FIGHTING TALK

Issue 10

Price £1

THE LONG WAR

Anti-Fascist Action
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 leafletting - 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.

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Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

AFA CONTACTS

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Birmingham AFA
PO Box 86,
Balsall Heath, Birmingham B12 9RL

Leicester AFA
C/o Mansfield AFA

Mansfield AFA
PO Box 39, Mansfield GPO,
Netts

Nottingham AFA
C/o Mansfield AFA

Wolverhampton AFA
C/o PO Box 85, Balsall Heath,
Birmingham B12 9RL

Bolton AFA
C/o Manchester AFA

Lancaster AFA
C/o PO Box 172 -
Preston PR1 2NZ

Leeds AFA
PO Box 127
Leeds
LS3 1TS

Liverpool AFA
PO Box 110, Liverpool L89 6DP

Manchester AFA
PO Box 83, South West PDo,
Manchester M15 5NJ

Preston AFA
PO Box 172, Preston PR1 7BE

Teesside AFA
PO Box ITA,
Newcastle NE99 1TA

Tyne & Wear AFA
4, The Cloth Market,
Newcastle upon Tyne,
NE1 1EA

Wigan AFA
C/o Manchester AFA

York AFA
PO Box 308, York YO3 7GH

Edinburgh AFA
PO Box 421
Edinburgh EH1 1QD

Glasgow AFA
PO Box 797,
Glasgow G1 5JF

Bath AFA
PO Box 126, Bath, BA2 2ZD

Brighton AFA
6 Tisbury Place, BN2 2GY

Bristol AFA
Box 44, c/o Greenleaf Bookshop,
82 Colston St, Bristol.

Colchester AFA
PO Box 2457
Colchester CO4 4NQ

Exeter AFA
C/o The Flying Post, PO Box 165
Exeter EX4 4EW

Gloucester AFA
C/o Bath AFA

Herts AFA
PO Box 246, St Albans, Herts

Kent AFA Committee
PO Box 88, Rochester, Kent
ME1 1AU

London AFA
BM 1794, London WC1N 3XX

Norwich AFA
PO Box 73, Norwich NR3 1QD

Oxford AFA
Box A, 111 Magdalen Rd,
Oxford

Plymouth AFA
PO Box 108, Plymouth PL1 1QS

Portsmouth AFA,
Southampton AFA,
Surrey AFA
C/o London AFA

AFA (Ireland)
PO Box 3365, Dublin 7, Ireland

Autonome Antifa (M)
Buchladen Rote Strasse
Rote Strasse 10
37073 Gottingen
Germany

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.

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IN THE AREA

To kick off this issue of Fighting Talk, we've begun what will be a regular feature incorporating anti-fascist news and activity from around the country...

It is good to see that AFA in the Midlands is going from strength to strength. Not so long ago seen as a nazi stronghold, now the area is hotly contested. When the fash ventured into Stourbridge in October there was a suitably 'hot' reception waiting for them (it's so undignified to hear the Master Race scream). November saw another successful AFA action, this time in Bloxwich on the day of the Trades Council's anti-racist march. Using sophisticated new radar equipment the fascists were located in two pubs, but obviously had pressing appointments to attend and left hurriedly out the back.

On a more serious note, though, the hard work put in by the men and women of Midlands AFA over the last 2 years, both politically and physically, has led to an improvement in the situation. It is therefore somewhat pathetic to have to listen to the abuse coming from elements who left Birmingham AFA because they couldn't hack it. It's so much more effective to set up more committees and have more meetings, isn't it?! Basically, you weren't up to it - so 'bye, bye'!

Up in Scotland the anti-fascist campaign continues to grow at Celtic. Celtic Anti-Fascists now have their own banner they take to games, but at the game against Rangers, at Ibrox in January, the police demanded it was taken down on threat of arrest. This was apparently because it was 'provocative'. Considering the old South African (apartheid) and German Imperial flags flying at the Rangers end, I suppose you could see their point. Wouldn't want to upset the Forces of Darkness, now would we?

Another successful day out was had in Scotland at the traditional march against racism and fascism in November. There was a large AFA contingent on the march itself followed by a leafletting of fascist pubs in the city centre, which ended in confrontations with fascist casuals in Central Station. (A word of advice to any young nazi building workers who read this, if you really want to knock a wall down, don't use your face.)

This area of the city centre of Glasgow has for years been associated with fascist activity and most of the pubs in the area have been contaminated with this scum. By leafletting their pubs we are letting them know that we intend to contest the area and that they can rest assured that we will be back and it won't be for a friendly pint!

The violent activities of C18 against anti-fascists in Leeds have received a fair amount of national press coverage. But we have heard a heartening tale that these very same Warriors of the White Race got second prize in an incident with a group of people they'd pissed off in the vacinity. We haven't got too many details, but it's good to know that no one's invincible.

Talking of C18 and Leeds, the ANL, whose members have been the main targets up there, also got one over on the fash. Receiving good information that B+H were meeting at Charing Cross station in London to go to a gig, they turned out their heavy mob to get revenge for Leeds. Nice one! Only one problem, though, the fash never showed. How come?

Well, you see, the 'information' came in the form of a brand new A3 sized poster which was sent to the ANL office from 'someone' who had seen it 'stuck up' somewhere. (The fact that no one else anywhere in the country had seen one is a complete irrelevance.) The bands advertised as playing this B+H gig were No Remorse (who have split from B+H), Skullhead (who have split up, or are in jail) and the Elite (who are suing Time Out for calling them fascists, and so would obviously want to strengthen their case by playing an overtly National Socialist gig).

Undeterred by these vaguest of hints that this might be a wind up, the ANL 'took' Charing Cross, and despite the lack of opposition declared this a 'victory'. To make matters even better, Workers Power (what a shower) spoke at the 'victory rally' saying this was the 'way forward'. Thank god they left AFA. The only sad feature of this whole, ludicrous episode was the half dozen 'elements' who turned up and were suitably disgusted. For fuck's sake - join AFA!

The newly formed West London AFA branch is now up and running, we hear, although sadly won't be appearing on the latest BNP video. Whoops! While down in Kent a new influx of militants...
onto the scene has caused a bit of a stir with the local plod. The owner of
the venue for a recent AFA benefit was
informed by the impartial forces of law
and order that he would lose his licence
if the event went ahead. Outraged by
this decision it seems a very large
collection for AFA was made to
compensate.

Still on the music front, the anti-fascist
Ska band ‘Knucklehead’ have produced
an AFA benefit tape, recorded live at
Bath in August ’94 and is available from
DS4A, Box 8, Greenleaf Bookshop, 82
Colston Street, Bristol, Avon, BS1 5BB.
It costs £3 and a good whack of that
comes our way.

It appears likely that North-West BNP
organiser Ken Henderson has finally had
enough of being out-manoevered by
AFA every time he tried to organise
anything bigger than a quiet night in
front of the TV, and has packed in his
involvement with the BNP. Rochdale
based Henderson might re-surface in the
Tory party at some stage in the
future. We will be watching closely.

The Rochdale 3 are now the Rochdale 2
after charges against one of the
defendants were completely dropped. A
charge of Assaulting a Police Officer
was dropped against a second defendant
while a charge of Violent Disorder was
reduced to Affray. The third defendant
also had a charge of Violent disorder
dropped to Affray. However, there is still
a possibility that they could face
imprisonment and donations are still
needed. Send donations to Liverpool
AFA, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69

If you have any tantalising tales,
amusing anecdotes, or just plain
malicious gossip, send them in
immediately. This column needs you.

A range of new
stickers are now
available from two
AFA branches.
Wolves AFA have
produced several
designs and are
available from PO
Box 85, Balsall Heath,
Birmingham, B12.
Stickers cost £1.00
for 50. (cheques
payable to ‘AFA’).

Edinburgh AFA have
a new design out in
red, white and black.
These cost £3.50 for
100 and are available
from PO Box 421,
Edinburgh, EH11
1QD. (cheques
should be made
payable to ‘Edinbuth
AFA’).

SEARCHLIGHT

Some readers may be puzzled by the continually changing list of addresses on the back of Searchlight magazine. In 1992 Searchlight started printing a list of AFA addresses, which, although unsolicited, was very welcome, especially with Fighting Talk not yet properly established. As political differences between Searchlight and AFA arose, so the list changed - with several branches “disappearing”. This caused confusion with anti-fascists thinking AFA branches had collapsed when they hadn’t. So while the list of branches had started as a help to AFA, subsequent developments actively undermined us.

The current list, although it includes a few genuine AFA branches, is largely made up of organisations with completely different aims and objectives to those of AFA. The Edinburgh AFA address is wrong and is a box number used by a different organisation - CARF.

The list is now headed “Anti-Fascist Fightback” (not “AFA Contact Addresses”) but the change was never explained to Searchlight readers. National AFA has asked Searchlight to withdraw all AFA addresses (except a national AFA contact address) to avoid any confusion.

THE ONLY AUTHORISED LIST OF AFA BRANCHES APPEARS IN FIGHTING TALK
WHO'S THAT?

OH NO! IT'S AFA!!

BLOODY 'ELL ROVER...

...LEG IT!!!
WAR ON THE TERRACES?

Following on from the last issue of Fighting Talk, Nick Stone gives an anti-fascist’s eye-view of the changing face of football.

Issue 42 of Follow, Follow, the Rangers fanzine, carries some interesting correspondence. The opening letter (printed without editorial comment) by “David Fox” reads, on the subject of the FSA’s anti-racist campaign: “Is racism the problem? Funny, I thought that since the Second World War Britain has been largely run by unpatriotic scum who have failed to protect Ulster from republican terror and sold out our national independence to a European super state.”

Further on, they print a letter from Follow, Follow to Tim Crabbe, Co-ordinator of the FSA Campaign Against Racism in Football, which raises the issue of the Celtic Man United fanzine Our Day Will Come giving public support to the FSA campaign. Follow, Follow argue that it is “hypocritical in the extreme that an anti-racist/anti-fascist fanzine should accept support from a magazine which supports the green fascists of the IRA.”

Apart from the fact that ODWC don’t support the IRA, that unlike ODWC Follow, Follow has refused to involve itself in support for militant anti-fascism, and its pages are littered with pro-Loyalist anti-Left bigotry, and that men like Frank Ryan organised columns of militant Republicans to go off to fight Franco’s fascist army in Spain in the ’30s, you’d have thought that, in any event, Tim Crabbe would have told Fabulous Orange Grandmaster Jack and the rest of Follow, Follow’s posse of bigots to get to fuck anyway. You’d be wrong. Crabbe (quite fittingly) replies: “The FSA does not support the views expressed in ODWC and given that the purpose of publication was to encourage tolerance and understanding it may have been a mistake to have accepted support from fanzines in such a blanket fashion.”

Since then, the FSA has gone on to publicly attack the anti-fascist Man United fanzine Red Attitude as “irresponsible”. So what’s going on?

The FSA are one of many groups of liberal do-gooders who’ve appeared as “spokespersons for ordinary fans” since magazines like The Face and ID decided football was fashionable again at the beginning of the ’80s. They have a strange view of the football world. In the bad old days of the ’70s, football was supported by ruffians who wore big boots and engaged in fistcuffs on the terraces. Nowadays everyone loves each other, spills up in all seater stadiums and listens to Happy House, leaving the good liberals of the FSA to come up with constructive (and respectable) campaigns to improve the supporters lot.

The reality is different. Football supporters have been under attack throughout the ’80s. The drive to all-streamers, and a middle-class “family” game where working class supporters are priced out of the game, has been a success. With notable exceptions, West Ham Independent Supporters Association’s anti-board campaign and Celtic fans’ campaign to dump the board, the gentrification of football has gone resisted – or at least in forms of which the FSA would approve (the playing of “riots” at Millwall at the end of last season were at least in part the result of frustration at being asked to pay through the nose for a new and half-full stadium, paid for by the sale of players like Chris Armstrong – and seeing their promotion ambitions collapse again). Club shirts cost an average of £33. Sky TV decide when and where games are played.

The FSA is like the Left. It believes in protest, not militant resistance. It will petition, it will write letters. It will keep every struggle at the ground’s respectable. Throwing coins at directors? Not on. Tearing out seats? Not on. Pitch invasions? Not on. The FSA’s solution to racism? Report racists to the nearest steward or police officer – racism is a criminal offence under the 1991 Football Offences Act. The Palace Independent Supporters Association is raising concerns arising from the gradual replacement of police by stewards, on the basis that stewards won’t take action against racists! PISA’s Mark Gardener has said “If the police won’t get involved unless they’re requested to by stewards, and the stewards won’t get involved at all, then it is up to the club to do something about it.” It seems like it’s everyone else’s responsibility except the FSA or the ordinary fan! Outing on other supporters is hardly likely to win the FSA much respect with non-aligned fans.

One thing the FSA is clear on is that the bad old days of football violence were indeed “bad old days”, and that club/police action against the big firms was an unqualified success. Equally, violence against racists/fascists at football is counter-productive.

There are two big problems with this. Firstly, the gentrification of football – in effect the establishment of the right of men like Jack Walker, Francis Lee, and Martin Edwards to use every means possible to screw every penny from as many fans as possible – began with the “anti-hooligan” initiatives. As the original (and best) fanzine Foul said in the ’70s, “The more we try and make the middle class frightened of coming to games, the more they are excluding us, fencing us in and restricting our movement on the terraces. What the hell is this we keep hearing about “family football”, “more seated accommodation” and “restrict movement on the terraces”? Is this the fate of football in the future?”

Every policing initiative at football – from the use of undercover cops as provo arets (National Football Intelligence Unit) to the attempted introduction of ID cards, was intended to have wider application once it had been tested out on football fans. The FSA is opposed to the Criminal Justice Act – it’s recognised that it’ll be used against demos outside board meetings, pitch sit-ins etc. But how can you effectively resist the implementation of the Act when you see the Football Offences Act and the police as part of the solution?

Secondly, the issue of violence at football is a red herring. Last season, out of 23 million total attendance, only 2,995 were arrested. Incidences of violence at football aren’t, either, a ’70s phenomenon. Recorded incidents go back as far as 1885. In 1889, fans were arrested for fighting at Middlewich station. Press reports of football fans since that time on have always made reference to violence and drinking. But there’s an agenda here which (let’s give them the benefit of the doubt) the FSA misses.

Try this from an article from 1906: “Decent people no longer care to attend football. A new class of spectators has been created, men who care little or nothing for the sport itself, but who use the match as an excuse for drinking.”

Or this from even earlier, 1892: “The
multitude flock to the field in their workaday dirt, and with their workaday adjectives very loose on their tongues."

The media outcry over football "hooliganism" has always stemmed from fear of, and contempt for, working class people. Fact: for the people who run our society, 30,000 working class lads in one place are a potential threat. The use of law and force to control crowds at football has always been about "disciplining the working class." Do the FSA or anyone else think that people who send millions to die in war really give a fuck if kids from Manchester want to fight with kids from Newcastle on a Saturday afternoon?

In 1991, the Pall Mall Gazette noted that "The constable in certain districts is... looked upon as the common enemy whom it is right to kick and beat whenever that can be done with safety." By the '80s, that attitude manifested itself occasionally on the picket line, but primarily on a Saturday at football. Hence the creation of "football related" offences in the 1986 Public Order Act. The football liberals share the state's concern for public order. We don't. The liberal Left's failure to see football as one more area of working class life where a three-cornered fight goes on between fascists, anti-fascists and the state, their tacit support for the NFU and the Football Offences Act, have left football fans open to the influences of the Far Right.

Unlike the FSA, we don't believe in "tolerance and understanding" at football - certainly not for fascists and racists. Neither do we equate football firms with the Far Right, as if the battle has already been lost. If fat wankers like Charlie Sergeant want to pretend to be Chelsea Headhunters that's their business. If the reason is so they can con Chelsea fans into being foot soldiers for fascists like John Tyndall then it's our business.

In the C18 comic Thor Would, Steve Sergeant writes "Getting all the football fans, or firms, mobs whatever, and getting them all behind a Nationalist cause as one, now that's when we start to progress..."

For Anti-Fascist Action, the task is the same, the cause the opposite. We need to get football fans to recognise the likes of C18, BNP etc as the most determined advocates of the anti-working class law and order agenda which fans are subjected to - NFU spies in pubs, stop and search outside the ground, snatch squads inside etc.

Liberal pacifism won't solve the problem of fascism at football. When it goes off between fascists and anti-fascists, the FSA will retreat to the sidelines. Bowing to bigots like Follow, Follow is the first stage of the retreat.

DEVILS ADVOCATES

RED ATTITUDE, the new Manchester United anti-fascist football fanzine has gone from strength to strength since its launch at the beginning of the season. The first two issues sold out within weeks of their release, and have introduced thousands of mainly working class football supporters to anti-fascist politics.

The fanzine is written and sold by members of Manchester AFA who are United supporters, as well as sympathetic United supporters who aren't in AFA. As well as articles on football and anti-fascism, the first two issues of Red Attitude contain articles on St Pauli, C18, Kurdistan, the Celtic/ United Irish connection and a critique of the FSA.

Issue 3 contains an exploration of the anti-fascist history of F.C. Barcelona, an interview with Terry Hall (a big United fan), and articles on the rip-offs which are pricing working class people out of football.

The main success of the fanzine has been to provide a focal point for sections of the United support who are sympathetic to anti-racism/anti-fascism.

We see our next step as providing these elements with the opportunity to build an anti-fascist block at Old Trafford to ensure that fascists and racists will never get a foothold amongst United supporters. This process is already well underway. If you are a United supporter and wish to get involved in either Red Attitude or Man Utd Anti-Fascists, write to: PO Box 83, SWDO, MANCHESTER M15 5NJ

New Stickers from Man Utd Anti-Fascists (actual size, red white and black) £1.00 for 20. Available from the above address.
In coming issues of Fighting Talk we'll again be addressing the issue of fascist links with the Tory Party. For the time being though we thought we'd get Sid Martell to take a look at the opening issues of The Revolutionary Conservative, the imaginatively titled "journal" of the Revolutionary Conservative Caucus, a Far-Right group with links to the Tory Party and it's Monday Club.

One of the first things that strike you about The Revolutionary Conservative is the resemblance, both in form and content, to a badly produced public school six-form club magazine. After quarter of an hour's reading on the khazi though, you begin to realise that even that level of sophistication is yet to be attained. We are told, in Issue 1, that we're reading "what the Left would call 'fascistic, or intellectual neo-fascist'". In truth, apart from the fact that the word "intellectual" can be immediately dispensed with, there's more what somebody on the Left would describe as a kind of pep-show fascism, a spotty school boy "look at my Union Jack underpants" fascism. At the end of the day though, probably no less dangerous for all that.

Essentially the RCC portray themselves as classic Right-wing Tories, who have adopted some of the "ideas of the Radical Right", and with this amalgamation have become what they describe as the "British New-Right". These "radical" ideas being anti-immigration, "strong leadership", cultural, racial, religious, sexual and political intolerance, the forced subjugation of the working class to the status quo, and on the economic side, interventionism and protectionism to build the "National Economy". Anybody with a rough knowledge of fascist principles will make the association fairly quickly, what makes the RCC different from say the BNP (apart from the direct Tory link), is that the BNP openly admit they are fascist, while the former seem a little more confused. This, they seem to be arguing, is original, hence the "New" stuck in front of the "Right".

Our rightist "intellectuals" seem to have some problems though with even some of the more basic political concepts, we are told for instance in Issue 1 that they have adopted "the doctrine of egalitarian socialism in a patriotic context"... pardon? Or take this little teaser from an article in Issue 4 entitled "A Revolutionary Social and Economic Policy for the Conservatives in the 21st century"; "The RCC advocates a form of National Socialism in relation to British Economic interests. This has nothing to do with small Austrian Men in grey shell-suits. Only a form of socialism which is capitalistic in form, has nothing to do with equality or egalitarianism, and is nationalistic politically can lift Britain out of this present slough." A socialism which is capitalistic in form? "National Socialism" is nothing to do with Nazis? Now maybe I'm missing something but I thought...

There's a certain relation to the 70's National Front 'we're not Nazis' policy. But where they actually were Nazis trying to make out they weren't, there are more Tory public-school boys trying to make out they are (sort of). Although they seem to be aspiring to bigger things none-the-less, apart from the obvious Tory/Monday Club sales pitches they also count (amongst others) the Front National, the Republikaner, the MSF and the Vlaams Blok as part of their target audience. So whilst they themselves might not be up to much, their role models abroad are a little more formidable.

All through the Revolutionary Conservative runs this theme of "aren't we radical!", but there really isn't anything new about it. The transparency of the arguments, and the re-hashing of all the same old Right-wing nonsense, amounts to being about as radical as a plank. Take this for the first issue: "The editors of this magazine believe that a new ideological state has to be created for the party by a totally new Right intellectuals." It's bold isn't it? Stirring stuff. And the ideological forum via which these new heights will be gained? "In a sense it is a Right-wing 'Spectator'." Or how about this: "To smash the spiral of decline, Britain needs a healthy reviving dose of anti-liberal, Right-wing"...wait for it..."Toryism". Oh Really?

One of the stated aims of the RCC is the "restoration of the monocultural hegemony of the majority", which loosely translated means Wagner good, Hip-Hop bad. The chief exponent of the "culture of the New-right" is Jonathan Bowden, an editor of the Revolutionary Conservative, as well as it's most prolific contributor. To say that this is an extremely pompous individual with a serious penchant for total bollocks, would certainly be an understatement. Issue 4 carries an advert for Right (a book by JB) which apparently is "devastating, penetrating, iconoclastic, robust and scholarly, RIGHT will be the bible of 21st century Conservatism", while Bowden himself is described as "one of the Right's foremost intellectuals". Obviously one thing Bowden won't be counting among his virtues is modesty.

It seems our 'cultural crusader' takes great exception to popular music, most particularly if the artist responsible is a woman, or of "questionable ethnic origin". As an example of the man's bile try the following, taken from an article

Bowden (standing), preparing to demonstrate the 'Five-Finger Shuffle'.
on Tina Turner and other American pop stars: “It needs to be said after all of this that dearest Tina is fat, ugly, old, dressed in her underwear and cannot sing very well - she is mulatto, being half negro and half Red Indian - hence the unusual pinched and mongrel features, the reversed convexity of the cheek bones which betrays a partially Reservation ancestry.” It should be pointed out at this time that Bowden is a fat, bearded, pimply individual, with lank greasy hair. He displays signs of the worst excesses of inter-breeding, and is white and English (allegedly).

Madonna, meanwhile, comes in for some special attention; “Madonna is essentially a psychic whore, a mass-masturbation phantasy with the courage or shamelessness to admit what she is” as well as “a debased Italian-American with a father-complex”. Reckon that’s a bit strong John! What’s your problem really? “In a sense she is a prostitute, but unlike her sisters in and around Kings Cross, the backstreets of Mayfair, Bayswater and streets and courtyards south of Paddington Station - not to mention girls who work out of massage parlours, escort agencies and the like - she has made it into the big time.” Apart from what is obviously more than a passing acquaintance with London’s ‘Red Light’ facilities, it seems Mr. Bowden is more upset that she’s escaped the clutches of greasy individuals like himself. Actually I’m being unkind, it’s not just that, as well as this she’s “overly fond of black gonads and describes herself as a “politician of sex and race” (the girls on Sunset Boulevard are more honest about it).” This man obviously knows his way around the seedy parts of town, and it seems, on a no less than international basis.

Apparently he finds time to go the pictures as well. This is the introduction to two film reviews, written in the same style, both signed JB: “Revolutionary Conservative Media Studies writers look at how film-makers are abandoning the liberal consensus. Your humble scribes report from the cutting edge of silver screen culture.” Now I can’t say I was convinced by the plural on “writers” or “scribes”, unless JB has managed to clone himself but there you go. The films up for review are Falling Down and Romper Stomper. Apparently he liked Falling Down, as he could identify with the main character as a “middle-class Mr. Angry”, although not some of his “Survivalist antics” (better to use the law to eradicate undesirables obviously).

He positively drooled over Romper Stomper though, especially those young skinheads; “female skins have to be seen to be believed - they are tansured young women with too much make-up and what looks like a dead armadillo across their scalp - but they’re good losses at heart.” Uuuhh! “...underneath the racism and sub-proletarian antics it is a John Ford picture at one remove; where two men, the skinhead gang leaders, undergo a journey, an initiation; a Germanic travelogue, to the accompanying of the Melbourne thrash crowd rather than swooning High-Romantic classical…”

I reckon he got a little bit over excited, don’t you?

At the end of the day, what the RCC are trying to do with the Revolutionary Conservative, is shock the more liberal elements of their own party and the media. They obviously think that this will get them noticed, and at some point, allow them to start setting the agenda on a more serious note; whether or not they’ll achieve this remains to be seen. The fact that their particular brand of fascism is a prattling, immature one comes as much from their perception of what the Federation of Conservative Students managed to achieve (from their point of view), as anything else. What there can be no doubt about is their easy categorisation with any of the other Far-Right groups you might want to mention, and anti-fascists should see them as such.

I’ll leave the last words to John Raggley, from his article “The Nol-So-Controversial Controversialists” published in issue 4 of the Revolutionary Conservative: “The only ones (except for paedophiles and rapists) who now remain outside the Pale in these “non-judgemental” days are the groups of the radical Right. They are now the only political sub-stratum whose members are really likely to be physically attacked for their politics.” I wonder why?

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Cheques made payable to “Anti-Fascist Action” and sent to FIGHTING TALK, BM 1734, LONDON, WC1N 3XX
Germany Calling is a regular Fighting Talk feature, contributed by the militant anti-fascist group Autonome Antifa (M), active in Göttingen, Lower Saxony. Over the past four issues of FT they’ve sent us detailed reports regarding anti-fascist and fascist activity in Germany, and the general political climate over there.

Readers of issue 9 will already know that alleged members of Autonome Antifa (M) were under investigation by the German state for three years, before this climaxed in raids on the homes and workplaces of 17 people in July last year. The ‘net’ has now been widened as you will read, to include at least another 10 people, the ‘crime’, regardless of the charge sheet, is militant anti-fascism. All the more incredible you might think, considering the increasingly formidable fascist threat in Germany, already a country severely burdened by it’s past.

In many ways though, this is what the militants in the anti-fascist movement have come to expect; the three-cornered fight, us, the fascists and the state. The German state, like it’s British counterpart, see the anti-fascists, rather than the fascists, as the real threat. The liberal wing of the movement, who continually appeal to the police to adopt the ‘anti-fascist’ role, would do well to remember this.

With this continuing state repression in mind, we are grateful that our German comrades have managed to find time to send us a report of the current situation in Göttingen. It is in this spirit of international anti-fascist solidarity that we urge readers to send messages of support and donations (see the address opposite).

An anti-fascist demonstration with over 1000 participants was held in Göttingen, Germany on November 19th 1994. The background for the initiative was the political murder of the anti-fascist Conny Wessmann five years ago, on November 17th, 1989. During an anti-fascist action she was chased into the nearest street by the police, where she was run over by a car.

The death of Conny had a major influence on the leftist political scene in Göttingen. It was followed by many protest demonstrations and several new groups were founded.

The Autonome Antifa (M) initiated this demonstration in coalition with other groups with the intention on the one hand to remember the political murder of Conny and other victims of fascist or police terror, and on the other to take a further step against the menacing criminalisation of the anti-fascist resistance in general and the Autonome Antifa (M) in particular.

The slogan “Nothing is forgotten and Nobody!” is an expression of the intention to remember all victims of fascist and police terror, not only in an individual sense, but also in a political and historical context. They died as a result of their political involvement, as a result of state repression against Left resistance, and the brutality of the fascists and the police.

The slogan “No Criminalisation of Anti-Fascist Resistance!” was chosen because of the latest attempt to criminalize the Autonome Antifa (M). The state is trying to criminalize the kind of politics the Autonome Antifa (M) has been carrying out for the last five years. These politics include demonstrations in coalitions that also include more reformist groups and parties in order to make radical anti-fascist resistance an acknowledged and accepted political force.

The Repression continues

The investigations against the Autonome Antifa (M) according to §129 (membership in a criminal organization) and §129a (propaganda for a terrorist organization - Red Army Fraction) have proceeded a great deal since last summers’ dawn raids on 17 members and alleged members of the Autonome Antifa (M). (For background information see the last FT)

The lawyers of the affected people have applied for inspection of the investigation records. The records, made up of 31 files, were handed out to the lawyers three days before Christmas, on December 22nd, 1994. Included were the “preliminary fundamental results of the investigations” that reveal that the number of affected people has risen from 15 to at least 25 people. All are accused of “membership in a criminal organization”, some of them are also charged with “promoting a terrorist organization” by supposedly having sold
According to the records, the State Attorney’s Office has opened investigations against everything they can find. They have also recently started investigations against a booklet published by the group “Kunst und Kampf (KuK)”, (Art and Struggle). The booklet “Outlawed Art” documents posters and paintings that were confiscated in the searches in July 1994. It allegedly falls under §129a.

Obviously the charges are being used to legitimate the gigantic expense and effort the investigations take in terms of the use of technology and personnel in public.

According to the latest news in the paper, the investigations and the evaluation of the confiscated material will be finished by the end of January. The charges will be filed against over 20 people the following weeks. The trials will start this year, in all probability in the summer or fall. The trials are definitely going to be one of the biggest blows against autonomous anti-fascists in the history of the F.R.G..

In Solidarity!

AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)
January 1995

Show some solidarity!

The German authorities are trying to criminalise and isolate the militant anti-fascists of Autonome Antifa (M) and it’s important that militants over here show some solidarity.

Donations and messages of support should be sent to:
Autonome Antifa (M), c/o Buchladen, Rote Str.10, 37073 Göttingen, Germany.

SPECIAL OFFER

To help raise funds for the AA(M) defence campaign we’re selling sets of these excellent (full colour) postcards. For £5.50 (including postage & packing) you’ll receive a set of 9 of these high quality images. This is a very limited offer, so if you want to make sure you get your hands on a set, you need to be quick! Send your cheque or postal order to:

LONDON AFA,
BM 1734,
LONDON
WC1N 3XX

Please specify that it’s for the "Fighting Talk AA(M) Postcard Offer".

WATCH THIS SPACE

London AFA invited two representatives of Autonome Antifa (M) to come to London after the first wave of arrests last year. A public meeting was held in Central London to publicise the situation in Göttingen and show international solidarity.

We also arranged interviews for the German militants with several newspapers and magazines and they spoke at a number of other meetings. Collections were also made.

AFA will be organising other activities in support of the arrested militants as the case develops.
THE ACID TEST

In the letters page of this issue of Fighting Talk, we've included a letter criticising AFA's attitude, and moreover, questioning it's reason for being. With reference to that letter, FT looks at the real reasons for AFA's existence, and at the crucial need for an organised, working class and militant resistance to the fascists.

Breast-beating and macho posturing, 'war stories' that drool over violence, over-hype with no analysis, no serious consideration of 'the community', what about the other issues eh? Homelessness?, the Six Counties?, the Sheep Farmers? Just a few of the criticisms levelled at AFA over the years, all of which we've answered, and all of which we'll continue to.

It has always been the case that AFA cannot be all things to people. This is because AFA has never tried to be, some can easily point to things that we seemingly don't do, or say that we over emphasise the things we do do. This is all regardless of the fact that we've only ever been straight up about our priorities, and our methods, and have never tried to pretend anything else.

The fact that we've stuck to a basic principle and followed it through with positive action, only testifies to our political honesty and sense of proportion. What some would call 'war stories' are in fact testimonies to the fact that people can win against the fascists, that they are vulnerable to a dose of their own medicine, and that they don't always have the upper hand on the street (although given the track record of many on the Left, maybe we don't shout loud enough).

We 'go on' about Waterloo 1992 as being important, because it was one of the biggest street confrontations with the fascists since the days of Lewisham, in 1977. It was also important because we won. The point that it wasn't the BNP but Blood and Honour who got smashed only testifies to the fact that the BNP have got a little more subtle over the last few years. Indeed, it has never been AFA's fault that we haven't scored a similar result against the BNP. The police, the skullduggery of others on the Left and the BNP's shying away from outright large scale street confrontation in favour of electoral pursuits, have all contributed to their not being 'Waterlooed'. This is not to say that the BNP have had it easy by AFA, our successes across the country, from Glasgow to the East End of London, have made their mark, and continue to do so.

Blood and Honour on the other hand have not been able to organise anything on the same scale since, the only attempt at anything like it resulted in yet another AFA success (see FT Issue 8). Despite (and partly due to) C18's seeming Coup d'Etat of the Blood and Honour scene, they still can't make a move without reference to the hiding they got at Waterloo. These gigs make the fascists a lot of money, they attract new elements into their movements. AFA's success on the day cannot be measured in just a body count.

With regards to the BNP, they have learnt to watch and wait. They know that if things carry on the way they are going as regards their enemies on the Left, and the BNP's own quietly burgeoning support, pretty soon they'll be able to march up and down as much as they please, while winning elections as well. AFA has adopted a similar policy, consolidate and monitor, pick our opportunities, look for the weaknesses. At the end of the day if the BNP want to get anywhere they'll have to put themselves about; when they overstretch themselves as they invariably will, they become vulnerable. The so-called "North London Day of Action" by the BNP last year, which basically failed to take place due to their own lack of bottle, and the limitations of having AFA in the area, is a case in point.

Some point to the Isle of Dogs elections, and the growth of support for the BNP in working class areas of East London, and associate us with the antics of certain other 'anti-fascist' organisations. However, since AFA's successful campaign against the fascists in East London in the early 90's, our input into the area has been limited. When we launched the East London campaign, AFA was still the only player in the anti-fascist arena, neither ARA, the ANL or the YRE existed. After two years solid work, AFA consolidated a position in Tower Hamlets, leading up to a march through the area without a fascist in sight, something virtually impossible now.

AFA's grip on the area loosened for two reasons; divisions within London AFA, and the entry of the ANL into the arena, the latter being more significant than it might first appear. As an example of what we mean by this - the ANL's first attempt at leafletting the area; a publicised venture with no stewards - left them getting battered and run all over the place. They were attacked by the same element we had managed to scare off the street six months earlier, for the fascists it was a god send. Although, during the East London campaign, AFA had invited both Militant and the SWP to get involved, both had declined the offer. However, as fascism became the 'big issue', without any experience whatsoever, they decide the time is right to apply their own peculiar styles of operating to an area of struggle they hadn't the first idea about. At no time were we ever consulted.

With regards to divisions in London AFA, this again has links with the emergence of the other groups. Workers Power, a group which up until then had grudgingly stood behind AFA policies, suddenly upped and jumped ship on the basis of 'radicalising' the ANL. AFA had obviously been seen by certain elements as a kind of 'ready-made private army'. Just walling for the right 'leadership', an organisation made up of the kind of working class militants these groups by themselves
never had the hope of attracting. The militants in AFA were forced to turn their guns inwards. The vacuum was filled by the BNP on the one hand, and lollipops on the other. It's no surprise who subsequently called the shots.

In fact we've found ourselves in the position now of not only having the fascists stronger in East London, we also have the obstacle of the ANL to contend with. Let's be right about this, while they play around getting bashed and making idiots of themselves, all of the anti-fascist movement gets tarred with the same brush. They've moved on from being the "same old lefties doing the same old thing", they actually stand in the way of work that needs to be done, they've actually made it more difficult to organise against the fascists. When we predicted the BNP victories in the Isle of Dogs (election), the damage being done by the ANL was part of the equation. To quote David Elmer in a Guardian article on AFA, who in mentioning the Isle of Dogs election, makes the point, "...although the BNP lost it's seat, it's share of the vote was 30 percent up on the previous council election, even though the turnout was 70 percent, the highest ever recorded. It is statistics like these that appear to be prompting numbers of people to question whether the ANL's tactics are effective." (The Guardian, November 25th 1994)

Of some interest is the question of why the BNP has only really been making real gains in East/South-East London. In other parts of the country they've not fared so well, and the reason for this is fairly simple, in other parts of the country AFA has held them back, and the SWP doesn't have the numbers to make such a pig's ear of things. If you don't believe us look at the facts. AFA can site recent cases in Scotland, the North and the Midlands where the fascists have been beaten off the streets, and we remain the only organisation that can do that. The ANL/YLE have argued that the BNP are strongest in London, therefore London is the priority (re: Unity March, ANL carnival, Isle of Dogs). The question they will never answer is how much they've done to build that strength; the part they have played in what has sometimes been a very vicious circle for their activists.

All things considered, AFA would argue that it's own policy and method of militant confrontation with fascism has achieved a great deal; who knows what the fascists may have achieved in East London if it wasn't for the fact that for two years they were attacked, harassed and out-manoeuvred by us? AFA has proved itself, there isn't any question. The difference between us and the others is that we don't make the same mistakes twice, we don't over-commit ourselves, we don't get our militants battered because we didn't provide stewards in a confrontational situation, and we don't hand the fascists victories on a plate.

For us this is common sense. If we seem to harp on about it, then it's because we'd like to see others adopting the same attitude. We can only continue to stress the fact that this is a long war, and a short sharp burst of lollipops and carnivals alone won't win it (and it didn't the last time, despite what the ANL tell you, the leaders of all the current Far Right organisations were active in the '70s, most have never stopped being so.) We view the situation in East and South East London as a temporary setback, all AFA has done is take the time to develop strategies to work around the obstacles. Anti-fascist input at football is just one of the areas we've been working on, and we're prepared to take the time and spend our energies wisely. If we'd have adopted the same 'headless-chicken' approach of the others, would that have been more responsible? Our experience tells us that the only people to benefit from that approach are the Far Right.

We know full well that at the end of the day a complete victory against fascism isn't something that will be achievable while society is organised the way it is. We've never said that was what we hoped to achieve. Our role is to make the space for working class organisations to actually be able to organise where, if fascists are active, this would otherwise range from the difficult to the impossible. The fact there is nobody to use that space isn't AFA's problem. AFA cannot be blamed for the failure of the Left.

The fascists are well organised, and on a basis of policy, will use violence against working class initiatives, especially where they deem themselves to be strong. This must merit a well organised and militant response on the part of those that would provide a radical alternative. To ignore them is to make the same old mistake; people who don't take them seriously, who try to organise without taking them into account, end up getting it.

If people aren't prepared for this, if they're unable to take on the fascists, then all that will happen is a fascist victory at their expense. At a time when the Left in this country has made a mockery of itself, especially in the eyes of the working class, the last thing that can be allowed to happen, is the growth of the illusion of fascist strength, because of the weakness and ineptitude of various play-pretend "revolutionaries".

The ANL can be said to have been resurrected largely because the rank & file of the SWP, who were taking a daily battering at the hands of nonchalant fascists, pushed it's leadership into "doing something about it". The problem with this wasn't the desire to organise against fascism, it was the fact that the lollipops no more than the 'paper', provides adequate defence against a right-hander. All the SWP proved is that 'Smash the Fascists', like 'Fight the Tories', was a slogan that they themselves never had the first chance of living up to. The fact is, some of us do live up to it, some of us are taking the situation seriously. With the working class on the ropes and some areas basically turning fascist, to ignore them is to commit political suicide.

The fascists, like the bosses and the government, are class enemies. The fight against fascism is part and parcel of the class struggle, just as much as organising in the workplace, just as much as fighting for better homes and a better standard of living. The working class, if it is to win, has to fight on all fronts. All AFA does is provide a means with which to develop one such part of the wider struggle, without those involved having to agree on the priorities or methods for other areas. Nationally AFA's membership represents a cross section of diverse elements and ideas, but a single and real 'unity' on the question of anti-fascism.

AFA provides a class based, militant and effective response to fascism, and that's all it's been set up to do. It's role is based in the wider struggle, even though it's own scope is limited to one issue. At the end of the day, the acid test of an organisation is it's ability to carry out it's aims, to turn it's policies and ideas into effective action. The fight against fascism, like the wider class struggle, will be won by activism and realism, not empty slogans and rhetoric. It's as simple as that.
A VIEW FROM VALHALLA

Fully recovered from his Yuletide festivities in the Frozen Fortress, the legendary Dan Woinasaifker invites you to join him on another sleigh ride into the nazi music scene, now almost completely under C18s control.

The danger that an organisation like Blood & Honour (B&H) poses is not just the creation of a nazi youth movement and culture, but also its ability to raise serious amounts of money. By 1989 B&H felt confident enough to try and operate “openly” - but the closure of their outlets around London’s Carnaby Street and the disruption of their international rally forced them to retreat again. Three years later they tried again at Waterloo and were decisively crushed.

Since then they have had to take extra security precautions, to the extent that even the bands now have “redirection” points. Unlike some groups on the Left, B&H do try to change their way of operating to get round these problems, and the issuing of false re-direction points seems to have had some success. We have mentioned the Charing X one in “In the Area” and a recent B&H admits “On St. Georges Day B&H held a concert in the heart of London. A hoax redirection point at Brixton had 400 red scum running around like headless chickens trying to find the concert, which went ahead in nearby Peckham”. Wild goose chases have a demoralising effect on the anti-fascist movement.

Pressure on B&H has resulted in many bands packing up, with Squadron, Celtic Warrior, English Rose and Razors Edge being the main British bands now, and a good percentage of the few gigs they play are overseas. Similarly, when I started this column two years ago there were at least six regular nazi skinzines, now there are only two, British Oil and Blood & Honour. The jailing of two B&H organisers for incitement to racial hatred (in 1993) sent a warning shot across the bows from the state, but since then most overtly National Socialist magazines come with a Racial Awareness form to get around the law.

A bigger blow to B&H came with the discovery that Neil Parrish (no. 2 to Ian Stuart) had been nicking the money. Seeing as how B&H was set up specifically to prevent this sort of corruption that was rife in the old White Noise Club, this was a serious step backwards. Early discussions with C18 to rectify the situation, both financially and physically (after Waterloo), took on a new meaning after Stuart’s timely death, and C18 are now firmly in the driving seat.

The surviving magazines are loyal to C18 and although Paul Burnley (No Remorse) is technically running a rival B&H, my sources reliably inform me this has a limited life span.

The C18 influenced National Socialist groups/bands/magazines are realigning themselves into the National Socialist Alliance, which includes B&H. Searchlight magazine has suggested that C18 was set up by the American Nazi Harold Covington, and many of the groups in the National Socialist Alliance are clearly influenced by the paramilitary tactics of the American Far-Right (eg. The Order). Several of them use American addresses to avoid the restrictions of the Racial Incitement Laws in this country, and advertise and distribute American Nazi publications.

Even before Stuart’s death B&H chose to examine political links with C18 rather than the BNP, and as C18 have no interest in electoral politics, it is safe to assume that the revenue from B&H and the political emergence of the National Socialist Alliance is likely to lead to an increase in “extra-parliamentary activity” by the extreme right.

Links between C18/B&H and Ulster Loyalists continue to develop, and C18 is drawing together Loyalists in this country, like Mark Cotterill, the former NF organiser in the South West and now a member of the Tory party. Interestingly it is B&H that claimed it was their supporters who smashed up an ANL march in Coleraine (in the north of Ireland) last year. The extent of the C18/Loyalist links may well become clearer as the Irish Peace Process develops. What is certainly true is that C18 with its paramilitary image and fondness for cell structures, would welcome contact with well-armed groups like the UFF and UVF. The British fascists currently in jail for their involvement in Loyalist arms activity definitely weren’t expecting to come out of it empty handed.

We do know that some of B&H’s money is being put into European ventures. The latest B&H reveals “For the first time ever, the B&H movement will be organised in Eastern Europe following the creation of the B&H Polish Division ... with funds from England helping to promote White Power ... things in Poland look ready to explode!” The move into Eastern Europe may have some other useful side-effects, namely the availability of modern weapons.

While AFA has successfully been able to prevent B&H operating openly, it does still exist “underground”. Given the politics of C18 who now control B&H, it is likely that new recruits made at gigs will be encouraged to engage in “political terror” against their opponents, and the money raised through gigs and merchandise means they will be well funded. As such B&H must remain high on the list of priorities for militant anti-fascists. New tactics have to be developed to combat the highly secretive gigs and the mail order merchandising. Recent arrests of leading B&H/C18 figures is no reason to take the pressure off.

Finally, I was pleased to receive a postcard from “The Mechanic” who has been on a well earned holiday to the good old U.S. of A. While visiting a garage over there he bumped into Joe, lead singer with Delaware/New Jersey band “Nordic Thunder”. After this encounter I am pleased to announce the timely demise of Joe. Apparently one of his favourite songs was “Back to Valhalla” - well, it looks like Joe got his wish.
The following article was sent to us by a member of AFA in Scotland, recently returned from Bosnia. It’s a first hand account of his experience of the war and his view of the political situation over there.

If anybody wonders what exactly it is that today’s fascists aspire to then you need look no further than Bosnia.

I recently returned from Bosnia after going there with an aid convoy organised by “Workers Aid For Bosnia”. Before I went I had serious doubts about the situation there. After all, if you believe what you see on the telly, they’re all just a bunch of dodgy nationalists and religious nutters blowing the shit out of each other whilst the poor old United Nations vainly tries to “keep the peace”.

Well, not quite. Bosnia is a multi-ethnic country. Its people are fighting to remain a multi-ethnic country. They are fighting fascism. Fascism in Bosnia usually takes the form of the Chetniks. The Chetniks are the army of the Bosnian Serbs. They are fighting for a country free of all “ethnically undesirable” elements, e.g. anybody who isn’t a full-blooded ethnic Serb - hence ethnic cleansing.

What ethnic cleansing means in practice is that if, for example, you are from a family of Muslims living in a predominantly Serb area then your house will be blown up. The male members of your family will probably be brutally tortured and then executed. The females will be gang-raped. It is very likely that all the “racially undesirables” from your village or town will be herded together and forced into specially made concentration camps where all the torture, rapes and killings can take place in a more orderly fashion. Sound familiar?

Here is a typical example of Chetnik brutality taken from a “Workers Aid” info sheet... “A Muslim woman, beaten and gang-raped by soldiers, sees her 3-month old daughter thrown against a wall by a former neighbour, a nurse. Then her other daughter aged 15 months is taken away. When she is finally returned to her mother, the baby is blue and has blood streaming between her legs. She too has been gang-raped by the soldiers.”

There are literally hundreds of thousands of similar stories to be heard in Bosnia. Rape is an officially sanctioned tactic of the Chetnik forces. There are two obvious motives behind this.

The first is that if a Serb Chetnik rapes a non-Serb then, presumably, this will cause an anti-Serb response from the victim and her family, friends, neighbours etc, who will not want to live alongside Serbs any longer and thus escalate ethnic tensions. The second “motive” is that if a young Muslim girl is raped then in strict Islamic eyes she will no longer be a virgin and therefore is “unclean” and unfit for marriage - henceforth, no Muslim babies.

Unfortunately in areas of Bosnia where extreme Islamic groups such as “Hezbollah” and “Mojahedin” have gained influence, this tactic is having the hoped for effect.

The increasing influence of such groups in Bosnia (and elsewhere) is another aspect of this war which should cause concern for anti-fascists. The growth of Islamic ideology is, as with the resurgence of fascism, a direct result of the failure of the Left to provide a viable alternative to the misery of capitalism, and is a clear warning to all those who are still naive enough to believe that all those who oppose fascism will turn to the Left for answers. As Bosnia shows, they may instead turn towards a fascism that claims to be on their side - often using “anti-fascist” rhetoric.

On the positive side, most Bosnians aren’t, at the moment, taken in by the bribes and promises of the Muslim racial separatists and continue to struggle against racism, fascism AND the so called “peace keepers” of the UN.

In Tuzla, the town we took aid to, the people believe fervently in keeping Bosnia multi-ethnic, in having Serb, Croat and Muslim living side by side as they have done for generations.

During World War 2, the miners of Tuzla were amongst the bravest and most dedicated resistance fighters against the ethnic cleansing of Hitler’s occupying Nazis and their allies. Today, they find themselves once again at the centre of the anti-fascist resistance movement and I believe it is our duty as anti-fascists to assist the people of multi-ethnic Bosnia in any way necessary.
After all, the fascists of Europe and America have already picked their sides. Whilst I was in Tuzla, I saw a news report that showed dead Russians who had been fighting for the Chetniks. Many Russians and Eastern European Nazi groups send supporters over to fight for the Chetniks.

Recently British fascist groups, most notably Combat 18, have come out in support for the Chetniks, although they, at the same time, seem to still be supporting the traditional Western European fascist's favourite - the "H.O.S." H.O.S. is the openly fascist militia of the Blackshirt "Croatian Party of Rights". Unfortunately, H.O.S. has gained a degree of respect in Bosnia as it is currently fighting the Chetniks alongside the Bosnian army. Although most Bosnian soldiers are committed anti-fascists they accept H.O.S. support because they are desperate for any help they can get in fighting the Chetniks - even if it comes from a group that just a couple of years ago was committing some of the worst atrocities of the war against both Bosnian Muslims and innocent Serb civilians.

This sad and confusing state of affairs could easily get worse. Unless anti-fascists are prepared to start taking the Bosnian struggle seriously and provide genuine, tangible support - more and more Bosnians may be lost to the fascists of H.O.S. and the extreme Islamic groups.

H.O.S.'s main British backer is "International Third Position" (along with Blood & Honour, British Movement etc.). I.T.P. even went so far as to set up its own "charity" called "Emergency Aid For Croatia". This little scam fell through when it was exposed as a money making scheme for I.T.P. who then used the cash to send its supporters over to Croatia to fight in the H.O.S.'s "International Brigade" alongside Nazis, Boneheads and mercenaries from all over the world.

The fact that so many European fascists have fought in Croatia means that they have brought back valuable fighting and weapons experience to pass on to their "racial comrades" back home. On the bright side, though, quite a few of these shills have not come home at all - or have made it home, but with bits missing! (For example, British Movement supporter Steve Gaunt, who came home minus one of his feet - I bet he was hopping mad about that!)

The other side to this is the Bosnian people and their army, the BiH. When you speak to Bosnian soldiers they tell you how much they hate fascism and that is what they are fighting. They are overwhelmingly working class, of all ages and ethnic backgrounds (although predominantly Muslim). Most are male but I was surprised at how many women are in the army - a far greater percentage than in the "civilised" U.N. forces there.

Most had given up their jobs in the mines, factories and fields in order to go to the front and kill fascists. They are pitifully under-equipped. They have to share guns with their friends, one uses the gun until he is killed or injured and his mate will pick it up and start using it until he is killed and on it goes.

Many don't have boots, just trainers and sandals! They don't have much transport so they walk and hitch-hike to the front line.

One of the reasons Islamic extremists are gaining influence is because they offer soldiers who join them modern weapons, good uniforms, money and food for their families etc. Many join for these 'perks' and aren't interested in the political and religious aspect but once in the damage is done.

The resilience of the people of Tuzla and Bosnia is tremendous. A couple of years back the people of Tuzla took up arms against the occupying Serb army and after some of the bloodiest hand-to-hand fighting of the war, drove the fascists from their city.

The Chetnik front line is now a few miles out of town and everyday they shell the city. A number of people were killed and injured by the shelling whilst I was there.

The electricity is only on for part of the day starting late at night and the water is on for only a few hours at around 3-5 am. The only food that most people get is supplied by aid organisations. Most men are in the army fighting at the front. Two days fighting then two days home leave in Tuzla. Those who still have jobs have not been paid in months - sometimes in years.

Many people spend their days chopping wood with their neighbours, preparing for the harsh winter - or working on allotments. Nearly all available land between buildings is given over to food production. All household rubbish is burnt in skips - there are no bins. They are all in the army fighting at the front.

Despite all this hardship, the people are full of generosity and good humour. They are committed to keeping Tuzla at the heart of multi-ethnic Bosnia - to smashing fascism. Most people have lost family and friends. Everywhere there are fresh graves with pictures of young men and women on them - hundreds of small white crosses, each cross marks the grave of somebody who died in this war against racism and fascism.

In Germany, Bosnian refugees have been murdered by Nazis (the graffiti on the Austrian-German border reads "Jugos Raus"). And here in Britain, Bosnian refugee families have been stoned, repeatedly robbed and have shat smeared on their windows. One Bosnian, a survivor of a Chetnik concentration camp has been left with deep scars on his legs after being attacked in South Ockenden in Essex. Other Bosnians have been beaten up but are too frightened to report the attacks for fear of reprisals.

Workers Aid For Bosnia is looking into ways in which defence of refugee families can be taken up. I would recommend AFA members to get in touch with W.A.B. if they want to help with this or want to go on a convoy or just for further information.

Workers Aid For Bosnia can be contacted at: PO Box 9, Eccles S.O., Salford, M30 7FX
Behind Enemy Lines is a new feature, where FT's Bill Gothrocks examines the writings of the current leadership of British fascism.

Amidst a host of fascinating articles like "Esperanto: Is It Really Needed?" (Vanguard No. 43, theoretical journal of the NF) and John Tyndall's musings on Greco-Roman ideals of beauty and grandeur (Spearhead No. 307, journal of the BNP), the big thinkers of the Far Right have been "scratching around for the big idea" (Spearhead 308).

In the above article Tyndall examines the ideas thrown up by political "think-tanks" of the Left and Right. Examining the "new" ideas of Blair's Labour Party, he asks rhetorically: "... would Labour in all sanity consider embracing even parts of an economic programme that had brought such disaster and hardship to millions and had made the Tory government the most unpopular this century?"

Well ... yes, Tyndall observes "Labour think-takers of today (heading) towards the Tory left in an alliance of mushy consensus politics which will leave us with a conflict only of personalities and naked careerist ambition."

If the Left had recognised Labour's real agenda and got stuck into them with half the vigour of the BNP, we'd probably have spared the embarrassing sight of Councillor Beackon (along with Gary Bushell, one of the few people who didn't suss that Alf Garnett was a comedy show and not a party political broadcast!)

So, go on, John, we're all getting excited, what's the "Big Idea"? Brace yourselves, it's all quite daring from here on. "(The) real Big Idea will never be discovered unless at least by these people." Why not, JT? "It will never be discovered by them because the route to it is strewn with minefields across which they do not dare to venture." Sounds good, eh? "The Big Idea itself is anyway forbidden territory" ... it'll be forgotten territory if you don't get on with it John! "The real Big Idea ... is very simply out of bounds." Oh get to the fucking point you boring old bastard.

"It is an idea which demands a wholly different type. For Britain's salvation calls for new men and not just new policies." Hang on, readers, we're nearly there; what kind of new man? Tell us John. "Mosley." But he's dead! Oh well, we're quibbling. Tell us more, JT. "Mosley called for a discarding of the ancient leftist dogma of public ownership and of Labour's war against capital and against profit, and he called for a mixed economy in which the private and public sector worked in harmony ... He saw clearly that the war against unemployment could not be prosecuted successfully within an international economy ... He therefore called for an alternative policy ... economic nationalism."

Now, sadly for JT, Ossie never got the chance to put his crackpot ideas into practice, but he did think that "Hitler and Mussolini had saved their countries", so maybe we could take fascist Italy as an example of the "Big Idea" in practice.

Well ... In Italy the "superficialities" of political debate were replaced by the end of political debate. All parliamentary candidates were selected by the Grand Council of Fascism. In Italy, the press correspondents who JT quotes so enthusiastically couldn't comment on the failings of politicians, because, from July 10, 1924, the press was under the supervision of Fascist political authority. The "party and class warfare" of which Tyndall despairs was ended.

It was ended because Socialists and trade union leaders were murdered or exiled, and every kind of terrorism and coercion was employed to force the working class into fascist trade unions. Only trade unions recognised by the state, i.e. Fascist unions, were entitled to represent workers. Employers organisations held free elections. Union leaders were picked by the state. "Economic nationalism" as a response to unemployment meant in Italy, in 1932, an admitted one million unemployed only received insurance money (i.e. dole) for 90 days. Between 1922 and 1930, the National Institute for Social Insurance in Italy received 10575 million Lire in premiums from wages, but paid out only 466 million in relief. By 1933 the State had a surplus of 757 million Lire. Starving the poor to make the rich richer, is where we came in, I think.

So much for Big Ideas. Tyndall says "the think-takers of the left, right and centre" are looking to "find a way of rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic.

But Tyndall's, Mosley's and Mussolini's idea was only to manage capital by force, by the ending of the right to dissent from a society sustained by mass unemployment, to replace unemployment by forced labour or starvation. As Tyndall himself puts it: "The word 'radical' is employed to describe ideas that have been part of regular debate for at least two centuries." Same sinking ship, different captain.

Still, JT should count himself lucky. He can write away to his heart's content. The Italian working class were so impressed by Mussolini's "Big Idea" that in April 1945 they shot him dead then strung up his corpse to be hacked at by an angry mob. Who's next?

The National Front's theoretical journal Vanguard has always carried some strange articles (written by some pretty strange people). Issue 43 is headed "The Navy meets its Waterloo (heading) by the Tories!" and is illustrated by a picture of an 18th century battleship - which suggests a lack of contemporary research on naval affairs!

But the NF have bigger themes to explore. "Democratic Racial Nationalism is short of role models and short of heroes". One example they admire is a man who recognised "Pansies of both sexes were everywhere" (!) ... Ian Fleming's James Bond, "a hero for our times". As the article notes "Fashions come and go, but style never fades" (tell that to Eddie Whicker!)
Dear Fighting Talk,

Hopefully, the signing of Nigerian World Cup star Daniel Amokachi will close one of the most unsavoury chapters in the history of Everton FC. Over the last few years, bad luck in the transfer market, boardroom inertia and the odious behaviour of a sizeable minority of the Goodison faithful led to the club picking up a reputation to rival the Afrikaaner Resistance Movement in relation to the question of race. It is as much this perceived reputation as the actual racists that we at “When Skies Are Grey” have attempted to tackle. Throughout its six year history, WSAG has kept up attacks on the brain dead at Goodison. However, in early 1993 we decided to go a bit more high profile.

Our inspiration at that point was the Italian day of action against racism, when all the Serie A players lined up behind banners proclaiming “No Al Razzismo” (No to Racism). We countered with our own T-shirts carrying the message. We did receive some criticism from some fans who claimed quite justifiably that a stronger message in English would be more appropriate. However, the shirts were successful and enabled us to help a local youth club to purchase a new strip carrying the ‘Sport Against Racism’ message. This was done in conjunction with the local Merseyside Sport Against Racism movement.

During our campaign we received lots of media coverage both locally and nationally and this helped pass the message that not all Evertonians are racist. It’s impossible to gauge how successful or otherwise we’ve been but suffice to say we know that we’ve annoyed the racists and that’s a start. Racist chanting is still heard sporadically but nowhere near as often as say five years ago. The club is also much more aware of the situation now and they certainly appear keen to tackle the problem in whatever ways they can.

For all that, racism remains society’s problem and it’s everyone’s responsibility to challenge the ignorant and their warped ideas.

Phil Redmond (When Skies Are Grey)

FT: While we’re on the subject of Everton, it’s interesting to note that the ANL have claimed there have been four fascist paper sales at Goodison Park in recent times. We’re reliably informed however, that the only time there has been an attempted paper sale was 6-7 seasons ago when 3 BNP members were tackled in traditional manner by 5 AFA supporters, all of whom are Everton fans.

Neville Southall 'models' anti-racist t-shirt

Dear Fighting Talk,

Firstly, we’d like to congratulate you on the “Football Special” which is a significant departure from the mainstream Lefties who look down their noses at football supporters - even the anti-fascist ones! Although FT does cover a lot of football each issue, we reckon that the “Football Special” idea would be worth repeating at the start of each season - it makes it much easier to sell at grounds and supporters clubs if the magazine is almost exclusively about football and anti-fascism - even if it’s only once a year that we produce something like this.

However, we do have some criticisms of the football issue, not because of what was in it but rather because of what was left out. Firstly, most of the information given - even the historical information - concerned English clubs and, aside from what we do at Celtic, there seems to be little else being done to combat racism and fascism at Scottish grounds. Hopefully, some other Scottish fans can put us right on this because there certainly is the continuing problem of fascists at Rangers and Hearts, as well as at the less fashionable clubs like Clyde and Ayr United.

Another criticism is that Fighting Talk featured reviews of two fanzines, Red Attitude and When Skies Are Grey. We can see the point of reviewing both these fanzines and their respective contributions to anti-racism and anti-fascism, but your implication that Red Attitude is the first genuinely militant anti-fascist football fanzine which aligns itself with AFA are out of order.

Celtic fans have for the last few years been fighting racism on the terraces with some degree of success. Indeed, Fighting Talk featured our stickers from its earliest issues and there have been regular references to anti-fascism at Celtic. The campaign didn’t come from nowhere - it started initially as a reaction to the racism meted out to Rangers’ first black player, Mark Walters (now with Liverpool) and has continued to be vigilant against any displays of racism since. This continued vigilance has been largely due to the efforts of our
Dear Fighting Talk,

I feel I must comment on AFA's complacent and self-congratulatory attitudes. AFA is forever singing its own praises. AFA is always going on about the many 'defeats' it has inflicted on the fascist movement in Britain. AFA loves telling 'war stories' about the Battle of Waterloo, 1992.

So what exactly has all this 'physical confrontation' achieved? The best way to judge this is to look at the current state of the fascist movement especially the British National Party. Despite the 'crushing defeat' of Waterloo at the hands of AFA the BNP still won the Isle of Dogs by-election in September 1993. The BNP still achieved the highest ever votes polled in Britain in the 1994 council elections. In Newham, East London some BNP candidates achieved votes in excess of 30% of the vote, almost high enough if reciprocated nationally to form a government. The BNP also achieved its highest ever vote in parliamentary election by getting 7% of the vote in the recent Dagenham by-election (1511 votes) thus saving its deposit for the first time ever.

All this the BNP achieved despite being a tiny party (less than 2000 members) and facing overwhelming odds of 'anti-fascists' on the streets; the massed ranks of gullible student followers of ANL, the well-healed middle-class followers of ARA, and the cynical recruiting front of Militant's YRE. Their supporters and members run into tens of thousands yet they seem almost useless in the face of small but well organised teams of BNP members active during campaigns.

AFA is more effective than it's rival anti-fascists but still seems to make very little impression on the fascists or it's national support. I am sure you can cite numerous one-off cases of 'success' but that doesn't change the fact that AFA's strategy and tactics by and large have almost no effect on the BNP and it's activities, nor do you prevent the steady growth of their support in working-class communities. The only way to defeat fascism forever is to displace them politically from their heartlands of support by building a credible working class revolutionary socialist movement especially in the areas that are currently most supportive of the BNP (Isle of Dogs, Poplar, Stepney, Newham etc.)

AFA contributes nothing to this cause and thus contributes nothing to the cause of the working class. It just helps to protect the status quo by playing the game the bosses want us to. Right versus left instead of poor versus rich and workers versus capitalism. You are a distraction from the more urgent task of confronting the working class's main enemy, the evil empire of capitalism, which is the source from which fascism flows. Fascism will exist as long as capitalism exists and the only way to get rid of fascism forever is to destroy capitalism.

Until then you are just playing games and living a lie. Fascism may be defeated for a generation but when the capitalist cycle of economic slump comes round again so will fascism. Fascism is like a weed. You can chop it down but while it's roots (capitalism) survive it will always spring up once again in time. One must treat a disease at it's source.

Yours Sincerely

Mark T.

P.S. Don't take these criticisms to heart, I am sure you mean well.

FT: Mean Well? Well obviously not to the fascists. We don't really have a lot of time for patronising know-it-all Lefties either. Even so, we felt your letter would help us make a few points, as it did contain some considered (if not valid) criticisms.

To the point really, where rather than make a brief reply here, we've used your letter as the basis for our middle pages article The Acid Test. You'll see your criticisms, along with others, answered there. (Take your time, we know it's a bit long).

Comradely,

Editorial Team,
Ticfaidh Ar La
PO Box 266
Glasgow G42 8EA
Most people have heard of Sir Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts getting stopped at the Battle of Cable Street in East London, but the story of the fight against fascism in other parts of the country in the 1930s is less well known. "In Exiled Times" is a new book that traces the rise and fall of fascism in the North East of England from the 1920s to the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Italian influenced British Fascists were the first overtly fascist party to be launched in this country, and were established in Newcastle by 1925. Staffed by right-wing ex-army officers, they dressed in the uniform of the Black and Tans, the murdering British mercenaries who fought in Ireland in 1920. Internal divisions led to the collapse of the British Fascists by 1926, the final order of the Newcastle Zone Commander being to join the strike-breakers in the General Strike of that year.

In 1931, the international economic crisis led to the formation of the National Government, which involved all the major parties (Tory, Liberal and Labour) uniting to save capitalism. Working class organisations became part of a "communist threat" and the conditions were there for the emergence of a fascist party to smash the Left and restore "law and order". The British Union of Fascists (B.U.F.) was subsequently launched by Sir Oswald Mosley in 1932.

The North East has a long tradition of working class organisation and when the BUF held their first major public rally on Newcastle's Town Moor during Race Week (a major working class occasion) in 1933, only weeks after Hitler had banned trade union and progressive organisations in Germany, their lorry was overturned and they were chased off.

Being a major industrial area, the fascists realised that if they were to grow in the North East they had to break the influence of the traditional working class organisations. Tommy Moran, an examiner and boxer, and John Beckett, the former left-wing Independent Labour Party MP for Gateshead, were selected to front the campaign. Their credibility as ex-Labour men seemed more appropriate than the ex-army officers who generally led the movement. People like Captain Bruce-Norton (the B.U.F. Area Political Officer) who had gone to Ireland after the First World War to fight with the Royal Irish Constabulary's Auxiliaries against Irish independence.

After Mosley visited Durham in late 1933 fascist violence increased, smashing up left-wing meetings and attacking left-wing bookshops. The BUF had some success in recruiting young unemployed youth with no class loyalty, petty criminals who wouldn't think twice about nicking from their own. The BUF was also well funded and able to provide uniforms and paid part-time work, an attractive prospect for some in an area of mass unemployment. These were their "footsoldiers", commanded by an almost endless supply of middle class ex-army officers. But fascism in the North East wasn't just about the street activities of the Blackshirts.

The 20s and 30s saw significant support in the British Establishment for fascism. Indeed, one of the initial converts in the 20s was the Duke of Northumberland, looking to protect his estates and wealth. Although most of these people didn't directly associate themselves with the BUF, they used their wealth and influence to gain support for the fascist regimes in Europe. Two of the major industrialists in the North East fitted this category - Lord Armstrong (the armaments tycoon) and Lord Runciman (multi-millionaire shipowner). But the main spokesman for Hitler's Nazis among the English Establishment and the Tory Party was Lord Londonderry, heir to the Durham coalfields, whose family had been genuinely hated by generations of Durham miners. A man who developed his politics during the pogroms that were part of the bloody creation of the Northern Ireland statelet, where he served as Leader of the Senate from 1921-26. By
the 30s, he was a personal friend of Hitler, Goering and Ribbentrop. Despite his close links with the Nazi regime in Germany, he and his wife, another rabid fascist, were given public office by Chamberlain’s Tory government as late as 1937.

There were many different organisations involved in the anti-fascist movement - trade unions, Independent Labour Party, Communist Party, National Unemployed Workers Movement, local Labour Parties (the leadership, then as now, was firmly opposed to confronting the fascists). Sometimes there were local united fronts for particular activities, sometimes one organisation would take the lead, and a number of co-ordinating bodies existed at various times.

The real benefits gained by the National Unemployed Workers Movement - fighting dole cuts, providing social centres, organising "Hunger Marches", meant BUF attacks on the NUWU as "Red Subversives" fell on deaf ears, and many unemployed miners, engineering and shipyard workers became actively involved against the fascists. The lessons for today are clear.

During 1933-34 the fascists held many indoor and outdoor meetings all over the North East - and plenty were stopped. Some by physical attack, some by drowning out the speaker, and occasionally by the police who feared serious trouble. In May 1934 the physical struggle against the fascists was increased with the formation of the Anti-Fascist League (AFL) or "Greyshirts" (they also wore a uniform). Almost exclusively working class in composition, they defended left-wing meetings (but maintained their independence from any one party), "interviewed" fascist recruits, and attacked fascist meetings. Not just responding to fascist violence, but setting their own militant anti-fascist agenda.

The fascist campaign reached a watershed in the early summer of 1934. An unsuccessful Blackshirt attack on an ILP May Day rally in Gateshead effectively decided their fate. The fascists were planning a major rally with Mosley at Newcastle's Town Moor during Race Week and a series of meetings were arranged to promote the rally. In response to the May Day attack, on 13 May several thousand anti-fascists, led by the AFL in "plainclothes", stopped a fascist meeting in Newcastle, followed them back to their Headquarters and laid siege to it - broken glass and blood everywhere. The next night the BUF meeting was in Gateshead. Thousands turned out to oppose it and it was forced to close down early, and only a large police presence prevented the thousands who followed them back over the Tyne from getting hold of the fascists. Once again the BUF HQ was put under heavy siege. On 1st June the Gateshead BUF office was wrecked (probably by the AFL). Beckett and Moran were moved out of Newcastle in disgrace, and with fierce opposition promised, Mosley's Race Week Rally was cancelled. Not surprisingly, the effectiveness of the AFL's militant tactics led to MIS taking a close interest (SOUNDS familiar!)

Attempts were made by the BUF to move their operations to North Shields, but this failed after two rallies got turned over in the summer of '34. The fascists were in disarray, unable to do what they wanted, and Newcastle BUF duly split in August '34. They did reorganise in 1935, and Mosley spoke at Newcastle City Hall in July, but the opposition was so loud that he stormed out after only 15 minutes. Other smaller meetings were tried but the tide had turned, in July 400 miners smashed a BUF meeting in Sunderland. In November Mosley had one more try with a rally in South Shields, next to the Arab "quarter", hoping to start a race riot. Fascist stewards were bussed in from all over the country, but the anti-fascists mobilised thousands, and with fighting inside and outside the hall, fascist buses bricked on their way out, the meeting wasn't a success.

After 1935, BUF activity petered out in the North East, the fascists being mainly confined to London from then on. Undoubtedly, without the level of opposition they faced, the outcome would have been different. Despite considerable efforts, the BUF attempt to break into the working class in the North East failed.

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War kept anti-fascists busy raising money for food and medicine to aid the fight against Franco, and over 100 anti-fascists from the North East fought in Spain with the International Brigade, 24 were killed.

The information in this article is taken from "In Excited Times: The People Against the Blackshirts", by Nigel Todd, published by Bevick Press. The book is only 120 pages long so it is an easy read, but it is full of information, well researched and well illustrated. As militant anti-fascists a bit more on the AFL would have been useful, but all the same, a recommended read.

WEARSIDE MEMORIAL MEETING
IN HONOUR OF THE MEN OF SUNDERLAND AND DISTRICT WHO DIED FOR DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN

FRED PERKINS

"THE BATTLE CAN'T BE FORGETTEN"

WEARSIDE MEMORIAL MEETING - FRIDAY, 10 MARCH

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"THE BATTLE CAN'T BE FORGETTEN"

AND FIFTY EX-BROADCASTERS

WEARSIDE BATTLE HONOURS

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KALIPHZ
Hang 'em High
(London Records)

"[Kaliphz]'s new single Hang 'em High, an anti-BNP/KKK diatribe falls into the
familiar trap, whereby the Left when angry automatically adopts the knee-
jerking mindset of the Right. Do you really want cab-driver style to string-
up racists and fascists, boys? Whatever happened to compassion and re-
education?"

These are the words of Ian Gittins, reviewing Hip-hop outfit, Kaliphz, in the
Melody Maker of 3 December '94. What the fuck is it with the MM and their
"Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Fascists" campaign, that was first
launched against AFA stalwarts Blaggers Blaggera?

Compassion and re-education are all fine and dandy when you're talking to
Mr, Mrs and Joe Public Junior, but when the likes of C18, BNP or B&H are
pouring petrol through your letterbox, the time for talking is over. Of course
it's easy for the likes of Gittins with his cosy job and (undoubtedly) white skin
to preach tolerance, but when you're five young Asians from the working class
town of Rochdale the reality is quite different; and the long list of black and
Asian victims of racist murders on the sleeve of this CD bears testimony to
this.

But over to the CD itself. The cover is totally up-front, no effort to endear
themselves to the bastions of Radio 1, Take That fans or Melody Maker
journalists and every effort to overturn the stereotype of Asians as pacifists.
The picture turns the whole Blood and Honour thing on its head, for though it
shows a public lynching, this time those swinging from the rope are a fascist
babehead and a klansman.

The music is no disappointment either (especially if you're a Cypress Hill fan)
the CD contains three mixes of which the noose is ready version is best.
Altogether this represents a steady move forward for Kaliphz, producing an
AFA "anthem" for the nineties to update The Men They Couldn't Hang's excellent
Ghosts of Cable Street, though the lads will have to tread carefully balancing
between the indie-political circuit and the
mainstream Hip-hop scene as they build
a following. Fighting Talk wishes them
well.

Finally, a few words from Kaliphz on AFA (from the NME)...

"That's our direction, eye for an eye, life for a life. The only problem with
retaliation is that it has to be organised. Killing innocent people doesn't achieve
anything. You have to do what AFA do: find the nazis and sort them out. We're
not talking about looking for any white person in the street. That's cowardice.
But we are going to slap the fascists. We believe they're [AFA] the one
organisation that goes out there and does something. They make it physically
hard for the nazis to move in this
country. This is the only European
country where the nazis don't have a
firm foothold and that's because of
AFA."

MARK HAYES
THE NEW RIGHT IN BRITAIN.
(PLUTO PRESS)

Mark Hayes' excellent new book is an examination of the authoritarian
responses of a section of the ruling class looking to protect their wealth as the
economy collapses; "...many of the western industrialised nations became
more receptive to radical right-wing ideas during the 1980s. At the level of public
policy this has meant widespread privatisation, deep cuts in welfare
provision and a significant reduction in public expenditure levels ..."

Hayes identifies a variety of groups on the Conservative New Right: from Roger
Scruton and John Casey, of the Conservative Philosophy Group and
Salisbury Review, to Common Cause and Tory Action, the Monday Club and
the lunatic Action for Biblical Witness to Our Nation.

What all these represent is, effectively, maintenance of the status quo at the
explicit expense of the working class. As Hayes says; "The emphasis upon
nationalism and tradition, the necessity of strong political leadership ... the
commitment to the belief that order must precede rights, and the adherence to a
loosely defined cultural racism - all of these features are shared, to some
degree, by neo-conservatives and classic fascists. And all of these facets are
underpinned by the commitment to private
property and capitalism."

Groups like the NF and Revolutionary Conservative Caucus have recognised
the Right of the Conservative party as fertile ground for them. Within a consensus
between Conservatism and Social
Democracy (whether it be Major and
Blair, or Thatcher and Mitterand) that
the crisis of capitalism can only be solved
in the manner set down by the New Right,
and the failure of a pro-Labour Left to
oppose effectively this consensus, the
ideas of the New Right, and their ultra-
right shadow the BNP, can begin to look
like common sense. The BNP have
an edge because they can pretend 1) that
they are not the establishment and 2)
unlike Major, they can, out of office,
pretend that the white working class will
be exempt from authoritarian measures.

An interesting book that's definitely worth a read.

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