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INTERLIB

Journal of the Liberal International British Group



PETER HENNESSEY

EVENTS

September 7th – 21st	Liberal Democrats Autumn Conference, Birmingham.
Sunday 18th	Where do we go from here? /Social Liberal Forum with Will Hutton, Jackie Ashley and Julian Huppert 20.00-21.15 Hall 5 ICC
Sunday 18th	“The Israeli Peace Initiative: Can it succeed?” Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel. 20.00-21.15 pm, Jurys Inn Hotel, Room 101.
Monday 19th	"Who benefits from the arms trade ?" Liberal Democrats for Peace and Security. Nick Harvey (Minister for the Armed Forces) & Anne Feltham (Campaign Against the Arms Trade). 20.00 to 21.15 Jury's Inn Room 103.
Monday 19th	Palestine: in the shadow of the Arab Uprising – what role should Britain play?MAP, the New Statesman and Liberal Democrat Friends of Palestine. Mehdi Hasan (New Statesman), Steve James (MAP), Sir Menzies Campbell, Simon Hughes, John McHugo (LDFFP). 18.15 – 19.30 pm Novotel Hotel, Burne-Jones room.
Tuesday 20th	The Arab Awakening - how best should the international community should respond to it? LIBG/LDEG. Edward McMillan-Scott, (Vice-President of the European Parliament) Robert Woodthorpe Browne, Professor Paul Reynolds 20.00 to 21.15pm, Jury's Inn Rooms 113, 115 & 117.
Wednesday 21st	Debate on the Arab Awakening 9.30 to 10.15 am. Mover Martin Horwood, Summation William Wallace Q & A on International Issues 10.35 to 11.20am. Panellists - Paddy Ashdown, Jeremy Browne, Kishwer Falkner, Nick Harvey and Martin Horwood
1st October	Liberal Party Assembly, Wolverhampton
14th October	Liberal International Executive NLC
15th October	Responsibility to Protect (R2P) conference. Chatham House, 10, St. James's Square, London, SW1P 4LE
24th-25th November	ELDR Congress, Palermo

For bookings & other information please contact the Treasurer below.
NLC= National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London SW1A 2HE
Underground: Embankment
Liberal International (British Group)
Treasurer: Wendy Kyrle-Pope, 1 Brook Gardens, Barnes, London SW13 0LY
email w.kyrle@virgin.net
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Comments and articles can be sent to
Lockhart & Hastings, Creative Media Centre, 17 & 45 Robertson Street, Hastings TN34 1HL, email lockharthastings@btconnect.com

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Chair's Letter

Dear Friends,

It is with great sadness that I have to inform you of the untimely death of David Griffiths, just as we were going to press. David was a stalwart of the Liberals and later Liberal Democrats, proud Welshman and committed internationalist. David played a huge part in LIBG, recruiting and encouraging many to become involved, including your present Chairman. He served as Treasurer of both LI and ELDR, although ill-health sadly forced him to stand down early from the latter post. Liberals in the UK, Europe and beyond owe David a great debt. Sharon Bowles has kindly provided a few words (see p15). We will have the chance to commemorate David's life in suitable fashion in due course; details will be made available as soon as possible.

Since this edition of InterLIB comes after the AGM and just before Federal Conference, we are reproducing a slightly revised version of my 2011 Annual Report, which reflects on the past and looks to the future, which I hope people find useful.

With best wishes, Julie

LIBG Chairman's Annual Report 2011

LIBG has had a good year. We have begun to cooperate with other groups within the party and plan to continue such cooperation in the coming year. To date, we have held a joint meeting with the Chinese Lib Dems at which Martin Jacques gave us the benefit of his insights into the rise of China and its likely impact on the rest of the world. We are planning a joint fringe on the Arab Awakening with the Lib Dem European Group at Autumn Federal Conference, and will share our conference stall with a new Lib Dem Friends of Brazil group. Last, but by no means least, our AGM and a meeting to discuss the 2011 Polish EU presidency, kindly hosted by Her Excellency the Ambassador of Poland to the Court of St. James, arose in part from links with the Lib Dem Friends of Poland. I have very much hope that we can continue with such collaboration in future as it enables us both to pool costs and resources with like-minded liberals with an interest in interna-

tional affairs, and reach out beyond our own members. In particular, I look forward to working with Sarah Harding of Liberal Youth to organise an event in the North West in the autumn.

Events

Since the 2010 AGM we have held a garden party in London thanks to the generous hospitality of Robert and Barbara Woodthorpe Browne and our traditional Diplomats' Reception, impeccably organized as always by Wendy Kyrle-Pope. Speaker meetings were held on Darfur at which Becky Tinsley spoke, on the Arab Spring at which Robert Woodthorpe Browne gave a fascinating overview of the situation in a large number of Middle Eastern and North African states, and on China as already mentioned. Lord (Peter) Hennessy gave the fourth Tim Garden Annual Lecture at Chatham House, a full transcript of which is reproduced here on p4.

Lib Dem Party Conference

The stall in Liverpool was manned by my mother, who kindly spent all day, every day of Conference meeting and greeting those who were interested in LIBG, with regular support from Allan Witherick and Dirk Hazell. We recruited several new members and held a fringe meeting on the role of party foundations in international politics, at which we were addressed by two of our Vice-Presidents: Lord Alderdice and Gordon Lishman.

Scotland

John Melling has stepped down as a Vice-President after many years of service and has been replaced by John Barrett.

Liberal International

We are delighted that LIBG Vice-President Robert Woodthorpe Browne was elected co-Treasurer of Liberal International at the Manila Congress in June. Looking to the future, LIBG will be hosting the next Liberal International Executive meeting in London on 14th October 2011 at the National Liberal Club. This will be followed by a workshop on the Responsibility to Protect at Chatham House on 15th October.



LIBG's relations with the Lib Dems

LIBG has been an Associated Organisation (AO) of the Liberal Democrats, which gives certain benefits, including the ability to book rooms and stalls at Federal Conference at 'party' rates. As part of a regular review of such organisations, a motion from the Federal Executive will be going to Federal Conference recommending that LIBG be renewed as an AO subject to a minor constitutional amendment. Since we were only made aware of that requirement after the deadline for motions to this year's AGM the Executive will bring forward a proposed amendment at next year's AGM.

Finally, I would like to thank all the members of the Executive for their support during the last year. Particular thanks go to those who chose not to re-stand. I wish them all well and hope they will continue to join us at LIBG events in future.

*Julie Smith, Cambridge
7th September 2011*

‘The Thin Wisps of Tomorrow’

Peter Hennessey

It is a great honour to be asked to speak in memory of Sir Timothy Garden. I first met Tim and Sue at the table of the then Captain President of the Royal Naval College Greenwich, Nick Wilkinson. Though some time before, RAF friends had told me how special he was. That evening by the Thames we got on instantly and, before the first course had been consumed, we touched on my theme this evening – the predictive power and performance of the UK’s intelligence machinery and wider horizon-scanning apparatus. At the time I was busy reading the early cold war product of the Joint Intelligence Committee in files on recently declassified by the Cabinet Office. Tim brought all his formidable analytical powers to this and a dose of necessary scepticism about the weight to be attached to such assessments.

It was a conversation we carried on during his time as an outstanding Commandant of the Royal College of Defence Studies and right through his time as a Liberal Democrat peer. How I wish we had his wisdom, knowledge and humanity at our country’s disposal today as the troubles of the world constantly lap our shores, as we add our home-grown ones to the climate of anxiety in which we have our being and Whitehall fashions successive national security strategies to concentrate our minds on how best to cope.

I have a sub-title for this evening’s lecture – ‘The Thin Wisps of Tomorrow’. Let me tell you the source for it – the great French historian, Fernand Braudel, in the Introduction to his *A History of Civilisations*, published in 1987. This is what he wrote:

‘When it comes to the present day, with all its different potential dénouements, deciding which are the really major problems essentially means imagining the last line of the play – discerning, among all the possible outcomes, those which are most likely to occur. The task is difficult, hazardous and indispensable...forecasting the near future – the ‘futurible’, to use a frightful word beloved of certain economists. The ‘futurible’ is what now can legitimately be described in the future tense – that thin wisp of tomorrow which can be guessed at and very nearly grasped.’

Feeling for those ‘thin wisps’ is quite a powerful impulse in we mortals. Institutions, the social anthropologist Mary Douglas taught us,

often incorporate a particular human anxiety or aspiration and are driven by a desire for certainty. Some reflect the desire to institutionalise social justice (the Department of Work and Pensions); altruism (the National Health Service), national protection (the Ministry of Defence) or public safety (Home Office and Ministry of Justice). The last century, in fact, has seen a succession of government-led attempts to reduce uncertainty – the intelligence and security services

are a classic example – by trying to anticipate events, good and bad, and to increase the chances of the good happening and to reduce the prospects of the harmful.

Today what is called ‘horizon-scanning’ is a trans-Whitehall activity on a substantial scale. Indeed, Braudel’s ‘thin wisps’ of tomorrow problem has absorbed the energies of some of the best primed clusters of grey cells in crown service since the prototypical Edwardian national security council – the Committee of Imperial Defence, the CID – came into experimental being in 1902 and was made permanent in 1904 (though it was an advisory body for the Prime Minister not an executive

group). The pursuit of top-of-the-range horizon-scanning has been a kind of Holy Grail for Whitehall ever since, though the subject has still to find its scholar/cartographer. A really good book cries out to be written on this. Perhaps Chatham House could sponsor it. For in its various guises, the horizon scanners’ craft has been central to the British state’s preparations for the worst from that day to this. I’d like this evening, in honour of Tim, to take a first stab at it.

May I, therefore, trace some of the key ingredients of this still-to-be-written history?

By 1909-1910, the CID had bequeathed two enduring legacies to the British way of government. The first was the British intelligence community which emerged in something approaching its recognisably modern form as the Secret Service Bureau in 1909 following a CID report (it split into MI6, the modern Secret Intelligence Service, and MI5, today’s Security Service, in 1910). The second was the practice of a prototypical version of modern foresight/contingency planning in the shape of the ‘War Book’.

The ‘War Book’ was the inspiration of a remarkable Royal Marine Artillery Officer, Maurice Hankey, who joined the CID’s Secretariat in 1908 and became its Secretary in 1912. As so often with the



British way of horizon-scanning, it took a crisis and a scare to trigger action and follow-through. In this instance it was the Agadir crisis, when the Germans indulged in a dash of gunboat diplomacy off Morocco as part of a dispute with France in July 1911, which 'hastily intensified the work already proceeding [inside the Committee of Imperial Defence] of formulation and codification of plans for immediate action by all departments in case of war,' as Franklyn Johnson, this historian of the CID, put it.

It was another swathe of threats (largely home grown ones this time, though the shadow of the Russian Revolution hung heavy over the guardians of national security at the time) that stimulated the next bout of Whitehall horizon-scanning and contingency-planning – the rash of trade union militancy and strikes after the Great War in 1919. The Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, approved the making permanent of the ad hoc arrangements his Supply and Transport Committee had improvised to keep key services moving. For 20 years thereafter, the Supply and Transport Organisation was the regular Whitehall provider of foresight and contingency planning to cope with strikes that hit what its legal underpinning, the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, called 'the essentials of life' which it defined as the 'distribution of food, water, fuel... light...[and]...the means of locomotion.' The Supply and Transport Organisation was the chief instrument which enabled Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin to break the General Strike in May 1926.

It was the Army's man on the Supply and Transport Committee, Winston Churchill, who was the moving spirit behind the creation of the next Whitehall innovation, the Chiefs of Staff Committee with its own horizon-scanning team, the Joint-Planning Committee. Churchill, as Secretary for War and Air, was determined to bring together properly the three chiefs of the Armed Forces and floated the idea in a debate in the House of Commons on 12 November 1919. A CID inquiry, chaired by Lord Salisbury with the ubiquitous Hankey as its secretary, was required before the Chiefs of Staff Committee came into formal existence in 1923 and it fell to the first ever Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald to implement the Salisbury Report in 1924.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee remains today the regular weekly meeting of what since 1958 have been the four Chiefs of Staff (the Chief of the Defence Staff, the Chief of the General Staff, the First Sea Lord and the Chief of the Air Staff). In a second burst of institution building, MacDonald created his Economic Advisory Council in 1929 which he intended to be his economic equivalent of the military chiefs of staff, though it was of little use as the economic and financial blizzard engulfed the world after the Great Crash of that year.

It was the Chiefs of Staff Committee itself which spawned the next innovation, the Joint Intelligence Committee created in June 1936 and until 1957 itself a sub-committee of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, to co-ordinate inter-services intelligence (Hankey was instrumental in persuading the chiefs to take this step). The JIC did not seriously become a shaper of the British horizon-scanners' craft until the pressure of total war finally gave it the bespoke capacity it needed and which neither the Chiefs' Joint Planners, the Foreign Office nor the individual service intelligence departments wished it to have in the first years of its life leaving it until the weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War 'a peripheral body'. 'Nor', as the official historian of British

Intelligence 1939–45, Professor Sir Harry Hinsley, pointed out, 'did the JIC itself show any initiative in volunteering appreciations on more important questions like the intentions and military thinking of foreign states, partly because there was a dearth of reliable information on such questions and partly because service opinion in Whitehall frowned on speculation.'

Churchill's arrival in No 10 changed all that when he issued a new directive for the JIC requiring it to 'take the initiative in preparing at any hour of the day or night, as a matter of urgency, papers on any development in the international situation whenever this appears desirable to any member in the light of information that might be received.' Yet not until May 1941 was the JIC's Joint Intelligence Staff created which rapidly developed into a considerable Whitehall player and can be seen as the lineal begetter of today's Assessments Staff, created in 1958, which works to the JIC in the Cabinet Office.

War is a great tester and refiner of institutions as well as people. The Second World War was remarkable, too, as a test-bed for post-war institution-building and the special kind of horizon-scanning that required. The most vivid and enduringly significant example concentrated on welfare rather than warfare though wartime conditions enabled the designer of this particular blueprint, the social scientist and administrator, Sir William Beveridge, to declare that: 'A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.'

Beveridge was not engaged in preparing for the worst – avoiding the worst (a return to the 1930s) or preparing for the best would be a better way of describing his purpose when he seized upon a commission from the wartime Coalition Government to tidy up existing social insurance provision and turned his inquiry into an extraordinarily comprehensive plan for a postwar transformation designed to tackle and conquer what he called the 'five giants on the road of reconstruction' – 'Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.'

Horizon-scanning infused Beveridge's craft because he rightly sensed that unless these 'giants' were hammered simultaneously, the tough shell created by interlocking deprivations would not crack. The Beveridge Report was a public document and attracted great political and press attention from the moment it was published in November 1942 thanks, in part, to the 'People's William' possessing a considerable gift for self-publicity and, in various forms, it sold 635,000 copies, quite extraordinary by any standards let alone those of a government White Paper.

Most of the early post-war innovations in horizon-scanning, however, were implemented in intense secrecy. For example, the idea of the 'War Book' was extended to the pound sterling in early 1948 lest the (hugely overvalued against the US dollar) currency needed to be devalued in a fast-moving crisis in those days of fixed exchange rates. At the end of January, a senior Treasury official, Ernest Rowe-Dutton, began the preparation of what he called a 'Sterling War-Book'. By mid-February, a first draft was ready covering who should be told if D (for devaluation) day were imminent, and in what order and the kind of technical and administrative readjustments that would be needed. It was real 'need-to-know' country. The Bank of England, understandably, was brought in on the plan but there is nothing in the file to suggest that ministers were told. Work on the 'Sterling War Book' lapsed in the summer of 1948 but it was revived, in something of a panic, in the spring of 1949 when sterling

*The Beveridge Report sold
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came under pressure. D-day finally came on 18 September 1949 when the exchange rate against the dollar fell from \$4.05 to \$2.80.

But the greatest leap in the imaginative capacities of Whitehall's post-war horizon-scanners was required on the part of those charged with contemplating a different kind of nuclear revolution – the Bomb (another Tim Garden subject). Its dreadful potential stretched the craft in several directions further than anything encountered before. It was, in its way, to adapt a 1945 phrase of Ronald Knox's, 'a baptism of uranium'. Attlee, in the privacy of the August 1945 memorandum on 'The Atomic Bomb' he drafted personally for his Cabinet Committee on Atomic Energy, GEN 75, told his ministers in effect that the world has passed through a valve when the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: 'Scientists agree that we cannot stop the march of discovery,' he wrote. And the secret of atomic fission and nuclear fusion, will remain in the possession of those who have already acquired it even if multilateral disarmament is achieved. For it is inconceivable that such countries would destroy all their warhead designs and enrichment techniques – and even if a former nuclear power claimed they had, other ex-nuclear nations could never be sure that was so.

The Bomb required Whitehall horizon-scanners to pursue interlocking themes:

- When the Soviet Union would acquire a nuclear capability?
- How soon and how many bombs would result?
- What those bombs could do to the United Kingdom and its bases overseas.
- The degree to which the civilian population could be protected from nuclear bombardment and how they could be succoured and the country revived post-attack.
- What a British nuclear deterrent needed to be capable of inflicting on the Soviet Union and its allies.
- From the early 1960s the progress and capability of Soviet anti-ballistic missile defence and its implications for the capability of the UK deterrent.
- How best to prepare and structure the British state to increase the chances of government continuity during and after a nuclear assault (including the command and control of UK nuclear forces).
- The preparation of scenarios for transition-to-war exercises of various kinds.

The Bomb has been a constant horizon-scanning imperative for Whitehall from August 1945 to the present day. For example, when the Joint Intelligence Committee prepared an assessment in the autumn of 2006 for the Official Group on the Future of the Deterrent and Tony Blair's Ministerial Group on the same subject (out of which came the decision to upgrade the Trident system), it looked far further ahead, 50 years, in fact, than its normal practice concentrating on three areas – likely nuclear proliferation; possible developments in anti-submarine warfare; and likely advances in missile defence capabilities.

But the palm for the finest piece of horizon-scanning of the post-war years must go to the Future Policy Study Harold Macmillan commissioned as Prime Minister in great secrecy (only the Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, knew about it amongst his ministerial colleagues) in June 1959 shortly before he began the glide-path to his autumn victory in the 'You've-Never-Had-It-So-Good' election of

1959 on the ticket of peace and prosperity. The Future Policy Study's horizon-scan was a decade forward – to where Britain would be by 1970 on present policies. It depicted a Britain ever-more dwarfed by the superpowers; increasingly falling behind the EEC 'Six', as they were then, in economic and trade terms; possibly struggling to maintain both a comprehensive welfare state and substantial defence spending.

The only thing Macmillan's scanners got seriously wrong was Northern Ireland; in their treatment of Ireland they did not foresee a recrudescence of 'the Troubles'. The final paper was so gloomy that Macmillan pulled it from the intended full Cabinet discussion in February 1960 and took it to a special Cabinet committee instead. Fifty years on, we desperately need an equivalent of the Future Policy Study which set a still unsurpassed gold standard for

Fifty years on, we desperately need an equivalent of the Future Policy Study which set a still unsurpassed gold standard for width, quality and candour.

width, quality and candour. Though cumulatively, the Foreign Office's Planning staff (created in 1964) has produced fine work. A particular gem, penned by the young diplomat Donald McLaren (or the McLaren of McLaren, to give him his full title) in July 1988 on the future of east-west relations, foresaw the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Ted Heath, as part of his new style of government after winning the 1970 general election, sought to institutionalise an approach to horizon-scanning with his creation of the Central Policy Review Staff led by the former head of research at Shell, Lord Rothschild. From its inception in 1971, reflecting Victor Rothschild's background, it kept a close eye on energy problems, especially the supply of oil to which we shall return in a moment. More widely it sought to meet ministers' need, most vocally expressed by Willie Whitelaw, to avoid being taken by surprise so often (what Whitelaw actually said was 'he did not want to read about V and G [Vehicle and General, an insurance firm that collapsed in 1972] in the newspapers in his bath')

Rothschild set up an Early Warning System (EWS) and attempted to persuade Whitehall departments to share their anxieties about the future. The EWS was a brave stab at horizon-scanning but it was hobbled by two things: the Treasury were highly reluctant to pool information on sensitive economic matters, the exchange rate of sterling in particular; and Heath's reluctance, given the top secret nature of much of the material, to circulate the EWS reports to all his ministerial colleagues. As the pace of leaks grew from the mid-1970s, fear of disclosure has been a considerable problem for the more candid 'what if?' exercises.

In the Heath years anxieties about the security of energy supplies were made still more fraught by the miners' strike of 1972 (the first national one since 1926). Rothschild had, in fact, submitted his first CPRS paper on 'Oil Economics and Supplies' to Heath in September 1971 before the strike began. A refined version of the paper was circulated by Heath to ministers in April 1972 which argued that the country should increasingly rely less on coal and more upon a mix of natural gas and nuclear-powered or oil-fired stations. In May 1973 the CPRS prepared a report for Heath's Cabinet Committee on Economic Strategy on the possible rise in oil prices due to growing scarcity over the next decade possibly to what was then an eye-watering \$9 a barrel. Two months later, a Task Force on Oil Supplies, chaired by Lord Carrington, Heath's Defence Secretary, warned the Economic Strategy Committee that a war in the Middle East would have a serious impact on the price of oil though such a war was not thought to be imminent.

It was. On 6 October 1973, Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal into the Sinai on the Jewish festival of Yom Kippur and the fourth Arab-Israeli war began. On 16 October, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised the price of oil from \$2.90 a barrel to \$5.11. In mid-December 1973 they raised it again to \$11.65. The price had quadrupled in less than four months. The Carrington contingency and Rothschild's worst-case-by-1985 possibility had met and struck a British economy already reeling from rising commodity prices abroad and growing industrial strife at home.

Each generation of horizon-scanners is shaped by a particular cluster of pacemaker anxieties: Russia and Germany in the early part of the last century; Russia in the Twenties; Germany again in the Thirties; the Soviet Union and the Bomb during the grim 40-year recitative of the Cold War; energy, oil in particular, in the Seventies; jihadi-inspired terrorism from 9/11 on and financial collapses from September 2008 with the cumulative impact of carbon emissions now providing the constant percussion with its percussive effect reaching into several other worrying shapes on the horizon.

For example, as George Soros has noted, a future economic shock comparable to that of 2007-08 would, if triggered by a climate change-related event, produce an immense problem for those seeking to put it right. It would reflect decades, if not centuries, of chemical accumulations that could not be remedied either swiftly (if it could be put right at all) or by any of the financial instruments to which individual governments or the G20 resorted at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. What Mervyn King, the Governor of the Bank of England, called the 'Panic of 2008' 'because of the almost complete collapse of confidence in financial institutions and the flight of funding that ensued' after the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September of that year, would be trumped by a loss of confidence, a surge of anxiety and a level of panic that could scarcely be compared to 2008.

One economist, Professor Nicholas Stern of the London School of Economics, had already produced an analysis and a remedial prescription for the economics of climate change almost exactly two years before the Lehman collapse. Prepared while he was Chief Economic Adviser to the Treasury and written with a style and reach worthy of Beveridge, the Stern review on The Economics of Climate Change scanned the horizon to the period 2030 to 2060 and reckoned that by then there would have been a doubling of pre-industrial revolution levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere with a 20 per cent probability that the related temperature increase could be over 5°C.

All current Whitehall horizon-scanning that seeks global reach now builds in climate change as both a pacemaker and an omnipresent conditioner of forecasting. For example, the best, in my view, of the regular productions, 'The Global Strategic Trends Programme' run by the Ministry of Defence's Developments, Concepts and Doctrine Centre in London and at the Defence Academy in Shrivenham treats climate change as one of its three 'Ring Road Issues' (the other two being globalisation and global inequality).

By the end of the last decade the UK government, in horizon-scanning terms (certainly in peacetime), probably had more people at work on a wider canvas than ever before as evidenced by the Future Security and Intelligence Network (FUSION) created by the

Government's Chief Scientific Officer, Sir John Beddington, in 2007. Yet the Cabinet Office's first National Risk Register, published as the 'Panic of 2008' was really setting in, in its diagram of 'high consequence risks facing the United Kingdom, was completely silent on the financial chaos descending ever more destructively on the UK and the world. If you cast your eye across its range of a dozen anxieties and horrors, nowhere do you find the four horsemen of the financial apocalypse requesting landing permission at Heathrow. In fact, Sir Richard Mottram, former Co-ordinator of Security and Intelligence in the Cabinet Office, has spoken publicly about the UK not engaging in 'own-side' intelligence and how unwelcome a paper on derivatives would have been during his chairmanship of the Joint Intelligence Committee between 2005 and 2007.

Yet the horizon scanner's craft should blend smartness, a sense of history (enlivened by a sense of the wreckage of predictions past plus an acknowledgement of 'thin wisps' missed). A certain promiscuity of approach is valuable, too, because of the necessary humility this brings. There should be no 'no-go areas'. Horizon-scanning teams should mix insiders and outsiders. The future should not be subject to the Official Secrets Act. It should look for what might be called benign/malign conjunctions. For example, I was very struck by the Shrivenham scanners' assessment of the possibility of clean, abundant and safe cold nuclear fusion towards the end of their 40-year forward look. Terrific, you might think, without caveat until you realise what it would do to precarious Middle Eastern countries dependent on oil revenues whose value would plummet.

May I return briefly before I finish to a gap in the Whitehall horizon-scanning machinery which was discussed at a British Academy Forum on 15 December 2009, the second of a pair summoned to answer the Queen's question about the financial crisis, when opening a new building at the London School of Economics on 5 November 2008 when she asked: 'If these things were so large, how come everyone missed them?' The first forum resulted in a letter to the Queen from the British Academy signed by myself and Tim Besley, Kuwait Professor of Economics and Political Science at LSE, on the causes and nature of the crisis that had prompted her question dated 22 July 2009. The second letter, signed once more by Tim Besley and myself on 8 February 2010, examined how the Queen's crown servants scattered across a host of departments, institutions and agencies might so organise themselves that she would never have to ask such a question again.

As none of the senior crown servants present at the 15 December 2009 forum had 'volunteered either individually or institutionally' to pull all the scattered horizon-scanning financial and economic material together on a regular basis we finished our letter 'with a modest proposal. If you, Your Majesty, were to ask for a monthly economic and financial horizon-scanning summary from, say, the Cabinet Office, it could hardly be refused. It might take a form comparable to the Joint Intelligence Committee's 'Red Book', which you received each week from 1952 until 2008 when it was abandoned. And, if this were to happen, the spirit of your LSE question would suffuse still more of your crown servants tasked to defend, preserve and enhance the economic well-being of your country'. Sadly, Her Majesty did not take up the suggestion, though, Ma'am, there's still time...

There are other, wider problems with the horizon-scanning craft.



For example, there is a danger, after a fairly deep immersion into a century or more of the horizon-scanners craft, of either becoming faintly obsessed with the 'thin wisps of tomorrow' and/or growing fatalistic about what can be done about a considerable number of the grimmer contingencies. Even that great patron of the trade, John Maynard Keynes, was moved to write in September 1931 that 'It is so difficult to predict what is ahead...some of the things which I vaguely apprehend are, like the end of the world, uninsurable risks, and it's useless to worry about them'. Ministers can get like that when confronted, on top of all their instant preoccupations, with less than cheerful material on what might await. Prediction fatigue has afflicted pretty well every set of political customers in Whitehall, partly because the pictures painted are so rarely jolly.

I am convinced, however, that there is a duty upon governments (and scholars) to try, for all the difficulties and the caveats in which horizon-scanning must and will always be embedded. As a historian, I am haunted by what we could and should have picked up in the past in terms of their future significance. Martin Rees, the Astronomer Royal, cited some examples from the 1950s whose life-shaping possibilities were not appreciated at the time in his 2008 Ditchley Foundation Lecture, 'The Next Half Century: A Scientist's Hopes and Fears':

'It was in 1958 that Jack Kilby of Texas Instruments and Robert Noyce of Fairchild Semiconductors built the first integrated circuit – the precursor of today's ubiquitous silicon chips, each containing literally billions of microscopic circuit elements. This was perhaps the most transformative single invention of the past century.

'A second technology with huge potential began in Cambridge in the 1950s, when Watson and Crick discovered the bedrock mechanism of heredity – the famous double helix. This discovery launched the science of molecular biology, opening exciting

prospects in genomics and synthetic biology'. Martin Rees, perhaps the most thoughtful and careful of the UK's individual horizon-scanners, carries the necessary scepticism with him when he takes to the lectern. Here he is in the shining, gilded Robing Room of the House of Lords in June 2009 delivering the Lord Speaker's Mile End Group Lecture on 'The World in 2050', pointing out that the 'past record of scientific forecasters is dismal. Lord Rutherford averred that nuclear energy was moonshine; Thomas Watson, founder of IBM, thought there might be a world market for five computers; and one of my predecessors as Astronomer Royal said space travel was utter bilge'.

Yet, Lord Rees insisted, we owe it to the generations to come to try:

'We don't know what will be the 21st century counterparts of the electron, quantum theory, the double helix and the computer – nor where the great innovators of the future will get their formative training and inspiration. But one thing seems clear: The UK's standing depends on sustaining our competitive edge as discoverers and innovators – on ensuring that some of the key ideas of the 21st century germinate and – even more – are exploited here in the UK'.

And, as the handmaiden to that aspiration, I would add sustaining in this era of cuts the UK's capacity to strive to sense, find and evaluate the 'thin wisps of tomorrow' and to face up to what those 'wisps' might portend. We owe it to our country, ourselves, our children and our grandchildren, to apply a goodly proportion of our industrial and our collective 'little grey cells' to this most constant and vexing of tasks which, as Braudel wrote, is 'difficult, hazardous and indispensable'. I hope and think Tim would have agreed. He was a great and a good man and his inspiration remains.

Peter Hennessey, Lord Hennessey of Nympsfield, gave the Garden Memorial Lecture at Chatham House on 23rd June 2011.

Turkey after the 2011 Election – a snapshot

Wendy Kyrle-Pope

It came as no surprise to anyone that Tayyip Erdogan's AK party won nearly 50% of the vote in June's elections. This result is up from 47% in 2007 and 35% in 2002. His victory was essential as he needed this mandate to take on the Turkish Military and persuade them to agree to change the current Constitution, itself drawn up by a military government after a coup in 1980, and reduce their power. There have been four such coups since 1960. The change is necessary both for membership of the EU and to strengthen inward investment into Turkey, which has been shaky of late. However sensible this might look to an outsider, the issue of the position of the Military is not straightforward. Historically, it has been regarded as the major, in fact the only, institution capable of protecting the secular system of government set up by Kemal Ataturk in 1923.

The Army, the "Mothers' Sons" has a small professional core, but conscripts make up the most of its ranks. Conscripts accept that they must do national service (they have little option) and still consider protecting the country from all its enemies, both internal and

external, as a sacred duty. Turkey is an ancient country, but its democracy and current "identity" are relatively new. Ataturk made the country a modern state, free from the old Ottoman Empire's dictatorship and Islamic legal system, and this new Turkey makes its citizens immensely proud. They are different from all their neighbouring states, both terms of in government and in attitude. And this is even more pertinent now, partly because of the rise of Islamic governments in the region, and partly because of the reputation Erdogan, President Gul and the AK party have before them.

The AK (Justice and Development Party) was formed by Erdogan in 2001, after the closure of an Islamist movement to which he belonged. He served a short term in prison for reading a poem deemed to be too Islamist at a rally. He is a devout Muslim, and his wife covers her head in public. He denies that he has any Islamic agenda and remains committed to a strong, secular Turkey and to the memory and achievements of Ataturk. Despite being one of the most successful leaders since Ataturk, he is deeply distrusted by

Turkey's secular elite.

Four general have resigned since the talks on Constitutional reform began at the end of July. Soli Ozel, Professor of Politics and International Relations at Istanbul's Bilgi University sees this struggle as one of "who runs Turkey" and believes the civilians have won, and "the reconstruction of the Turkish Military for a new age" must begin. And it matters, as Turkey has more men under arms in NATO (after the US) than any other member state, usually over 1 million at any given time. And it has to do with the economy. Erdogan has ordered the Army to use professional front line troops and cut down the number of conscripts, and further reduce the length of conscription (currently down to 15 months) as it such a luxury.

The opposition parties (themselves potential targets for a coup if ever they reached government) say Erdogan's insistence is an attempt to crush dissents in pursuit of an Islamist agenda, and a blow to the country's secular traditions. Professor Ozel notes that there has been "a high degree of concentration and monopolization of power" since Erdogan took office, but "part of the problem is the lack of a convincing opposition". (The second largest party, the Republican People's Party took 25% of the 2011 vote, with the Nationalist Movement Party coming third with 14%). Turkish voters are sick of the coalitions which preceded the AK party's coming to power. They equate strong leadership with economic prosperity, and the well-being of the country, as embodied in the figure of Ataturk, their deliverer. His importance to the Turks even today cannot be stressed enough.

Turkey is developing rapidly. As a frequent visitor and commentator, the changes I have seen in the last 10 years have been phenomenal. What one notices above all is the confidence the Turks have in themselves, the vast numbers of educated, polyglot young people, improved roads, state-of-the art mobile phones and IT, and the number of foreign companies taking advantage of the general prosperity and growing market. Literacy has gone up, thanks to the introduction of a longer compulsory schooling (now from ages 6-7 to 15, previously only until 13) and the opening of new universities in every city. A National Health service has also been introduced for the first time, so no one has to pay to see a doctor or receive treatment (although one still pays for drugs). These reforms have been paid for by the somewhat draconian taxation system introduced by the AK government.

For years, centuries, the black economy has outstripped the official one by sometimes as much as 70%. (That was the figure given to me 10 years ago). A form of PAYE has been introduced to deduct tax from salaries, but this applies mainly to government posts and large companies. Rather than pursue people for direct taxes, the AK government took the step of using indirect taxes to balance its books. Unfair to the huge swathe of very poor Turks, but "needs must" has obviously been accepted by the majority. Everyone pays a levy of 1% on bread, 8% on basics, 18% VAT, 20% on technology and petrol. 25% of all taxes now come from fuel alone. (Greece take note; this may be the way out of your problems). The Turkish Economy is now the 17th largest in the world, and they aim is to be the 10th largest by the time of the centenary of the Republic in 2023. Turkey has a Standard and Poor rating of BB (Greece, in the Euro-zone, is now C). Inflation is 7%, high by European standards, but compared with the runaway rates 10 years ago, now unbelievably stable.

Turkey is also emerging as the most influential power in the region, seen as a beacon and a model for the struggling democracies born of the Arab Spring. Foreign policy is now set to resolve long standing tensions with Armenia, Cyprus (whom they now recognise) and Greece. Their "zero problem with the neighbours" policy is being strongly tested by the Syrian Government's oppression of its

people, and Turkey has said it will take up to 800,000 refugees until the situation improves, and democratic freedoms guaranteed. It has, however, fallen out with one of its oldest allies, Israel. Turkey has always seen itself as the protector of the Jewish people, and has been a refuge for them since their expulsions from Spain in 1492 and Portugal in the early 1500s. But Israeli treatment of the Palestinians over the years, and the recent killing of Turkish nationals by Israeli forces on a ship in international waters, have cast a shadow over that historic and, in a local context, highly unusual, relationship.

Foreign policy was, for years, dominated and defined by their relationship with the US, because of NATO, US investment in the country, and a bulwark against Russia. Not so now, US influence has waned sharply, and the US is increasingly irrelevant and unpopular. Times change, and an increasingly self-confidence and the Holy Grail of EU membership have turned Turkish eyes closer to home.

Turkey has undertaken so many changes in the last 10 years - economic, educational, civic, legal and now Constitutional, - to qualify for EU membership. These have helped the country greatly and it is becoming an economic power to be reckoned with. The Kurds are now allowed to broadcast and publish in their own language, the press is freer (though many journalists and writers are still censored, sacked or even imprisoned under laws which forbid any criticism of Turkey). But having been the Bridesmaid for so long, waiting for her EU groom to sweep her off her feet, are those said feet getting a little cold? Whilst still pursuing the aim of membership, privately many Turks are beginning to have their doubts. Might they not be better off outside, with favoured partnership status (which the French are keen on)? The reason is not just because of the mess the Euro-zone is in, but the fear that, if they were to join, their young people, the base of their prosperity, would simply vanish into the West. Of the 41 million voters in June 2011, 50% were 18 or 19 years old; over half the 76 million population is under 25. They see what has happened in Lithuania, where the population has dropped from 3.5 million in 2004 to 3 million now, a haemorrhage of that country's youth, joined now by the academics, and imagine it happening to them.

Whether Erdogan has a hidden Islamic agenda for Turkey or not remains to be seen, but the vast youthful population, the increase in education and the natural secularisation of a society in contact with television, the internet and the wider world makes this very unlikely. The Mother's Sons and Daughters do regard themselves as Muslim, but Turkish first, and thus will protect their secular democracy, as it defines them.

Come to the Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel Fringe Meeting

Sunday 18th September 8 - 9.15 pm
Jurys Inn Hotel, Room 101

The Israeli Peace Initiative:
Can it succeed?

Speakers: Dr Alon Liel
(Former Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry)
Jeremy Browne MP
(Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office)
Sir Alan Beith MP
(President, Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel)

Chair: Sarah Ludford MEP
(Vice-President, Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel)

Light Refreshments

Statement by the Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, on the Dáil Motion on the report of the Commission of Investigation into the Catholic Diocese of Cloyne, in Dáil Éireann, 20th July 2011

The revelations of the Cloyne report have brought the Government, Irish Catholics and the Vatican to an unprecedented juncture. It's fair to say that after the Ryan¹ and Murphy² Reports Ireland is, perhaps, unshockable when it comes to the abuse of children. But Cloyne has proved to be of a different order, because for the first time in Ireland, a report into child sexual-abuse exposes an attempt by the Holy See, to frustrate an Inquiry in a sovereign, democratic republic as little as three years ago, not three decades ago, and in doing so, the Cloyne Report excavates the dysfunction, disconnection, elitism, the narcissism, that dominate the culture of the Vatican to this day.

The rape and torture of children were downplayed or 'managed' to uphold instead, the primacy of the institution, its power, standing and 'reputation'. Far from listening to evidence of humiliation and betrayal with St Benedict's "ear of the heart" the Vatican's reaction was to parse and analyse it with the gimlet eye of a canon lawyer. This calculated, withering position being the polar opposite of the radicalism, humility and compassion upon which the Roman Church was founded.

The radicalism, humility and compassion which are the very essence of its foundation and purpose. The behaviour being a case of *Roma locuta est: causa finita est*³. Except in this instance, nothing could be further from the truth.

Victims

Cloyne's revelations are heart-breaking. It describes how many victims continued to live in the small towns and parishes in which they were reared and in which they were abused... Their abuser often still in the area and still held in high regard by their families and the community. The abusers continued to officiate at family weddings and funerals. In one case, the abuser even officiated at the victim's own wedding. There is little I or anyone else in this House can say to comfort that victim or others, however much we want to. But we can and do recognise the bravery of all of the victims who told their stories to the Commission. While it will take a long time for Cloyne to recover from the horrors uncovered, it could take the victims and their families a lifetime to pick up the pieces of their shattered existence.

Papal Nuncio

A day post-publication, the Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade met with the Papal Nuncio to Ireland, Archbishop Giuseppe Leanza. The Tánaiste left the Archbishop clear on two

things: The gravity of the actions and attitude of the Holy See and Ireland's complete rejection and abhorrence of same. The Papal Nuncio undertook to present the Cloyne Report to the Vatican. The Government awaits the considered response of the Holy See.

I believe that the Irish people, including the very many faithful Catholics who – like me – have been shocked and dismayed by the repeated failings of Church authorities to face up to what is required, deserve and require confirmation from the Vatican that they do accept, endorse and require compliance by all Church authorities here with, the obligations to report all cases of suspected abuse, whether current or historical, to the State's authorities in line with the Children First National Guidance which will have the force of law.

Clericalism

Clericalism has rendered some of Ireland's brightest, most privileged and powerful men, either unwilling or unable to address the horrors cited in the Ryan and Murphy Reports. This Roman Clericalism must be devastating for good priests, some of them old, others struggling to keep their humanity, even their sanity as they work so hard to be the keepers of the Church's light and goodness within their parishes, communities, the human heart.

Church & State

But thankfully for them, and for us, this is not Rome. Nor is it industrial-school or Magdalene Ireland, where the swish of a soutane smothered conscience and humanity and the swing of a thurible ruled the Irish-Catholic world. This is the 'Republic' of Ireland 2011. A Republic of laws, of rights and responsibilities, of proper civic order, where the delinquency and arrogance of a particular version, of a particular kind of 'morality', will no longer be tolerated or ignored.

As a practising Catholic, I don't say any of this easily. Growing up, many of us in here learned we were part of a pilgrim Church. Today, that Church needs to be a penitent Church. A church, truly and deeply penitent for the horrors it perpetrated, hid and denied. In the name of God. But for the good of the institution.

When I say that through our legislation, through our Government's action to put Children First, those who have been abused can take some small comfort in knowing that they belong to a nation, to a democracy where humanity, power, rights, responsibility, are enshrined and enacted always, always for their good. Where the law – their law – as citizens of this country, will always supercede canon laws that have neither legitimacy nor place in the affairs of this country.

State/Society

This report tells us a tale of a frankly brazen disregard for protecting children. If we do not respond swiftly and appropriately as a State, we will have to prepare ourselves for more reports like this. I agree with Archbishop Martin ⁴ that the Church needs to publish any other and all other reports like this as soon as possible.

I must note the Commission is very positive about the work of the National Board for Safeguarding Children, established by the Church to oversee the operation by Dioceses and religious orders. The Commission notes that all Church authorities were required to sign a contract with the National Board agreeing to implement the relevant standards and that those refusing to sign would be named in the Board's Annual Report. Progress has been in no small measure to the commitment of Ian Elliott and others.

There is some small comfort to be drawn by the people of Cloyne from the fact that the Commission is complimentary of the efforts made by the Diocese since 2008, in training, in vetting personnel and in the risk management of Priests against whom allegations have been made. Nevertheless, the behaviour of Bishop Magee ⁵ and Monsignor O'Callaghan ⁶ show how fragile even good standards and policies are to the weakness and wilful disregard of those who fail to give the right priority to safeguarding our children.

But if the Vatican needs to get its house in order, so does this State. The Report of the Commission is rightly critical of the entirely unsatisfactory position which the last Government allowed to persist over many years. The unseemly bickering between the Minister for Children and the HSE over the statutory powers to deal with extra-familial abuse, the failure to produce legislation to enable the exchange of soft information as promised after the Ferns Enquiry ⁷, and the long period of confusion and disjointed responsibility for child protection within the HSE, as reported by the Commission, are simply not acceptable in a society which values children and their safety. For too long Ireland has neglected its children.

Just last week we saw a case of the torture of children, within the family, come before the courts. Just two days ago, we were repulsed by the case of a Donegal registered sex offender and school caretaker. Children and young adults reduced to human wreckage. Raising questions and issues of serious import for State agencies.

We are set to embark on a course of action to ensure the State is doing all it can to safeguard our children. Minister Shatter ⁸ is bringing forward two pieces of legislation – firstly, to make it an offence to withhold information relating to crimes against children and vulnerable adults; and secondly, at long last, to allow for the exchange of 'soft information' on abusers.

As Taoiseach, I want to do all I can to protect the sacred space of childhood and to restore its innocence. Especially our young teenagers, whom I believe to be children. Because regardless of our current economic crisis, the children of this country are, and always will be, our most precious possession of all. Safeguarding their integrity and innocence must be a national priority. This is why I undertook to create a Cabinet ministry for Children and Youth Affairs. The legislation 'Children First' proposes to give our children maximum protection and security without intruding on the hectic, magical business of being a child.

Cardinal Josef Ratzinger said "Standards of conduct appropriate to civil society or the workings of a democracy cannot be purely and simply applied to the Church." As the Holy See prepares its considered response to the Cloyne Report, as Taoiseach, I am making it absolutely clear, that when it comes to the protection of the children of this State, the standards of conduct which the Church deems appropriate to itself, cannot and will not, be applied to the workings of democracy and civil society in this republic. Not purely, or simply or otherwise. CHILDREN FIRST.

1 Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, the Commission's work started in 1999 and its public report, commonly referred to as the Ryan report, was published on 20th May 2009.

2 The Sexual abuse scandal in Dublin archdiocese. The Irish government commissioned the inquiry in 2006 and published the Murphy Report in November 2009.

3 Rome has spoken, case is closed

4 Diarmuid Martin, the Archbishop of Dublin

5 John Magee, Bishop of Cloyne, who resigned in March 2010

6 Monsignor Denis O'Callaghan, Vicar General of Cloyne

7 The Ferns Report (2005), an official Irish government inquiry into the allegations of clerical sexual abuse in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Ferns in County Wexford, Ireland.

Alea iacta est

Stewart Rayment

The die has been cast. Like Caesar before him Ireland's Taoiseach, Enda Kenny has crossed the Rubicon. Kenny's speech to the Dáil on the Cloyne Report on 20th July was electrifying, the more so because his party, Fine Gael, regards itself as a Christian Democratic party. They are members of the Centrist Democratic International and sit in the European People's Party in the European Parliament. His country's relationship with Vatican, traumatized by successive revelations of abuse of privilege by the Roman church, should never be the same again.

An abridgement of Kenny's speech features in interLib. It did not attract the coverage it deserved in the UK and its implications warrant further analysis. Alliance MLA Stephen Farry has said: "Enda

Kenny's speech was extremely important in terms of confronting this very sensitive and deeply troubling issue. The voices of victims of abuse must be heard and their needs must be addressed. It is vital that they get justice and the support they need. Enda Kenny's speech sent out a very powerful message to the world and the Catholic Church must take heed of its message." But there is more to it than that.

It may be argued that the fledgling Irish Republic had little choice but to entrust most of its education, health and social services to the Roman Catholic Church. But as the Roman Catholic Liberal philosopher Lord Acton (who laughed at the Pope's declaration of infallibility) put it "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely." Now many of the people of the Republic are voting

with their feet so far as the Roman church is concerned.

Nobody expected fire and brimstone from formerly mild-mannered Kenny and although he has a hard job steering the republic out of the economic hole that years of corruption and Fianna Fail had landed it in, his public approval rating has shot up. The Vatican, so far, has only justified Kenny's claims. Their response has been to pour scorn on the speech rather than engage in serious dialogue. Meanwhile Dr. Philip Boyce has dismissed claims that an internal report on his Raphoe Diocese, in Donegal, will reveal further abuses. Nationally and internationally the Church has a lot to learn, not least from Raphoe's own St. Eunan, who was tearful, penitent, fond of prayer, diligent and ascetic.

One of Kenny's options is to introduce legislation requiring priests to break the seal of confession where maintaining it would abet criminality. This seems a reasonable response, however Archbishop Gianfranco Girotti, Regent of the Apostolic Penitentiary says "Ireland can pass what laws it wants, but it must know that the church will never submit to forcing confessors to inform civil officials."

However, important as Kenny's speech is for all those who've suffered (and as Kenny points out, this includes people in the church who've tried to right wrongs), it is the international dimension of the speech that arrested me. By that I don't mean that ineffective

Nunzio, Archbishop Giuseppe Leanza, was recalled to Rome before he could be kicked out of Dublin. He will be moved on to Craggy Island no doubt, or more probably Prague, in the time honoured Roman tradition.

The speech is significant for the future relationship of Northern Ireland and the Republic. The 'special relationship' between Dublin and the Vatican has always been a barrier to rapprochement. As Eoghan Harris put it, the speech "confirmed that Home Rule does not mean Rome rule, and returned the word 'republic' to the Northern Protestants to whom it originally belonged." Harris endorses this with calls for reform of the Roman church and for the Republic to face up to many of the problems that blocked rapprochement with Protestants in the north (and led those that stayed in the south to keep a low profile). It is within my recent memory that most of my Irish friends were refugees from the Ne Temere decree of 1908 (concerning mixed marriages) and its enforcement by paramilitaries.

As I write, a month after Kenny's speech, the substantive response from the Vatican remains that Archbishop Girotti. This is profoundly disappointing, but it brings the Republic closer to the real world and is a stepping stone, along with the Queen's immensely successful state visit to take the Peace Process further.



Oliver Napier

11th July 1935 to 2nd July 2011

As a politician, must have been doing something right: extremists on both sides of the political divide wanted him dead.

They sent men disguised as soldiers to his front door to kill him; they tried to lure him to meetings – exploiting his altruism? so they could shoot him; they burnt him out of his farm (twice); they poisoned his beloved cattle; they stole into his garden in the dead of night and shone torch-beams into his home, terrifying his children; they raked his house with gunfire; they even kidnapped a schoolgirl they believed to be his daughter before realising their mistake and freeing her.

The murderous wanted him silenced because he was anathema to them. But they failed by dint of good policing, good luck and good judgment on the part of Napier and his family, not to mention bullet-proof windows and armed police bodyguards. After one gun attack on his house, Napier and wife Briega rushed

back home to find the children watching TV, oblivious and unperturbed. The youngsters told them to be quiet and asked what all the fuss was about. They had been watching a John Wayne film and thought the gunfire was cinematic.

In a separate incident, a would-be assassin who failed in his mission later told Napier he was glad he hadn't killed him, as he was a

decent fella.

After being burnt out of his Moyad farm, and realising he had to sell up, Napier put a For Sale notice in the local paper. At the end of the advert, he specified locals to whom the farm wasn't to be sold. The advert didn't say they were the ones who had burnt him out and cheated justice. It didn't need to. They were shown up in front of their community to be cowards and thugs. Sue him if they dared.

At the start of the Troubles, Napier surveyed a toxic and stagnant political landscape and recognised it as such when others didn't or couldn't or wouldn't. He looked into a literal abyss that would spawn the Shankill Butchers and the Omagh bombing. But Napier didn't step back from the crumbling edge, he didn't flinch or look away, and he didn't shirk the fight.

He instead did something for which only a handful of men and women have the vision, energy and intellect; something so rare that a half-century or more may pass before it is repeated; something that entails great personal risk but great social benefit: the formation of a new political party.

Alliance was born on 19 April 1970 thanks to the efforts of Napier and others. Its aim was to heal the bitter divisions in Northern Ireland by promotion of a non-sectarian, cross-community agenda. Now, it sounds obvious. It is the very model for a mod-

ern Northern Irish society. Then it was audacious, visionary, revolutionary, 30 or more years ahead of its time.

Eighty-hour weeks followed as Napier juggled his day job as a leading solicitor and his family, while painstakingly trying to defuse a 5,345 square-mile political minefield that stretched the length the breadth of Northern Ireland, from Derry to Downpatrick, Enniskillen to Antrim.

Napier contested the 1979 general election in East Belfast. In a tight fight, many forecast Alliance were heading for victory in the predominantly Protestant constituency. But on the eve of the poll, a newspaper splashed with a story that Napier wanted to replace the national anthem with Danny Boy. It was fabrication, a dirty trick breathtaking even in the bearpit of Northern Irish politics. But the newspaper, by accident or design, swallowed the line. Napier lost by 928 votes out of almost 50,000 polled. Three days later, three days too late, the newspaper published an apology, admitting the story was a falsehood.

There is no suggestion that the man who beat Napier, current First Minister Peter Robinson, was responsible for the Danny Boy lie. But many perceived a great sense of political and poetic justice when, 31 years later, Alliance's Naomi Long took East Belfast from Robinson in the 2010 general election. And Napier lived to see it.

Napier played a key role in the Good Friday Agreement, advising Tony Blair that he had to keep Protestants on board for it to be successful. He did and it was.

There was always the possibility that, after the agreement, Napier's Alliance party – in a longed-for stable society that eschewed sectarianism – would be made redundant. Nothing would have pleased him more.

He could be politically ruthless; he had to be. Giving a speech in America and arguing against internment, he wiped the floor with a well-known Tory minister who had spoken before him. Point by point, what the minister had said was addressed, dissected, dispatched. The coup de grace for each of his opponent's points was blunt-instrument oratory, three booming words: 'What bloody arrogance.' Again and again, 'What bloody arrogance' resounded. The minister squirmed. The crowd went wild. He won the debate by a mile. He never, he believed, was offered any position while that minister held influence or for some time afterwards because of that speech. His suspicions were probably right.

But that killer instinct was combined with a belief in the dignity of debate and of your opponent, and the knowledge that bloody arrogance seldom achieves anything. His mantra was: allow your opponent an honourable way out when you have won the argument. In the course of his political career, many men were offered an honourable way out by Napier.

Napier was knighted in 1985 but wore the honour lightly. At his wake, one of his grandchildren asked why the title was not inscribed on his coffin lid (it bore only Oliver John Napier). The boy was told that when Napier went to his God, he wished to do so as a man, not a knight of the realm.

He loved Northern Ireland and embraced its idiosyncracies. As he

explained – with a certain amount of pride – to one newly arrived visitor: here was probably the only place on the planet where one could tell a man's religion from the drink he took. Powers, Paddy's or Jameson's whiskey and you were almost certainly a Catholic, Bushmills and you'd be Protestant. He himself favoured Powers. With as much water again, a roaring fire, a newspaper or good company or good telly, and a Montecristo No4 cigar.

The author Graham Greene once came to see Napier to talk about Northern Ireland, perhaps for research for a book that was never written, and brought a bottle of whiskey. Greene began the evening by taking the cork from the bottle and throwing it into the fire, saying: 'We won't be needing that.' He was right.

Napier loved his football and was a lifelong Celtic fan but only attended his first Old Firm match comparatively late in life. Afterwards, when asked what it was like, he replied with enthusiasm: 'It was naked sectarian hatred. Fantastic.' This from a man who made it his life's work to fight sectarianism, but whose sense of humour was less than PC.

He was a Down man, attending the '60 and '61 finals and remaining a Down fan all his life.

Napier was also a man of some generosity, known to down-and-outs in Belfast. But requests for a few pence for a cup of tea were brushed off, and Napier would tell them he was only willing to supply a couple of quid for a pint. His directness must have been – almost – as refreshing as their Guinness.

Weeks before his death, Napier celebrated his 50th wedding anniversary with Briege. He paid tribute to her and admitted he was as infatuated with her now as he had been in the early days of their courtship. They had nine children and 22 grandchildren, and the family provided the stable

platform without which his political career could not have flourished. A friend once jokingly called Napier the most even-tempered man in Ireland for his forbearance of his children. They in turn accused their father of an anti-nepotism, but acknowledged his sense of fair play would not allow them to be given unfair advantage over others.

His dark humour and intellect were undiminished on his deathbed. His family, gathered round, heard him murmur 'Charles'. They believed it to be in reference to his infant son who predeceased him. But then Napier whispered: 'Charles the second.' Cue genealogical argument among the family as to who the second Charles might be, but to no avail. The conundrum was only solved by a visiting family friend. Napier in fact meant King Charles II, who told his courtiers on his deathbed: 'I am sorry, gentlemen, for being such a time a-dying.'

Oliver Napier did make one serious and uncharacteristic error of judgment. He would tell his children, when they were young and to encourage them academically, that no-one remembers who didn't come first. In this assertion he was utterly wrong. Napier didn't come first in the 1979 poll. But as news of his death spread across Northern Ireland and beyond, thousands remembered the politician, the lawyer, the husband, the father and the man. The irony would not be lost on him.

Mark Adamson



Former Alliance Leader Sir Oliver Napier, with Naomi Long MP for Belfast East

Cuba – a Gross miscarriage of Justice

On August 5th, the Cuban Supreme Court rejected Alan Gross' appeal of his 15-year prison sentence in that country. His only crime: setting up Internet connections for the Jewish community in Cuba.

Alan Gross, 62, of Montgomery County, Maryland was working on a USAID-funded democracy-building program in Cuba during 2009. In December of that year, he was arrested by Cuban authorities under the pretence that he was illegally importing communications equipment. Motivated by a desire to restrict the flow of information to and from the island, the authorities have ruthlessly cracked down on the private ownership of such equipment – even requiring Cuban citizens to be licensed and have government approval before being granted access to the Internet, albeit a form of heavily restricted and repressively monitored access.

Sentenced to fifteen years in prison on March 12th of this year, Mr. Gross appealed his sentence on July 22nd in a closed hearing. Journalists, both domestic and international, were not allowed to witness the hearings. However, the Cuban Supreme Court issued a statement that promised a decision "within a few days". The rejection of the appeal now comes precisely two weeks after the hearing, possibly suggesting that the outcome of the appeal was pre-determined. Cuban authorities have viewed the case of Alan Gross as a chance to demonstrate their regime's defiance of any American influence on the island – both real and imagined.

The International Federation of Liberal Youth (IFRLY) has declared on many occasions that Mr. Gross should be released immediately on compassionate and humanitarian grounds. Before being found guilty of "conspiring against the revolution" and sentenced, Mr. Gross served nearly fifteen months in prison. Such a lengthy imprisonment before having ones case brought before trial is an affront, likely motivated by the 50 years of enmity that exists between the governments of the United States of America and

Cuba rather than any threat Mr. Gross may have been perceived to pose to "the revolution". The Cuban government says the U.S. democracy programs in general are an assault by Washington on the country's sovereignty.

Mr. Gross' lawyer has stated that the Gross family now hopes for a diplomatic resolution to the situation. It is within the power of Raul Castro, in his capacity as the head of the regime, to arrange for Mr. Gross' release. Whether he will do so, however, is not clear. The rhetoric of the Communist Party leaves little hope for such an outcome. On July 7th, an official note from the regime declared that there existed 'clear evidence' of Alan Gross' "...participation in a subversive project of the US government to try to destroy the revolution."

The Communist Party of Cuba has already destroyed 'the revolution'; it needed no help from an elderly American humanitarian to do so. With their Cold War mentality, paranoia, and dogmatic obsession, the elites – whose rule in Cuba is waning – are alone responsible for delegitimizing their own political and economic ideals. Castro must not hesitate in arranging the release of Alan Gross. Failing to do so and holding a selfless citizen of the world hostage will only deepen the deficit of credibility which the regime suffers from at home and abroad.

The Cuban Supreme Court failed to resist political pressure. It failed to uphold basic principles of justice and to protect human dignity. Yet many human rights advocacy groups, such as Amnesty International, failed to find the courage to speak out on behalf of Alan Gross.

Perhaps worst of all, those who govern Cuba continue to fail their people and their country. The only way to restore public confidence in the island's government is to allow for free, fair, multi-party elections as soon as possible.

While many have failed Cuba and failed Alan Gross, IFRLY continue to stand in solidarity with the Cuban people, campaigning for Mr Gross's release, the reuniting of the Gross family, and a democratic Cuba.

Tory MEP backs independent Somaliland

Ethiopia should take the lead and declare Somaliland – the former British protectorate breakaway region within the state of Somalia – an independent sovereign state, Charles Tannock MEP, European Conservatives and Reformists group foreign affairs spokesman, said today at a meeting in Addis Ababa with Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.

Speaking after the meeting, Dr Tannock said: "Somaliland is a relatively peaceful, stable and economically growing polity. It is a world away from the failed state of Somalia where the TFG's remit barely reaches beyond Mogadishu and which still faces the brutality of the Al-Shabaab insurgency and the serious challenge of piracy."

Dr Tannock said that a stable and sovereign Somaliland would act

as a powerful moderate neighboring partner to Ethiopia both economically and politically. "Somaliland can be a partner for peace and prosperity to the Ethiopian people in an unsettled region. I hope that Prime Minister Zenawi will seriously consider taking the first step towards granting re-recognition of its sovereignty and independence. Somaliland is already effectively a functioning country and we owe it now the right to independent statehood" he added.

He argued that many other major African nations, the EU and the USA, would also eventually support independence, but not until a major African Union nation makes the first move. "Western governments rightly do not yet feel empowered to declare Somaliland a sovereign nation without a clear declaration from a

leading African nation. As the major force for stability, security and growth in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia has the ability to give a lead on re-recognizing Somaliland independence, and I strongly believe that many other AU nations, and the EU and USA, would follow suit” Dr. Tannock said.

It is also important to remind the newly independent Republic of South Sudan of its stated commitment to recognize Somaliland in exchange for the longstanding help it gave Juba in its liberation struggle from Khartoum.

Historically Somaliland was very briefly independent in 1960 so it is legally a case of re-recognition rather than recognition after Hargeysa, much to its subsequent regret, joined the former Italian Somalia in the south for an unhappy marriage which lasted until 1991. Most of the people of Somaliland had voted against the merger in the referendum, but the former Italian colony had a larger population, so prevailed. It has to be said that Britain’s imperial history in the region is riddled with such mistakes. Superficially, Somalia was an ethnically homogenous country and ought to have stood a good chance of success in the post-colonial African context. However this was not reflected in the inter-clan rivalry, which took on increasingly ugly scenarios in proxy battles of the Cold War. Somaliland is relatively homogenous in that sense. Speaking in Addis Ababa however,

it is not surprising that Dr Tannock did not reflect on this.

How seriously are Dr Tannock’s views taken within the Conservative party? If there is a move to right ancient wrongs, what is the stance of their coalition partners, the Liberal Democrats? The British Group has promoted discussion on Somaliland, most recently at the Scottish Lib Dem conference as reported elsewhere, but the party has yet to take up the baton. The European Liberal Democrats and Reform Party adopted a resolution which calls upon the European Union member states to give diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Somaliland in 2007, Mark Hunter MP made a similar commitment around the same, so we hope he’s still on the case.

Somaliland is a moderate Islamic nation with a small cohesive population and which has strong economic prospects with unexplored possible significant oil and gas resources and thorium deposits essential for the nuclear power industry. Its Soviet built deepwater port at Berbera could make it a complimentary trading ally to landlocked Ethiopia. Its functioning democracy would also help bolster the forces of moderation and stability in the Horn of Africa and countenance the Islamist insurgents in Somalia –Al-Shabaab. Since these people seem determined to hamper the urgent famine relief in the region, this is another good reason for the Coalition putting this matter firmly on their agenda.

David Brandon Griffiths.

8th November 1940 – 3rd September 2011

David Griffiths, who served as Chair of the Liberal Democrat Federal Finance Committee, Treasurer of Liberal International and the Liberal Democrat and Reform Party died peacefully on 3rd September 2011. Before turning his business and accountancy skills to political administrative roles, David was an exceptional election agent securing control for the first time of Three Rivers District Council and also Aylesbury Vale.

Born in Conwy, David was a lifelong Liberal and proud of his Welsh heritage. As a young man he was the Liberal Parliamentary candidate in Paddington and was proud to have stood in the seat adjacent to that being fought by the redoubtable, and later Baroness, Nancy Seear. In the 1970s he moved to Watford and became the first Liberal to be elected to Watford Borough Council and also served as the general election agent, sowing the seeds that years later blossomed into the election of a Liberal Democrat Mayor.

He then moved to the Three Rivers District Council area where he was the agent when the Council was won by Liberals for the first time. This was a flagship victory for the Party. He was agent again when it was held – which he always said was harder than winning the first time. He was also agent for two Parliamentary elections in South West Herts.

When the Liberal Democrats were formed he was a prime mover in the development of Regional Parties, becoming Chairman of the Chilterns Region. During that time he also became the agent for

Aylesbury where he led many Council seat victories which ultimately brought control of Aylesbury Vale District Council. He was also agent for Aylesbury in two Parliamentary elections.



Always a European and Internationalist, David stood twice as a European Candidate and was active in Liberal International where he served as Treasurer as well as Chair of the British Group. He then went on to serve as Treasurer of the ELDR Party. His significant and professional business and accounting skills were not just deployed for international parties: he also served as a highly successful Chair of the Federal Finance Committee of the Liberal Democrats.

In all these voluntary roles David was an excellent and inspirational teacher, keen to train the next generation whether that be of campaigners, agents or bookkeepers. He was unstinting in his support of the Party, candidates and campaigns, setting many on the path of success. Often the life and soul of a gathering, we owe him more than most know and he will be missed.

Proud father and grandfather, David died peacefully on 3rd September 2011, surrounded by his family.

Sharon Bowles

David played an important role in the LI over many years and will be much missed. His death comes as we go to press, but we would like to share member’s memories of him in the next issue. Please send any to us at lock-

Alliance gains in Assembly and Council elections

It may seem parochial for interLib to report on Northern Ireland, but its usually only bad news that is reported in the rest of the UK. Following the May 2011 Assembly elections Alliance now has eight MLAs, up one from the seven they won in 2007. The gain came in East Belfast, where Alliance had one MLA and now have two, and the eight MLAs are David Ford, Stephen Farry, Stewart Dickson, Trevor Lunn, Kieran McCarthy, Anna Lo, Judith Cochrane and Chris Lyttle.

East Belfast Alliance MP Naomi Long has said she is thrilled that two Alliance MLAs have been elected to the Assembly in East Belfast and thrilled at the Alliance result across Northern Ireland. "The election of two Alliance MLAs in the area is a remarkable achievement for the party and Chris Lyttle and Judith Cochrane are two excellent representatives for the whole community. Both are extremely hard working representatives and they will be a formidable team for East Belfast at the Assembly. All three of our senior representatives in East Belfast, myself, Judith and Chris are all under 40 and that illustrates that the future is very bright for Alliance. I want to thank everyone who vote Alliance and helped to lead change."

Alliance Leader David Ford has said he is delighted with the party's showing in the Council elections. At the last council election Alliance won 30 seats and after this election they now have 44.

David Ford said: "I am absolutely delighted with our results. Not

only have we won an extra 14 council seats, we also very significantly increased our vote across Northern Ireland from the last Council election. This is our best local government election result since 1981 in terms vote share.

Alliance now has more seats than the UUP and the SDLP in the greater Belfast area where half the population lives, and we continue to hold the balance of power in Belfast. They did so well on Castlereagh that the DUP do not now have a majority on the Council.

Compared to the last local government election in 2005 Alliance made gains in Ards East, Ballymena, Belfast Laganbank & Belfast Victoria, Castlereagh, Coleraine, Craigavon, Down Newcastle, Larne and Newtownabbey.

David Ford said "This was a terrific election for Alliance. We have had superb results right across Northern Ireland. Alliance ran a radical and positive campaign focused on delivering change. You only have to look at the attention our election broadcast gained to see how Alliance captured the imagination of the public. People right across Northern Ireland responded extremely well to our campaign and that has been demonstrated in our greatly increase number of Councillors and our significantly increased vote share."

Ian Williamson

Assistant Director of the Alliance Party (Head of Communications)

One of William Simpson's illustrations to Vivienne and the Giant's Boot.



Personal Memories of Elizabeth Sidney

Paddy Beck

Like many people there are perhaps a handful of people who I can say had a major influence on how I thought and subsequently what I did. Elizabeth Sidney was one woman who made me think and change what I wanted to do.

I met Elizabeth at my first Liberal Democrat Conference in Bournemouth 1991. Although I had been a member of the Lib Dems and before that the Liberals (1973) I had not known there was a Women's section. Elizabeth made me feel very welcome when I first made contact and was delighted to learn of my interest in International Affairs – something she felt not enough women paid attention to! She was particularly interested in my South African connections and was kind enough to provide a room twice when I came down from Leeds to London to attend the annual South African Women's Day (9th August) held in Islington and run by the ANC Women's League.

When we decided to return to South Africa in 1995 after an absence of more than 20 years and Elizabeth learned about what I was trying to do for local women in Mpumalanga, she sent me plenty of material she had written or gleaned over a lifetime. When I came back to see family and attended a conference she would sit me down and we would talk about the status and problems of women in South Africa, then move on to other parts of the world. Later, when I returned from South Africa, she suggested I take her place as a Woman Liberal Democrat on some committees such as WACUNA (Women's Advisory Council to UNA) which led to all kinds of places such as attending the Commission on the Status of Women in New York which I would never have had if Elizabeth had not pushed me.

As a member of the Women's Liberal Federation, Elizabeth contributed many motions to party conferences as well as to WLF publications always advancing the need for equality in and outside the party. In 1979 she wrote "Liberal Aims for Women". She was President of WLF 1982–84 during the early days of the Alliance when she worked with SDP Women to produce the booklet "The Alliance Charter for Women". Later WLF used the election documents as a basis for an important pamphlet *The World We Want*.

In 1981 Elizabeth was appointed Chair of the Employment and Industrial Relations Policy Panel and she also represented the WLF on the party AD Hoc Working Group on the Status of Women.

In 1988 Elizabeth was President of the newly formed organisation for women (now WLD) a post she held till 1991. Elizabeth

improved training for women in the party. Led by Elizabeth WLF ran a series of Workshops – Women into Public Life. Elizabeth also mentored and encouraged women to step outside their comfort zone and stand for councils or parliament. Elizabeth was an active supporter of the all party 300 Group always encouraging others to participate.

From 1993–98 Elizabeth represented WLD at the WNC (Women's National Commission) She was also Vice Chair of the Women's Advisory Committee to the United Nations Association who remember her as 'full of sense and modest with it'.

Just a short time before her death she was still making her voice heard through NAWO, campaigning for a YES vote.

For many years Elizabeth was an active member of Liberal International, attending conferences in many parts of the world. Together with women from other delegations she helped form a group that campaigned for the women to be recognised as a separate unit within Liberal International. In 1995 Elizabeth led the I.N.L.W. delegation at the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing. In 2004 Elizabeth founded WAFE (Women Against Fundamentalism and for Equality). Elizabeth was awarded her OBE in 1998 for services to women – those women live in many different parts of the world.

On top of all this hard work Elizabeth had to earn a living, as she said "even I have to eat sometimes" So she set up her own Management Consultancy business, Mantra, which was concerned to advance equality of opportunity and advise on equal opportunities.

Elizabeth was a truly exceptional woman. We shall all miss her wise counsel and her never-ending fight for equality and Human Rights.

She was always stimulating company with such a huge knowledge and understanding of women's issues both nationally and internationally that anyone talking with her for any length of time could not help learning a great deal. She was always happy to share her knowledge and expertise but she remained unassuming in manner. But she could be very forceful and adamant when something she held strong views on was questioned.

I feel fortunate, privileged and grateful for having met Elizabeth Sidney – she was truly a remarkable woman.

There will be a memorial for Elizabeth at the NLC at 2.00pm Wednesday 12th October 2011

The Community of Democracies

An organisation unknown to most Liberal Democrats, including myself, held its biennial congress in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius at the end of June.

The Community of Democracies was founded in 2000 during a Ministerial Conference in Warsaw. The conference was the idea and

initiative of the then Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. Bronislaw Geremek, (who later became an MEP as part of the ALDE Group, before being tragically killed in a car crash), and the former U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Madeleine Albright, who is the current President of the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

In 2000 in Warsaw, ministerial delegations from 106 countries from all around the world signed the final declaration *Toward the Community of Democracies*, naming values which constitute democracy. The aim of the declaration was to demonstrate methods of sup-

port to those countries which strive for freedom and democracy.

The Community of Democracies claims to be a global intergovernmental coalition of democratic countries, with the goal of promoting democratic rules and strengthening democratic norms and institutions around the world.

That the Americans take it seriously was evidenced by the presence of US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton, and a large number of foreign ministers attended the organisation's Sixth Ministerial Conference, as well as the presidents of Lithuania, Finland and Mongolia. Whereas most of the smaller European states attended, and certainly all of the newer ones, the Germans, French and Italians were notable by their absence, and the UK Foreign Office was represented by our own Lord William Wallace, perhaps trying to learn whether this was anything more than a talking shop.

I was asked to attend, as a representative of Liberal International, by NDI, as the Congress was attended by representatives of „civil society” from all over the World, but the political internationals, which are heavily engaged in democracy-building initiatives, seem not to have participated before this.

I only attended the Civil Society Forum, but there were conferences on „Women Enhancing Democracy: Best Practices”, a Parliamentary Forum; a Corporate Democracy Forum, and a Youth Forum, as well as plenty of receptions to allow people to network.

The core of the Community is the Convening Group, which is about to be restructured and has, since 2009, a permanent secretariat in Warsaw, led by Prof. Bronislaw Misztal. There was debate about the eligibility for membership. One proposal was for it to be limited to functioning democracies which are members of the United Nations. The Taiwanese, of course, protested loudly, and not unreasonably.

Activities organised by the Convening Group consist of organization of seminars, trainings for local elites, organisation of consultations in individual countries' capitals, issuing common statements, working out stances on issues important to the international community, and sending expert missions to individual countries. Community's member countries meet every two years during a Ministerial Conference on Foreign Ministers level. In the past those meetings have been held in Warsaw, Seoul, Santiago de Chile, Bamako and Lisbon. The next meeting in 2013, will be in Ulan Baator, the capital of Mongolia.

The civil society pillar is represented by the International Steering Committee, created in 2005, composed of 25 civil society organizations leaders (CSO) from all regions of the world. The Council for the Community of Democracies (CCD), created in 2000, serves as the ISC secretariat. The International Advisory Committee of experts and eminent persons was created in 2007 through the NGO process to provide independent advice to the Convening Group on the ministerial invitation process and other issues.

In additions to discussions about developments in Eastern Europe (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia) and Latin America, there were many representatives from the Middle East and North African region, many of them returning exiles with links to Washington civil society organisations. I was able to intervene to describe the democracy-building work of Liberal International, and of the Liberal Democrats through the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD).

So should the larger European nations get more involved? In my view, there is little point in taking up valuable senior ministerial time. I think, however, that co-ordination between bodies seeking to provide assistance to emerging democracies, and to countries where there are dangers of back-tracking on human rights, is

essential, and this body has a useful role, especially if the Americans are prepared to fund most of its costs! Therefore, representatives from WFD should become involved, as their counterparts in Netherlands and elsewhere are. And the political internationals – at least those who are actively assisting the development of democracy and human rights – should certainly interact with NGOs, who appeared to be for the most part ignorant of our efforts.

Otherwise, the UK and other countries should direct their efforts for democratic development through our membership of the Commonwealth and of the European Union, where the Polish Presidency has great plans for a European Endowment for Democracy to be launched this year.

Robert Woodthorpe Browne

Robert is Chair of the International Relations Committee and is a Joint Treasurer of Liberal International

What's in an image?



“A picture is worth a thousand words.” It's an overused phrase, but a logo is about more than just looking pretty, it represents the organisation in a way that even a name cannot communicate rapidly.

The more eagle eyed will have noticed that after many years the logo for LIBG has been changed.

Gone is the “Light house” which has served us so well over so many years. It leaves us with a small tinge of sadness as under its auspicious illumination we had seen the Liberal family change and grow over time.

In its place, a more modern, abstract logo which perhaps represents the change within Liberalism to focus more on the philosophy while the individual parties struggle with the practicalities and a shift in focus away from Europe.

The reality is that the use of the Liberal International logo for us

is simply a reflection of our desire to renew and enhance our relationship with Liberal International as one of the few national sections independent and separate from the associated national party. We have an important role in bringing together liberals in the UK, not just those in the Liberal Democrats, to discuss and enhance our liberal ideals both here and overseas.

So please help us to show that whilst our new logo is only a simple variation of the Liberal International logo, our organisation and input is far more.

Allan Siao Ming Witherick

China Forum

Martin Jacques pointed out that his book's title *When China Rules the World*, has no question mark in it; China's economic power is growing so fast that it will dwarf that of the USA within a few decades, with profound but unknown consequences for the rest of the world.

China has become an important trading partner for many countries but Europe has so far been something of a bystander to its progress, and not very interested in it.

This approach was short-sighted, Jacques argued, because "China's economy is growing by 7% a year, so doubling every seven years, and we are going to have a hell of a shock."

Jacques argued that it was a mistake to view China "through a western prism".

He said that while it had been a modern nation state for only a century it had seen itself as a nation for more than 2,000 years, since the Qin dynasty.

The Chinese had always worried about how their vast and diverse country would be held together and so "unity is the most important political value, Mao is respected, whatever else he did, for reunifying China, and the Chinese state is seen as the protector of Chinese civilisation," he explained.

China was likely to be concerned with ensuring that its near neighbours were economically tied to it and did not present a threat – a recreation of the medieval system in which the rest of East Asia comprised Chinese 'tribute states' – but not with conquest.

Jacques points out that when the British left Hong Kong, few had taken seriously Chinese promises of 'one country, two systems', yet it had turned out that the Chinese had been serious about this, and had left Hong Kong's economy and politics alone.

"When Taiwan decides to adopt Chinese sovereignty, as it will, it will keep its own autonomy and democracy, China is most interested in the acceptance of sovereignty," he said.

This though did not mean that China proper would adopt democratic reforms in the near future. Jacques suggested it might become like Japan, which has the outward forms of a parliamentary democracy but has, with rare exceptions, been ruled by one party since its foundation.

China is well on its way to becoming the world's dominant economic power and despite it being a key trading partner of many countries the rest of world has yet to wake up to this or think through the consequences, Jacques said.

Mark Smulian

Martin Jacques, author of When China Rules the World, addressed a 23rd May forum held jointly by Liberal International British Group and the Chinese Liberal Democrats.

Scottish AGM

In Somaliland everyone was born on January 1. That at least is what is recorded on the identity/voter-registration cards recently produced with the help of international advisers. There is no malfeasance or incompetence involved. Somalis traditionally pay little attention to birthdays and so many adults are unsure about the exact date of their birth. Hence the decision to use New Year's Day for everyone.

That was one of the fascinating details revealed to the agm of Liberal International in Scotland about life in a Horn of Africa country unrecognised by the rest of the world, including Britain and the EU. Gillian Gloyer, a member of LI, spent several months last year helping the Somaliland people prepare for their (successfully conducted) presidential election. She pointed out the distinction between democratic progress in the unrecognised area that was the former British protectorate and the anarchy to the south in Somalia. The British embassy in Ethiopia looks after our interests in Somaliland, but many Liberal-minded observers must surely question why our Government is so reluctant to give the people of Somaliland recognition of their progress and potential.

The formal business of the agm included a discussion of how best to use the legacy bequeathed by founding chairman Ronnie Fraser, and the committee will now look in detail at the proposals. The office-bearers were re-elected: Willis Pickard as chairman; Clive Sneddon as secretary; and John Barnett treasurer.

By Willis Pickard

R E V I E W

The Liberal Vision by Stein Ringen

The Bardwell Press, 2007

There ought to be more books like this – comprehensive assessments of Social Liberalism. Better still, Bardwell break us out of our anglocentricity bringing us a recent Norwegian contribution to the debate. Internationalism after all has always been a central tenant of Liberalism.

Moving on to policy Ringen is no less provocative. Population growth has been a central concern of British Liberalism since Dr. Malthus at least. Ringen says 'There is not and never has been a crisis of overpopulation in the world'. Whilst the global population may have doubled in the last 50 years he anticipates a slowing down and stabilisation over the next 40. 'Global capitalism and population mobility are making the one-world dream come true'; per head we are richer than we were 50 years ago, the problems lie in maldistribution of both population and wealth and in bad government. Europe is slipping and sub-Saharan Africa left behind (whilst population burgons). Well there are some interesting challenges.

Like Bookchin's 'Post-Scarcity Anarchism', written before a slump in the economy set in, Ringen's work is certainly a mine of future possibilities, and although at times heavily sociological, can be profitably studied as such.

Saeed Rahman

Ethical Charter

The Liberal government of Cote d'Ivoire, led by LI full member des Républicains (RDR), has promoted a Government Ethical Charter. All Ivorian ministers who are signatories to the charter have vowed before the head of state Ouattara (LI Vice President) to fulfill their duties in accordance with its provisions. 'Today we need to moralise public life by adapting management of the government's activities to meet the realities of the modern world and the demands of the business world', said President Ouattara. The Ouattara government's adherence to the ethical charter has been seen by observers as the way forward for the implementation of good governance policies.

Issiaka Konate of RDR commented "This is another clear indication with the new leadership we now have with President Ouattara. Liberal values, but also Human Rights, the respect of the rule of law, anything that makes a free country, a fair society, are taken into consideration. Nothing will be neglected."

The Israeli Peace Initiative: Can it succeed?

The Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel fringe meeting at Birmingham is entitled: "The Israeli Peace Initiative: Can it succeed?" and focuses on the Israeli Peace Initiative (<http://israelpeaceinitiative.com/>), an unofficial initiative by some (retired) senior Israeli diplomats, military officers and politicians.

Dr Alon Liel, a former Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, is key to the Initiative and he is the main speaker. Other speakers include the Friends of President, Sir Alan Beith MP; Jeremy Browne MP (Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office); and a speaker from the Israeli Embassy. The meeting will be chaired by Sarah Ludford MEP.

There will be questions and answers (and a lively discussion) after the speeches and light refreshments; everyone who is attending Conference is welcome to attend. Anyone with any queries is welcome to contact Matthew Harris on matthew.harris@hotmail.co.uk The meeting takes place on Sunday 18th 20.00-21.15 pm, Jurys Inn Hotel, Room 101.

R E V I E W

When the Stars Fall to Earth, by Rebecca Tinsley

Landmark Press USA

Rebecca Tinsley started the human rights group Waging Peace after visiting Darfur in 2004. Evidence of genocide collected by the Waging Peace team has been accepted by the International Criminal Court, and, in 2009 they persuaded the Labour government to stop deporting Darfuri asylum seekers to Sudan. Her humanitarian charity, Network for Africa, trains local lay counsellors to help sur-

vivors break the cycle of post traumatic stress disorder in Rwanda, Northern Uganda and the Darfuri camps in Chad.

Her novel, "When the Stars Fell to Earth" tells the horrific story of Darfur and asylum seekers to Britain via several characters, obviously based on real or composite characters of real people. One of her protagonists sums it up very well ; " No one is interested in 500 children, but a good journalist can make them care about a pretty little kid , if you spin a nice sentimental story about him". There is nothing nice or sentimental about this book. The story, which begins in 2004, charts the fortunes of a varied group of Darfuris set in and against the background of the genocide in Darfur and the world outside. There are few happy endings. Even the title takes its name from bombs falling to earth.

As Rebecca Tinsley says herself in her introduction, the novel is set "in Sudan, in the heart of Africa, and in a war zone", and is, by her own admission, designed to make the reader care about the Sudan. And to this end she succeeds, despite passages which have obviously been dumbed down for an American readership, despite the use of the irritating device where characters on the story comment on the political goings in the wider world when they could not possibly know (though even those dwelling in the remotest regions understand global warming and its cause and effect). Her knowledge of the everyday life of the Darfuris, the progress of the genocide/war, the political intrigues, cop-outs and astounding ignorance of the world's politicians is encyclopedic. When her editors let her true voice come through, she manages to transport you from your comfy armchair on a cool London evening to the dust, the dirt, the heat and the terror that engulfed the Darfuri people. You feel the sudden beat of horses hooves that signals the arrival of a Janjaweed raid, the thwump of helicopter blades which herald an attack by Government forces, the agony of the beatings; the use of rape as a weapon; the thirst and the hunger. Small acts of kindness stand out like beacons of hope, tiny pinpricks of light in an abysmal darkness.

What the Darfuri people actually wanted from the world is beautifully summed up by a woman in a camp for refugees; "It is nice of your country to send food, but this is Africa, and we are used to being hungry. What we ask is that you take the guns away from the men who are killing us". The UN monitors were useless; "I'm sorry' said one Nigerian soldier when asked to help stop a mass rape and massacre at a school, 'I hate this, you know? They won't let us have any weapons, and we don't have the authority to stop them, even if we did". The book is filled with real conversations like these, which do so much to bring it to life, and not even the editor's pen can destroy the immediacy, accuracy and poignancy of these exchanges.

When one family did eventually managed to find asylum in the UK. They experienced appalling ignorance of the situation in the Sudan who failed to understand that anyone sent back would die, and racism from many they encountered, but not all. Again, the small acts of kindness shine, but the family's experiences are shameful for us to read. Most tellingly it is comparatively vast wealth we enjoy here and do not appreciate; the family was staying in a council estate in a run-down part of Doncaster, one not noted for its monied classes nor its elegant facilities. And yet, because every household had indoor lavatories, electricity and washing machines, these luxuries placed it on another planet from the refugees. "They were so rich, these people, and yet no one sang in the morning".

Tinsley was asked by the survivors she met to take their story to

the world and “be their voice”. She felt hers was a very imperfect one; not so. Were this book to be more sympathetically edited and the author's words allowed to stand, it would be more of a work of both historical and political importance. But as it is it is so well worth reading, to understand what is really happening in Darfur, and to remind us to sing in the morning.

Wendy Kyrle-Pope

Copies of this book will be available from the LIBG stall at the Lib Dem's Autumn conference, or for those outside the USA are through Alibris, Amazon etc.

Egyptian liberals to join forces to combat growing Islamist trends

As political clashes continue in Egypt, with the army breaking up protests in Tahrir Square and the encroaching concern about an Islamist state, Egypt's liberal parties have joined forces to fight for the creation of a secular and democratic country. Democratic Front Party (LI Full Member) President al-Ghazaly Harb said liberalism does not contradict any of the Abrahamic religions. “Those who are against liberalism and freedom of thought will pull us into a dark cave,” he said. “Only a secular state can regulate the relationship between religion and governance.”

Ayman Nour, president of the Ghad Party (LI Observer), and a possible candidate for the presidency, said Egyptians had to navigate a difficult path, avoiding both the pitfalls of an extended military rule as well as a vocal demand for a religious state. Basel Adel, member of the leadership council of the liberal Free Egyptians Party, predicted that Ramadan this year would be more political than previous ones, being an opportunity for religious streams to use mosques heavily for publicity.

Mohammed Nosseir, the Chair Secretariat of International Relations at the Democratic Front Party who will speak at the LIBG Fringe at Birmingham on 20th September, mentioned that the Egyptian revolution is still facing a number of challenges. Building a new However, he is confident that the revolutionists are determined to realize the full revolution's demand in the near future.

Ivorian Government promotes Ethical Charter

The Liberal government of Cote d'Ivoire, led by LI full member des Républicains (RDR), has promoted a Government Ethical Charter. All Ivorian ministers who are signatories to the charter have vowed before the head of state Ouattara (LI Vice President) to fulfill their duties in accordance with its provisions. “Today we need to moralise public life by adapting management of the government's activities to meet the realities of the modern world and the demands of the business world”, said President Ouattara. The Outtara government's adherence to the ethical charter has been seen by

observers as the way forward for the implementation of good governance policies.

Issiaka Konate of RDR commented “This is another clear indication with the new leadership we now have with President Ouattara. Liberal values, but also Human Rights, the respect of the rule of law, anything that makes a free country, a fair society, are taken into consideration. Nothing will be neglected.”

Singapore presidential elections disappointing

The Singapore Democratic Party (LI Observer) reacted critically to the elections results of last weekend that saw ex-PAP member Dr Tony Tan elected as President of the country. “Tony Tan as president defies common sense”, said the SDP, noting that Dr Tan is a “part of the system designed to shield the financial reserves from the people's scrutiny”.

The ex-SDP member Tan Jee Say came in third in the presidential contest, with 25.04 per cent of the votes, in comparison to Tony Tan's 35.19 per cent. Mr Tan Jee Say said that the fact that a majority of voters did not vote for Dr Tony Tan – who had the strongest links to the ruling PAP – showed that ‘they wanted a President that could provide checks and balances on the Government’. As the presidential race culminated, the SDP gathered for its Ordinary Party Conference amidst “a strong sense of mission and hope”, reporting a drastic upswing in the party's membership and volunteer base since the 14 per cent increase in electoral support in the 2011 General Elections.

REVIEW

Birdbrain, by Johanna Sinisalo

Peter Owen 2010

Tasmania has a tortured history; a brutal penal colony, the Van Diemen's Land of many a folk song. It took us a mere 30 years to wipe out most of the indigenous population, a process completed over the next 40 or so years. Conrad may have set Heart of Darkness in the Congo, but it might as well have been here. Today Tasmania's 26,000-odd square miles has a population of just over half a million, half of whom live in Hobart. It is said that the psycho-geography of this past still plays upon the island, and Sinisalo has picked up on this. Tasmania is empty, much of it given over to nature reserves (although man did its best to wipe out other species as well as their fellow man) and is regarded as one of the great beauty spots of the world. Tourism is a major industry and that is what brings the two Finns of our story to the Antipedes.

I think it was The Wild Boys that Burroughs first invited us to read the chapters at random. Sinisalo has saved us the problem of selection, grouping her narrative part psychologically rather than strictly chronological. It isn't exactly comfortable reading as relationships disintegrate, but is elevated for that.

Stewart Rayment

Van Baalen joins call for HR inquiry on surveillance trade

LI President Hans van Baalen has together with five other MEP's asked the EU to investigate whether companies have aided human rights violations by selling surveillance gear to repressive governments. The formal inquiry request was initiated by Foreign Affairs Committee member Marietje Schaake MEP (D66), after recent news reports indicated that a monitoring system sold and maintained by European companies had generated text-message transcripts used in the interrogation of a human rights activist tortured in Bahrain. The probe is aimed at determining whether any European security and communications companies have contributed to human rights violations in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Bahrain and Iran. Other MEP's signing the inquiry request include Baroness Sarah Ludford MEP, European justice and human rights spokeswoman of the Liberal Democrats and ALDE Bureau member Ivo Vajgl MEP (ZARES - Nova Politika, LI Observer). The absolute need for human rights protection in trade was also highlighted during the recent 57th LI Congress in Manila, through the adoption of the theme resolution on Human Rights and Trade .

ELDR – Palmero Congress

ELDR Congress this year is in Palermo, 24th-25th November. Anyone interested in being a Lib Dem delegate let Phil Bennion [phil.bennion@btconnect.com] know and he will pass your details to International Office.

R E V I E W

Founding Gardeners: how the revolutionary generation created an American Eden, by Andrea Wulf.

William Heinemann 2011 £20

It must be of profound disappointment to Tories – Labour and Conservative alike, that the Coalition has not been greeted in the Liberal ranks with cries of 'Time to return to your constituencies and tend your garden'.

It is well known that the founding fathers of the United States were jacks of all trades and fascinating to find Washington advocating indigenous species in his garden, and Madison calling upon his fellow Americans to protect their environment.

What if the Federalists had prevailed and the States had remained essentially maritime and the wilderness unspoilt? Just as the old Persian word for garden is the root of our concept of 'paradise', gardens can be living reflections of a philosophy. How then do we see Madison's 'improvement' of his slave quarters at Montpelier (following Coke of Holkham's improved farm cottages)?

The Declaration of Independence remains, despite that, one of the finest Liberal documents ever written. Where did they go wrong?

Stewart Rayment

R E V I E W

Romantic Revolutionary, Simon Bolívar and the struggle for Independence in Latin America, by Richard Harvey

Constable 2011 £20.00

El Libertador, the Liberator; the hero of South America. What is known to us of Simon Bolívar apart from this? Very little I would surmise, so Harvey gives us a useful introduction. The young Bolívar moved in liberal circles, but was more taken with the dissolute life that befits the young. Humboldt did not think him up to the job of liberating Latin American from Spanish tyranny. He was proved wrong, yet right in many ways, since Bolívar was to go down the road of Napoleon. Bolívar kept his admiration of Napoleon under wraps, but he was at his best (and inevitably worst) as a military commander. His heart may essentially have been in the right place, but circumstances always seemed to go against his political ventures. Harvey speculates that Latin America has been bedevilled by the actions of Bolívar, San Martín and their ilk ever since, particularly the readiness to resort to a military coup, with the attendant bloodshed and repression.

The abolition of slavery and equality before the law (though aware of its imperfections in early 19th century Latin American) set Bolívar as a radical and at odds with those with power and wealth. They might be freed from Spain, but the conquistador mentality remains, ever today if you consider the behaviour of the Sandinistas for example (the Miskito Indians were the first to leave that coalition, closely followed by the Liberals). An

INTERNATIONAL ABSTRACTS

There is much coverage of foreign affairs in the Liberal media. The following is of particular note:

Philippe Sands QC: War and Law, Chilcot's Iraq lessons and Iranian Challenges.

The Legal Democrat, Journal of the Liberal Democrat Lawyers' Association

Winter 2010/11 (michaeljhall@ntlworld.com or 110 Charterhouse Road, Orpington, Kent BR6 9ER)

This was originally an 80 Club lecture delivered at the NLC 14.12.2010

anglophile, Bolívar was constantly frustrated by Britain's attitudes to his campaigns as our relationship with Spain changed. I didn't find El Libertador a particularly endearing man, but as a life of adventure, with its triumphs and tribulations Bolívar's story is bound to be a ripping read.

Saeed Rahman

“Modernise Duma through fair elections”

Leader of LI Full member Yabloko, Sergei Mitrokhin, during a rare meeting with Russian President Dmitri Medvedev, called for a thorough modernisation of the Russian parliament. During the meeting for all registered parties, Mitrokhin stated that the “forthcoming elections represent an opportunity to implement Russian modernisation plans”, voiced by the President earlier. “Political modernisation first of all means provision of equal possibilities for political competition. And this should take place during elections,” Mitrokhin stressed. “Today the State Duma with dominance of one political party is the most powerful anti-modernisation factor... As it is this party which controls the parliament, it cannot protect the society from bureaucrats' arbitrary rule and corruption. Therefore a corrupted system based on the laws adopted by bureaucracy and for the sake of bureaucracy has been built in the country, via the State Duma”, he added.

On Wednesday 31st of August Yabloko together with six other parties were listed by Russia's Justice Ministry as eligible under the Political Parties Law to take part in parliamentary elections on December 4th.

LI Executive & Responsibility to Protect Conference

LIBG is hosting the Liberal International Executive on Friday 14th October at the NLC. The morning will be devoted to a discussion about the role of LI in the 21st Century and the afternoon to the business of the Executive, which will be followed by a Reception at the Club, hosted by LIBG President Simon Hughes.

On the Saturday there will be a Conference on Responsibility to Protect (R2P) at Chatham House, 10, St. James's Square, London, SW1P 4LE. Jonathan Fryer will be presenting a new report on R2P and speakers will include Kishwer Falkner. There is some background material on this on the LI website*, including the 2001 report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty.

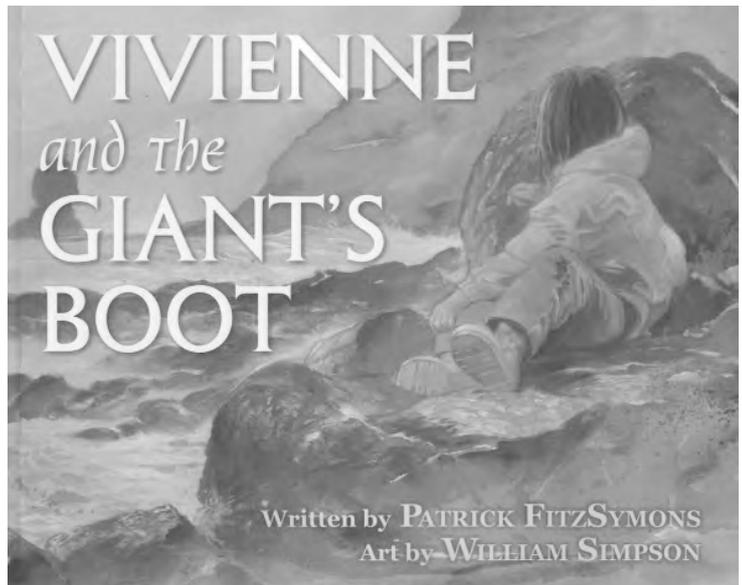
Registration for the Exec opened on 1st September, we believe registration is £29.00 but details should appear on the LI website shortly.

*www.liberal-international.org

R E V I E W

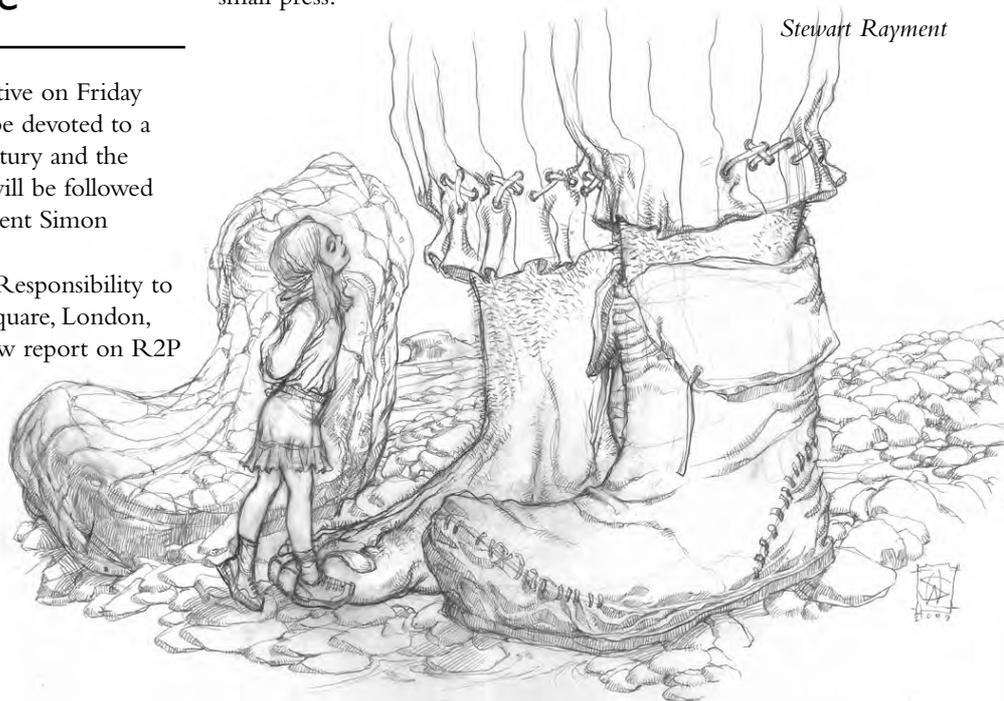
Vivienne and The Giant's Boot, by Patrick FitzSymons, illustrated by William Simpson.

Omsquad Books, 2010 £6.99



The giant Benandonner left his boot on the Causeway in his haste to flee Fionn mac Cumhaill. Although the Giant's Causeway is all that is left of the bridge that Fionn was building to confront the Scots giant, Fionn, unlike some of his countrymen's descendants, kissed by the Salmon of Knowledge, knew when not to fight. Like Oonagh, Vivienne will certainly beguile the giant should he return. Beguiled, support this first outpouring from a small press.

Stewart Rayment



Richard Wainwright, the Liberals and Liberal Democrats. Unfinished Business, by Matt Cole.

Manchester University Press 2011

Matt Cole reminds us that Richard Wainwright was an Internationalist, but unfortunately doesn't really elaborate on this aspect of his career apart from passing references to France and Guinea-Bissau.

However, this is essential reading for anyone who is serious about getting anything done through Liberal politics. Whilst I concede that Wainwright was fortunate in his constituency and that electoral techniques have moved with the times, Wainwright's career tells you how to do it; there are no short cuts.

Wainwright, to recap, won the Colne Valley seat from Labour in 1966, lost it in the 1970 meltdown and regained it in 1974, holding the seat for the rest of his Parliamentary career. The Lib Dems lost the seat when he stood down in 1987, but Saddleworth had been transferred out of the new constituency and much of suburban Huddersfield added. Since the Coalition reputedly aims to reduce the number of MPs to 600, Lib Dem strategists, nationally and locally should look to this lesson and get their fingers out.

I found this book compelling, having read more than half of 217 core pages before I first put it down. One always enjoys reading about events that are close to their experience, but as I've said above I was immediately struck by the book's practical usefulness.

Wainwright's pacifism was fairly well known, but Cole benefits us with the detail of his war career with the Friends' Ambulance Unit, which probably (as Cole says) brought him more frontline service than the average infantryman. I was particularly impressed with his billeting FAU members separately on German homes to curtail the revenge of occupying French troops.

To conclude, one of Wainwright's analogies between Socialism and Liberalism "The Liberal does not liken himself to an architect, who can condemn a building and have it demolished, to rebuild it with

plans from his own brain, with dead and uniform bricks. He is rather a gardener, dealing with living things which grow according to nature. He can discover the necessary conditions for their full growth and ensure that these are present, but more than this he cannot do".

Stewart Rayment

Poland looks to the Future

Speaking at a meeting of the Liberal International British Group on Monday 19th July, Her Excellency Barbara Tuge-Erecińska, Polish Ambassador to the Court of St James', outlined Poland's ambitions for its first presidency of the European Union. The EU faces many challenges at present, inter alia high levels of public debt, unemployment and low levels of job creation, alongside issues of security. Taking office at a time of crisis in the Eurozone, the Ambassador made clear that Poland nonetheless remains committed to joining the Euro. It also seeks to play a constructive role alongside fellow troika members Denmark and Cyprus on a wide range of European issues. She stressed that Poland was keen to set in train discussion for the Multi-annual Financial Framework for 2014-2020. Responding, LIBG Chair Julie Smith thanked the Ambassador for hosting LIBG and wished her well for the Presidency. Dr Smith said how constructive a role Poland now plays after seven years in the Union – in contrast to the UK's ongoing reluctance.

Mark Smulian

FNF research on Ukraine rebuts EU membership claims

"The EU is not just an economic community. The most important principles to be found in any EU document are democracy, respect for human rights, rule of law and market economy. Therefore, a Ukrainian membership is not on the agenda", states Dr. Heike Dörrenbächer, Head of the Friedrich Neumann Stiftung in Ukraine in response to Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich's announcement to make the country an EU member.

Recently, President Yanukovich stated that the Ukraine could play a prosperous role in the European economy, due to its boosted economy. Dr. Dörrenbächer, author of the latest FNF publication on Ukraine, continues: "No doubt Ukraine has a promising economic potential. But also in economics, freedom is needed; freedom from corruption and interference of state institutions." The FNF report, which notes highest ever levels of political discontent in the country, also addresses the controversial trial of former PM Julia Tymoshenko, previously condemned as politically motivated by former ELDR President Werner Hoyer, German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs (FDP).

Robert Woodthorpe Browne added "President Yanukovich is a Russian backed mobster who was known as "the Thug" in his Donetsk jail. Such a man has no role to play in a free Europe. Any EU aspirations must await his departure."

