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# INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



**Terrorism**

**Sri Lanka**

**African Liberal  
Network**

**Chilcot**

**Asylum Seekers**

**Emerging  
Economies**

*Jeremy Thorpe*

# EVENTS

**12<sup>th</sup> January 2015** LIBG executive. NLC 7.00pm

**29<sup>th</sup> January** LIBG West Midlands – inaugural meeting *Radical Islam: How Should We respond?* 6.30 for 7pm, Priory Rooms, Bull St, Birmingham

**2<sup>nd</sup> March 2015** LIBG Forum *Will EU 'Immigration' Into The UK Lead To UK Exit From The EU?* 7.00pm NLC

**4<sup>th</sup> March** Annual Diplomatic Reception. 6.30-8.30pm NLC Tickets £25 from LI(BG), 1 Brook Gardens, London SW13 0LY

**5<sup>th</sup> March** Chinese New Year Dinner – New Loon Fong, 42-44 Gerrard Street, London W1D 5QG. Chinese Lib Dems

**7<sup>th</sup> March 2015** Climate Change March <http://www.campaigncc.org/7march>

**13<sup>h</sup>- 15<sup>th</sup> March** Liberal Democrats Spring Conference, Liverpool

**12<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> June** Liberal International Executive, Zurich

**29<sup>th</sup> June 2015** LIBG AGM. NLC 7.00pm

**19<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> September** Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference, Bournemouth

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

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# CONTENTS

Jeremy Thorpe Tribute <i>Nick Harvey</i>	pages 3-4
Jeremy Thorpe Eulogy <i>Steve Attack</i>	pages 5-6
Mythorpe-in-the-Fens <i>Stewart Rayment</i>	page 6
A Picture from 'Lily' <i>Joyce Arram</i>	page 7
Let's Not Fool Ourselves – The Roots of Terrorism Extend Beyond Islam <i>Mohammed Nosseir</i>	pages 8-9
Commentary on 'Let's Not Fool Ourselves...' <i>John McHugo</i>	page 9
ALN General Assembly in Marrakech <i>Harriet Shone</i>	pages 10-11
Indexing interLib	page 11
International Abstracts	page 11
Sri Lanka Presidential Elections – A Big Surprise< Even Bigger Challenges Ahead <i>John Innes.</i>	pages 12-13
Emerging Economies and increasing influence of 'Development Agenda' on national, transnational and corporate objectives. <i>Anuja Prashar</i>	pages 14-21
Obituary – Marie Louise Rossi <i>Dirk Hazell</i>	page 22
The Chilcot 'Report'	page 23
Asylum Seekers <i>Suzanne Fletcher</i>	page 24
Reviews	pages 25-31
Photography - supplied by authors of respective pieces Elena Perlino - review of <i>Pipeline</i> , Noel Paine and Stewart Rayment.	

# JEREMY THORPE – TRIBUTE

## St Margaret's Church, Westminster,

### 17 December 2014

### Sir Nicholas Harvey MP

It is a great honour to be asked to say a few words today about the political life and times of Jeremy Thorpe, though I do so with considerable humility as many present here witnessed and lived the Thorpe era first hand, whereas I was still at school at the time.

To describe Jeremy's footsteps as giant ones in which to follow in North Devon would be a huge understatement. He was talent-spotted by the local party when the Liberal conference was held in Ilfracombe and then adopted as the Parliamentary candidate in 1952, at the age of just 23.

From all the accounts I've heard, and indeed the very folklore of North Devon, one can imagine the impact of the young Jeremy's arrival: the recent Oxford graduate and aspiring young barrister, charismatic, dashing, hugely energetic and blessed with all the campaigning attributes of the ideal candidate. He had a style all of his own: brown Trilby hat, waistcoat and gold watch-chain, and driving around in a legendary big black Humber (still in a barn not far from Barnstaple).

With his powers of mimicry he could respond to hecklers in brilliant imitations of their own voices. He could mock people and win their vote. He would ring the Bonham-Carters and other political families brilliantly impersonating their relatives and causing absolute mischief. His astonishing memory for faces and names enabled him to boom loud greetings to people in the streets and markets, to their lasting delight and the envy of their friends.

An entire generation of ladies took him to their hearts; he was mothered to distraction and I have come across several men now in their late forties and early fifties named Jeremy in his honour.

The indomitable Lilian Prowse served as his agent for over 25 years, building up the Liberal organisation from the grass roots. In the early years she often had her four children in tow and so a dynasty was born: three have served on the local council and Malcolm – the youngest – became the longest serving council leader in the country. Two of the family are here today.

Between them they revived the historic Liberal tradition. When Jeremy captured the seat in 1959, it

was one of just three in the country secured against Conservative opposition.

With wit, zeal and sheer panache, the new MP was the personification of hope when it was needed most. If Jo Grimond gave re-birth to the party's *intellectual* self-confidence and defined the Liberal creed for a new era, Jeremy – succeeding him in 1967 – gave re-birth to its *campaigning* self-confidence, turning it into a truly national force once again.

He was the first politician fully to embrace the television age, the first to hit the campaign trail in a helicopter and both the first – and rather memorably the last – to deploy a hovercraft.

Campaigning through the summer of 1974 he came up with the wheeze of pulling up at beaches on a hovercraft and addressing startled holiday-makers with a loud hailer from the deck. But it all ended in disaster when, at one stop, he'd just reached that point in his speech where he lauded this fine British invention, when he realised that his feet were getting rather wet. The hovercraft was sinking beneath him.

Some writers, summing up Jeremy's contribution to politics, have focused solely on his great theatrical gifts. He certainly made light of the bear-pit which the House of Commons chamber can be when you speak for a party with few members sitting in it. His memorable barb after Macmillan's 'night of the long knives': "Greater love has no many than this: that he should lay down his friends for his life" was one of Parliament's best ever.

But nobody should overlook his fierce and unwavering commitment to Liberal principles. As the son and grand-son of leading Conservative MPs, and the product of Eton and Oxford, the Conservative career ladder beckoned.

But Jeremy was no Conservative. He wore it as a badge of honour that he was banned from Franco's Spain; his suggestion to bomb Ian Smith's railway supply lines in renegade Rhodesia caused great controversy; he was an impassioned anti-Apartheid campaigner before it became fashionable. He was a trenchant pro-European and campaigned alongside Ted Heath and Roy Jenkins in the

1975 referendum. That trio packed 4,000 into Barnstaple's pannier market for a momentous rally.

He was a champion of the poor and disadvantaged at home and abroad. He befriended President Kenneth Kaunda and many other African leaders. Even in his later years he was writing to international leaders urging them to adopt post-Apartheid South African townships and help them rebuild and develop. It is good to see diplomatic representatives from African nations here today.

The high point of Jeremy's leadership was the February 1974 election. As the wheels began to come off Ted Heath's Government, the Liberals scored several epic by-election wins including Berwick – still represented 41 years later by the victor, Alan Beith. When the Government fell and the election was triggered, Jeremy himself was largely confined to North Devon to defend a wafer-thin 362 majority.

Into his packed itinerary of village meetings were scheduled quick dashes back to Barnstaple Liberal Club, where he ran up the stairs to broadcast live to the nation from a makeshift DIY studio. (The cabling was still there when I arrived many years later.) The election was a personal triumph – with over 6 million votes it was the best result since 1929, and in North Devon his majority was a stunning 11,082. But the corrupting effect of the voting system meant he had only 14 Liberal MPs and a coalition with the Tories was neither arithmetically nor politically feasible.

In any case, Jeremy had a closer rapport with Harold Wilson than with Ted Heath. It was rumoured that Wilson invited Jeremy to dinners with foreign heads of state to entertain them with his impersonations of Heath, Eden and Macmillan; and that the Liberals got an occasional peerage in return as his 'performance fee'.

After the drama of his downfall, it was inevitable that he had to vacate the political stage and give the party a chance to recover. He bore the cruel punishment of Parkinson's Disease for some 35 years with characteristic courage, stoicism and indomitable spirit, but in the end it robbed him of his most precious asset – his voice. He was magnificently and loyally supported through thick and thin by his wonderful wife Marion, who died just this March, and by his dear son Rupert – with whom he shared the awful tragedy of Caroline's death in 1970.

Despite his condition, Jeremy never lost his razor sharp mind, his amazing memory, his passion for politics or his sense of mischief. As President of the North Devon Liberals since 1987, he was a great support to me as a young candidate winning back the seat, and was

a source of advice, encouragement, one-liners, fund-raising drives – not to mention a few mad-cap ideas.

His devotion to the Liberal cause sustained to his last breath. But it was his unending sadness, and that of many friends, that – despite time being the great healer – the party never quite found it in its heart to forgive or re-embrace its prodigal son, preferring to airbrush him out of its history. But it would have meant a great deal to him that all his successors as leader are here today, and that his contribution to the Liberal revival had been acknowledged. He will be fondly remembered and greatly missed.

### *Nick Harvey*



When I was PPC for Harlow in 1975-79, Jeremy asked to see me. I quickly realised that his primary purpose was to tell the following• , probably apocryphal, story.

The curvaceous actress Jean Harlow was introduced to Dame Margot Asquith. The actress gushed: "Dame Margott, I have always wanted to meet you. "

"Young Lady. The "t" in Margot is silent as in Harlow."

I reminded Jeremy of this at his 80th birthday. He slightly corrected my version!

*Robert Woodthorpe Browne*

# Jeremy Thorpe Eulogy

## St Margaret's Church, Westminster,

### 17 December 2014

### Steven Attack

I have been asked by Jeremy's son Rupert, Jeremy's son to say a few words about the man I have known for forty years first as a political colleague and then as a dear and cherished friend.

My journey on the Thorpe Express, for that is what life with Jeremy was like, began when I was elected National Chairman of his rebellious Young Liberal Movement – as you can see that was some considerable time ago! Ushered into his office by his loyal Secretary, Judy Young, Jeremy stood up, shook my hand warmly and told me to sit on the day couch he used for his naps. He swivelled round, pen and pad in hand, looked over the spectacles and said “Now Steve, when did your problems first begin?” And so, charged with his wit and Evangelical zeal for the Liberal cause, away we sped.

For myself, and so many others, Jeremy was a champagne politician, putting the fizz back into the dull grey political era of Harold Wilson and the even greyer period of Ted Heath whom Jeremy once described as “being akin to a large plum pudding around which no one knew how to light the brandy”! These pearls of wit were a cardinal element of Jeremy's unique style. Indeed his leadership began with a distinctly champagne theme when the Returning Officer could not find anything to put the ballot papers in for the election for the Liberal Leadership. A champagne bucket was quickly summoned for the purpose and Jeremy was duly elected.

Jeremy's campaigning skills were unparalleled and I believe, remain unrivalled. Whether he was leaping with Olympian style over a street barrier or taking over the village post office in North Devon for a week, because the Postmaster hadn't had a holiday in years, Jeremy knew how to hit the spot.

And the capacity of his memory was Herculean. I remember once when he was campaigning he met a lady he didn't know very well, together with her young daughter. Out it tumbled: “She did very well in Geography, didn't she Mrs Dawes”. Jeremy had not only now remembered who the lady was, but had earlier been studying the A level results of children in Barnstaple in the local newspaper and remembered those as well!

In a party down to but six Members of Parliament Jeremy's optimism was contagious. One of his first slogans, a pun on the phrase “Where there's life there's hope”, he turned into “Where there's life there's Thorpe”. And life indeed there was – in spades.

Throughout his political career Jeremy worked tirelessly to combat poverty and inequality at home and overseas. His opposition to discrimination in all its forms - racial, religious or of sexual minorities, was relentless and he was never fearful of tackling controversial issues head on.

But beyond his passionate commitment to Liberal politics, Jeremy had a happy and deeply loving family life – first in his idyllic marriage with Rupert's dear mother Caroline, cut short so tragically by her death in a road accident. Jeremy always remembered Caroline, dedicating a monument to her in his beloved North Devon which he often visited and also a lasting and living memorial in the shape of the Caroline Thorpe Children's Ward in the North Devon Hospital.

And then his second wonderful marriage which was to last over forty years with his wife Marion. Jeremy and Marion shared a profound loyalty to one another which endured in the face of all adversity and “in sickness and in health”, as Jeremy valiantly faced down the torment of Parkinson's Disease for over thirty years.

With Marion, Jeremy also shared his great love of music, continuing that passion from his marriage with Caroline. Both were highly gifted musicians; Marion being a world-renowned concert pianist and he a talented violinist. They counted Benjamin Britten, Yehudi Menuhin and Peter Pears as dear friends. Indeed Yehudi Menuhin played the violin here in this church at Caroline's funeral over forty years ago, when a piece especially composed by Ben Britten was also aired. I think though even Jeremy drew the line when handed a guitar to play by the late Jimi Hendrix – a close run thing though!

Jeremy was a devoted father to Rupert, whom he adored. He took particular pride in Rupert's talent as an internationally respected photographer, in his grandson, Quinn and Rupert's wife Michelle. He was also a central part of Marion's family life with her children, David, James and Jeremy and their own children.

## MYTHORPE-IN-THE-FENS

Jeremy Thorpe's life had a richness beyond the difficult days we all know he had to face, and it was with his family that it's richness was at its zenith, some of the happiest of times being spent with them at his beloved cottage in North Devon. That family life was profoundly important to him and remained so until his final days, cared for by Rupert, his family and close friends - and a wonderful team of compassionate carers, Naz, Eleanor and Sajil, who are with us today.

In my later visits to an ailing Jeremy he developed a form of communication using hand signals, as his voice was barely audible; the voice, which had held audiences across the Realm in rapture and enthrallment, now almost silent.

I read political pieces to him and one of the last was this, a definition of the Liberalism he held to all his days and I shared in my youth. It is taken from the Annual Report of the Dewsbury Liberal Association in 1923 as they awaited the election of that year. The words could have been from Jeremy himself.....

*"We cannot afford to be idle.*

*An election may come at any time. Liberalism is not dead. It has a message for today. It believes in Democracy. It believes in a Government of aristocracy, not of birth, of wealth, or of landed or other possessions, but an Aristocracy of intelligence, of energy, of character.*

*Liberalism is not a compromise between two extremes of opinion. It is a solution of its own for the ills of humanity. It is not a half way house between Conservatism and Socialism.*

*It is not a house at all. It is a broad road of travel along which may walk honest pilgrims through the confusion of life, not without glimpses, at the end, of the walls and towers of the Celestial City"*

I asked him if this was what it was all about and as Jeremy's eyes moistened, up went the two thumbs, so reminiscent of one of his favourite campaigning postures.

Well my dear Jeremy, it is my hope and my prayer that now, at the end of your journey down your Liberal road, you can see, from a splendid view, those walls and towers of the Celestial City.

May you Rest in Peace old friend and Rise in Glory.  
Amen.

**Steve Atack**

I only met Jeremy Thorpe after his political career had faded, in the course of reviewing his autobiography for *interLib*. Jeremy had kindly lent us some photographs. However, he was a figure in my early political career. Young Liberals in the late 1960s didn't bother much with leaders, and I still question the need for them, but nonetheless they are there, whether you appoint them or not. A flamboyant creature like Thorpe was destined to lead and took the helm of the Liberal party about a year after my becoming involved with it. Our Young Liberal branch flourished when everybody had to fill in their UCCA forms, and suddenly there was branch meeting every Friday evening, discussing the issues of the day. One such Friday, Jeremy was speaking in Southend on Sea – in those days, a Liberal hopeful, and we duly travelled down there and were surprisingly impressed. A little later, we acquired a derelict building, which we refurbished and christened Thorpe Towers; it became the centre of our activities and is probably best remembered for its extremely wild parties.

We moved on, tentatively engaging in community politics, and with the nagging uncertainty as to whether the Parliamentary party had a clue as to what it was about. The party took a hammering at the 1970 general elections, but bounced back with the Rochdale, and particularly Sutton & Cheam by-elections in 1972. As the hippy trippy Young Liberal branch moved into glam rock, Thorpe's dandyism had an appeal – he was never one of the Grey Men, unless in the sense of Boldini's portrait of Robert de Montesquiou, now in the Orsay – always elegant. Did this dandyism give us the courage to descend on the village of Stretham, which we had been allocated in the Isle of Ely by-election? We dressed like that any way. We didn't go to hear Jeremy speak in Ely, we were out there on the streets man, or was it lanes? And afterwards, in The Red Lion, where I'm still owed many a pint should Clement Freud win.

It is said that pride comes before a fall, and we took a lot of stick in those days, but stood by the Leader. I remember our delight, crowded around a radio in one of the halls of residence of the LSE when we heard to outcome of the trial. Delight when Nick Harvey avenged North Devon. But sadness at Jeremy's decline.

I remember him at the celebration on the National Liberal Club terrace for Paddy Ashdown's victories in the 1997 general election. Jeremy was going to speak, there was some trepidation from the grey suits, partly because his speaking powers were going by then, but he summed it up perfectly. We may not have agreed with him all the while, even thought him a bit dodgy in some policy areas, but he was the leader and we loved him.

**Stewart Rayment**

# A Picture from 'Lily'

## Joyce Arram

I first met Jeremy when he was a recently elected MP for North Devon at a Ball to raise funds for the (old) Liberal Party held at the home of Laurence and Stina (later Baroness) Robson at Kiddlington - think Gosforth Park and Downton Abbey and you can imagine the scene. I was one of a party of young hopeful Parliamentary Candidates for the Party. Jeremy was dashing, elegant, witty and charming in his white tie and tails. We have remained friends since then and along with a small band of other loyal friends have been there for him to turn to during the time of his losing his seat and throughout the trial. We recognised his faults and weaknesses and did not hesitate to tell him when we thought he was in the wrong.

As a member of the Parliamentary Candidates Association (of which he was a Vice President at the time) Committee during 1974 when there were the two General Elections, I was one of the organisers of the emergency meeting of candidates to consider the situation after the February election and to tell Jeremy that if he entered into any deal with the Tories he would find himself without any parliamentary candidates prepared to stand for the party at the next election. When an article about these events appeared in the Liberal History Journal in late 2008 I showed it to him and he told me that he had had no intention of taking up Heath's invitation but felt he had at least to hear what he had to offer. He was fully aware of the Party's feeling about a coalition at that time.

Jeremy's ability to remember people was renown. I once asked him what his secret was and he told me it was "association of ideas", and recounted an instance when a woman came up to him gushing "I don't suppose you would remember me Mr.Thorpe", "Oh yes, I do, Mrs. Bag" came the reply "My name is Mrs. Sacks" was her frosty retort!

Jeremy was deeply devoted to his wife Marion, and she reciprocated devotion to him. Her concern was that she would die before him, which sadly happened. You could not but be moved at his distress and loss at her funeral.

Despite his cruel illness which gradually robbed him of his agility, his mind remained as acute as ever and he loved having friends call and tell him the latest events

gossip and progress of the Party. His interest extended to his charities - the National Benevolent Fund for the Aged, of which he was one of the founding Trustees in 1957 and of which he remained a Trustee until his Parkinsons Disease made it too difficult for him to get to our Trustee meetings and he stepped down as recently as November 2002. When its "legal" Trustee retired in October 1993 he suggested that I should replace him which I did. Despite his no longer being involved whenever I came to see him he always wanted to know how the Charity was fairing and what it was doing. His other charity was the Caroline Thorpe Memorial Fund set up in memory of his first wife and mother of his son Rupert, raising funds initially for the Caroline Thorpe Childrens' Ward at North Devon Hospital and then expanded to include all deprived children in North Devon.

Jeremy's nickname for me was "the Arum lily", a play on my surname. I last saw him ten days before he died, dropping in on the offchance to see him and, despite his loss of voice due to his throat cancer, he still managed to say to me "how did we do in the by-election" - referring to the recent Rochester election. Unfortunately the exertion of this small question rendered him voiceless the rest of my visit, and he communicated in signs the rest of the time. I am so glad I had that opportunity of (unwittingly) saying Goodbye to a good friend.

### **Joyce Arram *FCILEX, FRSA***

*Deputy President Liberal Democrat Lawyers Association\**  
*Hon. Vice President Chartered Institute of Legal Executives*

\*Jeremy was also a Vice President of the Liberal Democrat Lawyers Association



# Let's Not Fool Ourselves – The Roots of Terrorism Extend Beyond Islam

## Mohammed Nosseir

After committing their deadly crimes, terrorists often leave a message that Islam or the Prophet Mohammed (Pbuh) is the motive behind their crimes. Scholars logically follow this lead, digging deeper into the Quran in an attempt to solve the puzzle of Islam to determine what motivates Muslims to kill innocent people, and accusing Muslims in general of being incapable of tolerating freedom of expression and satire. Although terrorists openly profess that religion is the motive behind their crimes, the ready acceptance of this assertion by scholars places them firmly on the wrong side of history, creating an obvious confusion. Let us try to understand the true circumstances that shape these terrorists and identify our responsibilities.

The problem with terrorists is not their intolerance of freedom of expression per se. It lies, in essence, in their inability to either express themselves or exercise their freedom in their respective countries. The absence of democracy, quality education and decent employment opportunities are the seeds extremist leaders exploit to convert people to terrorism. The republishing of the Prophet Mohammed (Pbuh) cartoons a few years ago was the easy justification for the recent terrorist attack. If Charlie Hebdo had not published its cartoons, the terrorists would have found another target to attack; they were mentally ready to express their anger and frustration by committing a terrorist crime. Terrorists have been killing thousands of Muslims in their respective countries, for no good reason, long before the Charlie Hebdo massacre took place. The true explanation for their barbaric acts therefore has nothing to do with westerners or satirists.

Furthermore, there is no doubt that terrorist attacks in general are a part of the ongoing power struggle that has been taking place in the Middle East over the past decades. Political Islamists in almost all of the twenty-two Arab States (with the exception of just a few countries) are not free to express their opinions. While their arguments are often nonsensical and full of hatred, listening to their extreme verbal discourse (which can eventually be corrected) is still preferable to the loss of innocent civilian lives.

The entire world is happily, and rightly, proclaiming the guilt of these terrorists - but what is crucial is to

avoid pushing other extremists to commit new crimes. We must admit that we are, in a sense, guilty of leaving these extremists live their inferior, miserable lives, letting them develop an intensive anger against their communities. These people are left with nothing to cherish but their obeisance to a misconception of religion defined by ignorant leaders, which concludes in the murder of innocent people. Some extremists have deliberately chosen this life, but the vast majority is helplessly trapped into these ugly circumstances. These unfortunate people are surrounded by millions of Muslims who share their dismal environment and are unhappy with their lives, but who are impeded by their better education and relatively higher standards of living from becoming involved in criminal activity.

Using the label of Islam for the recent terrorist attack is not only a convenient excuse for the terrorists; it also serves as an excellent justification for many others. It allows terrorists and their extremist affiliates to claim that they die in defense of Islam and are therefore martyrs headed for heaven; it encourages autocratic Arab rules to enhance their narrative claiming that Islamists pose a real threat to the entire world and should be barred from access to power (thus putting an end to democracy); it provides citizens who are not happy about tolerating emigrants to their countries with an excuse for persisting with their social marginalization and maintaining their second-class citizen status.

Western scholars working on solving the Islam puzzle to determine what drives Muslims to kill innocent people are simply wasting their time. Being an extremist and, eventually, a terrorist is a state of mind fueled by a number of circumstances and specific cultural traits. It is completely unrelated to the Quran. The Holy Book of any given religion can be read and interpreted in different ways depending on the reader's perception, in which culture and education play a major role. People believe the concept that terrorist acts are committed in defense of religion - but the reality is different. We must ask the question; why is it that, although the number of Asian Muslims is substantially greater than that of Arab Muslims, the vast majority of terrorists are Arabs?

We have to face up to the fact that a large portion of the Arabs in this world feels inferior! Due to the absence



of genuine democratic systems, these Arabs are not treated as first-class citizens in their home countries, and they receive the same treatment when they leave their homes to live in advanced nations. The small numbers of immigrants who are successfully integrated into their new countries are the exception to the norm. The norm is the illegal immigrant who faces a number of challenges; from being torn between two cultures, to having to deal with a major language barrier, to the painful search for employment that barely allows him to survive, all while trying to hide from law-enforcement officers to avoid deportation. After a long and arduous process, the immigrant finally becomes a second-class citizen.

While the majority of the suffering Arabs who decide to immigrate know that this move will lead to the miserable route described above, the decisions they make are still a matter of choice and privilege. Rather than exact revenge on the innocent citizens of their adopted countries (who have often paid a price to accommodate them), immigrants have the option to return to their home countries.

This argument may be a valid one to use when addressing well-educated, mature people - but a large portion of those who move to escape the poor living conditions back home lacks these qualities. Furthermore, the ugly truth is that we Arabs have been raised to believe that the West (Europe and the United States) is conspiring against Islam and Muslims, and is somehow responsible for all our problems. Arab rulers, who often condemn terrorism in public, have never attempted to correct this notion; it is beneficial to them because it serves to distract citizens from the real challenges they face at home. Even so, the West is also guilty of not correcting its image in the Arab world and of not being genuine in its condemnation of the lack of values in autocratic nations.

A huge cultural difference definitely exists between westerners who for decades have enjoyed living under full-fledged democratic values (including the right to freedom of expression protected by the rule of law), and Arabs and Muslims who are still struggling to obtain their basic human rights. For well-educated people to provoke millions of poor and illiterate citizens who literally possess nothing to be proud of in life apart from their religion is utterly insensible.

The primary challenge that the international community needs to address is to prevent the making of new terrorists. The current expression of courage by Western citizens demonstrating their fearlessness in the face of terrorism will not put an end to terrorist attacks against innocent civilians. We must work on the root of the

problem, which lies in the home countries of the terrorists. Preventing the emergence of terrorism should be the responsibility of the entire international community. We cannot condone or accept, by any means, the loss of innocent lives due to acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, in attempting to resolve the problem, we must not permit ourselves to be satisfied with the obviously superficial approach of condemning the crime and expressing solidarity with the victims' families.

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

### **John McHugo comments:**

I agree with virtually every word of Mohammed's analysis, and I think the way he argues it is a tribute to the values of the Arab Spring (which are still very much alive - something that is also often blotted out by western commentators). I also believe very strongly that he is right in asserting that "For well-educated people to provoke millions of poor and illiterate citizens who literally possess nothing to be proud of in life apart from their religion is utterly insensible". That is a clear reference to Charlie Hebdo, and very much reflects my own views.

One often overlooked fact is how recently mass literacy has appeared in Arab countries. Although the rates of literacy in e.g. Egypt, Yemen and Morocco are absolutely appalling, we should remember that they are much higher than a few generations ago - despite the high birth rates. In Egypt literacy was only about 20% in 1920, and Juan Cole (a serious scholar) hypothesises that it may actually have been as low as 1% in 1800. The London based Egyptian commentator Tarek Osman (Mohammed may well know him) recently said to me that one fact that no one yet seems to be grappling with is that there are so many millions of young men in Arab countries who are not just unemployed, but actually unemployable.

Mohammed doesn't mention Palestine. However, I am sure he would agree that it is implicit as part of the background. Fully understanding Palestine is a necessary part of westerners correcting their image of the Arab world. The dispossession of the Palestinians and the occupation of their land are another part of the structure that has held back the Arab world, alongside the autocrats who are rightly the target of his ire in this article,

*John McHugo is author of A Concise History of the Arabs, Saqi Books 2013 ISBN 978-0-86356-889-3*

# ALN General Assembly in Marrakech

The Africa Liberal Network (ALN) is pleased to share the outcomes of the 11th annual General Assembly. Hosted in mystic Marrakech from 27-29 November 2014, this was the largest and most ambitious General Assembly in the ALN's history, with over 90 delegates attending from across the world.

"This year, the ALN accomplished a number of historic firsts including the election of a gender representative executive committee, the adoption of a robust new constitution and the acceptance of 9 new observer member parties, taking the total number of members to the largest in the Network's history, with 44 parties" stated the ALN President, Olivier Kamitatu, who was re-elected in Marrakech to serve a second 2-year term.

Mutilation (FGM), child slavery and freedom of political association, among many other human rights issues.

Drafting of the Declaration was facilitated by Rt. Hon. Andrew Stunell MP, UK Liberal Democrats Governor on the board of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, who commented:

"Many member parties gave first-hand testimony to the serious lack of basic political and human rights in their own countries. This land-mark Declaration can now be the reference point for future action and campaigning for justice for all, regardless of status or power."



After a full day of contributions from external experts and deliberations by delegates, the General Assembly also crafted a 12 point Human Rights Framework which was adopted by all members present. Aptly named the Marrakech Declaration, the document sets out the liberal perspective on human rights in Africa and commits both the ALN and its 44 members to champion interventions with respect to Female Genital

Most notably, the declaration commits all members to actively challenge discrimination on any grounds including gender, sexuality, race, colour, nationality, ethnic origin, religion, age or disability. This is the first declaration of its kind in Africa that commits contemporary political parties to fight discrimination in such a broad manner, particularly with respect to sexual orientation.

The 2014 General Assembly also presented an opportunity to share best practice with fellow liberals from the Arab Alliance for Freedom and Democracy, with whom the ALN signed a cooperation agreement with a view to strengthening liberalism across the MENA region.

The Africa Liberal Network would like to convey its sincere thanks to its key partners the UK Liberal Democrats, Westminster Foundation for Democracy and Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, without who's support it would not have been possible to achieve these exceptional outcomes.



***Wavel Ramkalawan, Leader of the Seychelles National Party, Hazem Kawasmi, a representative from the Arab Alliance for Freedom and Democracy, Jonathan Moakes, CEO of the Democratic Alliance (party from South Africa), Inga Herbert, Director for West Africa, FNF & Adil Abdel Aati, Chair of the political council of the Liberal Democratic Party of Sudan***

Commenting on the event, Iain Gill, the Head of the UK Liberal Democrats International Office stated, "The UK Liberal Democrats are immensely proud to sponsor the Africa Liberal Network. Over the last five years we have watched it develop exponentially and beyond expectations. The ALN is now has the largest regional network in the Liberal International family outside of ALDE with a total membership of 44 parties and we are growing in both quality and quantity. Our 2018 objective is to surpass the European network and become the dominant force in international liberal politics."

For more information about the ALN and 2014 General Assembly, including full copies of all the resolutions taken, visit [www.africaliberalnetwork.org](http://www.africaliberalnetwork.org) <<http://www.africaliberalnetwork.org>>  
**Harriet Shone**  
*International Projects Officer, Liberal Democrats*

# Indexing *interLib*

The switch to e-publishing opens many questions about access to interLib and its readership. To enable readers to focus on their more immediate interests an index of interLib from 2012 to 2014 has been produced. The focuses mainly on subject matter, primarily from the titles of articles etc. and other keywords. It will probably always be imperfect, but better than nothing.

[www.libg.co.uk](http://www.libg.co.uk) - the LIBG website, appears to have pdf versions of most issues of the magazine back to 2009 and a few earlier issues where a pdf was available. As some of you will recall, prior to then the magazine was often run off on the photocopier in David Griffiths' office.

The British Library probably has the most complete run, back to 1999, though there are gaps (all of 2004 for some reason – I wonder if anyone has these, or any others?) Other copyright libraries and the BLPES at the LSE will have similar holdings.

The index will be updated to cover forthcoming issues and will be maintained on the LIBG website. Hopefully earlier issues

**Please join the Chinese and Korean Liberal Democrats to usher in the YEAR OF THE RAM on**

**Date: Thursday 5th March  
Time: 7pm for 7.30pm**

**Venue: New Loon Fung Restaurant  
42-43 Gerrard Street, London W1D 5QG**

**Ticket for 8 course dinner including wine: £30 for early bird offers, £40 after 1st March or on the door.**

**RSVP:**  
**<<mailto:info@chineselibdems.org.uk>>**  
**[info@chineselibdems.org.uk](mailto:info@chineselibdems.org.uk)**

# Sri Lanka Presidential Elections – A Big Surprise< Even Bigger Challenges Ahead

## John Innes.

Sri Lanka has just had its most important elections in 3 decades - with a surprising result, the opposition candidate (Maithripala Sirisena, aged 63) has won with 51.3 percent of the vote against the incumbent president's 47.6% (polling particularly well in both amongst the Tamil and Muslim communities). The result itself was not so much a surprise, the real surprise was that the result was allowed to stand, there was no massive vote-rigging, no engineered violence, and the former president, Mahinda Rajapaksa (aged 69) stood down peacefully.

Sirisena was a communist in his youth, but first joined the parliament in 1989 as a candidate of the Sri Lanka Freedom's Party (SLFP). He has served in a variety of positions including Minister of Agriculture in the first Rajapaksa government, acting Minister of Defence during the last two weeks of the civil war when some of the worst alleged war crimes were committed and Minister of Health from 2010 until 2014. He narrowly survived an assassination attempt on October 9, 2008, by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and claims to have been the target of at least 5 other attempts.

Sirisena announced his candidacy for presidency only hours after Rajapaksa in November 2014, announced he would call the election two years early. Following this announcement Sirisena, along with several other ministers who supported him, were stripped of their ministerial positions and expelled from the ruling SLFP. Sirisena managed to unite a fractured opposition, although, in the event there were 17 other minor party candidates in the presidential elections.

Sirisena claimed that he would fight against one-family (Rajapaksa) control, reverse the moves towards dictatorship, combat corruption, and nepotism and a breakdown of the rule of law, and promising to serve only one term as president (Rajapaksa had engineered a constitutional coup to enable him to stand for an unprecedented third term). The main pledge in his manifesto was the replacement of the executive presidency with a "Westminster" style cabinet but the manifesto acknowledged that Sirisena would need the support of

the parliament to amend the constitution. Parliamentary elections will be held in April 2015 after the constitution has been amended.

Additional manifesto pledges include establishing independent commissions to oversee the judiciary, police, elections department, Auditor-General's Department and Attorney-General's Department. The Commission on Bribery and Corruption would also be strengthened. However, the manifesto also included populist measures in the manifesto included a commitment to write-off 50% of farmers' loans,



### *The pipes of peace for Sri Lanka at last?*

reduce fuel prices by removing taxes, a salary increase for civil servants, an increase in spending on health from 1.8% to 3% of GDP, whilst spending on education would increase from 1.7% to 6% of GDP. Moreover, Sirisena pledged that he would establish an independent domestic inquiry into the alleged war

crimes during the final stages of the Sri Lankan Civil War.

After being sworn in, Sirisena invited all political parties to join to form a national unity government. Shortly afterwards, a group of 21 SLFP (ruling party) MPs pledged their support for Sirisena. Moreover, true to his promise, he has appointed the veteran opposition United National Party (UNP) leader, and ethnic part-Tamil, Ranil Wickremasinghe as Prime Minister and has released some 50 journalists held in detention for political offences.

Yet many challenges and doubts remain:

- is Sirisena genuinely different from Rajapaksa and does he have a real will to follow through on these reforms?
- will he be able to carry through these reforms, or be thwarted by the old guard of the Rajapaksa regime plotting Sirisena's downfall and a comeback?;
- will he (and the Prime Minister) be able to lead a potentially fractious coalition of ethnic, religious, Marxist and centre-right parties?;
- will real progress be made in healing the ethnic and religious divides renewed after the horrendous civil war against the breakaway Tamil Tiger state?; and
- can all this be done whilst strengthening human rights, enhancing the freedom of religion, yet maintaining peace?

For the sake of Sri Lanka, let us hope for a resounding yes to all these questions!

***John Innes is a member of the LIBG Executive and has visited Sri Lanka four times in the last five years.***



## ***Radical Islam: How Should we Respond?***

***Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> January 6.30 for 7pm, Priory Rooms, Bull St, Birmingham***

***Keynote speakers followed by  
A Panel Debate with Questions  
from the Audience***

***Baroness Kishwer Falkner***

***(Lib Dem International Affairs Spokesperson;  
House of Lords)***

***Jehangir Malik***

***(UK Director; Islamic Relief)***

***Nozmul Hussain***

***(Chief Executive; Community Foundation)***

***Chaired by former MEP Dr Phil Bennion  
on behalf of***

***Liberal International British Group***

***You are invited to this stimulating and topical  
debate.***

***Priory Rooms are just 2 minutes walk from Snow  
Hill, 6 minutes from Moor Street and***

***8 minutes from New Street stations. Event will  
finish at 9pm in plenty of time for trains***

### ***International Abstracts***

Botswana, by Victoria Marsom.

Ad Lib. Issue 23 page 11.

*Report of the Botswana election campaign of October, especially the campaign in Gaborone Central and the death of Gomolemo Motswaledi. There is also a report of the Hong Kong LI Executive & subsequent Burma visit on page 5.*

When the Values Vanished, by Mohammed Nosseir.  
Liberator 369 pages 12-13

*People who adhere to ethical values in the Middle East tend to end up powerless and oppressed. How can a region of autocrats change?*

Goodbye to Oil, and Oil States, by David Thorpe  
Liberator 369 pages 14-15

*Fracking may seem to have little connection with the Middle East, but as the USA's shale frees it from dependence on oil, so may its interest wane in the region.*

# Emerging Economies and increasing influence of ‘Development Agenda’ on national, transnational and corporate objectives.

**Anuja Prashar**

*"If transnational corporations are superseding or are equally influential in determining the course of national and global economies, then surely they should now also become responsible and accountable for how, where and when they influence society and the economy" ( Prashar, August 2013)*

Growing evidence suggests that in future businesses and governments will need to develop strategies together, within a complex combination of deeply rooted contexts of development and consumer behaviour, which reflect social needs of a dawning emergent ‘South’ that contains two thirds of world population and not simply the commercial consumerist ideology of a ‘North’ dominated past.

This article explores how the global ‘North’ is engaging with these new trends of an ‘Emerging South’. Please note that the use of terms North - South instead of East - West is deliberate and emphasizes that for most of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century the social, political, economic distances between the global North and global South will be far more influential in shaping the global political and economic economy. (Thompson & Reuveny, 2008)

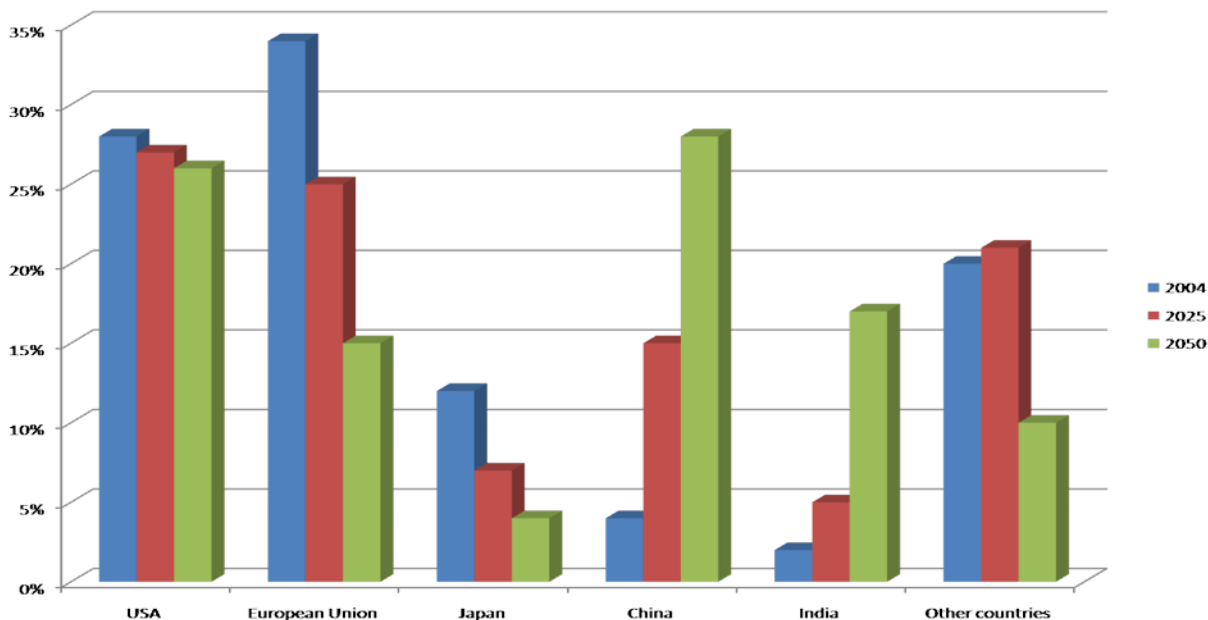
In this article I propose that resulting from this North – South distance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, two leading global imperatives will become prevalent. (i) The necessity for producing more balanced economies with the associated greater equal wealth distribution within and across nations and (ii) The global collaboration and co-operation across all essential sectors of economic, social and political divisions. Failure to embed these two factors into the new 21<sup>st</sup> Century transnational structures and systems will witness a continued acceleration of social and political instability across the globe, which in turn has rapid and enormous negative consequences for trade and business.

In order to embed these two global imperatives, 21<sup>st</sup> century global systems and structures will require a foundational pluralist world view, which in turn will engender a high level of economic, political and cultural dexterity.

The promise of Neo-Liberalism post Cold-War was that Democracy, Capitalism and the Free Market Economies will deliver greater prosperity across the globe and at the turn of the Century, our euphoria was so great we even dared to declare the ‘eradication of poverty by 2020’. (Millennium Goals, 2000) Lesley Sklair’s theory that a ‘Transnational Capitalist Class’ consisting of owners of Fortune 500 corporations, Executives of these corporations, Global Media and government lobbyists are together the shapers of globalization today (Sklair 2001).

I contend that the transnational capitalist class is not homogenous nor only confined to corporate structures (Prashar thesis 2015) and that the Emerging Economies of the global ‘South’ is producing transnational corporations and indeed ‘Corpnations’ (Prashar 2013) that have distinctly different values, structures and objectives. (Agtmael,2007; Sheth, 2008; Khanna, 2007; World Bank & institute of Policy Studies 2007; Kohli, 2008)

The recent civilian unrest in Brazil, Greece, Spain, UK Riots of 2011, Middle Eastern ‘Spring’, uprisings in key economic zones of India, the increase in China’s expenditure on internal security, US Food riots (2011, 2012) and civil wars in key African states demonstrates the beginning of a ‘multitude’ reaction (Hardt & Negri, 2004) as citizens and national governments cope with the transitioning conditions of Globalisation. This moment of world history also marks a shift towards the “Re-Orientation from Western to Eastern economic dominance of world trade” (Frank-Gunder, ) and the formation of a new multi-polar world order. (Gramsci, Wallerstein, Cox, Alain de Benoist)

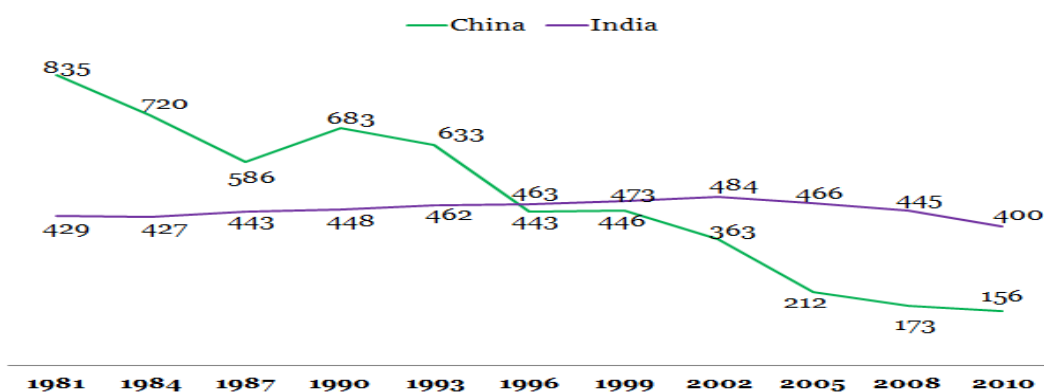


**% of WORLD ECONOMY growth projections** (Source: Goldman Sachs 2011)

This discussion, focusing upon economic development of the global ‘South’, becomes particularly relevant when we remember that the ‘shift’ of global economic growth and capital is going to cause a need to engage with the emerging economies of the BRIC and CIVETS countries, and with India and China in particular as the ‘engines of global economic growth’.

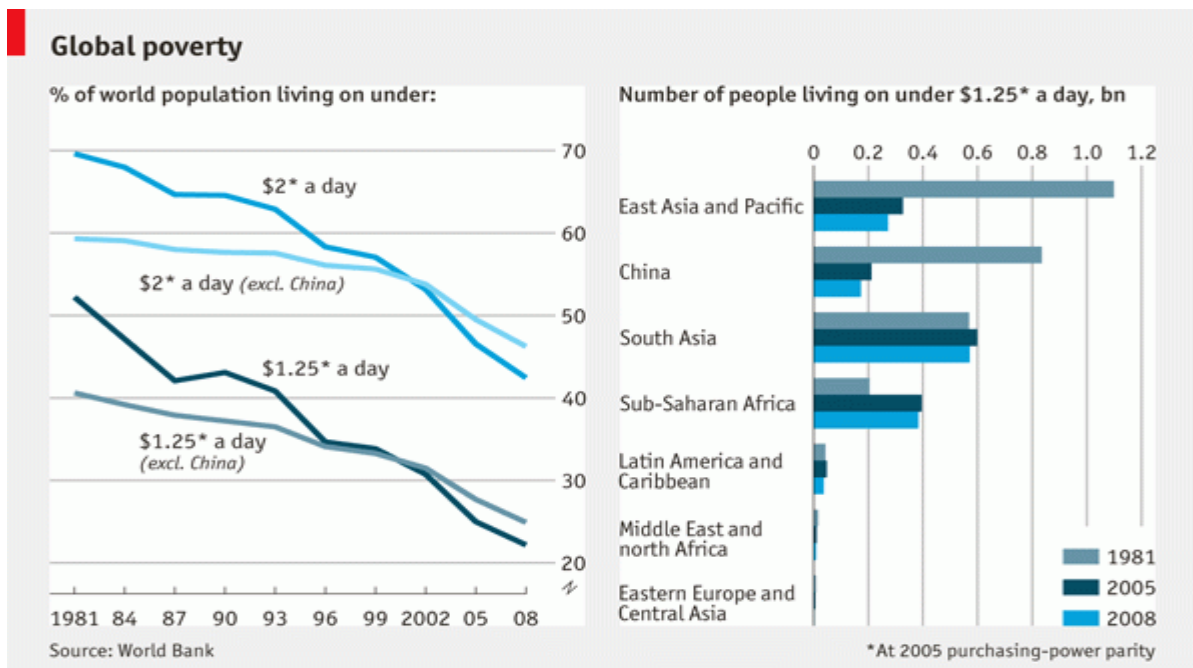
Both India and China have exceptionally large populations and despite economic growth rates that seem comparatively high for us in the west, the numbers of people living in extreme poverty is still extremely high. It is my contention that these populations, including the many millions in Africa and Latin America cannot be ignored for too much longer.

### Number Of Poor People In India & China, 1981 To 2010



Figures in million  
Source: World Bank

Today the combination of a failure to meet the millennium targets, the emergence of selective economies and the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008 we need to review and re-design our capitalist systems to deliver sustained growth in developed economies that addresses the developmental needs of the less developed world, which is occupied by two thirds of the total world’s population.

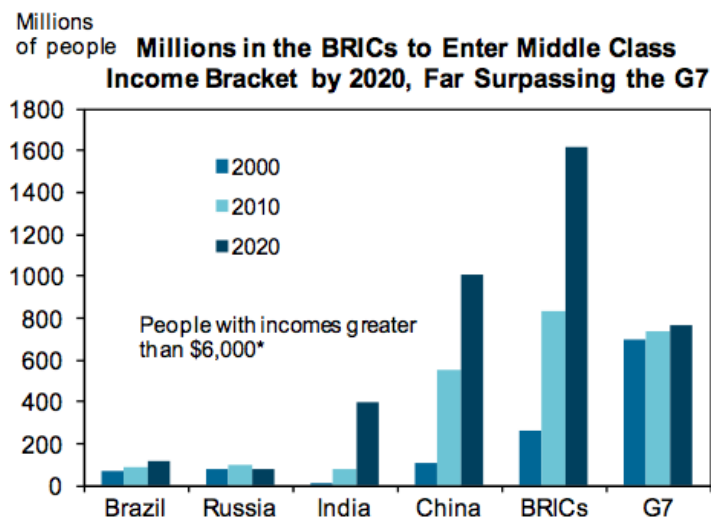


One strategy for traditional transnational corporations is to focus all strategic attention on capturing the emerging middle class of emerging economies as consumers and hoping to capitalize on this growth sector to sustain corporate growth & profits. Traditional transnational corporations will increasingly face competition from transnational corporations and ‘corpnaitions’ (Prashar 2013) from the ‘South’ who are focused on providing the solutions for a market need and not ‘creating the market’ through the selling of a consumer model which apes the ‘West’.

The consumer in the ‘South’ often requires newer innovative products that best suit their particular needs and these can be very different from what the ‘North’ has become accustomed to providing. For example, Mobile Phone Banking in Africa, introduced by Safaricom (35% ownership of Kenya Treasury) and Vodacom of South Africa, serves a need for a growing market for millions of people who do not have a bank account.

In countries like South Africa, for example, mobile phones outnumber fixed lines by eight to one. In Kenya there were just 15,000 handsets in use a decade ago. Now that number tops 15 million. In Tanzania just 5% of the population have bank accounts. In Ethiopia there is one bank for every 100,000 people. In Africa traditional banks have to compete with this new form of ‘South’ virtual banking system, with an estimated future market across Africa of billions of dollars.

Equity Bank in Kenya has chosen not to compete but rather to collaborate and co-operate with the new mobile phone operators. The resulting partnership with mobile operators enabled the bank to grow its deposit base at an average compounded growth rate of 40% from 2007 to 2012, without incurring any significant branch network expansion costs (African Development Bank Group)





Targeting the middle class market space in emerging economies appears a sensible strategy when you look at the overall figures and realize that the consumer base will shift significantly from 'North' to 'South' overtime. However, the combination of dependency upon a dwindling 'North' consumer base and short term investment into emerging economies will place most 'North' corporations in a weak and risky position over time.

The risk of an 'Outreach to middle class' strategy becomes apparent when you consider there are 3 key global market environmental trends which will render this strategy ineffective.

**Diverse methods & goals** - Access to these emerging economies is becoming increasingly more difficult, despite the liberalization of the market place, due to rapid rise of domestic competitors and diverse business cultures. (Agtmael,2007; Sheth, 2008; Khanna, 2007; World Bank & institute of Policy Studies 2007; Kohli, 2008)

**Protection of priorities** - National governments increasingly focused on protectionist policy to ensure internal growth and development of the national economy and national well-being of citizens, so as to curb social and political unrest. (World Bank & Institute of Policy Studies, 2007)

**Breakdown of cohesion** - Failure of the current global institutions, such as WTO, UN, FSA, ICC, UNFCC and UNESCO and other global systems, to forge co-operation around one set of core values and regulations for implementation

How are the nation states of the global 'North' and fortune 500 transnational corporations engaging with these new market environmental trends? The greatest triumph of Neo-Liberalism and deregulation of markets has been the formation of transnational corporations and it is the future role of these global giants, many of whom are larger than the economies of many countries, that concern me most. There are only 26 countries that have economies larger than the turnover of the largest transnational corporation.

Evidence that transnational corporations from the 'North' have enormous influence on national and global strategy and that the 'developmental' agenda is gaining priority is visible to anyone who monitors and observes the formation of transnational systems. Over the past decade I have observed the growth and progress of the World Economic Forum at Davos. I agree with Rothkopf, author of 'Super Class' that WEF is probably one of the most significant transnational networks for its influence upon the formation of global agenda items and it's consequent impact upon transnational businesses and national economies.

In January 2012, the World Economic Forum (Schwab Foundation website) hosted a special private discussion on the possible future for 'Impact Investment' (World Economic Forum website) a new concept that had everyone very excited. The private discussion was attended by 30 CEOs and CFOs along with the Chief Investment Officers of the world's most powerful private equity, venture capital, investment management firms, foreign investment funds, pension funds and leading business professors and 20 leading social entrepreneurs. (Noble, Huffington Post, 2012)

At the conference 'Impact Investment' was defined as the emerging industry that places capital in businesses which intentionally seek to create social or environmental value. The dialogue created the 'next steps' around implementation of the 'Impact investment' class. In other words, the best financial minds of the 'North' came

up with the notion of creating another Asset Class for investors that would fund 'developmental projects' and that would also become regulated and monitored through a value based system of exchange. According to a JP Morgan Global Research & Rockefeller Foundation report published in 2010 and titled *Impact Investments, An Emerging Asset Class*, Impact Investment is forecasted to swell to between 400 billion – 1 trillion dollars by 2020. Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Limited and the Deloitte US Firms have committed to craft a strategy for institutional investors. (Harvey, Deloitte Perspectives, 2013)

The influence of the World Economic Forum upon national and global economies was evidenced in June 2013 when at the UK's G8 presidency summit, Prime Minister David Cameron asked for a special pre conference event focusing on Social Investment, that was attended by himself, Nick Hurd MP, Iain Duncan Smith MP and Justine Greening MP with delegates representing all major investment banks, Embassies for G8 countries, European commission and many Charities and foundations, all with Headquarters in Europe or USA.

In his key note speech at this event David Cameron announced three key developments: Tax breaks for social investments; a Social Stock Exchange to measure how successful those social investments are; Help for communities who want to buy local assets. In other words, leading financial thinkers, business interest groups, philanthropists, charities and representatives of 'North' Nation States were brought together to discuss an 'Arms Length' approach for engagement with the essential social and developmental issues of the globe, through a methodology of financial instruments and a financial system that has yet to be properly regulated and with the possibility of a bonus of an added tax break to institutional investors.

Davis, Lukomnik and Pitt-Watson in their book *The New Capitalists : How citizen investors are reshaping the corporate agenda (2006)* state that institutional and civil investors are changing the world by forcing the rise of a re-engineered capitalism within a 'civil economy'. The suggestion is that there is now a shift away from individual 'tycoon' or state ownership towards a more democratized system of ownership. The assumption is that the 'parts' now all fit together and that corporations are therefore more accountable. However, when you understand that the accountability principle is only exercised through the fund managers who operate the collective influence on behalf of the individual investor/shareholder, the whole picture appears less democratic than is suggested by this book. Democracy, Accountability and Investor interests are made ambiguous within this structure of liberal market investment. There lies the danger in this form of 'Arms Length' and distanced accountability to the primary objective of social benefit and towards development of systems and structures that address the needs of people and ever changing economic circumstances.

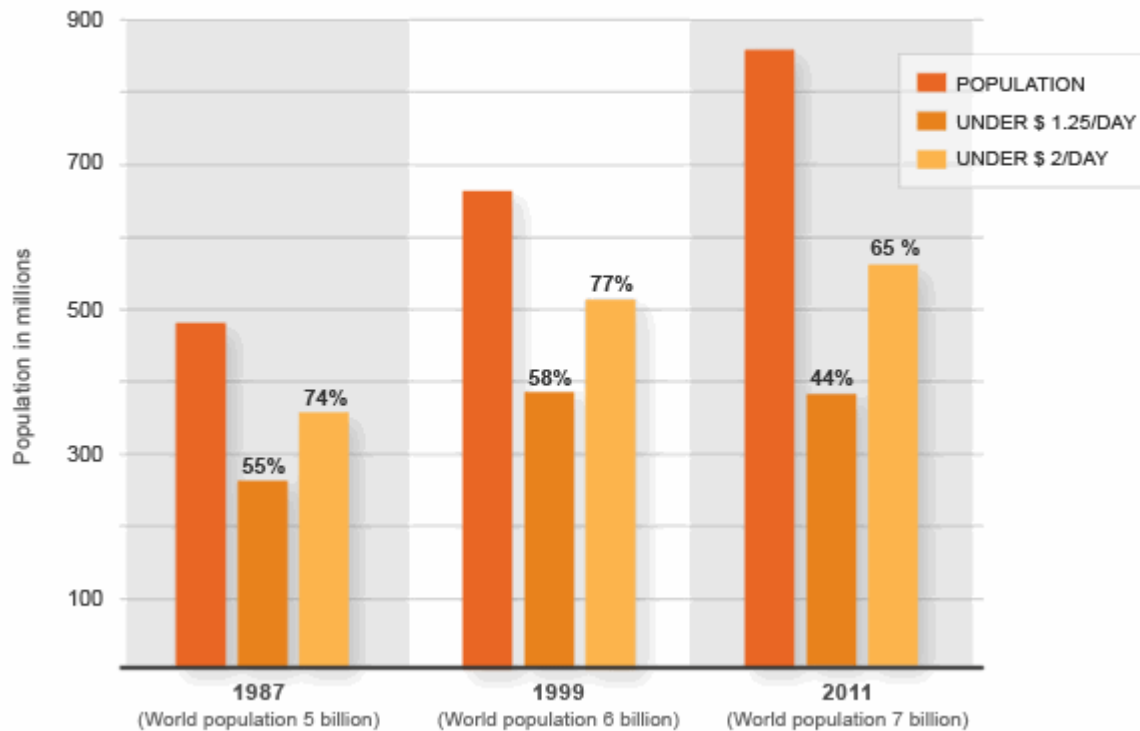
In contrast, despite a very disparate and often unfamiliar economic and social value system, India and China appear to be engaging with the developmental agenda with a long term and close-up strategy. Nay, I even go as far as to say they are beginning to set the agenda and creating the terms of reference for implementation of this agenda across the globe.

Transnational Corporations operate in many countries and are beginning to engage with Africa too. It is the significant rise of the Emerging Economies of BRICS and CIVETS and the increasing 'South – South' trade which is a new trend in world trade and which will re-orientate the focus from 'North' consumerism to a 'South' focus on 'Developmentalism'. Both India and China with enormous domestic markets seek to prioritise the local market. (World Bank & Institute of Policy Studies, 2007) Jagdish Sheth, who coined the phrase 'Chindia' suggests that Indian corporate growth will occur through large scale acquisitions of businesses across the globe and that "*Chinese enterprises that have the scale and incumbency advantage to dominate the domestic markets will end up expanding globally by first going to other emerging economies and countries in Africa*" (Sheth, Pg xxi, 2008)

Harry Broadman writes in 'Africa's silk Road' that China and India's "new-found" interest in trade and investment with Africa presents a significant opportunity for growth and international integration of Africa. In an understated critic of the 'North's approach to Africa' Broadman suggests that China and India's South-South commerce with Africa is about "far more than oil", and is opening the way for Africa to become a processor of commodities as well as a competitive supplier of goods and services to these Asian countries. Broadman also identifies a real benefit for African engagement with India and China, as Chinese and Indian firms in Africa that operate on a global scale with world class-technologies fostering global *and* regional (Pan-African) integration of African businesses. (Broadman, 2006)

It is important to recognise these new trends in world trade, but they take on greater significance when compared with trade statistics comparing African trade with the global 'North'. According to Eurostat and World Bank statistics, the volume of African exports towards Asia has been accelerating over the past two decades, growing by 15% between 1990 and 1995, and by 20% from 2000-2005. Currently Asia's share of African exports is in excess of 27% and is almost equal to that with the EU 32% and the USA on 29%.

## Sub-Sahara Africa



(Source: Reuters - [http://blogs.reuters.com/felix-salmon/files/2011/10/sub-sah\\_afr.gif](http://blogs.reuters.com/felix-salmon/files/2011/10/sub-sah_afr.gif))

In Africa we see the rapid rise of a focus on ‘Development’ and infrastructure development in particular, as the driver for key ‘South – South’ trade. When you look deeper into the statistics and realize the extent of Africa’s economic distance from the rest of the world, we begin to understand the growing urgency of African leaders to ensure their countries optimize on the journey towards sustainable economic growth.

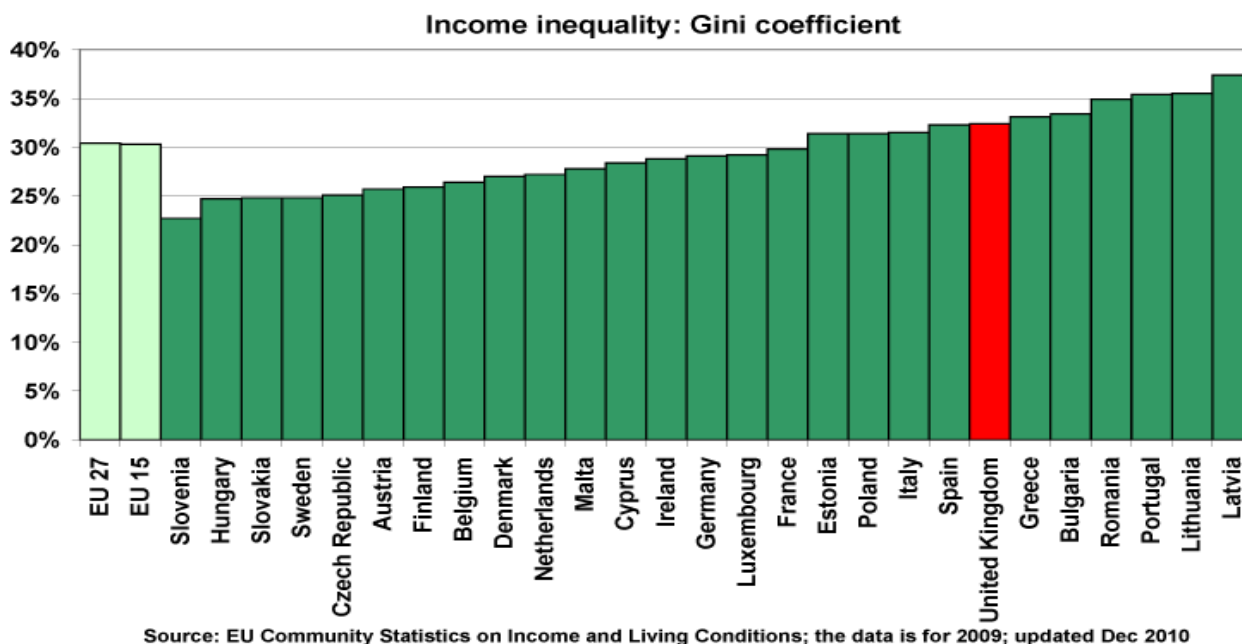
The President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta (An example of a new generation of African leader – affluent, educated in the west and with experience of transnational systems) made his first visit to China in August 2013. As he arrived in Beijing President Kenyatta tweeted “Arriving in China. China’s importance to Africa cannot be underrated. China is our biggest partner in development.” Kenyatta and the Chinese premier Xi Jinping shook hands and signed a 5 billion dollar agreement that includes new projects on Energy, Infrastructure, Wildlife protection and building a railway link from the Indian Ocean to Uganda. President Kenyatta stated “*We welcome the investment in key sectors of our economy. The rail link, particularly, is important in the context of East Africa’s shared goal of ensuring quicker movement of peoples, goods and services.*” An improved train link could cut the costs of shifting freight across East Africa by 79 percent, according to Kenyan government calculations.

Despite the International Criminal Court charges against Uhuru Kenyatta, the Kenyan president won a substantial election victory earlier that year. This is only one example of a ‘South’ country and her people defining their own destiny and route map into 21<sup>st</sup> Century world economy, which demonstrates the erosion and eventual failure of traditional global systems, which cannot achieve cohesion around one set of values.

There are numerous examples for this ever increasing challenge by the general emerging economies body politic, ranging from China, Brazil, Russia and India challenging the WTO agreements, India’s selective adherence to Nuclear non-proliferation treaty and China’s position with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and Kyoto agreement. We in the global ‘North’ need to own up to our own national role in creating inconsistency in upholding various values and thereby developing a more equitable and consistent standard for all, which also recognises the pluralist approach.

As the global ‘North’ lives through a long period of economic growth rates that ‘bump along the bottom’ and global ‘South’ countries, particularly BRICS and CIVETS grow increasingly rapidly, It will be a grave error in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to think that the nation states and the corporate capitalist system can be separated from accountability for these unique global circumstances.

The increasing economic inequality within nations and the enormous inequity of wealth across the ‘North – South’ global divide has produced a threshold moment of reckoning, which should now be faced with courage and honesty, if we are to ever see sustained growth return to the ‘North’ and a cooperative and collaborative relationship with the emergent global ‘South’.



As we see the slow and painful drop in living standards in the ‘North’ and an increase in inequity in nations of the ‘North’, transnational corporations will need to engage with a ‘closer’ relationship with social and welfare needs of people, in order to do business at all. The ‘Impact Investment’ model of financial instruments and exchange mechanism will be a short lived distraction, much like the ‘Carbon Credit’ episode.

Taxation has been and still is a traditional system of holding businesses accountable, however this measure is no longer sufficient for the future role of organisation which supersede the wealth, capacity and knowledge of many nation states.

Giovanni Andrea Cornia et Al, in the book commissioned by the UN Development Programme - Inequality, Growth and Poverty in an Era of Liberalisation and Globalization – recommend a ‘Heterodox economic approach is needed to address global inequity. However, National government monetary and fiscal policies will no longer be sufficient for the rapid global change that is required and therefore if Transnational Corporations wish to engage with the emergent ‘South’ and the opportunities this will afford them, they will need to shoulder more of the responsibility for creating, and implementing and providing social benefit and welfare within all the countries they have operations, otherwise risk being left out altogether.

By the same token, as UK and European countries struggle through this long slow period of recovery, transnational corporations based in or operating from these countries should not be extended further tax incentives to engage or invest in projects and businesses that will benefit society, but rather they need to

develop strategies and begin to take corporate social and welfare responsibility that is commensurate with their size, profitability and global influence.

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# Marie-Louise Rossi

## 1956 - 2014

Marie-Louise Rossi died peacefully on 27 October. Despite years of difficulty from misdiagnosed cancer, she had been determined not to appear a victim, pushing her body beyond the limit in pursuing her life of so many parts, particularly family and friends, politics and Faith, and her professional career in insurance.

In the City, Marie-Louise was a pioneer for women. For a decade CEO of the international wholesale insurance representative body, she inspired the Reinsurance Directive. Her mastery of geo-politics - including a more evolved grasp than most of the current Cabinet's of the post-1945 post-Westphalian global order - and of the technicalities of insurance was complemented by, for example, detailed knowledge of environmental policy.

Most readers of course knew Marie-Louise through her politics for which there were two big formative influences: family and Roman Catholicism, the latter itself informed and deepened by exceptionally insightful understanding of the First Century. She saw post-1945 European construction in part as ecumenical triumph over totalitarian devilry.



She was immensely proud of both her parents' professional achievements. Circumstances increasingly made her own choices a modern equivalent of those made by her journalist paternal grandfather: rather than indulge Italy's Fascists, he chose

economically straightened but ethically uncompromised life in London.

In other times, Marie-Louise would have headed towards the Cabinet but she was far too principled to develop a Tory political career by even pretending to indulge, after 1997, the Tories' pandemic Europhobia and growing Marxist materialism.

Her political début had been in a One Nation pro-Europe Conservative party and she admired Ted Heath. That never meant being soft on Marxism, the political opposite of liberalism. As a Westminster councillor, for example, she was indefatigable in cleaning out ILEA's Marxist mess. And, on one of so many eventful international tours, she could in a clumsily bugged DDR hotel room - her will was stronger than theirs and, when apt, she had an hilariously impish sense of drama and the absurd - dish it to the Stasi by prolonged gushing about cosmetics.

Active in the Pro-Euro Conservative Party in 1999, she then led its merger into the LibDems, always retaining the warmest regard for Charles Kennedy.

Until the Coalition Government, she was happy and fulfilled in the LibDems, whether on the Federal Executive, standing in 2005 as a super-enthusiastic Candidate in Cities of London and Westminster, helping younger women to get established, rescuing the European Movement and generally helping out with no "Tory" sense of entitlement. Indeed, LibDems who thought her "really" a Tory over-simplified: in some ways she out-liberalled the LibDems, for example wanting rather faster and bolder constitutional modernisation.

For her, and others, the Coalition's Europhobia was by 2012 intolerable. Following the Tories' departure in 2009, the EPP was an absence in British life there was an emerging duty to seek to restore - something we could actually do and not such a jump as there is, through British eyes, much in common between parts of the EPP and of ALDE - and she was prominent in writing the early chapters.

Marie-Louise's private character assessments were accurate, compassionate and, sometimes, as gently iconoclastic as her Faith allowed. She was good at keeping friends, she was overwhelmingly benign and she wanted her life to be useful as, of course, it was.

So many of us would so much rather still have her than wonderful memories of her but, more than a very few can yet know, if Britain's status in the EU is normalised, Marie-Louise will be one of the heroines.

***Dirk Hazell: Chairman British Committee, EPP***

Very sorry to hear that Marie-Louise lost her battle with ovarian cancer. She was extremely helpful and supportive to me and all of us in our Westminster and City of London Lib Dems campaign leading up to 2010, having stood for parliament herself in the Borough in 2005. And she never said a word about her illness.

***Mark Blackburn***

# The Chilcot 'Report'

The long-awaited Chilcot inquiry into the Iraq War will not be published until after the general election in May. In a letter to Sir John Chilcot, Nick Clegg described the decision as "incomprehensible". Here is the full text of his letter:

*I read your letter providing an update on progress with the Inquiry you chair into the United Kingdom's role in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. I was disappointed to read its content, however, and find it extremely frustrating that the findings of this Inquiry will not be made public in days and weeks, but potentially months.*

*When the independent Inquiry was first set up in 2009, the then Prime Minister Rt Hon Gordon Brown MP stated in the House of Commons that the final report would be published within a year. However nearly six years on members of the public, soldiers and their families affected by the war are still waiting for closure.*

*I welcome your efforts to ensure the inquiry has been methodical, rigorous and fair in its approach. I also support your efforts to allow individuals criticised in the report to see the draft criticism and make representations to the Inquiry before publication. However, neither administrative processes nor a constant back and forth between the Inquiry and witnesses criticised should frustrate an independent report so important to the country's future from being published as soon as possible.*

*The public have waited long enough and will find it incomprehensible that the report is not being published more rapidly than the open ended timetable you have now set out. We need to see a much clearer and more defined timetable, known publicly, with strict deadlines and a firm date for publication. If the findings are not published with a sense of immediacy, there is a real danger the public will assume the report is being 'sexed down' by individuals rebutting criticisms put to them by the Inquiry, whether that is the case or not.*

*The Inquiry into Iraq will both resolve the issues of the past, and set the tone for future British foreign policy. We cannot wait any longer for these lessons to be learned.*

The Liberal Democrats have set up a petition calling for publication of the Chilcot report. A link to the petition is at: <http://change.libdems.org.uk/chilcot>

## Diplomatic Reception

**National Liberal Club**

**4<sup>th</sup> March 2015**

Once again, the ever popular Diplomats' Reception will take place at the National Liberal Club on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2015. Join Tim Farron and the usual suspects imbibing before the serious business of the general election...

Tickets cost £25.00 and are available from Wendy Kyrle-Pope at 1 Brook Gardens, London SW13 0LY.

# ASYLUM SEEKERS

Suzanne Fletcher

I've put this together for people to send to organisations and people who are concerned with issues around asylum seekers, natural justice, and human rights. Also to fellow Lib Dems. feel free to "Lib Dem ise" it as appropriate. And don't forget to write to your own MP !  
pasted below and document attached.

## CHANGE TO HOME OFFICE RULES MAKING ASYLUM SEEKERS TRAVEL TO LIVERPOOL WITH NEW EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THEIR CLAIMS

As detailed in this letter,

[http://1.facebook.com/1/IAQFUy\\_7oAQEV15JFAZ3zLhkfrs7DAK2nqnCb37AnIWYBmA/www.righttoremain.org.uk/legal/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/further-submissions-letter-13-01-15.pdf](http://1.facebook.com/1/IAQFUy_7oAQEV15JFAZ3zLhkfrs7DAK2nqnCb37AnIWYBmA/www.righttoremain.org.uk/legal/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/further-submissions-letter-13-01-15.pdf)

There is now an Early Day Motion, tabled by Julian Huppert MP and already signed by MPs of all parties, urging the Home office to change the rules on submitting new evidence in asylum cases. Please urge people to ask their MP to sign this.

<http://1.facebook.com/1/2AQH6XOfJAQGxkWMwyhwQu-ovbe6PKSOHW1TkkFxKhtvOrg/www.parliament.uk/edm/2014-15/714>

Sarah Teather MP has put down a parliamentary question as follows :

“To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for what reasons her Department decided that further submissions on asylum and human rights cases must be made in person in Liverpool; with which bodies her Department consulted before making this decision; and what assistance her Department will provide to help individuals travel to Liverpool to make such submissions.”

There is an article in this morning's Independent here :

[http://1.facebook.com/1/IAQFriaHuAQH9EDvNFxhJlr\\_YqPrIYRLRhZPlyJOhurGp0A/www.independent.co.uk/incoming/asylum-seekers-set-to-be-forced-to-travel-hundreds-of-miles-to-submit-documents-to-home-office-9993667.html?origin=internalSearch](http://1.facebook.com/1/IAQFriaHuAQH9EDvNFxhJlr_YqPrIYRLRhZPlyJOhurGp0A/www.independent.co.uk/incoming/asylum-seekers-set-to-be-forced-to-travel-hundreds-of-miles-to-submit-documents-to-home-office-9993667.html?origin=internalSearch)

I have written two articles here :

[http://1.facebook.com/1/eAQHh5riTAQEEOtQMhH-WqQxz-OxXxgvt5dIm\\_dxkgJQpTw/www.ld4sos.org.uk/archives/349](http://1.facebook.com/1/eAQHh5riTAQEEOtQMhH-WqQxz-OxXxgvt5dIm_dxkgJQpTw/www.ld4sos.org.uk/archives/349)

<http://1.facebook.com/1/fAQFw59s8AQFAywWEzvqkI0l7t10KfMu4ittSpLqAIFgb-g/www.ld4sos.org.uk/archives/351>

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[https://www.facebook.com/n/?groups%2F6806343091%2F10153090876693092%2F&aref=10072865&medium=email&mid=b2ad5e5G5af4b135aa99G99b321G96G4fd1&bcode=1.1421924538.Abk8\\_O5-OII\\_Wkho&n\\_m=lockharthastings%40btconnect.com](https://www.facebook.com/n/?groups%2F6806343091%2F10153090876693092%2F&aref=10072865&medium=email&mid=b2ad5e5G5af4b135aa99G99b321G96G4fd1&bcode=1.1421924538.Abk8_O5-OII_Wkho&n_m=lockharthastings%40btconnect.com)

Suzanne Fletcher

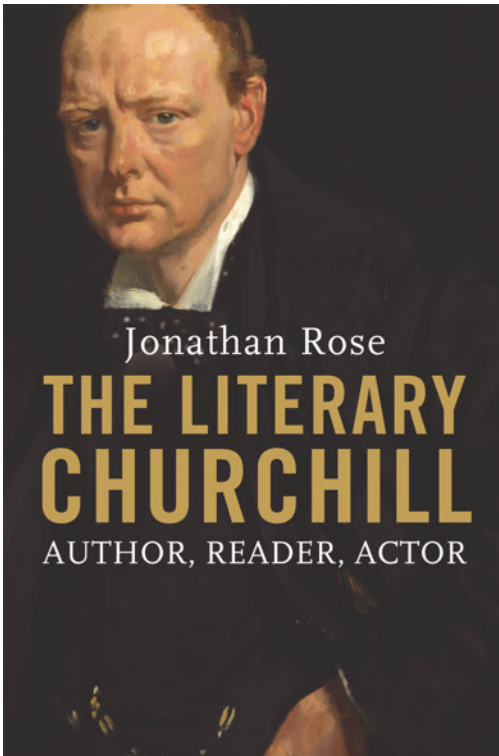
(posted in the Liberator facebook page)



# REVIEWS

**The Literary Churchill, author, reader, actor,**  
**by Jonathan Rose.**  
**Yale University Press 2014**  
**isbn 978 0 300 20407 0**

Where does one start in quoting the wit and wisdom of Winston Churchill? *“History will bear me out, particularly as I shall write that history myself”*. Rose points out that Churchill could have made a living as a writer if not as a politician – and indeed did. But Rose’s approach to Churchill is as a writer and how his reading and his love of theatre shaped and developed his career. In this, Rose hopes to be breaking new ground in the multitude of books on Churchill and provides us with another highly readable account of the man in the course. Bugger Boris, read Rose.



An aside, Simon Heffer’s *Why it’s time to debunk the Churchill myth* in the *New Statesman* of 15<sup>th</sup> January tells us nothing new. The mistakes of Churchill’s career are well catalogued – including those of the Second World War – the decision to try to defend Greece instead of mopping up the Italians in Libya amongst others. Political decision making invariably involves fire-fighting and you get it wrong often. It’s a useful catalogue, but it tells us more about the *New Statesman* and Labour than anything new about Churchill. In criticizing Churchill’s handling (as Home Secretary) of the Tonyandy riots and suffragettes, Heffer adds *it was also in this period in his life that he showed a close interest in eugenics,*

*worried as he was about the physical degeneracy of “the race”*. Weren’t those closest to the *New Statesman* and Fabianism amongst the main advocates of eugenics at that time (and indeed after)? Rose tells us that H.G. Wells had sent Churchill a copy of *A Modern Utopia* in 1906 and that Churchill had praised Wells *for tackling controversial and marriage issues*. Churchill read Wells voraciously and knew him socially; his books echo throughout Churchill’s words.

I will conclude with a well known piece of Churchillian drama, for I don’t think there is a contemporary Liberal who could advise us better. Rose tells us that *The hero always resist evil, never surrenders, forgives his defeated enemies, and deals honestly and charitably with everyone. Or, as Churchill formulated it:*

*IN WAR: RESOLUTION*  
*IN DEFEAT: DEFIANCE*  
*IN VICTORY: MAGNANIMITY*  
*IN PEACE: GOOD WILL*

I can’t think of a better message for Liberals to go forward with in the present.

**Stewart Rayment**

**Corporate Political Behavior: Why Corporations Do What They Do In Politics by Robert Healy**  
**Routledge 2014**

Robert Healy has the peculiarly American job of being a lobbyist: anyone can hire him to advocate their cause before political actors. Many of his clients have been corporations, and he draws on this experience in creating a theoretical framework to explain their political behaviour. According to Healy, companies exist in three worlds: internal, market and non-market (e.g. political, legal, media). How well they perform in each of these will determine whether they are a survival company, steady at the helm, or a first mover. Emphasizing the importance of a corporation’s mastery of the non-market world, Healy places market giants such as Apple in the ‘steady at the helm’ category for their failure to actively engage with politics. He provides many examples of companies being forced to develop lobbying strategies to protect their economic interests.

In 2002, the US Department of Defence asked companies to bid for the contract to provide the President’s helicopter. Sikorsky had made the helicopters for generations and assumed its long-standing relationship would automatically earn it the contract over Lockheed, who had never built a helicopter before. Sikorsky hadn’t counted on Lockheed’s advanced political skills in getting support

from foreign heads of government and US senators. It suddenly had to recruit a political strategy department to compete. Healy claims that today's corporations should know the power of the non-market world and not be caught by surprise.

More active participants can achieve tax breaks, more favourable labour agreements and encourage growth along the supply chain. Corporations who engage in a network of meetings and campaigns with political representatives and staff could get broad support. Healy believes every business needs to build up political 'clout' far in advance of new situations which demand a change in policy.

This is an in-depth analysis of how corporations can make the American political machine work to their advantage. This is directly relevant to any business which trades in the US, and the general principle that corporations do not exist in a market bubble is true in any country. For an outsider, this book is also an important insight into one way of doing politics. We should be asking ourselves whether American-style negotiation, collaboration and public battles would improve or cloud political participation and accountability in the UK.

**Eleanor Healy-Birt**

**Indonesia etc. exploring the improbable nation, by Elizabeth Pisani.**  
**Granta 2014 £18.99**  
**isbn 978184708642**

Some while ago, whilst idly surfing the LI website I came across a reference that former president of Indonesia, Suharto was an individual member – the reference can no longer be found, Martin Lee is our only known individual member. I was surprised, because I recalled him as leader of a military dominated government, brutal in its suppression of Communists, who would later invade East Timor. LI could throw no light on the matter – but thought it unlikely – could the worm have turned?

LI has the Partai Demokrat as observer member in Indonesia (but they have not been active in the last 2 years) of now ex President SBY. While in CALD the member is the PDI-P of the new president Jokowi, who were present at the LI Exec in Hong Kong through CALD.

I know next to nothing of Indonesia; it has the largest Moslem population in the world, but four other official religions (discounting the animism and ancestor worship otherwise widely practiced). Having

antecedents in the Majapahit empire in the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the former Dutch East Indies were occupied by the Japanese, who were possibly worse than the Dutch, whom it was quite clear, were not welcomed back after WW2. Like Russia and China, is it an old imperialism? Nationalists took over at the end of WW2, first under Sukarno, (perceived as too leftwing by the West, and with imperial ambitions against Malaysia) who was ousted by Suharto.

As we go to press, the news from Indonesia is of the executive of six drug mules, which has not unreasonably, outraged the world. Mark Rutte has recalled the Netherlands ambassador in protest, since one of the victims was a Dutch national. Steve Yolland had flagged this up on his blog, [wellthisiswhatithink.com](http://wellthisiswhatithink.com) saying that that the Jakarta Times had criticised this draconian (& American-led) policy was '*an impressive example of how far this once authoritarian society has come in recent years*'.

That alone tells us something. Indonesia is clearly a country we need to know more about. By virtue of its size alone it is among the coming nations. It is on the fault line of conflicts with radical Islam. Pisani as a journalist in the field has chosen to explore the country widely and gives us an entertaining introduction telling us more about the people than we might get from a drier academic text, which, for example, might tell us about the multiplicity of environmental laws, but miss the chaos of the system on the ground. We worry about the Amazon, but forget about Indonesia. Time to rethink all that and *Indonesia etc.* is an excellent introduction.

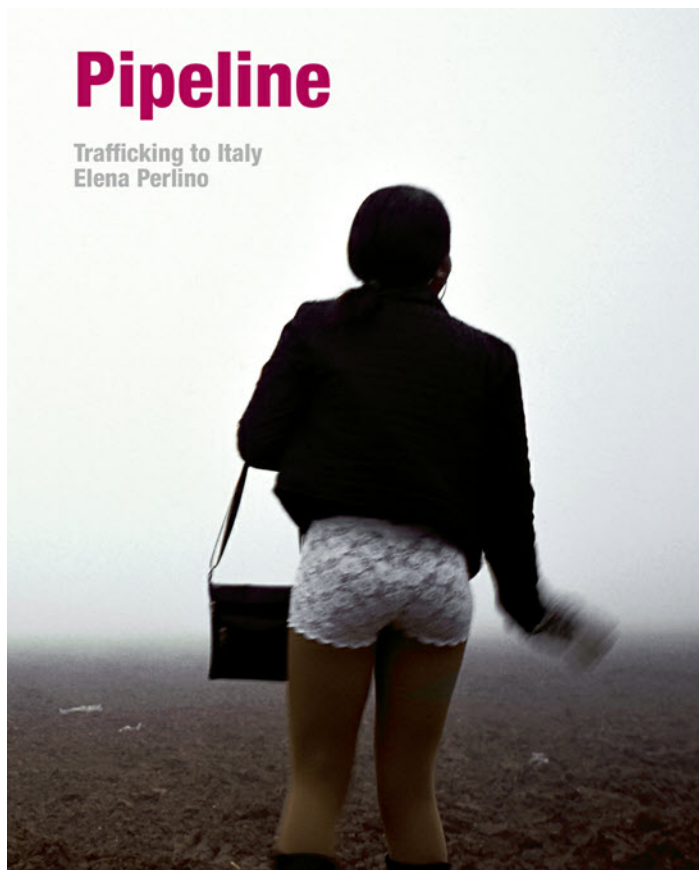
**Stewart Rayment**



**Pipeline, Trafficking to Italy,  
Photographs by Elena Perlino  
Schilt Publishing 2014  
isbn: 9789053308240**

**The Hopkins Manuscript,  
by RC Sherriff  
Persephone 2005  
isbn 1903155487**

Je suis Nigeria, but the country is not only beset by terrorists thinking that they act in the name of God. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime has placed Nigeria on its list of the eight countries with the world's highest rate of human trafficking. Italy is the destination of many women who end up trapped in prostitution, and Elena Perlino has spent many years gaining their confidence and photographing them. Her work took her through Italy back to Benin City. This is the area of work that Lynne Featherstone has focused in her ministerial career, which we hope will continue, and the subject matter (from an Indian perspective) of a recent LIBG Forum. So here is some evidence from the coalface to back that work up.



I'm not sure if a book is the perfect medium for this as photographic work, except in keeping the argument Alive (examples are featured throughout the reviews). I sense a very powerful exhibition, but between two covers the work struggles – or is this difficulty with dealing with the subject matter? What has to be dealt with is the criminality that feeds off of the sex worker and their client, but in the wider context, the imbalance of wealth and power across the world.

**Stewart Rayment**

RC Sherriff is probably best known for his film scripts – *The Invisible Man*, *Goodbye Mr. Chips*, *The Dam Busters*... one could go on. *The Hopkins Manuscript* is a curious novel – a disaster story, within the canon of science fiction, but failing to really grasp the science. Furthermore, first published in 1939, it seems oblivious to the very real disaster that was upon us. Two thirds of the way through, Hopkins interjects 'I had been so insanely obsessed with my own misfortunes that I had given no thought to other tortured souls that may have survived' (a near collision of the Earth and Moon, and its consequences). Hopkins is not a person one warms to at first, and despite its rarity, the archaeologists who have uncovered the manuscript regret that it is of little value, despite its length, in throwing light on the disaster. Indeed, when republished as *The Cataclysm* in the 1950s, it was severely edited.

None of this detracts from Persephone restoring the full story, which rather, throws light on the human condition. In fact, had the 'Royal Society of Abyssinia' given more thought to the document that they had discovered, it told them a great deal of 'the final, tragic days of London' despite being set in rural Hampshire for most of its length. Politics get a short shrift – those responsible for the immediate post-cataclysm reconstruction are 'hard-working, level-headed, modest men'. John Rawlings, the Prime Minister, may even be based on a meld of the early Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson (I'm not sure they would tie in with Sherriff's conservatism; I don't really see Baldwin or Chamberlain). But 'worthless adventurers' would follow in their suit. Hopkins makes great strides towards recovery, but this is undone by the ambition and greed of others. It is worth reflecting that most of Europe was lead by right-wing populists in the 1930s; democracy was at low ebb, and the likes of Mosley would strut the stage in those countries where democracy still prevailed.

Michael Moorcock considers *The Hopkins Document* as filling the void between H.G. Wells and John Wyndham in British science fiction. Hopkins is irritating, but nonetheless, compelling – once started, you won't put the book down.

**Stewart Rayment**



So I've now run the gamut of stuffing chicken and fish with fruit – primarily sour cherries, and walnuts with wonderful results, serving these with badymjan kyuryusyu – an aubergine 'salad' rather like a ratatouille, and balgabag plov – a pumpkin pilaf. Yum yum.

I found the arishta – a meatball & noodle soup, rather bland when cooking, but the sarymsagly – a garlic yogurt, and common condiment with Azerbaijani food, lifted it. I might try a light vegetable stock instead of plain water when I next make it.

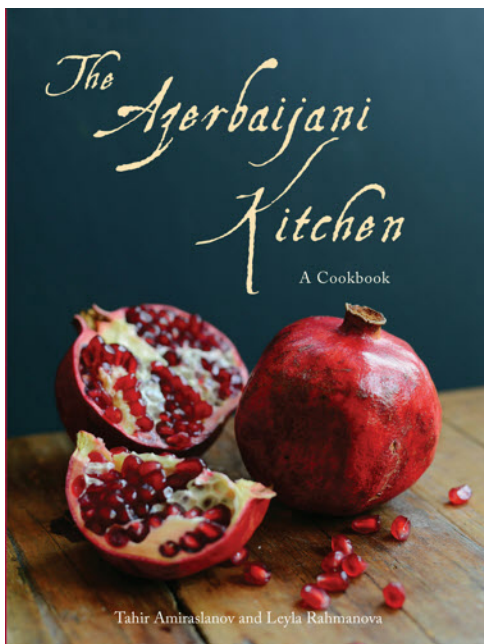
**The Azerbaijani Kitchen a cookbook by Tahir Amiraslanov & Leyla Rahmanova. Saqi 2014 £20.00**

Apart from getting my tongue round the title, I was worried when I first looked at this book. There seemed a lot of offal – not that this bothered me in itself, rather, where would I find a butcher that supplied them? Forget your supermarkets (if you still use them – small is beautiful), but these days I see little other than liver, kidneys, a seasonal haggis (and will my family eat those?) I discussed this with my butcher; reputedly, there are now only 36 butchers that stock tripe in the Manchester area. He told me that it would probably be necessary to go to a slaughterhouse to obtain the innards of a hogget, and that for the likes of himself, the cost was prohibitive, because they would have to be transported separately from other meat. One wonders how much regulations of this kind account for the lack of diversity?

Here's the badymjan kyuryusyu. Stick the aubergines (6 large), green peppers (2) and tomatoes (6) in the oven for about 20 minutes at 180°C then peel them & chop finely (the tomatoes need less time for this, & I'd use more of them). Fry the onions (6 finely chopped). Add the vegetables when the onions are soft, season & cook over a low heat until liquid has evaporated – 10 to 15 minutes, stirring frequently. Serve fresh as a starter or as a side dish, as I did, garnishing with coriander or parsley; it is very versatile. Make lots of it and store in glass jars. Serve it up with a couple of other dishes from this book as a feast in the memory of the Life and Liberalism of Simon Titley – Simon, as many of you will know, was zee great gourmet. He would have loved this book.

*Stewart Rayment*

**Chance Encounters, tales from a varied life, by Tim Razzall Biteback 2014**



Tim Razzall's political career, prior to the House of Lords, was primarily in local government. Internationally therefore, his work with Paddy Ashdown and Charles Kennedy is of most interest – though much more so for its insight into the internal machinations of the Liberal Democrats (on which, his legal background may account for the tact displayed). Essentially, Ashdown's infatuation with the Blair project comes across within our darkest imaginings and equally, that this relationship remained stronger under Kennedy than lay members might suspect. In the end Blair could not countenance Lib Dem opposition to the Iraq War. But nothing is said of the difficulties, voiced elsewhere of getting Kennedy fully on-board the anti-war lobby.

On the business side, there are occasional snippets, for example, whilst many of us were actively espousing disinvestment from Apartheid South Africa, it was obvious that this was having the desired effects long before the system collapsed and that businesses were part of the drive for change. The part played by Consolidated Gold Fields in setting up *'deniable talks between the ANC and representatives of the South African government'* is touched upon. These took place in Mells, appropriately within the former Somerset coalfield and home of the Asquith family. I am intrigued to know more and must look for the blue plaque on my next visit.



**Stewart Rayment**

**Heresies and Heretics, memories of the Twentieth Century, by George Watson. The Lutterworth Press, 2013 isbn 9780718892920**

*Heresies and Heretics* is a collection of essays and the like, presumably originally published elsewhere, though not attributed as such – Watson wrote frequently for *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, for instance. His writing style was always engaging, with a mischievous wit, so it is good to have them in a durable form (there’s many an obituary that it is good to chuckle over years after).

*The Best of British* starts with Michael Gove, ‘an education minister,’ saying that our national history is ‘one of the most inspiring stories I know’ and that we should teach the British to value the liberties they enjoy. Whilst I don’t disagree with that, I might add

that we should teach the Tories to value the liberties they enjoy.

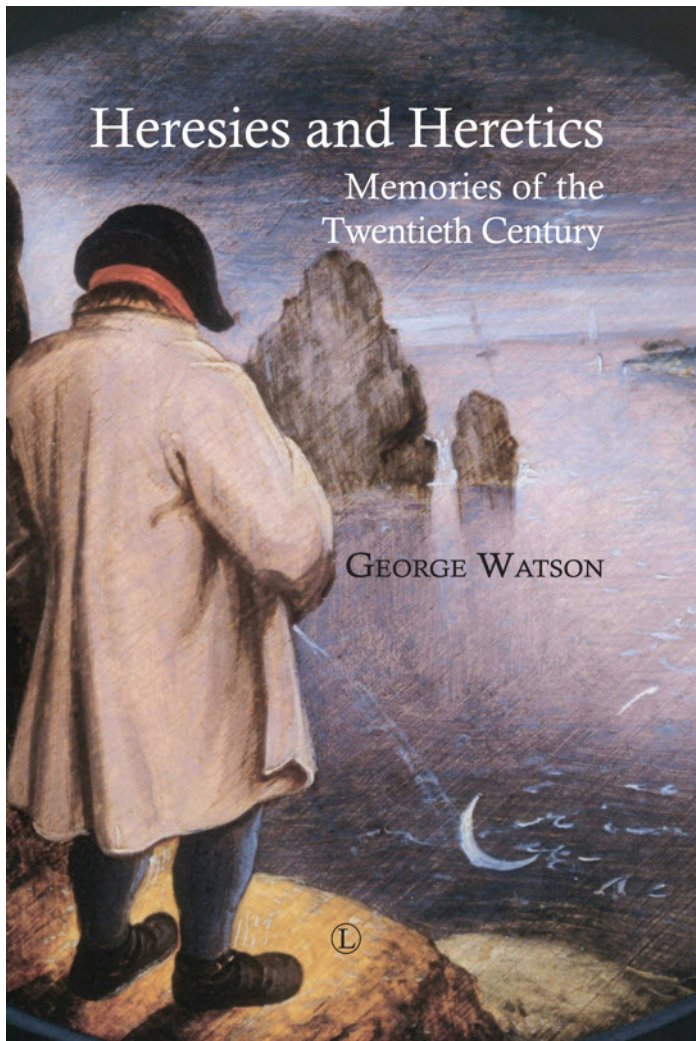
History is the subject of many of these essays, alongside, as you would expect, literature. Watson sees the value of the National Myth, whether it be a Whig, or more probably, Tory interpretation. Our review pages devote much space to challenging the fallacies of Imperialism. However this essay ends with Bagehot in 1876 – *The characteristic of great nations is that they fail from not comprehending the great institutions which they have created*. What says this of Parliamentary Democracy in these grey days?

At the time when Watson wrote *Educating the Prime Minister*, 50 such were counted, 26 educated at Oxford (14 Christ Church), 14 Cambridge, 2 Edinburgh and 11 the university of life. Since then Oxford has added another. None from the Red Bricks or Glass, Watson mourns; what does this tell us about the British establishment?



*Thoughts of a Dead Elephants* and *The Sudden Death of Imperial Guilt*, take a balanced view on British imperialism. Watson denounces the claim that it was racially motivated, shows that socialists were at one time very enthusiastic about Empire, that people want to join (one could add others on the fringe of the then expanding Russian empire). He also points out that it was an administrative burden, and that both the British and French economies have performed considerably better without Empire – heresy perhaps, but a number of myths debunked there. Governments were frequently dragged by the nose into

imperial expansion by bad men – one might name Rhodes and Gordon amongst the lionized, but there were many others, often traders, whilst people like Sir Mark Sykes, a key figure in the mess that is the Middle East, were unashamedly racist. They are short essays with interesting perspectives and well worth reading.



And heretics? A brief note on Churchill may conflict with his literary merits explored by Rose elsewhere to a degree. Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Liberalism as a pleasant surprise*, a name on the title page of so many weighty tomes; E M Forster's is better known. C P Snow – a conservative Communist (aren't they all mostly?), reminds us that politics is about administration as well as personality. There is a particularly touching account of one of his students, Douglas Adams. Is that George peeing at the moon on the front cover?

**Stewart Rayment**

**The Prostitute State, how Britain's Democracy has been bought, by Donnachadh McCarthy.**  
**3 Acorns Publications, 2 Coleman Road, London SE5 7TG, 2014 £12.00 isbn 9780993042805**

I sometimes wonder what a number of people that I've known through politics actually do. A lot of them fall into the category of public relations or lobbyists.

To get things straight, I describe myself as an intellectual properties consultant – that is, I advise and help people in a specialist area of law concerning (mainly) trade marks, patents, copyright and the like. People can do these things for themselves, but alas, in my experience, frequently fall short of the fast moving complexities of the field. On occasions I've employed (or attempted to employ) people in PR or worked for them. The opinion that I formed, which has been backed up by people working in the field, is that they by-and-large know nothing in particular, except perhaps that they may have made useful contacts and may have some experience of the systems in which those people operate.

This is a deeply disturbing book. Much of its content is in the public domain, but Donnachadh has brought it together, exposing the extent to which lobbyists promote a narrow range of vested interests across the body politic, the media, and academia. In addition to this he exposes the relationship between these and the use of tax havens. Whilst we may not be too surprised about the extent of this within the Labour and Conservative parties, the degree to which it penetrates the Liberal Democrats is distressing.

On pages 43 & 44 is a non-exhaustive list of prominent LDs who are caught up in the lobbying gutter. At a recent gathering of Liberal activists, of both social and economic persuasions, I canvassed opinions of those in the list – were they the good, the bad or the ugly? The results were mixed and not always predictably so. Whilst the youngest member of the panel frequently didn't know who the people in question were, older members may have interacted with some of those on the list since at least the 1970s. This tended to promote more positive views, where as more recent arrivistes were seen through from the outset.

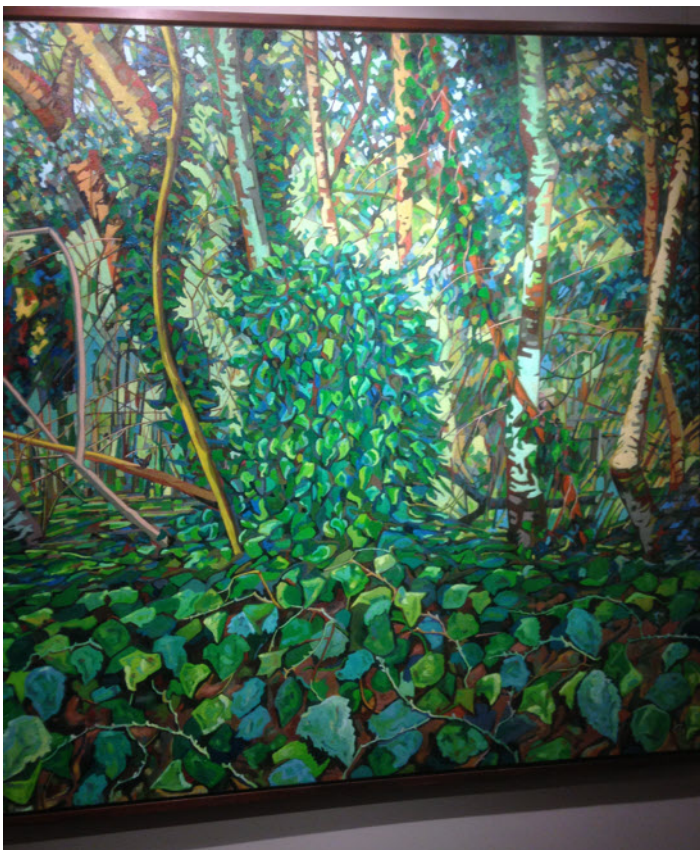
Donnachadh urged me to read on to his final chapter which calls for *The 21st Century Great Democratic Reform Act*. We certainly need it and amongst others, the proposals of the European Initiative for Media Pluralism are very sound. But what of controlling the lobby? Certainly necessary, would it be like asking the turkeys to vote for Christmas. There is likely to be much soul searching in the Liberal Democrats in a few months time; an excellent opportunity for them to clean up their act.

**Stewart Rayment**

**Tales from the Vienna (& Hamlets) Woods**  
Noel Paine at Gallery 8 [www.noelpaine.com](http://www.noelpaine.com)

Noel Paine has been painting for some 20 years now. His desire to create bigger paintings from nature took him from the uncertain weather of the Tower Hamlets Cemetery Park to Italy, but continuity and subject matter remains. Back then, he rented space in Trinity Wharf, where the river Lea meets the Thames and found a theme in London's inner-most woodland. Today, based in Vienna, the woods are more likely to be worked up in the studio from drawings and photographs, but there is a continuity of theme. Noel is a figurative artist, even if the scale of his subject matter (close undergrowth for example), may almost have a quality of abstraction, but at the end of the day, his work is painting.

Noel was uncertain whether to include some of his earlier work in Tower Hamlets Cemetery Park in his current show at Gallery 8, Duke Street, St. James, but there are two large canvasses, *The Wren Tomb* and *The Slaughtered Tomb* (both now for modest £4,950 – prices range from here to around £300.00 for smaller works), which to some extent may be significant in his development as an artist. One of the Friends' working parties had cleared the ivy from the 'Wren Tomb' before he had finished the painting. *The Slaughtered Tomb* shows the light falling upon that monument, as if it were a blank canvas waiting to be framed by the foliage that surrounds it. As Noel puts it *"My work is defined by what I find in a visual sense. I never set out to illustrate a place whether this is Tower Hamlets*



*Cemetery Park, the Campagna in Lazio or the Vienna woods. It is always the colour, the shapes, and the light which are the starting points for me".* His recent *Galvanised Undergrowth* (2014 - below) illustrates this point.

Once in Italy, Noel had learnt and would find the villagers of Anticoli Corrado, Lazio, quite accommodating in leaving even a particular bough of an olive tree in situ until he had immortalised it. He says that the Vienna woods change much less.

Trees and woodland aside, Noel explored the gates and barns of Anticoli Corrado and there is another early work from Canning Town.

Noel Paine's paintings can be seen at Gallery 8, 8 Duke Street, St. James, London until 31<sup>st</sup> January and at [www.noelpaine.com](http://www.noelpaine.com)

The nearest tube – Green Park or Piccadilly, or a pleasant stroll across St. James's Park from St. James Duke Street is down the side of Fortnum & Masons, opposite the Royal Academy of Arts, so you might combine a viewing with a visit to their Rubens exhibition (or before 25<sup>th</sup> January with Allen Jones – another artist with a link to the Cemetery Park, though so far as I know, a less direct one).

*Stewart Rayment*





## **WILL EU 'IMMIGRATION' INTO THE UK LEAD TO UK EXIT FROM THE EU?**

**18.30-20.15 MONDAY 2 MARCH 2015**

**LADY VIOLET ROOM, NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, 1 WHITEHALL PLACE, SW1A 2HE**

If the UK leaves the European Union (EU), leading reasons are likely to be because the case for EU free movement of people and the policy responses to it have fallen short. Should free movement within the EU be considered similarly to immigration from outside the EU? What policy responses can help manage free movement and immigration? How is the public case for free movement and immigration best made? Are the Cameron proposals to tighten EU citizens' eligibility for benefit payments consistent with EU Treaties? If the Conservatives form the next government, and as other Member States are unlikely to agree a renegotiation of UK membership as currently proposed, is the UK sleepwalking towards BREXIT? What are the prospects for mobilising EU 27 citizens resident in the UK and UK expatriates resident elsewhere in the EU to vote in a possible UK referendum?

This timely session will involve LDEG, LIBG, Liberal Democrat members, European activists, diplomats, journalists, and other opinion formers who are interested in the issues under discussion.

### ***Speakers confirmed***

18.30: Welcome:

**Wendy Kyrle-Pope**, Chair, Liberal International British Group  
Chair, Liberal Democrat European Group

18.40: Introduction: **Nick Hopkinson**, Executive Member, LDEG and LIBG; former  
Director, Wilton Park, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

18.45: **Sir Andrew Stunell, MP**  
Liberal Democrat lead on immigration policy

**Sunder Katwala**  
Director, British Future, London

**Camino Mortera-Martinez**  
Research Fellow, Justice and Home Affairs, Centre for European Reform

**Roger Casale**  
Founder and Director, New Europeans

19.30-20.15: Interventions, Questions and Discussion

A cash bar will be available from 18.00-18.30. After the session, participants are invited to continue the discussion in the National Liberal Club bar.

To reserve the limited places, please contact Nick Hopkinson, Executive Member, LDEG and LIBG on [nickhopkinson151@aol.co.uk](mailto:nickhopkinson151@aol.co.uk) as soon as possible.