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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



ROBIN NIBLETT - GARDEN LECTURE

BRITAIN'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

DEATH ROW, USA; HAITIANS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

CASTE DISCRIMINATION; TURKISH ELECTIONS; INDIA

EVENTS

19th-23rd September Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference, Bournemouth

22nd September LIBG/LDEG fringe on Russia, 7.45pm Marriott Highcliff Hotel.

24th September Isaiah Berlin Lecture: EU Commissioner for Trade, Cecilia Malmström on the EU-US trade deal TTIP. The Yale Club of New York City, New York City. 7.30-8.30pm – booking via LI website

19th October Lord John Alderdice - Corbishley Lecture "*Faith, Belief and Fundamentalism*". Wyndham Place Charlemagne Trust – contact keithbest@hotmail.com for final details (will be in the Westminster area).

24th October Scottish Liberal Democrat Conference, Vine Venue, Dunfermline

24th October Liberal Party Assembly. St Columba's United Reform Church, Priory Street, York, YO1 6EX.

29th-31st October 60th LI Congress. México City.

29th October-1st November LYMEC Autumn Congress – Energy Security. Helsinki

2nd November LIBG Forum: *Will the Kurds Now Get What They Deserve?* David Lloyd-George Room, NLC 7.00pm

14th November Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/ Welsh Liberal Democrat Conference. Dylan Thomas Centre, Somerset Place, Swansea, SA1 1RR

30th November LIBG Forum: Israel and Palestine - two states or one? Britain's decisive role. Sir Vincent Fean. NLC. 7.00pm

For bookings & other information please contact the Treasurer below.

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

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Photographs: Stewart Rayment, Eleanor Healy-Birt, Jacob Carlsen, Linda Dorigo.

Britain's Place in the World

Lord Garden Memorial Lecture

Dr Robin Niblett

Baroness Garden: Good evening and welcome. I'm Sue Garden, a Liberal Democrat Peer, which is not quite as lonesome these days as being a Liberal Democrat MP. I'm really honoured to be invited to chair this, the 8th Annual Lecture in memory of my wonderful husband, Tim. He would, I think, be surprised – and I'm sure he'd be delighted – that ideas and issues around security and international affairs, where he had such interest and expertise, continue to be discussed in his name. For that, we have to thank Liberal International British Group and, in particular, Robert Woodthorpe Browne for initiating these lectures, and Chatham House for hosting them. My family and I are truly appreciative and we do thank you.

My main task this evening is somewhat strange, as I have to welcome our speaker to his own organization and his own stage. But it is a very great pleasure to do so. Dr Robin Niblett has been director of Chatham House since 2007, a post which Tim once held. Robin has brought great distinction to the post. He has a great record in international and strategic thinking, from appointments in the United States. He is highly regarded on both sides of the Atlantic as well as further afield, as demonstrated in his award of CMG, which reflects so very well on him and on Chatham House. In addition, I gather he has only just arrived in from the Far East. He is in great demand at conferences and he's been invited to give evidence to committees in the House of Commons as well as the House of Representatives and the Senate, particularly on European affairs. I'm very pleased to see that he is a linguist and adds his voice to the campaign to increase language proficiency in the UK. He's a musician, married to an artist, so very definitely an all-rounder.

He's speaking tonight on Britain's place in the world following the general election. It's at a time when our international role is one on which not all politicians are agreed. Robin, we look forward very much indeed to what you have to say.

Robin Niblett: Thank you very much, Sue. You're right, this is strange to have it this way round. I've become quite comfortable actually doing the Q&A and being able to drop in and out, bouncing off what the speaker said. This time I'm going to have to hopefully

deliver some goods for you to be able to pick up off. It's actually a great honour to be giving the Tim Garden Memorial Lecture this year, so a big thanks to you, Sue, and to Robert, to all of your colleagues, for giving me the opportunity to do this.

It's great to have an opportunity to be able to honour Tim. I always say to our staff here that the people at Chatham House at any one time are Chatham House. It isn't this kind of reputational issue that goes backwards and forwards; the reputation is built in each moment. As I well know, and Victor Bulmer-Thomas, my predecessor and sort-of Tim's successor, well know, he put in place the foundations on which we've been able to build, and at a very important time for the institute, when it really needed his kind of leadership. So it's a chance for me to say a big thank you.

The one thing I want to apologize for is giving the same topic talk as Ming Campbell in the end, because although I'm going to do Britain's place in the world, I'm conscious at the moment, and especially a year after this election, with the referendum coming up, that actually Europe and Britain's place in the world are tightly interconnected. But I don't want to talk about the negotiations that are ongoing right now, or how to win a Yes vote, or whether a No vote has merit. I'm not going to go in that direction. I want to take this opportunity to reflect on the link between Europe and Britain's place in the world. Obviously these are my personal reflections – which I look forward to refining, I might add, as well – but it's a great opportunity to get some feedback and share them with you today.

I want to make a specific argument – or test, I might say, a specific argument with you: that the important changes taking place both domestically and internationally make obsolete the notion of a Britain that can chart its own destiny by balancing equally between its diverse channels of influence. The idea of returning to a sort of neo-Elizabethan age of British foreign policy, which I think has been partly the idea since 2010 – the idea of looking out for the world while downplaying the platform of the Euro-Atlantic base – implied a level of independent choice for Britain that I don't think will reflect the reality of Britain's international interests in the future.

Yes, Britain has notable strengths. I wrote about them five years ago when we had the last change of government. They certainly give it an opportunity to be more influential than most countries its size. But in the future, it's going to have relatively limited resources and it's going to need a geopolitical base from which to ensure its prosperity, protect its security and project its interests. As imperfect as the EU is on all levels – and I know, as a student of the European Union – I think it offers the main source of leverage for Britain in a world where leverage is essential. I think unless British policy-makers accept the fact that the country's strategic strength is going to be linked inexorably with that of its European neighbours, then Britain risks seeing its influence decline structurally and not just temporarily.

So let me start first of all with a couple comments about the decline thesis – how real is it, strengths and weaknesses. Then I want to talk a little bit about where the UK stands in this changing world, and then do a very quick historical look at Britain's adjustments that it made in the past to a changing strategic order. Then I want to argue why I believe the UK will need to recognize that the EU countries and EU institutions must be the first inner circle for Britain's international influence, surrounded then by the transatlantic relationship and reaching out beyond that to bilateral and multilateral relationships.

As somebody who has the opportunity and privilege of travelling a lot, I'm struck by the sense that Britain is in decline that you hear as you travel around the world. I was on this platform with a couple of American colleagues and one Brit, Timothy Garton Ash, in the lead-up to the election. It was all: 'never in 25 years – never in 35 years – have I seen Britain in so much decline'. I found myself, I have to say, resisting the theory as much as they put it forward. But why this debate now?

I think partly it's perceptions. The perception is that at one level, on security, Britain has moved from being on the team on the field to being on the reserve bench of international security. The non-decision to go into Syria and the semi-involvement militarily in terms of taking on IS stand out as examples.

Second, the government has carried out some pretty severe cuts to its defence capabilities, but in particular to power projection – the size of its naval forces, the lack (temporarily, at least) of an aircraft carrier projection capacity. Senior US officials have been outspoken in their concerns about the long-term risks of the UK as a kind of P-5 contributor to international security.

Third, there is the referendum on the EU and the uncertainty this puts into Britain's place in the world, and the insecurity that it brings that maybe Britain even after the referendum might not be able to re-establish its relationship exactly right.

Fourth, we must remember the broader moorings of Britain's influence have also begun to drift. For 70 years, the UK was a privileged nation at the heart of a Western order. It risks being less influential in a UN of rising powers; less significant in a leaderless G20 than in a world when the G7 led. So you can see there is a combination of reasons why I think this idea of structural decline has taken on a certain element of consistency.

However – and this is Chatham House, a place where we do 'on the one hand, on the other hand' – I think Britain actually is doing pretty well, despite this structural decline. These are points I made in the talk. This is a country that has had to halve its deficit over the last five years and yet has come out of the crisis with one of the fastest rates of economic growth in the OECD, one of the lowest rates of unemployment. One of the most popular destinations in the world for foreign direct investment – top in the EU, second in terms of stock only to the United States, ahead of China and Germany in foreign direct investment. It is also proving particularly attractive to emerging markets. India and China are making the UK their main destination for foreign investment. Despite some pretty tough regulatory changes, the City of London has retained its position as one of the top two preeminent cities for financial issues in the world. It's the largest exporter of services, etc.

Even in the international realm, the UK continues to be in the top realm of its capacity to exert influence. It's had a 19 per cent cut in its defence budget but it's still the fifth-largest defence spender in the world, with power projection coming back into its armoury in about five to ten years' time. Despite a 16 per cent cut in the FCO's budget, it still retains a global platform of embassies and actually an increase in much of the emerging world, with particular increases in Beijing and New Delhi, but also some of the mid-sized countries (South Korea, Malaysia, Nigeria, Vietnam, Pakistan, etc.). And as people constantly point out and you all know, but just to remind you, one of the best networked countries in terms of international institutions. I think it's actually used those networks quite cleverly. I think the period of the presidency of the G8 in 2013, Britain used its hub position to push an agenda of open government, tax openness – the tax evasion debate that has now become so prevalent around the world was pushed really from a British

agenda of that time. Cyber-security, internet governance, combating sexual violence – the UK has taken on the role of playing a thought leader on new international challenges. I should, of course, remind us all that we have now one of the largest foreign aid budgets, second-largest spender of official overseas development assistance in the world, and highly respected security and intelligence services.

Having just skimmed on my mobile phone this morning, this is where the Bruges Group report stops, by the way, for those who want to read it – it gives the list of all the good things. Let me now go to the stuff that isn't so good, which is the challenges. I think although the UK survived the financial crisis relatively unscathed, it now faces some pretty serious challenges that will persist through this parliament and potentially beyond.

The first are in the economic space. The UK might have cut the deficit in half, but it still has one of the largest deficits in Europe, close to 5 per cent of GDP. As a result, its debt-to-GDP is now around 80 per cent, and we're spending 3 per cent roughly of our GDP on debt servicing – about a third higher than we're spending on our defence budget. Despite the most optimistic scenarios, surpluses stand quite a long way off, and with some really severe cuts that will need to be undertaken, which at times seem difficult to be able to understand how they'll take place. If there's no tax rises going to happen, we have key areas of social spending ring-fenced, certainly the tools of international influence are likely to be the ones that will be hit as a result. The FCO may have still ended up through the last parliament with a global spread but it is a thin spread. A continuing big shift to greater use of local staff, a gradual loss of longer-term career FCO staff as a result of the change in final salary pensions and other restrictions on compensation, lack of investment in technology infrastructure when that becomes so important in being able to communicate messages and reacting quickly to changing events. And while the MOD has some big investment coming in, certainly military officials and others that I hear commenting on these issues and those who study these issues more closely than I do, point out that we might end up with a lot of good kit but without the troops to be able to carry out and implement and use the stuff. Therefore, our capacity to project might end up being theoretical more than real. Even DFID, with its strong budget, has found its staff cut heavily under the current cuts.

So the tools for international influence are likely to remain under pressure for quite a long time into the future. At the same time, the UK is running a 5 per

cent of GDP trade deficit as well. Our currently good stock of balance of payments, our large stock of overseas investments, are not providing the same returns that they used to in the past, to make up for our deficit in trade of goods, if not in services.

Ultimately, the UK is not a productive country. We do not spend sufficient amounts on R&D. We have aging physical infrastructure, low levels of educational attainment in the primary and secondary levels, a shortage of long-term capital for new businesses. These were challenges when the government came into power; they were challenges that emerged under the Labour government. We still have them today, at the start of the new parliament.

I think the second point I want to say quickly, domestically, is that there's a big question as to whether this perception of decline is cyclical or structural. I hear many people say it's cyclical: when the money comes in, we can go back to doing what we were doing before. But I think this ignores the change in British politics – and not just British politics, politics throughout Europe. The fragmentation in the power of established parties, a rise of parties like the SNP and UKIP – one represented heavily in parliament, the other not, but UKIP with 13 per cent of the British population, with a highly sceptical view of international affairs, not just about Europe but also about the United States. Both those parties are actually Euro- and US-sceptic. They will have a stronger voice.



Robin Niblett & Sue Garden

We're also going to have a UK that spends its time fixated not just on the EU referendum but also on a whole series of constitutional adjustments. Maybe an English parliament; certainly more devolution to Scotland, maybe to some of the other national parliaments, cities. We're going to have more voices involved in British foreign policy. The idea that we can go back

somehow to a period where foreign policy could be made in Westminster, paying attention here and there to shifts in public policy but not being led by them, I think that is fanciful. Ultimately, I think we're going to end up in a situation where there is a structural shift towards a much more cautious engagement in foreign policy affairs than we had in the past – not only because of the economic shortages and our capabilities, but also the changing nature of British politics.

The timing for this isn't great. I want to move to the second point, which is the external context in which Britain is operating currently. The external context holds many positive features – I don't want to underplay them. We'll go from roughly 1.8 billion to probably 3 billion people in the middle class by 2030 if growth continues in the emerging markets the way it's done so far. That will create great opportunities for British businesses, British employment, British jobs and further inward investment. But I work at Chatham House and I've got to point out the negatives as well, and the risks. If we don't point out the risks, we don't deal with them.

I think there are three in particular. The first is that there are winners and losers of globalization. The losers don't want to be losers, and the winners want to make sure that their winning continues. There is a highly mercantilist approach to globalization amongst many countries vying to develop national champions, to protect or cultivate strategic industries under non-tariff barriers. They're also looking to raise their voice in international economic institutions. Britain is going to have to watch out that it doesn't become one of the losers, given the productivity challenges it faces right now.

There is also a much bigger geopolitical dimension to this winner-loser dimension. I think Russia is trying to avoid declining further, being a bigger loser than it's already been. The United States and China are duking out over who is going to be the stronger in the Asia-Pacific. The Middle East is worried about the rise of Iran; if it no longer is operating under sanctions, it can tap into the power of globalization. The UK could find itself pulled into some of these conflicts given its P-5 role, its strong security relationships with the United States, the Middle East, the Gulf countries. But in terms of political cohesion, material resources and international influence, it's going to find this a very difficult call to answer.

Secondly, international institutions are not emerging to deal with the pressures of globalization. The UN Security Council is increasingly in stand-off. The IMF and World Bank are losing legitimacy. The WTO is

paralysed. It means that the risk of spillover from this competition between winners and losers is much greater than in the past. The US – we can talk more about it later on, in Q&A – is ambivalent about the kind of role it should play there. We might hear plenty of American political leaders saying they want to have the US going back to being a strong leader, but I would argue that Barack Obama is probably more in tune with the American people than many of the members of Congress and critics on the right say. The idea of offshore balancing, as people have described it, is much more tempting to many Americans than intervention in the future.

In the end, what we're seeing in this unpredictable institutional environment is countries are grouping together in regions to deal with problems that they find they can't deal with at a global level. So it's not just the European Union but it's the African Union, the Pacific Alliance in Latin America, ASEAN, the Eurasian Union, the Gulf Cooperation Council. Each of these are trying to find benefits amongst the likeminded.

I think the implications of this shift for the UK are significant because the extent to which power continues to drain away from the Bretton Woods institutions, the UK's ability to promote its interests in those institutions will decline. To the extent that we have greater great-power competition, particularly between the United States, China and Russia, I think the UK will find that its voice is more diluted in this kind of unstructured world. In the same vein, however close or special the UK relationship is with the US, it will increasingly become one amongst a number of key bilateral relationships.

The third key external challenge which I wanted to point out is to do with the issue of state fragmentation. State fragmentation is happening all over the world in different ways – even in Europe – but the place where it's in its most violent form is in our neighbourhood to the south, in the Middle East and North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean. We've really seen powerless, ineffective governments and a growing youth population with no sense of opportunity allowing their countries to be torn apart along sectarian and tribal lines. As much as the UK and the US and their allies try to bottle this up, we could end up in Europe with a lawless zone, something akin to Afghanistan-Pakistan, on our neighbourhood, with the risks of terrorism and uncontrolled immigration that could come from this. So as Britain looks to the future, it's finding that its neighbourhood is now almost one of the crucibles of international instability. I think the kind of tactical adjustments that governments have been taking in the last 10 to 15 years don't fully capture the nature of the

changes. Let me come now to the third part of my remarks, which is how has Britain adjusted in the past and how should we think about the future.

Britain is a country that is pretty pragmatic and has made adjustments when it's had to in the past. Winston Churchill talked about Britain's three interlocking circles: empire, the English-speaking world (principally, the United States) and Europe. Ultimately he saw Britain sitting at that intersection between those interlocking circles, equally influential ideally in all three. The Suez crisis of 1956 put paid to that imperial vocation that Britain wanted to remain. It kept the Commonwealth but ultimately it put itself in a position of a junior partner to the US in the Cold War. But the economic decline in the 1960s and 1970s then made Britain realize it needed to commit to Europe at the same time. So while our relationship with Europe has always been awkward – we did not join up, obviously, to the single currency after its launch – we ended up in a sort of uneasy combination of those three relationships, principally the transatlantic and European, but always with that ambition to try to reclaim some of the international – imperial, you might call it, or post-imperial – connectivity.

In the 21st century, we've explored this interestingly. David Miliband really pushed the idea of a 'hub Britain', taking advantage of its NGOs, language, London as a capital city, time zones. He argued that Britain should be that global thought leader for 21st-century challenges. Interestingly enough, the David Cameron coalition government we just had continued that view, this idea of Britain being at the centre of a web of global networks. I think he wanted to wean Britain off, personally, its instinctive deference to the US and also its obsession with Europe. In a way, it was a return to Britain sitting at the intersection of Churchill's interlocking circles, but now commercial diplomacy would be the reconnection to the world.

I think over the last five years there has been some progress in this direction, particularly if we look at China. A wobbly start to the bilateral relationship after the Dalai Lama's visit, but since then Britain has been touted as the centre for internationalization of the RMB and Britain's exports to China have doubled, from about £7.3 billion to £15-16 billion over the last five years.

But really this rebalance has only been partially successful. You would have to pick particular countries to identify them. Russia, far from becoming an energy partner, has become an adversary. The Gulf states are wary of letting Britain too close to them, even commercially now, following the Arab Spring

and Britain's initial support for the Muslim Brotherhood. India has ignored the idea of the special relationship that was put forward in the coalition's initial agreement back in 2010. It has turned its focus really much more to the US.

And things may actually get tougher. The emerging economies – China, Brazil, South Africa – are entering really complex transitions to move into middle-income status. They are finding this transition, as we have seen particularly in Turkey and Brazil, very difficult indeed. At the same time, our relationship with Europe has ended up in the complex environment that we all know and I'm not going to repeat here. We know the roots of the decision of why we're standing in front of a referendum. Whatever the roots of that decision, we're now in a position where Britain is seen, as Herman Van Rompuy put it, as being engaged in Europe with one hand on the door handle, which makes it difficult to be influential in Europe the way it was in the past.

The United States has also become a bit frustrated, I'd say, with the UK. I had one senior US official who described to me Britain's 'self-indulgent obsession with Europe', as she put it. Ultimately, this has fed the diversification of the US' relationships to Germany over the euro, to France (to a certain extent) on security issues and the Middle East and the Sahel. This has compounded the concern about the defence cuts.

At the core of the problem – I suppose this is my point, or my thesis – is that this continuing desire of British leaders to have maximum international flexibility, to have Britain either as a pivot or a hub or a bridge or a connecting node in a networked world – or as William Hague once put it, a hub with many spokes coming out of it – each of these concepts imply that Britain can pursue a foreign policy that can face in multiple directions simultaneously. I don't think this approach works anymore. It's not just that it's difficult in practical terms to have your cake and eat it, in terms of how you face in multiple directions simultaneously, it's that the shifts in world order are coinciding with this decline in the UK's relative material capacities and its ability to apply international leverage.

Ultimately, I don't think Britain can think of itself anymore – and maybe it's an [indiscernible] pensive, they'd say in France – but this instinct that we still could be at the intersection of those interlocking circles. Instead, I think Britain has to commit to put Europe as its inner circle, have the United States and the transatlantic relationship as that surrounding

circle, and then the bilateral and multilateral relationships after it. Why? As I said earlier, Britain has a difficult relationship with Europe and a long and historical Euroscepticism, which makes it particularly difficult for politicians to think of Europe being that inner circle. In fact, I think often that's the reason they don't go there, because ultimately this would involve a commitment that very few politicians have had the courage to take. One has to recognize that British scepticism has been hardened in recent years – one could say, justifiably. The EU's focus on monetary union, which had a defective design from the beginning, has raised concerns that its further integration could disadvantage the UK. Obviously the migrant issue is one that is a deep concern to many people in the UK. It has had an effect on blue-collar wage levels, on social services, even if the aggregate impact has been positive for Britain.

Then there is the sort of hypocritical element. John Major made a good point, which I know others have made as well, in a speech in Germany just recently: while Europeans are telling Brits all the time that the sanctity of movement of labour should not be touched, they don't mention the fact that according to Mario Monti, only about 20 per cent of EU services are allowed to be traded across European borders currently. When you think that services are 70 per cent of EU GDP, that is not exactly the four freedoms that the architects of the single market had envisaged.

So why then put Europe in that inner circle? Basically, I think there are three reasons, and I'll say them quickly because we can talk about them more later on. I think Britain with Europe as its inner circle has the best prospects of leveraging its economic competitiveness internationally. It has the best prospects for strengthening its security. It has the opportunity to maximize its international influence on global challenges. I think the economic argument, in some ways, is the easiest and most obvious, in the sense that as much as people put out – I think just today there's been the latest big missive in the Telegraph about the disadvantages to British business. But at least – I'm not an economist – if I just look and add up the benefits in terms of being able to leverage the weight of a market of 500 million people, at a time of growing global economic competitiveness and market opening, it seems to me the UK is going to be that much better off on negotiating access to these growing markets around the world as part of such a group. Even if not every trade agreement looks exactly like Britain would like it to look, as one of its biggest countries, it has the opportunity to at least design a good chunk of that negotiation to its advantage. It's highly unlikely that Britain will get better access for

its services in big emerging markets, doing it by itself, than it would do within the EU. If I just take one statistic, because statistics tend to get thrown out a lot by the camp that says Britain doesn't get enough out of its economic relationship: in just the one year after the EU-South Korea agreement was signed in 2011, so in the year 2012, British exports increased by 57 per cent in that one year after the EU-South Korea agreement was signed.

Second, foreign investment. Britain desperately needs foreign investment. We don't have the long-term capital playing within the economy and our ability to attract it, which is connected to the fact that we don't just have slightly weaker labour laws, but we also have the connectivity into the EU market and we do not suffer from the disadvantage of non-tariff barriers excluding us from Europe – again, I hear a lot of people commenting that we're still in the WTO, the tariffs would be low with Europe even if we were outside. Non-tariff barriers – product standards, regulations – that's what determines your access to a market today. If you're not writing those rules, you will be disadvantaged.

Again, maybe I'm being over-optimistic here, but one has to go against the grain a little bit. I think the timing of thinking about pulling away from Europe economically might end up being perverse. As I said, emerging markets are about to go into the transition to middle-income status, one of the most difficult transitions you can possibly make. Who knows if they'll make it? Yet at the same time, the EU and the Eurozone is just starting to take the fruits of structural reform, under the whip hand of the reforms that needed to be undertaken as part of being in the single currency. It would be ironic to pull back just at the time when Europe might take advantage of its nine economies being in the world's top twenty most competitive, with some of the most competitive companies in the world as well.

A second point is security. This is where I think it gets perhaps more interesting, to a certain extent. Again, the EU is by no means a traditional security actor. It's not going to defend Britain against an overt military attack. But that's not what we're talking about in today's world of security that I've described. Ultimately, if you look to the east and even to the south and the Middle East, what will be the main determinants of security? They will be, in the case of looking south to the Middle East, counter-terrorism cooperation, judicial and police, border control – all of the stuff that you need to do with the EU, as that is the route through which these threats will move. At the same time, the ability to pool financial resources, do market-opening measures and bring material resources

to those countries in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean that might help them stabilize – again, most effectively undertaken in collaboration with EU partners.

The east is the same. Yes, it's important to reassure NATO members who are exposed to Russia's revanchist outlook right now, through NATO and rapid reaction task forces and so on. But the most effective way of blunting Russia's intentions, I would say, in that part of the world is to help strengthen the political governance and the economic prospects of those EU members and neighbours with the weakest economies and governance systems. Ultimately, this is where the EU is most effective. Legal standards, structural economic assistance, energy union, competition policy, energy charters – these are the tools of resilience which will actually keep British citizens safe, as well as those countries in an independent position. Sanctions, as we've seen, can impose a cost, even if they don't always change policy.

The last area is more amorphous and I think needs to be tested, but I'll throw it out here: the ability to influence global risks, those transnational risks like climate change, pandemic diseases, cyber-insecurity, failing states. How can Britain best play in those areas? I think we've seen already in the climate change space, the UK has leveraged the EU very well. Yes, the EU got pushed to one side at Copenhagen by the big boys, but in the end – and this is in the end process – we're coming to the Paris agreements with now a coming together amongst all three big players (China, the United States and Europe) with Europe's leadership on renewable energy having brought down a lot of the costs of solar power in particular for the future. But I think also part of the difference is going to be in the future thinking not just about climate, the issues of digital markets – where again, the EU will be incredibly important – privacy for citizens, it's also a question of making individual countries more resilient to deal with the challenges, just like we could make North Africa perhaps more resilient, or Eastern Europe in the future. In sub-Saharan Africa, EU cooperation, both bilateral with France on security, but on trade, smart financial assistance, preferential access to the EU market, can be important for sub-Saharan Africa. In Southeast Asia, anti-piracy collaboration could be done between EU military forces who are less powerful on the security front and much more powerful in the soft security dimensions of sea lane surveillance. Even in the Gulf, one of the big challenges the Gulf will face is not just Iran but its own energy security in the future, as they consume more and more of what were their exports. Energy efficiency and integration are things that Europe can work on and the UK could be influential in that

dialogue.

Some of these initiatives will fail. Some might succeed. But I think the UK will have a better chance of success if it puts cooperation with its EU partners in the lead in these areas.

So let me conclude. I think for the growing group of mid-sized states around the world like the UK, whose economic strength will never be preponderant enough, regionally or globally, to really be able to be influential, whose military resources and economic pull are declining in relative terms, being a key player in a strong regional institution is a critical lever for national influence. By the way, if you're a strong country with strong attributes like the UK, you can be that much more influential.

I suppose my bottom line is I think the UK – it's all about relativity. The UK will be richer, safer and more influential by committing to Europe as being in its inner circle of its foreign and security as well as its international economic policy. Should the British people decide – and they will decide whether Britain remains inside the EU or not – if they do decide that it should, then I think British policy-makers need to commit to make the most of this opportunity to increase their influence for the future, both for their citizens and for the country as a whole. Thank you.

Britain's Place in the World Lord Garden Memorial Lecture Dr Robin Niblett CMG Director, Chatham House. Chair: Baroness Garden of Frognal 23rd June 2015

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A game of money, power and popularity:

The road to execution in the US

Eleanor Healy-Birt

The US designed its death penalty find and kill the “worst of the worst”, but it instead created a procedure which rewards only the most aggressive prosecutors seeking the most vulnerable victims. I have been part of the defence team for people facing capital punishment, and know the system is riddled with mistakes, racial and wealth disparities, and arbitrary decisions. Unjust and cruel, this punishment should be abolished once and for all.

The Supreme Court asked states to design death penalty statutes that provided objective criteria for when someone was eligible, and gave jurors the discretion to take into account mitigating factors. It had suspended the punishment nationwide in 1972 because it was being applied in an arbitrary and capricious manner which amounted to cruel and unusual punishment, violating the Constitution. Four years later, it approved the new laws. Instead of decision-makers executing anyone whose crime they thought was heinous, they now have to follow set standards of what makes a crime particularly evil. In theory, that should have narrowed the targets and reduced the likelihood of discrimination. We now know, however, the rule-based approach is as arbitrary and capricious as its predecessor.

A tiny number of murderers now face the death penalty, but their fate depends more on the prosecutor who is in charge of their case than their cruelty in killing. Since reinstatement, Texas has been responsible for almost 40% of executions. But there is even greater variety at the county level, where a District Attorney decides whether the death penalty will be pursued. Harris County (Houston), where I was based, has sent more people to the execution chamber than any state apart from Texas itself. This is not explained by a proportionally higher population or murder rate than other counties. Significantly, Harris County has now lost its place as the death penalty capital because of a change in District Attorney. From 1992 to 2000, the DA produced 12 death sentences a year from 1992 to 2000. His immediate successor halved this rate, and the current one, who I have watched prosecute a case, averages one a year.

The current system does not require the death penalty and has put a lot of barriers in the way of prosecutions,

so it is a very costly decision to seek death. This means only the biggest fans of retribution go down this route, and even they are careful to choose the easiest defendants. I mentioned I saw the current Harris County District Attorney prosecuting a capital case. She was heading into reelection, so wanted a good case to talk about in her campaign. In death friendly areas, judges and DAs frequently boast about their ability to get death sentences to win votes. So the one case she chose that year, and that she personally prosecuted, had to be an easy-win. And it was: a young black man with learning difficulties who had shot a police officer and a passer-by. During her closing speech, the DA said any other punishment for the defendant would be “comical”. Her co-counsel likened him as a wild animal who had been cornered, so he needed to be killed because he would be too dangerous in prison. The majority-white jury returned a verdict of death the following day.

During my internship, I learnt to think of the defence as a battle against a predator who is always looking for the weakest in the herd. There are countless examples of prosecutors hiding information so the defendant struggles to protect themselves. Whilst I was in Houston, the Texas bar decided there was reason to believe a former prosecutor was guilty of misconduct in handling a capital case. Anthony Graves, who is black, spent over a decade on death row because his prosecutor did not turn over favourable information and knowingly used false testimony to get a conviction. Graves was the prosecutor’s personal fixation, and he continues to publicly claim the exoneree is a murderer.

I also remember receiving advice from a defence attorney to keep making requests for disclosure from the DA’s office, particularly when there is a change in personnel. He once discovered a key document that proved his client had a particular disorder constitutionally barring his execution, which had been conveniently missing from the file when this issue was being litigated several years earlier. It seems the new prosecutor was unaware of his predecessor’s strategy in this area and had forgotten to remove the paper before turning over the documents to the defence.

When death penalty cases are expensive and time-consuming, a defence team's best hope is to scare off the prosecution by presenting a strong case. One of my supervisors told me on her first meeting with a defendant she would take down the name of every family member and significant person in his life so she could draw up a long witness list to show to the DA. The point was to show the prosecutor this case was going to be too costly to litigate, and to get a plea deal for imprisonment. A jury is very likely to give a death verdict because this will always be the most gruesome crime they have ever learn about in such depth. Avoiding a trial with a guilty plea should be the aim of every defence, and a defendant's success in negotiations will depend on the strength of their attorney.

Interestingly, Mexican nationals in the US rarely face death despite the disproportionate sentencing of Hispanics being a hallmark of capital punishment. This is because of the fantastic success of the Mexican government's assistance programme. From 2000 to 2014, it prevented the death penalty in 878 of the 1001 cases in which it intervened. The rate of imposing the death penalty on Mexican national is now less than 1%, whereas for US citizens it is around 10%.



The organization I interned for led the assistance in Texas, supporting the appointed attorneys by carrying out legal and factual research and advising on trial strategy. Thanks to the extensive evidence presented by Mexico-funded attorneys, juries have declined to hand out death sentences even in the least-sympathetic killings, such as police victims. This has made prosecutors more wary of seeking death sentences for Mexican nationals. The costs are now too high to justify and prosecutors need to find easier cases to impose the death penalty.

If you murder someone in the US today, the likelihood you will face the death penalty will have little to do with how terrible your crime was. It will depend on whether county you are prosecuted in has a blood-thirsty District Attorney, how important your case is to a local official's election campaign, whether your defence lawyers have the time and resources to give the prosecutors a headache, and many other factors which will decide the relative power balance between you and the government. The resultant system is arbitrary and almost-exclusively targets the poorest and most-disliked members of society. Whether you agree or not with the death penalty in principle, you must recognize that this system is unjust. There does not seem to be any rule we can write that will tame our darkest prejudices. The US must bid farewell to its execution chambers if it wishes to claim it can administer justice.

Eleanor Healy-Birt

Eleanor Healy-Birt worked as an intern for defence in Texas before studying for her Masters degree & New York Bar exams at the University of Chicago.

Bournemouth Conference

LIBG and LDEG are running a joint fringe meeting (the cost of these is becoming prohibitive) Dealing with a Resurgent Russia, on Tuesday 22nd September 2015 at 7.45pm in the Marriott Highcliff's Purbeck Suite. The speakers are Ian Bond (Director of Foreign Policy, Centre for European Reform), Ambassador Witold Sobków (Polish Embassy, London), Jacqueline Minor (Head, European Commission Representation) and Dr Alan Bullion (Senior Analyst, Informa Agra). Sir Nick Harvey will chair the meeting.

Help running the LIBG stall will be most welcome. The exhibition is located in the Solent Hall on the ground floor of the BIC. The Joint Liberal International and Liberal Democrat European Group stall is A11.

As usual our guide to the international events is published in the online edition of this interLib, which is accessible on our website www.libg.co.uk This includes out-conference events which don't appear in the official directory. In view of the forth-coming Referendum on EU membership we have included such parish council matters along with international events proper.

And it has to be said they are well represented. If any of you would like to submit reports of any meetings that you attend they are most welcome, or you could encourage the organizers to do so. Contact details are on page 2.

An Avoidable Human Rights Disaster in the Dominican Republic

Neil H. Buchanan

For far too many people in the United States, the issue of “illegal immigration” evokes visions of people crossing the border from Mexico, intent on taking American jobs and using government services without paying taxes. Those images are either gross exaggerations or outright lies. For example, it is now well established that undocumented immigrants pay tens of billions of dollars in taxes in the United States each year, at the federal and state-and-local levels. Nonetheless, right-wing politicians in this country continue to stoke fear and hatred, and opposition to a “path to citizenship” has become a litmus-test issue in the Republican presidential contest.

As depressing as that ongoing problem is, it is important to remember that xenophobic, race-based discrimination also continues to cause problems elsewhere in the world. One of the most disturbing ethnic-fuelled crises is occurring right now in the Dominican Republic (DR), which received an influx of Haitian refugees after a catastrophic earthquake in 2010. That refugee crisis inflamed long-simmering tensions between Haitians and Dominicans. The Dominican Republic is the richer of the two countries on the island of Hispaniola, and conflict between the two groups has existed for decades. Haitians tend to be poorer, even those ethnic Haitians who live in the DR, as they are pushed to the edges of the economy and live (at best) subsistence existences. Because Haitians tend to be darker-skinned, they are easily targeted for discrimination.

Many Americans saw the excellent 2004 film *Hotel Rwanda*, an Oscar-nominated dramatization of the events surrounding the 1994 Rwandan Genocide in which 800,000 people were slaughtered, including up to three-quarters of the targeted Tutsi population (as well as many Hutu who opposed the genocide that was being carried out in their name). The United Nations and the western powers were aware of the killing, but at crucial moments failed to stop or even slow the attempted genocide.

Although the Rwandan genocide has quite appropriately become an important touchstone to remind us of the consequences of inaction, in some ways its horrors dull the senses to other serious international crimes and humanitarian disasters. Anything less than the atrocities of Rwanda in 1994 can somehow seem

like a minor event. What we need to remember is that early action can prevent matters from getting out of hand. And even if a situation does not (yet) involve mass killing, mass displacements are also serious human rights violations.

Interestingly, what is needed in the Haitian-Dominican situation today is not aggressive intervention of the sort that would have made all the difference in Rwanda. Instead, as I will explain below, the best approach for the United States now is simply to withdraw financial support for the DR security forces. Rather than rousing ourselves to do more, we can simply decide to do less. Before explaining how this would work, however, it is important to explain just what the government of the DR is trying to do.

Many ethnic Haitians have lived in the DR for generations. Although they are “Haitian,” they are Haitian in the same sense that I am Scottish, or that my wife is German. Imagine an exchange between an “American” and me:

The American: “You’ve been deemed not to be a real U.S. citizen, so you have to go back to where you came from.” *Me:* “You mean ... Connecticut?” *A:* “No, where your father came from.” *M:* “Oh, Ohio.” *A:* “Grandfather, then.” *M:* “Pennsylvania.” *A:* “Great-grandfather?” *M:* “Edinburgh.” *A:* “Yeah, *that one!*”

Although it is possible to present this in a humorous way, stripping people of their citizenship—even people whose parents actually did live in another country—and forcing them to return to countries that might not even recognize them, effectively leaving them without a country, is a human rights violation. Yet in 2013, “the Dominican Republic’s highest court issue[d] a ruling that stripped hundreds of thousands of people of their Dominican citizenship, based on a retroactive reinterpretation of the country’s nationality laws.” There could have been no question whom this ruling would affect most, because “the vast majority of those impacted are of Haitian descent, particularly those born to undocumented parents between 1929 and 2010, with an estimated 200,000 people made stateless by the ruling.”

In response to some international pressure, the Dominican government has recently tried to respond to criticism, reportedly offering assurances that no

Dominican-born person will be deported, and promising case-by-case adjudication of claims. Even so, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found in 2014 that the DR had engaged in “a systematic pattern of expulsions of Haitians and persons of Haitian descent based on discriminatory concepts, including collective expulsions.” Moreover, the case-by-case adjudications will require people at risk of deportation to produce documents proving where they were born, which is often expensive or impossible for this vulnerable, targeted population.

Isn't International Law Hard to Enforce? Yes, but U.S. Law—and Funding—Is What Matters Here

In any international human rights dispute, it can be frustrating to try to figure out what could be done, even if there were the will to do it. It is not simply a matter of calling the FBI to arrest a domestic terrorist,

In the current situation, the DR security forces are carrying out the illegal deportation orders, moving people into filthy and unsafe refugee camps on the border between the two countries. The letter below details other worrisome aspects of the current situation in the DR, pointing to a developing human rights catastrophe.

Unfortunately, the Leahy laws are riddled with exemptions and limitations, so it is probably not the case that the United States would be required under those laws to withhold funding.

Fortunately, there are other options. Most directly, the United States Congress could simply decide to exercise the power of the purse, declining to provide financial support to a regime that would use those funds to further a system of mass deportation. Even if current law does not require us to do so, this is an opportunity to pass an important new law.

As the saying goes, money talks. And no matter what the Dominican government might say in response to rulings by international tribunals, the prospect of losing millions of dollars of U.S. aid would focus that government's attention in a way that talking never could. As I noted above, moreover, this would amount to the United States applying pressure by omission—that is, refusing to “meddle in the internal affairs of a sovereign country” to make that country understand that the United States cannot allow itself to be the enabler of that country's human rights violations.

The Letter from Peace Corps Workers Who Have Returned from the Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is the destination for large numbers of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers. Three former DR-based Peace Corps Country Directors recently sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, urging the United States to enforce the Leahy Laws and stop financial assistance to the Dominican military and police. The letter was co-signed by 560 returned DR-based Peace Corps volunteers. Such a letter is unprecedented, yet it is a morally required statement of concern from people who have spent large amounts of time in the DR. Both *The Nation* and CNN recently provided positive coverage of the letter.

There are situations in which international diplomacy is nuanced and difficult. It seems clear that this is not one of them. We have an opportunity to use U.S. leverage to prevent a developing crisis, which has already inflicted suffering on thousands of people, from becoming worse.

Because of the importance of the letter from the Peace Corps volunteers, I am ending this column by reproducing that letter in its entirety:

or working with Interpol to track down an international fugitive. (Even those situations, of course, can become complicated very quickly.) We must often ask, for example, what happens if relevant international law does not exist, or if the relevant countries have not ratified the relevant treaties. What, in any case, can one country do about a problem in another country, within an international legal system that uses national sovereignty as the cornerstone of the law?

Fortunately, that problem is only in the background with respect to the current crisis in the DR. Although there are certainly difficult issues of international law in play, there is a law in the United States that permits (and, in some cases, actually requires) the American government to respond to human rights violations. The so-called Leahy Amendments grant the Secretary of State the authority to withhold funding from the security forces of governments that have violated human rights (or, to be more formal, for which there is credible evidence of a gross human rights violation).



Honorable John F. Kerry, Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

cc: Honorable Roberta S. Jacobson, Assistant
Secretary of Western Hemisphere Affairs
cc: Honorable Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont

Dear Secretary Kerry,

As 560 returned Peace Corps volunteers and three Country Directors who served in the Dominican Republic, we are grateful for the privilege of having spent years living, working with, and learning from the Dominican people. It is due to our deep and abiding concern for the most vulnerable members of Dominican society that we are writing to you about the crisis of statelessness among Dominicans of Haitian descent. We urge you to end U.S. involvement in the violation of their human rights: enforce the Leahy Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and annual Department of Defense appropriations.

The Leahy laws state that no U.S. assistance shall be furnished to any unit of the security forces of a foreign country if there is credible information that such a unit has committed a gross violation of human rights. Given the Dominican government's disregard for international law with respect to the status of its citizens of Haitian descent; the violent track record of Dominican security forces receiving funding and training from the United States; and the Dominican Armed Forces' readiness to execute a potentially massive campaign of rights-violating expulsions, we ask that the United States suspend its military aid to the Dominican government.

In 2013, the Dominican Constitutional Court issued a ruling (168-13) that effectively stripped hundreds of thousands of people, primarily those of Haitian descent, of their Dominican citizenship. This ruling stands in direct contravention of international human rights law—specifically the American Convention on Human Rights, which the Dominican government ratified in 1978. This convention enshrines the right to a nationality and prohibits its arbitrary deprivation. Many Dominicans of Haitian ancestry, including those whose families have resided in the Dominican Republic for generations, were rendered stateless and face forcible deportation to a country where many have no ties whatsoever. A subsequent Dominican law (169-14), which addressed the court's ruling, further entrenched the negation of the right to citizenship on the basis of one's place of birth, and retroactively conferred citizenship on the basis of the immigration status of one's parents.

In 2014, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) ruled in a binding decision that the Dominican government practiced “a systematic pattern

of expulsions of Haitians and persons of Haitian descent based on discriminatory concepts, including collective expulsions.” The decision called for redress to victims who suffered illegal deportations, the denial of identity documents, and arbitrary deprivation of nationality. The IACHR furthermore deemed Dominican Law 169-14 “an impediment to the full exercise of the right to nationality of the victims” and a violation of “the right to identity, and the right to equal protection of the law recognized in Article 24” of the American Convention on Human Rights, which are binding obligations.

The Dominican government's dismissive reaction to the IACHR ruling demonstrated a “shocking disregard for international law,” according to Amnesty International. Dominican security forces have been tasked with implementing these illegal migration policies, according to the declarations of Dominican Defense Minister Máximo William Muñoz Delgado and the head of the General Directorate of Migration, Rubén Darío Paulino Sem. The security forces that appear poised to carry out mass deportations within the country, including the U.S.-trained border patrol agency, CESFRONT, have received more than \$17.5 million in assistance from the United States since 2013, the year that the Constitutional Court handed down its ruling.

The Department of State has acknowledged that Dominican security forces have committed gross violations of human rights, including extrajudicial killings and torture. In one instance, according to a 2013 State Department report, migration agents and National Police officers “forcefully entered the home of 31-year-old Haitian immigrant Jean Robert Lors during a mass repatriation round-up” and beat him so severely—allegedly “with the butts of their weapons”—that he died shortly thereafter. A “widespread perception of official impunity” for such egregious acts coupled with routine discrimination against Haitian migrants and their descendants makes it a virtual certainty that darker-skinned Dominicans will suffer severe violations of their human rights as a result of the government's unlawful policies on migration and citizenship. Indeed, the State Department concluded that within the Dominican Republic, “the most serious human rights problem was discrimination against Haitian migrants and their descendants, including the Constitutional Tribunal's September 2013 ruling.”

It is exactly this sort of financial assistance to security forces that the Leahy Amendments are designed to curtail, as the State Department demonstrated when it suspended police aid to Saint Lucia in 2013. If the United States is serious about protecting universally recognized human rights, we must no longer abet such

actions in the Dominican Republic, much less be complicit in an impending intensification of human rights abuses. In our view, it appears impossible for the Dominican government to move forward with the implementation of its human rights-violating, internationally condemned citizenship laws without involving its security forces in yet more widespread and severe abuses.

We wish to clarify that we make our recommendation not in opposition to the people of the Dominican Republic, but rather against an official U.S. policy of funding and training Dominican security forces that are both responsible for gross human rights violations and positioned to commit many more abuses without a sharp signal from the United States that such practices are unacceptable. By continuing to offer its military aid to the Dominican security forces, the United States is undermining internal efforts by a variety of organizations and individuals in Dominican civil society to protect vulnerable people, defend human rights, and bring the country into compliance with international law. We urge you to suspend U.S. assistance to Dominican security forces and stand up for human rights in the Dominican Republic at this critical moment.

We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to speak with your office about this matter; to this end, a small group of us kindly request a meeting with Assistant Secretary Jacobson at her convenience to further discuss our proposal and address any concerns you may have.

Sincerely,

Art Flanagan, Peace Corps Country Director (2011-2014)

Romeo Massey, Peace Corps Country Director (2005-2011)

Dan Salcedo, Peace Corps Country Director (1999-2002)

The Human Rights Disaster in the Dominican Republic

One of the news stories that has been rattling around in the background over the last few years is a human rights crisis in the Dominican Republic (DR), which was set off by a 2013 ruling of the DR's highest court that Dominicans of Haitian descent -- even those from families who had lived in the DR for generations -- were to be stripped of their citizenship. I recall seeing a few headlines and worrying about what might be happening, but the media's coverage of the situation was sufficiently muted that I had not consciously engaged with any of the details.

As it happens, one of my recent former research assistants, who is now an attorney here in Washington, is a former Peace Corps volunteer who spent two years in the DR before starting law school. He and some other Peace Corps alums have recently been trying to bring the situation in the DR to the attention of U.S. policymakers. Having done some background research on the issues involved, I devoted my new *Verdict* column to the story. The situation is truly scary.

Because the Dominican Republic is the less poor of the two countries on the island of Hispaniola, ethnic Haitians have migrated to the DR over the decades. The situation has led to a fairly predictable set of social and economic problems, with different skin colours and different languages leading to systematic discrimination against Dominicans of Haitian descent. Still, the DR has been their home, both as a matter of fact and law. In 2013, the court ruling that I noted above set off a completely unnecessary internal crisis. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights ruled against the DR in 2014, finding that the government had engaged in "a pattern of expulsions," including "collective expulsions."

My *Verdict* column describes some of the details of the situation, noting in particular an important letter that the returned Peace Corps volunteers sent earlier this month to U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. The DR has predictably responded by saying, in essence, that those do-gooders should keep their noses out of a sovereign country's affairs, and that there is nothing to worry about in any event. In the column, I endorse the idea that the U.S. Should respond by saying, "You know what? You're right. We will stay out of your affairs. And we'll take our foreign aid with us on the way out the door."

Before the Peace Corps returnees sent their letter to Secretary Kerry, another group letter was sent to President Obama in July. Written by Florida International University Professor of Law Ediberto Roman, and signed by over 100 professors at American law schools (including my GW colleagues Eleanor Brown, Burlette Carter, and Robert Cottrol), the letter calls on the president to issue a public statement and take some diplomatic steps to stop the crisis before it gets worse.

The DR's embassy in Washington has responded by claiming that this is all a big mistake. The ambassador even sent a letter to Professor Roman, stating that the ambassador wanted to "clarify the scandalous and misleading facts" in the letter that Professor Roman had drafted. (I cannot find that letter on-line, but it is

certainly not confidential, and it is being circulated widely.) The DR government's position is, essentially: "Hey, we all have immigration problems, don't we? But don't worry, because we've put in place a process that allows people to regain citizenship, and we even have some statistics to show you that the process is Working." As I explain below, these reassurances are difficult to take seriously.

An article in the PanAM Post on July 1 describes the situation on the ground in the DR. Despite the government's claims that everything is being handled according to the rule of law, there is so much panic among ethnically Haitian Dominicans that many have fled the country, "self-deporting" to prevent themselves from being forcibly removed by Dominican security forces or others.

Two further points merit emphasis here:

First, that PanAm Post article raises the prospect that the DR's procedures for re-establishing citizenship are a sham. A group called Jesuit Service to Migrants, which operates in a border area, claimed that, "[i]n a manoeuvre to confuse and mislead national and international public opinion, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has asked the workers of this office ... to open the offices, comply with a work schedule, but not assist anyone who comes by."

This is an old trick, of course. (I recall a story about a French ruse in the 1980's to reduce imports from Japan by creating a "non-trade barrier." The French government set up a "port of entry" in the mountains, accessible only by smaller-than-standard delivery trucks, with one desultory customs inspector assigned to process the incoming goods.) The ambassador's claim that 290,000 people have requested processing under the DR government's National Regularization Plan, and that "each applicant" will receive a review -- that is, case-by-case review of required documentation -- by the end of August (less than two weeks from now, and only 40 days from the date of the ambassador's letter) is certainly difficult to believe.

Second, as Professor Roman points out at the end of that PanAm Post article, the DR government should not be allowed to hide behind the notion that this is an "immigration issue" in the first place. We are not talking about people who are showing up and now need to be processed under normal immigration rules. Instead, this whole crisis was set off by the decision to take away the citizenship of some Dominicans on the basis of their ancestry.

The ambassador's letter claims that no deportations

have occurred and that no one will be deprived of Dominican nationality, if they deserve it. He adds: "In fact, individuals who have voluntarily left the Dominican Republic are entitled to return and apply for residential status." For the DR now to claim that they are magnanimously allowing people to stay, and that they will allow those who "voluntarily" departed to return, if only they can regularize their immigration status, is truly an abuse of logic. Orwell would smile knowingly.

The misdirection includes the ambassador's assurance that "the Dominican Republic will continue to support its immigrant community, including providing access to free public services, such as healthcare and education." Sounds good, right? Leaving aside questions about the quality of such services, the point of such a statement is to "other" the people involved. It is not, in this view, a story about Dominicans who were suddenly told to prove that they are truly worthy. It is about the DR's "immigrant community."

The letter and policy advocacy by the Peace Corps returnees have started to make a serious difference. The DR government finds itself under an increasingly unflattering spotlight, called out for its actions in dealing with this self-inflicted problem. Although the U.S. government is unlikely to cut funding for the DR in response to this increasingly worrisome situation, greater public awareness could generate sufficient pressure to cause a change in policy, to the benefit of a very vulnerable community.

Neil H. Buchanan is an economist and legal scholar, a Professor of Law at The George Washington University, and a Senior Fellow at the Taxation Law and Policy Research Institute, Monash University (Melbourne, Australia). He blogs at DorfonLaw.org, and he is the author of [The Debt Ceiling Disasters: How the Republicans Created an Unnecessary Constitutional Crisis and How the Democrats Can Fight Back](#).

An Avoidable Human Rights Disaster in the Dominican Republic was originally published on August 18, 2015, on Justia's *Verdict*,

<https://verdict.justia.com/2015/08/18/an-avoidable-human-rights-disaster-in-the-dominican-republic>.

The Human Rights Disaster in the Dominican Republic was originally published on August 18, 2015 on DorfonLaw

<http://www.dorfonlaw.org/2015/08/the-human-rights-disaster-in-dominican.html>

Liberal Democrat's International Office to host busiest conference programme yet in Bournemouth

Harriet Shone

With European and International affairs dominating the political agenda in the UK, this year's Autumn Conference is set to be one of the most 'internationalist' of recent times. With this global agenda as a backdrop, the International Office is hosting its most extensive conference programme yet!

With the EU In/Out referendum expected within the next two years, and neither of the two major parties willing or able to take ownership of the 'Yes' campaign, there is a unique opportunity for the Liberal Democrats to take charge and lead the fight for our continued membership of the EU.

In this spirit, the International Office is hosting a '**Europe Evening**' from 21:00-23:00 on Sunday 21 September, offering Liberal Democrat members the opportunity to hear from the leading voices in the Party on Europe and to meet and discuss how they can become involved in the referendum campaign in the coming months.

The 'Europe Evening' will open with a debate entitled '**Battle for a Better Europe**', with speakers including **Sir Graham Watson**, President of the ALDE Party, **Catherine Bearder MEP**, **Andrew Duff**, former MEP, and **Lucy Thomas**, Campaigns Director for Business for a New Europe (BNE). The debate will cover the vital reforms needed in Brussels and Strasbourg to improve the EU and reconnect it with European voters, the need to understand and engage with British Eurosceptics in order to win a 'Yes vote' and how we can communicate the EU's many achievements and contributions to the British voter. We envisage a lively debate and there will be plenty of opportunity for questions from the floor.

This debate will be followed by a networking reception with the opportunity to meet and speak with the Party's key European spokespeople and those who will be at the heart of the Liberal Democrats' campaign to keep the UK in Europe.

The International Office is also hosting a fringe debate entitled '**Rise Like a Phoenix: International Perspectives on Rebuilding a Liberal Party**', with opening remarks by new Party Leader **Tim Farron**

and **speakers from our sister liberal parties**, including Wolfgang Gerhardt, the former President of FDP (Germany), Julie Cantalou, European Affairs Manager at the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Annelou Van Egmond, Board member Communication & Campaigns at D66 (Netherlands) and more to share their experiences rebuilding after a challenging election result.

In addition to our public events, the International Office is hosting an exclusive programme of private briefings for the diplomatic community, as well as a 'Youth Leadership Programme' for eight young candidates and activists from liberal parties around the world.

With a significant percentage of our 20,000 new members since polling day citing international issues and the EU referendum in particular, as a reason for joining the Liberal Democrats, it is fitting that our international programme is more extensive than ever, and slots in with an array of other fringe events hosted by the international bodies in the party which cover a host of important European and international policy areas and campaigns!

Our 'Europe Evening' takes place at 21:00-23:00, Sunday 20 September, in the Hardy Room, Hermitage Hotel, while our fringe 'Rise Like a Phoenix' will take place at 19.45-21.00 on Monday, in the Granville Suite, Trouville Hotel. For more information on the International Office's conference programme, please contact international@libdems.org.uk.



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Caste Discrimination – An ancient apartheid still practised today

Meena Varma

Caste discriminations is one of the biggest human rights abuses taking place unchallenged in the world today. It involves unspeakable violations being committed against the Dalits – the former untouchables of India and South Asia. There are more than 260 million Dalits worldwide

The word Dalit is one chosen by the people themselves – it means broken people and is now used as a term of empowerment, and is beginning to signify a growing movement from South Asia to the United States to combat caste discrimination. The Dalits are the former UNTOUCHABLES. They are OUTCASTS / PARIAS. Throughout South Asia they are simply lesser humans and as such human rights do not apply to them!

And yet these abuses have continued over several thousands of years – unacknowledged and too often unchallenged.

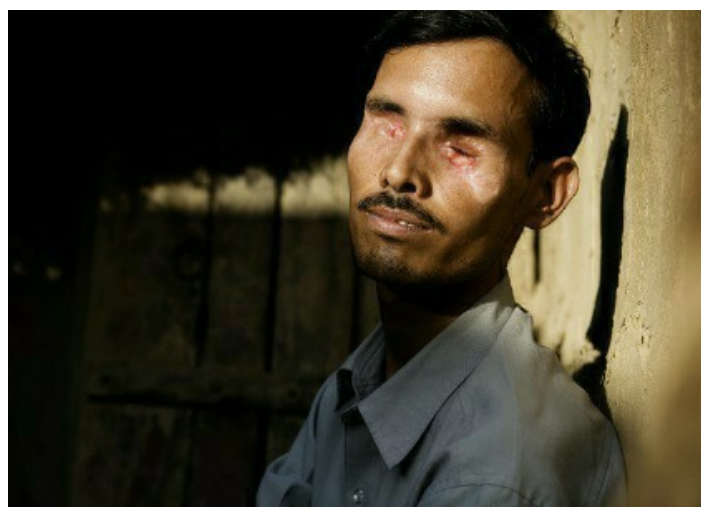
This ‘hidden apartheid’ has been described by the Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, as ‘a blot on humanity’. There are more poor people in India than in the whole of Sub Saharan Africa and the majority of these are Dalits.

Despite India’s much celebrated economic success, 78% of the population still live on less than \$2 a day and levels of malnutrition are almost twice as high as Sub-Saharan Africa. Dalits are at the lowest rung in society, therefore, much more needs to be done by governments, donors and policy makers to protect Dalit rights.

Despite the practice of untouchability being formally outlawed in the Indian constitution of 1950, Dalits, who occupy the lowest position in the caste system, continue to suffer discrimination, violence, poverty and a level of exploitation which amounts to modern day slavery.

Caste discrimination involves massive violations of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It is often outlawed in countries affected by it, but a lack of implementation of legislation and caste-bias within the justice systems largely leave Dalits without protection.

In India, for example, the body of legislation meant to protect Dalits and improve their situation is extensive. The Indian constitution is a wonderful thing - it enshrines and protects the rights of all its citizens - But political will to ensure implementation is lacking and discrimination from village level up to government level continues unabated



Lucknow Uttar Pradesh India 2007 Awadhesh Kumar, 24, was hit by gunshots fired by members of the dominant caste in his village just because he dared to intervene in a dispute. ©Jacob Carlsen

Impunity for the perpetrators of crimes against caste-affected groups and non-implementation of legislation permeates the justice and law enforcement systems. Dalit cases are often not reported, investigated or prosecuted properly. Policemen, lawyers and judges often belong to dominant castes and they are unwilling to investigate, prosecute and hear cases of crimes against Dalits. Very few cases of crimes against Dalits lead to conviction.

The United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recommends with specific reference to caste-affected communities that all states “take the necessary steps to ensure equal access to the justice system for all members of descent-based communities as well as ensure the prosecution of persons who commit crimes against members of descent-based communities and the provision of adequate compensation for the victims of such crimes.”

Business operations in caste-affected countries are at a high risk of being based on the economic exploitation

or seclusion of caste-affected communities and others at the “low” end of the caste hierarchy.

Violations of both national legislation as well as international law, in particular the international labour standards, often occur.

Common examples of caste discrimination in business operations are:

- Exploitation of workers from caste-affected communities, including the use of children and bonded labourers (debt slaves), working under hazardous conditions for a minimal pay
- Discrimination in employment practices – applicants from caste-affected communities never considered for skilled jobs
- Discrimination in the services and utilities offered by an employer, such as housing, health care, and education and training
- Misappropriation of land belonging or allocated to caste-affected communities



Mura, Far Western Province, Nepal, November 2007. Bahadur Lohar, a Dalit, was born to become a blacksmith. He serves ten families and is paid once a year. The caste system has locked his family into a pattern of bonded labour for generations.
©Jacob Carlsen

The division of a society into castes is a global phenomenon not exclusively practised within any particular religion or belief system. In South Asia, caste discrimination is traditionally rooted in the Hindu caste system, according to which Dalits are considered ‘outcasts’. However, caste systems and the ensuing discrimination have spread into Christian, Buddhist, Muslim and Sikh communities. They are also found in Africa, other parts of Asia, the Middle East, and the Pacific as well as in Diaspora communities.

Caste has become an increasingly sticky subject even here in the UK, where there is clear evidence that caste discrimination is experienced amongst the South Asian

diaspora – whether they are Sikh, Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

UK Dalit organisations, including the Dalit Solidarity Network UK, have campaigned since 2007 for the inclusion of ‘caste’ as a discriminatory factor in what was then the UK’s Single Equalities Bill – now the Equality Act 2010 – where huge gains were, momentarily, made.

In April 2013 the Government tabled an extraordinary last minute amendment in the Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Bill to convert the existing power in Clause 9(5)(a) of the Equality Act into a duty to include caste as an aspect of race for the purposes of the Equality Act. Gains were being made to finally legislate against caste-based discrimination here in the UK.

In July 2013 the Government introduced a timetable which set out a series of steps including a public consultation leading to the commencement of caste legislation in the summer 2015.

While an initial stage of research was conducted by the Equality and Human Rights Commission that included a socio-legal review and a stakeholders consultation (published in February 2014: <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/commission-publishes-new-caste-research> the next scheduled stage of the process, to issue a formal public consultation in spring 2014, was never conducted, resulting in the reforms being made to the bill stagnating.

Caste remains a contentious issue. So much so, that caste was appropriated for party gains in the final run ups to the General Elections. The case of Harrow East provides one such example.

Playing the Caste Card: Anti-caste Legislation Manoeuvres in Harrow East

Conservative Bob Blackman managed to double his majority, taking 50% of the vote against Labour rival Uma Kumaran and Liberal Democrat candidate Ross Barlow for the position of local MP.

His unprecedented support may have been related to the controversial leaflets produced by multi-faith group Dharma Sewa Purvapaksha, (DSP) which told voters to pick him over Ms Kumaran (Labour) and Ross Barlow (Liberal Democrat) due to their party’s support of laws banning caste discrimination. Bob Blackman, while distancing himself from the leaflets, voted against legislation to criminalise caste-based discrimination in the Commons.

Yet DSP is not alone in its appropriation of caste as a means to sway voters. The Hindu Forum of Great Britain, the National Council of Hindu Temples (NCHTUK) has published letters and articles clearly urging its members to vote Conservative. An NCHTUK letter said “British Hindus, Sikhs & Jains voting for Labour or the Liberal Democrats is now like Turkeys voting for Christmas”. They were reported to the Charity Commission and after initiating an investigation, the organisations removed the letters and documents from their websites and the investigation was dropped.

According to the DSP, Patrick Forbes, a member of the Conservatives’ policy unit, told the DSP that his party was against discrimination of any kind. But he said the party would “not take any further action to include caste within the provisions of the Equality Act” because it believes there are sufficient legal solutions to caste discrimination already in place. Subsequent correspondence from the Conservative Party stated that Patrick Forbes never issued an official statement and was misquoted.

When asked for its position on the issue, the Labour Party stated:

In 2013 Labour voted for Cross-bench amendments in the House of Lords clarifying the law in relation to caste discrimination... We did so because we believe individuals have the right to protection against discrimination on the basis of their caste or perceived caste, in the same way that they do on the basis of race or gender.

The Liberal Democrats were the only UK party to pledge to implement the much delayed caste legislation in their Election Manifesto.

- ❖ *To tackle the racial discrimination faced by Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people we will..... **Outlaw caste discrimination.***

So where does that leave us?

So as it stands, caste-based discrimination legislation is yet to be implemented in the UK. Victims and potential victims of this form of discrimination still have no recourse to justice. And even if the government decides to go down the case law route, it can only do so by going to the Supreme Court, at a cost of many hundreds of thousands of pounds.

The Conservative Party have consistently parried any requests to confirm whether they would implement the caste clause in the Equality Act as per the will of Parliament - or seek to repeal the duty to do so. It seems only a matter of time that they try the latter.

So whether they be in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal or the UK, over 260 million Dalits across the globe are considered ‘lesser human beings’, ‘impure’ and ‘polluting’ to other caste groups.

We all have a responsibility to act because caste discrimination is a global human rights problem – one of the biggest and most overlooked of our times – which acts against the universal principles of non-discrimination, human dignity and equality.

Meena Varma is Director of the Dalit Solidarity Network UK



MUCHA IN BOURNEMOUTH

Alphonse Mucha was one of the most successful artists of his; so much so, that despite practicing in Paris at its height, *style Mucha* became a synonym for Art Nouveau (a term he never used in respect of his work himself). Certain points of Mucha’s career are well known – a reliable graphic artist, his particular break came on Christmas Eve 1894, whilst correcting proofs at the Lemercier printworks when Sarah Bernhardt expressed dissatisfaction with the poster design for her forth-coming production *Gismonda*. As a result of the work he produced Mucha signed a six year contract with Bernhardt, the kudos of this association brought him a flood of work, and whilst he is not alone in raising the status of the poster to a work of art; more than a century later he provides some of its most memorable examples.

Of Mucha’s politics I can say little. He was a Czech patriot. Much of his work revolves around the Slav epic, in common with many artists in all media of his time. Many of those he associated with in his Paris days, insofar as they had politics, ranged from Nihilistic Anarchism through to a mystical Roman Catholic conservatism – Liberalism, long

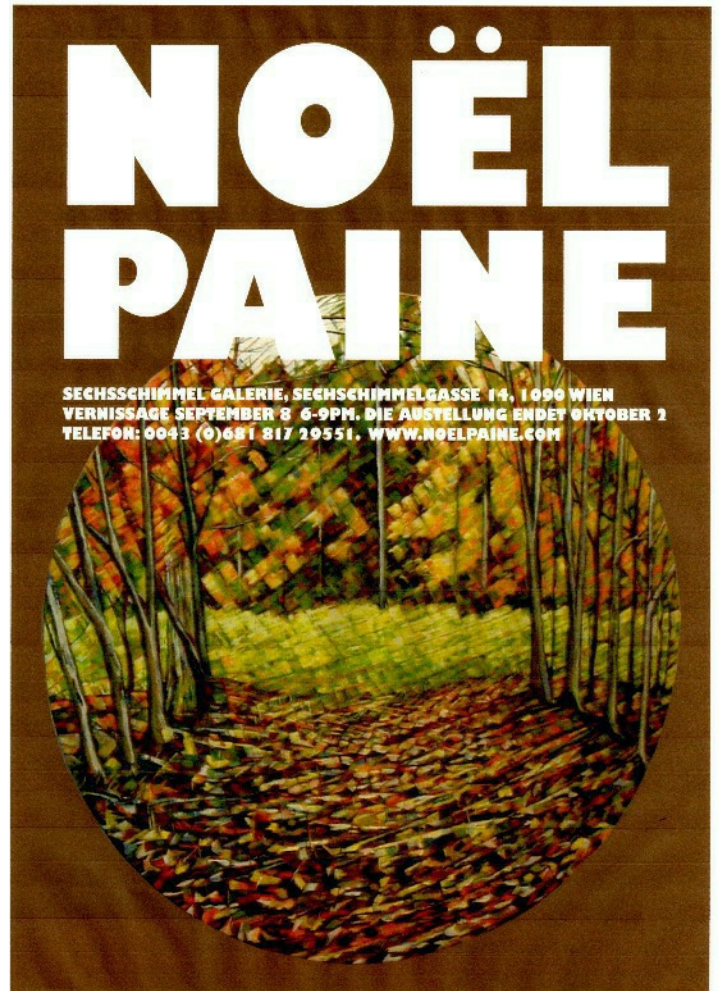


past its revolutionary phase, seeming far too bourgeois for such rarefied souls.

After Czechoslovakia became independent he would undertake public works, design postage stamps and bank notes for his country, generally refusing any payment. A successful artist, Mucha was not particularly revered by the Praha avant garde in the inter-war period, failing to see how their work was often derived from his. Despite his age, the Gestapo took rather more interest in him and their 'interview' hastened his demise from pneumonia. I think it was Anna Dvořák who pointed out that most of Mucha's models in his Paris period were Slavs, and that their distinctive features contributed to his style.

You had the Athena poster on the wall in your student garret, now you can see the real thing. Sir Merton Russell Cotes, whose home now forms the gallery, was a mayor of Bournemouth, though not a councillor at the time (his civic career was, nonetheless, highly impressive).

Alphonse Mucha: In Quest of Beauty runs at Bournemouth's Russell-Cotes Gallery until 27th September 2015



Fringe Meeting at the Autumn Conference

Sunday 20th September 2015
6.15pm in BIC, Bayview 2

Should Britain and the EU recognise Palestine now?

Hannah Weisfeld



Executive Director of Yachad, a UK Jewish organisation which advocates fairness and justice for Palestinians. She was very critical of the Netanyahu government during the Gaza conflict of 2014. She has lived and worked in Israel and Malawi.



Sir Vincent Fean

British Consul General in Jerusalem and Ramallah From 2014 to 2015. He had previously served in Tripoli As HM Ambassador to Libya between 2006 and 2010. He is a Trustee of Medical Aid for Palestinians.



Lord Wallace of Saltaire

Made a peer in 1995 and became the Liberal Democrat spokesman on Foreign Affairs and Defence. He served as minister and whip during the Coalition Government. He is currently Lords spokesperson on foreign affairs.

Hannah Weisfeld and Sir Vincent Fean will discuss the prospects for Peace and how international pressure might help to bring that About. Chaired by Lord Wallace of Saltaire.

This event is being supported by

For further information contact:
john.kelly@ldfp.eu



The 2015 Turkish Election – Back from the Brink A Victory for Democracy

Wendy Kyrle Pope

The month of Haziran (June) is a busy one for swallows and politicians in Turkey, building nests and seeking election.

In June four years ago, when Turkey held its last Parliamentary Election, it was just that, an election. Recep Erdogan's Justice and Peace Party (AKP) won 327 out of the 550 seats, followed by the Republican People's Party (CHP) on 135, the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) on 52, and a grouping of independents (28 of which are now the People's Democratic Party, HDP) the rest.

This year it mattered for, among the expected issues, the economy, unemployment (currently 11% with 20% youth unemployment) and relations with their immediate neighbours, loomed Erdogan's bid to change the Constitution and usher in a Presidential Executive form of government, signalling the end of parliamentary democracy. For this (although as President he is supposed to be politically neutral) his Justice and Peace Party needed 330 seats to call a referendum on the constitution, but, if they got two-thirds (367) seats, they could just go ahead and make the changes.

Turkey's current constitution was drafted under the military government in the early 1980s. Turkey's Armed Forces have been the defenders of Turkish democracy and secularity since Ataturk's time in the 1920s and 30s, and have stepped in from time to time when corruption or political chaos threaten to engulf the country. They are regarded as their "Mothers' Sons". Erdogan has an uneasy relationship with them. In 2008, hundreds of senior military officers received jail sentences in connection with two plots to overthrow the AKP government; in 2015 all suspects in one of these two plots were acquitted due to invalid evidence. Critics of Erdogan and the AKP called these show trials, invented by the Government to neutralise the anti-Islamist influence of the Armed Forces.

Turkey uses the D'Hondt voting method (as do Spain, Poland, Denmark, Israel and Russia), a system which uses a percentage of the total vote to weed out very minor parties and reallocate their seats to larger ones. Most countries use a few percent, Turkey uses 10%. Were this system to be translated onto the UK's 2015 Election, the Liberal Democrats, the Greens and the

SNP would have received no seats at all, the Conservatives and Labour another an extra 28 and 49 seats respectively and UKIP would have 10 MPs. Those standing as independents are exempt from D'Hondt, hence HDP's relative success in 2011.

Erdogan became president in 2014, after he had served the maximum three terms as Prime Minister, "did a Putin" as many commentators observed. The role of the Turkish President is that of a head of state, politically neutral, there to be first citizen in a country of equals. Erdogan envisages a different role, that of an Executive President, with the Parliament (and the Armed Forces) under his control; a short step towards a dictatorship. His presidency has already caused controversy, with pronouncements such as (on the day of his election) "Today is the day Turkey is reborn from its ashes", and, later, "I come with my people on every issues. I am the President". He had two cartoonists jailed for poking fun at him.

However, some of his own AKP party oppose the Constitutional changes he proposed. Quite apart from the unease about these, the increasing authoritarianism (which led to the riots in 2013), creeping Islamisation, corruption scandals, and the fact that the economy is faltering (having survived the world recession in 2008), the wisdom of aligning Turkey with the Syrian rebels in a world of ISIL and other foreign policy matters is being questioned. The position of women in society is seen to be going backwards, and there are more reports of rapes and domestic violence.

His own protégé, the Prime Minister Davutoglu, has expressed concern about the stalled Kurdish negotiations because Erdogan declared that "there is no longer a Kurdish problem". The AKP promised increased Kurdish rights and Kurdish university departments, but nothing is happening.

The Republican People's Party (CHP) came second in 2011 with 125 seats. This is the party Kemal Ataturk founded in 1923, and is perceived to be dogmatic and elitist, but it is also committed to secularism and anti any Presidential form of Government. Its election pledges include raising the country's minimum wage from 950 lire per month (about £235) to £1500. Fuel costs are prohibitive in Turkey, although food and

accommodation are cheap. The CHP feel that the tremendous economic growth of the 2000s has increased the gulf between rich and poor, are also very concerned about the unemployment rate. It also wants a free press and a reduction from 10% to 3% in the electoral threshold.

The National Movement Party (MHP) obtained 13% of the vote in 2011. Known as the Grey Wolves, they are a far right party. They support some Kurdish minority rights, but do not approve of the peace process as they argue that the Kurds should submit themselves to the Turkish State.

The Democratic Socialist, pro-Kurdish new People's Democratic Party (HDP) was officially founded in 2012, but had gained 28 seats in 2011 under a grouping of independents to avoid the 10% D'Hondt rule. Probably most similar to the Greek Syriza or the Spanish Podemos parties, and describing itself as anti-capitalist and environmental, it is led by Selahattin Demirtas and chaired by a woman, Figen Yuksekdag. Women have a 50% quota in the HDP. Its programme is one of rights for minorities, women and LGBT people, ending all discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity and religion. They want to drive forward the Kurdish peace process (Demirtas's brother is fighting with the Kurds in Iraq), and allow mother tongue education, abolish the obligatory Sunni lessons in schools, instead having lessons which correspond with the pupils' beliefs. Erdogan described the HDP as a front for terrorists, atheists and Zoroastrians. Now it is a party, it had to get 10% of the vote to get any seats at all. The Kurdish population (around 20% at 14 million) plus the younger, more Western looking younger people are its main supporters.

On 7th June, in the liberal and most pro-CHP Izmir, I spoke to voters. Careful not to intrude or appear in any way to interfere, conversations started about general matters, but soon, without any encouragement, the subject of the election came up. People were very frightened and very frank about what they thought of the President and his plans to take their precious democracy from them. "He is a monster, a Hitler. He has sacked all the best generals, put puppets in their place. He wants to rule like Putin. Write it! Write it! Tell Europe". The polls in Turkey closed at 5pm, and the results started to come in just after 7pm.

And it was a night of drama. At just after 7pm, the state controlled Anadolu Agency which feeds the results to the media, was showing a probable 45% AKP share of the vote, and a 9% one for the HDP. Then, at 7.11, it informed its users that the HDP had passed the 10% threshold and that the AKP's share

was falling to such an extent that it would lose its majority in the Parliament. In 10 minutes, Erdogan's dream of becoming another Ataturk vanished. The final result was the AKP went down to 258 seats, the CHP up to 132, the MHP 82, but the greatest victors were the HDP, who managed nearly 13% of the vote, which equals 78 seats. Erdogan was silent that night, but the people of Turkey were not. Relief, joy and the vindication of its democracy overflowed into the streets. Among the new members of Parliament are four Christians, two from the Yazidi community and, at 97, a record number of women.

Coalition negotiations are still ongoing at the time this article is being written. It is likely to be an AKP-CHP one, for stability, but anything could happen. What is important is that the Turkish people recognised the threat to their democracy and did something about it. The AKP hogged all the media airtime with its election broadcasts during the campaign, but the others made their voices heard, by utilising social media and mass rallies up and down the country. International observers reported that the election was fair, and praised the high turnout (about 84%), but again noted that the 10% party threshold was not.

As a seasoned commentator summed up "the results of the election, in which peace and maturity defeated anger, otherization and humiliation, presage a beautiful summer for Turkey".

Wendy Kyrle-Pope

Wendy Kyrle-Pope was chair of LIBG until the last AGM; she remains on the executive as Treasurer.



Ani, Turkey. Ani is the capital of the ancient Armenian empire, situated at the closed border between Armenia and Turkey, Nowadays Ani consists of a pile of church ruins, homes and the Cathedral. August 2013. From Rifugio, by Linda Dorigo and Andrea Milluzzi. Photography - copyright Linda Dorigo. See page 22.

Why it matters what India has gained from Modi's foreign visits over past 12 months.

Anuja Prashar

The Indian Prime Minister Modi has embarked on 14 foreign trips in the past year, visiting 27 countries – double the number of trips undertaken by the two previous Prime Ministers of India. A trip to USA's Silicon Valley in California and visit to UK are also planned for the autumn of 2015. Both these pending trips are planned to be focused upon innovation, digital economy and trade.

Why does the increase in number of foreign trips matter? It is not the number of trips but the quality of agreements which matters most. In 2001 Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs, coined the acronym BRIC in a paper entitled "Building Better Global Economic BRICs" (O'Neil, 2001) suggesting that Brazil, Russia, India and China should be incorporated into the G7 systems of fiscal and monetary policy, due to the impact of their significant growth as part of the global economy. Of all the most promising emerging economies, China was seen to be the leader and must be included; Russia with Oil reserves that affect Europe and a seat on the security council would also need to be included; Brazil was very significant for USA trade development in the region and should therefore also be included; However, India although large demographically and future market was not viewed as a necessary member to be included into G7 systems for world economic controls, according to the paper.

In 2003 Goldman Sachs published the first BRICs report (Goldman Sachs, 2003) in which they predicted how the BRICS together would have a combined GDP larger than the G6 then everyone started to take notice of the BRIC countries and especially China and India. Much has happened since then and the G 6, 7 & 8 are no longer in the leading economic positions of 2001. China has until recently been viewed as the star runner in the marathon towards economic supremacy and India portrayed as only the pace marker. However, today the political and economic situations in Russia and Brazil and the volatility of Chinese stock market and her currency values, has everyone rethinking

growth potentials and predictions for the BRIC countries.

The energetic and dynamic Modi foreign visits strategy demonstrates a consolidation of the rebranding of India within the global economy. A deeper analysis of visits and agreements made reveals that there are 3 strategic trends embedded within these visits. All three trends will ensure India's future economic growth is based upon a solid foundation of investments for infrastructure, energy security and trade. The three trends are (1) Regional consolidation of trade and energy cooperation, (2) South-South relations increased trade and infrastructure development, (3) India – North increased trade and energy cooperation (*see table on page 25*).

As the global economy becomes increasingly inter-dependant and entwined it is incumbent upon the EU and indeed the UK to ensure that trade relations with emerging economies grow stronger, because they are the drivers of growth in future. Today India, with economic growth rate of 7.0% (World Bank, 2015) has surpassed that of China for the first time, seems even better placed than the BRIC paper of 2001 suggested, and will remain the 'economic engine' for the global economy (O'Neill, 2011) with a burgeoning middle class and a democratic government focused upon foundational strategic investment and reform for continued steady growth of a balanced economy.

The emerging economies are creating a multi-polar world, which is beginning to show evidence of shifts (Dickens, 2003) of resources and power; however it is the international relationships and political will that are going to determine the outcomes and benefits of the emerging multi-polar world, not the markets alone. Modi's foreign visits are a clear indication that the global economy is an open and flat field for all those with energy and vision to embrace the multi-polar reality of a globalised 21st century.

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COUNTRY VISITED	Key Trade or Investment agreed
REGIONAL	
BHUTAN	India to build 4 hydropower stations and dams in Bhutan. India to share this green energy produced in future.
NEPAL	India to build a big dam in Nepal. India to get 83 per cent green energy from the hydropower station in future.
SRI LANKA, Bangladesh, Seychelles & Mauritius	Successfully promoting “Make in India” campaign to foreign governments, companies and improved bilateral relations.
MYANMAR	Modi addresses 10 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and proposes India’s ‘Act East Policy’. India and ASEAN are keen to enhance their cooperation in advancing balance, peace and stability in the region.
SOUTH-SOUTH	
CHINA	Committed \$22 billion investment in India for infrastructure development and renewal energy sectors.
SOUTH KOREA	Committed \$10 billion to develop power generation capacities, railways and smart cities in India.
RUSSIA	•India admission into the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), a security-focussed group that includes four Central Asian states, China and Russia. India and Russia agree to set target for US\$30 billion in bilateral trade by 2025; Russia’s state owned Rosatom will be building 12 new nuclear plants in India. Indian agricultural exports to Russia escalated. Initiated talks of free trade agreement.
Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan	India admitted into the Uzbekistan-Turkmenistan-Oman-Iran transport corridor for natural gas. Indian market recognised as valuable at a time when energy prices have bottomed. India to get a new oil concession in the north Caspian sea where India has most energy minority stakes. Modi has also extracted commitments from Kazakhstan for “additional mature blocks for Indian investment”, besides fresh contracts for uranium supply
United Arab Emirates (UAE)	UAE committed to invest \$75 billion in India, to establish UAE-India infrastructure Investment Fund for building railways, ports, roads, airports and industrial corridors. Agreed to boost trade by 60% over next 5 years.
ISRAEL	Israel inks \$5 million deal for Joint Educational Research programme
INDIA-NORTH	
JAPAN	Committed investment of \$30 billion in Delhi-Mumbai investment corridor
AUSTRALIA	Commits to supply Uranium for Nuclear energy production
FRANCE	India buys 36 Rafale fighter jets and France to build nuclear reactors in India in collaboration with an Indian company. France commits 2 billion euros to sustainable development in India.
CANADA	Committed to supply India with Uranium for nuclear reactors, for the next five years.
USA	USA drops nuclear fuel tracking rule and sort-out liabilities rule which will facilitate development of 16 upcoming nuclear power plant projects.

UNLOCKING LEBANON

For the 28th time since May 2014 the Parliament of Lebanon failed on Wednesday 2nd September to elect a President of the Republic. The UN Security Council met in the aftermath and called on the Lebanese lawmakers to elect a new president “to help ease a political crisis that has fuelled street protests”. Future Movement (FM - LI full member) characterised the protests as a “remarkable civil presence for the young Lebanese men and women” adding that “the current crises are the normal results of abstention from electing a President for the Republic which is a responsibility we all bear”.

Ahmad Hariri, FM Secretary General and LI Bureau member, said “People are starting to wake up; they see how political life in Lebanon, and the system, has been blocked since Hezbollah's interference in the Syrian crisis. The garbage issue is the top of the problem of our country, being without a president for one year, our parliament has extended [its own mandate ever] since 2013, and our government has been paralysed for 3 months now.” He said the election of a president should be followed by the resignation of the government and parliamentary elections.

In a statement Future Movement reiterated that “the establishment of a modern civil state in Lebanon is the minimal right of all the Lebanese youth with all its ambitions, dreams, movements and parties and that free and dignified coexistence in Lebanon is the essence of the national identity for all the communities that make the Lebanese people.”

The party called on all political factions to “listen attentively for the voice of the young men and women”. In parallel with an election of a new president, the Future Movement proposed an initiative to launch “an authentic reform plan that provides solutions for the livelihood crises and pave the way for the cultural, intellectual and creative potentials of the youth to participate in making Lebanon's future.”

In the current political stalemate Prime Minister Salam cannot submit his resignation since the post of head of state is vacant and therefore it would be impossible to form a new government according to the Lebanese constitution. The political crisis in Lebanon unfolds as the country is on the brink of collapse due to the on-going war in neighbouring Syria and over 1.2 million registered refugees in the nation of 4 million inhabitants.

INTERNATIONAL ABSTRACTS

Forcing political Islamists into a ‘nothing to lose’ position - the right move? Mohammed Nossier Al Arabyia English, Monday 6th July 2015.
<https://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2015/07/06/Forcing-political-Islamists-into-a-nothing-to-lose-position-the-right-move-.html>

Simon Titley

Simon Titley was a member of the Liberator Collective from 1985 until his death, aged 57, on 31 August 2014. An internationalist, living in Brussels for many years, he became well known for both the quality and quantity of his contributions to the magazine and for the wit, insight and erudition he displayed. A collection of his articles from Liberator ranging 2004-2014 can now be found on the Liberator website – www.liberatormagazine.co.uk

An excellent critique of the Liberal Democrats over the period.

Journal of Liberal History issue 87 Summer 2015
With the subheading The Liberal Party and the Great War, little more needs to be said. Arguments rage of Sir Edward Grey. Martin Ceadel writes on Gilbert Murray vs. E.D. Morel – Liberalism's debilitating divide over foreign policy. Articles on Morley and Lulu Harcourt amongst the more forgotten giants. Also a letter on Emlyn Hooson and the Falklands War.

Liberator 373

Carries Rebecca Tinsley's ‘Places that don't matter’ and Donald Inwalomhe's ‘Power Changes in Nigeria’ both of which appeared in interLib 2015-03, if you would prefer hardcopy. Lester Holloway argues that the ban on Louis Farrakhan should be lifted in ‘Banned for too long’. Like Liberator 372, this issue is otherwise preoccupied with the general election and its aftermath.

Mohammed Nossier

Our regular contributor Mohammed Nossier has published two articles at The Globalist, and would welcome feedback.

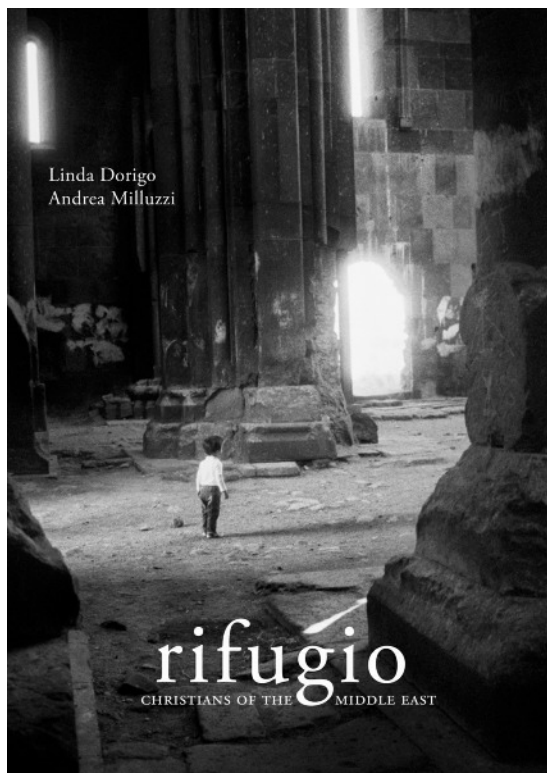
[Can the Iran Deal Shift the Middle East? And Arabs and Westerners: The Widening Gap](http://www.theglobalist.com/author/mnosseir/)
<http://www.theglobalist.com/author/mnosseir/>

It's time to admit it. Israeli policy is what it is: Apartheid – Ben Norton, following Bradley Burston's article in Haaretz. 17.08.2015
<http://mondoweiss.net/2015/08/israeli-journalist-apartheid>

reviews

**Rifugio, Christians of the Middle East,
by Linda Dorigo & Andrea Milluzzi.
Schilt 2015 £29.95
isbn 9789053308431**

Over the past few years we have heard of exotic Christian communities across the Middle East, invariably at some point of crisis. There are even religions that we have never heard of – Yazidis, in this multi-ethnic terrain, and we fail to realise that Islam doesn't only divide in Shi'ite and Sunni (and indeed Sufi), but is equally fragmented within those. The introduction, which reads like a paraphrase of the opening of Herman Hesse's *Journey to the East*; the blurb states that '*The birthplace of Christianity lies on the Iranian slopes from Mount Ararat to Mount Lebanon*'. Not Bethlehem? not Jerusalem? I find that interesting, since the three great monotheistic faiths forget to acknowledge their debt to the fourth, Zoroastrianism, of which the Yazidis are perhaps, a relic and to be cherished for our understanding of those other faiths. What insights might be gained, especially since Islam maintains that the other Peoples of the Book have lost their way?



At first I thought that some of Linda Dorigo's photographs were out of place. Even as an amateur I take between several thousand photographs in an average year, many of these taken in haste, one becomes aware of sensitive environments – commonly churches. We are told that '*as a reporter and a photographer... we*

were walking on tiptoe. Linda took photos only when the presence of the camera would not have broken the bond of trust.' Thus revisiting I come to respect the emptiness in some cases, the odd angles in others, and the sense of urgency of the blurred image – this last aspect extrapolating the fragility that these communities invariably find themselves under in present times.

The Armenians, the Copts of Egypt, the Palestinian Christians, the Maronites of Lebanon, are perhaps best known, but we now address ourselves to those of Syria, Iraq and Iran – Assyrians, Chaldeans and others. Behind the photographs, Milluzzi explores the problems that these communities face, not least to resort to emigration in the face of persecution. We hear a lot about the loathsome attacks of fundamentalist Islam, but Israel's fundamentalists are just as bad. Earlier in June a fire was said to have started in several places around the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, in Tabgha, Galilee. Traditionally, the church marks the site where Jesus performed the miracle of the feeding of 5,000 people with just five loaves of bread and two fishes. It is a modern-day church, built in the 1980s over early Christian remains, including a set of Byzantine mosaics depicting the loaves and fishes. Fortunately they were not damaged in the fire. Hebrew graffiti painted on the outside of the church invoked biblical passages calling on the faithful to destroy the "idols" of pagans. This is not an isolated event, and Milluzzi chronicles the stresses that these communities live under at a personal level.

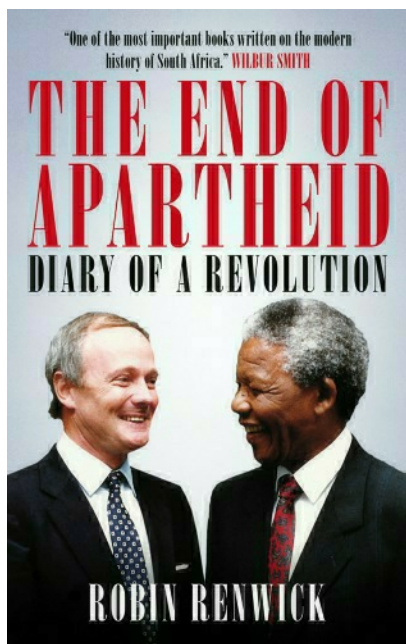
However, away from power struggles we see ordinary people trying to lead their lives across boundaries. And even, recently, some good news as the semi-autonomous Syrian Kurdistan around Rojava tries to set itself up as a multi-ethnic, multi-faith polity, fighting ISIL and Assad simultaneously, but in the knowledge that neither Turkey nor Iran would tolerate them as an independent state.

Stewart Rayment

**The End of Apartheid, diary of a revolution,
by Robin Renwick.
Biteback 2015 £16.99
isbn: 9781849547925**

Robin Renwick was privileged in his diplomatic career to have been involved with Rhodesia 1978-80 and Ambassador to South Africa 1987-91. He was therefore involved in 'interesting times' and as a central player, his account of events is important. In particular, he causes us to reassess Margaret Thatcher in a more favourable light, and to see Nelson Mandela as the Man rather than the icon.

On Rhodesia, we felt that Thatcher was determined to get a solution at Lancaster House, and that Carrington, her then Foreign Secretary, was more sceptical of the chances. This was reflected in a *Liberator* article at the time, when I think it was a ZAPU activist that I'd interviewed. Mugabe was clearly a problem, even then, though the extent to which was less known.



Nelson Mandela – very much more the team player, and loyal to that team, even when in doubt and aware of the need to bring them round to another way of thinking – he goes up even higher in our estimation. I won't go into the story further, the book is important for understanding the events that it covers and will have you gripped until you reach the final page.

Stewart Rayment

Ministers at War, Winston Churchill and his War Cabinet, by Jonathan Schneer. One World 2015 £20.00 isbn 9781780746135

The national myth tends to portray Churchill's War Cabinet as men of goodwill putting aside their differences and coming together for the good of the country. Certainly things got rocky as the fortunes of war went too and fro, but by and large there as unity of purpose. Scratch the surface a little, and you will find that Churchill was an outsider in his then party, the Conservatives, though we've forgotten the reasons why. He was a voice in the wilderness who was the man for the moment, but even in victory he could not save the party, whose narrow-sightedness had brought the country to the brink of destruc-

tion. The central players, Churchill apart, are Attlee, Bevin and Morrison – Labour men, with Eden and Beaverbrook – primarily a businessman, in the Tory interest – neither of them mainstream. Add another maverick – Stafford Cripps, a bit part by Woollton, and Beveridge lurking off stage, and the interchange and rivalries between these men are the course of Schneer's book. The myth of unity is thoroughly pricked, though there must still have been a lot of it for our war aims to succeed.

What of Liberals? Well Schneer obviously doesn't think much of them. My initial interest in the book was the hope of finding out more of the career of Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal party and Churchill's Air Minister. Unfortunately all that Schneer has recorded is a few snide remarks from that oaf Beaverbrook. Sinclair was Churchill's aide de camp during his military service in World War I, he was loyal and my guess is that Churchill put him at the Air Ministry because he was a safe pair of hands who could be trusted. He notably stayed the course, most of the players mentioned above moved about.

Clem Davies played a central role in the overthrow of Chamberlain. He was an Independent MP at the time. I think it is accepted that William Beveridge was not the easiest person to work with, and Schneer concentrates primarily on the interplay between Labour, the Conservatives and Churchill to his report *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. In this he misses one point. Beveridge became a Liberal MP because he did not trust the Labour party to implement his report as he intended. He was right of course, and we've been living with the problems ever since. Beveridge's funding proposals, which made more use of private insurance, were ideologically unacceptable to Labour. The



Jerusalem. The guardian of an Ethiopian church showing an ancient Bible.

further fudge with the GPs etc. when it came to establishing the NHS is beyond the scope of this book.

So the question lies, where did Churchill fit in all this? First and foremost he was concerned with running the war, not the domestic issues of its aftermath. Churchill had re-joined the Conservative party, but remained outside the pale to the majority of their MPs. On Imperial matters he certainly diverged from progressive Liberal opinion, and so far as Beveridge's reports went, knew that he could not carry his party on the matter. During his association with Lloyd George in Asquith's government Churchill could be counted as a progressive, if not radical; as continuing leader of the Conservatives after the war, he steered them into acceptance of Labour's reforms and the Keynesian consensus that prevailed for the next two decades. Schneer seems less certain of this, but provides us with a fascinating account of the intrigues of Cabinet life.

Stewart Rayment



Karia Rounta, Iraqi Kurdistan. Wedding Celebration, 2012. From Rifugio.

The Looting Machine; Warriors, Tycoons, Smugglers and the Systematic Theft of Africa's Wealth,
by Tom Burgis, William Collins 2015 £20.00
isbn 9780007523084

This fine book explains why so many Africans are prepared to risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean. No matter how much aid we send, far greater sums are swindled from resource-rich African countries by unscrupulous international companies, working hand-in-hand with the bloated African elite. As Tom Burgis puts it,

“The empires of colonial Europe and the Cold War superpowers have given way to a new form of

dominion over the continent that serves as the mine of the world – new empires controlled not by nations but by alliances of unaccountable African rulers governing through shadow states, middlemen who connect them to the global resource economy, and the multinational companies from the West and the East that cloak their corruption in corporate secrecy.”

If you believe you're not involved in this deadly trade, think again: the device on which you may reading this contains minerals from impoverished, violent parts of Africa where war lords and greedy officials control the resource business.

Burgis catalogues the grotesque self-enrichment of the callous rulers of Angola, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria – countries that should be immensely wealthy, but which remain poor, even by African standards. In each case, this theft of national treasure would be impossible without non-African facilitators. The Chinese are the modern versions of Cecil Rhodes,

amoral and adept at paying the ruling elite for unfettered access.

Burgis notes that African leaders rarely impose any conditions when they sign over their country's resources to outsiders. For instance, they don't ask for a proportion of the jobs created to go to local workers. Their interests are purely selfish, and because mineral rents mean they don't need to tax their people, they are not accountable to them. They know elections can always be stolen by brute force or stealth, and by mobilising ethnic differences with terrible consequences.

In addition, new infrastructure rarely benefits local people because the roads built by the Chinese run from the mine straight to the port. Nor do those in charge attempt to use the rents from minerals and oil to diversify their economies. There is no trickle down.

“Instead of calling their rulers to account, the citizens of resource states are reduced to angling for a share of the loot,” Burgis explains. This miserable state of affairs is not helped by the naivety or indifference of the World Bank and IMF, who keep on giving loans to crooked rulers without imposing conditions.

In Nigeria the oil revenues spent on providing electricity are stolen at each level of government.

Consequently factories cannot function properly. In the 1980s Nigeria had 175 textile mills: now there are only 25, and the market is saturated with fabric from China which arrives with “made in Nigeria” stamped on every bale. Under the conditions Burgis describes so vividly, it is easy to see why anyone aspirational would leave the continent, seeking opportunity on a more level playing field. Africa’s economic growth rates are impressive, but few are benefitting from the resource bonanza.

In summary, Burgis’s book is essential to understanding why poverty, ignorance and conflict persist in Africa.

Rebecca Tinsley

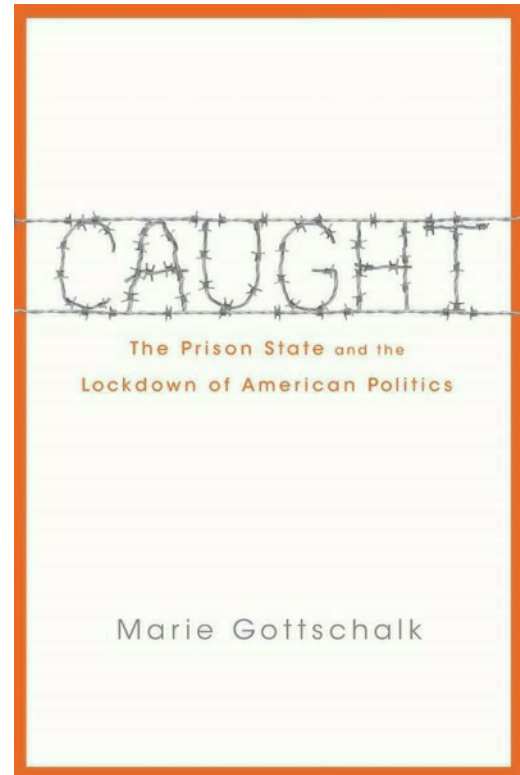
Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics, by Marie Gottschalk, Princeton University Press 2015

Mass imprisonment is ugly, damaging and expensive, yet it seems impervious to reform. Why? Gottschalk has meticulously tracked the American love affair with custodial solutions, showing politicians increase funding for the prison system during budgetary crises despite evidence it is ineffective. She argues people have such a strong moral belief in the power of retribution and punishment they will close their eyes to the true effect of prison.

Beginning with the political context where the carceral state was created, Gottschalk explains how Americans turn to prisons as a solution to many of society’s ills. In an economic crisis, fear of civil disobedience and greater wealth disparities can make punitive measures all the more attractive. The system itself has become so deeply imbedded in local economies and criminal justice that there are many schemes to hide its true cost and prevent reform. Prison guards’ unions, construction companies and private prison enterprises all have a strong interest in expanding their empire, whilst those directly harmed have little political clout. Consequently, the wider public are left in the dark about the burden they are shouldering.

For people who think they are already on board with penal reform, Gottschalk has some tough words. She believes focusing on recidivism rates and reentry into society is wrong. By working to build personal responsibility and measure individual success, reformers can be blind to the overbearing institutional problems. Many of those entering custody never got the chance to develop and will not be transformed by a more creative prison experience. She also claims attributing the growth of the prison population to the disproportionate targeting of black men in the war on

drugs oversimplifies the issue. Incarceration is better explained by how race, poverty and social stagnation intersect in American society.



The spread of the carceral state to the war on sex offenders and immigrants is troubling for Gottschalk. Sex offenders have few public advocates and most people seem happy to permanently deprive them of their most fundamental rights. They have served as an experiment in how far the carceral state can go before budgetary concerns or a sense of human decency get in the way. Worryingly for other potential victims, the answer is very far indeed. Sex offenders are subject to civil confinement without the protection of the criminal trial or the need for a diagnosed mental illness. They have been exiled from any residential area which also contains a school, shopping centre or restaurant. Their names are available on publicly available registers so others can avoid them. In other words, they are excluded from society and so turned into the antisocial irreparable monsters everyone feared they were. When it comes to locking up illegal immigrants, the rationale behind paying to detain people you do not want in the country (even though they spend most of their time their contributing to the economy) is a little vague, but the prison system has not let a little detail like that get in its way. Despite mounting costs, no one has the courage to scale back these programmes because they have no Plan B.

Outside of prison, Gottschalk shows the prison’s devastating effect on society. It is easy to understand that taking people away from their communities leaves those left behind poorer, disillusioned and fearful of authority. Going further, she argues many things

Americans believe about their society are untrue because of the distortive effect of a large incarcerated population. Measurements of income and health are inflated because millions of people are missing from the databases. Electoral districts are drawn to include prison populations in empty rural areas when few inmates, or even ex-inmates, can vote. In short, mass imprisonment is a defining feature of American demographics but its effects are missing from the statistics that back up the success story of a democratic and wealthy country.

Caught is hard-hitting book on all that is wrong with the American carceral state. Importantly, it also shows why previous reform efforts have failed. Although it is an in-depth analysis (containing hundreds of pages of citations) of the situation in the US, it serves as a warning to the rest of the world on what getting tough on crime really means: spending a lot of money to set up a damaging system you are too scared to dismantle.

Eleanor Healy-Birt

**Avi Max Spiegel: *Young Islam*
Princeton University Press, 2015; £19.95**

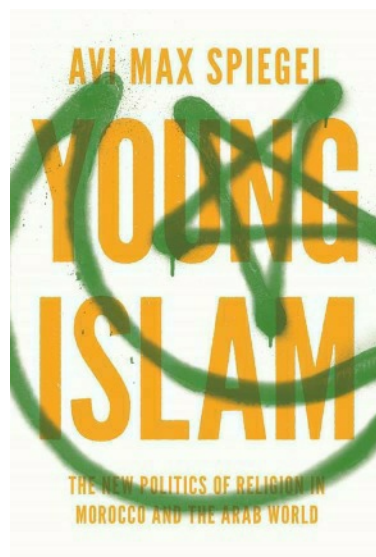
Western media and politicians tend to view the rise of political Islam through a prism of binary opposites: moderate versus extremist, Sunni versus Shia and so forth. But in reality the situation is far more complex. There are as many types of Islamism – the belief that political systems and structures should be based on Islamic teaching – as there are Islamists.

Similarly, young Muslims who are radicalised or who make their religion the foundation for their individual and collective lives do so for a variety of different reasons. Commentators in Europe have focussed on the influence of militant imams and Islamist websites. However, extensive fieldwork by the ethnographer Avi Max Spiegel in Morocco suggests that a more common method of recruitment is via the example and encouragement of friends.

Morocco has two main Islamist streams: the PJD, which is a registered political party that has sometimes had Ministers in government, and the more radical underground movement Al Adl. These operate in parallel, in a country whose Head of State is a King who traces his own ancestry back to the Prophet Mohammed (thereby validating his own legitimacy).

By mixing with young Moroccans over a lengthy period, the author was able to discover how individuals, male and female, make their choices about which group they favour and which activities to embrace. A fluent Arabic speaker, he lets them tell

their own stories, so we see them as people with their own personalities and concerns rather than just statistics.



Avi Max Spiegel is that rare creature, an academic who presents serious fieldwork in a totally accessible form. This book is therefore not only a valuable contribution to understanding Moroccan youth today but has relevance to the entire Islamic world.

Jonathan Fryer

**Ministers at War, Winston Churchill and
his War Cabinet, by Jonathan Schneer.
One World 2015 £20.00
isbn 9781780746135**

The national myth tends to portray Churchill's War Cabinet as men of goodwill putting aside their differences and coming together for the good of the country. Certainly things got rocky as the fortunes of war went too and fro, but by and large there was unity of purpose. Scratch the surface a little, and you will find that Churchill was an outsider in his then party, the Conservatives, though we've forgotten the reasons why. He was a voice in the wilderness who was the man for the moment, but even in victory he could not save the party, whose narrow-sightedness had brought the country to the brink of destruction. The central players, Churchill apart, are Attlee, Bevin and Morrison – Labour men, with Eden and Beaverbrook – primarily a businessman, in the Tory interest – neither of them mainstream. Add another maverick – Stafford Cripps, a bit part by Woollton, and Beveridge lurking off stage, and the interchange and rivalries between these men are the course of Schneer's book. The myth of unity is thoroughly pricked, though there must still have been a lot of it for our war aims to succeed.

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Stewart Rayment

**Dragon Tales, by Judy Hayman.
Practical Inspiration 2014-15 £5.99 each.**

Judy Hayman has stood in the Liberal interest on a number of occasions, ending up as Convenor of the Scottish Liberal Democrats, before turning her hand to writing something more substantial than a Focus leaflet. The result, which is on-going, is a series of children's books revolving around a family of dragons living in a remote part of the Scottish Highlands, chiefly through the eyes of the girl, Emily. Well, we know about the Loch Ness Monster, so this is quite plausible.

The dragons encounter adventures with earth moving machinery, a mountain giant, elephants, providing exciting climaxes within the stories, and there are more of these as the series progresses. I also like the breaks into Scottish dialect amongst the various beasties, though far from a *Train-spotting* for bairns you'll be relieved to know – nothing worse than 'bumble bugs'. Encounters with humans get closer with each book, so what can we anticipate in the next?

Judy Hayman will be signing her books at the LIBG stall at the Bournemouth conference... enjoy.

Quest for a Cave. 2014 isbn 9781910056080;
Quest for a Friend. 2014 isbn 9781910056158;
Quest for Adventure. 2015 isbn 9781910056226

Email Judy at judy@haymana.plus.com to obtain copies.



The Migrant Crisis, and let's not just say in the Mediterranean, the Balkans, or even Calais, has dominated the media as the international event over the summer. Its root causes will be familiar to readers, notably through Becky Tinsley's articles in our pages.

Whilst it would have been a bitter pill to swallow, Cameron's response underlines why he needed the Liberal Democrats in coalition, if the vision of a progressive conservatism that was espoused before 2010 had any meaning.

As Paddy Ashdown rightly pointed out in The Guardian on 7th September, 20,000 refugee over five years is just pathetic. Angela Merkel and Germany have put us to shame, and all to keep the nastier elements of the Tories and their scumbag friends in the media quiet. The fight against this is central to the Liberal way forward.

BOURNEMOUTH - THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

Saturday 19th September

Fringe Saturday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

Catherine Bearder MEP (ALDE) Meet your MEP
What's the answer to tackling cross-border crime, protecting biodiversity and promoting social justice? Is it always right for the EU to get involved? Quiz Catherine Bearder and others about the EU questions on your mind.

BIC, Bayview 2

Conference Chamber

15.50-16.50 F5 Policy motion: Creating Safe and Legal Routes for Refugees 15

Sunday 20th September

Conference Chamber

11.20-12.20 F10
Policy motion: Winning in Europe 20

12.20-12.40 F11
Speech: Sophie in t'Veld MEP 22

Fringe Sunday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

Brussels & Europe Liberal Democrats (BELD)

Britain's EU renegotiation: rhetoric vs. reality

What can David Cameron achieve in an EU renegotiation? What's the best outcome for Britain & Europe? Join Graham Watson, Alberto Nardelli (Guardian), Lucy Thomas (BNE), Sophie in t'Veld MEP (tbc), Charles Grant (CER) (tbc) and Giles Goodall (BELD).

BIC, Bayview 2

Spokespeople Q&A sessions

15.00-16.00 Foreign Affairs with Tom Brake, Sarah Ludford, William Wallace, Judith Jolly & Lindsay Northover.

BIC, Bayview 2

Conference Chamber

16.10-17.10 F15
Policy motion: Reducing Tax on Tourism 25

Fringe Sunday early evening 18.15-19.15

Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine (LDFP)

Should Britain and the EU recognise Palestine now?

Hannah Weisfeld, Executive Director of Jewish organisation Yachad, and Sir Vincent Fean, former UK Consul General in Jerusalem and Ramallah, will discuss the prospects for peace and how international pressure might help to bring that about.

BIC, Bayview 2

CentreForum

Why have we forgotten our internationalism just when it really matters?

Some thoughts on a radical Foreign and Defence policy. Speakers: Rt Hon Lord Ashdown of Norton-sub-Hamdon; Baroness Shirley Williams of Crosby.

Marriott Highcliff, Bryanston Suite

Her Majesty's Government of Gibraltar

Her Majesty's Government of Gibraltar, Reception

Speakers: The Chief Minister, The Hon Fabian Picardo QC MP; The Deputy Chief Minister, The Hon Dr Joseph Garcia MP.

Marriott Highcliff, Purbeck Suite

Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel

Prospects for peace in the Middle East. Expert interactive panel discussion

LDFI brings a first class panel together to discuss and analyse the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Chair: Gavin Stollar. Panel: Baroness Sarah Ludford, Eitan Na'eh (Israeli Deputy Ambassador to the UK) and Richard Pater (CEO, Bicom).

Hermitage, Clifton Suite

Social Liberal Forum and Liberator

"After the Storm"

The Rt Hon Vince Cable, former Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, in conversation with Lord Skidelsky, biographer of Keynes and advocate of Keynesianism. What were the alternatives to Coalition economic policy and now to Osbornomics?

Hermitage, Hardy Suite

Fringe Sunday early evening 18.15-19.15

Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary

(LD4SOS)

Crisis in the Mediterranean: creating safe and legal routes for refugees

With thousands of people fleeing war and persecution undertaking dangerous journeys across the Mediterranean, hear from Maurice Wren, CEO of the Refugee Council, and Baroness Sally Hamwee on the UK's role in creating safe routes for refugees to enter Europe.

Trouville, Granville Suite

Fringe Sunday mid evening 19.45-21.00

Liberal Democrat Voice

Forging a liberal foreign policy in challenging times

In what are some of the most challenging times for liberal values worldwide, how do we forge a principled, liberal foreign policy? Kishwer Falkner, William Wallace, Sarah Ludford (invited) and Nick Thornsby discuss. Chair: Caron Lindsay.

BIC, Bayview 2

Chinese Liberal Democrats 9th Birthday Party. 20.00-late Ocean City Restaurant, 38 Christchurch Road, Bournemouth BH1 3PD.

<http://www.oceancitybournemouth.co.uk> £28.00 per person (please book early as places limited) rsvp

pkfling@gmail.com
(0745589693)

Special guests include Paddy Ashdown.



Fringe Sunday late evening 21.00-23.00

Liberal Democrats International Office

Europe Evening: Discussion on "Battle for a Better Europe" and networking reception

Join us for an exciting discussion on building a better Europe, led by Catherine Bearder MEP & Sir Graham Watson, President of ALDE, followed by a drinks reception with opportunities to discuss Europe with key Party leaders! Special Guests TBA.

Hermitage, Hardy Suite

Monday 21st September

Fringe Monday breakfast 08.00-09.00

ADS & SMMT

ADS & SMMT breakfast roundtable

ADS and SMMT will host a breakfast roundtable on key issues for the automotive, aerospace and defence manufacturing industries.

BIC, Bayview 1

Fringe Monday morning 09.30-10.30

CentreForum

Fundamentalism, Radicalisation and the Use of Terror

Lord John Alderdice in conversation with Miranda Green about fundamentalism, radicalisation and the use of terror.

Hermitage Hotel, Clifton Suite

Conference Chamber

11.30-12.20 F23 Policy motion: Securing a Global Treaty on Climate Change 36

Fringe Monday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

New Statesman & Trade Union Congress

What will an EU referendum mean for people at work?

George Eaton, Political Editor of the New Statesman, will host Nick Clegg MP in conversation with Frances O'Grady, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress.

BIC, Bayview 2

Business for new Europe, LDEG, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Catherine Bearder MEP

Winning the EU referendum

Can Lib Dems build support and help keep the UK IN? A major event hosted by Business for New Europe and LDEG: Tim Farron MP; Catherine Bearder MEP; Lucy Thomas, BNE; Laura Sandys, European Movement; Wolfgang Gerhardt, FNF; Nick Hopkinson, LDEG.

Marriott Highcliff, Dorchester Suite

Fringe Monday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

Liberal Democrats for Peace & Security and Liberal Democrats against Trident

Rally against Trident

Chair: Kelly-Marie Blundell. Speakers: Kate Hudson, CND; Kevin White, LDAT; David Grace, LDPS.

Connaught, Connaught Suite

Conference Chamber

15.25-17.00 F27

Policy motion: Scrapping Trident 40

Fringe Monday early evening 18.15-19.15

Liberal Democrat Peers

Campaigning Peers: Human Rights, Europe and the Environment

Come and hear about how the Liberal Democrat Peers intend to campaign on issues that are crucially important to the party, like human rights, Europe and the environment, both inside and outside Parliament.

Marriott Highcliff, Bryanston Suite

Demos

Nick Clegg in conversation on Europe

Speakers: Rt Hon Nick Clegg MP; Phil Collins, The Times and Demos.

Trouville, Deauville Lounge

Liberal Democrats International Office

Rise like a Phoenix: International Perspectives on Rebuilding a Liberal Party

Join the International Office for a discussion on rebuilding the Party, with new Party Leader Tim Farron and speakers from D66 (Netherlands), FDP (Germany) and other international sister Liberal parties who have rebuilt after challenging elections!

Trouville, Granville Suite



**INTERNATIONAL
OFFICE**
**LIBERAL
DEMOCRATS**

Tuesday 22nd September

Conference Chamber

09.00-09.45 F30

Emergency motion and/or topical issue discussion

Emergency motion and/or 50

Fringe Tuesday lunchtime 13.00-14.00

CHAMP UK Ltd

The Northern Ireland Reception

The EU Referendum ? the impact for Northern Ireland. Baroness Harris of Richmond DL. Speaker: David Ford MLA, Alliance Party. Speakers: DUP/UUP/SDLP/Sinn Fein invited. All welcome to attend.

Hallmark Hotel, Sauvignon Room

Conference Chamber

14.20-15.25 F34

Policy motion: Human Rights 54

Fringe Tuesday early evening 18.15-19.15

Chatham House, Citi and Clifford Chance

Britain, Europe and the World: Risks and Opportunities

The panellists will discuss the geopolitical and economic risks facing the UK, including how to respond to changes in Europe, the rise of China and other growing economies, continued instability across the Middle East and an assertive and insecure Russia.

BIC, Bayview 2

Fringe Tuesday mid evening 19.45-21.00

Liberal International British Group and Liberal Democrat European Group

Dealing with a Resurgent Russia

What are Russia's intentions in Ukraine and other Western neighbours? How are UK, EU and US policies towards Russia evolving? Speakers: Sir Nick Harvey (LIBG), Witold Sobkow (Polish ambassador), Jacqueline Minor (European Commission), Alan Bullion (In forma Agra), Nick Hopkinson (LDEG).



Marriott Highcliff, Purbeck Suite

Fringe Tuesday late evening 22.00-02.00

Glee Club

Dorchester Suite, Marriott

The ultimate end-of-conference celebration! Pick up your copy of the Liberator Songbook and come 'raise the roof'! Cash Bar to include special bar prices.

International Abstracts late extra

South Africa

South Africa's foreign policy, Clueless and immoral
The Economist 5th September 2015

Syria/Refugee Crisis

Cameron's offer of 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years is derisory.

Paddy Ashdown

The Guardian Monday 7th September 2015

