Issue 16

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FLICIES JACKET

Anti-Fascist Action

Issue 16

March '97

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<u>APPEAL FOR</u> INFORMATION

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

JOIN AFA

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

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

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

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

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

Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

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Welcome to Issue 16 of Fighting Talk, and we start with our usual round up of news and views from the front line against fascism.

AFA groups around the country have been out leafletting in areas where the BNP are standing in the General Election, from Bristol to Birmingham, Dartford to Glasgow. But it is East and South East London that the BNP see as their national priorities, and so far 20,000 AFA leaflets (see page 15) have been distributed door to door and in local shopping centres in these areas. AFA is determined to match the commitment of the BNP before, during, and - most importantly - after the election.

In West London the BNP have 'withdrawn' their (unnamed) candidate for Kensington and Chelsea because they believe the Tories' Alan Clark "will represent the right-wing" according to the BNP's Richard Edmonds. While in East London a local Labour councillor has complained to the police and the press about AFA (and Independent Working Class Association) activists giving out leaflets in Chrisp Street market. The police curiously replied that they would make sure there was no "racist or sexist" activity in the run up to the election!

Also in East London the National Assembly Against Racism (ARA to you) have launched a 'vote against racism' campaign, which is heading rapidly in the direction of the disastrous strategy adopted in France which allowed the FN to win control of their fourth town, Vitrolles, in February. In Vitrolles all the establishment parties urged support for the Socialist Party candidate in a straight contest with the fascists - who won. The Socialist Party candidate was facing serious charges of corruption, one of the FN's most successful campaigning issues, and anyway completely misses the point that the FN are picking up support from disillusioned working class people who are sick to death of the

corruption and greed of all the establishment parties. As we've said time and time again, unless the vacuum is filled from the Left the fascists will be seen as the radical opposition.

In Bristol the local AFA branch was invited to speak to the Post Office workers union and some useful contacts were made, bearing in mind the local BNP organiser is a postman. Inevitably the question of delivering the BNP election addresses came up and it was pointed out that locally the union had negotiated a 'conscience clause' which means that you don't have to deliver BNP election addresses if you don't want to - someone else will, presumably on overtime! Which reminds us here at FT of that old familiar saying ... "take it to the Labour Movement".



In Scotland AFA have been out leafletting, the first area covered being Govan. Our efforts at the St Patrick's Day march and around the shopping centres were well received and a number of contacts made, but it should be noted that while leafletting the estate there was a Penilee confrontation between AFA and the local fash. This in itself highlights the need for this work to be done, because in some areas of Glasgow the fash operate almost unhindered and have made it difficult for Left-wing groups to organise. As far as AFA are concerned the working class people of this area are our constituency, not theirs, and our efforts in the area will be intensified. It is encouraging that since the clash a number of groups have pledged their support for ongoing AFA work in the area. Five days after the incident on Penilee, a Scottish Socialist Alliance public meeting got turned over by 15 fascists in Dumbarton, so it seems the fascists are looking to up the ante.

As covered elsewhere in this issue (see page 8) AFA was sent a letter bomb by fascists at the New Year. While the media deliberately ignored this, in Scotland the 'Scotland on Sunday' went one better than their English counterparts, who claimed the targets were all media and sports personalities, by devoting nearly a full page to Steven Cartwright, former BNP organiser and leading Scottish fascist, who having also fallen out with C18 was sent a little 'package'. So why is everyone pretending they didn't know AFA was a target, because the police supplied the media with all the information and they even rang us to tell us a bomb had been intercepted, so it was widely known.

Internal warfare between fascists and attacks on 'innocent' celebrities can be used to call for the proscribing of certain fascist groups and increased police powers - but attacks on militant anti-fascists who are openly hostile to the State doesn't fit the agenda; so pretend it didn't happen. These attempts to isolate militant anti-fascists are part of a reactionary agenda, so the State can be promoted as the only solution to fascist violence, an emotive subject, and then when the machinery is in place the radicals of the Left will come under attack.

A spate of attacks on Asian shopkeepers in Huddersfield led to a series of reprisals by AFA which in turn resulted in the 'unconditional surrender' of the local Blood & Honour organiser. There's definitely a moral in there somewhere.

AFA ROUND-UP

In Sheffield there was an incident at a skinhead gig before Christmas which didn't warrant much attention at the time but has subsequently been described by the fascists as a major AFA assault. In fact what happened was half a dozen SHARP skins went to see Belgian band The Pride play. The band operate in that dubious grey area - doing interviews with dodgy fanzines but never openly supporting the fascists, so it wasn't surprising that there were some fascists at the gig. One of the SHARP skins went upstairs to where the band were playing and promptly got pushed back down the stairs by the warriors of the white race. This in turn led to the rest of the antifascist skins belting up the stairs and steaming into the fash who got whacked. That was the end of the incident except that the fascists wouldn't leave the venue at the end of the gig in fear of further 'activities'. Presumably in an attempt to cover up than spectacular less performance the fascists now claim that this was a full-blown AFA mobilisation. Well, it wasn't, so that's something else these individuals from Leicester have got to look forward to.

We are pleased to announce the launching of a new intiative to support the activities of AFA. 'The Friends of Anti-Fascist Action' has been set up for people who support the organisation but are unable to play an active role, by getting them to make a financial commitment to AFA to ensure our work continues. We urge all our readers who fit in to this category to either contact your local branch or send an S.A.E. to AFA, BM 1734, London, WC1N3XX, for more details.

And finally, don't forget AFA has a new national phone number:

0976 406870

Anti-Fascist Action

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ALL OUR YESTERDAYS

The following story appeared in the Yorkshire Evening News on September 30th 1936 and is the first in a new feature where the tradition of militant anti-fascism will be highlighted by reproducing old newspaper cuttings. Enjoy.

POLICE STORY OF RIOT

Anti-Fascist Crowd "Worst in 25 Years"

"But for the presence of the police the Fascist speakers undoubtedly would have received serious injuries," said Supt. Beirne at Pontypridd, Glamorgan, today when the hearing was resumed of 180 summonses against 31 men and 5 women for alleged participation in anti-Fascist rioting.

The conduct of the crowd, which numbered between five and, six thousand, was the worst I have seen in the 25 years I have been in the Rhondda," added the Superintendent.

TO AVERT BATON CHARGE

Superintendent Beirne identified several of the defendents as those who, he said, were taking part in assailing a loudspeaker van upon which stood two Fascist speakers.

He advised Councillor Lewis Jones to get the crowd away, said the Superintendent, as otherwise he would have been compelled to instruct the police to make a baton charge.

Councillor Jones mounted the van to carry out the suggestion but the crowd paid no heed said Superintendent Beirne, who said he then signalled the Fascist speakers to leave and they did so, escorted by the

OBITUARY: CHARLIE GOODMAN

When AFA was planning the 60th Anniversary Rally to commemorate the Battle of Cable Street and the Spanish Civil War the first person we invited to speak was Charlie Goodman. Sadly, Charlie has died.



between previous generations of anti-fascist fighters and today's militants. Charlie, and Joyce, agreed to take part in AFA's Fighting Talk video (shown on BBC's Open Space) and despite an excellent contribution to the film, what really pleased Charlie was the

chance to meet the boxer Terry Marsh

in the course of the filming.

speak at a meeting we

organised in his local area.

London's East End.

Charlie was a vital link

Charlie was arrested at the battle of Cable Street and got 3 months jail for allegedly inciting a riot and possession of an offensive weapon! One of the best stories his wife, Joyce, tells is how she remembers the first time she ever saw him - on October 4th, halfway up a lamp post, urging the crowd forward.

On his release Charlie joined the International Brigades and fought in Spain against Franco's fascists for 2 years. Not long after he returned to Britain the Second World War started and Charlie was badly wounded at Dunkirk. After the war Charlie continued to play an active role, especially in his local community where he helped to organise an independent residents association.

AFA's first contact with Charlie was seven years ago when he agreed to

Unfortunately failing health prevented Charlie coming to the 60th Anniversary Rally, but to show how important he believed it was that today's anti-fascists didn't view the past as something seperate, but part of an ongoing struggle, and despite being in obvious pain, he filmed a special video message to be screened at the rally. Six weeks later Charlie died, aged 81, and we will miss him.

Our thoughts go out to Joyce and the rest of his family, and the best tribute we can offer him is to keep up the fight against fascism in the way Charlie would have wanted us to.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST CONFERENCE

In October 1996 the Far-Right secured 27% of the vote in elections in Austria. In February 1997 the F.N. in France gained control of its fourth town.

This is the latest evidence of the Far-Right's revival across Europe. As antifascist militants we believe that the only solution remains physical and ideological confrontation from a working class standpoint.

In Britain we face increasing isolation. We are now attempting to build links with other militants across international borders. We recognise that only by attempting to end the isolation of militants in other countries, can we begin to end our own.

We are going to hold an international conference over one weekend in the autumn. We believe that such a conference is essential for the following basic reasons:-

- To enable us to all work effectively on an international level.
- To counter the international networks of the fascists, the state and the conservative Left.
- To exchange and discuss tactics. mutual support and propaganda.
- To build networks around football, prisoners welfare, music etc., and establish a practical support, information and propaganda network.
- To develop increased communication, especially utilising the resources of the internet.
- To ensure that the ideas and experiences of militant anti-fascists are promoted internationally.

We consider it vital to establish good contacts with groups in countries where fascism is mainstream - Austria, Italy, France - as well as those countries where it is currently peripheral. It is important for us to learn from the experiences of groups in these countries.

Please write to London AFA for details.

LEVELING THE SCORE



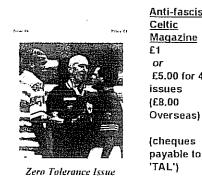
In this issue of 'Levelling The Score' we interview the Manchester United anti-fascistfanzine Red Attitude, 'Under new management' and with a clear plan the fanzine is clearly going from strength to strength. The success of Red Attitude, and not forgetting the ground-breaking work of the Celtic antifascist fanzine Tiocfaidh Ar La in Scotland, has started to inspire other football supporters to get organised against the fascists.

Villa Fans Against Loyalism and Fascism have produced their first newsletter and are seriously considering the possibility of developing it into a fanzine. The Far Right have a history of sorts at Villa going back to the 70s with the NF, but it is the more recent emergence of a group of fascists calling themselves Villa C18 that has led to the formation of VFALF. As a spokesperson for VFALF told the Irish Post " there has been a noticeable shift within Rightwing groups - its now harder for the fascists to recruit on the back of antiracism, black so Lovalism complements racism as a touchstone of fascist influence." This point is well illustrated in the newsletter. For more information send a large S.A.E. to: VFALF, PO Box 3311, Birmingham, B13 0RZ.

In the North East the new AFA group have been concentrating on building support for AFA's ideas at Sunderland AFC. Fascists such as C18, National Alliance, BNP, and NF have regularly conducted sticker/graffiti campaigns around the area and the local press carried a story detailing how three fans were arrested after the Blackburn away game for an assault on an Asian man - they were found to have C18 material in their possession, N.E. AFA members and sympathetic fans have so far successfully leafletted a number of Sunderland matches, with no sign of the supposed Supermen at all.

Although the fash have had it fairly easy up to now they have not made a massive impact and N.E. AFA intend to reverse the limited success they have had at the football and elsewhere in the North East,

Up in Edinburgh, having seen the good work done at Celtic, Edinburgh AFA have started the ball rolling at Hibs with a leaflet session at Easter Road before the last Hibs v. Celtic game. The response was good, and Hibs fans in the branch now intend to print stickers and leaflets geared towards the support. Hopefully, given time, a campaign as successful as Celtic Fans Against Fascism can be set up as there is a lot of potential support at Easter Road for anti-fascism



Anti-fascist Celtic Magazine OΓ £5.00 for 4 issues (£8.00

(cheques payable to TAL')

Available from:

PO Box 266 Glasgow G42 8EA





Fighting Talk.

hat was the original idea behind Red Attitude?

Red Attitude.

he original idea to start an overtly anti-fascist fanzine was based on the sound history of anti fascism in Manchester and the success in keeping United fascist free over the years. Initiatives such as Reds against the Nazis in the early eighties broke new ground in opposing fascism at football. The actual decision to go down the fanzine road was influenced by the success of Celtic Fans Against Fascism and the launch of TAL.

low successful do you think it was in achieving its original objectives?

The original objective in any project like this is to secure first base or occupy the territory in which you want to operate. In this respect the fanzine was a major success, however for some people involved at the time, this was their only objective and once achieved there was no ambition to develop the project.

The national press coverage gained from Red Attitude's support for Cantona over the Matthew Simmons attack at Palace gave AFA a high profile. When the Palace fan died at Walsall, Red Attitude remained very quiet. Was this a mistake?

in a nutshell yes. The editorial board ducked the issue after the Walsall incident. This caused a great deal of concern, especially in light of the position taken over the Cantona incident. During exchanges of letters on the matter between the editor at the time and United anti-fascists who challenged the editorial board, the editor played down the Walsall incident, claiming it was non-political and unconnected to the Cantona incident. Basically the people who were running Red Attitude felt they had established themselves off the

WHEN THE REDS GO MARCHING IN...

back of the Cantona issue and they weren't prepared to risk their own credibility or perceived status on defending United fans who were facing serious charges. Needless to say these people have been taken to task and not been reelected.

Since issue 10, Red Attitude has been produced by a new editorial team. Apart from the spectacular new design and layout, what other changes are we likely to see?

Whilst there have been changes on the editorial team, much progress has been made by involving and bringing together all the peripheral elements that were involved in the fanzine, along with a number of people who wanted to get involved. This has allowed Red Attitude to develop in a number of areas simultaneously. Red Attitude operates an open door policy for involving United fans and anti-fascists in the work of the fanzine.

previously Red Attitude was guilty of indulging in slagging off other supporters in a negative way. Now the targets for abuse seem to have been more carefully chosen, like Gasgoine's wife beating. Is this a policy change, and how important do you think the question of slagging other teams is?

Slagging off other teams and their fans is part and parcel of the fanzine scene. Many fanzines overcome a lack of informed comment and objective analysis with a vitriolic attack on their nearest and dearest rivals! However if your initial brief is to set up with a distinct political edge to your work, then merely replicating the material available elsewhere is at best unimaginative and at worst could be described as pandering to the prejudices of supporters. There are real issues for fanzines to be tackling on behalf of their own supporters and sometimes it is easier to defer to historical rivalries and antagonisms rather than confront these issues. This is especially relevant to Red Attitude as we have political issues to address as well as football issues.

What do you think of the other United fanzine's and how much competition is there?

United fans have Red Issue, United We Stand, and Red News to choose from apart from Red Attitude. Again you pays your money and you takes your choice. People know what we're

about and we have a steady uptake in sales.

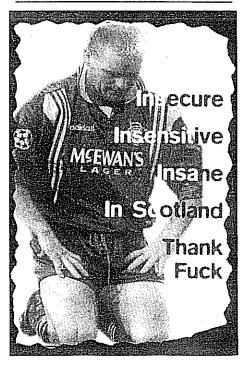
Do the other fanzines ever carry articles about fascism, and what are they like?

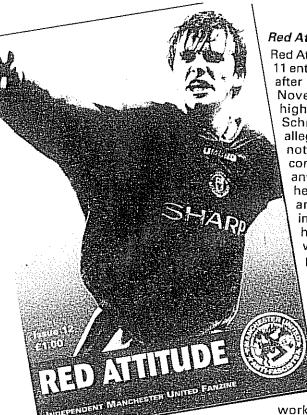
Certainly not in the way that Red Attitude would raise these issues. I believe that United's fanzines are pointed in the right direction although politics can prove to be a bit of a minefield for people who in the main are involved in fanzines for football related reasons.

Civen the references to Man Utd's "left wing rabble" in C18 magazines, presumably they take the threat of AFA seriously?

I should say so! C18 and the BNP have struggled to get a foothold in Manchester. A few years ago the BNP set up a Manchester branch, and within weeks of going public the branch was put out of commission. Their organiser met AFA on a number occasions to help arrangements for his retirement from active right wing politics. It's fair to say that the advent of a BNP branch in Manchester prompted much behind the scenes activity from AFA, not just in combatting the activities of the BNP, but also the disreputable activities of Searchlight and its assets, whose role in the affair was at best 'unhelpful'.

ped Attitude is produced by and promotes Man Utd. anti fascists. Can you explain how this group was formed, what it has achieved, and where you see it going in the future?





Man United anti-fascists is an umbrella grouping for United fans and anti-fascists whose main activity is to produce, sell and promote the fanzine. Given the wide geographical base from which United draw their support, this too is reflected in the support for the fanzine, with regular contributors from all over Britain, Europe and also from a current member of the editorial board who is living it up at Her Majesty's expense! (Only joking Eric). It is hoped to build on this by setting up regional support groups in Manchester, London, and possibly Dublin for next season.

In its first two seasons, Red Attitude made a number of international links, how do you see this developing?

Red Attitude has continued to consolidate its links with supporters groups throughout Europe. This year we aim to launch a European wide initiative during the 1997 European anti-racism year.

Should there be an organised international network of antifascist football supporters?

It can certainly do no harm, and given that progressive elements at many clubs are already in touch with each other, then a 'European super league' shouldn't be too far away. Sooner rather than later if Red Attitude has anything to do with it.

What is Red Attitude's analysis of the lan Wright and Peter Schmeichel 'race row' and why has there been no public comment from

Red Attitude in the media?

Red Attitude did an article in issue 11 entitled 'Great Dane of a Row', after the first altercation back in November 1996. In it we highlighted that Peter Schmeichel denied the allegations and stated that he is not a racist, lan Wright has consistently refused to make any allegations as he did not hear any racist abuse. The FA and the Press were caught investigating a complaint that hadn't been made. The FA were looking for a high profile trial by TV case where they could come along and go through the motions on the politically correct anti-racist angle.and come out of it smelling of roses in the European anti-racist year. That they had no track record on positive antiracist and anti-fascist

work and their subsequent handling of this case bears out their lack of principle and integrity in this area. Prior to the second incident, the FA refused to allow the P.F.A (the players union) to mediate between two of its own members. Following the second incident, the FA has threatened the players with more charges and subsequently offered to drop the charges if they end their dispute. Peter Schmeichel has responded by telling the FA that he is considering legal action to clear his name. The dispute between Wright and Schmeichel is a personal one emanating from events during a football match. This dispute can be ended with a handshake between the players in their own good time. The FA, having introduced and promoted the race row element for their own ends are looking for a sharp exit for themselves. Because lan Wright has refused to play the accusing victim and Peter Schmeichel denies being the racist, the FA have been found

out. It is they and not the players who should be facing charges of bringing the game into disrepute.

The lack of public comment from Red Attitude on this issue is not for the want of trying. After the second incident in February at Highbury, Red Attitude put out a press statement and faxed it to the Press, TV and radio stations. Perhaps the contents were too near the truth for comfort. Judge for yourself, here's the last two paragraphs.

pecently the debate on racism in this country was focussed on the events surrounding the murder of Stephen Lawrence. People were having to confront and digest the appalling reality of racist violence and murder, coupled with the inherently racist response of the police to a young black man lying in the street, dying from stab wounds, and compounded by the institutionalised racism antagonism of the judiciary, which allowed the killers to walk away scott free. It is at the expense of the issues raised in the Stephen Lawrence murder, (including the exclusion of identification and eye witness evidence), that we now suffer the pantomime of the FA paying lip service to anti-racism by inviting the Police and the Crown Prosecution Service to investigate Peter Schmeichel over an incident for which there is no victim, no witnesses nor any complaint yet been made.

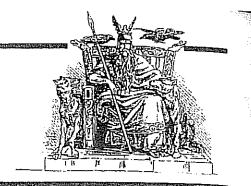
There will be many who will be pleased at this apparent shift in emphasis in the debate over racism in Britain, not least the promoters of racial intolerance. Racist murderers, racist police and racist judges have quietly walked away whilst Peter Schmeichel stands accused in their place, and lan Wright takes on the role of the victim in place of the murdered Stephen Lawrence. Is this what kicking racism out of football means?"

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A VIEW FROM VALHALLA



Over the past 4 years Dan Woinsaker has kept his eyes and ears open to keep readers informed of developments in the Nazi music scene, and the most significant thing in Britain was C18's takeover of Blood & Honour. As C18 tears itself apart this will undoubtedly have an effect on the future of B&H and so we have

asked Dan W. to have a look at the strange story of C18.

Anti-Fascist Action received an unusual New Year's gift this year - a letter bomb. It was one of 10 sent to targets in Britain by a Danish Nazi terror group which has links with the British Nazi group C18. The media covered the story but replaced the identity of the real targets - anti-fascists - with highprofile personalities in mixed race couples such as Frank Bruno, Sharon Davies, etc. Once again accurate reporting goes out the window when C18 are involved.

And then in early March the papers ran a new scare about the threat of Nazi letter bombs being sent to high profile public figures. Coming so soon after the January bombs this means either C18 are so thoroughly infiltrated by the State that their every move is known (and C18 either don't care or don't know!) or these deliberately misleading stories are in fact promoted in the media to serve another purpose.

There is a lot of speculation as to who set up C18 and why, but despite that, the organisation has operated since 1992. In the early 1990s the British National Party (BNP) launched a high profile campaign in London's East End around the slogan 'Rights For Whites'. In those days the BNP still

had marches and public meetings which had to be defended, and AFA soon noticed the emergence of an organised group of fascist stewards. AFA responded to the challenge of the BNP forcefully, and the fascists were seen off on several occasions. This new fascist outfit was soon to become the 'dreaded' C18 - Combat Adolf Hitler.

At first C18 had a working relationship with the BNP, supporting their events,

most violent fascists and monitor their links with similar Nazi 'terror' groups around the world. It is also true that since the end of the Cold War MI5 are keen to identify 'terrorist' threats to maintain - and expand - their influence. Whatever the reason, by the end of 1992 C18 was producing its own propaganda, including magazines with 'hit lists' of their opponents. They did attack a few soft targets, a couple of left-wing bookshops and community

> centres, and were fond of leaving threatening messages on people's answerphones, but from the very outset they were promising more than they

could deliver. By 1993 the BNP had withdrawn from the 'public arena' due to physical pressure from AFA, but the new standard bearers of street-level fascism were proving almost as elusive. Probably the first possibility of contact between AFA and C18 came at the massive (but pointless) Unity Demo in October 93. C18 were located in a pub waiting to attack people dispersing from the

march, but when approached by AFA they wouldn't leave the pub until the police arrived. This all seemed very familiar - rather than some new 'terror' group.

In January 1994 they made their most ambitious move to date, trying to put on an Ian Stuart Memorial gig in London. Remembering happened at the Battle of Waterloo less than 2 years previously this was obviously meant to be a show of strength. Unfortunately for them it all went horribly wrong; they lost their original venue in Becontree, got attacked in a pub in Bow by AFA, finally got some of their people to another pub in Waterloo where they were sniped by AFA, battered by the Old Bill, and ended up rowing with their German 'comrades' who couldn't



but they increasingly started to identify themselves as a separate group. They circulated a lot of 'leaderless resistance' literature encouraged fascists to follow the methods of the American Nazi terror group The Order, as opposed to the respectable, 'electoral' road of the BNP. They argued that a racist attack was worth far more than a racist leaflet. especially when it was publicly claimed by C18 to create the impression of organisation and planning. They hoped to provoke random retaliation on whites from the victims of the attacks, which in turn would start a 'race war'.

It is possible that C18 was set up by British Intelligence as a 'honey trap' to attract and identify the potentially believe how bad it all was. And the gig never happened.

The next time C18 hit the headlines was after the trouble at the Ireland v. England game in Dublin, February 1995. The media built up C18 into an overnight international conspiracy, giving them publicity worth hundreds of thousands of pounds. To claim that an organisation with the dismal track record outlined above was capable of staging a major disturbance to wreck the 'Peace Process' was complete dishonesty and obviously part of a different agenda.

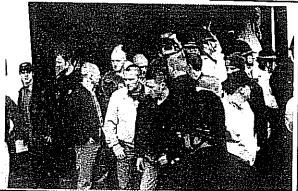
Shortly after Dublin, C18 organised 100 stewards for a UVF march through Central London, and despite AFA's credible record of dealing with the fascists Searchlight magazine decided that "because of the danger of serious violence Searchlight did not inform anti-fascist groups of the march." The following year, this time with the necessary information in place, AFA was able to successfully confront the Loyalists and their C18 supporters as they assembled for their march.

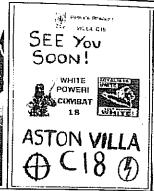
The damage done to C18's credibility at their failure to protect the London UVF march came just two weeks after another C18-backed UVF march in Bolton was stopped by AFA. With C18 getting turned over in Wigan a couple of months earlier, once again AFA, the frontline of anti-fascist resistance, had completely exposed their mediacreated reputation.

C18 have actively built links with the Ulster Loyalists, collecting money for their prisoners and putting on a couple of Blood and Honour gigs in the north of Ireland. Their support has obviously met with some approval, for example a letter last year in the C18-controlled Blood and Honour magazine states,

"We the Loyalist prisoners on East Belfast UDA wing H-Block 2, are dedicated to keeping Ulster British and white ... Hail the UFF & C18".

On the football front C18 placed a lot of emphasis on recruiting from the football firms, "Getting all the football fans, or firms, mobs, whatever and getting them all behind a Nationalist cause as one, that's when we start to progress" was C18's publicly stated aim. In reality, once again, they have achieved very little. Obviously encouraged by all the glowing tributes after





On the streets and on the terraces - C18 media hype has only served to encourage them

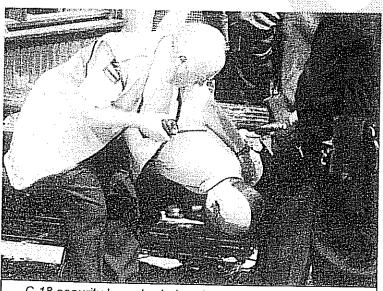
the Dublin trouble, Euro 96 was being forecast as one long hot summer of fascist violence. Despite the media's build up, either C18 lack ambition or ability, because they failed to organise any political activity off the back of the European Championship. Because C18 actually do very little they have to keep their supporters onside by inventing incidents. According to C18 when Man United played Chelsea in October 95 "two neighbouring public houses were packed to the roof with neo-Nazi Chelsea supporters ... in view of the promise of Man Utd's lefty rabble showing up. Who true to form didn't." Absolute nonsense! So if its not the media or the State building them up then C18 have a nice little line in fantasy journalism to keep the myth going. That only leaves AFA, as anti-fascist militant activists with our feet on the ground, to assess the real size of the threat and work out a counter strategy accordingly.

Probably the key area of their work, and it would seem their downfall, has been the successful takeover of the Nazi music organisation Blood and Honour. The B&H founder Ian Stuart died in a car crash in September 93 and almost immediately C18 took control. The music fanzines connected

to B&H were brought under their political control and most importantly the finances were taken over. It is now claimed that C18 fuhrer Charlie Sargent nicked £80,000 and his right hand man Will Browning pocketed £40,000. Whatever the exact figure there is no doubt that the opportunity to nick large sums of money was high on the agenda for a number of leading figures in C18. This certainly didn't go unnoticed by fellow fascists. The British Hammerskins described C18's brand of National Socialism as "nothing more than blatant capitalism!" and C18 successfully ripped off plenty of people from bootlegging Skrewdriver albums in America and selling them as imports, to robbing over £10,000 worth of CDs from Viking Sounds in Holland.

Once B&H had been brought under control, the National Socialist Alliance was created in 1994 to unite a number of small, openly Nazi groups like the KKK, British Movement, B&H, etc. all under C18's guiding hand. At the same time international links were established with like minded groups in Europe and North America, and a virtual C18 monopoly existed in the nazi music scene. For a short period

their political influence and income was considerable, but inevitably their strangle-hold didn't last long, and by 1996 the discontent they had created by ripping people off and attacking fellow fascists could no longer be kept under control and erupted into open rebellion. Once the influential Resistance and Nordland magazines came out against C18 the floodgates opened, and one of the most popular quotes circulating the Far Rightis from David Lane, often quoted as an inspiration by C18 who is now serving life for his



C.18 security breached - London U.V.F march, April '96

C.18 - FANTASY FASCISM?

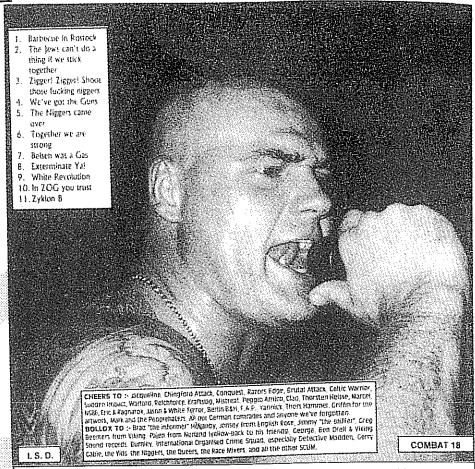
part in the American nazi terror group The Order. He says "the leadership of C18 are obviously Zionist agents or they are so ignorant and dangerous that they might as well be. It can no longer be tolerated. At the appropriate time the enemy amongst us will face a night of the long knives."

At the same time the BNP moved into open opposition with Tyndall writing a 5-page attack on C18 in Spearhead, the BNP magazine. An anonymous pamphlet (in fact it came from the BNP) was also widely circulated posing the question, "whether Charlie and Steve Sargent are MI5 agents or just poisonous shit-stirrers and completely fucking stupid can be argued about". C18 are in serious disarray having lost control of the nazi music scene, massive corruption exposed, and with three of their leaders getting jailed at the Old Bailey for race hate offences in March, the situation looks potentially terminal. Never one to miss a trick, Nick Griffin, a former NF leader and previous opponent of Tyndall, is now gaining influence in the BNP and openly arguing that the C18 elements should be readmitted,"Woe betide the nationalist movement that imagines it can do without the street activists". Seeing as how the BNP are embarking on the biggest fascist electoral campaign since the 1970s it would seem logical that they would want protecting on the streets, and in some parts of the country it seems C18 are once again working with the BNP.

The latest twist is that the falling out at the top of C18 has turned to violence and a leading C18 member has been charged with murdering a member of the "rival faction"! Despite these serious setbacks to C18 there has always been a physical force element on the extreme-right, whatever it calls itself, and sometimes it is diplomatic or tactical to seperate the different 'wings' of the movement. Another option is that a more political element

might take control of C18 now that the corruption of its leaders has been exposed and with the added opportunity of them being in jail. So were the New Year letter bombs a sign of things to come or another failed attempt to restore some credibility to the name of C18?

One thing is certain, those who deliberately exaggerate the threat posed by C18 are hostile to the anti-fascist movement.



Back Cover - No Remorse CD "Barbecue in Rostock"

larger than life characters, to be feared, unstoppable, and when they do mention the anti-fascist opposition it is only as victims. As the C18 slogan goes "Let them hate as long as they fear". No mention of AFA's successes against C18. And while the middle classes may find these stories shocking, there are disillusioned working class people, abandoned by Labour, who may be impressed. Certainly the fascists appreciate the stories because they reprint them word for word in their magazines as evidence of their growing influence. As an AFA spokesperson said after the second World In Action C18 spectacular,"Black propaganda that can be exploited by its target is of dubious value, and 9 times out of 10 counter-productive."

> Behind all the publicity lies the real purpose of promoting C18, and that is the call for more police and MI5 powers to deal with the problem. The successes of militant anti-fascists must be written out of history, the fascist threat must be exaggerated, and then the only thing that stands between us and a fully blown 'race war' are the suitably strengthened forces of 'law and order'.

And once the State, which is moving rapidly to the Right itself, increases repression against the Extreme Right. how long before that attention is then transferred onto groups on the Left?

The role of Searchlight has been significant and completely at odds with AFA's strategy. As the source of most of the information that appears in the media about C18, Searchlight have played a key role in promoting C18 as something bigger and more influential than it is, and have often argued that the anti-fascist movement is incapable of dealing with them. The actual evidence completely contradicts this but Searchlight have insisted that MI5 must lead the fight against C18. To suggest that MI5 and C18 are 'natural adversaries' is curious - partly because it is extremely likely that MI5 are actively involved in the running of C18, and also when you look at how the British intelligence agencies have armed and controlled the Loyalist death squads in the north of Ireland - it is far more likely that MI5 would use C18 to further their own reactionary agenda than actually destroy them.

Whatever the outcome, AFA will continue to fight the fascists both politically and physically, but it has to be said that the deliberate misreporting of C18 has worked against anti-fascist militants on the ground and only served to strengthen the hand of the State.



THE BIG PICTURE

s an anti-fascist organisation targetted in the recent C18 letter bombing campaign there is a responsibility on us to try and bring some clarity to the debate. First, the media seem to be working on the assumption that C18's every move must be scrutinised because (a) they are an aberration in an otherwise progressive multi-cultural state, or (b) here is a group so fanatical that they represent a threat to society and only the courts can stop them. The reality is that they are neither.

Indeed in many sections of society Right-wing sentiments are widespread and almost instinctive. A recent survey by Scantel in November 1996 in face to face interviews with 1,600 16 to 24 year olds in 8 European countries found that "the young Britons were by far the most racist in Europe comparing unfavourably with other European nations, including those where the popularity of Extreme Right factions has caused concern". (Guardian, 6/2/97).

In recent months the papers in particular have had cause to comment on the failure of the case brought by the Lawrence family and the de facto apartheid revealed by it in parts of south-east London; the C18 letter bomb campaign; the outburst by David Evans MP and the public display of solidarity shown to him by the Daily Telegraph, Gary Bushell, Richard Littlejohn, among others; the dropping of the BNP candidate in support of Alan Clark who they believe adequately reflects their views; the reactionary opinions expressed at a middle class dinner party by rank and file Tories with one

of their number favouring a "benevolent dictatorship"; and finally the jailing of 3 C18 activists for incitement and the "anger" and "depression" of anti-fascists at the lenient sentences.

As the list clearly shows, fascism can come in many forms. Not every fascist wears a flight jacket. The rhetoric of Tory Cabinet members, MPs, and the rank and file can, in unguarded or candid moments, be iidistinguishable from the rhetoric of openly fascist organisations. More seriously the Runnymede Trust estimates that there are in the region of 130,000 racist attacks annually. For the most part these attacks will have been carried out by people who are not associated with the Tory Party, would never vote Tory, or perhaps have never even bothered to vote. In other words, support for violent Right-wing solutions is not limited to the issue of race, has cross-class support and extends far beyond the membership of either the Tory party, BNP, or C18.



Clashes like this (Bethnal Green 1990) between AFA and the BNP led to the formation of C.18

18 are not the cause of this problem, more a reflection of its depth. On the other hand C18 are seen to be in the vanguard of reaction in this country and because of that must, and have been, directly and physically confronted when and where possible. Ignoring them or refusing to match violence with violence plays into their hands and as a by-product serves to embolden the more cautious or timorous Rightwingers. Only in that sense would militant anti-fascists regard them as significant.

Notwithstanding the fact that the C18 group came into existence as a direct result of an AFA offensive against the BNP in the early 1990s, it is recognised in militant anti-fascist circles that they are essentially a propaganda group who have done very little. Instead they choose to rely for their public notoriety on the media. Their celebrity is not as a result of them being "talented self-propagandists". The reality is that the media are spoon fed all the 'sexy'

stories by the same organisation, who on the back of the hysteria generated (still) hope to goad/ manipulate the security services and courts into proscribing the group.

That is why they were given the credit, quite falsely, for the riot at Lansdowne Rd. However, what all the talk of a "C18 conspiracy" obscured at the time was that the riot was spontaneous and the majority of the crowd, to one degree or another, share similar politics

to them anyway. After all "No surrender to the IRA" (with tacit support for the UVF/UFF death squads) is practically the English supporters national anthem.

All the signs are that on May 1st Labour will be elected. For the first time in almost twenty years, a Labour government will provide a focus for the thwarted aspirations and rage of the Far-Right who will screech their outrage at the slightest deviation from Labour's own agenda for rolling back the Welfare State. This orchestrated anguish, combined with real attacks by a 'socialist' government on the con-stituency most badly mauled by the Tories

(the working class), may well let the authentic fascist genie out of the bottle.

The really "depressing" thing is not only that the backlash will manifest itself politically, and the Far-Right will be the main beneficiaries, but that some antifascists will continue to bemoan the fact that the police, courts, and Establishment parties refuse to do their job for them, when history and the current situation in Europe demonstrates that their commitment to democracy is at best unreliable.

part from loudly advertising their own, and by implication antifascist, impotence the real danger is that when this strategy inevitably fails (as it is doing in France) there is no 'Plan B' that does not involve some sort of capitulation. As the situation in Austria, France and Italy shows it is perfectly possible to have a clear understanding of the nature of fascism and yet embrace an inadequate strategy for resisting it.

ONESTE BEJOND

When a Far Right political party in Central Europe wins 27.6% of the vote in free and fair nation-wide elections it should be clear that the time for complacency has gone - and gone for good. Particularly when it is widely acknowledged that much of the support comes from formerly socialist working class voters.

Compounding the problem is that right now most European governments are committed to introducing austerity budgets in order to comply with the demands of the common currency. Logic dictates that it is the weakest economies that are required to impose the most stringent cutbacks.

Britainis acknowledged as one of the more fragile economies. And we all know that Labour, firm favourites in May, are totally committed to the

European and monetary union. We also knowthat to offset the cuts Labour will not raise taxes. That means that the brunt will have to be borne by the bottom 40%. The last time so many governments committed themselves so comprehensively to financial orthodoxy was by pegging exchange rates to the gold standard in the late 1920s and early 1930s. As then, the political chaos and social devastation that ensued was literally designed for a party with a Far Right agenda.

Here responsibility for the mayhem will of course be laid at the feet of the 'socialist' government. Labour's history anyway has been to swing sharply to the Right once in government. So from day one the pressure will be on. Labour's every move will be scrutinised for the slightest hint of progressive

reform. The smallest deviation from Labour's quite candid agenda of reactionary reform will be jumped on by a bitter and vengeful Tory press. That Labour, elected on a Right-wing pro-



FN leader Le Pen in confident mood as his party enters the mainstream

gramme, will almost immediately be driven even further to the Right is a safe bet. Equally certain is that total working class alienation will be swift.

Unless we really believe that Britain as an island race and as such is above such developments, then we have to accept that the conditions outlined are a ready made opportunity for the Far Right to impact directly on the political mainstream with the same devastating effect as in Austria, France, Italy, Belgium, etc.

ABF - ANYONE BUT FASCISTS

What can we do? Well, let's first examine what we must not do. For seventeen years the conservative Left has been "Get the Tories out!" The real message is "Get Labour in!". Once Labour are elected,

the same unity will then be demanded to "Keep the Tories out!" And so on...

As the deteriorating situation in Europe has demonstrated, this strategy is a proven disaster. Primarily because it forces the very people who want change, the bottom 40%, the natural constituency of the Left, directly into the arms of the radical Right. (Even The Times columnist William Rees Mogg complains that "there are too many fascists in Europe nowadays".)

Remember it was under a Socialist government that Le Pen made the breakthrough in France. Now one French antifascist magazine complains that "everywhere you turn you see them". Even more significantly the FN is now the biggest working class party in France, and in Austria more

than one in two blue collar workers voted for the Freedom Partyin October 1996.

It is worth remembering as well that it was under the last Labour government that the NF briefly threatened to become the 'third' party ahead of the Liberals. Today it is this working class constituency, already badly mauled by the Tories, that Labour is determined to cut further adrift. So predicting the outcome could not possibly be more straightforward. And while the call for 'unity' between Left and Right - the Anybody But Fascists strategy - has an attractive simplicity, it is in reality a siren call on to the rocks.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

As the BNP explain in their magazine

Spearhead, the central aim of standing in elections is not to win votes: "the central aim is to win recruits...so the vital period is six months after the election. This is the crucial time

While the call for 'unity' between Left and Right - the Anybody But Fascists strategy - has an attractive simplicity, it is in reality a siren call on to the rocks. in which the follow ups must be turned into recruits, the recruits into activists and the best of the activists identified for further education and training...any other proposal is, for the foreseeable future, a time wasting fantasy."

The BNP are working hard to stand 50 candidates in the forthcoming election which would entitle them to a Party Political Broadcast, but they would also get election leaflets delivered to 2 million homes - free. If in the follow up only one in 250 is convinced and joins that is 8,000 new members. Given political conditions generally that is not at all implausible. Worse than that, no matter how well they do in the immediate term, the fact is that the situation for them can only improve as Labour gets into its stride. On top of that the orthodox Left is in meltdown throughout Europe. In all countries, to one degree or another, the agenda is driven by Right-wing and radical Rightwing ideas.

So without a doubt this is the biggest challenge we have ever faced. This was also the challenge previously faced by our European counterparts in the 80s and early 90s, who chose to fight the resurgent Right with orthodox tactics, employing with a particular counter-productive skill the ABF strategy. The logic of that strategy ultimately demands unity between antifascists and elements of the State. The consequence is that when the fascists address working class issues. their radical credentials are established by the propaganda of the opposition. Obviously this is no longer a viable strategy, so what then is to be done?

QUANTUM LEAP

If the crucial growth period for them is six months. after the election, then that too is the crucial period for us. The problem is, if we cannot prevent them handing out propaganda, then we cannot prevent them following uprecruiting afterwards either. The only way to remain effective is to be in a position where can recruit ourselves. We can only negate their growth by growing in influence ourselves, in tandem with them. For this to happen we must mimic their campaign. We must shadow them all the way.

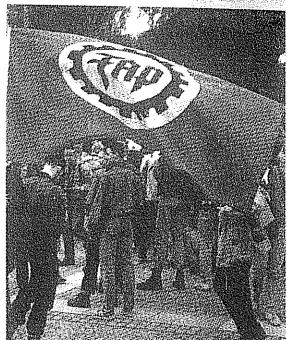
The best, indeed the only guarantee against the Far Right entering the mainstream is not a strong antifascist movement, but a working class strona movement. The Far Right have re-invented themselves throughout Europe and we. the Left, must do the same. To begin we must at least try to match their ambition. This must be done first of all to avoid being sidelined as has happened elsewhere, like in France.

And if, because of the circumstances, we cannot actually prevent them attempting to enter the mainstream, we can still deny them their just reward for doing so by working to enter the mainstream ourselves. In brief, we must not only attempt to match them physically but we must do so politically. That is to say we must mimic their ambition,

their tactics and their campaign. In other words we too must mount an election style campaign - but without candidates. We have to win the battle for working class hearts and minds. For militant anti-fascism this is a quantum leap, but if we are serious then this is what we must do.

MEANS TO AN END

From 1989, when AFA was relaunched, it was understood that its strategy was designed as a means to an end. The objective was to create space for a progressive alternative to



The German FAP - in the early 90's the Far Right succeeded in setting the agenda.

the Far Right to develop in working class areas. AFA has created the political space for an independent working class organisation to be built, which will in the changed conditions prove to be a lifeline for militant antifascism. So to claim that militant antifascism and working class independence are peas in a pod is almost to understate the relationship.

Equally, to state that the formerly Socialist parties rather than the Christian Democrats or Tories lay the foundation for the fascist renaissance in Europe is a pattern that is also undeniable. During the 90s, London

East End Labour councils in particular, despite offering the Tory government as mitigation for their own failures, still managed, even with the most Right-wing government since the war, to create a virus known as the BNP. With Labour in government, as well running the majority of councils, the intensity of polarisation working class areas between pro and anti-Labour can only be imagined.

In such an atmosphere the pro-Labour position will



Bermondsey 1991 - The BNP briefly manage to set the agenda in an area run down by Labour and dismissed by the Left

ANTI-FASCIST STRATEGY



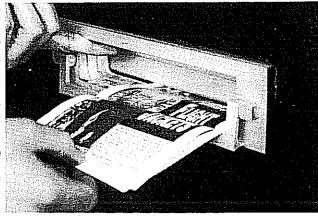
Isle of Dogs 1997 - AFA on the streets in the battle for hearts and minds

quickly become politically untenable. And for anti-fascism to attach itself to it would make anti-fascism untenable as well. Any suggestion of supporting or collaborating with Labour even inadvertently would be political suicide in the eyes of a working class audience anywhere.

SUMMARY

In the early 90s AFA declared its objective was to create the space for a political alternative to Labour in working class areas to emerge. In doing so it set itself the target of ensuring that a credible challenge to Labour came only from the Left. Circumstances beyond our control are conspiring against this - 'Plan A'. The background scenery is in the process of being shifted

The likely outcome being that it will be Labour rather then the Tories who will be the new hate figures nationally. This will change the political fortunes of everyone overnight. By far the most dramatic impact will be on the opportunity for growth of the Far Right. With the Tories in government Labour at a local level could blame them for everything. The electorate took their revenge with Tory representation being almost wiped out completely in whole swathes of the country.

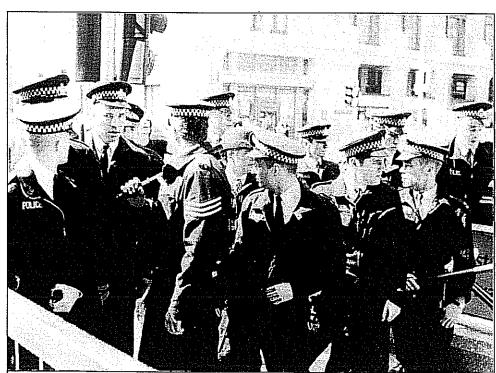


With Labour in government the Tory alibi that served them so well will automatically vanish. In addition there will be expectation among voters that many of the cuts will be reversed. When the precise opposite happens there will be a real feeling of betrayal and a vicious backlash against Labour. Equally certain, particularly in working class areas, the political beneficiaries will not be the previous party of government. So the Far Right will expect, as they have already done successfully elsewhere in Europe, to don, as if by right, the cloak of the genuinely radical grassroots opposition.

We can still stop them if we take on board a couple of simple facts. One, the old policy of containment is already obsolete. Two, while the election of Labour represents a real opportunity for progressive elements to get their feet under the working class table for the first time in a quarter of a century that is to say the chance step forward politically - for militant anti-fascism it means the reverse. Our ability to consistently and physically impose ourselves on events

will be significantly retarded because the BNP have abandoned the old strategy of "march and grow" in favour of a "hearts and minds" approach. We must accept that the police have improved their intelligence on AFA and how we work, which coupled with the new powers that they have under the Criminal Justice Act means it is much harder for AFA to physically confront the fascists. Adding to that the mounting social pressure triggered by a Labour government means we will no longer be able to hold the political vacuum.

That is to say, we will no longer be physically able to ensure that the challenge to Labour comes only from the Left. Consequently, the role of militant anti-fascism is now to ensure that the political challenge does not come only from the Right. This must be our objective. This must be 'Plan B'.



April '96: Police move in on AFA after successful operation against C.18. These people are not and never will be on our side. Those who call for the state to take the lead against Fascism are jumping from the frying pan into the fire

ANTI-FASCIST STRATEGY - ELECTION LEAFLET





The BNP are after Your Vote - Literally!

For the last 18 years the primary aim of the Tory government has been the right of management to manage. The average income of top company directors has risen to £450,000 a year: directly at the expense of 12 million working class people forced beneath the poverty line. This includes 2 million working class children today facing the very real possibility of rickets, stunted growth, etc.

The BNP make no comment on this state of affairs: because for them it is the natural order of things. For fascists like the BNP, any form of democracy represents an intolerable interference by working people in the economic affairs of the country. They argue that the 'management's right to manage should be carried over from the economic sphere directly into the political sphere.

The Conservatives' model for local government (unelected, unaccountable quangoes) is in fact the BNP's model for national government. By "change" they mean unaccountable government. In other words, dictatorship.

BNP Fuehrer Tyndall likes to boast of his National Service, but another pompous corporal, this time of Austrian origin, put the ultra-Conservative case even more bluntly. Hitler stated that society should be run by "a picked number of human beings...not troubled by humanitarian feelings...the capitalists have worked their way to the top...which again proves them as the higher race, they have the right to lead".

According to the likes of the BNP, the capitalists are the higher race, so clearly when the far-Right speaks of racism they refer to a belief in the natural superiority between races but also, and even more decisively, within races.

"What we urgently need, and must have to survive, is very much less democracy, a very much smaller more carefully selected and more intelligent electorate...Granting a vote to each and every one of the natives of Britain was madness...Lunacy could hardly go further!" (BNP, January 1995).

Now sometimes, when faced with the incompetence, corruption, stupidity of everyday life, the idea of somebody taking things by the scruff of the neck can seem attractive. But dictators don't do what you want. You do what they want.

On occasion the BNP may cry crocodile tears for the condition of the white working class, they are also very evidently the sworn enemy of that class. It is the very constituency that they now seek to influence that they also hold in most contempt.

So when the BNP say that they want your vote, that is exactly what they rnean. Their eventual aim is to deny you the right of any say or representation. Something else to remember when their candidate comes knocking on your door.



BM Box 1734.London WC11 3XX

Fascist activity in your area?
Call Anti-Fascist Action on 0976 406 870







BEHIND ESENTINES

With Bill Gothrocks off on a well deserved tour of animal sanctuaries in a foreign land, some other poor sod has had to be strapped in the chair and fed the recommended amount of tranquillisers before reading the latest mind bending offerings of the enemy.

Of all the sad losers who fill the pages of the B.N.P. press, one deserves special mention. This is a person writing under the name of "Dr. Caractacus" in December's Spearhead, who fills up a whole page telling us about how he goes out and leaflets at 6.10 am in nearby streets. He includes a really useful bit of advice to fellow activists. Apparently, "It doesn't endear people to you - or to your party - if they are roused by a hob nailed leaflet distributor goose-stepping beneath their bedroom window rendering "Land of Hope and Glory" at the top of his whistle". I'dhave thought most people would love such an early morning alarm call, rising joyfully from their slumber in anticipation of the dawn lynching ahead. But then of course the B.N.P. seem to be becoming past masters at sneaking around before dawn - its the only time they can get away with it.

Funnily enough, the article gives the definite impression that the good Doctor daren't even tell his wife what he's up to - she'd probably give him a good slapping as well. Still he has the consolation of filling in local street plans with day glo marker pens, a "lovely web of pink text marker growing like a delectable fungus over the map. And all my own work". This man clearly has a problem. But then he's probably been okayed by the B.N.P.'s in-house "trained psychologist" Ellen Strachan who would probably encourage mushroom veneration as part of her quest to restore the ancient religion of the race.

Ms. Strachan is clearly a person who knows what's best for others. And that's very reassuring. As Mr. Tyndall explains in November's Spearhead, he "...rejects the proposition that the people as a whole are always best

able to decide what is right for the nation, and instead believes that certain issues can only be understood by a minority in the know..." So there really isn't any need to worry. We can all look forward to a care-free future where Ellen Strachan will have free rein to indulge her fantasies and we'll all be crawling around in the woods after midnight, wearing nothing but woad and chomping on fungi. Apparently sheep do it all the time (or so I'm told by our resident experts).

Still at least there'll be lots of sex under the benevolent rule of Ms. Strachan and her devotees, in the same issue of Spearhead she continues to pursue her obsession with the sexual proclivities of the herd. enthusiastically quoting one Knut Hamsen: "Generation to generation, breeding ever anew, and when you die the new stock goes on. That's the meaning of eternal life". They obviously like this because the quote is splattered all over the front cover as well. But an on the spot AFA survey at the local abattoir revealed that 9 out of 10 farm animals were unconvinced by this proposition. Is all this rubbish in the B.N.P. manifesto? Not a vote winner we think.

Sometimes it must be very difficult being a nationalist. I mean where do you draw the line? In recent Spearheads (and British Nationalist) we're treated to some really naff school history book artwork of our "racial ancestors" Saxon, Ceit and Norman along with poetic thoughts about "...the fire which the Celts have always added to the steady determination of the Saxons".

But then Mr. Tyndall starts whinging on about "anti-English propaganda" in recent. Hollywood films such as "Braveheart" and "Michael Collins". Only he goes on a few pages later, in some thresome waffle about true nationalism, to state that, "The nationalists respect for the nationalism of other peoples does not mean that when it comes to a conflict of interest with his own he will do other than act in defence of the latter". Perhaps he

missed the point that Braveheart and the Collins film are all about self-defence against the foreign foe. After all, you can hardly blame the Scots and Irish for wanting to kick the shit out of their English "cousins", although Mr.Tyndall probably thinks that the starvation, deportation and butchery of a few million people shouldn't come between "racial" friends.

All in all Tyndall seems immune to the problem of "cognitive dissonance", a subject which Ellen Strachan goes on about at some length in January's Spearhead. Apparently, cognitive dissonance is what people experience when reality contradicts their beliefs about the world. All of which reminds me of a scene from Braveheart when the Scots turn their backs on the English, throw up their plaids and start slapping their arses in contempt. This makes the English commander, who thought the Scots would run away from his knights, go all pale and quivery (well he did sound like he'd been to public school). Fortunately for him, his personal "cognitive dissonance" didn't last long because he got hacked to bits. I wonder if some of our Scottish comrades would volunteer to give Mr. Tyndall the same treatment?

But then Mr. Tyndall seems to have other things to worry about than Anglo-Celticunity. He expends a lot of energy in November's Spearhead going on about liars, who keep "harping on ideological or tactical disagreements with the leadership". He doesn't name any names, but the pompous git seems to have a bee in his bonnet about it. You'd have thought he'd be more worried by the fact that "... a years progress achievement based solely on membership statistics and the size of activity turnouts is quite impossible because (it would be) grossly misleading...". (January Spearhead)

In other words it doesn't look good, as witness the pleas for people to stand in the election to achieve that magic 50 candidates. And yes, he's quite right, you don't even have to live in the area where you stand and run the risk of being done over by the locals. Reassuring thought, John. Come to think of it, looking at the picture of John Major in flight jacket and boots on the latestAFA leaflet, even he would make a more impressive figurehead for the B.N.P. For an organisation that goes on about leadership so much, how come they're saddled with such a boring old tosser?

Can I go home now please...? No wonder friend Bill has such a strange gleam in his eyes. I only hope he's back before the next issue...

history *anti-fascist history *anti-fascist history *anti-fascist histo

BRIEF ENCOUNTERS



A History of Anti-Fascism in Oxford

Oxford cannot claim to have ever been a major venue in the war against fascism in Britain. It has, however, been the scene of a handful of crushing defeats for a Far Right who still dream of establishing a foothold in the city. Today they are forced to accept that for them, as a constituency, it is way beyond the pale. Here we look back at the various faces of fascism and anti-fascism in Oxford over the last 70 years and the struggle between the two.

Firstly the geography of Oxford should be clarified, as most people are under the impression that it is nothing more than a student town. To some extent they are not wrong. It is true that the University looms large over the city, but Oxford also has another side.

Lying mainly to the east, industrial Oxford is home to large working class communities, such as the estates of Barton, Littlemore, Rose Hill, Florence Park and the largest of them all, Blackbird Leys. For decades these estates have supplied the main chunk of the workforce for the once thriving car plants at Cowley. Since the 1950's, Blackbird Leys in particular has housed alongside 1,000's of indigenous people, large numbers from the Caribbean, Ireland, Scotland and Poland. The Florence Park estate, originally built in the 1930's, to families from accommodate depression hit South Wales and North East England, today borders well established Asian communities.

Many of the inhabitants of these estates played an active role in the industrial struggles at Cowley and its related industries throughout the decades. These areas have also been the bedrock of anti-fascist Oxford.

The first anti-fascists in Oxford however, predate the City's current multicultural identity. The tradition of militant working class anti-fascism in Oxford stretches back to the 1930's. In complete contrast the Far Right has repeatedly found support amongst the university and its rich friends.



Oxford 1975 - Police struggle to stop 600 anti-fascists from smashing up an N.F. rally

The first fascist organisation in Oxford was to set the agenda back in 1926 when it opposed the General Strike. This organisation called itself The Oxford and University District of British Fascists. They were followed five years later by Oswald Mosley's New Party. Mosley stated himself that ".. the young men who are gathering around us are Oxford students and graduates". The New Party also had the support of William Morris, Chairman of the Oxford Conservative Association and founder of Oxford's largest employer, Morris Motors. Morris' fierce anti-semitism was matched only by his hatred of trade unions. Mosley's party was funded by William Morris to the tune of £85,000 in its first two years.

Later, when Mosley's British Union of Fascists turned its attention to Oxford it also concentrated on the university. Its first public meeting in 1933, was in fact described in the local press as 'a meeting of the University Fascist The BUF seemed Association'. determined to sign up as many Hooray Henry's and Henrietta's as possible; recruiting members of the University Italian clubs, the rowing club at Oriel College and amongst women undergraduates at Lady Margaret Hall. In this decade the University also played host to the Imperial League of British Fascists and even had its own National Socialist club.

What follows is a brief outline of the first wave of fascism in Oxford.

The first anti-fascists appeared in the town in 1933 calling themselves the Red Shirts, (in opposition to the BUF's Blackshirts). They were based at the independent, trade union-sponsored, workers' college, Ruskin.

The Red Shirts were the driving force behind the 'Oxford Council of Action 'Against War and Fascism', set up on the eve of Mosley's first visit on November 3rd 4983 at the Carfax Assembly Rooms. This organisation was supported by the Engineers Union, the Busworkers T & G branch and the National Union of Railwaymen. Other organisations to give support were the Communist and Labour Parties and the /National Unemployed Workers Movement (which was later also targetted by the BUF). Despite the intimidation of the 150 imported Blackshirt stewards on the night, the working class movement managed to kick off a fierce punch up, which brought the meeting to a close.

The next time Mosley came to Oxford in 1936 the anti-fascist movement was much stronger. The simple reason being that Oxford's working class had itself become stronger, through a series of successful strikes. The most important of these was a strike for union recognition at Pressed Steel and Morris Motors. The support given in this dispute by the local C.P. branch helped them become the largest party group in the country. From this period Oxford could seriously claim to be a union town.

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The second Mosley meeting at Carfax, was 25th May 1936. (5 months before Cable Street). Mosley later complained of "the worst scenes of hooliganism he had experienced during the 100's of meetings he had addressed up and down the country". The meeting was 1000 strong (although it has been estimated that only a quarter of those present supported the BUF). Most of the anti-fascists in attendance were Morris workers, busmen and other trade unionists.

On the night, the assembly rooms were decked with Union Jacks in preparation for Mosley, who, flanked by his blackshirted bodyquards stepped onto the platform to the strains of the Nazi Anthem 'The Horst Wessel Song'. The fascist leader addressed the packed meeting, the first five rows of which contained the local gentry, including factory owners. Tory councillors and at least one magistrate. At one point in the meeting a frustrated Mosley replied pompously to the heckling crowd "I know you Ruskin fellows with your stage guardsmen accents". Shortly afterwards BUF stewards turned on a member of the audience. With this, all hell broke loose and the local anti-fascists steamed into the somewhat startled blackshirts, the favoured weapons being fists and metal chairs.

When it was all over the fascists knew what it felt like to be on the end of a good kicking. Four were hospitalised with broken heads while many more went home battered and bruised. Mosley, true to form, took the opportunity afforded by the mayhem and sneaked out the back door, only to find that the cars and coaches that had transported the BUF to Oxford had also been well and truly trashed.

Afterwards hundreds of anti-fascists spilled out onto the streets, - many singing the Internationale, to celebrate their victory. The BUF in Oxford were never to recover from this battering. However Oxford's radical working class was kept busy, regardless of the fact that they had destroyed the local BUF branch. Their attention turned to Spain and the war against Franco.

INJURIES AND ARRESTS against the NF! A couple of days later the Front hold



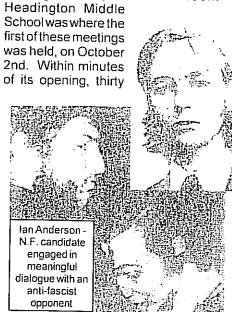
Oswald Mosley: a warm welcome in Oxford

FIGHT WITH CHAIRS AS WEAPONS

Anti-fascists in Spain were given support from the Spanish Aid Committee in Oxford, who organised accommodation locally for refugee children, held factory meetings and collections and were involved in an illegal initiative which had factory workers converting Harley Davidson motorbikes, donated by

supporters in the USA, into sten gun carriers which were then smuggled over to the Spanish comrades.

The second wave of fascism came in the mid 1970's - early 80's. In 1974 the fascists tried to hold two public meetings in Oxford in an attempt to rally support for the NF's only ever candidate in the city. This candidate was 21 year old Pembroke College undergraduate, Ian Anderson.



members of the Oxford Anti-Fascist Committee, another group with strong trade union support, burst in. They tore down the Front's Union Jack emblem, overturned the speakers table and threw Anderson out on his arse. Comically only 5 people were in attendance, two of whom, a local vicar and his daughter, had come to argue

against the NF! A couple of days later the Front held a larger meeting in the Town Hall. Ahundred anti-fascists turned up and stopped the meeting, forcing the hapless Anderson from the stage and occupying it

themselves. A speech was then made, declaring that Oxford believes no platform should be given to fascists.

The police presence in the town on the night was heavy, with a number of arrests being made. Special attention was paid to the Oxford Union, where the Monday Club held a meeting on Africa behind fortifications. A few month earlier a meeting at the Union on immigration by the Monday Club was smashed up and its Vice Chairman Harold Soref was forced to flee over a six foot wall out the back, leaving in his wake crashing glass, flying chairs and a pursuing mob. To its own surprise, the Far Right this time were not even safe in the university.

The October elections round up in the Oxford Mail paints a pathetic figure of Ian Anderson... "The campaign

suffered another major set back this week: Mr Anderson's carfailed the MoT test, which has made getting about the constituency difficult. There are other problems too. The windows of the rented committee rooms in St Clements are shuttered and boarded against breakages and inside there is no lighting or heating. But the faithful few work on by paraffin lamp and oil stove. By day he keeps a lonely vigil, licking envelopes and replacing posters. At night he

replacing posters. At night he calculates that a poster an hour is removed or defaced from outside the committee rooms and he and one or two supporters have even taken to sleeping on camp beds at the rooms to guard their supply of posters and leaflets, the one commodity the NF have in plentiful supply".

The General Election saw Anderson receive only 1% of the vote, causing the NF to weigh up the chance of a miracle change in their political fortune against the obvious health risks involved in carrying on their recruitment drive. They wisely chose to pack their bags.

history *anti-fascist history *anti-fascist history *anti-fascist histo

The National Front returned to the Town Hall in May 1975 to hold a meeting on the Common Market. It had to be protected from a 600-strong demonstration organised by the Oxford Anti-Fascist Committee by 250 police. The demonstrators failed to break through the six deep police cordon, but did manage to take out a number of fascists as they made their way to the hall. The NF deputy chairman John Tyndall (now BNP fuhrer) had to run the gauntlet of kicks and punches as he was jostled into the hall. Four arrests were made and two policemen were hospitalised.

When the meeting eventually got under way Martin Webster, NF organiser, told the audience of around 100 that it was the second time he had travelled to Oxford and had to contend with a riot outside. When Tyndall addressed the meeting he explained the party's attitude towards the organised working class; "I believe that most of the problems of this country could be put right in a week if you put about 10,000 people in jail starting with those that are disrupting industry". He also spoke on race; "If we are not racist and proud of it then our country will be destroyed". Over 100 marched to a counter-meeting in St Giles, to hear the Chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee declare that "On the strength of tonight it's clear that nowhere in Oxford will fascism be allowed to go unhampered".

The next time the Far Right came to town it was in the guise of the British Movement. Originally they had threatened an 'anti-IRA march', (this being the year of the hunger strikes), as they obviously felt that the usual anti - Black/Asian rhetoric would not strike a chord in Oxford. When they realised that this attempt to win recruits by trying to appeal to perceived popular sentiment wouldn't wash, they publicly cancelled their plans. Around 40 BM activists turned up anyway, apparently hoping the opposition had been thrown off the scent.

A counter-demonstration was hastily organised by the ad hoc 'Oxford Committee Against the Nazi March' which included the ANL, (Mark 1). Around 400 people marched down the High Street to oppose the BM. At

the same time a smaller group of around 100, dominated by a strong contingent from the Blackbird Leys estate, including many black youth and another similar size group containing some of the founding members of AFA, set off to find the fascists. About 30 members of the BM had been spotted in the Old Gatehouse pub near the rail station. Anti-fascists arrived, smashed through the locked door of the pub and set about their business. BM 'bootboys' who failed to



with a little gang, to test the water with a National Front paper sale in the town centre. Unfortunately they didn't hang around long enough for anti-fascists to catch up with them, though one or two members of the public did challenge them, resulting in scuffles, which encouraged a swift departure. The following week anti-fascists were out in force, but the Front played safe and stayed at home.

Since 1981 the Far Right have only been able to carry out operations of the hit and run variety, using activists from outside of the city to attack soft targets on the middle class Left. These attacks (which can be counted on one hand), are made possible because the groups that have been victimised, continually ignore their own propaganda about the need to "Smash the Nazi's" etc., and hold meetings and events without the adequate security arrangements. AFA on the other hand is not in the business of



Oxford 1981 Above - concrete blocks used in assault on the pub where BM members were drinking. Below - Anti-fascists depart the scene after trashing the pub, founder members of AFA among them.

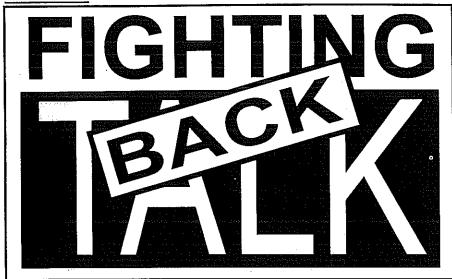
find refuge in either the upstairs rooms, or the cellar of the Gatehouse soon learned that once again the boots were on the other feet. After a successfully completed operation the anti-fascists made their getaway, leaving behind a bloodied and thoroughly devastated British Movement, (and a well turned over public house!). 'The Oxford Times' interviewed a BM activist from Peterborough who had witnessed the scenes at the Gatehouse. He bleated that Oxford was chosen "because it is a Red stronghold and we wanted to circulate leaflets to put our side". The leaflets did not even leave the box, and were abandoned at the rail station in the BM's haste to leave town.

It was to be another decade before the fascists showed their faces in Oxford again. In 1993 Ian Anderson returned

handing victories over to the class enemy. Anything organised by AFA, they leave well alone.

Oxford AFA is aware that it inherits the proud tradition of working class opposition to fascism in the city. We also accept, as did our predecessors, the necessity of both physical and ideological struggle against the Far Right, and act accordingly. The fact that many in Oxford see fascism (however incorrectly) as a problem of the past, is a testimony to the success of the city's anti-fascists in removing it from the streets.





UP FOR IT!

Dear FT,

Minneapolis ARA travelled to Racine, WI. in order to prevent a fascist memorial rally and concert for "Thundered" Joe Rowan, the sorry ass motherfucker who caught a bullet from a black kid 2 years previous. We took over the Courthouse steps where the KKK was to have their rally and prevented them from having any presence all day long. We scoured the town all day and night and found no presence of boneheads, much less the existence of a concert.

B&H have moved from Long Beach, California to Minneapolis and are now putting out a Resistance like glossy mag called Wolfpack. A comrade of ours obtained a bunch of their propaganda by introducing local National Socialist idiot Jeff Schepp to a tyre-iron and offering to carry the box of filth for him! The fash were using this material to organise a group of white men, 'The All American Boys', who have been terrorising a small immigrant community of Somalis in the southern Minnesota city of Rochester. The All-American boys have severely beaten both very young (12) and elderly (65) Somali men. We have a few contacto in Rochester and are working to suss out exactly what we can do to prevent more of this shit from going down.

For the third year now we successfully (no nazis) held our annual Kristallnacht commemoration march and forum. This has been a date of several incidents 3-5 years ago which eventually led to the trial of our man Kieran Knutson (acquitted). Its important that the boneheads have not shown for several years now which is a testament to our strength and aggressive tactics locally.

We've been challenging neo-nazi infiltration into the heavy metal scene where they now focus their recruiting. ARA has been attending shows and alerting people so they wont be fooled by the likes of Pantera, Danzig much less the obvious zeros of Bound For Glory. So far we've met with much success and support - the fash are being exposed and isolated.

The continental ARA Network has undertaken a campaign to expose Resistance for what they are. This will entail letters and Nazi-Free Zone type posters being sent out to as many record stores as we can get addresses for. The local ARA's will then follow up by establishing contact with the stores in their own area. Our hopes are this will limit their ability to distribute and profit from their crap. This will be the first campaign undertaken by the Network as a whole which now numbers more than 30 chapters in Canada and the U.S.

Take care, stay strong and keep your heads up ...

D. Minneapolis ARA.

POLE POSITION

Dear FT,

"For some time in the small provincial town of Radomsko in Poland, numerous groups of fascists had been terrorising local young people. Violent attacks by these boneheads on those who were 'different' became an everyday occurrence. At one point things got so bad that some of the young people couldn't walk around the town without

being beaten up. Police and town authorities turned a blind eye to the situation until March 96 when out of desperation some of the young people gathered together to do something about the attacks and a fight broke out with the fascists. The police arrived and arrested 17 of the young anti-fascists who only found out later that one of the fascists had been injured in the fight and died. 13 of the 17 arrested are still in prison and currently on trial for the death of the fascist, the other 4 have their cases in a seperate juvenile court.

We ask you to send messages/cards of support to these 13 young comrades still in prison:

Krzysztof Biedolak; Stanisiaw Szczesniewski; Grzegorz Pasak; Zbigniew Sikorski; Adam Wloka - at: Areszt Sledczy, Lodz, ul. Smutna 21, Poland.

Mariusz Orzinski; Marcin Baranski; Zbigniew Gorzelak - at: Zaklad Karny, Sieradz, Poland

Mariusz Zych; Tomasz Wilkoszewski; Rafal Socha; Grzegorz Niedbala; Andrzej Szczesniewski - at: Areszt Słedczy' Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poland.

For more information write to: MRE, Box 74, 04-520 Warsaw 106, Poland.

On The Table

Dear Sir,

Did you see the Cutting Edge programme 'The Dinner Party' (Channel 4, 24/3/97)? The programme featured eight Tories from East Anglia at a candlelit dinner party pontificating on their favourite subjects. As Middle England's finest stuffed their faces and quaffed gallons of claret they spewed out their bigoted opinions on race ("you're black African tends to have his hand out" and telling racist jokes); poverty ("I don't think anyone's really poor these days"); and crime ('criminal families should be sterilised), to name but a few. But what really struck you about these people was their real sense of bitterness with the current state of affairs, what was needed we were told was a "benevolent dictator" as democracy simply didn't work. Uhm ... a group of very bigoted, middle class, right-wingers feeling bitter and let down believing democracy has failed and facing an incoming 'socialist' government; now where have I read that before? Essential viewing for anybody who thinks fascists only come dressed in big boots and flight jackets.

your humble servant, H.S.

REVIEWS

ENGLAND, MY ENGLAND

- the trouble with the national football team. Dougie and Eddie Brimson

Doug and Eddie Brimson first came to prominence last year with their book 'Everywhere We Go'. This book came under fire for a few reasons - it was boring, loads of beery football yarns and it gave an unchallenged platform to the BNP. Despite this the book sold well. Buoyed by their success these two brothers have produced another book, 'England, My England', which purports to be a series of authentic anecdotes from English hooligans, mainly dealing with the England team. Some are fascist, some are antifascist. All are nonsense. The book is complete shit.

More importantly, it should be made clear that the piece supposedly written by AFA was entirely made up by these clowns and takes the piss out of our politics. The piece about the BNP also looks fabricated - too many inaccuracies. And why the BNP, not C18? Makes you wonder if the Brimson brothers have been swapping beery tales with C18 but have had to keep them anonymous. They should remember the old saying, if you lie down with dogs you get up with fleas...

The Brimson brothers are frauds at the very least. Do not give them your money.

FASCISM FOR BEGINNERS Stuart Hood. Illustrated by Litza Jansz Published by Icon Books. £7.99

The 'Beginners' series of books from lcon will probably be familiar to many of our readers for their concise, informative and entertaining guides to everything from the lives of Malcolm X to Marx, from Feminism to Freud. Of particular interest to FT readers will be Fascism for Beginners.

The book traces the origins of fascism from the ideas of the likes of Nietzsche, Wagner and other intellectuals in the 19th century. It uses as case histories the four types of fascism that developed in Germany, Italy, Spain and Japan following the First World War. It also goes on to look at the remergence of fascism after WW2 and indeed questions whether fascism ever really went away.



SALAM,AGUR NEGU GORRIAK

CD Album - 15 tracks Esan Ozenki Records

Sadly the first time Negu Gorriak (NG) make the pages of FT it is to announce their demise. NG are from the Basque country, which exists within the boundaries of the Spanish and French states. The Basques were heavily oppressed during the reign of Franco because of their opposition to fascism and their desire for an independent Basque state; a desire that still burns strongly today and expresses itself in a number of ways including armed struggle. The high involvement of Basque youth in recent years has breathed new life into the Basque struggle and cultural expression, of which NG are the leading lights, has played a vital role in this.

The real strength of this book however, is the way it enables the reader to develop a clear analysis of the factors that define fascism, far away from the Leftie hysteria that labels everything the liberal middle classes find vulgar as 'fascist'. In doing so it also destroys the stereotype that fascism is dependent on racism to flourish and that fascists are all easily identifiable as either skinheads or football hooligans.

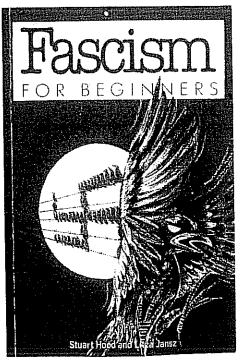
The book concludes with the words of Adolf Hitler stating that the only thing that could have stopped the rise of his movement would be to smash it with the "utmost brutality". It then asks "how do you answer the question?" and gives the option of either dealing with fascism within the law or confronting it, encouraging the reader to tick their chosen option. Altogether this would be an excellent introduction for any new AFA member, while providing

But NG are more than just a band. To keep their independence they have managed themselves ever since they started seven years ago. The group became the pivot in an ever expanding operation. Their record company. Esan Ozenki, has just celebrated its fifth anniversary, having produced 23 groups to date. They formed the NG 'brigades' who, in the words of the band's frontman Fermin Muguruza, "carry out imaginative actions of agitation and propaganda, reactivating all the artistic fields, joining together theatre, image, video, cinema, poetry, comic, etc." They also initiated what they called "the international of rock" linking up with other like-minded bands around the world.

NG have now decided that it is time to bring the band to an end and are signing off with Salum, Agur, a 15 track CD. The album is made up of covers of the likes of Linton Kwesi Johnson, the Redskins, Dead Kennedys, Bob Marley, The Who, and Public Enemy, representing the eclectic influences that made up the sound of NG; and believe me you haven't heard anything until you've heard Otis Redding's 'Respect' sung in Basque!

Negu Gorriak are a shining example to any up and coming 'political' band of how it should be done.

our branch organisers with an easy vetting proceedure... they simply have to check which box they ticked!





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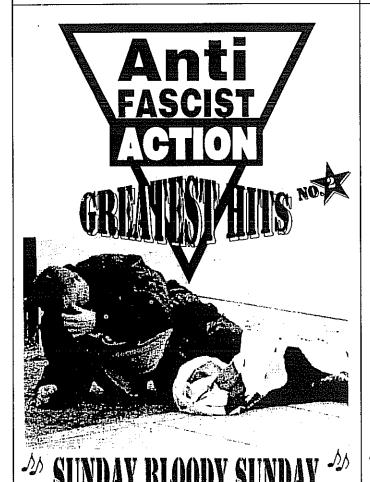
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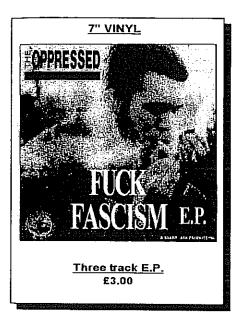
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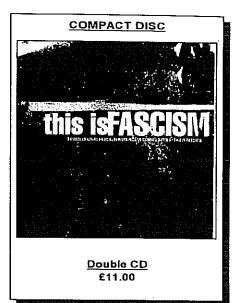
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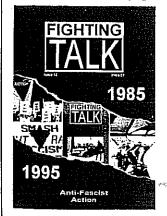
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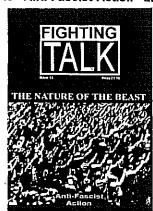
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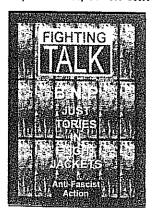
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