



**FIGHTING
TALK**

Issue 9

Price £1

**FOOTBALL
SPECIAL**

Anti-Fascist Action

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APPEAL FOR INFORMATION

WE URGE ALL OUR READERS TO SEND ANY INFORMATION ON FASCISTS IN THEIR AREA DIRECT TO AFA. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO GUARANTEE THE MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT HAS THE NECESSARY INFORMATION TO SUCCESSFULLY BEAT THE FASCISTS.

JOIN AFA

In the fight against fascism in Britain, Anti-Fascist Action has a record that is second to none. Our unique combination of physical confrontation and ideological struggle has produced results time and again.

We say no platform for fascists - no meetings, no marches, no paper sales, no leafleting - and we mean it, as the fascists know only too well. Our aim is to cause the maximum disruption to fascist activities.

But that doesn't mean that AFA only needs street-fighters. Far from it. Everyone has a role to play in AFA, whether they feel confident in physical confrontations or not.

None of our successes in physically confronting the fascists would have been possible without the contribution of non-combatants. From legal observers to scouts, from leafleters to people who can write articles or speak at meetings, AFA needs people with a whole range of skills if it is to continue to succeed.

There's a lot to do, so don't wait around. Join today.

Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

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FOOTBALL SPECIAL

Over the years, fascists have been active at football but there hasn't been any co-ordinated response from the anti-fascist movement. Now, at several clubs, militant anti-fascists are getting organised and this is an important development. In this issue we look at the history of fascist involvement at football, and the failure of the left to build an alternative influence. We point out the obvious shortcomings of the CRE/FSA anti-racist campaign, and examine the various ways anti-fascists are beginning to organise. We also report on what is happening in Germany; and the problems that you have when you try to organise something positive.

that where genuine supporters are committed anti-fascists, tremendous possibilities exist. It is ultimately those who go regularly to football who will be the ones who have real respect and influence at games, and we would call on all anti-fascists to support these anti-fascist supporter initiatives. Support meaning physical, financial and vocal, getting involved if your club has an anti-fascist element, and setting one up if it doesn't. Support doesn't mean turning up with a cart-load of students and an irrelevant leaflet, to at best earn ridicule, and at worst wreck the efforts of genuine supporters involved in genuine anti-fascism.

We won't be drawing any conclusions at this stage, nor will we be calling for some sort of ANL-style 'Intervention' at football. What we would draw readers attention to is

Fighting Talk will be covering activity at football on a regular basis, and would welcome any reports from supporters.

OUTSIDE LEFT

In general, the Left has never had any influence at football. Primarily this is because it has never sought such influence. Racism at football is only a reflection of racism within wider society. For the middle class Left, though, football grounds, rather than being an arena of anti-racist struggle, are alien terrain, and football supporters seen as almost inherently racist. Equally, violence at football has never been understood by the Left. For working class youth faced with the dole, youth training or low pay, being part of a firm is a route out of boredom and to a degree of self-esteem. The anti-authoritarian aspect of football violence - a chance to wind up and maybe even batter, a few cops - has never been taken on board.

The Left has taken no interest in the campaigns against ID cards, the drive to all-seaters as a way to fleece the fans once more, bond schemes, whatever. Moreover, the anti-violence fixation has

meant that the workings of the National Football Intelligence Unit have gone unchallenged.

The State hates the idea of large groups of working class people coming together for a common purpose. In the 1920s and '30s the police used to break up games of street football. Today a sophisticated array of video cameras, mounted police, helicopters etc. are deployed to make sure, as former Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton had it, "People will go where they are put." (The end result of people going "where they are put" was the 56 killed in the Bradford fire in '85 and the 95 who died at Hillsborough in '89).

The NFIU has made its name through show trials and frame ups, and the use of undercover cops as agent provocateurs. The average number of police to spectators at games now is one to 75. All because, as the Assistant Chief



Constable of Greater Manchester Dave Phillips put it in 1987:

"Individual shouts and gestures mean nothing but 20,000 chanting in unison .. create an emotionally charged atmosphere ... It is all about whether or not behaviour can create that sense of power and energy."

Because the Left has seen the "power and energy" of football firms as alien to its interests, the Right can fill the vacuum. It's C18 who're asking "Why the fuck haven't they got a National Child Murder squad or a National Rape Squad? It's a pity they don't put as much resources and effort into other more worthy crimes instead of football fans." (Combat 18 issue 1).

This time round, the starting point for militant anti-fascists in relation to football has to be the same as for every other arena of working class struggle: where there are fascists, there will also be anti-fascists. Our job is to identify the fascists and hit them back.

HAND IT OVER

AFA needs regular donations to run the National Office. Please help us to maintain operations by sending some cash for the cause.

Make cheques/POs out to 'Anti-Fascist Action', and send to PO Box 83, South West PDO, Manchester M16 6NJ. (Please mark envelopes 'Office')



OUT ON THE RIGHT-WING

A History of the Fascists at Football

"Britain is collapsing into anarchy, with crime figures hitting new records in almost every sector. Government, police and the judicial authorities have totally lost control ... we strongly believe in the deterrent factor as one of the essential planks in a programme to fight crime, and indeed we seek to give that deterrent factor much greater force than in the recent past." (from *A New Way Forward: The Political Objectives of the British National Party*).

It's no great shock to find that John Tyndall's BNP embraces a hang 'em and flog 'em doctrine in relation to "law and order". If the BNP's intention is to abandon the "charade of democracy" it will need an arsenal of punitive legislation to keep the masses in check. In any case, Tyndall, like so many other Home Counties Colonel Blimps, has been known to drone on about the glories of national service, and how the "experience demonstrated to me the value of pure coercive discipline." Strange, then, that in the run up to their 1993 anti-IRA march, the BNP put some effort into trying to attract football firms onto the demo by leafletting the Charlton, Millwall, West Ham and Chelsea grounds. Strange that members

of the old Charlton 'B mob' (a group of sad fat old men who used to be associated with the British Movement in south-east London) should have been seen helping to steward a "Rights for Whites" march in Thamesmead. Or is it?

The association of the far-Right with working class sports has a long history. In the 1930s, the Mosleyite British Union of Fascists made efforts to recruit working class kids as street-fighting cannon fodder by devoting some of its efforts to getting an audience with amateur boxers at local gyms. In pursuing their policy, both in the '30s and during Mosley's political re-emergence after 1945, they met with little success.

After the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill, the far right believed the political mood was changing in their favour. Colin Jordan's White Defence League began the publication of a racist newspaper, *Black and White News*, which was reportedly sold at London football grounds, including Queens Park Rangers and West Ham.

Continuing economic crisis and rising

unemployment, combined with the manipulation of racism for political gain by both Labour and the Conservatives, made the '70s a fertile period for the politics of the National Front. In anticipation of white working class disenchantment with the political mainstream. John Tyndall, then leader of the NF, identified the need to "gain a sufficient majority among both main classes" and cautioned: "The Right will always be weak so long as it is based predominantly on white collar support.

Steps to court a white working class audience included anti-immigration pickets at Manchester and Heathrow airports, anti-mugger marches and appeals to workers' "national-class interests" through attempts at co-ordinating white workers opposition to black working class militancy in strikes at Mansfield Hosiery and Imperial Typewriters.

Much of their efforts however were directed at football grounds. *Bulldog*, the paper of the Young National Front, which carried the rallying call "White Youth Unite and Fight" carried a regular football column. Campaigns were waged against black players appearing at local and national level; "football is now to be called 'foot-coconut' and the England team will be renamed the 'All-Blacks'. Some club positions are to be renamed - medic replaced by "Witchdoctor", manager by "Chief" etc" (*Bulldog* issue 6).

Activities co-ordinated through the pages of *Bulldog* included banana-throwing at black players, at Leeds, Chelsea, Portsmouth, Folkestone and Welling ("Football fans believe in White Power whether they support a first division team like West Ham or a Southern League team like Folkestone Town"), a campaign by Tottenham National Front to "Keep the Park Lane White", and a League of Louts that allowed fans to compete for the "most racist ground in Britain."

Bulldog sales became a regular fixture at Chelsea, West Ham, Leeds, Birmingham City, Newcastle, Sunderland, ... on and on. The Leeds Service Crew, Chelsea Headhunters, Newcastle Service Squad and countless others wrote in to show their support for the YNF. On the way to the 1982 World Cup in Spain, fights broke out between



The BNP's 'Anti-IRA' march in Central London, 1993. Despite leafletting football grounds, only 300 people turned up.

White football fans spell

"IF YOU'RE NO BRITISH, STAY AWAY FROM LEEDS!"

5 fans are proud to be British and white and this has really upset the article, a member of the Leeds Support Club, is always slagging off (in particular, he really hates the ice crew because they are members and supporters of the ...)

coloured. A lot are just 12 people - An one probably red ... Last season and this we h ... to win the National C ... that it ...

Racist Poison" on the terraces

White football fans spell

"IF YOU'RE NO BRITISH, STAY AWAY FROM LEEDS!"

ON THE FOOTBALL FRONT

"BRING BULLDOG BACK TO BRUM!"

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BULLDOG 10p

PAPER OF THE YOUNG NATIONAL FRONT

WEST HAM LEEDS UNITED and much more DON'T MISS IT!

fans: "At that pro-IRA march (1993 Bloody Sunday Demo) fans from throughout London's teams and further afield joined together as one, from London there was Arsenal, Spurs, Chelsea, Millwall, Charlton and Orient. From the Midlands there was Birmingham, Wolves and Forest. From up north there was Leeds, Bradford and a good few Geordies. From the South, Portsmouth and Southampton and from the East Peterborough and Norwich. The list is endless but shows its possible for rival fans ... to join together and fight the common enemy."

In Scotland, Thor Would point out that "most eastern coast BNP support Hearts... At a European match in Belgium the Belgian police barred a young lad from entry for carrying a Hearts/AWB 'three sevens' flag ..." They also mention Greenock BNP's attempt to establish themselves at Morton, the "vociferous Loyalist support" at Airdrie, and the "Nazis" who carry German imperial flags to Clyde's games.

Thor Would is trying to re-establish the old Bulldog chart for "who is the most racist football fans in Britain." A lot of C18's material is wishful thinking, but, nevertheless, the intention's clear: "Getting all the football fans, or firms, mobs, whatever and getting them all behind a Nationalist cause as one, that's when we start to progress."

England fans and blacks in Paris. In Spain, NF News and Bulldog were sold outside the England v France game, the French defender Treseur was subjected to racist abuse, and there were outbursts of Sieg Heiling from English fans.


Leeds United's Elland Road ground was a particular focus for the far-Right. In the '70s the NF were joined by Eddie Morrison's National Democratic Freedom Movement in leafletting the ground. Leeds NF had their own paper, "Frontline". A Yorkshire Post investigation in 1986 reported that matchday takings for the NF at Elland Road averaged over £40. Watford's Luther Blissett said in 1987: "Normally the abuse is from the terraces, but at one Leeds game whole groups in the stand were doing Nazi salutes and shouting Sieg Heil."

The political demise of the NF, ridden by political divisions in the '80s, meant that their focus on white supporters through "Bulldog" and the YNF fell away. In general, the pitches established by the NF have not been taken on by the British National Party. There are reports of sales at Ibrox and Blackburn, and of pub sales at Stamford Bridge, but, partly due to the lack of resources, the BNP have not as yet prioritised football to anything like the same extent.

If the BNP have turned their recent electoral successes into an increase in active membership, then it is likely they will make a push for influence at football grounds. Their reasons are obvious - 1) to increase the number of "street-fighters" available to them, ii) if, as Mosley had it, the purpose of fascism is to establish a "Corporate State" to head off "proletarian revolt" they need the political support of a section of the white working class to carry it off.

Combat 18, meanwhile, have already begun a push to revive the traditions of "Bulldog" etc. The C18 related fanzine Thor Would has carried a "Focus on Football" article which noted the success of using a pro-Loyalist ticket as a means of attracting football

CHELSEA
BRITISH
NATIONAL
PARTY
WHITE POWER



Sent to us courtesy of "Chelsea BNP".
Note the stunning design quality.

Back in Europe

At the end of June, 1994, two members of AFA (from Glasgow and Manchester) attended the Anti-Fascist Football Fans Congress (BAFF) in Dusseldorf, Germany. 150 supporters representing 26 German clubs attended the congress. Also in attendance were international visitors from Italy (Bologna), Netherlands (Ajax), Scotland (Celtic Anti-Fascists) and England (Man Utd. Anti-Fascists), the FSA and 'When Saturday Comes' fanzine).

In terms of bringing together ordinary supporters in order to address the question of racism and fascism on the terraces in Germany, the congress was generally successful. The delegates adopted a two-tier approach to the problem with firstly, a liberal agenda aimed at the clubs themselves and secondly, a commitment from the supporters to take direct action against racists and fascists on the terraces. The appeal to the clubs is to be made through a charter asking clubs to condemn racism and to take appropriate measures to keep fascists out of the grounds. This is along the lines of the Football Supporters Association (FSA) in England ("Let's Kick Racism out of Football") and the Players Union in Scotland's recent one-off liberal campaigns. Whilst this is all well and good, there is also a recognition amongst the majority of the supporters

that liberal appeals to the club bosses will not be enough to halt the rising tide of fascism.

The problem also has to be tackled at source - on the terraces amongst the young working class people, at whom the fascists aim their propaganda. This is where the dual approach comes in - appeals to the clubs backed up with action from the fans. The success of such a strategy was demonstrated in the campaign to prevent the scheduled match between England and Germany on Hitler's birthday. The match would have been a rallying point for fascists from around Europe but liberal indignation together with the threat of widespread disorder by anti-fascist groups and the militant attack on the offices of the German FA were enough to persuade the authorities that the political cost of staging such a match would be too high.

The problem of fascist activity at grounds appears to be most acute in the former East German State (GDR) and there was a lack of representation from clubs in the East. Notable exceptions were FC Hansa Rostok and Berlin. The supporters from Rostok were the largest group in attendance after the St. Pauli fans from Hamburg and it is down to the excellent links that the St. Pauli fans have been able to establish

with other fans and anti-fascists throughout Germany that the congress took place at all.

A special mention must go to the Rostok boys whose repertoire of songs included East German Communist Youth songs which were part of the Stalinist regime's "approved list of chants for football supporters". I kid you not - even the terracing chants had to be approved! Puts a new perspective on some of our ditties, doesn't it? "Can you hear the decadent western imperialists sing - no-oh, no-oh!" Just like an eternal day out with the Anti-Nazi League, I suppose.

One aspect of the BAFF conference which caused problems throughout was the constant interventions by middle class lefty elements - most of them employed as or aspiring to be social workers for the official club "fan-projects" - whose obsession with political correctness in such a setting should have made them a laughing stock rather than disrupt the proceedings. The main arguments of such people were about the attitudes to women and sexism on the terraces. Obviously sexism is a problem but to hijack a conference which was specifically about fighting racism and fascism is a diversion and the motives of such people have to be questioned.

A workshop which was originally designed to come up with practical ideas about fighting organised fascist groups at football grounds was sidelined into abstract arguments about whether sexism is a form of fascism and whether it should be treated with the same priority. The argument goes something like this: racism and sexism are part of the same patriarchal society which, unrestrained, leads to fascism; all men are sexist, intimidating and potential rapists;



Anti-Fascist Football Fans Congress (BAFF), Dusseldorf, June 1994.



therefore, the real problem in society is not the rising tide of fascism which, after all, is the fault of men anyway - no, the real problem is male attitudes to women.

This argument is a throwback to a 1960's university campus, hippy-liberalism. It is bereft of any economic analysis and completely ignorant of class based politics because the exponents of the argument have abandoned the notion that the working class still exists. This analysis and abandonment of the working class as a force for change permeates the German anti-fascist and autonomous movement and is potentially damaging and ultimately can only be interpreted as a defeatist position. It's easy to justify a

lack of approach to working class communities if you can convince yourself that they don't exist anymore! In other words, the biggest battleground is left uncontested by the anti-fascists.

The divisive nature of such arguments can be clearly demonstrated by one act of lunacy carried out by militant feminists against the St. Pauli Fan Project. At a benefit concert for the fan project, one of the guest bands sang songs which contained sexist lyrics which were objected to by a PC group which runs the venue. A debate took place in the St. Pauli fanzine, "Der Übersteiger" about the incident. Not satisfied that the issue had been addressed seriously enough by the supporters, a militant feminist group in Hamburg bombed the fan project office with a chemical mixture which causes extensive damage (the place had to be gutted; carpets, redecorated etc.) and has caused serious and permanent respiratory problems to two voluntary workers.

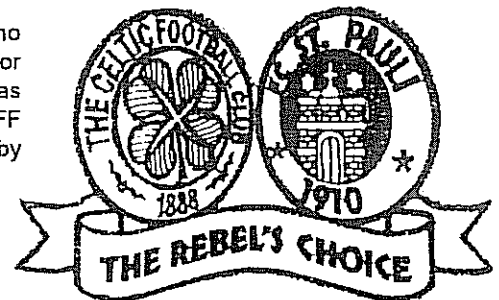
Ironically enough, the two fans who suffered were women - so much for women's' solidarity! This action was supported by those elements at the BAFF Congress who sought to disrupt it by continually posturing about sexism on the terraces. Their ideas might gain some ground if they were able to demonstrate through action how to tackle the

problem but just like their pathetic counterparts in Britain their self-indulgent arguments are not about activity but actually about demobilising the most effective and militant football fans.

During the visit to Germany, the AFA members took part in a speaking tour which included visits to Frankfurt, Hamburg, Dusseldorf, Nuremberg and Munich. The AFA "Fighting Talk" video was shown at each of the meetings. Most of those who attended were football fans and members of Antifa groups. Much of the discussions centred around activities at football grounds, attitudes to casual/hooligan outfits and a particular interest in hearing about AFA's big successes like Waterloo.

AFA's reputation for militant action is well known and respected in Germany and the predominantly working class people that we spoke to in most of the towns are keen to have contact on a national and local level with AFA groups in Britain. It would be a good idea to twin individual groups who can build up political relationships and exchange local newsletters and magazines (almost every city with an Antifa group produces its own FT type magazine).

S. Harper



and stewards say they can't get to people in the new all-seaters.

It has put pressure on the racists in the grounds, but at Charlton, a club that has done more than most, C-18 stickers still went up at the first game. Clearly, only an AFA-style approach can really deal with the problem on the ground.

Football clubs are so distant from their fans that a club-led attack on racism will always have limited success.



WEAK CHALLENGE

The greatly lauded report from the CRE and the PFA on racism, issued in May, was undoubtedly a move in the right direction regarding racism at football. Yet it is questionable as to exactly how much of this improvement is down to the actions of either the CRE or the campaign that they launched.

The report lists a number of clubs that have joined the campaign and gives details of the campaigns waged. If this was to be read without any knowledge of the grounds concerned, it makes impressive reading: clubs talk of banning racists from the ground and stewards briefed to act immediately on hearing

racist abuse. All manner of committees, community projects and liaison groups have been established.

On paper it all sounds fine, but what difference will it make in reality? Most clubs have covered the campaign in their official programmes - but how long will this last? One article in a programme hardly makes a 'campaign'.

When the CRE organised a "week of awareness" around the campaign at their headquarters, only three clubs turned up - Charlton, Leicester and Millwall. Clubs say people shouting racist abuse will be thrown out, but at many clubs the police

CELTIC ANTI-FASCISTS

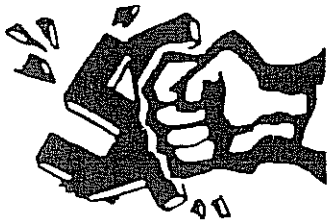
Celtic supporters in Glasgow AFA have now set up Celtic Anti-Fascists (CAF) as an organisation. A benefit concert has been organised for the end of September and is arousing a lot of local interest. Members of supporters clubs in Glasgow, London, Birmingham, Aberdeen and Lanarkshire have already pledged their support and a list of supporters clubs backing the organisation is being produced. In the last year more than 15,000 "Celtic Fans Against Fascism" stickers have been sold and distributed to the green and white army throughout Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. Only a few years ago, Celtic fans regularly racially abused the black Rangers player, Mark Walters in his first few games against us.

However, the situation has now been completely reversed after the majority of the supporters turned against the mindless minority. It would be safe to say that the racists amongst the support have been very quiet for the last couple of seasons and those few individual wankers who tried to get away with remarks and abuse towards Rangers newest signing, Basile Boli, were very quickly dealt with by other supporters around them. It would be fair to say that many Celtic supporters now have a real pride in their anti-fascist stance, and with the help of the stickers and an association with the anti-fascist followers of St. Pauli, Hamburg, we have now become the pace setters for anti-fascist football fans throughout Britain.

Celtic Anti-Fascists is open to all Celtic fans around the country. There is no charge for affiliation or individual membership, however £3 will get you 100 stickers and a membership card. Donations are also welcome.

Please make cheques and PO's payable to 'Glasgow AFA' and send to PO BOX 797, GLASGOW G1 5JF.

Celtic Fans



Against Fascism!

PO Box , Glasgow G1 5RX

Programmes for change

Fascist influence at football was strongest in the '70s and early '80s. Since then there have been some significant changes. Terrace culture itself has changed. Post-Heysel, post-Hillsborough - having a row doesn't mobilise anything like the same numbers. Undercover police operations like Operation "Wild Boar" at Leeds have targeted the big firms. Youth culture in general has changed - kids whose older brothers were up for the row are more into raves, and the "gentrification" of football (all seaters, £15-20 per ticket) has meant that, for many, what was once the focus for the week is now only a sporadic Saturday pursuit.

Racism at the grounds is less prominent. The increase in the number of black players and fanzine-led anti-racist campaigns (including "When Skies are Grey" at Everton and "Marching Altogether" at Leeds) have all had a mediating effect. Through fanzines, a section of fans have found their own voice, and the voice has been an anti-racist one. Large numbers of supporters have been involved in "anti-gentrification" campaigns - against all-seaters in most cases, and the successful anti-bond campaign at West Ham. When Crystal Palace chair Ron Noades made racist comments on a TV programme, the local fanzine

"Eagle Eye" co-ordinated a successful petition against him.

Here we look at some of the fanzines that deal with racism and fascism at football. Red Attitude, the new Man Utd anti-fascist fanzine has the greatest potential. Produced by genuine fans and active anti-fascists it can go beyond the liberal protests of others - and will hopefully succeed. While this has to be seen by AFA as a radical new development, there are dangers. Red Attitude will undoubtedly come in for some flak - militant anti-fascist football supporters are seen as a threat in some quarters! - but the long-term commitment of those involved should be able to overcome these obstacles. The real problem lies with political lightweights elsewhere - who, seeing some short term advantage for themselves, will start producing insulting garbage which only helps to confirm the anti-left prejudices that exist.

Where appropriate, we would like to see other similar fanzines develop - but ONLY where they are produced by genuine supporters and active anti-fascists who have the commitment to see it through.

RED ATTITUDE

Anti-fascism has a tradition amongst Manchester United supporters. From the "Reds Against the Nazis" of the 1970s through to the Cockney Reds who fought the NF and Chelsea Headhunters during the 1980s, the tradition has been militant rather than liberal and pacifist. It was in this spirit that a group of United supporters within Manchester AFA launched Man Utd Anti-Fascists.

While neither the BNP nor the NF are active at Old Trafford (or anywhere else in Manchester for that matter), they have been active at several clubs in the North West, including Blackburn Rovers,

Burnley, Rochdale and Wigan Athletic. It was felt that given the huge support enjoyed by United, and the success of

the team on the pitch, that it was only a matter of time before the fascists chanced their arm at Old Trafford. There had in fact been an increase in fascist graffiti around Stretford over the last year, but there were also a few isolated incidents of racism involving United supporters that we felt needed challenging last season.

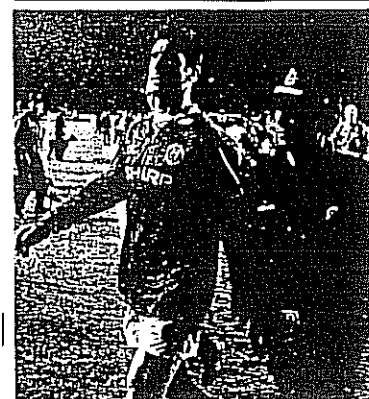
A couple of incidents worth mentioning were the hissing at Spurs supporter (who are generally regarded as a Jewish team), while another involved a coach load of United supporters travelling to a game against Aston Villa who started chanting racist abuse at the Asian population of Birmingham while the editors of a well known United fanzine sat quietly in their seats and said nothing.

We have been encouraged by the fact that despite racist remarks by individuals that racist chanting is not a problem amongst the overwhelming majority of United supporters. We have also been encouraged by the excellent response to MUAF stickers and T-shirts which show that there is support for anti-racist and anti-fascist politics at Old Trafford.

We hope to develop and broaden this support through the launch of a new fanzine, RED ATTITUDE which carries a mixture of football, politics and local bits and pieces. The ultimate goal (no pun intended) is to build an anti-fascist block amongst supporters who regularly attend games. If you want to get involved please get in contact.

Elsewhere in the North West, the links that the BNP tried to develop with the Burnley mob, the Suicide Squad, has been broken thanks to the intervention of

RED ATTITUDE



UNITED FANZINE ISSUE 1 AUG 94 50p

AFA last year. The Suicide Squad sussed the BNP after they tricked them into attacking an AFA contingent in Burnley town centre last year. The failure of the attack and subsequent failure of the BNP activity led to the BNP getting slapped, and a leading member of the Suicide Squad appearing on a BNP hit-list. The split is now irreparable. One thing is clear, and that is if the BNP try to emulate the success that the NF achieved on the terraces during the 1970s, then they will not find it so easy this time around.

RED ATTITUDE, 50p + SAE
from: Manchester AFA
PO Box 83
South West PDO
Manchester M15 5NJ

When Skies are Grey

"When Skies Are Grey" (WSAG) is the main Everton fanzine, which sells 5,000 copies per issue. It's produced by Everton fans and has no links with any political organisation.

WSAG began their "No AI Razissimo" campaign in the 1992-3 season, in response to racist abuse of black players at Goodison Park, and Everton's reputation as an "all-white" club - they were the only club in the Premier League (or 1st Division as it was then) without a single black player.

The campaign was conducted entirely by Everton supporters, and its range of activities included the production of t-shirts, articles in the fanzine, and seeking Everton players' endorsement of their campaign.

The Anti-Nazi League became active at Goodison primarily because of the media profiling of Everton as an "all-white" club. In the 1993-94 season, the ground was leafleted by the NF, to try to stir up resentment at any attempts by new manager Mike Walker to attract black players to the club. "Everton R White" and "Everton skins" banners were seen at BNP events in London.

WSAG carried on their campaign, trying to counter the bad publicity the club and its fans had attracted, and convince the majority of supporters that they should shout down the vocal minority of racists at Goodison.

The article we have printed, from issue 33 of the fanzine, focuses on the damage done to anti-racist/anti-fascist politics by the ANL's launching of its own campaign. It highlights the need for campaigns around football to be supporter-led, and relate to real issues around the grounds in question, and issues raised by supporters rather than those which the Left, from outside, might wish to prioritise.

There is a problem at Everton, and there is a grassroots campaign to tackle it. The efforts of the ANL, and their antics at Millwall, Charlton etc. in a similar vein do nothing to aid the anti-racist cause, and everything to discredit it.

WSAG are involved in the Football

Supporters Association anti-racist campaign, and intend to pursue their agenda despite the setbacks caused by the misguided interventions of the ANL.

Contact WSAG at PO Box 226, Liverpool L69 7LE. WSAG anti-racist t-shirts: £12 + 75p postage from the same address.

The following article is reproduced from Issue 33 of WSAG:

Independant Intavenshun

As regular readers are aware When Skies Are Grey operates on a strictly anti-racist platform. For this we've received lots of applause and on occasions, plenty of abuse. For instance at the Norwich collapse last September we were referred to as "Communist, nigger loving 'When Skies Are Grey' bastards" by some fans. Therefore it may seem strange to read, now, an article by one of the editorial team attacking an anti-racist campaign at Goodison, especially when we've put our name on their leaflets. However, the Socialist Workers Party funded Anti Nazi League's "Everton Fans Against the NARRTTSEES" campaign has really pissed me off.

Firstly the background. As everyone knows, despite being one of the first clubs to field a black player (a full 13 years before John fucking Barnes) a combination of institutional inertia, bad luck in the transfer market and unfortunately the odious behaviour of a sizeable minority of fans has led to the club picking up a reputation to rival the Afrikaner Resistance Movement. Therefore when any lazy gobshite journalist wants a story about racism in football they quickly train their sights on Goodison and occasionally contact us. For instance over the past few months we've spoken to The Guardian, When Saturday Comes, The Face, the BBC, Granada Reports and Reportage Def 2 on the subject of racism. When we've been interviewed we've always pointed out that other clubs have as bad if not worse problems and that racism is society's not football's problem. This is not what our interviewers have wanted us to say, which means our contributions have usually ended up on the cutting room floor.

At this point some readers might suggest that we've only got ourselves to blame for raising the subject in the first place with our campaign, but what are we supposed to do? Ignore it? The club did that for long enough and like all parasites, racists don't go away. What has to be said in our favour is that our campaign was always aimed at fans and was deliberately non-political, which brings us nicely onto our mates at the SWP.


Anyone attending the recent home games against Chelsea and Ipswich could not have failed to notice a large ragtag group of grunge types with a variety of strange haircuts and home counties accents handing out leaflets and claiming to be "Everton Fans Against the Nazis." The 'fans' looked in the main to be prime fringe political party fodder ie: lonely first year students rebelling on daddy's gold American Express card. By the way, this is not a Joe Moss style anti-wool rant but just an observation of how at approx. 2.52pm whilst most people queued to get in the ground our minty mates headed off in the general direction of the nearest Student Bar. What winds me up is that these 'fans' appear to have absolutely no interest in Everton or Evertonians, but are just after any little scrap of publicity for their own pie-in-the-sky battles. For most of these people the SWP and broad left politics is just a minor diversion before being handed a nice cushy job by Uncle Jeremy. Let's get things straight the SWP is a WHITE middle class organisation: Next time they leaflet see how many black faces are present.

We here at WSAG will continue our own campaign and will support any stance by any other concerned Evertonians. However, we will be happy when all these political fly-by-nights find some other hobby horse.

Phil Redmond

ANTI-RACIST BENEFIT
THURSDAY 26TH OCTOBER

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THE CO-OPTIMISTS



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WHEN SKIES ARE GREY
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One example of how AFA works with supporters rather than against them.

UNITED COLOURS OF FOOTBALL

At the start of the '94/95 season groups of supporters and fanzines organised to distribute the "United Colours of Football" fanzine at grounds around the country. It's free, produced by the Let's Kick Racism Out of Football campaign (The Football Supporters Association, Commission for Racial Equality and the Professional Footballers Association) and well worth a read.

The first thing to say in its favour is its actually about football. There have been a few "anti-racist" fanzines down the years, but invariably they've been moralistic in tone and obviously produced by people with little or no interests in the game. (For example, the latest issue of "Our Day Will Come" has two articles on Man Utd, none on Celtic and the kind of reviews and politics you could read in any anarcho fanzine. The problem is - its supposed to be a Man Utd/Celtic fanzine!!) "United Colours" is streets ahead of that.

As well as highlighting the problem - "the racial abuse aimed at Paul Ince on his return to Upton Park, Darren Beckford racially abused by children 'no more than 13/14 years old', the Millwall-Derby pitch invasion etc., you're given plenty of examples of positive anti-racist action being taken within the game - John Fashanu using his public profile to slam teams for failing to sign up talented young black players, West Ham urging supporters not to support racists/fascists in the May local elections, Charlton Athletic's campaign in conjunction with Greenwich Council - "Red, White and Black at the Valley".

"United Colours" also makes clear that the racism directed at, say, John Barnes, doesn't end there: "the sad, sick chanting, the banana skins - is the same racism that ends up with black and Asian people getting killed and injured. All because of the colour of their skin. There is nothing to divide the two - allow one and you

have to allow the other. It is all our responsibilities to stop racism in football."

The fact that major names like Ian Wright, Vinnie Jones and Howard Wilkinson are prepared to speak out through the pages of "United Colours" is a good thing, but, at the end of the day, the only people well-placed to challenge the racists are football fans themselves. It's here that the fanzine falls down. "United Colours" is so concerned not to offend the football/political establishment that it ends up looking to that establishment for the solutions - clubs should, police should ... etc. etc. We're told that the chanting of racial abuse is a criminal offence, and then expected to believe that a police force which routinely harasses the black community will be the first line of defence against racists at football!!!

It's good that football grounds are being seen as an arena for anti-racist struggle like any other - but if the starting point is that racism/fascism is caused by "social issues" outside the ground - unemployment, poor housing etc. etc. - then just telling people to support black players won't change anything. If racist fans can still cheer on Andy Cole then on one level its a good thing - but equally all it means is they've put their prejudices aside for 90 minutes.


"United Colours" carries no mention of organised fascist groups - C18/BNP or their connections with the likes of the Chelsea Headhunters, and that's where they really come unstuck. "United Colours" is full of jibes at "70s man" who wants to go back to the days of football violence of

old. Football, we're told, is now a family game. True enough - but the "price increases, all-seaters, rampant commercialism" which "United Colours" says it opposes are what comes with those "family values" - pricing the working class out of the game.

Whether it be individual racists or organised fascists; shouting them down, as "United Colours" suggests, is a start, but it isn't likely to end there. The issue of football violence is likely to reappear - but the row will be between pro and anti-racists. "Kicking racism out of football" will have to go beyond being a catchy slogan to a physical reality. We'll see who's side the police are on then.

So - "United Colours" is worth a read, and like the FSA/PFA campaign, its worth supporting, but it doesn't go far enough. Maybe they should take a lead from one of their own heroes: Andy Wharton, Britain's first professional black footballer, athlete, cyclist ... etc: "... at one athletics meeting Wharton overheard two competitors complaining of having to run against a 'nigger'. He said he'd box them instead if they preferred. They declined.

United Colours of Football



Available from FSA, PO Box 11,
Liverpool L26 1XP

Fighting Talk will be covering activity at football on a regular basis, and would welcome any reports or information from supporters.

Fascism and Democracy

The July 1994 issue of the British National Party journal, *Spearhead*, carries an article "Success Upon Success" by Eddie Butler. He writes: "By any standard, the May local elections and June by-election (Dagenham) were tremendous successes for the British National Party. More candidates were fielded than ever before; our vote rose throughout the country and the results were the best ever obtained."

Those successes - with Derek Beakon polling 2,041 votes on a turnout of 76% (the highest in the electoral history of Tower Hamlets), and John Tyndall polling 7% in Dagenham and retaining his deposit - clearly established the BNP as an electoral force, and one which was seen to mirror the political ambitions of a section of white working class people.

The BNP fought the elections as the declared opponents of "chaos and muddle ... against powerful vested interest, whose profiteers fear and hate us for the challenge that we pose to their positions in the rotting edifice of the old order."

The Left see the BNP as "anti-democratic". As the Anti-Nazi League put it: "Nazis and fascists are totally against democracy. They do not believe in elections or free speech ... but in establishing totalitarian states which take charge of all parts of peoples lives." (Fighting the Nazi Threat Today). As an alternative, they advocate a mass vote for the Labour Party, in effect they ask the voters to give the system one last chance.

If we accept that the ANL et al. are able to get their message to a large number of people, and that despite the warnings of "totalitarianism", a large minority of voters is still prepared to vote for the BNP, we can draw one of two conclusions. Either (i) a section of white voters in places like the Isle of Dogs believe a "totalitarian" state is in their interests, or (ii) more likely, they're not concerned to defend "democracy" because they see precious little evidence that - Labour, Tory or Liberal Democrat - any of the mainstream parties, or the political system as a whole, are guarantors of ordinary peoples

democratic interests in any event.

A recent Sunday Times investigation revealed two MPs, David Tredinnick and Graham Riddick, who had accepted pay-offs of £1,000 for tabling a parliamentary question. Other MPs are company directors and lobby for their companies' interests in parliament. Businessmen with associations with

The BNP use white working class fears of immigration as a springboard for their campaign to preserve inequality between races and, most crucially to Tyndall's agenda, between classes. For working class voters, a vote for the BNP's "national government" could well be the last vote they ever cast.

MPs and Cabinet Ministers charge fees to lobby MPs on their clients behalf. One such lobbying group, Ian Greer Associates, was recently revealed to have offered to provide confidential information and set up meetings with junior ministers and parliamentary private secretaries, in exchange for their fee.

Most people believe "money talks" - that the notion that the MPs work for the public interest is, in most cases, bullshit. The facts prove them right. People aren't swayed by arguments about democracy because there's precious little democracy in their own lives. If you elect a Labour council because it promises to improve services on your estate, and all that happens is the rent goes up 200% and the roof never gets fixed, then you're left with only the pretence of democracy - the right to vote for three different sets of careerist bastards, who'll ignore every promise they made as soon as they enter office. To suggest to people in run-down estates which they know are getting worse day by day that they should give the system one more chance in the name of "democracy" is an insult.

The BNP succeed because they acknowledge that the system doesn't work, they oppose what Tyndall calls "the old party racket." In the 1930s, in

a pamphlet "Tomorrow We Live", quoted favourably by the BNP, the fascist leader Oswald Mosley wrote: "Decisions and movements of international finance on Wall Street and in the City of London may send prices soaring to create a speculators paradise at the expense of the real wages of the people, or may send prices crashing to throw millions into unemployment, as the aftermath of some gigantic gamble. In terms of the things that really matter to the people, such as real wages, employment, the hours of labour, food prices and the simple ability to pay the rent, finance, under the present system, can affect the lives of the mass of people more closely and more terribly in the decision of one afternoon than can parliament ... in the course of a decade."

"Democracy" as Mosley knew, is, under capitalism, no more than an abstraction; "democracy" offers no protection against poverty or unemployment, it won't put a roof over your head, or provide health care for your children. Working class people become foot soldiers for fascism, because it offers them a common hostility to a system they know doesn't represent their interests, and a chance to make a change.

The Labour Party is committed to meeting the needs of all people within the context of a capitalist society. When capitalism can afford it, it is prepared to underwrite state education, welfare rights, full-employment - as a means of "gentling the masses" When the amount of profit available to capitalism falls, then the notion of "social justice" and the welfare state go to the wall. If the money isn't there for reform, then the best the Labour Party can offer is the mediation of inequality - no longer the redistribution of wealth from one class to another, but equality of inopportunity within the working class.

So if "democracy" is seen to fail, and the "socialist" alternative is more of the same, the politics of fascism begin to make sense. If the best Labour can offer is white and black living in equal squalor, the BNP can offer you the chance to improve your circumstances 100% by driving out the blacks next

door. Politics becomes reduced to a battle over resources within the working class. If under "democracy", working class people are to be scapegoats for the failings of capitalism, the BNP can at least offer scapegoats of their own, a chance to hit back.

The result is that a section of the white working class see the BNP and other far-right groups as potential allies, a weapon they can use to get their voices heard. A BNP voter in the Isle of Dogs, asked to justify his vote, put it clearly: "It was a vote of protest and its going to work, its going to shake things up here." (*Guardian 18th September 1993*).

But how much do the BNP - "a party created by people who have finally abandoned the hope that by means of the old political institutions a new way forward for Britain may be found" - really want to shake things up?

Fascism arose in Italy and Germany as a nationalist solution to the crisis of capitalism in those countries - on an economic plane, it proposed as a solution to the crisis of national capital the withdrawal from the international capitalist arena - protectionism, rearmament etc, until resurgent national capital could finance an expansionist military policy. As Tyndall has it, "All desirable conditions of a nation's prosperity and welfare require first an underlying attitude of nationalism, ie: the determination to defend and promote

the national interest to the utmost and to realise the full potential of national power."

Much of Tyndall's book is taken up with a critique of "Toryism" - "Conservatism as it is in Britain today, far from doing anything to halt the march of the Left, is the Left's best recruiting officer. By its hopeless failure to offer millions of people the prospect of work, economic improvement and, above all, any great and dynamic vision of the nation's future worth striving for, it drives millions into the arms of socialism."

The Tories declare that the economy as it stands cannot provide profit and full employment. Tyndall fears the effect of mass unemployment as a "recruiting officer" for the Left. He concludes: "The state has become like a rotten apple, ridden with maggots and impossible to save. All patriotic endeavour must be concentrated not on preventing the death of the existing state, but on ensuring that when that inevitable death comes the new state to emerge out of it is the right kind and in the right hands."

The BNP believe the contradictions of international capital have to be overridden to ensure the survival of the capitalist system. The solution to the crisis is economic nationalism - the suspension of all contradictions - between finance and industry, national and international interests, worker and boss. Tyndall is not opposed to

capitalism, only to the way its worst effects, unmediated, drive working class people to fight for their interests against the interests of their employers and the state as a whole.

For the BNP's project to succeed, they need the "consent" of at least a section of the working class. To succeed they need to be a focus of working class dissent, and for that dissent, and their ability to channel it in a reactionary direction, to pave their way to power.

In his book "The Eleventh Hour" Tyndall offers up the wartime 1916 coalition government as a possible model for society; "Laissez-faire economics were dropped ... What the theoretical stimulus of the "free market" had failed to do for decades beforehand was done in just three years of corporate effort, achieved by firm national leadership directing economic resources, and by the whole nation and empire working as a team." In other words, the extension of wartime militarisation of society onto a permanent basis. Working class people sick of the sham of "democracy" are being asked to back not the extension of real democracy into every aspect of their lives, but the complete suspension of democracy.

Tyndall bemoans the loss of "team spirit" - "The body politic is a battleground of warring factions and interests, busy tearing each other, and the nation, apart." Amongst those



"warring factions" are signal workers fighting for a better wage, Isle of Dogs residents fighting to keep open their local GPs surgery, the relatives and friends of working class people framed by the police and courts and campaigning for their release. The suspension of "warring factions" means the forced ending of their struggles, and all other struggles oppositional to capitalist interests, in the interests of "national unity."

So what of the "two-party hoax" - the "electors ... choice between one or other door-to-door salesman"? Simple! "The voter ... cannot possibly have any comprehensive knowledge of the really important national issues at stake, and still less of the problems faced by those whose task it is to deal with such issues." Tyndall's solution is to refer back to the tradition of the Athenians: "The Athenians who determined the great public issues of their time constituted an elite of the population, distinguished from other inhabitants by intelligence and education and rigidly separated from them by a social system not dissimilar to the apartheid system in South Africa."

Tyndall proposes the establishment of the politics of "the elite" as the salvation of the British political system: "In a properly organised state, a thorough system of graduation through a many-tiered administrative structure ... would sift out those best fitted for the immense responsibilities of statesmanship, so as to provide solid cadres of national leaders for the future." In other words the BNP's "national government" will select all future candidates.

"The head of government needs to be given, I believe, an indefinite period of office - subject to the right of parliament to terminate that period of office in special circumstances and by a no-confidence vote requiring a two-thirds majority." The head of government can only be removed from office by a two-thirds majority vote of those hand-picked "cadres" referred to earlier. Some chance!!

"Candidates should stand as individuals and not on "party" tickets" - in other words the business of national government cannot be opposed effectively because the right of groups of individuals to organise in political opposition has been removed.

And what of the "ordinary voter" - the one, sickened by the con-trick of "democracy" who decides to back the BNP as an alternative? "It will therefore follow that the franchise can be much

more effectively exercised if it is organised on occupational lines, allowing the ordinary individual a say in that department of national affairs in which he or she has a genuine experience and knowledge... But such a franchise should not be based on the assumption that every member of an occupational group has the same level of understanding of the affairs of that group. The franchise should be ordered in such a way as to place greater voting power in the hands of those more qualified and with greater achievement to their credit. For instance, the head of a large engineering company should possess substantially more votes than his most lowly placed employee. We must dispense once and for all with the idea that when it comes to exercising judgement over affairs, everyone's judgement is worth the same."

So the BNP's agenda for addressing the failure of the political system is clear. They might court working class votes, and they're quite happy to have working class minders to defend "great leaders" like Tyndall, but they think the real failing of the political system is that it is too democratic; that the people whose frustrations with bad housing, unemployment etc. lead them to vote BNP, shouldn't have that vote in the first place.

The BNP use white working class fears

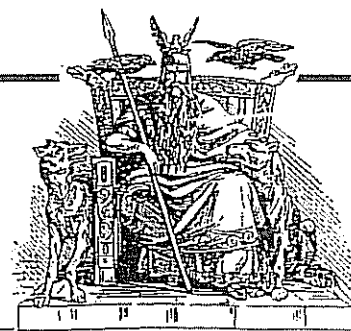
of immigration as a springboard for their campaign to preserve inequality between races and, most crucially to Tyndall's agenda, between classes. For working class voters, a vote for the BNP's "national government" could well be the last vote they ever cast. It is a measure of the failure of the Left that their best response to working class concern over lack of control over their lives has been not to organise effective opposition to rent rises, homelessness, housing disrepair, but to tell us to put up with it, vote Labour etc. If anti-fascism comes to be seen as an apology for the failures of reformism the chances of organising militant opposition to the BNP will be reduced to zero.

The extension of REAL democracy means organising real opposition to the anti-working class agendas of the mainstream parties. The BNP have stated clearly what they see as "the essential ingredients of effective rule"; "a vigorous and intelligent ruling elite, political institutions that would enable such an elite to rule properly." The extent to which working class voters consciously embrace the BNP's anti-working class agenda will be a measure of the success or failure of the efforts of militant anti-fascists to be seen to be radical opponents of both the BNP and the political status quo.



Keeping an eye out... BNP canvassers on the Isle of Dogs

A VIEW FROM VALHALLA



Fresh from his holiday in the frozen arctic wastes, our fearless fighter against the Forces of Darkness - Mr. Dan Woinsaiker - continues his quest for the answers to the eternal questions, like, who will win the battle for Blood and Honour? why do fascists pretend not to be fascists? and is it illegal to have a sense of humour in Pro-Fascist Action?

I will have to use a little caution with my columns in future as it seems I have rattled the cages of those who edit "Target" the quarterly bulletin of Pro-Fascist Action (I have no idea where they came up with that name). In issue 4 they brought to their readers' attention the existence of 'The Mechanic' (in connection with the fatal car crashes involving Violent Storm and Ian Stuart) as revealed in Fighting Talk 6. "Apart from the fact that these wankers in AFA would not know one end of a spanner from the other, the implication is dangerous. We have forwarded a copy of the article to the police for their attention." We expect this sort of whinging from the BNP, but the more openly National Socialist groups - like Pro-Fascist Action and C18 - tend to give it the big anti-police number. So much for that then, and anyway I think all at FT would be upset and insulted if the Old Bill did not have their own copy already.

Battlezone have split after lead singer Alex decided to call it a day. He has also closed down the skinzine Last Chance. We have been told through sources close to Blood & Honour (B&H) that Alex has been threatened by C18 because he was unwilling to toe their line. C18 have claimed they are uniting the fash music scene but all they are doing is using the whole scene for their own personal gain.



A number of bands and record labels on the Oi scene claim to be non-political and have no connection to the fash, but

this normally means they are sympathetic to (or even involved in) the Extreme Right but don't want to end up in the B&H ghetto. Close Shave have always said they had no links despite their bass player Dirk the Dork, who also played bass with B&H band Razors Edge. Dork has since left Close Shave after the band were attacked at a gig by C18/Skrewdriver Security. In their recent single entitled 'Attack' they refer to C18/SS as a bunch of cowards, so that might not be the last slap they take. The single being reviewed in the pro-C18 'British Oi' (No.28) got a grand total of 0/10. As they said in the review: "To slag down lefties, etc. is OK, but fellow nationalist skins is, well, a disgrace."

Pressure 28 are another band who describe themselves as non-political yet their contact is band member Kev at an address in Oswestry in Shropshire, the very same Kev who edited the Skinzine 'Retaliate' in the early '90s. Some of the contacts he gave in the zine were for the League of St George, BNP, NF and the British Movement. It also carried a notice: "Remember each passing day the prisoner of peace Rudolph Hess, 44 years behind bars." So definitely no interest in politics there.

Helen of Oi is a record label run by Robert Burrige from the Isle of Wight (how appropriate!), which signs only 'non-political' bands such as Close Shave and Pressure 28, and sells such 'non-political' records as "White Noise - We Want the Airwaves", which features Skullhead and was an early release on the NF's White Noise label. As we've said on several occasions before, "We are sick of people who, while claiming not to be nazi sympathisers, are happy to make money out of them. As far as we're concerned you are either for them or against them, and if you're against fascism - have nothing to do with them."

There is still a struggle going on as to who is heir to the throne of Blood & Honour. Paul Burnley has released an issue after a 15 month gap which does not contain much apart from a lot of pictures of Ian Stuart. One little item that caught my eye was this special mention, "To Ian Stuart and Adolf Hitler for their

great inspiration." Great praise indeed - or perhaps some would say blasphemy. A sense of proportion is restored in the latest issue of 'Onward' (possibly the last issue of 'Onward' due to the editor, Craig Bond, getting sent down again) which reckons that when it comes to old Adolf, "There is no parallel of such a remarkable figure in all of history." Wot, not even Ian? Due to an 'incident' in the 'Stool and Pigeon' recently (allegedly involving a small tortoise and a jar of Swarfega) I have been temporarily prevented from entering that fine establishment to collect my copy of the other B&H (the C18 version), so my comments on that will have to wait til the next issue.

Flicking through the National Socialist 'Putsch' magazine I noticed this interesting piece. "The Reds have their big march to Welling (Oct. 16th). National Socialist Resistance had some fake flyers made up, which advertised a nazi rally for the day of this Red march. In many cases the local Reds fell for it and instead of joining the big march stayed in their own areas expecting a nazi rally to happen, which of course was all a hoax." You have been warned.

Finally, on popping into my new local, the "Grass-em and Stich-Up", I got chatting to an old mate of mine. He'd been frequenting Crown Courts recently (it takes all sorts), and was relating his account of a taped statement by the NF's West London Organiser, Michael Stoneman, given to the police after he was arrested at one of those 'difficult' public meetings in Hemel Hempstead. Stoneman was doing his best to explain the difference between AFA and the ANL to the local plod: "The ANL, you see, they're all teachers and mad professors, you know, social worker types. We weren't worried about them, they're entitled to their opinion the same as we're entitled to ours."

AFA, on the other hand: "We know them"... "violent Red thugs"... "they came here looking to throw chairs" ...and indeed... "they threw 'em!". Far be it for me to confirm or deny the impressions of the NF's chief 'cry-baby-fuck-wit', but they're rather illuminating all the same!



GERMANY CALLING

National Demo against the FAP

On June 4th, 1994, a demonstration, initiated by the Autonome Antifa (M) on the basis of an anti-fascist alliance, took place against the FAP (see FT, issue 8 for information about the fascist party) and its functionary Thorsten Heise in Northeim near Göttingen, Lower Saxony in Germany. The motto was: "Confronting organized neo-fascism! Fight the FAP!". With nearly 3,000 participants, the demonstration was the largest one against the FAP since the 80's and so far the largest anti-nazi demonstration in the region in general.

The success of the demonstration can be attributed to the concept of the Autonome Antifa (M) that was worked out ahead of the demonstration. The concept was based on the idea to make all kinds of different left-wing groups and organisations get involved and organize the demonstration in cooperation, involving: various unions, the party "Die Grünen", citizens' initiatives and other left initiatives and groups.

The attempted political goal was to send a determined signal against organized fascism and the FAP by a wide anti-fascist manifestation. This goal had partly been reached even before the actual demonstration. The leader of the FAP in Lower Saxony, Thorsten Heise, who runs a fascist training centre in Northeim, got arrested two days before the demo, on June 2nd. He got charged for an attack on a school-party in February this year where he had shot at students with a gas-pistol. The police did not interfere. Politically, the arrest is due to the public discussions about the demonstration that had been enforced in advance.

Besides sending anti-fascist impulses into all parts of society, it is important for us to refer to the anti-fascist action/nation-wide organisation (Antifaschistische Aktion/Bundesweite Organisation, AA/BO). Associated groups arranged public meetings in their towns, took great part in the nation-wide mobilisation for the demo and also supported us practically. In addition, it was the first time all groups

of the AA/BO had been present at a demonstration.

As we put strong emphasis on the idea of militant resistance, it has always been important to us to establish this in coalition actions. Part of this idea is the "Black Block" as one form of autonomous anti-fascist resistance. The "Black Block" is a section in demonstrations where people wear masks in order to protect themselves from police and nazi surveillance. In cases where confrontation with the police or nazis cannot be excluded, people in the "Black Block" wear helmets and carry along sticks and other utensils. At the protest march against the FAP the "Black Block" made up two-thirds of the whole demo. Although the more moderate groups and organisations don't join the "Black Block", there had been no separation between militants and others.

Ahead of the 4th of June it had become obvious that one of the attempted goals could not be reached: to take the demonstration to the actual target of the protest, the home and fascist centre of

Thorsten Heise. The police had built up barriers about a mile away from the house. The purpose of the demo was not to scheme a useless battle with strong police-forces and by doing so, running the risk of endangering the alliance of the political concept of the demonstration. So we tried to build up political pressure in front of the barriers and some tried to loosen the bolts of the gates in order to get through but the police kept them from removing the gates.

After all it can be noted that the action was a political success. Demonstrations including an equipped "Black Block" are only accomplishable in Göttingen and its surrounding area. Militant anti-fascism has become a strong and respected political force in Lower Saxony. Among other demonstrations and activities in the past, the demonstration in Northeim proved our ability of carrying out coalitions and created the ground for further discussions concerning anti-fascism.

In order to prevent anti-fascist politics from gaining acceptance and becoming more anchored in wide circles of society, the State is obliged to react in terms of repression against autonomous anti-fascism. By now, repression has become a vigorous feature to the Autonome Antifa (M).

Dawn Raids

On July 5th, 1994, special forces and other police units from the Federal, State and Göttingen police, supported by local police from neighbouring regions simultaneously stormed the homes of 17 people. The searches were carried



The "Black Block" turn out against the FAP, Northheim, June 4th 1994.

out against members and alleged members of the Autonome Antifa (M). All of the affected people were fingerprinted and photographed after the searches.

Rooms in the student parliament building of the University of Göttingen, a bookstore, workplaces of the affected persons, and homes of their family members were also searched. On the following day, a printer and a former work place of a member of the Autonome Antifa (M) were searched.

The searches were carried out illegally in part. Doors were broken open, a window smashed and private rooms of people unassociated with the investigation searched. Many of the police officers were wearing bullet proof vests and had removed the safety catches on their guns. Quite a bit of material was seized in the raids, including several computers, sacks full of files and notebooks, and personal items. This action from the police represents one of the largest blows to autonomous anti-fascism in the BRD to date.

About 1,000 people took part in a protest and solidarity demonstration on the afternoon of the searches. 2,000 people participated in another demonstration on Thursday, July 7, 1994 under the motto: "State terrorism continues! Away with the ban of the PKK and other Kurdish organizations! No criminalization of autonomist resistance!" The demonstration had been called to protest the political murder of Ayhan Eser, a Kurdish boy of 16 who was shot to death by a plain-clothed police officer in Hannover on the night of July 1, 1994 while putting up a poster of a banned Kurdish organization. It was also a solidarity demonstration with the Autonome Antifa (M).

A national solidarity demonstration took place on Saturday, July 16, 1994. 4,000 people protested against the attempt to criminalise anti-fascist resistance. The massive police presence in front of the court was met by some people with paint bombs, fire crackers and stones, a strong signal that this attack from the State will not go unchallenged.

In the papers it said that seven policemen got injured.

Investigations

Investigations according to §129a (propaganda for, support of, or membership of a terrorist organization) have been running in Göttingen since the fall of 1991.

The Federal Attorney asserted at the

time that investigations against not yet known persons from the autonomous scene in Göttingen on suspicion of being members of a 'terrorist organization' were being started in relation to 52 attacks in the last ten years. These attacks were a hodge-podge mix in terms of goals, tactics, technical procedure, and content. A patient in the Göttingen psychiatric hospital was found to have been responsible for several of these attacks. This did not have any effect on the investigations, however. It became clear relatively quickly that the investigations were being focused on autonomous anti-fascists.

The State police department declared publicly in June 1992 that the investigations according to §129a were also directed against the Autonome Antifa (M). The strategy of the police consists, among other things, of collecting press releases of the Autonome Antifa (M) to gather fingerprints, confiscating rental contracts for lecture rooms and vans used in demonstrations, observing group meetings and private homes, and tapping telephones.

Grounds for the searches

The Autonome Antifa (M) was defined as a "criminal organization according to §129" in the search warrants and July 5th press release from the Celle police department. The group is also charged with making propaganda for the terrorist organization RAF (Red Army Fraction) and having "close contact on several levels to members of the RAF", charges that fall under §129a.

There is no talk of the original 52 attacks that were supposedly being investigated. They were simply a means for the State police to impose special conditions on the investigation, allowing them to use methods such as phone-tapping and observations. The crime that the Autonome Antifa (M) is charged with in order to define it as a "criminal organization" according to the police is "violation of the assembly law". This is a reference to the "black block, comprised of up to 800 people,.. the impression of building a private army...and violation of the ban on uniforms".

The following quote from a letter from the State Attorney in Celle to the district Attorney in Göttingen from March 9th, 1994 is worth noting in connection with these events. The letter refers to a militant action in 1991 against the fascist training centre of the FAP and its former functionary Karl Polacek: "The previous considerations and evaluations still support the suspicion that the action in Mackenrode was planned and carried

out by the AA(M). The fact that the AA(M) neither called nor claimed responsibility for the action under its name, however, speaks against this conclusion.. To date no one from the 'core group' of the AA(M) can be brought in connection to this act. That further investigations in this direction would bring results is not clear. It is also unprobable that searches of the rooms of members of the AA(M) would bring any further clarity in this matter". Nevertheless, the search warrants for the raids on July 5th, 1994 were issued two days later by the State Attorney in Celle.

The political goal

The political goal of the investigation is the examination and criminalization of the Autonome Antifa (M) and its politics. The stated goal was to "collect evidence of the goals, strategy and tactics of this group as well as the individual positions of its members within the group".

The State Attorney's office confirmed the political assessment of the Autonome Antifa (M) in its own press release. The criminalization is aimed above all against its successful anti-fascist public and coalition politics. The coalition demonstrations against the fascist training centres in Mackenrode in 1988, Adelebsen in 1993, and Norheim in 1994, called by autonomous anti-fascists, labour unions, citizens' initiatives, the Greens and the SPD (social democrats) have become an important part of anti-fascist culture in Göttingen and southern Lower Saxony.

Politically, this attack from the State is logical. The political work of a group that names the connections between fascism and imperialism, fights against them and that is successful in its public and coalition work clearly stands in opposition to the interests of the State.

Antifa and RAF (Red Armee Fraction)

In the last several years, the State has continuously attempted to sell the idea to the public that the Autonome Antifa (M) is the legal arm of the RAF. Since at least the early 1980's, the State has attempted to link political movements like the peace or anti-nuclear movements with the RAF in order to more heavily criminalize them. This is a political, not a legal tactic. The assertions like the following from the Lower Saxony interior minister Glogowski are absurd. He argued in the 1994 "Defense of the Constitution Report" (Verfassungsschutzbericht) that the train tickets found in the backpack of Birgit Hogefeld, the RAF member arrested in Bad Kleinen in June 1994, had been bought in Göttingen and thus, logically,

the autonomous anti-fascists must be supporting the RAF.

This line appeared again in the State Attorney's press release regarding the searches in Göttingen: "The Autonome Antifa (M) is a group in the anti-imperialist spectrum. Therefore, the Autonome Antifa (M) maintains on several levels close contact to members of the terrorist RAF". This pitiful, small-minded logic has a single goal: to discredit, isolate and finally to destroy autonomous anti-fascist resistance.

The State Apparatus and the Nazis

While investigations have been carried out against anti-fascists since autumn 1991, fascists like the FAP functionary Thorsten Heise have been able to increase their activities, and that under the noses of the police. Furthermore, the State police has taken over the dirty work of "anti-Antifa".

The State police used, for example, the possibility in 1993 to inform the fascist Hans-Michael Fiedler about the demonstration being planned against him and his training centre in Adelebsen on March 20, 1993. Fiedler is known as one of the founders of the "anti-Antifa".

The city-wide known Nazi thug, Bode, was visited by the State police in 1993 and questioned for information on the autonomous scene. He was called to sue an anti-fascist in relation to a fight that he had initiated in 1990. During the trial on January 13, 1994 in Göttingen, two witnesses, also Nazis blabbered openly about the visit from the State police. They also admitted to having attacked the anti-fascist, who was declared not guilty.

The struggle goes on!

The State Attorney's office reported in the press in 1992 that if someone openly appeared as a member of the Autonome Antifa (M) at a public meeting or other event, she or he would be arrested for being a member of a terrorist organization immediately. The Autonome Antifa (M) has not let itself be intimidated by this threat and has organized dozens of talks since then. Even after the searches we will continue with our strategy of doing open anti-fascist work.

At the moment, the Autonome Antifa (M) is in the process of reorganizing its technical and material infrastructure and will in no case do the State the favour of going underground or disappearing in political listlessness. The Autonome Antifa (M) will continue to oppose the criminalization offensively and openly.

If the State wants to criminalize the Autonome Antifa (M), it will have to do that itself and publicly.

The question is; will the doctrine of "a strong State" prevail?, and every progressive impulse be destroyed?, or is it possible to fight back against this attack? Everyone, for whom anti-fascism is not simply an empty word, is called to stand together!

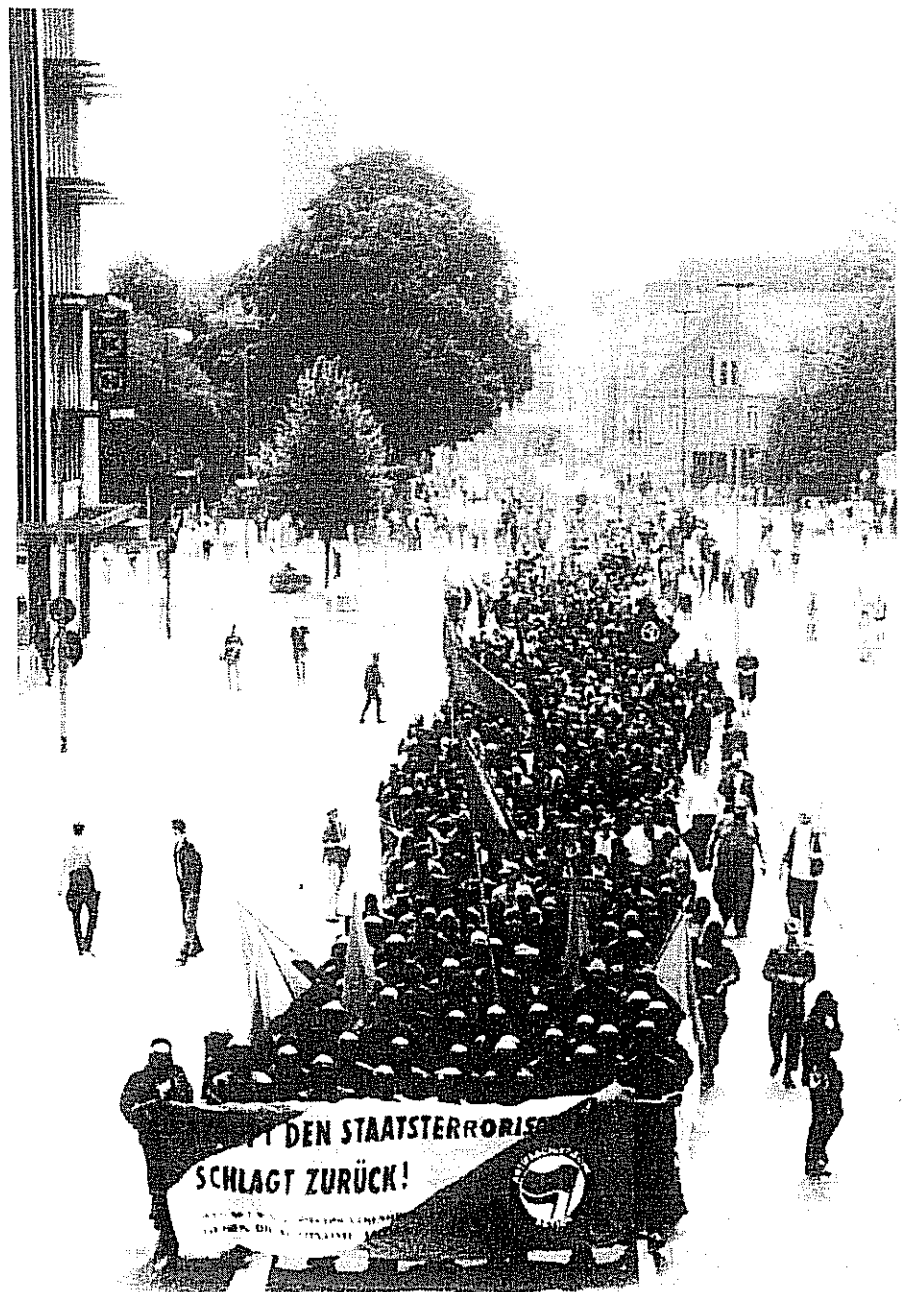
In the spirit of international solidarity, two members of the Autonome Antifa (M) followed an invitation of London AFA to speak at public meetings and other events. We understand that AFA is doing a progressive piece of work and we want to encourage you to keep on fighting! The discussions were productive and the international links were manifested,

considering the necessity of international anti-fascism.

The expenses...

According to the State Attorney, the trials against the members and alleged members of the Autonome Antifa (M) will start either in the end of this year or the beginning of next year. Alone, the first necessary steps, that is the costs for the lawyers until the trials start, will be about £4.000. Donations are desperately needed! Make cheques payable to London AFA (stipulating that the donation is for AAM) or contact London AFA.

Autonome Antifa (M)
C/o Buchladen, Rote Straße 10, 37073
Göttingen



4,000 strong solidarity demonstration against state-terrorism, Göttingen, July 16th 1994

FIGHTING TALK

BACK

Rochdale Three

Dear Friends,

First of all thank you to all those who are supporting our campaign. This is a special appeal to all the supporters of the anti-fascists arrested at Rochdale on local election night. (see Issue 8,F/T).

The Tories have this year excluded 14 million people from the Legal Aid scheme and have abolished the £500 upper limit on individual contributions by defendants. Consequently one of the defendants has been told by the regional Legal Aid board that he will only receive legal aid if he makes a contribution of £50 a week for the duration of the case. (He was originally denied any Legal Aid at all but the latest and final offer was made after an appeal by his solicitor.) Since it is not unknown for cases like this to last over a year he could now face costs of around £2500. Clearly this sort of decision is designed not just to save the Legal Aid board money but also to increase pressure on defendants to strike a deal, plead guilty and thereby get cases over with as soon as possible. He does not wish to give in to such pressure. All this is particularly outrageous given the

decision to grant Legal Aid to 'historian' David 'what Holocaust?' Irving for his legal action against the Sunday Times and the revelation that Jawad Hashim, former senior advisor to the genocidal government of Iraq, has received £4 million worth of Legal Aid. The message from the Legal Aid authorities is clear - if you're a well-heeled admirer of the Third Reich or a mate of Saddam Hussein then there's no problem but if you're an ordinary person who's taken a stand against fascism, well then, you'll be lucky!

We believe the labour and trade union movement has a responsibility to defend those who take a stand against fascism. If you or your organisation is in a position to take out a standing order to help meet the increased financial needs of the defence campaign this would be greatly appreciated. (If just 100 people nationally took out standing orders of £2 a month this would provide us with a regular monthly income of £200).

Thank you,
P. Mitchell

**Details of standing orders from:
Rochdale 3 Defence Campaign,
PO Box 110,
Liverpool, L69 8DP.**

**Please send all donations to:
RTDC,
c/o PO Box 83,
SWDO, Manchester, M15 5NJ.
(cheques/PO's payable to 'Rochdale Three Defence
Campaign').**

WRECKED

Dear Comrades,

Today we have attacked a nazi printers in Kollund (a small town near the Danish/German border) owned by Thies Christophersen.

Inside the printing house were, as well as two printing machines, a repromachine, a photocopy machine, computers and a fax machine plus several other types of technical equipment. In the printing house we also found nazi stickers, a great amount of nazi literature and a flag of the banned German nazi organisation "Nationalistische Front." We have smashed all the furniture in the printing house, thrown nitric acid in the room and painted anti-racist slogans on the walls.

Thies Christophersen was a nazi who took an active part in Auschwitz during the Second World War. Today Thies Christophersen likes to present himself as an old "poor fellow", but the truth is that he is still highly placed in the international nazi hierarchy. The printers owned by T.C. has for many years been used by nazis in both Denmark and abroad to print nazi propaganda and revisionist "history books". Especially German nazis have often used the printers as a space where they freely can publish and distribute the material which is banned in a lot of other countries, for example Germany.

Denmark has gradually become the country which foreign nazis use as a free space for their international meetings and for emphasising of their "special nazi days". It was recently for example that Thies Christophersen tried to arrange an international meeting, hidden under the name "Nordic Poetry Days", where there was invited highly placed nazis from the USA, Germany, Spain etc. This meeting was prevented, among other things, by two demonstrations in Kollund arranged by Danish and German anti-fascists.

We have chosen to strike back at the Danish and foreign nazis today the 20th April since we know that nazis all over the world celebrate Hitler's birthday today. We have with this action warned the nazis that we will always impede them in having free spaces and opportunity to spread their disgusting politics. No platform for organised nazis and fascists!!

Danish Anti-fa.

PORTUGAL 1974

Fascism and Social Revolution

Twenty years ago, on April 25 1974, the longest surviving fascist dictatorship was finally overthrown. The Portuguese fascists first under Salazar and then Caetano, had ruled uninterruptedly over four decades.

In most parts of western Europe by 1974 fascism was regarded as a thing of the past, as something which the Second World War put an end to. But in southern Europe, in Greece, Spain and Portugal, the situation was very different. There, fascist dictatorships were very much still in power, and massive upheavals were needed before they could be dislodged.

The Portuguese fascists were amongst the first to come to power. As early as 1926, Portugal had a violent, conservative dictatorship which looked to fascist Italy for support and inspiration. Unlike the Italian fascists, though, the Portuguese had assumed power by a different route. Rather than a March on Rome and threats to the established order, Portuguese fascism represented far greater continuity with the old traditional landed elite.

Whereas Mussolini and Hitler both built mass movements before coming to power, based on the middle class, the Portuguese fascists did not. They assumed power with the consent of the old rulers, above all the military.

Portugal had become a republic in 1910. After an insurrection in the capital Lisbon, King Manuel II abdicated, and a new anti-clerical regime took over. Working class aspirations, though, were not to be fulfilled by the new democratic order. Instead of solving the underlying problems of economic underdevelopment and chronic poverty among the peasants and the working class, the regime was notoriously corrupt and unstable, and increasingly reliant on the military to hold down dissent and discontent. In the course of the 16 years it lasted, the Portuguese "democracy" on no less than 16 occasions one government was overthrown by another, and there were no fewer than 40 major changes in the government. In such conditions, anti-clerical measures and formal adherence to democracy were not enough.

Eventually, the military swept the politicians aside, and established a traditional military dictatorship, initially under General Carmona. In the first few years, the regime increasingly identified itself with fascism. In April 1928, the government appointed the civilian, but openly fascist, Salazar as Minister of Finance. By 1932, Salazar had become the undisputed ruler, pushing through a series of constitutional changes leading up to the adoption of a fascist constitution in 1933.

The new order enshrined in the 1933 constitution did not so much replace the old system as systematically prop it up. Salazar's New State called itself "corporatist", under the inspiration of Mussolini's Italy. What this meant was that all opposition was illegal, no working class unions could be formed, and the regime was left in control of all aspects of political life. In place of unions, Salazar imposed cross class corporations which enshrined fascist rule. This authoritarian catholic dictatorship remained in power, with very few modifications, until the events of 1974.

The only attempt to build an autonomous "radical" fascist movement came in 1932, with the founding of the National Syndicalist movement. Its leader Rolao Preto claimed 50,000 members at the movement's height, but this figure had more to do with his vivid imagination than with real forces on the ground. Preto's movement attempted a revolt in 1934 in order to impose a more modernising brand of fascism, but this came to nothing, and the National Syndicalists were duly crushed without trace.

In disbanding Preto's party, Salazar condemned it as being "inspired by certain foreign models," a clear reference to Mussolini's Blackshirts, and singled out the movement's aim to organise the mass of the people behind one leader as alien to the indigenous fascism of the New State. Given Salazar's firm grip on power, and the resemblance of his constitution to the Italian, this should be taken with a grain of salt.

Due to the lack of a mass-based fascist movement to back him, Salazar's brand

of fascism right from the start relied very heavily on the military, the bureaucracy and the church. This was reflected in the ideology of the Portuguese fascists, with their strong emphasis on the church, the family and private property, very much as in Franco's Spain.

Indeed, when Franco began his military revolt against the Spanish republic in 1936, Salazar moved quickly to offer his country as a base for the fascist insurgents. And like Franco, Salazar kept his country outside the Second World War, despite his reliance on and sympathy for the Axis powers. Again, as for Spain, it was precisely this neutrality in the war which enabled Portuguese fascism to survive after 1945.

Under fascist rule, Portugal remained one of the most underdeveloped capitalist states in Europe. Salazar's internal regime was notoriously repressive, but if their brutal repression at home was severe, it paled in comparison with its barbaric, inhuman colonialism, above all in Africa. These colonies, the wealthiest of which was Angola in south-west Africa, provided the fascists with the resources they needed to prop up their rule, but despite its status as a colonial power, Portugal remained extremely poor and economically backward compared with the rest of Europe.

Indeed, it was this very economic weakness which made Portugal cling on to its colonies with such tenacity: unlike Britain, France or the US, fascist Portugal could not rule indirectly through neo-colonialism. So, when reformist African leaders came forward in the 1960s looking for even limited changes, Portugal responded with swift, ruthless, repression. The reason was simple: Portugal did not possess the necessary room for manoeuvre to allow it to foster an African elite to rule in its interests and share in the exploitation. Portuguese fascism needed every penny it could lay its hands on.

This policy, predictably enough, had the very opposite of its desired effect. Instead of crushing resistance, it radicalised it. Under a new generation of revolutionary leaders, most notably Amilcar Cabral, the people of Guinea Bissau, Capo Verde,

Mozambique and Angola launched a protracted guerrilla war which seriously stretched the Portuguese military.

As the army became more and more bogged down in a war it could barely contain, let alone win, the young soldiers, both conscripts and officers, began to question the underlying fascist ideology of racial supremacy and national destiny: if the Africans are so inferior, how come they are giving us such a hard time on the battle field? This process of disenchantment was helped immeasurably by the nature of the African national liberation movements themselves. For them, national liberation meant social emancipation, socialism. They identified Portuguese fascism as the enemy, not the Portuguese people, and saw in the Portuguese working class their main ally.

As tension rose within the army as a result of the colonial wars, the crisis finally broke with a coup within the military, led by a group of radical officers, in April 1974. But this was no simple palace coup: the Armed Forces Movement, as it was called, which led the coup recognised the need for thoroughgoing change, and from the outset formed an alliance with the anti-fascist illegal opposition parties, above all the Communist Party and the social democratic Socialist Party. Furthermore, the situation was extremely unstable. In the first year and a half, there were five changes in government as the balance of forces shifted between left and right.

More fundamentally, the forces that were unleashed by the initial coup had their own, more radical, agenda. From the

outset, the coup gave the working class the opportunity to organise itself freely as never before. As a result, the workers swiftly moved to create not only a strong trade union movement (Intersindical, led by the Communists) but also set about occupying the factories, setting up their own independent bodies through which they would exercise their own rule. These latter had a particular significance. They were not only the organs the workers needed in order to carry out their day to day struggles: these were precisely the beginnings of a new, proletarian order which could replace the disintegrating capitalist state.

The attitude of the armed forces to the emerging working class movement was mixed. The Right were clearly opposed to any form of workers democracy, and made no bones about it. They organised attempted coups on September 18, 1974 and March 11, 1975. Others were more closely allied to the Communists and to the very militant groups to their left, proclaiming themselves for socialism.

But even the Right felt the need to dress up their schemes in terms of socialism: the leader of the March 11 attempt, General Spínola, told the French newspaper *Le Monde* that "my ideas about how to reconstruct the country coincide with Socialist ideology on several points". This was extremely significant, and the key to the way events developed in Portugal. The Socialist Party, which claimed to represent "socialism with liberty" emerged in the first year of the Portuguese revolution with a reputation for radicalism which it did not deserve. At the time, the other main political force in the working class was the Communist

Party, which was much better organised and far more disciplined. But the CP considered that the most important task in the first months was to avoid destabilizing the MFA regime, and so they opposed the wave of strikes and wage demands that swept the country.

This played right into the hands of the social democrats. In the critical first months after April 1974, the CP's position allowed the Socialists to pose as the champions of workers interests. Later, when the CP changed its line and began to push for a deepening of the revolution through direct action, the Socialist Party began to attack the CP as "undemocratic". This anti-Communism, along with the call for an end to "anarchy" and "chaos", were the main themes in the Socialist Party's campaign for the election to the Constituent Assembly held on the anniversary of the coup in 1975, in which they did very well: they polled 38% to the CP's 13%, the second biggest party being the PPD (26%).

The meaning of the SP's slogans was clear enough: they wanted to stop the revolution, which they thought had gone too far. This is why the Right could support them. In fact, the entire capitalist world backed the SP ideologically and financially throughout this critical period. They knew what they were doing.

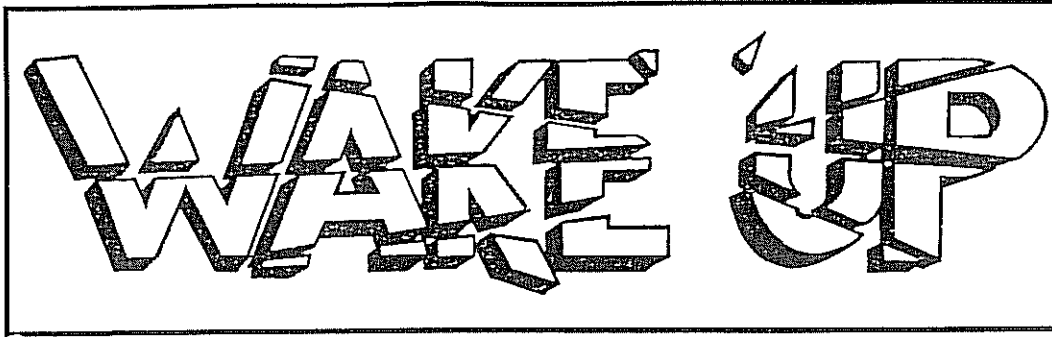
The SP strategy was to pressure the MFA to clamp down on the Left, and in particular the CP, and to opt for capitalist "law and order." Despite the slogans, their intentions were for neither "socialism" nor "liberty". In July 1975, the Socialist Party went on to call for the disarming and repression of all the independent working class militias. "Liberty" meant nothing more than capitalist democracy, and the disarmament of the working class.

In the end, the polarisation was settled in favour of capitalism. The transition from fascism, which had begun so unexpectedly and which held out so much promise, did not act as the prelude to the socialist revolution, but to capitalist stabilisation. This was the aim of the social democrats, and this is why they received the backing of international capital. The only force that was organised enough, and sufficiently rooted within the working class, to have foiled the SP was the Communist Party, in alliance with other left forces and sections of the MFA, but through a mixture of tactical errors and strategic confusion, this was not to be. Like Spain, Portugal was one that got away.



General Spínola's tanks blocked by anti-fascists (March 11th 1975).

REVIEWS



"I see it as a war of information. We all have a duty to spread the real news."
(Wake Up Fanzine)

"Wake Up" was born out of the 1980s fanzine boom, and even then was one of the most intelligent and informative, combining music, poetry and radical politics.

The latest issue, No. 11, is probably the last, but has over 200 pages packed with interesting and useful information. On top of that, all the proceeds go to AFA.

However that is definitely not the only reason to buy this magazine. On the music front there are interviews with The Beggars, The Levellers, Attila, and The Indestructible Beat (who have all played for AFA) as well as other performers who don't get covered in the mainstream

music press but are included here because they have something positive to say rather than being part of some current trend or fashion.

The real strength of "Wake Up" lies in the well researched articles about the British and American Intelligence Services and the operations they have carried out. There is an in-depth account of how the FBI destroyed the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement in the 1960s and '70s - using surveillance, infiltration, misinformation, entrapment, and ultimately assassination. Fascinating stuff, and as it says at the end of the article "we must grasp the methodology of this form of repression and learn from it, in order to defeat it." With recent developments in Germany (see Germany Calling article) and attempts to isolate and criminalise

militant anti-fascists in this country - this is sound advice.

There is also a major section dealing with the role of the British Intelligence Services at home and abroad, undermining progressive movements and supporting reactionary

regimes to maintain the interests of big business. It shows how MI5 operated in the Trade Union movement (eg: Miners Strike '84-85), the Labour Party and against left-wing and progressive groups.

All in all a very useful source of information with many valuable lessons for militant anti-fascists to learn.

Buy it.

"Wake Up" available from:
Dave T.
PO Box 34
Oulton, Lowestoft
Suffolk, NR33 9QG

No cheques - only postal orders
made out to "Dave T"
UK - £4 per copy
Overseas - £5 per copy.

BLAGGERS ITA : BAD KARMA PARLOPHONE RECORDS

More often than not when the Beggars are mentioned lately it's by some smart-ass music journalist supporting a certain individual whose whinging and unproven (after over a year!) allegations of assault by a member of the band seem to take precedence over the band's music, message and performances.

Reading back through news cuttings from the NME and Melody Maker, still brings bile to the mouth, one of the most exceptional comes from Melody Maker; "I've been thinking all week about another incident which the Beggars were involved in, it was reported in a review of a Beggars ITA Brighton gig. Matty had invited a heckler on to the stage, given him the mic, heard his statement - "British Nationalism is getting a raw deal" - and then promptly headbutted him. (This is positive action against the fascists? What did the other guy learn that day? Make sure you hit them first?)" (Ngaire Ruth, Melody Maker, 24/7/93).

If the incident did happen, you might hope that 'the other guy' learned that there's a price to pay for that sort of bullshit. Remember who 'British

Nationalists' are: they burn people out of their homes, they desecrate cemeteries, they force people to live in fear. To be quite honest, just a headbutt would be giving that particular individual the benefit of the doubt.

Various other side-swipes have appeared, and it seems, keep on appearing, ranging from the stock in trade "just as bad as the fascists" to the politically incongruous "reactionaries" (eh?). It's to be expected that the music press lack understanding of the wider world outside of the music industry, I don't think anybody would be naive enough to care a tuppenny-toss for their political 'analysis'. On reflection though, the Beggars seem to have been singled out for just about anything that could be thrown at them. This might be some perverse attempt at perceived 'support' for their aggrieved journo mate; what it actually amounts to is attacks on militant anti-fascism and working class politics in general. And we all thought it was "just for the music, maan".

Still, on to better things. Bad Karma represents the next step in the Beggars

revolutionary programme. And it's another step in the right (or more appropriately left) direction. The band continue to experiment and it proves all to the good, spanning music's sectional boundaries by the song. A bit of rap here and a bit of punchy guitar there all fitting together rather nicely. The sound's got tighter both on stage as well as in the studio, and the productions brought out the best of the music, while not taking away any of the energy.

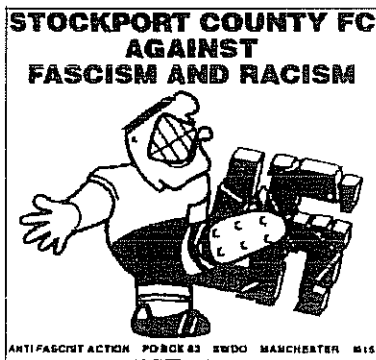
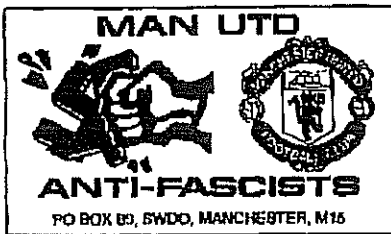
Just two moans from a punter point of view; three previously released songs appear on the album, (but I've got a strong suspicion that's down to the label rather than the band), and even with fairly good eye-sight, I gave up trying to read the printed lyrics after a couple of attempts. These aside, the album remains an altogether worthwhile listen, strongly recommended.

Just to finish, a special message for Andrew Miller, the author of the recent Time Out article 'reviewing' Bad Karma: If you could let us know sooner next time you're banging white hot rivets in the roof of your mouth, only we know a couple of gung-ho amateur riveters with a fold-up barbecue who are just *desperate* for some practice.

S.M.

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