

# **Labour & Trade Union Review**

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Howard

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# **Democracy and its Discontents**

The people in Iraq are in favour of democracy, according to an opinion poll conducted on behalf of the Occupation Powers. And we were told that that is a good thing and that it justifies the war. But it appeared on the other hand that there was much confusion about what democracy is—which is not such a good thing, and might even mean that democracy could in the first instance take the form of civil war.

Iraqi opinion was consulted in a matter of which it had no experience. When Britain, after the conquest of the Middle East, threw the Ottoman provinces of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul together for its own convenience and decreed that they were to be the nation-state of Iraq, it held an election to choose a King. It had its own candidate for the post, the son of the Sherif of Mecca—a foreigner who had no connection with Mesopotamia or Mosul. A local candidate also stood for the post: Said Talib of Basra. When it looked to be a certainty that the British candidate would lose, Said Talib was kidnapped and deported to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) by the British administration, with the active collaboration of Gertrude Bell and other dedicated supporters of the Arab cause. And that was done by the first-ever democratically elected government of the United Kingdom.

Russia became a democracy twelve years ago. On the basis of a decade of actual experience, public opinion surveys during the present election campaign indicated that most Russians have concluded that democracy is something they do not want, and that they will therefore vote for Putin, somewhat in the spirit in which Germans voted for Hitler in 1933.

A Russian refugee in the financial oligarchy, who is wanted for fraud in Russia, gave an interview to the BBC after the arrest in Russia of a fellow-oligarch. He predicted with utter certainty that Putin would lose the election because capital requires freedom and the power of capital is irresistible. He sounded just like a British Marxist of the 1980s—the decade of the Aaravichs, Millibands and all the other believers in economic determinism



who were guided by their beliefs into the corridors of power. It will be interesting to see whether capital, after a decade in which it has reduced Russian life expectancy by twenty years, can secure the defeat of Putin and prevent the restoration of authoritative government.

Because this is the era in which democracy is the only legitimate form of government, it is also an era in which the history of democracy cannot be written. It is impossible to write the history of sacred things without undermining their sacredness.

It has long been a prevailing sentiment amongst right-thinking people that all governments ought to be democratic. This sentiment has now been enhanced into the definite position that all government *must be* democratic, and that states that do not make themselves into democracies must be made into democracies by outside force—by the Ameranglian militants of the global democratic revolution announced by the President.

During the week following Bush's announcement there were a couple of interesting discussions on the BBC. One, in *Newsnight*, was between a democratic Arab ideologue from Chatham House and a retired British Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. The Chatham House person said she thought Saudi Arabia should have democracy now, and she saw no great difficulty about making it functional. The retired Ambassador, while not saying a word against democracy, indicated that it would be best implemented at a snail's pace.

On Radio 4's *Broadcasting House* there was a discussion between three Egyptian intellectuals. Two men who were very much on the White House wavelength (for that day, or that week at most) said there was now an obligation on Egyptians to show that there was nothing in their genetic make-up that made it impossible for them to be democrats. The woman suggested timidly that this was a patronising attitude, and that there was more at issue in the matter of Muslim fundamentalism than the White House acknowledged. For the remainder of the programme she was subjected to a verbal barrage by the two men, who accused her of bullying

them with "Edward Saidian rubbish". Since all the actual bullying was done by them, it was evident that her mild remark had touched them on a raw nerve, and that beneath their official attitude they knew it was they who were talking rubbish—singing for their supper, no doubt.

Disagreements of this kind are rarely given an airing in the British media and, on the rare occasions when they are, the discussion is kept brief and superficial. The sacredness of the democratic ideal must be preserved at all costs. The notion that it is something simple and natural which could be implemented anywhere are at any time, but for evil tyrants who somehow acquire the power to prevent it, cannot be tampered with, other than by an occasional oblique hint, lest the sacred power of the ideal be dissipated. And, if practical allowance has to be made for the possibility that it is neither simple nor natural, that is not something to draw out in public discussion.

A book called *Elections Without Order: Russia's Challenge To Vladimir Putin*, by Richard Rose and Neil Munro, was published by Cambridge University Press last year (2002). It begins: "*Elections are about what people want: government is about what people get. In the Soviet era, there were elections without choice. In the past decade Russians have voted in five free elections. Yet something is missing in how Russia is ruled. From the prescriptive view of democratic theory, what is needed is more democracy. But from the point of view of the Russians, what the country lacks is order. The order taken for granted in a democratic modern state cannot be taken for granted in Russia, because it is not a modern state. The legacy of Russia's past is that of despotism and totalitarianism.*"

Thirty years ago Professor Rose published a very influential book about Northern Ireland, *Governing Without Consensus*, in which he missed something very obvious: that what we call democracy functions through the operation of the party system of the state in all parts of the state, and that Northern Ireland was excluded from the party system of the state and therefore from the "consensus" which that system tends

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to induce. If he had made the discovery then it might have had far-reaching consequences. But at least he has made it now—his prudent Owl of Minerva waiting to fly until it is dusk:

"*Elections create democratic government only if their outcome decides collective control of decision-making in government. Political parties combine the ambitions of many individual politicians into a collective team seeking office. The first requirement for elections to hold government accountable is that*

*political elites organize parties to fight elections rather than appeal for votes as personalities independent of parties. Second, parties must nominate candidates nationwide. Third, national party candidates should win the great majority of votes and seats. A fourth requirement—parties nominate candidates for all electoral national offices. Fifth parties should persist from one election to another*" (p101).

The problem about the Russian parties is that there are far too many of them, and that they are ephemeral. Even when successful they do not persist from one election to the next.

Rose attributes the failure of the "elites" to form a stable party system to the legacy of "despotism and totalitarianism" from the past. But that past is now quite a long time in the past, and the appearance at the moment is that the "elites" (on whom, according to Rose, democracy is based) are being somewhat arbitrarily curbed by the state. The state is strengthening itself, with the approval of the populace, by rather arbitrary measures against the elites, whose ten years of dominance has degraded ordinary life.

According to Rose, "*Free elections are good for blowing away the claim to rule of an undemocratic regime, but in the absence of a modern state they leave a void. The problem of Russia is not a problem of elections: it is that it lacks a modern state*" (p41).

But this is evasive and rather schoolboyish.

There was at the outset a functional state. Whether or not it was a "modern state" according to finicky definition, it was a state that functioned in all regions of its territory. Food, clothing, housing, entertainment, and upward cultural mobility were provided for under it. It had a system of laws which it more or less upheld. What the expansionist West objected to was not that the laws were not upheld, but that they were the wrong laws. And it was governed by a political party in which there was a very high degree of participation by the populace, and a fair degree of openness in the nomination of candidates at the lower levels.

What the "free elections" did was not so much "blow away the claim to rule of an undemocratic regime" as blow away the state on which provision of the ordinary conditions of life depended.

Rose says it was not a modern state, "that is, a state that exercises its authority according to the rule of law" (p41). But "the rule of law" is a highly equivocal phrase. When asserted in England back in the 1620s, at the start of "the English revolution" which is the source of so much socialist fantasy, it meant something like rule of the judiciary. In Ireland in recent years it has come close to that in practice, and government was brought close to being impossible by a proliferation of judicial tribunals prying into every nook and cranny. In the 1650s Republican England tried to replace the anarchic "Common Law" with a code of law which would be binding on the state, but Cromwell wouldn't have it. After the Restoration government predominated over law. And after 1688 it got a tight grip on Parliament and, through Parliament, made the law an instrument.

David Blunkett recently gave expression to this relationship with an attack on legal fetishism. He accused those who were obstructing his legal reforms (ending the 'double jeopardy' law etc.) as being concerned about the "process" rather than the "outcome". In other words, law was not an autonomous element in the state (as Cooke would have it in the 1620s, and the Fifth Monarchy Men in the 1650s), but was a means by which the Government achieved results.

The Enclosures—the privatisation of common lands—which went on over centuries, and which brought about the economic and social structures of modern Britain, were not done under the rule of law, but under the rule of the Government through Parliament. An enterprising gentleman with sufficient influence would get a particular Act of Parliament passed in his favour giving him a particular piece of common land as his private property—much as was done in Yeltsin's Russia.

Authority exercised "according to the law" is not the same thing as authority "exercised according to the rule of law", particularly when there is a body that can make and unmake laws at will. And

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Westminster in its time has passed a great many retrospective laws making legal anything the Government might have done, in what it considered to be an emergency, which might have been found to be illegal if the matter had been gone into at the time. These are known as Indemnity Acts, and they put one in mind of the Plenary Indulgences that Luther attacked the Pope for selling to people in need of them.

In Soviet Russia there was for the most part an exercise of authority according to law, for the same reason that there was in Britain—that the Government made the law to suit its convenience.



What happened in the early 1990s in Russia was that the law and the state were both blown away, and that an instant transition to a different system of economy and a different system of government was undertaken without any concern for the practical possibility of either being achieved. And Britain had a fair amount of responsibility for it. The BBC was in the critical period perhaps the most powerful influence operating on Russian opinion. And it rushed the Russians off their feet by feeding them delusions about both capitalism and what we call democracy; and insisting that the new order must be staffed by new people, untainted by participation in the totalitarian order which had just collapsed.

There were learned discussions on BBC radio last May about the construction of a democratic order in Iraq. Germany in 1945 was taken as a precedent in many of them, and the wise men meditated on the fact that only five years after the fall of Hitler a functional democratic capitalist state emerged in the three Western Occupation Zones. But all of them failed to mention the essential condition of this rapid transition from totalitarianism to functional democracy, which without it appears to be miracle. The "de-Nazification" programme prepared for post-war Germany was called off almost immediately because the West Germans were needed as allies against the state which had destroyed the Hitler regime—the Soviet Union. If de-Nazification had been implemented as intended, West Germany would probably have been made as great a mess of as Russia was—or Iraq. The East German regime documented the extent to which Adenauer's Government was staffed by people who had been Nazis. Its facts were indisputable. In many respects the Adenauer administration was a continuation of the Nazi administration—which means that the Nazi administration lent itself easily to a new guidance.

That is not something which the liberal democracies in their triumphalist exuberance could have implemented as a policy on the basis of realistic political calculation. It was only something they allowed to happen in a fit of panic brought on by the realisation that it was the Soviet Union which had won the war and there was

imminent danger that it might reap the fruits of victory in the form of European dominance.

They acted prudently out of desperation, and not because they learned from the great names of their own political philosophy that functional states have a legitimacy which goes beyond ideology and they cannot be safely set aside in their entirety on doctrinaire grounds.

That is the message we tried to communicate ten years ago during the great watershed in Russian political life which culminated in the shelling of the Parliament by the President:

"Mid-March 1993 marked an epoch in political history. Boris Yeltsin, the President of Russia, declared, as another Russian Boris did about four hundred years ago, that he had achieved the highest power. He issued a decree, on television of course, that henceforth he would rule by personal decree, and take no heed of any laws made by the Legislature or any judgments handed down by the Courts. He personified the will of the people. At some date in the future he would ask the people to recognise this fact in a referendum. But, for the time being, it would be a fact accomplished by his own will, which he recognised as having a unique part to play in the sequence of historical causation.

"But Boris Yeltsin's personal political television broadcast was not the epoch-making event....

"The epoch-making event is that the Prime Minister of Great Britain congratulated Yeltsin on his television decree, describing him as an upholder of democracy and the rule of law.

"Yeltsin made no claim to have acted in accordance with the law. He and his spokesmen declared their contempt for the law. The law was a remnant of the old rotten regime which it was their purpose to root out, therefore they despised it.

"Yeltsin set aside the law in the name of democracy. But the decay of British public life has now gone so far that the Prime Minister could only understand a plain statement setting aside the law in the name of democracy as a statement upholding the rule of law. Law and democracy—two quite distinct things—have been fused into a single blurred concept which leaves one with a definite idea neither of law nor of democracy. And that can be fairly described as an epoch-making event....

"The present law of England was established long before there was Parliamentary government. And Parliamentary

government was established long before there was democracy. The body of law developed before the establishment of Parliamentary sovereignty in 1688 was not taken as being invalidated by the Revolution of 1688. And the democratisation of Parliament... was not taken as invalidating the Acts of the undemocratic Parliaments.

"Yeltsin acts on the assumption that, because he was elected President in a freer atmosphere (though not on a wider franchise) than the Parliament, all that was done before his election falls away as invalid, and that the only valid legislative and judicial functions are those latent in his will.

"It is not surprising that he should have that attitude. He is a man with a blurred sense of mission and the accidents of fortune have favoured him so far. He is aware of himself as an exceptional individual. His sense of mission is to realise his own impulses in a form of state and society. If he believed in God he would believe that God had singled him out for great things. ...

"There is nothing surprising about what Yeltsin has said and tried to do... What is surprising is that Western liberalism, having deluged Leninism with ridicule, should out of unreflecting admiration for Yeltsin have given new life to the concept of democratic dictatorship. ...

"The BBC depicted the conflict as a "struggle for power" between Yeltsin, the reformer, and the "hardliners". No effort was made to discover and explain the actual issues of policy or orientation between the two. The public was left to understand that the 'hardliners' were diehard Brezhnevites who wanted to restore "the period of stagnation". We were not told that Khasbulatov, the Speaker of Parliament, was a reformer, and that he had acted with Yeltsin in the days of the attempted coup two years ago. And we were not told that one of the matters at issue was the form of the state—whether it was to be a Parliamentary democracy acting on the basis of law or a Presidential dictatorship ratified by referendum.

"The Constitutional Court wanted the text of Yeltsin's decree, which established government by personal fiat, in order to judge its legality. Yeltsin wouldn't release the text to the Court. The BBC thought that was very clever of him. A few days later he made a decree public, the Court having ruled on the basis of the television statement that it was illegal. But this decree did not say the things which the Court had judged to be illegal. And the BBC thought that that was remarkably clever. He had put one over on the reactionary Court and made it look foolish....

"It was when Yeltsin, despite the best efforts of the media in Britain, began to appear silly, that we got an occasional snippet of an interview with a 'hardliner'. They were asked why they opposed the reforms, and they replied: What reforms?

"The 'reform' was an ideological phrase, with as little basis in reality as any that Brezhnev had ever uttered. The 'hardliners' said they approved of reform and had come to oppose Yeltsin because he could not distinguish between reform and mere destruction.

"There was a time when Tories would have understood what those 'hardliners' were saying. Toryism got its second life from the pamphlets of the Whig reformer, Edmund Burke. ... But nothing is more alien to the spirit of contemporary Toryism than the political philosophy of Burke.

"One of the classic statements about reform was made by Burke in his venomous Letter To A Noble Lord (1796):

*"It was my aim to give the People the substance of what I knew they desired, and what I thought was right, whether they desired it or not, before it had been modified for them by senseless petitions... I knew that there is a manifest distinction ... between Change and Reformation. The former alters the substance of the objects themselves; and gets rid of all their essential good, as well as of the accidental evil annexed to them. Change is novelty; and whether it is to operate any one of the effects of reformation at all, or whether it may not contradict the very principle upon which reformation is desired, cannot be certainly known beforehand. Reform is, not a change in the substance, or in the primary modification of the object, but a direct application of a remedy to the grievance complained of. So far as that is removed, all is sure. It stops there; and if it fails, the substance which underwent the operation, at the very worst, is but where it was..."*

*"I proceeded upon principles of research to put me in possession of my matter; on principles of method to regulate it; and on principles in the human mind and in civil affairs to secure and perpetuate the operation. I conceived nothing arbitrarily... I have ever abhorred... all the operations of opinion, fancy, inclination, and will, in the affairs of Government, where only a sovereign reason... should dictate. Government is made for the very purpose of opposing that reason to will and caprice, in the reformers or in the reformed, in the governors or in the governed, in Kings, in Senators, or in Peoples."*

"Burke pitted his immense powers of reason and persuasiveness against the French Revolution because the French

National Assembly, instead of attempting to remedy, by particular reforms, particular features of the French state, scored out the old state and set about constructing a new state from scratch according to a doctrine.

"Burke's criticism of the French Revolution was the spiritual source of the Tory revival and it remained the core of Tory philosophy down to the 1970s. It was assimilated by the Liberals around the middle of the 19th century. And it became a philosophical consensus underlying party conflict. His Liberal biographer, John Morley, summed it up in these words:

*"Revolutionary politics have one of their sources in the idea that societies are capable of infinite and immediate modifications, without reference to the deep-rooted conditions that have worked themselves into every part of the social structure."*

"The Labour Party inherited from its Liberal ancestry the pragmatic habits, if not the originating reason, of Burke's political philosophy, and its decline started when, in the era of Michael Foot, it began to overcome those habits.

"But, in her ten years as Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher erased inherited wisdom across the entire spectrum of the British body politic. We are all revolutionaries now. All thought is doctrine, even though we have no doctrine half as sensible as the French doctrine criticised by Burke. The public mind sloshes around in a welter of "opinion, fancy, inclination and will"....

"A reform, says Burke, is the direct application of a remedy to a grievance, so that

*"If it fails the substance which underwent the operation, at the very worst, is but where it was."*

But in Russia today nothing is where it was, and at the same time nothing has been established in place of what used to be.

"The plan to change everything in Five Hundred Days was a feasible plan of market reform. But it was feasible only on the condition that it was put into effect by the old state.

"The term "privatisation" as applied to Russia is inappropriate. In England, socialist institutions were hewn out of the market, like clearings in a forest, and the market existed all about them. Those institutions might therefore be relinquished to the market through 'privatisation'. But that was not the case in Russia. The market was marginal to Russian economic life. Human nature there had not been hammered into commercial forms. The spontaneous flow of Russian culture did not tend to produce

economic egoism. Lenin and Stalin did not so much suppress the market as take advantage of the fact that Russian society was shy of the market.

"What was required for 'economic reform' of the kind half-envisioned by Gorbachev and Yeltsin was not 'privatisation', but what might be called "marketisation". The problem was not how to privatise state institutions, but how to establish the skeleton of a national market. 'Privatisation' of institutions into a market which did not exist was not reform but disintegration. ...

"The skeleton of a national market might conceivably have been formed by a crash programme of reconstruction put into effect by the state in five hundred days. Collectivisation was accomplished in something like that period of time. But purposeful activity by a strong state was the indispensable condition of that reform, both in the sense of making the change possible to enact and of keeping it within the category of a reform—the state being both the effective means of change and the element of continuity.

*"I had a state to preserve as well as a state to reform"*—that was how Burke saw it. A process of change which does not preserve the state cannot by any stretch of the imagination be seen as a reform.... (Labour & Trade Union Review, May/June, 1993.)

Our old friend John Lloyd of the Financial Times was an enthusiastic Yeltsin supporter in those times. He exulted in the thought of the Speaker, Khasbulatov, cowering in the cellars of the Parliament building as Yeltsin shelled it. Khasbulatov was a representative Chechen seeking a constructive reform of the Russian state. The Chechen rebellion resulted from the destruction of the representative Parliament and the imprisonment of its Chechen Speaker.

Lloyd, once a member of the Communist Party, is now a Blair groupie. He is in that regard typical of New Labour. They were destructive revolutionaries thirty years ago and they are destructive revolutionaries now. All they have done is change their revolutionary party, from Communist to American Republican. Their Bushite "global democratic revolution" requires close scrutiny of the kind we gave to Communist projects thirty years ago. Our New Year's Resolution is to supply it.



## The Case of Martin Hohmann

An obscure German Christian Democrat, Martin Hohmann, made a speech in his home town on 'German National Day' (3rd October). It does not appear that he was courting notoriety. Thousands of speeches are made in all corners of Germany and few are reported in the wider world. Hohmann's speech was not reported. No notice was taken of it until an American, trawling through the Internet with some purpose in mind, found it on Hohmann's website and drew attention to it in the appropriate quarters. The Israeli Ambassador demanded that Hohmann should resign his Parliamentary seat. It was then demanded that the Christian Democratic Union should expel him. The CDU leader, Angela Merkel, did expel him from the Parliamentary Party. She has begun a procedure to expel him from Party membership. Protests against these measures poured into CDU headquarters. The Israeli Ambassador said:

*"It is not yet anchored in German consciousness that anti-Semitism is a societal problem".*

There are two elements in Hohmann's speech. One of them is the kind of thing that leaders of the British Labour Party in days gone by used to condemn as racist and xenophobic when Tories gave utterance to it, but which David Blunkett now says in his capacity as Home Secretary every other day. The other element is a piece of historical observation about things that were done over half a century ago. Insofar as Hohmann's speech can be described as racist, the racism lies in the first element. But no objection has been made to his remarks about spongers and foreigners, because this view of things is at least as prevalent in Britain as in Germany, having been made respectable by the refugees from ultra-left Socialism who took over the Labour Party after the death of John Smith. All position is relative and the position of the extremist Right of the

Tory Party, as exemplified by Michael Howard a few years ago, has become a moderate centrist position by being outflanked on the right by the ex-Marxist Jack Straw in the first instance, and now by the Christian Socialist, David Blunkett, who has easily outstripped Straw in the use of Right-wing rhetoric about "swamping" by foreigners. The really objectionable part of Hohmann's speech is the part that he might have made at a Labour Party Conference.

The other element, which led to his expulsion, is his observation that Jews were disproportionately active in the Bolshevik Party, and in the exterminating activities of the Bolshevik regime. That observation has been denounced as anti-Semitism. It has not been argued that it is a false observation—that Hohmann is mistaken. What makes it inexcusable for him to say it, is the fact that it is true. If it is felt necessary to rebut it—and the Jewish nationalist movement clearly feels that it is necessary to rebut it—the only way to do it is to stop the operations of the mind with regard to it with the mind-boggling charge of anti-Semitism. It cannot be demonstrated that it is not a fact—it can only be made into a fact that must not be thought about. **It is dealt with in the way that awkward facts are dealt with in totalitarian cultures—it is placed beyond the reach of thought by means of taboos and punishments.**

The fact that Jews were grossly over-represented in the Bolshevik leadership, proportional to population, was common knowledge back in those times when Europe was a welter of Communism, Fascism, ultra-democracy, French nationalism and British Imperialism—the 1920s and 1930s. And it was not only those who are now thought of as anti-Semites who attributed profound significance to it. Churchill was an active supporter of the Zionist movement for the purpose of diverting Jewish political energy from Bolshevism, which was subverting European civilisation as he saw it, to colonising and civilising (i.e. Westernising) activity in Palestine. Jewish energy would either go into subverting Europe in Europe, or into making Palestine an outpost of Europe by subjugating the Arabs—Churchill was not mealy-mouthed in the way he said things.

Churchill might be fairly described as an anti-Semite, as might Balfour of the *Balfour Declaration*, even though these are the great English heroes of the Zionist movement. The English ogre of Zionist mythology is Ernest Bevin. Bevin is presented as the great English anti-Semite precisely because he did not share the anti-Semitic assumptions of Balfour and Churchill. They wanted to get rid of the Jews out of Britain because they exerted a dissolving influence on the national culture and this led necessarily to the rise of popular anti-Jewish sentiment on conservative grounds. But Bevin did not see the Jews as an obnoxious people. He did not see them as a people at all, but as a religion whose members had a place in the nation alongside the members of other religions. They saw anti-Semitism as a necessary objective condition that came about when the Jewish people increased above a very small proportion of the population of the state. He saw anti-Semitism as a residue of religious prejudice which would disappear with enlightenment. They were active Zionists for the purpose of getting rid of the Jews out of Britain, or at least whittling down their number. He had no desire to get rid of the Jews; he saw the establishment of a Jewish state as reversion towards mediaevalism; and, because he had no ulterior motive in the matter, he saw the Zionist colonising project for what it was. Therefore he was the great anti-Semite.

The meaning of anti-Semitism was reversed by the rise of Zionism to hegemony over the Jewish population at large in the world by developments following on from the Balfour Declaration. Prior to 1917 the basic anti-Semitism position was that the Jews were a people—a nation. After 1917 it came to be that the Jews were a religious group and not a nation. Bevin became the great anti-Semite because, having countered anti-Semitism as a religious prejudice all his life, he refused as Foreign Secretary to authorise the establishment of a state which only made sense if his anti-Semitic opponents were right and anti-Semitism was not the prejudice of religious backwardness but the recognition of a social reality.

The first opponents of the Balfour Declaration were Jews who had become

English, who saw Zionism as a surrender to anti-Semitic prejudice, and who saw that the establishment of a Jewish State by colonisation and conquest in Palestine would inevitably lead to a resurgence of Judaic fundamentalism even though many of its projectors were virtual atheists.

The first English propagandist for Zionism, *Manchester Guardian* journalist Herbert Sidebotham, obviously shared these apprehensions. He described the aggressive fundamentalism of the earlier Jewish states, over two thousand years ago, as making them intolerable to their neighbours, but thought a tolerable Jewish state might be constructed in the 20th century under British Imperial guidance and as a component of the British Empire. That possibility was never put to the test. The British Empire somehow undermined itself in its final bid for world domination in the 1914-18 War, even though it won that War, or was at least on the winning side. Large-scale colonisation of Palestine was set in motion against Palestinian opposition, the Jewish Agency was treated as an embryo Government while the native majority was shackled, and in the end the Jewish state was established through Jewish terrorism against the British administration and the Palestinians—terrorism supported by the USA and its client states in South America, the Soviet Union and its puppet states in Eastern Europe, and European Governments seeking to purge their own guilt for what had been done to the Jews in Europe during the Second World War by sacrificing the Palestinians to colonial Jewish nationalism—one holocaust in recompense for another. (Of course this was done with a decent amount of obfuscation and 'double-effect' casuistry, but the reality was always easily discernible.)

Half a century on we are told that anti-Semitism has become rampant in Europe once more, and that we must not think—or at least must not say—that this has anything to do with Jewish nationalist activity in the Middle East and the support for this activity by most Jews around the world.

If European anti-Semitism is reaching crisis proportions, and it is unconnected with Zionism, this refutes Ernie

Bevin and supports Balfour and Churchill in their assumption that there is something in the Jewish mode of existence which gives rise to serious popular hostility towards Jews when they become a discernible collective presence within a European nationality. This was also Hitler's assumption, of course, and in his final utterances in April 1945 he said something to the effect that he had at least done Europe the service of sorting out its Jewish problem for the time being, but that it would inevitably recur. One of the great difficulties European civilisation has with Hitler is that he was in so many ways its characteristic product—and Churchill recognised him, along with Mussolini, as one of its saviours from Bolshevism.

The great division in world Jewry after the Great War was actually in the lines seen by Churchill—Between Bolshevism (and other socialist positions verging on Bolshevism), and Zionism. Insofar as Jews actively resisted Zionist hegemony, it tended to be on the basis of something like a Bolshevik position—a socialist position whose internationalism was something more than conventional rhetoric.

Socialists on the whole tended to be nationalist in their assumptions. Their operative mental horizon was set by the nation state. That is plainly evident in the conduct of English socialists in the critical period of the British declaration of war on Germany in 1914 and the way things were sorted out in the aftermath of that war. The operative mental horizon of Jews was on the whole much less closely determined by the nationalism of the states where they happened to be. They did not on the whole participate subjectively in the nationalism of the states or peoples surrounding them, even when they complied with all the formal requirements of their surroundings. (An attempted *rapprochement* between Poles and Jews on the ground of the romance of Polish nationalism in the 1860s came to nothing.)

Even if Jews are understood to be a distinct nation rather than a religion, they were a nation dispersed among other nations. And, with regard to those other nations, their disposition tended to be internationalist. (The case is natu-

rally quite different when it comes to the Jewish nationalist state, with a very few exceptions.)

The Bolsheviks were the Socialists who took the slogans of internationalism most in earnest. And it might be said in that regard that the Jews were natural Bolsheviks. If others had become Bolshevik in the same proportion as the Jews, Bolshevism would have been well nigh irresistible.

Extermination was practised by Bolshevism as a social method long before it was adopted by Fascism. It was not until the war between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia that extermination was practised on a large scale by any Fascist state.

Extermination became a delicate issue when it was adopted as a method by a political force hostile to British/American/West European capitalist civilisation. Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, it was taken for granted that extermination was justified in the name of progress, and might even be a moral obligation. Only a short while before 1917—only a generation—the second-in-command of the Liberal Party under Gladstone, Sir Charles Dilke, published a very popular book called *Greater Britain* in which he boasted that the English were the greatest exterminating race the world had ever seen. The statement caused no great outcry of horror.

Large-scale extermination in peacetime by the forces of Liberalism in the cause of progress continued right up to 1917. All Bolshevism did in that regard was take up from Liberalism the procedure of exterminating in the cause of progress. Fascism then arose as a means of defending liberal civilisation in the cause of progress, and was supported on that basis by pillars of liberal society such as Churchill.

Churchill was the best of his class and his kind in the post-1918 era, and the tragedy is that he did not come to power until Britain had made a total mess of the world over which it had achieved dominance in 1918. He knew that the Second World War was a historical absurdity. By the time he came to office it could be nothing but a war in alliance with the fundamental enemy, Bolshevism, against



the political force which had saved liberal civilisation in Europe from Bolshevism—Fascism. This was the outcome of what was one of the greatest pieces of foreign policy bungling on record.

Churchill had wanted to do in 1919 what Germany did in 1941—make war on Russia as the stronghold of Bolshevism—and to do it with defeated Germany as an ally, instead of plundering and humiliating it. And that is the policy he wanted to implement as soon as Germany was defeated. But he lost office before he could attempt it. And, in any case, Britain had lost the power to act independently in such an undertaking, having become a dependency of the USA. And, by the time America was willing to act against it, Russia had become a nuclear power.

Churchill announced the strategy of fundamental antagonism with the state which had destroyed Nazi Germany and enabled Britain to survive the bungled, equivocating war that it declared in 1939. What followed was a 45-year stand-off.

The wartime alliance—and the obvious fact that Russia had fought the substance of the war that Britain had launched—resulted in there being in British public life, particularly in the Universities and the Trade Unions, an influential stratum sympathetic to Soviet Russia. There was within British public opinion a stand-off corresponding with the stand-off between the states. Robert Conquest and others churned out their astronomical figures about the scale of the Bolshevik exterminations, while others dealt with them as figures about British liberal exterminations had been dealt with—as costs of progress, which were necessary since progress was necessary, but which it was healthier not to dwell on too much.

And then the Soviet Union collapsed under the strain of the Cold War. And the public opinion sympathetic to it, or understanding of it, evaporated overnight—the Churchillians reasserted Churchill's fundamentalist view, that Bolshevism had from the start been nothing but a criminal conspiracy against civilisation—a monstrosity that needed to be wiped out without trace. And, once that view was reasserted after the Soviet collapse, no

public figure of any eminence disputed it, and no historian reviewed British foreign policy or reviewed the British foreign policy in 1939–45 in the light of this new, and generally agreed, value system.

The historical implication of this generally agreed position—agreed by the entire spectrum of political life manifested in Parliament and publishing—is that Bolshevism was the fundamental evil of the 20th century, and that Fascism was a means of defence of liberal civilisation which got out of hand because of the way the situation was mishandled by British foreign policy when Britain was the dominant state in that world.

Prior to 1990 the disproportionate Jewish participation in Bolshevism could be regarded with a kind of pride as another expression of the Jewish position in the vanguard of progress. But, if Bolshevism is to be regarded as a criminal conspiracy to destroy civilisation by means of exterminations, it must be regarded in some other way. But in what other way? That is the question posed by Hohmann. And it is a relevant question.

Of course Hohmann shouldn't have raised it, because Germans aren't allowed to think. They are only allowed to say "*Mea culpa*" unceasingly unto the seventh generation. And the Jews at least cannot be condemned visiting the sins of the fathers on the sons and grandsons, because God told them that that is His way with these things.

But why on earth are the Germans allowed to have a National Day if they are not allowed to think about themselves? It only encourages them to say something which is bound to be wrong. And then somebody rattles their chain and the conditioned reflex sends them scurrying back into their cage.

Fourteen years ago the Speaker of the Federal Parliament made a speech of unreserved condemnation of Nazism on the half-century of *Kristallnacht*. He was denounced as an anti-Semite because he gave some explanation of why the Germans had voted for Hitler and he had to resign.

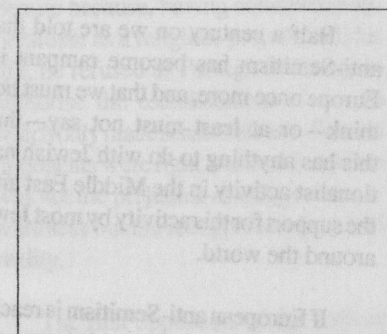
The Germans are exhorted to confront the truth about themselves—or about their fathers and grandfathers. But whenever they try to do so they are denounced.

If the Germans are not allowed to think about themselves, Germany should be broken up—as France wanted to do in 1919, and as Adenauer was willing to do.

Saying *Mea Culpa* is not thinking. In fact it is not doing anything at all. But, as Hegel said, the mind just can't help thinking. And, even though the Speaker scurried back into the cage in 1989, it is evident from Hohmann's speech that thought has been occurring underground. The Speaker could not conceivably have posed the questions that Hohmann poses. The Federal Republic was strictly mindless then in these matters.

Hohmann does not say that the Jews are a "*perpetrator people*" (a strange term but the meaning is obvious). He is replying to Daniel Goldhagen's book accusing the Germans as a whole of genocide. He says the Jews are no more a "*perpetrator people*" than the Germans, even though a certain proportion of each of them took part in exterminating activities.

He does not mention Jewish activity in the way of colonisation and conquest in Palestine. But it is a realistic assumption that he would not have asked his awkward questions if Germany had not been required to support, politically and financially, the Jewish conquest of Palestine while saying nothing of its own former activities of a similar kind but *Mea Culpa*.



# Justice For Germany

## Translation Of Speech By Bundestag Member Martin Hohmann On German National Day

(from Website of Neuhof CDU)

We will consider several ideas about our people and its somewhat difficult relationship with itself, in connection with the theme of "*Justice for Germany*". We will not waste too much time on superficial phenomena. But it is noteworthy that many Germans are concerned that a Turkish instigator of murder, after serving his custodial sentence, cannot be deported to his Turkish homeland. A German court interprets German law to the effect that the so-called Caliph of Cologne sees himself forced, not to return to Turkey, but to further draw German social assistance.

A boulevard paper discovers the case of Miami Rolf. This penniless German pensioner gets his living expenses, rent and cost of cleaning lady from the Lower Saxon State Social Security Office. The Euro 1,425 a month is sent to sunny Florida. That is entirely legal these days for, under Section 119 of the Federal Social Assistance Act, German citizens may receive social assistance abroad when there is good reason not to return. Expert psychiatric testimony established that Rolf J. is better preserved in his "accustomed surroundings" in Florida. His American friends can provide a better "safety net" for him there.

A short time ago a District Administration in Hesse was thundered at not to refuse on principle the potency drug, Viagra, to a 54 year old recipient of social welfare. With regard to these cases, the *Free Word* of Suhl writes: "*Yesterday it was Viagra out of the State trough, but today it is Germany-allergy*". The *Oldenburg North West Paper* recommends: "*Germans leave your work, off to Paradise*". Appositely, the *Deister & Weser Paper* remarks: "*Rage and anger boil up*".

Many of you know of similar cases of unashamed exploitation of the generosity of the German social state and of the many opportunities for recourse to law opened up by the Justice system. And, as a rule, this is done with no bad conscience by the kind of individual formerly described as a sponger. Well-meaning social politicians of all colours have lent great weight to this mentality. It could even be said that they have made it be taken for granted. Meanwhile it is forgotten that what Social Assistance Offices dispense

must first be hard earned by others, or loaded onto the public debt of the younger generation. Rights and duties are out of balance, with the rights of the individual raised and duties lowered. How many people in Germany now take account in their plans and behaviour of whether they serve the community as well as themselves, of whether they are bringing the country forward?

There is no doubt that the idea of "*us*"—relationship to the community—must be strengthened. This tough exercise is expressly required of us at a time of economic stagnation. The number of cutbacks made so far is not small. One need be no prophet to see that even more will be needed in the future. The majority of the population does not exclude a policy of economy. Nevertheless one thing is demanded: there must be fairness. When unsuccessful managers have given themselves settlements of millions, going up to two-digits, that is beyond comprehension, and not just of the involuntarily unemployed. Well, such settlements could be regarded as abuses of the so-called capitalist system and be excused as following the United States example. However, many Germans sense injustices particularly with regard to their own State. They feel that, as Germans, they are treated worse than others. Fulfilling civic duties, working hard, raising children brings no praise in Germany: that is the mug's game, at the expense of whom the chronically skint State fills its empty coffers.

Unfortunately, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot escape the suspicion that there is no preferential treatment for Germans in Germany. On the contrary. I have posed three questions to the Federal Government:

1. In view of economic developments and the decline of State revenue, is the Federal Government prepared to reduce its contribution to the European Union? The answer was: German commitments to the EU will be maintained without cutbacks.
2. Is the Federal government prepared to recompense German forced labourers, since DM10 billion have been committed to foreign and Jewish forced labourers? The answer was: the two cases cannot be compared. Neither will the Federal Government seek from the Russian, Polish or Czech Governments any symbolic restitution or gesture

of reparation for German forced labour.

3. In the light of economic developments and reduced tax receipts, is the Federal Government ready to tailor compensation payments under the Federal Compensation Act (that is, to—above all Jewish—victims of National Socialism) to the reduced ability to pay of the German State? The answer was: respect for the suffering then endured by these people demands that compensation levels remain unaffected.

These answers gave me food for thought. They confirm the view already widespread in our society: them first, then us. The subtle message is: make the payments to the foreign account in full and on time. Let the Germans pull in their belts a notch.

Quite frankly I would wish for a consensus, such as exists in many other countries in the world. There the consensus is: One's own State is there primarily for one's own citizens. If a preference for Germans does not seem possible or opportune, then I plead for at least equal treatment of Germans and foreigners.

On enquiring about the causes of this lop-sided situation, many answer: that's in German history.

Ladies and Gentlemen, no expert or thoughtful person can seriously contemplate whitewashing German history or obscuring it. No. We all know the devastating and unique deeds done at Hitler's bidding. Hitler as an agency for evil deeds, and with him Germans as such, have between them become the negative symbol of the last century. One speaks of a "*past that will not pass*". The phenomenon of Hitler also features disproportionately in public presentations. Thousands of rather indifferent films ensure that, particularly in Anglo-Saxon regions, the cliché of stupid, brutal and criminal German soldiers is retained and renewed.

To suggest that Germans too fell victim to foreign force on a large scale is to break the taboo. This is strikingly confirmed in moderate discussions about expulsions. Here the danger of setting these off against each other is conjured up. The responsibility of the Hitler regime in causing the Second World War is pointed to. Not long ago, Hans-Olaf Henkel, Vice-President of the Federal Union of German Industry, in an interview appo-



sitely pointed up the facts and consequences of taking this negative attitude to the past. He said: "Our original sin cripples the country" (*H'r Zu/Listen* 21.2.2003, p16ff).

We repeatedly experience the powerful impact right into the present day of the 12 years of the NS past. One might almost say that, as the Nazi dictatorship recedes, the effects of Hitler's evil spirit (*Ungeist*) exerts ever greater power. One cannot describe the turds made by his followers on the right extreme fringe of the political scene as harmless. However, their aggressive public behaviour as a rule repels, ensuring they get limited support in present-day, democratic Germany. From time to time German voters rebuff these empty heads at the polls, more so than occurs in comparable neighbouring countries. Seen in this light, the shattering of the ban on the NPD is an advantage, because it is not the Constitutional Court but German sovereignty, the electorate, which is giving its verdict about the brown offal.

The activity of this part of the Brown inheritance observable in current politics is one of the unpleasant but unavoidable consequences of a parliamentary democracy. The lunatic fringe at the left and right extremes of the political spectrum must be combatted politically and, where the criminal law is broken, judicially. Our State security organs have proved themselves by successfully combatting violent extremists, and at times of crisis, like the bloody RAF-terrorism of the 70s, won our trust.

It is not the brown hordes who gather around shattered symbols that are the real concern. The deep worry concerns our national consciousness: morale is being undermined at every turn by the after-effects of Hitler. The crime of the industrialised destruction of people, and particularly of the European Jews, occasioned by him, is a burden on German history. Ancestral guilt in this crime against humanity has almost led to a new self-definition by Germans. Despite the protestations on all sides that there is no collective guilt, despite new nuanced verbal expressions such as "collective responsibility" or "collective shame", in essence the reproach remains: the Germans are the "perpetrator people" (*T%otervolk*, perpetrator-people).

Every other nation rather inclines to shift the dark sides of their history into a more favourable light. Protective blinkers are put on over shameful events. The greatest example of re-interpretation is how the French Revolution is presented. Here is the great massacre in Paris and the provinces, particularly in the Vendee. Here is the linked taking of power by an autocrat, whose wars of conquest brought millions of deaths to Europe. Nevertheless the majority of commentators within France and beyond describe the

revolution with its terror as an emancipating act and Napoleon as the mild and enlightened father of modern Europe.

No kind revision or reinterpretation of this nature is accorded to the Germans. It is vehemently opposed by the political class and academia which is currently dominant. They are "almost neurotically obstinate about German guilt" as Joachim Gauck put it on 1st October, 2003.

With almost neurotic zeal ever new generations of German scholars investigate the minutest ramifications of the NS-period.

It is a wonder that no one has proposed the renouncing of the use of knives and forks for, as is well-known, these instruments served to physically strengthen those perpetrators. The Germans as the perpetrator people. That has become an image of great impressive effect internationally. Against this the rest of the world has taken the part of the innocent sacrificial lambs—or at least relatively innocent. Anyone who does not unhesitatingly accept this clear division of roles—here the Germans, the most guilty ever; there the morally superior nations—is in for trouble. Trouble from precisely those who, with great personal success, made their principal occupation, as 68ers, "questioning fundamentals, criticising and exposing". As is well known, exposing brought several of these to the highest office.

My very honourable ladies and gentlemen, to avoid any misunderstanding: Like you I am for clarity and truth. It should, must, not be suppressed or denied. "Make no secret of the truth, if it brings suffering, it will not bring regret", says the poet. Yes, the unpleasant, the unbelievable, the shaming aspects of truth, that must be borne. We Germans have borne it, we have borne it for decades. But the question for many is whether the excess of truth about the criminal and fateful 12 years of NS-dictatorship are not a) being instrumentalised and b) could not, against the expectation of those teaching the people, be reversed into an inner warding-off attitude.

Over and over again the same evil truth: that can, that must, lead to direct psychic damage, as we know from re-socialisation psychology.

It is particularly bad when a US-American Junior-Professor (Daniel Jonah Goldhagen) designates, as the result of his work of enlightenment, our whole people as "murderers from birth onwards". This thesis, as shrill as it is false, has nevertheless brought him—particularly in Germany—media attention and author's honours. Other nations would ignore him with cold contempt.

And in fact younger people decline to be saddled with the transgressions of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers or accept the verdict: "members of the perpetrator people".

What is undoubtedly certain is that the German people has concerned itself with the crimes of the Hitler period in a singular and unsparing manner, begged forgiveness, and contributed as much as it could, billions, in compensation, above all to the Jews. I am referring to the contracts between the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Israel under the leading personalities, Adenauer and Ben Gurion. The majority of Germans quite expressly agreed to the compensation agreed then, knowing that pain and death in immeasurable quantity can not be undone.

Against this background I put the provocative question: do the Jewish people, who we perceive exclusively in the role of victims, not also have a darker side in modern times, or were the Jews exclusively victims, bearing suffering?

Ladies and gentlemen, it will surprise you that the American car-king, Henry Ford, published a book in 1920 called, "The International Jew". 500,000 copies of this book were produced in the USA. It became a world best seller and was translated into 16 languages. Generalising in this book, Ford exposed the Jews as "world Bolsheviks". He made out a supposed "all-Jewish stamp on red Russia", where the Bolshevik Revolution was then raging. He designated the Jews "in predominating measure" as "makers of revolution". He was referring to Russia, Germany and Hungary. In his book Ford alleged an "identity of being" between Jewry and Communism or Bolshevism.

How does Ford arrive at this thesis which, to our ears, resembles NS-propaganda about "Jewish Bolshevism"? Let us listen to what the Jew Felix Teilhaber says in 1919: "Socialism is a Jewish idea. For centuries our wise men have preached Socialism". That is to say, Jewish thinkers stood at the cradle of Communism and Socialism. Thus Karl Marx descends from rabbis from both his parents. His portrait hung in the living room of a Jewish lady-researcher who moreover acknowledged: "I grew up with the idea that a Jewish person is for social justice and is progressive and socialist. Socialism was our religion." Quasi-religious features continually sound in the writings of this early communist period. Many of the Jews engaged in Bolshevism felt themselves so to speak "believing soldiers of the World Revolution". Thus Kurt Eisner already expected in 1908 that the "religion of Socialism" would overcome the "despair of the vale of sorrows" and the "hopelessness of earthly fate". Leo Rosenberg in 1917 glorified the proletariat as the "world Messiah".

The question arises in concrete terms: how many Jews were there in revolutionary committees? In the 1917 seven-man Bolshevik Politburo there were four Jews: Leon Trotsky, Leo Kamenev, Grigori Zinoviev

and Grigori Sokolnikov. The non-Jews were Lenin, Stalin, Bubnow. Amongst the 21 members of the revolutionary Central Committee in Russia there were in 1917 6 of Jewish nationality, that is 28.6%. The extremely high proportion of Jews amongst the communist founding fathers and revolutionary committees was by no means restricted to the Soviet Union. Ferdinand Lassalle was also a Jew, as also Eduard Bernstein and Rosa Luxembourg. In 1924, of six CP-leaders in Germany, four—and thus two thirds—were Jewish. In Vienna, of 137 leading Austrian Marxists, 81—and thus 60%—were Jewish. Of 48 People's Commissars in Hungary, 30 were Jewish. But the Jewish share of the revolutionary Soviet secret police, the Cheka, was also disproportionately high. Whilst the Jewish share of the population in the Soviet Union was around 2% in 1934, the Jewish formed 39% of the leaders of the Cheka. In the Soviet Union, it might be said by way of explanation, the Jews counted as a separate nationality. Its numbers in the Cheka were 36% higher than the Russian. Indeed, in the Ukraine the Jews formed 75% of the Cheka.

This identification led to a chapter which at that time produced huge indignation. The murder of the Russian Tsar and his family was ordered by a Jew, Jacob Sverdlov, and was carried out on Tsar Nicholas II by the hand of the Jew, Chaimovitz Jurovski. The further question presents itself, whether the Jews were fellow-travellers or leaders of the Communist movement. The latter is the case: Leon Trotsky in the USSR and Bela Kun in Hungary.

Not to forget the Munich Soviet: Kurt Eisner, Eugen Levine, Tobias Achselrod and other Jews were active as undisputed leading personalities. At that time, there was a great sensation when armed Red Guardists penetrated the Munich Nunciature of the later Pope Pacelli. He was threatened by the revolutionaries with a pistol held against his chest. Also, at the end of April 1919, the resoluteness of the revolutionary process was manifested by the shooting of seven members of the "Thule Society", which was closely connected to the later NSDAP. This shooting of hostages, given a banner headline by the *London Times* on 5th May 1919, provided "nourishment to a poisonous anti-Semitism and aroused an appetite for revenge for long afterwards".

Further questions could be raised about the revolutionary zeal and the determination of Jewish Communists. Indeed, this revolutionary elite was really in earnest. Thus Franz Koritschoner of the CP of Austria declared: "To lie and to steal, yes even to kill for an idea, that is courage; for this courage is needed". Gregori Zinoviev announced in 1917: "90 of the 100 million Soviet-Russians must join in. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them. They must be exterminated

[rooted out]" (p138). Moisei Wolodarko put it in a similar way: "The interests of the Revolution require the physical destruction of the bourgeoisie" (p138). Similarly Arthur Rosenberg in 1922: "Soviet power has the duty of disabling its irreconcilable enemies" (p163).

Undoubtedly these statements made by Communist Jewish revolutionaries were no empty threats. This was serious. This was deadly serious. According to a statistical investigation made by a professor and presented to Churchill in 1930, the following people were supposed to have fallen victim to the Soviets up to 1924: 28 Orthodox Bishops, 1,219 Orthodox religious, 6,000 professors and teachers, 9,000 doctors, 12,950 landowners, 54,000 officers, 70,000 policemen, 193,000 workers, 260,000 soldiers, 355,000 intellectuals and professional people, and 815,000 peasants.

A particularly gruesome chapter was the suppression of any resistance to forced collectivisation in the Ukraine. With the proportionate participation of Jewish Chekists, more than 10 million people died here. Most of them died of starvation.

On no account may the express anti-Church and anti-Christian alignment of the Bolshevik Revolution be understated, as is the case in most schoolbooks. In fact, Bolshevism with its militant atheism conducted the most comprehensive persecution of Christians and religion in history. According to statistics produced by the Russian authorities, between 1917 and 1940, 96,000 Orthodox Christians, amongst them priests, deacons, monks, nuns and other colleagues, were shot after their arrest.

Neither the Orthodox Churches or monasteries were shielded. The edifices were either destroyed or used for profane purposes. Thus Churches were transformed into clubs, shops or granaries. The gold and silver of sacred treasures of the Orthodox Church was used to finance worldwide revolutionary movements.

How did the religious Jews themselves fare in the early Soviet Union? They too fell prey to the persecution of the Bolsheviks. The emphatic head of the Bolshevik so-called Godless Movement was Trotsky. At that time he denied his Jewishness, but he was perceived as a Jew by the Russians and around the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have seen the strong and long-lasting marks left by Jews on the revolutionary movement in Russia and Middle-European states. It was that which led the American President, Woodrow Wilson, to the assessment in 1919 that the Bolshevik movement was "Jewish led". One could with a certain justification, looking at the millions who died in this first, revolutionary phase, ask about the "crimes" of the Jews. Jews were active in great numbers both at the leadership level and in the Cheka

shooting squads. For that reason one could with a certain justification designate Jews as a "perpetrator people". That may sound shocking. It would, however, follow the same logic as is used when designating Germans as a perpetrator people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we must take a more careful look. The Jews who devoted themselves to Bolshevism and Revolution, first broke their religious ties. By origin and upbringing they were Jews, but by their worldview most of them were ardent haters of all religion. The same applied to the National Socialists. Most of them came from a Christian home. But they laid aside their religion and became enemies to the Christian and to the Jewish religion. The common element of Bolshevism and Nationalism was thus a hostile alignment to religion and godlessness. For that reason neither "the Germans" nor "the Jews" are perpetrator peoples. But one can say with absolute justification: the Godless, with Godless ideologies, these were the perpetrator people of the last, bloody century. These Godless ideologies gave the "instruments of evil" the justification, even a good conscience, for their crimes. Thus they could set their own sovereignty above the Godly commandment, "thou shalt not murder". A historical and so far unique million-fold murder was the result. That is why, Ladies and Gentlemen, I plead with determination for reflection back to our religious roots and ties. Only these can prevent catastrophes, such as those the Godless have inflicted on us. The Christian religion is a religion of life. Christ has said: "I want that ye have life and that ye have it in abundance" (John 10,10). By this is meant not just the future, but also quite concretely our present day life and survival. That is why it is also so important that we adopt a reference to God in the European Constitution.

My very honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, we have thus seen that the reproach against Germans, that they are simply a "perpetrator people", misses the point and is unjustified. We should in future together defend ourselves against this reproach. Our motto is: Justice for Germany, Justice for Germans.

I conclude saying: With God in a good future for Europe! With God a good future for our German fatherland in particular!

PS: Page numbers in brackets refer to the book, "Jewish Bolshevism" Myth & Reality by Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein.



# Britain in the firing-line

By David Morrison

When, on 11 September 2001, I heard Tony Blair state on our behalf that Britain would stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the US, my first thought was that Canary Wharf would be next. And in the past two years, as it became more difficult for al-Qaeda to attack the US mainland, I expected a strike on the more accessible British mainland, particularly after the US/UK invasion and occupation of Iraq.

But it wasn't until last month that there was a specific strike against a British target, and then it was not on the British mainland but against the British consulate and an HSBC building in Istanbul. As was to be expected, the Government did its best to pretend that the attack had nothing to do with its chosen policy of always being at America's side. We are supposed to believe that it was sheer coincidence that the perpetrators chose to attack a British target on a day that Blair was literally standing shoulder-to-shoulder with Bush in Downing Street.

Speculation now abounds that London will be hit: Oxford Street during the Christmas rush has been mentioned as an ideal al-Qaeda target. Whether al-Qaeda or its associates has that capability is unknowable, but what is not in doubt is that being shoulder-to-shoulder with the US increases the risk that British targets will be hit, at home and abroad. And invading Iraq alongside the US has further increased the risk.

Blair made those choices for Britain, and unfortunately they were endorsed by Parliament. Those choices will get British targets hit and British people killed.

## Inevitable?

It is frequently said by the police and the security services that it is inevitable that Britain will be hit. That is nonsense. There is no inevitability about it. The threat is a product of choosing to be

America's closest ally. A change of policy away from being an uncritical follower of the US, coupled with specific action to demonstrate that we are serious about it, for example, by withdrawing our forces from Iraq, would eliminate the threat at a stroke, permanently.

Of course, that's not going to happen. But let us be clear that the Prime Minister has made a policy choice that has put British lives in danger. And no amount of concrete bollards, or security guards, or draconian laws so beloved by David Blunkett, will eliminate that danger. As the IRA said in its message to the Government after the Brighton bombing: "We have only to be lucky once; you have to be lucky all the time".

## Blair speechless

At a press conference in Downing Street, few hours after the Istanbul bombing, Nick Robinson of ITV News did the unthinkable and put it to Blair that his policy choice has put British lives in peril. Robinson asked:

*"What do you say to people who today conclude that British people have died and been maimed as a result of you appearing here today, shoulder-to-shoulder with a controversial American President?"*

Blair went white with anger and, remarkably for him, was speechless for about 30 seconds. He then came up with the following acute analysis:

*"What has caused the terrorist attack today in Turkey is not the President of the United States, is not the alliance between America and Britain. What is responsible for that terrorist attack is terrorism, are the terrorists. And our response has got to be to unify in that situation, to put the responsibility squarely on those who are killing*

*and murdering innocent people, and to say, we are going to defeat you, and we're not going to back down or flinch at all from this struggle."*

What is missing from this "analysis" is an inkling of what drives people to kill themselves and others in carrying out these awful acts, and therefore what action might be taken to make these awful acts less likely.

## IRA

To those of us who live in Northern Ireland, this is very reminiscent of the British Government's public response to the IRA campaign during its first 20 years or so. Then, the IRA was denounced as bunch of evil fanatics, who carried out mindless acts of violence because they were evil fanatics. They had to be defeated, full stop. There was to be no backing down.

It was anathema to suggest publicly that, like it or like it not, the IRA was politically motivated, that its violence was geared to achieve a political end. Of course, the British Government gave the game away from time to time by negotiating secretly with the IRA, and later openly with its political wing, Sinn Féin – which is why there is relative peace in Northern Ireland now.

## Zbigniew Brzezinski

The four Kurdish suicide bombers from the Great Eastern Raiders' Front responsible for the bombs in Istanbul on 15 and 20 November may not have a definite political objective like the IRA. But as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's National Security Advisor, wrote in an article in the New York Times on 1 September 2002, "lurking behind every terroristic act is a specific political antecedent". He went on:

*"In the case of September 11, it does not require deep analysis to note – given the identity of the*

*perpetrators – that the Middle East's political history has something to do with the hatred of Middle Eastern terrorists for America.*

*"American involvement in the Middle East is clearly the main impulse of the hatred that has been directed at America. There is no escaping the fact that Arab political emotions have been shaped by the region's encounter with French and British colonialism, by the defeat of the Arab effort to prevent the existence of Israel and by the subsequent American support for Israel and its treatment of the Palestinians, as well as by the direct injection of American power into the region.*

*"Yet there has been a remarkable reluctance in America to confront the more complex historical dimensions of this hatred. The inclination instead has been to rely on abstract assertions like terrorists 'hate freedom' or that their religious background makes them despise Western culture.*

*"To win the war on terrorism, one must therefore set two goals: first to destroy the terrorists and, second, to begin a political effort that focuses on the conditions that brought about their emergence."*

## Messianic fervour

There might be a case for Blair sticking close to Bush if he was telling Bush to focus on the conditions that gave rise to the emergence of al-Qaeda, and, in particular, to cease backing Israel in its continuing theft of Arab land.

But he is not. On the contrary, he has taken up every silly Bush refrain, and amplified it with his own particular brand of messianic fervour.

One needed a very strong stomach to listen to his address to the US Congress on 17 July, during which he received 17 standing ovations. He ended by committing Britain in perpetuity to stand by America's side in the great struggle ahead against "terrorism" and for freedom, democracy and the rule of law:

*"And our job, my nation that watched you grow, that you fought alongside and now fights alongside you, that takes enormous pride in our alliance and great affection in our common bond, our job is to be there with you. You are not going to be alone. We will be with you in this fight for liberty. And if our spirit is right and our courage firm, the world will be with us."*

By comparison, Bush's speech to an invited audience in London on 19 November was a measured discourse on the need for freedom and democracy, particularly in the Middle East.

## Democracy in Palestine

On 26 January 1996, there was a remarkable outbreak of democracy in the Middle East. Elections took place to the 88-member Palestinian Legislative Council on a multi-member constituency basis, in 16 electoral districts. Turnout was high: 73% in the West Bank and 88% in Gaza. Fatah won 68 seats (47 official and 21 unofficial, classed as independents), but other independent candidates were elected as well, including candidates opposed to the Oslo agreement. At the same time, Yasser Arafat was elected president of the Palestinian Authority: he got 88% of the votes in a contest against Samiha Khalil.

Unlike the US Presidential election of 2000, nobody disputes the fairness of these elections. Arafat won by a street, unlike George W Bush who, after weeks of controversy about the voting in Florida, including about his brother's massaging of the electoral roll, was declared President by his father's appointees to the US Supreme Court.

Nevertheless, the doubtfully elected President of the US refuses to meet and recognise the duly, and overwhelmingly, elected President of the Palestinian Authority. He is so committed to bringing democracy to the Middle East that he refuses to deal with the one Arab leader who has an unambiguous electoral mandate. Like Ariel Sharon, he insists that the Palestinians find another leader, because he doesn't like the one they elected in 1996.

## Democracy Bush-style

Here are his words in what was hailed as a landmark speech on 24 June 2002, because he committed the US to a so-called two-state solution in Palestine:

*"Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born.*

*"I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror. I call upon them to build a practising democracy, based on tolerance and liberty. If the Palestinian people actively pursue these goals, America and the world will actively support their efforts.*

*"If the Palestinian people meet these goals, they will be able to reach agreement with Israel and Egypt and Jordan on security and other arrangements for independence. And when the Palestinian people have new leaders, new institutions and new security arrangements with their neighbours, the United States of America will support the creation of a Palestinian state whose borders and certain aspects of its sovereignty will be provisional until resolved as part of a final settlement in the Middle East."*

If the Palestinians get a new leadership acceptable to George Bush, then they can have a state. Otherwise, they can't. That's democracy Bush-style.

(A few weeks after this "landmark" speech by the President, a senior member of his administration expressed the rather different view that the West Bank and Gaza belonged to Israel by right of conquest. He said:

*"My feeling about the so-called occupied territories are that there was a war, Israel urged neighboring countries not to get involved in it once it started, they all jumped in, and they lost a lot of real estate to Israel because Israel prevailed in that conflict. In the intervening period, they've made some settlements in various parts of the so-called occupied area, which was the result of a war, which they won."*



That was Donald Rumsfeld, speaking at a so-called Pentagon Townhall Meeting on 6 August 2002. He is still a member of George Bush's administration.)

#### Acceptable to Blair

Bush-style democracy is entirely acceptable to Blair. On 19 November, Bush made a speech in the Royal Banqueting Hall in Whitehall to an invited audience. The next day, Blair described this speech as "a powerful, telling speech extolling the virtues of freedom, justice, democracy, and the rule of law, not just for some people, but for all the peoples of our world".

In that speech, praised to the skies by Blair, Bush once again made it plain that the leadership elected by Palestinians is unacceptable to the US:

*"As we work on the details of peace, we must look to the heart of the matter, which is the need for a viable Palestinian democracy. Peace will not be achieved by Palestinian rulers who intimidate opposition, who tolerate and profit from corruption and maintain their ties to terrorist groups. These are the methods of the old elites, who time and again had put their own self-interest above the interest of the people they claim to serve. The long-suffering Palestinian people deserve better. They deserve true leaders, capable of creating and governing a Palestinian state."*

It is noticeable that Bush's demand for new leadership is never accompanied by calls for fresh elections on the grounds that the 1996 mandate has expired. Understandably so, since Arafat would be returned with a fresh mandate, which would be difficult to ignore while at the same time extolling the virtues of democracy. And any elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council would produce a body less acceptable to Bush and Sharon than the current one.

(As for corruption in the Palestinian Authority, remember that George W Bush was a personal friend of Kenneth Lay. He called him Kenny Boy. As the head of Enron, Kenny Boy presided over a multi-billion dollar scam, from which George W's received major contributions to his election fund. By comparison, any

corruption in the Palestinian Authority is a minor matter.)

It is reasonable to assume that the enthusiasm of Bush and Blair for democracy in the abstract is conditional in practice upon the democracy electing leaders who are acceptable to the US/UK. That is the experience from Palestine. Is there any doubt that, for all their windy rhetoric about democracy and freedom in Iraq, that experience will be replicated there?

#### Guantanamo

There is another glaring example, where the Bush/Blair attachment to democracy and the rule of law in theory is contradicted in practice. Adam Boulton of Sky News referred to it in a question to them on 19 November:

*"What do you say to those people, both those who support what your two governments have done since September 11th, and those who oppose it, that, in fact, the treatment of the captives in Guantanamo Bay actually belies all your talk of freedom, justice and tolerance?"*

Bush uttered the usual formula that these people were illegal combatants, picked up off a battlefield, as if that justified holding people without trial and incommunicado for more than two years. (He actually said "illegal non-combatants", but that must have been a Bushism). In fact, not all of them were picked up off the battlefield in Afghanistan: some were captured in Pakistan, and in other states including Bosnia.

#### Justice Blair-style

Blair's response was:

*"let's just remember, this arose out of the battle in Afghanistan, that arose out of September the 11th and the attack there. So, even though this arose out of this appalling, brutal attack on America on September the 11th, nonetheless, we make sure that justice is done for people."*

So, because the US was subject to an "appalling, brutal attack", the Blair

version of the rule of law allows the US to:

- detain hundreds of people in Afghanistan and elsewhere, the vast majority of whom had nothing to do with 9/11,
- remove them from the state in which they were detained without any judicial process, which if done by an individual is called kidnapping,
- transport them to a location specially chosen so that they can continue to be denied access to a judicial process (because it is under US control but outside the jurisdiction of US courts), and
- detain them without trial and without access to legal representatives for more than two years.

And now he says they are making sure that justice is done for these people.

That is, of course, another big lie. The six British detainees may get some form of trial somewhere, because Blair has come under pressure at home about it, and his friend George is trying to help him out. But Blair hasn't shown the slightest interest in "justice" for the other 99% of detainees. The Blair version of the rule of law doesn't include the concept of equality before the law.

#### Loss of life

Another thing: it is about time the loss of life in the US on 11 September 2001 was put into perspective. 3,000 people died that day. Bush and Blair have killed many times that number since, in Afghanistan and Iraq. The number will never be known with any precision, because they have never made any attempt to count Afghan or Iraqi dead and wounded, either civilian or military. The US army doesn't even keep a count of the civilians it has killed during the occupation. Their attitude is profoundly racist: dead Afghans and Iraqis, combatants or non-combatants, don't matter.

Various individuals and organisations have tried to estimate civilian dead. Marc Herold estimates, from news reports, that 3,000 to 3,400 civilians were killed in Afghanistan (see

[www.cursor.org/stories/civilian\\_deaths.htm](http://www.cursor.org/stories/civilian_deaths.htm)). The Iraq Body Count organisation estimates Iraqi civilian deaths at 8-10,000, including 1,500 who have died in Baghdad alone in the general mayhem since the occupation began (see [www.iraqbodycount.net](http://www.iraqbodycount.net)). God knows how many combatants have been killed, but it can hardly be less than the civilian deaths. Blair and Bush may have been responsible for the deaths of ten times the number who died on 9/11. But these deaths never get a mention.

And remember, very few of these people had anything to do with 9/11.

#### Bad people

Adam Boulton's devastating question at the Bush/Blair press conference in Downing Street on 20 November wasn't the first time he had bowled a yorker at them about the detainees at Guantanamo. On 17 July in the White House, he asked if they had concerns that the detainees were not getting justice. This prompted Bush to declare them all guilty without trial, saying, in a remark worthy of David Blunkett:

*"No, the only thing I know for certain is that these are bad people"*

Remember, in the military court system being prepared to try the detainees, the US President is the court of last resort. He may have the power of life or death over them. You can see what Blair means when he says they are making sure that justice is done to the detainees.

Bush's on the spot conviction of the detainees prompted Nick Robinson to ask:

*"Mr. President, do you realize that many people hearing you say that we know these are bad people in Guantanamo Bay will merely fuel their doubts that the United States regards them as innocent until proven guilty and due a fair, free and open trial?"*

Bush made a half-hearted attempt to withdraw his guilty verdict:

*"Well, let me just say these were illegal combatants. They were picked up off the battlefield aiding and abetting the Taliban. I'm not*

*trying to try them in front of your cameras or in your newspaper."*

(Every year, the US State Department publishes detailed reports on human rights violations around the world. They are readily available on the State Department website. The report for 2002 on Saudi Arabia says:

*"Security forces continued to arbitrarily arrest and detain persons, and hold them in incommunicado detention."*

What are they complaining about?)

#### "Terrorist" free zone

Blair took Britain to war against Iraq, because, he said, its possession of "weapons of mass destruction" made it a threat to its neighbours and to the world. He specifically stated that, if Iraq gave up these weapons, the Iraqi regime would not be overthrown. Disarming Iraq and removing the threat it posed to its neighbours and the world was the object of Government policy, not regime change. Vile though the regime was, it would be left alone, providing it gave up its chemical and biological weapons.

Now that no "weapons of mass destruction" have been found, Blair invites us to rejoice at the overthrow of a regime which he said he would be content to leave in place, providing it had no "weapons of mass destruction" – which it obviously hadn't. The "liberation" of Iraq is now his ex post facto justification for the invasion and occupation.

But faced with Iraqi resistance to being "liberated" by the US/UK, he has had to engage in further piece of twisting. The line now is that the Iraqi resistance are "terrorists" opposed to "freedom and democracy", just like the "terrorists" who flew aircraft into buildings on 9/11 and the ones who planted bombs in Istanbul last month. Speaking on 20 November just after the bombing of the British targets in Istanbul, he said:

*"And what this latest terrorist outrage shows us is that this is a war, its main battleground is Iraq. We have got to make sure we defeat these terrorists, the former Saddam people in Iraq, and we must do that*

*because that is an essential part of defeating this fanaticism and extremism that is killing innocent people all over our world today."*

This is yet another theme which Blair has copied from Bush, who, as Iraqi resistance has grown, has increasingly portrayed his Iraqi adventure as an integral part of the "war on terror" and therefore essential to prevent a repeat of 9/11. It's understandable that Bush should mouth such nonsense since he is up for re-election next year, but does Blair have to insult our intelligence by repeating his nonsense.

How did Iraq become what he now calls the "main battleground" in the war on terror? Could it be that it was something to do with the fact that he and George Bush invaded Iraq in March this year and have occupied it ever since? Could it be that, had they not invaded Iraq, it would have remained a "terrorist" free zone?

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al-Razak, met with Justice Minister Yosef Lapid in his office. The Palestinian public has only contempt for such cabinet ministers.

This deception in the form of a supposedly autonomous government and Authority serves the Israeli government above all. The Palestinian Authority's existence allows Israel to accuse it and demand that it fight terrorism, and Israel can also tell the world that its occupation is not full.

In the past three years Israel has done much to harm all of the PA's bases of power. Little remains of it, and the zombie-like entity that continues to exist in Ramallah should now depart the world. This is not only an internal Palestinian matter: Israel, too, bears heavy responsibility, which it is trying to shake off. If the Palestinian cabinet ministers were to declare together that the game is over, that there is no longer a Palestinian Authority and no longer a Palestinian government, the entire weight of responsibility for the occupation would devolve on Israel.



# Trade Union Diary

By Sean Brady

## Straw's Dogs

The debate on international affairs on 27 November following the Queen's Speech showed the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, at his most duplicitous. Challenged by Crispin Blunt, the Tory Member for Reigate, about the invasion of Iraq and its effect on terrorism, Straw said "The claim that there is a connection – that the terrorism has been caused by the conflict and that, as a result, the coalition is somehow indirectly responsible for it – I regard as complete nonsense".

Straw knows only too well that no-one, especially not Crispin Blunt, believes or suggests that the invasion of Iraq is the root cause of the terrorism experienced over the past nine months. But it cannot be denied that the invasion and occupation of Iraq is creating instability on a global scale and is increasing the number of young men and women willing to die a martyr's death to rid the world of the 'evil empire' that is the United States and the UK. It was also the opinion of British intelligence before the invasion occurred; an opinion ignored by Blair and Straw.

Straw's speech, or at least that part of it dealing with Iraq, was a defence of the reasons for the invasion, which included Iraq's possession of "long-range missile systems and its proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction". We now know that Iraq didn't possess either of these that presented a threat to Britain or America. But that is no longer of concern to Straw who justifies the invasion on the grounds that "Iraq today, notwithstanding its difficult security situation, is a safer and better place than ever it was under the murderous Saddam". A judgement that depends on whether one prefers anarchy to tyranny.

## Big brother is listening

Labour's 'Big Conversation' is being held because Blair and his cabinet have realised that if they continue to

treat the electorate with contempt, the electorate may reciprocate by kicking them out of office at the next election. Having announced that he has 'no reverse gear', Blair will of course ignore what the people say, but he clearly hopes that by appearing willing to listen, a lot of the public's antagonism towards him will dissipate before polling day. In that sense the 'Big Conversation' is an exercise in cynicism. In fact Blair has admitted that its real purpose is to explain government policy more clearly. A bit like attending a university lecture.

We can take part in the conversation either by attending meetings with senior politicians in person or by logging onto the website, [www.bigconversation.org.uk](http://www.bigconversation.org.uk), and engaging with them on line, or at least with an official at Old Queen Street standing in for a politician. The site includes what it refers to as a "conversation starter" setting out the challenges that face us on public services, law and order, family life and work, and what it calls 'global threats', above the name of the Rt Hon Tony Blair MP.

In the blurb Blair says, "We have to ensure that all our children get a decent start in life," which is no doubt why he is to introduce university top-up tuition fees. He clearly believes that these will benefit the children of working class parents. Labour's rationale for an increase in fees is that rising numbers of undergraduate entrants requires greater expenditure. But rather than raise taxes to pay for improvements in education, New Labour is making the user pay more at source. How long before we have to pay for hospital services at the point of use?

He also proudly refers to the 600,000 children lifted out of poverty that "required us to redistribute our national wealth," a dishonest statement if ever there was one. If 600,000 children have

been lifted out of poverty it is not because Labour has redistributed wealth from the rich to the poor, but because a growing economy has enabled the Chancellor to raise child benefit and introduce tax credits for working families. Under New Labour the rich have got richer, increasing the gap between rich and poor. The real test of Labour's claim to create a socially just society will come when the economy is in decline. We'll see then whether Blair, assuming he is still Party leader and PM, has the courage to 'redistribute our national wealth' to help the children of the poor.

## Beyond our Ken

Ken Livingstone is keen to rejoin Labour. Blair, apparently, is sympathetic. While Prescott is said to be hostile. Now Livingstone is supported by the General Secretaries of five trade unions, including two of the biggest, the T&G and UNISON. In a letter to the Guardian on 28 November they say, "We strongly support the proposal to readmit Livingstone to the Labour Party. This is not about the interests of Livingstone but about Labour's interests in London". And Labour's interests in London demand that Livingstone stands on the Labour ticket at the next mayoral election, for without him the Party has little chance of winning.

Leaving aside the unanswered question, why Livingstone wants to rejoin a Party that is more right wing than the Tories on a number of issues, the General Secretaries' letter shows why the unions have had little impact on Blair's neo-liberal agenda. They have swallowed the line, peddled constantly by cabinet ministers, that as bad as Labour may be the alternative would be far worse. Acceptance of this enables Blair to do almost anything he wishes, in the knowledge that the unions may carp but they won't withdraw their support.

## Assembly Election Statement from Cllr Mark Langhammer

November 30, 2003

Following last week's elections, the position of SDLP candidates and members is uncertain. A largely 'one generational' and solely Northern Ireland focussed party, it's principle "raison d'être" – the confessionally designated Northern Assembly – has gone.

This brings us back to political fundamentals. Every political settlement brought forward in the past thirty years has had, as its centrepiece, the restoration in some shape or form of a Stormont Assembly. Yet this odd entity, Northern Ireland, with such deep rooted communal divisions as the driving force of political life, is unquestionably the least well suited region on these islands on which to experiment with devolution. Stormont failed in 1972, it failed in 1974, it failed in 1975, it failed between 1982 and 1986, it failed in the 1996 Forum, and it failed four times between 1998 and 2003. The fact is, Stormont has never worked, doesn't work now, and is unlikely to ever work in the future. In future attempts at political development, Stormont should be considered "Out, out, out".

Once we accept that the restoration of Stormont is "out", the future for SDLP members should be clear. A growing "de facto" joint authority, with stronger, more regulated, powers to local Government under the impending Review of Local Administration, should see SDLP members do the logical thing. They should play a part in island-wide political development by seeking to join the national party of their choice - Fianna Fail, Fine Gael or Labour. Moves to consider this are, I understand, well under way in Belfast.

Labour disposed members can get joining forms from me at [mlanghammer@newtownabbey.gov.uk](mailto:mlanghammer@newtownabbey.gov.uk) or from party headquarters at 17 Ely Place, Dublin2.

Yours Faithfully,  
Cllr Mark Langhammer  
Labour, Newtownabbey Borough Council

## Israel & Iran: Double standard on nuclear weapons

By David Morrison

Israel has nuclear weapons, perhaps as many as 400 of them. The Federation of American Scientists (see [www.fas.org](http://www.fas.org)) puts the number at between 100 and 200.

The fissile material for these weapons was mainly plutonium from a nuclear reactor supplied by France in the late 50s and situated at Dimona in the Negev Desert.

However, it is generally believed that nuclear material was stolen by Israeli agents from the US, the UK and France in the 1960s and transported to Israel by covert means (see Annex A). The most notorious instance was the theft of 200 pounds of enriched uranium from the US nuclear facility in Apollo, Pennsylvania, with the alleged help of its American director, Zalman Shapiro.

Israel's weapons stockpile today includes warheads for mobile Jericho-1 and Jericho-2 missiles, and probably for submarine-launched cruise missiles, as well as nuclear bombs for delivery by aircraft. The Jericho-1 is reckoned to have a range of up to 750km, the Jericho-2 up to 1500km (though some estimates put it as high as 4000km).

In the 1990s Israel took delivery of three German-built diesel-electric submarines, two of which were a gift from Germany. It is thought that they are capable of launching nuclear-armed Popeye Turbo cruise missiles with a range of up to 350km and that at any time, two of the vessels remain at sea – one in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the other in the Mediterranean – and a third is on standby.

There is little doubt therefore that Israel is capable of striking any part of the Arab world and at Iran with nuclear weapons. It may even be capable of striking London and Washington.

## Double standard

Iran has no nuclear weapons. It's not clear that it ever had plans to develop nuclear weapons. But it is now being threatened with dire consequences by the US and Europe for failing to reveal precisely what it is doing in the nuclear area. By stark contrast, nobody says boo to Israel, which has had nuclear weapons since the late 60s, and has now got a fully functional arsenal pointing at its neighbours including Iran.

One might be forgiven for thinking that the West is, yet again, applying a double standard, that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is fine providing it's to allies.

To be fair to the US, that is its publicly stated position. John Bolton is deputy secretary for arms control in the State Department, responsible for the non-proliferation of nuclear (and other) weapons. At a press conference in London on 9 October, he was asked about Israel's nuclear weapons capability and replied: "The issue for the US is what poses a threat to the US" (Guardian, 10 October). Proliferation of nuclear weapons to allies is OK.

European states have not been as overt in saying that proliferation to allies is OK. They have stuck to the technicality that Iran must honour its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as interpreted by the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA). But the basic policy is the same: Israel is allowed to have as many nuclear weapons as it likes, but Iran is not allowed to have any.

## The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which came into force on 5 March 1970, divided the states of the world into nuclear sheep and non-nuclear goats, and expressed the ambition of the nuclear sheep to keep it that way. A state is defined to be a nuclear-weapons state if it had "manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to 1 January 1967" (Article IX(3)).



In the Treaty, nuclear states undertook not to transfer nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states or to assist them in any way to develop nuclear weapons (Article I). Non-nuclear states undertook not to be the recipient of such largesse and not to manufacture nuclear weapons themselves (Article II).

The International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEA) is responsible for policing the Treaty. Each non-nuclear signatory to the Treaty is required to negotiate a "safeguards" agreement with the IAEA in respect of its civil nuclear activities, the purpose of which is to allow the IAEA to confirm that it is not engaging in weapons-related activity.

Clearly, the Treaty is highly discriminatory in favour of nuclear states, since they are not obliged to give up nuclear weapons, whereas non-nuclear states are obliged not to acquire any of these weapons, which are the ultimate guarantee of a state's continued existence in the modern world. Iraq would not have been invaded and occupied by the US/UK if it had had nuclear weapons. The lesson for any state that wishes to avoid Iraq's fate is to acquire nuclear weapons as soon as possible.

It is true that the Treaty pays lip service to the notion of nuclear disarmament all round. Article VI says:

*"Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament"*

But no nuclear-weapons state as defined by the Treaty has ceased to be one since the Treaty came into force.

(It is also worth noting that the policing body for the Treaty, the IAEA, is biased in favour of the nuclear states, since they are always represented on its Board of Governors. The Board decides what action is to be taken against states, which are supposed not to have met their obligations under the Treaty. It is now considering what action to take against Iran.)

#### Who signed in 1968?

The Treaty was opened for signature on 1 July 1968, and was signed on that date by 62 states including Iran (and Iraq). But only three nuclear states – the US, the UK and the USSR – signed at that time. China and France did not sign until 1992.

Some non-nuclear states, notably India, refused to sign, giving as a reason that the Treaty was discriminatory against non-nuclear

states. Pakistan also refused to sign. Neither were nuclear states in 1967; both are nuclear states now. Since they never signed the Treaty, they didn't break it by becoming nuclear states, and were not subject to IAEA monitoring while they were becoming nuclear states. South Africa didn't sign at the outset either, and successfully developed nuclear weapons, but later abandoned development and signed the Treaty in 1991.

No state has withdrawn from the Treaty. No non-nuclear state has acquired nuclear weapons while a signatory to the Treaty. North Korea, which signed in 1985, is a possible exception to the latter. Iraq also tried to acquire nuclear weapons while a signatory, but was unsuccessful.

#### Iran's misfortune

It is Iran's misfortune that it signed the Treaty in 1968 when the Shah was in power. As a consequence, it is now being indicted by the IAEA for failing to honour its "safeguards" agreement. If it had never been a party to the Treaty, it wouldn't have a "safeguards" agreement to fail to honour and wouldn't have had the IAEA monitoring its nuclear activities.

In recent months, Iran must have contemplated withdrawing from the Treaty (as North Korea has threatened to do). Article IX allows a state to withdraw:

*"Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests."*

By any objective standard, Iran (and other neighbours of Israel) has good grounds for withdrawal, with the build up over the past 30 years of an Israeli nuclear arsenal directed at them. There could hardly be a better example of "extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty", which "have jeopardized the [ir] supreme interests".

But for Iran to withdraw now, with the clear implication that it intended to develop nuclear weapons as a counter to Israel, would risk terrible havoc from the US and/or Israel. The only sensible course of action for Iran, or any other non-nuclear state which may wish

to develop nuclear weapons, is to do it secretly and, like India and Pakistan, make an announcement about it only after success has been achieved – and retribution by other nuclear states is impossible.

In present circumstances, Iran has no option but to continue to adhere to the Treaty and to do what it is told by the IAEA – which may mean that plans for developing nuclear weapons have to be put on hold for now.

#### Israel conceals

Like India and Pakistan, Israel didn't sign the Treaty. By the time the Treaty was available for signing in July 1968, its nuclear weapons programme had achieved initial success. It is generally believed that by the time of the Six-Day War in June 1967 Israel had two deliverable nuclear devices (see *Israel and the Bomb* by Avner Cohen published in 1998). It is a moot point whether Israel qualified as a nuclear-weapons state within the terms of the Treaty (that is, as having manufactured nuclear weapons by 1 January 1967), but that didn't matter since it had no intention of announcing to the world that it had a nuclear weapons programme.

Israel went to great lengths for many years to keep the existence of its programme secret, even from the US, because it feared that it would be put under pressure to terminate its programme. After the US became aware of the existence of the nuclear facility at Dimona in 1960, the Kennedy administration insisted on inspecting it to confirm Israel's assertion that it was for civil purposes only. US inspectors visited the facility seven times in the 1960s, but never found direct evidence of weapons related activities – because Israel went to extraordinary lengths to hide them. Israel insisted on knowing in advance when the inspectors were coming and went so far as to install false control room panels and to brick over elevators and hallways that accessed areas of the site where weapons related activity was going on. So, although inspectors suspected the wool was being pulled over their eyes, they were unable to prove it.

When the Non-Proliferation Treaty was available for signing in 1968, the Johnson administration pressed Israel to sign and declare its programme, which by then the US was certain existed, but Israel refused. Negotiations between Richard Nixon and Golda Meir led in 1970 to a new understanding on the issue between the US and Israel, which persists to this day. Under it, the US stopped pressing Israel to sign the Treaty and ceased sending inspection teams to Dimona. In return, Israel undertook to maintain a low profile about its nuclear weapons: there was

to be no acknowledgment of their existence, and no testing which would reveal their existence. That way, the US would not be forced to take a public position for or against Israel's possession of nuclear weapons.

#### NPT extended

The Non-Proliferation Treaty was initially scheduled to last for 25 years, at the end of which a conference of the signatories was to be held to decide whether to extend its operation. This Review and Extension Conference took place in 1995 and extended the operation of the Treaty indefinitely.

It also passed a resolution, proposed by the US/UK and Russia, calling for a nuclear free zone in the Middle East (as did Security Council resolution 687, the Iraq disarmament resolution, passed in 1991). This resolution was a gesture by the major nuclear powers to the many non-nuclear states which complained at the Conference that Israel's possession of nuclear weapons made a mockery of the non-proliferation principles they were required to adhere to by the Treaty. The proposers of the resolution never intended to do anything about Israel's nuclear weapons, and they didn't.

#### Who's signed today?

Today, nearly every state in the world has signed the Treaty. Cuba held out for over 30 years but finally signed in November 2002, presumably because of the increasingly threatening noises coming from the US. Five states – the US, the UK, Russia, France and China, which just happen to be the five permanent members of the Security Council – are signatories as official nuclear-weapons states, who are allowed under the Treaty to retain their nuclear systems and expand them ad infinitum. The other 185 or so signed as non-nuclear-weapons states, which are forbidden under the Treaty to acquire any.

The only significant states which have not signed are Israel, India and Pakistan, all of which acquired nuclear weapons after the date for membership of the official nuclear club closed on 1 January 1967. Now, they cannot sign the Treaty without giving up their nuclear weapons as South Africa did – unless the Treaty is amended to extend the membership of the nuclear club to include them. That is not going to happen since the support of a majority of the existing signatories is required to amend the Treaty.

#### The British exception

Eight states now have nuclear weapons. All of them made their own weapons, and can make more. All of them, apart from one, made their own delivery systems, and can

make more. All of them, apart from one, can strike targets with their weapons without the permission of any other state. In other words, all of them, apart from one, have got what used to be referred to as an "independent nuclear deterrent".

The exception is Britain. France has an independent nuclear deterrent. So have India and Pakistan. Britain hasn't.

Since 1998 when it decommissioned its nuclear bombs in 1998, Britain has had only one nuclear weapons system: the submarine-launched Trident missile system. The submarine platforms (four of them) were made in Britain, as were the nuclear warheads for the missiles. But the missiles themselves were made in the US, and are owned by the US: Britain merely leases them. They belong to a pool of missiles managed by the US and stored at Kings Bay, Georgia. On commissioning, the British submarines picked up their missiles from Kings Bay, and they are exchanged at Kings Bay, when they need servicing. The warheads are fitted to the missiles onboard the submarines at the Royal Naval Armament Depot at Coulport in the west of Scotland.

Of all the nuclear powers in this world, Britain relies on another state for its delivery system. What is more, if Tony Benn is to be believed, Britain cannot launch a Trident missile without the specific permission of the US. According to Benn (speaking on BBC1's *This Week* on 19 November), the launching submarine requires access to a US military satellite in order to determine its precise location.

So, Britain can't use its nuclear weapons without permission of the US, permission that will be given only if it is in the US interest to do so.

#### Permanent volunteer

In conventional military matters, Britain is also increasingly subordinating itself to the US. In a speech to the Royal United Services Institute on 26 June, Geoff Hoon said:

*"The multilateral nature of our future will therefore set a premium on the capacity of our forces to inter-operate with those of other countries.† Most importantly, it is highly unlikely that the United Kingdom would be engaged in large-scale combat operations without the United States, a judgement born of past experience, shared interest and our assessment of strategic trends."*

There, it is assumed that it will never be

in Britain's interest to oppose the US. Rather, Britain will always fight alongside the US – in the words of Guardian journalist, Martin Kettle, Britain will be America's "permanent volunteer" – and the inter-operability necessary to do that will be central to Britain's military planning from now on.

This begs the question as to why we want to maintain the pretence of independence any more. Should we not seek to become the 51<sup>st</sup> state of the US, and get 2 seats in the US Senate, so that we can have some say in the foreign policy we are going to follow?

Britain's role as America's "permanent volunteer" has serious implications for Europe. It means that Europe cannot have a role in the world independent of the US, as long as Britain has a veto over its foreign and defence policy. If France and others are serious about carving out an independent role for Europe, then they will have to exclude Britain.

Britain and America say that there must be no military arrangements in Europe that undermine NATO. What they really mean is that there should be no military arrangements in Europe independent of them.

As a war fighting alliance NATO doesn't exist. The US has decreed that it be so. After the war on Yugoslavia when the US freedom of action was constrained by other NATO states, the US determined that never again would it fight a war under the banner of NATO. In future, it was going to be its own master. If it could get a few servants to tag along behind, then well and good, but they would have to do as they were told. That is what has happened in Afghanistan and Iraq.

NATO is useful to the US now in two ways. First, if a state is a NATO member, particularly if it is a recent joiner, it is easier for the US to pressurise it into providing military resources of one kind or another. Second, it is a useful tool for resisting attempts to create independent military arrangements in Europe: these are met with cries that nothing must be done to harm NATO – and, unfortunately, no state has yet had the courage to say: "Why not? NATO lost its role with the break up of the Soviet bloc. It should have been disbanded then. It should be disbanded now, and Europe should make its own defence arrangements."

#### Annex A Israel's nuclear programme

The following is extract from an article entitled *Israel's Nuclear Development & Strategy: Future Ramifications for the Middle*



East Regional Balance (see [www.arabmedia.com/jnuclear.html](http://www.arabmedia.com/jnuclear.html)) by Laura Drake, an American academic.

"Material progress toward the achievement of a nuclear option proceeded along two separate but complementary tracks. One track was subterranean, travelled by agents of Israeli foreign intelligence. It involved the systematic location and theft of nuclear materials from advanced nuclear countries, including the United States. On at least four occasions, nuclear materials were stolen and transported to Israel by covert means.

"The most notorious instance, fully uncovered by the American intelligence in 1967, involved the Israeli theft of several hundred pounds of enriched uranium from the U.S. Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC) facility in Apollo, Pennsylvania with the alleged help of its American director, Zalman Shapiro. While the evidence was not sufficient to convict the principal involved, there was a "clear consensus" within the CIA that the nuclear materials in question had been diverted to Israel and used by the Israelis for nuclear weapons manufacture. Indeed, Shapiro was known to have maintained extraordinarily intimate relations with the Israeli government and its nuclear scientific community during his tenure at NUMEC.

"Other known instances of Israeli theft of nuclear materials include hit-and-run tear-gas attacks by the Israelis against uranium-laden trucks belonging to the government of France, their former nuclear benefactor.

"British nuclear cargo was similarly hijacked by individuals suspected of working for Israeli intelligence. A fourth instance involves the temporary seizure of a ship registered to what was then West Germany, from which 200 tons of yellowcake (uranium used as nuclear fuel) subsequently disappeared, an instance the U.S. intelligence has also attributed to Israel.

"The second track to Israeli nuclearisation led through the center of the French Defense Ministry. The initiative of none other than Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, then director-general of the Israeli Defense Ministry, was the critical element responsible for the forging of this connection. Noting the convergence of interests in colonial Algeria and therefore, in frustrating the overall pan-Arab ambitions of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Israel saw in Paris a potentially crucial ally. This was particularly important for Tel Aviv at a time when Washington, under the more balanced Eisenhower Administration, was still keeping a respectable distance from Israel. France and Israel thus began to work together on a massive scale."

## Howard on Israel

Michael Howard, the Conservative leader-in-waiting, was a panellist on Question Time broadcast from Qatar on 24 April while the invasion of Iraq was in progress. Naturally, Israel's failure to obey Security Council resolutions, and the failure of the "international community" to do anything about it, was brought up. Michael Howard replied to this by saying that Israel's position was not the same as Iraq's, that the resolutions about Israel demanded action by parties other than Israel as well as Israel itself. Therefore, he implied, it wasn't Israel's fault that these resolutions had not been fulfilled.

The following correspondence ensued:

### Letter to Michael Howard on 29 April

On Question Time on 24 April, you said that the outstanding Security Council resolutions concerning Israel demand action by parties other than Israel, as well as by Israel itself.

That is simply untrue. Israel is in breach of some 30 Security Council resolutions demanding action by it, and it alone. Three examples are:

252 (21 May 1968) on the annexation of parts of Jerusalem:

"2. [The Security Council] Considers that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status;

"3. [The Security Council] Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem;"

446 (22 March 1979) on the establishment of Jewish settlements:

"[The Security Council] Calls once more upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories;"

497 (17 December 1981) on the annexation of the Golan Heights:

"1. [The Security Council] Decides that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect;

"2. [The Security Council] Demands that Israel, the occupying Power, should rescind forthwith its decision;"

Those resolutions place obligations on Israel, and Israel alone, and it is obviously within the power of Israel to obey them if it wanted to.

If the same standard were applied to Israel as to Iraq, then Israel would be forced to obey unconditionally these and other outstanding Security Council resolutions which require action by it and it alone, and to do so prior to any negotiations with the Palestinians and others about a final settlement in Palestine. Instead, it is now being proposed that Security Council demands, some of which are outstanding for over 30 years, be once again the subject of a process of negotiations - with no obligation on Israel to obey any of them.

### Reply by Michael Howard on 2 June

Thank you for your recent letter about Security Council Resolutions concerning Israel.

I am afraid I do not think it is a valid approach to refer only to some Resolutions of the Security Council or to some parts of some Resolutions.

Taking the history of Security Council Resolutions on the Middle East as a whole, it seems to me to be clear that they impose obligations both on Israel and on the Arab States and the Palestinian authority.

I very much hope that progress will be made on the basis of the Road Map and that peace will at last be brought to the region.

### Letter to Michael Howard on 5 June

In your letter of 2 June, you write:

I am afraid that I do not think it is a valid approach to refer only to some Resolutions of the Security Council or to some parts of some Resolutions.

"Taking the history of Security Council Resolutions on the Middle East as a whole, it seems to me to be clear that they impose

obligations both on Israel and on the Arab States and the Palestinian authority."

It is true that some Security Council Resolutions impose obligations on parties other than Israel, but it is equally true that some 30 Resolutions require action by Israel, and Israel alone. For example, Resolution 446 passed on 22 March 1979, which "calls once more upon Israel to not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories", imposes no obligations on any Arab state or any party other than Israel.

The only sense I can make out of what you write is that you think it is OK for Israel not to comply with Resolutions which impose obligations on it and it alone, because there are other Resolutions on the Middle East which impose obligations on parties other than Israel. That is an extraordinary proposition.

Surely it isn't the policy of the Conservative Party that a state can pick and choose which Security Council Resolutions, if any, it complies with and the degree to which it complies? After all, your party has just supported a war which was fought to enforce the will of the international community as expressed in Security Council Resolutions, and in supporting the war motion in the House of Commons on 18 March, Iain Duncan Smith said on behalf of your party: "We want all UN resolutions to be enforced".

Does this plain statement include the 30 or so Security Council Resolutions which require action by Israel and Israel alone? Or is it Conservative policy that Israel be allowed to pick and choose which Security Council Resolutions, if any, it complies with, and the degree to which it complies? In particular, is the Conservative Party in favour of Israel complying with resolution 446 and removing all settlements from the West Bank and Gaza?

### Reply by Michael Howard on 23 June

Thank you for your letter of 5 June.

I am in favour of all countries in the Middle East complying with all United Nations Security Resolutions which apply to them.

# Time to do away with the PA

HaCaretz 9 November 2003

<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/358477.html>

This farce should have been ended long ago. If the leaders of the Palestinian Authority had been blessed with a greater measure of self-respect, readiness for personal sacrifice and political audacity, they would have long since declared the PA liquidated and left all the responsibility solely in Israel's hands. If they were more concerned about the subjects they are supposed to be in charge of - the well-being of their nation - they would have resigned and thereby torn the mask from the false impression of the supposed government and the "state in the making." They would have ceased to be the fig leaf that serves and perpetuates the Israeli occupation. Instead, they cling to the few honors and benefits that Israel continues to confer on a few of them, and they go on lending a hand to the great deception that a sovereign Palestinian Authority and a government with powers exist.

Under a cover of empty titles, they continue to take part in the fraud while many in Israel and elsewhere find it convenient to go on believing that the Israeli occupation of the territories has not reverted to being total, and that there is a Palestinian government. "Ministers," "director-generals," "deputy ministers" and "governors," whose titles are empty and lack any authority, and who cannot rule or make decisions about anything except for the official cars and the VIP cards that enable them to go through checkpoints, continue to make a mockery of their nation and the international community.

Is the Palestinian minister of internal security capable of seeing to the security of even one Palestinian in the face of the assassinations, the helicopters, the soldiers and the troops who burst into homes in the middle of the night? Is the health minister capable of seeing to the health of his nationals, when every soldier at every checkpoint can delay ambulances and patients and when the cities and villages are under lengthy curfew? And what can the agriculture minister do when settlers cut down and

By Gideon Levy

uproot hundreds of olive trees without interference or prevent the harvesting of the olives, and when the Israeli army defoliates thousands of dunams of fields and vineyards? And how will the minister of labor ensure jobs for the people, when they cannot even leave their places of residence? What can the transportation minister do when his country is strewn with checkpoints and the Israel Defense Forces is the exclusive sovereign that decides which roads are for Jews only and which Palestinian bus lines will be allowed to operate? The list goes on and on.

On the streets of Ramallah, a passerby joked this weekend: "While the Palestinians were arguing over whether Nasser Yusuf would be appointed interior minister or not, the Israelis finished building the separation fence." The majority of Palestinians have no idea who their cabinet ministers are, and for good reason: most of the small amount of aid they receive comes from organizations such as UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) and from the local governments, not from the imaginary government.

The most wretched situations of all are the meetings of Palestinian ministers with Israeli ministers. A case in point was the meeting between the finance minister, Salam Fayad (who suspended himself last Thursday), the favorite of the United States and Israel, and Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz, which was intended solely to smooth Mofaz's visit to Washington. It's hard to understand why the Palestinian official agreed to meet with Mofaz - who more than any other Israeli is responsible for the cruel policy toward his nation - only to serve the political needs of the Israeli minister. Why is Israel allowed to boycott Palestinian leaders, above all Yasser Arafat, whereas Palestinian ministers have no similar red lines? While European and American officials decline to visit the office of the Israeli justice minister, which is located in East Jerusalem, the outgoing Palestinian justice minister, Abd al-Karim Abu Salah, together with the minister responsible for prisoners, Hisham Abd

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# Notes On The News

By Gwydion M Williams

## Asses kick Americans

There was probably a circular from al-Qaeda to the Iraqi resistance, to hold off during Bush's visit to Britain because something big was planned. No doubt this leaked and caused the dire warnings about bombs in Britain. And of course they were looking in the wrong place. The Islamists have so far been thinking strategically, and running rings round Anglo-America. Everyone was watching Britain, so they hit British interests in Istanbul.

I had a strong feeling there'd be no bombs in Britain itself. Reaction to past IRA bombs in London has been to carry on and 'tough it out'. The English norm is tougher, more brutal and much less flappable than the New York average. Britain not like the USA, where police, military and crime have all been subcontracted to ethnic minorities. In Britain, there is considerable racist resistance to letting them in at all to the police and military. And the population as a whole retains a highly military spirit. Maybe al-Qaeda know, or have been advised by people who know, in any case they have so far avoided doing anything that would damage their cause rather than advance it. Overseas British targets are another matter.

Turks are also extremely tough. But which side will they be on, if things go on the way they have been going? The idea of Turkish troops in Iraq has been dropped, the first meaningful exercise of authority by the Iraqi "Governing" Council. (Whose survival turns out to be thanks to their remaining in the stay in US secure zone, well away from the people they are supposed to be ruling.)

Tactics keep shifting. One ingenious attack using rockets mounted on a donkey-cart has led to deep suspicion of all donkey-carts from now on. Asses are now suspect, in fact everyone is suspect. The American troops dumped into an impossible situation no longer believe they have any trustworthy friends among the people they 'liberated'.

I suspect also that al-Qaeda has picked up some more substantial allies. They were a rather small group whose

actions had caused little trouble and were largely confined to the Taliban areas of Afghanistan. Their success on September 11<sup>th</sup> was based on the US being unready and unwilling to shoot down hijacked aircraft with US citizens on board. A more moderate and considered policy might have cut them off from their natural supporters among discontented Muslims. But for the Bush administration, moderation is weakness and grand gestures are everything.

Shouting 'no surrender' is rather pointless if you then do surrender. Since the Resistance got going, the Bush administration has given several big rewards to acts of terrorism. A few bombs got them withdrawing from Saudi Arabia. Being brutal to the weak and then backing down in face of those who hit back is the worst possible strategy.

Just now the US are revising their plans for Iraq, indicating a willingness to pull out much sooner than was planned. Which also implies a willingness to let power pass to the Shiite majority, who are mostly Islamist and anti-American and whose right to rule would be rejected by both the Kurds and the Sunni Arabs. Iraq is fragmented and has no natural majorities, except perhaps religious-based rule dominated by the Shiites. Multi-party politics is possible only when the electorate are homogeneous and don't think party differences worth dying for. Iraq needs to be governed by consensus; the system that the West regards as normal will only confirm that Shiites are more numerous.

Perhaps anticipating this, a new mythology is being assembled: it is guerrilla fighters who are preventing the West from making life better in Iraq. The advocates of this line assume that the public will forget that there was a quiet month or two in which the West messed up comprehensively—beginning with allowing looting to give an appearance of popular support.

My Country Wrong & Deserving Defeat

Bush in his visit made something of

the freedom to protest. But he was making a virtue of necessity: the notion that you could protest at a war while your own country was fighting it is a relatively new one, established by the successful anti-Vietnam protests in the USA in the 1960s. It did not apply in either World War. Before that, USA did not suppress pro-Confederate opinions during the Confederate Secession, but that was maybe because it was too strong to be suppressed. The existence of a right of protest during a war is not luck, it's a matter of popular protest and past popular disgust at blunderers who caused avoidable wars.

In Britain, one wing of the Liberal Party protested at the Boer War, facing harassment but no actual legal penalties. A century earlier, in the wars following the French Revolution, the law was manipulated to turn all anti-government opinions into 'treason'. The British electorate was tiny in those days, excluding most of the middle classes. In terms of real power, a few hundred rich men controlled enough MPs to ignore even the bulk of the electorate. British power in the days of our struggle against Napoleon's 'tyranny' suppressed any sentiment against the war. They had perhaps learned the lesson of the American War of Independence, when free expression of opinions did a lot to undermine the British position.

In World War One, Lloyd George went from being a pro-Boer champion to being part of the anti-German hysteria. And he became the very architect of British victory—a victory more damaging than most defeats, as it turned out. Lloyd George intentionally stuck to war rather than taking up the German peace offers of 1915 and 1916, which would have treated the war as a stalemate and gone back to the 1914 borders.

Also in World War One, the US Supreme Court decided that 'free speech' did not extend to Socialist protests at the war. To suppose that Constitutional guarantees mean anything is to misunderstand the system. The Supreme Court can twist them any way they like, and mostly do so in the interests of the privi-

leged.

As of now, the Iraq war is unpopular enough to ensure we have a continued right of protest. 'Anti-terrorism' gets used to harass non-white and Muslim people, but not dissenters among the white majority.

"Cruelty is part of their strategy", accompanied Mr Bush after the Istanbul bombings of 20th November. Perhaps he knows of kindly act of war? There did used to be some standards, but US strategy since 1991 has eroded a lot of them. They uphold the principle of 'save-a-soldier-kill-a-child' with their use of cluster bombs.

The anti-war protest at the start of 2002 drew in two million Britons, there was no way such a thing could be suppressed short of armed force. The anti-Bush demo achieved 300,000.

It is however pointless to have the right to protest if the system gets short-circuited by massive lying and a biased media which reflects business opinion rather than public opinion. Bush is the most powerful man in the world, thanks to the oddities of the US electoral system and from a great deal of distortion of the popular will in Florida. The UK was very much divided on the war, despite the lies that were told about weapons of mass destruction. Spain was solidly against, but were ignored by their government.

It is lucky for us that the Iraq war is going so visibly badly and getting criticised even within the military-security camp. Bush and his backers probably did have something much more 'radical' in mind—radical in this context meaning the rich doing whatever they please and often reversing decades of reform to return to systems that had been tried before and failed before. But the Iraq situation is such a mess for the US that further action is inhibited.

Consider the US as a two-fisted monster that has got one fist stuck solidly in Iraq. They can still strike one more terrible blow at another foe—but they have more than one possible foe and dare not get stuck in two wars simultaneously.

## Kill Ratios

When I heard that two Japanese had been killed soon after seven Spaniards, my immediate conclusion was that the Resistance had switched strategies yet again. I've no way of knowing what US intelligence thought about the matter:

they definitely failed to prevent the subsequent killing of two Japanese, two Koreans and a Columbian. Of course it was Sunday: very unsporting of these Muslim enemies not to respect the Christian day of rest.

Even before this, the 'kill ratio' had tilted way against the Americans. They cannot really afford to trade one-to-one against Iraqis: Iraq is a small nation, but they are fighting for their whole way of life whereas America now doubts if it should be fighting at all.

According to the BBC, the US lost 79 troops in November, and allies 26, with maybe 64 Iraqis killed by the coalition troops. That's not including the 54 supposedly killed in the Samarra ambush: local people say eight or nine, not all of them actually involved in the attack.

Meantime the Shiites are trying to bargain for a quick election and 'majority rule', which would mean Shiite rule and guarantee civil war. But why should they settle for anything else? Either all of Iraq, or unchallenged power in their own bit of Iraq, along with effective partition. The three provinces that Britain ripped out the Ottoman Empire do not really belong together: with the destruction of Saddam and the Baath, there is no effective force for unity any more.

## Turkey: Slaughtering Secularism.

The USA built up Muslim extremism to undermine various left-wing forms of secularism, not realising that they were ruining the only forces able to modernise that society. In Turkey, Atatürk was not so different from Saddam, the big difference being that he had time to hammer secular patterns into the society and leave it secure enough for democracy to be tried without immediate disaster. Turkish secularism includes an assumption that the West will let them in on equal terms. And that isn't going to happen, regardless of how much Turks may suffer for upholding Western interests.

The Synagogue bombs of 15th November were done by Turks, not foreigners. At least one of them was linked to a right-wing group of the sort that did the USA's dirty work during the Cold War.

The second wave of suicide bombers, the people who hit British interests, were ethnic Kurds who presumably found a new identity within hard-line Islam.

"These two men - so good, so calm,

say friends - were no strangers to hardship. From early on they had known suffering, first as ethnic Kurds who inhabited the heavily militarised badlands of Turkey, then as Muslim fundamentalists.

"Ekinçi, who would ram his explosive-laden truck into the British consulate, saw his father, Idris, shot dead by Turkish nationalists when he was two.

"Idris was a good man who led a workers' union at Bingöl's town hall, but Turkish nationalists shot him because he was a prominent member of the PKK [the outlawed Kurdish rebel group], said Ridvan Kizgin, who heads the local Turkish Human Rights Foundation. (*Guardian*, 27<sup>th</sup> November).

Hostility to Western values is still a minority reaction, even though an Islamist party is now in power. Turks still hope that they will be admitted to the European Union, but this seems doubtful, much more doubtful than it was in the Cold War. West European voters are still substantially racist in their outlook and do not want huge numbers of foreigners with a different culture, religion and skin colour. East European nations are let in, Turkey is permanently kept waiting.

Besides, admitting Turkey would give the European Union a common border with Iran, Iraq and Syria, not a formula for peace or stability. Also a common border with Georgia and Armenia, who would be logical candidates after Turkey, but with serious geopolitical consequences. Under some circumstances, even Israel might want to join.

Had history gone differently, Turkey might have been absorbed peacefully into a European Community that was less stressed and hence less racist. That is not the way history went, and Turks would be wise to look back to their roots.

## Weaving the web.

You can find the Bevin Society at <http://members.aol.com/BevinSoc/is.htm> and details of the magazine at <http://www.atholbooks.org/>. Also take a look at <http://hometown.aol.co.uk/bevinsoc/BevinSocHub.html>.



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