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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



Haiti Niger Turkey Zhina & Iranian Kurdistan

Perceptions of the West Great Power Rivalry Bournemouth

EVENTS

23rd-26th September Liberal Democrats Federal Autumn Conference, Bournemouth.

24th September LIBG Fringe Meeting: The Future of China-UK relations. Marriott - Shaftesbury Suite 6.15-7.15pm - see page 3

7th October The Anarchist Bookfair.
<https://anarchistbookfair.london>

21st October Liberal Democrat Town & Parish Councillors Conference, free event, online, provisionally 10am-1pm.

21st- 22nd October Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol Cymru/Welsh Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference, Ramada Plaza Hotel, Wrexham.

28th-30th October Scottish Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference, The Town House, Hamilton.

4th November The London Radical Bookfair.
<https://londonradicalbookfair.wordpress.com>

For bookings & other information please contact the Treasurer

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Cover Photograph – Downtown Port Au Prince, Haiti

Copy Deadline for the conference reports
8.10.2023



LIBG IN BOURNEMOUTH



FRINGE MEETING - SUNDAY 18.15-19.15

The Future of China-UK Relations

A damning report on the UK's response to Chinese interference - where do we go from here? What is our policy on China? Join us for a discussion with Lord Jeremy Purvis, Ulrich Lechte, FDP Foreign Affairs spokesperson and an international panel to be confirmed.

Marriott, Shaftesbury Suite

Exhibition Stall

LIBG are sharing a stall (no. 24) with LDEG, the Liberal Democrat European Group, in the Solent Hall on the ground floor of the BIC conference centre. Volunteers will be needed to staff our stall.

Liberal Democrats' Autumn Conference

The Liberal Democrats' Autumn Conference at Bournemouth is weak on international content so far as the debates go. Ukraine aside, one stretches the imagination to go beyond our shores. Pertinently, *Combating Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery* fills that role, but the debate is at the start of the conference when many delegates will either be coping with the bureaucracy or still travelling to Bournemouth – at least one rail link along the south coast is closed for engineering work, diverting travellers via London.

The motion on *Combating Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery* calls for the repeal of both the Nationality and Borders Act and the Illegal Migration Act. Otherwise, we might assume that it seeks to strengthen the Modern Slavery Act, 2015, which was passed by the Coalition government.

It is difficult to comment on *Standing with Ukraine*, apart from the obvious. More focus on the Black Sea and grain shipments? As we go to press the Daily Express has reported RAF activity there, according to Downing Street, conducting intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance flights over the area to deter Russia from carrying out illegal strikes against civilian vessels.

The Report of Federal International Relations Committee takes place at 10.15 on Tuesday 26th September.

China – national security threat?

David Chalmers

I first visited Hong Kong in the summer of 1989, a few weeks after the massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. At the time the people of Hong Kong feared for their future, whilst the rest of the world considered how to deal with a regime prepared to shoot its own people to remain in power. Over the next decades I would come to work and live in China, receiving the Queen's Award for Enterprise in 2002 for developing the Economist's business in China. Whilst recognising that we were dealing with an autocratic state and rightly concerned at its human rights record, we considered that by engaging with China – and in my case helping Chinese businesses align their commercial practices with those of the West – we were helping to create a new partner in the global world order.

However, since Xi Jinping's ascent to power over a decade ago, things have gone backwards. Instead of a partner China is increasingly setting itself up as an adversary to the West, set on undermining the liberal world order. Within our own liberal family, some condemn our engagement back then with China – arguing that we should have foreseen what was coming. On a recent trip to Berlin, I met up with an old friend who at one time ran the business operations of Siemens in China. I asked him for his thoughts on whether we had got it so wrong back then. He defended our actions, but with our knowledge now of China's recent behaviour, we cannot carry on with business as normal. Germany that has invested 10 times more in China than the UK and therefore has much more to lose, is having to face some tough decisions.

In recent years we have seen the Chinese Communist Party CCP prepared to resort to ever more extreme measures to maintain its grip on power. In its repressive treatment of the Uighurs in Xinjiang – classed by many as genocide – to its crushing of Hong Kong's civil liberties, to the oppression of civil society in mainland China itself – it has become ever more autocratic. In today's Hong Kong commemorating the victims of Tiananmen Square in public – a major public event up until only a few years ago – will now land you in jail. People are afraid to criticise the government even in the privacy of their own homes.

The CCP has clamped down on activities within China itself that it feels unable to control. Shanghai Pride – an amazing weeklong celebration attracting thousands of LGBT people from across China – was closed down last year, its main organiser having to flee the country or face arrest. A similar fate has brought thousands of Hong Kongers to live in the UK.

And in our battle with Putin's Russia which is primarily aimed at stopping the spread of liberal democracy, where Ukraine is the front line – China has aligned itself with Russia. We should be under no illusion that should Russia succeed in its plan, that the invasion of Taiwan will be next on China's agenda.

It is imperative that we send a message to China and companies doing business with China that whilst we are prepared to engage with them on issues like climate change that we cannot carry on as before to find shared technology and trade being used against us and our societies.

For the past three years the Lib Dem Federal International Relations Committee, of which I am now Chair, has made it a priority for us as a party to develop a coherent and robust policy towards China. Indeed, Parliament's Intelligence and Security Committee in its report released in July criticised the British Government for its lack of a China policy and called on them to work with Opposition parties to develop one. The UK must not fall into using the anti-China rhetoric of the USA and other international partners, but still find a way to stand up and challenge them.

We have an opportunity in Bournemouth to set the tone in the debate about China and continue to punch above our weight in international affairs by selecting the Emergency Motion – China A National Security Threat – for debate. Establishing a policy on China is the most important international issue of our time- as liberals we must not shirk away from the challenge.

David Chalmers

David Chalmers is Chair of Federal International Relations Committee.

Haiti

Sherly Fabre

The US, UN and Canada have been lobbying other countries to become the face of yet another round of military intervention in Haiti. Kenya has recently signed up to be the black face of this neo colonial endeavour under the guise that Haiti needs outside help for her problems.

However foreign intervention and deliberate destabilization by the United States, the UN, Canada and France created this and the refugee crisis Haitians currently find themselves in. The same powers responsible for this situation are asking Haitians and the international community to believe that more intervention is needed to fix things.

The excuse being given is the gang violence in Haiti, but there are more gang killings in neighbouring Jamaica. The voices of the Haitian people are being drowned out and its right to sovereignty denied by the people claiming they want to help.

The truth is that the US/UN troops are the ones trainings, funding and arming the Haitian police who are in cahoots with the paramilitary gangs. The narrative that the police are outgunned by the gangs and therefore are in support of foreign intervention; is simply not true because the police are working with the gangs to perpetuate the cycles of violence against the population. Harvard Law School's International Human Rights Clinic successfully documented this pattern in its 2021 report "*Killing with Impunity: State-Sanctioned Massacres in Haiti.*"¹

There is also the legacy of the previous failed and violent UN military occupation of Haiti. On December 22, 2006 UN troops came into the Cite Soleil area of Port-Au -Prince with hundreds of heavily armed forces. According to reports by locals and video footage from the Haiti Information Project, they attacked the community of unarmed civilians and killed around 30 people, including women and children. There is also the 2010 incident where UN troops brought cholera into Haiti then denied it until 2016. They have yet to compensate Haiti for the outbreak. There was also wide spread sexual abuse and exploitation of women and children throughout the MINUSTAH² and MINUJUSTH³ mandates.

The people of Haiti do not trust the UN or UN troops. Haitians at home and in the diaspora are working to find alternative solutions. The people of Haiti have been protesting in the streets to get the UN and the Core Group⁴ out of Haiti and to stop this military intervention from taking place.

They are also working on finding their own solutions. One such solution that has worked to prevent and decrease violence has been the "Bwa Kale " movement.⁵ Patrolling members of the community rose up against the "gangs" who were causing havoc in their neighbourhoods and have actually been successful at lowering and preventing violence and kidnappings in their area.

The Haitian people have been out in the streets protesting talks of foreign intervention. We need to support them in their fight to make changes in their country on their own terms. Haitians should be given a chance to establish their own transition government free of foreign interference. They should also have the right to self determination.

Sherly Fabre

¹ http://hrp.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Killing_With_Impunity-1.pdf

² The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was established on 1 June 2004 by [Security Council resolution 1542](#), lasting until 15th October 2017.

³ United Nations Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH) is set out in the Security Council Resolution [2350 \(2017\)](#), which was adopted on 13 April 2017; it is on-going.

⁴ The Core Group is an informal intergovernmental organisation made up of foreign powers involved in the politics of Haiti. It is made up of representatives of the United Nations, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, the European Union, the United States, and the Organisation of American States.

The group presents itself as providing advice on how to resolve Haiti's crises. Its critics, including US diplomat Daniel Foote, a former member of the group, have accused it of undemocratic meddling in Haiti's internal affairs. *Wikipedia*

⁵ Bwa Kale – literally ‘peeled wood’ – a Haitian metaphor for swift justice.

Sherly Fabre is an activist with a background in International Political economy, conflict resolution, inter-faith dialogue, and communications. She is a representative to the United Nations for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation USA board member. Originally from Haiti, Sherly has lived most of her life as a Haitian immigrant in the United States. She is a founding member of Proyecto Faro, an immigrant-lead organization whose goal is to weave networks of support and solidarity for immigrants in Rockland County, NY. She also organizes against war, sexism, and racism.

Postscript

On Tuesday 5th September an article appeared in the New York Times about proposed Kenyan involvement in Haiti. I couldn't finish it because it's making me angry. This is Insidious propaganda. The article is trying to pretend that it's showing this both sides narrative. But there are not two sides. Kenya has its own problems that it should look after and the reason that Kenya is being picked is because it's a black face to this endeavour; that shouldn't be happening. Jamaica has more gang issues than Haiti does. The article is saying the Bahamas is asking for Kenya to come and help. Which is crazy because the Bahamas has mistreated Haitians so terribly. So has the United States. The United States is basically trying to occupy us using the UN. They're the ones that are putting these terrible Presidents in place that the people don't want. This is just like before the Iraq War when all of these papers were drumming up support using WMDs as a reason. Now they're trying to pretend that somehow Kenya is going to come and be the saviour.

They did mention how the citizens have been keeping violence down just to say that it's no longer working. So what do they expect Kenya to come and do? It is just going to cause more of a blood bath.

Let's look at where these weapons are coming from. Because nobody's getting bullets made in Haiti. So I think that would help solve the problem. Ultimately, I think the country has to be given the resources to solve its own problem. Otherwise, people aren't coming in to solve anything, they're coming to steal and to take over our land.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/world/americas/haiti-kenya-force-gangs.html> Romero, Simon , Paultre ,Andre and Dahir ,Abdi Latif "Can Kenya Bring Order to Haiti? Doubts Are Swirling." The New York Times 5 September,2023



Westerners' thoughts and values don't suit the rest!

Mohammed Nossier

Trends in Western nations are frequently the source of global discourse. A topic suddenly appears and occupies the world's minds for a few months. Then the world realizes that what they had been engaged with was irrelevant, irrational, or immoral, at least to non-westerners, such as the Affirmative Action, U.S. debt ceiling, Trump's indictment, or the ongoing contest between conservatives and liberals. These trends crowd out other issues that could be more significant to humanity, such as democracy and poverty.

The vocabulary of this discourse—hero, betrayer, ally, or adversary—used to designate the rest of the world is quite evocative. Consequently, the West inflates the hero's role, ensuring that allies are united. Adversaries are isolated through character assassination that is applied only to a few dictators who are the West's key rivals, such as Russia's Putin and China's Xi. Meanwhile, the world has 52 authoritarian regimes, some of which are good Western allies.

This Western scheme complicates world dynamics by framing their relations with these adversaries as a battle between heroes and villains, locking in policies and preventing political compromise. Whereas, reality tells us, there are no permanent allies; common interest is the only factor that separates friends from foes. However, Westerners' dilemma lies in their strict shortsightedness and interest in best serving the incumbent ruler.

While the Western viewpoint fails to digest the diversity of the rest of the world, whose real life is progressing differently. Human beings naturally value freedom, justice, and equality, for example; however, the importance attributed to these values differs from culture to culture based on their thoughts, emotions, and spirituality, which can easily be manipulated by their autocratic ruling regimes.

For example, rulers' sentiments could play an essential role in calling for a war; religion is more important to freedom in a given culture; some nations are individually driven and others are community-oriented; contesting is essential in a society; and recklessness could be a common behaviour in other humanities. In short, Western civilization's evolution isn't always valued by the rest of the world but is habitually imposed on them.

"It's the economy, stupid" is only applicable for advanced rational nations, while citizens of other nations may offer their votes for a party's membership or for a charismatic leader in a time when their economies are declining. Western citizens, at large, have a structured mind that is driven by cause and consequence, while most of the non-western nations are casually oriented. Nevertheless, an advanced society isn't necessarily a sensible one, especially when it comes to a different culture.

Whereas the intelligence that Western nations possess for the rest of the world is comprehensive but fragmented and deserted by being processed by Westerners' lenses and minds. For instance, polling operations that western intelligence rely on are a completely misguided method in which people tend to offer their aspirations instead of being authentic, and in a despotism-driven nation, they offer a view that could keep them away from prison.

Moreover, ideas, the core essence of innovations, emerge by drifting outward from knowledgeable minds. However, in the world of politics, ideas are exclusively developed, circulated, and endorsed by Western influential. For example, Western technology that is universally acknowledged is a clear proof of its nobility, while Western foreign policies' accumulating failures should call into question their meritocracy.

Eventually, Western policymakers articulate their own thoughts by being exposed to intensive data that is naturally influenced by their personal views while complying with their respective affiliations' missions—a group of collective minds who produce economic and political models, which eventually became their manifesto that requires them to blindly defend, preventing any outlier idea from emerging. Whereas less powerful nations are often obliged to reshape their thoughts to suit the West's predetermined minds.

These western-framed "beliefs" are meant to serve their respective authorities' static missions without questioning their significance to the rest of the world, which is obliged to live by them. The stronger the bond that politicians or scholars abide by this platform, the better they personally progress. Whereas the narrow specialization structure of Western scholars, on which their policymakers rely, creates plenty of information silos without a true synergy to better digest the world's progress.

While mainstream Western media that should broaden citizens' horizons tend to sustain this political dilemma by offering "space of minds" to their elites exclusively, barely presenting the adversary's view of the rest of the world, meanwhile, the media of autocratic regimes work to misinform Western nations with false narratives, which are implicitly accepted as long as they are part of the Western alliance. In fact, we are all living in an ill-informed society that varies in shape.

Debate is a Western invention that is meant to solve conflicts; it is a process that engages quarreling parties in dialogue that requires more of their arguable talents and fewer credentials. Actually, dialogue with dictators who don't represent their people instantly disqualifies this mechanism. Ultimately, arguing parties reach a compromise that naturally favors powerful democratic nations at the expense of misrepresentative ones.

Meanwhile, Western supremacy and unification are over empowering its policymakers, who are comfortable dealing with each other but whose egos prevent them from attending to non-western's perspectives. Westerners' democracy and claimed superior values are completely irrelevant to the rest of the world as long as they aren't applied to their foreign affairs. In fact, western democracy could be easily manipulated by its rulers, which may lead us to believe that supreme nations aren't always correct by default and that mediocre nations shouldn't follow supremacy blindly.

Western nations' leaders believe that peace and prosperity will make this world a better place, best reached by applying capitalism and democracy; they have managed to universally apply the former at the expense of the latter. Meanwhile, Western nations' foreign military interference in Iraq, Iran, Libya, Lebanon, and Syria, for example, was led by fairly elected western politicians that served their narrow interests and weren't avoided by their nations' "checks and balances."

Deficiency in leadership has been a Western excuse for their failure, which may prompt us to say that today's world crises, such as Western democratic decay, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and the pandemic, are beyond the current western leadership's capacity to address those who tend to bully at the cost of diplomacy, giving the rest a valid reason to unfollow them. In fact, Western politicians' success should be measured by their policies' results, not by their rhetoric - Western's failure to prevent Russia's invasion of a sovereign nation is a defeat per se for the West.

There is a huge difference between democracy as a mechanism that can easily be manipulated by politicians and values that are more of a personal motivation that might contradict one's interest. Believing that Western nations interests and values are harmonized is a ridiculous argument. Western politicians are often willing to give up their values if authoritarian regimes open their markets to Western nations' products that boost their economies.

A large number of non-Western citizens believe that the United States formulates the world's geopolitical rollercoaster simply to serve its interests. Certainly, the U.S. isn't capable of doing so and is even getting weaker at handling the world's challenges while its credibility is declining. Whereas, Western politicians who manipulate foreign affairs have been working to maintain this status quo and tend to justify their misconduct, knowing how to avoid their internal democratic accountability.

Overpowered Western nations have taken the world for granted; however, absolute power has a backlash visible in the falling out of favour of Western perspectives. Meanwhile, any offensive approach by a powerful nation leaves the world with a broadly irrecoverable negative mark. Western democracy, for example, should not be sufficient to empower a single person, the ruler, to initiate a war, and equally, it shouldn't undermine the relative power of autocratic nations.

Different forms of disobedience have been the solution for the universally marginalised citizens whose attempt to superior China or Russia, is meant to get even with the west, not because of being a preferred ruling model. In democratic nations, citizens punish their leaders by refraining from voting or giving their votes to an unestablished candidate, such as Donald Trump. Less fortunate and illiterate citizens who are ruled under autocratic regimes whose votes never count have one option for expressing their frustrations: violence, which sadly claims the lives of many innocent people.

The West doesn't see eye-to-eye with the rest of the world. The latter aren't against the west per se, but against their narrow-minded approach, egoism, and double standards. The true success of western nations should be measured by their ability to manoeuvre the roller coaster of world events in a direction that makes this world peaceful and prosperous, which entails aligning outraged nations, not isolating them. This could happen by fading out western hegemony and having a cross-cultural dialogue among universal citizens on how the world should function.

Mohammed Nossier

This article first appeared in Modern Diplomacy, 4th August 2023

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/08/04/westerners-thoughts-and-values-dont-suit-the-rest/>

Niger must prioritise peaceful route to return the country to civilian rule'

The Bureau of Liberal International calls on Niger's General Abdourahamane Tchiani to open dialogue with ECOWAS, the Africa Union, and United Nations – whose diplomats have been refused entry to Niger – and to prioritise finding a peaceful route to return Niger to civilian rule. The growing threat of armed intervention after the coup that ousted President Mohamed Bazoum almost one month ago looms over Niger, risking displacement and civilian casualties while sowing division across West Africa.

We are concerned that with no regional, continental, or global consensus as to how the coup should end, restraint on both sides must be the priority. African leaders should seek solutions but we call on the international community to recognize and respond to the underlying scourge of jihadism across the Sahel as a driver of insecurity and pretext for military leaders to stage coups, choking political life and weakening confidence in democratically elected leaders.



Picture: NigerTZai, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Whilst all of Britain's former West African colonies have had their coups, and Sudan was a colony until 1956, ostensibly a condominium with Egypt, there must be concern that the 'Coup Belt' that now stretches across sub Saharan Africa is primarily former French colonies, the latest being Gabon. Hostility to French post-imperialism seems to be an underlying problem. The ambitions of other players may be a factor, China, Russia, Turkey. The Wagner Group has actions in the Central African Republic (2017), Mali (2020) and Sudan (2018), mostly ongoing. In Niger that position doesn't appear clear at the moment, the BBC amongst others, exposing false news.

CAN EUROPE SURVIVE GREAT POWER RIVALRY¹?

George Cunningham

A great geopolitical realignment taking place in the world, a part of that historic cycle of the rise and fall of Great Powers. It is a realignment of a globalised world whose people seem divided and increasingly intolerant of each other, leading to a clash of interests and values. It will not necessarily be a peaceful realignment. It must be managed by all of us – with attempts at a lot of mutual understanding - as best we can. Relationships between nations and peoples are being impacted across the world – in Asia, Latin America, Middle East, Africa, and of course within Europe too. The rise of China is especially causing multiple realignments, as countries position themselves to take advantage of the opportunities that rise may bring – whilst trying to shield themselves against the threats.

I was recently invited to Tel Aviv to discuss how Israel might create a strategy on China. Israel is trying a balancing act between an economically-important China and its security alliance with the USA - which wants Israel to stop selling high-end technology to China. President Xi was visiting the Gulf at the time. China had just brokered a deal for diplomatic ties to be restored between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Yet the USA remains the number one security partner of the region. The desert sands are shifting, and all Middle Eastern countries are trying to balance their interests, trying to extract concessions from all sides.

The game for smaller countries seems now to try and avoid being reliant on any single camp. They want to be courted as far as possible by all sides. Everywhere there are dilemmas and opportunistic moves for self-interest.

By 2075, the three main global economic players are forecast to be China, India and the USA². Their economies in real GDP terms are forecast to surpass US\$50 trillion dollars each. The EU will be the next largest at around US\$30 trillion. Other countries, including the UK and Russia, lag far behind. The UK's economy is forecast to be just an eighth of the size of China in real GDP terms, by 2075.

The EU is therefore perhaps heading towards becoming a second league major world player rather than a Great Power, strong enough to look after itself if it can act united for the common good with determination and wise leadership.

The UK therefore needs aligns itself as closely as possible with the EU.

The UK's objective must be to rejoin the EU one day (when it can also convince the EU it can be a responsible Member State). In the meantime, the UK should aim to rejoin the Single Market to benefit from the EU's economic weight as part of the collective whole.

What are the **essential five key factors** in play for the UK and the EU to survive great power rivalry?

Firstly, Europe's Unique Selling Point must continue to be as the world's bastion of universal values: freedom, rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights.

Our USP still remains highly attractive to the majority of the people around the world, irrespective of what many of their less tolerant governments may say. With uncertainty as to the future course of US politics after its 2024 US presidential election, Europe is the only reliable global defender and advocate of universal

¹ The talk was first given in July at: <https://youtube.com/@WorldWideWednesday>

² Goldman Sachs: <https://www.goldmansachs.com/intelligence/pages/how-india-could-rise-to-the-worlds-second-biggest-economy.html>

values. The UK's soft power can be very helpful. Meantime we must do everything we can to ensure we keep home-grown populism in Europe at bay.

However, the projection of those values will need to be much more subtle, targeted and seen to apply to all countries the same way. We should not be perceived to preach, as many ordinary people in the world are now vociferous about the West's own perceived shortcomings. This is part of the reason why we are not sufficiently winning the argument on Ukraine in the Global South.

We must overcome, in particular, disinformation which calls into doubt our values, such as the widespread anti-colonial narrative engendered by Russia (irrespective of its own colonial past) in the Global South and even which has spread within our own societies.

Secondly, Europe must act together with greater resilience and unity.

This is the famous *strategic autonomy* espoused by President Macron. But let it be clear, this does not mean being anti-US. It means making our minds up for ourselves and then deciding which partners are best to pursue each interest.

The exception at the moment is our security and defence, which makes the US currently the indispensable partner of the UK and Europe. As we cannot predict the reliability of the United States to continue that role forever, it is absolutely imperative that Europe does create its own capacity to act independently within NATO for as long as the US remains committed to Trans-Atlantic security, and outside NATO, when EU and UK interests demand it. The UK's substantial security and defence know-how should be a vital part of that. And UK and France's veto-wielding permanent seats will need to be preserved in any attempted reform of the UN Security Council.

Thirdly, we need to be much more flexible in how we deal with countries in the Global South which are not wanting to take sides in this evolving world order.

We changed our rhetoric some time ago with the Global South, calling them "partners". But we need now to really work with them as partners, listening and trying to meet their needs much better.

Whilst it would be foolish for the West to try to match China's infrastructure-building Belt and Road initiative head-on (as many advocate unrealistically), it needs to assist countries in the Global South especially with their digital highways and technological development, giving them the skills to become prosperous by themselves. This should be supplemented by numerous trade deals in different sectors, matching more closely the needs of the Global South.

Many countries in the Global South say the time for traditional overseas development assistance is over - what they need now is truly open markets for their goods, investment especially in processing their own raw materials and skills transfer. In other words, strategic autonomy for themselves, in their own right.

Fourthly, if we want to keep the current world liberal order, our existing multilateral institutions should be more representative of evolving new power structures.

This would mean the West would no longer be the top dog at the table at the World Bank and IMF for instance. However other countries would feel they have more ownership of the current international system – and stick with it.

This is preferable to the Global South signing up to Chinese-led initiatives such as the Global Security Initiative, Global Development Initiative, and other Chinese Global "Tom Cobble and All" Initiatives which aim to overturn the current world liberal order and create a new or competing international system based on an authoritarian model. The concern, however, would be that too many players becoming involved could render decision-taking unmanageable.

Such a reform would be extremely difficult to achieve. The United States would not wish to shed its de facto control of the World Bank. Nor Europe its chairing of the IMF. This is a mistake. And there would be the danger that China and Russia would try to ride both horses, increasing its power in existing institutions

while continuing to pursue its agenda of turning the international system into a more authoritarian model. Despite many declarations of the need to reform the system, it looks hard to put into practice – but we must try.

Fifthly the expansion of the BRICs is a warning of the possible start of the creation of an alternative economic system. In August, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa issued invitations to an economically rather disparate but politically significant set of countries - Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and UAE - to join their grouping in January 2024. This news was quickly followed by President Xi declining to attend the G20 summit in New Delhi (a slap in the face for India). This means for China that the G20 as the primary forum uniting the twenty most important developed and developing economies across the world is less important to her ambitions than what may become the alternative economic system of BRICS+, overshadowing and in competition with the G7 economies.

The West may be lucky for now that the BRICs are not very united in pursuing their goals. India is in dispute with China over their borders while being heavily courted by the USA. Brazil under the recently-elected President Lula is a liberal democracy too. South Africa under its ANC government is sadly – but not irrevocably – leaning towards China/Russia camp for now, having recently conducted naval exercises with the two authoritarian powers irrespective of Russia’s murderous mayhem in Ukraine.

Chinese President Xi was heard telling Russian President Putin in March this year: “Right now, there are changes, the likes of which we have not seen for 100 years. And we are the ones driving these changes together”. Of course, their paramount interest is to weaken the United States – and divide Europe from the United States to achieve this. Yet China at the same time is squeezing all it can get out of Russia economically while expanding its influence in Russia’s Central Asian backyard. They also have a long common border which is diplomatically resolved for now but can be the focus of dispute anew. China is moving carefully in stages to achieve the dominant position in the world, playing a very long game.

However what India does matters greatly to China’s plans. India is currently the “swing state”, with interests in both the US/Europe and Russian camps (while being in conflict on its border with China). Vying for India’s support is, of course, a major objective of the Great Powers. But rather than being non-aligned, India is in fact aligning the future of its security increasingly with the United States while economically through the BRICs, with the direction being navigated by the dominant economic power within the grouping, China.

The future will also hinge a lot ultimately on the quality and nature of world leadership.

We would surely all welcome China’s rise if it were democratic and peaceful. But authoritarian leaders, such as President Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin are obsessed with going down in history as great leaders, irrespective of the human cost. Neither can we be certain of the United States post-2024, especially if a centrist third party candidate shaves off enough votes to let Trump back in. And that’s not factoring the possibility of the world sliding into a Third World War.

Europe needs to be able to look after itself in such a difficult political climate – and not to dawdle about doing it.

For that to succeed, the UK, EU countries and their neighbours must draw closer together and truly pool their sovereignties to ward off Great Power predators. Our populations need to understand what is happening in the wider world, despite the cost-of-living crisis which understandably currently absorbs their daily lives. Can we produce the leadership in Europe as a whole capable of achieving a common strategic vision and a way to drive it through? UK and European Elections are due in 2024. The jury is out.

George Cunningham

George Cunningham, is Chair of the FIRC Subcommittee on China. He is also Chair of Lib Dems Abroad Steering Committee. He is a former European External Action Service diplomat.

George can be contacted on twitter/X account @GFCunningham

The Murky Waters of Black Sea

A. Kurt

Turkey's Black Sea ambitions have started to take shape with Erdoğan. Before he came to power, country was following peaceful foreign policy. First major change of policy difference was the announcement of artificial channel to be built parallel to Bosphorus. It meant that the Montreux Agreement¹ would become obsolete.

Then Erdoğan announced that Turkey will start to explore possible gas fields around Cyprus, and claimed a share any found whether it was in Turkish Waters or not. This aggressive move did not work now Turkey is left out of the consortium.²

Before the previous elections, Erdoğan again announced that Turkey has found gas fields in Black Sea. Those fields probably won't be feasible for decades, in an election who cares, he promised free gas to the Turkish citizens. Turkey imports most of its energy needs.

Erdoğan has shown himself as the great politician who solved the Russian grain embargo (Russia refused to extend the deal after it expired 17th July 2023 and resumed its attacks on Ukrainian ports).

When analysts look at Turkey from outside; its foreign policy moves look like a part of a long-term plan. In fact, they are not. Erdoğan chooses his moves close or after the events took place and these moves are never part of a long-term strategy; they are just tactical moves to save the day. If Erdoğan sees any opportunity which would help himself and his tribe keep their power than he would immediately change his position. For example, before the last election he vetoed Finland and Sweden to join NATO. After the election although nothing changed (about his demands) he changed his position and let Finland joined. in Sweden case; possibly before end of the year Sweden would also join the pact.

Since the last election Erdoğan - Putin relations are getting colder. it is possibly going to get worse. Erdoğan is going to look for more chances to get out the Putin- Erdoğan picture. Erdoğan 's lifelong ambition is to be the leader of Sunni Muslim world; seen as an ally of Putin is completely damaging to that picture.

In the present state of the Turkish economy, Erdoğan needs new cash reserves and these could only come from the West. He sees that which is why he agreed to change his treasury & finance minister and central bank chief³. As Putin weakens, Erdoğan move closer to the West and would be agree any imposition. If we live long enough; we will see how far apart Erdoğan and Putin.

A. Kurt

¹ The Montreux Agreement is an international treaty that regulates the passage of ships through the Bosphorus & Dardanelles straits and the Sea of Marmara. It was signed in 1936 and gave Turkey the right to control and fortify the straits, whilst granting freedom of passage to civilian vessels and limiting access to naval vessels from non-Black Sea nations. The treaty is in force today, but there are sources of contention, particularly following the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

² The consortium is a joint venture between TotalEnergies and Eni, of France and Italy respectively. They have found natural gas in Block 6 to the south-west of the island. There are other consortia operating in the eastern Mediterranean, which is a source of tension between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

³ Hafize Gaye Erkan was appointed head of the Central Bank of Turkey in June 2023. She is the first woman to hold the post. Her predecessor was Şahap Kavcıoğlu. Mehmet Simsek became new economy minister, replacing Nureddin Nebati. They are expected to follow a more orthodox approach to Erdoğan's policies of low interest rates and high inflation.

One year after Zhina's revolution what hope for the Kurds? Arif Bawecani

One year after Zhina's revolution the passivity of the Free World towards the Kurds and the Kurdish Nation has been disappointing.

The history develops quickly, but to gain rights goes very slowly. The Kurdish nation and Kurdistan's population have a thousand-year-old history full of tragedies and events. If one were to tell about all of them, dozens of books and novels would have to be written about each of these stories. Here I briefly refer to the one-year revolution, ignited by the murder of Zhina Amini, how history developed quickly and at the same time we again witnessed the passivity of so-called human rights defenders.

Who was Zhina, how did she become a martyr and why?

On September 13, 2022, a young Kurdish girl, satisfied with her young life and education, named Zhina Amini, was forced to change her name to Mahsa without her parents' consent. Zhina traveled to Tehran from Saqz in Eastern Kurdistan with her parents to visit her aunt and prepare to start a new semester at the university and to buy what she would need for her university studies. But at the train station in the capital, she was brutally beaten with a baton by Iran's repressive police, known as the "morality police". After three days of intensive care in a Tehran hospital, Zhina died on September 16, 2022, 50 hours after the tragedy. The flames of a general revolution were kindled in Eastern Kurdistan and sparked enthusiasm from all over the world.



Reaction at the national level in Kurdistan and Iran.

As we have seen in all the cities and regions of Eastern Kurdistan, as a revolution for and by a freedom-seeking and oppressed nation, it emerged in response to the martyrdom of a Kurdish girl, murdered by the Iranian police. The tragedy of Zhina's martyrdom not only raised the courage of the Kurdish people against the authorities in Iran, but also caused a liberation revolution throughout Iran and brought Kurds and Iranians around the world to the streets. Revolution and rebellion began in most cities and regions of this land area called Iran. More than 600 people were killed during the riots, and dozens were executed in the months following the revolution, accused of active participation.

Some of those who have been sentenced to death at the time of writing, are in prison awaiting execution. The executions will apparently take place, following the unjust verdicts, without the Iranian regime notifying the families or publishing the dates of their executions. Thousands were injured and "neutralized", thousands were taken to prisons, and thousands were forced to flee abroad to avoid being imprisoned in Iran.

There were often deliberate attempts to change the content of the revolution, which was sparked by Kurds in Eastern Kurdistan, into a general feminist revolution. One should not overlook the revolution for Kurdish national rights, but women's rights and freedom for the whole society is an important part of the program and agenda of the Kurdish political parties.

Reaction abroad, consequences and regime survival

In most of the capitals of the freedom-loving countries of the world, demonstrations, marches & diplomatic activities were held in support of the rebellion in Eastern Kurdistan and Iran in general. In the first months of the revolution, news about the punishment of individuals and institutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran was repeatedly published by the parliaments of the European Union, the United States and in other countries. It was expected that Iran would collapse and that the priesthood would fall at home and abroad.

Zhina's revolution continues in Kurdistan, but why play with the term "human rights"?

Like the several other rights and liberation revolutions in Kurdistan, the Zhina revolution has continued. In Kurdistan, Zhina's revolution has not changed its content but its form. In other words, the street riots have been reduced, but the goals of this revolution are firmly rooted in the consciousness of all Kurds, and they are ready to continue it for as long as needed.

Unfortunately, as earlier in history, this revolution's attention in the world has died down. The countries that claim to be freedom-loving, democratic and bearers of human rights still allow their economic interests to take precedence. Also towards the Iranian authorities. In Western universities and schools, teaching human rights is highly valued, but only in theory.

The passivity of the powers and the dominant countries towards the Kurdish nation and Kurdistan.

For many years, the Kurdish nation and the Kurdish people, as the largest nation in the Middle East, have been exposed to the dictatorial policies of the powers in the region and have become a victim of the interests of the several world powers. When they have sometimes shown that they are friends of the Kurdish nation, it has been largely humanitarian, through their humanitarian organizations to provide logistical help. But they have never shown a political and diplomatic will to facilitate the Kurdish people to achieve their rights to be freed from oppressive rule from the four countries where the Kurdish nation has historical roots and is in a clear majority today.

Many smaller nations supported for independence.

Since the Second World War, more than 100 nations and countries in European, Asian and African regions, whose number of communities and geographical area were smaller than the Kurdish nation and the territory of Kurdistan, have restored their independent identity with the support and interests of the international community. Some of them, such as the republics of the former Soviet Union from 1991, the nations of the former Yugoslavia and South Sudan from 2000 onwards, became independent and self-determining countries.

According to international historians, the Kurdish nation has a vivid history of ruling and living in the Middle East for nearly 2,800 years, such as the Medes, Mesopotamia and the cities between the two rivers (Euphrates and Tigris) before the Medes. In other words, the Kurds are not a hidden minority nation without history and origins. While in most of the articles drawn up in the UN, including the Declaration of Human Rights, these rights should allow the establishment of a nation for the Kurds. But due to transactions and trade in gas, oil and water, rights to nation-building and independence have been deprived of them in practice.

If you ask any country in the US, Europe, Australia, parts of Asia and the Middle East about the Iranian government, they will tell us that Iran is a dictatorial and dangerous regime, but they are never ready to support our nation to get rid of this dictatorial occupation regime.

What should the Kurdish nation and the people of Kurdistan do for the next stage?

Two months ago, was the 100th anniversary of the Lausanne Treaty. There were many opinions that after 100 years, with the intervention and proposals of some of the UN member states, a change in the Lausanne Agreement could pave the way for the national liberation of Kurdistan. Unfortunately, there is no hope for this nation.

It has been proven that we Kurds should never dream of our independence and liberation with commitment and support from the outside world. We must continue alone the same form of struggle that we have waged

for decades under the terms of autonomy, federalism and peaceful coexistence, but we have not received any response and support from Iranian or foreign Persians. It is long past time to change form to the struggle for a fully independent state.

Let's not think that this kind of struggle is not supported internationally, but after more than 80 years of struggle, partial autonomy and federalism have barely been achieved, and which foreign countries have wholeheartedly supported us to achieve it?

The Kurds' blood has flowed instead in Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq without achieving the Kurds autonomy. Autonomy preferably in a unified Kurdish state that could exist peacefully side by side or within these countries instead of borders that divide the population. In the aforementioned countries, the official authorities treat the Kurds racially.

Our nation must fight for ourselves to achieve independence and expel the invaders, with realistic and practical guidelines. Eventually, each country will realize its own best interest in Kurdish independence. Of course, the interest that has made these countries guardians of the survival of the occupying countries, is the oil and gas belonging to the Kurdish people and located in the historical and actual territory of Kurdistan.

Arif Bawecani

Arif Bawecani is Leader of the Party Serbesti Kurdistan (PSK) the Kurdish Freedom party, which follows a Liberal Democratic ideology and peaceful approach to the Kurdish cause. Arif is active in the struggle for Kurdish rights and Kurdish Diplomacy in diaspora.

This article is also available in Arabic by request.

Lib Dems for Ukraine

John Sweeney

We have potholes. They have craters. We have a cost-of-living crisis. They have a cost of dying crisis. We have hospital waiting lists. They have a list of bombed hospitals. As I write this in Kyiv, Vladimir Putin is trying to kill me. Not just me but everyone in the Ukrainian capital. To be fair, Russia's hypersonic missiles, sorry, elderly Russian ironmongery, keep getting shot out of the sky. But the war in Ukraine is not over by a long chalk. The charge sheet of Russian barbarism gets grimmer by the day: targeting civilians, torture, execution, rape, castration.

The values of Ukraine are our values: democracy, liberalism, we don't just respect the other – we fight for them. Together, we must stand against the Fascist International. Our job as Liberal Democrats is to keep up the pressure on the Conservative government and remind the rather too many people in the Labour Party that the word of Vladimir Putin is not reliable, to put it mildly. That's why we are setting up the Liberal Democrat Friends of Ukraine.

Three policies stand out. We must support Ukraine with the military hardware necessary for the defeat of Russian fascism. We must make Britain as welcoming to Ukrainian refugees as the European Union is: if you have a Ukrainian passport, you can stay and live and work in Britain for three years, just as you can in Germany, Italy, France, across the whole union. We must burn down Londongrad and send Russia's ill gotten gold to help rebuild Ukraine.

I am no arsonist. But Londongrad – where Russian oligarchs hide their dirty money – is a danger not just to Ukraine but also to our own democracy. For far too long, the Labour and Conservative parties let Vladimir Putin get away with murdering people in Britain because they liked the sheen of Moscow gold.

Senior figures in Labour and the Tories have been far too close to the Kremlin and its proxies for comfort. Tony Blair made a catastrophic mistake when he identified radical Islam as a greater danger than Russian fascism. To secure cover for the “war on terror” he went out of his way to cosy up to Vladimir Putin.

Blair’s unctuous consigliere, Peter Mandelson, hobnobbed with Russian oligarch Oleg Deripaska, as did George Osborne. Jeremy Corbyn’s spin doctor, Seamas Milne, chaired a conference session in Russia where Putin was one of the speakers. Back in the day, you did something like that, you would have ended up in the Tower. But the biggest question mark hangs over Boris Johnson and his friendship with former KGB colonel Alexander Lebedev, a Russian spy in London from 1988 to... The official answer is that Lebedev was a Russian spy until 1992 but Putin himself says that once in the Russian secret service, you can never leave. Johnson made Lebedev’s foolish boy, Evgeny, Baron Siberia. The clue is in the name. Johnson went to Lebedev’s bunga bunga parties in Italy when he was Foreign Secretary, leaving his Metropolitan Police protection officers behind. Did Johnson tell the old KGB colonel our secrets? The Russian secret service denies any wrongdoing.

When the Ukrainian city of Kherson was liberated after months of Russian occupation, the first thing that the people did was to raise two flags: the first that of Ukraine, the second that of the EU. Ukraine wants to join the European Union, knowing that if countries stand together they can defeat the bullies. Brexit was a Kremlin goal. On joining or, down the track, rejoining the EU, Liberal Democrats and the Ukrainian people are one.

On looking after Ukrainian refugees, the Liberal Democrat Friends of Ukraine note that there is some very good practice in some parts of the UK so one of our aims will be to share this – and after our success in local elections we have councillors to do that. We will urge our party leadership to do more, we will punch home the message that fighting Russian fascism is just like fighting Nazi Germany, we will put pressure on the government to give the Ukrainians the heavy metal they need.

By the way, the Ukrainians like British kit. One current joke in Kyiv goes like this. “Who’s given us the best military equipment? The Americans, the Germans, the French?”

“The British.”

“But the steering wheel is on the wrong side.”

“So the Russian snipers shoot the passenger. What’s not to like?”

The war in Ukraine is brutal. For our film *Under Deadly Skies: Ukraine’s Eastern Front* I interviewed, Alexander, a Ukrainian who was cruelly tortured by the Russian occupiers in Kherson. He wept at the memories of what he and his fellow prisoners went through.

What Russia is doing in Ukraine is a thing of evil.

We are the party of Paddy Ashdown. We are fighters. We fight for freedom, we fight for the wretched of the earth, we fight for the poor and the needy – and the Liberal Democrat Friends of Ukraine will fight for a free Ukraine.

Join us.

Do that now.

To join please email: ldfriendsofukraine@outlook.com with your membership no, email address and local party if a member or just your email address and local party if you are a registered supporter.

John Sweeney

John Sweeney is an investigative journalist and author of 15 books, his latest *'Killer In The Kremlin'* published by Penguin.

reviews

**The Party and the People: Chinese Politics in the 21st Century, by Bruce Dickson
Princeton University Press 2021 isbn 9780691186641**

When Bruce Dickson wrote the introduction of his book ‘The Party and the People: Chinese Politics in the 21st Century’, he humbly admitted, “This book was not my idea. I would not have written it were it not for Eric Crahan, then the political science editor at Princeton University Press”. Yet I must humbly admit, this is a really good book on explaining how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) ran the country, the ideology of the party, and how it interacted with or repressed other stakeholders in the country.

The author clearly said, he wanted to explain one of the core aspects of CCP ideology is being responsive (hence, in his words, responsive to their superior, not accountable to the people), and how they run the country under this principle. As he said, ‘much of the research on contemporary Chinese Politics is published in scholarly outlets that are not easily accessible to more general readers’. In this aspect, I think he succeeded. In general, the book is very well balanced in evaluating factionalism and party ideology in the decision-making and personnel appointment processes.

I particularly adore one key idea in chapter 3: the Chinese Communist Party is a fragmented authoritarianism. In his words,

‘The Chinese state is not a unified actor; political authority is fragmented. It is fragmented vertically, in the sense that decisions made at higher levels are not always faithfully implemented at lower levels. Different levels of the political system have different priorities, based on the local context and the interests of local officials.’ (Page 72)

‘There is little question that policy making is under the control of the CCP, but the CCP is not a unified monolith.’ (Page 97)

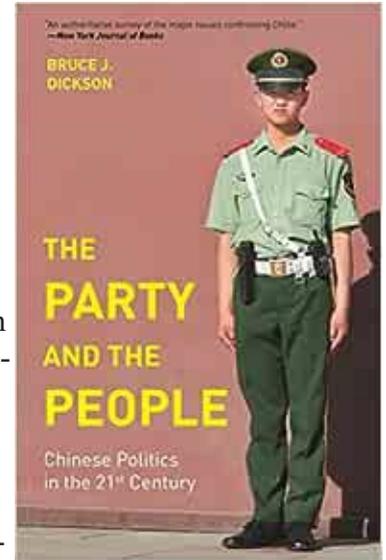
It is coincidentally similar to a key point I had been suggesting for some time. In previous articles I argued CCP is a collective of factions. The only difference is, the fragmented authoritarianism suggested by Mr Dickson is something the issue of the institution within China, and the nature of the bureaucratic system; while I would argue the factions within CCP are more about personal interests or the interest of a group of people based on geographical or ideological difference, which reflected their sphere of political influence within CCP.

Another feature I liked about this book is that the author tried to use Western political science terminology to analyse CCP policies and attitudes towards other stakeholders in the country, such as Civil society (the CSI and CSII used in chapter 4) and Religion (chapter 5), but will take into account of the circumstances and historical factors facing China and made a few adjustments to his observations.

This book also covered a very important aspect which could be ignored by other political pundits in the Western world, *how the difference between provinces and cities affected its approach towards civil society*. For example, the provincial governments recognised the role of NGOs: according to Chapter 4, the author compares provinces like Beijing and Yunnan would be more supportive of NGOs for various reasons. Beijing is the capital, and investment from International NGOs would promote China’s development; which, in turn, supports the CCP’s agenda. Yunnan is economically backwards with few resources ‘to meet the unfunded mandates on education, health care and other social welfare policies’. In contrast, regions like Shanghai would be more conservative in its approach to civil society and NGOs since the city relied more on state enterprises and state-led developments. (Page 112)

In the final chapter, the author attempted to answer a significant question raised by academia and political

pundits since the 1990s, *Will China become a democracy?* He analysed the hypothesis in political science and concluded that it is very unlikely China will become a democracy since the recipe for making it happen is just not available. Mr Dickson suggested the 3 main models of democratisation, namely 1. An elite led transformation, in which incumbent leaders initiate and preside over the transition; 2. A bottom up replacement, in which a social movement challenges and overthrows an authoritarian regime; 3. A pacted transition, in which the incumbents negotiate with the political opposition over the terms of new regime. Since CCP 'proved it was willing to do whatever it takes to remain in power', while the absence of the 3 criteria of model 2 and 3, namely an opposition leader who has board social support; an organised political opposition; and a regime leader who is willing to abandon repressive tactics and negotiate the terms of regime change, these modes of democratisation are unlikely to happen. Even if CCP fell, the author suggested, another authoritarian regime may replace the old order, as what happened in Egypt when Mubarak was overthrown.



Like most of the literature on China affairs, unfortunately, this book suffered from a few shortcomings. For example, when he analysed the case of Three Gorges Dam, he ignored the fact that the project was promoted by Li Peng, the former premier who propelled the whole idea and hastened the negotiations. I would propose that it was achieved through personal/factional influence within CCP, not negotiation and compromises among departments and provincial governments.

One key aspect missing from this book is that the author did not analyse the role of Chinese History sufficiently. For example, while he used Chinese 19th-century history to explain the nationalist sentiment in China, he may not realise the whole issue is more deeply rooted than just 19th century history. The role of the Republic of China has also been overlooked since the modern nationalist sentiment was first to be shaped in the 1920s and 1930s: the Nationalist Party first formulated and implemented the nationalist sentiment within its Chinese History education curriculum. The CCP just inherited the system and implemented it even further.

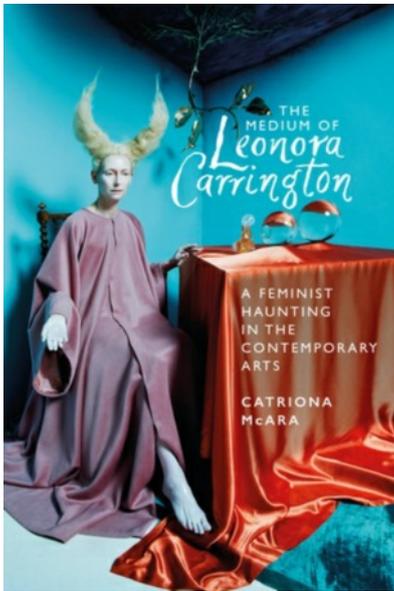
Another notable aspect missing in this book, to my surprise, is the lack of mention of the CCP's United Front Work Department. It was only inadequately mentioned in Chapter 6 towards analysis of CCP policies on religious organisations. For most political pundits following China affairs, we would know the significance of the United Front Work Department, particularly how they infiltrated protest groups during the 2014 and 2019 Hong Kong protests, how it supported the developments of pro-establishment parties in Hong Kong before and after 1997 reunification, and its interaction with Nationalist Party in Taiwan.

Yet, even with these shortcomings, this book can still provide a good overview of how the CCP runs China, and how the CCP responded to different stakeholders in the country with a Top to Down Approach. Therefore I would recommend this book to anyone who is interested in China Affairs.

Larry Ngan

The Medium of Leonora Carrington, a feminist haunting in the contemporary arts,
by Catriona McAra.
Manchester University Press 2022 £45.00
isbn 9781526161239

I was on my way to a Liberator paste-up when I first encountered Leonora Carrington's work. My journey to Colin Darracott's, Kensington Square flat where the Collective put together the magazine in pre-digital days, with cow gum and typed gallies, took me across Kensington Palace Gardens, haunt of Peter Pan, and later, the Serpentine Gallery, which in 1991 hosted an exhibition. I had come across her before, second hand – Marcel Jean's *History of Surrealist Painting* is generous in its coverage of what was then, still very much a blokey clique; he even goes so far as to cite one of her recipes (try it). That was probably her first major exhibition in Britain, apart from occasional outings of the collection of Edward James. I would later read



her novels and short stories. Carrington has always working across many media.

Thirty years later, Leonora Carrington is much celebrated in a country that ignored her for most of her life. Tate Liverpool held a retrospective in 2015 (*interLib 2015-02 pages 12-14*). Catriona McAra seeks to catalogue her prevailing influence across a range of arts. The artist's son, Gabriel Weisz Carrington calls for the demythologising of his mother, part of it a myth of her own making, and a focus on the woman and her art. We might assume that McAra had pre-sight of Gabriel's biography.

My first glance at this book led me to think McAra was travelling the same road. Returning to it some months later, this is not the case, it might be better to say that she explores Carrington's wider work in the context of that of other artists who have been inspired by her. In that respect we have romp through the esoteric art world of the decades leading up to and since

Carrington's death, and probably missed because of focus on the more mundane things in life.

Stewart Rayment

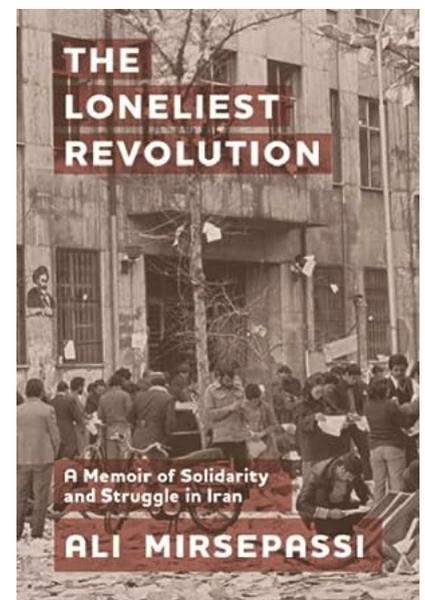
The Loneliest Revolution, a memoir of solidarity and struggle in Iran, by Ali Mirsepassi. Edinburgh University Press 2023 £14.99 isbn 9781399511421

Ali Mirsepassi is an exiled Iranian sociologist working in New York. His Iranian Revolution ended sooner than most peoples had even began, when he spoke against Khomeini's dictate that student strikes in the universities should end (this was in October 1978, before the Pahlavis had fallen from power). Walking from the campus, he was jumped, beaten up and dumped for dead in a ditch. To this day, he doesn't know whether it was SAVAK or Khomeini's supporters who carried out the attack.

My own Iranian revolution was a rather more placid affair. Iranian students comprised the second largest group of overseas students at the LSE at the time – around 400-500. Their Friday prayers were something to behold as they gathered en-masse and it was obvious to the rest of us that something was up. I had Iranian friends, we would discuss Hegel into the small hours of the morning, but never touched on their homeland politics; I wonder where they are now? I decided that keeping in touch would be a risk for them as events rolled out.

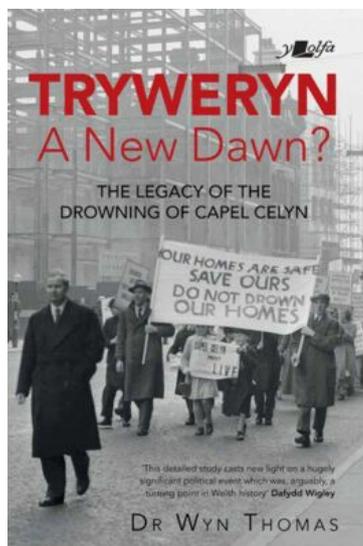
One day, I happened upon a book on the pavement outside the Holborn tube station, picked it up and discerned that it was Iranian. On reaching the School, I joined some colleagues who were selling Liberal News on the steps of the Old Building – a regular Friday lunchtime activity, to wind up the various Trots, Sparts and other socialist factions selling their rags. I showed my colleague the book, and joked that it was probably a SAVAK hitlist of all the Iranian activists they were watching in London. As if by magic, a well-dressed Iranian man, probably in his thirties, emerged from the crowd and asked to see the book (he was obviously monitoring the Iranian students at prayer). He examined the book and told me that it was by Mosaddegh and related to the nationalisation of the oil industry; it was of course, wrong. I told him that I would give the book to the library at SOAS, where it would probably be of more use than in the BLPES (not withstanding our large Iranian student body).

His work has focussed on the anti-western Nativist philosophy of Ahmad Fardid, one of the ideologues of the Iranian Revolution and much of his book charts the road to that position. Echoed throughout, it is clear that a secular, let alone left-wing Iranian revolution was out of the question. Too many key players were either in gaol or dead. This raises the question of where current opposition in Iran might go; the fear being that it is too dissipated.



Stewart Rayment

**Tryweryn: A New Dawn? By Dr. Wyn Thomas.
Y Lolfa 2023 £19.99 isbn 9781912631483**



In 1957, the Labour-run Liverpool City Council sponsored a private bill in Parliament for a reservoir in the Afon Tryweryn valley in north Wales. By so doing, they circumvented local planning consent and avoided the risk of a public enquiry. Welsh opposition was almost unanimous but to no avail. The village of Capel Celyn was flooded and its community dispersed. For what its worth, the Liberal Democrat-run Liverpool City Council issued a formal apology on 19th October 2005, but not for flooding the valley.

Roderic Bowen, the MP for Cardiganshire, was a prominent opponent of the bill. He argued in the House that it was an infringement of Welsh national rights and a violation of the principle of local government. He also criticised the lack of compensation for the displaced residents and the destruction of their cultural heritage. Clement Davies called it a 'monstrous proposal' that would

destroy a living community. The only Welsh MP who did not vote against the bill was David Llewellyn (Conservative, Cardiff North), who abstained.

Wyn Thomas has family connections with English water supply from Wales. As a young copper, his father regularly patrolled the Cym Elan pipeline, and his grandparent's farm felt under threat. Gwynfor Evans, who would become Plaid Cymru's first MP, was involved in the campaign against the reservoir, which was a seminal moment in the rise of Welsh nationalism.

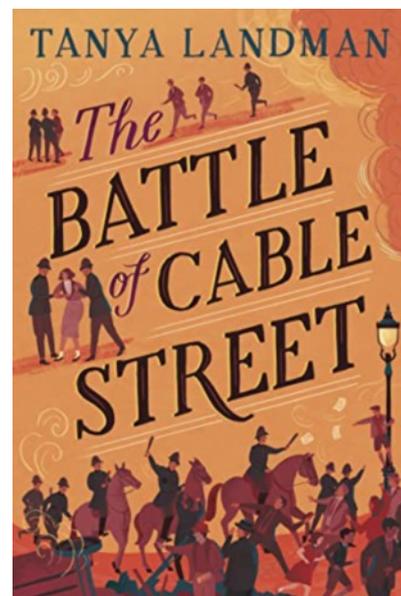
Multi-talented, Wyn also has a newly-released album, '*Orion's Belt*'.

<https://drwynthomas.com/> <https://www.facebook.com/wyn.thomas.319>
<https://wynthomas.bandcamp.com/album/orions-belt>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WOMODcqb9XY&t=18s>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKIkGwiFc0w>

**The Battle of Cable Street, by Tanya Landman, illustrated by Sara Mulvanny.
Barrington Stoke 2022 £7.99 isbn 9781800901087**

The Battle of Cable Street, 1936 was an affray between the police and various Jewish and left-wing groups, most notably in my recollection, the Independent Labour Party (ILP), preventing a march by Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists through a part of Stepney. It has been mythologised by the socialist left, particularly the Communist Party, but most notably, the Labour party issued an instruction to its members not to be there; many of course, ignored this.

There were undoubtedly Liberals present, given our relationship with the Jewish community at the time, but details are not known to me. James Kiley had held Whitechapel & St. Georges against a Coalition Unionist in 1918. Barnett Janner held the seat from 1931-1935 (he was defeated at that General Election, standing as a Liberal and Anti-Fascist; he later became a Labour MP & Peer, but his wife Elsie joined the SDP on its foundation). Bethnal Green remained a stronghold, but I do not recall any reference to the event in Sir Percy Harris's autobiography, for example. Some of the activists that I met 40-50 years later had a record of anti-fascist activity through the 1970s onwards, most notably Akik Rahman, but none of us were born in 1936.



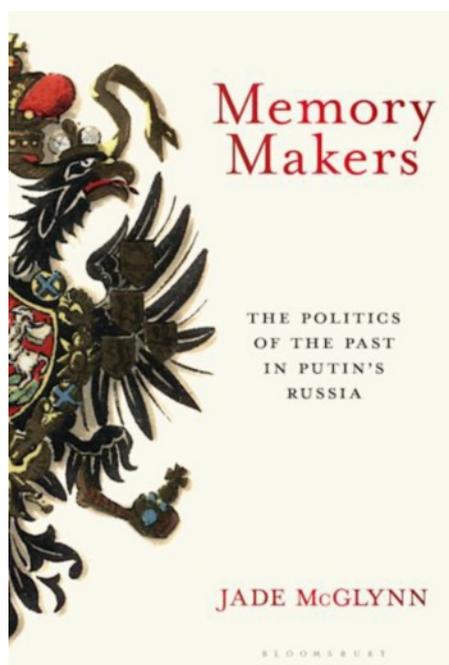
Tanya Landman's story is told through the eyes of two young kinderlech who gravitate to the Communist party and make their way to Cable Street, getting away by the skin of their teeth.

This book has a dyslexia-friendly layout, typeface and paperstock so that even more readers can enjoy it. It has been edited to a reading age of 8.

Stewart Rayment

Memory Makers – The Politics of the Past in Putin’s Russia by Jade McGlynn.
Bloomsbury Academic 2013 £20 isbn 9781350280762

Writing in the aftermath of the Prigozhin/Wagner Group rebellion, it is striking how Putin’s PR offensive seemed to confirm his popularity among the Russian people – even though he was fundamentally, and possibly irretrievably weakened by the rebellion and the perception of his fallibility. The reason for his support is explained in Jade McGlynn useful and informative book about how Putin uses a rewriting of history as part of his creation of a Russian identity to suit his objectives.



While written before the invasion of Ukraine in 2022, this book shows how a pattern of behaviour adapts and distorts historical facts and narratives, thereby creating this identity which provides legitimacy for the actions of the present. Indeed, McGlynn argues convincingly that the Kremlin’s activities and rhetoric made the invasion of Ukraine “perhaps the only possible outcome of Russia’s preoccupation with policing the past”.

There are three core narratives which are used by the Kremlin to formulate support: the significance of the Great Patriotic War of 1941- 45 and the victory over Nazism; a chaos caused by the lack of a strong state in the 1990s; and the resurgence of Russia as a great power. To this can be added by importance of strong leaders such as Catherine the Great, Peter the Great and Stalin, and by extension Putin. It is striking, for example, how Putin has been at pains to term the Ukrainians and their leaders as Nazis and the invasion as a fight for the survival of Russia itself.

The book demonstrates the role the media and the education system are playing in promoting the Kremlin’s vision of the past – its intervention in Syria reestablished Russia as a global power, the Cold War which had been ‘won’ (conveniently ignoring the collapse of the Soviet Empire) – but, says McGlynn, the Kremlin is not dictating history, so much as appropriating it, setting parameters within which Putin’s version of history can be set.

This is, perhaps, where warning bells should ring for those outside Russia. In the US, over half of Republican voters still believe the 2020 US presidential election was ‘stolen’ and media outlets are keen to propound such nonsense, and in the UK, the existence of truth seems less politically meaningful than the existence of a good tweet or headline. Hegel was wrong: it is not the case that we can learn nothing from history; in fact, we can learn anything from history, so long as we are the people who write it. And if we write it, we can weaponise it and use it to help shape the future.

Nick Winch

Invasion: Russia’s Bloody War and Ukraine’s Fight for Survival, by Luke Harding
Guardian Faber 2022 £20.00

This book may be a first draft of history, but it is an informative and moving one. The Guardian’s Luke Harding brings to it the benefit of decades of experience reporting in Russia and Ukraine. You may have been following the war assiduously, but this tome provides big picture political context that can be lacking in daily media reports.

Harding is especially good on Russia’s sense of victimhood, its persisting imperial ambitions following the USSR’s late 20th century humiliation, and its certainty that Ukraine is not a legitimate country. He dismantles Putin’s claims that it is Russia’s right to eliminate Ukrainian state sovereignty, and that Ukrainians don’t exist as a people: they are brother Russians. And yet Putin sees it as his destiny to kill this fraternal race, clumsily, thoughtlessly destroying everything so he can declare a wasteland as Russian soil.

Most depressing is the realisation that Putin is not alone in believing this patronising colonialist nonsense: he has the majority of the Russian people behind him. Even on those rare occasions when the truth filters through Putin's iron curtain of unknowing, it seems the public is concerned by the deaths of Russian soldiers, not Ukrainian civilians. We know ordinary Russians are frightened of the all-powerful state security services, just as their Soviet grandparents were, and their serf ancestors were. Yet, it is hard to feel much sympathy when so many citizens deliberately turn away from Russia's own brave sources of unbiased information.

The behaviour of Russia's undisciplined and untrained troops is reminiscent of Soviet soldiers sacking Berlin in 1945, stealing everything they can lift. In the case of Ukraine, they come armed with lists of civic leaders to torture and kill. One marvels at the stupidity of the hierarchical Russian military machine. In the area surrounding Chernobyl, soldiers were made to dig trenches in forests that are deeply contaminated with radioactive waste, thereby condemning them to a painful death in months or years.

Harding does not offer any predictions about the outcome or the length of this war. However, through interviews with dozens of Ukrainians of all backgrounds, he paints a picture of a bloody-minded people who distrust politicians and prize independence.

"We are motivated to defend our homeland," he is told repeatedly, whereas the Russians "have no idea why they are here."

I would have liked more on the feeble response of Macron in particular. Does he, Blair-like, believe his brilliance and charm can persuade Putin to call a halt to this war so we can all be chums once more? Why does he believe anything Putin tells him? How can a world leader be so naïve about human nature? Perhaps, like Scholz of Germany, Macron cannot bear to confront the depressing but obvious conclusion that if we fail to contain Russia, war will be coming to neighbourhood near us.

Rebecca Tinsley

**Artist of Wonderland, the life, political cartoons, and illustrations of Tenniel, by Frankie Morris.
The Lutterworth Press 2022 £29.25
isbn 9780718894603**

Cartoonists have a difficult relationship with the politicians who are their bread and butter. They must always view them with a measure of scepticism, searching for moments of hypocrisy, insincerity, venality, and self-interest. John Tenniel was the chief illustrator for *Punch* from 1850 to 1901. The magazine's political allegiances varied in Victorian times. Even when with us, *Punch* would offer the corrective, an Englishman first, a Liberal second. Tenniel gradually took over the drawing of the weekly big cut, which framed political opinion. A Conservative by nature, the big cut was arrived at collectively by the *Punch* staff, before its execution by Tenniel and generally he was loyal to their decision.

Whilst like some politicians of today who should best be forgotten, Dizzie was a natural gift to any cartoonist, the Grand Old Man would gain Tenniel's respect, though he would differ with Gladstone on many issues – Irish Home Rule, not least. Gladstone for his part must have suffered Tenniel. He once wrote to him 'I cannot say that I have ever seen a merely amusing caricature of myself.'

Tenniel's big cut was likely to set the tone of the political debate for the coming week. Early big cuts took up a whole page, often the front or back page, and were produced by woodcut. Any politician worth their salt is likely to be cast as a magician or thief (especially chancellors), but snuff the insult, they have the power to change things, the cartoonist can only inform opinion. As Truman put it, if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen. The GOM could stand the heat, of course and to his credit, gave Tenniel his knighthood – the first cartoonist so honoured.

Gladstone would feature in many forms, but let us consider him as a parrot. Cartoonists frequently associate politicians with animals, consider Peter Brookes' *Nature Notes* in this day. Tenniel depicted the GOM in

this way at least nineteen times, particularly in 1886 on the Irish Question when a series of 15 satirised his attempts to form a coalition with various factions and parties to get his Home Rule Bill passed. The parrot homes in on Gladstone's eloquence and oratorical skills, but it is known for its mimicry; was Gladstone opportunistic and not always consistent in what he said or did? Look closely at the bird and you will see the Grand Old Man within.

Tenniel's views reflected the male middle class zeitgeist of his day and would not stand the test of the tiresome political correctness of today, anti-feminist, his Fenians are thugs and the Irish generally get a raw deal, Hibernia aside. Others are likely to be ridiculed or at least objects of fun, though less violently than the Irish, they remain stereotypical. John Bull remains the bluff Englishman, a little over weight perhaps, but I suppose that is part of the stereotype – comfortably off.

Frankie Morris was born in 1927; little is known of her except that she joined the US Air Force, working as an illustrator and technical drawer. She continued working as an illustrator, though neither the British Library, nor the Library of Congress catalogues offer any further works. This opus grew from a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Virginia in 2005.

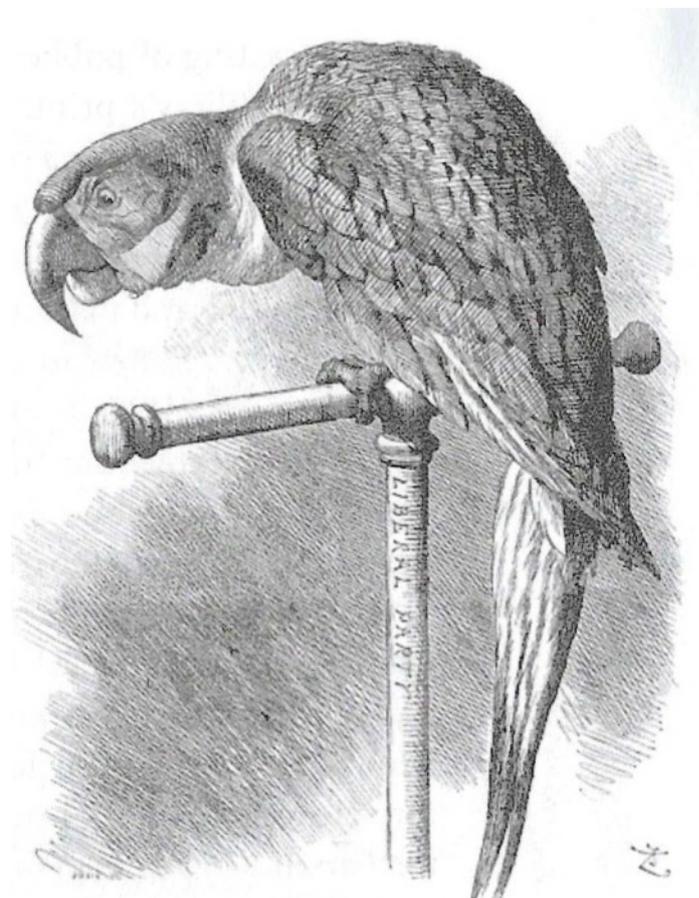


Fig. 139. Tenniel, "What's His Next 'Cry?'" cartoon, *Punch*, 22 Aug. 1885

But none of this is what you really want to know; it is Alice that calls Tenniel's name to mind these days. Back in 2001 reviewing the Mervyn Peake illustrated Alice¹, I wrote that 'Everybody needs at least two Alices – Tenniel and another. Tenniel is dark. Having known Alice since earlier childhood, I think my feeling at the time was that there were masterpieces within Tenniel's work, but overall, he didn't interest me that much; appreciation of the Victorians grows with distance.

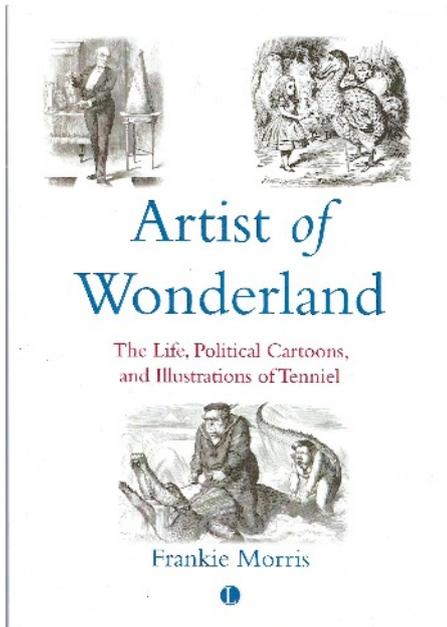
I'd read Alice many times, and since, to my own children and grew less concerned about the illustration. How wrong could I be?

Having read Wakeling's Lewis Carroll, the man and his circle², I was aware that Carroll worked closely with Tenniel on the illustrations, but this was more the case of the author directing the artist. As an editor used to holding the metaphorical pistol to an artist's head to get artwork delivered to my print schedule, I didn't give too much thought to this. As



Fig. 152. Tenniel, "The Confidence Trick!" cartoon, *Punch*, 9 Feb. 1878

Liberal editor Taylor's caption to Tenniel's cartoon 'The Confidence Trick.' In January 1878, Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Northcote tries to sell John Bull a vote of credit for £6,000,000 for military services, in case of need (as Russia moves on Constantinople) arguing that it is a matter of confidence in the government. Disraeli sniggers (as is often the case).



I studied Morris on Tenniel and the Alice books, I began to question whether I had read them at all. The depth of collaboration between author and artist opened up wholly new perspectives; I shall have to read them again.

One particular insight that I will share; the caterpillar is Mr. Punch.

Frankie Miller has done us a great service in this book. If you are interested in John Tenniel you have a thorough biography, likewise, if you are interested in the magazine Punch, not quite from its inception on 17th July 1841, but through to the end of that century. The development of print technology as used by the magazine through the last half of the 19th century is well covered. Romp through British history, at home, in foreign fields and other major international events. But most of all look at Tenniel's collaboration with Carroll in the Alice books, which you'll want to read again, with Miller close at hand.

Stewart Rayment

¹ Alice's Adventures in Wonderland & Through the Looking Glass by Lewis Carroll, illustrated by Mervyn Peake, Bloomsbury 2001 - Liberator 277 pages 21-22

² Lewis Carroll, the man and his circle, by E. Wakeling. IB Taurus 2015 - interLib 2015-07 Page 32

**The Very F*cking Tired Mummy, a parody by Martyna Wiśniewska Michalak
Unbound 2023 £9.99 isbn 9781800182110**

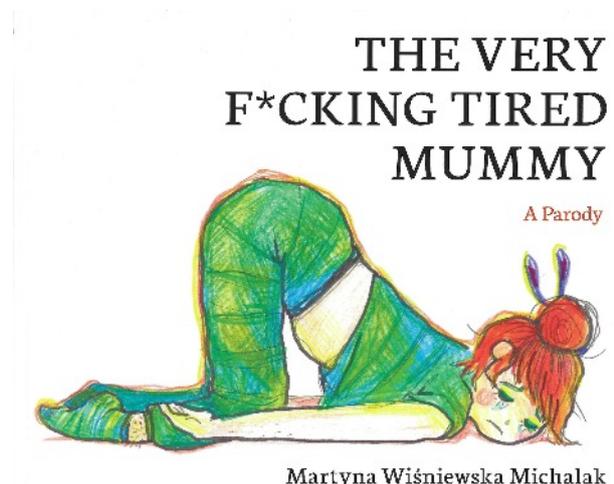
Eric Carle's brilliant *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* first arched into our attention in 1969. Translated into at least 60 languages, including Polish, *Bardzo głodna gąsienica*; it has sold more than 50 million copies. To my mind, it is not unreasonable to speculate that every child born in the UK at least, will have loved the book at some time.

Martyna's book is also brilliant and is something every mummy, like her will empathise with; buy it for her and make her laugh.

My only criticism is the expletive. Although an exponent of foul-mouthed radicalism in the council chamber (it really gets into those middle-class tossers in the Labour party, try it), I made Herculean efforts to stop swearing when children arrived; teenagers, they now swear like troopers of course. So, when you are reading the book to children you may want to edit in places. It is just as funny without, perhaps more so.

Unbound's books are crowd-funded. Order it from your local independent bookseller, it could do rather well for them in the Christmas season.

Stewart Rayment



Torrid Times, by Peter Brookes

Biteback, 2023 £30.00

isbn 9781785908248

Oh, these are dark times that we are living in. We have been following Peter Brookes on the leader pages of The Times since 1992; the first Nature Notes appeared in 1996. Before that, he was with the Radio Times, New Statesman, New Society and The Spectator. We see his cartoons singularly as they appear, but this is different. The book arrives, I open it at random and flick through a few pages. This is anger. One senses anger in Brookes' cartoons from time to time, but this is hammer blow after hammer blow.

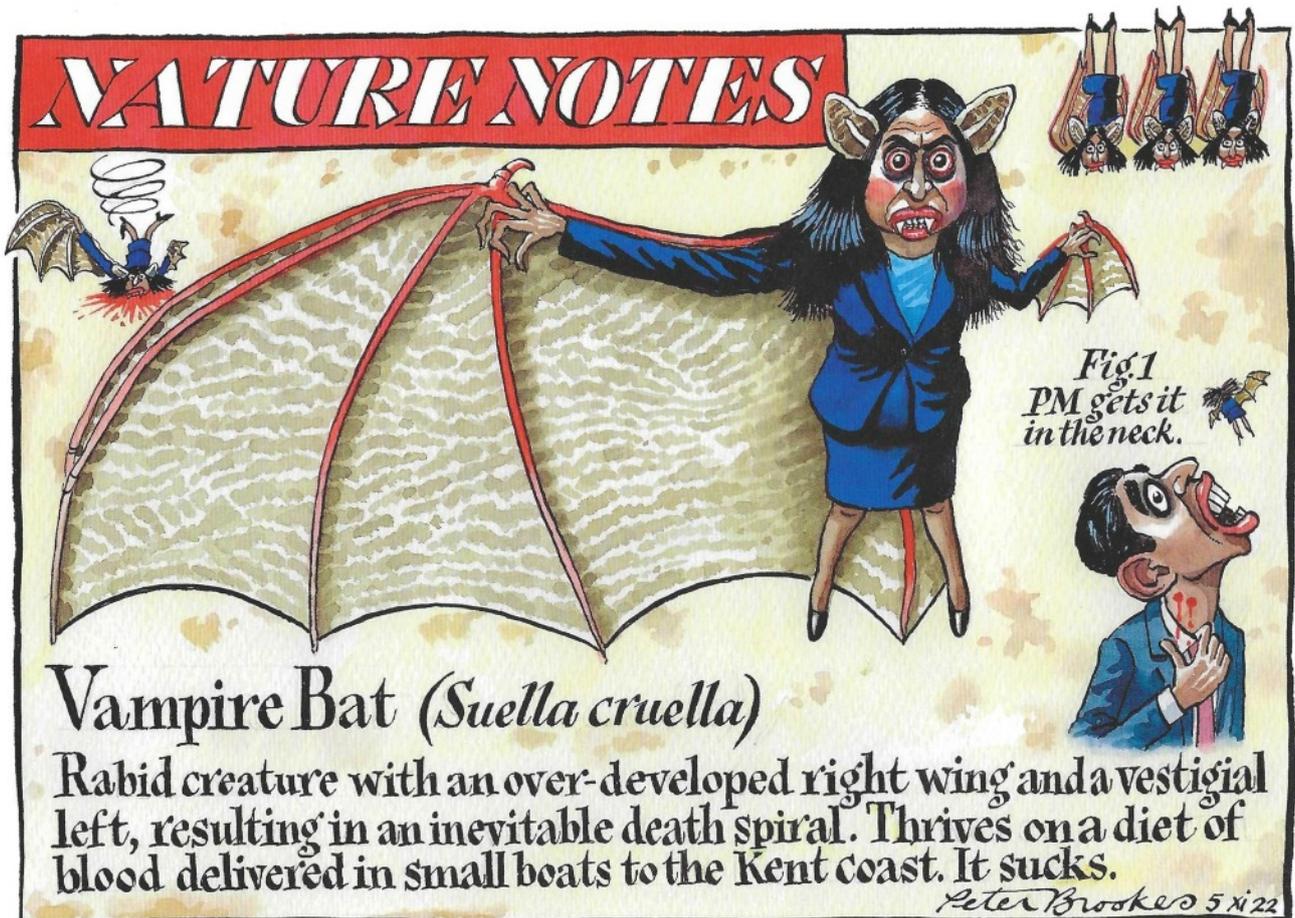
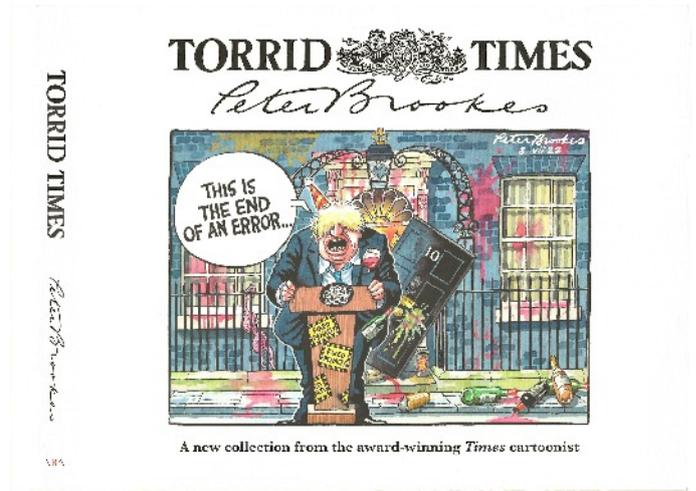
Back in 2015 Edwin Smith, interviewing Brookes for Total Politics¹, wrote 'No one is off-limits, and Brookes takes pride in the fact that he isn't expected to follow the editorial line of the paper. Like a prized columnist, he has free rein to attack any person or decision that he chooses. Notably, he diverged from The Times in his staunch opposition to the Iraq war, and has described Tony Blair as "crazed and manic."

Torrid Times covers the period July 2021 to June 2023, so we have Covid 19, Partygate and its aftermath – the short career of Liz Truss and even shorter career of KamiKwazi Kwartung, Ukraine, Ukraine and Ukraine, the Cost-of-Living Crisis and the fundamental racism of the party that has assumed the

name 'Conservative'. But no Liberal Democrats, from cover to cover... but the stonking by-election successes were all just outside the timeframe.

Stewart Rayment

¹ Edwin Smith - Interview – Total Politics, 30 April 2015



International Abstracts

Journal of Liberal History Issue 119: Summer 2023 – The Lloyd George Coalition.

With articles by David Dutton - Odd Couple Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain and the post-war coalition, 1918-1922; Matthew Johnson - Lloyd George, the Liberal crisis, and the Unionist Party during the First World War; two by Alistair Lexden - A Prime Minister of the Left in Coalition with the Right: Lloyd George and the Unionists, 1918-1922, and Lloyd George and the 1922 Committee, the meeting that brought Lloyd George down; Kenneth O. Morgan - Lloyd George and the hard-faced men; Chris Wrigley - The Lloyd George coalition governments: labour and industrial relations.

There are some sly remarks about other coalitions, and Lexden, speaking at the Carlton Club, makes a prediction. If that doesn't whet your appetite, it says little about international affairs; some vindication of Lloyd George at and after Versailles, but scant reference to the recognition of Bolshevik Russia and the Greek-Turkish War (and their roles in the progressive disenchantment of Tory back benchers with the Wizard (was Ireland still a domestic issue? Is it now?). reveals C as a forgotten hero. If you don't subscribe, you'll want to.

Refugees

Smuggler or rescuer, by Ruairi Casey. London Review of Books 6th September 2023

Just as one person's freedom fighter may be another person's terrorist, Casey questions prevailing attitudes to those involved in getting refugees and migrants across borders, with some interesting analogies.

https://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2023/september/smuggler-or-rescuer?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20230906blog&utm_content=20230906blog+CID_c07d99480bc62d76ec2349c394da5a72&utm_source=LRB%20email&utm_term=Read%20more



Bournemouth – the International bits...

Saturday 23rd September

CONFERENCE HALL

9.40-10.10 Policy motion: Combating Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery

FRINGE SATURDAY LUNCHTIME 13.00-14.30

Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine

Palestine's UK Envoy talks to Alistair Carmichael MP and Hannah Weisfeld

Dr Husam Zomlot will be in conversation with Alistair Carmichael MP and Hannah Weisfeld, Director of Yachad (which represents British Jews) about the way forward for the two-state solution while an ultra-right wing regime is in power in the Knesset.

Bournemouth International Centre, Meyrick Suite

International Security Consultation Session

This is an opportunity for members to engage with the policy working group on International Security and Defence. Chaired by Dr Christine Cheng, member of the Federal Policy Committee and Manifesto Working Group. Bournemouth International Centre, Westbourne Suite

Liberal Democrat European Group

Building Coalition Government

Our European sister parties can probably tell us a thing or two about building coalition Governments. Which lessons to follow and which to avoid? Come and find out from what promises to be a lively, insightful and well-timed debate.

Marriott, Dorchester South

TRAINING AND SKILLS SATURDAY LATE AFTERNOON

16.15-17.30

Win with Overseas Voters!

An estimated 2 million Britons living overseas have regained their right to vote in the UK as a result of the Elections Act. Join campaigners from LibDems Abroad and colleagues from across the Party to hear about plans to encourage these potential supporters to help your campaigns to win at the next General Election. Lib Dems Abroad

Sherborne Suite, MARRIOTT HIGHCLIFF

FRINGE SATURDAY MID EVENING 20.15–21.30

UK Anti-Corruption Coalition

Kleptocrats and Oligarchs: Tackling Britain's Dirty Money Problem Russia's invasion of Ukraine has brought Britain's dirty money problem to the surface. Join us for an expert panel discussion on illicit finance and the effect 'Londongrad' has on the war in Ukraine, national security, and our international reputation.

www.ukanticorruptioncoalition.org www.twitter.com/ukaccoalition Bournemouth International Centre, Bayview Suite 1

Liberal Democrats Friends of the Armed Forces

Fighting against Authoritarians

A fringe debate from the LibDem Friends of Armed Forces, of Hong Kong and the newly launched Ukraine AO with Lord Purvis, Baroness Smith, Richard Foord MP and others. Fearless Q&A.

Bournemouth International Centre, Bayview Suite 2

Liberal Democrat History Group

What Have the Liberals Ever Done For Us? Book Launch

Launch of the History Group's new concise guide to the greatest Liberal achievements, from the seventeenth to the twenty-first centuries. Speakers: Layla Moran MP, Sarah Olney MP, Wendy Chamberlain MP, Janey Little (Young Liberals). Special book price for meeting participants!

Bournemouth International Centre, Meyrick Suite

Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF)

Teaser UK-EU Liberal Dialogue

INVITE ONLY

Despite Brexit, the UK and EU remain one region that maintains strong ties and common interests. FNF's UK-EU Liberal Dialogue addresses growth and connectivity opportunities across the English Channel, Europe's role in the world, and how to thrive together through partnership and community.

www.freiheit.org/european-union www.twitter.com/fnfeurope Marriott, Blandford Syndicate 3

Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary (LD4SOS)

The UK's asylum system after the "Illegal Migration Bill" and Rwanda Judgement

What does the future hold for asylum seekers? John Skipworth (LD4SOS Chair) hosts an expert panel with Alistair Carmichael MP (Home Affairs spokesperson), Dr Ruvi Ziegler (Associate Professor in International Refugee Law and LD4SOS Council Member) and civil society activists.

ld4sos.org.uk www.twitter.com/ld4sos

Marriott, Shaftesbury Suite

SUNDAY 24th SEPTEMBER

CONFERENCE HALL

9.00-09.20 Policy motion: Making the Fight Against Climate Change Accessible

FRINGE SUNDAY LUNCHTIME 13.00-14.00

Layla Moran introducing: Kira Rudik and John Sweeney in conversation

Kira Rudik (Leader of Ukrainian Holos Party, ALDE Vice President) and John Sweeney (investigative journalist) in conversation about the Ukrainian War. Kira Rudik is the leader of our sister party in the Ukrainian parliament, Holos, and ALDE Vice President. John Sweeney is an investigative journalist who has been reporting live from Ukraine and has written extensively on Vladimir Putin and Russia.

Bournemouth International Centre, Tregonwell Hall

Electoral Reform Society

Campaigning for Proportional Representation: Lessons from around the world

From New Zealand to America, what we can learn from successful campaigns to reform the electoral system. Darren Hughes, Chief Executive of the Electoral Reform Society, in conversation with founding President and CEO of Fair Vote USA, Rob Richie.

www.electoralreform.org.uk www.twitter.com/electoralreform Bournemouth International Centre, Westbourne Suite

Liberal Democrats for Seekers of Sanctuary (LD4SOS)

Annual General Meeting and Open Forum - have your say

After the AGM business, the Open Forum will discuss what you see as the pressing issues faced by asylum seekers in the UK and how Liberal Democrats can respond individually, with others and collectively in our Party.

ld4sos.org.uk www.twitter.com/ld4sos

Marriott, Sandbanks Room

Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel

Peace through prosperity. How to make a economically viable Palestinian State?

LDFI Hon Chair, Gavin Stollar in conversation with Tim Farron MP and Portland Trust CEO, Baron Frankal. The Portland Trust is a British NGO, that promotes peace between Israel and the Palestinians through economic development. They support the Palestinian private sector and relieving poverty in Israel. Join LDFI to explore if an economically prosperous Palestine could be a key to unlocking peace in the Middle East. Hermitage Hotel, Clifton Suite

FRINGE SUNDAY EARLY EVENING 18.15-19.15

The Greek and Cypriot Liberal Democratic Community

Can the ordinary man in the street be defended by experienced lawyers? The meeting will explain the problems of the members of public in not being able to proceed at the court because of the enormous costs of barristers and solicitors. here is no legal aid of any significance. Could we turn the barrister's profession in to direct access completely – avoiding the solicitor? And in doing so adopt the European single lawyer system. Bournemouth International Centre, Durley Suite

Liberal International British Group

The Future of China-UK Relations

A damning report on the UK's response to Chinese interference - where do we go from here? What is our policy on China? Join us for a discussion with Lord Purvis and an international panel. Marriott, Shaftesbury Suite

Monday 25th SEPTEMBER

CONFERENCE HALL

11.05-11.20 Speech by Kira Rudik

FRINGE MONDAY MID MORNING 11.30-12.30

Tony Blair Institute for Global Change

The Voters' Verdict: What's Next for the Future of Britain?

Sam Sharps, Executive Director, Policy, TBI (Chair) Monica Harding, Director, The Britain Project, and Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Esher and Walton James Johnson, Co-Founder, JL Partners. www.institute.global www.twitter.com/InstituteGC Bournemouth International Centre, Bayview Suite 1

His Majesty's Government of Gibraltar

His Majesty's Government of Gibraltar, Reception

INVITE ONLY

Speaker: Deputy Chief Minister, The Hon Dr Joseph Garcia CMG MP. Marriott, Dorchester North

CONFERENCE HALL

16.25-17.10 Policy motion: Standing with Ukraine

FRINGE MONDAY EARLY EVENING 18.15-19.15

EU Delegation to the United Kingdom

EU Reception with Ambassador Serrano

INVITE ONLY

EU Reception hosted by H.E. Pedro Serrano, EU Ambassador Speakers: Layla Moran, Foreign Affairs Spokesperson (invited) For information and to register please email: DELEGATION-UNITED-KINGDOM-POLITICAL@eeas.europa.eu www.eeas.europa.eu/united-kingdom www.twitter.com/EUdelegationUK Marriott, Dorchester South

European Movement UK

Reversing the calamity of Brexit: Restoring market access

European Movement Vice-President, former Liberal Democrat leader and Business Secretary Vince Cable and panel discuss how UK businesses have been impacted by Brexit. A chance to hear the result of the European Movement's survey of businesses impacted by Brexit.

www.europeanmovement.co.uk www.twitter.com/euromove Marriott, Sherborne Suite

FRINGE MONDAY MID EVENING 19.45-21.00

The HALO Trust

Reception with The HALO Trust

Drinks Reception with The HALO Trust. The HALO Trust is the world's leading humanitarian organisation working to save lives and restore the livelihoods of people affected by conflict, employing 12,000 women and men in 30 countries impacted by conflict.

Marriott, Blandford Room

Green Liberal Democrats (20.15 to 21.30)

The Royal Society

An Internationally Connected UK: Creating a global hub for scientific collaboration

Join leading scientists for a reception exploring how reducing barriers to researcher collaboration and mobility can support the party's vision for an internationally connected UK. Speakers: Alison Noble (Royal Society Foreign Secretary), Layla Moran (Science spokesperson). Co-hosted with ALDES.

royalsociety.org www.twitter.com/royalsociety

Marriott, Sherborne Suite

FRINGE MONDAY LATE EVENING 21.30-23.00

Glee Club (starting at 22.00 until late)

Join us for the ultimate end-of conference celebration! Pick up your copy of the Liberator Songbook and come 'raise the roof'! Marriott, Dorchester Suite

Tuesday 26th SEPTEMBER

CONFERENCE HALL

09.00-09.45 **Emergency & topical motions – VOTE FOR THE EMERGENCY MOTION ON CHINA (see page 4)**

10.15-11.10 **Report of Federal International Relations Committee**

FRINGE TUESDAY MID MORNING 10.20-11.20

Centre for European Reform and Delegation of the EU to the UK

The future of the EU-UK relationship—how close can or should they become?

Chair: John Springford, Deputy Director, Centre for European Reform; Richard

Foord, MP for Tiverton & Honiton; Pedro Serrano, EU Ambassador; Julie Smith, Lords Defence Spokesman and Professor of European Politics, University of Cambridge.

www.cer.eu www.twitter.com/CER_EU

Bournemouth International Centre, Bayview Suite 2

Bournemouth beyond the BIC

The Russell-Cotes Gallery features the work of Lucy Kemp-Walker, who was born in the town in 1869.

Lucy specialised in equestrian subjects for which she was well-known in the late 19th & early 20th centuries and was one of the first women admitted to the Royal Society of British Artists, in 1902. She was awarded the OBE in 1920 for services to art and the nation, probably her recruitment posters for horses and men during the Great War. Patriotism aside, not much is known of her political views. She died in Watford in 1958.

Lucy is possibly best known these days as the illustrator of the 1915 edition of Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*. Sewell, like Lucy, was an equine enthusiast. A devout Quaker, though she and her mother Mary Wright Sewell, joined the Church of England; she was invalided at the age of 14. Her political views are not known, but Mary, also an author, was known as a supporter of temperance, the abolition of slavery and the education of the poor. One of Mary's works, *An Appeal to Englishwomen*, 1870, urged women to support the poor and oppressed in India. Anna's *Black Beauty* was published in 1877 and aimed to raise awareness of the need for humane treatment of horses. Already a success just before Anna died in 1878, it has been a best seller ever since.

Aside from the Russell-Cotes, the Giant Gallery champions the modernism that Lucy Kemp-Walker eschewed. They have a group exhibition curated by Theo Ellison, *Supersublime*, which explores how Romanticism continues to shape the art of the digital age.

The Westover Gallery will have a one-day event on 23rd September, 2-5.00pm with Frogman Tim Cotterill's quirky bronze frogs

Watch out for the Art & Makers Market on Saturdays, 11.00-5.00pm in Westover Gardens.

Russell-Cotes Gallery, East Cliff Parade, BH1 3AA
GIANT Floor 2, Bobby's Building, The Square, BH2 5LY
Westover Gallery, 4 Westover Road, BH1 2BY

St. Peter's, a place of pilgrimage for Liberals

There are many reasons why you might wish to visit St. Peter's, Bournemouth during the conference. Mr. Gladstone received his last communion there, but most notably it is the burial place of seminal Liberal thinker Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Although she and her husband William Godwin, anarchist and utilitarian theorist, were originally buried in St Pancras Old Churchyard, their remains were moved to St Peter's by the Shelley family. The remaining monument there was moved when the railway line blazed out of St. Pancras station – high cathedral of the Industrial Revolution. The Shelley vault also contains the remains of their daughter, Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein*, and the heart of her husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, whose poetry made Godwin's thinking popularly accessible. Mary had wanted to be buried with her parents.

St Peter's is in interregnum at the moment, but you are doubtless welcome to their services; I would add that the church has a fine musical reputation. On Sunday Holy Communion is at 8.00am and Sung Eucharist at 10.00am. Choral Evensong takes place at 4.00pm.

Cell



A one act play of drama, humour and hope, based on the life and work of Julian of Norwich, a medieval mystic and the first woman to write in English

Written and performed by Cindy Oswin

Christ Church
Silchester Road
St Leonards-on-Sea, TN37 6GL
7.30pm on Saturday 30th September
Admission £10 on the door
Suitable for ages 12 and over

Fourth Global SinoPhoto Awards now open for 2024 submissions

‘telling the Chinese story with photography’ ...

New Student Photographer Prize is launched ...

<https://www.sinophoto-awards.com>

The annual international photography contest, the Global SinoPhoto Awards 2024, (GSPA) is now open to invite all photographers, emerging or established, of any age, nationality, or location, that have a Chinese story to tell across the diaspora, mainland China and globally. For the first time this year, a student prize has been created to offer up and coming photographers the opportunity to enter the awards free of charge. The Global SinoPhoto Awards’ overall objective is to communicate Chinese culture and values through remarkable imagery and to promote photographers internationally. It encourages submissions from talented visual artists working in any genre of photography*, documentary, fiction, fine art, mixed media, conceptual, portraiture and constructed.

There is not an overarching theme required for submission, a Chinese element must be included in a single image, or within a set of images in a series (5-10 images) that works together as a coherent group either thematically, conceptually or aesthetically, while offering photographers the creative freedom to tell their stories on all topics. The work must show originality, imagination and technical skill.

Submissions are requested by 15 October 2023 for student photographers and by 30 October 2023 for general. The winners will be announced at The GSPA Awards Ceremony at the British Library, London in February 2024 during Chinese New Year, and will be part of the Awards Exhibition at the auction house Christie’s London galleries. The overall winner will receive The Betser Prize of £1,500. Observational and Constructed Photography prize category winners for single and series will each receive £500, and The Best Student Photographer will receive £300 worth of Thames & Hudson books, plus books for all winners. The Global SinoPhoto Awards 2024 are also supported by Blick Rothenberg, British Library, Christie’s, Digitalab, and Thames and Hudson. The Global SinoPhoto Awards 2024 support the charity Mothers’ Bridge of Love.

To find out more about the Awards and how to enter, visit <https://www.sinophoto-awards.com>



liberator

It's all free now –
and *still* international!

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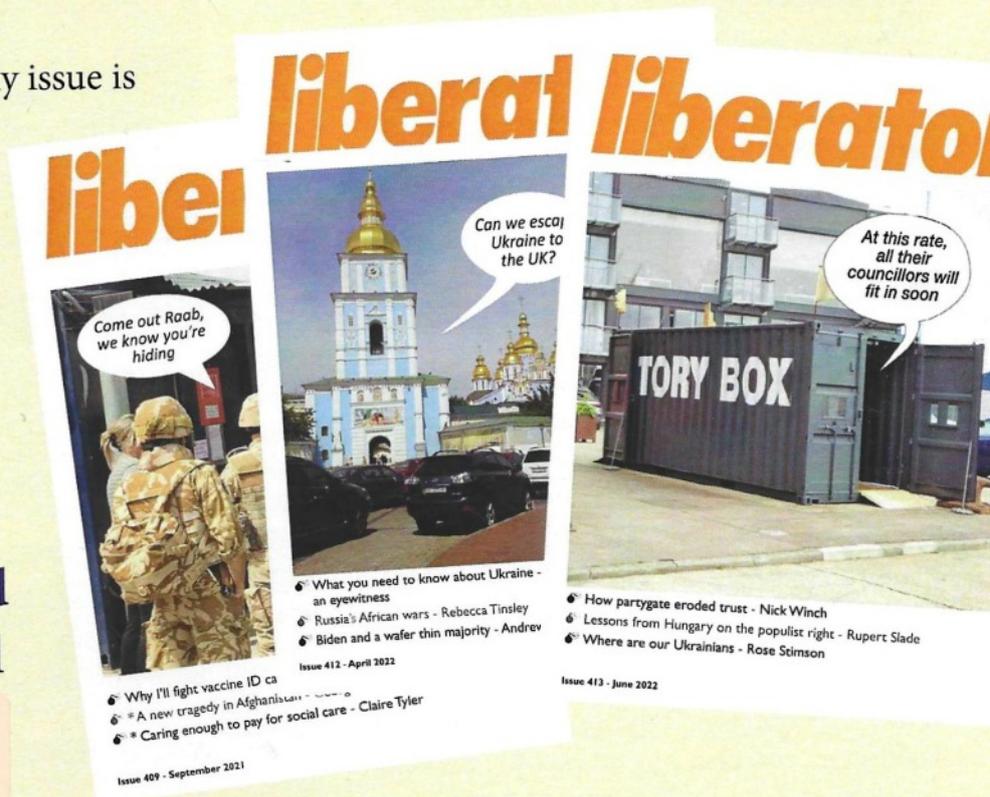
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