

# FIGHTING TALK

Issue 20

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**Anti-Fascist  
Action**

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## AFA on the Internet

The AFA Web Site is back on line at:

[www.geocities.com/  
capitolhill/senate/5602](http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/senate/5602)

## 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

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	Birmingham AFA PO Box 3311 25 Howard Road East Birmingham B13 0RZ	Glasgow AFA PO Box 797, Glasgow G1 5JF	
	Leicester AFA PO Box 320, Leicester LE1 5WS	Brighton AFA c/o London AFA	THE SOUTH
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**AFA NATIONAL OFFICE**

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# IN THE AREA



Welcome to Issue 20 of Fighting Talk. We start with our usual round up of news and views from the front line against fascism.

## MAY ELECTIONS

With the BNP totally committed to a Euro-Nationalist strategy, hoping to copy the electoral success of the French FN, it was interesting to look at their performance in May's local elections. Only standing 33 candidates, mainly in east London, their vote was down on 1994's local elections. By their own admission the lack of door to door canvassing, used effectively in the General Election, cost them greater success. It would be wrong to read too much into this poor showing at the polls, and the fact of the matter is that the political vacuum that exists in working class areas will be filled one way or the other, and unless their ideas are challenged on the doorstep their support will grow as disillusion with New Labour sets in. Its up to us.

## NORTH EAST

In an unusual development in the North East there has been a sudden appearance of fascists beginning on 29th May with an attack on a SWP paper sale in Newcastle and a BNP sale



Following FT's exclusive in the last issue, where we revealed leading Loyalist paramilitaries, Sam McCrory and Johnny Adair, had been in a nazi Blood & Honour band in the 80s, this photograph recently appeared on the front page of the Irish News. It shows McCrory (left) and Adair (next to him) marching through Belfast with the NF in the 1980s. The man carrying the flag is Donald Hodgen, a member of the Loyalist UDP.



opposite the SWP the following week. This comes nearly 4 years after their previous attempts at gaining a foothold in the area (this was nipped in the bud by militant anti-fascists in a confrontation that has taken the BNP 4 years to recover from, and from which sprang the nucleus of NEAFA).

The current optimism of the fascists seems to stem from the arrival in Newcastle of the well known BNP activist Simon Biggs. From recent observations it appears that he is the driving force in organising the flying visits that pass as BNP activity, and he certainly seems to be supplying some sort of backbone to what has amounted to a fairly spineless group. Although there hasn't as yet been any real effort by the BNP to establish a

pitch they are seen regularly around the town centre on Saturday afternoons and have also popped up in Sunderland.

On 6th June BNP leaflets were delivered in Middlesborough using a PO Box address in Sunderland, but it has yet to be seen if these sporadic events will develop into anything more. NEAFA are continuing to monitor the situation and are ready to respond to further developments.

## SOUTH WEST

BNP activists in the South West have been spotted on some of the recent anti-paedophile demonstrations in the area. They were entirely absent from the riot that kicked off in Knowle West, Bristol, but Cowd and his brother-in-law Collins were present and handing out BNP leaflets on a 40-50 strong demonstration outside the police station in Bridgewater a couple of months ago. The demonstration was not organised by them, consisting mostly of people from a nearby estate. Cowd tried to finger a local anti-fascist who was present as a "paedophile harbourer", but this was swiftly rebutted. A week later AFA leafletted the local estates, particularly the area where Cowd and Collins live, with a "Bigots, Nonces and Perverts" leaflet.

However, since then there have been further demonstrations in Taunton on the Prior's Wood estate following a (false) rumour that paedophile Sydney Cook was being housed in a secure unit in the

## NF MARCH IN WHITEHALL

The NF, who tried to steal a march on the BNP by stepping into the gap they left when they withdrew from street activity, held an anti-IRA march in Central London at the end of May. About 60 Fronters marched from the Embankment to Downing Street and back again, handing in a petition on the way. So it is curious that the SWP ran a headline in Socialist Worker claiming "Protest Stops Nazis" - not from where we were standing they didn't. Typically

the report on the ANL counter-demo doubles its size, a tactic that discredits the Left in general and serves no useful purpose. The interesting thing about the ANL demo was the low-profile policing compared to the Bloody Sunday AFA operation (see FT 19), confirming which brand of anti-fascism poses the greater threat.

**TO COMMEMORATE  
THE ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE BATTLE OF  
CABLE STREET**



**PRESENTS  
A WEEKEND OF  
EVENTS**

**FRIDAY 2nd OCTOBER  
PUBLIC MEETING**

*Speakers:*

**INTERNATIONAL SPEAKER**  
(Germany)  
**CAMPAIGN AGAINST SECTARIAN  
ATTACKS** (Glasgow)  
**NEWTOWN INDEPENDENT  
RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION**  
(Birmingham)  
**ANTI-FASCIST ACTION**  
**CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQ.**  
**LONDON. (Holborn tube)**  
**7.30pm.**

**SATURDAY 3rd OCTOBER  
CABLE STREET BEAT proudly  
presents:**

**BAD MANNERS  
GARY CLAIL & THE  
ON-U-SOUND  
SYSTEM**

**+ SUPPORT**  
**WALTHAMSTOW ASSEMBLY HALL**  
**FOREST RD. LONDON, E17.**  
(Walthamstow Central tube)  
**DOORS 8pm.**  
**TICKETS: £8 IN ADVANCE**  
**£10 ON THE DOOR**  
(Sales office 0181-521-7111)

**SUNDAY 4th OCTOBER  
FILM SHOW:**

**THE 43 GROUP** (with an  
introduction by Morris Beckman)  
**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**  
(the story of the Black Panthers)  
**RIO CINEMA**  
**103 KINGSLAND HIGH ST.**  
**LONDON, E8.**  
(Dalston Kingsland British Rail)  
**SHOW STARTS 2pm.**  
**TICKETS £5 / £3 CONCESSIONS**

middle of the estate. A spontaneous demonstration, backed by a local residents leaflet, took place on the 7th August followed by a larger demonstration and march on the secure unit at the beginning of the following week. There were hostile exchanges between the crowd and workers at the secure unit and some scuffles with police. Cowd and Collins were both present and possibly some other Bristol BNP members. Again the BNP leaflet was being handed out.

Cowd seems to be setting himself up as a community politician in the area (probably having had enough of Bristol). He is the BNP's South West Secretary and proclaims to the press that the BNP is a respectable, peaceful party and that they left the demo when it got a bit ugly. He clearly has some support on the estate, since when he was acting as agent in the general election all the nominees on the candidates papers came from one street on the estate. The situation is being monitored closely by AFA.

**BLOOD &  
HONOUR**

**W**ith all the recent in-fighting in B&H, largely due to C18, and the setting up of a rival Rock Against Communism, it was interesting to see a B&H benefit for the BNP in Coventry back in April. Avalon, Conquest and Razors Edge all played, helping to raise money for the BNP's Euro-election fund. This is the first time that B&H have been publicly associated with the BNP since the early 90s and is a development we will be watching closely. Certainly if you stand back and look at the 'big picture' you can see the Far Right re-organising. Sections of the NF and ND have deserted and joined the BNP, the Referendum Party and the UK Independence Party have folded leaving the BNP pretty much a clear run in the Euro-elections, C18 is totally discredited as a State operation, and now people in B&H are moving closer to the BNP. The BNP would obviously see this as time for progress, the 're-birth of British Nationalism'. Anti-fascists must rise to the challenge.

**WEST MIDLANDS**

**I**n the West Midlands AFA has recently held a relaunch meeting. This was done for two primary reasons, firstly there has been a recent interest in joining AFA due to activists' hard work, and secondly, there have been developments in fascist groups in the area - this being the first time that all the main players on the Far Right are under one umbrella; namely the BNP. The whole of the West Midlands branch of the National Democrats have joined and also key figures from the NF. With this in mind West Mids AFA was more than pleased with the relaunch and the calibre of the new recruits. We are confident that we can stay one step ahead of the fascists. Everyone is clear that this doesn't just mean physically but also politically as well. To coincide with the relaunch the branch has produced a new pamphlet 'This Is Anti-Fascism - An Introduction To West Midlands AFA'. It outlines the fascist reorganisation in more detail and also what we believe is the way forward. The pamphlet is available from the West Mids AFA address if you send two first class stamps.

**ALTERNATIVE  
WORLD CUP**

**T**he Alternative World Cup, which Bristol AFA had a hand in organising, took place in Dorset at the beginning of August. Twenty teams played, with the winning team, the Diepkloof Eleven Experience, hailing from Soweto, South Africa. Losers in the final were ICE Nekerstrasse (Germany) with third and fourth places to L.K.S. Leknica (Poland) and the Lunatics (Belgium) respectively. All the teams have a common anti-racist / anti-fascist link.

Alongside the football there was the customary entertainment - including an excellent Northern Soul / Ska set on the Thursday night and the Subhumans live on the Saturday night. With 800 people attending, the majority camping for the weekend, the tournament was a triumph of organisation. Full credit to the Bristol crew. Cowboys 1, Rest of the World 0.

**AFA ON THE INTERNET**

[www.geocities.com/capitolhill/senate/5602](http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/senate/5602)

**INTERNATIONAL NETWORK**

<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~imafn>

# LEVELLING THE SCORE



## A CHEQUERED PAST

When Croatia unexpectedly got through to the World Cup semi-finals they got the traditional support for the underdog that tends to happen in these situations. The Daily Mirror wrote, "now, after her 3-0 thrashing of Germany in the World Cup, everybody takes notice of this plucky little Slav nation." However not all the press were quite so quick to sing the praises of "this plucky little nation" pointing out instead a few home truths about the newly created state of Croatia. The first Croatian republic was established during World War 2 in 1941, a pro-Nazi regime controlled by the fascist Ustashe movement. Like their Nazi allies they enthusiastically carried out the systematic slaughter of their opponents, butchering 700,000 Jews, Gypsies and Serbs.

The flag of this fascist regime was resurrected as the national flag of the newly created Croatia in 1991, and is the same red and white check of the team strip. The national anthem the team sang at the start of their matches is the same one that was adopted by the Ustashe in the 40s. So while we lend our efforts to prevent the Far Right gaining power in western Europe, it's worth remembering that in at least one east European state they already seem to be in control. Thankfully France beat them!

## A CASUAL AFFAIR THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL FIRM

In the last issue we reported on the unholy alliance between right-wing Rangers, Hibs and Hearts casuals - known as the Scottish National Firm. Well, they've been back in the news

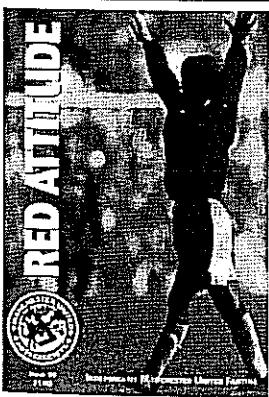


again, getting extensive coverage in the Daily Record while the Sunday Mail felt obliged to set up a 'Nazi Hotline'. 60 of them travelled to Spain to get into France 'by the back door' for the World Cup, only to be scooped by French police as they headed to Bordeaux. They claim their targets were Aberdeen, Dundee and Stoke supporters (Dundee and Stoke are 'connected'). This is partly pure

hooliganism, although it seems clear that if the SNF establish themselves as the top firm then the right-wing political agenda will soon follow, and also because Dundee fought with Celtic anti-fascists against this lot and their English C18 friends during Euro 96 in London.

The BNP and C18 connections of many of the organisers of the 'Firm' are well documented, and one of them, James McLeod, has put a £5,000 bounty on the head of one of their former associates, Andrew Blance, who they reckon grassed them to the police. Blance strongly denies grassing, saying "this bunch of amateurs have been talking too much about what they were going to do so it was easy pickings for the cops." Blance, unlike the rest of the SNF, is no mug when it comes to politics either, having defended several arches in Edinburgh from attack by fascists and Loyalists. McLeod is also supposed to have put a 'contract' out on a Scottish AFA organiser.

Having been frustrated in France the SNF launched an attack on Celtic supporters on Saturday 25th July, as they returned from the friendly against Tottenham. In what was clearly a pre-planned ambush, 60 of them appeared from different directions as the 10 Celtic supporters approached Bridgeton Cross in Glasgow and a fierce battle broke out. Despite the overwhelming odds, and an array of weapons, the Celtic supporters fought their way out successfully - a considerable achievement! Most of the 'faces' from the SNF were there, including McLeod and Charlie Sargent's mate Warren Bennett, and it is no coincidence that this group got attacked as some of the 10 are involved in the Campaign Against Sectarian Attacks (see FT 19) and one of them had spoken at the public meeting in February. What is also significant is that the attack happened in Bridgeton Cross, a Loyalist stronghold and the scene of a murder



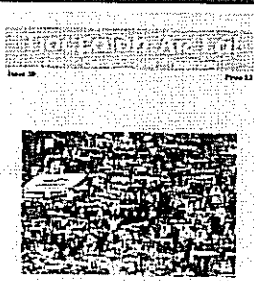
### RED ATTITUDE

Anti-fascist Man. Utd fanzine

£1.20 UK  
£1.60 overseas

Available from:  
Red Attitude  
PO Box 83  
SW20  
Manchester M15 5NJ

(cheques payable to "Red Attitude")



### FLY THE FLAG

### TIOCAIHD AR LA!

Anti-fascist Celtic magazine

£1.00 U.K.  
or £5 for 4 issues  
£8.00 overseas

Available from:  
TAL  
BM BOX 266  
LONDON WC1N 3XX

(cheques payable to "TAL")



### WELL PREPARED

Anti-fascist Aston Villa fanzine

£1.00 U.K.  
or £5 for 4 issues  
£8.00 overseas

Available from:  
WELL PREPARED  
PO Box 3311  
Birmingham B13 0RZ

(cheques payable to "Well Prepared")

## FOOTBALL

and attempted murder of Celtic supporters in the recent past. The fact that the fascists feel at home in the area, including the notorious Windsor Bar, proves a point.

### ONLY A GAME?

Any team that wins the World Cup can expect a fair amount of media coverage but after the French victory the media got carried away with itself. Claims that the multi-racial French team had single handedly defeated the rise of the FN were frankly absurd. Headlines declaring that this was a victory against racism were grossly exaggerated as even during the World Cup leading French mainstream conservatives were arguing in favour of an alliance with the Front National. Former Prime Minister Edouard Balladur called for a commission on 'national preference' that would lead to the removal of rights and allowances from immigrants, an FN policy. So despite the best efforts of Zidane and Desailly, at the end of the day it was only a football match.

### LOOKING AT LENS - THE HOOLIGANS FROM HANOVER

*Below, Kenny Rush of the Hannover Anti-Fascist Research Group reports on the background to the attack on French police by German Fascists during the World Cup.*



'A shame for our country' read the headlines of the German newspapers on June 23. Although the German hooligans beat up a foreigner, the victim was not, as usual, an immigrant but a French

policeman, which obviously made a difference to the media and politicians. Things like this are usually swept under the carpet. But since the incident happened during the World Cup in France in full view of a world audience, German politicians and the media had to react.

One of the arrested hooligans comes from Hanover which is not a surprise. A small overview of the Hannover 96 supporter scene might illustrate this point. Hannover 96 is a rather small club in Germany although they played several years in the Premier League. Two years ago they went down to a local division

(Regionalliga Nord). Still, the club has a big supporter scene, on a good day about 50,000 come and see the match. In recent years the club achieved the questionable reputation of having one of the strongest right-wing followings in Germany. Even 12-13 year olds can be seen wandering around with shaven heads, boots and braces chanting racist songs like "Build a railway from St. Pauli to Auschwitz". The amalgam of football and fascism has become trendy. Before the 96 away match in Bremen they went from the central station to the ground singing "The National resistance is marching in" (a popular chant of the Nazi hordes) while the police would only stand and stare. Due to the threat emanating from these people, normal or even left-wing supporters are becoming less and less within the ground.

Apart from gigs by Nazi bands, football has become the most important recruiting centre for fascist parties and the so-called Hammerskins. Last year the police made a raid on a Nazi gig in a Hannover suburb. Among the 120 arrested were 80 (!) Hannover 96 season ticket holders. Meanwhile poorly designed Nazi fanzines and stickers sporting slogans like "Wogs Out!" etc. are circulating among the fans. Numerous complaints by anti-fascist supporters were ignored. "No politics within the ground" and "The club is not responsible for the fans, that's a social problem" say the officials who were not even capable of banning Nazi regalia and sieg-heiling within the ground. This clearly shows that only organised anti-fascists can dispose of the fascist scum.

However, we must differentiate between racist skinheads and hooligans. Both scenes are strictly separated from each other since the hooligans despise the boneheads because of their dress and behaviour. Even within the hooligan scene 2 factions exist: On the one hand those who are really interested in football and attend every game, on the other hand the "occasionals" who do not care about the game itself and attend matches only where they expect violence. People of totally different political beliefs ranging from right-wing to left-wing co-exist in both groups. Therefore it is no surprise to meet some of the top faces at militant left-wing rallies. Even being supporters of different clubs does not separate the hooligans anymore. Karl-H. Elschner, who was arrested together with Markus Warnecke for the attack in Lens, hails from Braunschweig. Both clubs, Hannover 96 and Eintracht Braunschweig, have been enemies for decades (similar to Manchester/Liverpool) and violence frequently occurs

when they play each other. Nowadays being German is what counts and all local rivalries have vanished at international matches.

Markus Warnecke, the main suspect in the Daniel Nivel case (the policeman who was beaten to a pulp in Lens), is one of the "occasionals" described above. He could only rarely be spotted inside a football ground. He has a middle class background and grew up in a rather posh suburb. A skinhead in his youth, he developed into a full grown Nazi. Today he is a member of the "Bones", a biker club that raises money by pimping and gun-running. The club is running its own security company where Markus Warnecke used to work.

Warnecke went to France in a coach accompanied by 50 hooligans from Hannover. The trip was organised by Jrg Draht, one of the top faces of the local scene. Draht hails from east Germany and is known as "Hoyerswerda" (a small town in the former GDR infamous for several race riots in 1991).

It is no coincidence that the riots in Lens broke out during the Germany-Yugoslavia match. Already in 1990 when the two met during the World Cup in Italy similar riots were incited. This time the Germans were supported by Croatian hooligans which was no coincidence either. Croatia was an important ally of Germany in World War 2 (see "A Chequered Past" on p.5) and Serbians have always been considered enemies of Germany. Due to a lack of Serbian hooligans in Lens the Germans went hunting for black residents, incidents the media did not cover. Only foreign newspapers and TV stations made the



connection between Lens and Nazis in Germany which was vehemently denied by German

politicians and representatives of the German FA. One of the most brilliant excuses came from a spokesman of the Verfassungsschutz (a German Secret Service): "Most of the hooligans are right-wingers but non-political." Even the manager, Berti Vogts, could not keep his mouth shut. He says German football fans always behaved very well at matches abroad. Just as a reminder: when Germany played Poland away German hooligans noted inside the ground chanting anti-Semitic slogans. All of the above just isolated cases? What a laugh!



## BUCHENWALD CONFERENCE

Two AFA members from Britain were recently invited by the ROTKAPCHEN organisation to speak at the Antifa Work Camp held near the east German town of Weimar. The camp's main aim over the years has been to carry out preservation work on the site of the former political concentration camp of Buchenwald. Since reunification the German authorities have attempted to erase any memory of the communist-led resistance to fascism. Buchenwald stands both as a testament to the fact that the first prisoners of the Nazi regime in the Thirties were their political opponents and as proof positive of the present government's crude attempts to hide the truth about the other four million non-Jewish victims of Nazism.

At Buchenwald the authorities have even gone as far as to erect a new modern monument to the "victims of communism"; Nazi prisoners who were held at Buchenwald for a period of two years immediately after the war. Another curious feature of Buchenwald is that despite the fact that it was an industrial slave camp for political prisoners (thousands of whom were quite literally worked to death) and not an extermination camp (a minority of prisoners held there were Jews) yet another modern monument, the biggest in the old part of the camp, is a Jewish tribute to the victims of the Holocaust. The camp's real political nature is borne out by the entrance gate which bears the slogan "To Each What They Deserve", a sneering parody of Marx's statement in the Communist Manifesto, "To each according to need..."

The Antifa Work Camp also organises info meetings which involve discussions with camp survivors, academic historians and, this year, members of Anti Fascist Action who brought a new and very different perspective to the present day struggle against fascism in Germany. The discussion took the form of a brief history of AFA followed by a Question and Answer session which very quickly revealed the serious flaws in the political perspective of those in the

leadership of mainstream anti-fascism in Germany. The AFA speakers strongly argued that ultimately a serious anti-fascist movement must have the ambition to politically replace the fascists in communities and must base itself upon, and draw its members from, the ranks of the working class, the bottom 40% of society. Around half of those



*No German Working Class - who does the work then?*

attending the meeting, mainly from towns and cities in the old "East Germany" were in agreement with this strategy. The other half were clearly outraged at such proposals. "Isn't it more appropriate for a militant anti-fascist movement to recruit from students and the radical elements of the middle classes?" was one question launched and shot down in flames. "Building a broad movement with other progressive forces such as the Searchlight organisation" was another example which was answered very succinctly by one of the AFA speakers to the effect that Searchlight is neither progressive nor is it an organisation. It is a magazine with proven links to the State. How can it possibly be incorporated into a militant anti-fascist strategy?

The main thrust of the debate took place around AFA's definition of the working class. The basics of this argument is that the working class no longer exists in

Germany (*who does all the work then?*) and therefore new allies in the middle classes and minorities must be found. The multicultural experiment is transposed to militant anti-fascism - the politics of division wrapped in a radical-sounding package. For those leading German anti-fascism it is easier to deny the existence of the working class than it is to address the problems and needs of the working class. Therefore, whole working class communities are abandoned by the Left and become the uncontested strongholds of fascism. As one West German anti-fascist remarked to the AFA members when we were talking about the need to provide an alternative in working class areas, he said: "Yes, but look at how they vote when there is an alternative. Instead of voting for the intelligent middle class fascists, the Republikaners, they vote for the most stupid fascists, the DVU." It was pointed out that when AFA talk about the

need for choice and an alternative to be available in working class communities we mean a progressive working class alternative not a choice between two fascist parties.

That this simplistic right-wing analysis is widely accepted in left-wing circles in Germany shows the extent to which the German Left has already ideologically surrendered to fascism. It is AFA's contention that in Germany this ideological ground has to be reclaimed by the anti-fascist movement and if the acceptance of right-wing ideology continues to dominate then it is clear to us that a new working class resistance to fascism will have to be built. As was pointed out at the meeting an AFA speaker: "The bottom line here and the question that has to be asked is; Are we winning? If the answer to that question is no, then we have to examine whether the strategy being promoted here in Germany is the right one. If it is the wrong strategy, then we have to change the fucking strategy!"

The response to the International Manifesto especially from East German anti-fascists was enthusiastic. An interim committee involving the best elements from the camp has been formed and includes activists from East Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Cottbus. Their first task will be to adapt the international manifesto and apply it to the situation in Germany and to organise a conference of militant anti-fascists around the themes of the manifesto sometime early next year. As well as this development, anti-fascist groups from Berlin, Hamburg, Hannover and Nurnberg have expressed interest in the AFA analysis and will be invited to participate in the newly formed committee.

# NETWORK UNDER ATTACK

Building an international network of militant anti-fascists was always going to be hard, but it is disappointing (to put it mildly) that one of the groups that attended last year's International Conference has decided to deliberately misrepresent the event in public.

The Autonome Antifa (M), from Gottingen in Germany, have published a report of the conference in their paper 'Einsatz' which is both misleading and inaccurate. They state that "AFA concentrates exclusively on physical confrontation of fascists on the streets." Not only is this completely untrue, but as AFA organised the conference and drew up the draft manifesto (subsequently agreed by 9 organisations) it completely misrepresents the political direction of the International Network.

The main emphasis of the conference and the manifesto document (which was circulated well in advance to allow thorough discussion) was that while physical opposition to fascism remains a necessary tactic, on its own it is not enough. "Fascism is the vanguard of reaction, therefore anti-fascism is by definition a rearguard response.

*The re-emergence of the Far Right represents a political as well as a physical threat to all progressive and working class people and organisations and other oppressed groups that are used as scapegoats by fascism. This is self evident, yet today, in many countries, the political threat is either talked down or ignored, while the physical threat is dealt with theoretically rather than practically.*" (Point 1. Manifesto document.)

The political differences between AFA and the AA(M) go back a number of years to when the idea of an international network was first suggested. The AA(M) were one of the first anti-fascist groups from Europe that we had contact with, and supplied the 'Germany Calling' feature in Fighting Talk for 2 years. As a result of this contact we suggested to them in 1994 that the two organisations should sponsor an international meeting to increase the level of organisation and co-operation between anti-fascists in different countries.

Our initial proposal went unanswered for months and eventually in November 1995 the reason for the delay became

apparent. The German group didn't agree with our working class orientation and strategy and instead suggested an international network against fascism and imperialism. AFA rejected this on the grounds that we should seek the greatest unity among militant anti-fascists, and to introduce 'anti-imperialism' would cause division. Certainly anti-imperialism would mean very different things in different countries. AFA is a 'single issue'

*mainstream is not a strong anti-fascist movement but a strong politically independent working class movement. The Far Right have re-invented themselves and we must do the same. To do so we must first match their ambition.*" (Points 18 & 19. Manifesto document.) A far cry from concentrating "exclusively on physical confrontation"!

There are other inaccuracies in the report in 'Einsatz' but they are secondary matters, because the importance of last year's International Conference was that there are now 9 groups in various countries who have adopted a radical and ambitious strategy. For the AA(M) to suggest that AFA and the other groups are saying that this can be done by increasing the level of violence is an attempt to undermine the project. The fact of the matter is that across Europe anti-fascists are at best holding their own, at worst, like in France, they have lost. Its not enough for groups like the AA(M) to say we need to do more "youth work", etc, when the reality is that the groups who claim to be involved in this type of work have made no more progress than anyone else. Fine-tuning an existing strategy that isn't working is not the solution. Anti-fascism will ultimately succeed or fail in the battle for working class hearts and minds.

The AA(M) say "the aim is not to create a general common anti-fascist movement but to bring about co-operation between anti-fascist groups." In fact the aim of the conference was to identify anti-fascist groups in other countries who were 'militant' and had class politics. That is why the draft manifesto, which went into the politics in detail, was circulated months in advance. AFA believes that improved international communication and co-operation between militant anti-fascist groups (ie. those that do not call on the State to deal with the problem) is necessary, but the priority is to build national anti-fascist networks around a strategy that can replace the fascists in working class areas. As the situation in Europe gets worse a failure to do this will be disastrous.

(Copies of the manifesto and founding statement of the International Militant Anti-Fascist Network are available from the AFA address.)



*"... anti-fascism will ultimately succeed or fail in the battle for working class hearts and minds ..."*

organisation, but for us the key point about uniting with other anti-fascist groups is not 'anti-imperialism' but that we are not fighting fascism to maintain the status quo, we have a pro-working class agenda.

At the International Conference some of the European groups were confused by our use of the term 'working class'. Unfortunately the fascists do not share the same confusion and have successfully replaced the Left in many places as the representatives of working class interests.

The strategy adopted by the groups supporting the manifesto document is a radical political one. "In the past anti-fascist fighters ... were communists, anarchists and socialists first. Their involvement with anti-fascism being a result of the Left in general surrendering the political initiative. Today the old Left is in meltdown and we must learn from their mistakes and draw up new strategies ... it is evident that a new Left can only spring from within the forces of militant anti-fascism. The ultimate guarantee against the Far Right further penetrating the





# IRELAND: ANTI-RACISM MARCH



**A**FA were joint organisers of a 1,000 plus 'No Racism - No Deportations' demonstration in Dublin on April 25th. AFA felt that the very fact of 1,000 people marching through the city would highlight the harassment and problems refugees face in Ireland today. From the platform the AFA speaker made the point that marching alone is not the answer and encouraged people to become involved in any of the anti-racist groups represented on the platform.

As usual AFA concentrated on getting the message into working class areas. Racial tension is getting worse in these areas all the time. The lethal combination of the government housing large numbers of refugees in the deprived areas and the media myths about asylum seekers getting more money on the dole and better welfare entitlements is bound to lead to increased conflict in these areas. AFA provided a well-known community activist from the inner city and a prominent trade unionist as speakers at the Rally, as well as a speaker from the African Refugee Network (ARN) to talk about the experiences of refugees in this country. We also issued a joint leaflet with the ARN for the march which focussed on the increase in racial attacks in Dublin.

It is worthwhile to note that the SWP/ANL, also operating as the Anti-Deportation Committee, withdrew their involvement in the

organisation of the march because AFA and other groups would not invite Labour and Democratic Left politicians as speakers for the Rally. These two parties were in government last year and introduced draconian border controls against refugees. Naturally the SWP did turn up for the march - basking in the reflected glory and seeking recruits.

A practical example of how AFA's work in working class areas has been of benefit in the fight against racism is a

situation which developed in Dublin's North Inner City. The government has dumped large numbers of refugees in the area with no support structure, leading to friction between the locals and the refugees. Due to State abandonment of this area all contact with the authorities

middle of this potentially explosive situation.

In recent months rumours spread that black drug pushers were dealing in the area. Unfortunately this resulted in suspicion of all black people in the area

and a march was being organised on those suspected of drug dealing. When AFA enquired about the evidence for the suspicions we found that it was tenuous to say the least. A couple of people who were involved in organising the march were of the opinion that it didn't matter if we got it wrong because it would be a warning anyway!! One of these people has since publicly admitted to being a racist. AFA argued against the march on the grounds that we needed proof before we could start accusing people of drug pushing, especially as a march on a house containing black people could quickly become racist given the strength of feeling against drugs in the area. AFA won the argument against the march and it was pulled. It has since been proved that there is a black drug pusher in the area. In fact he is not an asylum seeker, he is from Birmingham in England. AFA have arranged for one of the refugees from the ARN to lead any future march on this pusher, thereby limiting the possibility of it turning into a racist march and further inflaming an already tense situation. AFA have also had to be careful not to be seen to be distinguishing between black drug pushers and white

drug pushers as this would only play into the hands of racists.

The crucial point was that a number of AFA activists, who are also active in community and anti-drugs work in the North Inner City area, became aware of the proposed march and through our work and contacts in the area we were able to defuse a potentially very dangerous situation without undermining the right of the local people to take community action in their area.



Part of the "No Racism - No Deportations" March in Dublin

is viewed with suspicion and the native population see the refugees as being forced upon the area by a government which has no interest in the conditions of social deprivation people are being forced to endure. Resentment has begun to be taken out on asylum seekers. The area has been destroyed by heroin addiction, with little or no intervention from the State. The police protect local drug pushers and harass anti-drug community activists. Refugees find themselves in the

# FORTRESS EUROPA



The European State has invested considerable time and resources over the last couple of decades into cross-border State co-operation in terms of police and security work. In the article below, we outline some of the organisations set up by the European

Union, and the consequences they will have for militant anti-fascists.

States that are normally so keen on preserving their national integrity are more than happy to co-operate when it comes to keeping tabs on those deemed a threat to national security. Since 1923 there has been an international grouping of police called Interpol that has provided for elements of co-operation mainly on general criminal matters between the police forces of different States. However, once there was an emergence of 'terrorism' in the early 1970's, many governments felt that a more specialised organisation was needed to deal with this new threat.

The Trevi Group, set up in 1976, was one of the first pan-European organisations to deal exclusively with policing matters and grew out of discussions over the Schengen agreement on European border controls. Its purpose was to promote co-operation and the sharing of data and the development of a computer based system, which would be accessible to all member states. Originally set up to deal with 'terrorism', it has since been updated to include drug smuggling and public disorder and has spawned a number of offshoots, including Europol, the nascent European police force, and the Police Working Group on Terrorism (PWGOT). The Trevi group worked on two levels: firstly, it was supported at a policy level by heads of government and secondly, and more importantly, it drew together informal networks of policemen and State Security officials. Since 1976, the area of informal liaison has blossomed and it is here that the real nitty gritty of defeating "terrorists"

and militant activists is discussed alongside regular exchange of personnel, without even the fig-leaf of any official scrutiny.

Once the Maastricht treaty came into force on 1st November 1993, the Trevi Group was superseded by a number of different bodies including the new EU Council of Justice and Home Affairs ministers (JHA Council), the K4 committee and various Steering Groups and Working Parties. The Police Working Group on Terrorism (PWGOT) avoided being swallowed by any of the new formations and still acts very much independently of government control or accountability, apart from on policy issues. Even though the names might change, the purpose of the organisations remains one of preventing any challenge to the status quo from being successful.

The definition of terrorism used by the above groups is a very broad one: "the use, or the attempt to use violence by an organised group to achieve political goals." A statement by the Belgian Minister of Internal Affairs said that "the member countries of PWGOT exchange the following information the maintenance of public order:

1. The modus operandi of the groups and persons disturbing public order, and police methods and tactics.
2. Events which could have consequences for other countries.
3. The international movement of hooligans and demonstrators."

In a similar vein, the JHA adopted a Joint Action making it a criminal offence to participate in a criminal organisation which only has to be an association of two or more people. The list of 'crimes' included in this Joint Action are very vague and according to Statewatch now "cover political, trade union and public order situations."

Though the public pronouncements about the setting up of these organisations, which have been few and far between, proclaim that they are to deal with drugs and 'terrorism', the reality is that they will mainly be used on dissidents and troublemakers. The close co-operation between not only the European states but also countries such as the USA and Canada, means that any information collected by one State, can be quickly accessed by others via computer databases and the informal networks of State operatives that have blossomed over the years. The traces that the State can keep on us are

exacerbated by a global surveillance system, "Echelon", that has been under construction for a number of years by the European Union and the FBI. According to a Statewatch report published in January 1996, "Echelon" is capable not just of homing in on particular targets but can literally trawl the airwaves and computer networks looking for whatever writing or speech it may deem to be subversive.

The various liaison groups meet regularly to exchange information about "dangerous" developments in their territories, and often invite other "interested" parties to participate. It will come as no surprise that on occasions journalists are present at these discussions. Their task is to put a "positive spin" on their activities.

It is rare that the public gets to hear about the activities of the European police and security forces but the recent World Cup, gave us a glimpse of how they operate. As might be expected, the British Football Intelligence Unit, operating out of the National Criminal Intelligence Unit, was one of the main players in co-ordinating the European policing at the games.

An EU seminar on the Policing of Football was held in Blackburn in February this year. It was here that the security strategy for the World Cup was worked out. The key approach was the classification of fans into groups and a high level of surveillance. Category A were peaceful supporters; Category B were those who join in with trouble if provoked or under the influence of alcohol; Category C are the hardcore minority who are only interested in violence. The turning back of a coach load of German fans at the French border and the coach carrying the right-wing Scottish National Firm near Bordeaux are a sign of their effectiveness.

Two things are illustrated by the experience of the World Cup. Firstly, if the EU can devote so many resources to a sporting event, it shows the potential they have for policing more serious opponents. Secondly, it also shows that one of the main parts of their overall strategy is the criminalisation of ordinary people, whether they be football supporters, refugees or anti-fascists.

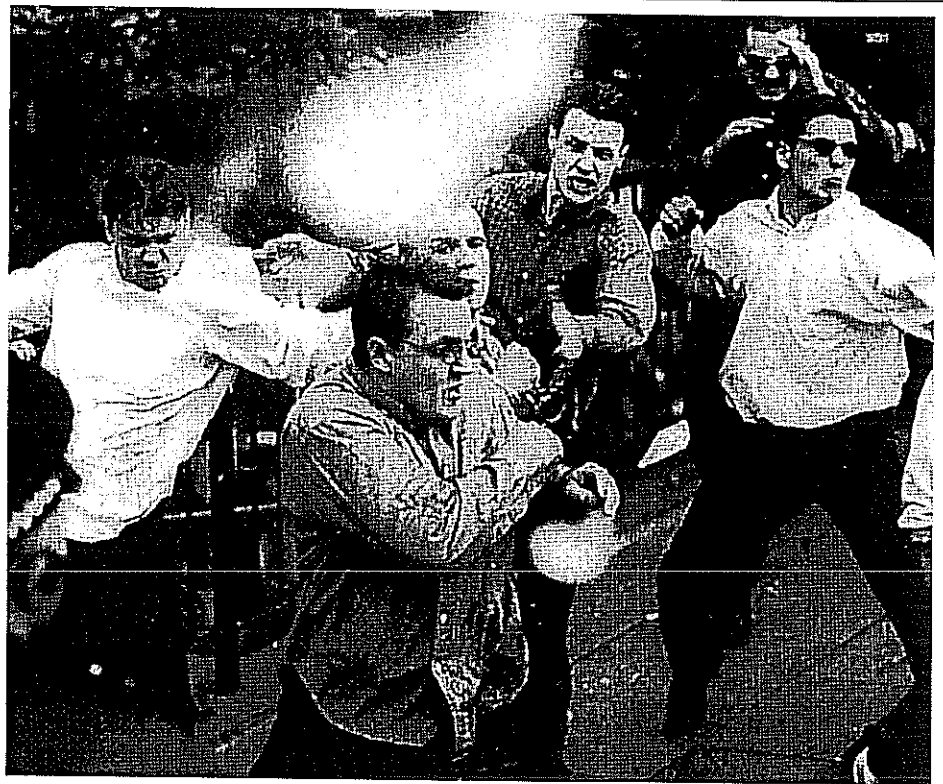
We have to be equally serious in forming our own international links to combat them. The International Network of Militant Anti-fascists is only a small start but may turn out to be vital to our long term interests.

# CRUEL BRITANNIA

On July 22 1998 the killers of Hanish Patel were convicted in Harrow Crown Court. His attackers, fellow pupils in the same school, were convicted of manslaughter and grievous bodily harm respectively. According to evidence given at the trial Hanish had been beaten to death in broad daylight for being a 'stupid Paki.' Coming within days of the end of the Lawrence inquiry the disavowal by police of a 'racial motive' in the attack seems cynically apt.

Despite the incontrovertible evidence in the Lawrence case of the racist motive, even at the inquiry police officers still contended that it was 'simple thuggery'. Little surprise then that 'bullying' was the reason offered by police in the Patel murder. What this means is that despite the public relations disaster suffered by the Met at the hands of the Lawrence inquiry team, it is evident that nothing has changed. Where a racial element is evident in a crime, police will according to statistics continue to detect it in only one out of three cases where it will subsequently be discovered. Additionally it has been estimated that in regard to racial incidents generally, police figures under report the true facts by a factor of ten. Consequently it is likely that from a police perspective that Hanish, attacked for being a 'stupid Paki', will not even register in the 3,500 racial incidents that occur in Britain every single day.

A number of recent projects have addressed the problem of racism and race attacks in working class communities from the point of view that existing policy is simply not working: is superficial, inadequate and even counter productive. Of interest to militant anti-fascists is not merely the confirmation of existing suspicions but also an opportunity to explore precisely how to best deny the Far Right any future possibility of exploiting the issues politically. Essentially this means making sure that militant anti-fascism does not get locked behind defending outdated, discredited or untenable political positions; in essence positions that are not seen as fair and rational from a working class perspective. Looking at things from precisely this perspective is 'Blood Sweat and Tears', a detailed report on the work the Bede Anti-Racist Project



*The five men accused of murdering Stephen Lawrence - under attack*

in Bermondsey in south London. The primary targets of the Bede Project were the young working class people living there where levels of social and economic discrimination are high and racist attitudes common place. "Racial violence is nothing new [in Bermondsey]. Nevertheless the 90's have witnessed a marked uprise in the vehemence and frequency...two local youth clubs had been closed down and the neighbourhood youth office was operating with only one full time worker". From the outset the Bede project recognised that in dealing with working class kids "a PC approach would be disastrous". Undoubtedly such a rational approach was influenced by the working class composition of the Bede team: one was a black East Londoner who had done a bit of time, while another was a white south Londoner who had been active in the NF in the '70's.

So, for instance, in a confrontation between local Bermondsey youth and some Somalis the working class influence was decisive. Challenging the racist attitude and attacks was effective because: "they knew we were on the case and that it wasn't going totally unnoticed, and that made a difference.

That was probably more powerful, us stepping in like that than the police coming in...it probably would just have escalated". In the contact with the kids, however racist, "consistency and respect" were the key words. They noted that the white youth generally had a strongly developed though "false" sense of injustice - "its not fucking fair".

While the Bede Project had some personal successes with individual youngsters, converting them from violent racists into equally aggressive anti-racists, the project seemed to accept that without an explanation of why things were like they were, and how to change them permanently and on a national basis; without the ability to replace the race card with a class analysis and hate reversal, the do-gooder aspect and the overall lack of political symmetry can leave no lasting impression on the area as a whole. Racist culture will continue to propagate because of the amount invested in reactionary propaganda, and of the individuals converted many will revert to type. During the three years it is estimated that of the 200 kids worked with around 15% were turned around. While acknowledging that "in Bermondsey the whole culture is racist.

## RACE ATTACKS

It'll take more than a youth project to change things".

When from the Bede perspective the wider world was viewed at all, the encouragement was to protest "legitimately", ie. petitions, lobbying, etc. In other words the working class kids were encouraged to plead on bended knee to the very institutions that have rejected them. Ultimately the cutting of funds for the Bede project itself proved the biggest illustration of that rejection.

This vital aspect, the overall lack of funds, was repeated again and again and was the dominant though subliminal theme. In its own damning conclusion the Bede project was not slow to point the finger, denouncing the whole orthodox, politically anti-racist mindset that pervades much of the voluntary sector as negative, reactionary and counter-productive: "The feasibility study conducted by Bede House Association in 1992 prior to the project, showed a blanket reluctance among the existing youth and voluntary sector services to work with the young people who were the project's primary target group. Widely

confirm in the eyes of the public that of the examples given by the paper, ie. of people submitting receipts for only £923 out of £6000 allocated (and of the amount actually accounted for £789 of the £923 was spent on groceries) the rebuttal is not substantiated.

Rather than deal with the prima facie case the council attacks the paper for "careless journalism" particularly in the "current climate of increasing racist activity - by implying that black groups are less accountable than others - an implication without evidence." Now there cannot be the slightest quiver of doubt that such an article would feed racism; however to even consider where precisely the ultimate responsibility lies for that state of affairs, ie. with the racists or with council policy, would itself be condemned out of hand as racist - by the policy makers!

**F**or all its honesty, throughout 'Blood Sweat and Tears' there is an obvious, though unstated, need for an anti-racism with a broader analysis of society than simply being against something. Otherwise the feeling

the severity of assault is a measure. "Early on it identifies what it regards as "a major theme" which is the widely held perception of "unfairness" by the white working class community, which in contrast to 'Blood Sweat and Tears' the Greenwich report insists "cannot be dismissed as illogical or racist".

**T**his 'unfairness perception' stems from the belief that minority problems are constantly highlighted, but the "problems, grievances and perspectives of the white community are ignored by the press, local authority, the schools, the police, the government and so on. This theme is widespread in all age groups and all social classes in Greenwich". 'Routes of Racism' considers it most important that this perspective of "unfairness" is responsible for deflecting attempts to tackle more 'extreme' racism. In that a culture of denial fostered by genuine resentment of being continually ignored creates a situation within which real and extreme racism can flourish.

***"No hint, or suspicion on her part that if the working class are being badly done by, maybe this is how the working class were always treated".***

regarded as too threatening and dangerous to work with, they had effectively been written off as a lost cause. The intention to bring about changes in their behaviour and views about race, was therefore regarded as idealism."

**I**f to challenge working class attitudes to race is to be regarded as hopeless "idealism" then presumably the orthodox anti-racist position is that racists are born not made. And if by that standard the working class is racist, then it justifies shoring up, empathising with, and vitally, funding only the victims of racism. The perpetrators, and the community that spawned them need punishment not understanding. Compounding the problem is that monies allocated to groups on the basis of race is widely regarded as both prejudiced and profligate. One recorded report from the Southwark News highlighted the fact "that of the £140,000 given to black women's groups between 1992 and 1993, in one off grants, almost a third had been misspent or was unaccounted for."

The Council rebuttal spoke only of "a misunderstanding between how the council thought the money would be spent and how the groups thought it would be spent." Which is merely to

remains it is only the racists that have rounded philosophical solutions. Ultimately progressive solutions need to be based on more than the moral choice of individuals, but must instead be tied into the collective self-interest of the individuals and neighbourhood as a whole.

It is from this premise that 'Routes of Racism: The Social Basis of Racist Action' tackles the issue of race attacks. Routes of Racism, written by Roger Hewitt, "is an account of major developmental work with young people in central and southern parts of the Borough of Greenwich in order to extend understanding of the social basis of racist activity and thereby facilitate appropriate and effective strategies and resources to counteract it."

Its objectives and conclusions are more far-reaching, controversial and radical than the Bede study. Primarily because from the outset it was prepared to openly identify anti-racist custom and practice itself, and the mindset of the class who frame it, as a source of many of the problems.

Along with the other reports reviewed it observes that pockets of extreme racism in certain neighbourhoods has not changed or is changing for the worse "if

Importantly, it notes that racist abuse is usually done "by people who believe that they are safe, or in a place that guarantees them safety: racist actions are generally performed by groups and rarely by individuals". Again from a strategical viewpoint it stresses the main agent for the "reproduction of adolescent racism did not seem to be parents - but peer group". Meaning that it is not inherent or taught from birth, but each generation learns from their own experiences. Schools in many cases feeding the grievance.

In addition to the anti-racist strategy in Greenwich schools; "Local government anti-racist policies clearly show a tendency to appear to buy into racialisation a very visible way... and in this creation of difference communities are set against one another." This analysis of current economic ills was provided by one 15 year old girl. "I don't like the blacks full stop right. We brought 'em over 'ere for slaves, but now they are getting all the money and taking it off out of our money".

Her rationale being that if we, the working class, have nothing then it can only be because they, the blacks, are getting a large percentage of what would normally be doled out to us. No hint, or suspicion

on her part that if the working class are being badly done by, maybe this is how the working class were always treated.

The study notes that in dealing with ethnic cultures the emphasis is on "each minority culture is celebrated as being unitary". In other words the inference is that within minority communities, unlike their white English counterparts there is neither distinct class interests, or class conflict. Not only absolutely inaccurate but this celebration of diversity often results in a "stereotypical ethnicity" in which even the "ethnic minority pupils cannot identify". More insidiously the denial of any similarities with the indigenous social structures (a working class, middle class, etc.) results in a complete lack of empathy and an inability to comprehend how such societies might function. A rational conclusion might be that if this is how African or Indian societies are run it can only mean that they are 'different'. While being different might justify them celebrating their own culture in their adopted country it must also feed the resentment and confusion of the white working class children who recognise that this espousal of cultural variety "includes all cultures but their own." Of course it is not the case that this approach is exclusive to schools. Instead it carries over into the adult world and is reflected in council policy on a national basis. And because the entire multi-racial policy is superficial, simplistic and lacks credibility, it is without any tangible return except in providing raw material for the propagandists of the Far Right.

According to the research conducted in 1995 the BNP were found to have an important symbolic significance for local kids even when they didn't have a physical presence in the community: "If the BNP didn't exist we'd probably have a black government. If we didn't have them we have nothing...we wouldn't have nobody sticking up for the whites." It is evident from where this youngster stands 'whites' and working class are interchangeable. As a consequence of its research 'Routes of Racism' concludes "new approaches are needed based on how young whites actually conceive of their world rather than on moral and political agendas imposed from outside."

What is clear throughout, is through failing to address the factor of class the anti-racist initiatives, whether well intentioned or cynical, inevitably leaves race as the prime motivator. The implied obligation for black and white alike, being that you identify with people of your own race first. Or only. One consequence of the strategy is that individuals are

encouraged or indeed forced to think along nationalist lines politically. What do we get out of it? Meaning my tribe rather than my class. Alternatively, if you identify along racial lines from the stand-point of a race or culture other than your own, see it from the other point of view, from an anti-racist perspective, such a sentiment immediately registers as mealy-mouthed, weak, or ambiguous. To actually act on such a principle means thereafter to be regarded as a renegade whose views will always be suspect.

Moreover it is the anti-racist lobby itself which sets out the terms for this inter-racial conflict. In doing so they make no apology for



identifying solely with the interests of Blacks and Asians. As they are the victims of racism, they need the defending. The white community as aggressors, as the enemy, they need only to be defeated. Crushed. Their racism is tied up with Britain's imperial past and must be eradicated and so on. Any sympathy or acknowledgment of bias against them would set back the multi-cultural experiment by a generation. Instead this bias toward creating a black middle class, a middle class designed to be effortlessly assimilated into white society should be applauded and funded runs the argument.

On the other hand they, the whites, cannot ever be rewarded for their contemptible racism, in itself genetic. They are a lost cause. Essentially, it would appear that the middle class legislators see the working class as a people to be pacified first, and then through coercion drill into them, if possible, 'an understanding and an adoption of our superior habits and customs'.

This is why the policy of lots of stick and no carrot has apparent widespread approval in these circles. That this racialisation is often as marked within the Asian and black communities is of course never addressed.

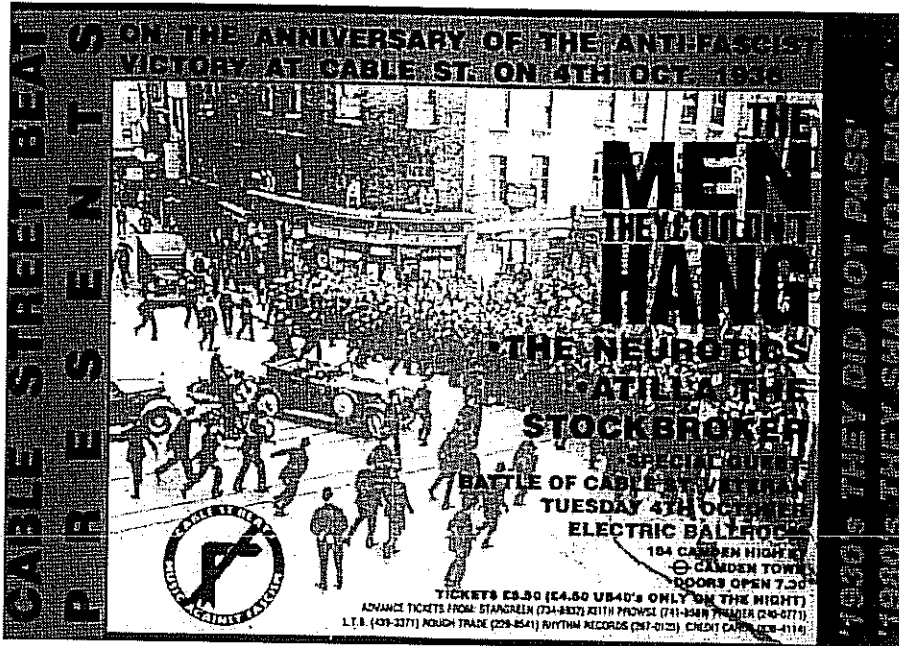
"The fundamental error of morally based anti-racist policies is that they assume that a complicated set of human relations made up of many strands, including class, gender, age, size and race can be slotted into a white versus black pigeon hole. The other things are assumed or not dealt with. This simple model assumes that there is a uniform access to power by all whites, and a uniform denial of access to power to all blacks. Clearly this is not the case. We do not believe that an effective anti-racist policy can exist unless the other issues are dealt with, in particular class and race." This was the conclusion of 'Murder in the Playground', an inquiry led by Ian McDonald QC into the murder of Ahmed Iqbal in Burnage School in 1986. It is poignant that in an era of escalating racial incidents this report both comprehensively challenges the orthodox mindset and ... has been totally ignored. Ten years later 'Routes of Racism' concludes: "We believe that unless anti-racism becomes re-focused and open to new ways of implementation, it is likely that racism will continue to be supported however indirectly from this source. With regard to white adults, and to the routes racism takes through adult talk, we believe that it is here in particular that anti-racism needs to re-focus its theories, policies and practices."

Any anti-racist initiative sponsored by the political establishment, and handed down from above, that fails to acknowledge the social basis of race hatred must be regarded with suspicion, as it is always in the interests of the Establishment to see us fighting each other as an alternative to fighting them. In Britain in 1998, the gap between rich and poor continues to be the highest since records began. Millions in this country are surviving on crumbs and it is contrary to human nature to expect them to share them. If Establishment anti-racist strategists really wanted integration to work smoothly, the working class communities that play host to immigrants would be rewarded with extra resources rather than as things stand, be penalised by having to share the existing and woefully inadequate provisions. Clearly the existing approach merely pits the most impoverished against the most wretched. Given the body of evidence that exists, for the Establishment to persist in addressing the symptom rather than the cause, raises the question as to whether their efforts can be regarded as a sincere attempt to resolve the epidemic of racial violence or might instead be a strategy to perpetuate it.

JOE REILLY



# THE BEAT GOES ON



## CABLE STREET BEAT - A BRIEF HISTORY

We are pleased to announce the arrival of our newest column 'The Beat Goes On' which is supplied by Cable Street Beat and looks at the wonderful world of music from an anti-fascist perspective. To get the ball rolling Kate Wesprin outlines the history of AFA's music wing, Cable Street Beat.

Cable Street Beat (CSB), the anti-fascist music organisation was originally formed in 1988. There were two main reasons why it was felt important to create CSB. Firstly it was seen as a good way to get a militant anti-fascist message across to a wider audience and secondly, the threat posed by the fascists in respect of the way that they were organising in music, while at the same time attacking gigs, was something that could not go unchecked.

In the 1970s Rock Against Racism was formed due to a number of comments made by prominent musicians. David Bowie had sparked things off by saying that what the country needed was a fascist regime. Later Eric Clapton added to this view by claiming that there were too many immigrants – he thought Enoch Powell had been right.

Ever since the days of punk there had been trouble with fascists at gigs. Trouble again emerged with the arrival of the NF's White Noise Club and later Blood and Honour in the mid-80s. Anti-fascists had to address the situation. As one early activist who was involved in CSB told me:

*"the fascists had built up a movement that was getting a lot of young people involved, mainly skinheads, and what was recognised was that an organisation was needed to get people involved in militant anti-fascism, kind of a left-wing version of Blood and Honour."*

What really kicked CSB into action were three incidents during the mid-1980s. The fascists were looking to impose themselves on the wider music scene. They sent a clear message to anti-fascists that certain types of music would not be free to play without the threat of violence. In particular they attacked three gigs, the Pogues, Desmond Dekker and the Angelic Upstarts. Three strands of fascism were apparent in these actions, anti-Irish, anti-Black and anti-socialist.

In response to this CSB and AFA began to organise themselves. They started off gradually, organising three or four small gigs the first of which was The Beggars and The Neurotics in The White Horse, Brixton. Coupled with this was the Cable Street Beat Review, an independent voice for militant anti-fascists. It was in a magazine format and although there were only five issues it later developed into Fighting Talk.

Cable Street Beat went from strength to strength; the first big event was a resounding success. The Men They Couldn't Hang played a sell out gig at Camden's Electric Ballroom, proving that there was support for politics in music especially considering that it was on a Tuesday evening. Before the gig there was a press conference which members of all the bands attended. This was significant in itself, it showed that the bands were prepared to speak out in favour of militant anti-fascism, which in turn led to an increase in coverage in both the music press and on the radio.

The gig was held on the anniversary of the battle of Cable Street. During the gig a veteran of that battle spoke – he got the biggest applause of the whole evening, proving that politics and music could work together encouraging people to get involved and voice their opinions.

Next came the Dance and Defend Tour which took anti-fascist politics all over the country, including London, Brighton, Hatfield, Harlow, and Manchester. The money raised helped pay off the fines of activists arrested during clashes at the Remembrance Sunday NF march.

A great victory came when CSB put on The Angelic Upstarts at the George Robey, Finsbury Park, on 21st January 1989. Previously in May 1988 the band had played in the Astoria. Fascists had caused trouble at the gig and prevented the band from finishing their set. After this they had threatened that the band would never be allowed to play in London again. Militant anti-fascists were adamant that this would not be the case. Once the gig was announced the fascists again repeated the threat claiming that they would be down to carry their threat through. On the night of the gig:

*"four dubious individuals turned up, I think really that they wanted to go home, however they were told that they would stay and watch the gig and if their right arms got above shoulder height that they would be pulled off and raffled, once they'd seen the gig they could go home to their mates and let them know what they were up against."*

In a review of the gig afterwards it was stated that "They left by all accounts, in subdued mood."

At the same time the fascists were trying to go mainstream, renting premises in Carnaby Street to sell their merchandise. On the day of the Upstarts gig anti-fascists had picketed the shop:

*"the clean up against the sale of Nazi memorabilia in shops around Carnaby Street took off with a vengeance last weekend. More than 200 people joined one anti-fascist picket...the day ended with a march through Carnaby Street itself, which prompted two crop-headed members of the master race to strut from a local pub, only to flee when their courage deserted them. One sought sanctuary in the women's changing room of a nearby boutique."*

The fascists tried to step up their campaign when on May 27th 1989 Blood and Honour planned to hold a major international gig in London. Originally they had booked Camden Town Hall under a false name but this was uncovered and stopped by AFA. In response B&H leader Ian Stuart declared that the gig would go ahead no matter what. Even to the point that he promised to refund the ticket money should it not. With a capacity of 1,200 and tickets costing £10 this was quite a considerable sum of money. However AFA got wind of the redirection point and were able to take control of it over an hour before the fascists arrived. Lively skirmishes ensued between anti-fascists and the largely foreign groups of skinheads that were foolish enough to turn up at the redirection point:

*"a group of AFA jumped on the tube, getting off at Bond Street, they flew out of the station, straight in to the fascists who then got battered. Three young black women who were standing across the road started clapping and cheering, these fascists had been walking up and down Oxford Street all day, knocking in to people and generally being obnoxious. That same night persons unknown went through the door of the fascist shop in Carnaby Street with a couple of sledge hammers and wrecked a lot of stock, they couldn't keep it going and the shop owners flung them out!"*

It was at this point that the fascists realised that it would not be possible for them to operate openly. They waited three years before they tried again, when, with support from the BNP, they publicly announced another gig redirection point - Waterloo! This has been discussed in many issues of Fighting Talk and therefore needs little comment, except to



Anhrefn playing in front of the original Cable Street Beat banner

say that they have remained very secretive ever since!

CSB organised three Unity Carnivals, the first in 1991. These events highlighted the ability of music and politics to work together, complimenting each other. It was felt at this point that anti-fascists should set the agenda, challenging fascists in their "own" areas:

*"the Unity Carnival was part of an ongoing strategy to challenge the BNP in East London with their 'Rights for Whites' campaign. The BNP were having public meetings and marches, clashes ensued which were effective, however it was felt important to take anti-fascist politics to a wider audience. The Unity Carnival was successful in achieving this goal. About 10,000 people attended"*

The second Unity Carnival, also on Hackney Downs provided the ideal opportunity to involve people in direct action. It was at this event that much of the support that was to appear at Waterloo two weeks later was found.

The next carnival followed in Newcastle in 1993. The Shamen headlined. Just before the band were to go on someone realised that the AFA banner had been taken down:

*"so The Blaggers and Fundamental preceded to mount the stage and rehang it. After the gig words were exchanged and a few blows. AFA and CSB were determined that the matter should not be left without comment. Letters were written to and published by the music press with the result that a certain amount of money was donated back to the organisations involved in organising the event. The Shamen did not provide their services for free and were obliged to play*

*in front of the banner and there seems little point expecting to play a political event, and then trying to erase the message."*

It is important to briefly mention the work of Freedom of Music, which was set up in 1995. A number of DJs were eager to organise raves to promote the anti-fascist political message. Although it was successful for about a year, producing the "This is Fascism" double CD and a number of very well attended raves around the country, when FOM started to lose contact with AFA it began to drift.

Having said this it is now time to look to the future and the relaunch of Cable Street Beat. I asked some of those involved previously about the things that were learnt the first time round and their opinions on what Cable Street Beat should be doing in the future:

*"All the lessons that have been learnt over the years mean that we can now set something up that will last. You need to keep anti-fascism on the agenda, to keep banging away at the music press, to make people realise that it is not some passing trend, that the problem hasn't gone away. Bands that support AFA must be asked to make a certain level of commitment and there are many ways in which they can help. For example, putting the AFA address on their album sleeves, taking merchandise on their stalls, right through to playing benefits. The fascist bands have always given much greater support to their organisations than we have ever got, after all if you think about it, it doesn't take much to help."*

In the South of France, where Le Pen's FN control 4 towns, one of the first targets they have attacked is youth culture. We have been warned!

# BEHIND ENEMY LINES



with Vern Ethered

The BNP in the West Midlands has been strengthened by the defections of Wayne Ashcroft from the NF and Steve Edwards and the entire West Midlands region of the National Democrats. Ashcroft and, in particular, Edwards are individuals of some organising capability and both have prominent pieces in May's issue of Spearhead.



Steve Edwards

referred to above by Steve Edwards. That begs the question - why not? In the run up to the local elections their literature gave every impression of a big push. Branches and groups were

Edward's article strongly backs the strategy of community politics. He recounts his previous experience in the National Democrats: *"Endless effort, time and money were wasted on meaningless days of action and leafleting sessions which has little or nothing to do with the concerns of the communities we were supposed to be representing"*. Edwards and others decided to change strategy, studying carefully the tactics of mainstream political parties in the area, particularly the Liberal Democrats and noting how they had managed to build a successful electoral base by campaigning on local issues. Edward's branch targeted seven selected wards and over twelve months put out 30,000 leaflets on local issues: *"We campaigned for better local services, policing, housing, education, speed limits and even on environmental issues. Within months, three large residents associations who had rejected the main parties came to us for help. Our local helpline was "red hot". My wife ... was working flat out liaising with Sandwell Council on behalf of local residents"*. The contrast between the old and new tactics couldn't be clearer and activists on our side of the fence might find it instructive to ask themselves which of the two quotes above best describes their current activity.

required to stand candidates or no longer be considered as active; initial reports of local activities were very upbeat. But come the day not only did they under-perform; they were also standing in far fewer wards than usual. Which leads us to wonder whether they have over-estimated the capacity of some of their branches to adopt the new tactics. Bristol was a case in point, with no candidate standing in Kingswood. Is this connected with the local branch's failure to support their parliamentary candidate a year ago - to the extent of leaving him and his mates totally in the lurch at the count?

Another gloss put on the poor showing in the local elections is that the real target is the European elections next year. These are an attractive option for the BNP for a number of reasons. Firstly, they will get 5 minutes TV air time and 6 million leaflets delivered free, enabling them to get their propaganda out to the widest possible audience. Secondly, the elections will use some form of proportional representation. Thirdly with the demise of the UK Independence Party and the Referendum Party the BNP hopes to capitalise on the anti-European vote.

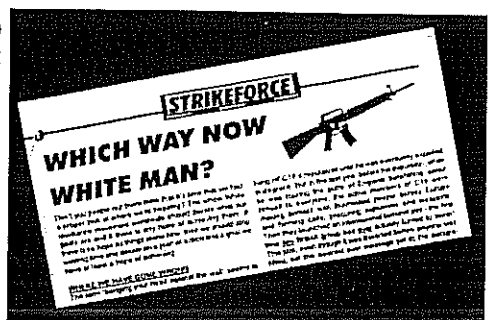
Edwards and his fellow activists clearly feel the BNP is making the running in this area. But they seem to have come unstuck in the local elections, attracting a far lower share of the vote than they and even we expected. A number of factors seem to have been at work. The main reason given is that the honeymoon with New Labour has yet to end, but there is also a candid acknowledgement that they didn't do what they were meant to do which was the hard graft of door to door canvassing and the kind of work

So the BNP is looking at political consolidation on two fronts, if they can't get the NF and National Democrats to give up the ghost they are confident of attracting their better elements and so achieving unification of the fascist movement by default and, in addition, drawing in new recruits or voters from the anti-Europeans. Obviously they still have a mountain to climb, but they have been doing the groundwork in both areas, as witness their work around the "Countryside March" and the "Buy British Beef" campaigns.

Only time will tell if they can realise their ambitions, but for the moment time is still on their side and any new activists from the RP / UKIP side of things could help them to overcome what appear to be difficulties in implementing their mainstream, populist and community based strategy. But the real bonus for them, at the moment, is that while they are experimenting with new tactics and seriously trying to build a better mainstream image and a real base of support and identification in communities, their opponents appear to be out of the picture. Which, if they can exploit it, means they have the breathing space to build better foundations to meet any future political and physical challenges. As Steve Edwards concludes: *"...the time to act is now!"*

Meanwhile on the ultra-lunatic fringe, the dregs of C18 continue to snipe at one another in their self-obsessed one-man band publications. Browning can't get enough mileage out of the revelations by the Observer and World in Action that Charlie Sergeant was a Special Branch / MI5 snout. From the other side Steve Sergeant hurls allegations that Browning is an enemy agent, at the very least being in definite contact with Searchlight. Their mutual paranoid rantings are prime fodder for conspiracy theorists, so we won't linger over them. Suffice to say intelligence analysis would suggest there was more than one State / police asset with considerable influence in C18.

It has to be said that Browning's "Strikeforce" magazine is quite remarkable. It openly advocates bombing campaigns, praises the letter bombs sent from Denmark and prints bomb-making instructions. Anyone with half a brain cell knows this sort of literature gives the state a golden opportunity to bang up the authors/editors and any person in possession of it on conspiracy charges. A point Nick Griffin made in his recent trial (he was convicted for inciting racial hatred in The Rune magazine), contrasting the action against him with the inaction against C18. Not that we would want to discourage any would-be fascist / white power revolutionary from doing a bit of time on the 43's.





# Between the Sheets



with Elvis Mondallant

## Stephen Lawrence Inquiry

There has been much media coverage of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry. The enquiry is the latest development, in a long campaign by the Lawrence family and their supporters, to bring the five men accused of Stephen's murder to justice and to expose the shortcomings of the police investigation.

Despite the massive resources that have been put into this enquiry, the end result is bound to be something of an anticlimax. The most potent thing that will result is a critical report of the police murder investigation, and some uncomfortable questions for the establishment in relation to police racism, corruption and incompetence. For anti-fascists then, the enquiry poses another set of questions. What strategies should be employed in order to tackle racist attacks and those that propagate racism?

In June the five suspects gave evidence at the inquiry and on the 29th the hearing was thrown into chaos when members of the Nation of Islam invaded the inquiry while Jamie Acourt was being questioned. *The Guardian*: "As the phalanx of militants - wearing dark suits, white shirts and red bow ties - marched down the room, Acourt was bundled by police out of a back door."

The Nation of Islam, it seems, have been taking lessons from the 'revolutionary left'. Tactic: use any political issue available in order to raise your profile, disregarding any wider questions involved.

The next day we saw the flip side of the coin, not an organised intervention, but an angry crowd attempting to get at the five men as they left the inquiry. *The Times* tells the story: "Violence erupted outside the Stephen Lawrence inquiry yesterday as the five prime suspects left the building beneath a hail of missiles and punches. Some of the five were involved in struggles with protesters as they made their way to a waiting van after finishing their evidence."

I cannot see any reason, other than plain old-fashioned opportunism, for the Nation of Islam's behaviour. The action taken was not part of a sustained anti-racist campaign or a serious attempt to

physically deal with the five men. Some people at the enquiry, no doubt frustrated by proceedings, cheered on the group's intervention. However anti-fascists should ask themselves the question: with all the anger in the black and wider community at this murder, and all the attention focused on the case by the 'Left', why was it that a relatively small, unrepresentative, reactionary religious group were able to hijack the enquiry for the purpose of self promotion?

The truth of the matter is that there is a lack of effective political organisation in the Black community and most on the Left would see the enquiry as part of the strategy for dealing with racism. More inquiries, more police investigations, more police powers, more police accountability, increased sentencing for race crimes etc.

The Lawrence family have undoubtedly shown a real determination over the past years in pursuing the five killers through the criminal justice system, and the media has been happy to find the family a snug fit to the liberal agenda. *The Sunday Mirror* tells it all: "All they wanted was justice and answers to why Stephen's death seemed not to matter. Their quiet dignity has done everything to dampen down the flames of racism when their pain and anger would have justified the opposite."

On occasions the marriage of the Lawrence family to the liberal agenda has looked shaky, when the frustration of the family and the inevitable violent reaction spills into the media coverage. Doreen Lawrence has given the opinion that black people should not join the police. In an interview given to *The Observer* she describes the events of 30th June: "On the first day they swaggered in. On the last day they had to run and hide. This time they had to face the public. It's a pity that other people couldn't really get to them."

Those that have taken a political interest in the inquiry, or made some intervention, broadly fall into two camps. There are those that are convinced of the liberal agenda and those that pursue the opportunist 'party building' agenda as described above. Militant anti-fascists are

### Quotes

"Dr Paisley, we intend to overtake you so we can get a passing shot of your car with all the dust. Over." "Well," hollers Dr Paisley, "you can try it, but David McIlveen says that you won't be overtaking him! That is a challenge from a Gentile to a Jew." There is a pause. "There's a good degree of racism in us all," hollers Dr Paisley over the walkie-talkie. "Did you hear that?"...the walkie-talkie crackles into life once more. "Germany calling!" hollers Dr Paisley. "Germany calling! Germany calling!" ... for the remainder of the trip, by the way, Dr Paisley will refer to me by three names: they are "The Jew", "The Israelite", "My Jewish Friend". And I, in turn, will call Dr Paisley "Dr Paisley". (Jewish journalist Jon Ronson in Africa with Ian Paisley. *The Guardian* 25-04-98)

**Comment:** A passing shot at Dr Paisley's car, now there's a thought.

"His house is 400 metres away, but he dare not stay there - the Loyalists know it's a Catholic street. Neighbours received bullets in the post, windows have been broken, insults hurled. Petrol bombs might be next.... A Catholic youth was kicked to death last year. Another, of mixed race, was run over after taunting from a Loyalist gang. "They shouted 'nigger' at his wee dead body." (Portadown resident. *The Guardian* 14-07-98)

**Comment:** None needed.

"Come every three months, black people got to contend with the gas bill and the electricity bill. These things keep us enslaved." (Speaker at Nation of Islam rally. *The Observer* 05-07-98)

**Comment:** Some of my best friends are white, and as far as I know they are also billed on a regular basis by gas and electricity companies.

"In the petro-chemical town of Ustinad Labem, in the Czech Republic, a few kilometres from the German border, the mayor has issued a sinister decree. A wall is to be thrown up around a housing estate inhabited by Romanies. The reason, he says, is to keep their neighbours free from the offensive sight of the gypsies, with all their dirt and rubbish and drunkenness." (Linda Grant, journalist. *The Guardian's 'Weekend' Magazine* 25-07-98)

**Comment:** As we've said before, fascism doesn't start with concentration camps ...

## MEDIA

all too familiar with both. We would suggest a third option. AFA's approach is to challenge racism ideologically and physically. Organised fascists propagate racist ideas, and consequently racist violence, as part of a strategy to gain support in working class communities. AFA are about the business of challenging those racist ideas at a political level. And to deny fascists and racists a platform in, or access to, working class communities at a physical level.

The remit of the inquiry is to examine the police investigation into Stephen's murder, with much of the evidence against the five men being revisited. In December 1994 a video camera was secretly installed in Gary Dobson's flat. Part of the video was shown on *Newsnight* and shows the five men playing with knives and indulging in racist bravado. The video, and some of the dialogue reproduced in the press, leaves little to the imagination as to the political makeup of the five.

Neil Acourt: "I reckon every nigger should be chopped up and left with nothing but fucking stumps."

David Norris: "If I was going to kill myself, do you know what I'd do? I'd go and kill every black cunt, every Paki, every copper, every mug that I know. I would go down to Catford and places like that - I'm telling you now - with two sub-machine guns and I'd take one of them. Skin the black alive, mate. Torture him. Set him alight. I'd blow their two legs and arms off and say 'Go on. You can swim home now.'"

An earlier inquiry by the Police Complaints Authority revealed much about the police investigation. *The Guardian* reports: "Twenty-six people had provided the police with the suspect's names and spoke of their violent reputation. A number of informants complained of knife attacks by some of the same youths and were prepared to give evidence in court." And describing a surveillance operation at the Acourt's address: "Twice one of the Acourts was seen carrying plastic bags out of the house. On the first occasion the camera had not been set up and the surveillance officer had no mobile phone to call for back-up."

Michael Mansfield has pursued a line of questioning that attempts to show that there was a corrupt relationship between the police and David Norris's father, Clifford Norris. *The Guardian* describes the situation: "He (Clifford Norris) is what

*the police call an SO11 criminal - a major player of interest to the directorate of intelligence. But he has a more sinister reputation: as a known briber and intimidator of witnesses who has been suspected of being involved in at least one murder. Could it be, says Mansfield, that the police in south-east London had a connection with Norris that led to the protection of his son? The suspicions persist."*

Back in the eighties Norris was targeted by Customs and Excise. During a surveillance operation he was seen meeting with a Sergeant David Coles of



the Flying Squad. Carrier bags holding "oblong slabs" were passed between the two men. Scotland Yard were tipped off and conducted an internal inquiry, Coles's explanation was that he had been using Norris as an informant. Coles was later to be assigned duty as a protection officer to Duwayne Brooks, who was with Stephen during the attack and a key witness. When three of the men stood trial in 1996 (the Lawrence family bought a private prosecution) the trial collapsed when the judge ruled that evidence from Duwayne Brooks was confused and could not be heard. It didn't go unnoticed that he was being 'looked after' by Sgt.

Coles, Clifford Norris 'associate'.

Despite all the efforts applied to this inquiry, the mass of evidence that has emerged suggesting police racism, incompetence and corruption, the overwhelming evidence against the five men that is now public knowledge, they still walked away free men. If anything positive can be taken away from these events, if any lesson has been learnt, it should be that working class communities must rely on their own resources to deal with racism, and those who propagate it.

These five men, despite being full of racist bile and capable of racist attacks are not BNP members or associated with any fascist organisations. However there can be little doubt that their racism and their willingness to carry out a racist attack is partly a product of fascist propaganda and influence and partly a developing reaction in white working class communities to the liberal agenda. The five will be seen by many, especially the liberal media, as extremists. The media have portrayed them as violent thugs, with a frightening reputation locally.

If some of the middle class missionaries that have been scribbling away about this case would put their noses a little nearer the working class communities occasionally, they might also be a little closer to reality. The horrible truth is that the level of violence, and in some areas the racist violence, that these five were involved in is, although marginal, all too ordinary. The danger is, unless it is challenged both ideologically and physically, then the margins will begin to close in and racism and racist attacks become part of the political mainstream as in areas of Germany and France.

The constituency up for grabs is the black, white and Asian working class. A reaction to the policies of the race relations industry and acceptance of fascist and Far Right propaganda is already established in some white working class communities. The black and Asian communities are targeted by reactionary outfits like the Nation of Islam, who spout anti-white and anti-Semitic propaganda. Some smaller groups that sprung up in the Asian communities some years back have fallen into criminal activity and political lethargy.

Anti-fascists/racists have a difficult task ahead of them, but the potential is there to arm working class communities with the political ideas and organisational structures that will compete with the Far Right and the 'liberal' middle class.

# ➤ Days of Action

## Pre-War Fascism and Anti-fascism in Canada

Similar to the British National Party, Far Right organizations in North America have previously attempted to mimic the successes of France's FN, with limited but notable successes. A contemporary example would be the American-styled Le Pen, David Duke, a former Klansman who became elected to the Louisiana legislature. Duke promoted a moderate conservatism in the public eye, aiming to move 'racialism' out of the fringes and into the mainstream political debate. His was one particular model which set an example for the Far Right in Canada of more recent history. Throughout the war years, a similar path was travelled by a fascist party strategy aimed at aligning itself with federal politics. These early years reveal important lessons, not just about the nature of fascism, but also of the organization necessary to fight it.

The main drive of a European-influenced fascist movement began in Quebec, steeped in an anti-semitism existing long before the advent of Adolf Hitler. A folkic movement known as the Goglus was growing in French Canada, modeled after European patriotic societies. Adrien Arcand, a professional journalist, would soon spearhead a movement magnifying the Jewish question and tailoring it to fit into a fascist program for Canada. It was 1930, a Conservative government had been swept into power, and Arcand was getting flustered over the prospects of a 'brave new era'. He began his career as a fascist at the outset of the Depression, announcing the formation of the *Ordre Patriotique des Goglus*. This started out as a propaganda campaign consisting of three weekly papers. Funds for the project mainly came from supporters of the professional class who were opposed to the competition of Jewish businesses.

Subsidies to Arcand's propaganda also came in from Camillien Houde, mayor of Montreal and leader of the provincial Conservatives. To return the favour, Le Goglu printed scathing attacks against the provincial Liberals. Arcand received a guarantee of \$25,000 and further necessary support on condition that the

### NATIONALISTS AND COMMUNISTS CLASH IN MARKET SQUARE BATTLE

Greatly Outnumbered, Brown Shirts Badly Battered Before Rescued by Police Riot Squad

Goglus help them garner 12 seats in the upcoming election. When Arcand's printing plant was completely destroyed by an act of anti-fascist public service, national Conservative leader R.B. Bennett saw to helping him equip a new one. In the pages of *Le Fasciste*



Adrien Arcand:  
*They all look the same to me*

Canadien, Arcand informed readers that Bennett's New Deal would usher in an age of corporatism - total control of economy and State by the party - and that "all the Bennett legislation tends towards fascism".

Things soon took a turn as lack of public support for Hitler became detrimental to Arcand's cause. Despite Arcand's attempts to dress the radical Right up in traditional French-Canadian virtues and

Christian values, French-Canadians were suspicious of Hitler's anti-Catholicism. Soon other groups appeared during the Depression years to feed off racial nationalism. A worker's organization known as the *Federation des Clubs Ouvriers* got the brown shirts and stiff right arms out, almost immediately going for an electoral approach on the municipal level. However, they were seen as rivals to Arcand who had meanwhile forged ahead and published a new paper called *Le Patriote*. This set the stage for the emergence of his National Social Christian Party - complete with a corps of Blueshirts - which he formally announced early on in 1934. Arcand, now at the helm of a fully-fledged Nazi-style party, still garnered interest from high-ranking politicians.

From 1933, fascist organization across English Canada was visibly taking shape. Winnipeg, Manitoba saw the import of a movement based on Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists - The Canadian Union of Fascists (CUF). Within a year CUF branches existed in Toronto, Woodstock, Regina, and Vancouver but in the long run, Canadian Mosleyites never really got their act together. A Brownshirt-styled group called the Canadian Nationalist Party (CNP) had also been launched in Winnipeg. The CNP was primarily made up of English-speaking Protestants whose objectives included "fighting



★ anti-fascist history ★ anti-fascist history ★ anti-fascist history ★

communism and ending the depression by way of "one national government". They were led by William Whittaker, a former sergeant-major in the army who had also worked as a police officer. The CNP would go on to become one of the more influential of the various fascist groupings.



Overall, there were two main camps of fascism in Canada, the CNP based in Ontario and further to the West and Arcand's NSCP in Quebec. These two

camps would soon form an alliance against their common opponents as another front was needed to campaign in the battle for control of the streets.

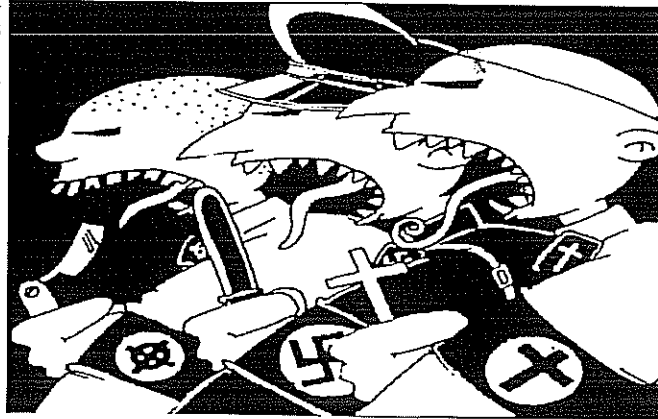
The Depression years were characterized by extreme social and economic strife. By 1932, Canada's wheat market had collapsed, wage cuts and lay-offs were widespread, and labour camps swiftly became the fix-all solution from the Tory government. The rising tide of social unrest was naturally marked with political action. Anti-fascism on the homefront was also growing.

In 1929, residents of Toronto's Kew Beach district organized a Swastika Club to police their beach in attempts to keep it free from Jewish patronage.

Although not fascist by design - based more on xenophobia - youth gangs wearing the swastika appeared in a number of cities to harass Jewish citizens. The first major manifestation of the resulting tensions came in 1933 following the launch of Toronto's Balmy Beach Swastika Club. After the residents association had abandoned the swastika emblem, a right-wing element hijacked and revitalized it with brown shirts and a fascist programme. A public meeting held by the new group was attended by an overflow crowd - not of supporters - but of anti-fascist opponents who had come to disrupt the event. Fearing a riot, police shut the meeting down.

In the same year on August 17, front-page headlines read, "Six Hours of Rioting Follows Hitler Shout - Scores Hurt, Two Held". The incident took place at a baseball game between Jewish and non-Jewish teams at Willowvale Park in the working class district of Christie Pits.

A swastika painted on a bedsheet in the stands and shouts of Heil Hitler understandably kicked it all off. Fighting began on the field and spread throughout the park, players and all. The quick appearance of sledgehammers, lead piping, and sawed-off bats meant planning and organization. The flagbearers were beaten down and their bedsheet ripped to pieces by militant Jewish youth. Truckloads of Jews, some Italians and other combatants joined the fray which raged until about 2am. The main anti-fascist element at the rumble were working class youth of Jewish immigrants who rallied communities to smash the Swastika Clubs. Despite their elders having counselled them against "squad tactics" and "taking the law into their own hands", the actions of the day awarded an undisputed second prize to the pro-Nazi element.



By now, the rising tide of fascist organization was paralleled with the massing of anti-fascist forces from blue-collar districts. In 1934 clashes between fascists and anti-fascists intensified in Winnipeg. One of the more critical battles occurred on June 5th at what came to be known as the Market Square riot. Anti-fascists armed with knives, clubs and slabs of wood torn from market stalls piled into a mobilization of CNP with devastating results. Managing to break away from the attack and run, the fascists were rescued by truck and whisked away. Roughly a dozen of them finished the day up in hospital. The CNP had been opposed primarily by a militant organization known as the Anti-Fascist League. An RCMP report from 1934 detailed how the CNP had to organize "protective squads" to protect distributors of the party paper - The Canadian Nationalist - from anti-fascist attacks. Fascist meetings couldn't be held without the threat of 'maximum disruption'.

Ultimately, the fascist movement looked as though its best option was to unify their respective shambles nationally. In 1937, Arcand moved to Toronto where anti-Jewish attacks were peaking. Before long, he issued statements to the press announcing the formation of a national party - the National Unity Party - an alliance with the Winnipeg and Toronto CNP. Arcand predicted a surge in support for 1938 but, in March, Hitler stormed Austria and public opinion in Canada hardened against Hitler. Naturally, aggression also turned against the local garden variety. Fascism's hope of coming to power in Canada was battered but despite this, meetings continued.

The notorious 'red squads' - police units set up to combat radical Left activity - were so busy stamping out the 'evil plague of communism' that the fascists were literally left alone. The Duplessis government publicly maintained that fascism was a "mythical ruse" created by the Communists!

On September 10, 1939 Canada declared war overseas and the order was made for Arcand to dissolve his organization. This order was superficial, while the group merely went underground as propagandizing and recruiting continued. However, war hysteria set in and when news arrived of Mosley and his cronies in England being arrested, the government had to save face. Marked fascists were rounded up and interned. A large number of anti-fascist militants had been immediately labelled "enemies of the State" and interned amongst fascists in prison camps. The outbreak of war had served up a perfect opportunity for the ruling powers to deal a vengeful blow to left-wing activists, many of whom had been involved in physically combatting the Brownshirts along with some who had even risked their lives in Spain to stop the fascist advance.

(This article has been condensed from "Fascism in Canada - The Early Years", in 'Antifa Forum No.3 - The Nature of the Beast' available from AFA for £1.50)



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**ASIAN DUB FOUNDATION**  
**Rafi's Revenge**

Album... 12 track... CD...  
London Records

It was only a matter of time before the new generation of British-born Asians started putting out material every bit as angry and influential as their fellow immigrants from the West Indies who had come before them.

While Apache Indian urged us to "keep it fluffy" with his ode to the Isle of Dogs 'Movin' on' and Fundamental flunked it when they went all, well, fundamentalist;

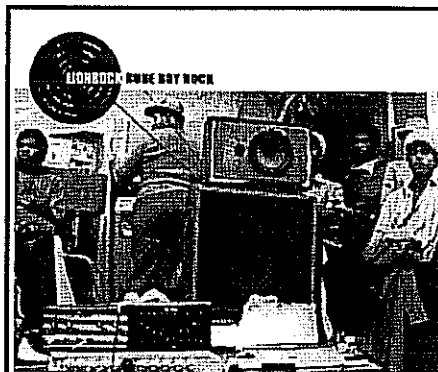
ADF have evoked comparisons with the late, great, 2 Tone movement. That's not the 2 Tone of dodgy cod-reggae covers, but of the Specials at their best, in other words sweaty, exhilarating live shows, a manic fusion of influences (old & new, foreign & domestic) and cutting-edge commentary on life in today's Britain.

While most of the big names at the moment are more than happy to simply provide backing tracks to Tony's "Cool Britannia", ADF buck the trend and cram this, their debut album, full of politics. What makes Rafi's Revenge all the more remarkable is the fact that though politics are currently out of vogue, it has already clocked up sales of over 100,000!

Two of the tracks Assassin and Naxalite are based on the revenge execution of an ex-British colonial Governor and a peasant uprising in Bengal. Free Satpal Ram and Operation Eagle Lie are about matters a bit closer to home, self-defence and police harassment. Altogether a stunning debut, that should set the lads up nicely for some mainstream success and an even bigger follow-up.

And there's the rub. With all the rave reviews going around at the moment it's only a matter of time before the same people start to knock you down. Yeah, I know it's a cliché and I doubt that ADF are mugs; but believe me, ask the Bloggers, once these bastards get tired of you and they realise you actually mean what you say there's no stopping them. Watch your backs.

Celtic Hammer



**LION ROCK**  
**Rude Boy Rock**

Concrete 1998  
Single... 4 track... CD

No lyrics at all really, but this re-issue is worth reviewing in FT because of the involvement in LionRock of Justin Robertson, who played some storming sets for Freedom of Movement. This untypical track is an excellent ska style piece, best played very loud early in the morning when you need to blow those cobwebs away.... (There's some more typical dance tracks tacked on the end but we'll leave them for the youngsters).

Vern Ethered

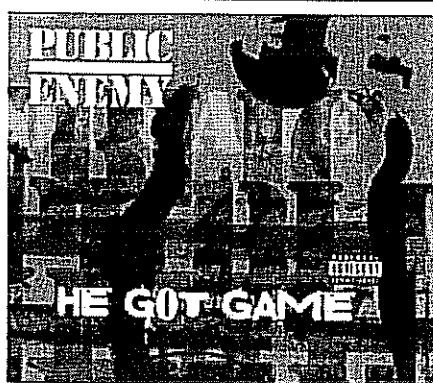
**THE 43 GROUP: THE SECRET BATTLE OF BRITAIN**

Film

Regular readers of FT will remember the book written by Morris Beckman that tells the story of the 43 Group who defeated Mosley and his Union Movement in a series of violent street battles in the years following the Second World War. Now there is a film of the book.

Originally produced for the Discovery channel, the film recounts the history of the 43 Group through interviews with surviving members, photographs, rare film footage and re-enactments of events. The origins of the 43 Group lay in a large number of Jewish ex-servicemen, who after spending 6 years fighting fascism in Europe, were appalled at the re-emergence of Mosley and fascism in their own country. The State obviously had no interest in stopping Mosley, so it was left to the Jews to defend themselves.

The catalyst for the setting-up of the 43 Group was a fascist meeting on Hampstead Heath in February 1946. In the film, Beckman and Len Sherman recount how they and two other comrades were standing at the edge of the meeting when they decided something had to be done. They stormed the speaker's platform and broke up the meeting. Following this were meetings of other Jewish ex-servicemen who agreed with the tactic of smashing the



**PUBLIC ENEMY**  
**He Got Game**

Def Jam 1998  
Single... 4 track... CD

After an absence of 9 years, "Public Enemy is back and in full effect until the year 2000"! Still the most original and politically hard edged rap outfit, this latest single is in a mellower tone than most of their output. Not least because it has a gospel choir and Stephen Stills of (Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young) on board. The rap lyrics

are woven around Stills singing the classic 60's protest number: "Stop Children what's that sound. Everyone look what's goin' down". In its day this was a wake up call to the hippy generation as State repression was unleashed against student and community activists across the USA. And that dovetails with the 90's theme of He Got Game, which is a call to "all the sleeping souls" to wake up and get with it for the millenium. It's also a warning against all the forces of materialism, commercialism etc. that sidetrack the people. Like the man says: "What happened to one million residents, being dissident and not kissing it". There's two versions on offer on the CD: the censored radio edit and the album version and the lyrics differ quite a lot. Overall I have to say I prefer the radio edit lyrics, because the longer version gets a bit too peace and love like for my tastes. Maybe that's what happens when you hang out with old hippies. But hey - it's a cool tune, man!

Vern Ethered

## REVIEWS

fascists off the streets and the 43 Group was born.

What distinguished the 43 Group was their understanding that fascism could only be stopped by out-violencing them. As Vidal Sassoon says in the film, "We had to use the force they used against us, against them." Rabbi Leslie Hardman who had helped bury the bodies of concentration camp victims agreed, "There was no doubt of the justification of using violence."

The 43 Group took the fight against the fascists seriously. As Len Sherman put it, "We were engaged in a mini-war but it was a war, nevertheless. There was no question of the law for people like that." By 1950, the 43 Group had battered the fascists into submission through sheer violence and it was to be another decade before fascism began to make its presence felt again.

The strength of the film is that by using interviews with activists who were in the

43 Group, we are able to get an insight into how they operated and what tactics they used. It is also positive to see people proudly saying that they were correct to use violence against the fascists: this brings home the extent to which AFA is part of a long tradition of militant anti-fascism in Britain stretching back to the Thirties and including the 43 Group. The film also brings out the main point on which AFA would disagree with the 43 Group in that they saw the struggle as being a purely physical one, and indeed Len Sherman says in the film, "that politics didn't come into it."

My only complaint about the film is that at 50 minutes, it includes some material of dubious value, especially the re-enacted fight scenes which are, frankly, embarrassing. Editing down to 30 minutes would make it a much sharper film. However this is only a minor criticism of a film every AFA member should see.

Doctor M

### LEARNING FROM THE CONFLICT

*"Reflections on the struggle against the British National Party on the Isle of Dogs, 1993-4"*

NICHOLAS HOLTAM / SUE MAYO

*The Jubilee Group 1998*

This booklet contains two essays on the response from churches based on the Isle of Dogs to the election victory of Derek Beackon in 1993. It is published by the Jubilee Group, which is a network of "socialist Christians" mainly within the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Obviously not the sort of thing usually read by members of AFA, or reviewed in FT, but luckily we knew just the man for the job...

"Despite the drawback of having a foreword by Gerry Gable, "Learning from Conflict" is an interesting pamphlet. The analysis of the situation in the Millwall ward is soundly based: "*The Isle of Dogs in 1993 was a community which had not been listened to, and had been neglected. It was an angry and volatile community*". The issue of housing shortage and allocations policy is correctly highlighted as a major factor, plus the wider failure of the local Labour and Liberal parties.

The response adopted to the BNP victory had five elements: 1) challenging BNP falsehoods; 2) building community links between the white and Bangladeshi communities; 3) trying to force action on the issue of housing; 4) strengthening the "local democratic political parties" and 5) maximising the electoral turn out. These elements clearly divide between the first three and the last two. Supporting Labour and encouraging people to register an anti-BNP vote was seen as

the only means to deny Beackon his seat. This was a tactical move but it indicates a wider contradiction within the underlying religious / political tradition. The commitment to social justice at community level is undermined by the acceptance of the prevailing "democratic" order, whereas liberation (which is what the biblical concept of *Jubilee* is about) must involve the replacement of the present order with a new one.

That said the pamphlet does emphasise local work. Its criticism of the response from the media and the Anti-Nazi League is very interesting. Regarding the ANL it states: "...they brought in large numbers of people from outside ... there were running battles between rival groups ... Islanders hated it, and the Anti-Nazi League got the reputation of being worse than the BNP who had done their best throughout to seem respectable...". Whilst the pacifism of "socialist" Christians is highly debateable the recognition of the need for action to come from / be supported by the community itself cannot be faulted. And because of the local basis to their activity, the authors are under no illusions as to the reality behind the tactical victory at the polling booth. Beackon had gained 561 more votes and "...friends in high places we had acquired melted away now that the crisis was over, and it was back to the long, slow, painstaking and sometimes unrewarding task of building bridges in a divided community". There is a political lesson here - similar to the warning in Luke 11.24-26: to exorcise a demon is useless if a vacuum is left, because it will return seven times stronger".

Vern Ethered

### MEMOIR OF A FASCIST CHILDHOOD TREVOR GRUNDY



### MEMOIR OF A FASCIST CHILDHOOD

TREVOR GRUNDY

*Published by Heinemann*

When I read this book I had hoped it would give a detailed, if personal, insight into fascist politics in the post-war period. In that respect it was disappointing. Instead Trevor Grundy, born in 1940, describes growing up in a fascist family devoted to Mosley. His father was interned in the war and his mother was obsessed with 'the Leader', believing Mosley to be the 'Saviour'. He readily absorbed their ideas, being packed off to school each morning with a Nazi salute and a cry of 'Perish Judah'.

His family was hardly typical, not least because his violently anti-semitic mother was herself Jewish. Key figures on the Far Right like Jeffrey Hamm were regular visitors to the house and as a teenager Trevor Grundy spent a lot of time with Mosley's obnoxious sons Alexander and Max.

His political activities consisted mainly of paper sales and meetings, although his father had a few run-ins with the 43 Group (and the impact they made on the fascists is clear). The book then traces his growing disillusionment with a movement he had believed in like a religion, and his eventual departure from fascism and England, going to work in Africa in 1965.

This isn't a fascist version of the 43 Group book, nor is it a history of the Far Right for the period 1945-65, but if you've got a bit of spare time it's worth reading.

Dan Marden

# FIGHTING

# TALK

# BACK

## PLAYING GAMES

Dear FT,

I was reading an interview with an Anti-Racism Campaign (ARC) rep, John McCamley, in Hot Press music magazine and wondered if you'd seen it. He says: *"Basically ourselves and AFA have a difference in regard to this issue [No Platform]. We believe that what happened in Ennis, disturbing Ni Chonaill's meeting and not letting her speak was an infringement of her civil liberties...Aine Ni Chonaill has done more for anti-racism than any of our campaigns ever have, because she has highlighted the issue of racism. We actually wrote her a thank you note. She's like Ian Paisley in the North - every time he speaks Sinn Fein get more recruits. We would welcome debate with her, but we do believe that if she's planning a public meeting, we should plan a counter demonstration just to show the opposition against her."*

The ARC campaign includes the Socialist Party (formerly Militant) and the anarchist group Workers Solidarity. That supposedly 'political' groups could come up with such a woeful 'analysis' says something about how seriously lacking their understanding is of the issue of racism in Ireland. Racists and bigots - like Ni Chonaill and Paisley - promote their views to get support, not to assist their opponents. Despite the wishful thinking of liberals the world is not full of nice people who support progressive views. Refugees facing racial attacks and Nationalists being murdered by Loyalists won't find such comments very witty. It is clear that ARC do not support No Platform but they fail to point out how demonstrating 'outside' meetings will prevent racists spreading their views and using such meetings to organise racist groups.

G.M, Dublin.

## UNCHAINED

Dear FT,

In the last issue you refer to "no-go areas for foreigners, left-wingers, gays and punks" in eastern Germany. The roots of this situation could be found in the old East German state, where foreign students and guest workers from Cuba and Africa faced a lot of racism. When the Wall came down the situation deteriorated as the fascists got organised and a lot of small towns became unsafe.

In areas where the fascists dominate, especially among the young, even the 'sub-culture', traditionally associated with left-wing or liberal values since the 60s, is now controlled by the Far Right. So 'foreigners' can't be part of German culture or sub-culture. The youth clubs are dominated by the Right, and because the pubs are very expensive a lot of right-wing youngsters hang around on the streets. And when anti-fascists start organising any opposition the police crack down hard on them. The only rebellion against the State that is tolerated is right-wing.

In Germany the State fund a lot of youth clubs, some of them exclusively used by fascists. The State don't see a political problem with these young fascists, looking at it in terms of 'gangs'. The fascists laugh at the authorities for providing them with their own centres. When left-wing groups or autonomous anti-fascists organise against the fascists they are denounced as 'extremists' and accused of causing trouble where there was no trouble before. So in towns like these, so completely dominated by the fascists, if you are an anti-fascist or a foreigner you definitely don't want to live there. And so the 'liberated zones' come into being, through a mixture of support, fear, and intimidation.

yours, S.L. London

## BEHIND THE MASK

Dear FT,

If it is possible for anything "positive" to come out of the tragic deaths of the three Quinn boys in Ballymoney recently, it would hopefully be the unmasking of the Orange Order in the eyes of the wider public, particularly in Britain. A number of those on the "Left" in Britain, have attempted to portray Irish Republicans and the Orange Order as flip sides of the same bad penny. Searchlight in particular have appealed to the Orange Order to ban members of Far Right organisations from their marches to avoid them damaging their image. But this attitude belies the true nature of the Order. Time might be better spent examining the reason fascist groups find the Order so appealing in the first place.

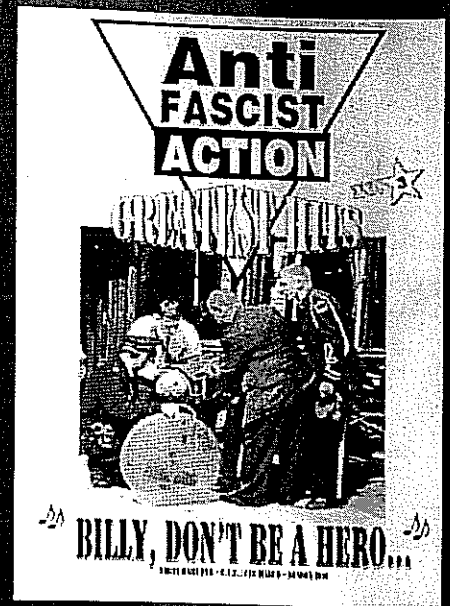
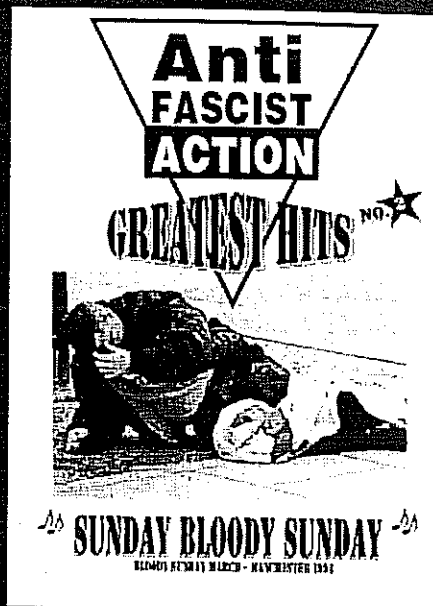
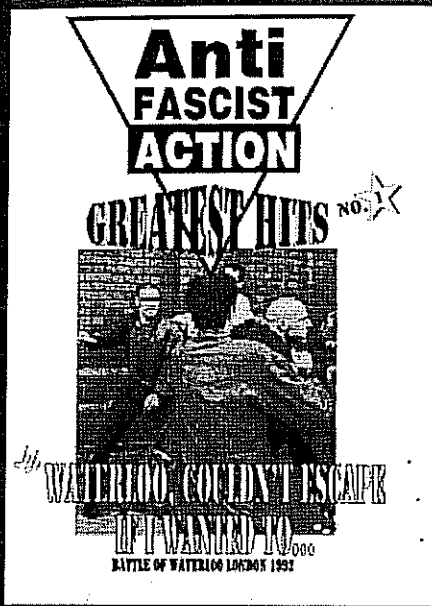
A few weeks prior to the murders in Ballymoney an act of similarly horrific barbarity was carried out in the deep south of the USA, where a black man, James Byrd, was dragged behind a truck by white supremacists until his body was literally ripped into pieces.

Although neither members of the Orange Order nor the Ku Klux Klan can be directly implicated in the two acts their role in the wider picture cannot be disputed. What both organisations have in common is their belief that they are superior to their black (in the case of the Klan) and catholic (in the case of the Order) neighbours, and therefore totally justified in their hatred and bigotry. The exclusively protestant/loyalist Orange Order was founded to maintain, by force of arms and terror if necessary, the political, social, economic and cultural supremacy that this minority of Ireland's population have enjoyed over their catholic/nationalist neighbours for near on 300 years. This notion of supremacy is what is behind the Order's refusal to negotiate with elected members of local residents groups in nationalist areas whose communities they wish to march through, and ultimately what was behind the burning to death of three young boys.

Both the Klan and the Orange Order have said they do not condone recent events. Of course that didn't stop the Klan marching in James Byrd's hometown of Jasper, abusing members of the local black population, the week his family buried him; anymore than it stopped the Orange Order playing their sectarian tunes as they passed the house where the bodies of the three Quinn children lay awaiting burial.

Steve Potts

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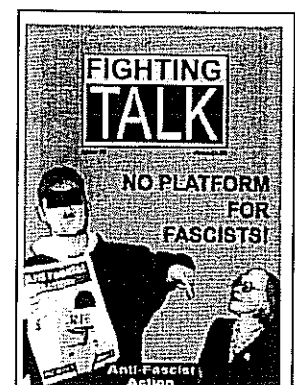
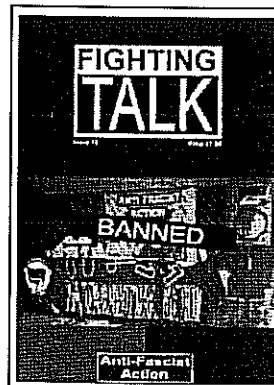
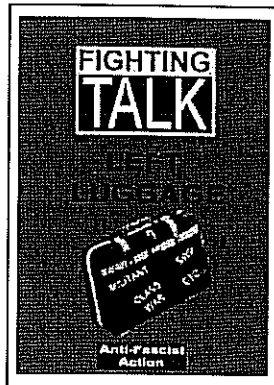
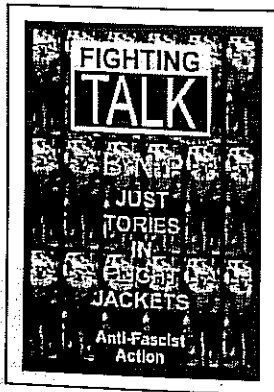
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