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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group

**DON'T
BLAME ME
I VOTED**

REMAIIIN

**THE FIGHT TO STAY IN OR
REJOIN THE EU HAS STARTED**

EVENTS

2nd July March to Parliament Against Brexit:
Assemble 11.00am Park Lane. March 30 Park Lane,
London W1K 1BE, to 2 St Margaret St, London
SW1P 3JX.

2nd July Brexit - Now a Reality - What next for
Liberal Democrats? (Rights-Liberties-Justice Confer-
ence). Bermondsey Village Hall, Leathermarket
Gardens, off Kirby Grove (near London Bridge
station) London SE1 3TD

4th July Tim Garden Memorial Lecture. Sir John
Holmes, Director of Ditchley Park. Chatham House,
10 St James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE. 6.00
7.00pm

18th July LIBG AGM, NLC. 6.30pm

17th-21st September Liberal Democrat Federal Con-
ference, Brighton.

17th September LIBG Fringe Sandringham Room,
Metropole. 8.15pm details to follow

15th October *Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/
Welsh Liberal Democrat Conference Ramada Plaza
Hotel, Ellice Way, Wrexham, LL13 7YH.*

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

NLC= National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, Lon-
don SW1A 2HE
Underground: Embankment

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Photographs: Stewart Rayment, Mark Smulian.



The Referendum Result

Phil Bennion

Whilst we can wring our hands that the Referendum should never have taken place; groan that it was purely a piece of Tory party management; lament that it would have been won if the Labour Party had bothered to turn up for the campaign, we have to accept that we lost and take a principled and liberal route forward from here. We are where we are, not where we were two weeks ago.

The Referendum result was a disaster and the Leave campaign lied through their teeth to the electorate, but this is no justification for a second referendum. Nor is the narrow margin of the victory for Leave. Having undertaken 30 or so debates during the campaign and compared notes with other Remain speakers, we consistently refuted accusations that "The EU always forces a second referendum when it gets the wrong result" and committed ourselves to accepting the result, whichever way it went and however narrow the margin. Bellowing for a rerun will harden the Leave vote on the one hand and on the other, if it were to come about, would have no greater chance of an honest debate.

We are better advised to allow the contradictions of the Leave campaign to become apparent in the coming months. We know that Article 50 will not be invoked before October and that Johnson, Gove et al are determined to try and make significant progress with negotiations before invoking it themselves, presuming that they are running the government. The lack of a coherent plan across the Leave campaign will see their competing and contradictory assertions collapse any pro-Leave government unable to agree on the form of Brexit to pursue. We don't need to win over many reasonable Tory MPs to rebel against a Neo-Con takeover and a general election could easily follow. Such a general election would be fought on the issue of whether or not to go through with Brexit. At that point it would be hoped that enough of those who had voted Leave would be fuming about the lies for a new government to safely ignore the referendum result on the basis of a new and contrary mandate.

Shouting for a new referendum now will simply alienate the "winners" and has no chance of being agreed by the Government in any case. • It will simply give Farage and Co more ammunition to use against the Remain camp and distract attention from their own deceit. Our best chance of overturning the result is by allowing enough people enough time to realise that Project Fear was actually Project Fact.

We should however continue to campaign as a party committed to internationalism and working with our neighbours in Europe. Full EU membership is clearly the most effective way of ensuring this. However, if Article 50 is invoked, we should not take a stance to rejoin the EU if this also meant joining the Euro and Schengen zone and with no opt outs or Rebate. Let's spend the next few months helping those who come to regret voting for a false prospectus change their position rather than entrenching them in their current position by appearing to refuse to accept a democratic outcome. In this way we at least have a chance of pulling the situation out of the fire.

Phil Bennion Chair LIBG

Today we wake up to a deeply divided country

Tim Farron

Speaking following the referendum result, Leader of the Liberal Democrats Tim Farron said:

I'm devastated and I am angry. Today we wake to a deeply divided country. Nigel Farage's vision for Britain has won this vote, but it is not a vision I share.

Young people voted to remain by a considerable margin, but were out voted. They were voting for their future, yet it has been taken from them.

"Even though the result was close, there is no doubt that the majority of British people want us to leave.

Our fight for an open, optimistic, hopeful, diverse and tolerant Britain is needed now more than ever. Together we can still make the case for Britain's future with Europe, as millions of people voted for it. Together we cannot afford to let that vision to die.

This self-inflicted wound will be Cameron's legacy. This is his failing. And when the call went out to Jeremy Corbyn, he refused to answer. Their self-interested political maneuvering has taken our country to the brink, and we are toppling over the edge.

The Prime Minister must now act quickly to steady the economy, reassure the markets, and immediately set a new course. If he cannot do this immediately, there is no possible way he can remain in office.

The Liberal Democrats will continue to stand and fight for a better kind of Britain than the one painted by the leave campaign - tolerant, openhearted, optimistic and outward looking. If you are as angry and heart-broken as I am, I need you to join us today.

TIM FARRON 24TH JUNE, 2016 @ 7:54 AM

Lib Dems will stand for re-entry to Europe

Willie Rennie

Speaking to an emergency meeting of party members in Edinburgh, the Scottish Liberal Democrat leader Willie Rennie MSP said:

"Last week, before the result, Tim Farron and I agreed that we would pursue re-entry to the European Union if there was a leave vote. At the next general election, whenever it comes, that is what we will stand for.

On Thursday people had the right to choose to leave the European Union. At the next election they must have the option to change their mind. Thursday was upsetting for many reasons: for the risks to our economy; to our universities; to our environment; to our security and safety. But what has been shattering is what it says about our country. To see ourselves as others see us.

What does it say to the world that we can't even work with our closest neighbours? What are we saying to the millions of Europeans, many who now live, work and pay taxes here that we don't want to share with them anymore? What does it say to those who fought bravely to deliver peace on our continent? I am angry that the all the good work to bring the peoples of Europe closer together over decades has been consigned to the dustbin of history in one ugly moment.

It is not the country I have been so proud of. Proud that we give billions in foreign aid - the best in the world. Proud that we have the best armed forces and the best Foreign Service so we can be a force for good in the world. Proud that we created the best health service in the world to look after our sick.

This is a country that does not walk on the other side of the road. On Thursday that's what we did. But Liberal Democrats are determined to lead us back to the right side of the road."

Willie Rennie. 26th June 2016

EU vote leaves Northern Ireland in a weakened position. David Ford

Alliance Leader David Ford has said the UK's decision to leave the EU will have lasting consequences for Northern Ireland, adding it could take years until the full effects become clear.

Speaking after the Leave campaign secured victory in the early hours of Friday morning, Mr Ford said it was 'disappointing' voters had opted to become inward looking, leaving huge questions around the funding gap now facing Northern Ireland, with clarity also needed on the border issue.

David Ford MLA said: "This is an extremely disappointing decision and leaves Northern Ireland in a significantly weakened position. While the negative rhetoric of the leave campaign has narrowly succeeded, the enormity of the decision cannot be underestimated and we all must brace ourselves for a major period of economic instability - with the potential loss of jobs, trade opportunities, farm subsidies and peace funding.

"While it was good to see Northern Ireland voting in large numbers to remain, unfortunately it now stands to lose more than other parts of the UK, with this decision forcing an inward looking perspective, risking our economic future and ignoring our role in addressing global problems together.

"It may be years until we know the true impact of this risky decision, which makes comments by the deputy First Minister last week that no planning is in place to counteract the major funding gap facing Northern Ireland extremely worrying.

"Anyone believing Westminster will automatically come to the rescue is fooling themselves and the Executive must outline immediately how it plans to address the loss of EU funding and the growing uncertainty around the border, with Northern Ireland now the only part of the UK to share a land border with the EU - especially if the free movement of people and trade will continue."

David Ford June 24th 2016 7:15 AM

The Alliance Party has tabled a motion calling for an urgent meeting of the Assembly to address the serious impact on Northern Ireland after the UK's decision to leave the EU.

Angry? Fight Back!

Stewart Rayment

In the wake of one of the extensions of the franchise in the 19th century, Mr Gladstone famously said ‘Now we must educate our masters’. Successive Parliaments have failed to do this, but after a century of conservative governments, of either a Labour or Tory hue, this is hardly surprising. And now the British electorate have made the most foolish decision ever put before them and have voted by a narrow margin to leave the European Union. It is difficult to grasp the crassness of David Cameron to gamble so much over the leadership of the Tory party, and now we all suffer. I daresay many Brexiters have already awoken to the horror of what they have done.

The European Union has brought Peace, Stability and Prosperity for half a century; it is something we should want to be part of. It has its problems, much could be done to improve its democracy – the sovereignty of the European Parliament over the Commission for a start. If British politicians had played a full, rather than a luke-warm part in the EU, the solution to some of these problems would have been easier. The financial and immigration crises we face need international solutions.

It is ironic that the Conservative party – the Unionist party, will preside over the break-up of the United Kingdom.

Britain is a parliamentary democracy, and Parliament will have the last say on whether or not we leave the European Union; there is a thin wafer of hope in that and we should grasp it. It seems likely that a general election will take place. If enough public support cannot be garnered for Parliament to make the right decision, then we should campaign for Britain to rejoin the European Union. StrongerIN saw a coalition of people from within and without the political parties. Friendships were forged across party lines in this and we have a cause in which we can continue to work together. It is encouraging that Tim Farron and the Liberal Democrats have given a lead. Let’s Go For It!

Stewart Rayment. Editor - interLib

Attacks ahead of Georgian elections.

Assembling in Strasbourg for this summer’s plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Liberals discussed issues related to security in Eastern Europe. Four months away from Parliamentary Elections in Georgia this October in a statement the Liberals of ALDE-PACE expressed deep concern that several Georgian politicians and journalists have recently been harassed and physically attacked. The statement reads:

“It is with utmost attention that ALDE-PACE is following the situation in Georgia ahead of the parliamentary elections that will take place on 8 October. We are deeply concerned that several Georgian politicians, including our former and current colleagues, as well as journalists have recently been harassed and physically attacked.

ALDE-PACE strongly condemns these attacks and calls on Georgia, Council of Europe member since 1999, to take appropriate action in order to bring the individuals responsible for violence to justice and to prevent such acts from occurring in the future. Violence cannot be a means of political struggle, and impunity for those who physically attack politicians and journalists is a serious threat to democracy.”

Strongly condemning the attacks, ALDE-PACE called on the Council of Europe “to take appropriate action in order to bring the individuals responsible for violence to justice and to prevent such acts from occurring in the future”, and concluded that “violence cannot be a means of political struggle, and impunity for those who physically attack politicians and journalists is a serious threat to democracy.”

Why has WWF-International left the building? Felix Dodds & Michael Strauss

Given the extraordinary range of new obligations and opportunities encompassed in the 2030 Agenda, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and the emerging UNEA, why would the world's largest environmental NGO suddenly choose to down-size its international capacity?

“We shan't save all we should like to, but we shall save a great deal more than if we had never tried.”

– Sir Peter Scott, co-founder and first Chair, of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)

Little noticed among the many more prominent – and frequently tragic – international news events since the start of the year, the world's largest international environmental NGO decided to drastically re-make the structure of its international secretariat.

In early April, the World Wide Fund for Nature (still iconoclastically known as the World Wildlife Fund in the United States) announced it would implement a consultant's plan to reduce 100 of its 170 full time staff from the WWF International Secretariat in Switzerland. A certain number of those 100 positions would be relocated and opened for 're-interviews' and possible rehiring at locally prevailing wage and benefit levels, predominately in five regional locations. The rest would be eliminated entirely.

The regional sites are reportedly Cape Town, Nairobi, Singapore, Woking (UK) and possibly Bogota (or another Latin America or Caribbean location).

Despite the seeming pre-eminence of its title, the WWF International Secretariat comprises just a small fraction of the nearly 6,400 positions that WWF employs around the world, through their national independent offices. The vast majority of WWF staff are employed by and based in the 36 WWF national organizations most of those in the US, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. (There are also 'programme offices' in a total of 65 countries.) The four leading national organizations (which might be called the WWF 'P-4', or permanent four) wield considerable financial and policy-setting influence within the organization.

The stated reasons for the move include an effort to achieve greater efficiency and to “more effectively implement the new conservation strategy”.

But the WWF International Secretariat's 100 positions that will be affected represent just a tiny fragment of the total WWF global staff positions – less than 2 percent. Assuming even a 50 percent reduction in each position's cost would reduce expenditures by less than one percent of payroll – hardly an impressive savings.

According to its Annual Review, total WWF annual expenditures for 2015 were EUR 674 million (or about \$740 million), of which 9 percent (about EUR 62.3 million, or \$69 million) was for finance and administration, 17 percent (about EUR 117 million, or \$ 129 million) for fundraising. This is more than UNEP or UNDP.

Indeed, as WWF director-general Marco Lambertini, who took over WWF International just two years ago, told the Associated Press, WWF's financial “position is very healthy,” with revenue up 10 percent last year. So financial efficiencies would not seem to have been a necessary motivation.

As for the goal of implementing a new conservation strategy, that does make some sense.

With the broad range of obligations and potential opportunities encompassed in new 2030 Agenda for the SDGs, and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, all stakeholders will have greater responsibilities to help advocate, educate, implement, monitor and communicate to the public tangible programmes that make bringing those goals closer to a reality.

But this will require more investment in staff and resources, not less. And it will require greater coordination between national and international levels of the organization, and among international issue experts working to effectively track and hold accountable the actions of governments and the private sector.

Over the years we have worked with the extremely talented staff of WWF International on a number of policy areas and summit, conference, convention and commission processes.

We have seen WWF working closely with other environmental, development and social justice NGOs at the UN Rio summits in 1992 and 2012. From 1997 to 2001, WWF under the leadership of their advocacy team were one of the major NGOs that supported the NGO coalition at the UN Commission on Sustainable Development – a collaborative effort that had an enormous impact in those formative years of sustainable development policy.

In recent years, we have seen WWF International send highly prepared and effective teams to sessions of the critical 2030 Agenda and biodiversity meetings and also the Paris high level negotiations.

In the era of increasing multilateral agreements and interdependent economies, one of the critical functions of NGOs is to actively participate in policy negotiations with governments at the international level.

It is a role that requires policy expertise across traditional environmental, economic and social policy lines; access to real world financial and technological expertise; high level legal and governance knowledge; and the inside-the-corridors personal diplomatic skill to be able to contact, communicate with and convince often uninterested or recalcitrant representatives of governments and intergovernmental agencies.

In effect, a successful international policy NGO serves as an independent (non-)governmental foreign ministry, able to negotiate on par with the actual foreign ministries of even the largest national governments.

While ideally, broad coalitions of smaller, local and more specialized NGOs should be able to build the coalitions that enable them to actively and sustainably do this, the reality, unfortunately, is that on their own they only sometimes are able to.

Those NGOs who have those capabilities – and who can integrate them in a strategic and timely manner – constitute only a very small handful of the world's thousands of organizations. The WWF International team has been one of those few.

WWF's activities outside the intergovernmental arena may have at times raised questions or accusations – but its actions inside the UN and other intergovernmental fora have been highly effective.

All organizations go through re-organizations and with the new SDG agenda and the Paris Climate Agreement all stakeholders should look at their programmes and reorganize them where possible to help deliver the goals and address climate change. The goals and targets do require a more complex approach than previously as there are many interlinkages that need substantive work.

There is therefore a big question that must be asked of the Board of Directors of WWF International. Do they realize what the impact of this is likely to be? Or has the Board been asleep at the job?

Despite the fact that WWF was founded 55 years ago as an international organization, it is clear that the four largest WWF national organizations have always had a problem with the WWF International Secretariat holding the coordinating role of the family. It looks very much like they've now decided that they should have the run of the roost.

The staff relocation can hardly be about putting the staff in the field. That is also not the role an HQ should play – there are 6,400 WWF people in national affiliates to handle that.

To reiterate, just when all the world’s national governments have agreed to sweeping new actions to implement the Paris Climate Agreement and the SDGs it is not a time to reduce a once great organization to a shadow of its former self. Assuring that UN agencies, national governments, local authorities, businesses and other stakeholders fulfill these highly complex and nationally differentiated agreements doesn’t need less staff and resources, but almost certainly requires more.

And the synergies of having those staff in one place isn’t replaced effectively by google documents or skype or drop-box.

It may or may not be too late for this decision to be changed, but over the coming decades it will impact on the ability to hold governments and other actors accountable to their promises. The current WWF Board of Directors – or its successors – may seriously regret what it has done.

One wonders what Sir Peter Scott would feel ... and whether his visionary quote (at the beginning of this blog) is even still applicable?

Felix Dodds is an Associate Fellow at the Tellus Institute and a Senior Fellow at the Global Research Institute and a Senior Affiliate at the Water Institute at the University of North Carolina. He was Executive Director of Stakeholder Forum from 1992 to 2012. Felix has written or edited 13 books the latest edited with Jamie Bartram is 'The Water, Food, Energy and Climate Nexus: Challenges and an Agenda for Action'.

Michael Strauss is Executive Director of Earth Media, an independent political and media consultancy based in New York, that promotes environmental, economic development, and social justice issues and activities. Michael organizes press conferences, coordinates public communications campaigns and supports policy advocacy for governments, UN agencies, IGOs, local authorities, NGOs, labor unions, academics and responsible business associations. He has lectured at university courses on international policy and journalism, and is co-author of “Only One Earth – The Long Road, via Rio, to Sustainable Development” (2012); “Negotiating and Implementing Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) – A Manual for NGOs” (2007); and “How to Lobby at Intergovernmental Meetings” (2004).
<http://blog.felixdodds.net/2016/05/has-wwf-international-left-building.html>



taken from [Some Blogsite](#)

Montealegre warns of coup d'etat in Nicaragua

The global liberal family is appalled that the authoritarian Sandinista National Liberation Front regime of Daniel Ortega has used the Supreme Court as its weapon to rob the official opposition Partido Liberal Independiente (PLI) led by LI Vice-President, Eduardo Montealegre of its legal status as a political party ahead of presidential elections in the Central American country later this year.

“Sooner or later the Supreme Court will have to reverse this illegal and absurd ruling that opens the door to instability... To deny the people even the possibility of voting for an opposition force in the next elections, is pushing the country back to violence... This we cannot afford”, Mr. Montealegre told journalists in the capital, Managua.

In abusing the Supreme Court, Liberal International expresses concern that the Government of Nicaragua is not respecting the separation of powers of the state. The international community cannot continue to allow this abuse of power and contempt for principles and values that liberals from around the world hold dear. It is time for a principle of collective defence where democracy is endangered; disrespect of human rights and political rights in Nicaragua requires a convincing response from liberals worldwide. Unfortunately, this is just the kind of trick that socialists have played throughout their history.

On the grind in Georgia...

Liberal International executive meeting Tblisi, Georgia, May 2016

Mark Smulian

On one side of the barbed wire are several dozen liberals from around the world, on the other an elderly farmer and in between heavily armed men. Welcome to the 'line of control' between Georgia and South Ossetia, a bone of contention in this part of the world that formed the main visit organised for those at the Liberal International executive meeting in Tblisi. As far as Georgia is concerned, this is not a border, since it considers the territory further north to be part of its land, as indeed does the rest of the world apart from Russia.

When the Ossetians declared themselves independent - perhaps out of a concern for their position as an ethnic minority in Georgia, rather than one minority among many in the Soviet Union - Russia recognised them and has since made mischief for Georgia.

A misguided attempt by Georgia to retake the territory in 2008 saw the Russians encroach further into Georgia to within a short distance from the main east-west highway, which is where LI delegates were taken.

Through interpretation, the old farmer on the other side - who was clearly there by arrangement - talked about how he was cut off from his land, healthcare and Georgian pension by the fence and faced an arduous journey to access any services in South Ossetia. It has to be said that no-one on the other side did anything to prevent him from talking to us.

On our side the heavily armed men all had police patches on their uniforms. They looked military to me, despite the guide's insistence that since this was not a recognised border it was not patrolled by the Georgian army.

There is a close relationship between the Liberal Democrats and our hosts, the Republican Party of Georgia, with the former having often sent people to assist them with policy and organisational work. The RPG was founded in the Soviet Union in 1978, when its leading members were promptly jailed. One described this experience to me as having been his 'university', where dissidents from all over the USSR met in prison, learnt from each other and planned the future. Freed when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, they returned to their republics and participated in the USSR's break-up.

Georgia's most recent election was won by the Georgia Dream coalition of which the RPG is part and we were addressed by several ministers including defence minister, from whom it was clear that Georgia's geographical situation between Russia, Iran and volatile parts of the Middle East leaves the country uneasy. Despite this, the curious thing I found as a first time visitor to Tblisi was that it feels an entirely European city. It is beyond the far east of Asian Turkey, there are motorway signs to Tehran, it's about as near to the ISIS controlled areas of Syria as London is to Newcastle, yet there feels nothing remotely Middle Eastern about it -

the population is Orthodox Christian and the towns, if anything, look rather like those in the Balkans.

European Union flags are widely flown, even though Georgia is not a member, and it was clear that liberals from other countries devoutly hope the UK remains in the EU after the forthcoming referendum.

The meeting was an executive, so less elaborate than a congress. The first morning was taken up by an administrative session which approved a policy on accepting sponsorship, there having been some controversy over whether LI could suffer reputational damage were money found to come from some questionable source.



Juli Minoves and Emil Kirjas, with Manfred Eisenbach walking on to the platform.

Afternoon sessions were on Iran (including a contribution from members of an exiled Iranian liberal party), cyber security, combatting Da'esh and 'Countering expansionism and revisionism of global security mechanisms', expansionism being a particular concern for the Georgians.

There were also visits to the former capital of Mtsheka and to a vineyard near Tblisi and the Georgians' hospitality was excellent throughout.

As often at LI meetings the most interesting parts were the informal talks with liberals from around the world rather than the formal sessions. The combined LIBG and Liberal Democrat delegation was myself, Phil Bennion, Robert Woodthorpe Browne and Jonathan Fryer.

If the UK leaves the EU, I will be the luckier one. Marianne Magnin

I should bring us back to the early 80s, in a country called Hungary.

A teen at the time, I had always been drawn to exploring the world beyond my country, France. I had spent the summer on my own in German and Swiss families. This had given me a first sense of Europe, but I wanted to push the boundaries.

Through family connections established before the 1st World War, I was given the opportunity to spend a few weeks in Budapest.

- I remember the uncertain and time-consuming official invitation that my hosting family had to organise through their connections.
- I recollect the first step I had to do when arriving in Budapest: go to the police and register my presence.
- I was immensely surprised that we had to go back to the police to seek authorisation for me to travel to Lake Balaton, 1.5 hour away by train.
- To the point that I got very concerned for his safety when a teenager confessed that he was dreaming of crossing the Iron Curtain as soon as he would turn 18.
- I was also told that I should not leave the country with any local currency.
-

What I vividly realised that summer was that my freedom of movement, my freedom of speech were not universally shared rights. And that those restrictions were very close to home.

Since then I have visited Hungary a number of times. Most notably around 2003 at the time of Hungarian EU membership referendum, when I was in charge of a pan-European project for Shell Downstream (Shell Fuel Cards in Europe span over 30 countries with 10bn litre sold in 2003.). It was a world apart. The country was full of positive energy and hope. The transformation was radical: no visa, no official invitation, free circulation of people, goods, services and currencies, and crucially freedom of speech!

Back to June 23rd. 2016. That day, British citizens will decide whether they want to stay in the EU or leave it.

WHAT IF OUT?

Today's question is what Brexit would mean for us Europeans living in the UK?

There is no clear roadmap for Brexit, with more questions than answers. What would be trimmed of the EU legacy, what would be changed, what would be kept? There is a lot of uncertainty as to what life in the UK would be outside of the EU: at least 10 years according to this Governmental leaflet. But what one can be sure of is that life would change.

I have spent more time of my life outside my native country France than in France. I have studied and trained in Germany, Luxembourg, Holland, Portugal and even Malta (out of 28 Member States). I have lived in Luxembourg, Scotland and now London for the last 15 years. When I am asked where I am from, my response is straight: I am from Europe. My home is Europe. I am a European first of all. And I do not plan to become a British citizen. I should like to tap into two dimensions: personal and business when it comes to Brexit impact.

On a personal level, what would the impact of Brexit be?

1. I would no longer be at home in the UK. Europe gives me a sense of inclusiveness, freedom, security and pride that I would no longer be able to associate with where I leave. Would I need a resident permit?

2. The Maastricht treaty in 1991 introduced the notion of European citizenship. I would no longer be able to vote at local elections such as for the London Mayor and Assembly. Would I be able to stand as a Lib Dem candidate as I did back in 2010 for the Westminster City Council elections? I doubt so.
3. It would affect my ability to work from London. After a number of years with large corporations like PwC and Shell, I have been a social and art entrepreneur for the last 7 years. It makes full sense to be based in London, because it is the centre of the art scene in Europe and beyond. Would I need a **work permit**? Would I need to earn a minimum wage (which is often of a challenge in the art sector where self-employment is rife)?
4. What would be the tax implications on my revenues?
5. What about my access to the NHS?
6. I am considering doing a MA at Goldsmiths. Would my university tuition fees materially increase? For reference, non-EU students pay more than twice the amount of UK/EU students, from 7k to 14.5k
7. What would happen to my pension contributions?
8. How further cumbersome would it be to travel to and from the EU?
9. How would the value of my London apartment be impacted? Would London be the dreamland of international real estate investors?

Let's also look at the business perspective. I no longer work for a large corporation, but I doubt any corporation would support market isolation.

I have been working in the non-profit sector since 2011 when I set up The Cornelius Arts Foundation. We believe in the transformative power of art. Our mission as a think-do tank is to understand through R&D how this positive force is generated and can be leveraged for the benefit of individuals, communities and society. We are an international charity: our Board of trustees represents 5 different nationalities with some living outside the UK; our focus and actions are cross-border.

The charity would be severely impacted by Brexit.

1. The first obvious effect would be the ability to efficiently raise funds. There is a tax-effective cross-border cash donations framework across the EU. 18 EU countries are already enabling donors, both corporations and individuals, resident in one of the participating countries, to financially support non-profit organisations in other Member States, while benefiting directly from the tax advantages provided for in the legislation of their country of residence. Shall we relocate to Paris to continue benefiting from this scheme?
2. As a think-do tank we aspire to inspire and influence. Our advocacy's mindset is international: we seek to influence the global agenda. The Cornelius Arts Foundation is member of a number of networks, one of them is Culture Action Europe, which is the biggest umbrella organisation representing the cultural sector at the European level. It has immediate access to EU decision makers and is seen by EU institutions as their first port of call for informed opinion and debate about arts and cultural policy. What credibility would the think-do tank have, being based in a country outside the EU?! We would lose the leverage, whilst it is recognised that the EU voice is critical for influencing the global cultural agenda at UN level.
3. What would happen to the other cross-EU partnerships we are building?
4. We would no longer be able to tap into EU funding schemes, such as those promoted by Creative Europe.
5. Lastly, at a philosophical level, art is about bridging. To be based in a country that is severing links would not be congruent with what the charity wants to promote... though it would offer much scope locally to rebuild bridges!

So we are still on June 23rd. 2016 in the evening.

WHAT IF OUT, WHAT IF IN?

The fact that the referendum gained such momentum is not anecdotal. There are reasons buried within the UK, and reasons inherent to the EU itself.

I strongly believe that we need a step change. We need for the EU to be at the forefront of the societal changes shaking up our civilisation. We have the talent and motivation to achieve this.

[Referring to Tocqueville, there are benefits associated to revolutions: they can help modernise and overhaul a nation, but they must be led by experienced and pragmatic leaders]

I see three main areas to focus on, across the 28 member countries: education, ownership, red tape

- Raise awareness and understanding: there is the need to better communicate from an early age on how the EU works, what it brings. Let's not rely on the media. Let's focus on schools.
Revealingly, the new UK geography curriculum introduced in 2013 makes no reference to the economic and political union. New history and citizenship syllabuses make reference to the UK's relationship with Europe but make no mention of the EU itself. What does it tell?
- Increase the sense of **ownership**: develop an ambitious vision for the EU, with grass roots input and a strong and inspiring leader.
Decisions and policies are perceived as remote and disconnected. There is a simple test: how many people tonight can name the EU Head of State (Pdt of the European Council = **Donald Tusk**) and EU Head of the Government (Pdt of the European Commission = **Jean-Claude Juncker**)?
- **Simplify** and be leaner / get rid of the red tape. There is a lethal tendency to make things over complicated. It is sometimes due to increased scrutiny and in my views also a tendency to infantilise citizen initiatives.
An example: EU grants for European Cooperation Projects and European Networks (Creative Europe) require for the applicants to prepare a detailed budget over 3 years with a breakdown of every single item spent. Visualise at least 15 art organisations teaming up to deliver that budget. How adjusted to a moving reality is it to map a collaboration that has not even started? Every single euro needs to be documented to be refundable. Imagine the administrative burden on the grant beneficiaries, and on the EU staff checking and auditing.

So what can we do as the Liberal family to help shape the future of the UK in the EU?

I joined the Mouvement Démocrate (French equivalent of LibDem, aka MoDem) in 2007, and the LibDem last year.

I am very pleased to announce that the MoDem is officially supporting the LiBDem campaign for London elections, and the IN campaign ahead of the EU referendum.

With more than 100,000 electors on the French list, and a core team of volunteers used to campaign locally for the last 10 years, we hope to add our stone to the edifice. Such as via phone canvassing, electronic communications and organising debates in partnership with our sister parties.

IN CONCLUSION

There is **fear** in our hearts.

Hungary is erecting ideological and physical walls again. The UK debate is full of ideological walls and of severing links with the continent. Both countries used to be Empires. Lost empires.

I dread the thought of witnessing the conversation of a British teenager, confessing to me that their only dream when turning 18 would be to escape their island for a better future.

It was high time we replace nostalgia with hope.

If the UK leaves the EU, I will be the luckier one, because my home country will still be in the EU. BUT if the UK stays in the EU, we all will be the lucky ones.

Marianne Magnin is a member of Mouvement Démocrate living in London, and founder of The Cornelius Arts Foundation which is a think/do tank committed to understanding the transformative power of art.

<http://www.thecorneliusfoundation.org/>

Marianne was speaking at the LIBG Forum "UK - in or out of Europe – An international perspective" at the NLC on 11th April 2016.

International Abstracts

Syrian food crisis deepens as war chokes farming. The Jordan Times 26.04.2016. Wheat production down through instability of war and reliance on rain.

http://jordantimes.com/news/business/syrian-food-crisis-deepens-war-chokes-farming?dm_i=3PDZ,190E,JPO6R,31K8,1

Queen Elizabeth II says Chinese officials were very rude on state visit, by Edward Word. New York Times 11th May 2016

The UK press was dominated by brown-nosing by Cameron & Osborne of course. I expect rather more countries will be rude to Britain in the future...

http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/12/world/asia/china-britain-queen-xi-jinping.html?ref=world&target=comments&_r=0#commentsContainer

Brexit is a cautionary tale for Trump supporters, by [Eugene Robinson](#)

Washington Post 27th June 2016

https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/brexit-cautionary-tale-for-trump-supporters/2016/06/27/3c7d4402-3ca9-11e6-a66f-aa6c1883b6b1_story.html

Ad-Lib – issue 27 April 2016

Al Ghaff looks at how diversity led to the Liberal victory in Canada, with a profile of Justin Trudeau's Cabinet. Catherine Bearder MEP & Dinesh Dhamija write on Europe, and Suzanne Fletcher, chair of Liberal Democrats For Seekers of Sanctuary outlines her Liberalism.

Journal of Liberal Democrat History Issue 90/Spring 2016

David Dutton writes on Robert Threshie Reid, Lord Loreburn, CB's Lord Chancellor as a counter-balance to the LImps. Reid held that it was 'impossible to reconcile Imperialism with the Liberal creed'.

Otherwise there are articles on Liberal Clubs, Sam Woods and the Walthamstow by-election of 1897.

Michael Meadowcroft writes of Eric Lubbock & the Orpington by-election, 1963. David Steel writes an incisive review of Michael Bloch's biography of Jeremy Thorpe, embellishing, whilst correcting a few errors and misapprehensions.

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Liberal Leaders - the international bits

Stewart Rayment

The sixth in a series of Liberal source books brought together by the Liberal Democrat History Group, *British Liberal Leaders* focuses on the 20 Liberal leaders from Grey, of the Great Reform Act, through to David Steel and the four leaders of the Liberal Democrats thereafter, along with the three leaders of the Social Democrats. Whilst the Liberal party itself does not come into being until the famous meeting in the Willis Rooms of 1855, this is a good point at which to start, as leadership amongst the Whigs tended to be a factious matter, particularly in periods of opposition, such as much of the reign of George III. Although there is some overlap, the leadership of the Liberal Unionists and National Liberals is ignored, as are the leaders of the post-merger Liberal party and the Continuing SDP.

The book falls in three parts, the first setting a number of tests for the evaluation of leadership, with what might appear as controversial results. Gladstone, Asquith and Lloyd George, whom some might take as the holy trinity of Liberal leadership, are all, in their ways, disastrous in terms of holding their party together and taking it forward. The heroes are Campbell Bannerman, Palmerston and those who had to pick up the pieces.

The book concludes with interviews with David Steel, Paddy Ashdown and Nick Clegg around their views on leadership.

The meat of the sandwich is the biographies, and we are primarily concerned with their international record. How do they compare? Obviously from Grey to Lloyd George, their leadership is also measured in their performance as Prime Minister; their successors faced wholly different challenges, including the threat of extinction. International affairs will be seen to play a major role in all this.

Grey does not really feature in this context, but the Abolition of Slavery in the British Empire is enough of a legacy for any man; part of a legendary period of Reform. Leadership then seems to vacillate between Melbourne, Palmerston & Russell, as much at the behest of the monarch, as anyone the nascent party might choose. Melbourne (PM 1835-41) does not feature strongly, but the British North America Act, of 1840, laid the framework for the future policy of the Dominions, following two small uprisings in Canada, in protest as to how the colonies were governed. Russell and Palmerston each commanded substantial followings in Parliament and were rivals to some extent, though capable of working together.

Russell was Colonial Secretary under Melbourne, so the afore-mentioned settlement in Canada was very much his work, and Foreign Secretary under Aberdeen (which gives you some idea of the fluidity of the party system at the time. His marque is on the Great Reform Act of 1832, and his support for the Abolition of the Corn Laws forced Peel's hand, and brought about his first minority government. Palmerston brought this down with his head-strong foreign policy, but its repeal of the Navigation Acts (1849) was a major advance in the cause of Free Trade. Aberdeen could not have Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, so Russell filled that role. Tension between the two of them did not help that government, but they would both lead it into the Crimean War, from which they emerged relatively unscathed. Russell continued as Foreign Secretary to Palmerston – interesting times, with Italian unification, the American Civil War and the Schleswig-Holstein war dominating the agenda. Russell convened the London Conference of 1864 to try to resolve the crisis. He was unsuccessful in this, but perhaps set the tone for the diplomatic resolution of European conflict for the rest of the century. Russell briefly succeeded Palmerston as PM 1865-66.

Palmerston is foreign policy written large, and the term Gunboat Diplomacy is often associated with him. His 1859-65 government is generally regarded as the first Liberal per se, though he and Russell are perhaps seen as the last of the Whigs. David Brown and Tony Little make a strong case otherwise. Palmerston was

Foreign Secretary to Grey (1830-34), Melbourne (1835-41) and Russell (1846-51). Brown says of him at the Foreign Office that 'he aimed to develop a genuinely liberal foreign policy; that is... constitutionalism abroad, free trade, peace and stability'. Some might question the last two of these, especially those reluctant to be on the receiving end, but in Europe his policies might generally be seen as in 'the advance of freedom' and in the main, he carried public opinion with him.

Gladstone marks a break in party leaders; the queen did not want him (she hadn't been too keen on some of his predecessors either, and being asked by the queen to form a government was how they became 'leader'). Gladstone entered Parliament as a Tory, and was Secretary of State, to Peel, for War and the Colonies, (1845-46). In his defence, it might be said that his upbringing had been in the Canningite tradition. There were other contenders for leadership of both the Peelites, and after the Willis Rooms meeting, of the Liberals. With the death of Palmerston and Russell's indication that he did not wish to lead another government, Granville led in the Lords and Gladstone became very much identified as leader in the Commons.

Gladstone signalled a change in foreign policy to that of Palmerston – as a Peelite, he had opposed the 1st Opium War in 1840 and would oppose the 2nd in 1857, questioning the ethics of what Britain was doing in China. However, it is unfortunate that his governments invariably accepted the misdeeds on their opponents rather than sought to remedy them, which some recent commentators have taken as a whiff of hypocrisy.

This might also be said of Gladstone's involvement in foreign affairs in his first government (1868-74) – his earlier apparent support for the Confederacy in the American Civil War and the subsequent rather generous compensation for the Alabama – a Confederate gunboat, built in Britain. In Europe, diplomatic solutions came to the fore, where Pam might have sent in a gunboat. Thus confirming the tone of European politics for the rest of the century initiated under Russell, and since this involved the 1870 Treaty of London, which guaranteed Belgium's independence, perhaps to the First World War.

Falling from office in 1874, Gladstone more or less retired, resigning in 1875. Leadership in the Commons passed to Hartington, and in the Lords, to Granville, who had been Colonial Secretary (1868-70) and Foreign Secretary (1870-74 – and previously 1851-52) – diplomacy was his forte. Hartington was more after Palmerston's thinking. Gladstone would soon be at the helm again however, raising the issue of the Turkish massacre of Bulgarian Christians in 1876 – he had been dissatisfied with aspects of Granville's & Hartington's foreign policy – too conciliatory towards Disraeli. Wars in Afghanistan and against the Zulu in South Africa, although Disraeli may have been led by the nose, did not go to plan. All of this would bring fruit in the Midlothian Campaign and Gladstone's second premiership (1880-85). The essence of Gladstone's approach to foreign policy outlined in his speeches was of a global community, under the rule of law and defence of the weak. It is worth restating the Six Principles, enunciated in a speech at West Calder on 27th March 1878

I first give you, gentlemen, what I think the right principles of foreign policy. The first thing is to foster the strength of the Empire by just legislation and economy at home, thereby producing two of the great elements of national power namely, wealth, which is a physical element, and union and contentment, which are moral elements and to reserve the strength of the Empire, to reserve the expenditure of that strength, for great and worthy occasions abroad. Here is my first principle of foreign policy: good government at home. My second principle of foreign policy is this that its aim ought to be to preserve to the nations of the world and especially, were it but for shame, when we recollect the sacred name we bear as Christians, especially to the Christian nations of the world the blessings of peace. That is my second principle.

My third principle is this. Even, gentlemen, when you do a good thing, you may do it in so bad a way that you may entirely spoil the beneficial effect; and if we were to make ourselves the apostles of peace in the sense of conveying to the minds of other nations that we thought ourselves more entitled to an opinion on that subject than they are, or to deny their rights-well, very likely we should destroy the whole value of our doctrines. In my opinion the third sound principle is this – to strive to cultivate and maintain, ay, to the very uttermost, what is called the concert of Europe; to keep the Powers of Europe in union together. And why? Because by keeping all in union together you neutralize and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each. I am not here to flatter either England or any of them. They have selfish aims, as, unfortunately, we in late years have too sadly shown that we too have had selfish aims; but then common action is fatal to selfish aims. Common action means common objects; and the only objects for which you can unite

together the Powers of Europe are objects connected with the common good of them all. That, gentlemen, is my third principle of foreign policy.

My fourth principle is – that you should avoid needless and entangling engagements. You may boast about them; you may brag about them. You may say you are procuring consideration for the country. You may say that an Englishman can now hold up his head among the nations. You may say that he is now not in the hands of a Liberal Ministry, who thought of nothing but pounds, shillings, and pence. But what does all this come to, gentlemen? It comes to this, that you are increasing your engagements without increasing your strength; and if you increase engagements without increasing strength, you diminish strength, you abolish strength; you really reduce the Empire and do not increase it. You render it less capable of performing its duties; you render it an inheritance less precious to hand on to future generations.

My fifth principle is this, gentlemen, to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations. You may sympathize with one nation more than another. Nay, you must sympathize in certain circumstances with one nation more than another. You sympathize most with those nations, as a rule, with which you have the closest connection in language, in blood, and in religion, or whose circumstances at the time seem to give the strongest claim to sympathy. But in point of right all are equal, and you have no right to set up a system under which one of them is to be placed under moral suspicion or espionage, or to be made the constant subject of invective. If you do that, but especially if you claim for yourself a superiority, a pharisaical superiority over the whole of them, then I say you may talk about your patriotism if you please, but you are a misjudging friend of your country, and in undermining the basis of the esteem and respect of other people for your country you are in reality inflicting the severest injury upon it. I have now given you, gentlemen, five principles of foreign policy. Let me give you a sixth, and then I have done.

In Freedom You Lay the Firmest Foundations of Loyalty and Order

And that sixth is, that in my opinion foreign policy, subject to all the limitations that I have described, the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by the love of freedom. There should be a sympathy with freedom, a desire to give it scope, founded not upon visionary ideas, but upon the long experience of many generations within the shores of this happy isle, that in freedom you lay the firmest foundations both of loyalty and order; the firmest foundations for the development of individual character, and the best provision for the happiness of the nation at large.

Briefly, that is:

- 1. Foster the strength of the Empire by just legislation and economy at home.*
- 2. Peace.*
- 3. The Concert of Europe; to keep the powers of Europe in union together.*
- 4. Avoid needless and entangling engagements.*
- 5. To acknowledge the equal rights of all nations.*
- 6. The foreign policy of the UK should always be inspired by the love of freedom.*

In government, was Gladstone able to live up to these aims? Realpolitik soon crept back. Gladstone had opposed Disraeli's purchase of Suez Canal shares, but they now took on a strategic importance in respect of India. Thus Gladstone would allow the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882 in response to civil unrest and the risk of Egypt defaulting on debts. The canal had cemented Anglo-French interest (or rivalry) in Egypt and the Khedive, Tewfik, himself of Ottoman rather than Arab origin, was regarded as being heavily under foreign influence. The paradox is that Ahmed 'Urabi (أحمد عرابي), who was seen as provoking the unrest, is probably the sort of person with whom Gladstone should have done business. What a different world we might now be in. Instead, Britain became more and more embroiled in Egyptian and Middle Eastern affairs, directly in the case of the former until 1950, with the ultimate humiliation of the Suez crisis in 1956. Gladstone may not have had a free hand with his Cabinet, neither in Egypt, Afghanistan nor South Africa.

Just as foreign affairs had been at the fore-front of Gladstone's election campaign, they could also have their part in his undoing. Whilst Britain was increasingly involved in Egypt, neither Gladstone, nor Hartington (as Secretary of State for War) had any desire to extend that involvement into Sudan, which was nominally Egyptian territory, and faced with its own independence movement -what is known as the Mahdiist Revolt. General Charles Gordon, who had been Governor General of Sudan, was ordered to arrange the evacuation of the Egyptian army, but chose to disobey those orders, to the cost of the lives of thousands of soldiers, civilians and himself. Rather recognise him as the fool that he was, the British press lionized Gordon and blamed Gladstone for the delays in sending a relief force. Salisbury would lead a minority Tory administration 1885-86, but Gladstone won the 1885 General Election, albeit dependent on Irish votes for an overall majority, and Ireland would dominate that government, and his last 1892-94, where after the mantle passed to Lord Rosebery.

Rosebery tends to be remembered as the least successful Liberal leader – his portrait is notably not in the National Liberal Club, with the exception of a small piece of stained glass in the lobby. This is somewhat surprising – he had been a successful and radical chair of the London County Council and had organised Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign. As Foreign Secretary in Gladstone's last two governments, he was perhaps the first to be widely travelled, which perhaps lent him to the Imperial side. His statement to Gladstone 'what is really peaceful is firmness, there is nothing so warlike as indecision' is echoed in his naval blockade to prevent Greece going to war with Turkey. Rosebery became Prime Minister partly because he was acceptable to Victoria – Harcourt wasn't, and the relationship between the two men was poor. His government spluttered to an inglorious end in 1896. There is no evidence that Rosebery was a homosexual, the allegations of Queensberry were those of a madman. Rosebery's papers would have to have been purged systematically for hide any such fact, and neither these nor his domestic life support the allegation. Diffidence might be another matter.

Gladstone finally terminated Rosebery's leadership, his moral fervour roused by the massacre of Armenians by the Turks. Rosebery took a more pragmatic view, but felt undermined. However, he would not learn from this lesson himself, and his platform speeches were frequently at variance with the party and its leadership – with Campbell Bannerman over South Africa for instance. There were those amongst the Liberal Imperialists – the LImps, Asquith, Grey and Haldane notably, who nurtured hopes of his return as a leader; they were disappointed.

Sir William Harcourt led the party in opposition from 1896-98, though it might be said that he was de facto leader in the Commons under Rosebery, if his ability to make enemies had kept outright leadership from him. Harcourt was, by now, out of his time; his policies harked back to earlier days. It is a shame perhaps that Harcourt and Rosebery could not have been one, the former supplying the energy, the latter more clued to the charging times.

CB, Campbell Bannerman, was that man, with a dash of Gladstonian moral fervour. He led the party from 1899-1908, the last three of these years as Prime Minister. The 2nd Boer War exacerbated the splits in the party. The LImps supported the government, Harcourt and Morley opposed them; CB held the middle ground. The war ground on, and Emily Hobhouse would convince CB of the errors of imprisoning the women and children of Boer farms, and the black population, in concentration camps, in response to guerrilla warfare. Campbell Bannerman responded with his 'methods of barbarism' speech (which can be found in *Great Liberal Speeches – Politicos, 2001*... and probably in any book of great speeches). The revival of Liberal fortunes might follow from here. The LImps fought back, but despite his proclamations Rosebery refused to their leadership. CB would go on to attack 'Chinese slavery' in Transvaal's mines and defend Free Trade, bringing, amongst others, Churchill over from Tory/Unionist ranks. His government would restore autonomy to the Boer states and enter into an Entente with Russia. Alas, he died before more could take fruit, the names of Asquith and Lloyd George now coming to the fore.

Asquith would have the good fortune to inherit a united party thanks to CB's efforts and it is a measure of the man, considering those who've gone before, that differences and not infrequent attacks aside, he was willing to recognise Asquith as his natural successor. Foreign policy was almost exclusively in the hands of Grey during his premiership and of course is over-shadowed by the drift towards the First World War. These

would end both Asquith's premiership, though not leadership of the party, and Liberal government. Lloyd George, having stabbed Squiffy in the back, would lead a Liberal-Tory, increasingly Tory coalition governments, until the Tories could no longer tolerate him. Apt to dabble in foreign affairs based on not wholly sustainable prejudices, he split the party, though would go on to lead it, bringing forth some brilliant ideas which would come to the fore after the Second World War. The party has yet to recover. Both men were great Liberal leaders, but whether their leadership was great for the Liberal party is another matter.

After Lloyd George & Asquith, leadership of the Liberal party was a different matter. Although Liberals did serve in coalition governments it was as a junior partner. The editors have chosen not to include leaders of streams that eventually merged into the Conservative party, so the main stream flows through Sir Herbert Samuel. A 'Suiffite, Samuel did not receive the Lloyd George coupon and duly lost his seat in the 1918 election. However, he became the first High Commissioner for the Palestine Mandate, 1920-25. His appointment probably had more to do with Lloyd George's Zionism than his own. Jaime Reynolds says that 'he worked tirelessly for a Jewish National Home in a multi-national Palestine' but failed to win Arab agreement. I would go beyond that. Jewish opinion regarded him as too pro-Arab, Arab opinion as too pro-Jewish; predictably, he couldn't win. Samuel came to the leadership in 1931 through Lloyd George's ill health. At this point the world plunged into a financial crisis, and Samuel, seeking to do the best thing for the country, went into coalition with Ramsay MacDonald and the Tories (as Labour flunked it). Lord Reading served briefly as Foreign Secretary. Instead of standing firm, MacDonald bottled out under Tory & Simonite Liberal pressure and called a general election. The Liberals split in three, 35 Liberal Nationals led by Simon, and 32 Samuelites in government, and 4 in the Lloyd George family group in opposition. The Free Trade issue would soon take the Samuelites out of the coalition and without Lloyd George's funds, his group was reduced to 21 MPs in the following election – but not including Samuel.

Thus in 1935 the baton was passed to Archie Sinclair, and the Liberal party survived. Whereas Samuel would back Chamberlain on appeasement and Munich, Sinclair did not. Sinclair's first major act in establishing the distinctiveness of the Liberal party was his criticism of the government's response to Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia. In the wartime coalition, Sinclair was given the Air Ministry, and held the post throughout. A lot is missed by his critics here. Air power was crucial to the conduct of the war and Churchill needed someone he could rely on. Sinclair been Churchill's aide-de-camp during his military service during the First World War, and their friendship was enduring. Much of Sinclair's reputation in this is marred by the comments of the obnoxious Beaverbrooke the less said of whom the better. Sinclair was a steady hand, dedicated and well-respected within his charge, and as said above, held his post throughout the war, despite disagreements with Churchill and Harris over tactics towards the end. Dutton, his biographer, chooses to focus on his support for the tactics of Bomber Command without the background, that area bombing was a Cabinet decision, taken at a time of extremis when it was recognised that earlier tactics weren't working, and also the misinformed view that air power alone could win a war (something we don't seem to have learnt from to this day). Bad things happen in war.

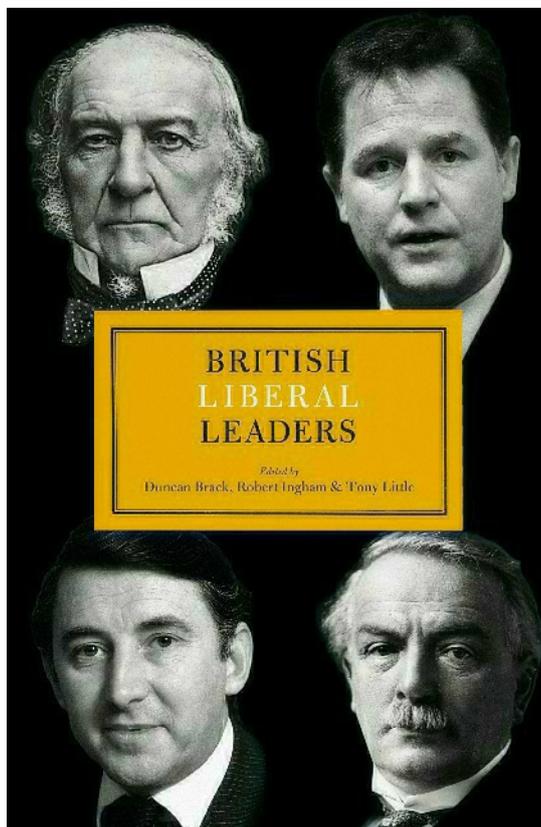
Sinclair's dedication to the job most probably cost him his seat in 1945. That brings us to Clement Davies, too whom it befell to lead the party in some of its darkest days. He is most significantly remembered for bringing Chamberlain down in 1940, and as Liberal leader, for declining a Cabinet Post for a coalition in Churchill's narrow victory in 1951. This decision probably saved the party from extinction. Internationally, Davies was a champion of Europe, advocating our membership of the Coal & Steel Community. Davies was also chairman of the India Relief Committee – the famine in Bengal of 1943-44 is one of those moments of Imperial history that we seem to prefer to forget – as I said above, bad things happen in war; they are less justifiable when not between belligerents.

So 1956 – Suez and Jo Grimond; hereafter, in varying degrees we are on familiar territory and will progressively be aware of the internationalism of successive leaders. I think it was David Steel who said somewhere that Jo said we were Europeans and Internationalists, so we were (if so he is too modest, as his own record shows). Paddy Ashdown answered critics with when I talk about international issues (the Balkans, Hong Kong) the press listens, when I talk about anything else, they don't – I paraphrase of course. So Tim Farron, this is the legacy that you have to live up to. Be brave, for it has been shown that Liberals have prevailed through their internationalism.

And as to the book? Can any campaigner do without it? It is an endless source of reference to hone your arguments and a ready reckoner of events. If you haven't bought a copy yet, what are you waiting for?

British Liberal Leaders, edited by Duncan Brack, Robert Ingham & Tony Little. Biteback 2015 £25.00
isbn 9781849541978

Subscribers to the excellent *Journal of Liberal History* may purchase the book at the discounted rate of £20.00 via www.liberalhistory.org.uk or by cheque (made out to the Liberal Democrat History Group) to LDHG, 54 Midmoor Road, London SW12 0EN (adding £3.00 for postage)



more reviews

Rethinking gender in revolutions and resistance: lessons from the Arab world,
by Said, Meari and Pratt.
Zed Books 2015 £19.99
isbn 9781783602827

Five years ago, during the Tahrir Square protests, the Egyptian military stripped and humiliated the young female demonstrator who came to be known as the girl in the blue bra. It is an image few will forget, and it symbolised the fate of the women who were often in the front lines, risking their lives to overthrow corrupt regimes during the Arab Spring. Since then, they have mostly been pushed back into more traditional female roles. This essay examines how women fight for a voice in nations in transition. It challenges the idea that women can either be submissive Muslims or secular feminists.

It opens with a moving account of how Palestinian women have withstood sexualised torture and rape by the Israeli Security Agency, without breaking during interrogation. "I didn't perceive my body as my own body: it was the body of all Palestinian Arabs and all those oppressed," says a twenty-four-year-old "struggler" against what she sees as "Zionist colonialism."

The Israeli interrogators had hoped that Muslim sensitivity would break the young women through the shame and stigma that rape would bring, but the women re-framed the experience as one in which they represented all Palestinians resisting injustice. The author warns us not to subject all Muslim women to Orientalism, casting them as passive and backward. Yet, unfortunately, she does not acknowledge that these women do face stigma and rejection when they return to Palestinian society, despite their bravery. In other words, the West's Orientalist caricature of some Muslim men is depressingly accurate.

Several chapters recount the 2011 Egyptian revolution in which the media and many Egyptians placed the blame on women who were assaulted, rather than the soldiers abusing them. As a general told CNN, "The arrested women were not like your daughter or mine. These were girls who camped out in tents with male protesters." Women who would not stick to the traditional script of female immobility and silence were hauled off for "virginity tests." Yet, many of those demonstrating believed the New Egypt would embrace the New Woman. Instead, women are still bearing the burden for their entire family's "honour," where men decide how women dress, when they leave the home and when they conceive. Let's not forget that Egypt also has one of the world's highest rates of FGM, although the authors don't mention it.

The most illuminating chapters are about Libya and Tunisia. Gaddafi certainly widened opportunity for women, signing and ratifying numerous international conventions of gender equality, in part to appear modern. Yet, women who had been raped in Gaddafi's Libya could expect to be held responsible, sent for "social rehabilitation".

The growing Wahhabist Islamist movement in Libya, funded by the Saudis, cleverly linked women's rights with immoral, alien, un-Islamic Western ways, meaning that when Gaddafi fell, gender equality went with him. Now, Muslim women campaign in favour of repealing their equal rights, and in favour of allowing men to beat them whenever they please. Restrictions on polygamy have been reversed, and women are hounded out of public life. Female members of Parliament, only present because the West insisted their seats were guaranteed in the new constitution, find the microphone is cut when they speak. A female professor being driven by her chauffeur is stopped and attacked for traveling with a man who is not her "guardian."

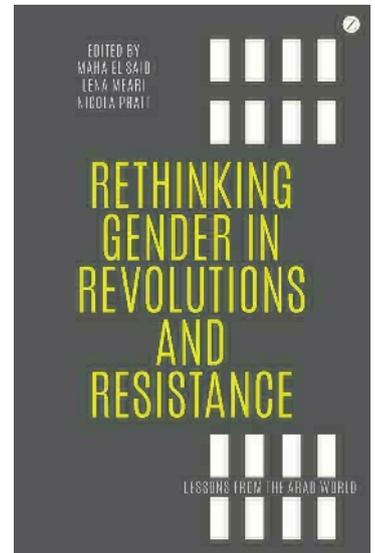
Meanwhile in Tunisia secular feminists and women active in Islamic charities struggle to find common ground in helping economically marginalised women. Again, the Islamists portray the Westernisation imposed by the previous regime as culturally inauthentic and illegitimate. Women therefore have to decide how far to engage with political Islam so the interpretation of Islam is not left to extremists. Reading these essays, it is clear Tunisia, the only democracy to emerge from the Arab Spring, surely deserves more support from the international community than it receives.

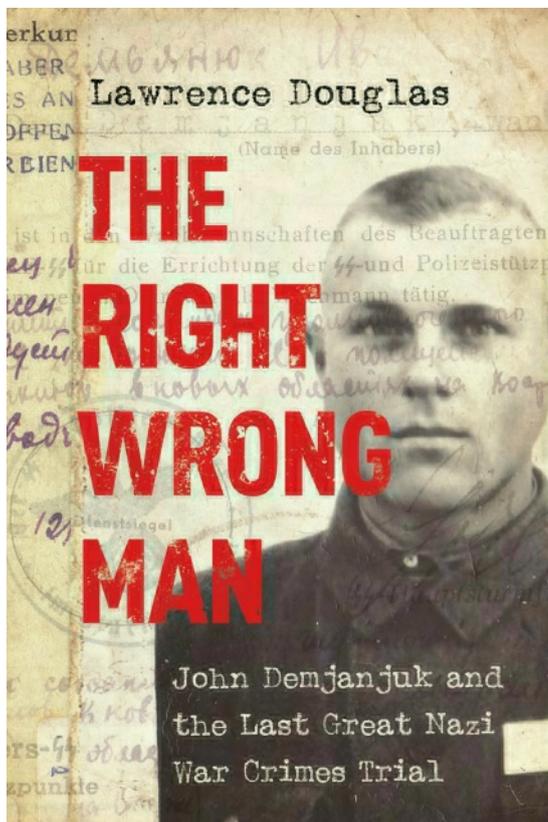
Rebecca Tinsley

**The Right Wrong Man: John Demjanjuk and the Last Great War Crimes Trial,
by Lawrence Douglas,
Princeton University Press 2016**

This is a fascinating book on to hold people accountable for the wrongs of the *Verbrecherstaat* – the nightmare 'criminal state' which, instead of dispensing justice for its citizens, commits the most atrocious acts against them instead. Douglas artfully guides us through the legal complexities that finally led to the conviction in 2011 of John Demjanjuk, a guard at Sobibor death camp and the first person to be found guilty in Germany of being an accessory to mass murder simply for being a 'cog in the wheel'.

This book is really two books. The first book is the story of John Demjanjuk, characterised by misfortune and a struggle to survive. He was born in Ukraine and lived through the Holodomor, a great famine caused





by Soviet agricultural policies that many Ukrainians see as an act of genocide. Demjanjuk was conscripted into the Red Army to fight against the Germans, and taken as a prisoner of war. He then went with several POWs to Trawniki, where he was trained to become an SS assistant. He was assigned to work as a guard at several camps, importantly including Sobibor. After the War, he was a Displaced Person in Germany and so was eligible to migrate to the US, on the condition he had not assisted persecuting civilians. He became a US citizen and settled in Cleveland, Ohio.

In the 1970s, the US began investigating suspected former Nazi collaborators and denaturalising them for lying on their immigration forms. Demjanjuk was wrongly identified as Ivan the Terrible of Treblinka death camp, who had cruelly controlled its gas chamber. Survivors described him as torturing people by cutting off their body parts before they were killed. Demjanjuk was deported to Israel and convicted as Ivan the Terrible. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, key evidence held by Soviet investigators came to light which cast doubt on his identity and his conviction was overturned.

When he returned to the US, more sophisticated detective work correctly identified Demjanjuk as an Ivan who worked at Sobibor, but with no reputation for brutality beyond the standard tasks of camp guards. The US denaturalised him again and this time Germany offered to accept him so they could prosecute him as an accessory to murder. He was convicted in 2011. Demjanjuk never admitted he had worked as a camp guard, which means a lot of his story is untold. Douglas surmises his life-long survival tactic was silence and adaptation.

But the second book of this work is the more interesting: the way the legal system arrived at his conviction. There were several obstacles to overcome. First, Germany had no law to specially prosecute crimes against humanity and instead relied on the normal Criminal Code and the crime of murder. It interpreted this to mean camp guards had to have committed a specific criminal act, such as those by Ivan the Terrible, to show they personally wanted to kill the victim. Secondly, Germany had a very restrictive view of who could be a principle murderer, so Demjanjuk could only be prosecuted as an accessory because he was acting to further the intentions of the senior Nazis who organised the Holocaust. Thirdly, there was very little evidence of Demjanjuk's conduct at Sobibor so it was hard to prove what he personally had done to kill the 28,060 Jews who died whilst he was working there. These legal battles are the best part of the book and go to the heart of Douglas's argument that the ordinary legal system can be easily overwhelmed by the horror of the *Verbrecherstaat*.

Demjanjuk's conviction was achieved not through witness testimony, given there were so few Sobibor survivors, but through painstaking historical research. Historians provided two key pieces of evidence in the trial: Sobibor was a pure extermination camp, unlike hybrid work-death camps like Auschwitz, so everyone working there was part of the killing process; and POWs were not forced to train with the SS, nor were members of the SS forced to participate in extermination. Douglas underlines the value of historians in painting an accurate picture of what life was like for a 'cog in the wheel'.

Lawrence subtitled his book 'the Last Great Nazi War Crimes Trial' but he has been proved wrong. The legal breakthrough of Demjanjuk's conviction has led to other prosecutions of minor members of the Holocaust machine. As this review goes to print, a former Auschwitz SS guard, Reinhold Hanning, is on trial. He is remarkable for openly acknowledging what happened, saying he is disturbed and ashamed that he knew what was happening at the camp but did nothing to stop it. The most touching part of Douglas's writing is when he meets survivors and their families who wanted, more than a conviction, for Demjanjuk to stand up and admit his wrongs. But the right wrong man maintained his stance of innocence and victimhood till the

end. When reading this book, I swayed back and forth in my support for these kinds of trials. But Demjanjuk's failure to ever express regret he had participated, for whatever reason, in such an awful policy was what made me decide Germany was right to condemn him.

Eleanor Healy-Birt

**Clangers, Bagpuss & Co.
Museum of Childhood
London E2 9PA**

Museum of Childhood in Bethnal Green is one of London's gems and the perfect place to take children on a cold, wet day. You can laze in a deckchair and imagine you're on the beach while they play in the sandpit. But wait, you will want to wander around Clangers, Bagpuss & Co. first. Through to October there is an exhibition of Smallfilms' wonderful creations. One wonders at the ingenuity of Peter Firmin and Oliver Postgate as they brought their animations to life. There are drawings and cut-outs from Ivor the Engine and Noggin the Nog; you'll meet Clangers, Pogles and Bagpuss and his friends, who have delighted children over more than four decades.

Although they were created in the 1960s and 70s, Smallfilms productions are essentially timeless. Who would guess that Bagpuss's Emily is Peter Firmin's daughter and not out of the first golden age of children's literature? Oliver Postgate would be delighted that fox hunting is now banned, but there are few such anachronisms (and of course, you can still ride to hounds, just don't hunt). Their environmentalism was way ahead of its time. A small exhibition, befitting Smallfilms, for Bagpuss and cameras aside, most of it would fit into a suitcase, let alone a Froglet's top hat. Can that be said of today's productions? Enjoy. You'll leave whistling.

Stewart Rayment

Clangers, Bagpuss & Co. runs until 9th October 2016 at the Museum of Childhood, Cambridge Heath Road, London E2 9PA. Open 10.00-17.45. Admission is free but please reciprocate their generosity. Underground: Bethnal Green. Buses D6, 106, 254, 309 and 388 stop outside the Museum and 8, 26, 55 and 48 stop nearby.



Bagpuss, Noggin the Nog (in search of Nooka), Clangers, Soup Dragon and Froglets.