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"Monstrous failure of justice", says law lord

One of the country's most senior judges launched an unprecedented attack on US treatment of the 660 prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, saying they will become martyrs in the Muslim world.

Breaking with the convention that law lords do not speak out on politically sensitive issues, Lord Steyn described their imprisonment as a "monstrous failure of justice" and the military tribunals that will try them as kangaroo courts. "It derives from the jumps of the kangaroo, and conveys the idea of a pre-ordained arbitrary rush to judgment by an irregular tribunal which makes a mockery of justice". The trials would be "a stain on United States justice".

The utter lawlessness of the way they were held and all but tortured should be condemned by the British Government, he said.

Lord Steyn, one of 12 judges who sits in the country's highest court, is understood to have been wrestling with his conscience for weeks. His comments would make it almost impossible for him to hear any appeal from the nine British prisoners held at the US naval base in Cuba if President George Bush agreed to send them for trial in this country.

Lord Steyn was giving the FA Mann lecture organised by the City law firm, Herbert Smith, on Nov 25, 2003 and said that judges "have the duty, in times of crisis, to guard against an unprincipled and exorbitant executive response.

"As a lawyer brought up to admire the ideals of American democracy and justice, I would have to say that I regard this a monstrous failure of justice. The military will act as interrogators, prosecutors

and defence counsel, judges, and when death sentences are imposed, as executioners. The trials will be held in private. None of the guarantees of a fair trial need be observed."

He also said the type of justice meted out at Guantanamo "is likely to make martyrs of the prisoners in the moderate Muslim world with whom the West must work to ensure world peace and stability".

„Monstrualne pogwałcenie sprawiedliwości”

Szerokim echem w Anglii odbiło się wystąpienie kolejnego autorytetu, który ostro potępił postępowanie amerykańskie w ramach „wojny z terroryzmem”.

W prelekcji wygłoszonej w siedzibie znanej londyńskiej firmy prawniczej w City (Herbert Smith), jeden z najważniejszych sędziów Izby Lordów (Law Lords), lord Steyn stwierdził, że sposób w jaki Amerykanie traktują przetrzymywanych w Bazie Guantanamo na Kubie jeńców wojennych stanowi „monstrualne pogwałcenie sprawiedliwości”.

Tego rodzaju bezprawie w skrajnej postaci, podkreślił lord Steyn, powinno zostać potępione przez rząd brytyjski, zaś sposób w jaki ci ludzie mają być sądzeni „pozostanie na zawsze plamą na amerykańskim wymiarze sprawiedliwości”.

Zasiadający w instancji apelacyjnej Izby Lordów, lord Steyn dodał, że takie traktowanie jeńców jest sprzeczne z podstawowymi wymogami prawa międzynarodowego, i zapytał: „Czy Ameryce rzeczywiście nie zależy na tym, co sądzi reszta świata?”.

Ponadto, jego zdaniem, skazanie jeńców uczyni z nich męczenników w umiarkowanym świecie muzulmańskim, z którym Zachód musi współpracować dla utrzymania pokoju i stabilizacji. (m) ■

Lord Steyn gave warning that the attempt to put the prisoners “beyond the rule of law” would backfire. “History will not be neutered, what takes place there today in

the name of the United States will, in due course, be judged at the bar of informed international opinion.”

He went on to give warning of the possible consequences. First, denial of justice to foreigners would be bound, gradually, to erode the civil liberties of American citizens themselves.

Second, the proposal to hold military commissions that had been associated with lawless totalitarian regimes would damage the international standing of the United States. The commissions would be regarded as a mockery of justice. Lord Steyn questioned the effect of this on the treatment of US soldiers captured in future armed conflicts.

It would also have an impact on regimes which wanted to free themselves of the restraints of human rights and would be able to invoke US policy at Guantanamo Bay.

Third, it was likely to make martyrs of the prisoners in the moderate Muslim world with whom the West must work to ensure peace and stability.

Lord Steyn said that the best course would have been to have set up through the United Nations Security Council an ad hoc international tribunal to ensure justice was done and was seen to be done.

Human rights lawyers praised Lord Steyn for his courage. Stephen Solley QC, a former chairman of the Bar's human rights committee, said Lord Steyn's comments would send a strong signal to the US Supreme Court, which is about to rule on American jurisdiction in Guantanamo Bay. He added: "It might help to persuade some of the waverers to rule in favour of the detainees."

Shami Chakrabarti, director of the civil rights group Liberty, said: "Lord Steyn is

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“Israel Public Enemy No. 1”

The European Union's polling organisation released figures showing that Europeans reckoned Israel was a greater threat to world peace than any other country. Respondents were asked to say whether or not each country on a list represented a threat to world peace

The poll involving 7,515 people in 15 European countries, conducted by Taylor Nelson Sofres/ EOS Gallup Europe, was conducted between 8 and 16 of October 2003 and its results published on 11 November 2003 are reproduced in the box.

Nearly 60% of Europeans said “YES” when asked if Israel presents a threat to peace, putting it ahead of Iran, North Korea and the US, each of which polled 53%.

Leading Jewish lobby groups denounced the poll as “shocking” and “anti-Semitic”.

The influential Simon Wiesenthal Cen-

ter said it defied logic and was a “racist flight of fantasy”. “This poll is an indication that Europeans have bought in, ‘hook, line and sinker’, to the vilifica-

A THREAT TO PEACE

Israel 59%

US, Iran, North Korea 53%

Iraq 52%

Afghanistan 50%

Pakistan 48%

Percentage who replied “Yes” to each country

tion and demonization campaign directed against the State of Israel and her supporters by European leaders and media,” said the centre's founder and dean, Rabbi Marvin Hier. “(T)hat only shows that anti-Semitism is deeply embedded within European society, more than any other period since the end of

WWII”. Rabbi Hier said that if the results of the survey were true, Israel should exclude the European Union from the Middle East peace process. The Simon Wiesenthal Center claims 400,000 member families in the United States.

“We are not only sad but outraged. Not at European citizens but at those who are responsible for forming public opinion,” Israel's mission to the EU said in a statement.

The Israeli Minister for the Diaspora affairs, Natan Sharansky, said the results showed the EU engaged in “rampant brainwashing”.

European Commission President Romano Prodi expressed his concern about the findings, saying that they “point to the continued existence of a bias that must be condemned out of hand”.

An EU spokesman later confirmed that the poll unit had no plans to ask that particular question again in the near future. (Ind, bbc, t, m) ■

Anti-Semitism is not the real danger to Jews today

MARK MAZOWER

Is anti-Semitism on the rise in Europe? Ariel Sharon, Israel's Prime Minister, this week gave warning of the re-emergence of “an anti-Semitism that has always existed”. Attacks on Jewish targets in France and the bombing of the two synagogues in Turkey look like straws in the wind. And when a German MP assigns the Jews responsibility for the crimes of Bolshevism and the commander of the German special forces publicly agrees, then it is worthwhile addressing the question.

No historian would want to deny the extent of European anti-Semitism in the early 20th century. However, the Holocaust led to a profound transformation of attitudes in Europe. After the war the commonly-held belief in scientific racism

fell into disrepute and Unesco issued its famous declaration that race was a social myth. The basic law of Konrad Adenauer's West Germany explicitly outlawed racial prejudice.

The Holocaust itself has become the single most-studied episode of the war, if not of the 20th century, and today there are Holocaust monuments, memorial days and museums — even in countries where it did not take place — and laws which criminalise Holocaust denial. So, contrary to what Sharon has indicated, only a few oddballs regard expressions of anti-Semitism as politically or culturally acceptable.

Over the past 40 years there has been a huge generational shift in attitudes, and even the genteel prejudices of an earlier

generation grate on the ears of the young. If a few echoes linger farther east, these too are dying away with the transformation of post-communist societies.

But if the Holocaust eradicated anti-Semitism as a political force in Europe, it had another far-reaching consequence as well: it gave birth to Israel, thereby linking Europe, the Jews and the Arabs in a new way. If Israel looms large in the European political consciousness, it is not because Europeans are anti-Semites but because Europe itself is in many ways the architect of the present imbroglio.

At a time when most Jewish emigrants were heading to the United States, Argentina and Western Europe, the British — for their own reasons — gave the green

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a man of principle and courage and one of our most respected law lords. Surely the Prime Minister will take heed of his comments and intensify the pressure on President Bush and allow these men to return to the United Kingdom for a fair trial?"

Peter Williamson, president of the Law Society, heard Lord Steyn's speech. "I agreed with everything he said and I hope it will cause the Government to make further representations to the United States. The detainees should either be tried in the civil courts of America or sent for trial in this country."

Lord Steyn, 71, who has a liberal reputation, has supported reforms of the appointment of judges and the office of Lord Chancellor. He was one of four law lords who supported a new Supreme Court to replace the law lords last month.

He was also critical of the British policy of negotiating a separate agreement with the Pentagon so that British prisoners would not receive the death penalty. "This gives a new dimension to the concept of 'most-favoured nation' treatment in international law. How could it be morally defensible to discriminate in this way?"

(from news reports) m ■

Pomóż w zdobyciu nowych subskrybentów niezależnego pisma jakim jest Monitor. Przekaż ten numer znajomym lub wyślij go emailem. W Internecie odległość nie gra roli.

Zajrzyj do Monitora 6, w którym na str. 8-9 podaliśmy informacje o instalacji polskich czcionek i sprytnych sposobach druku Monitora na kilku kartkach papieru... ■

President Bush in London

Here is a selection of letters published during Mr Bush's visit to England on November 18-21, 2003:

Dear President Bush,

I'm sure you'll be having a nice little tea party with your fellow war criminal, Tony Blair. Please wash the cucumber sandwiches down with a glass of blood, with my compliments.

Harold Pinter
[England's top Playwright]

Dear Jorge,

Look out! Behind you!!
Hahahahahahaha, only kidding.
Love,

DBC Pierre
Novelist

Dear Mr President,

Today you arrive in my country for the first state visit by an American president for many decades, and I bid you welcome.

You will find yourself assailed on every hand by some pretty pretentious characters collectively known as the British left.

They traditionally believe they have a monopoly on morality and that your recent actions preclude you from the club. You opposed and destroyed the world's most blood-encrusted dictator. This is quite unforgivable.

I beg you to take no notice. The British left intermittently erupts like a pustule upon the buttock of a rather good country. Seventy years ago it opposed mobilisation against Adolf Hitler and worshipped the other genocide, Josef Stalin.

It has marched for Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov. It has slobbered over Ceausescu and Mugabe. It has demonstrated against everything and everyone American for a century. Broadly speaking, it hates your country first, mine second.

Eleven years ago something dreadful happened. Maggie was ousted, Ronald retired, the Berlin wall fell and Gorbys abolished communism. All the left's idols fell and its demons retired. For a decade there was nothing really to hate. But thank the Lord for his limitless mercy. Now they can applaud Saddam, Bin Laden, Kim Jong-Il... and hate a God-fearing Texan. So hallelujah and have a good time.

Frederick Forsyth
Novelist

Dear George,

I would just like to say how much I hate you. You have done nothing positive in your whole time as president. You are the reason for the poverty in the Middle East.

You have no idea what you are doing. You're killing loads of people, and that is not excluding your own nation too. There are still lots of very poor people in America, and they are getting poorer.

You keep making excuses about Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, but all you were in Iraq for was the oil. Saddam had been there for 30 years, so why is it only now you decided to act?

You keep talking about September 11 when all you do is bomb other countries and give Israel lots of money. It is a very bad idea that you have come over here.

I don't want to grow up in a country which is so influenced by you and your policies.

Mickey (12)

Dear George,

There is no way to write this but in anger.

For the dead and mutilated you have left in the wake of your shocking tread, from Afghanistan to Iraq. For the prisoners you have caged, manacled and tortured, from Bagram to Guantanamo. For your worship of the warrior. For the smart bombs you dropped from 30,000ft and the missiles you fired from 1,000 miles.

For the flesh this hateful technology has charred and for the limbs it has severed. For your threats to the sovereign nations and international bodies who oppose your ambitions.

For the crass lies you told the world. For your cynical corruption of law. For your naked plundering of a conquered people's wealth. For your blank cheque to Ariel Sharon. For every signature with which you consigned a human being to the death chamber in Texas.

For the super-rich friends you have so handsomely rewarded and for the poor, unemployed and marginal in your own country whose lives you continue to blight.

For making the world an infinitely more dangerous place.

For all these reasons, do not be fooled by the flags you will see fluttering on the Mall. Do not be fooled by the red carpets the toadies will guide you to step upon.

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Look about you, if your hosts will let you look, if your flunkys dare let you peek from beneath the official shield. Look about you when you land. You will see people in their tens of thousands protesting against your visit. Do not say we are "lucky" to live in a country that permits free speech and free assembly. Do not insult us like that. Those rights were hard won.

I doubt that what you see will chasten you, still less change your mind - you are a man of conviction, of ideological certainty, you have truly global ambitions and power to match - but at least it should be clear to you, Mr Bush, that you are not welcome here.

Ronan Bennett
Writer

Bushwhacker,

Our prime minister was never very bright, and it is well known that he forgot his roots and developed an identity crisis, but that is no reason for you to take advantage of him.

Before Tony met you he used to stay at home. OK, he would cause trouble sometimes and he could be rude to his people, but he didn't have plans to conquer the world. No, Bushy, before he met you, all he wanted to do was conquer the Tory party (and the Labour party) and play his guitar.

Stay away from him, you are leading him astray, you are corrupting his simple mind. He is now allowing his Muslim citizens to be tortured, and now he thinks we all look like your old friend Mr Bin Laden - the Rastas, the Sikhs, the hippies, in fact anyone who has travelled east in the last 30 years is nervous.

The thing is, Bushy boy, we don't trust you. We've seen what happens when you fall out with your friends, and we don't want to be bombed when you come looking for our weapons of mass destruction - and we have lots of them.

You say "In God You trust", but God doesn't trust you. He told me.

Not yours,

Benjamin Zephaniah

Poet [who just turned down the Order of the British Empire offered him by the Queen]

Dear Mr President,

Welcome to Britain. There seems to be some mystery over just who invited you.

But we all know why you've come: to celebrate the special relationship that made the invasion of Iraq, if not possible, then a hell of a lot easier to sell.

Without Tony Blair providing diplomatic cover, the whole war might as well have been stamped "Made in the USA".

And while you probably wouldn't have minded taking all the credit for a short, successful war that ended with a grateful Iraqi people tossing rose petals in the paths of their liberators' Humvees, that isn't exactly how things have turned out.

The US may be up to its neck in what your father would call "deep doo-doo", but the British are right there, shoulder to shoulder, sharing our pain.

What do I mean "our pain"? Well, here's a fact that may surprise you - especially since your handlers have gone to great trouble to make sure you never encounter any of the tens of thousands of people demonstrating against your presence here.

Some of those protesting will be Americans, people who put flags out on the Fourth of July, eat turkey and succotash at Thanksgiving, and try to teach our kids to take pride in their country.

You took the goodwill of the entire world and blew it to pieces over Baghdad. And for what?

The casualty list for George and Tony's Big Adventure isn't just the dozens of dead British troops, or the hundreds of dead Americans, or the tens of thousands of dead Iraqis.

You've also buried any hope of justice for Palestine, or peace for Israel, for a generation.

You've wounded, perhaps fatally, the international order that rejected pre-emptive war and you've mauled the Bill of Rights and the US constitution almost beyond recognition.

So we'll be out there on Thursday, and since you may not see us (we'll be wearing Nation T-shirts), here's a tip from a fellow American: when people here put up two fingers in a V, they aren't flashing you a peace sign.

DD Guttenplan

London correspondent for the Nation

Dear Mr President,

Most of us here see much to admire in the US. We've not forgotten your wartime

comradeship, or protection during the cold war. We value our ties. We felt for you on 9/11. We remain pro-American, respecting your office even when distressed by its incumbent.

Our front door, therefore, will be open for you. We have American friends. My son is American-born. My wife remembers postwar American food parcels.

But we have questions for you, such as: "Can one country alone determine international law?"; "Can democrats ally with tyrants?"; "Is western civilisation superior?"; and "Why can't you call football football?"

We British are Europeans. We belong to the "Old Europe" which destroyed itself in repeated wars. We now have many good Muslim citizens.

You will lose all support if you continue to rely so heavily on military strength and pre-emptive doctrines.

Historians like me believe power to be ephemeral. The British, who were once top dogs themselves, obviously envy your dominance. But we have good reason to urge restraint. If there has to be a megapower, we prefer America to the alternatives.

Yet you seem driven by the sort of blinkered folly whereby empires hasten their own end. You sideline friends and allies, whose cooperation could help preserve your security.

Our PM's enthusiasm for the Iraq expedition is puzzling. It may be due to vanity or to the hope of leverage in Washington.

If so, he clearly misunderstood your intentions. You followed his line by starting down the UN route and by endorsing the two-state solution in the holy land. But then you invaded Iraq without UN approval - and have stalled on the Israel-Palestine front.

You are encouraging spirals of violence on all sides. It may be no accident that your administration contains more Sharonites than Sharon's cabinet does.

In other words, you contrive to favour the rich, the strong, and the militarists at every step, neglecting the common good.

One expects the opposite from a Christian, Biblereading president. When, one wonders, might you reach the beatitudes?

Norman Davies

Historian (gm) ■

Lest we forget

by Norman Davies

Britain's failure to recognise Poland's wartime sacrifices is shameful, argues Norman Davies

In Britain, we continue to honour Remembrance Day every eleventh of November and we think that we remember all those who gave their lives in two world wars for our peace and freedom. It is a sentimental occasion when we eagerly remember our own and rarely stop to think who "all those" actually were. For we did not win alone. We were fortunate to have many allies, some of whom were called on to make sacrifices considerably greater than our own.

November 11 also marks the day in 1918 when Poland regained its independence after 127 years of foreign rule, that independence which, in 1939, Britain formally agreed to uphold and which provided the occasion for our declaration of war on Nazi Germany. For six years, Poland was Britain's "first ally". Polish squadrons tipped the balance in the Battle of Britain. Polish cryptographers were first to break the Enigma code. Polish divisions fought alongside us at Narvik, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Arnhem and in Normandy. Poland's underground resistance movement, the Home Army (AK), was the first and largest client of our Special Operations Executive.

By 1945, our Polish allies had lost at least six million of their people - half Jewish and half Catholic. But their sacrifices were largely ignored. No place was found for them in our grand post-war victory parade. And the Imperial War Museum has ignored requests to organise a display to mark a key event in Poland's contribution to the allied effort, although commemorative exhibitions are planned in Paris, Berlin and Warsaw.

The critical moment in this tragic story was August 1, 1944 - the outbreak of the Warsaw rising. The Varsovians, who had already endured five years of Nazi savagery, including the brutal suppression of

the Ghetto uprising of 1943, decided to co-ordinate their insurgency with the advance of an allied army: 40,000-50,000

boosted by promises that Stalin would settle all differences with the Soviets and by the activity of SOE, which was flying in men and supplies to the very last day and which, in the face of Foreign Office opposition, urged Churchill to provide all assistance.

They expected to hold out for two to six days, and their calculations were not far out. Marshal Rokossovsky's original orders were to put the Soviet Army into Warsaw by August 2. When repelled by the fierce counter-attack of four German Panzer divisions, he submitted a revised plan dated August 8 that proposed the early relief of Warsaw and a colossal drive towards Berlin.

At this point, the rising began to unravel. The SS drafted in heavy reinforcements. Stalin ignored the Polish premier's pleas for a compromise solution; rejected Rokossovsky's revised plan; transferred Soviet reserves to the Balkan Front; described the rising as a "criminal adventure"; and refused landing rights to the RAF Squadron which Churchill had ordered to supply Warsaw from southern Italy.

Warsaw, in consequence, bled to death. With brilliant ingenuity and daring, the Home Army held off the SS for weeks. Germans talked of a second Stalingrad. But civilians were dying at the rate of 2,000 a day. Incessant bombardments reduced the city to rubble. Western aid was woefully

Norman Davies o Powstaniu Warszawskim

Straniam londyńskiego wydawnictwa Macmillan na rynku angielskim ukazała się kolejna książka profesora Normana Daviesa poświęcona historii Polski, tym razem dotycząca Powstania Warszawskiego.

W odróżnieniu od wielu innych opracowań na ten temat, Norman Davies przedstawia szerszy kontekst sytuacji międzynarodowej w roku 1944, kiedy podjęto decyzję o rozpoczęciu Powstania.

Prezentując 22.10.03 swe nowe dzieło w wypełnionej po brzegi sali recepcyjnej ambasady polskiej w Londynie, autor przypomniał, że gdy na ulice stolicy Polski wyszli powstańcy, los wojny już był przesądzony, a prezydent Roosevelt był zaprzęgnięty przygotowaniami do powołania ONZ oraz Międzynarodowego Funduszu Walutowego i Banku Światowego i być może w rozrządzeniu rzucił jakąś wstępną koncepcję, którą Stalin przyjął za wiążącą umowę.

Marszałkowie Rokossovski i Żukow mieli gotowe plany przyjścia z pomocą walczącej Warszawie, ale 13 sierpnia Stalin zmienił zdanie. Dlaczego? Tego nie wiemy, bo archiwa rosyjskie są nadal zamknięte.

Angielskie lotnictwo wojskowe, przy ogromnych stratach (do celu docierało tylko 10 procent samolotów RAF), dokonywało zrzutów mimo iż strzelały do nich zarówno wojska niemieckie jak i rosyjscy sojusznicy - przypomniał Norman Davies.

Artykuł Normana Daviesa z londyńskiego dziennika Guardian i listy czytelników obok. (m) ■

half-armed men and woman answered the call to attack the Wehrmacht and SS. They included a more numerous contingent of Jewish fighters than had fought in the Ghetto uprising. Their hopes were

were dying at the rate of 2,000 a day. Incessant bombardments reduced the city to rubble. Western aid was woefully

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inadequate, scores of British, South African, Canadian and Polish aircrews died in vain and the Soviets stood still, eventually watching the battle from across the river. After 66 days, the insurgents capitulated and Warsaw's ruins were razed to the ground.

The Polish commander-in-chief, General Sosnkowski, who had personally advised against the rising, was left to beg his British counterparts for a greater sense of urgency. He was not allowed to take control of the Polish Parachute Brigade which had been trained in England for service in Warsaw.

Not for the first or last time, the Poles were left alone with their poetry:

The blood has soaked the sand, but your spirit survives.

It isn't true. The spirit can die as well.

Serpents slither between the marbles of your House

And the wind blows spirals of sand about the ruins of Hellas
(Antoni Slonimski)

Next year the Imperial War Museum is launching an exhibition on "Women at War". Nothing would be more suitable than a tribute to the heroines of Warsaw - to Elizabeth "Zo", who was parachuted in by SOE, to Krystyna K, the model for Warsaw's Syren statue, who was shot dead whilst rescuing a wounded comrade or to the thousands of underground nurses and couriers.

After the war, all public memory of the Warsaw rising was suppressed in the Soviet bloc. The last commander of the AK, General Okulicki, who had been

flown into occupied Poland by the RAF, ended up in a show trial in Moscow for "illegal activities". Thousands of colleagues perished in the Gulag or in communist jails. Though a fine monument was raised to the Heroes of the Ghetto in

raged the Soviets and embarrassed the western powers. Instead, SS General Erich Von dem Bach, the butcher of Warsaw and a notorious murderer in the campaign against Soviet partisans, was used as a witness for the prosecution. He escaped scot free.

The Guardian (November 15, 2003)

Recognition overdue

Norman Davies points to Britain's relative failure in recognising the contribution of her Polish allies in 1939-45 ("Lest we forget", November 8). Perhaps due recognition would help to educate those younger than me who, with no direct experience of a war-torn refugee community, assume that these men arrived in Britain as "prisoners of war". Increasingly, as I have grown older and moved away from my original community, I have met such misconceptions. Lest we forget? Perhaps the motto "For your freedom and ours" should also be declared - therein lies an even greater irony of historical fate.

Krystyna Campbell (nee Bilikowska)

Athelstaneford, East Lothian

The Guardian (November 22, 2003)

Our other allies

Norman Davies's claim that Britain owes a unique debt to the Poles is both perverse and eurocentric ("Lest we forget", November 8). Britain's real and effective allies (until the German attack on the Soviet Union) came from outside Europe. Not only did all the independent Commonwealth countries join in the war against Germany from the start, but the British colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean made a tremendous contribution to the allied victory. For example, although the viceroy did not consult the Indian people in any way before declaring war on India's behalf, two million Indians fought at Britain's side.

John Wilson

London

The Guardian (November 22, 2003)

Norman Davies's history of the Warsaw uprising in 1944 will, I am sure, be welcomed by Poles ("... and at the crossroads", November 15). I lived in Warsaw for two years during the early 1990s, including one year in north Warsaw.

Every time I told someone where I lived, they asked if I knew that this was where the Red Army sat and watched in 1944 as the rest of Warsaw on the other side of the river was destroyed by the Germans. What was astonishing was that the people telling me this were, like me, in their twenties, as if the memory of those events was scored as deeply into that generation as it was into their parents' and grandparents'.

Lucy Kimbell

London ■

1947, no memorial to the Warsaw rising was permitted until 1989. When Chancellor Brandt travelled to Warsaw in 1970 to pay Germany's penance to Poland, there was still no memorial.

The Warsaw rising did not feature in the Nuremberg tribunals. It would have out-

The exclusion of the Poles from Britain's 1945 victory parade in contrast, may charitably be attributed to muddle.

Though the Polish government, our exiled wartime ally, was still in London, invitations were sent to the communist regime in Warsaw. When no response was forthcoming, Ernest Bevin saw the mistake and sent a last-minute apology to Poland's General Anders, living in exile in England.

There was no chance to form a contingent. In any case, the Poles knew that for them the war had ended in unmistakable defeat. In Poland, the communists had abolished Independence Day, and replaced it by a so called National Day that celebrated their own accession to power in 1944.

In Britain, meanwhile, the survivors of the Warsaw rising who had made their way to our shores after release from German camps, were being refused war pensions.

So, yes we should remember every one of those who died.

• *Rising '44 - The Battle for Warsaw by Norman Davies is published by Macmillan, £25. (gm) ■*

MONITOR

International Edition

“Wszyscy żyjemy pod tym samym niebem, ale nie każdy z nas widzi ten sam horyzont” (Konrad Adenauer)

Bush i antyamerykanizm

Wszelką krytykę obecnej polityki amerykańskiej, otaczający prezydenta Buscha neokonserwatyści, którzy tworzą tę politykę i mają poważny wpływ na media, przedstawiają jako wyraz nastrojów antyamerykańskich, czy wręcz wrogości wobec Ameryki i wszystkiego co jest amerykańskie.

Jest to oczywista nieprawda, podobnie jak wiele innych twierdzeń grupy, która opanowała Biały Dom. Wystarczy wspomnieć choćby rzekome zagrożenie bronią masowej zagłady przez Irak w ciągu 45 minut.

Polityce neokonserwatystów przeciwstawili się między innymi: Ojciec Święty Jan Paweł II, były prezydent amerykański Jimmy Carter, Nelson Mandela, największy dramaturg angielski Harold Pinter, największy pisarz niemiecki Günther Grass, historyk Norman Davies, szef komisji prawnej Parlamentu angielskiego lord Alexander, czołowy sędzia instancji odwoławczej Izby Lordów lord Steyn (zob. str. 2), poseł do Izby Gmin Gerald Kaufman, prezydent Krakowa profesor Jacek Majchrowski, 200 tysięcy demonstrantów w czasie wizyty prezydenta Buscha w Londynie przybyłych również z kontynentu i miliony innych ludzi na całym świecie, których zraził do siebie obecny prezydent USA swą agresywną polityką, gwałceniem prawa międzynarodowego i deptaniem praw człowieka.

Niektórym faktycznie Bush może utożsamiać się z Ameryką. Ale każdy rozsądny człowiek zdaje sobie sprawę, że Bush i otaczający go ludzie nie reprezentują całego tego wielkiego kraju, podobnie jak hitler-

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rowcy nie reprezentowali wszystkich Niemców, oprawcy stalinowscy wszystkich Rosjan, czy syjonści nie reprezentują całego narodu żydowskiego.

W połowie listopada br. były prezydent Jimmy Carter w prowadzonym przez siebie ośrodku obrony praw człowieka (The Carter Center) zorganizował międzynarodową konferencję i występując przed kamerami telewizji CNN powiedział, że kiedyś Stany Zjednoczone broniły praw człowieka i były natchnieniem dla uciśnionych całego świata, wpływając hamująco na dyktatorskie zapędy różnych satrapów.

Dzisiaj natomiast dyktatorzy wszelkiej maści z satysfakcją patrzą na łamanie zasad cywilizacyjnych przez USA i pod pozorem „walki z terroryzmem” na wzór amerykański zaczynają jeszcze bardziej prześladować własnych poddanych (m) ■

◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY I

The Times (London) Nov 3, 2003

Sir, Recent days in Baghdad brought more than 50 dead and 200 injured from terrorist attacks against a US helicopter, a major hotel and on the offices of the International Red Cross. This insurgency is likely to continue through Ramadan.

The situation is out of control. Recent attacks have risen to unprecedented levels of sophistication. US commanders don't even know who the enemy is. Our intelligence assets are pitiful.

Congress is as much to blame for this fiasco as the President, through its failure to hold this Administration accountable to a wartime strategy, funding and exit timetable. And here we are, fewer than two months before Christmas, stuck in Iraq.

I believe we have another Vietnam on our hands.

Yours faithfully,
EARL BEAL,

542 Keane Lane, Terre Haute, Indiana 47803.

Dziennik Polski (Londyn) 7 listopada 2003

Czym jest polska racja stanu?

W obecnej rzeczywistości największe zagrożenia dla polskiej racji stanu płyną nie z zewnątrz, ale od samych Polaków.

Nasza racja stanu wymaga pilnej zmiany Konstytucji, która zapobiegnie przerosom partyjniactwa stawiającego interes własnej formacji ponad dobro ogółu, i która będzie skutecznie przeciwdziałać rosnącej korupcji, mogącej doprowadzić do podporządkowania elity rządzącej obcym interesom.

Największym i najbardziej realnym zagrożeniem polskiej racji stanu jest możliwość gwałtownego wybuchu konfliktu społecznego. Zniszczyłby on doszczętnie polską gospodarkę i przekreślił dotychczasowe osiągnięcia.

Wydaje się, że elity, którym powodzi się nieźle - nie zdają sobie sprawy z rosnącej niczym lawa przed wybuchem wulkanu - wściekłości społecznej ludzi pozbawionych środków do godnego życia.

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański

List do Dziennika Polskiego (Londyn)

(niewydrukowany)

Polacy i Żydzi w II RP

Szanowny Panie Redaktorze!

Wstrzymywałam się z komentarzem do wynurzeń p. R F Scharfa, gdyż czekałam na koniec cyklu "Co mnie i tobie Polsko...". W miarę czytania jego esejów robiło mi się, coraz smutniej. Ogarniał

mnie wielki żal, że nasza wspólna ojczyzna tak po macoszemu traktowała i p. Scharfa i jego rodaków. Cała Polska bez wyjątku, cały jej naród od góry do dołu. Na zmarłego nie godzi się miotać gro-mów, bo już nie może się bronić. Jego oskarżenia są jednak tak bardzo przykre, że wymagają jakiejś reakcji z naszej strony.

Pan Scharf widział Polską oczyma rozczarowanego Żyda z urazem przeżycia wojny. Jemu udało się ująć z niej całość. Miliony jego współplemieńców uległy zagładzie. I ja to rozumiem, bo sam często mam z tego powodu wyrzuty sumienia. Zarzuca więc Polakom, że nie próbowali ratować życia Żydom. A ja wiem, że Polacy nie potrafili obronić nie tylko Żydów ale i samych siebie przed aresztami, egzekucjami, obozami śmierci i wywózkami - pod obydwiema okupacjami: niemiecką i sowiecką.

R F Scharf widzi cały polski naród jako zażartych antysemitów, a ja pamiętam Polskę jako zupełnie inny kraj.

We wspomnianym cyklu przedstawił on swój punkt widzenia zupełnie niezgodny z moim. Chciałbym więc odpowiedzieć, jak ja te sprawy widziałem. Tu i tam będę cytował opinie p. Scharfa, a potem je skomentuję.

"...Oficjalnie aprobowany bojkot gospodarczy..." Ja tego nie pamiętam. U nas w Brodach kupowaliśmy towary "na książeczką" w żydowskim sklepie. Nasze ubrania i mundurki szkolne szyl żydowski krawiec, czapki i kapelusze wyrabiał dla nas Żyd, buciki nam naprawiał żydowski szewc itd. W gimnazjum mieliśmy dwóch żydowskich nauczycieli: jeden uczył historii, zaś drugi języka niemieckiego, którym zresztą władał lepiej niż polskim.

R F Scharf słusznie oburza się na skrajne stronnictwa polityczne, *numerus clausus*, getta ławkowe, bojówki, pogromy itp. skierowane przeciw Żydom. W innym miejscu jednak sam sobie zaprzecza.

"...Kwitło na tych ziemiach pełne, bujne, urozmaicone, twórcze życie żydowskie. Istniała całkowita swoboda kultu, autonomia w sprawach religijnych... Były szkoły z językiem wykładowym hebrajskim... Była prasa w języku polskim, jidysz i hebrajskim... Były partie polityczne... Byli posłowie i senatorzy... literaci i pisarze... Słowem kwitła specyficzna cywilizacja...". I to pomimo rzekomego powszechnego antysemityzmu i antyjudaj-

izmu sfer rządzących, Kościoła, wojska, uczelni i "całego" społeczeństwa. Zamiast więc narzekać na Polskę, Żydzi powinni być nam wdzięczni za to, że miliony ich mogły żyć w kraju, którzy oni sami nazwali "Polin"- miejscem spoczynku.

Gdy z Anglii ich wygnano, gdy w Hiszpanii trzeba było ich Inkwizycja, gdy Włosi zamykali ich w gettach, gdy ginęli w pogromach w Rosji - celem ich ucieczek była Polska. A jaki by czekał na nich los, gdyby byli afrykańskimi niewolnikami sprzedawanymi jak bydło na targach? Albo amerykańskimi Indianami mordowanymi przez Anglosasów, Hiszpanów i Portugalczków? Lub murzynami w rasistowskich Stanach Zjednoczonych, gdzie czekałaby na nich dyskryminacja, segregacja, Ku Klux Klan i linczowanie? Albo katolikami palonymi na stosach przez protestancką reformację?

W kilku miejscach oskarżyciel skupia się szczególnie na "programowym i prymitywnym... odwiecznym i nieubłaganym... antyjudajzmie katolickiego Kościoła". Nie przepuszcza nawet św. Maksymilianowi Kolbe, "...w teorii i praktyce zago-rzałemu antysemitom...". Pośrednio więc atakuje Ojca św. Jana Pawła II, który tego męczennika wyniósł na ołtarze, tym samym sugerując, że nasz papież toleruje antysemityzm.

Ma żal, że tylko drobny procent Polaków brał udział aktywny w akcji pomocy Żydom "...w tym znaczny ułamek za pieniądze...". Władysław Szpilman jednak twierdzi, że 300 tysięcy do 400 tysięcy Polaków ryzykowało życie żeby ich uratować. A Żegota to nie?

"...Nigdy nie byłem w polskim domu czy mieszkaniu... Co więcej, nie brakowało mi tego...". Dlaczego nie? Może tak, jak nasi znajomi Żydzi, bał się "strefnić" i dlatego nie chciał utrzymywać stosunków towarzyskich z Polakami? Choć mógł być u nich, jak u nas, mile widziany. A może bał się, z większością swoich rodaków, bo im grozili i szantażowali ich fanatyczni rabini i syjoniści - wrogowie integracji? Więc kto kogo bojkotował?

Autor tych zwierzeń zapewnia, że "...Żydzi... kochali ten krajobraz, mowę, poezję, gdzie gotowi byli za Polskę się wykrwawiać i być jej nieodrodnymi synami...". Owszem, byli tacy, jak p Scharf i tysiące innych. To były jednak wyjątki. W swojej masie Żydzi byli neutralni,

(Continued on page 10)

◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY ◆◆ GŁOSY I ODGŁOSY

(Continued from page 9)

żeby nie powiedzieć obojętni, wobec losu Polski i jej narodu. Ich celem było przeżyć. W każdej sytuacji. W wolnej Polsce i pod obcą okupacją. Co często oznaczało kolaborację z naszymi nieprzyjaciółmi.

Co gorzej, wielu Żydów angażowało się we wrogą działalność przeciw krajowi, w którym żyli. Żeby tylko wymienić komunistów. Czy rzeczywiście więc wszyscy Żydzi byli gotowi przelewać krew za Polskę?

Niech na to odpowie jeden przykład. Gdy gen. Anders tworzył w ZSSR polskie wojsko, zgłosiło się do niego tysiące polskich Żydów, których ta "antysemicka" polska armia przyjęła bez żadnych wstrętów. Gdy jednak polskie oddziały znalazły się w Palestynie, Żydzi tłumnie dezertowali, żeby się przyłączyć do grup terrorystycznych walczących z Brytyjczykami. "Antysemicki" gen. Anders mógł wydać rozkaz, żeby ich wylapać i rozstrzelać, ale puścił im to płazem. Tak, ci Żydzi chcieli się bić, ale nie o Polskę.

„...My Żydzi, już niczego od Polaków nie oczekujemy, jak tylko by uderzyli się w piersi...” - wzdycha p Scharf. A nam już od bicia się w piersi bolą żebra i ręce nam spuchły. Od lat już i to wiele razy przeproszaliśmy ich: i nasz papież i nasi biskupi i grupy ludzi i pojedyncze osoby, Lech Wałęsa i zwykli szaraczkowie. To tego jeszcze za mało?

A ja, i nie tylko ja, myślę, że czas już wreszcie, żeby i Żydzi przyznali, że nie zawsze byli wobec Polski lojalni i w osądzeniu jej sprawiedliwi. I żeby nareszcie przestali odtrącać wyciągnięte do nich o zgodę polskie dłonie.

J R Hebda
Cheadle, Staffs.
11 listopada 2003

Letter to The Times (London)

(Not published)

True colours

The people in this country should not be fooled by charm offensive of President Bush who displayed his true colours during a recent visit to Poland.

While in Krakow, at his request the vassal Warsaw central government evicted Mr Jacek Majchrowski from this ancient city.

Mr Jacek Majchrowski, a renowned professor of law and critic of Mr Bush's policies, happens to be President of the City of Krakow and top judge of Poland's Constitutional Tribunal.

Les Masznicz
Nov 14, 2003 ■

(Continued from page 3)

light for the creation of a Jewish national home in an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire.

The British, the French, who successfully fought to prevent a Hashemite Greater Syria emerging in 1920, and the Nazis, who drove huge numbers of Jews into Palestine, between them turned out to be indispensable for the success of Jewish nationalism.

Zionism, which brought "the people without land to the land without people", in fact implied the dispossession of Palestine's Arabs. Previously, anti-Semitism had been a negligible factor among the Arabs; there was little trace of it in the Ottoman world, where Jews and Muslims coexisted harmoniously.

But even as European anti-Semitism dwindled, so it seemed to grow in the Middle East, fed by racial and religious myths imported from the defeated European Right.

What has emerged is not at heart a racial antagonism but a political one — an anti-Zionism which takes Israeli rhetoric at face value by conflating Israelis and Jews. This is very different from the old inter-war European variety. The Nazis were not much bothered about Jews' political opinions; what counted was race.

If anything, Zionists were the one kind of Jew that right-wing Europeans were prepared to deal with, since both sides desired the same thing — the departure of the Jews from Europe.

Precisely the opposite is true for Arab opinion: conspiracy theories flourish, and so does Holocaust denial, but the real target is Zionism as a political doctrine.

Israeli spokesmen, however, are now focusing not on sentiment in the Arab world but on signs of old hatreds in Europe. By doing so, they badly distort what is happening.

When a German MP is forced to resign after comparing the Nazis with Jewish Bolsheviks, we are learning more about German frustra-

tions over how the world deals with the Holocaust than about the dangers facing German Jews.

Recently there has been a remarkable increase in the number of Israelis settling in Germany: so much for anti-Semitism there. Neo-Nazi and far-right groups continue to target synagogues and cemeteries. But this has been going on for years and has not pushed them into the mainstream — quite the contrary.

What *is* new in the present equation is the violence mostly in France by young Arab youths against Jewish targets, a spill-over into Europe of the kind of anti-Zionism already described.

Before we turn to the old catch-all labels of the past, we need to take a good look at the singer as well as the song. "The best solution to anti-Semitism," Sharon said in Rome last week, "is immigration to Israel."

As Jewish migration from the former Soviet Union dwindles, the spectre of depopulation looms large among Israeli officials who fear Jews may before long be outnumbered by the fecund Arabs in their midst. Sharon is the man, after all, who entered office vowing to bring a million new settlers to the country in order to reverse its alarming demographic deficit.

There has always been a debate among Jews about the importance of anti-Semitism in Europe, and Zionists for obvious reasons have tended to emphasise the threat it poses. But today Israel itself looks more like a source of danger for Jews worldwide than a refuge, and even Israelis — though the emigration statistics remain a closely guarded official secret — are voting with their feet.

If Sharon is seriously concerned about anti-Semitism, there is no one better placed than he to do something about it by changing his Government's policies towards the Palestinians.

The author is Professor of History at Birkbeck College London (t,m) ■

Russian Jews behaved like Nazis, says German MP

A German conservative MP said the Jews were a "race of perpetrators" during the Russian Revolution whose actions were similar to those of the Nazis in the Second World War.

Martin Hohmann, 55, an opposition Christian Democrat MP, made his remarks in a speech to his constituency in which he claimed that many Jewish Communists were active in the Soviet leadership and secret police execution squads during the October revolution of 1917. "With some justification, one could describe the Jews as a race of perpetrators," he said. "That may sound horrible but it follows the same logic with which one describes the Germans as a race of perpetrators."

Mr Hohmann made his speech in October but his remarks only reached a wider audience when broadcast on Oct 31, 2003.

The head of Germany's elite special forces was summarily dismissed from his post on Nov 4, 2003 for praising a speech by a right-wing conservative MP which described the Jews as a "race of perpetrators".

Brigadier-General Reinhard Guenzel, commander of Germany's crack KSK special forces and a 40-year veteran of the armed forces, was fired with immediate effect. His dismissal was coupled with a Defence Ministry recommendation that he be retired from all army duties at once. Peter Struck, the German Defence Minister, said: "I have decided to relieve him of his command

and to dismiss him. With that, the case is closed for me.

"This is not an honourable discharge. It is the case of one confused general agreeing with an even more confused MP. His remarks were intolerable and have damaged the reputation of the German army."

General Guenzel's unprecedented sacking followed a German television report which revealed that the 59-year-old commander of the equivalent of Britain's SAS had praised a recent speech by the opposition Christian Democrat MP Martin Hohmann in glowing terms. "It was an excellent speech, of a courage, truth and clarity, which one seldom hears or reads in our country," General Guenzel wrote in a letter that was leaked on Oct 31, 2003.

Mr Hohmann, in an address to his constituency in west Germany in October, claimed that the Jews had acted like a "race of perpetrators" during the Russian revolution of 1917 and that large numbers of them were involved in Communist secret police massacres. He said their actions were comparable to those of the Nazis.

General Guenzel wrote to Mr Hohmann to congratulate him on his remarks. An excerpt from his letter read: "You can be sure that with your opinions, you are speaking from the soul for a majority of our people. I hope you will not be put off by criticism from the left and that you will hold your course with courage."

Germany's special forces, the Kommando Spezialkraefte, were cre-

ated in the 1990s after German reunification. They recently returned from a tour of duty in Afghanistan, where they were at the forefront of Germany's first combat operation outside Europe since the Second World War. German troops under the command of General Guenzel took part in last year's US-led Operation Anaconda on suspected Taliban and al-Qai'da holdouts in the mountains of Afghanistan's eastern Paktia province. The special forces have been in the forefront of Germany's attempts to take on more of a role in helping to contain international flashpoints.

Germany's Central Council of Jews yesterday said it had begun legal proceedings in an attempt to prosecute Mr Hohmann for incitement to racial hatred. Paul Spiegel, the council's chairman, told German radio he could not understand why the Christian Democrats had allowed him to continue as an MP. "Hohmann has caught a particular mood in Germany," he said. "Hundreds of people heard his speech. Nobody got annoyed. They applauded. It is a scandal that so many people simply accepted it. How can a German government, how can a German political party accept that such statements are made from their ranks? People abroad can't understand it."

Recent opinion polls indicate 25% of Germans share General Guenzel's views. Many were surprised that mentioning massive Jewish participation in Bolshevik Revolution, which is a fact, resulted in severe punishment of both German MP and a distinguished General. (ind, m.) ■

Memo from Colin Powell, Secretary of State
The White House.

True Fiction

Dear Mr President,

With regard to your State Visit to the United Kingdom (which I repeat is neither a Queendom nor a great republic), some final notes to cover various aspects of your schedule.

MEETING THE ROYAL FAMILY

1 Elizabeth II is not the daughter of Elizabeth I and is not a Pearly Queen but the genuine article. She is also the Duke of Lancaster and is married to the Duke of Edinboro. Best to avoid discussion of this.

2 She is Queen because her father was king and his father was king, and so on, more or less back to some guy called Alfred the Great. It may sound a crazy way to choose a head of state, but remember Florida. She has also held down the job since Harry S. Truman's time. Think about it.

3 During your visit to Buckingham Palace you will probably use the bathroom. Note that water in the hand basin will come out of what the Brits call a tap. Do not refer to it as a faucet, because ... well, just don't.

VISIT TO 10 DOWNING STREET

1 Mr John Prescott is deputy to Prime Minister Blair. On no account refer to him as Mr Vice-President.

2 What we class as Democrats, they call new Labour. What we class as Republi-

cans, they call Conservatives, but you may not meet many. Shred all previous memos on Iain Duncan Smith.

3 Confusingly, they have Liberal Democrats and their leader is called Kennedy. Relax. He is no relation.

4 Do not ask, under any circumstances, Home Secretary (Minister of the Interior in most places) David Blunkett how many prisoners they have on death row.

5 Do not ask Mr Gordon Brown how he gets on with the folks next door.

LANGUAGE

1 You say tomato and they say tomato. Nod a lot.

HISTORY

1 The Brits do not share the American view that the Second World War began in 1941.

2 Do not try to be smart and ask if the number of Italian restaurants you see is a legacy of the Roman occupation.

GENERAL

1 The National Health Service is not a Commie plot. The CIA suggests that the BBC may be, but evidence is sketchy.

2 Do not ask to meet Sherlock Holmes, Robin Hood, Big Ben or Harry Potter.

3 Introduce the name David Beckham (profile attached) in conversation whenever possible. Please note that his wife is not a soccer mom.

4 During your visit, the England cricket team will be playing overseas. Show polite interest, but do not ask anyone to explain the game; greater American minds than yours have failed to understand it.

5 The UK is close to Europe and its nearest neighbour is France, which a lot of Brits actually like. The phrase "cheese-eating surrender monkeys" is not widely used.

6 Among other things, the Brits invented the locomotive, the jet engine, TV, penicillin, the computer, radar, golf, tennis, soccer (they call it football), the hovercraft, the sewing machine, disc brakes and (at least they claim) Viagra. The only American inventions most of them know are the hamburger and the hot dog. Be humble.

SECURITY

We have been warned of demonstrations during your visit. Do not express surprise at the lack of tear gas, water cannon and armed troops to control them.

In view of your known admiration for Sir Winston Churchill, you may think that certain gestures you will see indicate the people's hope for victory in Iraq. They don't — and do not respond in kind.

Have a great time, bring back photos,

Yours, Colin

(tm) ■

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