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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



Wounded protesters retreating from the demonstration square outside the military headquarters, Khartoum, 3rd June

**Sudan Hong Kong Turkey
Democrat Hopefuls, USA**

EVENTS

3rd June LIBG Forum: Where US foreign policy is heading under Donald Trump and why. NLC 6.30pm

4th June March against Donald Trump – Liberal Democrats meet outside the Canadian Embassy: Canada House, Trafalgar Square, London SW1Y 5BJ - 10:30am

24th June NLC Diplomatic Reception

1st July LIBG AGM. NLC 6.30pm

1st July LIBG Forum: Brazil: A Return to Darkness?

5th-6th July 202nd Executive Committee Meeting of Liberal International, NLC - *see over*

14th-17th September Liberal Democrat's Conference. Bournemouth

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: Gillian Lusk, Chinese Lib Dems,
Stewart Rayment

202nd Executive Committee

Date and Location: 5-6 July 2019,

Venue: National Liberal Club, 1 Whitehall Pl,
Westminster, London SW1A 2HE

Registration: Registration is now open! To
access the registration page use the link:

<https://202ec.eventbrite.co.uk>

*Please note: the password needed to access the
registration page has been communicated to the
international officer of your party or organisation.
Each party can be represented by up to 2 delegates
– please consult with your international officer on
how many delegates your party is allowed – the
remaining members of your delegation must be
registered at the guest rate. **Registration will close
on Sunday 23rd June.***

**Further Details Relating to the 202nd Executive
Committee meeting– please check this page
regularly** <https://liberal-international.org/what-we-do/events/executive-committee-meetings/202nd-2019/>

Tiananmen – and Darfur - Comes to Khartoum Rebecca Tinsley

You might have expected jubilation among British Sudanese on April 11th, when President Omar Bashir was forced from power. On that day, a Diaspora group was attending a meeting organised by Article 1, the charity I founded. Instead of joy, however, we found fear that democracy activists back home would be tied up in pointless negotiations as the transitional military council bought time to regroup, and then slaughtered the protesters.

As predicted, the Sudanese security services have now dispersed peaceful demonstrations with deadly force, killing at least 60, wounding 600, and raping dozens of women, including female doctors. On Monday June 3rd, as the operation began, the Rapid Support Forces or Janjaweed (who made their mark killing at least 300,000 in Darfur) surrounded hospitals to stop the wounded seeking help, and went into medical centres, beating doctors. They looted widely, dragging people from cars and dumping bodies in the Nile.

At the time of writing, there are 20,000 troops on the streets of the capital. Because the internet has been cut, there are no reliable casualty figures from the many uprisings in cities across Sudan. Nor is it clear how much support the Janjaweed militias have from the middle and junior ranks of the regular army. However, there will be little help from the international community, beyond the usual toothless diplomatic condemnations: the UN Security Council declined to even discuss events in Sudan, thanks to the Russians and Chinese veto.

Why did the military choose now to attack protesters?

The head of the Janjaweed, General Mohamed Hamdan Dagolo, known to all as Hemeti, spent the last week of May touring Egypt and the Gulf, consulting the Khartoum regime's financial backers. When he returned, the transitional military council, of which he is the de facto leader, expelled Al Jazeera, and shortly after, the assault on the demonstrators began. General Sisi in Egypt and the Gulf Arab monarchs made clear their priority: get protesters off the streets because of the message it sends to the rest of the Arab world i.e. democratic change can come from below. Moreover, the Saudis have been paying the Janjaweed and the regular Sudanese army to provide 14,000 ground troops for their war in Yemen. A move to civilian rule in Khartoum would have brought those troops home.

Groundhog Day

British Sudanese always knew how badly this episode in Sudanese history could end. There were 14 coups between independence in 1956 and the one that brought Bashir to power in 1989. On the night I arrived in Khartoum in 2004, there were roadblocks at every intersection, with soldiers waving the business end of machine guns in our faces because of putsch rumours. Hence Sudanese could be forgiven for believing it was too early to break out the fermented camel's milk this time.

Follow the money

The protests, which started in December, began when the International Monetary Fund told President Bashir to end subsidies on bread and fuel. Sudan has foreign debts of \$55 billion; it is subject to sanctions due to its genocidal campaign against its non-Arab citizens; and it is on the US list of state sponsors of terrorism - all impediments to accessing the international finance needed to modernise its feudal economy. Instead of removing the subsidies gradually, as the I.M.F. suggested, the regime did it all at once. The move backfired spectacularly.

Khartoum devotes 75% of its annual budget to “security” e.g. the armed forces, the Rapid Support Forces/Janjaweed, and the National Intelligence and Security Service (the equivalent of M.I.5). Education, health and infrastructure have been neglected for decades as a consequence. Moreover, any non-security sector spending has benefited the patronage network of self-identifying Arab ethnic groups along the Nile. These crony capitalists made fortunes from a construction boom, while the periphery remains marginalised. Bashir’s regime has also stolen Sudan’s oil revenues, earning it the bottom ranking on Transparency International’s global league table. (A Wikileaks cable from the US ambassador to Khartoum alleged Bashir himself has \$9 billion in London banks). The result has been hyperinflation, unemployment and brain drain.

Despite misty-eyed Western media reports about the solidarity and undoubted courage of the protesters, bear in mind that few of them objected when Bashir’s regime imposed its harsh version of Islam and Arabisation on the non-Muslim black Africans in the southern part of Sudan, leading to the deaths of two million people, and the eventual secession in 2011 of South Sudan. Few of today’s protesters were concerned when the regime sought to eliminate the black African tribes of Darfur from 2003 until the present day; it is therefore ironic that the citizens of Khartoum and Omdurman have now experienced the brutality that Darfuris have endured daily since 2003 at the hands of the Janjaweed. There has also been virtual silence from today’s protesters about the systematic bombardment of black African citizens in the Nuba Mountains since 2011. In other words, the trigger behind the revolution was economic hardship.

Another feature of the uprising eluding the media is the irrelevance of Sudan’s opposition politicians, in line with global trends away from traditional parties. The protests were organised by the Sudanese Professionals Association, rather than the discredited old parties which have occasionally been bought off by the regime. A senior opposition figure failed to attend the protests, claiming he was “waiting for the right moment to join,” a statement confirming the demonstrators’ contempt for the appeasing older generation.

The future isn’t necessarily female

Much has been made of the visibility of women in the protests. Yet, Sudanese women have always been involved in anti-regime activity for good reason - they have so little to lose. Islamism’s interpretation of Sharia accords them low status; in Khartoum state alone, 40,000 women a year are arrested and publicly beaten for “indecent,” i.e. wearing jeans as they walk to school: and Sudan has one of the world’s highest rates of F.G.M. While it has been encouraging to see women asserting their dignity during the protests, remember that Egyptian women were also at the fore of protests in 2011, only to be harassed and then banished to their traditional exploited status when the barricades came down.

The Deep State Persists

All along, Sudanese Diaspora have warned about the determination of Sudan’s “deep state.” Bashir’s Islamist project began years before the 1989 military coup. Bashir and his colleagues systematically inserted their followers into positions running hospitals, the media, factories, the judiciary, universities, the clergy, the military and civil service. Their tentacles extend everywhere and they are firmly entrenched. Now we know the transitional military council never had any intention of moving to civilian rule. Their promises of elections within nine months have been condemned by Sudanese rights groups who point out that 40% of Sudan (Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan states) is at war with the regime, there is no accurate census, and the regime has decades of experience at stuffing ballot boxes and intimidating voters and opposition.

Unlike Bashir and his colleagues, the Janjaweed commander, Hemeti, is not motivated by Islamism, but by imposing an Arab identity on multi-ethnic Sudan. The European Union has been indirectly funding his militia through the Khartoum Process, preventing migrants from the Horn of Africa reaching the Libyan coast. Hence, we should not be surprised that representatives of the EU and Britain wasted no time conferring their blessings on Hemeti when the transitional military council ousted Bashir. It is especially nauseating that both the E.U. and U.K. issued pious statements supporting the will of the Sudanese people, a factor that never previously seriously concerned them. The E.U. and the U.K. have persisted with the

Khartoum Process, despite evidence that the Janjaweed sell migrants to Libyans who hold them for ransom or sell them as slaves.

Western Hypocrisy

Throughout Bashir's bloody rule, the international community responded to atrocities by "expressing concern to the authorities," blandly encouraging the regime to respect human rights. Over the years, the West declined to apply targeted personal financial smart sanctions against the architects of the genocide, even after UN Security Council approved them. There has never been follow through on any mildly critical threats, and the U.K. has actively encouraged business links with Bashir's regime, even as it bombs hospitals and schools in the (mainly Christian and black African) Nuba Mountains. Sudan's rulers always understood the West's lack of sincerity about human rights, and acted accordingly, promising to abide by peace agreements that were broken before diplomats left Sudanese air space.

George W Bush was more critical of Bashir's ethnic cleansing, but Obama bowed to pressure from Saudi Arabia, which bankrolled Bashir and his deep state. Moreover, the C.I.A. has been fed questionable intelligence about Islamist terrorists by Khartoum, (which once gave sanctuary to bin Laden) thereby inoculating the regime against serious pressure. The US responded to years of ethnic cleansing by calling on Bashir to enact reforms, wilfully ignoring the regime's track record of broken promises and genocide.

As for the U.K., its historic foreign policy aims in the region were to bolster anti-Soviet regimes during the Cold War, to discourage Arab nationalist movements thereby preventing Arab or Muslim unity in the Middle East, and to support autocrats in the name of maintaining security (meaning selling arms to feudal tyrants possessing oil). Labour, Tory and coalition policy on Sudan has been to offer platitudes about human rights, while insisting that only through engagement with the regime could the U.K. influence it. (N.B. the F.C.O. did not suggest "engagement" with the Soviet Union or more recently Venezuela). Bashir's National Congress Party (formerly the National Islamic Front) was never likely to go quietly.



4th June - One friend: Khartoum is now under total control by lawless Janjaweed militias. Another estimates 20,000 of them.

Its leaders have much to lose, including personal fortunes amassed through corruption, property and investments in London (several members of Bashir's cabinet hold British passports), and their shares in Sudanese firms. The faces at the top of the transitional military council may be different, but their intentions remain the same. In summary, nothing will change in Sudan until everything changes.

Rebecca Tinsley

Rebecca Tinsley founded Article1, which helps Sudanese asylum seekers in the UK

We need to keep our promises to Hong Kong. Alistair Carmichael

Back in 2014, the Umbrella Movement started a 79-day protest movement of passive resistance and non-violent direct action seeking free and fair elections in Hong Kong. At its peak the centre of Hong Kong was brought to a standstill by massive occupations. While ultimately unsuccessful, it was a display of peaceful protest that shook the Chinese government to the core and, as such, was never going to be allowed to go unanswered.

Last April nine of the Umbrella Movement's leaders were convicted of rarely used public order offences from the days of colonial rule. Chris Patten, the last British Governor of Hong Kong, described it as being "appallingly divisive to use anachronistic common law charges in a vengeful pursuit of political events which took place in 2014".

The response of our own Foreign Office was a silence. How embarrassing, and not for the first time.



Credit: PA

It was only 1997 that the UK handed Hong Kong back to China. It was a handover that allowed the UK to divest itself of another vestige of empire while entering into a treaty with China which sought to provide autonomy of the former colony and a continued progression towards democracy. It was Chris Patten's not insubstantial legacy which gave both Britain and China obligations for fifty years until 2047.

However, the "one country two systems framework" today looks rather insubstantial, fragile and battered by Chinese authoritarianism and British acquiescence.

The prosecution and conviction of the Umbrella Movement leaders is just the latest in a long line of human rights violations by the Beijing regime. We have already seen a political party banned and a senior Financial Times journalist expelled from the city.

Despite widespread concern from Human Rights organisations, the Chinese Government is now seeking to change the rules around extradition to make it easier to extradite people to mainland China from Hong Kong. In a week where China was again identified by Amnesty International as the heaviest user of capital punishment you can see why they are concerned.

The world is watching. The iconic image of the umbrella from 2014 resonated with many as a symbol of the

peaceful nature of the 79 day long pro-democracy protest. The leaders of that protest are those now facing up to seven years in prison. They include sociology professor Chan Kin-man, 60, the law professor Benny Tai, 54, and the Baptist minister Chu Yiu-ming, 75. These were not violent protests and these individuals were merely exercising their freedom of expression. Yet they have been slapped with colonial-era public nuisance charges.

The UK Government has a moral and legal duty to stand up to Beijing on these matters. We may have left our colonial rule behind but not our obligations to democracy and human rights.

The people of Hong Kong look to the UK to keep the promises we made to them. Our government must stand up for the umbrella nine and all those facing down Beijing's violation of their freedoms and do it before the case returns to court for sentencing.

The Late Paddy Ashdown was another man who took an interest in and cared about Hong Kong. Just last year he said, "we should be advocating change [in Hong Kong]. Instead we are quiescent. With the spread of tyranny and our history, it is unwise and shameful".

He was right.

Alistair Carmichael is the Liberal Democrat MP for Orkney and Shetland

<https://www.politicshome.com/news/world/opinion/house-commons/103194/alistair-carmichael-mp-people-hong-kong-look-uk-keep>.

This article originally appeared in Politics Home, 11th April 2019



LIBG SUMMER FORA



3 June

Forum on where US foreign policy is heading under Donald Trump and why with speakers:

Richard Cockett, The Economist

Dr Cindy May, LSE

Mark Bergman, Democrats Abroad

1 July

LIBG annual general meeting .

Brazil: A Return to Darkness?

After the annual general meeting, at approximately 7pm, writer, TV broadcaster and LIBG vice-president Jonathan Fryer, whose second home is in Brazil, will lead a talk on the situation in Brazil following its recent presidential election.

The AGM is for members but the Brazil talk is open to all. AGM papers will be available nearer the time.

The End of an Era in Turkey

Raci Balkan

Local elections ended seventeen days ago in Turkey, yet it took seventeen days to accept that coalition victory in Istanbul particularly by Tayyip Erdogan himself. The new mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu took over the control of the city yesterday. After he received the official stamp, he made a speech on top of an election bus to a crowd of thousands. It was definitive, hard hitting and very painful loss for again Tayyip Erdogan. The joy and celebratory mood of people of Istanbul is a very harsh blow to his regime. 25 years ago, Tayyip Erdogan had done the same thing and won Istanbul, that is how he started to rise in theatre of the Turkish political stage. Istanbul is the main arena for anyone who wants to claim the leadership in Turkish politics. After quarter of a century Islamists lost Istanbul along with other half dozen large cities. From Istanbul all of the coast line cities are in the hands of opposition. The HDP (Kurdish party) won back most of their cities but everywhere else they supported the opposition candidates. There has never been such a coalition in the history of a modern Turkey. Centre left, HDP, newly emerged centre right even nationalists and one moderate Islamists (the party where Tayyip Erdogan started to become a political figure). This eclectic mix proved the Turkish nation is so pissed off with Tayyip Erdogan's regime. The lost sense of justice, heavy economic crisis, Tayyip's family's wealth, amazingly sold of biased media, religious education system, four million Syrian refugees and most probably his never-ending hour-long speeches which every single time are televised by every single media outlet.

Almost certainly an era is ending, this the end, a new beginning. Without three major cities, particularly without Istanbul, it is impossible to successfully govern the country as a whole. Istanbul has another major important role for Tayyip Erdogan regime, it is an amazing and endless financial source, without any control or auditing by independent bodies. According to unconfirmed claims; a total of 80 thousand workers of Istanbul municipality, there are 60 thousand persons on the payroll that nobody knows what they do and they never been inside the municipal building. There are also two thousand rented cars; again nobody knows who drives them. Two days ago it was revealed that one of the ex-ministers of his regime (Egemen Bagis who had to resigned after a large scale of bribe scandal) employed a private driver 13 years ago and the driver's salary has been paid by Istanbul municipal for 13 years. Under normal circumstances these kinds of information would have never revealed out fear; but bureaucrats started to leak the critical information to certain circles. There are also rumours that shredding machines has been working non-stop inside the Istanbul municipal building destroying evidence for last seventeen days.

Since the 2015 general elections it is known to everybody that the Tayyip regime has been heavily cheating in elections. He hand-picked the election officials, hand-picked the judges who have the authority to hand over winner certifications, and also check voter registration. They have been using ballot papers which had been stamped; they have inflated the electoral registry by using non-existent persons.

When it comes to media influence on elections Tayyip Erdogan is the master of it. Almost all the media outlets are now owned by his cronies with the exception one right wing and two left wing newspapers and few websites everything else works for him.

Tayyip Erdogan's Istanbul candidate was ex-prime minister (Binasi Yıldırım) an ex parliament speaker. His secret wealth revealed in famous Paradise Papers scandal. According to leaked info in Paradise Papers he and his two sons owned nearly three dozen ships and lots money buried in off shore accounts. The journalist Pelin Unker who wrote the story is under threat of heavy jail sentence; her trial is still going on.

The dirt of his regime bursts and oozing out of almost from every single orifice. That is the main reason he lost Istanbul. Official unemployment figures are fourteen percent which is highest in the history of modern Turkey, people are unable live with their salaries and wages anymore. Inflation is around 20 percent. Good inflation running almost 50 percent yet Tayyip Erdogan lives in 1000 room palaces (he has seven palaces now).

The people of Istanbul recently learnt that Istanbul municipality gives out millions of dollars to Islamic foundations every year. There are about a dozen foundation and so-called charities that receive cash handout from Istanbul Municipality. The new mayor Imamoğlu declared that the “cash handout to those so-called charities and Islamic foundations is ending from now on”. At least four of those charities are under the control of Tayyip Erdogan’s sons and daughters.

They came to power saying they are for people yet they have become immensely rich, unjust and cruel. So, they lost. This is the end of political Islam in Turkey. Unless some very drastic, very unexpected events take place, they will be out soon.

Raci Balkan

Tayyip wouldn’t take this sitting down of course. Citing technical irregularities, the Supreme Electoral Council (YSK) cancelled the results of Istanbul’s March 31st mayoral election shortly after Ferit sent us this article. A rerun takes place on 23rd June, and opinion polls currently show Imamoğlu ahead.

Read more: <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/05/opposition-leads-istanbul-revote.html#ixzz5pRdHXxSC>.

LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL BRITISH GROUP ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING CALLING NOTICE

Please be advised by this notice that the Annual General Meeting of Liberal International (British Group)(LIBG) will be held at 6.30pm on Monday 1 July 2019 at the National Liberal Club, London SW1A 2HE.

Written notice of any resolutions which a member intends to move at the AGM must reach Margaret Lally, the returning officer, 74B Beversbrook Road, London N19 4QH, or margaret.lally1@btinternet.com by 3rd June 2019, signed by at least four members.

ELECTIONS

Elections will be help for the following positions:

President, Membership Secretary, Minutes Secretary, Treasurer

12 ordinary members of the Executive

Nomination forms have been sent to members.

In the event of a contested election, ballot papers will be sent out before the AGM.

AGENDA

- 1) Minutes of the 2018 AGM (attached)
- 2) Apologies for absence
- 3) Matters arising
- 4) Chair's report
- 5) Approval of Annual Accounts (to be tabled at the meeting)
- 6) Membership report
- 7) Result of the annual elections
- 8) Election of honorary auditor
- 9) Closing remarks

By order of the Executive

Please notify any apologies for absence to: generalenquiries@libg.co.uk

The AGM will be followed at about 7pm by a talk by Jonathan Fryer on the political situation in Brazil, this part of the evening is open to all.

And They're Off!

James R Davidson

We're barely half-way through March as I write, and the fight for the Democratic nomination for president is well underway. The number of declared candidates—SIXTEEN—is one of the largest in history, and the number looks likely to continue expanding. Nearly all of the declared candidates are running on similar platforms: Medicare for All, a Green New Deal, criminal justice reform, expanding voting rights, tackling income inequality, etc. To the chagrin of policy wonks everywhere, the race will probably focus on charisma, biography, fundraising, and media prowess instead of policy differences and ideological distinction. Can you hear the collective groan?

Twenty-three potential candidates is a staggering number, leaving many to contemplate a scenario similar to the 2016, when Republicans nominated Donald Trump due to a heavily splintered field (with *only* 17 candidates) that prevented a majority of voters from coalescing around a candidate who wasn't completely insane. Given this, the Democratic nominee will be the candidate with high name recognition who can captivate American media, thereby depriving their competitors of enough oxygen to get their campaigns out of the single-digits.

While this dynamic doesn't facilitate nuanced discussion around complex policy proposals that would drastically change the American economy, it is helpful for taking on Trump. Media coverage propelled Trump to the presidency. Bombast and sheer idiocy garnered Trump an estimated \$5b in free advertising throughout the entire 2016 presidential cycle. To put that number into perspective, Hillary Clinton ran a \$1.2b campaign.

During the Republican primary, Trump was able to rack up delegates by winning with large pluralities over a highly divided field, resulting in a Trump victory before anti-Trump Republicans could coalesce around a single non-Trump candidate.

The 2020 Democratic primary is increasingly likely to face a similar predicament—though with far less severe consequences. Despite voters' desire for a fresh face to take on Trump, name recognition appears to be a major factor in who's winning in the polls—at least for now. A recent Iowa poll of 401 likely Democratic caucus-goers (Des Moines Register/CNN/Mediacom) showed Joe Biden at 27%, Bernie Sanders 25%, Elizabeth Warren 9 %, Kamala Harris 7% and the rest of the candidates with single-digit showings of 5% or under.

With the two most well-known candidates winning 52% of likely caucus-goer support in a race with 16 declared candidates, name recognition is a powerful force.

However, this narrative is complicated when you compare these poll numbers with 2016 Iowa caucus results. Bernie "lost" the caucus to Hillary Clinton in what was essentially a tie. Three years later, half of Bernie's supporters are shopping around for another option. Joe Biden faces a similar dynamic by virtue of being the Hillary of the 2020 field— an establishment figure with near 100% name recognition and a progressive enough record that most Democrats or Democratic-leaning voters can go along with. Nearly half of voters seem to be taking a wait-and-see attitude, the operative word being *see*.

And, so, that leads to the real question of 2020: will there be a breakthrough candidate that can challenge Biden's and Bernie's dominance?

Fortunately, the Democratic nomination system doesn't have the feature that allowed Trump to dominate the delegate game: winner-takes-all states. With all states allocating Democratic convention delegates proportionately, Democrats have more time to explore their options thoroughly before needing to settle on a preferred candidate.

The two most-obvious challengers to Biden and Bernie are Sen. Kamala Harris and former Rep. Beto O'Rourke.

Black voters made up 25% of the Democratic primary electorate in 2016, and in 2018 Democrats wrestled back control of the US House of Representatives by running the most diverse class of candidates in history. If Kamala Harris—a bi-racial US Senator running on her record as a “progressive prosecutor” during her tenure as California’s attorney general—can quickly consolidate support from black Democratic primary voters and others looking for racial and gender diversity on the 2020 ticket, she’ll be in an enviable position to challenge Biden and Bernie.

Beto O'Rourke, a former US Representative from Texas best known for barely losing a 2018 Senate race in deeply-conservative Texas, announced his candidacy for president on March 14th and raised more than \$6m in 24 hours. Beto became a Democratic cult figure during his 2018 Senate race, attracting support from all over the country (and building a national donor base), with viral campaign videos and support from Democrats across the ideological spectrum. The liberal media darling’s youth (he’s 46), charisma, and ability to turn virtually any policy discussion into an easily-digestible soundbite often garner him comparison to Pres. Obama. Republicans have already identified Beto as a serious challenge to Trump. The Republican National Committee tweeted Beto’s 1998 DUI mug shot on St. Patrick’s Day.

It’s impossible to predict who will win the nomination at this stage in the race—the first debates are scheduled for June—but it’s pretty safe to assume that a contested Democratic National Committee convention is possible. If no one has a majority of delegates going into the convention next summer, the nominee will be selected through backroom deals and delegate wrangling. Would a Biden-Kamala ticket win over enough delegates to nab the nomination? Bernie-Kamala? Beto-Kamala or vice-versa? At this point, more than a year out from the convention, these are the most obvious outcomes. And with Democrats wanting a diverse ticket that truly presents the American people, Sen. Kamala Harris is an obvious choice for anyone’s vice president.

Whatever the Democratic ticket (Gillibrand-Buttigieg, anyone?), the question remains: how do they beat Trump?

Hillary’s 2016 loss is often pinned on one of a couple of factors, depending on who you ask and which direction they want to see party move in. 1) Democrats lost many blue-collar, white voters in the industrial Midwest. This exodus was frighteningly large. In 2012, Obama won Iowa by approximately 6%. Trump took that state by a 10% margin in 2016—a net loss of 15 points! Iowa, which has been a decidedly purple state for decades, was suddenly redder than Texas. This dynamic was also seen in Ohio.

And 2) in many reliably Democratic-leaning states, notably Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in addition to losing the blue-collar vote, there was lower-than-expected turnout of urban voters. The seeming-inevitability of Hillary’s win—along with the Department of Justice’s last-minute reopening of the investigation into Hillary’s emails and a milquetoast running mate—hurt turnout among important Democratic voters. This fatal combination allowed Trump to win those states by thousands of votes, handing him an Electoral College victory while losing the popular vote by approximately 2,864,974 votes (I’m clearly not bitter).

The key to a Democratic victory in 2020 will be to adopt a strategy that simultaneously addresses both these challenges—running a ticket that appeals to both the blue-collar, white voters who have historically been Democrat’s bread-and-butter, while also embracing the party’s future as increasing young and diverse. This balancing act is crucial for the party’s chances of winning the Electoral College in 2020 and preventing a Democratic civil war for the party’s future, the obvious outcome of a 2020 loss.

The general consensus is that Bernie and Biden are probably the best options for courting voters with working-class concerns, and Beto will do well with this demographic as well. Though they speak to that voter in different ways, all three are much more palatable to those who defected to Trump in the last presidential cycle than Hillary was.

Kamala Harris—a woman of color with strong experience and a progressive agenda—is the most obvious choice for Democratic primary voters looking for a candidate that speaks to the party’s diversity. She has the sizzle factor needed to energize the urban, young, left-leaning voters as well as communities of color around the country, which would come in handy at the top or the bottom of the ticket. If she’s not the presidential nominee, she’s at the top of everyone’s vice-presidential shortlist.

The presidential candidates who could weave the two groups together most seamlessly might be Biden and Beto.

Biden’s eight years in the Obama White House have made him a strong candidate with black voters in the South, including strong support for him in South Carolina (the third-in-the-nation primary state, after Iowa and New Hampshire). But Biden will also have to face the more questionable aspects of his record on issues of race: his opposition to busing in the 70s, his mishandling of the Anita Hill testimony in 1991, and his support of the Clinton crime bill in 1994. Will his support from black voters stand up to the litigation of his long voting record?

As for Beto, his near win in the 2018 Texas Senate race was largely fueled by strong support and turnout from voters of color. It was also a rebuke of the Democratic Party and its refusal to commit serious resources to changing the electoral makeup of this majority-minority state. Demographically, Texas isn’t so different from California, and Beto demonstrated that a combination of demographic shifts in the state, along with serious financial investment from Democrats, could turn Texas blue in the very near future. Perhaps Beto could carry the state and its 37 Electoral College votes for Democrats in 2020—all but assuring the downfall of Trump.

In 2016, Trump’s greatest advantage was his ability to inflame the right groups of people and dominate the news cycle (remember that free \$5b?). For Democrats to come out on top next year, we need a candidate who can play that media game and garner that type of media attention.

Biden—who’s basically the country’s goofy, endearing uncle—could play this game well if he can avoid any serious self-inflicted wounds. A self-professed “gaffe machine”, you never quite know what Biden is going to say. If he has the discipline to stay interesting—be funny, say slightly weird things (remember BFD?)—without getting into unforced-error territory, this dynamic could certainly work for him in a positive way. If not, he could declare in April and be done by June, a victim of his own spontaneity.

If Biden’s your goofy uncle, Bernie’s the lovable grouch. Bernie’s not afraid to pull a punch, and the media would love a Bernie VS Trump slugfest. Beto is beloved by the media, and Kamala, who serves on the Senate Judiciary committee, has garnered a lot of media attention with her expert questioning of judicial nominees.

If Democrats can weave back together the Obama coalition—white working-class voters, the youth, and voters of color—and take back the reins in the media cycle from a sitting US President, it’s game over for Trump. But they *must* do *both*, or it’ll be four more years of agony under the Orange One.

J R Davidson

Richard Moore

We regret to announce the death of Richard Moore on 15th May 2019. It would be impossible to over-estimate Richard’s contribution to Liberalism and internationalism throughout his life. If you would like to send your recollections of Richard, particularly in the context of Liberal International, please email them to lockharthastings@btconnect.com by the end of June.



How Brexit diminishes the rights of British Nationals overseas.

Larry Ngan

I was in Hong Kong in March, and most of my friends had asked me the same question: How's the progress with BN(O) equal rights movement and how did Brexit affect it?

So, what is BN(O)? It stands for British National (Overseas). According to the Home Office website, it means 'Someone who was a British Overseas Territories citizen by connection with Hong Kong was able to register as a BN(O) before 1 July 1997.' They are not granted Right of Abode anywhere, including the UK and HK.

The strict terms of BN(O) made most think that it is a travel document, but it is more than that, such as. They are eligible to join Her Majesty's Civil Service, and are eligible to vote if they have lived in the UK for more than six months. They may become British citizens by registration after residing in the UK for more than five years and possessing ILR for more than one year. They would not be subjected to the annual quota of 1000 people if they wanted to apply to stay in UK under the working holiday scheme. Their status is for life and is not be lost in case of Dual or Multiple Nationality, though their siblings cannot inherit the status. According to the official figures, currently there are more than 800,000 BN(O) holders. Although the numbers are dwindling, they have no intention to withdraw it, and still use the passport to travel overseas. Our former leader Lord Paddy Ashdown campaigned for giving BN(O) holders the right of abode since years ago. There was also a seminar organised by the House of Lord with various campaign groups to call for the extension of BN(O) rights in March this year.

The goal of the campaign groups is to fight for extending their rights. In a radio interview, Choy Ki, one of the representatives of BN(O) Association, mentioned, 'BN(O) is not only a travel document, but a national identity with a lot of rights under the jurisdiction of the UK.'

The current political spectrum, however, has complicated the issue. For BN(O) holders, Brexit means our visa free travelling status to our EU neighbours could no longer be available. This is important because EU member states offered visa free travel for the HK passport holders, and most BN(O) holders are eligible to obtain one.

To HK citizens, BN(O) represents our country as an open and multi-cultural society, and our reputation as a liberal democracy today. The populist sentiment of Brexit referendum and the aftermath has weakened the face value of the BN(O). In case Brexit happens, it is the BN(O) holders who will suffer from the consequences.

Stopping Brexit can prevent further damages to the face value of the BN(O), and maintain the reputation of UK as a country to welcome BN(O) holders to contribute and be a part of our society. For further information, one of the campaigning organisations, Hong Kong Watch, provides regular updates on their website - <https://www.hongkongwatch.org/>

Larry Ngan

Larry Ngan is Brexit spokesperson of Chinese Liberal Democrats

reviews

Gender Equality and Genocide Prevention in Africa by Serena Timmoneri.

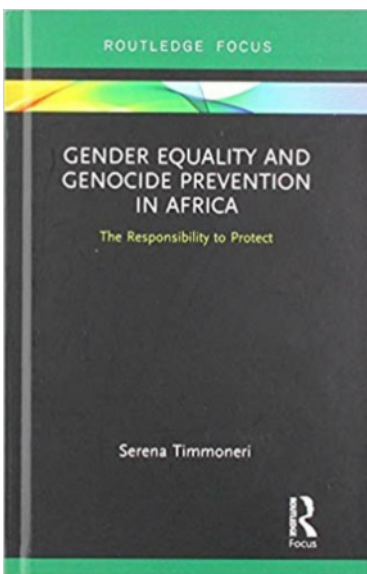
Routledge 2019 £45.00

isbn 9780367075903

e-book isbn 9780367075903

Ever since the Rwandan genocide twenty-five years ago, academics and diplomats have been trying to formulate an early warning system allowing the international community to predict incipient genocide. Apart from avoiding human suffering, it is cost efficient to stop mass atrocities before they begin, rather than rebuilding in the wake of conflict. The stages leading up to ethnic cleansing have been categorised, including hate speech, discriminatory laws, the mobilisation of nationalist militias, etc. This book is an attempt to add another dimension: gender.

The author draws some interesting conclusions, suggesting that societies in which women have low status are more likely to also produce genocide. Mercifully, she spares us the usual delusional nonsense about women being more peace-loving than men. Instead, she looks at the correlation between factors such as high maternal mortality, women's inability to inherit under customary law, harmful traditions such as FGM, and polygamy.



The book provides a spirit-crushing catalogue of all the ways in which women's and girls' lives are made miserable by ingrained social customs in five African countries. However, it does not make a related but important point – that more equal societies tend to be more prosperous, and the more prosperous a nation is, the less likely it is that there will be internal conflict. Countries in which women have more rights tend to be wealthier. Yet, history shows us that it is not the relative wealth of a country that is relevant to its stability. What can trigger genocide is often the abrupt decline in living standards, as in Weimar Germany, or Yugoslavia at the end of communism, or Rwanda when the price of coffee collapsed.

The United Nations' response to its gross failure over Rwanda and Bosnia was the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine, known as R2P. This was, in theory, suppose to override state sovereignty as enshrined in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It put a duty on nations to protect their own citizens from mass atrocities, and if they failed to do so, it imposed that duty on the

international community. Paradoxically, the UN Security Council celebrated the passing of R2P in 2005, just as it was ignoring the genocide in Darfur. The magic ingredient – enforcement - was missing, and has rendered R2P as toothless as the International Criminal Court (another excellent idea that has run into the sand).

As we survey the devastation in Syria, Yemen, and the misery of the Rohingya refugees, it is safe to conclude that the Treaty of Westphalia still has the upper hand.

Rebecca Tinsley

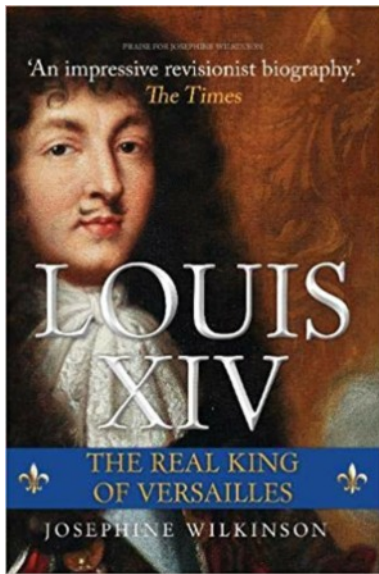
Louis XIV, the real king of Versailles, by Josephine Wilkinson.

Amberley 2019 £20.00 isbn 9781445691732

We don't tend to know much about the tyrants that ruled France, Napoleon perhaps being a bit of an exception since the French Revolution tends to be the beginning of our modern history. So, whilst in the run up to the revolution you might come across the Sun King as creator of Versailles system, little else, unless it is the victories of Marlborough. You might also have a flavour for the events through the novels of Dumas

père, most notably the sequels to *The Three Musketeers*, *Twenty Years After* and *The Vicomte of Bragelonne, Ten Years Later*. Yes, there was a real D'Artagnan, though as his career has probably wandered off somewhat over the centuries; it is useful to get back to reality.

Louis XIV's reign starts in minority and is blighted by La Fronde, a series of civil wars, where the French aristocracy seek to reassert themselves against the centralizing policies of Richelieu and Mazarin (worse still, an Italian), shortly after the civil wars in England. Louis, the pupil of Mazarin, prevails and many argue that the experience led him to his absolutist policies, though the seeds had been sown decades before his birth. The French aristocracy will become focused on the court, which eventually settles at Versailles, but is primarily a military organisation. We have just had the Thirty Years War and a protracted war with Spain, but Louis will seek the expansion of French frontiers throughout his reign. Despite Louis's desire to put bread in the mouths of his common people, wars of aggrandisement will inevitably have the opposite effect because of the taxation necessary to maintain the armies.



So, Louis the tyrant; well it pretty much goes without saying from the above, especially when you add the evil Jesuits into the equation. On the religious front Jansenism raged as a controversy – I think Wilkinson needs to make more of the Jesuit/Gallican opposition here, which was in itself as much a problem for the Papacy. However, this pales into insignificance alongside the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1685 which put 1,450 men into slavery and caused around 2,000 other Huguenots to leave France (to the considerable advantage of their new homes in many cases). Whereas the Huguenots, historically, had form, Louis's objection to the mostly harmless Quietism takes this megalomania to the absurd. Louis XIV took his Jesuit Catholic religion seriously; he saw himself as divinely appointed by God. Any religious heresy might thus translate into a political heresy, as with the earlier problems with the Huguenots, including those, related or not, of La Fronde.

Nicholas Fouquet, whom Philip Boucher has described as *the 'liberal', even libertine superintendent of finances*, is probably making his way through trying to prop up an under-resourced regime, whilst not neglecting his own interests, falls foul of the scheming Jean Baptiste Colbert, who has Louis's ear. We see here parallels with our own appalling Henry VIII and Wolsey – even down to the king's vanity. The fall of Fouquet is often said to put France irreconcilably on the road to absolutism. The real D'Artagnan was Fouquet's gaoler by the way.

The Dutch Wars – 1672-1678, which we refer to as the 3rd Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674 – we lost) was started by Louis simply for the sake of it; western Europe was at peace. Louis sought to expand against the Spanish Netherlands, and a Dutch Republic might be seen as an affront to an absolute monarch, but this was war for war's sake. Louis had essentially bought Charles II into the war; Parliament effectively dragged him out of it. The ultimate downside for Louis and absolutism was the rise of William of Orange and of grand alliances amongst the German princes, which we would ultimately join, to check the Sun King's ambitions. The Treaty of Nijmegen ending that war might be seen as something of an apex for Louis's reign. Diplomatically he then made an error, by not responding to the Pope's plea to go to the aid of Vienna, besieged by the Turks. By standing to one side, Louis allowed other powers and alliances to rise. Whilst the rest of Europe may have to gang up on France, inevitably to a stalemate, this is what generally happened. Things begin to unravel. The Nine Year's War (1688-1697) might favour France militarily, but with that and the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) her economy could not take it. Furthermore, Louis's grandson, Philippe V of Spain, showed the failings of his concentrated manipulation of the aristocracy – Philippe had no Mazarin to school him in kingship. Disaster also struck dynastically, Louis – on the throne for 72 years, would be succeeded by his great-grandson, who, following much the same course, sowed the seeds for the French Revolution.

I would like to have learnt more of these things. With an average life expectancy of 35 years in France in 1700, it is unsurprising that Louis found his contemporaries dying around him, not least at the hands of a medical profession that barely qualified for the name. The court entertainments are splendid, the names of

Lully, Molière and Rameau live on. The court intrigues are less splendid; how do they tie in with the endless string of paramours? Not it seems in the ways of the court of England's Henry VIII where one sees factions vying for the king's bed. One might venture that Louis was his own man and Henry was not. I can't bring myself to like either of them. To all around him Louis XIV may have appeared a success, but was he? Aside from the casualties of his wars per se, let us return to his failures to put bread in the mouths of his people. Estimates of between 1.3 and 2 million people died in the Grande Famine of 1693-94; maybe 600,000 in the famine of 1709 - both direct consequences of his wars. Louis brought out the worst in the British monarchy which vied to imitate him but ended in a constitutional settlement that he would find abhorrent, and through that, the growth of Liberalism. Josephine Wilkinson fuels my doubts about Louis XIV, but he could dance.

Stewart Rayment

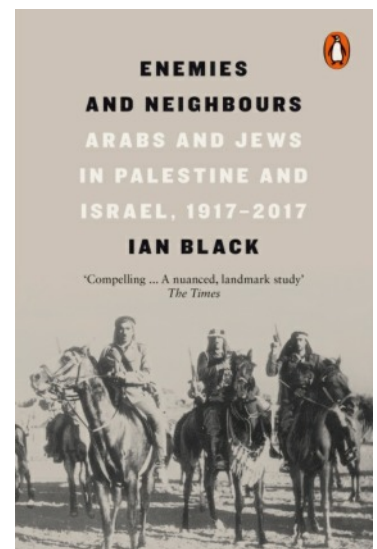
**Enemies and Neighbours: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017 by Ian Black.
Penguin 2018 £10.99 isbn 9780141979144**

The centenary of the Balfour Declaration in 2017 (which was also the fiftieth anniversary of the 1967 war and start of the occupation) showed the Israeli/Palestinian conflict as far from resolution as ever. With bloody civil wars in neighbouring Syria and in Yemen, and the constant danger that they might erupt in some other Middle Eastern states, the problem of Israel and Palestine now receives less attention than it once did. Many people even ask why we should care.

An obvious answer to that question is that to turn our backs would be a denial of our common humanity. Yet it is also short-sighted in terms of our own, purely selfish, interests which desperately require this problem to be sorted out. We would do well to remember how the original failure to provide justice for the Palestinians lies firmly at Britain's door. Since Britain ran away from its Mandate in 1948, that injustice has been allowed to fester. This has led to resentment and hatred of the West which have become major causes of jihadism. Siddharta Dhar, the British citizen and ISIS member known as the second "Jihadi John" revelled in producing video nasties of himself executing Western hostages with a carving knife. He also dreamed of liberating the Old City of Jerusalem.¹ So did Ayatollah Khomeini (who spurred on the troops during the Iran-Iraq war by proclaiming that "the road to Jerusalem lies through Baghdad") and Osamah bin Laden (who asserted that it was a duty incumbent on every Muslim to liberate both the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and the Al-Haram al-Sharif in Mecca). Do not say that we have not been warned.

Yet how can peace be brought to Israelis and Palestinians? The first step is to develop empathy for each side. As Middle East editor of *The Guardian* until 2016, Ian Black reported from Israel and the Palestinian territories for decades. With a very good knowledge of both Arabic and Hebrew, he is well placed to help the reader develop that empathy. In *Enemies and Neighbours: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017*, he does this brilliantly. His book covers the political history of Palestine during the hundred years after the Balfour Declaration, showing the failures of the various attempts to reach peace. Its great strength is that the author looks at the conflict from the viewpoints of individual Palestinians and Israelis, as well as the political movers and shakers. By bringing the story alive through telling us about the memoirs, poems, films, novels, plays, TV shows, journalism and political speeches Israelis and Palestinians have produced in their own languages, he shows us how the situation they each faced turned them into the peoples they are today, and how conflict with "the other" moulded their national identity. That is the essence of the tragedy.

The book is divided into twenty-six chapters with an introduction that provides the background from 1882 onwards as well as an epilogue. The chapters have no names except for the dates they cover. Years in which crucial developments occur (1917, 1967, 1987) have their own chapter, while others (e.g. 1958-1967) cover rather longer periods. The result is a straightforward chronological narrative divided up into bite-size



chunks. It is easy to read, and Black ensures that the focus is never lost and that each chapter segues easily into the next. Many readers will find it a page turner. He does not strive for some theoretical neutrality, but simply unfolds the truth, warts and all, before the reader's eyes, objectively highlighting uncomfortable and inconvenient little details with forensic skill. Those who say that the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is just too complicated for outsiders to understand should read this book. He shows that it is not. The same applies even more to those who hesitate to venture out of their own echo chamber and have never listened properly to the voice of the other side.

Once there is empathy for both sides, it becomes possible to appreciate the rights, obligations and aspirations of each of them as these are expressed in terms of international law and human rights. Black concludes the book by examining the various options for peace, which seems depressingly distant in the era of Trump. He succinctly sums up the debate about a "one state" and a "two state" solution and implicitly opts for the latter. Unsurprisingly, and since publishing the book, he has recently called for British recognition of the State of Palestine². That is where an appreciation of the rights of each party in international law should logically lead us.

Enemies and Neighbours is said to have been well received by Israelis and Palestinians alike. If this is so, then perhaps there are a few glimmers of hope for the future. Read it.

John McHugo

John McHugo is a trustee of the Balfour Project and a former chair of Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine. His latest book is "A Concise History of Sunnis and Shi'is". www.johnmchugo.com.

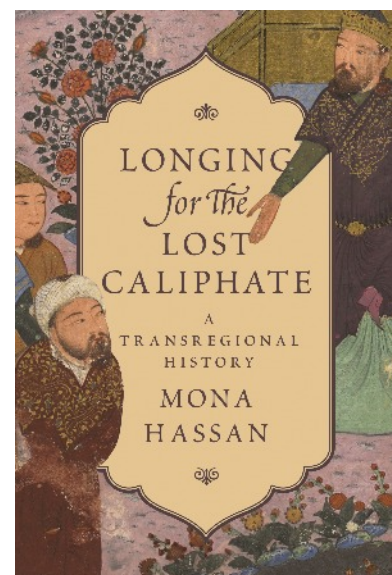
¹ <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3385099/Kit-Kat-Snickers-best-cappuccinos-Former-bouncy-castle-salesman-Jihadi-Sid-wrote-travel-guide-ISIS-bid-recruit-Muslims.html>

² <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/07/britain-palestine-independent-state>

Longing for the Lost Caliphate, a transregional history, by Mona Hassan. Princeton University Press 2018 isbn 9780691383374

Mona Hassan focusses on the two key incidents in the history of the what is probably regarded as the mainstream Caliphate – the death of al-Musta'sim, the last Baghdadi Abbasid caliph at the hands of the Mongols. The subsequent assumption by the Ottomans and its abolition by Mustapha Kemal's Turkey in 1924. In the wake of both of these events, there was a widespread sense of loss, and competing rivalries to take up the mantle.

The sense of loss is still with us today; it found expression in the writings of the theorists of the Muslim Brotherhood and through that to the wannabees of the Daesh. Hassan only takes us that far in passing, but in charting the Caliphate that was lost can give us a greater understanding at that position. The Ottomans had asserted themselves as de facto leaders of the Muslim world, at least in so far as it interacted with the West by the 16th century; in a progressive decline at the hands of the Russians from the late 18th century, they adopt the title Caliph to maintain spiritual authority over Muslims in lost lands. As a quid pro quo, the Russians make similar claims of protection of Christians in Ottoman lands. As more Ottoman, and other Muslim controlled lands – much of India, what is now Indonesia, succumbed to one imperialist or another, this spiritual authority became attractive to the faithful in those countries. In the First World War, there was concern that the Ottoman Caliph – Abdülmecid II, might incite Muslims under allied imperialisms to rise against them. This did not happen, but inspired one of John Buchan's worst novels, *Greenmantle* (despite working for Grey in the Foreign Office, he clearly had little understanding). However, in the wake of Kemal's defence of Turkey in the aftermath of the war, the Khilafat Movement would condition British responses. Kemal might himself have been a candidate for Caliph, but Cromwellian, rose above it; there was no shortage of other candidates. Amongst many Arabs there was a general feeling that they should repossess the Caliphate – but who? There was general acclaim that Cairo's Al Azhar – the leading Sunni Islamic



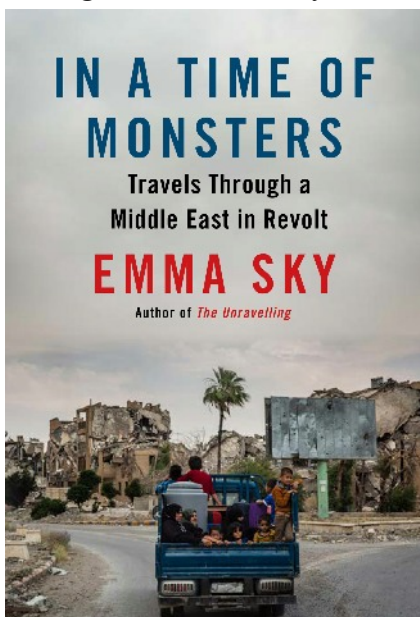
university, should organise a conference to elect, or at least lay the ground rules, for an election of a Caliph. However, Egypt was under the British yoke and thus susceptible to that influence (and France at the very least wouldn't want that), and what of the designs of the Khedive? The conference didn't really go anywhere, and did not reconvene. One of the problems was an inability to conceive the Caliphate in a purely spiritual sense, and even the Roman Pope had yet to come to terms with Italy at that time – a purely spiritual caliphate would be a sign of weakness in the age of imperialism – leaving only three candidates amongst Muslim nations – Afghanistan, Turkey and Yemen – you can see the problem.

The epilogue is worthy but inconclusive, to me, at least – Islam is undergoing a period of intellectual rigour, so this is understandable. The earlier parts of this book set some of the background to this and are well received, but how Islam grows from this is yet to be determined – for the better as Liberals might conceive it one hopes. Whatever the downside of mainstream Saudi or Iranian theology, Muslims in the West are better placed to think the unthinkable and will inevitably some will contrast their better experiences of the West with Qur'anic texts. On a less theological basis, here we have a contribution to this. We have to hope that the next few decades, centuries even, do not imitate the Christian experience.

Stewart Rayment

In a Time of Monsters: Travels through the Middle East in Revolt by Emma Sky.
Atlantic Books, £17.99 isbn 9781786495600

This survey of the Arab Spring and its dismal aftermath makes uncomfortable reading for anyone who is sentimental about Barack Obama's legacy, or thinks Joe Biden would make a good president. With their muddled and irresponsible approach to the Middle East, following on George W Bush's disastrous policies, they paved the way for the current situation, in which Iran, Turkey and Russia are the winners; the people of the region most certainly are not.



Emma Sky was a U.K. civilian administrator in Iraq and Afghanistan, and her understanding of the underlying issues, as well as her access to informed local actors, is impressive. In a Time of Monsters follows *The Unravelling*, her devastating book about the mess made by the coalition in Iraq and Afghanistan.

She is insightful and subtle when writing about Iraq and Syria: but her attempts to summarise events throughout the region after the Arab Spring are less successful. If you are concerned by jihadism, terrorism and the waves of migration that they have provoked (and will continue to provoke, since the root causes remain unaddressed) then start with Sky's earlier book, and buy this current tome when it arrives in paperback for her chapters on Iraq and Syria.

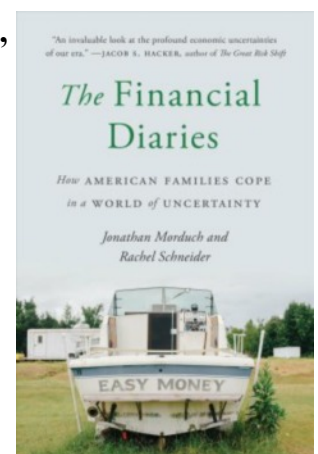
Rebecca Tinsley

The Financial Diaries, how American Families Cope in a World of Uncertainty,
by Jonathan Morduch & Rachel Schneider.

Princeton University Press, 2018 (paperback edition) isbn 9780691183145

It isn't always valid to compare the rises of populisms in different countries, not least with America, but this book, which was originally completed just as Trump came to power contains insights. Unable to comment on that at the time, the authors have added a preface to the paperback edition and if you don't have the time (or specific need) to go into the detail of the book, it is worth visiting for that alone. Many of us in politics, and certainly those at the tope of the tree, simply do not understand the day-to-day financial struggles of our neighbours. There are probably British equivalents, but this is a useful starting point.

Stewart Rayment



International Abstracts

Radi><

Should we be scared of China? by Renaud Giraud. 29.3.2019 (originally in Le Figaro)

<https://radix.org.uk/should-we-be-scared-of-china/>

France in Mali, the return of the colonial trap, by Renaud Giraud. 11.4.2019 (originally in Le Figaro)

We shouldn't be too surprised about this stalemate, fallout from the botched Libya job.

<https://radix.org.uk/france-in-mali-the-return-of-the-colonial-trap/>

USA

Inside the Russian effort to target Sanders supporters and help elect Trump, by Michael Kranish.

Washington Post

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-russian-effort-to-target-sanders-supporters--and-help-elect-trump/2019/04/11/741d7308-5576-11e9-8ef3-fbd41a2ce4d5_story.html?utm_term=.cd9b24579544

The Mueller Report – Searchable document & Index. The New York Times.

The findings from the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, are now available to the public. The redacted report details his two-year investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 Presidential election. For train spotters and other anoraks – get out there and Fight.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/18/us/politics/mueller-report-document.html>

Liberator 395

Internationally, Liberator 395 looks at Venezuela (From Rags to Riches, by Lorraine Zuleta) and the Democrat hopefuls for the next US Presidential election (And they're off! by James Davidson - rather too many of them). More dangerously, Toby Keynes warns us of the Liberal Democrat Federal Board's adoption of a definition of Islamophobia (Look before you leap) without any consultation amongst a deeply secular party, one of whose first principles is the separation of church and state. Islamophobia is not rooted in racism; Islam is a universal religion with members from potentially all races. The common or garden Islamophobe may also be a racist and that may be the basis of their opposition to Islam, but if they are opposing Islam per se, they are doing something else. David Grace looks at the party groupings for the European Parliamentary elections and ALDE's prospects in them. Otherwise, there is preoccupation with Vince Cable as leader of the Liberal Democrats, and his possible successor.

Journal of Liberal History Issue 102 Spring 2019

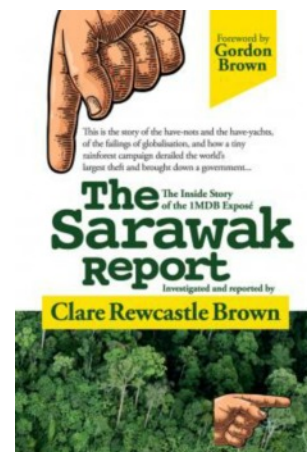
Michael Meadowcroft and Neil Stockley write on Paddy Ashdown, which obviously has international content. Tom Axworthy and Lorna Marsden write on the Canadian Liberal Party. Dr. Graham Jones writes on the papers of Lord Davies of Llandinam at the National Library of Wales, including a section on international affairs. Neil Stockley reports on group's fringe meeting Europe: The Liberal Commitment. There is also the intriguing story of 'Vote for Mr Crum and one other Liberal' by David Hanson, the Labour MP for Delyn.

The Sarawak Report Reader's Offer

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

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

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