouth) [www.tienthairestaurant.co.uk/](http://www.tienthairestaurant.co.uk/)

Sarah Cheung Johnson, our secretary and the District Councillor for Longstanton, Oakington & Westwick & Northstowe, and myself will be there and it is a good chance to learn a bit more about our association!

If you are interested or if you have any other questions, please contact me via [larrynganlibdems@gmail.com](mailto:larrynganlibdems@gmail.com)

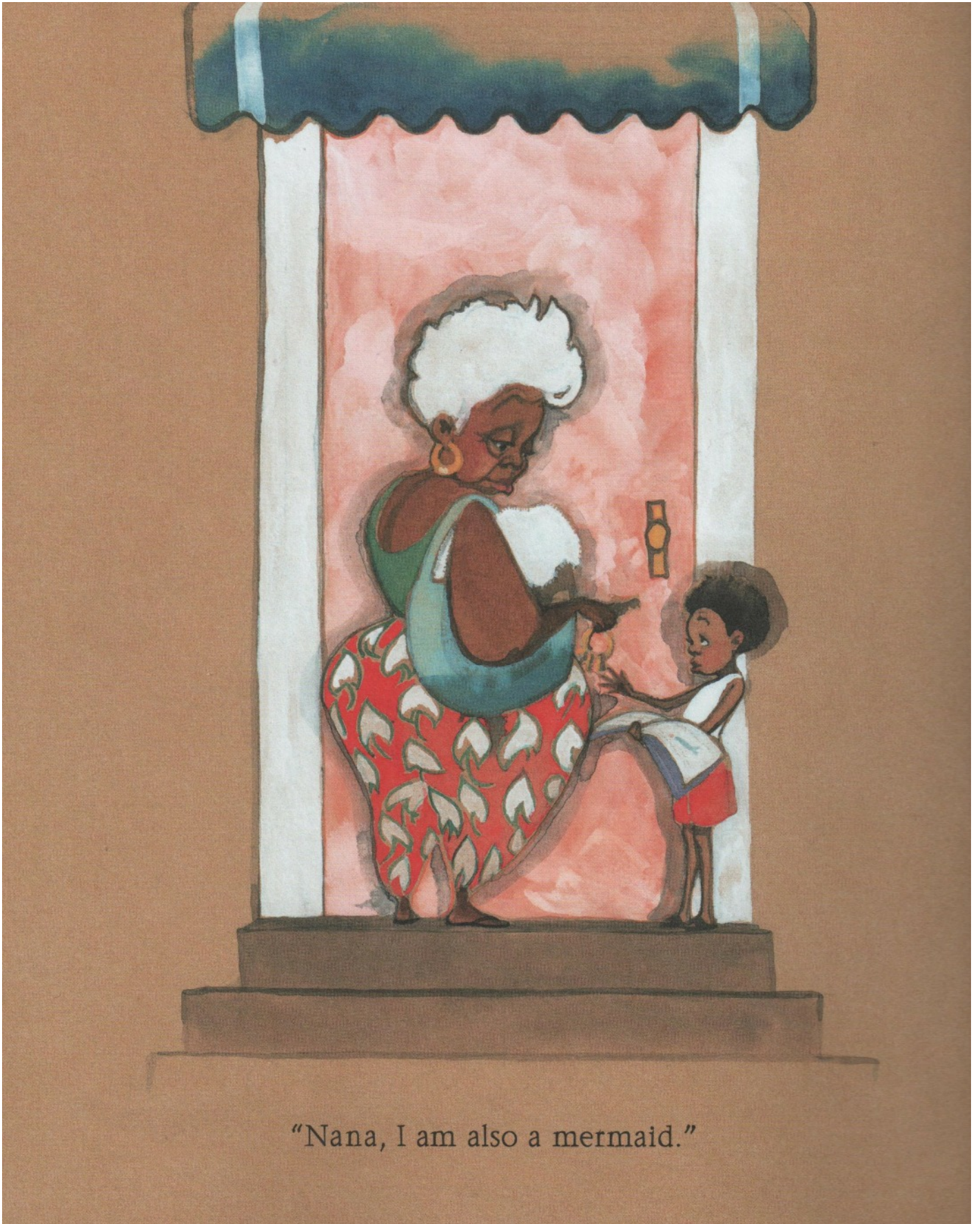
Thanks .See you in Bournemouth!

Larry Ngan





**Buy this book (see page 28)**



"Nana, I am also a mermaid."