



FIGHTING TALK

Issue 11

Price £1

**Anti-Fascist
Action**

**INSIDE
FEATURE**

A War Against Fascism?

Front Cover:

Mussolini and friends receive the people's verdict.

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APPEAL FOR INFORMATION

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

JOIN AFA

In the fight against fascism in Britain, Anti-Fascist Action has a record that is second to none. Our unique combination of physical confrontation and ideological struggle has produced results time and again. We say no platform for fascists - no meetings, no marches, no paper sales, no leafleting - and we mean it, as the fascists know only too well. Our aim is to cause the maximum disruption to fascist activities. But that doesn't mean that AFA only needs street-fighters. Far from it. Everyone has a role to play in AFA, whether they feel confident in physical confrontations or not. None of our successes in physically confronting the fascists would have been possible without the contribution of non-combatants. From legal observers to scouts, from leafleters to people who can write articles or speak at meetings, AFA needs people with a whole range of skills if it is to continue to succeed.

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

Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

AFA CONTACTS

MIDLANDS AND WALES	Cardiff AFA c/o Wolverhampton AFA	Edinburgh AFA PO Box 421 Edinburgh EH11 1QD	SCOTLAND	
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	Sheffield AFA c/o Black Star, PO Box 446, Sheffield	Oxford AFA BCM Box 1715, London WC1N 3XX		
	Tyne & Wear AFA 4, The Cloth Market, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE11EA	Plymouth AFA c/o London AFA		
	Wigan AFA C/o Manchester AFA	Portsmouth AFA, Southampton AFA, Surrey AFA c/o London AFA		
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IN THE AREA

In the early 1990s, the BNP had a much higher public profile than they do today. Nowadays, despite an occasional election campaign, the strategy is to keep the party organisation together and wait for a Labour government, when they feel there will be greater opportunities for the Far Right. As John Tyndall, the BNP leader, explains, "This swing to Labour is likely to be the dominating feature of British politics for the next two or three years - until we have a Labour government that has been in office long enough to show that nothing in that party has really changed. For this reason it is important that the BNP, while striving hard to make an even bigger impact at the polls, should not engage in unrealistic dreams as to what it can achieve in the short term." (*Spearhead*, Jan. 1995).

Despite their move away from public events, which AFA has a good record of disrupting, AFA groups around the country remain active and organised.

Saturday 28th January saw three anti-fascist activities on the same day, which serve to illustrate (again) the difference between the ANL and AFA. The annual Bloody Sunday march has been a focus for fascist/Loyalist attacks over the years, and as such is of interest to militant anti-fascists. This year the march organisers moved it from London to Manchester.

Three AFA squads patrolled the route of the march, and in a series of skirmishes the fascists took a clear second prize. One group of unfortunate BNP members, who had gathered outside a pub, were trapped in a classic pincer movement by two AFA stewards groups and suffered accordingly. Clown of the Day award goes to the idiot who, while stood next to several AFA stewards, started brandishing his St George's Flag and boasting about doing the "reds". Predictably, the ensuing debate was short, sharp and painful. Yet again Manchester has proved to be a no-go area for fascists.

While fascist morale was getting dented in Manchester, in Winchester the situation was equally bleak. The campaign to get John Morse sacked from his job as a bus driver had called another demonstration, and when these demonstrations had been

called on two previous occasions, each time they had attracted prominent fascists from London and the South East to "counter-demonstrate" in defence of Morse.

Consequently a joint operation was organised by Southampton and Surrey AFA. After a preliminary survey of the area a number of "suspects" were identified in a pub adjacent to the bus station. A small AFA contingent entered the pub with the intention of making sure that these individuals were "activists". As the march passed the pub itself, it was evident that these individuals were not simply pro-BNP but had come from Birmingham with the specific intention of attacking the demonstrators. By convincing this group that they were sympathetic, the AFA members accompanied these fascists up the city centre high street with the intention of "picking off leftist stragglers". The fascists were, in fact, led directly into a contingent of militant anti-fascists where they were

"dealt with" in the appropriate manner. Those elements of the BNP from Birmingham were last seen hiding in shops and scrambling for the protection of the local constabulary - all very undignified for the "master race."

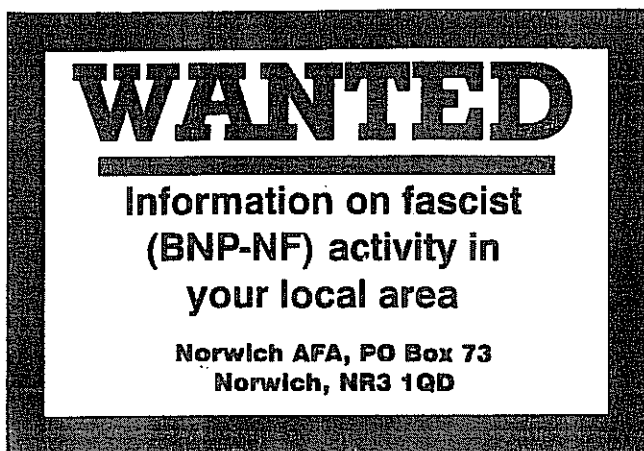
In contrast to the damage inflicted on the fascists in Manchester and Winchester, the ANL demonstration in Cardiff provided the fascists with the opportunity to boost their morale, with an ANL car and its passengers getting blitzed. The ANL's continuing failure to take the threat of fascist violence seriously allows them (in this case probably C18) to score easy victories which encourages them to carry out further attacks.

It's not just the ANL whose shallow approach to anti-fascism winds us up. In March two rival demonstrations were called in East London to protest against racist violence. The first march dishonestly claimed to have the support of virtually every major anti-fascist and



Bloody Sunday

AFA ROUND-UP



New Sticker from Norwich AFA, details from PO BOX 73, NORWICH NR3 1QD

anti-racist organisation. On the day only 70 people turned up. The second march was cancelled to save the embarrassment of attracting even less people. In an area where the BNP can count on between 10-20% in local elections, it is totally unforgivable and potentially disastrous, for small groups of political opportunists to behave like this.

In the West Midlands, AFA continue to keep the pressure on the fascists. A pub that was used regularly by the NF, for relatively well attended meetings, has been persuaded to stop allowing the fascists the use of the premises. In another pub incident, AFA was informed that "50 Blood & Honour boneheads" had turned up at a city centre pub to attack an anti-racist band. After weighing up the information, which had come from flaky ex-AFA elements who are prone to exaggerate, it was decided to send half a dozen AFA stewards to have a look. Suffice to say that the B&H boneheads (who numbered around 10!) came off somewhat the worse for wear and were last seen disappearing into the Birmingham sunset.

Surprisingly, the ANL invited West Midlands AFA to have a stall at a benefit gig they had organised. Not surprisingly, when the AFA contingent arrived, they found out the real reason they had been asked to come to the gig was because at the previous gig the ANL put on, the fash turned up and one of their supporters was stabbed. Another interesting little tale about Birmingham ANL was when they contacted AFA one evening in early April to say that they had found out that the fascists would be leafleting the next day for the council elections. Sure enough, the fascists did go leafleting, and an AFA raiding party narrowly missed them, but what was interesting was that the ANL didn't turn out a single person. Think of all the times the ANL have led people on wild goose chases (when there was never any chance of the fash being there) and now, when the fash have

turned up, the ANL are nowhere to be seen.

Significantly, Birmingham AFA have been approached by several Villa fans who have informed us that since the trouble at the England v Ireland game in Dublin, there has been an increase in Loyalist and fascist singing in pubs near the ground. One in particular includes certain individuals who were arrested in

Dublin but at the time denied any Loyalist/fascist links. So it is interesting to find out that they have been leading the singing and dishing out C18 stickers. Discussions are taking place between Villa supporters in AFA and these new contacts to see what can be done. One of the Villa supporters said, "Many of us are sick of hearing this shit and were going to do something ourselves, but after hearing about AFA's successes we decided that a joint approach would be our best bet!"

An AFA delegation approached the landlord of one of the 'problem' pubs and were suprised when he gave them a copy of a leaflet he had been giving out asking punters not to sing racist songs. Now we can't say for certain if this was 'insurance' against an 'anticipated' AFA visit, or whether the police had got on the case, but either way we'll be monitoring the situation with interest. Watch this space.

The developments at Aston Villa are important as C18 continue to try and win influence at football. Similarly the successful sales of *Fighting Talk* at grounds in Glasgow, Manchester and London show the potential for building a militant anti-fascist opposition among football supporters.

Finally from the Midlands, we are pleased to see that Leicester AFA have recently reorganised themselves and can now be contacted at PO Box 320, Leicester, LE1 5WS.

More branch news, this time north of the border, where Fife AFA has been launched, covering Dunfermline, Glenrothes, and Kircaldy. They can be contacted through the Edinburgh address for the time being.

Meanwhile in Billingham, we hear things haven't been going too well for the stormtroopers of the Billingham National Socialist Freikorps (oh, yes!). One of

their members, David Draper, was recently convicted of nine offences of having racially inflammatory material for display, publishing and distribution. On hearing of his son's conviction (he got Community Service) Draper's father said, "My son's head is full of crap. I would like to get hold of the people who poisoned his mind." Local anti-fascists are wondering whether Draper senior is into sado-masochism?

Inside sources inform us that Bullingdon Prison has a new guest, Matthew Osbury, who first came to attention when he was nicked following an attack on an anti-racist meeting in Hounslow. He got off then, claiming to be an innocent bystander. This time, however, when he was nicked following a row between Chelsea fans and a group of squaddies in London, he was found to be in possession of a Loyalist flag and Far Right calling cards. Osbury is spending his time inside learning German - doubtless to further European integration! His Chelsea friends might also be interested to learn that he's been chatting to the National Football Intelligence Unit, who came to visit him shortly before the Dublin match. We hear he was less than forthright in telling them to piss off ...

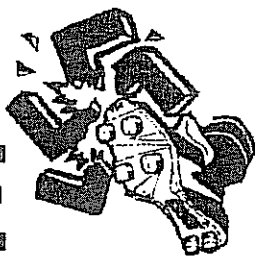
While we're on the subject of strange meetings, we were interested to see Eddy Whicker in Manchester recently. Who was he meeting in Shambles Square and what was in the envelope he passed over?

Another example of the links between fascists and Loyalists is young Lee Reynolds - the man who recently challenged James Molyneaux for the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party. Reynolds has connections with Loyalist paramilitaries and is a supporter of the International Third Position, one of the groups that emerged from the splits in the NF in the 1980s. Still in Belfast, we hear Blood & Honour posters recently went up in Loyalist areas, only to be taken down on the orders of the Ulster Democratic Party (the political wing of the Ulster Freedom Fighters). Presumably the UDP's high profile in the Peace Process has led to concerns about their public image?

A few fascists are standing in the May local elections (report next issue). One area where they haven't got off to a good start is Blackpool, where we hear the BNP organiser had some problems while leafleting and decided to check out the local NHS facilities. What is the world coming to?

Keep sending in those little snippets.

LEVELLING THE SCORE



IT'S OFFICIAL!

In February at a well attended social in Glasgow, Celtic supporters officially launched 'Celtic Anti-Fascists'. This is the end product of nearly 3 years hard work successfully promoting the ideas of militant anti-fascism among Celtic supporters.

Thousands of stickers have gone up, the 'Celtic Anti-Fascists' banner appears at many games and articles are regularly printed in the Celtic fanzine 'Tiofaidh Ar La'. As a direct result of this work an increasing number of supporters have come on anti-fascist activities.

The organisation is now drawing up an Anti-Fascist charter which will be taken to Celtic Supporters Clubs around the country. Initially it is planned to get 50 supporters clubs on board and the other Celtic fanzines have been approached to support the campaign.

The purpose of the Charter is to get a general endorsement of anti-fascism from the supporters and the club, but the emphasis is on practical implementation of the policy by Celtic supporters themselves. The Anti-Fascist Charter is a fan based initiative which would welcome the support of the club if it happened, but will continue anyway.

Celtic supporters from Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Birmingham and London were at the social, which shows the widespread support that exists already for the campaign. As the fascists continue to recruit at football grounds, campaigns like these become more important, and Celtic Anti-Fascists would like to hear from other anti-fascist supporters.

Contacts have already been made with some Hibs supporters, and groups in Europe, so the potential is there to build an anti-fascist movement among football supporters.



Fighting Talk regularly covers events at football. The fascists see football as "their" turf, but only because they are rarely challenged in any meaningful way. By meaningful, we inevitably mean physical, because this is where the "liberal" anti-racist campaigns fall down. They talk a lot about "fascist violence" but because they are unable to resist it, they have to rely on the police in order to be able to operate. To win away potential recruits from the fascists, we have to provide an effective alternative.

GOOD NEWS

The events at Selhurst Park and Lansdowne Road forced the issues of racism and fascism onto the national stage. The Manchester United anti-fascist fanzine 'Red Attitude' featured prominently in the subsequent media extravaganza. Altogether we were featured or interviewed by BBC1, BBC2, Radio 5, The Guardian, The Independent, The News of the World, Manchester Evening News and When Saturday Comes, as well as the French papers Liberation and L'equipe.

Following the assault by Eric Cantona on a Crystal Palace supporter at Selhurst Park, our suspicions of the victim's political affiliations were confirmed by reports in various daily papers claiming that he was a BNP and NF supporter. This confirms the widely held belief that wearing a leather jacket with a shirt and tie not only indicates dodgy fashion sense, but dodgy politics as well.

Red Attitude immediately sent out a press release fully endorsing Eric's actions, given the nature of the racist abuse he was forced to endure. It further added that supporters of Red Attitude would need no such provocation to attack this racist thug. We therefore found ourselves in the unique position of being the only organisation which voiced the opinion of the majority of United fans in completely backing Eric. For us, the question was simple - BNP supporter racially abuses French person. French person physically abuses racist - No problem.

For others the question was less clear-cut. Supporters organisations, political groups and numerous individuals who would all proclaim themselves to be anti-racist, felt unable to condone Eric's

actions on the grounds that anti-French racism is not a problem in this country. In other words, because French people aren't being attacked in the street or burnt out of their homes then racist remarks about French people can be disregarded, or worse, treated as a joke. Perhaps these people could provide us with a list of which other races and nationalities they consider it acceptable to abuse!

Following the Eric incident, Old Trafford was suddenly swamped by a ragbag collection of assorted ANL and YRE members who leafleted the next two home matches. Predictably their antics were ignored by football supporters who treated them with the contempt they deserved. Opportunism and band wagon jumping is no substitute for consistent hard work. Thankfully we had previously put enough distance between ourselves and them for their antics not to adversely affect us. These clowns cleared off, but were soon to return after the events in Dublin, with yet another irrelevant leaflet.

The riot at Lansdowne Road presented Red Attitude with another opportunity to promote anti-fascist politics to a national audience via the media. Above all, what Dublin proved was that there is a need for anti-fascist football supporters to start getting organised on a national level similar to the BAFF organisation in Germany. The fascists have recognised the need to get the football firms united under their banner. It is vital that we don't leave them a clear field.

Issue 5 of Red Attitude which contains an eye-witness account of the events in Dublin is available at 50p (+SAE) from the Manchester AFA address.

PLAYING TO THE CAMERAS

The infamous match between Ireland and England on 15th February provided the fascists with a previously unimaginable propaganda coup. The greed of the FAI added to the incompetence of the policing combined to make Combat 18 a household name in Ireland and England. Headline news in all the papers and even the C18 death's head symbol displayed as a backdrop to the BBC news, was publicity that money could not buy.

Aware of the fascist following of the English team, AFA in Ireland set about countering their presence. We stickered the centre of Dublin and the area surrounding the ground. In the days before the match we kept a look out for known fascists among the English fans and for any fascist paraphernalia. On the night of the game we were outside the ground selling the anti-fascist football fanzines 'Tiocfaidh Ar La' and 'Red Attitude'. We were unchallenged all night.

The scenes displayed on TV screens from Lansdowne Road seemed to indicate a full scale riot when in fact the level of violence was quite tame. Apart from the initial attacks on Irish fans in the immediate vicinity of the English section there were very few clashes between English and Irish fans.

The English never attempted to get on to the pitch, even though there was nothing to stop them. They were quite happy with their achievement of disrupting the game and adding to their 'fearsome' reputation. What the TV viewer didn't see was a crowd of Irish supporters, including AFA members, get onto the pitch and attempting to get at the fascists. The police didn't hesitate in batoning the Irish fans in an attempt to clear them off the pitch while allowing the English fans to continue breaking up seats and attacking people in the stands. In fact the first arrests of the night were of Irish fans trying to get at the English. At one stage there were about 100 Irish fans on the pitch trying to get at the English fans.

With no chance of confronting the fascists at the ground AFA went into Dublin city centre to check out the English fans for any obvious fascist presence. Contrary to Charlie 'Fat Bastard' Sargent's

interview in the *News of the World* neither he nor any 'known' fascist faces were openly in the city centre. The police in the city centre stewarded the groups of English fans from place to place, ensuring that no one got near them. Apart from a few minor scuffles there was no trouble, a situation no doubt helped by buses coming from areas surrounding the city centre reportedly being stopped and any 'likely lads' being removed.

Even given the massive publicity and hype that the fascists received there were moments of amusement for anti fascists in the following days. Seeing some of the English 'hard men' crying and even begging the judge not to send them back to Mountjoy Jail was one. Another was the arrested English fans being put in with the perverts for their own safety in Mountjoy only to be attacked in the special section. This puts the fascists on an even lower evolutionary scale than child molesters!!

Another interesting aspect of the affair was the different strands of the media and the agenda to which they were working. From the mainstream newspapers hyping up the whole thing in an effort to sell more papers, to the likes of 'Searchlight's' Gerry Gable claiming the whole thing was a pre-planned attack by C18 on the Irish Peace Process!! Don't create the hype, Gerry!. We had the 'Socialist Workers' Irish paper desperately trying to convince themselves that the fascists involved were 'middle class mobile phone carrying thugs'

despised by the rest of the English fans. This was also a point picked up by other 'leftie' groups, a very small minority (1% according to 'Socialist Worker' 5/3/95) causing all the trouble, much to the annoyance of the 'genuine' English fans. Obviously none of the groups had anyone at the match itself. If they had they would have seen that the vast majority of English fans in the Upper West Stand were involved in the trouble. Just because people aren't in organised fascist groups doesn't mean they are not fascists. We also had 'Militant' call for a 'serious campaign ... launched in Britain to stamp racism and fascism out of football' ('Militant' 5/3/95). Ever heard of AFA, Celtic Fans Against Fascism, Red Attitude.....comrades ?

Of all the Irish media coverage of events at Lansdowne Rd. only two papers commented on AFA's campaign around the match, with 'Trinity News' acknowledging our 'significant presence' at the ground. This lack of attention to the fightback should not surprise us. For the mainstream media admitting that there were Irish fans willing to fight the fascists would damage the much hyped 'best fans in the world' reputation of Irish supporters. For the 'leftie' press admitting that the fascists can be beaten by physical as well as ideological methods would mean having to abandon their talking shops and lollipop protests in favour of action. No chance, Comrade!



Irish fans get stuck in

"The presence of the fascists was matched by a significant number of the Anti Fascist Action grouping. This is a British based organisation which promotes the dual policy of confronting the far right ideologically and physically. Like the British National Party, AFA is active in and around soccer grounds. And they had several members selling their fanzine, Red Attitude outside Lansdowne Rd. One of these sellers was unsurprised by the violence, saying that anti fascists were aware over a month before that Combat 18 - the unofficial para-military wing of the BNP - were coming over for the match.

"This is a group that travels with England everywhere, and has attacked Irish pubs in Kilburn after Wembley Internationals, and was prepared for violence. They would not have planned to specifically cause trouble within the ground, but probably could not have believed their luck when they saw the deteriorating state of the West Stand, and the ample amount of ammunition at their disposal."
(Trinity News 2/3/95)

"All right we didn't get off to the best of starts but that doesn't give anyone an excuse to do what they did. If that is what happens everytime we go 1-0 down, then what on earth can we do". (Guardian, 16/2/95).

Alan Shearer displays his grasp of the political significance of events in Dublin.

"Police confessed they knew the Dublin soccer riot was going to happen - but said they were powerless to stop it. Britain's National Football Intelligence Unit had tracked 40 to 50 extreme Right-wing troublemakers and had warned Irish police that the nucleus of a riot was on the way." (Evening Standard, 16/2/95).

Five weeks later a coach load of Cardiff supporters were prevented from going to the game at Plymouth because the police suspected they were going to cause trouble. Ten years ago striking miners were stopped from travelling around the country. Maybe someone wanted the fascists to run riot in Dublin?

"He has served three months in prison and his interests include Hitler and white supremacy." (Sunday World 19/2/95.)

Jerry Lindley (England supporter and fascist enthusiast) gets his CV reproduced.

"And he stressed that if McCarthy ever sees Lindley near 'The Den' that he would "personally" deal with him." (Sunday World, 19/2/95).

Reg Burr (Millwall Chairman) saying what Mick McCarthy (Millwall manager and former Irish captain) would do to Jerry Lindley.

"Blokes were ripping out seats and slinging them down. They were English supporters. I don't think they knew where they were throwing them but a lot of them were landing on the English fans in the tier below. The Irish FA are to blame." (Les Sims, English Supporter, Evening Standard 16/2/95)

"The answer to the problem rests with the courts, magistrates and schools but, most of all, with the parents." (Evening Standard 16/2/95).

So now we know, the problem of fascists organising at football is all down to Mum and Dad!

I venture to suggest the catalyst for this new wave of violence was Eric Cantona's kung-fu kick at Selhurst Park three weeks ago." (Rob Shephard, Chief Football Writer, Today, 16/2/95).

Once again militant anti-fascist activity is blamed for fascist violence.

"Cantona, a hero to the kind of moronic thugs who shamed our country here, should be told never to darken our shores again." (Bob Driscoll, Chief Sports Writer, Daily Star, 16/2/95).

Now maybe we've missed something here, but how do you work out that Cantona - an anti-fascist - is a fascist hero?

"The (Chelsea) Headhunters wear an international match 'uniform' of Union Jack shorts and blue-and-white cloth caps. Many work on building sites and like to flaunt their wads of cash." (News of the World, 19/2/95.)

A "leading police officer" gives his expert opinion on the different football firms. Presumably he also doubles up as a Harry Enfield scriptwriter!

"The neo-Nazi Combat 18 group believed responsible for the Dublin riot preaches race hate at grounds all over the world. Combat 18 get their greatest kicks from starting bloody battles wherever they go. As well as the Irish, they see Jews, blacks, and socialists as the enemies of the British state. Combat 18 members are usually hardened criminals who use cash from burglaries and other organised crimes to fund their trips. They favour skinhead haircuts and long-laced bovver boots. Their violence is launched with the command "Seig Heil". At last nights game England supporters were spotted making the infamous Nazi salute." (Daily Star, 16/2/95)

Nothing like a piece of sober, well researched, background information, eh?

"The military style C18 hierarchy is revealed by another former skinhead leader Neil Parrish, who quit the movement after 15 years claiming he had been brainwashed."

(News of the World, 19/2/95)

"Brainwashed"! More like caught with his hand in the till! Parrish, ever the money grabber, sells his story to the News of the World and grasses up his former mates.

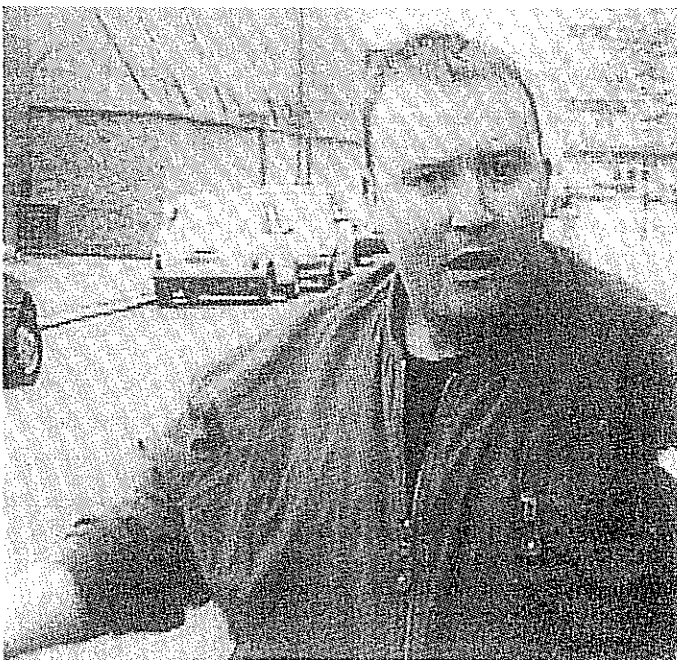
"I don't class my son as a Nazi." (Ivor Sargent, Charlie Sargent's father. Sunday Mirror, 19/2/95)

"I believe in Adolf Hitler and his solutions." (Charlie Sargent, Sunday Express, 19/2/95).

"They were asking for it wearing those Celtic shirts. It was sheer provocation." (Charlie Sargent, Sunday World, 19/2/95).

"I was a member of the National Front in Northern Ireland and a member of the League of Empire Loyalists, does that make me a Nazi?" (Ivor Sargent, Sunday Mirror, 19/2/95).
Quite simply, yes!

"The generals who look like yuppies and would pass as businessmen in their Gucci shoes and Georgio Armani shirts..." (Sunday World, 19/2/95).



...Obviously!

'OUTING' THE FASCISTS

Anti-fascists around Britain will be aware of the strategy of "outing" the fascists in their places of work and campaigning for employers to sack them. This has been enthusiastically taken up by lefty groups like Militant and the SWP, whose front organisations, YRE and ANL, have seen the convenient cover that such a tactic can provide. These groups have abandoned any notion of street activity against fascists in favour of completely inoffensive activities like "outing" and workplace pickets aimed at persuading employers to sack fascist members of staff.

This tactic appears to go hand in hand with ever increasing appeals for the state to take action against the fascists. First we had demands for the state to do the job for us by banning the fascists and closing down the BNP bunker. Next came Searchlight's demands for present legislation like the Prevention of Terrorism Act to be implemented against fascists and then their bizarre call for MI5 to take on 'Nazi terror groups' like C18 (although this is probably no longer the case because Searchlight now say that MI5 set up C18 in the first place!)

What all these strategies and tactics have in common is that they expect someone else, preferably the recognised forces of 'law and order', to take on the role of anti-fascists. In the case of Searchlight, at least their line is consistent in that they have always argued the state has a role to play. In the case of the "revolutionary" Left however, the adoption of a pro-state position is an admission of their weakness, and ultimately their cowardice.

It is apparent that the Left in Scotland have gone back to their previous position that the fascist's strength has been overestimated by AFA and that the best tactic to adopt is to look for maximum publicity in the media by pressurising councils and state institutions to sack those in their employ who hold extreme right-wing ideas. Apart from being a negation of revolutionary politics, it is a tactic which has dangerous implications for the Left as well as the fascists.

In the case of Gavin Robertson, the Edinburgh BNP organiser who works at the Scottish Office, after AFA had found out where he worked the SWP and Militant jumped on the bandwagon and organised a series of pickets demanding that he be dismissed. On one occasion Robertson spotted some AFA supporters on the picket and pointed them out to the police, claiming that they had attacked him previously. The same police force, to whom Searchlight and the Left would turn over the duties of anti-fascism, then arrested the militant anti-fascists.

More importantly though is the case in East London where a council worker was suspended for allegedly appearing on television as an AFA representative. In this case, due to support from fellow trade unionists at work, he was reinstated. This highlights several points. Employers cannot be looked to for a progressive lead, and as the political climate becomes more hostile to the Left, calls for the dismissal of right-wingers will be matched with demands for the sacking of left-wingers. It also shows the importance of having the support of the people that you work with.

In Glasgow, Militant/YRE have initiated campaigns against two leading fascists - Gus McLeod and Scott McLean - who both work for the council. The campaigns have concentrated on getting the council to sack them rather than getting other council employees to force them out. It is ironic that Militant, who have shop stewards on the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of the council workforce, should recognise the impotence of their own trade union activists by appealing directly to their employers for the sacking of McLeod and McLean.

With very little chance of success, the YRE continue these campaigns largely as a publicity stunt to recruit new members, and they also present an opportunity for Militant to show how much more 'radical' they are than the Labour Party and in the hope of winning a few more votes for their own council candidates. In either case, their motives are about themselves rather than the anti-fascist struggle.

The campaign in Winchester against John Morse (editor of the BNP's *British Nationalist*) has been similarly mishandled. There's not much point calling for his sacking when the company he works for (Hampshire Bus Company) kept his job open for him when he was jailed in 1986 for inciting racial hatred. Even his union, the RMT, wouldn't throw him out. As the campaign drags on the lack of support for the anti-fascists (from Morse's employer and his workmates) turns to support for the fascist who is being "victimised". And it has to be said that calling on an

NOT WANTED



Gus McLeod

District Council worker
Security Guard
Burrell Collection



Scott McLean

District Council worker
Joiner
Housing Repairs Team

Scottish YRE campaign leaflet.

employer to sack someone rings all the wrong bells for a lot of working class people.

We are not for a moment suggesting that the activities of fascists in the workplace are not important. They obviously are, but there needs to be serious thought given to the best way to deal with them. Any campaign to get rid of a fascist from work should be organised by the other people who work there. When BNP activist Simon Chadwick worked for the DSS in Sheffield, it was people who worked with him who were the backbone of the campaign to get rid of him, and it came as no surprise to us that the management then tried (unsuccessfully) to sack the anti-fascists.

We understand all the arguments about why the fascists should be removed from jobs - access to information on opponents, money, etc. - but unless there

is support for the campaign from other people who work there, we have to be careful that the campaign isn't counter-productive. Starting a campaign and not finishing it is no advertisement for anti-fascism. If anti-fascists decide it's important to start a campaign against fascists at work - a lot more imagination and commitment needs to be applied than appealing to the management.

While militant anti-fascists realise the need to give this subject the consideration it deserves, as usual there are political opportunists who use the anti-fascist movement for their own ends. A final example from Scotland to illustrate the point. A few years ago 4 BNP members were jailed for an attack on the SWP. Another fascist, Eric Brand, did a runner to Switzerland. He recently returned and got a job at Caledonian University. Glasgow AFA found out where he was and were monitoring the situation when the press

picked up rumours and decided to run a story. AFA were contacted and reluctantly agreed to supply more information as it was felt that as the press were going to run a story anyway it would be important that accurate information was put across in order to have the maximum effect on Brand and the BNP.

The response of the Left to the Sunday newspaper story exposing Brand was classic. Brand was sacked by the University as soon as he arrived for work the next morning. However the SWP, who run the Students Union, decided to whip up a storm in a teacup anyway and threatened to occupy the building that Brand worked in. The only problem was they forgot to inform the students that he had been sacked already and wasn't actually there! They later released the information that Brand had been given the bullet - and claimed the victory was as a result of their threatened occupation!

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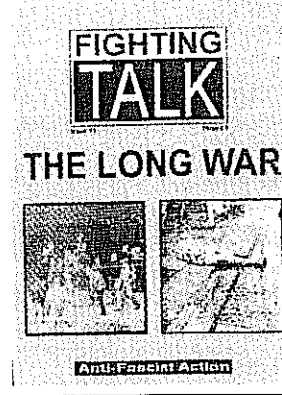
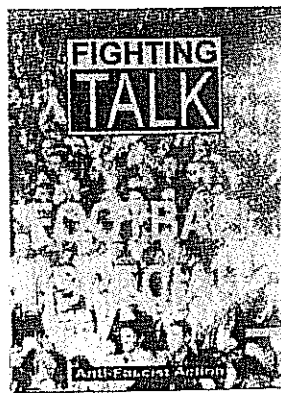
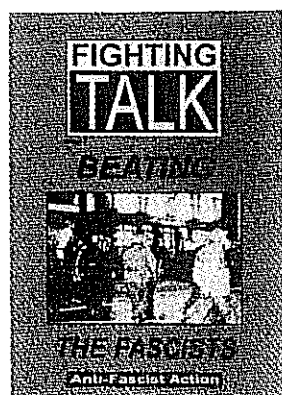
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BEHIND ENEMY LINES



Fresh back from his quarterly briefing with ZOG, "Bungalow" Bill Gothrocks casts an eye over the latest offerings from the NF and the BNP...

I remember being at Craven Cottage (Fulham's Ground) in my distant youth and being shown a copy of the Young National Front's 'newspaper' *Bulldog*. It was trotting out nonsense about white peoples brains being larger and a different shape to those of afro-carribeans (therefore; 'White's is more cleverer, innit'). Fifteen or so years hence, the current National Front Leader and pretender to the throne of Great Britain (see below), Ian "007" Anderson, and his senile ex-fuhrer, "Honest John" Tyndall, are still trying to sell the same 'proofs' in their respective journals.

It seems a certain American Professor, Andrew Murray, has 'stumbled' across 'the fact' that 'Blacks' have a lower IQ rating than 'Whites'. I won't go into the details but needless to say that some Harvard educated twot took some IQ samples, put them into a laptop computer, pressed the magic button, and came up with the proverbial lemon. Not so! Scream our ardent race-protectors, "you can't hide from the truth". One small problem though, the Asian-Americans scored higher than the Whites, oh dear.

No problem mate, leave it to Mr Tyndall; "Reference to the superior IQ rating of Asian Americans demands a qualification, and the qualification is that the 'Europeans' with which this is compared comprise all ethnic groups in US officially classified as 'Caucasian' or 'White', including those indigenous to the Mediterranean fringes and even slightly mixed breeds in which white genes are predominant. Were the same comparisons to be made with Whites originating in North Western Europe, the latter would come out highest of all in the IQ scale." (*The Truth that won't go Away, Spearhead 310 Dec 94*).

I just can't say I'm convinced there John! Maybe Anderson has the answers; "As principled racial nationalists we should also remember that there is some evidence to suggest that some Asian

populations score higher than whites on IQ tests. From our point of view the relative ranking is of less importance than the fact of racial differences. This fact is crucial in this complex area and suggests that there are racial differences in other equally important areas, such as temperament." (*Ethnic Differences Back on the Agenda, Anderson, Vanguard 44*). No, he obviously doesn't.

But these 'differences', I was intrigued. On further reading though he just blurbled on about "Stiff-Upper-Lips", "Natural Rhythm" and all the predictable idiocy, but then I found it, the underlying problem is one of size;

"No one in their right mind believes in the superiority of one race over another however the crucial point is that there are differences and some of these are quite large".

Actually Ian, I have it on good authority that this is an optical illusion based on contrast and the insecurity of the western male in a sexually repressed society. And anyway it's not how big it is it's what you do with it...

For all Anderson's 'principled honesty', the only grain of truth in both these sad tirades of lies and misrepresentation was offered by old Colonel Blimp, in one of his more lucid moments freely admitting that "some 'racists' are indeed nasty pieces of work whose motive in propounding their ideas is rooted in their pleasure in hurting people." Nobody Tyndall knows of course!

It seems that the BNP have a problem with the Labour Party's new leadership style, *Spearhead 311* proclaims "Now the truth has emerged. Blair is stealing the phrases of Clinton." They've also printed a table from the Sunday Times comparing certain key phrases of Blair's to Clinton's. So what? You may ask. Well, after consultation with FT's research team, I can reveal that John Tyndall is also copying another prominent American politician's style, none other than that of Senator Dan Quayle!

We'll be preparing our own evidence of this for a future issue, but if the following

gaffe doesn't have "QUAYLE" stamped all over it, my name isn't Bill Gothrocks. "Some of the old habits of thinking and acting that characterised the previous years in which we worked to build the British National Party had to be discarded and a new format of priorities approached." (*A Time of Transition, Spearhead 311*) I think you'll find John, that the "old habit of thinking" was given up by your membership some years ago!

Anyone with any doubt about Fascist intentions for the white working class should take a look at issue 311 of *Spearhead*. An article entitled "Tyranny and Anarchy Both", by a certain Noel A. Hunt, spells it out. With reference to football supporters' ability to make electoral decisions (whom he describes as hooligans and lager louts) he declares: "As if by magic - and only magic could bring it about - the lout suddenly becomes capable of understanding the pros and cons of the Common Market, for instance, of making far-sighted and disinterested decisions on matters of national policy and of giving a valuable opinion on any matter laid before him."

But it's not just football supporters: "Granting a vote to each and every one of the native British was madness enough. But we went further: every immigrant, now matter how racially or culturally unassimilable, has a vote of right."

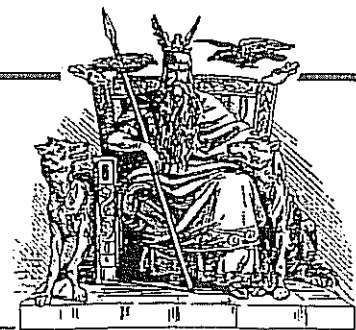
In other words, the extension of the vote to the 'native' working class of this country was the mistake, never mind anybody else. "Loving the White Race" it seems, only applies to the section with the plum in it's mouth. Don't say we didn't warn you.

Last but not least it seems our "Democratic Racial Nationalists" in the NF, are a bit miffed with the House of Windsor, especially the multi-racially inclined Prince Charles. One of the major differences between the BNP and the NF is the desire on the part of the NF to be seen as 'just good patriots with an anti-immigration policy', rather than out-and-out fascists. This still saddles them, rather inconveniently it seems, with the old Queen and Country stuff.

Until now that is, a resolution at the 1995 conference solemnly declares: "Such loyalty can only be given to a Monarch who shows himself worthy of such loyalty and thus this conference believes the time has come to re-examine the Act of Succession with a view to a change to the current line of succession to the throne." (*The Flag, Issue 84*)

King Ian the 1st? Stranger things have happened!

A VIEW FROM VALHALLA



Our intrepid investigator the legendary Dan Woinsaiker, once described as "redder than a London bus but with even more room on top", peers into the darkness of the world that is 'Blood and Honour'.

As we reported in the last issue, the police raided the homes of 2 leading C18 activists in January. We now know that during these raids the police seized a lot of material relating to Blood and Honour, including all the production equipment for the Blood and Honour magazine, all the back issues, the full mailing list, and a thousand copies of the Skrewdriver 'Live at Waterloo' CD. Despite this setback a new issue of Blood and Honour has been produced.

The political control that C18 now have over Blood and Honour comes through loud and clear in the magazine, with a lot of emphasis on National Socialism and anti-police/anti-state rhetoric. The term ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government) used to be confined to extreme right-wing American paramilitary groups like 'The Order', but has now been adopted enthusiastically by Blood and Honour. In fact it appears 12 times in the half page editorial.

C18's political domination of the Nazi skinhead scene continues, and presumably in an effort to isolate any potential opposition, they are now fingering former Blood and Honour boss

Paul Burnley as a tout. "...now that B&H is being steered by uncompromising National Socialists, who have shown to deliver the goods and achieved more in 10 months than the traitor Paul Burnley did in the years he controlled all aspects of B&H, during which time he was never raided by the police...he seems to be untouchable considering he gave himself such a high profile." (Blood and Honour magazine).

Considering the recent raids and possible charges to follow, I was surprised they put this in.... "All nationalists in England please note that from Nov 5th BT has offered a new service called 'call return' this tells the receiver of a call the telephone number of the caller by dialling 1471. To prevent this service being given the caller should dial 141 before the number you dial. Those with Red Watch lists take note." (Blood and Honour magazine).

What with the organisers getting raided and this encouragement to phone threats to opponents, it is no wonder that the Blood and Honour Prisoners Association is now up and running. This is the welfare group for people they describe as prisoners of war. They have started to put out a badly produced newsletter entitled 'Behind the Bars' from Steve Sargent's PO Box in Barnet. They should be doing some swift business as they have twenty people currently behind the bars.

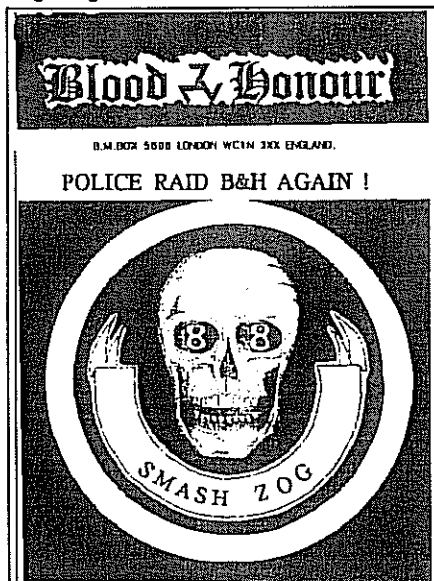
The development of Blood and Honour in Sweden is very interesting with a number of similarities to the situation over here. In the same way that C18 have linked up with Blood and Honour in Britain, in Sweden the militant Nazi Storm Network (Stormnatverk) are tied in with Blood and Honour (Blod och Ara). Gigs are organised in a similar way, with re-direction points for their supporters, although in November last year the fascists were a bit too security conscious about revealing the destination of the gig when most of the audience went to Linköping instead of Lidköping where the actual venue was! But anti-fascists in Sweden tell us that on the whole the Blood and Honour scene has access to considerable resources - which confirms

our view about the amount of money they can raise. In the late 80's Blood and Honour used shops and pubs in London's West End as an international meeting place until AFA closed them down. In Sweden they have tried a similar tactic, using shops in Stockholm ('Asgard' and 'Last Resort') and Goteborg - although the one in Goteborg was 'closed' before it even opened. AFA (Sweden) is continuing to campaign against these 'bases', because where they have been established there has been a considerable rise in fascist violence.

Fascist skinhead groups have come under recent pressure from the police in Germany, Spain and Italy, while the newly formed Blood and Honour 'Ulster Division' has had its Belfast PO box number closed down by the RUC. AFA has never called on the police to take action against the fascists, there is no substitute for an anti-fascist movement, but if these raids cause extra problems for the fascists then I won't be shedding any tears. One thing does worry me though, because there is a danger that if all the attention is put on right-wing skinheads - a very identifiable target - then the fascists in suits become more 'respectable'.

When a gang of skinheads drowned a Moroccan man during the FN demonstration in Paris on May Day, Le Pen, who wears a suit, said the 'skinheads' were nothing to do with his organisation. The obvious danger is when skinheads become the problem and not fascism.

And finally, on a more positive note, Roddy Moreno, the man who launched Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP) in this country, has now reformed The Oppressed to produce the excellent 'Anti-Fascist Oil EP'. Four tracks, all covers, but with new hard-hitting lyrics. My two favourites are a reworking of Sham's 'Borstal Breakout' that now becomes 'Nazi nightmare' and Menace's classic 'GLC' sounds even better as 'BNP (Your Full of Shit)'. Well worth getting and available from: Marcos Mari Brown, Apartada de Correos 1474, 07800 Ibiza, (Balears), Spain. Send £3.50 IMO payable to "Marcos Mari Brown".



A War Against Fascism?

This edition of Fighting Talk contains articles that challenge the commonly held view that the Second World War was an anti-fascist war. 'A Family Affair' discusses the extensive common ground that exists between Conservative and fascist ideology, looks at the relationship between Conservatives and fascists before and during the war, and explains why the war between Germany and Britain was by no means inevitable. 'Staying Behind' looks at the 'resistance' network set up in the West after the war, and how the fascists and Nazis were used (and were willing tools) of the West in the cold war and against the left in Europe. The way the Western Governments immediately made use of Nazi's after the war again highlights that their motivation was in no way anti-fascist. 'Anti-Fascist History' looks at the Edelweiss Pirates and briefly sets out the story of the resistance of youth groups in Nazi Germany and the response of the Nazis. 'Germany Calling' gives an analysis from the perspective of the Autonome Antifa (M).

In this country the 50th anniversary celebrations have included media events, VE Day street parties, and concerts with Vera Lynn and Cliff Richard. By and large, the media have placed an emphasis on the themes of 'victory', 'peace' and the 'national spirit'. Very little analysis has been given to the circumstances that caused the war to come about, or of the motives of the powers involved. The actions of the Germans, for example, are explained by and blamed on Hitler's 'madness'. The motives of the British Government are described in terms of 'the defence of democracy'.

The Second World War was not an anti-fascist war but a war against a powerful Germany (and her allies) that threatened the interests of Britain and the United States. It did see the defeat of the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy, however, fascist governments in Spain and Portugal were allowed to remain in power until the 70's because they were part of an anti-communist alliance that saw the Soviet Union, rather than fascism, as the real enemy of Western interests.

After the war anti-fascists (especially those on the left) in the West were

neutralised through a range of counter-insurgency measures. For example, the British army were used to achieve this in Greece, and the Mafia was used in Italy.

The Western allies were as happy using defeated Nazis as they were using official armies, terrorists groups or criminal gangs. In fact the Mafia had first been used by US intelligence to remove fascist sympathisers amongst Italian-American dock workers in New York and had then been called upon to provide intelligence for the invasion of Italy. A grateful American Government released many Mafia from US prisons, in some instances letting top Mafia leaders out of jail after serving two years of life sentences.

At the same time that anti-fascists were being neutralized in the West many Nazi war criminals also escaped prosecution with the active help of Western intelligence services and also the Catholic Church (the so called Vatican Line). As is now known many Nazis were reintegrated into various governments, the military, the secret services and the judiciary as a bulwark against "communism".

In Britain there is a certain smugness about how we imagine our resistance to fascism. The popular myth, perpetrated by the media, is that the British would have heroically resisted a Nazi invasion and would never have collaborated. Documents recently released about the Channel Islands occupation (the only part of Britain to be occupied by the Nazi's) shows that the majority of the Channel islands establishment collaborated with the Nazi's occupation and with their racial policies. Resistance members in the Islands were betrayed by their neighbours and Jews were identified by the Islands authorities and readily handed over to the Nazis to be sent to their deaths in the camps.

Herbert Morrison assured the Jersey authorities after the liberation that "if anything has been done that needs whitewashing at the other end, I will take care of it." True to their word, after the war some of the top collaborators received medals and knighthoods from the mainland establishment.

In Germany conservatives and reactionaries are claiming that liberation did not occur until 1989 (the fall of the

Berlin Wall) and that this is a more significant date than the end of the war and the allied 'liberation' from the Nazis in 1945. The project of the establishment is to promote the equation that red equals brown and that the crimes of the Nazis are relative to the crimes of the allies (the bombing of Dresden, expelling of Germans from the eastern borderlands, etc.).

Despite all of these attempts at obscuring events it needs to be remembered that the motives of the powers that defeated Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were not the same as the motives of the thousands of anti-fascists who fought in the armed forces, on the 'home front' and in the resistance. The victorious Governments fought Nazism because it threatened their economic and imperialist interests. Anti-fascists fought, and died, in their thousands in Spain, France, Italy, Germany and Russia to destroy forever a regime and an ideology they hated. It was fortunate for these governments that their interests and those of the anti-fascists briefly coincided and it made it much easier for them to mobilise their populations in a war for 'freedom' and 'democracy' and 'against fascism' rather than in a war for markets and colonies.

If we are to commemorate the war in any way we should remember those who fought and died for our cause, we should remember the ruling classes and collaborators who made it possible for the Nazis and fascists to come to power and understand why they let them do it, and we should continue to challenge the distorted view of history that is being pumped out by the media and the establishment all across Europe.



A Family Affair

This year is the fiftieth anniversary of the allied victory over the fascist dictators in Europe. Half a century ago, British troops were engaged in the last stages of a prolonged military campaign designed to destroy fascist regimes. There will, inevitably, be numerous "activities" organised throughout Britain, which will be specifically designed to commemorate victory and remember the dead. Many will take part in, or observe, these proceedings with respect. Every speech, every dedication, every wreath will doubtless reinforce the image of Britain as a nation steadfast in its opposition to fascism. In actual fact there is a sense in which the war against Germany and Italy (and to a lesser degree Japan) between 1939 and 1945 may have confused the ideological picture. By defeating the dictators in 1945 the implication is that the British are, and have always been, implacably opposed to fascism in practice. More specifically, the experiences of the 'war against fascism' have tended to obscure the nature of the relationship between conservatism and fascism.

Conventional analysis appears to suggest that there is a very distinct qualitative difference between conservatism and fascism. Indeed some "experts" have even argued that fascism has far more in common with communism and socialism, hence references to "left-wing fascism", "extremism", "totalitarianism" and so on. Such descriptions tend to reinforce the notion that there are some political ideas which are "beyond the pale" or in some sense "illegitimate". Conservatism, of course, is viewed as "moderate" and "responsible". Such an approach is inadequate, but, it is not simply a question of faulty analysis or deliberate deception. Such assumptions owe a great deal to the historical experience of the Second World War. Conservatives in this country were seen at the forefront of a struggle against the dictatorial fascist nations, and this powerfully reinforced the notion of Conservatism as being fundamentally at odds with fascism. It would not be an overstatement to suggest that this approach has pervaded popular consciousness ever since.

Nevertheless, the image of the freedom-loving Conservative standing up against

the evils of fascism misrepresents reality in important respects. The fact is that there has always been a degree of ideological overlap between conservatism and fascism, but this has been obscured by Britain's participation in the Second World War. To be more precise, there is a distinct similarity between authoritarian Conservatives and classical (Italian) fascism. Both share an emphasis upon or commitment to: nationalism, tradition, strong leadership, an authoritarian state, hierarchical social relations, social discipline and cultural racism. Both are underpinned by an acceptance of private property and enterprise capitalism.

Before the war, in the 1920's and 1930's the traditional "diehard" authoritarian Conservatives made common cause with avowedly fascist organisations. The British Fascisti, one of the first explicitly "fascist" organisations, "stewarded" Conservative meetings and advised its members to vote Conservative. And before the war groups such as Unity Band, English Mystery, the January Club, the British Empire Union and the Right Club formed a kind of unco-ordinated bridgehead between the authoritarian Conservatives and fascism proper. In actual fact Conservative antagonism toward fascism (theory and practice) was distinctly equivocal between the wars, to say the least. And we can illustrate this point by highlighting remarks made by Winston Churchill (as Chancellor of the Exchequer) when on a visit to Mussolini's Italy he said "if I were an Italian I am sure I would have been with you from the beginning to the end in your victorious struggle against the beastly appetites and passions of Leninism ... but in England we have our own way of doing things." So the Conservatives' very own anti-fascist warlord was, at least initially, sympathetic to fascism.

The experience of war was to confuse



Racist cartoon from the Daily Express in 1944 - the caption read "One more crack out of you about Kentucky Minstrels and someone's going to start an invasion right here."

the picture significantly. Conservatives did indeed oppose the fascist regimes, and some played an important role in defeating the enemy. However, it can be argued that in the case of many Conservatives, this opposition was manifest only when the fascist nations self-evidently threatened Britain's vital strategic, and economic interests. The Conservative establishment in Britain has always been keen to ensure that no major power gained a dominant position on the continent of Europe. The fascist axis, and particularly Germany, posed a significant threat to the British Empire. The Anschluss with Austria, and the "acquisition" of Czechoslovakia, confirmed the traditional fear of a resurgent Germany dominating Europe.

Hitler believed and hoped that the British Empire and the Third Reich could peacefully coexist. Hitler saw the Anglo-Saxons as an integral part of the "master race" (for instance he felt it entirely appropriate that the British control India). The Nazi leader was far more concerned with securing Lebensraum to the east in order to fulfil his racial fantasies at the expense of "sub-human" Slavs and Communists. Indeed, in *Mein Kampf* Hitler advocated an alliance with England, as he argued "in the predictable future there can only be two allies for Germany in Europe: England and Italy." And even in 1940, after Britain had declared war, Hitler hoped for an accommodation. In one of his Reichstag speeches Hitler

said that "Herr Churchill ought to believe me when I prophesy that a great empire will be destroyed - an empire which it was never my intention to destroy or even harm." Nevertheless the potential power of Germany meant that conflict with Britain was inevitable.

Put very simply the argument is this: Conservative opposition to the fascist nations was less to do with the nature of the respective regimes, and more to do with "national self-interest" as interpreted by the Conservative elites themselves. There is less of a difference between conservatism and fascism than is conventionally assumed. We can see this far more clearly in Europe, where fascism was successful and where sympathy for fascism in Conservative circles was more evident. Indeed, it is clear that in many cases, despite particular tensions and antagonisms, Conservative interests were capable of coexisting with fascism.

In Germany and Italy the fascists could not have come to power without the complicity of traditional Conservative elites. In Germany, for instance, the Conservative establishment, personified by Reich President von Hindenburg, accommodated Hitler when the Nazis were actually losing ground electorally. The Conservative Nationalist Party (DNVP) attempted to harness the forces of radical right wing populism in defence of authoritarianism and order. Hugenberg, Papen, Thyssen, Kirdorf and other Conservative capitalists openly aligned themselves with Hitler, and when Hitler became Chancellor they reaped handsome rewards. Independent trade unions were dissolved, strikes declared illegal, wages reduced, working hours increased and so on. Private companies like Krupps, I.G. Farben, Siemens etc. made enormous profits (the level of profits rose 126% between 1933-38). So even in Germany, where Conservatives came closest to being devoured by the tiger they had chosen to ride, the alliance with fascism paid a high dividend. And this alliance between Conservative and fascist forces lasted well into the war.

It was not until July 1944 that the attempt on Hitler's life by members of the German military/nobility signified a rupture with elements of the establishment. In Italy the story was remarkably similar, where Mussolini created social conditions favourable to capitalist development and in accordance with the requirements of Conservative elites. As early as 1923 Mussolini declared: "I think that the state must renounce its economic functions, and above all those in the field of public utilities because in this respect the state is incompetent ... the government will

accord full freedom to private enterprise and will abandon all intervention in the private economy." In the same year, the fascists merged with the Nationalists as the primary vehicle of Conservative capitalist interests. A familiar pattern emerged: independent trade unions abolished, strikes banned, profits soared, and those "radical" elements of the fascist programme were soon abandoned. There was, in effect, a mutual accommodation reached between fascism and the forces of traditional Conservatism in both Italy and Germany.

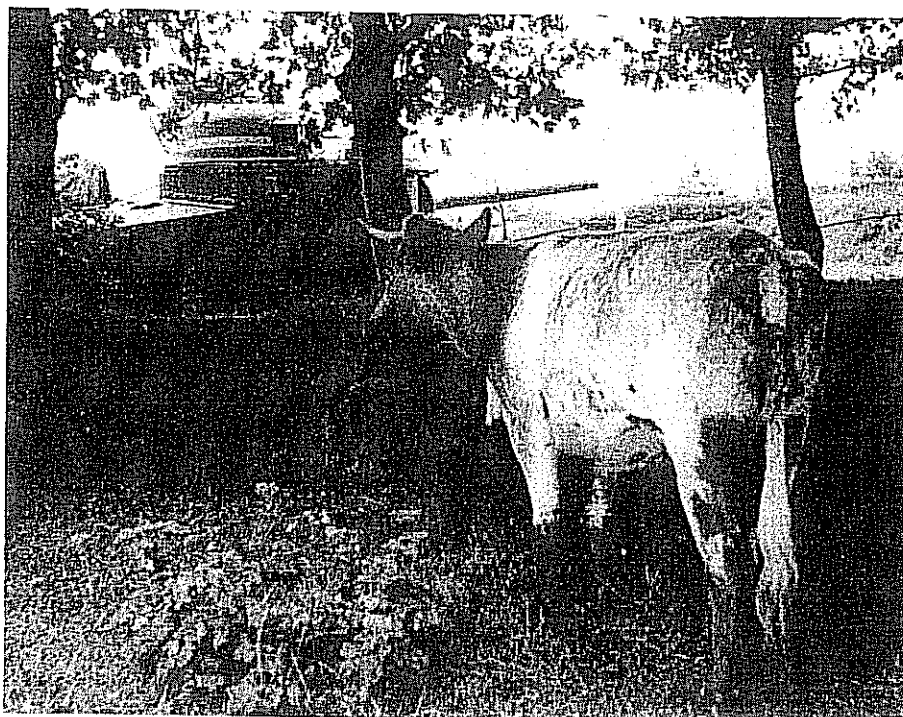
In the occupied countries during the war, of course, many Conservatives chose the path of collaboration with fascism rather than resistance. The British Conservatives never had to make such a choice. Yet it is interesting to speculate upon what might have happened if Hitler had been more committed to Operation Sea Lion. Certainly Hitler would have found a British equivalent of Petain or Quisling from the Conservative ranks. Given the ideological proximity of conservatism to fascism, many elements may have chosen collaboration, albeit on a pragmatic basis. It is indeed a sobering thought that many of the members of the British establishment who will take part in ostentatious ceremonies commemorating the 50th anniversary of victory would possibly have collaborated had Britain been militarily defeated in 1940.

The fascist right in Britain has, more or less, endured perpetual political impotence. But in the event of economic, social and political turmoil and heightened class conflict, particular reservations about aspects of fascism may weigh less

heavily than the desire to maintain or re-establish "order" and "stability". For any fascist-type dictatorship to become a possibility there would probably have to be some kind of political accommodation, which the authoritarian Conservatives would seek to control. Skidelsky, in his biography of Oswald Mosley, mentions revealingly that if there was to have been fascism in England (in the 1930's) it "would be introduced under the auspices of the National Government, not by a grass roots fascist movement."

It is in this context that militant anti-fascists need to take a broader ideological and political perspective. Anti-fascist activists must not only oppose the fascists themselves - we need to identify those elements that might accommodate the poisons of fascism, and begin to develop a broader strategy to counteract the general drift toward the right in Britain. This task has been made far more difficult by the ideological confusion precipitated by the war.

It is also the case that the "celebrations" surrounding the 50th anniversary create a difficulty in itself, by fostering the impression that fascism has been defeated once and for all. This isn't true. The defeat of the two primary fascist nations was unquestionably a victory for humanity. And we should indeed remember the sacrifices made. But those adhering to the evil creed of fascism remain among us. Instead of engaging in facile forms of self-congratulation with our political enemies, we should take the opportunity now, fifty years after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini, to rededicate ourselves to the ultimate and absolute defeat of fascism.



Tanks for the memories.

Staying Behind

NATO's Terror Network

As the 50th anniversary of the end of the war is celebrated, some unpleasant truths will become further buried beneath the myth of the "triumph of freedom and democracy" over fascism. For if fascism itself was the great evil, that had to be stopped at any cost, how are we to explain the total failure of the British, French and American governments to do anything about the war in Spain from 1936 to 1939, when Franco's fascist forces, openly supported with arms and troops by Hitler and Mussolini, destroyed the "democratically elected" republican government. The answer is not hard to find. For Western capitalism the real enemy was not fascism but the popular revolution inaugurated by the Spanish working class.

Whilst a great many of those actively engaged in the war against Hitler genuinely fought under an anti-fascist banner, whether in the various official armed forces or the guerilla networks, the war was essentially a diversion from the ongoing concern of the European and American elites. German expansion had to be stopped because it challenged the economic and political interests of those elites. Having been defeated, business as usual could be resumed, specifically the business of preventing any internal threat to the ruling classes in the form of popular revolution.

This may sound far fetched and, if it does, the reason is that following 1945 the so-called Cold War assumed a dominant position. The Soviet threat to Western "freedom" was to provide the necessary external focus whereby post war governments could re-consolidate their position as part of the European Alliance. An essential requirement of this consolidation was that the "left" should not come to power in Western Europe as a result of internal developments.

The reversion to business as usual began even before May 1945. Between 1943 and 1947 Britain and America were involved in a war against those who had fought the Nazi occupation in Greece. By 1943 the Greek National Liberation Front (EAM), the main resistance grouping, and its armed wing ELAS were effectively in control of liberated zones in the country. This organisation was

certainly dominated by communists, but it had wide support from a populace that did not want a return to the pre-war days of monarchy and dictatorship. However, Churchill was determined that the left should not come to power and that monarchy should be reinstated, despite it being clear that this would lead to civil war.

From 1943, the British and Americans began infiltrating special units into Greece specifically in order to prevent a communist / republican government being established. They worked alongside a right wing resistance group known as EDES which collaborated with the Nazis. As the Germans withdrew from October 1944, EAM controlled 90% of the country. But the British set about establishing an "interim government", in which EAM were given only 1/3rd representation and some insignificant ministerial positions. Meanwhile the Greek king (and his fascist-inclined wife) showed no intention of renouncing any claim to rule. In November 1944 the Allied forces ordered ELAS to disarm. On December 3rd the gloves came off: police fired on a mass demonstration in Athens and fighting broke out between British troops and ELAS.

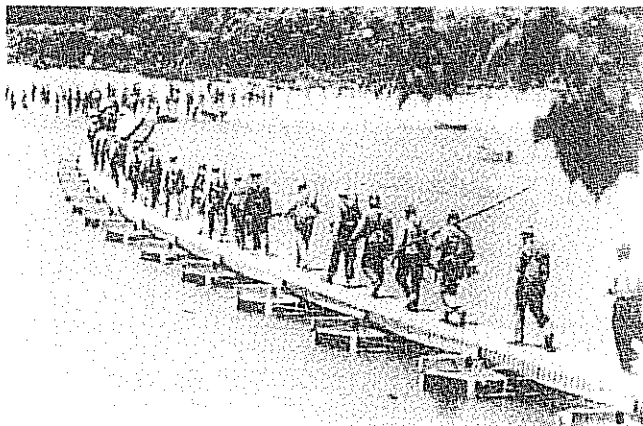
Under the "interim government" the army, police and civil service stayed firmly in right wing hands, with former collaborators often allowed to remain in position whilst left wingers were excluded. The British and Americans did everything they could to support the right wing and ensure its success in elections held in 1946. British interference subsided, but only because the Americans took virtual control of the country from 1947, pumping in massive economic and military aid. The extent of American control was such that the Greek prime minister's documents had to be counter signed by the American mission in order to become valid. Meanwhile, in the mountains, US "military advisors"

supervised campaigns against ELAS, involving mass arrests; court martials; imprisonments and executions. All leftist activity was banned, and activists who were not killed sent to political "re-education" camps or exiled.

This policy kept the Right in power until the 60's, when there was a resurgence of popular dissent and industrial unrest. The response of the establishment was the military coup of April 21, 1967, leading to seven years of right-wing military dictatorship. This coup was organised by the CIA, and is believed to have involved members of an armed and trained paramilitary unit, run by the CIA from some time in the 50's and only "officially" disbanded in 1988. This long term operation was codenamed "Operation Sheepskin". It has been suggested that in the period immediately prior to the coup they were involved in applying the tactics of "state of emergency creation": black propaganda, terrorist bombings and other provocations to be blamed on the Left.

The British and Americans learnt much from the Greek experience about effective ways to combat popular anti-capitalist movements and preserve the free market interests of business in their own backyard. This involved bank rolling the right wing parties, particularly the Christian Democrats; smearing Left candidates and other more unpleasant tactics. Whilst the Christian Democrat governments might have been lukewarm about American domination of Europe, they were desperate to prevent the Left coming to power.

"As part of this effort the Americans and British helped to recreate the internal security machines of most European countries. The most willing and experienced people they found were ex-Nazis, Fascists and collaborators. Highly trained and fervent anti-communists, these were the people who would use the brutality it was necessary to deploy



"For western capitalism the real enemy was not fascism but the popular revolution inaugurated by the Spanish working class." The International Brigade crossing the Ebro, Spain 1938.

against the Left ... The Americans in effect planted an intelligence network into the heart of the European countries to ensure the "deal" (the anti-Left / pro-American and pro-capitalist deal) was kept. These forces would ensure that attempts to renege on the deal would be militarily challenged". (Open Eye)

In fact the Greek based "Operation Sheepskin" mentioned in relation to the 1967 coup was but one part of a European wide "Stay-Behind" network, established by the British and Americans. Ostensibly this network existed to provide the nucleus of a guerilla army to fight on after any Soviet invasion, using arms and explosives which had already been planted. However, the evidence leaves little doubt that this network also had the intention of resisting "internal subversion".

The Stay Behind network was conceived by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff and put into operation in 1948 by the National Security Council which set up the Office of Policy Co-ordination to run it, staffed and funded by the CIA. Ultimately co-ordination of the network took place under the auspices of NATO. It involved personnel from the "official" security services in each country and received covert funding from industry and the state. Indeed funding and support of such groups was one of the main tasks of the newly formed CIA. However, members of the network were mainly recruited from the civilian population, notably "ex-fascists" and others whose "anti-communist" credentials were unimpeachable, no matter what they'd been up to during the war years.

The existence of the Stay Behind network was not a matter for public knowledge. However, the activities of the Italian branch - codenamed Operation Gladio - was exposed in a series of judicial investigations, particularly between 1990 and 1992.

Operation Gladio was set up in 1958 with help from British Intelligence and the CIA, with funding from the latter. This assistance continued, with Gladio units being trained in Britain in the early 1970's and by US instructors at a military base in the Canary Islands from 1966 to the mid seventies. Gladio was controlled by the Italian secret services from "Office R". It had strong links with P2, a fascist Masonic Lodge composed of most of the top military officers, political leaders, industrialists, bankers and diplomats in Italy. P2 has been described as effectively constituting a right wing parallel government in Italy. In addition Gladio became a focal point for fascist members of "Marine Star" a veteran's group set up

after the Second World War, and was to make use of other fascist groups in the 70's and 80's.

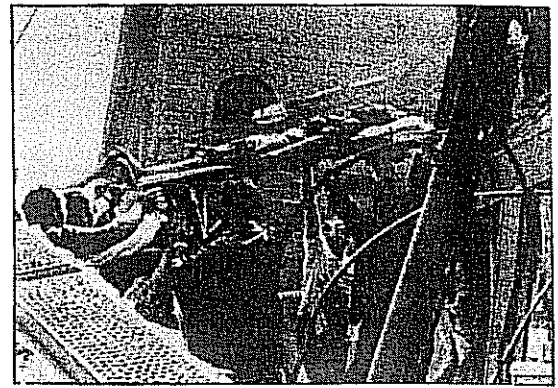
From the outset Gladio's concern was wider than the official anti-Soviet justification. A briefing minute of June 1st 1959 reveals Gladio's concern with "internal subversion" and that it was to play "a determining role ... not only in the general policy levels of warfare, but also in the politics of emergency". The "emergency" as far as they were concerned was to come with the growth during the 60's and 70's of the popular anti-capitalist movement, industrial unrest and an apparent shift from centre to left by the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

Those involved in Gladio / P2 began planning a coup in 1964, drawing up lists of thousands of politicians, trade unionists and activists to be rounded up. An actual coup attempt was made in 1970 led by the navy commander Prince Valerio Borghese, a supporter of the main Italian fascist party MSI. The plot came to nothing and Borghese was tried.

In fact Gladio was deeply involved in the so-called "strategy of tension" in the late 60's and 70's. The aim of the strategy, of which the principle tactic was "terrorist outrages" carried out by fascists, was to spread panic and unrest and to directly attack the Left and provoke them into an armed response, which would both justify increased state power under the pretext of a "national emergency" and isolate the left from popular support. General Gerardo Serravalle, head of "Office R" from 1971-1974, revealed that at a Gladio meeting in 1972 at least half of the upper echelons "had the idea of attacking the communists before an invasion. They were preparing for civil war".

In an early but well known incident, a bomb was exploded in December 1969 in the Banca Nazionale dell' Agricoltura in Milan. Police immediately blamed and arrested anarchists, but the real perpetrators were the fascists Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura. Ventura was in close contact with Colonel Guido Giannettini of the SID, (part of the secret services), who was a fervent supporter of the MSI. The subsequent trial of the two fascists was obstructed and delayed until 1981, when they were given life sentences, only to be cleared on appeal.

As the fascists embarked on a wave of bombings and shootings, civil rights in Italy began to be severely curtailed, with



GLADIO in action.
A victim of the Bologna railway station bombing.

a 1975 law restricting popular campaigning and radical political discussion. Many people were locked up under "anti-terrorist" legislation or expelled from the country. As expected, the Left, in the shape of the Red Brigades, resorted to armed struggle to defend themselves against this assault. This simply strengthened Gladio / P2's hand - the Red Brigades were blamed for fascist outrages; systematically infiltrated by the secret services and used to carry out actions which supported the hidden agenda.

The Italian far right claimed responsibility for many of its actions and its members were actively pursued by the Italian police. Some fled to Britain in the aftermath of the August 1980 bomb at the Bologna railway station, and were provided with safe housing by British fascists in the League of St. George.

However, it was the Bologna bomb that led to the unravelling of the link between Italian fascist paramilitaries; P2; the secret services and Gladio. The 1982 testimony of a P2 member in prison in Switzerland, revealed that the outrage was instigated by that organisation and involved elements of the security services. Subsequent investigations revealed that the explosive used probably came from Gladio arsenals.

In effect Gladio had both "official" and "unofficial" wings, with the latter initiating its own "anti-communist" operations but receiving both sanction and funding from the "official" wing. General Pietro Corona head of "Office R" in 1969/70 told a Venice enquiry into a bombing in Peteano that there was an "alternative clandestine network, parallel to Gladio, which knew about the arms and explosives dumps and had access to them". General Nino Lugaresi, head of SIMSI (a branch of the Italian secret service) from 1981-1984, revealed the existence of a "Super Gladio" of 800 members responsible for internal intervention against domestic political targets.

Gladio was "officially disbanded" by the Italian government in December 1990 after the story broke. On January 29th 1992 it was officially declared to have been a clandestine and illegal "armed band" involved in subversion, by an Italian parliamentary commission on terrorism.

The 1990 revelations in Italy had a wider impact. After all, Gladio was simply the Italian branch of a European wide network. The Belgian, French, Dutch, Greek and German governments all officially acknowledged that they took part in the covert NATO network, with the Belgian prime minister revealing that a Europe wide meeting of the network had been held as recently as October 1990. Of course the respective governments were at pains to deny that the network had been intended for anything other than to enable post-invasion guerilla warfare. Intervention in domestic politics could only be the work of "uncontrollables" following their own agenda.

The British authorities have refused to comment officially on any similar network in this country. However, General Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley revealed in November 1990 that a secret arms network had in fact been set up. In the same article other (anonymous) sources also claimed that the organisation had a further aim - "combatting the take over of civil government by militant left wing groups". Yet is there any evidence of destabilisation activities similar to those carried out on the continent?

During the 70's, the same time as the Italian "strategy of tension" was escalating, elements of the right wing establishment in this country perceived a genuine threat to their vested interests. In the midst of economic collapse trade unions seemed to be unstoppable, indeed the miners had effectively destroyed the Tory government, and Labour under Wilson came to power in 1974. Edward Heath was seen as having betrayed the Tory party, not just by the upper echelons but by the thousands of ordinary supporters defecting to the far right.

Thanks to the testimony of Colin Wallace, an army officer engaged in black propaganda in Northern Ireland, we now know that elements in the security services (specifically M.I.5) deliberately set out to destabilise the Wilson government. Moreover, leading figures in the military, industrial and political sphere began to talk in terms of a state of emergency and the desirability or need to establish a civilian

volunteer force or patriotic groups to help the "maintenance of public order". Thus in 1972-1973 the Tory MP's Winston Churchill; John Biggs Davison and Patrick Wall were all calling for increased military involvement in the growing industrial conflict and even for the creation of a "special anti-terrorist force and mobile squad of motorised troops to counter the forces of red fascism" (Davison). All three were Monday Club members and on the extreme right of the Tory Party.

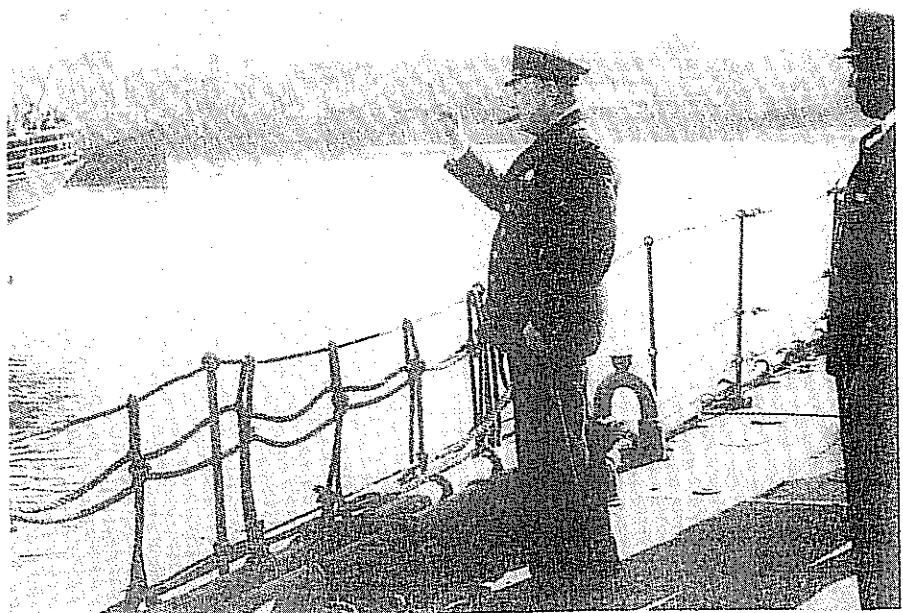
At the same time George K. Young, deputy head of M.I.6 until 1961, was working in conjunction with General George Walker to set up a network "to meet the contingency of a total political break down". This network called the Unison Committee for Action (Unison), was set up in early 1973 and its existence announced to the press in July 1974. This seems to have dissolved into another organisation fronted by Walker, known as Civil Assistance. Ross McWhirter was very involved in Walker's activities, and subsequently went on to play a key role in the National Association for Freedom (or Freedom Association as its now known). At around the same time (May 1974), SAS founder David Stirling, who described Unison as "apparently highly militaristic and very right wing nature", was proposing a broadly similar group to be called GB75 and was consulting with contacts in the armed forces, industry and the Tory Party.

Colin Wallace says British Intelligence provided covert assistance to Unison; Civil Assistance and GB75. However, the extent and even existence of such "patriotic groups", other than on paper, is a matter of debate. Wallace and

others have described them as psychological operations. By this we understand that talk of such measures channelled through the media was intended to heighten the sense of social breakdown and of the "red" threat, particularly in 1974.

The full story of such concerns in the British establishment during this period has probably yet to emerge. Whether the use of overtly fascist groups in a "strategy of tension" was contemplated is unknown. But clearly, in a period when the Tory party was in disarray, under a "weak" leader; with mass industrial unrest and a so-called socialist party coming to power, the extreme right of the Tory Party, together with elements in industry, the military and the secret services, were looking to a non-parliamentary solution to preserve their interests. In the end, however, the election of Mrs. Thatcher to leadership of the Tory Party and the 1979 election victory ensured the success of their aims, probably beyond their expectations, by a different and "legitimate" route.

The most important lesson to be learnt from the Gladio story; the whole Stay Behind network and the situation in Britain during the 70's is that the right-wing establishment will, quite literally, stop at nothing to prevent a popular anti-capitalist movement (or one perceived as such) displacing it from power. In such a context the establishment will happily make use of fascist groups, whether as unwitting dupes (via the secret services), or as direct allies - after all, if the choice is stark enough, classical fascist ideology has more than enough in common with that of the right-wing establishment.



And finally over to Winston for a summing up...



GERMANY CALLING

For this issue's Germany Calling feature, we asked the **Autonome Antifa (M)** in Göttingen to give us their views on the Second World War. Unfortunately, for reasons of space, we were not able to reproduce everything they sent us. Instead we're only able to give you an edited version with a running commentary. We need to stress that the views expressed are not those of **Anti-Fascist Action**, but of the **AA(M)**, and should be seen in that context.

The German press has devoted a lot of space this year to the fiftieth anniversary of the destruction of Nazi fascism. In many places there are memorial events, exhibitions, etc. For many, not just those on the Far Right, May 8th is not considered a date to celebrate because the capitulation of Germany is an embarrassing rather than positive historical fact. Ten years ago the situation looked quite different. The question of whether May 8th was to be celebrated as the end of the war or to be considered a shameful date of capitulation was being discussed controversially throughout society and in all of its institutions. With the exception of the communist left and GDR officials, no one emphasized the aspect of liberation.

The term "liberation" originates from the communist terminology. Looked upon from the point of view of the Soviet Union, World War II did not only lead to the destruction of the fascist system in Germany, but also to the defeat of capitalism itself. It is only in this context that the concept of liberation can be applied correctly. Taken out of it, it does not make any sense. The Western allies, on the contrary, did not consider themselves liberators. All they wanted was to defeat Hitler-Germany, smash the fascist regime and rid themselves of all traces of German militarism.

The motives and objectives of war of the states united in the Anti-Hitler coalition couldn't possibly have been more different. These differences did not play such an important role while the war was still going on. But when the

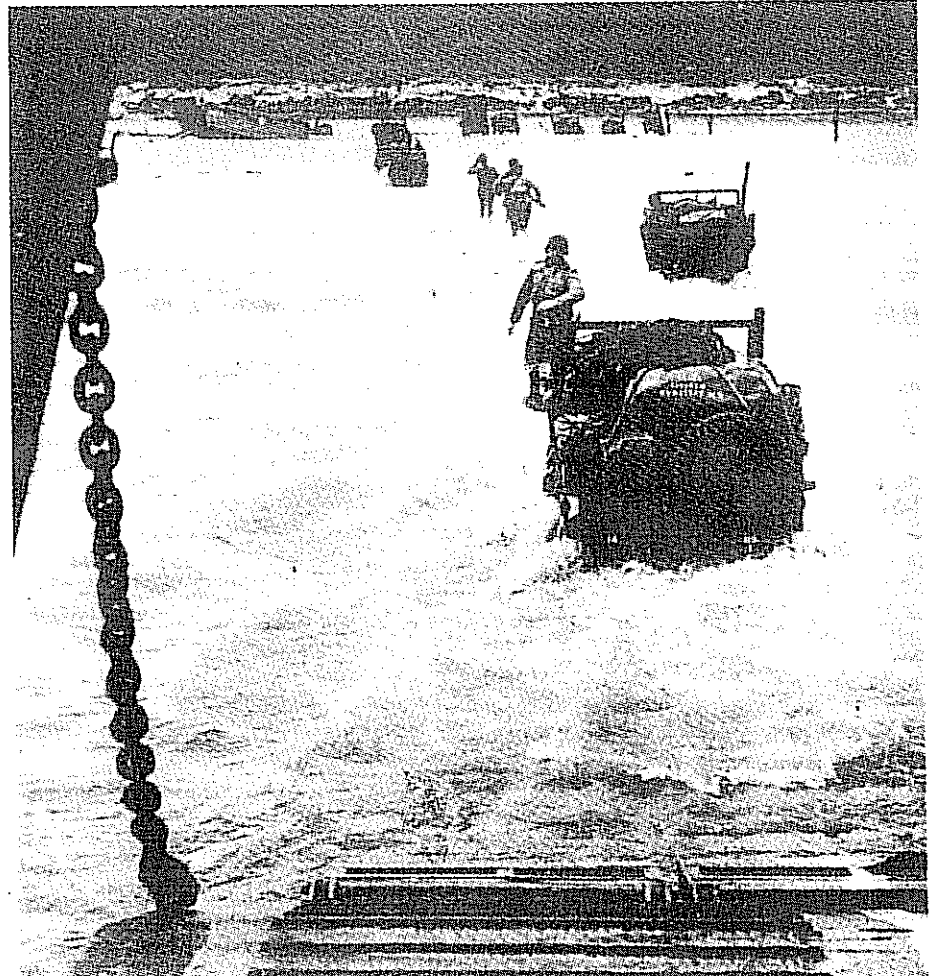
fascist system was finally smashed, they were fully brought into focus. The Western allies fought a war against an imperialist competitor. Fascism is a variation within imperialism and when fascists were in power in Germany, it remained a capitalist system. Although it is true that fascism and parliamentary democracy are different, they also have a fundamental concept in common: both are imperialist systems. The Soviet Union offered an alternative as a socialist perspective, threatening the very foundation of power in the capitalist states.

Looked at from an ideological viewpoint, an alliance of the Western states, including the fascist government, against the Soviet Union would have made much more sense than the actual way history developed.

The document then goes on to discuss the war years, much of which will be familiar to readers, and was too much to reproduce here. Some interesting points though on Hitler's and the German Army's attitude to the British. With reference to the German advance across Western Europe...

During this "triumphal" march something remarkable happened. Shortly before reaching Dunkirk, Hitler ordered his troops to stop, allowing the British Expeditionary Force to get away back to Britain. This decision cannot be understood from a military point of view. If the British troops had been taken prisoners at Dunkirk and if shortly afterwards the German forces had invaded the British Islands, this would most certainly have led to the defeat of the British. Hitler's real intention was to wage war on the Soviet Union. This objective was an essential element in Nazi ideology. Anti-Bolshevism and the conquest of Eastern Europe to gain territory were its main pillars.

The war against the Soviet Union was different from the war against France and England insofar as France and England were considered "civilized" nations by the Nazis while the Soviet Union was not. These "civilized nations"



Bringing on the new boss? The D-Day landings.

should have been allies instead of fighting each other.

Today, these ideas sound strange. But it seems that they never completely left Hitler's thoughts. Most likely he was speculating on an alliance with England against the Soviet Union. This would also explain why the British Expeditionary Force was not taken prisoner at Dunkirk.

Passing over events leading up to the end of the war, Stalingrad, El Alamein etc.. It's worth picking up again at the point where the Nazis are about to lose...

Although the situation for Germany in 1944 was a hopeless one, the NS-state did not try to end war. With propaganda encouraging Germans to "fight the total war", armaments were still produced and people fought for Germany's final victory.

Suddenly, the news of a bomb-attempt on Hitler by officers of the Wehrmacht was announced on July 20, 1944. The assassination did not succeed and the officers were executed. Today the assassination attempt is ranked as the evidence for anti-fascist resistance having existed especially in the German Wehrmacht. In actuality, though, these conspirators were just a small isolated group among German officers. Their attack was not a protest against fascism, but rather against Hitler's actions, which they saw as leading to Germany's defeat.

In 1944/45 there was almost no resistance against the Nazis in Germany. Most of the German people were tired of war but still supported the system. It is of no importance whether they were actively supporting it or rather endured the situation. The German people actually supported the Hitler-regime until the end.

This point about the lack of resistance, how did Hitler come to power etc.. can be something of a historical quagmire. People are still arguing today over these points and this issue of *FT* gives our own analysis of some of these events. We felt that there were some contradictory points here with reference to the next section, but judge for yourself...

The 1980's were marked by scandals that reached beyond academic circles of attempts from "the New Right" to downplay or distort the horrors of Nazi fascism. This historical revisionism was attacked from the left as an attempt to relativise fascism. The discussion around the 50th anniversary is an indicator of

how the political climate has changed. Official sources no longer deny the crimes of the Nazi state against Jews and minority groups. The closing of memorials is reported openly and without challenge. Still, they play down communist and radical anti-fascist resistance like there has been e.g. in the concentration camp Buchenwald. This concentration camp was freed by an illegal communist camp committee and brought under control before the US Army came to liberate the camp.

Official sources assert that the German people suffered under the tyranny of Nazi fascism and celebrated the end of the system as an end of barbarism - a kind of barbarism, which is equated with Stalinism. Fascism is treated as a closed chapter in history, an historical anomaly with a clear beginning and end. Today's Germany does not have anything to do with Nazism at all anymore. Officially, Nazi-Germany "somehow" came to power because the democracy of the Weimar Republic was too weak. According to this version, Germany was liberated by the Allies, helping to sweep away the remnants of Nazism and build it into a strong democracy. But no liberation ever took place. The term is inconsistent with the events of 1945 and with the actual changes in society and in the economic system.

Germany had to be militarily conquered, village by village, town by town. There was no mentionable resistance during WWII against Hitler. The ones that were actually liberated were the surviving Jews, individual resistance fighters, and other persecuted persons in hiding or in concentration camps. The rest of the population experienced the end of the war as defeat, not liberation in a political sense. To call 1945 a liberation of

Germany from the Nazi regime is a distortion of events and gives the German people much more credit than they deserve. Almost the entire population stood behind Hitler and the "total war" until the very end.

1945 was no liberation politically speaking either. The emerging progressive movements after the war were stopped practically at their inception. Between 1945 and 1948 a broad movement grew for the nationalization of key industries and for the punishment of the business bosses who had financed the NSDAP. A strike movement supporting these goals was crushed by American and British troops. The Antifa-Komitees, whose goal was to uncover Nazis in the state apparatus, were banned by the military governments soon after they were founded in 1945. The Western Allies did not allow leftist political organizations in order to reinstall "law and order". Fascists were viewed as necessary for a quick rebuilding of Germany.

The Allies were looking for a strong Germany because of its strategic importance in the Cold War, also begun in this period. The two Germanys came to play important roles in this war of East vs. West; the Federal Republic of Germany was built up as an anti-communist front state. The KPD (German Communist Party), the only party that had attempted to organize resistance during Nazi fascism, was banned in 1956. Barely ten years had passed until the persecution of communists began again. Anti-fascists who had survived 12 years in concentration camps were faced once again with jails and penitentiaries under Adenauer's government.

SHOW SOME SOLIDARITY!

Prosecutions are continuing against alleged members of the AA(M) under sections 129 and 129a of the German law (membership of a criminal organization/support of, membership of a terrorist organization). The prosecutions are purely political. The aim being to criminalise action against the fascists and marginalise militants from the wider movement (see *FT9* & *10*). Donations and messages of support should be sent to :

**Autonome Antifa (M),
c/o Buchladen,
Rote Str.10,
37073 Göttingen,
Germany.**



“ETERNAL WAR ON THE HITLER YOUTH”

The Edelweiss Pirates, 1938-1945.

Within months of coming to power in Germany in 1933 the Nazis had effectively smashed what was perceived to be one of the best organised working classes in the world. The Communist and Socialist parties and their trade unions, militias and social organisations had been banned; the activists had been executed, imprisoned, exiled or had gone underground. Working class districts were sealed off and subjected to terror raids and house to house searches.

The Nazi programme of creating a National Community and silencing opposition through the use of terror was to intensify over the next twelve years.

Involvement in the Hitler Youth and National Socialist education policies were intended to ensure that the young became active (or at least passive supporters) of the Nazi state. Behind the propaganda of the 'National Community' the reality, especially in working class areas, was very different. The more the state and the Hitler Youth intruded into the lives of the young, the more clearly visible acts of non-conformity and resistance became.

Thousands of young people declined to

take part in the activities of the Hitler Youth and instead formed groups and gangs hostile to the Nazis.

From 1938, until the destruction of the Nazi state, the authorities (especially the Hitler Youth, the police and the Gestapo) became increasingly concerned about the attitudes and activities of 'gangs' of working class youths who were collectively known as 'Edelweiss Pirates'.

The activities of these groups encompassed a whole range of resistance to the regime (absenteeism from work and school, graffiti, illegal leaflets, arguing with authority figures, industrial sabotage and physical violence).

One Edelweiss slogan was "Eternal war on the Hitler Youth". Attacking Hitler Youth hiking and camping groups in the countryside and Hitler youth patrols and Nazi dignitaries in the towns and cities was a favoured activity of Edelweiss Pirate groups.

The activities of many young people were so problematic for the Nazis that the Reich youth leadership were driven to declare "The formation of cliques, i.e.

groupings of young people outside the Hitler Youth, was on the increase a few years before the war, and has particularly increased during the war, to such a degree that a serious risk of the political, moral and criminal breakdown of youth must be said to exist" (1942).

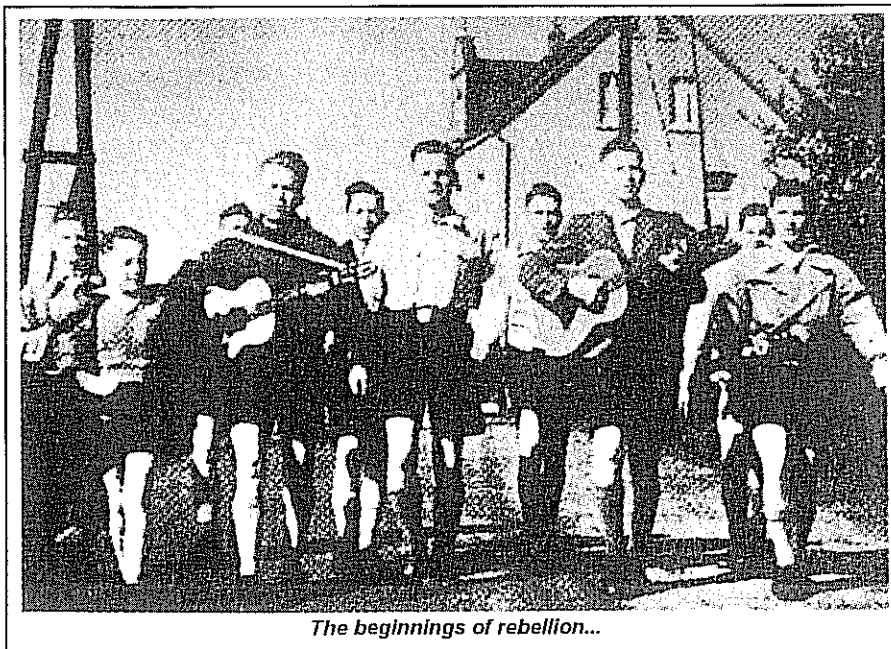
It is important to remember that these activities were not taking place under a 'liberal' regime but in the years just before and during the Nazi's total war on 'Bolshevism' and the West and after almost a decade of National Socialist education and propaganda in the schools. The gang members were from the generation on which the Nazi system had operated unhindered.

Although most Pirates had no explicit political doctrine, their everyday experience of encounters with National Socialist authority and regimented work and leisure led them into conflict with the Nazis and into anti-Nazi activity.

The group members were almost exclusively working class being mainly unskilled or semi-skilled workers and most members were aged between 14 and 18 years (most males over 18 were conscripted into the army) and had grown up and been educated in schools and homes under National Socialist rule.

The gangs usually consisted of about a dozen young men and (some) women who belonged together because they lived or worked in the same area. The Pirates relied on informal structures of communication for support and "developed a remarkable knack for rewriting the hit songs inserting new lines". The songs often expressed a thirst for freedom and calls to fight the Nazis.

The different groups and their activities arose spontaneously and their understanding of the problems they were facing was formed by the day to day realities of Nazi society. Gang activity revolved around meeting up, socialising and confronting the regime in different ways.



The beginnings of rebellion...

In the working class districts such as Leipzig youth gangs emerged in the former red strongholds that, while broadly similar to the Edelweis Pirates, had a more politicised class identity and drew on the communist and socialist traditions of their neighbourhoods. These gangs were known as 'Meuten' (literally 'Packs').

Gestapo reports on the Leipzig Meuten estimated their numbers at 1,500 between 1937 and 1939. The Meuten, probably because of their clearer political position, were subject to more detailed state attention and suffered more massive and ruthless repression than some of the other youth groups.

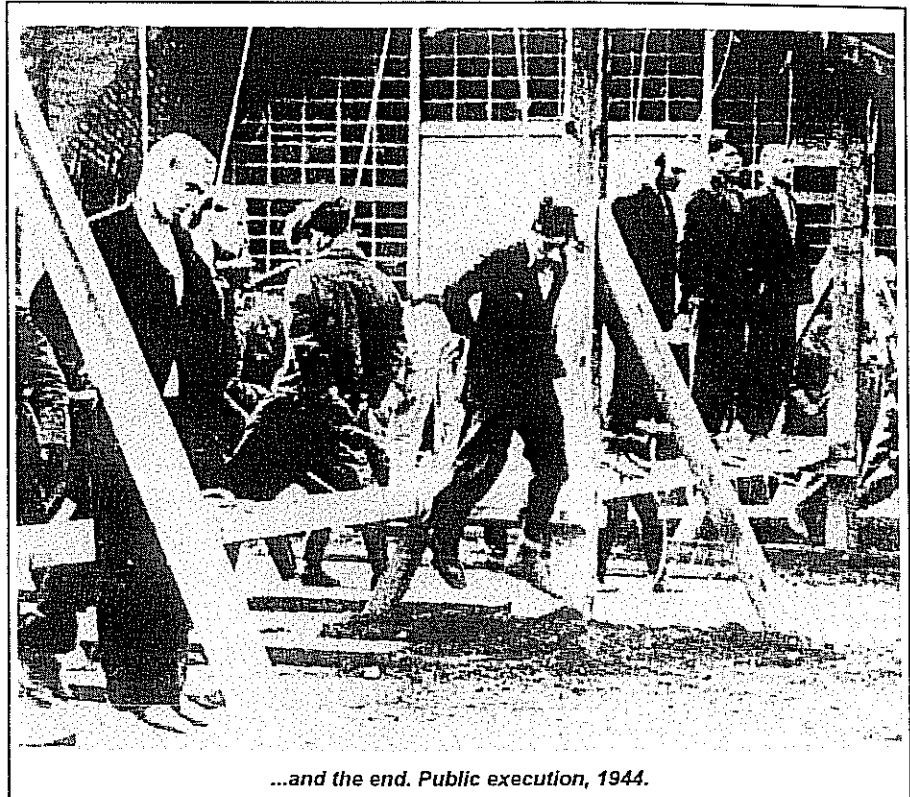
Reports of brawls with members of the Hitler Youth (especially the disciplinary patrols), of assaults on uniformed personnel, of jeers and insults on Nazi dignitaries, are widespread and documents from the time give a flavour of what was going on.

"I therefore request that the police ensure that this riff-raff is dealt with once and for all. The HJ [Hitler Youth] are taking their lives in their hands when they go out on the streets". (SA Unit report 1941).

"For the past month none of the Leaders of 25/39 Troop has been able to proceed along the Hellweg or Hoffestrasse (southern part) without being subject to abuse from these people. The Leaders are hence unable to visit the parents of Youth members who live in these streets. The Youth themselves, however, are being incited by the so called bundisch (youth movement) youth. They are either failing to turn up for duty or seeking to disrupt it." (Hitler Youth report to the Gestapo 1942).

"It has recently been established that members of the armed forces are to be found among them (the youth gangs), and they exploit their membership of the Wehrmacht to display a particularly arrogant demeanour. There is a suspicion that it is these youths who have been inscribing the walls of the pedestrian subway... with the slogans 'Down with Hitler', 'The OKW (military high command) is lying', 'medals for murder' and 'Down with Nazi brutality' etc. However often these inscriptions are removed, within a few days new ones appear on the walls again." (National Socialist Party Branch report to the Gestapo 1943).

It appears that the authorities response to the Pirates was confused at the start, some seeing them as "delinquents who



...and the end. Public execution, 1944.

would grow out of it". However as confrontations and incidents (and Hitler Youth casualties) increased the authorities took the situation more seriously and repression of the Pirate groups escalated.

Against the sophisticated terror of the Nazi state the only advantage that the gangs had were their numbers and their ability to retreat into "normal" life. Despite this thousands of Pirates were rounded up in repressive measures which for some ended in the youth concentration camps or public execution.

For example, on the 7 December 1942 the Gestapo broke up twenty-eight (28) groups with a total of some 730 members. However, the activities of the Pirates continued (and in some cases escalated).

The Cologne Pirates had joined an underground group which sheltered army deserters, concentration camp prisoners and forced labourers. They made armed raids on military depots and took part in partisan fighting. The chief of the Cologne Gestapo fell victim to the Pirates in the autumn of 1944. In November 1944 the Nazi's publicly hanged members of the Cologne Edelweiss Pirates.

On the 25th October 1944 the situation was so serious that the national leader of the SS (Heinrich Himmler) issued an

ordinance for the 'combating of youth cliques' at the end of a long series of actions aimed at defeating the youth and protest movements.

Apart from 'ringleaders' the Nazis did not execute large numbers of German youths involved in or sympathetic to the Pirates in the way they executed Jews and Poles.

This was partly because they didn't know who all of the Pirates were (despite the massive surveillance and repression machinery and volumes of files held by the authorities on known Pirates) and partly because the Pirates were potential workers in armament factories and future soldiers. National Socialist ideological concepts such as the 'healthy stock of German youth' is likely to have also played a part in the states response .

Involvement in the Pirates and the Meuten meant that many members moved from non-conformity through to open protest and political resistance against the Nazi state.

The history of everyday life in Nazi Germany is often forgotten against the backdrop of the second world war and successful Nazi propaganda of a nation united behind Nazi ideology. The fact that there was defiance and resistance by thousands should not be forgotten, and the activities of the Edelweiss Pirates and the Meuten, should be of inspiration to anti-fascists everywhere.

FIGHTING TALK BACK

FOLLOWING THE BIGOTS?

Dear FT,

I was interested to hear about the campaign being waged by the Rangers fanzine, *Follow, Follow*, to have *Our Day Will Come* (ODWC) banned from the FSA's liberal anti-racist campaign, accusing them of being green fascists. The first thing that surprised me is that ODWC actually still claims to exist because it is neither sold at Old Trafford or Celtic. It has been replaced and bettered by much more worthy and relevant publications like *Red Attitude* and *Tiocfaidh Ar La* at these two clubs.

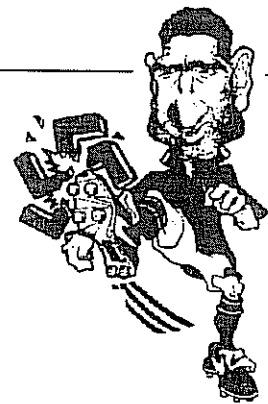
Secondly, I was also surprised that the objections to ODWC comes from such a quarter as *Follow, Follow*. With the fascists outside Ibrox home games, you would think that they would have enough to concentrate on without resorting to blocking other fanzines from anti-racist initiatives with accusations of them being "green fascists".

Follow, Follow itself is hardly a haven for progressive ideas. It contains many pro-loyalist references and has featured correspondence from loyalist prisoners. The publishers of the fanzine have held positions in the Federation of Conservative Students and, indeed, the fanzine's proprietor/editor is a former editor of the *Unionist* magazine, a publication that advocated support for various right-wing organisations around the world - the Contras and UNITA, to name but two - and which was advertised and recommended by no less than the UDA's *Ulster* magazine.

Another alleged contributor to *Follow, Follow*, former Scottish Young Tories chairman, Jamie Reid, was expelled from the Conservative Party for distributing material which contained the "Ulster Needs Ethnic Cleansing" logo. In an interview with the *Herald* after his expulsion, Reid (whose grandfather, ironically enough, was secretary to the Red Clydesider, John McLean) talked about how the Tories in Scotland could quite easily lose ground to the BNP unless they addressed themselves to the "Rangers Vote"! He later appeared on the STV programme, *Trial By Night* and, in a debate about the future of Celtic FC, he described the Celtic support as "Nothing but a bunch of beggars..." This term is common currency in the pages of *Follow, Follow* and it is obviously an insulting anti-Irish reference to the origins of the Celtic support.

The FSA are making a big mistake if they want to *Follow, Follow* the bigoted recommendations of such people.

Yours,
SM, Glasgow.



FOLLOWING TRADITION?

Dear FT,

I enjoy reading your magazine, especially your coverage of football, so I thought I'd tell you about an article I recently read in *The Runnymede Bulletin* (Feb. 1995). In an article about Eric Cantona's well publicised anti-fascist attack at Crystal Palace there are a number of quotes from the national media. My favourite is from the *Independent on Sunday*.

"There is an important initiative at football grounds across the country to stamp out racism. It appears Cantona may have only been interpreting this campaign in a baldly literal manner. It was not the kind of protest which Martin Luther King instructed us in. Best to show racism a clean pair of heels. But failing that, how about a dirty pair of studs?"

And just to show that Cantona is not alone in tackling racism at football, the article ends with this story:

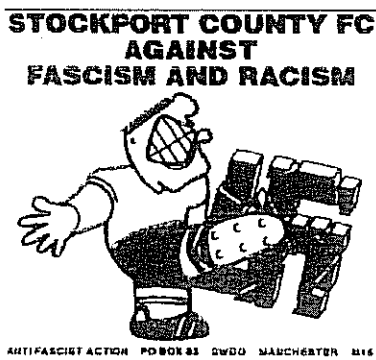
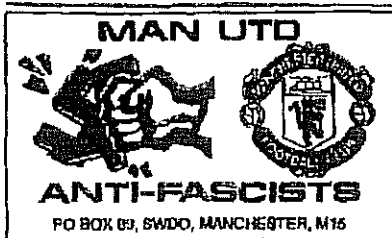
"The Times 'Diary' (28.1.95) said Cantona's action was not entirely unprecedented in English football and recounted an incident 58 years ago involving the legendary Everton striker, Dixie Dean, nicknamed 'Dixie' because his 'dusky complexion suggested he was from the Deep South rather than from Merseyside.' At the end of a 1937 F.A. Cup tie at Tottenham, in which Dean had scored twice, a Tottenham fan yelled: 'We will get you, you black bastard.'"

"Dean told an approaching police officer: 'It's alright officer. I will look after this.' Dean then punched the fan, knocking him into the crowd. The crowd cheered Dean but the police officer ran towards him. The officer was said to have shaken Dean warmly by the hand and commented: 'That was a beauty but I never saw it.' Dean was neither charged nor suspended."

Keep up the good work.
T.F.

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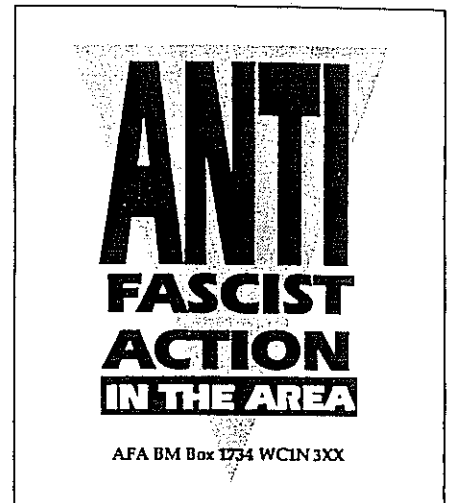
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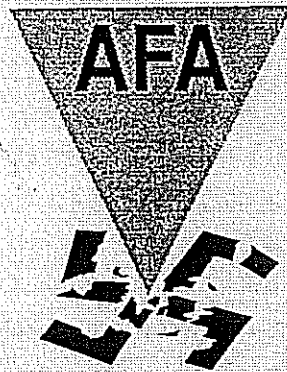
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