

Down with anti-Sinn Féin witch-hunt! Northern Ireland: Sectarian Orange statelet!



Peter Morrison/AP



Irish News

Above: Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, US senator George Mitchell and British prime minister Tony Blair, architects of imperialist “peace” fraud, which means continuing oppression of Catholic minority. Left: British troops attack Catholics protesting reactionary Orange march in Ardoyne, July 2004.

British troops out now!

FEBRUARY 25—The completely unsubstantiated claim by PSNI chief constable Hugh Orde that the Provisional IRA were responsible for the theft of upwards of £25 million from the Northern Bank in December was quickly seized upon by the British and Irish governments who launched a vindictive witch-hunt against Sinn Féin, demanding Sinn Féin ensure that IRA “paramilitary and criminal activity” be “definitely removed from the equation”. The talks aimed at re-establishing the sham power-sharing Executive in Northern Ireland were deadlocked prior to the Northern Bank robbery due to the Paisleyite DUP’s insistence on “humiliating” the IRA. Pinning the robbery on the IRA was a convenient way for the governments to blame Republicans once again for the collapse of the “peace” fraud, which looks to be on hold until at least after the Westminster elections in May, if not indefinitely. This latest crisis in the

“peace” fraud comes in a different context from earlier ones in that the DUP and Sinn Féin are the largest parties within their respective communities, reflecting a hardening of sectarian divisions among the population. The governments are particularly alarmed by Sinn Féin’s substantial electoral gains in Northern and Southern Ireland. The governments’ attacks against Sinn Féin are partly aimed to bolster the electoral chances of the SDLP, who themselves quickly joined the anti-Republican frenzy.

Two months on from the Northern Bank robbery, no one has been arrested or charged in relation to it. That the robbery is being used as a smear job against Sinn Féin is shown by the fact that, when the PSNI raided Catholic homes across Belfast before Christmas, they “brought, along with their battering rams and sledge hammers, CS gas canisters and batons, hand picked members of the media to record the event” (*An Phoblacht*, 6 January). Yet after looking under Christmas trees and even opening children’s presents across Catholic Belfast, the PSNI didn’t find one stolen pound

or any evidence on which to even arrest one Republican. Meanwhile, the bourgeois media largely ignored the seizure of £42,000 in Northern Bank £100 notes from two Loyalists in Craigavon, while the discovery of £50,000 from the Northern Bank haul in a PSNI social club in South Belfast is being dismissed as a devious IRA plot. At the same time, the IRA and Sinn Féin were widely linked in the media to the seizure of a sum of money and the arrest of seven people on 17 February in a Garda investigation into money laundering. Buried in one article, the *Irish Times* admitted "the gardaí and PSNI cautioned against making a link between the bank robbery and this week's haul". And the one person to be charged to date in connection with the alleged money laundering operation was charged with membership of the Real IRA. Even if the IRA were involved in the Northern Bank robbery, it would not be a crime from the perspective of the working class—a sentiment shared by many Belfast Catholics.

The total lack of evidence against Republicans didn't stop the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) blaming the IRA for the Northern Bank robbery, as well as three other armed robberies last year and concluding that "Sinn Féin must bear its share of responsibility for all the incidents". The IMC, aptly characterised by Gerry Adams as "three spooks and a Lord", consists of a former Deputy Director of the CIA, a former head of the Metropolitan Police's anti-terrorism squad, a former civil servant in the Department of Justice and Lord Alderdice of the Alliance Party. The Irish government accepted the IMC's report while opposing the imposition of sanctions against Sinn Féin. Justice Minister Michael "Rottweiler" McDowell reiterated the government's position that "household names and people we see on television are in fact members of the leadership of the IRA. Sinn Féin and the IRA are two faces of the same coin" (*Irish Times*, 11 February). In response, Gerry Adams challenged the Taoiseach and Justice Minister to arrest him. On 20 February, McDowell provocatively claimed Adams, Martin Ferris and Martin McGuinness are members of the IRA army council.

The situation today in Northern Ireland is the result of centuries of brutal British imperialist domination and the 1921 partition of Ireland. The Catholics in the North, part of the Irish Catholic nation, are an oppressed minority. But they live within the same territory as the Protestants, a distinct community which largely defines itself against the Irish Catholic nation and fears becoming a minority that would in turn be oppressed and discriminated against within a capitalist united Ireland. As Leninists, we oppose the national oppression of and discrimination against the Catholics. We support the right of national self-determination in order to remove the national question from the historic agenda and bring the class divisions in society to the fore, not to create another national question. In particular, in the case of interpenetrated peoples sharing a common territory, we oppose the exercise of self-determination by one nation where this flatly conflicts with the same right for another nation.

The economic scarcity inherent in capitalism and the needs of the bourgeois ruling class to divide the working class and oppressed mean that the rights of one people can only be secured by the violent suppression of the other through communalist terror, forced population transfers and ultimately genocide. Thus we oppose the Irish nationalist perspective of a united capitalist Ireland, which demand serves to compact the Protestant working class behind the Loyalist bigots. Within the framework of capitalism, there can be no equitable solution of the national question in Northern Ireland and other situations of interpenetrated peoples. Only the establishment of an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles can begin to lay the material basis for resolving the national question.

From the beginning, we have opposed the so-called "peace deal", which was imposed by British imperialism and the Irish clericalist capitalist state and brokered by US imperialism, and which was only ever designed to get the IRA to disarm; it was never intended to give Sinn Féin any sort of power in Northern Ireland. In 1998, the Dublin Spartacist Group (predecessor of the Spartacist Group Ireland) and the Spartacist League/Britain issued a joint statement warning that the Good Friday Agreement "cannot and will not bring peace to Northern Ireland. This reactionary *imperialist* deal will reinforce the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority. It will be enforced by the 18,000-strong British Army and the viciously sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), who work hand in glove with the fascistic Loyalist death squads in the murder of Catholics" (reprinted in *Workers Hammer* no 162, May/June 1998).

Sectarian attacks directed overwhelmingly against Catholics continue on a weekly basis but are rarely covered in the bourgeois press. For instance, on the first weekend of February, Loyalists smashed in the

continued on page 7

SPARTACIST IRELAND

Published by the Spartacist Group Ireland, Irish section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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Production manager: Ralf Neuer

Circulation manager: Derek Morrison

Subscriptions: €4 for 4 issues

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The closing date for news in this issue is 26 February 2005.

Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed by trade union labour.

Fight anti-Traveller racism!



Left: Travellers protest at Dunsink Lane, with JCB they brought in to tear down racist barrier.

Below: Pavee Point assistant director Martin Collins brutalised by cops.

On October 5th, while the Traveller community of Dunsink slept, a 30-tonne concrete barrier was set down at the end of their lane, cutting the 400 residents off from Finglas village and forcing them to make an eight-mile journey to get to their local schools, shops and doctors. The same night cops also set up a checkpoint at the other end of Dunsink Lane, subjecting the isolated community to police-state measures, including forcing some residents to sign themselves in and out of their own street. As one local woman put it, the barrier was an act of "apartheid" (*Irish Times*, 15 October 2004). This racist attack on the basic rights of these people was carried out by a task force comprising Fingal County Council, Dublin City Council and the Garda, under the guise of combating "illegal dumping".

Historically, Travellers have been the main victims of racism in Ireland, fuelled by discriminatory laws. Apart from "anti-dumping" laws, the anti-trespass law of 2002 empowers gardaí to evict Travellers, throw them in jail and even confiscate their homes. The Irish Traveller Movement (ITM) estimated that between June 2002 and October 2003 over 150 Traveller families were evicted under this law (*Irish Times*, 24 November 2003). No newer figures have been released to date. The recent Irish governmental report to the UN's "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" continues to refuse to recognise Travellers as a distinct ethnic group. This is a criminal attempt to cover for the government's continued discrimination against Travellers—a distinct group with their own language, culture and way of life. **Defend Travellers! Down with the racist anti-trespass law!**



Photos: Alan Betson/Irish Times

Local Travellers and Pavee Point organised protests against the racist Dunsink outrage. On the following days, over 150 Travellers blocked the local main road into Dublin, effectively disrupting rush-hour traffic. These peaceful protests were met with massive police repression involving over 150 cops, mounted units and a helicopter. During one early morning protest, cops moved in and targeted the well-known Traveller activist Martin Collins, Assistant Director of Pavee Point, who described the wall as a "monument to racism". About nine cops jumped Martin before throwing him into a police van. He was released three hours later without charges. A further two Travellers were arrested that morning, and two more a few days later. Over the following days the Traveller community brought in a JCB and began to demolish the barrier.

The constant cop violence encouraged racist thugs from the nearby housing estates to launch their own

attacks on the Travellers. During one such attack on 10 October, 16 Garda transit vans packed with cops attempted a night raid on the Traveller community, but the Travellers successfully defended themselves and forced the cops to retreat. Finally, on 14 October, following negotiations with the Traveller community, council workers removed the remains of the barrier to the cheers of Travellers and some members of the local settled community.

This was one of the biggest and most visible attacks on Travellers in years. The Irish capitalist state feels the wind in its sails since the 79% vote in favour of the government's racist referendum on citizenship on 11 June 2004. Along with the state terror against Travellers, immigrants have been increasingly targeted, including deportations and imprisonment—already in 2003, 25% of people sent to prison were immigrants (*Irish Times*, 22 December 2004). Moreover, there has been a sharp rise in the number of racist attacks on immigrants, most of which are not reported in the bourgeois press. However, the intensive care unit of Beaumont Hospital in Dublin is regularly filled with immigrants with severe head injuries. **No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

The response of the reformist left to Traveller oppression—taking its lead from the Labour Party, many of whose TD's and councillors are open anti-Traveller bigots—has been scandalous, ranging from paltry to utter silence. In the run-up to the racist referendum and local elections in June 2004, of all election statements by Socialist Party (SP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), only Richard Boyd Barrett of the SWP had any slogan against oppression of Travellers. The SP doubled its number of councillors at these elections, bringing their number to four, including two councillors in Fingal, with one of the highest concentrations of Travellers in Ireland. After their election the SP said: "we will use these positions to assist the mobilisation of working people against the re-introduction of water charges or corrupt planning and rezoning decisions or any anti-working class attacks that come from this government" (*Socialist Voice*, July 2004). Well, they didn't attempt to mobilise working people against the attacks on Travellers at Dunsink, which are an attack on all the oppressed including the working class. The two SP councillors on Fingal County Council didn't utter one public statement against the actions of the very council on which they sit, and have been silent to this day. This should come as no surprise from the party that, at the time of the introduction of the racist anti-trespass law, called for "mandatory jail sentences for anyone found guilty of illegal dumping" (*Irish Times*, 11 May 2002).

As the ITM noted, many of those families evicted under anti-trespass laws are on Traveller Accommodation Programmes. These "Programmes" have

been a complete farce. Local authorities were mandated by central government to draw up and carry out a five-year accommodation programme starting in 1999. When the deadline passed at the end of 2004, **not one single** local authority had met its own derisory target, with most achieving about a third of their target (*Irish Times*, 5 January). Moreover, many Travellers don't even appear in these statistics as they have been moved onto the general housing scheme lists. Martin Collins, who denounced this policy as "out of sight, out of mind", estimates that there are 1463 Traveller families—22% of the total—"still living without permanent quality accommodation" (*Irish Times*, 18 January). Forced to live in horrific conditions means life for many Travellers is short: the life expectancy of Travellers is equivalent to the life expectancy settled people had in the 1940s. The constant evictions and discrimination in schools mean that many Traveller children are effectively removed from the education system—only 14% have had any secondary education. **For good quality housing for all, as they wish! For free quality healthcare and education for all!**

For a Leninist party as tribune of the people that fights all oppression!

As we noted in our 28 April 2004 leaflet opposing the referendum ("No to the racist citizenship referendum! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!", reprinted in *Spartacist Ireland*, no 6, Autumn/Winter 2004): "Racism is intrinsic to the capitalist system; the capitalist class uses it to divide and rule the workers and oppressed...to distract the working class from the fact that it is the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system that is dragging them down into ever greater poverty and misery." To combat this divide-and-rule, we need a revolutionary party that rallies workers to the defence of all the oppressed, recognising that attacks on immigrants, women and Travellers are a dagger aimed at the entire working class. Only by smashing the capitalist state through socialist revolution will the road be open to providing decent living conditions, including housing, education and healthcare for settled people and Travellers.

The SGI struggles to build a party like Lenin's Bolsheviks in which the communist's ideal

"should not be the trade-union secretary, but **the tribune of the people**, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth **before all** his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for **all** and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat".

—VI Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* (1902) ■

Japanese Trotskyists say:

Down with Japanese provocations against China, North Korea!

We print below a translation of an article published as a Spartacist supplement (4 February 2005) by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League. Following North Korea's announcement last week that it has nuclear weapons, Washington revealed longstanding plans to further tighten its starvation embargo against North Korea. We demand: All US troops out of Korea! Down with the sanctions!

スパルタシスト

The Japanese and US imperialists are playing a dangerous game in East Asia. Using the excuse of a Chinese military threat and instability on the Korean peninsula, Tokyo and Washington are in the process of strengthening their security agreements, repositioning their military and placing a ballistic missile system in the region. A recent deadly cat-and-mouse chase on the high seas, threats of sanctions against North Korea and worse, combined with Japan's newly released "National Defense Program Guideline for FY2005 and After" are dangerous provocations against both the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states and the workers and toilers of the entire region.

As Marxists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—and Vietnam and Cuba—against the increasingly bellicose Japanese capitalist rulers. The social revolutions in China and North Korea were historic defeats for imperialism and victories for the working class in Asia and around the world. Though deformed from their inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist, Stalinist bureaucratic caste, these revolutions overthrew capitalist property relations and imperialist subjugation. This resulted in the construction of collectivized economies which meant enormous social progress for workers, women and peasants, such as the right



Morton/US Navy

US and Japanese destroyers on joint manoeuvres in December 2004 in Western Pacific Ocean.

to a job, housing, education, childcare, social insurance and medical care.

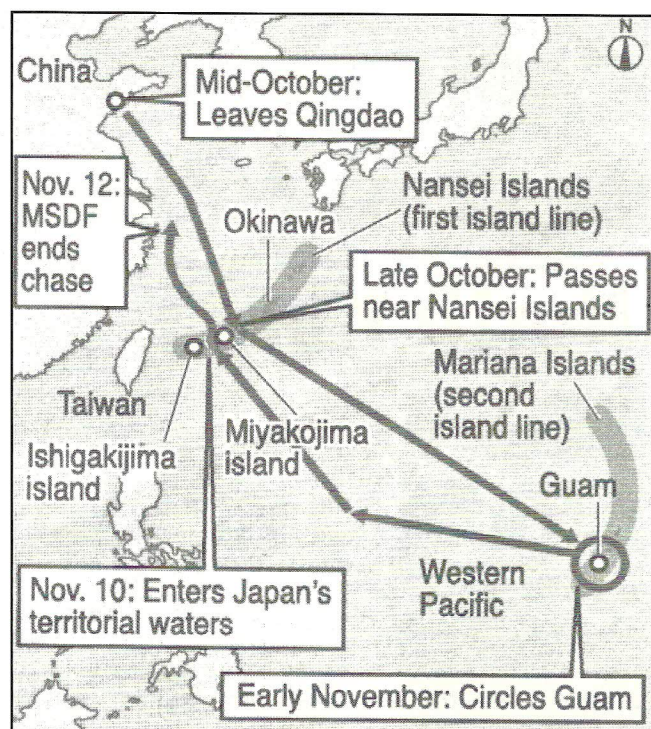
The core of the economies in China and North Korea remain collectivized. We oppose capitalist penetration into the deformed workers states because it further undermines the collectivized economies. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing have increasingly opened the country to imperialism, paving the way for capitalist restoration. This simultaneously prepares the ground for a new revolutionary explosion—not a social revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949, but a political revolution that is premised on the defense of the collectivized economy and which would oust the ruling bureaucracy and place political power in the

hands of worker, soldier and peasant soviets.

The same program holds true for North Korea where a nepotistic, cultist Stalinist regime rules. While extremely impoverished, the collectivized economy enabled the North Korean masses to receive most basic daily necessities for free. While education, childcare and medical care continue to be free, the 2002 "market reforms" have substantially raised the price of basic foodstuffs, housing and transportation. North Koreans are now expected to buy much of their food on the open market as opposed to receiving it from the state. As the UN World Food Program stated, "Life is much harder for many North Koreans." We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucratic castes, the main internal obstacle to defending the gains of the social revolutions, and we fight to extend proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries, with Japan as key.

Japanese imperialism: deadly threat to workers in Asia

For ten days in mid November 2004, the Japanese military and US forces stationed in Japan conducted



Asahi Shimbun

US/Japanese forces monitored 30-day voyage of Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine, November 2004.

major joint military exercises, "Exercise Keen Sword 2005", at military installations throughout the country. The purpose of these exercises was to "increase the defensive readiness of Japanese and American forces in the air, land and at sea" and practice "suppression of enemy air defenses, surveillance and reconnaissance, safe passage" (*Strategy Page*, 18 January).

In reality, these provocative "defensive readiness" exercises began a month earlier. Acting as if the Pacific Ocean and adjacent seas are their own personal lakes, US armed forces and the Japanese navy and coast guard monitored the entire 30-day voyage of a Chinese Han-class nuclear-powered submarine. From the time the sub left its base in Qingdao in northeast China, as it circled Guam and during its return to China, surveillance satellites, warships and patrol aircraft tracked its every move. On its return, even before the submarine had entered waters in the East China Sea that are claimed by Japan, the Self-Defense Forces had been tracking the vessel with P3C anti-submarine patrol aircraft for several days. The two-hour incursion unleashed Japan's anti-submarine network which has the largest density in the East Asian region, equipped with over 100 high-function patrol planes and numerous anti-submarine warships. The navy was placed on high alert for the second time since the end of World War II, triggering a two-day chase with Japanese destroyers and aircraft in hot pursuit. The first instance was in 1999 at the start of the imperialist war against Serbia when the coast guard dropped 12 bombs while chasing a North Korean ship.

The new defense guidelines represent a strengthening of the Japan-US military alliance, an anti-

Communist alliance initially directed against the former Soviet Union and today targeting China and North Korea. In addition to its own missile defense system bought in 2003 at the cost of 700 billion yen (\$6.5 billion), Japan has entered into a ballistic missile defense system agreement with the US. To sell technology to the US imperialists, the government has selectively ended its ban on arms exports. Japan's Aegis destroyers will be upgraded, the capabilities of its Patriot missiles will be enhanced. To supplement the guidelines, additional plans have been drawn up to "defend" the hundreds of islands between Kyushu [one of the four main islands of Japan] and Taiwan against a "Chinese invasion of Japan". To this end, the number of Japanese soldiers on Okinawa will be increased to full brigade status, F-15 fighters will be stationed there, and a rapid deployment force will be created.

Sounding as if Japan was some kind of Third World country, the reformist Communist Party, the third-campist Kakumaru and the United-Secretariat affiliated Kakehashi group oppose the new defense guidelines because they claim the Self-Defense Forces will be "subservient" to and "become one with" the American military. This position alibis the appetites of the Japanese bourgeoisie which is just as committed as its American counterpart to overturning the gains of the Chinese and North Korean social revolutions and brutally exploiting the workers and toilers of Asia. Despite its "lost decade" [the 1990s when Japan's economy suffered a decline], Japan is still the second most powerful imperialist country on the planet. In 2003, cabinet members called for a policy of pre-emptive strikes against North Korea, and several leading politicians have stated that Japan could and would go nuclear. In fact, Japan's inventory of 55 tons of separated plutonium is enough to manufacture 10,000 nuclear warheads.

While the guidelines call for a "close cooperative relationship between Japan and the United States", their purpose is to create a leaner, meaner military machine whose reach is now to extend to "the region spreading from the Middle East to East Asia". For now, the ruling class has decided to strengthen its alliance with the world's top cop in order to serve its own interests. With memories of the slaughter of tens of millions by Japan's imperial army during the Pacific War still very much alive, it is only through its alliance with Washington that Japanese imperialism has been able to deploy its already highly advanced military overseas. Japanese military out of West Timor, the Golan Heights, the Indian Ocean and Iraq! We call to smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and US imperialism through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific!

Reformists in service of counterrevolution

As part of the unrelenting pressure against Pyongyang, legislation that would stop money transfers to

continued on page 17

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 2)

front window of a Catholic home in North Belfast early on the Sunday morning; Loyalist stonethrowers attacked Catholic homes in West Belfast and two schoolboys in Armagh City were beaten by a man armed with an iron bar who shouted anti-Catholic abuse at them.

Stitch-ups of Republicans and state collusion with Loyalists

While many working-class Northern Catholics look to Sinn Féin to defend them, Sinn Féin is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party which cannot further the interests of the oppressed Catholic minority, much less the working class (Protestant *or* Catholic). Their perspective, whether through armed struggle or the parliamentary road, has always been to pressure imperialism. Throughout the past decade, while criticising British imperialism, the Sinn Féin leaders have tried to sell illusions that the British and Irish governments were neutral arbiters and that the Unionists were the main obstacle to "democracy". While some Northern Catholics have until recently seen the Dublin government as their ally, the fact is that the Southern Irish bourgeoisie holds working-class Catholics in the North in great contempt. Since the founding of the Southern Irish state, the forces of state repression have always been directed in the first instance against Republicans and then against other "subversives": communists and militant trade unionists. As Gerry Adams pointed out in the *Village* (12-18 February), Michael McDowell's anti-Republican vitriol seems to be a family tradition: his grandfather Eoin MacNeill seconded the Dáil motion for the execution of Liam Mellows and three other Republicans on 8 December 1922. McDowell's great-uncle was in charge of the firing squad. Today the Irish state has an arsenal of repressive laws like the Offences Against the State Act and the non-jury Special Criminal Court which are directed at all opponents of the clericalist capitalist state. The government's new Criminal Justice Bill will further increase powers for the police, including increased detention periods, the power to issue search warrants, fixed penalties rather than court trials and the right to obtain DNA samples from you without permission. The bill has been criticised by the Human Rights Commission, which notes that "there is also the risk that such powers will be used disproportionately against certain groups in society such as members of the Traveller community, other ethnic minorities and protesters". ***No to the Criminal Justice Bill! Abolish the Offences Against the State Act, the Special Criminal Court and the British Terrorism Act!***

The Northern Bank robbery is the latest in a series of incidents where Republicans have been accused of "criminal activities" without any proof in order to



Rosemary Nelson and Pat Finucane, Catholic solicitors murdered by Loyalists in collusion with British state.

blame them for the latest crisis in the political process. Most significantly, the Northern Ireland Executive was suspended in October 2002 when it was alleged that the IRA was running a spy ring inside Stormont Castle. Over two years on, no one has been convicted of any crime in relation to "Stormontgate" and all charges related to Stormont itself have been dropped.

On the other hand, the evidence of collusion between the British Army, RUC/PSNI and Loyalist death squads is so overwhelming that even British and Irish government-convened inquiries have been forced to admit it. The report by Canadian Judge Peter Cory into security force involvement in Loyalist murders found that in the case of Catholic solicitor Pat Finucane, who was gunned down in front of his family in 1989, "there is strong evidence that collusive acts were committed by the Army (FRU), the RUC SB and the Security Service". Regarding Rosemary Nelson, killed by a car bomb in 1999, Cory concluded "In this case only a public inquiry will suffice." Following the Barron Inquiry into the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings, the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice said there was an "exceptionally high" probability of British security force collusion with the UVF in the bombings.

The British government has refused to cooperate with the inquiry into the Dublin and Monaghan bombings and in order to avoid future embarrassing revelations, Blair now proposes to greatly restrict public inquiries through the new Inquiries Bill. While at times exposing state atrocities, public inquiries are not "independent" of the capitalist state and are more likely to whitewash state murder than to provide any justice. This can be clearly seen in the Saville Inquiry into the state murder of 14 unarmed people and the wounding of 13 others on Bloody Sunday. As the inquiry was winding down, Derry Republican Martin Doherty was jailed for three months for refusing to testify—***the only person to ever be imprisoned in relation to the events of Bloody Sunday!*** As he aptly noted, "We all know who murdered the 14 people on Bloody Sunday and it was not the IRA or the republican movement." ***Free Martin Doherty now! Drop all charges against him!***

Ardoyne, 2001: the real face of imperialist "peace"

A recent book by Anne Cadwallader, *Holy Cross: The untold story*, powerfully describes the Loyalist blockade of the Holy Cross Catholic girls school in Ardoyne, North Belfast during the autumn of 2001. While by no means the only Loyalist anti-Catholic campaign in recent years, Holy Cross was the most horrific and the events around it typify the reality of life for many Catholics in Northern Ireland. For twelve weeks, howling Loyalist mobs subjected young Catholic schoolgirls and their parents to horrific anti-Catholic and anti-woman abuse every day as they walked to and from school and pelted them with stones, bottles, faeces, balloons filled with urine, fireworks and even a blast bomb.

Most politicians and the bourgeois media basically equated the Loyalist bigots with their victims, often blaming the parents for "forcing" their children to walk through the hate-filled mob. The then Northern Ireland secretary John Reid declared that the Loyalists were "entitled to protest" and ruled that the UDA was still on ceasefire because the blockade was "different from acts of terrorism". The Catholic families looked to politicians in Southern Ireland for help but, typifying what they referred to as the "Dublin 4 syndrome", got virtually no support at all during the blockade. Martin Monaghan, one of the parents, said "Ahern's office just wouldn't respond at all. The Irish Labour Party said they couldn't come up to support us either." Gerry Kelly and Sinn Féin supported the families throughout. However, the fact that the Stormont education minister at the time was Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness did the Holy Cross families not a bit of good, underscoring that, despite devolution, Northern Ireland remains a sectarian Orange statelet where ultimate sovereignty remains in London. The plight of the girls did strike a chord with people around the

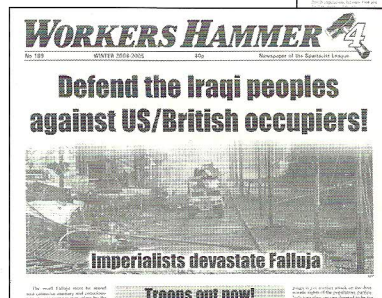
world, many of whom sent letters, cards and gifts to the Holy Cross pupils. The children also received visits from, among others, South African Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and black American Minnie Jean Brown-Trickey. Minnie Jean was one of the "Little Rock Nine" who had to brave a mob of baying racists to attend school in Arkansas in 1957.

The RUC and British Army, whose job is to protect the interests of British imperialism and preserve Orange supremacy, did nothing to move the Loyalist bigots off the road, but rather enjoyed cups of tea and chatted with them before the daily "protest" started and at times prevented the Catholics walking up the road until the Loyalists were ready to attack them. In contrast, as the SDLP's Martin Morgan noted, "The same year they used 1,500 police with dogs, water cannon and military backup to force an Orange march past Ardoyne." One Catholic parent noted bitterly, "You hoped the RUC wouldn't let them do anything to hurt the children. The eyes of the world were on them. But they did. I just couldn't comprehend it. It was the same old RUC. Nothing had changed."

The re-branding of the RUC as the PSNI (in the midst of the Holy Cross blockade) and the disbandment of the RUC Special Branch were meant to foster the lie that the state in Northern Ireland had been reformed and was no longer anti-Catholic and anti-Republican. In reality, the state is the same but with a new slap of paint. MI5 is taking over responsibility for intelligence in Northern Ireland from the Special Branch but not only does it serve the same ruling class, it is in large part composed of the same people. The *Phoenix* (11-24 February) reported that MI5 proceeded to recruit spies who were "seasoned Ireland hands, redundant intelligence operators recruited from the ranks of 12th Company Army Intelligence Corps, and its disgraced, paid-off components like the Force Research Unit. Ironically, purged members of the RUC Special Branch, with their local knowledge and informer contacts, form the core of the re-modelled MI5 intelligence system." While the governments and Unionists go absolutely ballistic over the slightest allegation of Republican "criminality", the UDA mobilised 10,000 paramilitary thugs across Northern Ireland on Remembrance Sunday in November last year, 2000 in North Belfast alone. And they recently demanded £70 million from the British government to "retrain" their death squads in exchange for abandoning terrorism!

In addition to sectarian attacks, the recent period has seen a dramatic rise in racist and anti-gay attacks, mostly carried out by Loyalists. Across Northern Ireland there were 453 racist attacks between March 2003 and April 2004, twice the figure for the previous year. The reported incidence of anti-gay attacks rose by 50% in 2004, while in Derry the number of anti-gay incidents rose from 17 in 2003 to 54 last year. Such attacks are fuelled by bigots like the DUP's Ian

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Paisley Jr, who recently claimed same-sex relationships were "obnoxious and deeply offensive". Racism and anti-gay bigotry, no less than sectarianism and sexism serve to divide the workers and oppressed and divert anger away from the capitalist system that is responsible for poverty and oppression. Defence of immigrants and gays is necessary for the working class to be able to fight for its own historic interests. ***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Full democratic rights, including the right to marry and divorce, for gays!***



Village

The Orange statelet and "even-handedness"

A storm of criticism was unleashed against President Mary McAleese following comments she made on RTE radio before attending the Holocaust commemoration at Auschwitz in January. She said, "The Nazis didn't invent anti-Semitism, but they used it and built upon it. Anti-Semitism was for centuries an element for many, who on the surface lived very good lives and would have regarded themselves as very good Christians. But they gave to their children an irrational hatred of Jews in the same way that people in Northern Ireland transmitted to their children an irrational hatred, for example, of Catholics...in the same way that people give to their children an outrageous and irrational hatred of those who are of different colour and all of those things." This perfectly reasonable statement was instantly denounced by the UUP, DUP and Orange Order and criticised by much of the bourgeois press. McAleese, who normally bends over backwards in order not to "offend" Loyalists and whose second inauguration in November was attended by the UDA's South Belfast "brigadier" Jackie McDonald, quickly issued an apology. McAleese's crime? As Laura Friel aptly put it in *An Phoblacht* (3 February), she had "mentioned the C word.... She had broken the golden rule of silence by equating anti-Catholic hatred as akin to racism and in doing so she had strayed from the 'tit for tat-street brawling-two tribes-as bad as each other' model of sectarianism favoured by the British and unionist establishment." The model of sectarianism which Friel described is also pushed by the Southern Irish bourgeoisie and in fact is one of the cornerstones of the whole "peace" fraud.

Vicious attacks on Holy Cross schoolgirls in Ardoyne 2001 evoked parallels with anti-black racism in 1950s US South.



Kelvin Boyes

It is true that there is anti-Protestant bigotry among sections of the Catholic community and there have been many sectarian attacks against Protestants, including criminal IRA atrocities such as the 1987 Enniskillen and 1993 Shankill bombings. However, to adopt an "even-handed" approach is to deny the continuing special oppression of Northern Catholics. The Loyalists attacking the Holy Cross schoolgirls in 2001 also tried to make out that they were victims of sectarianism; some even claimed that their attacks on 8-year-old girls was necessary self-defence! Anne Cadwallader includes an appendix to her book detailing the number of bombings, shootings etc attributed to Loyalists and Republicans in North Belfast in 2001: there were 25 shootings and eight bombings attributed to Republicans and 80 shootings and 136 bombings attributed to Loyalists!

On 15 December 2004, when the "peace" fraud negotiations were already at a stalemate but before the Northern Bank robbery, the Socialist Party TD Joe Higgins addressed the Dáil. Much of his speech was typical of the Socialist Party's "even-handedness": "Republican and loyalist political parties will continue when it suits them to play the sectarian card if they see a threat to their own electoral or other positions."

They do not have to call for pogroms on the street. Coded messages are sent all the time by these parties to ring-fence support on a sectarian basis." The only reference to Loyalist terror he made was attacks on Protestants, "What proposals are there to get the loyalist guns and weapons of terror off the backs of the people in their communities?" He finished up with (for him) a left-wing (albeit totally abstract) statement: "An alternative based on democracy and socialism would unite the communities and lay the basis for moving on to address a resolution of the national issue and take British imperialism, the historic cause of everything we are discussing, out of the equation." While Higgins can denounce British imperialism in the halls of Leinster House, his party opposes the basic call for the withdrawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland as "sectarian".

The Socialist Party is notorious for supporting the reactionary Orange Order's "right" to march through Catholic neighbourhoods. In the May 1998 issue of the *Voice*, Joe Higgins reported that the Catholic residents of the Garvaghy Road (apparently thinking that a "socialist" TD would oppose Orange bigotry) invited him to meet with them. Higgins in turn wrote to the Orange Order requesting to meet with them as well, because he claimed "There are two conflicting rights involved". Last year, the Socialist Party said the reason for continuing "disagreements over parades" was that "year on year, more towns, villages and arterial routes become 'Nationalist/Republican' and a potential source of conflict" (*Socialist Voice*, September 2004). This sounds like a press release for the Orange Order or UDA who constantly whip up Protestant fears of Catholic encroachment.

As the residents of the Garvaghy Road wrote in the 1999 book *Garvaghy: A community under siege*, "Marching through Catholic areas against the wishes of local residents is about flaunting the symbols of Protestant supremacy and the culture of unionist domination." Or in the lyrics of singer Damien Dempsey, "You could march down your own streets/But that's not what you want/There's no point in that/You need someone to taunt" (*Marching Season Siege*). From its inception in the 1790s, as a reactionary response to the United Irishmen movement, the Orange Order has been a bastion of anti-Catholic vio-

lence and Protestant supremacy.

Last year, the anarchist WSM revised their position paper on Northern Ireland. In part of the revision, they wrote "We previously held that the 6 county state was irreformably sectarian. However the current peace process may result in a state apparatus that is divided into feuding sectarian forces on the one hand and the encouragement by these politicians of communalist sectarian conflict on the other. It appears that capitalism being unable to step forwards has stepped sideways in a manner that does nothing to resolve grassroots sectarian conflict but overall results in a 'parity of intervention' by the state in these conflicts." Succumbing to pressures of the "peace" fraud, the WSM have abandoned a correct position and now posit that the state oppresses Catholics and Protestants equally, thereby (like the Socialist Party) denying the special oppression of the Catholic minority.

In November 2004, the Northern Irish-based anarchist group Organise! published *Crossing the Border: Organise!, Class Unity and the Partition of Ireland*, which polemicalises against the WSM from the right. They refer to "the ongoing colonial nature of the relationship" between Britain and Northern Ireland, but claim "The greatest victims of this colonial attitude in recent times may well prove to have been the Unionist 'community'." Their anarchist "theoretical" rationale for this capitulation to Loyalism is "We must remember that 'anti-imperialism' is a concept informed to a large degree by Leninist and other authoritarian 'socialisms' that have no problem with one state replacing another and who see the role of a nation state/government as non-problematic as long as the 'correct' leadership is in charge—this means that their anti-imperialism, like the rest of their political outlook, is based on radically different assumptions to those of anarchists." The concrete conclusions of this "anti-anti-imperialism" is that Organise! criticises the WSM for raising the absolutely necessary demand "Troops out now" and argues instead to call for "demilitarisation": "The demand for demilitarisation can also extend from the demand that troops are removed from the streets, that the state military apparatus is dismantled to the call for the 'standing down' of militarist paramilitary organisations of both loyalist and republican persuasion." Even the British and Irish



Nicholas Sutton/Phoenix



Sinister UDA mobilisations are deadly threat to Catholic minority. Right: Catholic and Protestant postal workers strike in January 2002 in response to Loyalist death threats against Catholic workers.



ruling classes are for “demilitarisation”, ie disarming Republican paramilitaries. The only way to “demilitarise” the bourgeois state is to smash it through workers revolution and replace it with a workers state.

The analysis in our “Theses on Ireland” (reprinted in the pamphlet *Ireland: workers to power!*) is just as apt today as when it was first written in 1977:

“In the absence of any significant section of the Irish working class historically freed from national/communal insecurity, the result is a seemingly intractable situation in which prospects for the development of a genuine class-struggle axis and for an end to the interminable cycle of imperialist exploitation/repression and inter-communal violence appear remote. The strong possibility remains that a just, democratic, socialist solution to the situation in [Northern] Ireland will only come under the impact of proletarian revolution elsewhere and concretely may be carried on the bayonets of a Red Army against opposition of a significant section of either or both of the island’s communities. Nevertheless, no matter to what extent a bleak immediate prognosis is justified, the conflict in Ireland presents a crucial test of the capacity of a revolutionary internationalist tendency to provide a clear analysis and program and to confront the national question in the imperialist epoch.”

Though there are deep sectarian divisions in Northern Irish society, Protestants and Catholics are integrated in the proletariat and trade unions. There have been many examples of joint struggle on economic issues, from the firefighters’ strike in the winter of 2002-2003 to the series of civil servants’ strikes last summer to the one-day strike of water workers in February. Moreover, there have been instances of joint actions by Catholic and Protestant workers against sectarian terror. Most notable in recent years was the strike and protest in January 2002 following the UDA murder of Catholic postal worker Daniel McColgan. However, this exemplary instance of class solidarity was diverted by the trade union tops into support for the imperialist “peace” and class-collaboration.

Loyalist demagoguery that Catholics have benefited from the “peace” fraud often falls on fertile ground among working-class Protestants because their own situation has worsened. The employment gap between Protestants and Catholics has narrowed mainly because unemployment among Protestants has grown: industries where they were traditionally employed, like the shipyards, have completely disappeared. The inability of the capitalist system to provide a decent living and decent housing for the working class is a key reason for the deeply engrained sectarianism in Northern Ireland; a sectarianism which is enflamed by the capitalists and their state in order to prevent workers from recognising capitalism as the root of the problem.

What is needed is a Leninist party which fights to break workers from backward consciousness and their pro-capitalist misleaders in order that the working class may become conscious that it is the only force which can liberate society from the oppression and exploitation inherent in capitalism. Such a party must be an intransigent opponent of “our own” bourgeoisie as well as of imperialism, and must struggle in defence of the Catholic minority and all the oppressed. It is also necessary to wage a class-struggle fight for jobs and decent housing for all, including demands such as for a 30-hour working week at 40-hours pay to spread the available work among the employed and unemployed. As Leon Trotsky noted in “The Transitional Programme”, while capitalists and reformists may whine about the “unrealizability” of such slogans, “The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish.” The Spartacist Group Ireland and our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain fight to build the revolutionary internationalist parties that can lead the struggle for socialist revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. Only proletarian class rule can begin to lay the basis for a society where employment and decent housing are a basic right for every member of society and provide the framework for a just and equitable solution to the communal conflict in Northern Ireland. ■

Women and Revolution



In defence of sex and science

KINSEY

A review by Helen Cantor

"I now see one Alfred C. Kinsey, author of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (human American male, Ned Rorem noted, since our habits differ from Moroccans', say, none of whom is 'gay' while all indulge, when possible, in same-sexuality).

"I got to know Kinsey in 1948—his book came out a month after *The City and the Pillar*, and the shocked *New York Times* would not advertise either.... I like to think that it was by observing the easy trafficking at the Astor that he figured out what was obvious to most of us, though as yet undreamed of by American society at large: Perfectly 'normal' young men, placed outside the usual round of family and work, will run riot with each other.... Kinsey gave me a copy of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, with an inscription, complimenting me on my 'work in the field.' Thanks, Doc. But it wasn't all work."

—Gore Vidal, *Palimpsest* (1995)

"Although species may be discrete, they have no immutable essence. Variation is the raw material of evolutionary change. It represents the fundamental reality of nature, not an accident about a created norm. Variation is primary; essences are illusory.... Kinsey, who understood the implications of evolutionary theory so well, was a radical antiessentialist in taxonomy.... His antiessentialist perspective proclaimed two truths about variation for wasps and people alike—apparently homogeneous populations in one place (all college students at Indiana or all murderers at Alcatraz) would exhibit an enormous range of irreducible variation, and discrete local populations in different places (older middle-class women in Illinois or poor young men in New York) would differ greatly in average sexual behaviors."

—Stephen Jay Gould, "Of Wasps and WASPs", *The Flamingo's Smile* (1985)

Dr Alfred C Kinsey's great contribution to the extension of human knowledge—and diminution of human misery—was his fearless exploration of human beings' real sexual behavior which had never before been studied in such a broad and objective way. The



Kinsey with interview subject in 1950.

William H. Dellenback

appreciations above, fittingly, are from two other great "secular humanist" intellectual figures of 20th-century America. Writer Gore Vidal is a critic of the follies of the American Empire and Christian cruelty through the ages. Evolutionary biologist and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould's writings have popularized the discoveries of evolution and modern science. All three have done much to counter the forces of blind bigotry and religious superstition used by the ruling class to keep people mentally crippled, fearful and divided.

The recent movie *Kinsey*, starring Liam Neeson and directed by Bill Condon, is a welcome antidote to the blood-drenched religious hysteria of Mel Gibson's creepy blockbuster *The Passion of The Christ*. *Kinsey* is a sensitive portrayal of the scientist, his researchers and wife and family, as well as some of those thousands of people across America who poured out their sexual histories in response to his thorough face-to-face questionnaire technique. The movie is based on the sympathetic biography, *Kinsey: Sex the Measure of All Things*, by Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy (Indiana University Press, paperback edition published in 2004), with some condensing and small changes for "artistic license". (Unless otherwise noted, facts cited are from the book.) As the author points out, "Kinsey was unique in three things: the rigour of his science, his invention of a totally new form of interview, and above all...Kinsey was read or known by, not just the whole of America, but at one time nearly the entire Western world." In other words, millions of people *knew*, for

the first time in history, what was *really* going on over at the neighbors' (and down on the farm), at least in mid-20th century America. They got quite a shock.

Kinsey's two works were each around 800 pages long. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953, published the same year Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* came out in English) were bombshells. They laid out in amazing and undeniable detail the fact that 19 out of every 20 Americans had broken at least one law having sex. James A Morone, in *Hellfire Nation* (Yale University Press, 2003), a survey of "the politics of sin in American history", summarizes a few of Kinsey's results:

"85 percent of the white male population had premarital sex, 30 [actually 37] percent had reached at least one orgasm through homosexual contact, 50 percent had committed adultery, and one out of six farm boys had copulated with the animals.... One wife out of four had committed adultery; one of two had sexual relations before marriage; 62 percent of the married women regularly masturbated—higher frequency correlated directly with more education."

Also among Kinsey's most shocking findings was that 4 percent of white adult males were exclusively homosexual throughout their lives. The Kinsey research team took almost 18,000 sexual histories; the male and female volumes each used material from around 5,000. His two initial books (many more were planned) used only about 10 percent of the total data Kinsey and his researchers collected!

Science v religion

Kinsey was born in 1894, literally in the horse-and-buggy era. In fact, when Kinsey began teaching at Indiana University in 1920, university president William Lowe Bryan still came to work in a horse and buggy. The world was a very different place. By Kinsey's death in 1956, Christine Jorgensen had the first "sex-change" operation, the US had the atomic bomb—and the workers in Russia, who made a revolution in 1917, by 1956 lived in a state which was a "superpower" rivaling the US. Two world wars between competing imperialist powers, slaughtering millions in the name of profit, had raked their bloody claws across the century. Yet movie audiences watching *Kinsey* today, another half century later, still find much that is painfully familiar, especially the vehement religious and political reaction to Kinsey's research. We see today similar assaults on sex and science—centrally evolution—by bigots in and out of government.

Why have things changed so much and yet so little in this regard? Capitalism has developed industry, and therefore science, tremendously, yet people remain divided into classes whose interests are irreconcilably opposed. Racial oppression, inequality, poverty, big-

otry of all sorts and the subordination of women remain. People's real sexual lives and the laws continue to conflict—look at the explosion of reaction over gay marriage. To justify this contradictory, seemingly irrational situation, irrational justifications are necessary—thus the continued value of religious superstition to class society.



US Senator Joseph McCarthy spins tales of "Communist conspiracy" at 1954 hearing.

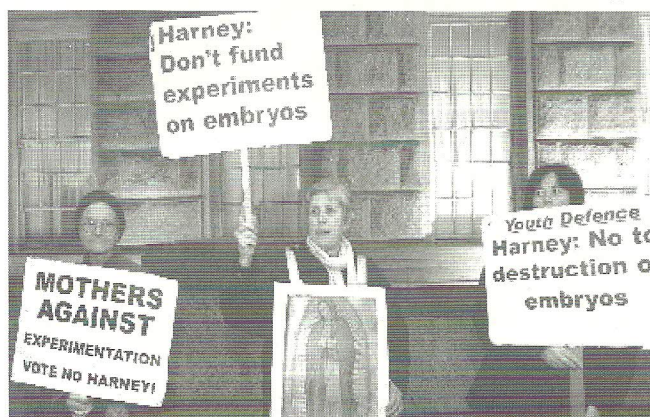
The story of Kinsey himself is one of continual conflict between science and religion. As the movie shows, he found escape in nature from the strict Methodism of his father. The influence of his high school teacher, Natalie Roeth, who forthrightly taught him about Darwin and evolution, was profound. These revelations, as Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-Hardy puts it, "were to be the single most important intellectual influence on Kinsey's life; that, and science itself, were gradually to replace Christianity as his spiritual centre of gravity". As Marxist working-class revolutionaries who want to change this world and end human exploitation and oppression, we're firmly on the side of science, which studies the natural world and validates theories by observation and experiment, as opposed to religion which asserts blind faith in an unreal, supernatural power controlling events.

Kinsey had a long career as a scientist, studying gall-forming wasps, before he got into human sex research. In 1926 a basic text he wrote for high school classes, *An Introduction to Biology*, was published. The book stated as scientific fact Darwin's principles of evolution and natural selection. But at that time, anti-evolution frenzy was sweeping the country—especially in Tennessee (scene of the Scopes "Monkey Trial" the year before), Arkansas and North Carolina. In Mississippi the teaching of evolution was banned from all schools, while populist William Jennings Bryan and his followers managed to get anti-evolution legislation introduced in 14 more states. Kinsey and his editors thus had to change the word "evolution" in his book to "changes with time".

What Kinsey thought would be his life's work, the study of the tiny, winged yet flightless gall wasp,

occupied almost 20 years. Known as “get a million” Kinsey for his relentless pursuit of specimens, Kinsey eventually managed to collect over five million individual gall wasps. And the most important thing about them, he told his students, was that each one was different. Why is this so important?

The late biologist and essayist Stephen Jay Gould, in “Of Wasps and WASPs”, gives two related reasons. First, Kinsey’s work was based on the principle that variation itself is the fundamental reality of nature. The key principle here, as Gould puts it, is that “spe-



Irish Times online

Dublin, 2003: Youth Defence bigots protest stem-cell research which offers tremendous potential for medical advances.

cies...have *no immutable essence*” [emphasis added]. That is, there is no “norm”, no abstract baseline for what is the “right” or “ideal” form of a species. Thus to understand a given population, variations within it *must* be studied, and the larger the sample the better. Obviously this relates directly to Kinsey’s sex research.

The second important aspect of seeing variation as the raw material of evolution is in its social impact. Like many great ideas and innovations, evolutionary principles arose in conflict with older ways of thinking. Evolution directly counterposes itself both to the rigid, authoritarian, unchanging precepts of religion and to what is ultimately merely religion’s secular guise, the philosophy of “idealism”. Living things—wasps, flowers, people—do not have an “immutable essence”, or “ideal form” around which variations cluster. In real life, each one is individual, and that individuality itself is one of their most valuable aspects. Kinsey’s ability to extend this approach to human beings, and to their sexual behavior, enabled him to extract, with great sensitivity and patience, amazingly frank sexual histories from people of all social classes and backgrounds.

There are broader social implications, as Gould notes: “Antiessentialist thinking forces us to view the world differently.... We lose criteria for judgment by comparison to some ideal: short people, retarded people, people of other beliefs, colors, and religions are people of full status.” To put it another way, to hate and fear change and variation is a hallmark of reaction and religious superstition.

The Kinsey reports: facts v morality

“[It] is a fact-finding survey in which an attempt is being made to discover what people do sexually....”

—Dr Alfred C Kinsey, Introduction to *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*

“[Kinsey’s results] reveal a prevailing degradation in American morality approximating the worst decadence of the Roman empire. The most disturbing thing is the absence of a spontaneous, ethical revulsion from the premises of the study.”

—Dr Henry Van Dusen, president, Union Theological Seminary

In 1948, following World War II, the first “Kinsey report” on males, applying the basic principles of science to study of the human animal, produced an uproar. Of course, accurate sex histories depend on the reliability of the interviewees, as Kinsey was aware, thus his meticulous research techniques. The war, as all major conflicts do, had already brought out some rather dramatic changes in human behavior. Here the swashbuckling young “literary lion” Gore Vidal enters the scene, both as subject of a Kinsey history and guide to the very gay (albeit publicly unacknowledged) world of New York City at the time. He reminisced in his memoir *Palimpsest* about the era in which he met Kinsey:

“I also discovered, that magical winter [1945-46], the Everard Baths, where military men often spent the night, unable to find any other cheap place to stay. This was sex at its rawest and most exciting, and a revelation to me. Newly invented penicillin had removed fears of venereal disease, and we were enjoying perhaps the freest sexuality that Americans would ever know. Most of the boys knew that they would soon be home for good, and married, and that this was a last chance to do what they were designed to do with each other.”

Kinsey, who himself enjoyed same-sex encounters, spent a fair amount of time in the Everard Baths, and did research at Gore Vidal’s fondly remembered Astor Bar, where, as Vidal wrote, “At any time of day or night, hundreds of men would be packed six-deep around the long oval black bar.”

A valuable book by Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (Free Press, 1990), describes the impact military life had on previously isolated gay and lesbian youth, who found one another in conditions of both intense stress and license. This “anything goes” context explains some of the strange frenzy of the later McCarthyite crackdown on homosexuals as well as Communists. There really were, as it turned out, thousands of homosexuals in the State Department, and the rest of the government, and the rest of society, and *everywhere*, for that matter (unfortunately not the case with Communists). And there was Kinsey with his massive scientific book to *prove* it. FBI director J Edgar Hoover actually tried to get Kinsey to testify on behalf of the government’s witchhunts of gays; horri-

fied, the scientist quite properly refused. (The term "gay" or "homosexual" is used here for convenience; Kinsey felt humans exhibited such a range of sexual behavior that to force all same-sex encounters into such a rigid category was inaccurate.)

Obviously it's impossible to summarize some 1,600 pages of his published research. This review can only touch on a few highlights, those that most cut across the grain of prevalent morality, then and, sadly, today. Kinsey's overall finding that humans are not inherently very monogamous, that is, "faithful", was probably less of a shock than spokesmen for "respectable society" claimed (a casual survey of blues or country & western lyrics leads inexorably to the same conclusion). What was shocking was that a "high culture" intellectual, a Harvard-trained scientist, should count promiscuous behavior, or "sleeping around", as a legitimate expression of sexuality just as worthy of consideration as married sex, and that the history of a poor, working-class homosexual should be just as valuable as that of a wealthy, upper-class academic in terms of understanding human sexuality.

If for males, the prevalence of "gay sex" was the big shocker, the 1953 volume on women was most shocking in its assertion that women *are* sexual beings, and show quite a bit of independence and determination in finding satisfaction, too. As noted before, the 1953 survey showed that half of women had sex before marriage, one-quarter had committed adultery and 62 percent of married women masturbated. Here Kinsey comes up against that icon of the 20th century, the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, for whom he didn't have much use—although it is undeniable that Freud's work helped shatter Victorian strictures by making sex a legitimate topic of study, at least among intellectuals, thus making Kinsey's own work easier (so did Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 19th-century studies of "deviant" sex and Magnus Hirschfeld's pioneering sex questionnaires based on large samples). In Kinsey's view, not only were Freud's theories built on unreliable, minimal field data (anathema to such a relentless collector), but masturbation and homosexuality, being neither rare nor abnormal, could not possibly be evidence of neurosis. Most significantly for women, Kinsey vehemently disagreed with, and disproved, the then popular Freudian and male-chauvinist theory of "the vaginal orgasm", to which healthy, mature women were supposed to aspire. As Kinsey proved through clinical studies, the vagina has practically no nerve endings to stimulate. The clitoris, as most women know, is the center of orgasmic reaction (which is why clitoridectomy, cutting it off, is such a barbaric crime, as we wrote in "The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation", *Women and Revolution* no 41, Summer/Autumn 1992).

Kinsey's biographer Gathorne-Hardy relates:

"He had heard in 1949...of a little township in deep Kansas where all the women were reputed to have orgasms easily, routinely and always in ordinary intercourse. This was not usual. Kinsey drove down and found that they

had developed a way of soothing their little girls, a rubbing and petting technique of the genital area which did soothe them but also brought them to orgasm, a learnt reaction they thereafter retained."

This raises the extremely tricky question of childhood sexuality. The movie portrayed a Kinsey interviewer recoiling in open disgust (something they were rigorously trained not to do) and Kinsey himself giving a stern little lecture on consensuality to a male subject who admitted to sex with children. As the Kinsey biography points out, however, "At its most basic Kinsey saw sex as simply a matter of physiological reactions and sensations which were fundamentally pleasant.... Theoretically, therefore, as far as Kinsey was concerned, there was nothing automatically wrong with child-adult sex." Nor is there; the problem with such encounters is the inherently unequal power relationship and determining what is really *effective consent*. This for us is the determining factor, not artificial and repressive laws.

Another question, not really touched on in the movie, is why weren't results from black people included in the studies? It was not because of racism on Kinsey's part. In fact, he made intensive efforts to seek out black men and women for his surveys, though he apparently felt his sample was inadequate. Stephen Jay Gould noted that: "True to his convictions about the fundamental character of variability, Kinsey knew that he did not have enough data to reach conclusions about black Americans or to extrapolate to other nations and cultures."

Anti-sex reaction then and now: "Why kNOW?"

"Why kNOW?" is the grotesque name, highlighting the word "NO" in "know", for an "abstinence only" group [in the US] seeking to expunge real sex education from the public schools today. This can only lead to an increase in sexual misery, disease and death: that

Marxism and Religion

A Spartacist Pamphlet

Enlightenment Rationalism AND THE Origins of Marxism

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correctly used condoms can greatly reduce the risk of HIV transmission, for example, is something *every* sexually active person needs to know. But knowledge itself is seen as evil—a very intentional Biblical concept, recalling the myth of Eve and the tree of knowledge, whose fruit was forbidden. Sex research is under renewed attack and so is teaching evolution in the schools; “intelligent design” is the new code word for forcing scary Old Testament myths on schoolchildren.

Fifty years after Kinsey, why are ignorance and fear about sex again being pushed on society? Why are the same people from the book-burning 1980s Reagan era, like the ridiculous yet sinister Judith Reisman, still running around loose trying to convince people sex is a crime? Reisman, recall, is the former *Captain Kangaroo* [childrens’ TV programme] songwriter who got over \$700,000 from Reagan’s Justice Department to study pornography, and is now calling for a Congressional investigation into Kinsey’s work, charging he was a “sex offender”. “The consequences of this sexual adventurism include AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, child sexual abuse, incest and pornography”, she charges. According to a recent *New Yorker* (6 December 2004) “Talk of the Town” piece, “Reisman also endorses a book called ‘The Pink Swastika,’ which challenges the ‘myths’ that gays were victimized in Nazi Germany.” The anti-Kinsey campaign isn’t just a few oddballs, either. New York City’s PBS TV station, WNET, panicked and refused to air a spot for the movie *Kinsey* because of right-wing pressure. A scientist at San Francisco State University said about sex research, “I have been in this field for 30 years, and the level of fear and intimidation is higher now than I can ever remember” (*New York Times*, 9 November 2004).

So why have things changed so much and yet so little? At bottom it is a question of the level of social struggle. This is a class-divided society, as we said. It is wracked by racial oppression and the segregation of black people, by the subordination of women and children within the institution of the family, and by the enforced poverty and exploitation of labor that are the lifeblood of capitalism. The capitalist profit system and its state must be shattered through socialist revolution and replaced with an integrated workers government,

which will run production for human need. This will lay the basis for social alternatives—in caring for children, the sick, the elderly, housework, etc—to the oppressive family, which is shored up by the ruling class as its transmission vehicle for private property (thus requiring female sexual monogamy to ensure the husband’s legitimate heirs). Religion, which enforces mindless subordination to “higher authority” and is responsible for so much guilt and misery, will wither quickly through education once its state props are kicked away. And in a world of plenty, most of the misery and despair which seeks solace in religion will be gone.

Until then, different periods of upheaval will result in some surges forward and some periods of reaction in the struggle for human freedom. Thus, following the Kinsey reports of 1948 and 1953, instead of a blossoming of sexual possibilities in the US, down came the ax of the hideous witchhunts of the McCarthy years, as not only Communists but homosexuals and lesbians were relentlessly purged and ostracized from society. Many thousands of gays were also kicked out of their jobs and some even committed suicide, as an important new book by David K Johnson, *The Lavender Scare* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), details. The soldiers returning after World War II expected their jobs back, so women were pushed out of the factories and told to just be little dependent housewives again.

A decade later, seething resentments broke out. Black World War II veterans, used to fighting gun in hand, weren’t about to be pushed around again by Jim Crow laws. This kicked off the civil rights movement for black freedom. The US became embroiled in the long, losing Vietnam War. A generation was inspired by the heroic battles of the North Vietnamese fighters and rebellious guerrilla leaders like Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba, who successfully challenged the US empire. In the 1960s to 1970s there were, briefly, some fruits of “sexual liberation”—women got “the Pill” and abortion rights, the gay liberation movement took off—as broad political radicalization led to greater freedom in the personal sphere. This died down as the US managed to extricate itself, albeit badly wounded, from Vietnam.

Today’s reactionary climate is conditioned by a long ebb in class struggle and the historic defeat of the working class in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and associated East European deformed workers states. But deep tensions remain and things change: the reactionary McCarthyite ’50s exploded into the 1960s. The movie *Kinsey* is an encouraging sign of resistance to today’s wave of reaction, a valuable history lesson and a reminder of the final goal of socialist revolution: the expansion of human knowledge and freedom, and its extension to every human being, in all aspects of life.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 839, 7 January 2005.

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Japan...

(continued from page 6)

North Korea and ban port calls by North Korean ships has already been enacted. Currently, the Japanese government is considering imposing economic sanctions against North Korea, which would be an act of war. It is also drafting legislation similar to that passed in the US to aid defectors. As acting Liberal Democratic Party secretary-general Shinzo Abe said, "By supporting defectors from North Korea, we will be encouraging a regime change" (*Asahi Shimbun*, 13 January). This position dovetails with that of the Kakehashi group. While opposing sanctions, they write that what is needed is "stronger international criticism against the Kim Jong Il dictatorial regime, and aid to the North Korean workers and masses who are starving, including the 'defectors' and victims of human rights violations" (*Kakehashi*, 20 December 2004).

The highly staged defections from North Korea are heavily funded (reportedly costing 200,000 yen [\$2,000] per defector) and organized by anti-communists like the Korean American pastor Douglas Shin, whose goal is to bring about the collapse of the regime in the North by encouraging a wide-scale exodus to the South, and who has "plans to infiltrate North Korea with tiny radios tuned to [the CIA's] Radio Free Asia" (*Chosun Journal*, 24 October 2004). In Japan there is the "Rescue the North Korean People! Urgent Action Network" whose prominent members include Lee Young-hwa. In Lee's book, *North Korea: The Night of Secret Meetings*, he writes of his trip to the North in the early 1990s. He details his attempts to promote capitalist counterrevolution in North Korea along the lines of that which occurred in the former Soviet Union and East Europe: "I thought there would be interest in the collapse of the socialist sphere. So, I talked about the collapse and the reality.... I noted that there is no perspective for North Korea without democratization and economic opening." The counterrevolutionary destruction of the former USSR and East Europe has meant massive pauperization of millions of working people. Such historic defeats must not happen in China, North Korea, Cuba or Vietnam. The only way forward for the Korean working masses is through revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. This means workers socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

It is in the direct and immediate interests of working people in Japan to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. If the working class does not understand the historic significance of the gains of the Chinese and North Korean revolutions, such as the collectivized economy, they will never under-

stand the importance of making a revolution against their "own" bourgeoisie. The biggest obstacle for workers to achieve this understanding is the reformist left, in particular the mass bourgeois-workers parties such as the Communist Party, that serve as transmission belts for bourgeois ideology into the working class. Just as the leadership of the Communist Party-led Zenroren [trade-union federation] refuses to mobilize the unions against privatization and other attacks by the Japanese capitalists and government, these parties refuse to defend the workers states against Japanese imperialism. The social-patriotic Communist Party criticized the government for not quickly identifying the submarine which "criminally invaded Japanese territorial waters", and demanded that "the Chinese side quickly display the attitude of responsibility" (*Akahata*, 13 November 2004).

Our unconditional defense also includes the right of China and North Korea to possess and test their nuclear arsenals as part of maintaining a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail. Most left organizations oppose the right of these states to have nuclear weapons, which means they want these states to be relatively defenseless against the nuclear-armed imperialist madmen whom they claim to oppose. In the 10 February 2003 issue of *Zenshin*, Chukaku wrote: "From the perspective of the people we must absolutely oppose North Korea's development of nuclear weapons." The 18 November 2002 issue of *Kaikoku*'s paper *Kaiho* polemicized against "degenerate Trotskyists who defend the Kim Jong Il regime against unscrupulous attack by imperialism". They go on to write that: "Kim Jong Il's nuclear weapons and their meaning are anti-people."

Under their infamous slogan "Down with Imperialism! Down with Stalinism!", the third-campist

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Chukaku and Kakumaru attempt to give a theoretical cover to their program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective. Since their inception, both organizations have pushed the lie that imperialist countries—for example, Japan, which carried out the rape of Nanjing [in 1937]; America, which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and Germany, which carried out the Holocaust—are equally enemies of the world's working class as those countries that overthrew capitalism and instituted collectivized economies. This was made explicit in the document for the Chukaku's sixth conference when they wrote: "There is no other way to stop the process of a third world war than overthrowing imperialism and the remaining Stalinist [states]" (*Zen-shin*, 12 August 2002). In the 1 January issue of their paper, Chukaku has had to finally acknowledge that "China and the Chinese economy have not been transformed into capitalism." But nowhere do they state that the elimination of capitalist property relations is important for the world's proletariat, much less a gain that must be defended. As Trotsky wrote in 1940, on the eve of the second imperialist world war, against those who refused to defend the Soviet Union: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressures of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend the old positions will never conquer new ones" ("Balance Sheet on the Finland Events").

Japanese pirates: Hands off all Chinese ships!

It is essential that China be able to break through the two crescent-shaped island chains controlled by Tokyo and Washington that largely obstruct its access to the Pacific. As Liu Yijian, a staff member at the Chinese Naval Command School commented, "Many exits from the nearby seas to the external oceans are shut off by the chain of islands, where China cannot avoid foreign restraint of its navy's movement into the open seas and faces the major possibility that its exits will be shut off by the enemy" (*Tokyo Foresight*, 16 September-20 October 2000). The first chain Liu is referring to is composed of islands that are like stepping stones, running through the four main islands of Japan to the Ryukyus, Taiwan and the Philippines. The second chain stretches from Tokyo Bay, running through the Izu and Ogasawara [Bonin] Island chains to the Marianas and Guam, to Palau island. Defend China's unrestricted passage to the Pacific Ocean!

It is with utter hypocrisy that the Japanese government claimed that its "territorial waters" were violated when the Chinese submarine entered waters around Ishigaki-jima in the Sakishima Island chain. In 2001, the Japanese coast guard sank a North Korean ship *in Chinese waters*, murdering the entire crew, and then grotesquely toured the bullet-ridden ship throughout

the country. The only reason Japan can lay claim to some of the waters in the East China Sea is that Tokyo colonized and annexed the islands in this area on its way to becoming an imperialist power in the late 19th century. The once culturally and economically rich Ryukyu Kingdom—today known as Okinawa and the poorest of the 47 prefectures—and surrounding islands were formally incorporated into Japan in 1879. The first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 had two strategic goals: to acquire the Liaotung Peninsula and thereby the Korean peninsula, and to grab Formosa (Taiwan) as a base from which to control the sea-lanes of the China trade and the southern approaches to Japan. Shortly before the end of the war, a marker was erected on the rock islands that are now known as the Senkakus (Diaoyus [Chinese name]), which comprise a mere 2.4 square miles, declaring them Japanese territory. With the May 1895 Treaty of Shimonseki, Japan brutally grabbed control of Taiwan. During World War II, Japan used Taiwan as a staging area for assaults on southern China, the Philippines and Southeast Asia. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, stood for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it fought for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and championed the self-determination of all the colonies against their subjugation by the "Axis" and "Allied" imperialists alike. The Fourth International stood for the political independence of the proletariat from its "own" ruling class in the advanced and the oppressed countries.

Then and now, Taiwan is of vital strategic value to the Japanese and US imperialists. As an Autumn 2001 article in the US *Naval War College Review* stated, "Japanese geography and sea power, therefore, collectively pose an inherent obstacle to Chinese expansion into the Pacific as long as Taiwan remains free of mainland control." Ominously, the Taiwanese parliament is set to purchase a massive arms package from the US which would include submarines, an anti-missile system and anti-submarine aircraft. This should make the [fake-Trotskyist] United Secretariat very happy. At a November 2001 Kakehashi meeting in Tokyo, a representative from the Hong Kong Pioneer group [supporters of the United Secretariat] stated that they would defend capitalist Taiwan in a war with China. As for the Kakehashi group, which had been debating for six years whether or not China is a workers state: after "discussions with our Pioneer comrades", they decided that "sometime in the 1990s" China became capitalist. By labeling China capitalist, the social-democratic Kakehashi group can justify supporting imperialist-backed, anti-Communist forces in China in the name of promoting "democracy", just as it sided with capitalist restorationist forces in the former Soviet Union and East Europe.

Taiwan is ethnically, linguistically and historically Chinese. We are opposed to the Chinese plan of reuniting

fication embodied in “one country, two systems”. We call for the revolutionary reunification of China: That means a workers socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

In an attempt to prevent China’s ability to search for new sources of oil, the Japanese imperialists are trying to bully China by claiming that large swaths of the Pacific Ocean lie within its exclusive economic zone. A case in point are the Okinotori Islands, which stand no more than six and a half inches above water and have been capped with titanium alloy to prevent further erosion. Around these rocks, Japan claims an exclusive economic zone over a vast area of the Pacific Ocean. Shintaro Ishihara, the racist, anti-woman and anti-communist governor of Tokyo, has called for Japan to take military action to repel Chinese scientific ships in the seas around the Okinotori Islands. Another example is the Chunxiao natural gas field in the East China Sea, which even the Japanese bourgeoisie admits lies *within China’s exclusive economic zone*. China’s attempts to develop this field for much needed gas and oil have been continually threatened by the Japanese navy and coast guard. Defend China’s right to access natural resources!

For proletarian internationalism

To some it may appear that there is inconsistency within the ruling class on how best to achieve capitalist counterrevolution in China and North Korea. While the navy chases down Chinese submarines and [Prime Minister Junichiro] Koizumi prays to the spirits of war criminals at Yasukuni shrine, the *zaibatsu* [family controlled banking and industrial combines] are furious. Following the visit to China by German chancellor Schröder and large economic delegations in November, the head of Keizai Doyukai (Association of Corporate Executives) called on Koizumi to refrain from visiting Yasukuni shrine. The growing two-way trade with China, set at ¥8 trillion (\$79 billion) for the first six months of 2004, is fueling the Japanese jobless “economic recovery”, and the bourgeoisie does not want anything to get in the way of its increased profits.

While there may be tactical differences within the bourgeoisie, in the lead-up to the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII, the Japanese ruling class is united in throwing off the constraints of the “defeated nation” syndrome. To accomplish this, domestically the ruling class needs to impose a policy of economic austerity, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the oppressive apparatus needed for the maintenance of capitalist law and order. While targeting the workers states overseas, the new defense guidelines strengthen the state’s arsenal of repression against the workers movement at home. To augment the emergency war legislation which targets unions in the transport industry, these new guidelines call for the establishment of special anti-guerrilla units, intelligence gathering operations



Spartacist Japan

Spartacist Group Japan supporters at 1996 protest against US-Japan military alliance carry signs reading: “For the right of nuclear and military testing for Chinese workers state!” and “Not one man, not one yen to imperialist Japanese military!”

are to be strengthened, and cooperation among the military, the police and coast guard is to be heightened.

“Peace in Northeast Asia” will never be realized as long as Japanese imperialism exists. There is much anger among the working people of this country and a real desire to fight against economic recession, discrimination, increased state repression and war. An important example is the refusal of the Sasebo longshoremen to load war matériel onto a Self-Defense Force warship bound for the Indian Ocean in 2001. As we wrote at the time, “This type of class-struggle action by members of Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) has more potential to thwart Japanese imperialism’s military ambitions and plans for increased domestic repression than all of the dozens of ‘antiwar’ demonstrations held recently across the country” (“Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships”, 7 December 2001).

This anger and militancy must be directed toward building a real workers party which will coordinate the struggles against war, against racism and chauvinism, against sexism and against unemployment. A Trotskyist party would link the fight for workers revolution in Japan with the Chinese and North Korean workers struggle against their corrupt Stalinist bureaucracies and with the class struggles of the militant Philippine and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers. Only through a socialist revolution in imperialist Japan will the basis be laid for the development of a socialist Asia.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 842, 18 February 2005.

Iraq...

(continued from page 24)

"I mean, my goodness, El Salvador had elections when people were being shot at and there was a civil war going on, and it worked fine" (*Wall Street Journal Online*, 10 January). The only "choice" allowed was either junta chief José Napoleón Duarte or death-squad torturer "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson. Meanwhile, a leftist military insurgency was raging, whose military victory, we said, "is an absolute necessity on the road to workers power in El Salvador". We wrote, in "Reagan's Junta Holds 'Elections by Death'": "To talk of any kind of elections while the junta's army is intact...is preparing a gigantic *defeat* for the Salvadoran masses. The heroic worker and peasant fighters are not shedding their blood to get more electoral farces but to break the chains of oppression that bind them" (*Workers Vanguard* no 300, 5 March 1982).

During the Vietnam War in the 1960s, in South Vietnam the US broke the monotony of regular military/CIA coups with occasionally letting its puppets stage "elections". One such typical foray in 1967 (when the US had half a million troops on the ground) was "won" by former generals Thieu and Ky, as Buddhists and peace candidates were banned, newspapers were suppressed and voting took place only in areas under the Saigon government's control. Sound familiar? The next year a rather more significant event for the liberation of the Vietnamese people occurred: the Tet Offensive, beginning the night of 30 January 1968, which shattered the myth of US military "progress".

In Vietnam and El Salvador, military victory for the opponents of US imperialism directly posed the possibility of lifting the yoke of imperialist subjugation and opening the road to social revolution, as occurred in Vietnam. Such is not the case in Iraq today. The clerical reactionary forces and Ba'athists now dominant in the "resistance" to US imperialism are also enemies of the working class, women and minorities.

Wider war threatened

The stage is set now for civil war within Iraq's borders and significant destabilisation beyond. Iraq is not a nation but a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities carved by the British imperialists out of the old Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. The Sunni Arab minority has historically dominated the Arab Shi'ite majority as well as a portion of the Kurdish nation (which also spans parts of Iran, Turkey and Syria). We warned: "Absent the working class emerging as an independent political



AFP

A polling station in the northern city of Samarra blown to rubble in lead-up to 30 January "elections".

force in a struggle against neocolonial rule, each of these populations can only come to power by oppressing the others and in alliance with U.S. imperialism" (*Workers Vanguard* no 830, 6 August 2004).

The Sunni Arab minority is the big loser under the American occupation, and so will continue the insurgency against the foreign imperialist occupiers—as well as the criminal sectarian violence against the Shi'ites, the Kurds, and other peoples and tribes. Meanwhile, the Kurds want control of the oil wealth in their region and many Kurds have illusions that the American occupation will protect them against Arab reconquest. The fight for Kurdish self-determination is a just struggle, requiring the overthrow of four capitalist states. We call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. But in Iraq today—and only in Iraq—the Kurdish question has become decisively subordinated to the American imperialist occupation, of which Kurdish political and military forces have become an integral part. The struggle for Kurdish independence can only go forward through intransigent opposition to the occupation and the Kurdish nationalists who collaborate with US imperialism.

For the first time in centuries, Shi'ites will rule an Arab country, which is a reason al-Sistani and many other Shi'ite leaders pushed for the elections. This has Sunni Arab rulers apoplectic that a Shia "Crescent" will run from Iran through Iraq to Lebanon, via Syria. Notably, the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia is concentrated in Shi'ite areas, as is the largest concentration of oil wealth in Iraq (apart from Mosul), not to mention the oil wealth controlled by Iran's Shi'ite theocracy. Now, why would the Bush administration, which considers the Iranian Shi'ite Islamic regime at the pinnacle of the world "axis of evil", manoeuvre the elections in Iraq to bring the Shi'ites to power, thus strengthening Iranian

influence in the region? Answer: the Bush administration doesn't know where it is, much less where it is going. Attempting to disprove new revelations by Seymour Hersh (*New Yorker*, 24 January) that US commandos have already been dropped into Iran, Vice President Dick Cheney told MSNBC's Don Imus, "We don't want a war in the Middle East if we can avoid it." Where do these lunatics think Iraq is, Greater Texas?

France, Germany and Britain are worried about Bush waging another war in the Near East. They have substantial economic investments and trade deals with Iran and are urgently negotiating to get the Ayatollahs to forswear development of nuclear weapons. Cheney's disavowal of war plans against Iran was anything but. Stating that "Iran is right at the top of the list" of world trouble spots, Cheney dropped that "the Israelis might well decide to act first and let the rest of the world worry about cleaning up the diplomatic mess afterwards". The Zionist neocons in the Bush administration have long had their sights on "regime change" in Iran as part of their overall plan to redraw the map in the interests of Israeli security and American imperialist interests. As we reported in "Mullahs, Monarchists, Neocons and Zionists" (*Workers Vanguard* no 820, 20 February 2004), Pentagon planners Richard Perle and Douglas Feith first schemed a new Near East plan many years ago in a position paper they drafted in 1996 for incoming Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In 2002, Perle prepared a slideshow for Pentagon chiefs that explained US goals for bringing "democracy" to the region as follows: "Iraq—a tactical goal, Saudi Arabia—a strategic goal, and Egypt—the great prize".

No wonder then that the entire Arab world and "old Europe" are on edge. Growing discontent within the American military and a real shortage of troops will not necessarily stop a zealously ideological Christian fundamentalist White House, no doubt anxious to hasten Armageddon, from widening the war in the region—and certainly not from launching murderously destructive bombing raids on Iran. ***US keep your bloody hands off Iran!***

Democratic rights for *all* the peoples of Iraq, and across the Near East more broadly, cannot be achieved under capitalism, but require the overthrow of bourgeois rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution. This means combining the struggle against the occupation with a struggle against all manner of bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism, and poses the urgent need to forge Marxist parties to lead the struggles for workers rule. International extension of the revolution to the rich centres of imperialism—chiefly the United States, Germany and Japan—is not only essential for worldwide egalitarian socialist economic planning, but taking power out of the hands of the war-crazed US imperialist rulers is essential for the future of life on the planet!

Imperialist war and workers revolution

The imperial ambitions so blatantly displayed in Bush's second inaugural speech were couched in bizarre Christian fundamentalist rhetoric. They were also inspired by Zionist neocon ravings, as former Soviet dissident and right-wing Israeli minister Natan Sharansky is now being touted by both the born-again president and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. A London *Guardian* (22 January) writer quipped that Bush's speechwriter suffered a heart attack while working on the inaugural address, "and its fire-and-brimstone rhetoric seems to have been aimed at having the same effect on some of the world's leaders".

The template for the US imperial presidency was set a long time ago. And though the US ruling class may currently have a Christian wacko at the helm, nonetheless the power behind the ship of state is the relentless capitalist drive for profits, which in a world economy necessarily results in imperialism, the inevitably bloody expression of capitalism at its highest stage. Imperialist aggression and war are not "policies" that can be ended within the framework of capitalism—the entire system must be overturned.

Rejecting this Leninist understanding of imperialism, the reformist organisers of the US anti-war movement, like Workers World and the International Socialist Organization, peddled the lie that the capitalist system can be reformed to work in the interest of human needs. They built anti-war demonstrations designed to appeal to liberal Democratic politicians who argue that the Iraq war is damaging to the interests of the US. On 12 January, 16 Congressional Democrats issued an open letter to Bush calling for "immediate steps to begin the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq". These Democrats are getting themselves in position to play the same role they did before the war: to corral anti-war sentiment into the safe fold of the capitalist Democratic Party. Likewise, in Ireland, the Irish Anti-War Movement is a class-collaborationist bloc which serves to tie anti-war youth and workers to the capitalist Greens, petty-bourgeois Sinn Féin and pro-capitalist Labour Party—groups who, while opposing *this* war all support the capitalist system that breeds imperialist war.

The fight against imperialist war must become a fight against the entire capitalist system which breeds it, and in the US against both capitalist parties, Democrats as well as Republicans, who take turns presiding over an increasingly cruel and divided society. Largely because of its pro-capitalist misleadership, the working class, which alone has the ability to overthrow capitalism and open the road to human progress again, has been absent far too long as a contender for political and social power. Our task, as a small Marxist international organisation, is to fight to reestablish the understanding that the road to human freedom lies through working-class socialist revolution.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 841, 4 February 2005.

Hands off Mary Kelly and all anti-war activists!

We reprint below a Spartacist Group Ireland leaflet in defence of courageous anti-war activist Mary Kelly, which we distributed to build protest demonstrations called by Fairview Against the War on 1 December, the day of her sentencing. At that hearing, Mary received a two-year suspended sentence and fortunately will not have to spend time in jail. However, the two-year sentence still hangs over her head and will be activated if she is convicted of any other crimes, for instance arising from participation in anti-war protests. Mary will be appealing her wrongful conviction to clear her name.

Our comrades in the Spartacist League/US publicised Mary's case in *Workers Vanguard* and she sent greetings to the Partisan Defense Committee's Holiday Appeal in New York. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Every year, Holiday Appeals are held to raise money for the PDC's programme of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to class-war prisoners and their families. Mary's greetings concluded with the following words of internationalist solidarity:

"I hope that my little example of an at least partially successful struggle from Ireland, which from history well knows the horrendous, brutal realities of military occupation, will help inspire you and others to redouble all efforts to resist the bloodthirsty ventures of the US and British Imperialists, as they crucify and slaughter a nation for its resources.

"We all need to continue learning, building international links to offer mutual support and experience so that we grow and strengthen, so that our struggle against this destructive and criminal system will succeed. One aim here is to have the US military prevented from using any airport or airspace in Ireland, thus reducing its capacity for aggression—in the meantime we welcome any US military refuseniks who want to step off their transit and quit the war, we

offer them help and asylum here in Ireland.

"Solidarity and good luck to you all. Mary Kelly".

We urge our readers to support her campaign to clear her name and to defend other anti-war protesters like the Ploughshares/Catholic Worker 5 who go to trial on 7 March. ***Drop the charges against Mary Kelly and all the anti-war protesters!***

* * * * *



Sean Curtin/Press 22

Mary Kelly (right) and her daughter in July 2003 after her first trial.

On 28 October, Mary Kelly, a 52-year-old nurse and mother of four, was found guilty of "criminal damage without lawful excuse" for damaging a US military aircraft at Shannon Airport on 29 January 2003. Her sentencing is scheduled for 1 December and she faces up to **ten years in prison**. She admits striking the aircraft on the nose cone, landing gear and engine cowl with an axe but argued in her defence that "I did what I have done with lawful excuse" to save human life and to prevent Shannon Airport being used to support the invasion of Iraq. Nearly 113,000 US troops transitted through Shannon in the first nine months of this year. It is estimated that by the end of the year, just under 350,000 US troops will have passed through Shannon in the past three years (ie,

since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq). Mary claims this use of Shannon is a violation of both the Irish constitution and international law.

Her first trial, in June 2003, ended in a hung jury on the criminal damage charge, despite Judge Carroll Moran basically instructing the jury to convict her. However, the Director of Public Prosecutions ordered that she be tried again. Her second trial, in June 2004, collapsed when her legal team abandoned her because they refused to pursue the defence she wanted, in particular asking for disclosure of the advice given by the Attorney General to the government regarding the legality of allowing the US imperialists basically unlimited access to Shannon Airport. In her latest trial (again before Judge Moran) she was forced to defend herself because she was unable to obtain new counsel who would defend her in accordance with her wishes. Judge Moran gutted her whole defence by ruling that "You

can't call evidence on political matters or the war in Iraq" and refused her permission to call expert witnesses like former UN weapons inspector Denis Halliday who was to testify about the thousands of deaths caused by US bombing of Iraq and the UN-sanctioned starvation sanctions. The judge was playing his role as part of the Irish state which is intent on making an example of Mary Kelly because her actions exposed the complicity of the Irish government in the US/British colonial war against Iraq. The Irish government supports imperialist war because it is in the economic interests of the Irish capitalist class it represents. The conviction of Mary Kelly is intended as a sinister threat to all opponents of imperialist war. From the perspective of workers and the oppressed Mary's actions were not a crime! We of the Spartacist Group Ireland demand the charges against Mary Kelly, and all anti-war protesters like Eoin Dubsky and the Ploughshares/Catholic Worker 5 be dropped. Hands off Mary Kelly!

As opposed to individual "direct action" we stress that a more effective way of opposing the Irish bourgeoisie and the use of Shannon by the US imperialists would be to mobilise the social power of the proletariat, in particular the airport workers who should take industrial action to prevent the transit of troops and war matériel through Shannon. However, the pro-capitalist trade union misleaders, while often featured speakers on the platforms of the class-collaborationist Irish Anti-War Movement, didn't dare mobilise the power of the workers against the war because it would disturb their cosy "social partnership" with the Irish capitalists. Indeed, the current leaders of the airport workers' unions won't even lift a finger in defence of the jobs of their own members who are currently under attack.

We understand that war is an integral part of the



Spartacist Ireland

Dublin, 1 December: Protest in defence of Mary Kelly on the day of her sentencing.

capitalist system and seek to use examples like the use of Shannon by the US military and the vindictive prosecution of Mary Kelly to expose the myth of Ireland's "neutrality" and the futility of looking to "our" government to oppose imperialist war. Rather, it is only by becoming conscious that the Irish capitalist class has interests diametrically counterposed to those of the working class that advanced workers can be won to the perspective of building a revolutionary vanguard party to act in the interests of all the oppressed and for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

We call on opponents of the colonial occupation of Iraq to protest on the day of the sentencing hearing, Wednesday 1 December. Demonstrations have been called for Limerick Court House and at the Government Buildings in Dublin.

Mary Kelly's supporters are asking for donations to her legal defence to be sent to: Legal Defence Fund, account number 50400007, sort code 98-60-20, Ulster Bank Ltd, Limerick. Messages of support can be sent to Mary at keltol@graffiti.net or PO Box 9260, Dublin 1, Ireland.

—18 November 2004

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Iraq: sham elections, savage occupation



Zaklin/EPA

Mosul, 8 January: US troops brutalise a man accused of supporting insurgents in Iraq. He later died.

FEBRUARY 1—While US jets screamed overhead, US soldiers surrounded Iraqi polling places to make sure Bush's fake "election" on 30 January came off. The "election" was designed purely as a legitimising cover for the continuing savage US occupation. It was a despicable and cynical fraud, in which at least 44 Iraqis died in widely predicted violence. While we denounce criminal terror against innocent civilians, including those who came out to vote behind the American barbed wire, we recognize that every military blow struck against the US and British occupiers, their allies and mercenaries is a blow against imperialist aggression. US/Britain out of Iraq now!

It was grotesque to watch US puppet and strutting thug Ayad Allawi, the former Ba'athist goon called "Saddam lite" by his own American handlers, mouth pieties about "free elections" in the midst of over-

whelming US military terror. Curfews were imposed and car traffic was banned anywhere near polls, whose locations were kept secret until the last minute, as were the names of most of the candidates for a meaningless "national assembly" to draft a meaningless "constitution" under the boot of the occupiers. But a few plastic ballot boxes and cardboard booths, with a compliant American press to burble about the "joy" of the day, were all Bush really wanted for his cynical photo-op, as supposed independent election observers "observed" safely far away in Jordan.

Meanwhile, the horror of war continues. New revelations of Iraq torture and Pentagon spy units burrowing into Iran have come out. Veteran investigative journalist Seymour Hersh points out that in Iraq "the number of tonnage dropped has grown exponentially each month. We are systematically bombing that country.... It's simply a turkey shoot" (*CounterPunch* online, 27 January).

The supposed "sanctity of the vote" means less than nothing to the US president, who stole his first presidential election through disenfranchising black people. In terms of fake elections, he might have taken a lesson from the Nazis. Today, in the midst of all the imperialist crocodile tears over the Nazi death camp Auschwitz, let's recall that Hitler made concentration camp inmates vote. In the 12 November 1933 Reichstag elections, prisoners at Osthofen, Brandenburg and Oranienburg were given ballots. Hitler won. The Americans don't seem prepared to go door-to-door to check on who voted, as the Nazis did—though staining the forefingers of those Iraqis who did venture out to vote does give new meaning to the term "marked man".

The Americans' cynical use of fake elections under battlefield conditions is not new. Resurrecting Reagan's gory 1982 electoral sham in El Salvador, Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld said last December,

continued on page 20

US/Britain out now!