

FIGHTING TALK

Issue 19

Price £1.50

NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!



**Anti-Fascist
Action**

Front Cover:- No Platform for Fascists - AFA in Ireland successfully stop the launch meeting of Aine Ni Chonail's Immigration Control Platform.

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AFA on the Internet

The AFA Web Site is currently being updated, but in the meantime have a look at <http://burn.ucsd.edu/~imafn>

APPEAL FOR INFORMATION

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

JOIN AFA

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

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

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

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

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

Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

AFA CONTACTS

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IN THE AREA



Welcome to Issue 19 of Fighting Talk, and we start with our usual round up of news and views from the front line against fascism.

On 24th January the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration march was held in London. The NF called a counter-demonstration along the route so AFA mobilised against the fascists. What was interesting was the scale of the police operation against AFA; indeed, the chief target for all police action on the day was the anti-fascists. Not the marchers, not the NF counter-demo - but AFA. At midday AFA members arrived at the Archway to be met by 100 police. This was no coincidence but part of a well planned operation. Police were seen carrying sheets of mugshots, presumably to identify the 'ringleaders', and anyone on the street who the police thought looked like an anti-fascist was stopped and photographed. As this included a number of people who were nothing to do with AFA this raises additional civil liberties questions.

One group of anti-fascists sought 'refuge' in a pub, only for the police to come in and close the pub down, but not before everyone was photographed, videoed, and details taken. Five mobile police camera teams were operating against AFA throughout the day, as opposed to one that was based at Kings Cross for the visiting Barnsley supporters.

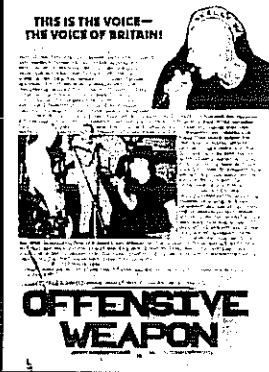
Anyone who was identified as being with AFA was pushed away from the tube station to prevent any further movement and contained in an area about a mile and a half away from the fascists. The NF operation on the day was totally co-ordinated with the police. The police were waiting for them to arrive at Holloway Road tube station at an appointed time and when they failed to persuade a local pub to open and let the NF drink there they escorted them to their allocated site. Almost immediately the demonstration had passed them they were escorted by the police to a different tube station (Caledonian Road) and away. In all there were 50 fascists, including a group of National Socialist Movement - the Steve Sargent faction of C18.



LOYALIST LEADERS IN NAZI ROCK SHOCK

When Mo Mowlam, the Northern Ireland Secretary, recently visited the Maze prison to discuss difficulties over the Loyalist ceasefire, one of the UFF leaders she met was Sam McCrory (top photo). It was noticed at the time that he had a 'white power' tattoo on his arm which only confirmed what AFA has been saying about the links between the fascists and the Loyalists.

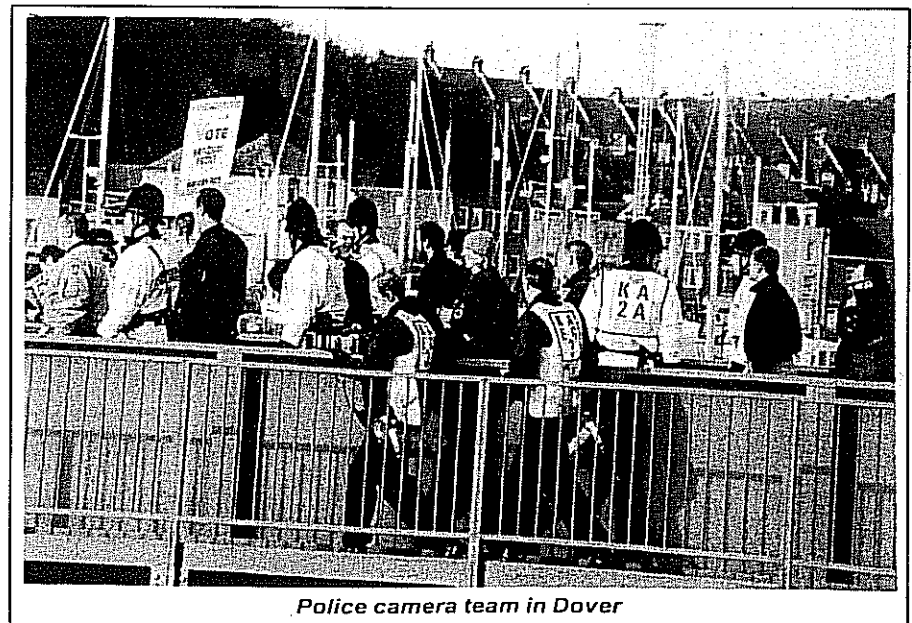
What was not widely known was that Sam McCrory and another notorious senior UFF prisoner - Johnny 'Mad Dog' Adair - were both in a nazi Oi band called Offensive Weapon. They played in England a few times, featuring alongside Blood & Honour favourites Skrewdriver and Brutal Attack at the Rock Against Communism festival in September 1984. In those days if you wanted to contact the band you wrote to Johnny Adair's Crumlin Road address in Belfast.



This group then left the main NF contingent and went for a drink in a well known football pub in Camden. Unfortunately AFA scouts were rumbled and they moved to a pub in Kings Cross but had left by the time AFA stewards were able to avoid police attention and arrive in the area. The lesson for AFA was the amount of resources the police were prepared to use on the day to prevent the anti-fascists being effective.

Historically the physical struggle against fascism has proved vital, and although the BNP (undoubtedly the main fascist threat at present) have withdrawn from this arena at present, the principle of physical opposition must be maintained and defended.

The attempt to smash effective anti-fascism was seen again in Dover on 28th February. Once again the NF had called



Police camera team in Dover

F.T. EXCLUSIVE!

AFA ROUND-UP

an anti-gypsy march on the seafront and anti-fascists mobilised against them. After AFA's success in stopping the Front when they tried to march there last November, other anti-fascist groups supported the call to mobilise along the route of the NF march rather than away in the town centre.

With the NSM not showing this time the Front's numbers were down to 30. This meant the anti-fascists outnumbered the fascists by 5 to 1, but that pales into insignificance when you consider that the police outnumbered the anti-fascists themselves by at least 3 to 1. Again the police had camera teams busy all day, including at least one from Bloody Sunday.

Suspected anti-fascists were stopped and searched, and when the NF march set off the anti-fascists were penned in. This led to a number of arrests which contrasted with the previous encounter in Dover, which was more confrontational but no-one was arrested. In all 14 anti-fascists were charged, their names and addresses appearing in the local papers before they appeared in court. This goes against normal practice and the information was obviously supplied by the police, in direct contrast to the Gillingham fans arrested after the murder of a Fulham supporter recently - whose addresses were kept secret "to protect them from reprisals."

The scale of the police operation meant any meaningful activity was hopeless, and once again the NF didn't complete their intended route but were put back on their coach and escorted up the motorway.



Recently there has been an upsurge in National Front activity in the South East. Apart from Dover and Bloody Sunday they have been touring around the area doing one off paper sales in old haunts like Brick Lane. In Camden an SWP paper sale was chased off and another left-wing sale was threatened in Kentish Town. On this occasion a black stall holder was attacked and 5 fascists were arrested. The result of the subsequent court case was one Fronter fined £30 for possession of a penknife! Their activity in North London is being closely monitored and, in a recent press release, a spokesperson for London AFA said, *"It is a fact that all incursions into North London by the Far Right in the last decade have ultimately ended in disaster and humiliation. Because it has long been established as a no-go area for fascists they will be aware that to prosper now will require a combination of determination, intelligence, cunning and luck. Luck is a rare commodity, and they will have to be lucky all the time. While we, on the other hand, need only be lucky once."*

The NF have also announced a campaign of activity at football grounds, and they did leaflet Fulham for the last Dover demonstration. Presumably the NF have spotted a gap in the market and are looking to raise their profile by returning to the kind of activities that they used in the 70s and early 80s. The fact that the BNP no longer operate this way, instead treading the electoral path, will be seen as an opportunity to pick up some new recruits.

The other interesting point about the NF activity, particularly Dover and Bloody Sunday, has been the opportunity this has given the police to run major operations against AFA. Presumably the police are happy to work so closely with the NF on these occasions to develop their tactics against AFA. You have to ask serious questions as to why the NF called the second Dover march. No attempt was made by them to use the media to publicise the march, only 30 people attended, the police didn't even let them march the whole of the agreed route, and yet 500 police were mobilised to prevent anti-fascists operating freely on the day.



The involvement of former C18 members on some of these NF activities is interesting. As readers are undoubtedly aware many of the top C18 activists have recently been jailed. Will Browning, Mark Atkinson, Robin Gray, Charlie Sargent and Martin Cross have all been sent down - the last two for murder. The organisation, always greatly exaggerated, is essentially finished.

Browning is apparently trying to keep things going, but Charlie Sargent's brother Steve has set up a rival National Socialist Movement group. They have produced a pamphlet entitled 'Drowning Browning' which is a 12-page attack on 'the Beast' himself. It is full of the usual old nonsense but there are two interesting allegations. One is that Browning privately kept in touch with the BNP's Nick Griffin and the other is that he has been selling information to Searchlight

since 1994. At the moment we can only speculate on the reasons behind both these revelations, but they are undoubtedly significant.

At the trial of Gray and Atkinson (for distributing C18's 'The Stormer' magazine) the judge commented that he had "never encountered such vile outpourings of hatred and incitement to violence as revealed in these magazines." What surprises us is how they got away with it for so long. C18 openly incited violence (including murder), printed bomb-making instructions and published hit lists of opponents. They must have known that they would inevitably get done for it - so why do it? Curious.



Second NF march in Dover - with a massive police operation against anti-fascists



In Scotland the links between fascist activity and increased racist violence have been tragically highlighted by the murder of a 15-year old Asian boy, Imran Khan, by racists in Glasgow. In May

the BNP had been active in the area in support of their candidate in the General Election, Jim White.

Also in Glasgow two BNP activists and members of Rangers ICF, Craig Pringle and Peter McGregor, were jailed for their part in a racist attack on a young black footballer after a local match. Despite denying their politics in court, they are both known to AFA as being actively involved in Far Right politics.

The Scottish papers carried a front page story in February about a senior Lothian Health Board official who was jailed for 4 1/2 years for carrying out a series of attacks on gays and down-and-outs in Edinburgh. Police found nazi literature when they raided his home and it was revealed that he had tried to join the KKK but was turned down because he was gay himself. The papers picked up on the KKK angle, in line with a wider media policy of promoting the KKK now that C18 are in decline.

AFA has long argued that building up groups like C18 and the KKK is wrong because although they make for sensational stories (violence, weapons, hoods, masks, etc.) they are used to call for more State action against the fascists, which is then inevitably used against all "extremists" - and distract attention away from the far less dramatic but much more dangerous activities of the BNP and other 'respectable' Far Right groups. We are not suggesting that they don't exist (they have recently distributed a joint leaflet with the Surrey Border Front in Croydon) or that they shouldn't be opposed - but the threat they pose must not be exaggerated.

Anyway, back to the story. The Daily Record unearthed James Mitchell who claimed to be "one of the top people for the Klan in Scotland". In fact he is a former mental patient who has got on the wrong side of Edinburgh AFA twice for his fascist activities. The interview in the paper is a classic with Mitchell claiming 5,500 KKK members in Scotland who meet 6 times a week and "3,000 turned up for one meeting in West Lothian." Now either AFA in Scotland is in serious trouble or Mitchell's doctor should increase the dosage! The serious point, though, is why on earth the Daily Record insist on printing this nonsense without comment?

Talking of nutters, an incident at the Upstarts gig in London in December proves the point that the fascists are still pumping the old line to new recruits that AFA are just a bunch of middle class students and social workers.

AFA was happy to be of service to steward a gig for our old mate Mensi and the boys and after he had told a lonesome bonehead to remove his Skrewdriver T-shirt or leave the gig, we thought we were in for a quiet night once Mr. Blobby had waddled off into the distance.

But it wasn't to be. Just before the band were due on, one of the stewards reported that he had been accosted on the way back from the toilet by some geezer shouting the odds, claiming he had seen our man on the TV at the Dover NF march taking the piss out of his mate who was wearing a Rangers shirt (C18's Warren Glass). The AFA stewards declined the opportunity to take up this discussion, the band were on and they were needed at the front of the stage.

Just as Mensi was getting into his stride, who comes wading through the crowd but Ian! (His 'mates' furnished us with the relevant information later on). After harping round his drink to his new found friends, he began to harangue our man again. Boredom quickly set in and the group of students and social workers decided it was time to test out whether Ian was either incredibly popular or incredibly dumb. As the bouncers arrived to scrape Ian up and carry him away, it had become obvious to everyone that he was just incredibly dumb; his mates stared at the stage, singing along, never once turning to look. When will they learn, eh? Vicious bastards the middle classes!

Back in the real world the massive Countryside March in London on March 1st saw 3 fascist groups out and about. The NF, ITP and BNP (who produced a



Faces in the Crowd - 3 NF leaders on the Countryside March

special paper for the occasion - see Behind Enemy Lines) were all spotted distributing propaganda and appeared completely unmolested. As society moves to the Right the fascists see opportunities to address new audiences - and given the reactionary nature of the protest it appears their views weren't that out of place.

As anti-fascists are getting marginalised and the fascists look to enter the mainstream, the BNP have publicly praised the actions of Camden's Labour Council for banning AFA's International Conference. The campaign against AFA has continued with the London Welsh Centre refusing an AFA booking. This venue was successfully used by AFA as one of the alternative venues when we were banned from the Irish Centre in October. Presumably the plain clothes police sitting in the car outside during our meeting eventually got their chance to talk to the management!



**Anti
FASCIST
ACTION**

A.F.A. STATEMENT

**Anti
FASCIST
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For the last eighteen months AFA has been trying to resolve a number of problems concerning the Leeds and Huddersfield AFA branches. The main problem has been the insistence of the organisers of the Leeds branch in working with Searchlight, in direct contradiction of agreed AFA policy (see below). A whole web of lies and deceit has surrounded the issue which has resulted in others, opposed to the Searchlight strategy, becoming involved in the intrigue. In addition, the representatives of Leeds and Huddersfield branches have failed to carry out their responsibilities in the Northern Network and have refused to participate in the national AFA structures or abide by agreed decisions.

At a time of increased support for the Far Right, and being based in an area of Yorkshire which the fascists see as a priority, it is intolerable that the effectiveness of AFA is undermined by individuals with a completely different agenda.

Tired of being lied to, listening to excuses and the lack of accountability of the Leeds and Huddersfield delegates, the National Co-ordinating Committee of AFA (made up of delegates of the four regions) has been forced to intervene. The 'old' Leeds and Huddersfield branches have been replaced with a new West Yorkshire AFA branch.

It is important to stress that the problem lies with the 'organisers' and that activists in the area who agree with AFA's stated aims and objectives are invited to get involved with the new branch. Contact the National Office for further details.

Printed below is a statement regarding AFA and Searchlight which was unanimously agreed by national AFA delegates in September 1997.

"It is widely recognised within AFA and among large sections of the Left which is any way familiar with anti-fascist politics that Searchlight has a separate agenda to our own and is friendly or hostile to AFA depending on whether it fits in with their agenda.

It has also been established that Searchlight have in the not too distant past used individuals and organisations to manipulate, exploit or subvert AFA policy and initiatives. Searchlight has also targeted organisations and individuals within AFA, employing many of the tactics used against the Far Right. Its reporting of events, particularly involving AFA, is often so dishonest it amounts to black propaganda.

It provides genuine information only where it sees a benefit to itself. Information concerning the personal safety of individual militant anti-fascists it regards with indifference unless it meets that criteria. Cultivating extensive

contacts with Special Branch and MI5 is part of its remit.

With the election of a Labour government, militant anti-fascism faces a tremendous challenge. All over Europe the Far Right is on the march. Similar ambitions exist over here. Due to the Far Right's adoption of the Euro-Nationalist strategy a steadily increasing intensity between the protagonists as the ante is upped can be anticipated.

Over the next five years anti-fascist resistance will be broken or the existing fascist vanguards may collapse. It will prove a fight to the political death. As a consequence routine surveillance by MI5/SB/C11 will be stepped up and more determined efforts to infiltrate AFA will be attempted.

This means:

Membership or association with the Searchlight team is incompatible with AFA membership. Any information supplied or approaches made by Searchlight should be reported to the National Office and Regional Delegate immediately."

AFA does not normally conduct its internal affairs in public. Due to rumours circulating around the country it was decided to issue this statement. All further enquiries regarding this matter should be addressed to the National Office.

FRIENDS OF AFA

This is a critical time for anti-fascists. If you support the aims and objectives of AFA but are unable to take an active part in the fight against fascism - there is still an important role you can play. 'Friends of AFA' is a scheme designed to encourage supporters to take out a Standing Order with their bank to provide the organisation with the necessary funds to be effective. In return you will be kept informed of AFA activities in your area. Anything over 5 a month also includes a subscription to Fighting Talk.

For further details contact the AFA, BM 1734, London WC1N 3XX or phone 0976-406870.

CABLE STREET BEAT

In the past CSB has put on successful gigs and carnivals all over the country, raising AFA's profile and considerable sums of money. As the fascists look to follow the example of their European counterparts and enter the political mainstream in this country, it is important that AFA matches their ambition step by step. Bands and DJs can play a valuable role in helping to build an effective anti-fascist movement and now is the time to get involved. If you are in a band and would

**CABLE
STREET
BEAT**

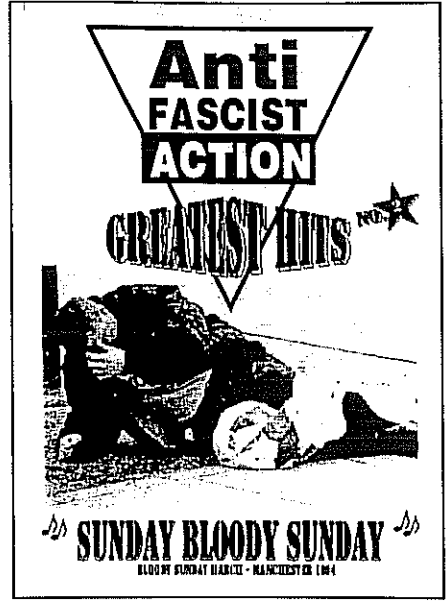
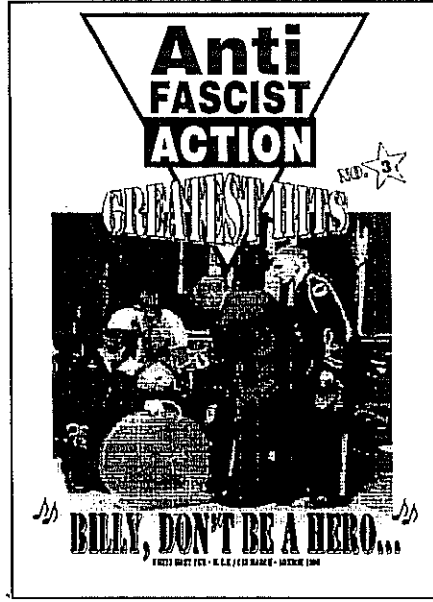
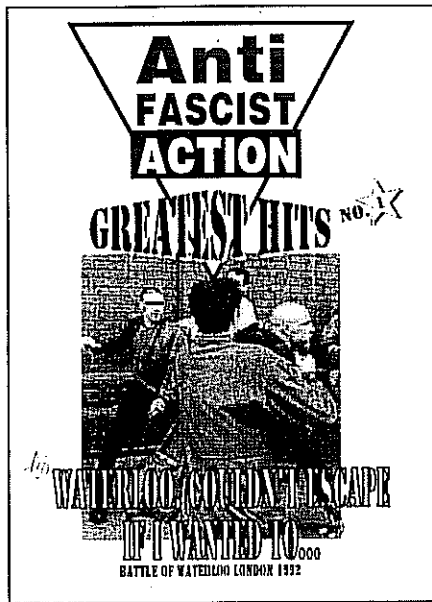
like a CSB information pack then write to CSB, BM 1734, London, WC1N 3XX or phone 0976-406870.

MAY ELECTIONS Appeal for information.

Would readers in areas where Far Right candidates are standing in the May elections please send relevant details in to AFA - especially copies of any election leaflets and local or national press coverage. Follow up information on election results is needed. All information to the National Office.

**Anti
FASCIST
ACTION**

AFA MERCHANDISE



AFA "GREATEST HITS" T-SHIRTS LIGHT GREY XL SIZE PRICE £8 EACH OR £20.00 FOR THE COMPLETE SET AVAILABLE FROM LONDON AFA

Cheques made payable to "Anti-Fascist Action" and sent to LONDON AFA, BM 1734, LONDON, WC1N 3XX

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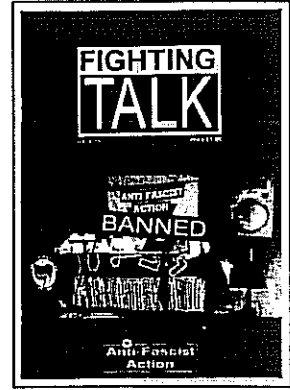
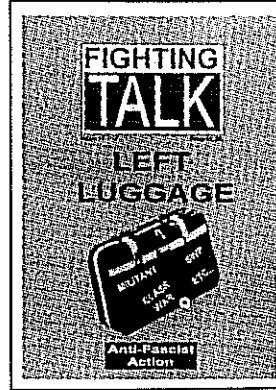
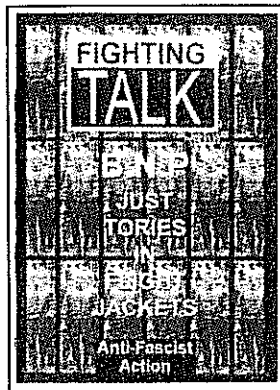
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- ★ BETWEEN THE SHEETS - *media review.*
- ★ BEHIND ENEMY LINES - *a look at recent fascist propaganda.*
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Available from London AFA - £1.50. Bulk Orders £11.25 per each 10 copies. Back issues available at £1.50 each.



SIEGE OF ENNIS

FT Issue 17 reported on the dramatic rise in the expression of racism in Ireland, prompted by anti-refugee hysteria in the media and the statements of some politicians. The racist atmosphere promoted by State agencies now include immigration controls at air and ferry ports and border crossings. Police stop and question people who look 'non-Irish'. Increasing numbers of asylum seekers are being deported without any hearing of their case for refugee status. There is widespread resentment against refugees in working class areas - myths abound about asylum seekers being entitled to higher welfare payments than Irish people. Refugees are dumped in poor housing and cheap guesthouses in the most deprived and neglected working class areas of Dublin - a sure fire recipe for racial conflict.

The ongoing outbreaks of racist graffiti in Dublin and arson attacks on a refugee hostel and a mosque last summer show that extreme racists are motivated enough to become active in racial harassment and intimidation. Recently an attempt was made to set up an anti-immigrant organisation in Ireland - AFA wrecked the ICP launch and militant anti-fascism hit the headlines and dominated the agenda in a dramatic manner.

Against the background of rising anti-immigrant racism January saw the attempted launch of Ireland's first organised racist group in decades. The "Immigration Control Platform", led by Cork school teacher Aine Ni Chonaill, hoped to use the January 13th National Launch meeting at the West County Hotel in Ennis, Co. Clare, as a springboard for setting up a nationwide anti-immigrant movement. Outside of Dublin, Ennis has the highest number of asylum seekers in the State.

AFA was determined to prevent the launch of this racist group - if the ICP was allowed to hold their meeting without serious opposition the group could quickly become a focus for the so far disorganised racists active in Dublin and nationwide. The ICP would also be useful vehicle for more sophisticated fascist organisers to promote their views.

As the ICP meeting was due to begin AFA activists moved to the platform and took control of the microphone. While we stayed put on the stage no meeting could take place and the 15 or so racists who had turned up to hear Ni Chonaill were



Fascist graffiti in Ennis shortly after the disrupted launch of the ICP

not confident enough to attempt to throw us out. These racists were also well outnumbered by the 100 anti-racists and refugees present. The hotel security refused to get involved and, following a media scum, chaos reigned for 2 hours as Ni Chonaill tried to organise an alternative venue. Ni Chonaill and her two other female speakers were subjected to constant barracking until they finally left the room. The media later commented on the fact that an AFA member photographed the people making racist statements. The difference between AFA and liberal anti-racist groups was thrown into sharp contrast

by our actions in Ennis. A large number of liberal anti-racists from groups such as the Irish Refugee Council and Amnesty had turned up planning to stage a 'silent protest' and 'walk-out' at the meeting, but intending to allow it to go ahead.

Following AFA's action in stopping the ICP meeting our tactics were discussed throughout the media as the protest made front page news in four national newspapers and TV and radio bulletins throughout the country. AFA did many interviews for newspapers and for regional and national radio chat shows.

As usual sections of the media condemned AFA and portrayed militant anti-fascists as "the same as fascists". The Cork Examiner even called for us to be banned!! Since it was the hysterical anti-refugee media coverage which helped to create the racism problem in the first place the media are hardly in a position to lecture AFA.

Perhaps more surprisingly the liberal 'peaceful protest' line was also followed by the ANL/SWP (who weren't in Ennis anyway) but who insisted on promoting their opinion through the letters columns of the newspapers, asserting their "right to hold peaceful protests outside racist meetings". The truth is that it was

AFA's direct action tactics which were central to preventing the launch and expansion of the ICP. Ni Chonaill had planned the National Launch for Ennis with a follow up meeting in Dublin. This meeting never happened. She explained on prime time national TV that - "the Dublin meeting has been cancelled due to fear of violence from protesters". AFA is determined that no organised group will emerge from the current racist atmosphere in Ireland. That means stopping the ICP from organising, which can't be achieved by shouting and waving placards outside meetings.

We are under no illusions that our success in Ennis means that we have won the fight against racism in Ireland. Chasing favourable news coverage is the preserve of others. Racism has been allowed to fester in certain areas of Dublin and the appearance of racist leaflets, posters and graffiti show that the opposition is active and trying to become more organised. Less than two months

"In trying to launch her wretched movement on a national scale Ni Chonaill has uncorked a vicious genie. As a kid in Dublin I was caught up in rioting to remember in College Green. It involved Republicans against Blueshirts, the Irish Christian Front and their Animal Gang allies, whose favourite weapons were potatoes with razor blades in them and wide leather belts wrapped around their knuckles with the spike of the buckle sticking out. This was the heritage of the genie. It was clear by then that counter violence was the inevitable consequence of provocation. More than half a century later this is still not clear to Aine Ni Chonaill."

(Leslie Mallory, Sunday Independent, 18/1/98).



after Ni Chonnaill's attempt to organise a racist group in Ennis the town was sprayed with Nazi graffiti, swastikas and slogans such as 'White Power' and 'Niggers Out'. The media failed - or refused - make the link between the two events, instead pointing out that there are 170 asylum seekers living in Ennis. AFA's press statement - covered in only one paper - made the connection and also stated that we would be working in conjunction with members and supporters in the area to identify those responsible and take action against them.

Since Ennis AFA has been contacted by a number of anti-fascists from different parts of Ireland, and abroad, expressing interest in working with AFA to combat racism and fascism. Our heightened public profile has led to increased media coverage and interviews. The ideas and tactics of militant anti-fascism have made the national agenda - both the virulent anti-AFA commentaries in the media and the antics of pacifist liberals and 'left-wing' groups proves that we must be doing something right.

The cutting edge of anti-fascism is ensuring that no fascists can organise to capitalise on racism in Ireland. AFA is the only group with the potential to seriously

meet this challenge as we are the only anti-racist group in Ireland with a policy of No Platform for Fascists. The ante has been upped in Ireland and AFA are determined that the mistaken tactics and failed strategies that have allowed fascism to flourish in Europe are not repeated here.



In the aftermath of AFA's success in stopping the ICP in Ennis a public meeting was held in Dublin to put our analysis of the fight against racism to a wider audience. Speaking alongside AFA were Mick O'Riordan, a veteran of the Connolly Column in the Spanish Civil War and anti-Blueshirt fighter, and John White, a well known community activist in Dublin's Inner City. The meeting was chaired by Des Bonass, Chairperson of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions. 100 people attended the meeting and heard AFA call for a new ground level approach to combating racism, based on local working class communities and for zero tolerance for organised racists and fascists. John White spoke on the

widespread expression of racist views in working class areas of Dublin and stressed that opposition to racism must be developed and rooted in local communities. The way to address and overcome racism is through co-operation and practical work within these areas by working class activists.

Mick O'Riordan, who fought with the Connolly Column of the International

them off the streets, to such an extent that they were non-existent as a threat". He explained the vital link between the tactics of militant anti-fascism in the Ireland of the 1930s and now. In the 1930s the Blueshirts were literally beaten off the streets by anti-fascists - the same task will face anti-fascists in the 1990s if fascists attempt to organise to exploit racism.

Brian O'Reilly, for AFA, stressed the need for a vigilant and militant anti-fascist response to the rise in racism in Ireland. He dismissed the notion that Ireland is somehow immune to fascism, - the rise in anti-refugee racism throughout Europe has come to Ireland and the attempt to set up a racist group here reflects European trends. Opinion polls and racist comments reveal that there is a fertile and dangerous base where fascist ideas could take root. While Aine Ni Chonnaill may be a marginal and eccentric figure the fact remains that the poverty and deprivation inflicted on working class areas, allied with resentment against the housing of high numbers of refugees in these areas, could be cultivated by an extreme racist or fascist group.



Anti-fascists and Republicans disrupt the launch of the ICP in Ennis.

Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, gave a historical overview of the growth of fascism in Ireland during the Blueshirt period of the 1930s and the physical opposition to them from anti-fascists. "The Blueshirts were a powerful movement, but the remarkable thing is that they were defeated on the streets. Communists, Republicans, Socialists and democrats got together and beat

The absence of organised fascists in Ireland cannot be taken for granted in the future - the appearance of racist graffiti and posters in some areas of Dublin reveals individuals motivated enough to become active racists. He stressed that AFA's policy of ideological and physical opposition to fascism would be central ensuring that fascism does not develop as a political force in Ireland.

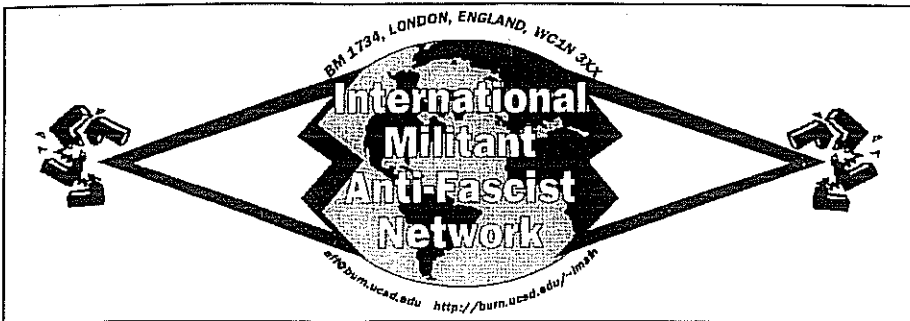
"BAN SIEGE OF ENNIS FANATICS WHO WERE THE REAL FASCISTS. Arrogance, intimidation, intolerance, denial of free speech, violence - I wonder where the AFA have their concentration camps. Their manifesto for the creation of the Third Reich in this country should be enough to get them proscribed."

Pat Brosnan, columnist, The Cork Examiner, 16/1/98).

"We have never forcibly stopped her (Aine Ni Chonnaill) speaking."
Crea Ryder, Anti Nazi League, Irish Times, 6/3/98).

"Aine Ni Chonnaill does not have a right to hold public meetings to stir up racism and other groups do not have the right to provide her with a platform to do so."

Jo Anne Tobin, AFA, Irish Times, 20/2/98).



INTERNATIONAL MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST NETWORK MANIFESTO and FOUNDING STATEMENT

The spectre of Fascism is haunting Europe. Having cast off the burden of the holocaust the Far Right has re-invented itself. Fascism is once again on the move. As we approach the millenium, we are witnessing a fascist renaissance.

F.N. IN THE DRIVING SEAT

The Far Right's ascendancy across Europe is graphically illustrated by Le Pen's success in the recent French regional elections. For a number of years, the Front National (FN) vote has hovered around the 13% figure nationally but now it has crept up to an average of 15%, with support as high as 25-30% in some areas. Moreover, in what has been described as "a political earthquake" politicians from the mainstream Right have done regional deals with the FN to prevent the Socialists and Communists taking power in at least 11 regions. In what is almost a text book scenario, these politicians from the UDF and RPR have co-opted Fascism in order to maintain their status quo. They have given the FN the balance of power. That means the FN now has a say in the allocation of regional (not just local funds), including massive EC grants and subsidies. Even if they cannot impose their full agenda, there will be a significant rightward shift in the affected regions.

Although this development reflects the resurgence of the Left following the national elections, it is also a consequence of the failed tactics of the Left in dealing with the FN. By trying to ignore them, or by going for cross-class liberal appeals to vote for anyone but Fascists they have allowed them the space to grow. Many people vote FN not because they are fascists but because they are sick of corrupt national and local politicians. Consequently the FN can legitimately claim, at the moment, to be the party with the largest working class support in France.

It should be noted that with Le Pen's imminent exclusion from politics (due to an assault charge), a new leader is waiting in the wings, Bruno Megret, who is an ex-Gaullist and consummate middle-class politician and fascist. Once again we see the classic trajectory of fascism in action: as the middle classes use the movement to realise their goals in the class struggle. It remains to be seen how long working class support for the FN will remain so solid, once the reality of their policies begins to bite. But by then it may well be too late...

INTERNATIONAL NETWORK

LAUNCH STATEMENT

The current success of the FN in France provides a model for the right across the whole of Europe. Our enemies learn from each other's successes and failures. A strategy that has worked in one country will be transported to another. Consequently, our strategies and tactics have to develop to meet this new threat. Fascism is not just a local or national problem but an international one as well. Part of our response to it must therefore be an international response.

For the first time there is now an International Network of militant anti-fascists. The network will ensure active co-operation and communication, to enable us to develop effective strategies for combating the rise of fascism.

The network currently comprises groups from 6 countries. We recognise the importance of national organisation as being essential to effective international organisation, and will work to develop militant anti-fascist networks in member countries. Our manifesto document will be circulated as widely as possible, and we call on all militant anti-fascist groups who share our understanding, aims and objectives, to affiliate to the network.

The International Network Manifesto is also available in German, French, Spanish and Italian, and is on our web site at <http://burn.ucsd.edu/~imafn>. This web site will serve as a point of contact for groups wishing to find out more about the network - there will be links to member groups' web pages and background information - and also a forum for discussion articles. There will be regular news reports and information resources.

To find out more about the network, or to discuss affiliating then e-mail us at

aff@burn.ucsd.edu

or write to

BM1734 London
WC1N 3XX
ENGLAND



1. REARGUARD

Fascism is the vanguard of reaction, therefore Anti-fascism is by definition a rearguard response. The re-emergence of the Far Right represents a political as well as physical threat to all progressive and working class people and organisations and other oppressed groups that are used as scapegoats by fascism. This is self evident, yet today, in many countries, the political threat is either talked down or ignored, while the physical threat is dealt with theoretically rather than practically.

2. LEGALITY

Many comfortably hide from reality by proclaiming that if the Far Right of the 1990's do not resemble Hollywood Nazis in appearance or speech, they must then be regarded as harmless democrats. Consequently, only anti-racist campaigns carried out strictly within the confines of legality can be justified by way of protest. Others pretend that only skinheads are fascists, so if there are no skinheads there are no fascists and so on.

3. LOSING HABITS

The fact is the middle class Left do not want to fight and they lost the habit years ago. The struggle frightens them, so they invent excuses. Since 1945 the Left has failed the working class throughout Europe. Dogma and fake formulas caused that failure: loyalty to bankrupt doctrines in the fight against fascism simply compound the mistakes. Fascism is not the cause of the Left's collapse but the punishment for it.

4. SEPARATE

The function of militant anti-fascism is to first separate out those who want to fight from those who do not. Once that distinction has been achieved unity amongst the militants is essential.

5. COMMON ENEMY

Anti-fascism is not the appropriate political arena for ideological debate: for unravelling historic rivalries between Stalinism and Trotskyism; Marxism and Anarchism, or the choosing of sides in national or international conflicts. We have a common enemy, and if the enemy is to be defeated then what unites rather than divides us must have primacy.

6. SUCCESSFUL CHALLENGE

On the other hand the ambition of militant anti-fascism is not just to see the threat posed by the Far Right to the existing political order removed, so that the social conditions that gave rise to the threat can once again be safely

ignored. On the contrary, it is not for militant anti-fascism to argue that radical change is not needed; instead our primary role is to ensure that if a successful challenge to the establishment is mounted, it comes only from the Left.

7. IMPETUS OR EXCUSE

The philosophy that governs every modern bourgeois state is the ability to respond to economic cycles of boom and slump by adopting the political form compatible with the economic reality. This is the capitalist system's traditional safeguard. Reactionary arguments which manifest themselves in the propaganda and activities of Far Right parties serve as the impetus (or excuse) that steers the capitalist State toward a suitably reactionary haven. A fascist movement does not have to be large to achieve this effect.

8. SUBVERSIVE

Militant anti-fascism is automatically deemed subversive, if and when it threatens to deny to the ruling powers the opportunity to exercise this option. Consequently these organisations are subject to all types of surveillance and dirty tricks; telephone taps and interference with mail; exposures in the media; alleged terrorist links; punitive sentences, agent provocateurs etc.

9. CREATING SPACE

The objective of the State is to make effective anti-fascism untenable. The strategy is to make confrontational tactics ineffective on the one hand while criminalising the militants on the other. The expectation is that if militant tactics are abandoned the space will exist for a Far Right agenda to flourish. Capitalist parties only regard government by decree to be inappropriate so long as it is able to maintain its position intact with the help of democracy. History shows that their commitment to even their own parliamentary democracy is not reliable.

10. COMMUNIST MENACE

For the first time since the 1930's the Far Right has surfaced nationally, and simultaneously, in many countries across the continent. Since the mid '80's the Far Right has set the agenda in France, changed the German constitution, been a partner in government in Italy and secured 27% of the vote in national elections in Austria. While the parallels with the pre-war scenario are clear there is one vital difference. Communism, long recognised as fascism's natural enemy, which pre-war had the support of millions of working class people, no longer exists. The demise of the 'communist menace' has meant that there is now often no need for the visibly menacing counter threat. The battle for control of the streets need not be fought if control of the streets is not being contested. If there is no physical danger fascism does not need a private army. If the end can be achieved

without the traditional means, there is no need for the rough stuff.

11. RADICAL/ RESPECTABLE

And with a violent putsch being out of the question the



fascists can appear both radical and respectable at the same time. They recognise that the radical/respectable combination is particularly vital in the political seduction of the middle classes. In addition, with 30 million unemployed in Europe and parliamentary democracy advertising an indifferent impotence, sections of the working class, not least the unemployed themselves, have already been, and will continue to be, susceptible to the Far Right's pseudo radicalism.

12. CROSS-CLASS UNITY

The corner stone of the strategy favoured by the liberal anti-racists, the conservative Left and sections of the media is to demand legislative or direct action from the State to curb the propaganda or activities of right wing extremists. The logic of this strategy requires cross class unity.



13. THE PROPER CREDENTIALS

This approach results in the Far Right's radical credentials being established in the minds of the very elements seeking social or political change not by a Goebbels-like figure but by the efforts and propaganda of the opposition.

Anti-fascism instead of being identified with a radical pro-working class position is publicly identified with the status quo. The result is that the sections of society seeking change are literally forced into the arms of the Far Right while the tactics demanded by the liberals of the State are thereafter employed with relish against all opponents of the status quo.

14. LESSER EVIL

In an effort to justify this collaboration with parliamentary parties that for reasons of electoral expediency show deference to the prejudices of the Far Right, the conservative Left will quote the principle of 'the lesser evil'; which translated means a Far Right agenda

being implemented without the necessity of the Far Right taking power. As fascism tends to be fuelled rather than exhausted by concessions, this cowardice allows fascism to creep up insidiously.



15. OPPONENTS ORGANISED

The first step toward clawing back the situation is to recognise that across Europe and beyond, all the opponents of militant anti-fascism are organised. The Far Right, State security and the pacifists of the middle class Left, network separately, and occasionally together, to sideline, criminalise, and ultimately crush the militant resistance. Though on the surface each is in pursuit of different objectives, it is undeniably the momentum of the Far Right that is setting the political agenda to which the others are forced to respond.

16. ISOLATION

Up to now the only people not organised on European and international lines are the sections regularly condemned as extreme by all quarters. It is the political activists most likely to face isolation in their own countries, the organisations with most to gain from international solidarity and cross-border collaboration, that lack at present even the rudiments of a network. The militants must also be organised.

17. MEANS TO AN END

In doing so we must recognise that militant anti-fascism is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In many countries the Far Right are winning the battle for the hearts and minds of the working class hands down. We can stop them but only by attempting to put the whole process into reverse.

18. A NEW LEFT

In the past anti-fascist fighters came from the large revolutionary and progressive organisations. They were communists, anarchists and socialists first. Their involvement with anti-fascism being a result of the Left in general surrendering the political initiative. Today the old Left is in meltdown and we must learn from their mistakes and draw up new strategies. While historically, the anti-fascist movement was created by a coalition of the Left, today it is evident that a new Left can only spring from within the forces of militant anti-fascism.

19. AMBITION

The ultimate guarantee against the Far Right further penetrating the mainstream is not a strong anti-fascist movement but a strong politically independent working class movement. The Far Right have re-invented themselves and we must do the same. To do so we must first match their ambition.

20. VICTORY

Ultimately the challenge for militant anti-fascism is not merely to destroy the fascists' influence in all areas of working class life. The real challenge, if our efforts are to culminate in victory, is to set out how to replace them there. For this to happen, it will be inadequate to simply refute nationalism's revolutionary challenge to the corruption and decadence of the political elite.

For militant anti-fascism to take root in working class communities it must retain the ability to out-violence the fascists, but in the battle for hearts and minds it must also cultivate the ambition to out-radicalise them.

BEHIND ENEMY LINES



With our old columnist Bill Gothrocks forced into early retirement, Fighting Talk would like to welcome our latest recruit Vern Ethered who takes his first look at the writings of the Far Right.

The B.N.P. continues to expand its strategy of entering the political mainstream, targeting specific sections of the population with relevant propaganda. A new leaflet on benefit cuts for single parents, pensioners and the disabled is now available!! However, it is *only* to be used on impoverished council estates. On the other hand propaganda concerning rural issues is addressed to Middle England. In both areas the B.N.P. hopes to pick up support on the back of disillusionment with Labour.

The Benefits leaflet, which has already been used door to door on the Isle of Dogs and in Bristol, is hard to distinguish from a left-wing leaflet on the same subject, at least to the casual reader. But this shows how serious the B.N.P. are in attempting to address real issues affecting the working class. It does not matter that the B.N.P. can do little to

actually help people getting shafted by New Labour's restructuring of the Welfare State, or that the qualifications they add (e.g. "genuinely" disabled and "abandoned" single mums) demonstrate that their real agenda is no different to that of the Tories and New Labour.

By making sympathetic noises and by addressing the issue and other areas of *local* concern where more can be achieved, they are copying proven tactics for building a political organisation, that is effective, local and credible and which can serve as a springboard to electoral success. As they acknowledge this is exactly the tactic used by the Liberal Democrats to achieve their gains in local government.

As part of this new grass-roots community activism the B.N.P. can also tackle populist issues like anti-social crime, paedophiles etc. They are fully aware of

the potential to exploit such issues in a particular political direction, whether against the "politically correct" establishment or to justify a racist agenda. By taking on issues which the Left won't address or by doing so in areas where the Left no longer has a real presence, they can pander to popular conservative prejudices and, at the same time, appear as a radical "can do" organisation. Of course the underlying aim is to rehabilitate themselves as populist Euro-Nationalists rather than the Hitler loving sad cases they actually are. They can win elections, especially when some form of proportional representation is introduced.



The B.N.P. doesn't mind which class rallies to its banner

As they are also fully aware the same tactics are not restricted to urban estates. For the recent "Countryside March" the B.N.P. produced a special newspaper, "British Countryman" and rural issues have featured prominently in other publications, together with a new leaflet, "Theme-Park Britain: How "politically correct" townies are killing our country". The "revolt of Middle England" is seen as fertile ground, since it combines opposition to Labour policies and European Integration with dewy eyed nostalgia for the Britain of warm beer, cricket and old ladies cycling home after church.

The B.N.P. web site reports that the paper was well received, as has been their leaflet on buying British Beef. Whilst the majority of people on the Countryside March would traditionally vote Tory, many of the issues raised affect the rural working class. As with many urban estates, the

absence of an alternative radical agenda from the Left means the B.N.P. have something of an open field.

The B.N.P. doesn't mind which class rallies to its banner, but they clearly love the idea of being able to attract disgruntled middle class Tory xenophobes. After all this will provide them with the people of "quality" they want to make their movement respectable and who can continue their "natural" role of managing and leading the working class in the nationalist cause. A case of goodbye "Eastenders", hello "To the Manor Born". The rural agenda promoted by the B.N.P. is very much a cobbled together affair, which doesn't bear even the lightest scrutiny, despite Nick Griffin's attempts to lend it credibility in his other persona as a Welsh small-holder.

The driving force behind the Countryside March was the fox hunting lobby. Understandably some B.N.P. members are perplexed as to whether the party now has a pro-hunt policy. No, they are reassured - it's just a matter of individual freedom. The real issues about fox control and the hunt are not even addressed. In

fact all *British Countryman* does is use fox-hunting as a convenient peg for racism - stop the "real cruelty" of ethnic ritual slaughter. If the B.N.P. is so concerned about cruelty to animals what is their position on factory farming? Is ritual slaughter a deeply contentious issue in rural areas? We think not, but fox-hunting definitely is, as the many farmers and small landowners who have tried to stop hunts riding roughshod over their property will testify. Is the B.N.P. going to defend their freedom?

Similar contradictions underlie the demand to stop concreting the countryside and preserve its traditional and quintessentially English character. This is utter drivel since the green and pleasant land, unchanged in appearance and tradition for generations, is a Victorian myth. The "traditional" countryside was destroyed by the Enclosure Acts and the introduction of industrial agriculture, starting over 200 years ago. The rural working class was evicted, to emigrate either to the cities or abroad. Over one million Scottish smallholders and crofters were driven off the Highlands by force of English arms, so that large scale sheep farming could be introduced, wool being more profitable than human beings.

The culmination of this process has been the reverse emigration of the privileged from town to countryside. For years now they have been buying up the countryside and forcing out locals by pushing up

house prices, the general cost of living and contributing to the closure of village schools and cottage hospitals because they subscribe to private health and private education.

So the B.N.P. is a little late in wanting to defend country folk from urban migration. The rural landscape they champion is infested by the rich and the sentimental bleating about countryside traditions comes largely from the mouths of people who've never done any agricultural work in their lives, other than watering the dahlias. Not that the B.N.P. are that bothered. Whatever they say about defending the indigenous rural population, they're far more interested in recruiting Little Englanders. As with fox-hunting, another upper class innovation in the countryside, the B.N.P. doesn't have a position on the rural class divide anymore than on the urban one. The semi-feudal image of the labourer and the lord of the manor as part of some mutual organic structure exactly matches their ideology of a corporate nationalist society, even though that image is one promoted by the ruling class to justify themselves sitting at the top of the heap.

As with the development issue, the economic arguments in *British Countryman* and the scribblings of Farmer Griffin leak like a sieve. Fishing communities and small scale farmers do face serious problems, but its like the chicken and egg question. European subsidies and quotas exist because of the imbalances introduced by corporate intensive farming and by cheap imports from even more exploited rural communities elsewhere in the world. Farmers have been protected from exposure to the ruthless nature of Capitalism, unlike the "urban" industries of coal, steel etc. Without wishing to be over harsh, perhaps if the farmers had woken from their rural idyll, counting out the European gold, and supported those other "traditional" industries when they were being decimated, they would not now find themselves so isolated. Whilst its good to see small farmers emulating their European counterparts by taking direct action, the B.N.P.'s support for them rings very hollow. After all they are forever condemning French farmers for doing exactly the same thing.

then produces a downturn in industry. The classic historical solution to trade wars is real wars. The B.N.P. might want to give the French, Irish or Argentinians a slapping, but these are hardly the dominant players in the global agricultural economy. Restrict U.S. imports or the activity of US multinationals and you can kiss the "special relationship" good-bye overnight. And unless Tyndall and Co. fancy having the Marine Corps landing on our beaches to "stabilise democracy" (i.e. McDonalds profit margins), they'll do



Country Gent? - ITP member at Hyde Park

what they're told and our farmers will continue to be pared to the bone. The conclusion from all this is clear, the BNP are talking rubbish when it comes to the countryside. But if there are no other voices out there to oppose them then they can carry on calling a spade a fork and vice versa until the cows come home. The same truth applies in urban areas as much as in rural ones.

For all its premature triumphalist preening, the B.N.P. faces some major obstacles in both town and country. As has been pointed out before they are seeking to move in on the landscape previously regarded as the natural home of the militant left-wing of the working class. And even in today's changed political arena they are going to have to do a lot and quickly, starting from a handful of areas of real support, with little experience of community organising and many bitter

Spent Force" (*Patriot #2*) in which Tony Lecomber seeks to bolster party morale and the current B.N.P. agenda by quoting from A.F.A. analysis of the current situation, not to mention incorporating chunks of the "Left Luggage" article from F.T. #17 without quoting the source. Well, they say imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

Just to set the record straight. The fact that the political landscape has changed and that the B.N.P. has adapted to it whilst the traditional Left has not, should give them only temporary cause for celebration. After all the main reason they now pursue the electoral road is because A.F.A. repeatedly crushed their previous attempt to establish dominance on the street. So now they have changed direction and they have chosen a good time and a good strategy, albeit largely borrowed from their opponents. But they should remember a few sobering points.

First, the "Left" may be in collapse but A.F.A. and other militant elements are a different kettle of fish - not just physically but also ideologically (a point the B.N.P. etc. never seem to have quite grasped), and we definitely aren't going away.

Second, we understand that we loom large in the B.N.P.'s thinking and its very gratifying but A.F.A. is not a political organisation or party - more like a specialised (and very efficient) department. It may seem like it at times, but we don't just appear out of thin air - we have our bases of support in the community too. A.F.A. is not tasked and does not have to win the political war by itself, as the B.N.P. seem to think. More important are those solid working class elements disaffected from the political parties and sects but still understanding politics as class struggle, who will not only fight the B.N.P. street by street if they come into our communities but are also the elements from which the political challenge to the Right as a whole will assert itself.

Third, developing this, the paralysis and collapse of the traditional Left presents us with an even greater opportunity than it does the Fascists, because the traditional Left has been one of the biggest obstacles to advancing genuine class politics and class struggle in this country. So while

Lecomber may derive satisfaction (and mislead his readers) by partially quoting A.F.A., "*We cannot actually prevent them (the B.N.P.) attempting to enter the mainstream...*" he is well aware of what followed, namely that we will "*enter the mainstream ourselves*". If the new battleground is in the arena of grass roots politics, then that's where you'll find us.

The semi-feudal image of the labourer and the lord of the manor as part of some mutual organic structure exactly matches their ideology of a corporate nationalist society.....

But the last point exposes the reality and absurdity of the "Euro-Nationalist" position. Major problems immediately face anyone withdrawing from the global free market (regardless of whether their ideology is nationalist or communist). Trade protection measures always result in reprisals, which affects exports, which

opponents ranged against them. And they know this - which is why their real tactic is not community activism in itself, but using this as a stepping stone to electoral power, the only way a minority can impose itself other than by economic or physical force. Which is why it is amusing to see articles like *Red Force*,

THE GANDALF TRIAL

Recently three editors of the Green Anarchist magazine, Noel Molland, 24, Steve Booth, 38 and Saxon Burchnall-Wood, 24, were all jailed for three years at Portsmouth Crown Court. In a 12-week long case costing around £2 million the defendants were convicted of conspiring to incite 'persons unknown' to commit criminal damage by disseminating animal rights and environmental literature over a five-year period (a charge which can carry a sentence of anything up to 10 years). A fourth defendant Simon Russell, editor of the Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group newsletter, was acquitted.

The trial, the first of its kind in 10 years, was dubbed the GANDALF trial (from GA and ALF) and was the culmination of the five year "Operation Washington" which ran from 1991 and saw 55 raids across Britain during 1995 and 1996.

The Judge David Selwood (ex-Major General, British Army), who described the defendants as 'terrorists', said GA was "the most contemptuous document I have ever seen in my entire career" and said he intended to frame it up for his toilet. A GA spokesman said that "It would have been cheaper for the police who pursued us to buy up every available copy of the magazine at £1,000 each than to bring this costly court action."

The basis on which the GANDALF 3 were convicted was of reporting news of direct action by other animal rights activists and publishing an extensive listings section which advertises other radical publications and DIY guides to making small incendiary devices.

However, at no stage was any evidence presented to suggest that the defendants had themselves planned, let alone carried out, any such actions. In the words of Robin Webb, originally charged with the others, "So, what I'm charged with in plain English is that, 'somewhere in the world over a five-year period (they're not sure when) I conspired with people (most of whom I don't know) to incite other people (they don't know who) to commit criminal damage (they don't know what) and that the conspiracy continued into the day after we were charged'."

Sections of the press have suggested that one of the central aims of the operation and subsequent court case by Hampshire police was to 'nail' Robin Webb, 52, who is the press officer for the Animal Liberation Front. Webb was

originally charged with the others, but the case was thrown out last December by a stipendiary magistrate because the police were submitting evidence which had already been aired in court and had resulted in his acquittal. The police had charged Webb and Russell on the basis that they had supplied GA with information for their magazine.

It is believed that the decision by the ALF to have material scrutinised by a solicitor before publication ensured Russell's acquittal, however, in an unusual move the CPS have sought a judicial review of the magistrate's decision at the High Court. They're obviously determined to 'get their man'.

Interestingly the trial also featured the use of Public Interest Immunity Orders which are normally used to conceal the identity of an informant and/or agent provocateur, suggesting that GA had been infiltrated by state operatives.

Even a casual reader of FT would have realised that we are hardly the biggest fans of GA due to their forays into the field of anti-fascism and in particular into the internal affairs of AFA. This forced AFA into issuing a strongly worded statement in issue 14 of Fighting Talk which condemned their antics.

However it would be an act of unspeakable sectarian stupidity for anyone to snigger at the fate of the GANDALF 3 and not recognise the important precedent this case sets for us all. AFA has no intention of doing either. This trial, along with events such as our own banning from Camden Irish Centre, clearly points to another stage in the State's campaign of criminalising militant activity. Along with their forays into the world of 'organised crime' it probably also points to the boys over at MI5 desperately trying to save themselves from the Job Club in the event of a peace settlement being arrived at in Ireland.

This case clearly demonstrates why AFA does not advocate a state security led response to racism and fascism as advocated by agencies such as Searchlight. Unlike the GANDALF 3, when literature produced by fascists has been the subject of court action, defendants are charged with offences under the Public Order Act, which carries much lighter sentences, usually fines.

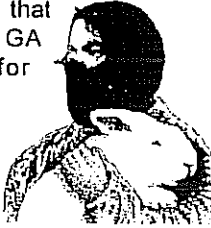
History teaches us that any law introduced to deal with a 'Far Right thug' will be used at least three times as often against 'working class militants'. The Public Order Act itself was brought into being in 1936 supposedly to deal with BUF inspired disturbances, when in reality it was used far more against anti-fascists. It is worth quoting at length from Richard Thurlow's book "Racial Violence in Britain in the 18th & 20th Centuries" to illustrate this point:

"In the immediate period before the Second World War the authorities were more concerned with the activities of anti-fascists than they were with fascists. Although Special Branch had expanded by about one-third in the 1930's, mainly to monitor the activities of fascists, communism was still the main public order and internal security problem as far as the State was concerned. What was particularly interesting about the extensive monthly reports on Special Branch surveillance of anti-Semitism in the East End between 1936 and 1944 was the discrepancy between the rather longer reports on the protests of anti-fascists than on the extensive criticisms and verbal abuse fascists aimed at Jews at their meetings. Many more anti-BUF demonstrations were closed down than anti-Jewish diatribes.

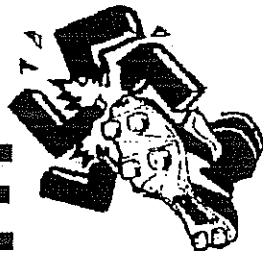
Similarly, despite pressure from both the Home Secretary and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, the authorities were more inclined to arrest disturbers of the peace who objected to the nasty insults aimed at the Jewish community by fascists than they were with those who inflamed opinion. The police closed down the anti-fascist meetings held adjacent to fascist meetings rather than address the cause of the protest in the first place."

Jack Straw is keen to introduce a new 'anti-terrorism' bill this year that will make it a criminal offence to conspire to commit 'terrorist' acts abroad and to raise money for political movements which use violence. While the bill is being sold as a popular measure against 'Arab extremists' like Hamas, Straw admits that had it been law during the Apartheid era the ANC would have fallen foul of it.

Anti-racists and anti-fascists must resist the warm glow that the call for more repressive legislation to deal with the Far Right often gives: they may well end up getting their fingers burnt.



LEVELLING THE SCORE

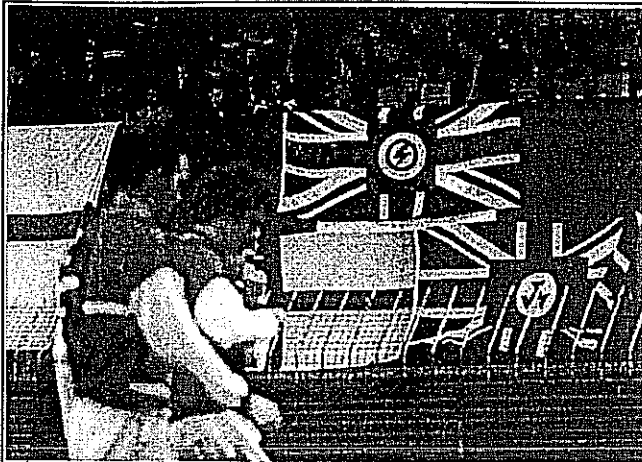


HOOLIGAN HYSTERIA

As the World Cup gets nearer the predictable scare stories start to appear in the papers. The Daily Mirror carried a 2-page spread entitled "20 thugs who are out to wreck the World Cup" and featured mug shots of the likely suspects. Most of these pictures have previously appeared in Searchlight, and many of them will be familiar to AFA members as active fascists. Virtually all of them are fingered as such by The Mirror. So what is the point being made? It is clearly that violence equals fascism. This raises two problems; firstly, if anti-fascists use force to stop fascists they are also somehow 'fascist' and should be treated accordingly, and secondly, where does this leave fascists like the BNP who are pursuing a 'peaceful' electoral road like Le Pen in France?

In fact most hooligans are not fascists. In Scotland the Evening News has run a number of 'exclusive' stories about the new Scottish National Firm (consisting of Rangers, Hearts and some Hibs) - with a right-wing influence and how Celtic supporters and AFA are looking to confront them because of this. The article isn't very good, but it does at least show that there are choices to be made. People involved with football hooliganism don't have to be fascists.

It is important to separate the two issues. There is football hooliganism, which can involve fascists and anti-fascists, and there is the problem of fascists organising at football politically. The political problems that need to be confronted are when several thousand Leeds fans chant racist abuse throughout the game at Leicester in February, when a football firm adopts fascist ideas and attacks political targets like at Villa, or when groups like the BNP or NF turn up outside grounds trying to sell papers and recruit. The problem of football hooliganism as such has got nothing to do with fascism and should not be presented like this. It confuses the issue.



Fascist flags on the terraces of Windsor Park, Belfast, Jan'98

quoted as saying, "My sister died of cancer on 5th October, but Andy wasn't particularly close to her. He didn't tell me he was paying any kind of tribute."

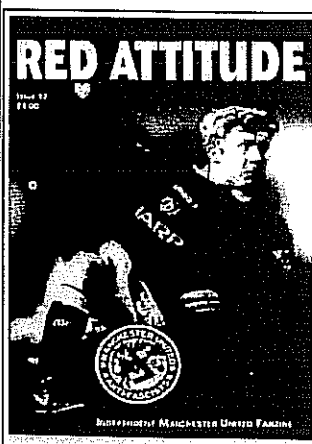
The incident even prompted an editorial comment in The Scotsman (12/1/98), "Is there anyone in charge at Ibrox? We ask this in the wake of further allegations of shameful sectarian behaviour at the home

of the Scottish champions. Hard on the heels of Paul Gascoigne's flute-playing incident come claims that another player, Andy Goram, wore a black armband during the recent match against Celtic as a mark of respect over the death of Ulster Loyalist terrorist Billy Wright. Mr. Goram denies the charge, saying that he was mourning the death of his auntie - a claim which his own mother doubts. If it was in honour of Mr. Wright, then Mr. Goram should be ashamed of himself. Wright was reputedly involved in the murder of 20 Catholics. This fact may endear him to some of the sick minds which infest Scottish football and, privately, Mr. Goram may well have idolised the man; however, what should not have been allowed to happen is that he be honoured in such a public way at such a highly charged occasion."

MOURNING GLORY?

In the past FT has reported on the influence Loyalist and fascist groups have among certain sections of Rangers supporters, but these links are not just confined to the fans. Andy Goram, the Rangers and Scotland goalkeeper, is believed to have nailed his political colours to the mast when he wore a black armband at the Celtic v. Rangers game at the New Year. This was five days after the Loyalist killer Billy Wright ('King Rat') was shot dead in the Maze prison. Wright was believed to be responsible for over twenty murders and was a key figure in the Loyalist Volunteer Force.

Goram claims he was wearing the armband for his aunt, who died three months earlier (!), but even his own mother didn't believe this and she was



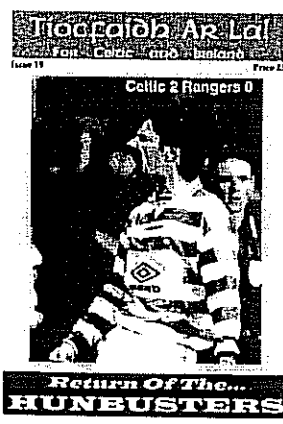
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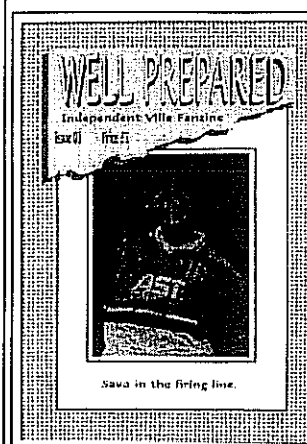
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SECTARIAN ATTACKS -

This Far and No Further

Following the recent attempted murder of a young Celtic supporter by Loyalists, a Campaign Against Sectarian Attacks has been launched by Celtic Fans Against Fascism. The following statement issued by the Campaign explains the background.

"The recent attempted murder of 18 year old Celtic fan, Sean O'Connor, once again highlights the dangers posed by Loyalist bigots to our supporters who pass through or live in the Bridgeton area. Two years ago Mark Scott, a 16 year old Celtic supporter, was murdered by Jason Campbell in almost the exact spot where Sean O'Connor was attacked. Loyalist and Orange bigots appear to be making Bridgeton a 'no-go' area for Celtic fans. The day after our recent Coca Cola Cup Final victory, The Scotsman reported that a Catholic family from Bridgeton had their windows smashed and graffiti daubed on the walls saying "Catholics Out". There appears to be a Loyalist pogrom against Catholics underway in Bridgeton and the police seem to be indifferent to it.

Since the UVF supporter Jason Campbell was convicted there have been 38 sectarian attacks in the Bridgeton/Dalmamock area. These are Strathclyde police's own figures - yet they are doing nothing about it. As we have recently witnessed ourselves there has been no visible increase in police numbers in the Bridgeton Cross area on match days. Neither has there been any urgent attention given to investigating the 38 sectarian attacks in the area. As the Loyalists engage in a spot of ethnic cleansing, the police stick their heads in the sand.

Celtic FC have been conspicuous by their silence on this issue. Despite picking up an award for the 'Boys Against Bigotry' campaign the club have failed to highlight the dangers to supporters using the Bridgeton and Dalmamock rail stations, and to those who have to pass through Bridgeton Cross on their route home from the game. 'Boys Against Bigotry' has

instead continued to focus on our own supporters who sing rebel songs and carry tricolours. A classic case of blaming the VICTIM for the attacks of Loyalist bigots.

If the police and the club remain indifferent to these attacks then we, the fans, have to organise ourselves against them."

"vigilantes" and "thugs". There is now an attempt by the police and press to turn the victims into the aggressors. The facts are that we have never at any time advocated tit-for-tat attacks upon Rangers fans, Loyalists or Protestants. That would be counter-productive to our campaign. Indeed the last leaflet did not contain a single reference to Rangers or their fans.

We clearly identified the perpetrators as supporters of the Loyalist UVF, and our views have been borne out by the UVF's attempts to have the murderer Jason Campbell recognised as a political prisoner and transferred to the Maze prison. These facts have, however, not stood in the way of the Daily Record reporter Anna Smith 'exclusively' reporting the very opposite. In addition her irresponsible article has put the lives and livelihoods of many people at risk. Her exposure of the address of our shared box number has meant that a pub and its staff are now in danger of attacks from Loyalists. Only recently on the anniversary of UVF bomber Bill Campbell's death (Jason Campbell's uncle) three Glasgow Irish pubs were firebombed. If the pub named in the article suffers a similar fate it will be the fault of Anna Smith and her employers at the Daily Record.

There is no hidden agenda. If the sectarian attacks upon Celtic supporters and innocent members of the Irish and Catholic community cease tomorrow, our campaign will cease the day after. It is a single issue campaign open to all Celtic supporters. Our appeal for information about the perpetrators is to build up a dossier of attacks, reported and unreported; and to establish whether there is a pattern to them and the level of organisation involved. A further reason as to the need for this information to be provided by fans, and especially by victims of the attacks, to an independent body is that the police now seem to be denying the number of sectarian attacks which they had previously admitted. Clearly someone has to seek the truth. If not the club, if not the police ... then who?"

Press Coverage - Jason Campbell, who murdered a Celtic Fan and nearly got transferred to the Maze as a "political prisoner" is pictured bottom centre



Inevitably, now that anti-fascists are organising themselves the club and the media have swung into action. When the Campaign wrote to Fergus McCann (Celtic managing director) inviting him to address a public meeting, he replied "Celtic will not be represented at the gathering as the Club has serious concerns regarding the motives of some of the factions involved in this event." The fact that McCann responded at all shows that the club are worried by, supporters organising themselves, and the "motives" he refers to were outlined in a hostile article that appeared in the Daily Record. On 20th January they ran an 'exclusive' article 'exposing' how "Celtic vigilantes are plotting revenge for alleged sectarian attacks against fans ... police were probing IRA links with the group ... the Celtic hardliners are planning a hit list of Rangers fans" etc, etc.

The Campaign has clearly answered these allegations, "We have been portrayed in the media as "terrorists",

The campaign held a public meeting in Glasgow on February 13th. Below we reproduce part of the AFA speech and the statement made by Sean O'Connor, the recent victim of a serious attack.

There is no doubt in the minds of AFA members that there is a common thread to the type of attacks that have been witnessed recently. Look at any racist attack and compare it to these sectarian attacks and you will see an undeniably similar method of operation. The only differences between race attacks and sectarian attacks are the organisations which directly benefit from them.

By this we mean that the organisations which benefit from racist attacks, whether random or organised, are in the long run the fascists of the National Front and the British National Party. In Scotland, the direct beneficiaries of sectarian attacks are Loyalist organisations such as the UVF, UDA and the LVF. Increasingly however Loyalist and fascist organisations have become virtually indistinguishable from each other, having a cross over of members, strategy and tactics.

At last year's general election all ten of the signatories who proposed the BNP candidate in Shettleston were members of fascist or Loyalist groups. The same story in Govan and Clydesdale (where all of the BNP's proposers came from the notoriously Loyalist town of Larkhall).

In April 1996 AFA mobilised against a C18 stewarded Loyalist march in London. A confrontation took place between AFA and a group of fascists and Loyalists who were drinking in the White Hart pub. Interestingly, the Loyalist flute band which came off worse were the Pride of Govan Band from Glasgow who were there under the patronage of C18. C18's former leader, Charlie Sargent, boasts of

his friendship with UFF assassin and leading loyalist prisoner, Johnny Adair.

Sargent is not alone among fascist leaders who have a direct connection to Loyalism. Terry Blackham an NF organiser has only recently been released from jail after serving a four year sentence for UDA gun-running. Among Blackham's supporters who visited him whilst he was in a Scottish prison were Loyalists from Bridgeton. Frank Portinari and Eddie Whicker are another two fascists with connections and, in Portinari's case, convictions for Loyalist gun running.

All of this information points to the fact that Loyalist and fascist organisations operating in Britain are inextricably linked both organisationally and politically. Jason Campbell, the man who murdered a 16 year old Celtic fan, whilst probably not formally a member of any organisation on the Far Right nonetheless shared a common goal and method with them. To terrorise and subjugate a minority community.

The press, as has been shown by the witch-hunting article in the *Daily Record*, are rarely on the side of those who stand up against such hatred. The mere mention that people should be prepared to physically defend themselves is enough for the press to turn victims into aggressors, the architects of their own misfortune. However, that doesn't mean that we should not be prepared to fight back physically when necessary.

The reaction of the *Daily Record* to the first *Celtic Fans Against Fascism* leaflet was not only hysterical, it was part of an orchestrated campaign to outlaw anti-fascism. Throughout Europe the same thing is happening. As society moves further to the Right it is no longer fashionable for journalists to hound Far Right groups. Instead it is anti-fascists who have become the victim of press smears. In a recent editorial a Danish daily newspaper commented: *"It is not the violent rhetoric of the fascists that is the problem, it is the actual violence of the anti-fascists that is the problem..."*

AFA has already had an international conference banned and disrupted by press smears instigated by a



Statement from Sean O'Connor

"Having been the target of a nakedly sectarian attack carried out by Loyalist bigots, it makes me proud to see that there are people who are prepared to stand up and demand an end to such cowardly attacks. Those who oppose religious intolerance and indeed all forms of bigotry should support the aims of the Celtic Fans Against Fascism campaign. I believe that their aims and objectives are positive and forward thinking and I find the attempt by some sections of the media to portray those involved as "vigilantes" and "hardliners" deeply offensive. Bigotry has no place in society and I hope that through this campaign all sectarian attacks against the Catholic community in Glasgow shall cease."

Sean O'Connor. 13th Feb., 1998.

Labour council, operating to a right-wing agenda. That is what we are up against. That is why the police can so brazenly dismiss and deny the numbers of sectarian attacks. That is why the police can circulate rumours in the Bridgeton area, as they have been doing recently, that an unspecified group of Celtic fans are planning retaliatory attacks upon pubs in the area. It is also why the police presence in Bridgeton was only recently increased. This increase was not designed to protect Celtic fans going through the area. It was in fact designed to protect Loyalist pubs from the imaginary attacks of Celtic fans.

It is obvious to us that to expect the police to do anything about racism or sectarian attacks is futile. In light of this it is necessary to draw a line in the sand and say this far and no further. As for AFA, we pledge ourselves to do everything in our power, politically and physically, to achieve an end to sectarian attacks against Celtic supporters and members of the Catholic community in Glasgow.

For further information on the campaign write to: CASA, c/o AFA, PO Box 797, Glasgow, G1 5JF



Glasgow Shettleston BNP candidate - Robert Currie(right)

Between the Sheets

with Elvis Mondallant



In our regular column that looks at how the wider media report on all things fascist, Elvis Mondallant casts his eye over the recent C18 murder trial, no-go zones in Germany and the dead bigot Enoch Powell. Read on.

Charlie Sargent and Martin Cross will not be seen for some time. Several articles have appeared in the press recently reporting on the trial of Sargent and Cross. Both received life sentences back in January for the murder of Chris Castle, a fellow member of C18.

Castle was killed, according to press reports, while acting as an intermediary between two rival factions of C18. Originally the difference of opinion was over control of C18's CD operation, a big money spinner, later developing into a contest for control of C18 itself.

The killing took place last February at Sargent's girlfriend's flat in Harlow. Castle went into the flat alone while X, Charlie's rival for the C18 gaffership, waited outside. When he appeared again, Castle had a 12-inch knife wound in his back. Mr X, somewhat put out by all of this demanded to know what was going on. "He's a casualty of war. Fuck him. Let him rot.", was the reply. Castle died shortly afterwards at hospital.

Searchlight's coverage was fairly predictable. The February issue used up column inches patting its personnel on the back, "Despite personal danger, including a letter bomb and an attack on a photographer, Searchlight's team of investigative journalists, moles, researchers and photographers have never let up in pursuit of these terrorists."

We are also informed "Eighteen months ago, at a meeting between Searchlight and Essex police officers, both sides agreed that when the festering split in the organisation finally exploded, someone was likely to die."

Articles in *The Observer* and *The Independent on Sunday*, as well as drooling over events in Harlow, delved into some of the history of C18. *The Observer* gives us a fairly sensational story, C18 from its origins to the present day, ending with a quote from X, "All the scum has been got rid of, all the hangers on, all the drunken bums. The music

scene will continue. Now that Sargent has gone, we can only get stronger."

However Nick Ryan in *The Independent on Sunday* made some fairly astute observations. He recalls two interviews with C18 members towards the end of 1996 when Charlie and others explained their ambitions.

When describing his meetings with Charlie and co. Ryan draws a grim sketch, describing hard looking men, well versed in violence and with plenty to say about "White Revolution". Charlie is an aggressive, intimidating character, we are told that on at least one occasion he has bitten off an opponents nose.

Charlie explained why it was necessary for C18 to come into being, "The reds were going around and they were beating the living daylight out of the right-wing. They were kicking in doors, petrol bombing people and beating old men black and blue with hammers [a reference to an attack by anti-Fascists on a right-wing meeting in Kensington Library during 1992]. Red Action [an extreme left-wing group] were absolutely battering the Right." He then goes on to claim that C18 turned the situation around: "We fuckin' battered 'em wherever we met until there was no fucker left standing."

Charlie's admission that militant anti-fascism was winning at street level is a lot more honest than anything you would ever hear from the likes of Tony Lecomber, who claims that the BNP's move away from street level activity was "...because it hindered our political progress, and was the only thing holding our extreme opponents together".

However Charlie is also a past master at twisting the facts into some unrecognisable shape. The covert activity he makes reference to certainly never took place and there has never been a big clash at street level between C18 and AFA.

The earliest meeting between AFA and what was about to become C18 came at Weavers Field, Bethnal Green, in 1990. C18 bottled it. Since then C18 has been found wanting on a number of occasions - The Little Driver (Bow), The Harrow Inn (Abbey Wood), The White Hart (Holborn) to name a few. Hardly the crazy monsters they were made out to be.

Quotes

"We don't categorise feelings of revulsion against foreigners as Extreme Right." (Brandenberg police spokesman. *Guardian*, 21/1/98)

No comment.

"I want lovely clean streets and blue eyed blonde birds." (Steve Sargent. *Independent On Sunday*, 1/2/98)

What you want and what you get are two very different things, and we don't reckon his brother Charlie will be getting either for a good few years!

"One of the greatest figures of 20th century British politics, with a brilliant mind." (Tony Blair. *Guardian*, 9/2/98)

The Leader of the Labour Party praising the reactionary, racist bigot Enoch Powell.

"A German skinhead picked on the wrong man in a billiard hall in Zinnowitz last week and ended up with a bloody nose. The skinhead directed racial insults at a Cuban relaxing in the hall, only to find that he had taken on the boxer Juan Carlos Gomez." (*Guardian*, 15/1/98)

"Nor will we have been chased into doorstep politics by the police, or by red gangs. Rather we should adopt doorstep tactics because it is the best way to campaign. And if the reds change to doorstep politics to counter us, then it is another victory for us." ('Jack Truman'. *Patriot* magazine, Winter 97)

Well, 'Jack', a couple of quick points. First, back in the early 90s it was AFA that chased you off the streets (ask Charlie Sargent) and second, I can't quite work out the logic of the BNP's 'victory' if anti-fascists start challenging their arguments on the doorstep.

Ryan, during the course of two interviews, is subjected to further bravado and much bullshit. In one of the interviews detail is given of the white homelands project, apparently funds were raised with shares being sold at £10 each. "1000 shares giving you the right to work permanently and reside on the site", Ryan tells us. However for once the journo refrains from hyping it up and instead does his homework, concluding like AFA previously, that C18 is partial to confusing ambition with ability. The white homelands are just a dream.

By the end of the article Ryan takes us back to the murder trial and delivers his final assessment of Charlie Sargent. "In the dock at Chelmsford crown court a fortnight ago, Charlie Sargent cut a lonely, almost sad figure, stripped of his reputation and coterie. When I first met him some 15 months ago, he seemed an intimidating figure, with his short, cropped hair, surrounded by followers and talking of revolutionary struggle. Now wearing glasses, with his hair long and very much on his own, the myth was dispelled. I noticed for the first time just how physically small he really is. It seemed to highlight the difference between reality and the fantasy so often espoused in the Far Right's literature and lifestyles. Is this - finally - the reality of "Aryan man"?"

★★★★★

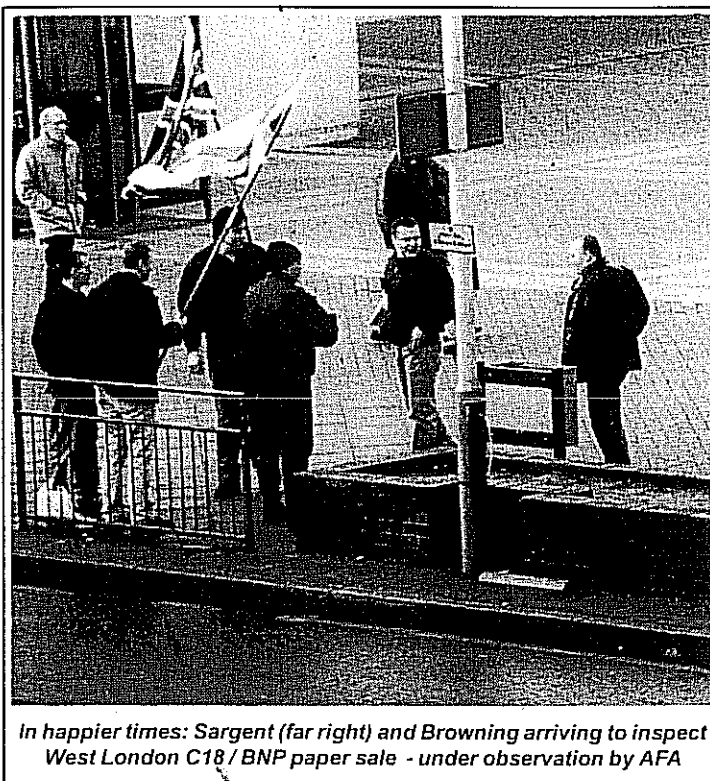
In January there was a sudden rush to report on neo-Nazi activity in eastern Germany. *The Guardian* of January 21st reports: "Large parts of formerly communist East Germany are becoming no-go areas for foreigners and German "outsiders" as support for racist neo-Nazi ideology, backed by violence, intimidation and clandestine propaganda, grows rapidly across the region."

German police estimate the number of active fascists at 47,000. This is only the hardcore. *The Guardian* tells us "much of the population, young and old, is receptive to neo-Nazi ideas, sympathetic to such views, and often tacitly endorsing violence...". An East German criminologist, Berndt Wagner, says "To say that one third of East German youth is now prone to the extreme right is an understatement. The point of no return has already been reached for many."

The fascists are well organised and a major weapon in their arsenal is the Internet, which is used to propagate their

politics, including foreigner free zones. "Vast tracts of eastern Germany are becoming de facto no-go areas for foreigners, left-wingers, gays and teenage punks - anyone who does not fit the homogeneous ideal, or appears 'un-German'", according to *The Guardian*.

The Internet is also used to list venues for clandestine gigs with about sixty skinhead bands active on the neo-Nazi music scene. Last year there were seventy nine gigs, some with audiences of up to 1,600 strong.



In happier times: Sargent (far right) and Browning arriving to inspect West London C18 / BNP paper sale - under observation by AFA

Although the media have been fairly quiet in the recent past about fascist activity in Germany, the story has been there to report if anyone had felt inclined to do so. This is not media hype either, like some of the C18 scare stories dished out by the press.

In Brandenburg state the authorities have warned that thousands of foreign building workers are under threat from the fascists, where they are setting up foreigner free zones. The truth is that the neo-Nazi organisations that are established in Germany are slowly but surely developing in size, stature and influence. In some areas they and the political ideas that they propagate are now the mainstream. Everything else has been swept aside.

★★★★★

The press has been full of comment on the passing away of Enoch Powell, with much chewing over of old speeches and his personal political history. Tributes have been forthcoming from many high profile political figures. "There will never be another Enoch. He was magnetic."

says Thatcher. His funeral proved to be something of a magnet as well. It was held at St.Margaret's, Westminster, which was, "packed to capacity with friends and admirers" the *Daily Telegraph* tells us.

Francis Wheen, writing in *The Guardian*, noticed something a little suspect about one of the mourners. Among the list of Tories and Major Generals that had gathered to pay their last respects was one Mrs. Joy Page of The London and Counties Tenants' Federation.

Francis did a little investigative work and discovered that Joy Page was also, in the past, with an organisation called The Immigration Control Association. At a rally in Trafalgar square in 1976 she shared a platform with Michael McLaughlin and Lady Birchwood. In the 1980's Page and her friend Joan Mason were leading lights in WISE [Welsh, Irish, Scottish, English], an organisation that provided a link between the extreme Right of the Tory party and leaders of the NF.

Joy Page was not the only dodgy character at the funeral. *The Daily Mirror* of February 19th reports: "Sid Chaney, 76, from Basildon, Essex, unfurled a poster of the cross of St.George with a picture of a knight on a white horse. He said: "I've come because I'm a great supporter of Mr. Powell.

So many young people today don't know who he is. We do. But we have to keep our mouths shut."

A lot of young people today might not know who Sid Chaney is. We do. Chaney was an active member, and stood as a candidate for the National Front in the 1970's. It comes as no big surprise for us to discover that characters such as Page and Chaney turned up at the funeral.

While much of the liberal press have been critical of Powell and his politics, it is some indication of the political culture in the British Establishment that tributes to the man have been made, not only by Thatcher but the likes of Tony Blair [see quotes] and the Bishop of Wolverhampton. "He was one of our great politicians."

The truth is that Enoch Powell was a racist bigot operating to a hard-Right political agenda and he should be condemned as such.

★★★★★

THE BATTLE FOR CHAPEL MARKET

Chapel Market is a typical London street market, a stone's throw from the now very fashionable Angel, Islington. Twenty years ago it was the scene of regular violent clashes between fascists and anti-fascists, the outcome of which dictated the successful development of militant anti-fascist politics in the capital for the next decade.

In the mid-70s members of the SWP and the NF both held paper sales at Chapel Market, often resulting in clashes. At this time the NF was the biggest fascist party, winning 119,000 votes in the 1977 GLC elections and attracting thousands on to their demonstrations.

Against this background hundreds of independent anti-fascist committees were set up around the country and the SWP launched the ANL. Major confrontations against the NF at Wood Green and Lewisham in 1977 put militant anti-fascism in the national spotlight, and the SWP organised 'squads' in the ANL to carry out the physical side of the strategy. This lasted until Thatcher, playing the race card, won the 1979 general election which led to the NF's decline and the disbanding of the squads; the SWP argued that the Tories were now the 'real' enemy. Physical opposition to the fascists was no longer acceptable.

Islington NF was one of the strongest branches in the whole country at this time, based mainly in the south of the borough where the white working class felt abandoned by the Labour council. Attacks on the SWP paper sale continued as fascist violence increased, a result of the electoral collapse of the NF. The Young NF paper *Bulldog* was now printing hit-lists of opponents and in early 1981 in Islington a radical community centre was firebombed and a left-wing bookshop attacked. Regardless of this, the ANL would provide no support for the anti-fascist activists trying to maintain their pitch and challenge the fascists.

Support was provided though, from the remnants of the SWP squads who refused to disband and independent anti-fascists who saw the dangers of letting the fascists organise unopposed. The conflict at Chapel Market had lasted over 5 years before it entered its final phase in 1981.



James Fields - Islington NF heavy, son of a blackshirt and a convicted rapist

The defining moment came one Sunday in July 1981 when, after several weeks of clashes, the usual NF turnout was supplemented by a 50 strong mob brought up from Brick Lane (the other big NF paper sale). The fascists managed to get into the area without being spotted and launched an attack. The anti-fascists, taken by surprise, were quickly overrun and forced to leave a bit sharpish - suffering two quite bad injuries in the process, one lad getting stabbed. If the NF had given chase the outcome would have been even worse, but anyway, the damage was done and it was obviously time for a serious rethink.

A number of activists met to discuss the situation and felt that as the NF had obviously decided to try and remove anti-fascists from Chapel Market by force, if the anti-fascists didn't respond decisively the NF, encouraged by their victory the week before, would keep coming until the situation became impossible and the NF would win. Offense being the best form of defense, a plan was hatched.

At this time Brent NF was an active branch and the organiser and several activists had taken part in the latest attack at Chapel Market. An activist from the time takes up the story. "We heard reports that Brent NF had started a paper sale in Kingsbury (north-west London) on Saturday mornings so we decided to have a look with a view to attacking them in reply for the attack at Chapel. Plenty of familiar faces showed up at the Kingsbury sale so we organised a team to travel up

there the next week. The point was made, five of them ended up in hospital!"

This was something new for the fascists who were more familiar with being the ones doing the attacking, and the incident at Kingsbury gave warning that the anti-fascists were going on the offensive. Many phones must have rung that night because 100 NF turned up at Chapel Market the next day, including a heavily bandaged Brent NF organiser.

There were several more smaller clashes over the next few weeks as the NF tried to re-establish their paper sale and the anti-fascists maintained their opposition. While Chapel Market was the focal point for activity, there were other incidents in the surrounding area. In October a small group of fascists were spotted at a local anti-fascist benefit gig and ran off when confronted. Outside one of the anti-fascists tripped and was stabbed in the chest as he was getting up. The blade narrowly missed his heart and he only survived due to the presence of a nurse with the anti-fascists. A prominent local anti-fascist organiser had her house attacked and her son, not involved in politics, was beaten up in the street. This only confirmed that there were some 'unpleasant' elements in the NF who, unless they were confronted physically, would control the streets and therefore dominate politically.

The next major incident was in November 1981 when an anti-racist conference was held at Archway, not far from Chapel Market. Anticipating a fascist attack the anti-fascists kept a low profile inside the hall, and sure enough, right on cue (ie. Sunday afternoon closing time) 30 fascists were escorted up the road by the police. Led by prominent Islington NF



Graham John (centre) Brent NF organiser

members they confidently marched up to the door, unaware of the anti-fascist presence inside. The door flew open, and as the NF let off smoke bombs a large group of determined anti-fascists appeared through the 'mist' and caused considerable damage to the fascists.

For the rest of the winter and into 1982 the anti-fascists mobilised every Sunday morning. The victory at the Archway had given the anti-fascists the advantage and the regular, well stewarded attendance every week showed the fascists there was a new level of commitment and organisation which they couldn't match.

In August 1982 the third major clash took place. One Sunday the anti-fascists arrived to find 20 NF already occupying the sales pitch. As the anti-fascists crossed the road towards them, Ian Anderson (now leader of the National Democrats, then a rising 'star' in the NF) shouted, "Get 'em, lads!" which was promptly met with a firm right-hander that knocked him flying. Another activist takes up the story, "The fascists took a heavy beating, and Anderson, who was on the ground being beaten with lumps of concrete and a shoe, managed to break free and ran out into the busy street. At this point three 'likely lads' got off a bus over the road and were studying the commotion with a keen interest. While we immediately recognised three late-comers who would be severely chastised later for over sleeping, Anderson could only see three 'white youths' who would surely come to his aid. Running through the traffic and waving his arms wildly he approached the 'aryan warriors' only to discover his mistake too late - suffering his second bad beating of the morning."

Unusually there were no uniformed police at Chapel Market that Sunday. It subsequently turned out that the area was being watched by plain clothes police and 14 anti-fascists were arrested leaving the area. Anderson pointed 3 people out to the police who were charged with GBH. All three were acquitted, largely because the fascists had no independent witnesses. The NF had been annoying local people for years, and although they had clearly been attacked, no-one was prepared to help them.

After this clash word got back that the NF were recruiting a 'hit squad' to deal with this group of anti-fascists who had inflicted so much damage on them. Eddy Morrison, a well known (drunken) fascist from Leeds who was 'notorious' for glassing a student in a pub, was the

person in charge of the 'contract'. Nothing ever came of this, but it does illustrate the effect the confrontational strategy was having on the fascists. Morrison did get to meet anti-fascists in London a year or so afterwards when his National Action Party tried to hold a meeting in Kensington - and yes, they got battered!

The clashes at Kingsbury, Archway and Chapel Market broke the back of the NF paper sale in Islington. The fascists were unable to maintain their presence and by the end of 1982 the sale had collapsed. The last time the fascists were seen in the area was shortly after the 'Anderson affair' when a surveillance team spotted Paul Nash (another NF organiser - and victim of Kingsbury) looking round a corner with a pair of binoculars to see if there were any anti-fascists in the area! It had taken just over a year but the wheel had turned full circle and the NF were beaten. To make things worse, eight members of Camden & Islington NF were sent down for armed robberies at this time and the branch collapsed. This victory didn't just have a local impact, the collapse of the branch had a domino effect across north London with the NF ceasing to have any organised presence in what had been a strong area for them.

However the story doesn't end here, because in 1983 nazi skinheads started drinking in a pub called The Agricultural on the corner of Chapel Market. The landlord was a fascist sympathiser and soon fascist skins from all over the country, and even overseas, would gather here on Saturday nights. By coincidence Red Action, the main group involved in the battle for Chapel Market, drank in a pub 200 yards down the road. A low key campaign of harrassment was launched against the pub, but escalation was inevitable. The fascists regularly attacked people in nearby streets - black people, gays, and anyone else they didn't like the look of; but never anti-fascists. Then, finally, a Red Action member was attacked outside the pub.

The following week a pub on route from the tube station to The Agricultural was



Patrick Harrington - on sale at Chapel Market

taken over and steps taken to try and draw the fascists out into the open. Fascists were attacked on their way to 'The Aggy' in full view of their 'comrades' outside the pub, in the hope that this would entice them out from the comparative safety of the pub. The fascists wouldn't have it so the anti-fascists marched up to their pub where they were met with a rousing chorus of an old nazi hymn - which ended abruptly under a hail of bricks and bottles. The fascists scuttled inside and barricaded the doors (inevitably leaving some poor unfortunates outside!)

while the anti-fascists withdrew and waited up the road. As more fascists arrived they ventured out and a large scale battle ensued on Liverpool Rd. for 15 minutes. You don't get 100 people brawling in the street for quarter of an hour without police intervention - they had obviously decided to let it happen.

A few weeks after this, in June 1984, a large group of fascists attacked a GLC 'Jobs for a Change' festival in Jubilee Gardens. Both stages were attacked before anti-fascists got organised and drove them off. Shortly afterwards fascists waiting for medical attention in nearby St. Thomas' Hospital were attacked, and a large group of anti-fascists then travelled to Islington, anticipating that other fascists would regroup at The Agricultural. They did come, and they were attacked, including a German fascist, who having just been attacked in the street by an Irish anti-fascist, ran into the 'The Aggy' shouting "Get them, they're not English!". Again the pub suffered further damage. A more intense campaign of pressure on the establishment was then instigated, and within a few months the landlord gave up and shut the pub. Finally, Chapel Market had seen the back of the fascists.

The key point about the battle for Chapel Market was that after July 1981 the anti-fascists set the agenda. At a time when the main organisations on the Left had abandoned anti-fascism, despite the increase in race attacks and fascist violence, anti-fascists showed that by going on the offensive, rather than just reacting, it was possible to win.

REVIEWS



The Blueshirts and Irish Politics - Mike Cronin

Four Courts Publishing. £19.95.

This is only the second full length book published on the Blueshirts. Unfortunately it suffers from the same flaw as Maurice Manning's 1971 book 'The Blueshirts'. Both writers are coming from a viewpoint where they refuse to accept - despite all the evidence - that the Blueshirts were a fascist movement.

The Blueshirts - originally known as the Army Comrades Association - were founded in 1932 as an organisation of ex-Free State (i.e. anti-Republican) Army officers. In this origin they mirrored the social and ex-military base on which the Italian Fascist movement and the British Union of Fascists were founded. The organisation adopted the 'shirt', an identifying feature of many 1930's fascist groups. Their ideology, political base and tactics differed little from other European

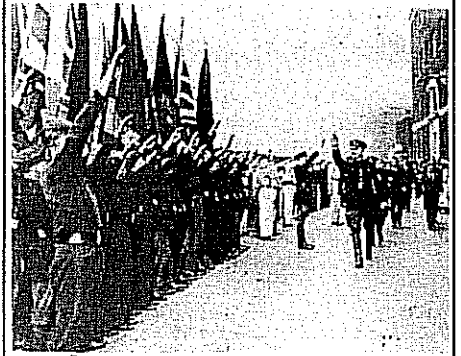
fascist organisations. The membership specialised in violent attacks on political opponents and staged mass rallies with right-armed salutes and other symbols of fascism.

The main weakness of Cronin's book lies in his repeated attempts to 'prove' that the Blueshirts weren't really fascist. This reaches the ludicrous extreme of describing the organisation as "potential para-fascists" and claiming that "They were only ever a movement and never achieved control of the country. By failing to become a regime the Blueshirts' links to true fascism are weakened". So fascists are only fascists if they form the government!

Cronin's claim that the majority of Blueshirt members had no deep understanding of fascist ideology may well be true. As the sons of conservative large farmers many may have been more motivated by class interest, hatred of Republicanism and church inspired Red scares. The fact remains that the members unquestioningly followed the political direction of a fascist leadership. How many among the massed ranks of Nazis at the Nuremburg rallies actually understood the finer points of National Socialism or had read 'Mein Kampf'?

The political views of Blueshirt opponents, such as the Republican Congress and the Communist Party, are dismissed in two paragraphs as "hysterical class war condemnation" and "paranoia". The frequent anti-fascist attacks on Blueshirts events are dismissed, without explanation, as "street fights".

Cronin's book is overly academic, is an attempt to put a more objective gloss on the "Blueshirts not Fascist" argument first put into print by Maurice Manning in 1971, and ignores the role of anti-fascists in their defeat.



Mosley - T.V. Programme

Me, Sir Oswald Mosley, here in the pages of FT, they must be mad.

It is not often nowadays that anything on the box causes me to belly laugh, however 'Mosley' was just about as funny as it gets. Written by two Jewish writers, Laurence Marks and Maurice Gran, those of us that endured all four episodes were treated to some of the hammiest acting imaginable.

Jonathan Cake, who used to do the Milk Tray adverts, plays Mosley as an upper class twat on the adventure of a lifetime. Mosley's political progress is charted, interspersed with shagging. "Vote Labour. Sleep Tory." He says in one episode.

The programme makers had an opportunity here to look at the political events that gave rise to British fascism, and the role that Oswald Mosley played. Instead we were treated to a comedy. There was no serious investigation as to why fascism developed in some working class communities at that time.

There is one short scene, set in the East End of London, that shows some of the local Jewish community having a bash at a fascist public meeting. That and the Cable Street scene, which is ridiculous, are the only attempts made to show that anti-fascists were active at the time.

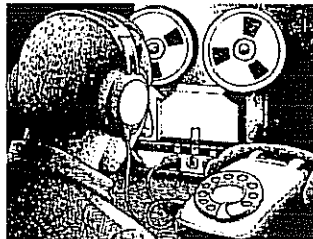
Mosley himself is treated sympathetically. In the last episode he visits Nazi Germany and has a bit of a run in with Adolf, who questions Mosley's 'revolutionary' credentials. We are left with the impression that Mosley was a fine sort of chap that should not really have been subjected to this sort of treatment.

The series ends with Mosley's internment at the start of World War 2 and he is banged up with a black prisoner. Sir Oswald does the decent thing, sharing a fag and striking up conversation. The ending is in keeping with the whole production. Mosley is not held accountable for his role in the fascist movement, instead he is let off the hook, portrayed as a rather decent type, doing his best for the country.

Notes from the Borderland Larry O'Hara

Notes From The Borderland (NFTB) is the latest publication from Larry O'Hara, it describes itself as a journal of parapolitics which will expose the hidden politics of the Secret State (MI5/MI6/Special Branch and others). It is intended that NFTB comes out on a regular basis and although it will not concentrate specifically on fascism the three main articles in Issue 1 all concern the Far Right.

There is an expose of the ITP's charity front - The St. Michael the Archangel



Trust; an analysis of the media/Searchlight promotion of the KKK; and a look at the role of the New Communist Party and Searchlight in the setting up of the British National Socialist Party.

The only real criticism is that the magazine is just photocopied. On the whole this is by far the best work that Larry O'Hara has produced to date. Issue 1 is well worth getting. NFTB is available for 2.50 from BM Box 4769, London, WC1N 3XX.

**Free Satpal Ram
ASIAN DUB FOUNDATION
4 track CD. London Records.**

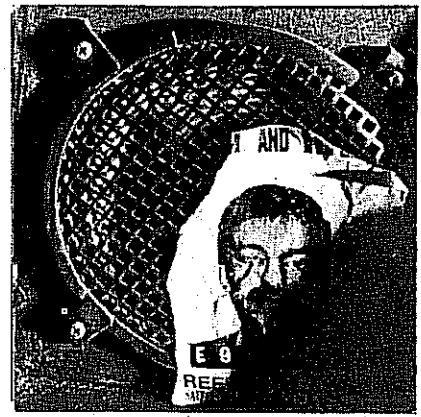
Free Satpal Ram is one of the angriest tracks I have heard in a long time. To a furious backing of guitars, dancefloor beats and even traditional asian instruments the lyrics spell out the injustice of Satpal's case.

Asian Dub Foundation have been hotly tipped as one of the up-and-coming bands set to break through into the big time in 1998. A look at some of their other ventures would suggest that this CD is far more than just a quick attempt to grab themselves some radical credentials before they hit the headlines. Their debut gig was at a benefit for Quaddis Ali (victim of race attackers), they have recorded the soundtrack for an anti-racist CD-Rom and have set up Asian Dub Foundation Education to help give other people opportunities in music. A mention must also go out for Primal Scream and Brendan Lynch who remixed one of the three versions of the title track.

Satpal Ram was convicted of murder and jailed for life when a man died after

an incident at an asian restaurant in Lozells, Birmingham in 1986. Satpal was forced to defend himself from a group of six white men who subjected him to a torrent of racial abuse before one of them stabbed him with a broken glass.

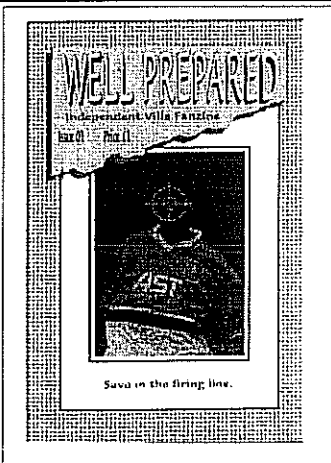
If suffering the injustice of 12 years of wrongful imprisonment and having his appeals and parole turned down were not bad enough, Satpal has also endured what can only be described as sadistic and degrading treatment by the prison authorities. In his own words..."I am frequently transferred from prison to prison, having already been moved on 53 separate occasions. I have endured years of mental cruelty. I am often held in total isolation in solitary confinement, having to endure prolonged periods of deprivation, psychological abuse, intimidation, starvation diets and physical torture. On numerous occasions I have been shackled in a body-belt and thrown into strip cells, having to sleep on the floor, cold and naked for days on end".



*"Birmingham 6; Bridgewater 4
Crown Prosecution totting up the score
King's Cross 2; Guilford 4; Winston Silcott
How many more?"*

*Satpal attacked in a restaurant by racists
Now the brother's locked up on a lifetime basis
Convicted of murder but what was never mentioned
Self-defence was his only intention."*

Satpal Ram and the efforts of groups like ADF deserve our support. Buy the CD and contact: Free Satpal Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham, B19 1NH



WELL PREPARED

The new anti-fascist Villa fanzine has arrived, produced by Villa Fans Against Loyalism and Fascism, and has got off to a good start. 44 pages of football and politics - including articles on Loyalism and Fascism, the Bridgewater 4 and St. Pauli - means there's plenty to read. The layout is good but it could do with a glossy cover and a bit of colour. With the fascists active at Villa the fanzine can be a focus for the resistance. Definitely worth supporting and any Villa fans out there should get in touch and help make 'Well Prepared' the success it deserves to be.

Well Prepared and VFALF can be contacted at PO Box 3311, Birmingham, B13 0RZ.

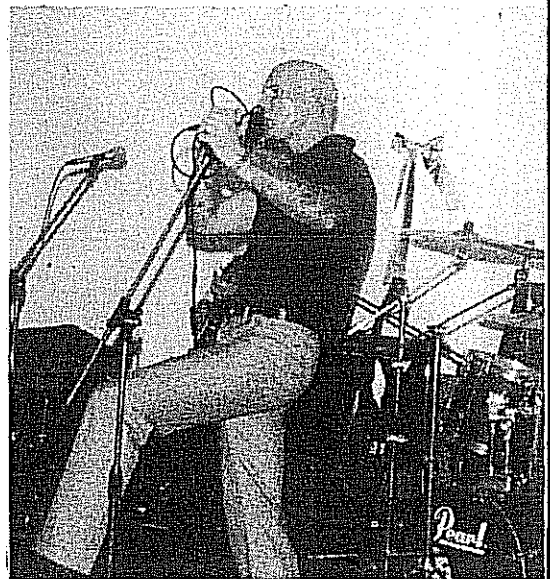
**RED LONDON
RED ALERT**



On a bloody freezing late December evening North East AFA staged their biggest music event to date. After two cracking support sets from local bands Ellas Dust and The Right Offs the scene was set for without doubt the funniest punk rock parody I have ever witnessed: The Jockey Rejects. Rejects classics were performed superbly but the banter in between was priceless. See them if you get the chance.

Despite a sometimes dodgy mix, Sunderland's classic partnership of Red London and Red Alert blew the place apart. A packed dance floor saw Red London give probably their best UK performance to date with a set full of power, energy and emotion. It is amazing how this band are not huge in the UK - Oasis??? Sixth form shite compared to this lot.

So it was left to Red Alert to finish an absolutely storming gig and they did so with style. Steve Smith took to the stage sporting a Sunderland shirt (in the centre of Newcastle) and there was the expected friendly exchanges of



abuse before he took it off to reveal "my true colours" - an AFA shirt. The band tore through a superb set with enough power and conviction to provide a fitting finale for what had been a truly magnificent night.

North East AFA are getting good at this, and so far our fascist fuckwit foes are showing great intelligence in staying well away. Every event has been packed out, with more interest being generated as we do what the fascists can't; go public. Next time get yourselves up here - you won't be disappointed.

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION

WANTED

**INFORMATION ON
FASCIST ACTIVITY IN
YOUR AREA
(BNP-C18-NF)**



WRITE TO

BM 1734, LONDON WC1N 3XX

ALL INFORMATION TREATED IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE

AFA NATIONAL PHONE NUMBER

★ 0976 406 870 ★