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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



Brexit and Beyond: Europe's Last Chance?
The 2017 Isaiah Berlin Lecture.

Guy Verhofstadt.

Jammu Kashmir

Turkey

EVENTS

4th March Rights Liberty Justice Pop-Up Conference – *The Supreme Court Article 50 decision & beyond*. Bermondsey Village Hall, near London Bridge Station

6th March LIBG Executive, NLC

10-11th March Scottish Liberal Democrat Spring Conference. Dewars Centre, Perth.

11-12th March Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/Welsh Liberal Democrat Spring Conference, Bishop Gore School, Del-la-Beche Road, Swansea.

13th March Rock or Island? LIBG Forum on the South China Sea. NLC. 630pm

17th-19th March Liberal Democrat Spring Conference, York.

25th March Unite For Europe National March to Parliament. 11.00am London

5th April LIBG Forum on French elections & Populism, co-hosted with MoDem. NLC. 6.30pm

12th -14th May LYMEC congress in Stockholm

15th May LIBG Forum on East Africa. NLC

18th-21st May 61st Congress of Liberal International, Andorra. The Congress will mark the 70th anniversary of LI.

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, Mark Smulian.



LIBG FORUM



Rock or Island? – Disputes in the South China Sea

March 13, 2017 6:30 pm - 8:30 pm

National Liberal Club, 1 Whitehall Place, London SW1A 2HE

Speakers: Bill Hayton, BBC reporter and author,
Veerle Nuowens, research analyst at Royal United Services Institute

Representatives from the Chinese and Philippine Embassies (tbc).

Chair: Phil Bennion.

Please note the Forum on the French Elections of 20th February has been postponed until 5th April

Brexit and Beyond: Europe's Last Chance?

The Liberal International Isaiah Berlin Lecture:

Guy Verhofstadt

Thank you very much, my thanks first of all the Liberal International for the opportunity to have this lecture here this morning; thank you also to Chatham House to host this meeting. Nevertheless, I was a little bit depressed when I entered here in the room because I had asked that over in the US, I have an American editor with the brand Basic books. I ordered a number of copies to sell them here, but what is happening is there is not only a Muslim ban to go inside the US, apparently, there is also a Pro-European publication ban, these copies never arrived from the US here, so that unfortunately that's my only copy and I'm going to take it with me now, at the end of my intervention. But it gives me the opportunity to launch this book in London at the lecture, this book, Europe's Last Chance.

It appears, in my opinion, that the European Union is under serious threat. Under serious threat in fact from three fronts. From three sides. First of all, we know it all, a radicalised political Islam is responsible for a number of attacks on European soil, and that started already in 2004, you remember, Madrid, 2005 in London, then came Paris, Brussels, Berlin. The second front, the second threat is certainly Vladimir Putin, who trying to undermine the European Union, from inside with cyber-attacks, also financing, as we all know, anti-European far right political parties; Wilders in the Netherlands, Le Pen with one or other loan and credit in France, and I have to tell you, I come back from the US and my impression is that we have a third front for the moment, undermining the European Union, and that is Donald Trump, who has joined across the Atlantic, as you know and you have seen yourself Trump spoke very favourably of the fact that also other countries would want to break away from the European Union and that he hoped for a disintegration of the European Union. Certainly, based on the influence of his chief political advisor, Mr Bannon, Steve Bannon is unmistakable, he sent people now to Berlin, to Paris, to prepare the ground for similar referenda to Brexit and I just came back from that book tour in the United States and I can tell that everybody, every European that I met there had only one conclusion, that the European Union has fewer friends that ever in the United States today.

So the book tells you three things, and that's the reason why I wrote it. First of all, why the disintegration of the Union could happen and the second is why the disintegration of the Union would be a disaster if it happened, not only for Europe, but also, I think, for all of our allies, and for the world. And three, third element, how to avoid it, disintegration of the Union.

it brings by the first question, why is Europe in crisis, because let's be honest, it is completely ridiculous to ignore that there are problems with the European Union. If you read my book you are going to say 'What a Eurosceptic book it is'. It is maybe more Eurosceptic than most of the Eurosceptic publications that have been published over the past years. But I recognise that Europe is in what I call a poly-crisis, not one crisis but multiple crises. The crisis of migration. There is a crisis of internal security; the terrorist attacks. There is a crisis of geopolitical weakness in our neighbourhood, Ukraine, Syria.

And there is also economically bad results, certainly in the south of the European Union; we have still not recovered from financial crisis of 2008 and 2009. And the best description that you can hit for the European Union at the moment is that it always acts too little, too late. And the best way to illustrate that, this firm analysis of the European Union is simply compare for one moment the way the United States reacted to the financial crisis and the way Europe, the European Union reacted to the financial crisis. What you see in the US was in nine months, Republicans and Democrats together, because it started with the Republican administration and then came only after a few months the Obama administration; well in nine months they were capable to do three things, rocket, I should say with three stages. To start they trebled the asset relief program \$400 billion to clean up the banks immediately; I have to tell you, these dollars have been paid back in the meanwhile, the last dollar of the tax payers that was injected in the insurance companies and the banks sector in America has been paid back on the 1st of January 2014, already more, or more or less three

years from now. The second stage - \$400 billion to clean up the banks. Then came immediately an investment program of \$900 billion dollars for a period of 2009 – 2019, so it's still in place. Then third stage of the rocket, quantitative easing by the Federal Reserve Board for an astonishing amount 1.2 trillion dollars. That the Americans did in nine months.

And then you have to compare that to the European Union. What we did since the outbreak of the financial crisis. Mainly we got a discussion, a debate, still on-going between those who say 'No, we need more austerity' - Ferguson, or 'No, we need more growth' - Krugerman. And that is the way we deal with the financial crisis, and the problem is when you have two opinions in the European Union nothing is happening at all, because it's an inter-governmental system in which the European Council has in fact the main power in their hands and half of the colleagues in the European Council think that they need to follow Ferguson and then think that they need to follow Krugerman, nothing is happening for the moment. And on top of that, I should say, besides this ideological discussion between austerity and growth we created a half-finished banking union, and I say a half-finished banking union because in the meanwhile we have still not the necessary recovery fund, saving fund, if one or other big bank in Europe is collapsing we have a small investment programme of 300 billion euros, one third of the American investment program of 900 billion dollars. And we did also quantitative easing, that's true, but quantitative easing at the end, at this moment, to avoid deflation, a defensive measure, not in an offensive way as the Americans did, in the beginning at the outbreak of the financial crisis. That is the comparison you make and you have to ask yourself, very honestly, not here alone in Chatham House, but in all of the capitals of the European Union, the 28, how this is possible; how it is possible that the Americans can react in nine months with two different administrations, that it can roll out this programme in a short time period and we are still discussing.

Well the reason is that we have not adequate political institutions in the European Union to react to a crisis of the magnitude of the financial crisis. We have seen in 2008, 2009 mainly the European Union doesn't exist. They tell you here in Britain that it exists, but in fact it doesn't exist. What exists is a loose confederation of 28 member states still based on the Unanimity Rule. The Unanimity Rule, a Luxembourg compromise, a solution that was found to overcome the blocking attitude of Charles De Gaulle, and was mainly saying that when the interest is at stake of one of the member states they can use a veto against whatever decision is taken at the European level. So, we have, in fact, no Union. We have a Council, an inter-governmental method, where the 28 heads of state in government have to agree before anything happens. And we all know that institutions are key. I know it's difficult as a politician to talk about it, because people are saying 'No, no, it's not about institutions, it's about policies'. No, it's our institutions which are responsible for our policies. If you have bad institutions, you will have bad results.

And it's not in my book, nevertheless, I have referred a few times in it, there is a fantastic book that has been published maybe two – three years ago, that I like, that is a book of Robinson and Acemoglu, *Why Nations Fail*. And it's a book that's very interesting for a politician because the main point of the book is it's about politics, stupid; so that's an interesting opinion for a politician what they are mainly saying in this book is that if you have not the rule of law, not good property rights, not a democratic system, not applying democracy in all its forms, you will have bad economic results and they give the example of Nogales, a little town on the border between United States and Mexico, and in the north they live five times richer than in the south, and they are the same families, they have the same disease, they eat the same food, in fact Mexican food, naturally, but the difference is that in the north they live five times richer than in the south, because in the north there are good institutions and in the south there is corruption, there is not rule of law, they have a lack of democracy and so on. There are other examples and maybe North Korea, South Korea is perhaps a better example of this.

Well, this is also applied to the European Union. If you don't have the right institutions in place, if you continue to be a loose confederation of member states still based on the Unanimity Rule you will never be capable to act at the right moment, and you can disappear, as disappeared in the past some nations who have based their political thinking and their decision making on unanimity. I'm always saying, and it was a fantastic tour in the US, imagine one moment when the US should be governed like all 28 member states, all European Union, how should it work? First of all, no Obama, no Trump. You could have three presidents, so that's the first change. Second change is it should be the fifty governors of the US coming together,

perhaps five or six times a year, who will decide on everything in the US based on the Unanimity Rule; everybody should say well that doesn't work at all. And then with the possibility for certain states to withdraw from the union, or from the federation; for example, California saying, well, this dollar, interesting currency, but I want to come back to the Spanish peseta, like in the middle of the Nineties, that would be best. Or for example, a state like Florida saying, American Border and Coastguard, not with me, I do it myself, we make an opt out, as we call it in Europe, from the Border and Coastguard. Or for example, Vermont, or Washington or another state saying, the FBI, interesting organisation, but not for me, I'm going to not participate. That was created after the murder of President McKinley, as you know, in 1901, after a terrorist attack, and they murdered McKinley and they created the FBI, but not for me, I'm going to do an opt out also, and later on, with an opt in, you never know, that I can change my mind. That is the way we are working in the European Union.

I didn't do it in the American print, but I did in the Dutch print; I put in an appendix all the European unions that had existed. In total I have twelve maps, twelve in total, and I limited myself, I can tell you. The

European Union, the European Union of the Single Currency, the European Union of Schengen, the European Union of Justice & Cooperation, the European Union of the European Patent, as we have now, with only 26 member states participating, without Italy and without Spain. So, such an European Union cannot work in the world of today. And in my opinion, and that is the main purpose of the book, we need deep reform, and Brexit is a golden opportunity I should say. Not only to discuss, to negotiate with our British partners a new partnership between the European Union and Britain, but also to get our act together inside the European



Union. For me, that second track is as important, if not more important than the first track. And the building blocks to build up this European Union that is effective, that can act, that can work, not a super state that some people are talking about when people are talking about the existing European super state, I'm always thinking myself 'what are they talking about?' The super state with a budget of one percent of the GDP, 1%, that is the budget of the European Union and from that 1%, 80% is in fact money paid by the member states going directly back to the member states. So, the real budget of the super state European Union is 0.2% of the European GDP. And from the 0.2% of European GDP you need 0.06% to pay your civil servants, to pay your agencies, to pay your institutions, to pay the budgets of all of these people later on. So that means that the real room to manoeuvre of the budget of the so-called European super state today is 0.14% of the European GDP. I'm always comparing that with the 23% of the American federation, or for example, the 15% of the Swiss confederation to give only these two examples.

Besides that, what is really needed is not new ideas; the ideas already exist since 1950, 1952-53 when the six member states of the European Union, I should say with the six member states of the Coal & Steel Community put together with their representatives a constitution, the 1953 constitution, in which they created the Defence Union, the political union, they did everything what was in fact necessary to have an effective union in this continent. And everybody knows why it failed, because it was adopted by 70 representatives with unanimity with five abstentions. Not a bad result in politics I should say. But at the same time, it was defeated as we all know, but that's history today, in the French National Assembly, because the new French Prime Minister, Pierre Mendes France, he didn't like the project, [rather] he liked the project, but it was the project of his predecessor, so he didn't engage a confidence vote in the French National Assembly to go forward with this project. And that is the reason why, because of this failure of the Defence Union, the vote in the French National Assembly, we didn't then need the political union, we didn't need the constitution, and the different representative of the six member states came together somewhere in

Sicily and there was born and was concluded in 1956-57 on the 25th March in Rome, the so-called Treaty of Rome, and the Treaty of Rome is nothing more than in fact, the beginning of a customs union. So at our universities they tell us, and at our schools in Belgium and at other countries in Europe 'Europe was a fantastic success, it started with the Second World War, everybody was aware of the need to work together; certainly Winston Churchill was with the first attempts to go forward with such a united Europe, and then we created the European Coal and Steel Community, and it went so well that gradually we have created and established the European Union as it stands today. That's the official version.

The reality is completely different. It started with a failure from Day One. And it is the negative vote in the French National Assembly, destroying in fact, the first constitution for the European Union based on a small European government, not a European Commission of 28 as we have now. We don't have even enough portfolios to give to these 28, but a small government 12, 15 people, and with two assemblies, one a European Parliament representing the citizens, one a senate of the member states, representing the member states, with a normal budget, with a normal treasury, with everything that is needed. We don't need to reinvent everything, we know what is needed in the European Union. We have the building blocks, we know that we need a government for the Single Currency. It's only we Europeans who think that first of all you start with the currency and then you say when you have started, 'Oh shit, we need a treasury and we need maybe a government and minister of finance and a management of debt. The Americans know that when they started with the dollar it was not in 1785 when the federation was created. In 1785 they created the federation, then there was the battle between Jefferson and Hamilton and that created this treasury certificate, and the American Treasury and so on and so forth. And only later on, in the beginning of the Nineteenth century, they started with the common currency. As I said, we are more intelligent, we do the opposite.

The same for Schengen, we start with Schengen, and then say, yeah, that was a pretty good idea, and by the way, we need maybe, a European Border and Coast Guards. Is it not more intelligent first of all to organise your management of the external border and then to abolish, internal in fact, checks at the borders as we have done years ago. We do it now with a budget of 250 million, and this is the budget of the European Border and Coast Guards, I'm always comparing that with the 32 billion of dollars for homeland security, at least for the agencies homeland security who are responsible for that.

The same for the common fight against terrorism, intelligence sharing, investigation. You need capacity. I have enough of all these leaders in Europe who are always saying 'yeah, yeah, but that's not necessary, we don't need that, that's Europe here, we need more coordination, that we need. The word coordination is always used to not do what is necessary and to have not the intention to start, for example, with the investigation and intelligence capacity.

The same for the Defence Union, I know I have already abused my time, but I continue a little bit still, if you invite a politician you have to take the risk. So, the Defence Union, why the Defence Union? Because we are spending more or less 40%, 42% of the American military budget. You could say 'that's not a lot'. I can tell you it's 42% of the biggest budget, the US military budget in the United States of America. That's the input, now the output. We are only capable to do 10-12% of the operations of the American army. So, I'm a lawyer, I'm not a mathematician, nevertheless I was once a minister of budget, but today that doesn't mean anything, because the only thing you need to know as minister of budget is the word 'No', so mathematics is absolutely not needed for that. So, and I know nothing about mathematics, but I know that if you spend 42% and that is what you put in your military expenditure, and you can only do 12% of the operations of the American army, you are three times, maybe four times less effective than them. And why? Because we duplicate everything in the European Union. Every country has its strategic air transport, every country has its tactical battle group, every country has its medical services and the numbers of cooperations between armies in Europe, there is a huge inflation. Everybody is cooperating with each other. Between the three Benelux countries, between France and Germany, between Italy and France, between the Baltic states, between the Scandinavian countries. But we are not capable to have a real European battle group when we need it; when we needed to have a number of operations in place. The European Defence Union is key for that, and it's not against NATO. The European Defence Union needed to be very simple, the European pillar of NATO. It was the initial idea in 1953 that was in the constitution, with the support of the British, with the

support of our American allies, because already at that moment they know that cooperation between the European armies is the best way to have some effective defence.

And I want to conclude. I hear that certainly that some of the questions that will be put forward, yeah this is good, yeah this is ok, this sounds very reasonable, but people are against it, people don't want it, people like more time, proper national government, national health service, national security instead of this, call it, European Union, or European Federation, whatever name you give it. Well, that's wrong. People are very critical, that's true. People are very critical, the works of the European Union as it works today, or better, as it doesn't work today. They are very critical to every aspect of it, and they are right. It doesn't work, not concerning the migration flows, not concerning the refugees, not concerning the fallout of the financial crisis, not geopolitics. But they are not against Europe. Every survey where ask to the European citizens do you think, for example, that the European Union should do more to fund the fight against terrorism, 82% of the citizens respond 'Yes, Europe needs to do that, but not the way they are doing it now'. When we ask them, for example, do we need more protection of external borders, the answer is 71% Yes, but not the way its working now, where there is, in fact, no management of the borders and we've left it all in the hands of the Italians and the Greeks and we see what is happening. The same about migration, 74%, employment, 77%, and even more than 60% for a Common European Defence Union. On the thirteen questions that are normally put to the European citizens, 'Do you believe that there is more European cooperation needed' on twelve of the thirteen the majority of European citizens want more common action. But not the action of today, not loose confederation that is always acting too little, too late. That is the reason why they fall into the trap of nationalist and populist, and that will certainly continue if we don't put forward for them a vision, a project that can work, and give the direction of what Europe needs in the world of tomorrow. A world of tomorrow will be less secure. There will be more protectionists, and a world in my opinion in which the European Union has to defend its values, as we have seen the last days with the Muslim ban coming from the other side of the Atlantic.

The only thing I want to say to end my intervention, President and ladies and gentlemen is that I am astonished to see lots of people who say 'well, we are national identity, nationalism is maybe a better place to organise Europe in the future'. I'm astonished with the levity with which people are talking about nationalism and national identity in Europe. Forgetting what, because we invented nationalism in the Nineteenth century in Europe, but apparently, we have forgotten what disaster, what atrocities that so called national identity thinking, and nationalism has created in Europe. Because the problem's not national identity in itself, it's when national identity is based on ethnicity and no longer on values that the problems start in Europe. I think there's an enormous risk today from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, that again, we need to organise this old continent based on nationalism and national identity. Twenty million have died because of nationalism in Europe, because of the war, because of ethnic cleansing, because of the pogroms. There is not one family living on this continent and certainly not in Britain, who does not have a grandfather, grandmother, member of the family who was a victim of these stupidities and of these atrocities at the end of the Nineteenth and the whole Twentieth century. So, putting your political thinking and the future of organisation of Europe on nationalist ID is the most stupid thing what you can do; it's playing with fire, knowing what it has created in the past and it is the reason why I have written this book. Thank you very much.

Dr Robin Niblett: Ladies and gentlemen, we've got a good twenty-five minutes or so for discussions and questions. A very powerful presentation, as I must say, beginning as I was running through the elements of your poly-crisis Mr Verhofstadt, I could see a lot of British Brexiteers nodding and saying 'Exactly'.

Guy Verhofstadt [shrugs] Yeah, but I agree with them on that point

RN: I think at the same time how you said it might be a golden opportunity for the European Union, Brexit might be a golden opportunity to tackle some of the challenges, the structural challenges that you described and I thought your point about that we're taught in history that European integration has been one of smooth progress from the Coal and Steel Community to the European Union and through the Single Currency, and your description, in fact, that it started with failure and is trying to catch up with the past, a pretty powerful statement to have made there. Dr Minoves, I thought we'd agreed that you might have one question on one

point that you wanted to make and then I'm going to get the audience here in, but if you had one question or remark that you wanted to make first.

Dr Juli Minoves: First, I was very happy to hear Mr Verhofstadt talk about the history of Europe, not as a streamlined history, but with its difficulties and beginning already. Now when you talk about the role of France, you see at school I was always told it was the Franco-German alliance that built Europe and as long as that was strong, then Europe would be strong. What I have to ask you is where is that now? Is there a Franco-German alliance at the core of Europe? Is that something that we can rely on in the future? Is it something that we should rely on?

GV: I think it is key, a Franco-German alliance, but based on the right ideas, on the right vision, and if it is to promote inter-governmentalism in the future I think it's not very helpful, but, you know, I have seen at least one candidate in the French election now, he did a very interesting op-ed in the FT a few days ago, Mr Macron, and he said what is not important is the sovereignty of France what is important is the European sovereignty, because only through Europe we can regain our sovereignty. I think it's a fantastic thing for a Frenchman saying that, so I go [holds hands up]. But I find that there are many people saying that Verhofstadt, you're the only one saying this, there's nobody else who would think as you, so there is no grounds for this idea. The opposite is true, there is a growing generation of young politicians in Europe, I spoke about Macron, but I could speak about the opposition movement in Poland, Nowoczesna now at 25% in the polls and behind his big pro-European rallies of 250,00 people at a certain moment in Poland. I can talk about Ciudadanos, Albert Rivera, the new Spanish young leader; very pro-European. So, it is not true that there is no counter-movement already born. The counter-movement on the continent of younger politicians believing in a radical reform of European Union is there. Maybe they are not so strong for the moment as nationalists are, the populists are, but there comes a day when they will be stronger than them because it is the only way forward for the continent and the fact that such politicians also in France have the courage I should say to the public opinion and are doing very well in the polls. I don't hope that my intervention, my support for him will be destroying his chances, but in any way, that is, we have to know that, if today nationalism and populism had become ordinary talk amongst politicians, the counter-



Dr Juli Minoves, President of LI, Guy Verhofstadt & Robin Niblett, Director of Chatham House.

movement is already born and will be the fulfilment of the dream of the founding fathers of the Fifties, there is no other chance. The other thing, the other possibility is full further disintegration of the Union. It's one or the other.

Tom Brake MP, Liberal Democrat Foreign Affairs spokesman: You may be area that the Doomsday Clock is two and half minutes from midnight so you need to get your book out in the bookshops soon. We are going to be debating the Bill, the Article 50 Bill, tomorrow, and that is how long it is [holds up a document of a couple of pages]. As a party we will be pressing for people to have a vote on the terms of the deal, and I hope you might support us in that respect, and also pressing for the

government to negotiate continued membership of the Single Market, so I'll be interested in your views on that, but perhaps most importantly, what role if any do you see for the United Kingdom in the future in the reforms that you have set out that you believe are necessary within the European Union?

GV: Well I think to start with, your last remark, if there is a positive effect of Brexit, then it is, in my opinion, that it is an enormous wake up call for the European leaders to get their act together. Nevertheless, I repeat what I have said in the past, I deplore the Brexit decision, but ok, the decision has been made, a majority was there, and so we need to deal with it, and that means that we are looking for fair negotiations

with the UK authorities, that's what we are trying to do. Not in the sense of 'oh, it has to be a punishment, it has to be revenge. On the contrary, it has to be a search for a new partnership between the European Union, more integrated, more united as ever before, on the one hand and our British friends on the other side; I see it that way. And we cannot interfere about what is happening inside the UK. You know my opinion about the Brexit, I think it was a wrong decision, but nevertheless, we have to deal with it. We cannot say every time, OK we're going to wait, no, it's going to be now and it's up to Theresa May to make her proposal. It's not the European Union will tell, no we're going to offer you this or that. It will be the British authorities who say what type of relationship they want, and if I understand it very well, in the late speech of the Prime Minister, she's going for a Brexit outside of the Union, outside the Single Market, outside the Customs Union, outside the European Court of Justice system, and ok, that's their responsibility. What we're going to do in any way is to make a fair negotiation. That means that we shall not allow and we shall accept what we call cherry picking, in saying that we go out of all these policies but by the way, this European programme, that sounds interesting for us, or that European policy, oh, that we want to continue. No. If you want that you need also to take the liabilities, the obligations that are linked to that. Nobody, if all tax payers on the

continent another attitude from us, that said. I think also, and that's my personal opinion I'm expressing now, and I hope also that I can put in the resolution that I am preparing now for the European Parliament and that will be approved by the beginning of April after the triggering of Article 50. We need also to be open and generous to the individual UK citizen. I can tell you, I receive every day tens of letters, there are now already, I don't know how many, I didn't summarize them. Every day I receive millions of citizens who say 'Don't leave us alone, we feel still European citizens and we want to continue to have our link with Europe because we



make part of the same civilisation. That is what we don't understand in Europe, that is we have a common heritage, a common civilisation, history, architecture, culture, literature, you name it. When people are saying, yeah but Europe is too diverse, I'm always saying, go to India once and there you see a country with 2000 ethnicities, 20 languages, 4 big religions and nevertheless a democracy, and the biggest democracy worldwide. Don't under-estimate that when you go to China you are not entering a nation, you are entering a civilisation. We also have a common civilisation, and we are ignoring it, because we created nationalism as the way to organise our continent and it's not the best way to organise a continent in the world of tomorrow. Thinking at that length, because I want to come back to the mail that I receive, and how we could achieve that, because we are scrutinizing, thinking, debating what we can do about that, that an individual UK citizen could that his links with Europe are not broken forever, as he doesn't want.

RN: Just to follow up on one point. If the UK government wanted to cherry-pick cooperation on counter-terrorism is that an issue really for tax payers' money or is that something you'd welcome?

GV: Well if you are saying we have the whole economic membership withdrawal agreement, that's one thing, I don't propose to discuss exactly how we are going to negotiate this, and on which, I think there more common understanding between the Union and the UK on the other hand, but I think separately from this there is a whole internal – external security issue, and I don't want, I don't think it is a wise thing to do, to do a trade-off between the one and the other. That would be a mistake.

Lady from University of Oxford: I wondering in the age of truth politics, alternative facts, and given the frankly astonishing disregard for factual accuracy on the side of the Brexiteers in the referendum, what is the language that you translate, assuming that most citizens will not sit down and read the book, which is

obviously unfortunate, how do you translate that book into the language of campaigning? Do you go and say we are reclaiming fact, or do you go and say the only way for us to reclaim the narrative is to take a page from the book of populism and go in with emotive narrative; how do you campaign? As somebody who spent most of her waking hours trying to save Europe from itself, how do we talk to citizens?

GV: Could we go back a few months then, before the referendum?

Baroness Nicholson: How do you propose then, that we start the constitution? No organisation can manage without a proper stalwart constitution inside it. I know that Britain does, but we have very, very ancient institutions and alas, Brussels doesn't have that blessing. I wondered, it's not going to be possibly to survive much longer without a constitution, and as we found with enlargement, the Helsinki Process. As Mr. Gorbachev said to me the time, 'If you let this get too big it will collapse in the middle.' Well we are collapsing in the middle and it's a great open door, for example, to corruption and to not honouring the agreements that are already part of the Union. Might it be possible to restart the constitutional argument by starting with just the countries of the willing, for example, and let the who agrees join?

GV: That reminds me of what happened in America in 1776. It started with the Confederation, then nine wanted to go forward, four didn't want to go forward and didn't want to change the Confederation. Finally, they said, yeah, from now on it's a new majority rule. Well, what's a majority rule? Nine of thirteen, if nine of thirteen agree, then it's OK. That happened. That's Philadelphia and the 1785 Second Revolution I should say, and finally the four, the latest we have to make trouble was Rhode Island, I remember. They all joined; so, we are also in the same process I think, inside the Union, in which we need to go forward with a vision, with a project, and I'm pretty sure of one thing, that in the end every of the twenty-seven will join this further building again of an effective and in my opinion, even less bureaucratic European Union. And if we have the courage to do so, the problem today in Europe is that this vision, this project, is not there. How can you, and that's also my answer to the first question, how can you convince people if you don't have a clear direction of what the future will be, in which we can solve their problems, on which we can answer their challenges? It's not ordinary citizens who will do that. How many citizens wake up in the morning and say 'I need more Europe?' It doesn't work like that. It's the politicians who need to do that, and that is the narrative that I miss in the European Union as a whole, and that I missed also in the whole discussion on Brexit. If I may, one point of criticism to the Remain camp. It's a pity that they only talked about economy, economy, economy, and if every day, I can tell you, and every week you hear 'Oh, it will be a disaster, Brexit,' then two days later, 'It will be a bigger disaster,' no, no, then five days later, 'It will be a huge disaster,' and then so, months and months and nobody believes it will be a disaster, because you can repeat it so much times and the argument is not valid anymore. So, I think, and the other side and migration, I shall not repeat the scandalous posters that have been used by some in this campaign on migration. But I think [it is] the emotional argument that counts, that is not sufficiently underlined; also by our current European leaders, now, at this moment to explain why it is necessary to go forward with Europe. And I have to tell you, in the mail that I receive from Europe, it's all about emotion. People, they say, we don't want to break away from something that makes part of our lives, and also part of our identity. But identity, let's talk a little bit about identity. Identity and politics, it has never been a good marriage, it has always been abused. An identity of people is not one identity. Do not let politicians categorize identity in saying 'Oh, you speak that language; oh, you live in that neighbourhood, then that's your identity. That's nonsense. Everybody has a unique identity, and you decide on your identity, and certainly do not let a politician take it away from you or abuse it, as it is happening now, for the moment.

Julia Hamble, Chatham House: I wanted to ask you now, that with the new President of the European Parliament, and with the role that you are going to now have leading the Brexit negotiations for the Parliament, we were told that the Parliament will demand a greater role in this. Can you say what the role is going to be now and what you would like it to be in the future

James Landale, Diplomatic Editor, BBC News: Michel Bandier says that he wants the divorce talks to be completed before he starts discussions about the future relationship. The British government takes a different view. Well, what is your view? And how big a question do you think this issue of scheduling will be before you can get on to issues of substance?

GV: Easy answer, the Treaty. The Treaty gives it all in Treaty Article 50 say the role can be agree taking into consideration the future relationship. You see it's a fantastic political text in it says of the withdrawal agreement, in the light of the future relationship, that is literally the Treaty and that is what we need to apply.

RN: So you're saying that Article 50, that second Article 50 can be applied, you can do both at the same time?

GV: Article 50 and Article 50 is clear, it says that withdrawal taking into consideration the future relationship, that is what Article 50 say and that the negotiators have a little bit of room for manoeuvre on Article 50, but that's the clear text. On the role of the Parliament, the role of the Parliament is very simple. We have to approve the outcome, the agreements that have been made; withdrawal agreement, if there are other agreements on the future relationship or the transitional matters, these agreements need to be approved by the Parliament. So, we have the last word, and that's the reason why the Parliament is saying, and it could be that it is also put in these terms, in the resolution we are going to adopt in a few months. We say that you need to have the Parliament on board from day one because it's a tricky moment, the moment when we have to agree, or disagree with the outcome of the negotiations. The timetable is as follows; if we start by the end of May, beginning of June negotiations, taking then 14 or 15 months and then has to start the so-called consent procedure in the European Parliament, because we need to be ready before the European elections of 2019. So, that means that the real timeframe, the period for negotiations is around fifteen months. And we start on the consent procedure in a quite sensitive moment. It is a few months before the European elections. You know how politicians are – sensitive, I should say, in a period of just before elections. So it will be absolutely necessary that Parliament is taken on board from day one in these negotiations otherwise it will be very difficult to have a green light at the end of the consent procedure. So, then, all agreements need to be approved by Parliament. If not, there is simply no agreement and there is an exit from Britain out of the Union without any arrangement.

Lena O'Donnell, Associated Press: You mentioned the flirtation in Europe with far-right nationalism is playing with fire and you also made reference to the Muslim Ban introduced a couple of days ago, by the United States. Can you put the two together and expand on what is the likely influence on the rise and spread of nationalism within Europe of the new populism in the United States and you also mentioned new European leaders, do they have the time to counter this impact before it takes a grip?

GV: I can directly answer your question. I think the populism and nationalism by Trump is more influenced by our right wing and populist movements than the opposite. I think there is a lot of proof of that, and the opposite of what many people think. It's from here that it went to the others side of the Atlantic and not the opposite.

Miller Harker, journalist for the Dutch Newspaper NRC Handelsblad: The EU will see these negotiations about the UK's exit from the European Union, but if you listen to people in London they also talk about the UK's commitment to NATO. Someone today told me that it is the elephant in the room. How do you react to that, and how do you, from you point of view, prevent these negotiations from being more than just the UK's exit from the EU?

GV: I said it already, but maybe not clear enough, that for me there are [pauses]; it's not only about economics and about agreements on that, there will also be on the table the whole questions of internal and external security. But what you already see in Europe, there is that idea of a European Defence Union, is again on the table since the Brexit referendum. And I'm pleased with that. I organised once as Prime Minister the so-called, or they called it, the journalists, the Chocolate Summit, because, naturally, we are specialists in chocolate, and it was in Brussels, and at that moment on the table were European headquarters, common procurement of military equipment. All of these ideas which people were laughing with, in 2003-2004, are now back on the table. And that's not an issue NATO or European Defence, that's a totally wrong question. European defence is absolutely key also for NATO, for the North Atlantic Alliance. We have to start thinking about the North Atlantic Alliance not as an alliance of a number of individual member states, nations, nut as an alliance of pillars. And that's the only way in Europe to have a more effective contribution to NATO, because, let's not be naïve, I don't see any room of manoeuvre in the coming years in Europe to

increase national budget for military expansion. What I see is the possibility to create a Defence Union that spend 42% of the American expenditure and is capable not to do 12% of their operations, but maybe double, or triple of that. And that should be an enormous achievement. And that's also a reason why it is a complete mistake of the American President now to bet on a further disintegration of the Union; it's weakening the security interests of the West, of America and of Europe. Instead he should bet on a strengthening and a further integration also on defence of the Union.

RN: Did you appreciate Theresa May making that point to President Trump, was she talking of a strong Europe?

GV: She was, it was the thing that was still on the table where they were agreeing, so well done by her.

Guy Verhofstadt, Leader, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, European Parliament; Prime Minister of Belgium (1999-2008) and lead negotiator on Brexit for the European Parliament, delivered the Liberal International's Isaiah Berlin Lecture at Chatham House, London on the 30th January 2017

See more or listen at: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/file/brexit-and-beyond-europe-s-last-chance#sthash.cn6zZ0dK.dpuf>

Europe's Last Chance: Why the European States Must Form a More Perfect Union, by Guy Verhofstadt. Basic Books, \$27.99 ISBN 978-0-4650-9685-5



The Future of Kashmir: United or Divided?

The LIBG Forum, The Future of Kashmir: United or Divided? Was held on 28th November 2016 at the National Liberal Club. The speakers were Lord Qurban Hussain, Jay Iqbal (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front), Shazad Iqbal (All Parties Committee – Kashmir), Nitasha Kaul (Westminster University) and Phillip Bennion with Jonathan Fryer in the chair.

Kashmir is an unresolved problem of the British scuttling out of India. One of the Princely States, it was nominally open to make up its own mind of where to be on independence. Although predominantly Muslim, Kashmir's ruler, Hari Singh, was a Sikh and a large part of the Muslim population favoured India over Pakistan. With Muslim and Hindu populations divided at the time between joining India or Pakistan, a third group favoured independence. This problem was compounded by Nehru's personal interest in Kashmir. The independence movement has grown strongly in the intervening years.

The British, who defined the border lines between India and Pakistan in a matter of weeks, didn't have time to consider Kashmir, and one could say that the existing line of control depends on whose army was where at



the time of the 1948 ceasefire. The People's Republic of China occupies the Aksai Chin region. Kashmir remains one of the fault lines of political conflict and a focus for terrorism throughout the world.

The Forum consensus was that Kashmiris prefer to be united in the long run and that there is little support for firming up the line of control into a permanent border. Other speakers agreed with my own suggestion that both India and Pakistan are each strong enough to prevent the territory they occupy falling to the other, so the only realistic prospect of a united Kashmir is through independence.

Nitasha Kaul pointed out that Indian civil society is ahead of its politicians in considering all options for a long-term solution. Hence she is optimistic that public opinion in India can eventually come to a more constructive position.

The position of JKLF on Kashmir issue.

The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front hold the view that Kashmir issue is not a 'territorial dispute' between Pakistan and India and cannot be resolved by them bilaterally without the involvement of 17 million people of Jammu-Kashmir. JKLF believe that the question of national independence for the entire state of Jammu-Kashmir can only be settled through free exercise for unfettered right to self-determination as provided for in the UN Charter for the occupied and subjugated people.

JKLF do not accept Jammu-Kashmir to be constitutional or an integral part of any neighbouring country, which are partially occupying it at present.

JKLF also believe that no individual, group, political party, assembly or government has the right to decide about the political or constitutional status of Jammu-Kashmir or any part of it and that if any individual, political party, group, assembly or government has in the past done so or attempts to do so in the future, it will not be legally binding on the people of the State as a whole.

JKLF believe that entire state of Jammu-Kashmir (including all areas that were its part on 14/15th August 1947) is an indivisible political entity and we will not accept any bilateral or international agreement, which paves way for a permanent division on the basis of presently forced demarcation.

We believe that the Kashmiri people alone, or their representatives duly elected for this purpose, only have the right to decide about the future constitutional, political, social and economic system for the country and its relationship with foreign countries. Any decision forced upon the people of Jammu-Kashmir (by occupation forces) against their national aspirations will not be acceptable in anyway.

We believe that the best solution to the Issue is to reunify all parts of the forcibly divided State and offer full sovereignty and independence with a right to become a member of the United Nations.

Jay Iqbal



Lord Qurban Hussain

Nitasha Kaul

International news from the Young Liberals.

1) LYMEC is offering **one** member of the Young Liberals accommodation and a travel subsidy up to €100 to attend the March for Europe from 24-26 March in Rome. Please email international@liberalyouth.org if you are interested in attending. Further information is available, but do **not** register for the event without asking the International Officers first.

2) IFLRY is looking for working group members to formulate its policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Young Liberals can nominate up to 3 members of this working group. We will decide who to nominate through an internal application form, please contact us as above. The deadline to complete the form by is February 20th.

Liberal Love,

Hannah Bettsworth and Andrew Martin

P.S. If you are interested in attending LYMEC congress in Stockholm, please save the dates 12-14 May in your calendars: we'll give you more information about that when we get it.

ATTACK OF THE BARBARIANS

Dozens of years ago, there used to be a story always told by teachers to the primary school kids in Istanbul. According to the story, thousands of years ago, two different group of people came and settled on shores which we call it Istanbul today. First group set up their town on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus; others took the European side. After a while hearsay started about the people who were living on the Anatolian side: that basically was saying: these people (Anatolian side) must be blind, because the scenery was so impeccable beautiful from the European side: to see this fact and still settling the other side cannot be explained other than being blind and not be able to see the beauty at all. I must be seven or eight years old when I heard this story at the school.

Beauty of Istanbul has been told generations after generations. According to latest finding first settlers decided to stay in Istanbul more or less eight thousand years ago. Historical, geopolitical, cultural and financial importance of Istanbul has never been questioned. There are cities exist on Earth which do not belong their designated geography; in fact they do belong to the everybody who live on this planet. There are numerous songs, poems, movies and novels created solely based on Istanbul. But now something is happening to this extraordinary city.

Almost every night large parts of the city drown into a scary darkness; blackouts start almost after sundown. Nothing on the both sides of Bosphorus; it is possible to see but some flickering lights. It looked like kind of hellish, something between Japanese horror flick and badly written B movies. Only thing pierces the



blackout is the high-tech beams of latest model of mostly black German cars. Black paint plus blackened windows make them look like some sort of monsters, suddenly coming out the side street and destroys anything on their paths. Ordinary citizens of the city always taken edge of sidewalk when they spot them. Who drove these cars; secret police, or sons of government contractors? Everything seems to move on towards some unreal ground.

Heavily armed security forces are stationed every important corner of the city, but somehow these scenes do not give anybody any assurance. Since it was revealed Russian ambassador killer was an active duty police officer. Since the news of assassinations, the rumours of extreme Islamist infiltrations of Turkish security apparatus prove right. There are so many talks and half-truth are flying around; some are quite mad, some are very reasonable but no news, no unbiased news at all.

Censorship mechanism is so strong and so able that nobody need to check if anything publishes without regime consent because the whole mechanism turned into a some kind of a living organism. As if it feeds by news and defecates the censored lies for the public. News itself became like some sort of heavy liquid, oozing out of the small cracks if ever finds one. So most of the time, no cracks to leak hence no news, hence absurd amount of rumours.

In recent times, Istanbul had seen numerous oppressive regimes, military juntas and laughable dictators; but I believe it has never seen as bad as this one. Mad king of thieves and his ugly dirty cronies.

Fear on the street do not causes only by the terrorist bombs, because anybody who has IQ over 80 knows this was a direct result of the “president’s” failing and hallucinogenic foreign policy move. Direct result of having the dream of Ottoman Empire 2.0. Anybody who has a little reason left in their frontal lobe knows this was a recipe for disaster. As a result, again any sane inhabitant of city is perfectly clear that as long as the “president” regime stays intact there going to be more and more terrorist attacks. A few courageous journalists tried to say and write about this pile of horse manure that country dragged into; but all of them now are rotting in the high security prisons. One must not forget on the other edge of country thousands of Kurdish families had left their homes, lost their lands and properties, almost all Kurdish opposition media were shut down and journalist were working in those media outlets were either arrested or forcefully kicked out.

Basically, Istanbul and rest of the country are taken by the king of thieves and his ugly helpers. They are modern day barbarians, possibly much worse.

A city which belong to the people of this Earth are now crushing under the feet of these thieves, murderers, liars and men who have no respect to humanity.

This article is necessarily anonymous, indeed, news out of Turkey since the coup is sparse.

International abstracts

A new liberal tea party is forming, can it last without turning against Democrats? Washington Post. 11th February 2017

Well, we’ve often alluded to the short-comings of America’s Democrats; does this say anything of interest to the Liberal Democrats as they try to harvest the anti-Brexit movement?

https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/a-new-liberal-tea-party-is-forming-can-it-last-without-turning-on-democrats/2017/02/11/94421200-efdf-11e6-9973-c5efb7ccfb0d_story.html?utm_term=.09fd658114ee

Brexit and Brits in the EU - bargaining chip or afterthought? By Laura Shields (chair of Brussels & Europe Liberal Democrats). The Local 15th February 2017

<http://www.thelocal.es/20170215/opinion-brexit-and-brits-in-the-eu-bargaining-chip-or-afterthought>

Journal of Liberal History Issue 93/Winter 2016-17

Assesses the careers of Trevor Jones ‘the vote’ and Richard Livsey, two Welshmen who made an impact of the Liberal party in the last century. The 150th anniversary of the petition for the enfranchisement of women is remembered and should invigorate Liberal thinking on the subject, too long bedevilled by Asquith & Pankhurst. The Distributionists (Belloc & the Chestertons) and the Liberal Party, explores an obscure side chapel in a broad church that had more to do with social Catholicism. I suspect that Belloc’s main grouse was that Asquith didn’t recognise the genius of this new back-bencher, in a Parliamentary party overflowing with talent. Some his ideas are re-run in Hayek, but by that time he was long lost.

1 Day Without Us is a National Day of Action on 20th February 2017 to celebrate the contribution of migrants to the UK, to coincide with UN World Day of Social Justice.

For 24 hours, we are inviting migrants from inside and outside the European Union, and everyone who supports them, to celebrate the contribution that migrants make.

Some may choose to do this symbolically, by wearing badges and lanyards, posting selfies or pictures that show your support, or putting posters in their windows. Some may wish to have a communal meal or a party with the migrants they have known as friends, colleagues, workmates and neighbours. Workers may take a five-minute silence or a mini-rally at lunchtime or tea-time.

There are also those who may wish to highlight migrant contributions to the UK in more direct ways. Some may prefer a march or a rally. Others may decide to stop work or leave their classes for ten minutes or an hour or the whole day.

There are many ways that you can take part in this day. Do what you feel able to do and what you feel is most appropriate to your situation.

Whatever your nationality and place of origin; wherever you live and work, join us and make February 20 a day of protest, solidarity and celebration.

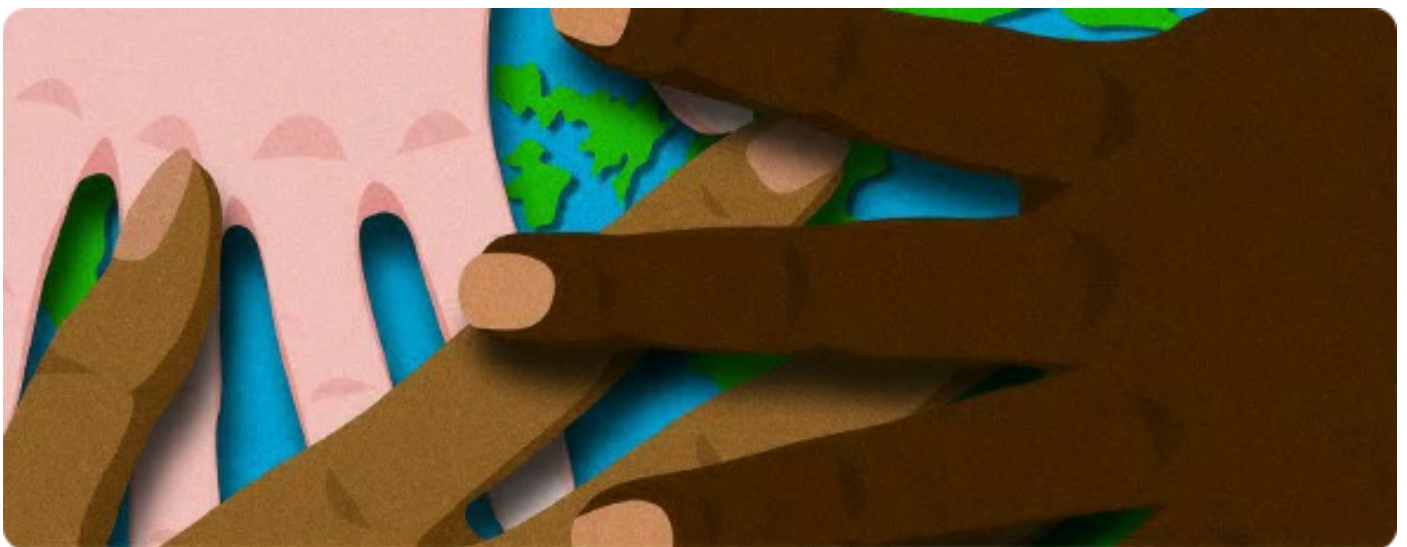
At 1pm we are inviting all migrants and their supporters to take part in a unifying action. Link arms and/or hold up placards. Take photos and post them on social media using our hashtag #1DayWithoutUs. We also invite you to take selfies individually before and after this action and post them with your personal messages of support using the hashtag.

Go to <http://www.1daywithoutus.org/> to find out what's happening in your area

We are millions. Let us stand together and show it.

Let's reject the politics of division and hatred.

Let's make tomorrow better than today.



ONE DAY WITHOUT US
20/02/2017



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Let the trumpets sound, the banners fly, Federal International Relations Committee has met...

The Liberal Democrat's Federal International Relations Committee held its inaugural meeting in central London on 28 January which, for those of us living beyond the M25, meant a rather early start, albeit for a good cause. And we had much to do, not all of it entirely political.

For, with any new body comes a panoply of administration which, although rather dull, is essential to making sure that, when decisions are taken, they are valid. We had, fortunately, elected a Chair in advance, as only one of the directly elected members, Robert Woodthorpe Browne, applied for the post. Standing Orders have been adopted, a secretary elected, and a communications plan initiated.

The bureaucracy dealt with, the Committee looked at forthcoming business. Liberal International is currently drafting a new manifesto, timed for release during its Congress in Andorra in mid-May. 2017 sees the Liberal International reach its seventieth birthday, and the new document is intended to be a reboot of the original "Oxford Manifesto", written in the shadow of World War 2, which espoused a liberal platform for the rebuilding of peace and democracy after such a calamity. But time moves on, and global liberalism faces new challenges. I'll report more on this in the coming weeks.

ALDE Party Council meets in Ljubljana, Slovenia, from 1-3 June, and preparations for our delegation are underway. We send a delegation of seven members, five elected directly by the membership, plus the Party President and the Chair of the Committee. The Committee noted that we need to design a process to open up our delegation to the Annual Congress to the wider membership.

We received a report from Harriet Shone, the Party's International Officer. Harriet is extremely busy at the moment, delivering a range of projects in such places as Bulgaria, Georgia and Kenya, with particular emphasis on the forthcoming African Liberal Network General Assembly, scheduled to take place in Nairobi in March. A pan-African youth conference will take place in the same venue just beforehand, and Harriet and our two new interns, Niklas and Mikaela, are working hard to make both events a success. The Secretary General of Liberal International, Emil Kirjas, came to take part in our discussion after lunch as we explored how the organisation could be more effective and how it might evolve to play a role in developing liberalism in places where it is currently weak, as well as supporting liberal administrations around the world.

The afternoon was spent discussing a strategy for the Committee. According to the Constitution, the Federal Board sets the strategy for our Committee, but in the early days of the new governance arrangements, there is scope for a two-way dialogue and we're keen to find ways of adding value to the Party's campaigning activities, both through outreach with diaspora communities in the United Kingdom, but also with British citizens living abroad, encouraging them to register to vote and, more importantly, to vote Liberal Democrat. As already noted, we adopted a communications plan, designed to make Committee members more visible and, more importantly, more accountable. There is much good work being done, and we want to make sure that members know what we're doing in their name, as well as providing them with opportunities to get involved.

Finally, we intend to look at policy over the coming months, supporting the making of new policy, as well as advising the Parliamentary Parties on issues relating to foreign affairs.

There's a lot to do over the coming months, and we hope to keep Liberal Democrat Voice readers, and the wider Party, up to date with our activities as events unfold.

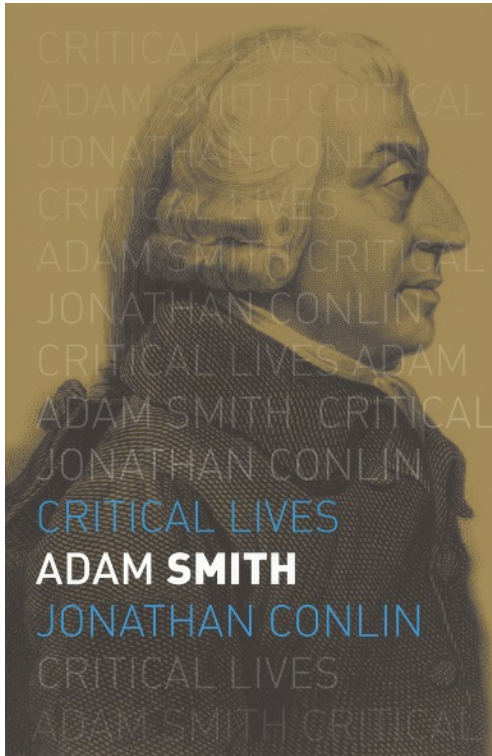
Mark Valladares is the Secretary of the Federal International Relations Committee. He believes in good governance, transparency and a sense of humour...

Originally posted on <http://www.libdemvoice.org/let-the-trumpets-sound-the-banners-fly-federal-international-relations-committee-has-met-53243.html> Wed 8th February 2017 - 2:55 pm

reviews

Adam Smith, by Jonathan Conlin.
Reaktion Books 2016 £11.99
isbn 9781780235684

I sometimes feel that I mention Adam Smith too often, yet constantly have recourse to him, most lately in opposition to the academization of a local school. Smith, you will recall, recognised that the market could not be relied upon for education, nor health care. The trouble is that this is neglected in Smith's selective hi-jacking by that curious amalgam of political Conservatism and economic Liberalism, Thatcherism, and worse, the misunderstanding of that by the Orange Bookers within the Liberal Democrats. Why Thatcherism



continues to hold our body politic in thrall escapes me; as Keynes knew full well, economic ideas have their time, and it passes; new ideas are needed to meet the challenges of today.

That said, a grounding in the masters of economic thought is one of the keys, and hence Smith. I frequently hear it said amongst Liberals that Robert Falkner's *A Conservative Economist? The Political Liberalism of Adam Smith Revisited* (1997), is an excellent guide to the basic arguments, and perhaps the Liberal Democrat History Group should consider a revised edition.

Whilst Falkner will stand the activist and undergraduate in good stead, Conlin has brought us a meatier work, within a couple of hundred pages, to explore the life and work of Smith – his relationship with Quesnay and the French Physiocrats, conflict with Rousseau etc. which would bear fruit in *The Wealth of Nations*. As did Smith, he returns to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and through this is its context in recent political philosophy, concluding, as one might expect, that the head and the heart are as important as the invisible hand, indeed, it's guide.

This might well be the best brief account of Adam Smith and his thought around at this time, and an attractive edition at that – I was constantly entertained by the illustrations, taken from Smith's time, which have a wit of their own.

Stewart Rayment

John Adams and the fear of American Oligarchy,
by Luke Mayville
Princeton 2016
isbn 9781400883691

American oligarchy – that was a question in the back of our minds throughout the fiasco of the US presidential election and the primaries that preceded it. One fears this most amongst the Republicans, the party of corporate America, but the Democrats are scarcely any better. When Obama first won the presidency, casting back to Gore, who like Hilary Clinton, won the popular vote, I said my admittedly somewhat left Democrat friends that there must be root and branch reform of the American electoral system. Most of all, a cap on election spending (which might ideally be allotted solely from the public purse). Is Trump an oligarch? We shall soon see. He certainly comes from the mould, and whatever he said whilst campaigning, the body politic is what he has to work with to achieve his ends. I don't hold out much hope for the aspirations, nastiness aside, of those who voted for him on the basis of what has gone down so far.

Was this the dirtiest election in American history – probably, though the Adams-Jefferson contest of 1800 may be a close runner. Former allies in the revolutionary wars and Continental Congress, even friends, were torn asunder. How much of this was their people rather than the men themselves remains an open question, but it wasn't until their retirements that they would open up a dialogue on their respective ideologies.

Jefferson, in short, had confidence in the new republic to live up to its ideals. Adams thought this naïve, and already saw the dangers of wealth, the remaining pillar of distinction after the demise of the British, as creating oligarchic conditions that were ostensibly alien to the new America. Whereas Tocqueville, writing shortly after, seems to vindicate Jefferson in Americans' love of equality and the depreciation of wealth, a couple of centuries on, Adams was clearly right.

Why wasn't this seen at the time? Semantics maybe. I see Adams, Jefferson and those around them splitting hairs over what is a personal application of the meaning of the ancient Greek political

concept ἀριστοκρατία aristokratía, rule of the best, and whether this was a natural condition or not. This is not the application of common sense. For at least the previous century and beyond, the term obviously meant something else, much closer to our understanding; we might wonder then, why intelligent men harked back to the ancient Greek, where all could see the term corrupting, even in Plato & Aristotle. One might excuse Jefferson, himself an aristocrat in either sense of the word. Adams should have known better, especially since the Greeks had already furnished him with the word he was looking for ὀλιγαρχία – oligarkhía, rule of the few, oligarchy. Since Mayville's argument is that this was Adam's main contention, it appears to me that he lost his argument through his choice of words.

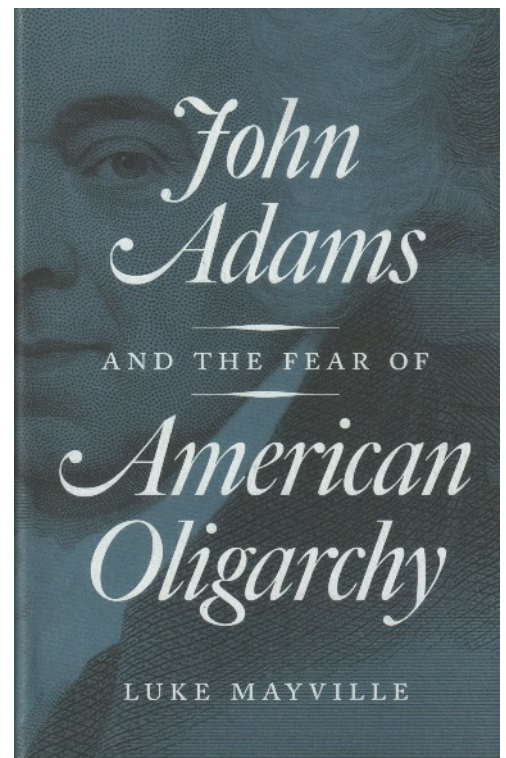
As a political scientist, Adams makes the interesting distinction that the value of wealth in politics is not simply in the ability to purchase, but in its attractiveness. One cannot understand the objection Stateside to something as mild as Obamacare, yet millions of Americans who would obviously benefit from the like clearly see it as an infringement of their liberties. Reinforcing Adams' point here, a Democrat friend explained that whilst one might not be rich, in American society one aspires to be so, and thus would be against anything perceived to denigrate the right of the rich to do as they like with their money, rather than acknowledge its social consequences.

Adams compounded this with an apparent obsession with distinction – titles and honours, which he saw as a bulwark against oligarchy – civic dignity; but the man in the street saw this as a harking back to aristocracy as they commonly understood it. The arguments put forward by Adams, thus dubbed His Rotundity, were all too sophisticated.

Stewart Rayment

Sussex Modernism: retreat and rebellion. II Temple Place, London WC2R 3BD

In the first half of the Twentieth century, Sussex was near to London, yet remote. Even today it is possible to get that feeling. It thus served as a convenient escape from urban and industrial life (paradoxically, one might say, the essence of modernity). The Bloomsbury Group, around Charleston, are perhaps the most famous, but earlier a group around Gill had settled in Ditchling. Were they escaping modern life, or simply the mores that had yet catch up with it? Later, Edward James would attract artists who would go on to attain international reputations such as Salvador Dali to his home in West Dean. Together they created the notorious sofa based on Mae West's lips, alas at the foot of the stairwell at Two Temple, so you can't exactly come up and see them. Other artists, like Edward Burra and Eric Ravilious, were Sussex born and





Come down and see me sometime... Edward James/Salvador Dalí Mae West lips sofa, 1938, in the stairwell at 11 Temple Place.. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, DACS 2017 and with kind permission from West Dean College – The Edward James Foundation.

bred and the county impacts on their work. Burra's mysterious *The Churchyard, Rye* was probably composed from an upper window in adjacent Southridge.

The sub-text of the exhibition might be 'solitude, sex and socialism'. Homosexuality was illegal until 1967. Gill has generally been known as a serial shagger, but the revelations of his incestuous relations in Fiona McCarthy's biography has taken him beyond the pale for many, though his surviving daughter at the time, Petra, took the matter more calmly. The socialism is typical of middle class elites in the inter-war period; Liberalism was recoiling from the war and the ensuing financial crises, and perceptibly bourgeois and boring. The Russian revolution was exciting and its full enormities would only come out with the show trials and the (less obvious at the time) Communist betrayals of the Spanish

Civil War. Pacifism is another recurrent theme in the exhibition, as is religious art – encouraged by George Bell, Bishop of Chichester. John Piper would be amongst Bell's protégées; his *Seven Sisters* uses collage techniques, and it is noted that the newspaper used makes (an early) commentary on the accommodation of Nazism with capitalism. But what exactly is the critique of English society from the adverts for private schools? Beacon Hill School was founded in 1927 by Dora and Bertrand Russell, and was distinctly modernist in its approach.



John Piper (1903 - 1992) Beach and Star Fish, Seven Sister's Cliff, Eastbourne, 1933-34 Jerwood Collection © The Piper Estate / DACS 2016 Image courtesy of Jerwood Gallery

Two Temple Place is, in fact, a wonderful piece of art in itself, built for William Waldorf Astor to a design by Gothic Revivalist, John Loughborough Pearson. I'm not sure if I agree with Dr Hope Wolf, the curator of the exhibition, that it

was the kind of thing the artists were escaping from, but she has done a great job in bringing together the collection from the smaller galleries of Sussex (all well worth a visit on a sunny day). Sussex Modernism, retreat and rebellion, runs at Two Temple Place, London WC2R 3BD until 23rd April 2017. Admission is free.

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**Allen Jones: Thrill Me.
Sims Reed Gallery. London.**

Allen Jones had a major exhibition at the Royal Academy a couple of years ago; the works were on the grand scale. Sim Reed have provided us with an alternative view too that, focused on Jones' print media from 1959 to 2007, including early work from Hornsey School of Art and Croydon School of Art, where he studied and taught lithography respectively. Once a marvellous clutter of old books, the gallery now breathes.

The exhibition also features some work derived from the designs rejected for the Korova Milk Bar, in Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange*. The exhibition is at Sims Reed Gallery, 43a Duke Street, London SW1Y 6DD and runs until 16th March 2017. Prices range from £900.00 upwards.

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Spring Conference 2017 – outline agenda



Friday 17 March

Time	Theme	Location
15:00-17:30	Consultative session: 21st Century Economy	Novotel Hotel
15:00-17:30	Consultative session: Education	Novotel Hotel
15:00-17:30	Consultative session: Rural Communities	Novotel Hotel
16:30	Registration open	York Barbican, Main Reception
16:30	Exhibition open	York Barbican, Sports Hall
16:30-18:15	Consultative session: Britain in the World	York Barbican, Lendal Room
17:15-18:00	Civic Drinks Reception	York Barbican, Ground Floor Foyer
18:30-19:30	The Rally	York Barbican, Auditorium
20:15-21:30	Fringe Events	Novotel Hotel
22:15-23:30	Lib Dem Conference Quiz (<i>pre-booked tickets only</i>)	Novotel Hotel

Saturday 18 March

09:00	Registration open	York Barbican, Main Reception
09:00	Exhibition open	York Barbican, Sports Hall
09:00-09:10	Conference open: Baroness Sal Brinton	York Barbican, Auditorium
09:10-09:30	Party business: Reports of FCC and FPC	York Barbican, Auditorium
09:30-10:30	Policy motion: A Rational Approach to Harm Reduction	York Barbican, Auditorium
09:30-12:30	Training Sessions	Novotel and Hilton Hotels
10:30-11:15	Policy motion: Tackling Overcrowding in the Prison System	York Barbican, Auditorium
11:15-11:35	Speech: Baroness Featherstone, Spokesperson for Energy and Climate Change	York Barbican, Auditorium
11:35-12:40	Emergency motion or topical issue: Britain and the EU	York Barbican, Auditorium
12:40-14:20	Lunch break	
13:00-14:00	Fringe Events	Novotel and Hilton Hotels
14:20-15:20	Policy motion: The Crisis in Health and Social Care	York Barbican, Auditorium
14:30-17:30	Training Sessions	Novotel and Hilton Hotels
15:20-16:05	Q&A session: Tim Farron MP, Leader of the Liberal Democrats	York Barbican, Auditorium
16:05-16:25	Speech: Baroness Kramer, Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer	York Barbican, Auditorium
16:25-17:40	Policy motion: Towards a World Free of Nuclear Weapons	York Barbican, Auditorium
17:40-18:00	Party business: Reports of Parliamentary Parties	York Barbican, Auditorium
18:15-21:00	Fringe Events	Novotel and Hilton Hotels
22:00-02:00	Glee Club	Novotel Hotel

Sunday 19 March

09:00	Exhibition open	York Barbican, Sports Hall
09:00-09:30	Emergency motion or topical issue	York Barbican, Auditorium
09:30-09:50	Party business: Reports of FB and CGB	York Barbican, Auditorium
09:50-11:05	Policy motion: The Role of Faith in State-Funded Schools	York Barbican, Auditorium
11:05-11:45	Policy motion: Associate Citizenship of the European Union	York Barbican, Auditorium
11:45-13:00	Speech: Tim Farron MP, Leader of the Liberal Democrats	York Barbican, Auditorium
12:00	Exhibition close	York Barbican, Sports Hall
13:00	Conference close	York Barbican, Auditorium

Full details of all sessions will be available in the Spring Conference 2017 agenda/directory

Q&A sessions

There will be a series of Q&A sessions during conference, where you can come along and ask questions of our spokespeople. A fantastic opportunity for members to find out more about what our Parliamentarians are up to.

Saturday 18 March	11:30–12:15	Education with John Pugh and Sue Garden	York Barbican, Lendal Room
Saturday 18 March	12:30–13:15	Housing with John Shipley and Kath Pinnock	York Barbican, Lendal Room
Sunday 19 March	10.00–11.00	Brexit with Tom Brake, Sarah Ludford and Nick Clegg	York Barbican, Lendal Room

SPRING CONFERENCE EVENT



BREXIT AND BEYOND: WHAT NEXT FOR BRITS IN THE EU?

18 March 2017 18:15 – 19:15
Riverside Room, York Novotel

Alistair Carmichael MP, Member of the Commons Select Committee for Exiting the EU
Sue Wilson, Chair, Remain in Spain
Roger Casale, Founder & CEO, New Europeans
Chair: Laura Shields, Brussels & Europe Lib Dems (BELD)

Brussels and Europe Liberal Democrats
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