

FIGHTING TALK

Issue 23

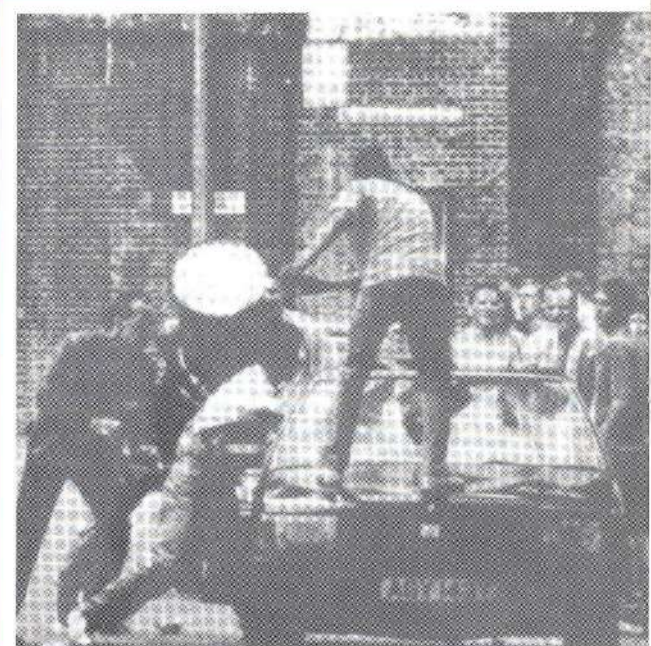
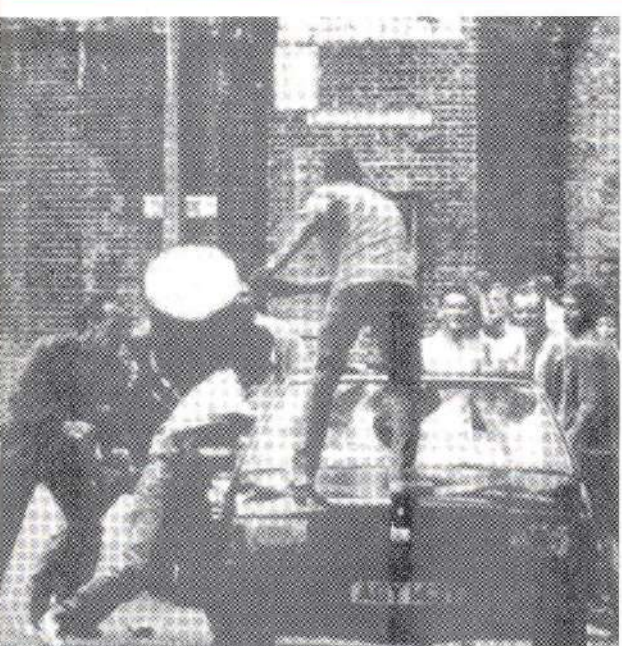
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IS ANTI-RACISM WORKING?



Anti-Fascist Action

FRONT COVER: In order to raise their own profile (and funding?), and despite doing no work in the area beforehand, the National Black Caucus marched against 'racism' in Bermondsey, Aug.1991. The BNP mobilised a thousand locals against "the invasion of Bermondsey". The photo shows a black motorist being attacked after the marchers had gone home. "Anti-racist policies applied clumsily contribute to increased racist attacks." See article on Page 8.

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AFA on the Internet

The AFA Web Site can be found at:
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



Contact the National Office for details of local activities / contacts

AFA CONTACTS

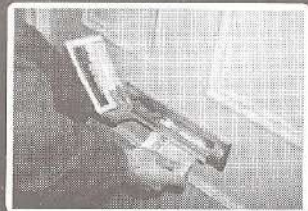
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Please note that a number of AFA branches have had recent problems with their PO Boxes. When writing to an AFA branch please notify the National Office so we can check if mail has arrived.

AFA NATIONAL OFFICE
07000 569 569

AFA CHARTER

- AFA is committed to fighting fascism both physically and ideologically.
- In the struggle against fascism the working class must look to reinforce its own class position at every opportunity. It must take the field as an independent class power not as a junior partner to middle class liberals.
- When the Far Right prioritise community politics over street confrontation militant anti-fascism must adapt accordingly. The Far Right must not merely be removed from working class areas but in order to fill the political vacuum, the ambition of militant anti-fascism is to see them replaced there.
- AFA rejects the 'anyone but fascist' strategy of cross-class alliances. In the direct competition for working class hearts and minds, militant anti-fascism owes no loyalty to bankrupt political formulas designed mainly to protect the status quo.
- Between fascism and anti-fascism the State is never neutral. It always has its own agenda. Which is why, principle apart, AFA refuses to collaborate with the police, or intelligence services, in pursuit of short term advantage.
- AFA recognises its responsibility in the fight against race attacks. Not least because race attackers are a significant part of a large reactionary pool from which the fascists seek to recruit. All racial violence needs to be addressed from a political rather than moral or criminal perspective.
- Starting with the defeat of Mosley in the 1930's, in every successful campaign since (from the paramilitary 43 Group to the 'squadists' of the 1970's) the tactic of physical confrontation has proved indispensable. AFA is determined to maintain that physical force tradition.



IN THE AREA



Welcome to Issue 23 of Fighting Talk. We start with our usual round up of news and views from the front line against fascism.

BNP LEADERSHIP

Most readers will know by now that Nick Griffin ousted John Tyndall as leader of the BNP in last year's leadership contest, winning 62% of the vote. With Tyndall staying in the BNP but refusing to hold any positions of responsibility, a move followed by the likes of Morse and Edmonds, the way is clear for the 'modernisers' to pursue their Euro-nationalist strategy.

Searchlight's response to Griffin's victory was to 'out' him in their October issue. While it is fair comment to expose the hypocrisy of homosexuals involved in extreme homophobic organisations, which they do in the editorial, the additional 4 pages devoted to Griffin's alleged homosexuality suggests another agenda. Not wanting to challenge the status quo, Searchlight continually set out to show that fascists are either 'criminals' or 'deviants' in some other way. There is no political analysis.

In contrast to Searchlight's coverage, an article in the Guardian (13/10/99) was surprisingly sensible. Francis Whelan identifies the new strategy of the fascists in this country that Griffin represents, looking to emulate the success of their European counterparts. He highlights the potential for reactionary parties that exists which led to the election of 3 UKIP MEPs in last June's Euro-election, and finishes by reminding the liberals who think everything is 'absolutely fabulous' in Tony's New Britain that 'he [Griffin] may not yet have the popular appeal of Jorg Haider, but he certainly needs watching.'

THE BUSINESS IN BERLIN

Trouble flared when The Business played a gig in Berlin in December, as fighting broke out between fascists and anti-fascists. The fascists, including people from the contested area of Treptow, were getting the upper hand until activists from Red Antifa made a telling intervention and terminated the problem. The band's response to the trouble was to start a chant from the stage of "we want justice not politics"; reassuringly this was drowned out with a resounding reply of "Redskins! Redskins!".

CABLE STREET BEAT IN BRIGHTON



In October AFA joined forces with the Brighton based One Life Collective to stage an AFA benefit gig. Four bands played and helped us to raise valuable funds. The Tone, Ska Gal & the Hands of Ra, Scuttle and MTA put on an excellent show. We would like to take this opportunity to thank them for their time and effort.

RACISM IN FOOTBALL

A recent report that appeared in The Guardian (7/1/00) has claimed that Celtic has the third most racist fans in Britain, behind Everton and Rangers. The report, compiled by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research at Leicester University, has provoked an angry response from anti-fascist Celtic supporters. Barney O'Toole, on behalf of Celtic Fans Against Fascism, told FT: "At Celtic, I can say with some confidence that we experience very little in the way of racism, even on an individual basis, among our fans. This is largely due to the proactive nature of the fans own organisations like the one that I represent, 'Celtic Fans Against Fascism', and indeed from the club itself through their 'Bhoys Against Bigotry' initiative.

Indeed, rather than being the perpetrators of racism and sectarian bigotry, Celtic fans are actually the victims of it. Before a pre-season friendly last July our supporters were subjected to the vile racism of the bulk of Leeds United's visiting fans who directed their chants against the Irish supporters of our club and its black manager John Barnes. Irish pubs and clubs in the city centre were also the subject of attacks by the flag-waving hooligans of Leeds and Rangers who had joined forces for the day.

Three Celtic supporters have been murdered in the last three and a half years, not as a result of 'football hooliganism' but of random sectarian attacks which have at their root a racial motivation. Many of our supporters, like Celtic Football Club itself, are the products of Irish immigration to Scotland over the last 100 years. Was this another clumsy attempt to even things up between the supporters of Celtic and Rangers, or is the report itself the product of an academic mindset and liberal anti-racist football establishment, which feels that it has to justify its existence and perhaps its substantial financial contributions from government agencies by producing yearly reports which have very little basis in reality."



One of the three Celtic fans murdered by bigots, Thomas McFadden, aged 16.

WEST MIDLANDS

W.Mids AFA attended a conference in November organised by the Birmingham Racial Attacks Monitoring Unit and Searchlight, called 'Combatting Fascism In The Community'. Searchlight's new editor Nick Lowles explained the BNP was growing (41% last year) and now had a more effective and dynamic leadership; an analysis AFA would share. But having outlined their orientation to community politics, in rural areas as well as the inner cities, he was convinced there would be no repeat of Far Right success as in Europe, despite his previous comments.

Rather than admit that the tide had been temporarily stemmed by AFA's militant opposition to the Rights For Whites campaign in the early 90s, he felt it was because Britain "didn't have a tradition of fascism" and "the inevitable conflict between urban racism and Middle England." In contrast AFA believes the threat from the Far Right (BNP or otherwise) is very real, the 3 UKIP MEPs is evidence of the potential for reactionary politics, but as any possibility of success is based on filling the political vacuum that exists in working class communities, if anti-fascists respond to the challenge with the same level of commitment as was shown in the battle for the streets, then we can stop the Far Right again. But nothing is inevitable.

SCOTLAND

Glasgow AFA have recently organised two successful benefits, the first was in October with The Destructos, Hatefax and Pellet, the second in December with Soul Finger, Beetroot and LummoX. Money was raised and new contacts made, some of who turned up to help leaflet the Partick Thistle v. Stenhousemuir game on 18th December. The response was good until the police threatened the AFA leafleters with arrest for "advocating criminal behaviour by promoting physical confrontation". Areas of Glasgow and Edinburgh have also been leafletted by AFA in response to BNP activity.

LONDON METROPOLITAN POLICE

INSTITUTIONALISED
RACISM



Stephen Lawrence

SAME STORY

ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY

INSTITUTIONALISED
SECTARIANISM



Robert Hamill

SAME BIGOTRY

Mural by Danny Deveny on the Lower Ormeau Road, Belfast. Robert Hamill was beaten to death in April 1997 by Loyalists as police stood by and watched.



NORTHERN NETWORK

In response to increased fascist activity in the north of England, a meeting was held in Manchester in January to relaunch AFA's Northern Network. Delegates from 10 branches attended a very constructive meeting, analysing the situation and agreeing a course of action for the coming months. The meeting was followed by a successful benefit gig, featuring the hardcore rock sounds of Rocketfield, Autumn Year, Red Monkey and Polaris.

EUROPE

The front cover of the last issue of FT highlighted the 11 million+ votes that the Far Right got in last June's Euro-elections. There are now 30 Far Right MEPs from the Freedom Party (Austria), Vlaams Bloc (Belgium), Front National (France), National Alliance, Northern League, MSI (all Italy), People's Party (Denmark), and the UKIP.

The following Far Right parties have seats in national parliaments:- Freedom Party (Austria), Vlaams Bloc and Front National (Belgium), Danish People's Party and Progress Party (Denmark), Front National (France), Progress Party (Norway), Northern League and National Alliance (Italy), Swiss People's Party (Switzerland), Hungarian Justice and Life Party (Hungary).

In Germany the DVU and Republikaner Party have seats in regional and local government, in Holland the Centrumdemokraten and Netherlands Bloc have seats in local government, and in Sweden the Sweden Democrats have seats in local government.

IRVING LECTURE STOPPED IN CORK

It was good to hear that AFA played a prominent role in preventing the revisionist historian David Irving from speaking at University College Cork in November 99. As the AFA Ireland organiser said, "600 protesters surrounded the building. The building was charged and 100 activists entered, fighting their way through Garda cordons to get to the debating hall. The Gardai drew batons and hand to hand fighting broke out. Anti-fascists also occupied an upper floor and charged police and security personnel at the bottom of the stairs. Eventually the Gardai realised they were not going to retake the building and instructed the Philosophical Society to cancel the meeting."

This successful operation to stop Irving received a lot of press coverage, the Irish Sun headline declaring "Cork Victory for Anti-Nazis". Not all the press were so enthusiastic though, with Kevin Myers (also a Sunday Times journalist with some rather 'dubious' connections) writing in defence of David Irving in the Irish Times, "once again the proto-fascists who gathered to deprive him [Irving] of his right to free speech, and his potential audience of the right to hear his opinions, were victorious. The meeting was cancelled because of the threat of violence and the adolescents went home happy. Excellent; maybe next time they might have a bit of book-burning as well?" So, Kevin, never one to try and confuse the issue then, eh?

FINANCIAL APPEAL

£ *"For me what was extremely worrying, even frightening, was that the percentage of votes for the fascist British National Party was up from 1997."* (Arthur Scargill on the Euro-election results, August 1999.)

£ With the BNP polling over 100,000 votes in the Euro-election, and the Far Right picking up 11 and a quarter million votes across Europe, it is easy to understand Scargill's concern, even if it is somewhat belated. With the ANL dead in the water and Searchlight putting their faith in the police to deal with the fascists, the same police who enthusiastically attack anti-fascists at every opportunity, it is becoming increasingly clear that we need an anti-fascist organisation with a strategy to deal with the fascists' move away from street confrontation and into the arena of community politics. Not only is AFA unique in having that strategy, but also the ambition and commitment to implement it.

£ **What we urgently need is the money to finance it. We appeal to our readers and supporters to take this issue seriously, because it would be criminal if our success is limited by a lack of funds.**

£ **As part of our effort to improve the efficiency of the organisation we have recently reorganised the national office. We need to raise £1,000 to cover the cost of essential equipment, including a computer, fax machine, photocopier and telephone.**

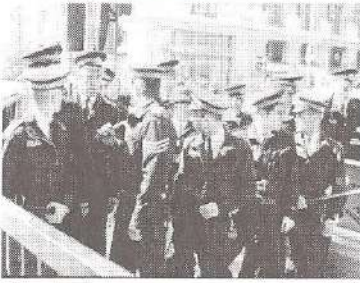
£ Cheques/POs should be made out to 'AFA' and sent to BM 1734, London, WC1N 3XX. Please notify the office on 07000 - 569 569 of any donations sent through the post because mail does go missing!

DOVER

AFA has always warned of the dangers of relying on the State to deal with the fascists, and in particular the calling for bans. The latest victim of this flawed strategy was the T&GWU, whose planned march about working conditions through Dover was banned in October, following the Labour Council urging the Home Secretary Jack Straw to ban all marches in the area - justified in some people's eyes by preventing the NF from exploiting increased tension between asylum seekers and locals.

DONAL
MACINTYRE

With a fanfare of publicity the BBC launched its 'MacIntyre Undercover' series towards the end of last year. The first programme featured the 'notorious' Chelsea Headhunters, and promised a high octane mix of violence and nazi politics. Working with Searchlight and the National Football Intelligence Unit, journalist Donal MacIntyre worked tirelessly to undermine the work of anti-fascists. Despite a lot of talk there was no action, but the programme managed to create a new monster in exactly the same way C18 were hyped previously. Having established that all the 'targets' were complete psychos (despite very little evidence, and certainly no effort to put it in perspective and mention the times nazi Headhunters were turned over by AFA such as Trafalgar Square 1987 or Waterloo 1992) it is then easy enough to call for new measures to protect the rest of society from these 'madmen'. Trouble is, the legislation invariably gets used on progressive groups once it has been brought in on the back of the 'fascist threat'. At a time when the main threat comes from 'respectable' fascists involved in community politics, what is the point in promoting the likes of C18 and the Headhunters? There are two answers: one is that it serves a State agenda that is designed to give it greater powers to suppress dissent, and secondly, possibly unaware of the damage he was doing, MacIntyre was looking for a bit of drama to further his career. His image as a fearless undercover reporter is summed up when he describes meeting up with his BBC colleagues having been part of a failed attempt to disrupt a Bloody Sunday march. "I shake their hands. Today they had endured extraordinary stress and emerged unscathed. That's the kind of business we are in." Oh please.



TERROR BILL

Articles in FT over the last few years have anticipated future developments very accurately. So Labour's proposed anti-terrorism legislation comes as no surprise. This was first announced in the Queen's Speech, and is intended to replace the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), which still has to be renewed each year, with a permanent law which will redefine and significantly expand the definition of terrorism.

The emergency PTA only related to acts or planned acts of violence in relation to Ireland or "international terrorism". Political violence on the mainland was left to be dealt with through the normal criminal law.

The new definition is: *"the use of serious violence against persons or property, or the threat to use such violence to intimidate or coerce the government, the public or any section of the public for political, religious or ideological ends"*.

The bill will also make it an offence to belong to or support any group or organisation that uses or threatens such violence. In other words proscription of organisations. Extended detention (four days and longer with a judge's consent) will continue for those arrested on suspicion of "terrorism". Additional legislation will also give the police and MI5 even more powers than they have already to infiltrate, intercept communications and place bugs in private homes.



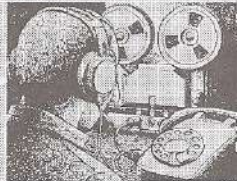
The key factor in this is that there is no definition of what "serious" violence means. Also it applies to property as much as people. So a demonstration or picket that ends in affray or criminal damage, which are already heavy charges, could now be re-defined as terrorism and

the organisers as terrorists. Equally the police and MI5 will be able to justify any and all types of intelligence gathering in relation to individuals and groups who might be organising events that could, for whatever reason, end in violence (think of the Miners Strike, the Poll Tax or Waterloo). Basically a free hand to harrass and intimidate "politicals" and to put the frighteners on anyone who would speak out in support of them.

Labour claims that the law would never be used in this way. And, as the Brixton and Soho nail bombs conveniently demonstrate, the police need more power to stop this sort of thing. However, laws brought in to supposedly curb Far Right extremism tend to end up being used exclusively against the 'Left', the Public Order Act being the most notorious example. Also, as AFA has long argued, the security services need new justifications for their role and budget with the development of the peace process in Ireland. MI5 and co. are very keen to get stuck into domestic subversives (or even invent some if there aren't any obvious candidates).

In Germany we have already seen anti-fascist organisations targeted by the State in this way. There can be no doubt that the proposed law will be used to further criminalise anti-fascism in this country. Because of AFA's stance on the necessity of physical opposition to Fascism it would be very easy for the police and security services to justify any measures they deemed necessary to investigate and monitor the organisation and to seek for it to be banned, i.e. for it to be a criminal offence to belong to or in any way support it.

This development needs to be taken very seriously. In one sense though we are ahead of the game. Having recognised that the State's agenda is to try and force us to become a clandestine and criminal organisation we have a twin track strategy. We uphold the honourable tradition of anti-fascism which recognises the need to meet fascist violence with violence. Equally, instead of skulking in the twilight, we must take our place in broad daylight as a legitimate and authentic expression of working class political concerns. Proscription and State repression only works when organisations have no real and broad roots in communities. The PTA could not crush Irish Republicanism, neither can the proposed new law crush what we represent, provided we rise to meet the challenge.



OCTOBER RALLY

In a bold move AFA organised a debate around the question "Is Anti-Racism Working?" at the annual October Rally. With a wide range of opinion on the panel, the starting point was Roger Hewitt's controversial film challenging liberal anti-racist policies - 'Routes of Racism'. The film suggested that where anti-racist policies were applied clumsily they can lead to young white working class people feeling they were being treated unfairly, and this contributed to the increased level of racism and racist attacks. In other words, anti-racism isn't working.

The panel was made up of Guardian journalist and author Gary Younge, Roger Hewitt, Weyman Bennett from the ANL and Gary O'Shea from AFA. Two other speakers were invited, Kumar Murshid from the National Assembly Against Racism and Lee Jasper from the 1990 Trust, but despite both accepting the invitation neither turned up.

With racist attacks increasing and the Far Right growing all across Europe, the question 'Is Anti-Racism Working?' is far from academic. AFA's argument is that current anti-racist policies are alienating sections of the white working class and these communities are being divided along racial lines, particularly in the allocation of resources. Since the working class have historically proved to be the backbone of resistance to fascism, this division can only help the fascists.

In contrast to AFA's analysis the ANL's message was complacent. Given the growth of fascism and race attacks "we've won the war" was hardly an appropriate opening and the suggestion was it should be very much business as usual; pickets, petitions and marches. Given that they have made no impact on the fascists in this country it was almost comical when they suggested that the growth of the Far Right in Europe was down to the absence of an ANL-type organization. In the course of a 2 hour debate the overwhelming impression was that the ANL's strategy was based on being active, rather than whether the activity made a difference.

The ANL highlighted the issue of institutional racism although this was challenged by AFA, arguing that having a certain quota of black police, for example, would not make the police force any better or more accountable. As the AFA speaker said "if everyone was the same colour would injustice end?" The introduction of institutional racism into the debate avoids the key question, which is whether the existing anti-racist policies make things better or worse? Undoubtedly this is a controversial issue and many people are reluctant to



The panel (from left): Gary O'Shea, Roger Hewitt, Chair, Gary Younge, Weyman Bennett

discuss it because they're afraid of being labelled 'racist'.

Gary Younge felt that AFA put too much emphasis on class, and in particular the problems that exist in working class communities, arguing that racism exists in the middle class as well. Undoubtedly this is true, but for AFA there is a specific reason to concentrate on what happens in working class communities because this is where the battle will be fought, whether that is a battle for hearts and minds or a battle for the streets. He also said it was wrong to suggest that working class victims of racial violence had everything in common with the working class perpetrators. Again, clearly true, and while race attackers must be isolated in their communities we have to look at the causes of conflict; in this case it is clear that as more and more resources, in already deprived areas, are allocated on increasingly racial lines this will lead to resentment and hostility. If resources are allocated on the basis of need not colour then a source of conflict can be removed which in turn will lead to a decrease in racial violence. The alternative to this, which was almost inevitably aired, was that racists were born not made and that was that.

All the panel agreed that class and race were connected issues, and one example of how problems can arise was raised by a member of the audience who described a situation in Glasgow where some Kosovan refugees were being housed in a particularly run down estate by the council. The local residents had campaigned for 10 years to get repairs and improvements done but to no avail; yet the flats were done up for the refugees. When the residents complained about the

unfairness of the council's behaviour in not doing the repairs before, they were accused of being racist!

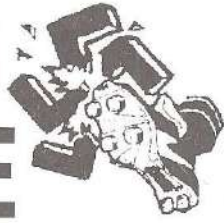
As Roger Hewitt pointed out, unless class is brought into the equation and the whole issue of unfairness (real or perceived) addressed, there will in all probability be a racist backlash. The fact that racism exists is undeniable, just as there is class division within races, and unless we deal with the issues in a connected way then race will become the defining factor - a strategy that only benefits racist parties.

With a packed audience and a lively debate it was a very worthwhile and enjoyable event. AFA would like to thank all the speakers for participating because we believe this issue is vital if we are to prevent a racist backlash in this country.

You only have to look across the Channel to see how the fascists have exploited the alienation of the white working class. As the AFA speaker pointed out, referring to several surveys that identified British youth as being among the most reactionary in Europe, the only reason this country is unique in not having fascists elected is because AFA smashed them off the streets in the early 90s. This is no time to be complacent - it could happen here.

IS ANTI-RACISM WORKING?

LEVELLING THE SCORE



There have never been as many campaigns against racism and fascism at football as there are today, even though fascist activities at most grounds peaked nearly 20 years ago.

The 'Show Racism The Red Card' campaign, based in Newcastle, won overwhelming praise for the video they produced for young people, featuring many of the game's top stars, and yet some of the worst recent examples of racism have come from Newcastle supporters. When Newcastle played against Coventry on 16th October 1999, thousands of Geordies chanted racial abuse at Coventry's Moroccan star Youssef Chippo. As Kevin Monks, a member of the FSA national committee pointed out at the time, "it sounded like the great majority of the 4,000 away fans joining in. I haven't heard anything like it for years."

At Leeds, home of Leeds United Against Racism, large numbers of supporters have been involved in racist chanting, especially at Leicester (Feb 98) and Blackburn (Jan 99), which prompted the club to condemn the racists. And yet when Leeds fans organised joint attacks with Rangers fans on Celtic supporters at the pre-season 'friendly' in Glasgow - with the Scottish papers picking up on the political motives behind these attacks - the club and official anti-racist bodies said nothing.

These officially backed and well funded campaigns do not appear to have much influence with their own supporters, and it is interesting that both Leeds and Newcastle, with their high profile anti-racist campaigns, have some of the worst problems. Are the two things connected? It can be argued that their close identification with the football authorities and club owners in fact serves to undermine their credibility because 'anti-racism' is associated with the very people who are seen by many as the enemy; the people who got rid of the terraces, pushed up ticket prices, made a fortune out of merchandising, etc.

At Sheffield United, Football Unites Racism Divides, another body with considerable access to European and government money, have launched a campaign called Streetkick to get more

youngsters from ethnic minorities involved. This scheme involves the South Yorkshire police. Why? The police are widely seen as part of the problem and in America the police are heavily involved in local schemes around sport as a means of information gathering and control in black communities that might otherwise look to more radical solutions.

Levelling The Score will be looking at some of the grass roots campaigns that contrast with the schemes mentioned above. We start with St.Pauli (from Hamburg), one of the best known groups of anti-fascist supporters in Europe. Unlike British clubs, St.Pauli fans are involved in the running of the club and so there seems to be very little difference between fan-based and club-based initiatives against fascism, and the close identification of St.Pauli with anti-fascism seems to have made special initiatives to involve ethnic minorities unnecessary; the whole community is already involved.

The interview with St.Pauli can be found on the next page...



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CAMPAIGN AGAINST SECTARIAN ATTACKS

Following the murder of 16 year old Celtic fan, Thomas McFadden, after the Scottish Cup Final, the Campaign Against Sectarian Attacks have drawn up an Action Plan. FT spoke to the campaign and asked what they felt they could do as fans to change the situation and stop the attacks. "Well, there is no guarantee that anything outside of major political developments would be able to change the outlook of Loyalist sectarian bigots, but we can at least demand greater security and protection from Celtic FC for our fans travelling to and from games. To this end CASA have formed a series of demands - an Action Plan - which calls on the club to provide more effective stewarding around Celtic Park. Stewards and police should direct fans away from the potential flashpoints and danger areas. We also believe that in the last few years there has been too much emphasis placed upon the aggressive stewarding and policing of our own supporters by the club and that this has led to division and mistrust. The stewards should be there first and foremost to serve and protect our fans, not to operate as a second line of aggressive policemen. There are already enough aggressive police both inside and outside football grounds.

We would also like to see the club, along with the local authorities and transport networks, finance the building and opening of a new train station at Parkhead Forge, which is closer to Celtic Park and therefore avoids potential danger spots for our fans. The signs from the club regarding these demands are encouraging. The new Managing Director of Celtic, Alan McDonald, has suggested CASA's proposals are within the powers of the club and he has offered us the possibility of dialogue with both himself and the club's Director of Operations, George Douglas. We are currently compiling a report along with our proposals for presentation to Celtic's Chief Executive and to the club's Security Chief. Hopefully this will lead to further action on the part of the club.

In an international football market where a club like Celtic can easily afford to pay millions of pounds on the contracts and wages of our star players, the cost of the proposed train station - estimated at around £1 to £2 million - is a small price to pay in order to ensure the safety of our fans."

CASA can be contacted at:
PO Box 180, Glasgow, G4 9AB (or by e-mail at casa@bhoys.net).

ST. PAULI



When you first started getting organised at St. Pauli was it just against fascism or did you have a wider agenda at that stage?

When St. Pauli came into 1. Bundesliga (the German equivalent of the Premiership) in 1988 we were confronted with big hooligan mobs from other cities. So the first organisation was to build up self-defence groups to defend ourselves and the former squatted houses in the Hafenstrasse, which were the main target at this time. A little later we started to

"clean up" our own football ground, but our tactics were different to the previous approach of the mainstream traditional anti-fascist/left-wing groups who only ever seemed to regard football fans as 'potential fascists' anyway. When we were travelling to away matches and there were supporters talking racist shit we talked to them, argued with them, and explained to them why what they were singing and saying was shit. Only one supporters club ("United") didn't stop and then we attacked them physically. It ended in the storming of their pub.

Later on we began to articulate our needs around football. In 89/90 we organised a successful protest campaign against the plans for a new high-tech, all-seater ground for St. Pauli. This big success, and the confidence that we gained from it, led us to create completely new ideas.

How much progress do you think you have made since you started, and what do you consider are your best achievements?

The general progress since we started is that there is one big consensus at FC St. Pauli saying "No room for Nazis!", from the terraces to the clubs leaders. The best achievements in the past were:

The main assembly of the club members decided in 1991 (without a single vote against) and were the first football club in Germany to do so, that fans abusing other people (fans, players, refs) because of their ethnic, political, religious or sexual background will be banned from the ground. Also, that we would ban any fans wearing clothes with fascist symbols, waving flags, stuff like that.

In 1992 St. Pauli fans were leading in founding "BAFF", a nationwide organisation of progressive football supporters. When we thought that everything at St. Pauli was going well, we founded BAFF as a discussion-platform to give our experiences to other football fans who want to change things in their own clubs. BAFF started as a platform for anti-fascist football fans but nowadays it is a forum



which promotes the general rights and needs of the ordinary football fans. BAFF made successful demonstrations for the rights of the ordinary fans on the terraces at the UEFA headquarters in Switzerland, at the DFB headquarters in Frankfurt and, last but not least, a couple of weeks ago at the big Gala for the 2006 World Championship in Germany (saying that such a championship will kill traditional football culture by building all-seater grounds, expensive tickets only for the rich, etc.)

In 1994 we prevented the football friendly between Germany and England on April 20th, Hitler's birthday, in Hamburg with a public campaign (the highlight was thousands of St.Pauli fans showing red cards against this match) and the hidden threat of big riots for the match day. Later on we helped our friends in Berlin doing the same in the new "Reichshauptstadt", also successful and a big defeat for the German FA (DFB).

What have been the biggest problems you have faced?

Besides the "normal" problems with police, getting arrested and so on (by the way: the police nowadays have special football squads acting in civil (plain) clothes, knowing EVERYONE, which makes it very difficult to win the struggle on the streets). The main internal problem was the difference between tough working class kids just hating the fash on the one side and the "established" political Left on the other side. It was working well for 6 years but finished in the big "sexism clash" in summer 1994, when the smelly PC-lefties called us (please notice: including the women among us!) "sexists", because in one case we didn't follow their political way and dare to think by ourselves. The highlight was, when these cowardly bastards attacked our supporters office with 'butter-sour' bomb (a type of lethal smoke and stink bomb that causes irreparable damage to textile materials - we had to completely refurbish our fan shop and office afterwards - and can cause respiratory problems to people). They carried out this action during a match - when they could be sure not to find an opponent. The result was the complete splitting of the scene (including finishing long existing personal friendships) that still exists today. Fortunately our side was, and still is, the bigger one. The full story would fill books.

The modern problems are different. The younger kids now, the new generation of St.Pauli fans, sometimes act in a "hooligan way". They don't only search for fascists, they search for fights...! For example, after the home match against



Leipzig last year (in May 98) a big strong nazi mob was marching through our streets in St.Pauli doing nazi salutes, bashing people etc. But no St.Pauli mob was prepared to defend the area. We never expected Nazis to come into our "Free St.Pauli", you understand. After this horrible afternoon a plenary assembly of St.Pauli supporters was held discussing this defeat with the result "Never Again" would we allow this to be repeated. A couple of weeks later at a match against Oberhausen a small group of Oberhausen fans provoked our fans with nazi salutes and a flag. After the match a 300 strong St.Pauli mob attacked ALL the Oberhausen fans at their coaches. That was too much. In earlier days we would have searched out only the fascists. So for us, as the "veterans" of this supporters movement, we have to take sometimes responsibility for ensuring that the actions are implemented properly and against the right targets. We want to encourage the younger fans to adopt the same attitudes as ourselves but without coming over like social workers.

How important do you think it is for anti-fascist/anti-racist campaigns at football to be independent of the clubs? (In England the government-backed anti-racist 'Kick It Out' campaign is officially supported by most clubs, but this causes a problem because anti-racism is then seen as being linked to the club owners who are also driving many working class supporters away through high prices, rip-off merchandising, all-seater stadiums, etc. In other words 'anti-racism' is being promoted by the very people who are seen as the enemy by many fans.)

This is not the problem at St.Pauli. At the beginning it was just the fans saying "No

Nazis here", later on the club officials agreed and supported us (I'll never forget the day when the official speaker in the ground called up the fans to join an anti-fascist march in East Germany/Hoyerswerda and told the places and time to meet). On the other hand we also fought for our rights as football fans (remember the plans for an all-seater in 89/90) and today we're highly involved in planning the new ground for FC St. Pauli (including space for 19,000 on terraces!). We make it clear that anti-fascist principles are held by both the fans and the club bosses.

Many of the anti-racist schemes at football over here suggest that racist behaviour in the grounds should be reported to the club officials or the police, who will then deal with the problem. How do you deal with racist behaviour at St. Pauli?

Without an anti-fascist background on the terraces every campaign and scheme must be a self-deception. But with the possibility of beating the fash in an additional way we have no problem. For example, if a fascist football mob visits St.Pauli, they will find two opponents. On the streets they'll meet a strong anti-fascist mob which will answer every "Sieg heil" in their physical way. Inside the ground, they'll meet St.Pauli officials who have directed the security staff (including police!) to react very sensitively to fascist abuse, songs, symbols and so on. Well, the best answer for a sieg heiling Rostock bonehead at St.Pauli is a broken nose by the St.Pauli mob and a 3 year nationwide ban from ALL grounds on FC St. Pauli's recommendation in one afternoon! Great, eh?

(Interview with T. Rigger, December 99)

THE BEAT GOES ON



Asian Dub Foundation started in 1993 as an extension of a community music programme in East London. Bassist Dr Das taught music technology on the course and teamed up with one of his students Deeder Zaman and DJ Pandit G to form the nucleus of ADF. With guitarist Chandrasonic and Sun-J added to the lineup, the band have toured all over Europe and America, rapidly becoming one of the most exciting and talked about live bands in the country.

The band themselves don't like their music to be pigeonholed but it's difficult to describe them without mentioning the mix of dub-heavy bass, sharp guitar work - reminiscent of Gang of Four or Magazine - and dance beats that move from clattering drum'n'bass through to traditional Indian rhythms. Their music is a fusion of a mass of different influences, but greater than the sum of its parts. ADF have hit home lyrically as well as musically, getting across to the kinds of mass audience that most indie bands would kill for but communicating much more than your average up-your-own-arse-and-coke-filled-nosstrils run of the mill bleatings. ADF have addressed all areas in their songs, from peasant uprisings in Bengal, through to battering fascists

ASIAN DUB FOUNDATION

and then on to police harassment. And if all this sounds too heavy-going all you need to do is see the energy and enthusiasm of their multi-racial and multi-national crowds across the world to realise that they're not your average preachy "political" outfit.

In previous interviews ADF have been scathing about being labelled as part of what the trendy media term "new Asian cool". In an interview with the NME in 1998, guitarist Chandrasonic stated "People still have all these cliched ideas about Asian music. Seeing someone like Nusrat Ali Khan was pure excitement,

madness, bringing people to a frenzy. But it's marketed to middle-class hippies as laid-back joss stick music. We remixed him, took a tune note for note and doubled up on guitar and bass, as if to say 'This is serious punk music that originated 1,000 years ago, the roots of qawwali.'

ADF have never been reticent about their political convictions either. They have given their full support to the campaign to free Satpal Ram, an Asian man jailed for stabbing to death one of his racist attackers and then moved from prison to prison in an attempt to break his spirit. Unlike many bands who use radical politics as a rebel stance rather than a true commitment, ADF have put their time and money where their mouth is too, sponsoring an Asian gay youth project, using their own success to help set up community music projects where young people with no access to equipment and instruments can learn to write and perform their own music, and playing benefit gigs for a number of anti-racist and community projects.

Fighting Talk spoke to Pandit G from the band to find out more about their politics and outlook, and while our analysis and solutions may differ in significant areas, we think there are many interesting points:

In an interview in Searchlight last year you talked about a "class analysis" of nationalism in Britain; what role does a class analysis of racism play in your outlook?

We're always tagged as "a political band" but we say no we're not - we deal with day to day issues. Words like class and race put people off; there are people out there who we want to reach who'll just switch off if we start using terms like that. What we're about is dealing with these issues on a practical basis, empowering people and getting people involved. To an extent we're not talking about theory but about getting



your hands dirty in the real work of community politics and community development.

What exactly do you mean by community politics ?

Well, looking back at my own experiences around anti-fascism in the 1980s in Islington I can think of cases where Nigerian and Bangladeshi families were being put in fear of their lives by fascist gangs. The practical community-based response to that was to work directly with the families themselves, supporting them personally and giving them the confidence to actually get out of their front door. We helped organise language teaching for some of the families, put pressure on the local council to do their job properly, by getting phones put into the families' houses so they could get help when they needed it. By the end of it, the council hated us because we would never let them off the hook. And it worked. On other levels community politics isn't just about race attacks and racial harassment, it's about involving the whole community, looking at things like police harassment of the whole community.

ADF have been high profile supporters of Satpal Ram, the Asian man jailed for stabbing his racist attacker to death in self-defence, but also of family campaigns such as the Lawrences and Justice for Ricky Reel. Is there a danger in campaigns like this that we only focus on the role of the families as victims ?

The families may be victims of violence but no way do they act like "victims". They've shown strength and determination in the face of overwhelming pressure from the police and the criminal justice system. They're setting the right example and at the same time they're broadening their focus and creating links with other groups like Satpal Ram and Mumia Abu-Jamal (American black rights activist on death row). And with their experience of how they've been treated they've learnt not to be kicked around by other organisations as a political football. There's a lot to be learnt from these family campaigns.

Given that reported race attacks are running at over 250,000 a year, do you think that anti-racism is working ?

I think it's important to distinguish between anti-racism and a vague liberalism or multiculturalism. I mean how do you address something like the Michael Menson case ? He was a black man killed by a gang that included a Mauritian. How do you make sense of that with multiculturalism ? It doesn't address the history of colonialism or power structures; these are important

areas that anti-racism has to focus on. And we can't let the police redefine what racism is. If you look at recent arrests for alleged racial abuse, the police are picking up a lot of Asian youth. The police have been quick to adopt the language of anti-racism and use it to justify their own behaviour. We need to sit down and start talking about what anti-racism is, if it's working and then where we want to go from here and how to get there.

ASIAN DUB FOUNDATION



How has the political landscape changed since you've been around as a band ? Would you agree that the nature of fascism has changed ?

Yes. We have to realise that race attacks aren't just carried out by fascist gangs - some obviously are but the vast majority aren't. The BNP and NF aren't acting like they were in the 70s and 80s. Anti-fascism has to be about links with the community. You don't know what's going on unless you're talking to people from your own communities, getting into the mosques, the schools and that. I was involved in AFA in the 1980s and I felt that there wasn't enough being done to create links with community groups. You can't say "I'm an anti-fascist but I don't care about what's going on in my community" or "I'm an anti-fascist but I don't care about refugee issues".

Anti-fascism isn't just about hitting the fascists on the streets. I mean refugee work is essential anti-fascist work. You need to be clear about who's coming in, who's going out, where the money's going. We need to make it clear that it's not refugees who are making people lose their jobs, it's globalisation and a

general running down of industry by government.

And what about the Left ?

It's very different now. There are very few left-wing trades unions who are still prepared to give money and resources to anti-racist causes, the Tory party is moving further to the right and issues around refugees are being brought up again. There's a lot of political people out there who aren't active anymore, who are burnt out but feel there's got to be a change. The Left are still trying to work out what to do now Labour are in power. But it's easy to be cynical. There are lessons we can learn by looking back at where we've done things right in the past like the 43 Group, the anti-poll tax campaign and learn lessons from other struggles across the world. We shouldn't be cynical but widen our perspective. As I've said before, community politics is what we have to concentrate on.

So, where do you stand in relation to the Labour Party ?

I think that you've got to use government as you would use whatever you could to push your cause forward. I mean, we've met with Paul Boateng over the Satpal Ram case; we'd use whoever it takes. As for the Labour Party, well at a ward level you no longer have any input into the party, but if you're faced with the choice of the BNP keeping a council seat like in 1993 or urging people to vote Labour then I'd say vote Labour to keep those bastards out; you're caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Even if the Labour Party are widely seen by working class voters to be part of the problem ?

Until there is a strong enough alternative, yeah. I mean, as far as community politics goes, it's often single-issue and that doesn't take the place of a labour movement at this point in time. But I don't think it's right to try and say there's a blanket statement you can make about things like this, you have to think tactically and use whatever party or organisation you can at the time. Local issues might mean that you need to use the Labour Party at some point and if trades unions have still got some influence use them.

ADF's third album, *Community Music*, comes out on March 20th, preceded in February by a single *The Real Great Britain*. They tour Europe with *Rage Against the Machine* through January and February. *Fighting Talk* also recommends their last two albums *Facts and Fictions* and *Rafi's Revenge*. The Satpal Ram Campaign can be contacted via ADF's website <http://www.asiandubfoundation.com>. Thanks to Pandit G and Lisa for their time and help.

“THE PARTY OF THE EXECUTED”

MILITANCY AND BETRAYAL IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE



In issue 15 of *Fighting Talk* the heroic struggle of some 60,000 Spanish republican militants (exiled by Franco's victory in 1939) within the wider French resistance to Nazi occupation and the overtly fascist Vichy regime was given fascinating coverage, so often ignored by 'eminent' conservative and liberal historians alike. In this article *FT* focuses on the 'home grown' resisters and politics of militant rank and filers were stifled by the betrayals and opportunism of the French Left's leadership.

The popular image of the French resistance between 1940-44 as a movement of patriots loyal to the ideals of the French republic and to General De Gaulle covers over the fact that it was a shaky alliance of Left, liberal and nationalist forces each with their own agendas which meant that co-operation was never fully constant. Right-wing groupings such as *Ceux de la Resistance* and Henri Frenay's *Combat* were nationalist and hostile to the liberal Third Republic. Another group *Liberation*, led by Christian Pineau, formed the main Gaullist force at the outset of occupation.

However with the onset of Nazi invasion and the Vichy regime PCF (French Communist Party) militants were the first

to use their political instincts and began networking before any national organisations were established. Within the Vichy zone early communist resistance took the form of anti-Vichy/ Nazi flyers which were slipped into letterboxes. This prompted the authorities to restrict the sale of paper and take ink off the market. This still failed to stop the widespread distribution of the underground press including the communist *La Terre* ('The land') aimed at the rural population, and the Toulouse based *Revanche* independently produced by young workers.

Although a small number of French anarchists, Trotskyists and left communists did mount armed resistance and acts of sabotage, the overwhelming pole of attraction for working class militancy was the rank and file of the PCF and the main labour union the *Confederation Generale du Travail* (CGT) which the PCF dominated. At the beginning of occupation the PCF (which had officially been banned by the French government due to its leadership's support of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August 1939) formed paramilitary units of the Party that combined to form the *Francs-Tireurs-Partisans* (FTP) as part of its wider umbrella organisation - the *Front National* (FN). The PCF's leadership was essentially

reactionary being pro-USSR and was confused and split over the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In addition after Germany's invasion of Russia in June 1941 the latent nationalism of the leadership surfaced. Beforehand the Party line was that the war was a conflict between two imperialisms (Germany and France) and urged workers not to take sides even with German troops on French soil. After the Nazi attack on the USSR, PCF propaganda became more anti-German than anti-fascist, encouraging resistance to the 'Boche'.

The rank and file of the PCF/FTP and CGT however had a history of genuine revolutionary activity. The French Trade Unions had been pioneers of revolutionary syndicalism in the late nineteenth century, its influence if not organisation still strong. Thousands of its militants were taking up arms against the Nazi and Vichy authorities from a revolutionary standpoint and had no interest in protecting the status quo of the Republic. Evidence of this comes from several occurrences: during the short resistance to the German invasion by the French standing army its supreme command ordered a prompt and vigorous effort to round up active rank and file communists and draft them into the army. This forced conscription resulted in the damage of PCF local networks thereby isolating the militants and giving official party policy a free reign. Concurrently the party leadership used its resistance formations as an excuse to eliminate its own dissidents. The setting up of the *Organisation Secrete* (OS) by the leadership in 1940, far from being a resistance grouping as it was presented, was actually assassinating PCF dissidents who had the audacity to wish to fight Germany before Hitler had violated the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Also the harsh conditions created by the occupation and the hostile Vichy regime meant many FTP units, especially in rural areas (the *Maquis*), had to act almost independently of the leadership. This isolation thus opened up the way for grassroots initiative and politics to the left of the PCF develop.

The chaotic situation on the ground occasionally led to outright defiance of the PCF leadership. The best known

example here were the exploits of the FTP Maquis operating in the Haute-Vienne area of Vichy France. Its almost legendary leader was Georges Guingoin, a 'Tito' figure in subsequent PCF folklore. He realised the importance of involving the local population in the resistance (unlike the Gaullists and nationalists) Guingoin linked his *Maquis'* actions with local problems and encouraged the strong sense of 'localism' among the peasantry and their traditional resistance to central authority (not unlike the Spanish peasant population during the civil war) thus managing to play up a hostility towards the Vichy authorities. Guingoin openly encouraged authentic local political initiatives in open opposition to the PCF bureaucracy. Guingoin's actions included the blowing up of hay baling machines that were deployed in village squares to bale up peasants' loose hay before being shipped out of the region. Replacement machines got the same treatment. Wheat set aside for Vichy government personnel was destroyed. From 1943 Guingoin's units used dynamite stolen from mines to blow up railroads, bridges and telephone lines within the region. Guingoin also began a campaign against the black market. Its high prices which the poorest could not afford were curtailed by price ceilings imposed by the *Maquis* with fines for those who broke them. However, despite his insistence on autonomy Guingoin kept his loyalty to the leadership and always gave credit to the PCF for his *Maquis'* successes. Other militants were not so lucky, such as the FTP militant Gabriel Peti who was denounced to the Nazis and Marcel Gitton who was executed by the Stalinist OS. The Stalinist controllers of the PCF as a final act of betrayal to the militants agreed to join the Gaullist *Conseil National de la Resistance* (CNR) due to yet another policy change following the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. Thus militant anti-fascists were absorbed into a Right-leaning nationalist organisation.

However, to their credit the PCF leaders always encouraged direct action and sabotage as a means of resistance. Gaullist groups and especially two further formations, the *L'Armee Secrete* (AS) which was orientated towards the Socialist Party, and the *Organisation de la Resistance Armee* (ORA) directed by the officer class of the French army, favoured large scale planned missions and only really advocated full scale



military operations after an Allied invasion. For all its faults it was official PCF policy to use every means available and every opportunity to strike against the Nazi/Vichy machine. Small maquis of 30 to 40 were advocated to strike and disperse quickly. Significantly it supported assassination of Nazi officials, a tactic dismissed as futile by the Gaullists, to foster insecurity and lower morale among German troops. Disrupting transport and industrial production was also encouraged to the same end. This suggests a distinct class division between FTP and Gaullist strategy. It was also an FTP hope that their guerrilla tactics would bring about mass participation of the population by proving that resistance was effective immediately, not only after Allied intervention. There was a genuine effort on the ground to engage the whole people in working towards a popular insurrection - something FTP militants hoped would lead on to total social change after victory.

However to engage in guerrilla warfare the FTP needed arms. Through the British Intelligence of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) De Gaulle had steadfastly refused the FTP arms. Although Guingoin's unit had managed to acquire arms from the SOE posing as non-communists, the vast majority of the FTP had to make do with pistols, hunting rifles and guns from the Great War. Again effective militancy was stifled by political

bias.

The PCF leadership also chose to ignore the Vichy National Assembly ban on all political parties in July 1940 unlike all others including Leon Blum's Socialist Party, of whom many of its left-wingers joined the FTP. FTP membership leapt as young militants saw the Nazi defeat drawing nearer and Allied invasion inevitable. But De Gaulle, Britain and the US still refused any material support despite the FTP holding the balance of power - they feared such subversion even more so than fascism, which they had always relied on to counter revolution. At this later stage militancy and ambition were of great significance but yet again the PCF leaders showed their conservatism in the words of Charles Tillon, the FTP leader: "Our aim was purely anti-fascist... We didn't think of taking over power. Our task was to rid the country of occupying forces and Vichy authorities... Even when we saw the Allies' distrust of our revolutionary attitudes we never thought of using our guns against London". As with all too many other episodes in history the revolutionary potential of the anti-fascist struggle in France allowed itself to become diverted by a conservative leadership, hamstrung and stifled by the status quo who always seem to know whose side they are on.

Although the accuracy of membership figures for resistance groups must always be bought into question, the



fighters of the FTP almost certainly provided the highest. It is estimated that its strength in 1943 numbered some 25,000 rising to 250,000 by the liberation. The *Franco-Tireurs-Partisans* suffered the first and highest casualties claiming a loss of 75,000 anti-fascist fighters, earning the title *Le Parti des Fusilles* - "The Party of the Executed" - by the French Communist Party.

French militants in the resistance form part of an unbroken chain of revolutionary anti-fascism. Today's anti-fascists must always remember and salute their bravery, struggle and sacrifice.

THE VICHY REGIME

Described as a "National Revolution" designed to "save France" Marshall Phillippe Petain used pure fascist jargon to announce the coup which signalled the creation of the Nazi puppet administration of Vichy France covering the southern half of the country on 10th July 1940. It was on this day that the Vichy National Assembly voted itself out of existence thus granting full powers to Petain. The Nazi invasion had been the catalyst for the powerful reactionary forces of the French Far Right to take



power from the liberal Third Republic (in which the left Popular Front election victory in 1936 had spelt concessions for the working class).

Petaïn's new order was overtly fascist in nature. The shadowy French fascist *cagoulaards* ("Hooded Ones") re-emerged as pro-Nazi and pro-Petaïn factions and were dedicated to the suppression of the labour movement even by assassinations. They were the latest in a line of influential Far Right groups that had included the *Jeunesses Patriotes* (which claimed 300,000 members in 1929) and Marcel Bucard's *Solidarite Francaise* which received financial backing from Mussolini.

After Petaïn became Head of State swift measures against all political opponents began. July saw the banning of political parties followed by the unions in August. The regime also held bitter contempt for the French Revolution and democratic reformism so imbued in the French national psyche.

Vichy's autocrats were also pro-monarchy, its supporters in the church and army would wear a white carnation and black tie on the anniversary of Louis XVI's execution and affixed the republic's postage stamps on upside down. For them the Revolution of 1789 had led on to the uprisings of 1848, the Paris Commune of 1871 and all the 'evil' that sprang from it that had so recently threatened France's very existence, in the shape of the Popular Front victory. Petaïn succeeded in his promise to rid France of the "rot of politics".

The regime was anti-Semitic. In October 1940 the first anti-Jewish legislation was passed without the slightest encouragement from the Nazis. Jews were issued with ID cards and Jewish businesses had to clearly identify themselves so that the State could take them over at will. Abortion was also outlawed. The regime established the hated *Milice*, Vichy's equivalent to the SS. 150,000 strong they fought the communist FTP alongside the Nazis. Each member had to swear the following oath: "I swear to fight against democracy, against Gaullist insurrection and against Jewish leprosy." They also took a personal oath to the Head of State just as in Germany.

The final nail in the coffin for the old liberal Republic came with the replacement of the old republican trinity - *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*, with the Naziesque *Travail, Famille, Patrie* (Work, Family, Fatherland).

Between the Sheets



with Elvis Mondallant



Jorg Haider: leader of Austria's Far Right Freedom Party

At the beginning of October last year the extreme right-wing Freedom Party (FPO) won 27% of the vote in Austria's parliamentary elections, increasing their representation in parliament from 13 to 54 seats. The ruling Social Democrats scored 33.4% and their junior coalition partner, the People's Party gained 26.9%, being beaten into third place for the first time since 1945.

The parties have not yet formed a government, however plans to form a coalition to keep Haider out have run into problems and Austria may soon have its first Far Right government since the defeat of the Third Reich. The press throughout Europe and the rest of the world has made much comment, some of which passes for serious political analysis. *The Guardian* (4/11/99) explains the FPO election strategy:

"Led by Mr Haider, a Nazi sympathiser, the FPO had campaigned on an anti-immigration platform. Under the slogan überfremdung (overpopulation by foreigners), which was used by the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, the party has promised in power a freeze on foreigners entering the country. The promise of a generous 'children's cheque' to mothers also struck a chord with many of the 3m women voters."

The FPO's recent policies are obviously populist and well seasoned by Haider's openly fascist and racist comments over the past years. Some newspapers have chewed over the fascist's game plan and attempted to identify their constituency.

The Express wrote on the 5th October, "What Haider has done is to appeal to the discontent of otherwise well-heeled Austrians, and a complacent political establishment which has grown fat on years of dividing the political spoils. Unemployment may be low but taxes are high. Immigration is also a big issue. The Iron Curtain has gone and Austria now faces a steady wave of immigrants and asylum-seekers from ex-communist countries.

What frightens the establishment about politicians such as Jorg Haider is that they don't fit the stereotype of neo-fascist. Unlike Jean-Marie Le Pen, he doesn't have the whiff of the boover-boy or stormtrooper. He bristles at the term 'yuppie' fascists but certainly aims his appeal at least as much at the young upwardly mobile as at the misfits and losers of society."

After the Second World War the FPO attracted Nazi sympathisers and this legacy endures; however the leadership, with Haider at the helm, are very much in the camp of modern European fascism. That is to say, they are about the business of shaping up the organisation, moving away from the old Nazi image and building solid support by campaigning on popular issues. These are the kind of fascists who (at the moment) knock on your front door, with a shirt and tie on, to discuss child benefit levels.

The Times (4/10/99) identifies these two themes in the organisation: "He has recently compared his policies on immigration and social responsibility with

QUOTES

"Just as the resident psychotics of the Red Hand Defenders were putting 400 masonry nails end-up in a football pitch to be used by two Catholic under-11 teams (an event which went totally unreported in the British media), they were also warning Catholics of their intention to exclude them from educational institutions, most specifically East Antrim College of Further and Higher Education, saying: "If they keep this whingeing [sic] up, we will make sure that no Catholic sets foot in the place."

(*Republican News*, 16/12/99)

Comment: No doubt the ending of apartheid was greeted with similar enthusiasm.

"Farage, who earns his living as a City commodity-broker, is a man who often uses words such as "nigger" and "nig-nog" in the pub after committee meetings."

(*The Guardian*, 13/10/99)

Comment: Francis Whelan describing Nigel Farage, the leader of the UKIP, in an article that anticipates the BNP exploiting the internal problems of the UKIP.

"The concentration camp at Dachau is often represented as a model of its kind. The number of prisoners is 2,200-2,400. Of these about 50 are intellectuals, a few are members of the middle class, without any political affiliations, 50 or 60 are Nazis, about 60 are Jews, about 500 are Socialists, 2 are army officers, there are several beggars and ordinary criminals, 15 are non-German subjects, and the remainder are Communists. The overwhelming majority belong to the working class."

(*Manchester Guardian*, 1/1/1934, reprinted in *The Guardian*)

Comment: Despite the middle classes hatred of the working class, the facts speak for themselves.

"Self-styled anarchists fought running battles with riot police at Euston station. Among them were known Left-wing environmental activists and Right-wing fascists linked to soccer violence and extremist Protestant groups." (Nigel Rosser. *Evening Standard*, 1/12/99)

Comment: AFA contacts were also told by 'journalists' that C18 were turning up, and the *Standard* provided not a shred of evidence to support their false claim. Curious.

those of Tony Blair and Germany's Social Democrat Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder. Observers say this is a remarkable, indeed scarcely credible, transformation of a politician who a few years ago was praising Hitler's employment policies. The core of Herr Haider's support remains the essentially racist communities in rural Austria. They were attracted not by his talk of Blairite policies, but by Herr Haider's readiness to address a meeting of veterans of the Waffen SS."

Some, in the media, are reluctant to label Haider as a fascist. **The Irish Times** (9/9/99) informs us: "It is indeed misleading to describe Haider as a Nazi, although some of his supporters make no secret of their admiration for the Third Reich."

Confused by the FPO's transition from open fascist party to something a little more sophisticated, **The Irish Times** finds itself lost in the fascist smokescreen: "He denies charges that he is anti-Semitic and has made publicised visits to the Holocaust Museum in Washington and the Simon Wiesenthal Centre's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles."

For Austrian voters it is the Social Democrats and the People's Party that are losing credibility. Much of the press coverage has focused on the lazy corruption enjoyed by these parties. The Social Democratic Party has been in power for nearly three decades and for most of that time they have been in coalition with the People's Party; both organisations have been happy to carve up political power at national and local level. In the aftermath of the election, the international media have been keen to preserve the old alliance. Some seem to have missed the point: that the stale and corrupt political culture in Austria has only contributed to the rise of the FPO. For the establishment, the well fed representatives of these two organisations are the last line of defence.

Although the press coverage, as usual, has presented the election result as a sensational event, the FPO's achievement should be seen in the context of consistent work by the fascists over a period of years. When the progress of the organisation is charted, the election result does not seem so surprising, rather it seems inevitable. From 5% in 1986, they have built a solid base of support, achieving 22% in 1995. It would appear that much effort has been applied to the state of Carinthia. This area is a springboard for the fascists; back in March 1999 the FPO won 42% of the vote here.

When the immediate threat of the fascists moving into government has subsided, the press has been fairly quiet on the subject of Austria and the FPO. The next sensational election result, in Austria or elsewhere in Europe, will no doubt bring a flurry of articles. Much of the media's attention will doubtless again focus on key individuals rather than the political process at play. What we have seen recently in Austria is part of a larger development; there is a resurgence of support for fascism throughout mainland Europe. These people will not go away or, on the whole, be bought off. They are fed by, on the one hand, a discontent amongst working class and middle class layers of society and, on the other, a tired and moribund political establishment that has no intention of addressing society's problems.

The FPO have built their stronghold in Carinthia, soon we may see their influence spread to other rural areas and the provincial towns, as with the FN in France. Given the above scenario and the present state of affairs on the Left across the whole of Europe, unless we see a radical working class movement develop it seems inevitable that the fascists will be given the opportunity at some time, in some place, to challenge for power.

Meanwhile, back in Blighty, **Searchlight** has relocated to the top shelf. In the October 1999 issue of the magazine we are treated to an investigation of Nick Griffin's sexual preferences. I have no intention of reproducing any of the gory detail in this column, however an insight into Searchlight's motives is in order. Obviously, in anticipation of some criticism, the Searchlight editorial attempts to justify the article:

"Searchlight makes no apology for "outing" Nick Griffin in this issue. While we take no pleasure in revealing anyone's sexual orientation and normally would not do so, Griffin has made numerous homophobic comments that are designed to offend and whip up hatred against gay people."

The material is based on accusations made by Martin Webster of a homosexual affair between himself and Griffin. Further spice is added by other stories, not so well sourced. We are told of "other incidents" involving an "NF official and close personal colleague of Griffin during the early eighties." and "a former NF activist from south London". This is Searchlight true to form: an exposé based

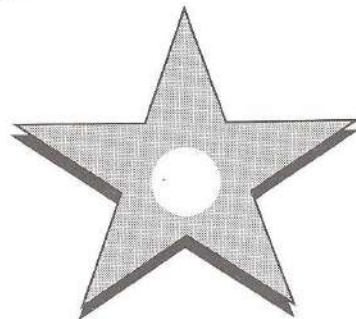
on at least some evidence coupled with much that is difficult to substantiate.

Like most of their counterparts in the mainstream media, Searchlight is devoid of either proper political analysis or viable strategies for confronting the fascists. Over the years we have been provided with a continuous stream of exposés; the magazine has detailed *ad nauseam* the political and often violent activity of fascist activists. Now they have taken that theme to its logical conclusion.

AFA's objection to this material is political rather than moral in nature. The Searchlight strategy is transparent: an article of this nature is designed to cause discontent in fascist ranks and possibly undermine the new leadership of the BNP, however, if this strategy is transparent to us then it is also obvious to the fascists. The pile of exposés churned out over past years has had little impact on the BNP's progress, this is water off a duck's back.

Griffin's election to the leadership marks a new phase in the BNP's shift towards collar-and-tie fascism. Anti-fascists are now faced with a BNP equipped with a formidable leadership able to provide the organisation with well thought out strategies and clear political objectives. While BNP activists have been able to find resonance in some working class communities under Tyndall's regime, the new arrangements at the top set the tone for the fast to win greater support via community based politics. Searchlight's response has been to produce an article worthy of the News of the World.

Analysis of the political threat that the fascist organisations pose and discussion of the required solutions has never been Searchlight's trade. Rather the magazine has been content to print photographs of fascist activists, report on alleged political, criminal and now sexual activity and attempt to influence events through a combination of dodgy reporting, cloak and dagger shenanigans and collaboration with the State.



Seen any interesting quotes or media comments? Send a copy to Elvis c/o London AFA

Tackling racist attacks in amateur football

THE issue of racism in football has received a lot of coverage in the media. David Mellor's Football Task Force and the Islington-based Kick It Out Campaign run a relatively high profile campaign 20 years after fascist paper sales and racist chanting were at their worst.

TACKLING RACIST ATTACKS IN AMATEUR FOOTBALL

The issue of racism at football matches (High & I, Nov.5) receives a lot of coverage in the media. David Mellor's Football Task Force and the Islington-based Kick It Out Campaign run a relatively high profile campaign 20 years after fascist paper sales and racist chanting were at their worst.

Piara Power, from Kick It Out, highlights the lack of Asian players in the professional game. This will surely change in the near future and a number of clubs are running coaching schemes to encourage young Asians to become professional players. It is important that these schemes be run in addition to, rather than instead of, existing ones, otherwise an important project will be ruined by making different racial groups compete with each other for resources; hardly a strategy to break down racist attitudes.

Ramon Mohammed's comments about the level of racism in the amateur game are very relevant, and it would be interesting to know if the British Crime Survey figures, that put racially motivated incidents at 3,000 a week and rising, include attacks during and after non-league matches. The level of violence in this area has led many Asian teams playing in their own leagues, but this should be seen, and dealt with, in the wider context of racist attacks and not filed away under 'football'.

We are currently researching racist attacks in amateur football and would be interested to hear from anyone with information on the subject.

Joe Reilly
North London AFA.
(Highbury & Islington Express, November 12, 1999)

AFA AND THE MEDIA

A new front has been opened up in the fight against fascism, and it is being fought in the media. Through consistent work over the last few years the BNP have now reached the stage where many journalists now take them as a serious political party - part of the Euro-Nationalist strategy of trying to enter the mainstream. It is a matter of priority that militant anti-fascists take up the challenge and ensure their views are opposed from informed working class points of view. Equally AFA must show there is an alternative to the failed policies of liberal anti-racism and the conservative Left.

On this page we reprint some recent letters and articles that have appeared in the press as an encouragement to others. After all, a letter or article in a local paper with a circulation of 30,000 saves a lot of leaflets and shoe leather. Any stories you think may be of interest to AFA, please contact the National Office on: **07000 569 569**

NIGHTSHIFT

Oxford's Music Magazine

IN LAST MONTH'S ISSUE we reviewed an album by local band The Offence. In the course of the review it was stated that the band were "stuck in the 80s, musically and politically". The suggestion about the band's politics referred to a lyric from one song regarding Margaret Thatcher, which was heard out of context. The Offence were upset by the remark because they are closely linked with, and all members of, the group Anti Fascist Action. We would like to make it quite clear that it was not our intention to belittle the work of Anti Fascist Action, an organisation which works continuously to combat the extreme right in Britain. Apologies to AFA and its members for any unintentional insult. AFA can be contacted at Box 1734, London, WC1N 3XX. Any bands wishing to help out with benefit gigs etc. can contact the organisation's music department, Cable Street Beat, at the same address or by phone on 07000 569569.



MISSING IN ACTION

Regular readers of FT will know how much time AFA has to spend correcting false or misleading information about ourselves. Ten years ago we might not have bothered to respond, confident that what we achieved on the streets was all that mattered. The situation is very different now, the fascist targets not as clear cut, and the fight is on to determine exactly what constitutes effective anti-fascism.

BRITAIN

The November issue of Searchlight provides a good example of how AFA is written out of history. In a 21-page feature entitled 'A century of British fascism' each period of fascist activity is supplemented with a brief outline of anti-fascist resistance. The summary for the 80s includes, "in 1985 much of the anti-fascist movement became united with the founding of a national group, *Anti-Fascist Action*. AFA had major successes, particularly in street confrontations with the fascists and in challenging *Blood & Honour*."

Given the shortage of space this would appear fine, but when you turn over to the summary of the 90s AFA has disappeared without explanation. Instead we are told "the early 1990s saw numerous clashes with fascists at street level" but presumably with persons unknown because no group is credited with this. We then hear of the relaunching of the ANL, the Welling demo, the setting up of the National Assembly Against Racism, and finally that unnamed anti-racist monitoring groups "form the backbone of Britain's anti-racist and anti-fascist movement at the end of the decade." Further insult is added when the key victory against *Blood & Honour* at Waterloo, organised exclusively by AFA, is relegated to the anonymous "a failed *Blood & Honour* concert in London."

While Searchlight's involvement with AFA in the early days might explain the positive account of that period, there is no excuse for AFA's omission from the 90s. The 'numerous clashes' referred to were in fact AFA systematically beating the fascists all around the country as the BNP sought to rally people publicly to their Rights For Whites banner. This sustained campaign of confrontation forced the BNP to declare their 'ceasefire' in 1994 and led directly to their change of tactics.



AFA's 4,000 strong march against racist attacks, London (1991)

The 4,000 strong AFA march against racist attacks through the BNP's declared area of national priority, Bethnal Green, and the 10,000 strong Unity Carnival in nearby Hackney (both 1991) were nationally significant events (which directly led to the relaunching of the ANL), but the most serious omission is more general. Despite the appearance of the ANL, YRE, ARA, etc. in the 90s, AFA remains the only anti-fascist organisation with active branches, a democratic structure, its own magazine and, crucially, a strategy designed to meet the new threat posed by the community orientated BNP.

GERMANY

The political assault on AFA is not confined to Britain, and the Oct/Nov 99 issue of the German magazine 'Antifa Info-Blatt' carries a misleading article by Searchlight's European editor Graham Atkinson. The article is about the "neo-nazi scene and anti-fascist resistance in Great Britain" and once again gives a reasonable account of AFA in the early days. He then claims that AFA was soon plagued by internal differences which led to the organisation splitting into 3 regional groups who have very little contact with each other nowadays.

The internal differences that 'plagued' AFA were in fact the changes that led to AFA becoming the most effective anti-fascist organisation in the country. There was a split between militants and liberals over several key issues; the militants wanted (and achieved) a

democratic structure to ensure the organisation reflected the views of the activists, a break with the Anyone But Fascist strategy which made it difficult for AFA to operate in working class communities because it sided us with the status quo, and to prevent AFA becoming another liberal protest group instead of concentrating on the task in hand, beating the fascists.

Atkinson then gets confused. The relaunched AFA was based around 3 organisations (Red Action, the DAM and Workers Power) who quickly established 4 regions to co-ordinate the activities of the branches. Regular contact is maintained between the regions, the only problem coming when Searchlight supporters in the Northern Network (including the present editor) tried to disrupt the organisation from within.

The article ends by claiming that anti-fascism is in crisis in this country and that the biggest problem for the anti-fascist movement, and indeed the Left, is sectarianism and lack of unity. This is not true and Searchlight, who work closely with the police and the State, have no right to claim to be part of 'the Left'. The challenge for the Left and the anti-fascist movement is to stop the rising level of race attacks and prevent the fascists gaining influence in working class communities.

Both articles are deliberate attempts by Searchlight to misinform people and undermine AFA.

A CLASS ANALYSIS?

'The Nazis, Capitalism and the Working Class'

Donny Gluckstein

Published by Bookmarks

In this issue we review a new book by SWP member Donny Gluckstein, 'The Nazis, Capitalism and the Working Class', which is claimed by its SWP publishers to be "a major contribution to the debate about the nature of Nazism and how we can continue to fight the Nazi menace today". However, though Gluckstein has obviously done a lot of research, he has written a book that is of no use to anyone wanting to understand the nature of the Third Reich nor to those who want to fight fascism in the 21st century. The purpose of the book is to legitimise the SWP's own 'anti-fascist' strategy by selective references to a distorted history of the Third Reich.

Gluckstein's analysis is based closely on that of the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, despite the fact that he died 60 years ago and his writings on Germany were based largely on newspaper reports. There are 30 references to Trotsky in the index, a sure sign that there won't be any fresh ideas around. That is not to say there isn't anything useful in Trotsky's writing but a realisation that 60 years of research has improved our understanding of German fascism. Trotsky's key analysis was that the Nazi party was made up of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle classes, and that it was this layer which was the backbone of fascism, and helped it into power. In the decades since he first wrote this it has become a truism for the entire Left, that this indeed was the case. Gluckstein himself is more than happy to agree with Trotsky, despite the fact there is now a whole body of research into German fascism that emphasises that Hitler did make significant inroads into working class support.

Gluckstein is so hung up on Trotsky's analysis that he ties himself up in frequent knots, as he deperately tries to convince himself that the 'Great Man' was right. He gets upset at a description of the NSDAP as a "combination of middle class formation ...and working class protest".

Gluckstein doesn't seem to understand that workers do vote for the Tories, do vote for Labour, do vote for the BNP or the FN in France, and, in fact, workers in Germany voted and fought for Hitler. Workers are not immune to the ideas of fascism, as history has shown. How many middle class people does Gluckstein think voted for the BNP's Derek Beackon on the Isle of Dogs in 1993? As the SWP has already decided that only the middle class and the 'lumpen proletariat' vote for fascism, then that's all there is to say about it. In reality, sizeable numbers of working class people not only voted for Hitler and the

Nazis but they also joined them. This is no surprise as the period of the Weimar Republic in Germany, 1919 - 1933, was one of complete crisis. Massive inflation and high unemployment affected not just the working class but also layers of the middle classes.

Nonetheless, any party that wanted to control the streets and ultimately take power had to get support from the working class. This was just as much the case for the Nazis, as it was for the Communists and the Social Democrats. Therefore right from the start of the NSDAP, the organisation aimed its propaganda at the working classes at the same time as they were wooing big business. However, there were also Nazis who were genuinely anti-capitalist but nevertheless nationalists. There is no contradiction in this but Gluckstein finds it hard to understand. For the same reasons he ignores the facts that

a significant minority of working class people voted for the Nazi party and actually joined them. To prove his point that workers didn't vote for the Nazis, he contests the analysis contained in Jürgen Falter's article, "How likely were workers to vote for the NSDAP?", (from 'The Rise of National Socialism and the Working Classes in Weimar Germany').

Falter maintains that "a particularly marked resistance by workers in general or industrial workers in particular, does not seem to have any empirical foundation". As might be expected, to Gluckstein this is the equivalent of pissing in church but as he says himself, "If Falter is correct, then the thesis of this book would have serious flaws." Exactly! Gluckstein's main objection is that the definition of 'the working class' used by Falter is too broad, but the standard SWP definition, originating with Trotsky, is too narrow. Gluckstein wants to write off all the poorer elements, particularly the unemployed, agricultural workers and those in smaller enterprises, to arrive at a more pristine pure definition of working



"Our Last Hope - Hitler": NSDAP poster aimed at the millions of unemployed in early 1930's Germany

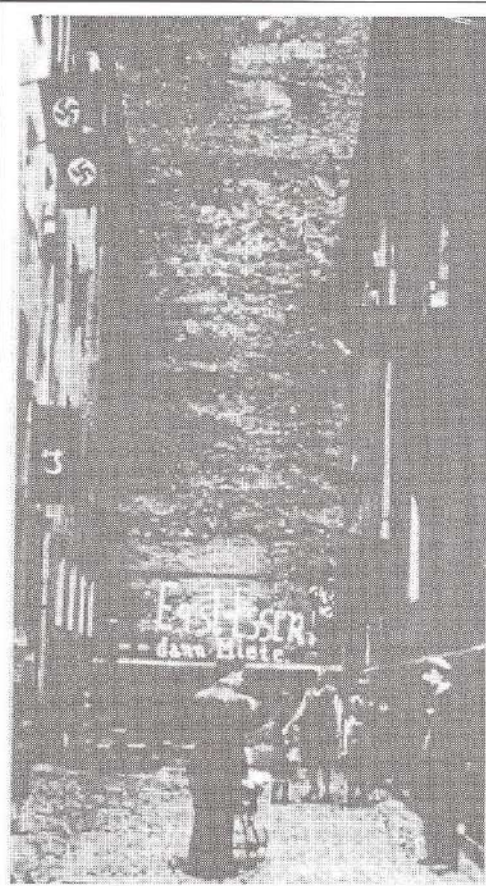
REVIEWS

class that focuses purely on the industrial workers. This serves no purpose other than to convince Gluckstein that all is well with his thesis, as these other elements are not really working class. This is not just intellectual dishonesty but stupidity.

Falter's conclusion is that while the largest group of Nazi voters were undoubtedly middle class, "on a regular basis more than a quarter of National Socialist voters were workers at least as defined by social insurance law" and "workers formed so significant a sub-group that it is impossible to talk of a purely or even a predominantly middle class movement". This is a sizeable minority and if you include the unemployed and retired along with all working class dependents, this would "represent just under 40% of National Socialist voters." Even if we accept that it is difficult to be absolutely sure about the class composition of voters, we can see that there was a definite tendency for a substantial group of working class people to vote for the Nazis. This will be even more the case when we look at the membership of the Nazis. Incidentally, it is also worth saying that Gluckstein spends 3 pages assessing how the working class voted while Falter's analysis covers 45 pages.

As with the discussion over votes, Gluckstein's arguments over the social composition of the NSDAP come from what he wants to be the case rather than reality. He just cannot accept that workers would join the Nazis. Gluckstein writes, "In an essay entitled 'A worker's party or a party without workers?', Detlev Mülhberger estimates the proportion of workers in the NSDAP to be '40% of members in the period between 1925 and the end of January 1933.' The notion of the NSDAP as a workers' party is ludicrous." Notice that he never disputes this 40% figure.

Gluckstein's thesis suffers all the more when we move from examining the nature of the Nazi party itself to that of the Stormtroopers (SA). Here we find that the percentage of working class members was even higher. Even by Gluckstein's own figures, which cover only the period 1929 - 30th Jan 1933, the percentage was 64%. His response to this is not to admit he has been wrong in saying that the working class weren't involved with the Nazis but to deny its significance. "First of all, fewer than half of the SA actually belonged to the Nazi party. This



An impoverished working class street in Berlin in the early 30's. 'Swastika' and 'Hammer & Sickle' banners hang from adjacent windows. The graffiti on the wall reads "Bread first then Rent", referring to a rent strike.

suggests a lack of commitment to the party's aims and outlook." Now this is just crap. As their name suggests, Stormtroopers were, well... Stormtroopers, the front line forces of fascism; the ones who fought, and often died, for fascism. To accuse them of lack of commitment is just plain bizarre. As a matter of fact, you could say that as the SA, prior to its smashing in 1934, was more radical than the parent body, then a greater number of workers were attracted to a more radical version of fascism.

All this is anathema to Gluckstein. He has already decided that workers weren't attracted to Nazism in any substantial way. But while he has his head stuck firmly in the sand it is worth quoting something else from Mülhberger (from 'The Rise of National Socialism and the Working Classes in Weimar Germany') that Gluckstein doesn't mention: "The observation that the Nazi Party was only outmatched by the SPD in terms of its

ability to recruit working class members is therefore no exaggeration. In numerical terms there were more workers to be found in the NSDAP by 1932 than in the much smaller Communist Party, even though in the latter they did provide all but 20% of the membership."

Gluckstein has to ignore the fact that workers did join the Nazis and the SA, because he is incapable of explaining it. The simple reason it happened is that because of the failures of the SPD and the Communist Party, workers looked to other alternatives as a way to improve their lot. Neither of these organisations stood for independent working class action. The SPD, since helping destroy the German revolution in 1919, had continually stabbed the working class in the back whenever it had the chance. The Communist Party, on the other hand, was effectively run from Moscow and though at various times gathered substantial working class support, it always put the interests of Russia first. The Nazis, though, attacked both the communists and the SPD, and the capitalists, and seemed to offer a chance of stability amidst the chaos of crisis. That was why they won working class support.

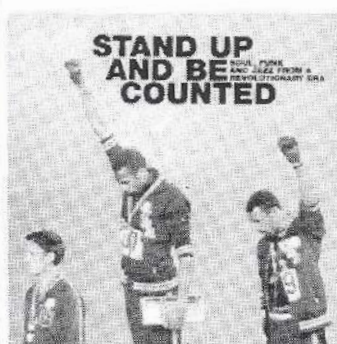
To conclude, we have to ask ourselves why is the argument that Hitler, and by extension today's fascists, only able to recruit a few misguided working class people so important to Gluckstein and the SWP. Partly this is because Trotsky's analysis emphasises the petty bourgeois nature of fascism and, as Gluckstein says himself, if this is wrong a whole new theory would be needed.

However, there is a more fundamental reason for Gluckstein's reticence to face facts. If even a substantial minority of workers can be won to fascism, then or now, it exposes the fact that fascism was, and still can be, a lot more attractive than the dismal 'revolutionary' alternatives on offer. Then the SWP might just have to face up to the fact that the politics of the entire 'Left' have not only failed but made a large contribution to the rise of fascism themselves.

To learn from the past you have to understand it and this book does neither. Leave well alone.

TOM CORD





STAND UP AND BE COUNTED
SOUL, FUNK AND JAZZ FROM A
REVOLUTIONARY ERA
14 track CD - Harmless Records

The fascination with '1969 and all that' and the release on to video of Melvin Van Peebles' seminal film 'Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song' has prompted a deluge of 'Blaxploitation' compilations in the past couple of years. For many, the late Sixties and early Seventies was a golden age of soul, funk and jazz, before the descent into disco and a long wait until the release of 'The Message' signalled the arrival of rap

and the return of radical politics to black American music. These were turbulent times for black Americans, a time when the US government was at war with the Black Panther Party, moving black artists, even household names such as Marvin Gaye, to ask "with the world exploding around me, how am I supposed to keep singing love songs?"

Stand Up And Be Counted brings together the songs that provided the soundtrack to these revolutionary times. The CD's compiler, James Maycock, also contributes five pages of sleeve notes that serve as a good introduction to the politics and music of what became known as the Black Power era in the USA.

Apart from the tracks you might have expected on a compilation of this kind, Gil Scott-Heron's 'The Revolution Will Not Be Televised', 'Mighty Mighty (Spade And Whitey)' from the late Curtis Mayfield's The Impressions, there is also a whole load of material that FT readers would most likely never have heard before, including The Pharaohs' 'Freedom Road', the uplifting title track provided by the Flames, and Nina Simone's 'I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel To Be Free', which was played at the funeral of murdered political prisoner George Jackson. James Maycock should be congratulated for putting together such an important and worthwhile collection.

Steve Potts

**UP TO THEIR KNEES IN
FENIAN BLOOD**

Campaign Against Sectarian Attacks video

First shown at AFA's October Rally this short video is based around an interview with one of CASA's activists and features TV and video footage of examples of sectarian outbursts from Rangers' Vice Chairman Donald Findlay QC, former player Paul Gascoigne and from Rangers fans in the streets of Glasgow. It tells the story of the murder of 16 year old Celtic supporter Mark Scott, the attempted murder of 18 year old Sean O'Connor, and ends with the most recent sectarian murder of another 16 year old, Thomas McFadden. Those who have been convicted of murder and attempted murder, like Jason Campbell, Thomas Longstaff and Peter Hutton, are hailed as 'Loyalist heroes' in certain areas of Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

The conclusion drawn is that such attacks have political and racial motives, and argues that the clubs themselves must recognise that and not lay the blame at the door of the victims. If this video is anything to go by the final longer version will be a searing indictment of sectarian bigotry and its consequences.

Lee Stephens

**PARK LIFE - a search for the
heart of football**

Nick Varley

There are good things about this book. The fact that he moves from gentrification of the game, to covering Hillsborough in depth, through racism to England fans' "No Surrender", to the issue of sectarianism in Glasgow, shows that he covers the right subjects - but unfortunately he is the wrong person to be writing this book. He wouldn't know the heart of football if it volleyed him into the top corner.

A Leeds fan, he has recently "toyed with supporting" Fulham. He only started going to games when he was at university and then stopped going regularly when he moved to London to further his career, and who when he does go to a game now describes taking £100 from the cashpoint to cover expenses other than travel or his ticket.

Varley is a liberal, who is worried about the gentrification of the game pricing out ordinary supporters, but who is a lot more comfortable in the corporate hospitality box at the 97 Cup Final with "the more upmarket fans who smiled and clapped, pretty much regardless of which side they supported" than he was with his first

**Independent Intavenshun
Linton Kwesi Johnson.
Island Records**

LKJ's 20 year retrospective is near perfect. All the hits are here, and all addressed on a class, not race, basis. Hear him sing about the "Black Petty Booshwah" who "side with aggression when the going gets tough." LKJ has captured race and class relations for the best part of two decades, with razor sharp wit & withering scorn, with his "riddim & rhyme & me raff bassline."

He makes a plea for scientific socialism in his reality poem "some get unison, start preach religion, but them cyaan mek decision when it come to a fight, them cyaan make decision when it come to me rights."

Anti-fascism is a central tenet of the Johnson party line, declaring "Fascists on the attack we will drive them back" and "All we need is bottles and bricks and sticks, we have fists, we have feet, send for the riot squad quick." Cockles of wisdom to warm any anti-fascist heart.

All the songs are wicked, but the last words should be left to the title song:

"The SWP can't set me free,
the IMG can't do it for me,
the Communist Party, them too arty farty
and the Labourites them never fight for
we rights."

Thoughts from an old age for the new age.

Redfern

experience of meeting "real fans" on the terraces. He describes them as "a daunting type I had never come across before: burly... leery and beery."

For Varley, football in the 80's was "a canvas for clusters of violent young men hell-bent on fighting to indulge themselves in an atmosphere of near anarchy." And so "football had to change. Hooliganism had to be curbed." Varley's football writing is summed up by his coverage of Hillsborough. He writes and researches well, and he was there on the day. But he wasn't there to see the game - he was at home in Sheffield and he ran to the ground when he heard a radio report, to try and sell a story to a national newspaper. He is an outsider looking in on the game and trying to make a career out of it, a fully paid-up member of what is known as the soccerati.

Don't buy this book. Go to a game instead, write pieces for the fanzines, and send in any info on racist, sectarian or fascist activity to AFA.

John Beverley

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION
BM 1734, LONDON, WC1N 3XX.
07000 - 569 569
www.geocities.com/capitolhill/senate/5602

Dear Subscriber,

Thank you for your continued support of AFA through your subscription to Fighting Talk. As you will have read we have launched an appeal to raise £1000 to cover the cost of essential equipment for the national office, which has become the focal point for increasing the efficiency of our work in many areas.

This is the first time that we have written directly to you, our supporters, for funds and when looked at in view of the BNP's fundraising activities (over £60,000 for the Euro-elections and at least two or three separate targets running at any one time) we need to combat this situation because it would be a crime if our level of success is limited by lack of funds.

Thanking you in anticipation of your donation. Please make cheques/POs payable to 'AFA' and notify the office by phone to ensure your donation doesn't get 'lost' in the post.

Yours,

Terry Mitchell
(for ANTI-FASCIST ACTION)



AFA MERCHANDISE



HEROES OR VILLAINS?



ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

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The quarterly magazine for militant anti-fascists.

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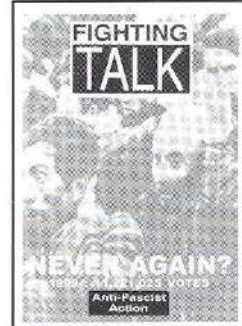
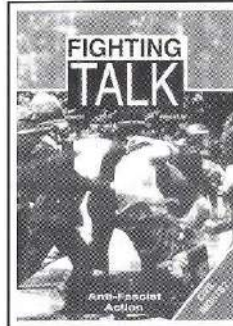
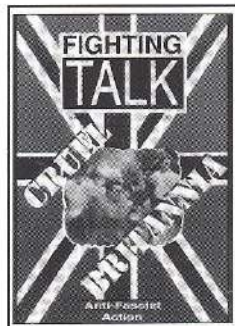
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