

liberal matters

Liberal Matters is a publication of Liberal International

June 2010

A Liberal Agenda for Europe - Latin America Relations

**EU and Latin America:
Beyond Eurocratic language**
[Renate Weber MEP](#)

**What the EU should do about
the Cuban situation**
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**Think tanks in Latin America and
their importance to liberal
policy in the region**
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LIBERAL CALENDAR

liberal events around the world

April

- 8 Parliamentary elections, Sri Lanka
- 10-15 LI President visits South East Asia: Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand
- 11-14 World Movement for Democracy General Assembly, Jakarta, Indonesia
- 11 Parliamentary elections, Hungary
- 17 D66 Congress
- 17 International event "Liberal Camp", Tallinn, Estonia
- 24 FDP: National Party Congress, Cologne, Germany
- 24 VVD Congress
- 25 Presidential election, Austria
- 25 Parliamentary elections, Hungary
- 26-28 PACE Spring Session, Strasbourg, France

May

- 1 Mouvement Réformateur: grand rassemblement à l'occasion de la Fête du Travail, Belgium
- 1 YABLOKO: The March of Changes, Moscow
- 6 UK General Elections
- 7 D66, Open VLD, CDC and LYMEC event on Youth unemployment, Rotterdam, The Netherlands
- 9 Regional parliamentary elections, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany
- 9 Victory Day (Russia) YABLOKO tribute to the soldiers and victims of WW II
- 10 Presidential, House of Representatives and Senate (Half) elections in the Philippines
- 23-27 LIBSEEN fact finding mission to Turkey
CALD Women's Caucus Workshop, Mae Sot, Thailand
- 29-30 Folkpartiet Party Convention, Uppsala, Sweden
- 30 Local elections, Georgia

June

- 9 Parliamentary elections, The Netherlands
- 11 Bureau Meeting : Liberal International Berlin, Germany
- 11-13 Liberal International Executive Committee and "Foreign, Development and Security policy" Conference, Berlin, Germany

- 11-13 Keskusta Party Convention, Lahti, Finland
- 12-13 Swedish People's Party – Party convention, Tampere, Finland
- 13 Reform Party Congress, Haapsalu, Estonia
- 17 ELDR Leaders and Ministers Meeting, Brussels, Belgium
- 18 MR Congress Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
- 18-19 Mouvement Réformateur : congrès statutaire sur le thème « Le printemps des Réformes ».
- 22 YABLOKO commemorates WW II, burning of candles at the memorial at Poklonnaya Gora, Moscow
- 27 Presidential elections, Guinea
- 28 Presidential elections, Burundi
CALD 3rd Political Party Management Workshop & Workshop on Political Organizing for Grassroots Activists Phnom Penh, Cambodia

July

- 1-4 LIBSEEN Summer Academy, Sofia, Bulgaria
- 4-10 Almedalen week, Centerpartiet and Folkpartiet, Gotland, Sweden
- 23 Parliamentary elections, Burundi
- 24-25 Democratic Alliance National Congress, South Africa

August

- 6-7 Centerpartiet Election Convention, Sweden
- 13-14 Reform Party Summer Days, Kurgjärve, Estonia
- 29 LIBSEEN fact finding mission Albania and Montenegro

Rest of the year

September

- 18-22 Liberal Democrat Federal Conference, Liverpool, United Kingdom
- 19 General elections in Sweden

October

- 5th ALDE-CALD meeting and CALD Executive Committee Meeting
- 2 Parliamentary elections, Latvia
- 3 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Brazil
- 1-3 LIBSEEN Liberal Leaders' Meeting, Osijek, Croatia

November

- 6 D66 Congress, the Netherlands
- 12 - 14 Liberal International Executive Committee, Cape Town, South Africa
- 13 Economic Conference "Restart II" in Tallinn, Estonia
- 21 Presidential elections, Burkina Faso
- 27 Municipal elections, Taiwan
CALD Youth Caucus Workshop and Strategic Planning, Kaohsiung, Taiwan

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Hans van Baalen

MEP, President of Liberal international

Dear Liberal Friends,

This spring, and with this latest edition of Liberal Matters, Liberal International continues to focus its attention on Latin American and the Caribbean, two areas that have seen important developments in the past year. Latin America and the Caribbean continue to fight for true democracy and a society where the rule of law is guaranteed. Our liberal partners in the region continue to fight against Chavist populism, protectionism, nationalism and the unabashed scorning of basic civil liberties and human rights. Liberal International has been active in the region to support these efforts and in this issue of Liberal Matters we have given prominent figures from the continent the possibility to discuss pressing issues that require our attention.

As this edition of Liberal Matters comes shortly after a joint LI-RELIAL and ALDE conference in Cadiz, Spain, where the 200th anniversary of the first written usage of the word 'liberal' in a political document was celebrated, we also dedicate attention to the historical significance of the Cadiz constitution. The 1812 liberal constitution which laid the basis for the recognition of civil liberties, free speech and property, is important – as many exist who value markets and property but who do not recognise civil liberties. We as liberals have to work to promote all these features equally; they are two sides of the same coin. I echo what Ricardo Lopez Murphy said in Cadiz, when he stressed the necessity of strengthening the rule of law and respect for the constitution as the only way to achieve a free market, human rights and individual freedom. I also stress that liberalism has to continue to prove itself as a viable solution. There are no easy solutions which last forever. Liberals worldwide must fight for liberal answers to the financial and economic crisis which is not a crisis of the free market but one of government mismanagement, immorality and greed. We should show that implementing liberal policies strengthens the foundations of the economy, both in Europe and overseas. In Latin-America especially, liberal policies provide an answer to corruption and poverty – issues that remain to be solved, as most incumbent governments have been unable to do so. The European Union must also prove itself and not take for granted that the size of its economy will transfer into political clout. European liberals need to network and fight for our values and commitments in order to gain influence and understanding for our ideas abroad. We have to fight relentlessly with no ambition other than to win!

Having led a multi-party mission to Latin and Central America last November, I have seen firsthand the power of the renaissance of liberalism in Latin America. Following this mission, I personally pushed through an initiative in the European Parliament to support the liberal opposition in Nicaragua and to recognise the freely elected government of Honduras - an election that was overseen by an LI electoral observation team led by Roger Albinyana from Catalunya, Spain. With the incredible gains of RELIAL President Otto Guevara in the Costa Rican elections and liberal governments throughout the continent coming to power, we are at the brink of a new liberal age in Latin America – a new stage in the development of the region that LI plans to fully support. We must continue our international support to demonstrate that liberalism in Latin America is on the rise!



LI Deputy President launches book on the Economic Crisis

A new book by Juli Minoves, Deputy President of LI, hit the bookstores this past holiday season. “Economía Global”, a volume in Spanish tackling the world economic crisis, composed by Juli Minoves of LI, Prof. Rocafort Nicolau of the University of Barcelona and Dean José Daniel Barquero of ESERP business school, is being marketed mainly for the Spanish and Latin American markets. In the book Deputy President Minoves elaborates on the liberal perspective of the world economic crisis, on the basis of his recent paper presented at the Vancouver LI Executive Committee and recalled by our Cairo Congress. The other authors expand the study with a focus on business oriented and societal responses to the crisis. The book, published by Furtwagen editions, has a preface by Dr. Casajuana, President of the Royal Academy of Physicians, and will be formally presented in Barcelona at the end of January.

El-Ghad leader Nour to run for Egyptian Presidency

Ayman Nour, leader of LI observer member El-Ghad has announced his bid for the Egyptian Presidency, standing against long-time President Hosni Mubarak who has ruled the country since 1981. According to Mr. Nour: “It is necessary for everyone of us to act now to rescue the future of this country...Egypt’s future is in danger and a quick action is required if this country is to survive.” Mr. Nour ran against President Mubarak in the last elections in 2005, finishing a distant second in an election that was far from free and fair. Following the 2005 elections, Mr Nour was jailed for four years, during which time his health severely deteriorated. Early this year, LI Past President Lord Alderdice heralded the release of Mr. Nour “as an inspiration for liberal and democratic forces in Egypt” The El-Ghad party was officially accepted as a member at the 56th Congress of Liberal International, hosted in Cairo from 29-31 October 2009. In a resolution adopted by the Congress, LI praised the Democratic Front Party (LI full member) for hosting the Congress as well as expressing support for all liberal forces in Egypt.



Liberals gain strength in Costa Rican elections

On February 7 2010, Costa Ricans showed increased support for liberal values as they voted for Otto Guevara, leader of LI Full Member Partido Movimiento Libertario and RELIAL Chairman. Mr. Guevara characterized the 21 percent achieved as a “true accomplishment” which “shows that [ML is] a strong party...[with]...great commitment to the voters to keep fighting corruption and insecurity”.

Laura Chinchilla, the newly elected President of Costa Rica will face fierce opposition in the Congress, where the liberal presence has significantly grown after the elections. Guevara accepted the result as a victory for the liberals, while already looking ahead: “We have a live game and are no longer the minority. We will fight to lead the executive branch in 2014. In previous elections we had 2% of the vote of the country and now we received about 20%.” LI President Hans van Baalen MEP congratulated Mr. Guevara with the result and said that ML “will be able to have a stronger impact on the shaping of national policies, as well as the regional political agenda. I would like to encourage you and your colleagues to further your cooperation with fellow colleagues from the region and the rest of the world — as we have a lot to learn from each other”.



news news news

LI President holds first Bureau Meeting of 2010

LI President Hans van Baalen MEP assembled the Bureau of Liberal International on 29 January in London to discuss his views to move forward for 2010 and beyond. Continuing to advance the strong agenda presented to the LI Congress in November 2009. President Van Baalen discussed the current and future political implications of his November 2009 trip to Central America as well as potential upcoming trips, similar in nature, to push the liberal message worldwide. The Bureau also discussed the full slate of events for 2010, including the Cadiz Conference celebrating 200 years since the first usage of the word “liberal” in a Constitution. Bureau members were also tasked with specific regional responsibilities and a renewed dedication to ensure a more focussed communication with the Secretariat to guarantee maximum exposure of the liberal message. As a new initiative, all staff members were present, granting them an unprecedented view into the workings of the Bureau, in the newly refurbished Conference room in the LI Secretariat.

LI shows renewed support for liberals in Nicaragua and Panama

At the beginning of February, a Liberal International delegation gathered together the leaders of the Nicaraguan liberal parties, including the popular liberal leader Eduardo Montealegre, in a renewed effort to create unity among the liberals ahead of the 2011 elections. “Based on the Managua Accord brokered by LI President Hans van Baalen last November, we stress that a liberal victory can be achieved through a single candidate, backed by a single liberal entity”, said Senator Cristian David, LI Vice President on the Bureau.

LI Secretary General Emil Kirjas reiterated LI’s position: “We condemn all unconstitutional and illegal acts... including those of the President who stole the local elections in Managua. That is not democracy that is a criminal act”. Carles Llorens of the Catalan Group of LI stressed the dangerous possibility that “Nicaragua might become the next Venezuela”. The liberal leaders committed to sign an agreement for creating a united liberal entity. Earlier, LI Secretary General Emil Kirjas visited Panama and met with Frank de Lima, Vice-Minister of the Economy from Partido Cambio Democratico of President Martinelli and the leadership of Fundacion Libertad, RELIAL member.

LI President meets African liberal MPs, supports ADR campaign

In the framework of the Conference of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Pacific, Africa and the Caribbean (ALDEPAC) LI President Hans van Baalen met with liberal parliamentarians from all over Africa February 25-29 in Bujumbura, Burundi. Under the title “Conciliation in Africa through Democratic Governance” the members of ALDEPAC assessed the potential for transformation of African countries into open, liberal democratic societies.

The power-sharing models of Zimbabwe and Kenya were analyzed as precedents that do not provide lasting democratic governance. Among the prominent speakers were Guy Verhofstadt, ALDE leader, Moses Mzilla, Deputy Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe and Louis Michel, MEP, former European Commissioner for Development. Liberal International President, Hans van Baalen, MEP, accompanied by Secretary General Emil Kirjas and Liberal Democrat MEP Catherine Bearder, addressed the Convention of LI member Alliance Democratique pour le Renouveau (ADR), where over 700 delegates formally promoted their leader Alice Nzomukunda as candidate for the June Presidential elections, who committed herself to a liberal and “clean presidency of Burundi”.

news news news

LI President: “Death of Van Mierlo great loss to liberal world”

LI President Hans van Baalen MEP expressed his condolences over the loss of Dutch Minister of State and founder of LI Full Member D66 Hans van Mierlo, who died on Thursday 11 March 2010. In a Presidential statement, Van Baalen said: “Hans van Mierlo will be greatly missed by all liberals in The Netherlands, and around the world. He was the Dutch Kennedy, an extraordinary liberal mind whose legacy as a statesman is greatly respected.

“I worked closely with Mr. Van Mierlo in 2001-2002 in the European Convention to prepare the EU Constitutional Treaty. It was a pleasure and an honor to cooperate with him in the formulation of a new treaty, which would eventually be ratified as the Lisbon Treaty. I offer my condolences to his wife Connie Palmen, his family and his party D66.” Hans van Mierlo (1931-2010) was founder of LI Full Member D66, and former leader of the party. He was Minister of Defence, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Hans van Mierlo was given the title Minister of State in 1998.

CALD conference on Education & Executive Committee meeting

Following the Liberal International Congress on “Education for 21st century”, the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD), LI Cooperating Organisation, organized a Conference on “Choice and Excellence in Education” on 1-3 March in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Speakers from most CALD member parties, alongside 2 Senators from the governing Democratic Party of Japan and experts from India and Pakistan, debated the importance of public education in approaching human rights, the challenge of enforcing the right to education, the recognition of education as essential in the exercise of all human rights, and the mutual support between education and human rights development. On the topic of education, Robert Woodthorpe Browne, LI Vice President of the Bureau said “Poor or inappropriate education, whether by accident or design, condemns its victims to a form of slavery, and to exploitation by employers, bureaucrats and governments ... It is the responsibility of us as liberals to harness this resource and allow it to spread throughout the world, carefully differentiated by each individual whom it is passed onto.” In conjunction with the Conference, CALD also held an Executive Committee meeting. LI was represented by Mr. Woodthorpe Browne.

200 Years of Common Liberal Identity marked in Cádiz, Spain

Over 50 representatives from member parties and cooperating organizations of LI and RELIAL gathered in Cádiz, Spain from 19-21 March 2010. LI President Hans van Baalen MEP and the LI Bureau attended the joint LI/RELIAL Conference “200 Years of Common Liberal Identity”, which was preceded by a public ceremony marking the anniversary of the Cadiz Constitution. Enshrining basic liberal values such as individual rights, property rights and a free market, the Cadiz constitution served as a model for many constitutions in Europe and Latin America.



LI President Van Baalen stressed that much work remains to be done in both Latin America and Europe to achieve a common liberal future. “We as Latin American and European liberals must focus on liberal solutions to the economic crisis and to ensure civil liberties... we have to demonstrate that liberalism in Latin America can give results.”

The Conference, initiated by LI Patron Richard Moore, and characterized by RELIAL President Otto Guevara as “a historic development for RELIAL”, brought top leaders from Latin American liberal parties and think-tanks together with their European counterparts. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty and ALDE Group supported the event.

El liberalismo

El primer liberalismo y el concepto de nación

José Álvarez Junco es Profesor de la Historia de las ideas políticas y Movimientos Sociales de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

El título [de este artículo] conecta dos ideas que están, en efecto, unidas: porque fue con el primer liberalismo, y en el contexto de la guerra antinapoleónica, cuando se consagró la idea de España como nación en el sentido moderno de este término. El nacionalismo es una compleja construcción conceptual. En la España de 1808-1814, parece claro que los principales fines políticos a cuyo servicio se puso la idea de nación fueron tres: el reforzamiento de los sentimientos belicosos de la población contra los franceses, la cimentación de la reorganización política y administrativa del país y la limitación del poder real.

De España (Hispania) se habló abundantemente en la Antigüedad o en la Edad Media. Pero tal cosa no comportaba, sin embargo, un afirmación de tipo nacionalista. Ni siquiera expresaba una identidad política, porque en aquellos siglos no existió una organización estatal o pre-estatal que respondiera a este nombre. Era una referencia meramente geográfica ... Solo con la unificación de reinos llevada a cabo por los reyes Católicos adquirió la referencia a España un contenido político. Desde entonces, y a lo largo de tres siglos siguientes, se fue forjando una identidad española que me atrevería a caracterizar alrededor de cinco rasgos.

En su vertiente estrictamente política, se relacionaba con la monarquía, con la lealtad a los reyes ("soberanos"). España era, por encima de todo, una monarquía. Esa monarquía alcanzó rápidamente una posición de hegemonía en Europa, lo que la obligó a rivalizar, o a entrar en guerra abierta, con las demás potencias Europeas. Y las guerras, la existencia de enemigos comunes, constituyen un factor de creación de identidad nada despreciable. Es difícil imaginar que el hecho de encontrarse siempre al mismo lado a lo largo de dos siglos de batallas contra el rey de Francia no fuera forjando una identidad hispánica o española frente a la "francesa".

En su vertiente cultural, en segundo lugar, sobresalía el aspecto religioso, dotado de extraordinaria importancia durante este período. La "monarquía católica" que unificó los reinos decretó la expulsión de judíos y musulmanes, e incluso los moriscos o musulmanes convertidos, fueron expulsados un siglo más tarde. A estas expulsiones se añadiría, a lo largo de todo este tiempo, la generalización de los Estatutos de "limpieza de sangre" que excluía a los descendientes de judíos y musulmanes de todo puesto social de relevancia. De ahí que los súbditos de la monarquía católica se adhirieran casi sin excepciones, a las enseñanzas de la Iglesia católica y al orgullo del "cristiano viejo".

En tercer lugar, merece ser consignada la relativa homogeneidad lingüística del territorio peninsular. La lengua castellana era la hablada en el más extenso y poblado de sus reinos, situado en la zona central de la Península, y además sin acentos regionales ni variantes derivadas de la posición social tan marcados como los que poseía por ejemplo el inglés en Inglaterra.

En el terreno específico de los relatos históricos, a lo largo del siglo XVI se fueron elaborando igualmente los mitos sobre los orígenes comunes, alrededor de Túbal, supuesto nieto de Noé; y durante las guerras de religión la llamada "Leyenda Negra" sintetizó en términos lógicamente negativos, dado su origen fundamentalmente judío, protestante o de Italia ocupada por tropas de los Habsburgo – un estereotipo sobre los "españoles" que tendría gran aceptación y duración. Se sentaron así también las bases para una unidad "étnica". Podríamos mencionar, como quinto y último rasgo el patente sentido de identidad común que se encuentra en la literatura política de los arbitristas y los teóricos políticos ya desde tiempos de Felipe II. No se trata de una identidad triunfal, ni de un apoyo incondicional a las

políticas de la monarquía, sino más bien de una literatura doliente, con conciencia de pertenecer a esa entidad colectiva a la que se va llamando, cada vez más, “monarquía española” o “España”.

Esta creciente identidad común de ningún modo significa que hubiera surgido un planteamiento nacional. La nación, como sujeto de la soberanía, no hizo su aparición hasta finales del siglo XVIII y para entonces solo entre minorías muy avanzadas. Por lo que la adhesión a esta identidad puede calificarse de patriotismo, étnico si se quiere, pero no de nacionalismo.

La conexión del sentimiento patriótico con la Constitución se hizo evidente en la célebre proclama de Argüelles al presentar el texto de “la Pepa”: “Españoles, ya tenéis patria”. En términos negativos, había observado lo mismo Flórez Estrada no mucho antes: “Los españoles se hallan sin constitución y por consiguiente sin libertad y sin patria”.

La construcción del mito nacional al servicio de esta nueva visión de la política, exigió una reformulación de la historia, que no solo se articuló alrededor de España y los españoles como sujeto único sino que se estructuró en una secuencia mítica de épocas paradisiacas y momentos de decadencia o pérdidas de independencia seguidos por largas pugnas para la recuperación de la identidad. En tal secuencia se insertaban los mártires, muertos por la patria y los héroes, iniciadores o conductores de la lucha por la recuperación de la libertad nacional.

En el Cádiz de las Cortes estableció Martínez Marina por primera vez la convención de que la Edad de Oro había sido la España cristiana medieval, capaz de luchar por su liberación del yugo invasor musulmán a la vez que establecía unas instituciones de gobierno caracterizadas por el equilibrio y la libertad... De esta manera se construye el mito nacional por la primera generación liberal, íntimamente unido a la idea de lucha contra la tiranía. Todo ello en la línea del clásico tema, procedente de Cicerón del “sin libertad no hay patria”: solo se ama a la patria porque, y en la medida en que, nos asegura la libertad.

Podemos entonces decir que, el primer liberalismo se apoyó, sin duda, y por primera vez, en un planteamiento de tipo nacionalista. No fueron los inventores de la identidad española, que tenía procedencia muy anterior. Pero, al hacer de este término la base de soberanía, lo interpretaron de forma plenamente e indiscutiblemente nacional.



First Secretary General of LI Passes Away

The Liberal community lost a great supporter with the passing of Peter Calvocoressi this past February, at the age of 97. Mr. Calvocoressi was the first Secretary General of the Liberal International, holding the post from 1947 until 1949, and he remained involved with the Liberal cause throughout his life. He was born in Karachi, Pakistan, and moved to Liverpool as an infant with his family: in Britain, he studied at Eton and the Balliol College at Oxford, working as a chancery law barrister from 1935 until the outbreak of WWII. Drafted by the RAF, and assigned to a signal decoding station in Bletchley Park, Calvocoressi spent the War decoding Enigma signals from the Luftwaffe's Ultra intelligence arm, and after the war, was sent to Nuremberg as a deputy to the British prosecution team, at one point cross-examining Field Marshall Gerd Von Rundstedt personally. In 1945, he stood for election to Parliament as a Liberal Party member.

During the 1950's, he worked at Chatham House, writing five volumes of the “Annual Surveys of International Affairs”, later becoming a partner at the publishing firm Chatto & Windus, and the Hogart Press, which began his involvement in publishing that would continue until his death. He was a member and chairman of the Africa Bureau, an apartheid awareness lobby, throughout the 1950's and 60's and worked as an arbitrator during a series of difficult internal disputes which threatened Amnesty International, helping to keep the organisation together. In 1965 he was appointed a reader of International Relations at Sussex University (a position created specifically for him), and in the 1972, he was named editorial director for Penguin Books. In 1980, he published a history of the Bletchley Park projects he had worked on, and one of the first books to shed light on the subject after it was declassified. In 1990 Mr. Calvocoressi received an honorary doctorate from the Open University due to his contributions to its publishing arm, which he had previously headed. Mr. Calvocoressi wrote over twenty books in his lifetime, including two volumes of “The Penguin History of the Second World War”, and eight volumes of his work “World Politics since 1945”: his contributions to the fields of literature, history, and political analysis will be missed by LI and the Liberal community at large. He is survived by his two sons Paul and David, as well as three grandchildren.



Liberalism

Liberalism and its threats



Richard Moore is a Patron of Liberal International and played great part in initiating the LI conference in Cadiz.

At the Liberal International meeting in March, convened in Cadiz to celebrate the bi-centenary of the first use of the word 'Liberal' to describe a political movement and opinion, I was much struck by two facts. First, how much we owe to the Spanish speaking world for the development of Liberalism, with both a large and a small 'L'. Second, that the great danger to Liberalism today is populism.

Of course, the Cortes that met in Cadiz in 1810, which was then being besieged by Napoleonic forces, had some ideas which are now obsolete or inadequate. For example, its proposals for the freedom of Spaniards, both in Spain and Latin America, in voting and other political activity, were limited to men. The leading part played by women at our Cadiz meeting and, on a larger scale, the election of eight women in recent years to head governments in Latin America, is welcome proof of how far this obsolete view is being abandoned in fact as well as in theory.

In the constitution adopted in 1812 after two years of debate and negotiation, many of the males were also excluded from the franchise and a special place was allowed to the Catholic Church in Article 12 in which it was declared "the only true faith" and that "the state shall by wise and just laws protect it and prevent the exercise of any other."

Such ideas would be ardently repudiated by liberals, especially vehemently in Latin American countries, later in the 19th century when liberalism was largely marked by the rise of anti-clericalism. It is ironic that the British Revolution of 1688 which, while not expressly Liberal, established the constitutional monarchy and parliamentary state after the Civil Wars of the mid 17th century, was largely the result of the determination to exclude the Catholic Church from power and give Protestantism a privileged position.

In Cadiz in 1810 as in Westminster in 1688/89 the monarchy was deprived of any pretence to absolute power, the elected assembly was made the legislator, and the rule of law established by Article 17 of the Cadiz constitution: "The power of applying the laws in civil and criminal causes exists in the tribunals established by law." In Article 9 the responsibility of fair taxation was established; "every Spaniard without exception is obliged to contribute, in proportion to his means to the finances of the state." While in Article 4 the resoundingly liberal statement is made that "The nation is obliged, by wise and just laws to protect the liberty, property and all other rights of every individual which composes it."

In short, most of the fundamentals are there and the limitations placed on power and the virtue attributed to moderation in Article 14 shows not only that the Cortes rejected Bourbon absolutism but also the fanaticism of the Jacobins, which disfigured the French Revolution in 1792-94. A good argument can be made that from the Oath of the Tennis Court in 1789, to 1991 when the Soviet Union was finally defeated, the key struggle of principle was between the liberals who understood that the methods of government mattered even more than its aims, and the totalitarians whether of left or right, who with myopic utopianism sought to impose a single solution to the problems of society.

After Franco died in 1975, Spaniards, with many different views of what are desirable as ends, showed they had grasped the central importance of the means to be employed by establishing the balanced democracy which now governs Spain. So were fascism and communism defeated together. It made an enormous contribution to liberty throughout the world when the Spanish in spite of their often violently illiberal history, following very soon after the examples of Greece and Portugal, demonstrated that the Caudillo

could be replaced not by the obverse of the same bad coin, communism, but by a liberal state. The hopes of Cadiz were thus fulfilled.

However, “the price of liberty” remains “eternal vigilance” and several of the Latin American participants at Cadiz warned of the rising perils of populism in their countries. In a way populism is harder to oppose than totalitarian Marxism or nationalism. It lacks the terrifying, disciplined fanaticism of those who, in various shades of shirts came so close to destroying civilisation in the twentieth century. But at least they had doctrines that could be exposed to criticism and mockery, which in the end led to contempt.

To counter populism is like wrestling with a mist. It appeals to all who would like to have their cake and eat it and they are very numerous. Mixing metaphors, to see through it and to refuse to swallow its quack medicines requires an awareness of issues that the great majority of apolitical people find hard to keep clear in their minds.

The otherwise welcome retreat of the dogmatists of left and right in democratic politics – which has not taken place in the United States – complicates the task. If a dogma can be shown to be in error the policies built on that dogma will in time collapse in public opinion. But if there is no dogma, just a mumble of agreeable sounding words like the “will of the people” or a “future for all” or simply “change” contradictory policies can be espoused and each contradiction has to be demonstrated to an increasingly frustrated electorate. As Jacob Burckhardt, the great 19th century Swiss historian pointed out, intelligent politics are always threatened by “the terrible simplifiers” – the longing for an easy answer.

This can be seen only too clearly in the campaign for the 6th May general elections in the United Kingdom. For example both the Conservative and Labour Parties claim that huge economies can be made in public expenditure by what they describe as “efficiency savings”. Of course, efficiency in producing what the state provides is always desirable but all historical evidence shows that such “efficiency savings” as can be achieved are small compared with those that are needed given the level of public deficit and debt.

But opinion polls make cowards of all too many democratic politicians and so the British voters are deluded into supposing that the recovery of fiscal and monetary health will not be very painful. The Parties do this because that is what they believe the electorate want to hear. The electoral strategists believe that advantage will accrue to the Party or Parties that promote

illusory optimism. In this case, policies at odds with the facts will be demanded. The result will be incoherence in government combined with the lack of moral authority to take the necessary painful decisions. Sadly, there is no reason to suppose that British democracy is unusual in its present folly. It is hard to see any remedy other than a better informed and more responsible citizenry.

At Cadiz we commemorated one of the foundations of Liberalism. But there are others, much older than those laid in Spain, in other modern European states, in Latin and North America and in parts of Asia, especially India. Modern political vocabulary is based largely on classical Greek concepts, on the arguments of the ancient Athenians. Their conception of citizenship involved the deployment of thought, the use of reason, the analytical power of what we now call the scientific method. Of course, Liberalism is drawn from other ancient concepts as well. The idea of individual moral responsibility which owes so much to the prophets of ancient Judea, the supremacy of the law in the state, which the Romans, when true to themselves, insisted on. But when populism threatens to undermine wisdom in politics it is particularly to the Athenians that we need to look.

Before I set out for Cadiz I discussed this with a granddaughter who is a classicist and asked her to find me a quotation which summarised the rejection of populism by the great Athenians. She translated a passage from the funeral oration of Pericles in which, boastfully but accurately, he attributed to himself: “Foresight, planning, intelligence and reason” and urged his fellow Athenians to copy him if they were to fulfil the duties of citizenship. These qualities are together the antithesis of populism. They are necessary attributes for liberals.

The Liberal International has been fortunate in being led by some remarkable people. One of them, who played a leading part at its foundation at Oxford in 1947, was Don Salvador de Madariaga who was then living in exile in England. He was a Spanish patriot and an enthusiast for Europe. He loved Latin America. He had been an international civil servant in the League of Nations and a Minister for the Spanish Republic. He was a man who studied diverse cultures especially through their literature. He was an esteemed historian. He was eloquent and considered his words with great care. In short, he shared the characteristics of the Athenian Statesman. It is no coincidence that he was the first President of the Liberal International.

To counter populism is like wrestling with a mist. It appeals to all who would like to have their cake and eat it and they are very numerous.

Liberalism through Reason
Moral Liberty

España

Constitución de 1812

Enrique P. García-Agullo y Orduña, Presidente del CLUB LIBERAL 1812 de Cádiz

Cada vez que leo o escucho la palabra “Constitución”, me sigue asombrando porque, en su sonido o en su imprenta, significa para mí mucho más que esas once letras alineadas que forman la palabra.

Me dice confianza, me asegura mi libertad, me hace sentirme ciudadano copartícipe con mis conciudadanos de un proyecto vibrante y pleno de ilusiones que se llama España. Y cuando la voz de Constitución lleva añadida el año de 1812, se engrandecen los sentimientos porque 1812 y Cádiz son ya común idea de lo constitucional.

A mí me apasiona el paso de la humanidad por este mundo durante todos estos miles de años, sus vicisitudes y sus esfuerzos, sus gozos y dolores, sus penas y alegrías, sus amores, sus violencias, sus orgullos de pueblo y de clan durante todos esos años oscuros y tristes, salvo honrosos episodios, que tanto duraron desde el arcano hasta el Cádiz de 1812.

Tantos avatares... tantas Atapuercas donde buscar refugio hasta este Cádiz bullicioso, plural, portuario y comercial. Tantos tiempos de sumisión a reyes, césares, zares y emperadores; a obispos, grandes sacerdotes, muftíes, rabinos; a tiranos, dictadores, condes, duques o barones para seguir, siglo tras siglo, siempre debajo, muy por debajo, sin derechos que ejercer, sin libertades que exigir, el hombre de a pie, el súbdito andante y sufriente subyugado durante todos estos miles de años.

Traigo a mi pensar aquella memorable jornada en la que una tripulación, agotada tras una larga e incierta singladura, hincó la rodilla en las arenas de una playa caribeña, y, de aquella gesta, todo un ignoto Continente surgió para el resto del mundo conocido. O aquella pisada sobre el suelo de la Luna al bajar de su nave el astronauta. O, como cristiano, el Nacimiento de Cristo en Belén.

Grandes pasos para la Humanidad, sin duda, pero faltaba por devolver al hombre la soberanía que en su estado natural sintiera por sólo vivir, por sentirse individuo distinto de sus congéneres. Y Cádiz, en 1812, después de las explosiones de libertad que supusieron las Constituciones norteamericana o la francesa, dio su propia liturgia al ansia de libertades del género humano.

Nadie puede negar que los norteamericanos puedan presumir de que su pueblo inventara y creara la primera democracia de los tiempos modernos o que, los franceses, mejor que nadie, expresen su orgullo de pueblo soberano en su Marsellesa republicana. Pero es que Cádiz nos dio a los españoles de ambos hemisferios el concepto de Nación.

Nos encomendó sentirnos reunidos, nos aconsejó ser justos y benéficos declarando, que la Nación española sería ya libre e independiente, y no patrimonio de ninguna familia o persona y que la soberanía residiría ya esencialmente en la Nación.

Ésta es la gran aportación de Cádiz para España, para las nuevas Naciones de la Comunidad Iberoamericana y hasta para algunos Reinos europeos. Cádiz cerró el Antiguo Régimen, casi perpetuo régimen, y, desde sus vientos y cielos, abrió por fin la libertad para todos los individuos. Y Cádiz tuvo esa oportunidad en la Historia. Nuestro orgullo liberal.

Constitucion de
España

Cadiz

**200 years of common liberal identity
A liberal agenda for Europe – Latin America relations
19-21 March 2010**



Panel discussion, Renate Weber MEP, Ricardo Lopez Murphy and Otto Guevara, President of RELIAL.



The audience at Casino Gaditano



Ingrid Wetterqvist, director of IDEA Sweden, speaking about “Democracy support in EU’s external relations”



Otto Guevara, President of RELIAL



Bi-Khim Hsiao, LI Vice President on the Bureau, speaking about “Democracy and Human Rights in Europe-Latin America Relations: An Outsider’s View”



Audience at the Casino Gaditano.

EU & Latin America

EU and Latin America

Beyond Eurocratic language



Renate Weber is an MEP and member of the Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly

Due to my involvement as a member of the European Parliament on issues related to Latin America I have been asked several times during the last years what is the European Union interest in Latin America? The answer is complex and could be delivered either in the official language of the EU or in another tone, bearing in mind the existing human relations.

As a global actor the EU is interested to have good partnerships with strong partners in various places in the world. Latin America is such an actor in spite of the differences between the countries and the regions of the continent. The European Union and Latin America have enjoyed a Strategic Partnership since the first bi-regional Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1999.

In the official documents we can read that the EU and Latin America are natural allies linked by strong historical, cultural and economic ties. They co-operate closely at international level and maintain an intensive political dialogue at all levels - regional, sub regional (Central America, Andean Community and Mercosur) and also more and more at a bilateral level.

In September 2009 the EU policy priorities towards Latin America were re-defined in the Communication "EU - Latin America: Global players in Partnership", while the regional strategy paper 2007-2013 defines the specific areas for regional development cooperation programmes.

For this period EU assistance amounts to almost € 3 billion, and for the same period the European Investment Bank is authorized to lend up to €2.8 billion. The EU is the leading investor in the region and the second trading partner of Latin America. The political dialogue takes place in different forms – including at the highest level.

A summit of EU, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) leaders takes place bi-annually; the last one was held in Lima, in May 2008 and the next one will take place in Madrid, in May 2010.

Among the priorities for the future will be the strengthening of the dialogue in fields such as macro-economic and financial matters, environment, climate change and energy, science, research and technology, migration, employment and social affairs.

Another priority is the encouraging of regional integration in Latin America, which should be promoted at all levels, including through supporting inter-connectivity among the energy, environment, transport, communication and social networks of the Latin American countries.

Among the Recommendations in view of the upcoming EU-LAC Summit in Madrid, is the launch of the Latin America Investment Facility (LAIF), a new financial instrument, which will mobilise resources from financial institutions to finance investment projects in energy infrastructure, including renewable energy systems, transport, environment and social cohesion. This new initiative is inspired by the experience and the success of the NIF instrument used for the EU neighbouring countries. The Madrid Summit will also mark the creation of the EU-LAC Foundation.

In the same line of strengthening the relation between the EU and Latin America, another recommendation is about the cooperation between both regions in the field of low carbon and green technologies.

This is pretty much the official eurocratic language used in Brussels. But what about the human dimension of this relation? The EU is not just a gathering of 27 Member States.

Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly

It is also – or it should be in the first place – a union of its 500,000,000 citizens. Many of which have their own long lasting (or even newer) ties with peoples of the Latin American continent. This is a fact which the EU has to address.

When the human rights dimension of this relation is mentioned it is because many European citizens are genuinely very concerned about the protection of fundamental rights and civil liberties. Interestingly enough I noticed an increasing awareness on Latin America from people of Central and East European countries, largely explained by their own communist/dictatorial regimes during past decades.

There is an obvious solidarity with those who have fought dictatorships and with those fighting new forms of authoritarian regimes. This explains why many new members of the European Parliament are very sensitive when it comes to political pluralism, freedom of media and freedom of assembly in the countries of Latin America.

The number of migrants from Latin America to several European countries is impressive, and in many places their integration into the new societies has proceeded smoothly. Politicians from Central and South America have clearly asked the EU to have a special migration policy for people coming from Latin America, particularly invoking the traditions between the two continents and their cultural compatibility.

However, many Europeans know that the right solution is neither to encourage migration nor to close the doors of the EU, but to have appropriate education and employment for the people in their countries of origin.

In addition one should mention the large number of European businesses which operate in Latin America. To some extent to the benefit of the Latin American countries, but certainly also to the benefit of the European countries they come from.

And the list could continue. But all the reasons mentioned above are enough to determine the EU to reshape and strengthen its partnership with Latin America.



The Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly – EuroLat was created in 2006, holding its Constituent Session in October that year in Brussels. EuroLat is the parliamentary institution of the Bi-regional Strategic Association established in June 1999 in the context of the EU-LAC (European Union-Latin American and Caribbean) Summits. EuroLat adopts and submits resolutions and recommendations to the various organizations, institutions and ministerial groups responsible for the development of the Bi-regional Strategic Association.

EuroLat is a joint multilateral Parliamentary Assembly composed of 150 members, 75 from the European Parliament and 75 from Latin American parliaments, chosen according to each parliament's internal rules, so as to reflect the pluralism within their countries.

EuroLat work is structured around a Plenary Session, an Executive Bureau, three Standing Committees (Political affairs, security and human rights; Economic, financial and commercial affairs; and Social affairs, human exchanges, environment, education and culture), two Working Groups and the Secretariat. Decision making is mainly based on the work of the Standing Committees – they draft all resolutions, which are then either passed or rejected in the Assembly.

Currently the Co-Presidents of EuroLat are José Ignacio Salafrañca Sanchez-Neyra (Spain) and Luis Fernando Duque García (Colombia). LI-affiliated parties are represented by Renate Weber (PNL-Romania), Gesine Meisner (FDP-Germany), Frédérique Ries (MF-Belgium), Vladko Panayotov (MRF-Bulgaria), Jens Rohde (Venstre-Denmark), Andrew Duff (LibDems-UK) and Dirk Sterckx (Open VLD-Belgium).

EU & Cuba

What the EU should do about the Cuban situation



Carlos Alberto Montaner is leader of LI full member the Unión Liberal Cubana and an award winning author.

This June, the Spanish government will attempt to convince the European Union to eliminate its common position toward Cuba, in effect since 1996, so the government of Havana may negotiate bilaterally with the countries that are part of that institution. The topic seems to be an obsession with Miguel Ángel Moratinos, the generally misguided Spanish foreign minister.

The proposal is counterproductive for several reasons that I will go into later, but first it is appropriate to point out a very worrisome feature of Spain's foreign policy under the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. Zapatero's foreign policy is not based on the defense of the democratic principles contained in the EU's founding documents, but on the crassest opportunism.

Madrid maintains the finest relations with the dictatorship of Teodoro Obiang, president of Equatorial Guinea, a country under Spanish sovereignty until 1968, and did not hesitate to withdraw all support for the Sahrawis of western Sahara, a Spanish colonial territory until 1976, when the Kingdom of Morocco seized it. If that is the behavior of Zapatero's government toward hundreds of thousands of people who until very recently, were historically linked with Spain and protected by its laws, why should we marvel at that government's lack of commitment to the rescue of Cuban democracy? That said, it is proper to argue why it is convenient and just to maintain a common European policy toward Cuba.

Because the Cuban dictatorship finds it a lot easier to impose its criteria on bilateral relations. If they don't feel obligated to the EU's policy, the natural tendency of the European nations toward a topic that has little importance for them, such as Cuba, will be to ignore the lack of freedoms suffered by the Cubans and the abuses that occur on the island: as recommended by some

diplomats accredited in Cuba who are more interested in not having problems with the government than in defending the values and principles of democracy.

Because that common policy is a permanent reminder to the Cuban government that the world's largest and most prestigious democratic space does not accept as good and legitimate a totalitarian dictatorship with a single party and the total absence of freedoms.

This pressure is a form of support not only for the democrats in the opposition, but also for the reformers in government who desire change. If the free world accepts Cuba's Stalinist model, and if the EU looks away from the horrors endured by the Cuban people, what incentives are there for the ruling cupola to initiate those changes?

What should the European Union do in regards to Cuba, other than to maintain the common position? At least five things:

1. To support the democrats in the opposition, remembering that the political fabric of that opposition is formed by the same elements that sustain the EU – Christian democrats, liberals, social democrats, and conservatives. The way to support them is to give them a voice and backing in the EU's institutions and to welcome them ostensibly inside and outside Cuba.
2. It is very important to welcome the dissidents to the diplomatic legations in Cuba, to invite them to official acts and to give them an opportunity to access the Internet while in the legations.
3. It would be useful to install in those delegations some powerful decrypted WI-FI antennas, so the Cubans who live near the embassies and consulates may access the Internet through them with greater freedom.

4. It would be advisable to regularly inform and comment about Cuba in the official shortwave stations, perhaps giving the Cubans a fixed space of ten minutes per week, as the Czechs do, so the Cubans may habitually turn to those sources of information and break the information blockade to which they are subjected by the regime.

5. It is fair and vital to create in the European Parliament a permanent multiparty working group for Cuban democracy, capable of counteracting the intense political work done inside the EU by the Cuban intelligence apparatus through its "Group of friendship and solidarity with the people of Cuba," directed by Spanish socialist Eurodeputy Miguel Ángel Martínez, much to the embarrassment of some of his party colleagues.

Why should the European Union help Cubans to regain their freedom? Because Cuba, due to its values, tradition, language, history and culture, is just one of the expressions of the vast European culture, in the likeness of Argentina, Canada or the United States.

After more than half a century of Stalinist dictatorship, the Castro brothers' government is in its final stage, creaking with age, discredited and delegitimized in the eyes of the Cubans. Cuba will be free someday. With the help of the European Union, that moment will come sooner.



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Think thanks

Think tanks in Latin America

and their importance to liberal policy in the region



Dora de Ampuero is Executive Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Economía Política, which is a member of LI Cooperating Organisation RELIAL.

A lengthy tradition exists of intellectual debate as a means of persuasion. Nonetheless, the establishment of think tanks, institutions with the objective of working in public policy to influence the political processes, rose out in the middle of the 19th century as social scientists, having followed the writings of Auguste Comte, began to perceive society as a laboratory in which science and expert scientists could govern people more efficiently than traditional morality.

The proliferation of modern think tanks was produced after the Second World War. In the USA, organizations such as the Brookings Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, the Rand Corporation, Heritage, and Cato Institute emerged. The first think tank created specifically to promote the philosophy of freedom through courses, seminars, investigations and publications was FEE (Foundation for Economic Education) established in 1946 by Leonard Reed in New York.

Free market think tanks received a great boost with Anthony Fisher, who as an RAF pilot during World War II came across Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek's groundbreaking book "The Road to Serfdom". Hayek's book warned that the Western nations were drifting toward a system of increasing government intervention and regulations drafted and enforced by experts.

Alarmed, and contemplating a career in politics, Fisher sought the advice of Hayek, who counseled that Fisher enter instead the world of ideas. Fisher became a hugely successful chicken farmer in Great Britain and created an international network of small, free-market think tanks, including the Institute of Economic Affairs, which helped the Thatcher government in its program to dismantle government and to privatize.

Fisher's commitment to advancing the ideas of freedom led him to establish the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in 1981, with the purpose of supporting the creation of Classic Liberalist institutes: today it includes a network of more than 250 institutes throughout the world.

With the help of Atlas, several centers for liberal studies in Latin America were established, such as Libertad y Desarrollo in Chile, Fundacion Libertad in Argentina, Centro de Divulgacion Economica in Venezuela, Fulided in Bolivia, Citel in Peru, Fundacion Libertade in Brazil, Fundacion for Freedom in Colombia, and the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Economía Política in Ecuador.

In 2004, with the support of Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Relial, a network of parties and political organization and think tanks representing, divulging and implementing ideas and liberal positions in Latin America, was established. RELIAL has asserted itself as one of the most important networks for consolidating liberalism as the framework in which decisions can be made, and the political actions of Latin America can be taken.

The term "think tank" currently describes an intellectual level of people, active as entrepreneurs scrambling for funds (albeit as non-profits). They can be found submerged in their cubicles, in front of a computer, using the internet, researching, writing, organizing, participating in panels and conferences; trying to influence public policy in some way or other, freely offering their ideas and suggestions to all that want to listen, including politicians, governors, academics, entrepreneurs and students. With the support of a great network of internet media, websites and blogs, their influence is not restricted to their locality but is completely globalized, constituting a network

of intellectuals maintaining contact (although not always face to face), sharing their ideas and productivity throughout the world.

The centers for public policy in Latin America constitute an invaluable network of intellectual support to promote and divulge democratic principles, and stimulate market economies in Central and South America. Despite varying success which is often difficult to measure, those that are involved in this task have confidence that their efforts and their work will bear fruit. Therefore, these ideas have to be maintained and nurtured, the torch of freedom remaining lit, creating an environment that drives towards the implementation of long range reform.

Whereas it is true that governments of some countries in the region (Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua) have been inclined to follow a socialist model led by the president of Venezuela Hugo Chavez, other countries like Chile have been incorporated into the list of developed countries of the OECD.

Furthermore, the election of President Piñera offers new hopes that the region will take other avenues. Brazil, Peru and Mexico are at the forefront of countries that have opened their economies to free markets, emerging within the precarious democratic system of the continent as nations oriented towards sustainable development that will allow them to raise the standard of living for people and create a region where the benefits of a well understood democracy bringing opportunities to its citizens can be observed.

As populism grows the challenge for think tanks in Latin America increases. The existing cooperation among institutions like Fundación Iberoamérica Europa, FNF, and Atlas Economic Research Foundation plays a very important role in supporting the initiatives of Free Market Institutes for promoting freedom, as well as broadening the margins of competition between citizens and the business sector, and fomenting citizens' participation in political debate and implementation of public policy. If they are successful, liberal values will have a stronger resonance in Latin American society.

- CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIÓN DE INSTITUCIONES Y MERCADOS CIIMA/ESEADE
- FUNDACIÓN ATLAS 1853
- FUNDACIÓN LIBERTAD
- FUNDACIÓN CÍVICO-REPUBLICANA
- INSTITUTO PARA LA GESTIÓN
- PARTIDO PRIMERO LA GENTE
- NOTORIA (AGENDA PARA UNA SOCIEDAD LIBRE)
- INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS AVANÇADOS
- INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS EMPRESARIAIS
- INSTITUTO LIBERDADE
- JUVENTUDE DEMOCRATAS
- PARTIDO DEMÓCRATAS, RIO GRANDE DO SUL
- INSTITUTO DEMOCRACIA Y MERCADO
- INSTITUTO LIBERTAD Y DESARROLLO
- INSTITUTO DE CIENCIA POLÍTICA
- ASOCIACIÓN DE CONSUMIDORES LIBRES
- ASOCIACIÓN NACIONAL DE FOMENTO ECONÓMICO
- INSTITUTO LIBERTAD
- INSTITUTO LIBERTAD Y PROGRESO ILPRO
- MOVIMIENTO LIBERTARIO
- UNIÓN LIBERAL CUBANA (sede en España)
- UNIÓN LIBERAL DE LA REPÚBLICA DE CUBA (sede en Cuba)
- INSTITUTO ECUATORIANO DE ECONOMÍA POLÍTICA
- INSTITUTO PARA LA LIBERTAD
- CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES ECONÓMICAS NACIONALES
- INSTITUTO DE EDUCACIÓN Y CAPACITACIÓN CÍVICA
- MOVIMIENTO REFORMADOR
- CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIÓN PARA EL DESARROLLO CIDAC
- MEXICO BUSINESS FORUM
- PARTIDO NUEVA ALIANZA
- MOVIMIENTO VAMOS CON EDUARDO
- FUNDACIÓN LIBERTAD
- PARTIDO CAMBIO DEMOCRÁTICO
- FUNDACIÓN LIBERTAD
- PARTIDO LIBERAL RADICAL AUTÉNTICO PLRA
- ANDES LIBRES
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS PÚBLICOS PERÚ
- COORDINADORA PARA LA INVERSIÓN Y EL TRABAJO
- INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS DE LA ACCIÓN HUMANA
- INSTITUTO DE LIBRE EMPRESA
- INSTITUTO INVERTIR
- INSTITUTO POLÍTICO PARA LA LIBERTAD
- PARTIDO JUSTICIA NACIONAL
- CENTRO DE ANÁLISIS PARA POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA,
- CENTRO DE DIVULGACIÓN DEL CONOCIMIENTO ECONÓMICO
- FUNDACIÓN IBEROAMÉRICA EUROPA (España)
- HISPANIC AMERICAN CENTER FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH (Estados Unidos)
- INSTITUTO JUAN DE MARIANA

Chile

La nueva generacion liberal

para el Chile del bicentenario



Manuel Lobos Infantes,
Fundador de Viento
Liberal en Chile

El 17 de enero en el ballottage, cuando el candidato Sebastián Piñera lograba un 51.6 % y se convertía en el presidente del Bicentenario de la república, la primera sensación que se me vino a la mente es que Chile desde ese momento ya no era el mismo, iba a ser diferente. Y diferente porque luego de 20 años de gobierno de una coalición de centro izquierda se vislumbraba por fin una gran oportunidad para que en un nuevo escenario, un gobierno de derecha mayoritariamente conservador, surgiera la oportunidad para que las ideas liberales germinarán.

Desde 1988 tras dos décadas de gobiernos que recuperaron la libertad y la democracia en Chile, una generación que venció “sin odio y sin violencia” a la dictadura militar de Pinochet, que ya había cumplido su tarea y al final de su periodo no fue capaz de reinventarse y encantar al electorado. En un Chile en donde el ex dictador ya había muerto y del cual su legado en la derecha nadie se hizo cargo.

Un periodo que tuvo cuatro presidentes entre ellos dos democristianos y dos socialistas y la primera mujer presidenta, veinte años de una Concertación que excluyó a los liberales una vez alcanzado el poder y que terminó agotada por la falta de ideas y la falta de conexión con el ciudadano medio, cuatro gobiernos que promovieron un excesivo asistencialismo y se olvidó de garantizar reales oportunidades por igual para todos los hijos de Chile y le sobraron actos de corrupción que fueron la lapida final de su derrota.

Este nuevo escenario político, sin embargo, es una gran oportunidad para las ideas liberales. Quienes por muchos años hemos intentado consolidar un proyecto liberal en Chile, vemos hoy día el camino más fértil para nuestro objetivo. Porque la presencia mayoritaria de conservadores de derecha en el gobierno y

conservadores de izquierda en la oposición, el desgaste de los discursos y practicas de la clase política que no se ha renovado, la urgente demanda de jóvenes que no se interesan en política, y las nuevas aspiraciones del ciudadano del Chile de Bicentenario, además, de la real posibilidad de los casi 3 millones de jóvenes que de aquí en adelante podrán votar, sin mas burocracia, gracias a la aprobación de la ley de inscripción automática y el voto voluntario, nos dibujan un escenario a corto plazo en donde mas que nunca es necesario una energía política renovable, Viento Liberal, aparece en la política chilena para hacer realidad un Chile mas libre y donde todos tengan la posibilidad de construir.

En Chile en los últimos años se produjo un cambio socioeconómico que se ve reflejado en los electores, y que lo representa la “clase media aspiracional”, este nuevo ciudadano elector, demanda a la clase política justamente lo que los liberales de Chile, agrupados en “Viento Liberal”, representamos.

En un país como el nuestro en donde quienes en nombre de la libertad y en una curiosa economía de mercado, patrocinan la concentración económica y donde el estado sólo es fuerte para reprimir las libertades individuales, la libertad que identifica a Viento Liberal, es aquella que está asociada tanto a los derechos civiles y políticos, como también a la defensa de una economía de mercado transparente y que realmente incentive la capacidad de emprender de los individuos.

Es aquí donde se marcan las diferencias con aquellos grupos que solo apelan a la libertad económica por un lado o a la igualdad por otro. Hoy la libertad y la igualdad de oportunidades son derechos inalienables y por ello trabajamos para su pronta materialización.

“Viento Liberal”, es una opción liberal apartada de los dogmas e ideologías del pasado. Al igual que la energía renovable creemos en la necesidad de la búsqueda de verdades relativas y dinámicas. De manera pragmática y técnica, estamos abiertos a buscar la solución más apropiada a las necesidades, demandas y desafíos del Chile de hoy. No creemos en la ideologización de las soluciones, sino en el moderno afán de independizarse de todas las ideologías y hacer del propio punto de vista una concepción del mundo autónoma y libre.

Ser liberal de “viento liberal”, es una opción inteligente, distinta, porque no responde a una ideología, lo atractivo de nuestra propuesta es precisamente eso: la incansable búsqueda por encontrar las mejores alternativas, y no se trata de una ideología sino del moderno afán de independizarse de todas las ideologías y hacer del propio punto de vista una concepción del mundo autónoma y libre.

No hay doctrina liberal: “viento liberal” reinventa el liberalismo y lo recrea. El liberalismo no es una teoría a seguir. El proyecto “Viento Liberal”, es una apuesta de jóvenes hasta hace poco anónimos, que creemos en una energía política nueva y renovable, ajena a las prácticas, dogmas y discursos propios de la clase política de los últimos 40 años en Chile, que va más allá de las edades y, que debe concentrarse en las nuevas prácticas de cómo hacer una política responsable y abierta permanentemente a los cambios y nuevos liderazgos.

Viento Liberal, nace como un espacio de pensamiento crítico y reflexivo de todos aquellos hombres y mujeres libres, que con la fuerza de la historia y la inspiración de los sueños del mañana, con sus ideas dicen “presente” en el Chile del Bicentenario, en un Chile mejor y más liberal.

“Viento Liberal”, es una opción liberal apartada de los dogmas e ideologías del pasado.



Youth

Youth in Latin America

An unavoidable challenge



Paola Silva is former President of the International Federation of Liberal Youth - IFLRY and has extensive experience of issues relating to the Latin American youth.

According to the last report on youth and development released by the World Bank, there are 1.3 billion young people now living in the developing world, and it is considered the largest-ever youth group in history. With regards to Latin America, there is not certainty about numbers. However, the latest research conducted by the World Bank (WB) together with the Iberoamerican Youth Organisation (OIJ) and Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), presents an overview concerning the dimension of the young population of the continent: Latin America and the Caribbean have between 140 million and 180 million young people.

An important percentage of this population lives under the line of poverty and exclusion. According to the OIJ and ECLAC's report, around 58 million young people live in poverty, and among those, around 21.2 million live in extreme poverty. This situation is reflected by the increasing rates of violence in several capital cities. The naked truth is shown by the notorious favelas in Brasil, the maras in El Salvador, or the paid assassins in Colombia. These features represent the tip of the iceberg, demonstrating to what extent people lack access to basic services such as safety and to what extent states lack control of certain areas within their territory. As a result of this situation, gangs with close connections to other types of criminal activities have taken control of the activities and everyday life of the communities.

In Latin America, as on other continents, there is a paradox when it comes to the situation of the youth. Even though the rates of illiteracy have decreased and the new generations are better educated than previous ones, there is a continuous lack of opportunities for development in the personal sphere. This situation plus the increase of "opportunities" tied to illegal actors constitute obstacles to the possibility of stopping

the cycle of poverty and violence. This situation cannot be ignored by liberals in the region. The challenge is to promote and implement liberal policies that create opportunities for young people, taking advantage of the window of opportunity that is opened by the higher levels of education and the lower rate of dependence. Public policies targeted directly at the lack of basic services and access to the market is crucial. In that sense, it is important to focus on policies that bring basic services to people, and not only facilitate access to the labor market, but also promote young entrepreneurship, allowing for an increase in long-term vacancies.

In light of the foregoing, it is more effective to work towards the promotion of policies that present self-employment as an alternative to provide access to finance, with programs such as seed capital, and at the same time, allow youth to cultivate networking skills.

However, there is some evidence that suggests the policies mentioned above do not constitute a complete answer to the problem. Therefore, to build a long lasting effect with these policies it is required to combine their implementation with a cultural change approach. This approach should focus on the transformation of cultural practices, the encouragement of the legality principle, the respect of the rule of law, and the use of peaceful/pacifist means to claim rights as a safe path to achieve prosperity and peace.

Certainly liberal leaders in the region have a big responsibility when it comes to developing the aforementioned policies. In that sense, team work is required, not only within the region, but also on a global level so as to guarantee real and effective freedom for Latin America's youth.

Panama

Benefits of applying liberal policies in Panama



Carlos E. Gonzalez is a distinguished member of Fundacion Libertad Panama.

Panama has been inclined to trade since its initial stages as a nation, a country, and a people. This inclination has its origins in its geographical location. From the time of pre-Columbian peoples who traded with the important empires to the North West and South East; to colonial times, with the Portobello trade fairs; passing through the construction of the first transcontinental railroad; and ending with the Panama Canal, the country has been a trading post.

The ability to trade freely has been an important part of Panama's political struggles. Independence from Spain was not violent. Established colonial authorities declared independence, decided to become part of Great Colombia, but kept sovereignty on economic matters. However, authorities from Colombia did not respect this desire, pushing Panamanians to start fighting for independence and to organize the Republic as a Federal State, in order to regain economic freedom.

Therefore, Panamanian politicians became the backbone of the Radical Liberal Party of Colombia, which for an important part of the 19th century controlled the central government, as well as those of the more liberal provinces, such as Panama. Radical Liberals pushed for free trade, separation of church and state, elimination of monopolies, universal vote, federation, free education, and limited powers, among other ideals.

However a backlash took place and an originally liberal president transformed his policies, and pushed for a centralized government, as well as conservative policies, while creating a special regime for Panama, which allowed for economic freedom, but not political freedom. When Panama became independent from Colombia, with the aid of the United States, the liberal party pushed its agenda successfully.

During this period of initial organization of the Republic, many of the most important republican institutions were established with a liberal orientation. But, as it happened in many countries during the 20th century, socialist and conservative forces changed our constitution and policies, moving the country away from its original liberal framework. This is so because some government intervention and limited freedoms remain, notably in areas such as education, health, agriculture, land ownership, and retail business. Also, political institutions are still weak due to a lack of checks and balances among republican powers.

Therefore, Panama would benefit tremendously from a liberal agenda pushing for more private participation on education and health provisions (plus less government regulation), less intervention on agricultural markets, recognition of land ownership by land holders, and allowing foreign investment in retail businesses. In tandem with previously mentioned reforms, a judicial reform is needed, in order to guarantee rule of law, and limit the power of the executive branch, allowing for a higher level of stability and justice within society and markets.

Without the adoption of these policies Panama will keep growing, but at a slower pace than that its full potential would allow. Happily, Panamanians are reaching a point of consensus on the need for some of these policies, especially those that guarantee more personal and political freedom. Any government adopting them will benefit the country and its political future.

Individualism

Liberalism in Latin America and Mexico City

as a Model of Respect for Individual Freedoms



The authors are founding members of Foro Liberal de Mexico, an association aiming to establish itself as a centre of analysis, research and development of academic and social projects based on the ideology of modern liberalism.

Historically, the debate on liberalism in Latin America has been of a Manichaeian nature: considered evil by some and beneficial by others, with no gray area in between. The fact that it is based on individualistic concepts and freewill has caused it to be branded in such a way that it is perceived as an ideology of a misanthropic nature by large sections of society.

Furthermore, it is important to clarify that in contrast to European political parties, where each party's ideological stance is more obvious to voters, political parties in Latin America have been unable to define themselves in ideological terms, and much less make people aware of their positions.

Despite this ideological handicap which prevails in Latin American party systems, in the present day we can point to clear-cut examples of progress made by the liberal agenda in the electoral sphere. By way of example, we can cite President Piñera's victory in Chile, which brought the liberals back to power after 52 years.

Costa Rica offers another example, where the Libertarian Movement Party has made significant progress: its share of the presidential vote has grown threefold since 2006, rising from 8% to almost 21%. In the vote for congressmen it grew by 70%, rising from 6 to 10 seats, and it may even hold as many as 11 seats once the final results are received from all districts.

Likewise in Honduras, former President Roberto Micheletti prevented his country from forming part of the group of nations whose authoritarian presidents, led by Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, Raúl Castro of Cuba and Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, continue to impede deliberation, obstructing the free legislative process and restricting liberal debate. In addition to liberal victories in electoral terms, progress has also been

made in the ideological sphere, expressed through the ever increasing presence of proposals fundamentally based on respect for individual freedoms.

This task is being carried out by a large number of think tanks such as ours, academic institutions and organised sectors of civil society, which are making significant efforts to disseminate the liberal agenda and approach in their respective countries. What is also true is that Latin American societies have shown discernible progress in the way they appreciate and understand the values of freedom.

We are ever more conscious of the path we must follow. If we truly wish to develop our institutions, we must do so within an efficient legal framework; rooted in democracy; where freedoms are respected; where human rights are not violated; where markets are regulated by efficient and independent bodies which prevent the economy from being manipulated on populist whims and by monopolistic interests; and above all, where the individual can find the path to prosperity.

It is in this regard that we would like to comment on the particular case of Mexico City, which can be ascribed a progressive and liberal profile in the present day, positioning it as a world class capital. We use this adjective because the feelings of the capital's residents have been reflected in a number of laws in favour of freedom and tolerance approved by Mexico City's Legislative Assembly (ALDF).

Over the past 3 years, the majority of political parties have approved progressive legislation, such as the Law which permits the legal termination of pregnancy prior to 12 weeks' gestation; the approval of civil unions (a precursor to same-sex marriage), the Advance

Directive Law, which allows people in the terminal stage of illnesses to make the decision not to go on suffering; and the Law which approves same-sex marriages with the right to adoption.

The aforementioned are clear examples that societies do exist in Latin America which are in favour of respect for tolerance and freedom of choice.

Those of us Mexicans who are in favour of freedoms trust that, despite the controversy and voices opposing these laws, we will be successful in achieving respect for the voice of the majority, and as a result, Mexico City will continue to be a capital which is pro-freedoms and serve as an example for Latin America as a whole.

We at the Foro Liberal de México shall persevere with our efforts to disseminate the liberal agenda in order to bring about the changes which we require, both as a society and as individuals.



Liberal International, in its capacity as an NGO in consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, participated in the 62nd United Nations DPI/NGO Annual Conference held in Mexico City, 9-11 September 2009. LI was represented by a delegation composed of members of RELIAL (LI cooperative organisation), and Nueva Alianza, LI Member party in Mexico.



Liberal International 184th Executive Committee Meeting



11 - 13 June 2010 Berlin, Germany

América Latina

La Pepa, España y América Latina

EL REAL TEATRO DE LAS CORTES,
MONUMENTO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL,
SE INAUGURÓ EL 1 DE ABRIL DE 1804.

EL AYUNTAMIENTO DE LA CIUDAD
EN LA CONMEMORACIÓN DE
SU DOSCIENTOS ANIVERSARIO.

SAN FERNANDO, 1 DE ABRIL DE 2004



Gerardo Bongiovanni,
Presidente de la
Fundación Libertad de
Argentina y miembro
de la Mesa Directiva de
RELIAL.

Es una pena que la expresión “viva la pepa” se vincule hoy a una condición negativa, referida a la vida licenciosa, la despreocupación o los desajustes.

En realidad el “viva la pepa” nos remonta a una causa mucho más noble, como es la lucha por las libertades y el rechazo al absolutismo. En efecto, la “Pepa” es la Constitución Liberal de Cádiz, sancionada el 19 de Marzo de 1812 (día de San José, por eso el sobrenombre) por las Cortes, que trabajaban en ella desde Septiembre de 1810 bajo el acoso de las fuerzas francesas y de las reacciones monárquicas extremas.

Esta Constitución, en cuya redacción participaron representantes americanos, fue una de las que, para su época, con más ahínco promovía los derechos y libertades. Proclamaba la monarquía constitucional -con fuertes restricciones a la autoridad del Rey-, el sufragio universal, los derechos de propiedad, la división de poderes, la libertad de expresión, de conciencia y la igualdad ante la ley. Además fue la primera en usar el término “liberal”.

Si bien solo rigió dos años, ya que Fernando VII la derogó y restauró el absolutismo en 1814, en el imaginario colectivo, la “Pepa” siguió siendo para muchos españoles y americanos una referencia indisoluble a la libertad y al espíritu republicano que alimentó los sueños -y a veces las realidades- en distintas sociedades iberoamericanas.

La agenda de estas relaciones [entre Europa y América Latina] se encuentra en un momento especial; durante mucho tiempo Europa “dejó” las relaciones con América Latina en manos de España. De hecho eso ocurrió durante los gobiernos de Felipe González y Aznar; en la práctica España era el vocero de América Latina ante Europa y de Europa ante América Latina. La relación cultural siempre fue muy fluida y creció mucho también la económica y comercial. De hecho, España se transformó en el primer inversor externo en la mayoría de países de nuestro continente. A pesar de que España preside temerariamente la UE, este modelo parece ahora agotado.

Por un lado, la crisis económica española quita “músculo” a la relación. Más de 10% de desempleo, déficit fiscal y de balance de pagos en niveles astronómicos, recesión generalizada, son algunas características de la realidad de la península ibérica, que hacen difícil imaginar grandes perspectivas del otro lado del continente.

Y la situación es aún más grave en lo político: desde su exitosa transición post-franquista con Adolfo Suárez al timón, España jugó un rol clave en la democratización de nuestros países, a veces simplemente sirviendo como ejemplo, y otras con apoyos más concretos.

Nada de eso ocurre hoy. El gobierno de Zapatero -cuya política exterior tiene desconcertados incluso a muchos socialistas “tradicionales”- ha optado por una política de complacencia antes los gobiernos dictatoriales y autoritarios (léase Cuba, Venezuela o Nicaragua), y no ha tenido ninguna reacción ante atropellos a las libertades e instituciones (muchas veces en detrimento, inclusive de intereses españoles) como los que han ocurrido en Bolivia, Ecuador, y lamentablemente, también en Argentina.

No, definitivamente, no cabe esperar mucho de España para las democracias y las libertades de Latinoamérica. Al menos con este gobierno. Por eso, es un soplo de aire fresco y de optimismo que políticos de otros países, nucleados en ALDE, hayan decidido actuar más activamente. La agenda es amplia y ambiciosa, e incluye temas tales como la consolidación democrática, el fortalecimiento de las instituciones, la lucha contra la pobreza, la intensificación de las relaciones económicas y comerciales, las migraciones y muy especialmente, los gobiernos crecientemente autoritarios.

Como dije, sabiamente, el eurodiputado holandés Hans van Baalen “Europa debe decir NO a los gobiernos que con fachadas democráticas instauran el autoritarismo y coartan las libertades democráticas”. Claro, con Europa no alcanza; debemos hacerlo sobre todo los latinoamericanos.



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Liberal International

Member Parties

Partit Liberal D'Andorra (PLA) - Andorra
 Partido Liberal Democratico (PLD) - Angola
 Liberales Forum (LF) - Austria
 Mouvement Réformateur (MR) - Belgium
 Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (VLD) - Belgium
 National Movement for Upsurge and Stability (NMSS) - Bulgaria
 Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) - Bulgaria
 Alliance pour la Démocratie et la Fédération/Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (ADF/RDA) - Burkina Faso
 Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) - Canada
 Alliance Nationale des Démocrates pour la Reconstruction (ANADER) - Congo
 Partido Movimiento Libertario (ML) - Costa Rica
 Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) - Cote d'Ivoire
 Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka (HSLS) - Croatia
 Partido Liberal de Cuba (PLC) - Cuba
 Partido Solidaridad Democrática (PSD) - Cuba
 Unión Liberal Cubana (ULC) - Cuba
 Det Radikale Venstre - Denmark
 Venstre - Denmark
 Unión Democrática Nacional (UDENA) - Equatorial Guinea
 Democratic Front Party (DFP) - Egypt
 Reform Party - Estonia
 Suomen Keskusta - Finland
 Swedish People's Party (SFP) - Finland
 Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP) - Germany
 Liberal Party of Gibraltar (LP) - Gibraltar
 Partido Liberal de Honduras (PLH) - Honduras
 Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz) - Hungary
 Radicali Italiani - Italy
 Israeli Liberal Group - Israel
 Progressive Party (PP) - Iceland
 Liberal Party of Kosovo - Kosovo
 Alliance Latvia's Way - Latvia
 Liberal and Centre Union (L&CU) - Lithuania
 Demokratesch Partei (DP) - Luxembourg
 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) - Macedonia
 Movement for the Progress of Madagascar (MFM) - Madagascar
 Union Constitutionnelle (UC) - Morocco
 Mouvement Populaire (MP) - Morocco
 Democraten 66 (D66) - Netherlands
 People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) - Netherlands
 Venstre - Norway
 Partido Justicia Nacional (PJM) - Peru
 Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP) - Philippines
 National Liberal Party (PNL) - Romania
 Yabloko - Russia
 Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) - Senegal
 Liberals of Serbia (LS) - Serbia

Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS) - Slovenia
 Zares - Slovenia
 Democratic Alliance (DA) - South Africa
 Freedom and Democracy (LI i D) - Spain
 Unió Mallorquina (UM) - Spain
 Liberal Party of Sri Lanka (LP) - Sri Lanka
 Folkpartiet Liberalerna (FL) - Sweden
 Centre Party of Sweden - Sweden
 Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) - Taiwan
 Parti Social Libéral (PSL) - Tunisia
 Civic United Front (CUF) - Tanzania
 The Democrat Party - Thailand
 Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
 Alliance Party of Northern Ireland - UK
 Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe of the Council of Europe (ALDE)
 Liberal Democrats (LibDems) - UK
 Deutsche Gruppe der LI (DGLI)
 British Group of Liberal International (LIBG) - UK
 International Federation of Liberal Youth (IFLRY)
 International Network of Liberal Women (INLW)
 Netherlands Group of LI (LIGN) - Netherlands

Observers

Reconstruction for Growth (Recrear) - Argentina
 LDP- Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Brazilian Group of Liberal International - Brazil
 National League for Democracy, Liberated Areas (NLD-LA) - Burma
 Alliance Democratique Pour le Renouveau (ADR) - Burundi
 Alliance Pour le Renouveau du Congo (ARC) - DR Congo
 Union Pour La Réconstruction Du Congo (UREC) - DR Congo
 Sam Rainsy Party - Cambodia
 El Ghad - Egypt
 Republican Party of Georgia - Georgia
 Movimiento Reformador (MR) - Guatemala
 Union des Forces Républicaines (UFR) - Guinea
 Progressive Democrats (PD) - Ireland
 Liberal Vannin Party - Isle of Man
 Federation of Italian Liberals (FdL) - Italy
 Italian Liberal Group - Italy
 SLS - Kosovo
 New Union Social Liberals (NuSL) - Lithuania
 Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia Party - Malaysia
 Citizens Party for the Renewal of Mali
 New Alliance - Mexico
 Alianta Moldova Noastra - Moldova
 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) - Serbia
 Civil Will Party - Mongolia
 Singapore Democratic Party (SDP) - Singapore
 Liberal Party of Montenegro - Montenegro

Cooperating organisations

Africa Liberal Network (ALN)
 Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 European Liberal Democratic Reform Party
 Network of Arab Liberals (NAL)
 Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNSt)
 Dr. Y. Foerder Foundation
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