

**The National Front and British
National Party on Merseyside. A
Geography of Political Extremism.
B.J.HODGES**

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GEOGRAPHY OF POLITICAL EXTREMISM.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

B.A.R.I.	-	British Aid for the Repatriation of Immigrants
B.D.P.	-	British Democratic Party
B.M.	-	British Movement
B.N.P.	-	British National Party
B.U.F.	-	British Union of Fascists
G.B.M.	-	Greater Britain Movement
L.E.L.	-	League of Empire Loyalists
L.S.G.	-	League of St. George
N.F.	-	National Front
N.N.F.	-	New National Front
N.P.	-	National Party
N.S.A.P.	-	National Socialist Action Party
N.S.M.	-	National Socialist Movement
N.S.P.U.K.	-	National Socialist Party U.K.
P.P.P.	-	People's Progressive Party
R.P.S.	-	Racial Preservation Society
S.T.A.G.	-	Special Tactical Activities Group
U.M.	-	Union Movement

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Introduction

The confines of political geography are normally bounded by legality: that is it usually involves the spatial interpretation of electoral politics. This study, however, aims to broaden these frontiers and interpret the more clandestine activities of certain political groups. As a whole these groups may be called fascist, nazi or extreme right wing; individually the two main parties that will be looked at are the National Front (N.F.) and the British National Party (B.N.P.), currently Britain's two most prolific, right wing, extremist groups. Unlike Britain's major political parties, but in common with several extreme left wing groups, the N.F. and B.N.P. rely heavily on covert political activities, and less on electoral politics, to get their message across. The message in the case of the extreme Right is invariably one of violent racial prejudice.

Although some geographers like Ceri Peach have conducted a considerable amount of research into aspects of institutionalised racism, like public resource allocation, there seems to be a general ignorance of other aspects of organised racism in Britain. Institutionalised racism certainly affects a much larger proportion of the ethnic community than the organised racism of political groups like the N.F., but the effects of the latter should not be ignored. After all, though still unacceptable, generally held racist views rarely lead directly to attacks on members of ethnic minorities. It is often the intensification of these repugnant views by a number of extremist organisations which leads to violent assaults on the person or property, as well as aspects of psychological attack like verbal abuse and racist graffiti. During the heyday of the N.F. in the late 70's, a conference was held discussing "The Geography of Racial Conflict" [Area 10, 1978]. This meeting not only discussed the spatial manifestations of institutionalised racism, like the concentration of Asian businesses in certain areas of Bradford, but under the direction of Joe Doherty it also discussed the growth of the N.F. in relation to "the problems of inner-city areas". Sadly there seems to have been scant

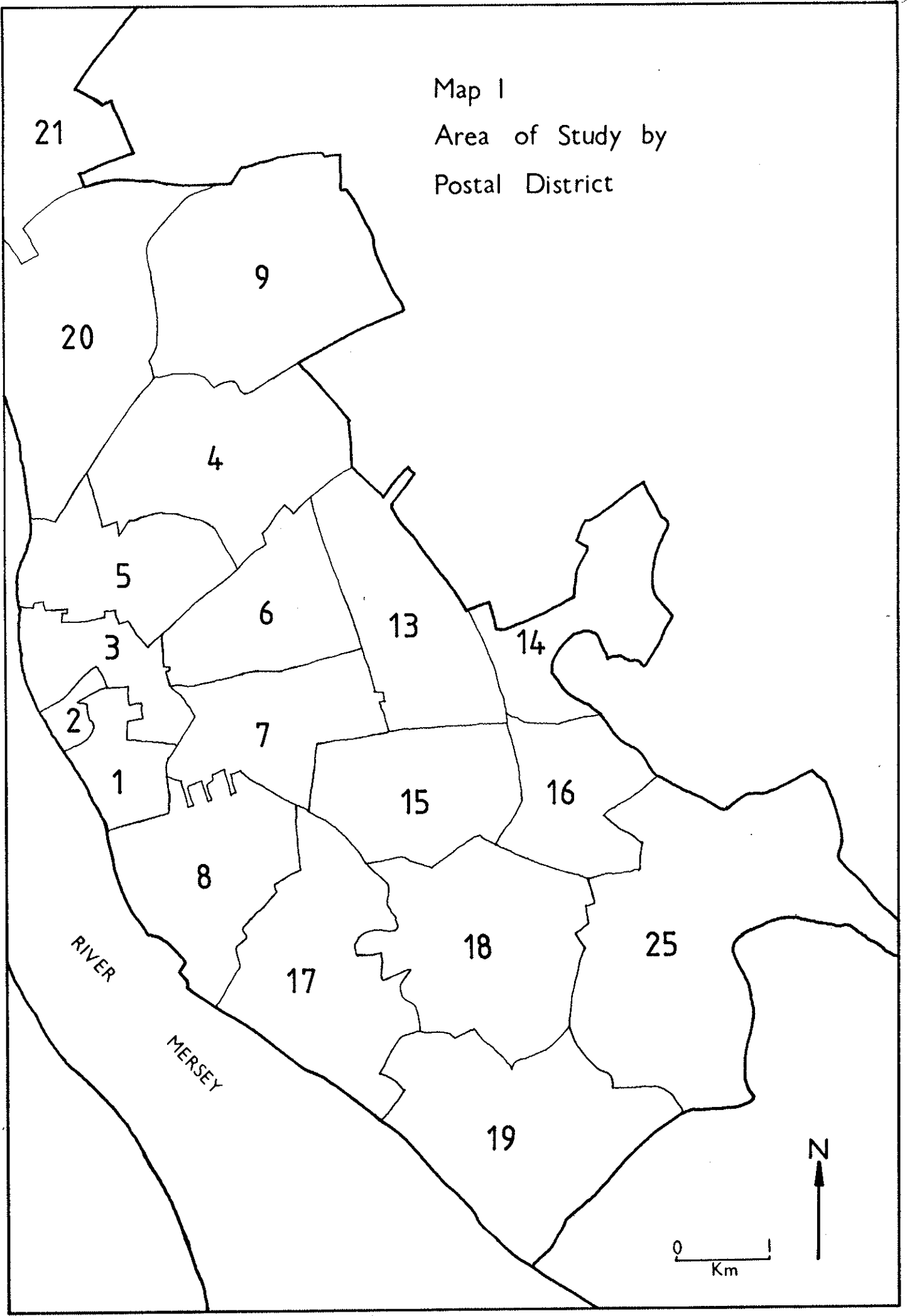
reference to such matters in the geographical literature since then.

The most recent related article was "Racism and the British" by Vaughan Robinson [Geographical Magazine 58, 1986]. Though it only made passing reference to the N.F., it is of some interest. Robinson analysed spatially the answers from questions on race in the recent (1984) "Social and Community Planning Research" survey. The conclusions he draws from this survey are startling. Four per cent. of the national survey sample described themselves as "very prejudiced" and a further 31 per cent. admitted "a little prejudice". What is more frightening is the fact that these figures understate the incidence of racism in Britain due to the social and moral pressures on people not to admit prejudice. These results indicate a potentially massive pool of racism from which extremist groups, in the right circumstances, could draw recruits. The survey also revealed that those most prone to racial prejudice are those in the lowest social groups: the unemployed, unskilled, the badly educated and the old. It is obvious then that prejudice will differ not only on a macro, U.K.-wide scale, which Robinson identifies, but also on a micro, city-wide scale. There are bound to be differences in rates of prejudice between various areas of the city, with different proportions of social and racial groups within them.

It follows that, if the widely held racist views of society differ across the city, then so will the activities and support for extreme racialist groups like the N.F. and B.N.P. This study seeks to identify both those areas of Liverpool and environs which fascist groups target as places of potential support and the areas where at least some of the population reacts positively to these views. The area delimited for study, based on postal districts, can be seen in map 1. Obtaining the information needed to do this is difficult and can be dangerous. This study was never meant to be an exercise in investigative journalism and no infiltration of fascist groups was attempted. Most of the data used was compiled from readily accessible sources.

The first sources utilised were electoral records. Although elections are

Map 1
Area of Study by
Postal District



no longer as important to the N.F. or B.N.P. as they were, they still act as a useful barometer of support and the statistics, being available at different ward levels, are useful. The number of candidates fielded at each election also serve as a useful indication of the fortunes of the party organisation at a national level, especially with regard to finances. As stated earlier though, it is not through electioneering that extremist groups get most of their propaganda across. With the N.F. and B.N.P. the main method seems to be the use of stickers, fly posters and graffiti. The incidence of these articles across the city is indicative of areas which extremist groups perceive as responsive to their views. Alternatively, they could be used as a threat: for example, N.F. posters could be put up in a racially mixed area to create an atmosphere of tension in which minority groups could become worried. Similarly, the incidence of racial attacks in various areas can be used to identify the areas in which the fascists operate. Finally, the place of residence of fascist activists can be studied and correlations made between areas containing a large number of fascists and those in which there is evidence of much activity.

Before any field work was undertaken, a number of hypotheses were formulated which, as will be seen later, have largely been substantiated by the results of the study. The main hypothesis was that activists target certain areas in the city which they perceive as most sympathetic to their views. These areas will probably be predominantly white, predominantly working-class and have a wide range of social problems associated with inner-city areas. The extremists of both the Left and Right see these as excellent recruiting grounds. The N.F. especially and the B.N.P. to a lesser extent seek to build a power base in the white, working-class youth whose disaffection can be channelled to their own ends by spreading disinformation about ethnic and other groups and by offering simplistic solutions, such as repatriation, to solve complex economic and social problems. It was therefore expected that the majority of graffiti, posters and stickers would occur in

the white, working-class areas to the north of the city, like Bootle, Litherland, Kirkdale and Walton. Within these areas, it was hypothesised that indicators of fascist presence would be placed mainly in areas of high public utility, like shopping centres. It was expected that little graffiti and few posters or stickers would be found in racially mixed areas like Toxteth or more affluent areas to the south of the city, like Childwall or Aigburth. Election candidates would similarly stand in areas the fascists perceive as being receptive to their views. It was also hypothesised that racist attacks would most often occur in areas with a small ethnic component - where perhaps the odd, isolated, black family lived and could be easily intimidated. It was expected that far fewer attacks would occur in an area like Toxteth which has a good racial mix and strong community ties. Finally, it was hypothesised that the majority of the most prominent fascists would live in areas where there is evidence of much activity.

Before the spatial aspects of fascism on Merseyside are discussed though, it is necessary to put both time and place in perspective. There follows a discussion as to why extremist groups, especially those of the Right, may perceive Liverpool and its environs favourably as a recruiting ground, and also a brief history of fascist activity in the region. For those with little knowledge of British fascism, it may also be useful to read the appendix "British Post-War Fascism" first.

PART ONE - PUTTING LIVERPOOL IN PERSPECTIVE

Liverpool - "Ripe" for Fascism?

Political theorists of all persuasions have accounted for growths in fascist activity in a broadly similar manner. Trotsky explained the growth of fascism in the 1930's as a result of a severe economic crisis which the Nazis in Germany and fascists in Italy could take advantage of. They won over a demoralised working class by promising them work and blaming the Jews and other "undesirable elements" like communists, anarchists and "degenerate" artists for society's problems. More importantly, the Nazis won over the support of the capitalist class and big business by destroying the labour movement. Oswald Mosley similarly saw that economic crisis was a necessary prerequisite for the growth of fascism. As in the rest of Europe, his British Union of Fascists sustained its greatest period of growth during the depression years of the 1930's. He attributed the post-war failure of the B.U.F. to the buoyant post-war economy. The National Front has always taken a similar view. Linking economic problems to immigration figures, they have constantly blamed an easily identifiable minority, black people, for Britain's problems. Often this is accompanied by complicated anti-semitic conspiracy theories.

More specific to Merseyside, John Tyndall, in a Radio-City interview before the 1979 election, said that:

"Merseyside was ripe for the N.F. because of its unemployment problem...and [the fact that] 'coloured immigrants' were a major cause of Liverpool's problems." [quoted in Ben-Tovim and Mufti, 1979]

The deepening economic crisis of Merseyside is obvious, as is the presence of the oldest established black community in Britain. Other features peculiar to the area could also contribute to increased fascist activity as well though. The most obvious is the strong Loyalist community in Liverpool. The fact that the Front and other far Right groups are building links with

Loyalist Orange Lodges has been well-documented and this causes particular problems for Liverpool which has the biggest Unionist community in Britain. Links between the two have been particularly strong since the passing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Less obviously the City Council crisis may promote support for fascist groups in Liverpool. Not only have the N.F. tried to attract disgruntled Militant supporters but the Council's handling of the crisis has illustrated the total incompetence of the popular Left to organise the Labour and Trade Union movements.

The black community in Liverpool, established for over three hundred years, is the oldest in Britain. It has also been the most consistently attacked and discriminated against. It was Liverpool's position as a key port in the "triangular trade route" which first brought West Indians to the city in the last half of the 17th century. Until the abolition of slavery, Liverpool had the dubious honour of being Britain's top slaving port and fugitive slaves from this time formed the first nucleus of Liverpool's black community, in the tenements of Toxteth Park. Here they lived with Irish and Welsh immigrants and they were joined by Asian and black seamen, black entertainers and black intellectuals who came to Britain agitating for an end to the barbaric slave trade.

By the mid 19th century, a distinctive black community had emerged in the area of initial settlement - the South Docks. The majority of this community was made up of black seamen but much intermarriage with white women was taking place, so Liverpool's indigenous black community was beginning to form. The concentration of the community in the slum housing of the South Docks was mostly due to the inferior economic status of most blacks. Agglomeration also provided a defensive function against many hostile elements in Liverpool, not least the unscrupulous ships' captains who would occasionally capture local blacks and sell them abroad.

By the early 20th century, Liverpool's black community was in excess

of 11,000 [Law, 1981]. The increase was due to both natural growth and the further influx of black seamen. The growth of the community led to its expansion into a wider area of the Southern and Central areas of the city. They were still confined to the poorest slums though by limited job opportunities which in turn were caused by popular stereotyping which equated blackness with poverty and laziness. Further growth of the community occurred during World War One when many black men were brought to Britain to free Englishmen for military service. When the war was over, however, work was much harder to find. The direct competition between blacks and whites for jobs, fuelled by popular imperialist and colonial racism, led to race riots on the streets of Liverpool in 1919. In only half a decade, black people had been attracted to serve Britain and then kicked in the teeth as they became scapegoats for Britain's post-war economic crisis.

However, the wheel turned again and black labour was once again called upon to serve Britain as she entered the war against nazism and fascism. A group of three hundred technicians were brought from the West Indies to live and work in Liverpool at this time. With the end of the war though, black people were again identified as scapegoats for British unemployment. In 1948, hundreds of white youths attacked the now 8,000 strong black community in the biggest street disturbances since 1919. As Law [1981] says:

"Apparently little has changed in English attitudes to immigrant groups."

Today the British-born, black community in Liverpool is estimated to number at least 20,000. As can be seen from figure 1, there is still a marked concentration of this community in areas to the south of the city, although even Granby with 30% of its population coming from racial minorities, cannot be described as a "ghetto" in the American sense of the word because the majority of its inhabitants are white. Map 2 shows that there are very few members of ethnic communities in northern and western areas of Liverpool.

FIGURE 1

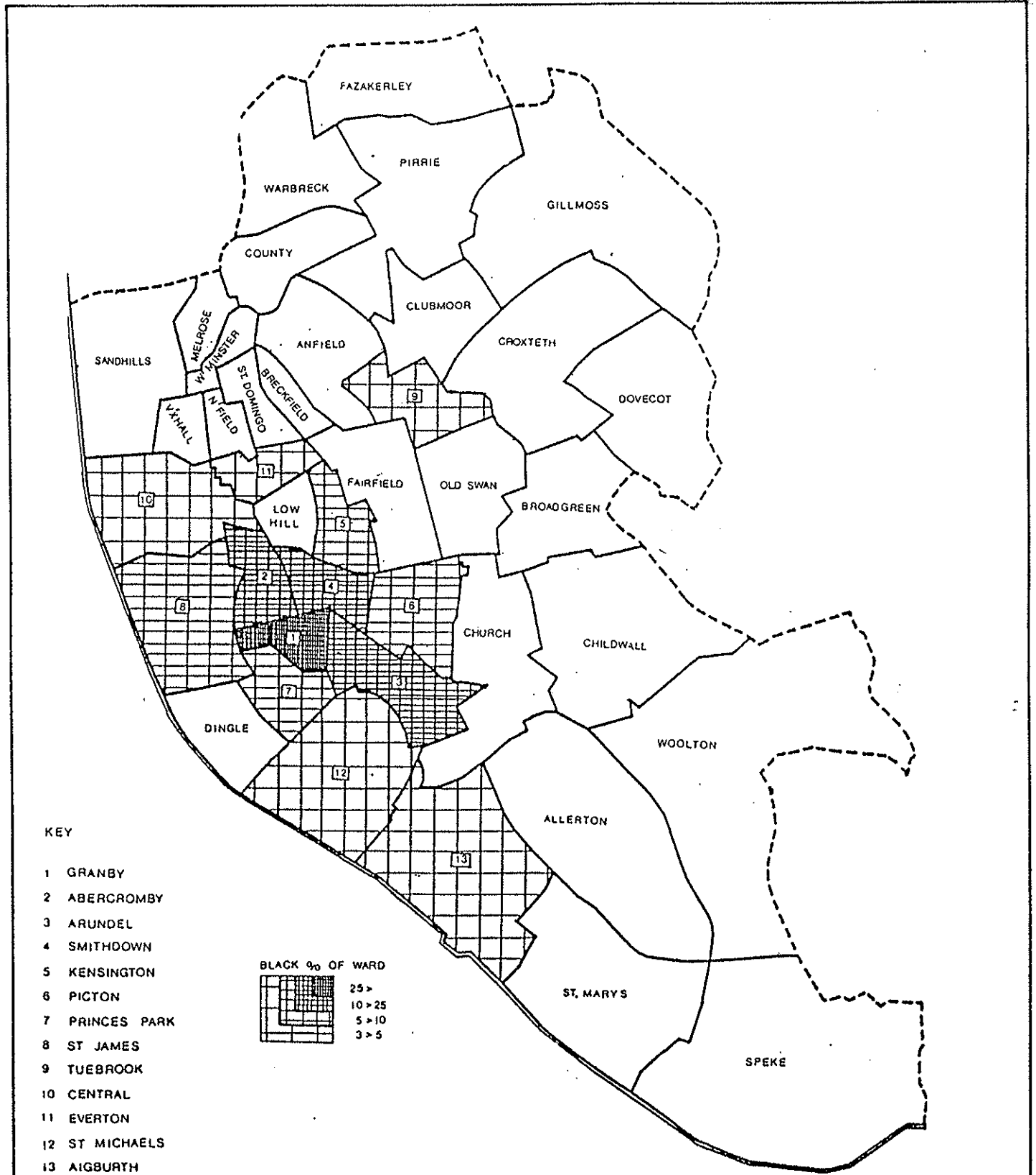
DISTRIBUTION OF LIVERPOOL'S BLACK POPULATION
 (from Ben-Tovim et al [1980] - Reproduced by permission)

<u>Area</u>	<u>Racial Minorities as a % of Total Population</u>
Granby	30.0
Arundel	12.5
Abercromby	10.5
Smithdown	10.0
Princes Park	8.0
Kensington	6.0
St. James	5.5
Picton	5.5
Everton	5.0
Aigburth	4.5
Tuebrook	4.0
St. Michaels	3.5
Central	3.5
All other areas	<3.0

FIGURE 2

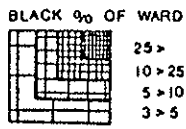
ESTIMATE OF LIVERPOOL'S RACIAL MINORITIES
 (from Ben-Tovim et al [1980] - Reproduced by permission)

British Born Black	20,000
Chinese/Hong Kong	8,000
Asian	4,000
African	3,000
West Indian	3,000
Arab and Somali	<u>2,000</u>
Total	<u>40,000</u>



KEY

- 1 GRANBY
- 2 ABERCROMBY
- 3 ARUNDEL
- 4 SMITHDOWN
- 5 KENSINGTON
- 6 PICTON
- 7 PRINCES PARK
- 8 ST JAMES
- 9 TUEBROOK
- 10 CENTRAL
- 11 EVERTON
- 12 ST MICHAELS
- 13 AIGBURTH



Map 2

Residential Distribution of

Liverpool's Black Population, 1976.

From Ben-Tovim et al (1980). Reproduced with permission.

In fact, most of Merseyside has a low ethnic component with the majority of areas having less than 3% racial minority populations.

The concentration of black people in areas to the south of the city has historical roots, but the pattern has been perpetuated by both public and private housing allocation policies. It is not necessary to go into the mechanisms of the housing process here, as it is covered in detail in Ben-Tovim et al [1980] and Liverpool Black Caucus [1986].

As well as a large, British-born, black community, there are many members of other ethnic minorities living in Liverpool. Figure 2 shows the numerical estimates of these communities. Again they are mostly concentrated in the Liverpool 8, Granby and Lodge Lane areas, although the Chinese community is relatively dispersed compared to other minorities. The St. James' area is the focal point of this community and, as its nickname, "Chinatown", suggests, it contains most of the Chinese restaurants, clubs and social facilities. Half the Chinese population actually live in the Granby and Lodge Lane Areas though, and most of the rest are widely dispersed across the city. A less easily identifiable minority, though it is one frequently attacked by racists and fascists, is the Jewish community. Again, despite dispersal, there is a certain degree of concentration. This seems to be in the more opulent areas to the far south of the city. Mossely Hill and Childwall are especially notable in this respect and Wallington [1977] even estimates that practising Jews make up 40% of Childwall's population.

The economic crisis of Merseyside is the epitome of recession in the 1980's, not only in Great Britain but throughout Europe. Economic recession and accompanying high unemployment across the western world is a condition which might promote the growth of extremist organisations - especially those of the Right whose simplistic economic theories can always lay the blame on a minority or "alien" group.

Merseyside's problems are not all recent though. They began in the

inter-war years when the Great Depression of the 1930's reduced the amount of imports and exports passing through the port of Liverpool. Depression at this time also hit Britain's old, staple industries like shipbuilding, cotton textiles, coal mining and heavy engineering. Thus unemployment was caused across the hinterland supplying Liverpool, much of which is now Merseyside. Liverpool's problems were structural as well as cyclical; she was too dependant on a narrow range of heavy and processing industries, while her commercial sector was shrinking. So the problems on Merseyside did not subside, even though industrial employment was temporarily revived during the Second World War. It did nothing to improve the archaic economic structure of the region, however, and, by the end of the Second World War, Merseyside had an average unemployment rate, double that of the U.K. as a whole [Lawton, 1982].

After the war, new industries did move to Merseyside and massive housing and construction schemes were embarked upon. The scale was not great enough to halt the area's decline or solve its problems of unemployment though. The number of jobs in the Port and its related industries continued to decline and jobs that were created tended to be mostly in the newer industrial plants being built on the periphery.

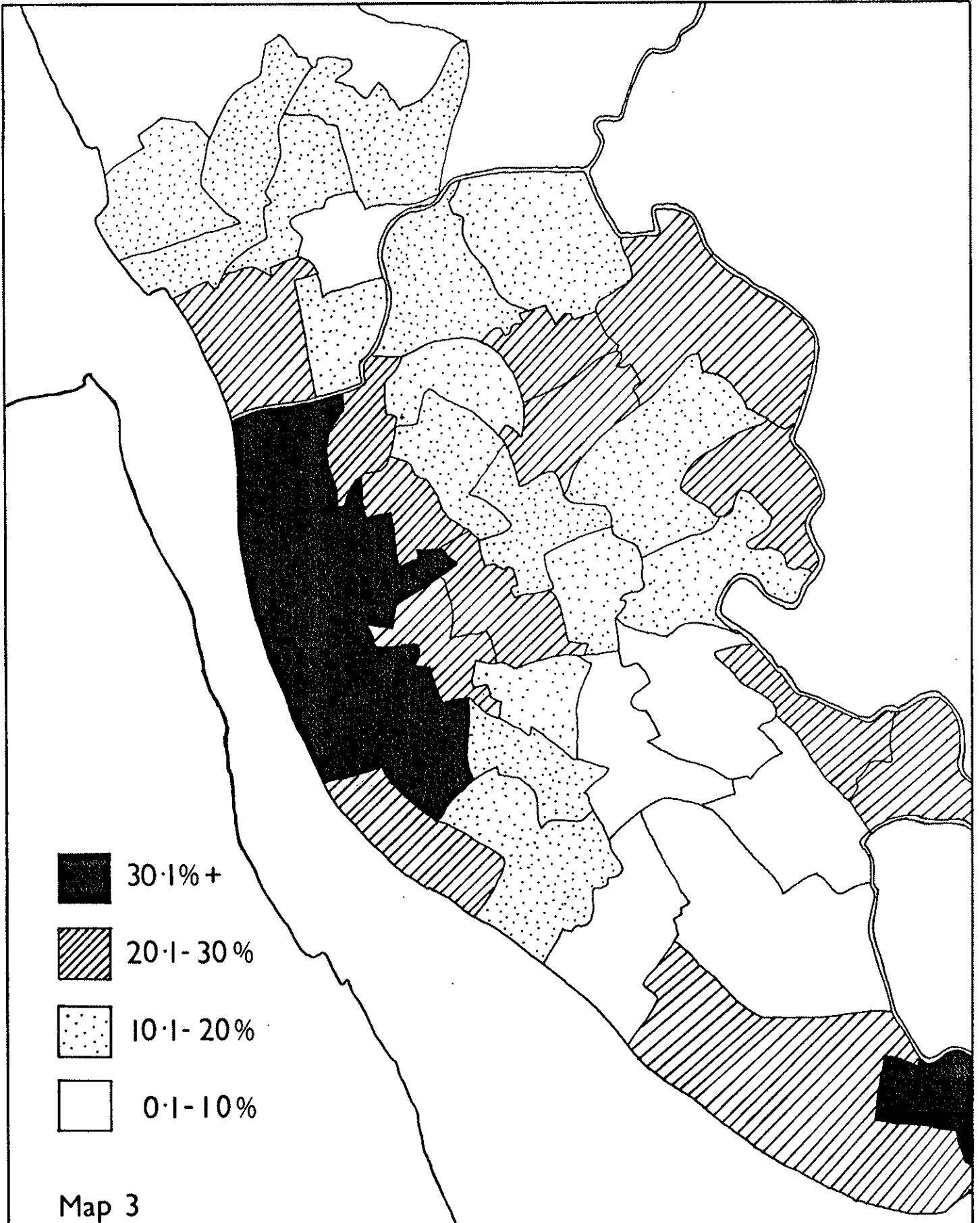
Hence, today, unemployment and its associated problems are worst in the inner city area; in wards like Granby, Abercromby, Everton and Vauxhall, all of which have unemployment rates in excess of 30% (see figure 3 and map 3). Areas outside this inner core also have very high rates of unemployment. Such areas include Linacre (28.9%), Smithdown (28.2%) and Dovecot (25.6%). These are predominantly working-class areas where wages are low anyway and many who are now out of work were once employed in the industrial or port-related sector. It is not surprising that the middle class areas like Childwall, Allerton and Grassendale have much lower rates of unemployment; respectively they are: 8.5%, 9.9% and 7.3%. While employment has rapidly fallen in manufacturing and blue-collar industries, white-collar employment

FIGURE 3

UNEMPLOYMENT BY CENSUS DISTRICT (From 1981 Census)

	<u>Population Economically Active</u>	<u>Economically Active out of Work</u>	<u>Unemployed as a Percentage of Economically Active Population</u>
<u>Liverpool</u>			
Abercromby	5732	2133	37.2
Aigburth	6725	810	12.0
Allerton	7951	791	9.9
Anfield	7739	1164	15.0
Arundel	6244	1185	19.0
Breckfield	6859	1690	24.6
Broadgreen	8019	1246	15.5
Childwall	7608	646	8.5
Church	8645	790	9.1
Clubmoor	8626	1984	23.0
County	7821	1363	17.4
Croxteth	8271	872	10.5
Dingle	7131	1503	21.1
Dovecot	7355	1883	25.6
Everton	6162	2249	36.5
Fazakerly	7228	1302	18.0
Gillmoss	7241	2130	29.4
Granby	6526	2222	33.9
Grassendale	7025	513	7.3
Kensington	7421	1630	22.0
Melrose	6872	1519	22.1
Netherley	5744	1452	25.3
Old Swan	7573	1180	15.6
Picton	7052	1225	17.4

Pirrie	7708	1776	23.0
St.Mary's	7269	1535	21.1
Smithdown	6679	1881	28.2
Speke	6178	1918	31.0
Tuebrook	7739	1376	17.8
Valley	6187	1318	21.3
Vauxhall	5610	1197	35.6
Warbreck	8486	1160	13.7
Woolton	7687	594	7.7
<u>Sefton</u>			
Church	5966	962	16.1
Derby	6424	1165	18.1
Ford	6161	1161	18.8
Harington	6510	315	4.8
Linacre	5355	1551	28.9
Litherland	5564	1028	18.4
Molyneux	7823	616	7.8
Netherton	6120	1185	19.3



- 30.1%+
- ▨ 20.1-30%
- ▩ 10.1-20%
- 0.1-10%

Map 3

Percentage of Economically Active Population
Unemployed by Census District, 1981.

has grown slightly on Merseyside [Cornfoot, 1982]. So the middle-class residents in these areas seem to be fairly secure in their employment.

High rates of unemployment are not only restricted to inner city areas though. Speke, for instance, has an unemployment rate of 31%. The area mostly comprises a huge council estate, resulting from post-war development, and many of its occupants were made redundant with the closure of Dunlop and British Leyland plants in the vicinity. Other outer areas, like Gillmoss and Netherley, also have high rates of unemployment; 29.4% and 25.3% respectively.

Within these areas of high unemployment, there are associated social problems, like poor housing quality, vandalism, high crime rates, drug abuse and so on. In such desperate situations, it is reasonable to expect that people may seek simplistic answers to their problems. Thus fascist groups are likely to recruit a large proportion of their membership from such areas and much of their activity will be concentrated there. In Ian Sloan's May, 1986, election leaflet ("Time to Clean Up Liverpool"), he decries "the spread of violent crime and drug-taking", the institution of "'no go' areas for police in our city" where "the rule of the jungle" is law, and other associated problems of "unemployment". This is not a leaflet trying to appeal to the middle classes, it is mainly a plea to the white working-class. The National Front, to an even greater extent, is trying to appeal to lower status citizens and even takes a decidedly anti-"boss" stance on many policies as their sticker "Blame the bosses for the blacks!" shows. So, on Merseyside, one would expect fascist groups to be most active in the white, inner city areas and those to the north and east with high unemployment and associated social problems. Conversely, activity would be less in the relatively affluent parts of the region, mainly to the south-east of Liverpool.

It is partly as a result of the economic crisis of the area that Liverpool's "City Council Crisis" developed. The financial, political and con-

stitutional crisis developed from what Labour "Militants" saw as financial mismanagement by the preceding Liberal and coalition administrations. These administrations privatised much of the city's public housing and lowered rates so that, at this time, Liverpool's public spending lagged behind every other city of a similar size in Britain. In 1981, the government cut rate supports from a proportion of 60% of local spending to only 40% and, a little later, they also set targets for local government expenditure. These targets were based on 1979 spending levels, a time when the Liberal-dominated administration spent little money. So, although indicators of need showed that Liverpool required more money, it did not get it. Government grants are also based on population levels so, as Liverpool's continues to decline, the amount of support it receives from the government will similarly fall; even though those left behind will be the least well-off and least able to pay high rates.

When Labour came to power in 1983, it pledged to increase public spending, especially on the declining public housing stock, with no commensurate increase in local rates. A protracted and well-documented struggle between Liverpool City Council and the government followed, with the Council threatening bankruptcy if the government did not increase its support to Liverpool. The threat of bankruptcy loomed over the city several times, but each time, the Council conceded and, in the end, took out loans from Japanese and Swiss banks to make up the budget deficit.

The Council has shown its inability to fight against government cuts. Constitutional moves failed and the administration could not even organise the labour and trades union movement behind it. Several "all out" strikes were organised in support of the Council, but they were spectacular only in their failure. The lack of solid, working class support for the Council was an obvious weakness for an administration that had so obviously set itself up as champion of the people.

In the political vacuum that has developed in Liverpool, due to disenchantment with the Labour Council and the timid organised Labour

movement, the fascists could stand to make gains among the white working class. The National Front, with its rediscovered, populist working class orientation, would be especially well-equipped to make capital out of the crisis. Indeed, it is known that a number of N.F. members attended the "Militant Out" rallies held at the height of the crisis and, the day after the Council secured loans from Swiss and Japanese banks, N.F. posters appeared, saying "Council Sell-out to Jewish (Swiss) banks!". They have also tried to woo Militant members by sending a recruiting letter and literature to 200 local supporters. The British National Party has also tried to organise around the issue and they too have not laid the blame totally on the Labour Council. In his election leaflet, Ian Sloan said:

"...we have some of the worst local administration and public services of any country in Europe. Much publicity has been given to the mad antics of the "Militant" faction in Liverpool but the problems of the city did not start with the Militants: they have been with us for much longer."

In saying that "the problems of the city did not start with the Militants", Sloan subtly tries not to alienate any voters who may have had support for the Council's struggle against the government. But, at the same time, he implicitly criticises the Council's actions. This is akin to the N.F. policy of criticising the Council while trying to win over rank and file Militant supporters.

Fascist groups have also tried to woo the support of Ulster Unionists in Liverpool. A confidential source confirmed that N.F. members had approached one of Merseyside's numerous Orange Lodges, but they were told, in no uncertain terms, that they were not wanted. In Ireland, there is much more evidence of a relationship between the N.F. and the Unionist community. Even there though, this interaction is probably over-emphasised. Links between the Ulster Volunteer Force and the N.F. are often perceived as par-

ticularly strong, but it is difficult to see why even paramilitary groups should want to work with the N.F. The N.F. would be the main beneficiaries of such a relationship, as it would give them access to armaments and training that they could obtain from no other source. In return, Loyalist terrorists would receive negligible political, moral and physical support. Loyalist terrorists would be much more likely to cultivate links with individual fascist paramilitaries like Michael McLaughlin and Peter Kapuchenko (see "The History of Fascism on Merseyide"). Nevertheless, overtures to the Loyalist community must not be overlooked and it is possible that the N.F. and B.N.P. may work especially hard in certain areas like Anfield and Dingle where there are large Loyalist communities. Certainly, with posters saying "Hang I.R.A. Murderers" and stickers pledging to "Support Loyal Ulster", such groups do make known their support for the Loyalist Community.

The History of Fascism on Merseyside

It is hard to discuss the history of fascist activity since 1945 in and around Liverpool because no material has been published on the subject. Only a basic picture can be drawn up of the pre-1979 situation, using various sources including Walker [1977], and Ben Tovim and Mufti [1979]. More recent activities can be studied more accurately using newspaper reports, copies of Searchlight, the fascist groups' own papers and confidential sources. Despite the difficulties involved, enough information was obtained to outline the evolution of Merseyside's fascist groups and a graphic interpretation is given in figure 4.

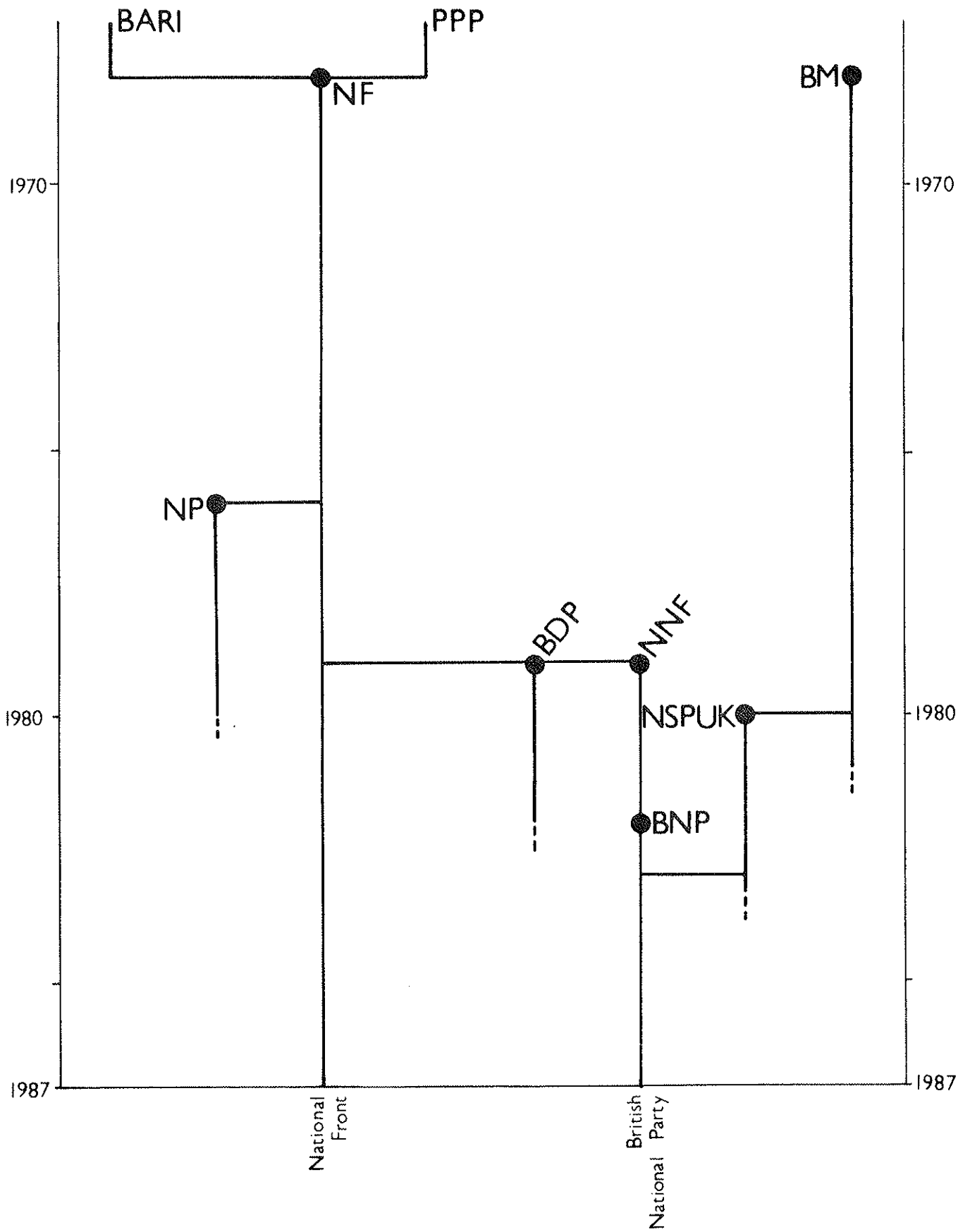
Despite the factors mentioned above (Liverpool - "Ripe" for Fascism?), which could encourage fascist activity, extreme right-wing groups seem to have had very little base in Merseyside. The area does not crop up as a major centre of fascist activity like London, Birmingham, Leicester and Leeds do. In fact, as Walker [1977] notes, it is really the south east of England where most of such activity is concentrated and the most support is derived.

Nevertheless, Merseyside has had the dubious honour of providing the Nazi movement in Britain with one of its most extreme leaders - Michael McLaughlin. McLaughlin was the son of an Irish Republican who had fought during the Easter Uprising and against Franco during the Spanish Civil War. Michael though, who had moved with his family to Liverpool, joined the National Socialist Movement in 1962. He was instrumental in the formation of the British Movement in 1968 as a hardline alternative to the N.F., and became its leader in the late 1970's. The movement, under his leadership, grew from a mere 250 members in 1975 to about 8000 in 1980, following the N.F.'s electoral disaster [National Student, July, 1986]. In 1983, he retired from full-time politics and now runs a survivalist shop in Wrexham, North Wales, called "Rucksack 'n' Rifle". He still runs a publishing company, as well, called "British Patriot Publications". Although the British Movement is still

Figure 4

The Evolution of the Extreme Right on Merseyside

(See list piii for abbreviations)



active, there has been no evidence of its presence on Merseyside since shortly after a local split in 1980.

In the same year as McLaughlin formed the British Movement, two groups based in Liverpool joined the N.F. These were "British Aid for the Repatriation of Immigrants", led by W.R. Williams and affiliated to the Racial Preservation Society, and the "Peoples Progressive Party".

In 1971, a major anti-Common Market demonstration was held in Liverpool, but the local group did not always keep in favour with the national leadership. In the early 1970's, Liverpool N.F. made much of the fact that it arranged coach trips for local O.A.P.'s, which Webster criticised, saying that "the N.F. is a political party, not a burial society!" [Walker, 1977]. However, Webster still saw Liverpool as an important branch and he even spent a week there during a split in 1975/76, trying to persuade its members to stay in the Front.

The Majority of members remained in the N.F. but a faction did split off, led by the N.F.'s then Liverpool organisers, Clive Lucas, and Bill Matchett. They formed a local branch of the National Party.

Ex-Tory Councillor for New Brighton, John Fishwick, then took over the task of organising Liverpool N.F. Under his leadership, the party entered the 1979 election and fought four seats - Edge Lane, Kirkdale, Walton and Wallasey. By 1983, they only managed to fight one - Mossley Hill - and, since then, no candidates have stood in local elections. The Front seemed to be all but dead until about 1984/85 when its profile was again raised.

In the late 70's and early 80's, the extreme Right was as split on Merseyside as it was nationally. Following the national split in 1979 (see appendix), the local N.F. split into 3 groups. One retained the name N.F. and remained under the continued leadership of John Fishwick. The British Democratic Party formed a local group under the leadership of John Blissett from New Brighton and Lloyd-Perry from Wallasey. A branch of Tyndall's New National Front, which later became the British National Party, was also set

up. Slightly later, in 1980, the British Movement also split. A faction, led by Ken Usher and John Steel broke away from the local party, led by Neston residents, Arthur and Mary Calland. Due to disagreements with McLaughlin, they formed a local branch of the National Socialist Party U.K. (N.S.P.U.K.) which is based in Dublin.

This organisational fragmentation was misleading, though, because there was much co-operation between groups and even joint party membership. The B.D.P., N.N.F. and N.S.P.U.K. seem to have been especially close and had a total combined membership not exceeding 20 active members [confidential source]. Nevertheless, one group did have an especially high profile, the N.S.P.U.K., led by Ken Usher, who was also the local contact at the time for the League of St. George, another ultra right-wing organisation. They distributed a large amount of posters and stickers, usually on well-chosen targets like left-wing bookshops and the local Community Relations Council. The slogans on these articles were especially offensive and included "Try work not rape, you ape!" and "Kill curry smelling Paki Bastards!" The N.S.P.U.K. were also thought to be responsible for the distribution of American Nazi literature. Ku Klux Klan stickers were joined by even more obnoxious ones credited to the "New Order" based in Virginia. One such sticker bears a prominent swastika with the slogan "Death to race mixers!" next to it. The N.S.P.U.K. even had its own newspaper, produced by Usher, entitled "Liverpool Storm Trooper" in obvious emulation of the German Nazis' "Der Sturmer". Other activities included physical attacks on progressive bookshop "News From Nowhere", the local Community Relations Council (for which Usher was prosecuted in 1980), local black people and anti-racists.

By the mid 1980's, the Fascists on Merseyside were much more consolidated. Only the N.F. and B.N.P. had survived. Both absorbed members from various splinter groups but, ironically, it was the respectability-seeking B.N.P. that absorbed most of the hardline Nazis and criminals from the N.S.P.U.K., even into the highest levels of its hierarchy. On its inception in

1982, the party was led by "Joey" Owens from Norris Green (see photograph 1). The following year, he was jailed for three months, after sending offensive material and razor blades to prominent local Jews. John Williams, currently holding the group's Post Office box, has a longer criminal record, including convictions for the possession of an unlicensed shotgun. The fact that Ian Sloan, the group's current leader, has no criminal record makes him rather unique among B.N.P. bosses nationwide. He was however arrested with Usher in 1986, after eyewitnesses identified the two as being the leaders of a gang who smashed the windows of the "News from Nowhere" bookshop on the afternoon of Saturday, 17th May, 1986. Usher was acquitted on the Judge's direction and Sloan was found not guilty. Usher has been found guilty of similar actions in the past though which have already been discussed.

One of the newly-formed B.N.P.'s earliest activities must have been the lead up to the 1983 election in which they put up one candidate - Donald James McKenchie for Walton constituency. Next came a national rally in April, 1984, held at Liverpool's Shaftsbury Hotel. The Main speaker was John Tyndall but Sloan and Usher also contributed. Sloan gave an unoriginal speech on "The Myth of `Six Million'" while Usher opened the meeting and introduced the speakers [Searchlight no. 109, July, 1984].

The B.N.P. were to hold another Liverpool rally in March of the next year but, despite stringent security precautions, like the booking of several different venues, the "Whites Fight Back" rally never went ahead. Anti-fascists, and especially Liverpool's Black Caucus, were well organised for the event and the small number of fascists were prevented from even entering the St.George's Hotel, where the meeting was eventually to have been held. As a consequence, Merseyside Police escorted the coach-load of B.N.P. members that had arrived, to the borders of Merseyside.

A year later, Sloan stood for the B.N.P. in the 1985 City Council elections but only managed to gain 0.85% of the vote in Warbreck Ward. Other B.N.P. activities are extremely sparse. Both Sloan and Usher have



Photograph 1. "Joey" Owens Selling Fascist Literature, Church St., Liverpool, 1981.

Photograph 2. Uneasy Bedfellows: Militant H.Q. (right) and the Adjacent N.F. H.Q.



contributed to the B.N.P.'s journal "Spearhead" [Sloan 1984 and 1986, Usher 1984]. Meetings are held at "The Swan" public house in London Road once a fortnight, which usually results in nearby 'bus shelters being defaced with racist stickers. The B.N.P.'s newspaper, "British Nationalist", is often sold in the Church Street precinct on a Saturday morning. Spearhead [no. 184, February, 1984] even boasts about a confrontation between its B.N.P. paper sellers and members of the Socialist Workers' Party. Confrontations have also taken place in 1986 since the B.N.P. have begun to sell their paper again.

The N.F. on Merseyside now seems to be a larger organisation and it is split into three branches: Liverpool, Sefton and Wirral. Until recently, all three branches had the same contact address - a Liverpool Post Office box - which suggests that the branches were very closely linked. Recently though, Wirral N.F. has taken out its own P.O. box and probably has a higher degree of autonomy now. The local leadership consists of Reginald Douglas for Liverpool, Michael Harris for Wirral, and, until 1985, Thomas Edwards for Sefton. The latter is, according to a National Front press release from 1985, in "political exile" in Scandinavia. It is ironic that the residence of Douglas, said to be the Liverpool N.F. H.Q., is next-door to the Militant H.Q. in Anfield (see photograph 2).

All the branches seem to be quite active and, according to a headline article in the "Wirral Globe", Wirral has the highest number of new recruits in Britain [Hovden, 1986]. All branches put out publicity, especially in the form of posters and stickers, and the Liverpool and Sefton branches have also held their own public meetings recently. The Sefton branch were supposed to hold the first one on the 1st April, 1986, outside Bootle Town Hall on Oriel Road, after they were banned from using public property. Eye witnesses say that the meeting only attracted only four people, all members of the B.N.P., and no-one from the N.F. even turned up to speak. The date of the meeting suggests that it may have been set up as an April Fool Joke. It

seems unlikely though that the N.F. would go to the trouble of producing posters to advertise the event, knowing full-well that it could attract a few supporters who may have been injured by the anti-fascist presence that all N.F. meetings attract. The N.F. did also formally apply to the local council for permission to use the Hall. It is more likely that, having been barred from the Town Hall, the fascists decided not to bother with the meeting.

Liverpool's meeting was also a disaster, although N.F. News [no. 78] described the event as "Liverpool Victory". The so-called "Defend Free Speech" [N.F. News no. 78] rally, to be held on the 7th June, 1986, was advertised all over the city by way of posters, and was to be held in Liverpool Town Hall on Dale Street. The Council subsequently banned the Front from using public property but this did not stop the Front from continuing to advertise the Town Hall venue. On the 7th June, about 40 - 50 Fronters (including a coach only a third full from London) turned up to a very short meeting held in a car park behind the Town Hall. Anti-fascists managed to attract over 1000 people to two counter demonstrations. The only leading figures within the N.F. to travel to Liverpool were Nick Griffin and Ulster organiser, John Field, but neither actually attended the meeting, because they got lost with 30 other fascists [Searchlight no. 133]. N.F. News [no. 78] claims that the Front actually foiled anti-fascists by holding a rally outside Bootle Town Hall, but this seems unlikely as "scouts" from Anti-Fascist Action were watching this venue all day, as they had suspected that the N.F. may have met there after they had been banned from meeting at Liverpool Town Hall.

Other local N.F. activities have not been so high profile. N.F. paper sellers operate intermittently in Church Street, Liverpool; the High Street in Crosby; and the pedestrian precinct in Birkenhead. Currently it is "The Flag", the N.F. Support Group's paper, which is being sold. Birkenhead is said to rate 12th in this publication's national sales league [Hovden, 1986]. Informal meetings are held on Monday nights in "The Excelsior" public house

on Dale Street, Liverpool, with members mostly from the north of the city attending. Sefton N.F. has even announced its intention to institute "Front Aid" in Liverpool's Town Centre and Pier Head [N.F. News no. 76]. This would involve the provision of "cigarettes, hot drinks, biscuits and some sort of protection to fight back the winter weather". So far, nothing has been seen of this grand social gesture and the encroachment of Sefton N.F. on to what is clearly Liverpool N.F.'s territory is bemusing. It is probably because Liverpool and Sefton N.F. are the same group - existing separately by name only.

The local N.F. has also been trying to infiltrate Liverpool's strong Ulster Unionist movement and they are known to have been involved in an attack upon a Socialist Workers' Party meeting on Ireland. Some Liverpool N.F. members are also thought to have been among a mob of Unionists that attacked a Sinn Fein rally in Manchester in December, 1986. On the whole, though, their attempts to link with Unionists have failed, with most Unionists on Merseyside being openly hostile to the N.F. [Confidential source]. More mysteriously, Liverpool N.F. sent some of their literature and a recruiting letter to 200 Militant members in the city. Although the Front said they were trying to win over Militant supporters to "the economic principles of National Revolution" [N.F. News, no. 78], the main reason for this was probably to act as intimidation, a warning that the N.F. knew where 200 Militant members lived. A final instance of N.F. infiltration is the setting up of "cells" in several local schools. The N.F. claim to have set up groups in 4 local schools [Searchlight no.126] and it was hoped that the spatial aspects of these could be discussed. However, the unwillingness of the local education authority and N.U.T. to discuss the matter made this impossible. A leaflet that was handed out at a Walton secondary school recently can be seen in figure 5.

An interesting postscript to this chapter is to mention the "Survivalist" movement on Merseyside. Although there is no evidence of an organised

Who can stop it?

THE **TORIES** have allowed hundreds of thousands more Immigrants to enter Britain since 1979. So much for Thatcher's "anti-immigration" election promises.

THE **LABOUR PARTY** want to pull the police out of multi-racial cities, creating open "no go" areas. Imagine what life would be like for decent White Britons unlucky enough to find themselves in such an area.

THE **LIBERAL/SDP ALLIANCE** want increased Immigration and plan to buy off trouble with special aid to Coloured areas. But this policy has already failed, and Britain just can't afford it. How many more hospitals would have to close to keep Brixton quiet for a year?

THE **NATIONAL FRONT** calls for the phased, financially assisted repatriation of all Coloured immigrants and their descendants.

CAN IT BE DONE? Yes. Just four chartered jets could ferry 2,000 of them home every day. That's well over 2 million in just 3 years. Britain would be White again within ten years.

COULD WE AFFORD IT? Yes. Britain gives away £1,000 Million in foreign aid every year. This could be used to give £1,000 to one million people every year - an average of over £5,000 per family. And with massive savings on unemployment benefit and housing costs, we can't afford not to.

WOULD THEY GO? Yes. Opinion polls among Coloured people have shown that over half of them would go back if they were just given the fare. The NF would also give generous grants and pay the pensions of those who have worked and paid taxes here.

Even those born here are realising that Britain is not for them. The Rastafarians in particular are desperate to "return to Africa". Young Sikhs want their own nation in India.

But Capitalist employers want them as cheap labour, so they are forced to stay. This new slavery must end. Peoples of every race must be allowed to live their own lives, with their own cultures, in their own countries.

Repatriation isn't just a dream. It can be done. We can defuse Britain's racial time-bomb. But only the NF can do it.

THE NATIONAL FRONT
WE SAY WHAT MILLIONS THINK.

For more information send 50p to 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon, Surrey.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

OR PHONE 01-684-0271.

P.F. NF, 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon Surrey.

NATIONAL FRONT P.O. BOX 89, LIVERPOOL, L69 6AH

POWDER-KEG BRITAIN



Rioting mobs.....looted shops.....screaming sirens.....burning cars.....backstreet rape.....rubble strewn streets. How many people believed White "racialists" when they warned only a few years ago that scenes like these would become as common as they are today?

Yet violent clashes between Black and Asian rioters and the police are now so frequent that the press often doesn't even report them. And fighting between immigrants and young Whites defending our traditional British way of life is regularly hushed up to avoid it spreading even faster.

Up until 1977, not even riot shields had been needed by mainland police. Now they are armed to the teeth, but are still unable to prevent growing disorder on the streets of immigrant areas.

And the violence is only just beginning. In response to police stocks of plastic bullets and tear gas, young blacks are turning to fire-arms. They are just one step away from an IRA-style terror campaign.

The police in London, the Midlands and many towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire have also warned of the threat from heavily-armed Asian gangs such as the 5,000 strong Tooti Nungs, whose activities include ritual rape and drug-pushing. When these gangs decide to take over "their" areas, there will be nothing that disorganised White residents or the police can do to stop it.

For months now, dozens of our cities have been simmering with growing racial tension. The police know it, the immigrants know it, you know it. Everyone is preparing for a massive explosion which will make the riots so far look tame affairs, bringing Belfast to Birmingham and Londonderry to London. The horrors of a bloody racial civil war and the serious economic disruption of cities in flames are now frighteningly close. **BRITAIN IS A POWDER-KEG - WAITING FOR A-SPARK.**

group, there are a number of shops supplying enthusiasts. Liverpool's best-known military supply shop is "Soldier of Fortune" (see photograph 3) whose name is taken directly from the world's premier mercenary magazine. As well as selling a large range of survivalist equipment and deadly weapons, the Victoria Street shop also sells a wide range of Nazi regalia. Even more notorious for its peddling of Nazi regalia is a shop in Walton which sells replica Nazi armbands and flags as well as biographies of Oswald Mosley (see photograph 4). It is also interesting to note that the owner of "Soldier of Fortune" and its sister shop in Chester, Peter Kapuchenko, (also known as Kabluckzenko) has strong links with fellow survivalist, Michael McLaughlin, the former British Movement leader. The two were arrested in July, 1986, in Trowbridge, after they had acquired arms, probably from a local army base, which were to have been sent to protestant extremists in Ulster [Anon. Black Flag, 14/7/86]. Hence the survivalist movement not only nurtures fascism, through its passive peddling of literature and emblems, but some enthusiasts take a more active role in promoting reactionary, extremist, Right-wing causes.



Photograph 3. "Soldier of Fortune", Military Supply Shop
Victoria St, Liverpool.

Photograph 4. Front Window Display of Militaria Shop,
Church Road West, Walton.



PART TWO - THE EVIDENCE OF FASCIST ACTIVITY

Elections

As has already been stated, fascist groups today are much less committed to electoral politics as a way of gaining power than they were in the 1970's when it was clear that they had at least some mass support. It was the 1979 election in which the N.F., led by John Tyndall and Martin Webster, expected to make considerable gains, but on Merseyside as elsewhere, the results were disastrous. The campaign by the N.F. began with the Merseyside County Council by-election in Vauxhall the year before, called due to the resignation of Lord Sefton who had previously held the seat. Already a scandal arose involving the N.F. with all ten of their candidates' signatories claiming they had been "conned" into nominating him [Liverpool Weekly News, 24th November, 1978]. Partly due to this, the candidate John Williams gained fewer than 100 votes.

The general election campaign really began with an election meeting illegally held in the British Rail Staff Club in Toxteth [Liverpool Daily Post, 3rd February, 1979], and a Radio City interview on the 3rd February, 1979, with John Tyndall who believed that:

"Merseyside was ripe for the N.F. because of its unemployment problem...and [the fact that] 'coloured immigrants' were a major cause of Liverpool's problems" [Ben-Tovim and Mufti, 1979].

Tyndall stated that three candidates would stand on Merseyside: Howard Hawksley in Edge Lane, Warner Reginald Williams in Kirkdale and John Fishwick in Wallasey. At a later date, a fourth candidate was announced: William Francis Haire, standing in Walton. Statements were issued by the Labour, Conservative and Liberal candidates in each constituency the Front stood in, condemning their policies [Daily Post, 8th March, 1979]. Ten thousand leaflets were also distributed by Merseyside Anti-Racist Alliance in Edge Hill during the weeks leading up to the election and, in conjunction with the Anti-Nazi League, they mobilised over a thousand people to demonstrate

against an N.F. election meeting in April, being held at New Brighton's swimming complex.

Whether it was this well-co-ordinated campaign by anti-racists discrediting the N.F. that led to their spectacularly poor election results will never be known. What is clear is that, on Merseyside, the Front did worse than almost anywhere else in the U.K. On average, the 31 N.F. candidates who stood in North West England gained 1% of the vote, which was almost exactly the same as the average for the U.K. as a whole. This compared poorly with the traditional regions of N.F. support like London and the West Midlands where the average N.F. share of the poll was 2.17% and 1.57% respectively. It compared well though to peripheral areas of Britain like Scotland and Wales which only managed 0.23% and 0.57% respectively. Little better was the N.F. vote on Merseyside which averaged only 0.72%, and none of the individual results surpassed even the North West average of 1%. Fishwick, standing in Wallasey, gained the best result, securing 0.92% of the vote. On the other side of the river, the next-best result, 0.69% of the vote, was achieved by Haire in Walton. Then Williams gained 0.65% in Kirkdale and Hawksley suffered the most humiliating result in Edge Lane - gaining a mere 0.62% of the vote.

By the 1983 election, the N.F.'s fortunes had declined considerably and they managed to field only one candidate - Mark Andrew Erikson Rohrer in Mossley Hill. The B.N.P. also put up a candidate - Donald James Mckenchnie in Walton. Again, they did spectacularly badly, Rohrer gaining 0.46% of the votes and Mckenchnie 0.67%. This is not such a surprising failure as in 1979, considering the lack of publicity for the Front and the even less well known B.N.P. at this time. Recently, the only candidate that has stood is Ian Sloan for the B.N.P. in Warbreck ward, during the May, 1985, Liverpool City Council elections. As Spearhead [no.217, June, 1986] said "The Northern results were disappointing." Sloan gained only 0.85% of the vote. Though he gained a better result than most other fascists on Merseyside in the last 10 years, he

certainly had nothing to boast about. Local elections usually have a much lower turnout than national elections, so a small party with dedicated followers has an advantage. Sloan only won 55 votes - many of which probably came from party members living in the ward. It is known that many of the members of Liverpool B.N.P. live within this ward's boundaries [confidential source]. Come a general election it is unlikely that the B.N.P. would do so well because the votes of the party devotees would be swamped by the much larger number of voters.

With the exception of Mossley Hill, there is no surprise about the areas in which fascist groups have chosen to stand for election. The rest are all predominantly white, working class areas. Mossley Hill is not only a reasonably affluent constituency but it also has a large Jewish population, and the University halls of residence provide a large number of student voters who are not commonly known for their affinity to fascism. The most likely explanation for the N.F. standing in this area was to threaten the Jewish residents living there, or at least stir up feelings against them among the rest of the constituency's population. The Germanic connotations of the candidate's name - Rohrer - may have been perceived as especially threatening by the Jewish community. In view of the constituency in which he stood, it is not surprising that Rohrer won the second lowest N.F. vote on Merseyside in the last 10 years.

However, the differences in the percentages of votes won are so small that they cannot be interpreted as indicating major differences in support for fascist groups between areas. The difference between the highest vote, 0.92% in Wallasey (1979), and the lowest vote 0.46% in Mossley Hill (1983), is only in the order of 0.46%. In fact, Fishwick's 0.92% result in Wallasey was probably due as much to his political experience as the local N.F. leader and ex-Tory councillor as any characteristics the area may have had.

Graffiti, Stickers and Posters

Just as there have been few micro-scale studies of fascist activity, few serious studies of graffiti have been undertaken, even though it is an increasingly important method of artistic and political expression in present western society. Most of the studies that have appeared have dealt with the phenomenon of "Hip-Hop" graffiti, a highly skilful art form practised mainly by young black and hispanic Americans in cities such as New York and Philadelphia. These self-styled "street artists" produce colourful, mural-like graphics, usually based upon the perpetrator's name or crew name¹. It developed first in the inner-city areas of eastern cities, most notably the Bronx, Harlem and Philadelphia, and progressed from the crude signature, which could be seen sprayed on walls in the early seventies, to the works of art which can now be seen on walls and especially railway carriages in most U.S. cities. Examples of this kind of work can be found in Cooper and Chalfonts' excellent book, "Subway Art". A very small number of examples can also be seen in Liverpool. Photographs 5 and 6 show a mural by the Eastwood Rockers, in Granby Street, Toxteth (L8). Leroy Cooper is a more notorious graffiti artist and his work can be found all over Toxteth. It varies from the painting of local street signs in the Rastafarian colours of red, gold and green (see photograph 7) to the spraying of walls with his "Liverpool Life Force" slogans (see photograph 8). All these examples are crude, compared to the premier American work, however.

The antecedent of this type of graffiti is discussed in a paper by Ley and Cybriwsky, published in 1974. The paper was written at a time when the aerosol spray can was becoming widely available. This opened up an exciting new medium with which young graffitiists had to experiment. Naturally, a growth in the amount of graffiti co-incided with this. Ley and Cybriwsky note that the New York Transit Authority's spending on graffiti removal rose

1. In hip-hop "street-speak" a "crew" is a group of friends or gang.



Photograph 5. Hip-hop Graffiti by Break-Dance Crew
The Eastwood Rockers, Granby St., Toxteth.

Photograph 6. Hip-hop Graffiti (detail) by Break-Dance Crew
The Eastwood Rockers, Granby St., Toxteth.





Photograph 7. One of Leroy Cooper's red, gold and green Street Signs, Princes Avenue, Toxteth.

Photograph 8. Leroy Cooper's "Liverpool Life Force" Graffito, Toxteth.



from \$250,000 in 1970 to \$300,000 in 1971 and \$500,000 in 1972. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, the Transit Authority was spending over \$1 million a year, removing the daubings of an estimated 10,000 artists [Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974]. The major part of the article was concerned with the study of territoriality, however, of both the loner and the gang. This research revealed specific spatial patterns - territories in which certain artists and gangs operated and rivals only occasionally penetrated. In a similar vein, and with similar conclusions, Piccaro undertook research into graffiti as a territorial marker for gangs in Glasgow [Piccaro, 1977].

Political graffiti can also be used to delimit territory. A good example of this is in north and east London where political groups of the extreme left and right fight for control of the streets on local walls. The groups most active in this type of struggle are Red Action and the National Front. Especially in Islington and Hackney, slogans like "Red Action Zone" and "Kill NF Scum" or, conversely, "Smash Red Action", can be seen. Political graffiti is rarely aesthetically desirable though, often merely a scrawled slogan or symbol. Attempts have been made, however, to improve the aesthetic quality of political graffiti by some organisations. Anarchist punk-rock band "Crass" covered most of London's underground stations with their intricately designed motifs and slogans like "Destroy Power, not People", "Fight War, not Wars", and "Stuff your Sexist Shit", the latter being specifically designed as an addition to the numerous lingerie advertisements displayed on the Underground. This imaginative strategy has not caught on though and political graffiti from both the Left and Right continues to be decidedly drab.

Posters and stickers, though less permanent, can get a message across more powerfully. A dynamic image and slogan can say much more than an unsightly scrawl. It also has the added bonus that additional information, like a contact address, which the graffitiist would not have time to add to his/her slogan, can be conveyed. Really it is this question of time that is most important. Extremist political groups will want to get their messages

across in the fastest, most inconspicuous way, firstly to avoid arrest and prosecution and secondly to avoid being caught by rival political activists. Stickers and posters provide an easy way to make a point without taking the risks involved in painting a more permanent message. However, nothing seems to have been written about the use of posters by extremist organisations in Britain, although much attention has been paid to the use of such media in Bolshevik Russia, Nazi Germany and, especially, turbulent Spain during the civil war. The lack of academic interest in these phenomena is bemusing, especially considering that, for many political groups, the majority of their propaganda will be disseminated in this way.

These items and their spatial distribution are relatively easy to study as well. In this case, the site and different types of graffiti, stickers and posters were determined by walking every class 'A' and class 'B' road within a predetermined boundary. Roughly, this covered most of Liverpool and part of Sefton (see map 1). Part of Birkenhead (L41) was also covered but a lack of time meant that this part of the study was not completed, so its results have largely been ignored. The type of area in which graffiti, stickers and posters were found was also noted, as were the objects on which they appeared. The definition of what was fascist was more difficult to determine. Obviously, all N.F., B.N.P. and racist material was recorded but there was some trepidation over whether Ulster-Unionist material should be included. Certainly, Loyalists are right-wing, often extremely so, and of course there is also some evidence of co-operation between Unionists and the N.F. However, there is no direct evidence in Liverpool of links between the two groups, and indeed, as stated earlier, a prominent Unionist spoke confidentially of his and others' contempt for racist groups, like the N.F. It was thus decided not to include Loyalist graffiti, stickers or posters in the study. Another problem arose in deciding what sort of graffiti should be included in the study. As practically every main road in Liverpool is covered with "NF" symbols, written in marker pen or chalk, it was decided only to include painted or spray-painted graffiti in

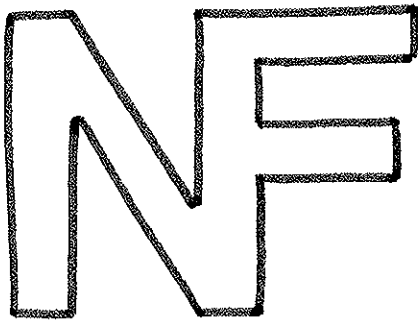
the study. To have included every single example of fascist graffiti would have produced an unusable amount of data. It was postulated that much of the chalked graffiti would not have been written by activists anyway, but by young teenagers, emulating what they perceive as threatening or subversive symbols, but necessarily fascist or racist.

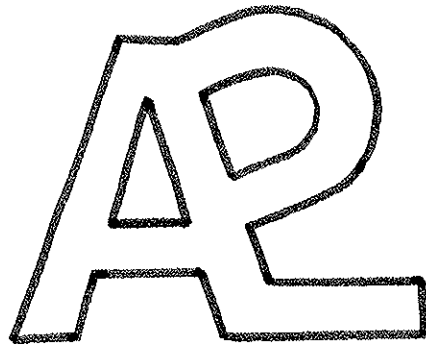
Despite the fact that most "NF" symbols were not recorded, because they were written with marker pen or chalk, the most common graffitoid indicator of fascist presence was still the "NF" monogram (see glossary, figure 6). In all 160 of these easily identifiable symbols were recorded, mostly painted in spray-paint. Other symbols were less conspicuous. Despite the powerful appeal of the swastika (see glossary, figure 6), due to its historical connotations, only 15 of them were found painted around Liverpool. Five Celtic crosses, 2 Anti-Paki League symbols and 1 Ku Klux Klan symbol were also found (see glossary, figure 6). These are not easily recognisable to the majority of the population as fascist or racist symbols so their absence is only to be expected. It is the "NF" symbol which is recognised as the symbol of racism and fascism and so it dominates.

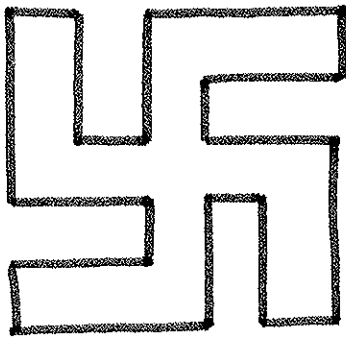
These symbols were sometimes, but not always, found in association with slogans. The most popular of these were bi-syllabic phrases like "Wogs Out" or "Niggers Out" (see figure 7). More complex phrases, like "NF - British Resistance - NF" were much less common (see photograph 9). Although all such slogans are insulting, one was particularly so. It was "Nazis Fuck Nigers" (sic) painted on Liverpool F.C.'s Anfield ground (see photograph 10). Only 19 painted slogans were recorded in Liverpool though, obviously showing that they do not comprise a major source of propaganda for fascist groups. It is much quicker and thus less risky to spray an "NF" symbol on a wall; to paint a slogan requires a higher level of commitment.

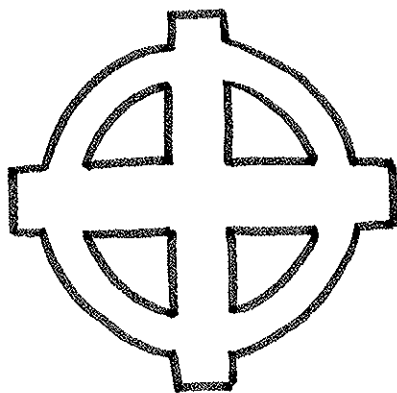
Twenty-one painted slogans were also recorded in Birkenhead (see figure 8). These are rather anomalous though, because they appeared in a

FIGURE 6

GLOSSARY OF MAIN FASCIST SYMBOLSNational Front.

 A large, hollow, stylized outline of the letters 'N' and 'F' joined together. The 'N' is on the left and the 'F' is on the right, with a shared vertical stem.


 A large, hollow, stylized outline of the letters 'A' and 'R' joined together. The 'A' is on the left and the 'R' is on the right, with a shared vertical stem.


 A large, hollow, stylized outline of a swastika symbol, with the arms pointing to the right.


 A large, hollow, stylized outline of a Celtic cross, which is a cross with rounded ends and a circle in the center.

Anti-Paki League: though not an actual formal political grouping, the name "Anti-Paki League" has been used to claim responsibility for a number of attacks against Asian families. Note the emulation of the joined letters as used by the National Front.

Swastika: the symbol used by Germany's Nazi Party, the "National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei" (N.S.D.A.P.). Significantly, it is a reversal (therefore negation) of an eastern religious symbol representing life. Though not actually used in N.F. or B.N.P. publications, it is often found in association with such right-wing graffiti.

Celtic Cross: "Symbol of European Nationalism" [N.F. News, Number 77]. Attributed to the ancient Celts, the cross was adopted by the British Movement but, since their demise, it has been used by the National Front. It is another magickal symbol - this time from the western tradition. In the Kabbalah, the four quarters of the circle, divided by the cross, represent earth, air, water and fire. More importantly, the circle is a symbol of unity.

FIGURE 7

FREQUENCY OF PAINTED RACIST SLOGANS

<u>SLOGAN</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
"Niggers out"	6.00	31.58
"Wogs out"	4.00	21.05
"Nazis Fuck Nigers" (sic)	1.00	5.26
"White Power"	1.00	5.26
"NF - British Resistance - NF"	1.00	5.26
"No Common Market - National Front"	1.00	5.26
"Free Joe Pearce"	1.00	5.26
"Vote NF"	1.00	5.26
"Bulldog"	1.00	5.26
"Stinky Coons"	1.00	5.26
"Irish Scum Out"	1.00	5.26
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>19.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>



Photograph 9. Fascist and anti-Fascist Graffiti on Wall adjacent to Liverpool F.C.'s Ground, Anfield.

Photograph 10. Graffiti on Liverpool F.C.'s Ground, Anfield.



FIGURE 8

FREQUENCY OF PAINTED RACIST SLOGANS IN BIRKENHEAD

<u>SLOGAN</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
"Kill Aki"	5.00	23.81
"Aki Dies"	2.00	9.52
"Niger" (sic)	2.00	9.52
"Black Twat Dies"	2.00	9.52
"Kill the Coon"	2.00	9.52
"Aki Must Die"	1.00	4.76
"Aki is a Black Twat"	1.00	4.76
"Aki is a Murderer"	1.00	4.76
"Destroy Aki"	1.00	4.76
"Aki Murderer"	1.00	4.76
"Black Twat"	1.00	4.76
"We Want Aki's Blood"	1.00	4.76
"Birkenhead is White"	1.00	4.76
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>21.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

specific place, at a specific time, and they were all directed against a specific person. All the slogans were painted outside Birkenhead Park Station in the early part of summer, 1986. As can be seen, nearly all the slogans are directed against a character called "Aki". Aki is in fact Akinwale Arobieke, a young black man with a reputation for attacking children who on one occasion chased a 16-year old to his death [Sherlock, 1986]. The graffiti appeared as a direct result of this attack and so cannot really be considered as representative of any specific organisation or ideology. Rumour has it that that the graffitiists were all younger pupils at a Birkenhead secondary school. Their identification of anti-black sentiments with the N.F. should be noted however because many NF symbols were found sprayed in the vicinity with the same paint.

Much more representative of the actions of an actual political organisation are stickers and posters. Any misguided youth can spray an NF symbol or a racist slogan as a rebellious act against society, but only a committed activist would have access to N.F. or B.N.P. printed material. The fact that the N.F. is a much larger organisation and has more popular support than the B.N.P. is reflected in the numbers of stickers and posters each organisation manages to distribute. From figures 9, 11, 12 and 13 it can be seen that the N.F. manages to distribute nearly 4 times as much material as the B.N.P. The N.F. put up 394 stickers and 104 posters in the study area, compared to the B.N.P.'s meagre 77 stickers and 54 posters.

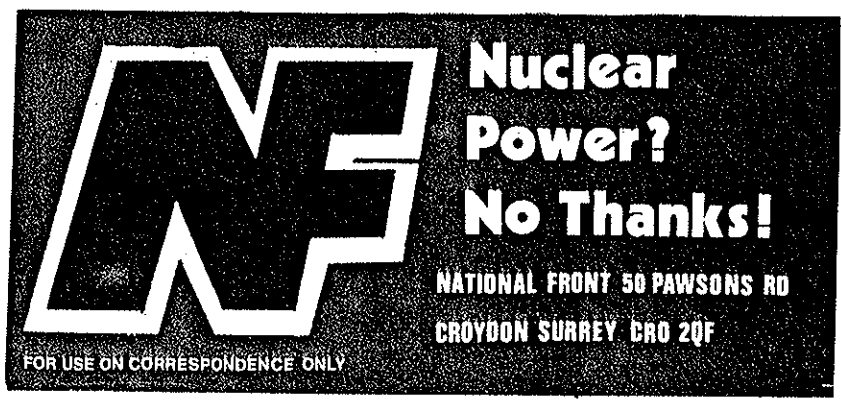
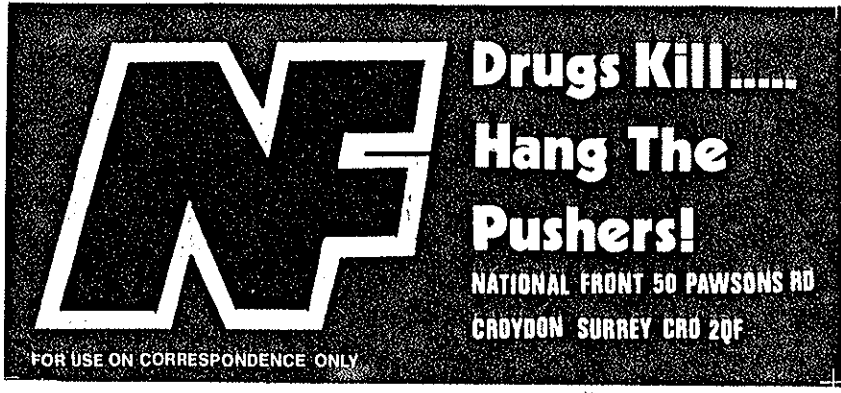
In fact N.F. stickers are the most numerous indicators of fascist activity in Liverpool (see figure 9). This not surprising as they are so easy to put up. Posters are bulky and need to be glued with wall-paper paste, but stickers are self-adhesive and can be carried in a pocket. N.F. stickers are nearly all of a uniform design and so are easy to identify. They are red, with a black insignia on the left, and a slogan in white on the right. The emotive slogans are all similar and every single one is followed by an exclamation mark (see figure 10). The fact that the stickers are so homogeneous means

FIGURE 9

FREQUENCY OF NATIONAL FRONT STICKERS

<u>STICKER</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
Unidentifiable	223.00	56.60
"Stuff the Race Act!"	77.00	19.54
"Stuff Maggie Thatcher!"	24.00	6.09
"Yanks Out! Smash CND!"	8.00	2.03
"Foreign Troops Out of Britain!"	7.00	1.78
"Peace through Repatriation!"	7.00	1.78
"Ban Foreign Imports!"	6.00	1.52
"National Freedom, Social Justice!"	6.00	1.52
"Oppose Cruelty to Animals!"	5.00	1.27
"Drugs Kill, Hang the Pushers!"	5.00	1.27
"Tax the Greedy, not the Needy!"	4.00	1.01
"Fight for White Workers' Power!"	4.00	1.01
"Keep Britain White!"	4.00	1.01
"Open Your Eyes to Media Lies!"	4.00	1.01
"Support Loyal Ulster!"	3.00	0.76
"Britain for the British!"	1.00	0.25
"Independence for Ulster!"	1.00	0.25
"White Pride, White Unity, White Power!"	1.00	0.25
"Free All Loyalist Prisoners!"	1.00	0.25
"White Power!"	1.00	0.25
"Nuclear Power? No thanks!"	1.00	0.25
"Blame the Bosses for the Blacks!"	1.00	0.25
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>394.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Figure 10 National Front Stickers



**STUFF THE RACE ACT
FREE
JOE PEARCE!**
NATIONAL FRONT: 01-684 0271



that the different types of stickers cannot be identified once the slogan has been defaced. Thus, over half the stickers recorded (56.6%) were unidentifiable. All that remained of most of them was a corner of red paper. The most common sticker that could be identified was the exception to the rule, the black and white "Stuff the Race Act!" sticker (see figure 9). An amazing amount of resources was channelled by the N.F. into its campaign during the first 6 months of 1986 to "Free Joe Pearce", a senior party official jailed for inciting racial hatred in the Young N.F. journal, Bulldog. This sticker was produced as part of that campaign. In the use of this item, the N.F. not only tried to gain support for a jailed comrade, they were also pursuing their new policy of openly flouting the law by calling on people to "Stuff the Race Act". This is a policy more akin to extreme left-wing politics and the stickers found also suggest that the N.F. is trying to follow a new, populist, pseudo-left-wing path. The second most common sticker encouraged people to "Stuff Maggie Thatcher!", and others called for the removal of foreign troops from British soil; the ending of cruelty to animals; the taxation of the rich, rather than the poor; and even the scrapping of nuclear power. More obvious anti-capitalist rhetoric was also prominent and an especially surprising slogan was "Blame the Bosses for the Blacks!" This example also illustrates that racist sentiments still figure highly. The most blatantly racist stickers, like "White Power!", "White Pride, White Unity, White Power!" and "Keep Britain White" were not found in large quantities though. This is probably explained by the fact that these insulting items would be removed by most people. Such extreme racist material will feature highly in the number of "unidentifiable" stickers.

Recently, local groups have been producing their own stickers. Birkenhead NF's are professionally designed and multicoloured, with the slogan "Ban Imports, Buy British" written on them (see figure 10). Liverpool N.F.'s are much more primitive, being merely an address label printed on a computer. These items only appeared after the study was complete, however.

Like the stickers, a large number of the posters put up in Liverpool were part of the "Free Joe Pearce" campaign. In fact, nearly a quarter of the posters dealt directly with this issue, while posters advertising a public meeting, held as part of this campaign, also featured strongly (see figure 11). Other posters called for the prosecution of the "murderers" of Albert Mariner, an O.A.P. N.F. supporter who died from a heart attack outside an election meeting; for "Work not Dole"; the removal of U.S. air bases from British soil; and "White Workers' Power". Others merely advertised the existence of Liverpool N.F. and its contact address, while some were just the centre pages of unsold copies of N.F. News. Unlike the stickers, most of the slogans on the posters were not particularly controversial. This is probably due to the fact that it is easier to get caught putting up a poster than a sticker.

Far fewer B.N.P. posters and stickers were found and there was much less variety. Only 3 different types of stickers and 4 types of posters were found (see figures 12 and 13). As with the N.F., the stickers tended to be fairly uniform; white with printing in either black or red, an emblem on the left, slogan in the middle and picture on the right. Again, the vast majority were unidentifiable (85.71%), because they had been defaced. The slogans on those that could be read showed the party's continuing pre-occupation with race. They range from attempts at populism like "Put Old Folk before Aliens!" to the more blatant racism of "Stop the Riots - Peace through Repatriation!" and the ludicrous "Be Proud of your Race!" A large proportion of the posters also dealt with the question of race, albeit in a slightly more subtle way. The most popular design was an election poster used during the May, 1986, local council elections, in which Ian Sloan stood for the B.N.P. This item bears a portrait of an innocent-looking, young girl, above whom is written "Don't condemn her to a black future!" Other posters deal with the B.N.P.'s other pre-occupations: Ulster, the military power of Britain, and what they see as their inadequate access to "free speech". Again the posters

FIGURE 11FREQUENCY OF NATIONAL FRONT POSTERS

<u>POSTER</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
"Jailed! For Telling the Truth, Joe Pearce"	25.00	24.04
"Public Meeting" (7th June, 1986)	16.00	15.38
Pages from N.F.News	12.00	11.54
"Murdered! Albert Marriner"	11.00	10.57
"Liverpool N.F."	10.00	9.61
"Work Not Dole!"	7.00	6.73
Unidentifiable	7.00	6.73
Leaflets (unidentifiable)	5.00	4.81
Public Meeting (1st April, 1986)	4.00	3.85
"Yanks Out, Smash CND!"	2.00	1.92
"Free Speech!"	2.00	1.92
"Fight for White Workers' Power!"	1.00	0.96
"Read N.F.News!"	1.00	0.96
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>104.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

FIGURE 12

FREQUENCY OF BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY STICKERS

<u>STICKER</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
Unidentifiable	66.00	85.71
"Be Proud of Your Race!"	6.00	7.79
"Stop the Riots - Peace through Repatriation!"	4.00	5.19
"Put Old Folk before Aliens!"	1.00	1.30
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>77.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

FIGURE 13

FREQUENCY OF BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY POSTERS

<u>POSTER</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
"Don't Condemn Her to a Black Future!"	21.00	38.89
Unidentifiable	16.00	29.63
"Hang I.R.A. Murderers!"	7.00	12.96
"Make Britain Strong!"	6.00	11.11
"Whatever Happened to Free Speech?"	4.00	7.41
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>54.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

are not as controversial as the stickers, probably, as with the N.F., due to the risks of getting caught fly-posting them by the police, or members of the public.

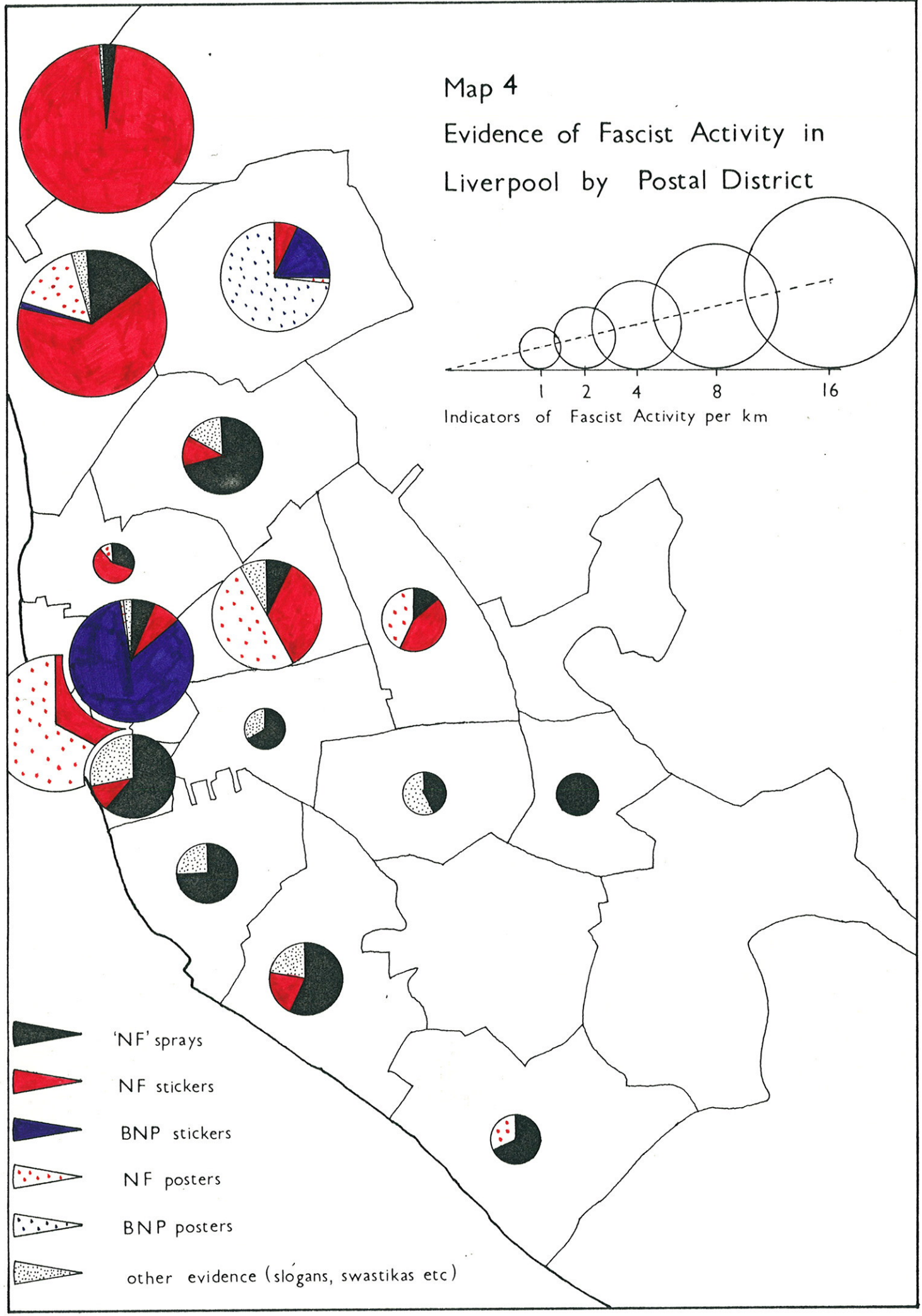
The spatial characteristics of these indicators of fascist activity were quite startling (see figure 14 and map 4). On average there were 4.54 indicators per km for the whole of Liverpool, but there were wide variations around this figure. As postulated, the vast majority of such material was found in the northern, white, working-class areas of Liverpool. The more prosperous southern areas had much less evidence of fascist activity and three of them, Knotty Ash (L14), Garston (L19) and Woolton (L25) had none at all. In contrast, the northern-most areas: Litherland (L21), Bootle (L20) and Walton (L9) had an average number of indicators per km of 15.4, 10.7 and 6.6 respectively. The city centre of Liverpool also had a high number of indicators. The business district (L2) had an average of 9.0 indicators per km and the northern and western parts of the town centre (L3) had 8.1 indicators per km. The main shopping area (L1) had fewer indicators (3.3 per km), probably because most of the posters, stickers and graffiti would have been covered over very quickly with the vast number of commercial posters billed in the area. It is also relevant to note that the central shopping area is more heavily policed than the two other areas and it is also much busier at night, the prime time for graffitiists and bill posters. The fact that the area is so busy in the day-time as well means that there is a good chance that fascist material will be removed by concerned members of the public.

The main area of black residence in Liverpool, Toxteth (L8), had a surprisingly high number of indicators. Although, with an average of 1.7 indicators per km, it was well below average, the fact that any indicators exist at all is surprising. However, when one looks at map 5, it can easily be explained. All the indicators of fascist activity were found in the Dingle with none appearing in the main district of black residence, roughly bounded by Princes

FIGURE 14
INDICATORS OF FASCIST ACTIVITY BY POSTAL DISTRICT

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8	L9	L13	L14	L15	L16	L17	L18	L19	L20	L21	L25	L41	TOTAL
Distance covered (kms.)	5.5	2.0	9.0	12.5	10.0	6.0	10.5	14.0	11.0	14.5	5.0	8.5	1.5	5.0	7.5	6.5	24.5	10.0	9.5	2.5	175.5
No. of 'N.F.' sprays	11.0	0.0	4.0	27.0	3.0	3.0	9.0	18.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	3.0	1.0	8.0	0.0	4.0	39.0	3.0	0.0	22.0	160.0
No. per km.	2.0	0.0	0.4	2.2	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.7	1.6	0.0	0.6	1.6	0.3	0.0	8.8	-
No. of stickers	0.0	6.0	66.0	5.0	6.0	14.0	0.0	0.0	18.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	172.0	149.0	0.0	17.0	471.0
No. per km.	0.0	3.0	7.3	0.4	0.6	2.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	7.0	14.9	0.0	6.8	-
No. of posters	2.0	12.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	55.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	43.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	158.0
No. per km.	0.4	6.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.8	-
No. of N.F. stickers	0.0	6.0	5.0	5.0	6.0	14.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	169.0	149.0	0.0	17.0	394.0
No. per km.	0.0	3.0	0.5	0.4	0.6	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	6.9	14.9	0.0	6.8	-
No. of B.N.P. stickers	0.0	0.0	61.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	77.0
No. per km.	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
No. of N.F. posters	2.0	12.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	43.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	104.0
No. per km.	0.4	6.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.8	-
No. of B.N.P. posters	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	54.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	54.0
No. per km.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
No. of slogans	3.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	21.0	40.0
No. per km.	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	8.4	-
No. of 'A.P.L.' sprays	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
No. per km.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
No. of Celtic Crosses	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
No. per km.	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
No. of 'K.K.K.' sprays	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
No. per km.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-
No. of swastikas	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	15.0
No. per km.	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	-
TOTAL INDICATORS	18.0	18.0	73.0	38.0	10.0	40.0	12.0	24.0	73.0	35.0	0.0	7.0	1.0	14.0	0.0	6.0	262.0	154.0	0.0	67.0	852.0
NO. PER KM.	3.3	9.0	8.1	3.0	1.0	6.7	1.1	1.7	6.6	2.4	0.0	0.8	0.7	2.8	0.0	0.9	10.7	15.4	0.0	26.8	-

Map 4
Evidence of Fascist Activity in
Liverpool by Postal District



Map 5

See back-cover insert

Road, Myrtle Street and Lodge Lane. The area in which all the indicators were found contrasts with the northern and eastern part, because it is predominantly white. The Dingle has a black population of less than 3% compared with Granby ward's figure of 30% (see map 2). In the area of high, black residence, all racist material, if it appeared, would be removed immediately.

Not only are there spatial differences with regard to total indicators of fascist activity, but the constituent parts also differ spatially, as can be seen in map 4. The southern areas were dominated by graffitoid indicators of fascist presence. Only in Aigburth (L17) were any stickers found and then there were only 3. Two N.F. posters were also found in Garston (L19). In these southern areas the "NF" monogram spray dominates and, in Broadgreen (L16), there were no other indicators of fascist presence. So, even in those areas where there is no evidence of organised N.F. activity in the form of printed posters or stickers, there seems to be some identification with its values.

The proportion of "NF" monograms to other indicators of fascist presence were less in the northern parts of Liverpool, although with 1.6 "NF" sprays per km in Bootle (L20), this can be misleading, because the actual number of sprays can be higher than in areas further south. Anfield (L4) is also an anomaly because "NF" monograms make up 71% of its indicators of fascist activity. Most of these are on the Anfield ground of Liverpool F.C., an obvious target for fascist graffiti, due to the established links between the NF and certain football fans. The ground also has a number of slogans written on it, such as the inane "Nazis Fuck Nigers" (sic) (see photograph 10) and "NF - British Resistance - NF". The latter, written on a wall adjoining the ground, is notable because it is well-painted and not just scrawled, although it has been severely defaced by anti-fascists (see photograph 9). The only other slogan which fascists have obviously taken some time over is "No Common Market - National Front" which was painted on a wall near the docks in L3. This was very faded though, and must have been painted some

time ago, probably at the height of the N.F.'s anti-Common Market campaign in the early 70's.

Though there are generally proportionally fewer slogans written in the northern areas, they are obviously written by people with some knowledge of the fascist movement. In southern areas, "Wogs Out", "Niggers Out", or even "Stinky Coons" are the norm, but in Bootle, graffitiists with obvious knowledge wrote "Free Joe Pearce", "Vote NF" and "Bulldog". Bootle (L20) and Anfield (L4) also contain Celtic crosses (see glossary - figure 6), a symbol that must only be known to activists. They were also found in the city centre (L1), the obvious platform for political propaganda, or indeed any advertising. The largest number of swastikas, a symbol of racial hatred to most people, but rarely used by fascist activists (at least from the N.F. or B.N.P.), were in Toxteth (L8) and Wavertree (L15). Both areas have a relatively high proportion of ethnic minorities and the painting of swastikas may merely be a reaction against this community by alienated youths with no political ideology to back up their fears. A small number of swastikas were found in other areas.

The vast majority of material printed by the N.F. was found in northern areas. This again indicates that to some extent there are organised racist groups operating in these areas. Youths are not just spraying swastikas or "NF" symbols as in the southern parts of the city. Mostly it was stickers that were found, but, in the commercial and business district of central Liverpool (L2), Tuebrook (L6) and Old Swan (L13), an unusually high proportion of posters was found.

There were 6 N.F. posters per km in L2, 3.3 in L6 and 1.0 in L13. Liverpool 2, a busy city centre area, is a good target for propaganda. It is very busy in the day-time, but quiet at night, so allowing inconspicuous fly-posting. In contrast to L1 and, to a lesser extent, L3, it is also not subject to a large amount of commercial bill-posting, so the posters that are put up will not be covered over quickly. The high proportion of posters in L6, along

Townsend Lane (see map 5), may have been due to the fact that there was some competition in the area between local fascists and anti-fascists. As soon as any N.F. posters were billed, they were pulled down, but then replaced a few weeks later. Consequently, L6 is covered with numerous scraps of posters. Old Swan (L13), in contrast with most other areas, had few posters defaced. That also indicates that few were actually removed completely, thus the area has a high proportion of N.F. posters.

The highest proportion of N.F. stickers was found in the two northernmost areas of Litherland (L21) and Bootle (L20). In Bootle, there were 7 stickers per km, and in Litherland 14.9 per km. In fact, stickers made up almost 97% of Litherland's indicators of fascist activity. These were highly concentrated as well, mostly along Sefton Road and Seaforth Road. Similarly, in Bootle, nearly all the stickers, and indeed all indicators of fascist activity, were found along one road, Stanley Road (see map 5). Liverpool 2, Tuebrook (L6) and Old Swan (L13) also had fairly high proportions of stickers; probably for the same reasons that they had high proportions of N.F. posters. Sixty per cent of Everton's (L5) indicators also constituted N.F. stickers, but with only 10 indicators in the whole area, this cannot really be seen as contributing to any significant pattern.

B.N.P. material was restricted to a much smaller area than that printed by the N.F. In fact it was found in only 3 areas: the north-eastern part of Liverpool city centre (L3), Walton (L9) and Bootle (L20). In L3, B.N.P. stickers made up 84% of the indicators of fascist presence and no posters were found. The large number of stickers found in this area were all along London Road (see map 5). It is no co-incidence that the Swan public house, a regular B.N.P. meeting place is also situated in London Road. B.N.P. material makes up an even larger proportion of the indicators of fascist presence in Walton (L9). Collectively the 54 posters and 13 stickers make up 94% of the district's indicators of fascist activity. The posters and stickers were all found along Rice Lane, Warbreck Moor and Moss Lane (see map 5). Again, it is no

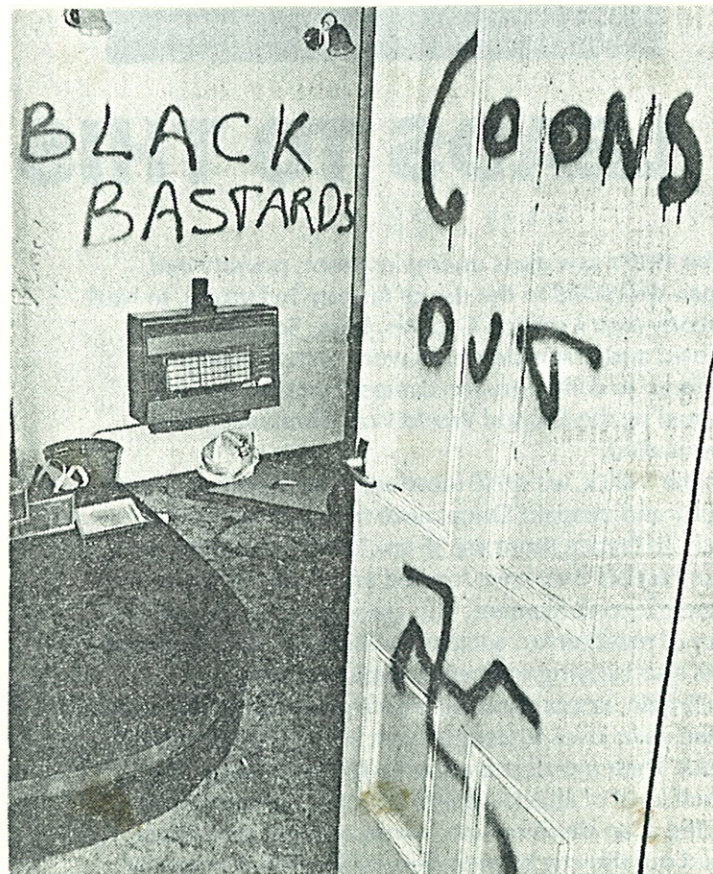
co-incidence that the leader of Liverpool B.N.P., Ian Sloan, lives in a road off Moss Lane (see photograph 11). It is also known that a number of other B.N.P. supporters live in the area [confidential source] but it has been impossible to verify their addresses.

Finally, a study of the indicators of fascist activity on British Rail's property was undertaken. The prevalence of racist and fascist graffiti on B.R.'s Merseyrail system is noticeable to anyone using it. A study of this was obviously needed but the sheer number of daubings, posters and stickers meant that a study similar to that done on the streets of Liverpool was impossible. An arbitrary classification of stations therefore had to be used on a scale from 0 to 3 with 0 being property showing no indicators of fascist activity. Map 6 again confirms that the worst affected areas are those of Bootle, Seaforth and Walton. Stations to the south and east of Liverpool bear no evidence of fascist activity.



Photograph 11. British National Party Posters,
Moss Lane, Walton.

Photograph 12. The Aftermath of a Racial Attack.
Interior of a House in Edge Hill, March, 1987.



Racial Attacks

Reports have revealed a disturbing increase in racial attacks in Britain recently and Liverpool is no exception in this frightening picture. A Home Office Report, published in 1981, entitled "Racial Attacks" stated that an expected 7,000 racial attacks² would be reported that year [cited in Gordon, 1986]. It also added the caveat that this estimate would be "on the low side" due to the failure of many victims to report attacks. Francesca Fleming [in Rosenberg, 1986] believes that this under-estimation could be as high as 90%. Although it is hard to link fascist organisations directly with these attacks, there is no doubt that their inflammatory propaganda does encourage such action. There is also conclusive evidence of the involvement of individual members in racially-motivated crimes. Searchlight's "The Murderers Are Amongst Us" [1985] catalogues literally hundreds of serious racial attacks in which known members of fascist organisations were involved. Specific to Liverpool, "Joey" Owens, while leader of the local B.N.P., was convicted of sending offensive material and razor blades to prominent local Jews, and Ken Usher was successfully prosecuted after an attack on Merseyside's Community Relations Council.

A report on racial harassment in Liverpool is shortly to be published by Merseyside Community Relations Council (M.C.R.C.). The main text of this report deals with attacks on individuals and families, although the more far-reaching aspects of institutionalised racism within the housing process are also touched upon. The report does not detail individual cases of harassment but it does include useful statistics which can be seen in figures 15, 17, 18 and 19. However, a major failing of the document is that it only includes attacks that have occurred in the home and to the home. It therefore excludes incidents of racial attacks against shopkeepers and restaurant propri-

2. A racial attack was defined in the Home Office Report as "an incident or alleged offence by a person or persons of one racial group against a person or persons or property of another racial group, where there are indications of a racial motive." [cited in Layton-Henry, 1982].

etors who, the report acknowledges, are predominantly Asian.

Figure 15 shows the number of attacks for each year between 1980 and March, 1986. Generally it can be seen that attacks have increased during the period (see figure 16). In this graph, the figure for 1986 has been adjusted to project the number of racial attacks that may be expected during the whole year, based on the level recorded in the first 3 months. The vast majority of victims in the 94 cases recorded were British-born blacks (52), as can be seen in figure 17, and the majority of attacks consisted of damage to property, graffiti or verbal abuse (see figure 18). Of course, in many cases, an attack will constitute 2 or more of these elements. More serious attacks, such as physical assault, rape and arson were less common, but the fact that they occur at all is a serious cause for concern.

Recently other serious attacks have occurred that were not included in the report. In September, 1986, John Cornes, of Italian descent, was attacked with knives, a screwdriver and an iron bar by youths shouting "Let's make it 39 - 0", an obvious reference to the Heysel Stadium tragedy, the previous year. The same thugs also painted "NF" symbols and slogans on Mr. Cornes' house [Byrne, 1986]. In November, 1986, the Isaeed family were burned out of their shop and home in Priory Road, Tuebrook, L6. Before this, the family had been subject to nine other racial attacks. The "Anti-Paki League" claimed responsibility [Hodgson, 1986]. A few months later, in January, 1987, the Walton (L9) homes of Joan Watkins and Lesley Collins were attacked. Both houses were extensively vandalised, although nothing was stolen and, in both cases, "NF" symbols were sprayed indoors. Both women have black husbands [Khan, 1987]. The most recent attack occurred in March, 1987, when the home of a community worker in Edge Hill (L7) was vandalised and burgled. According to the Liverpool Daily Post, "racist thugs daubed every wall in [the] house with obscenities" [Oldham, 1987] (see photograph 12). This again was not the first time the house had been attacked.

These recent reports seem to confirm the hypothesis that racial attacks

FIGURE 15

RACIAL ATTACKS IN LIVERPOOL: NUMBER OF ATTACKS RECORDED

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986 (MAR)	TOTAL
8	4	5	25	18	24	10	94

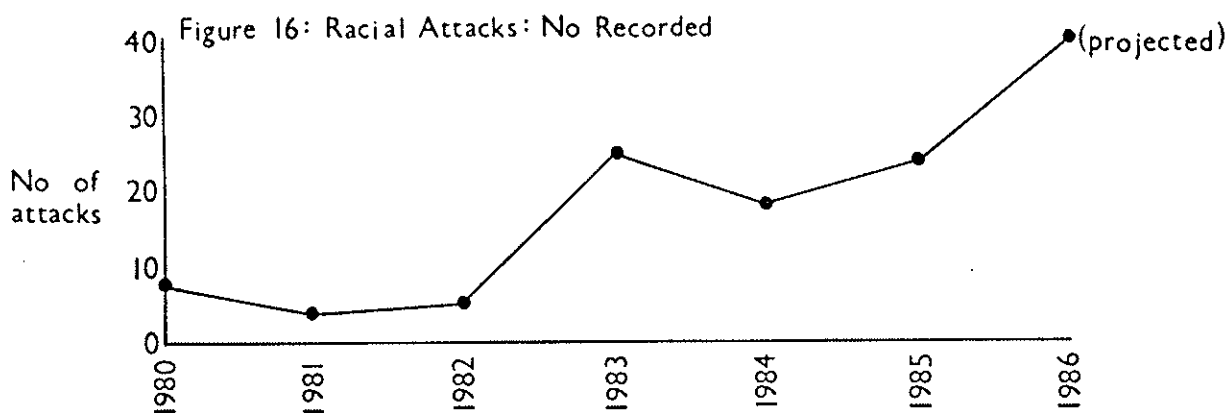


FIGURE 17

RACIAL ATTACKS IN LIVERPOOL: NATIONALITY OF VICTIM

<u>NATIONALITY OF VICTIM</u>	<u>NO. OF ATTACKS</u>
Black British	52
Asian	9
White British	7
Chilean	6
Vietnamese	6
African	5
Chinese	5
Caribbean	2
Somali	1
Unknown	1
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>94</u>

FIGURE 18RACIAL ATTACKS IN LIVERPOOL: TYPE OF HARASSMENT

<u>NATURE OF ATTACK</u>	<u>NUMBER OF INCIDENTS</u>
Damage to Property	80
Graffiti	78
Verbal abuse	78
Stones/eggs/rubbish thrown	40
Physical assault	25
Rats/excrement through letter box	5
Racist telephone calls	5
Racist letters	4
Threatened with knives/airguns	3
Arson	3
Rape/sexual assault	2
Made homeless	2

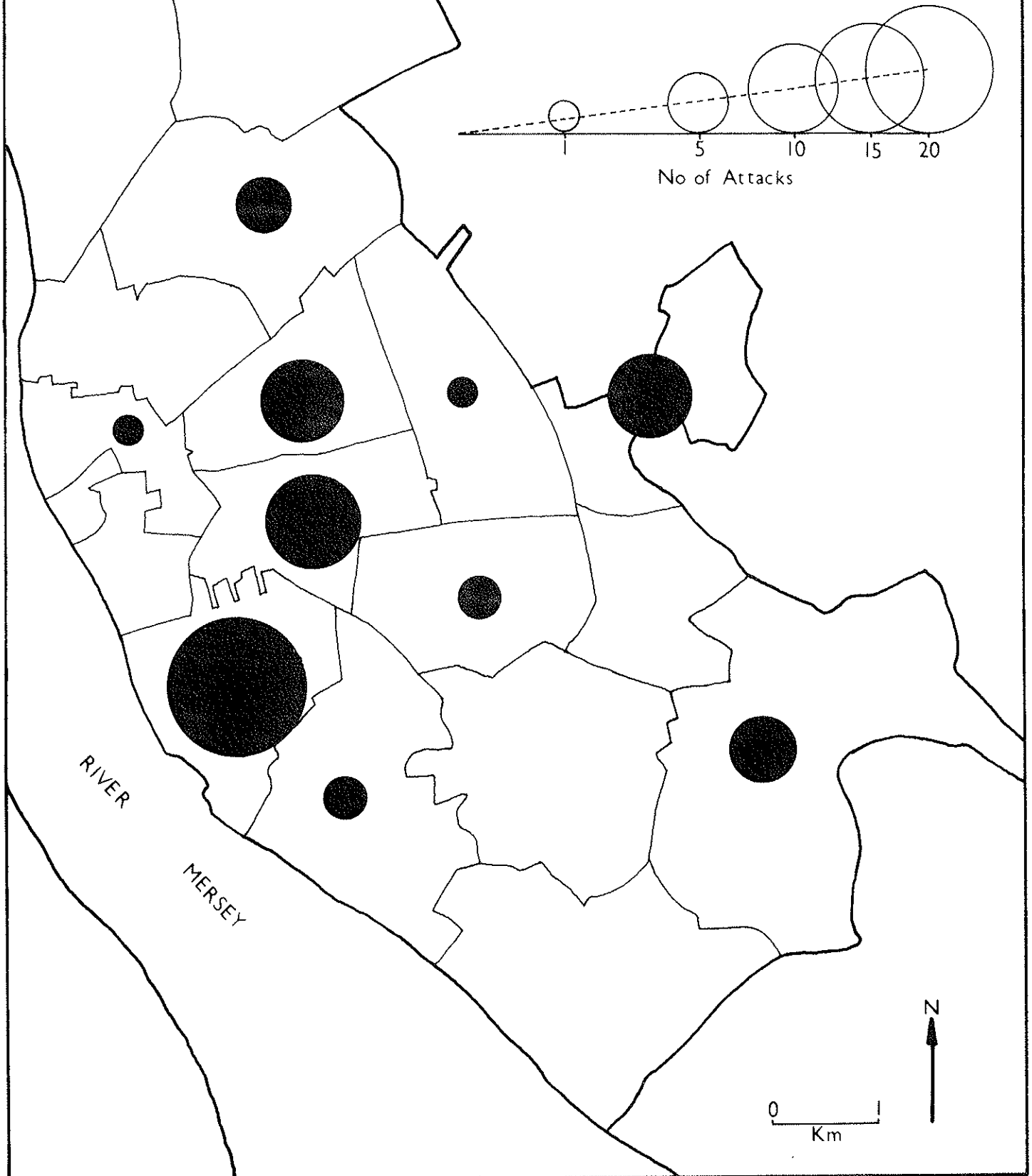
will predominate in areas with few, isolated, black families or individuals living in them. Initially, the M.C.R.C. statistics do not though (see figure 19 and map 7). They show that the majority of the 75 attacks, recorded by place of residence, occurred in Toxteth (L8). This apparent anomaly is explained by the fact that nearly all of these attacks happened in the predominantly white area of L8, Dingle. Other areas with a fairly large number of attacks were Tuebrook (L6), Edge Hill (L7) and Knotty Ash (L14). The first two of these areas have a comparatively large but dispersed black population, so the high number of attacks can be explained by the fact that there are more people living there likely to be subjected to racial attack. The reason for the large number of attacks in L14, an area with a minute black population is not known, as the M.C.R.C. in its report does not even attempt to explain it. Notable also is the absence of recorded racial attacks in northern areas of the city like Walton (L9), Bootle (L20) and Litherland (L21), where fascist activity is rife. This is possibly due to the isolation of black families in this part of the city; whose problems may not have come to the notice of the M.C.R.C. In these areas, a large proportion of the small black population is made up of shop keepers and restaurant owners who are not included in the report anyway. The recent attacks on the 2 families in Walton confirm that attacks are taking place in these sorts of areas, however.

M.C.R.C.'s statistics therefore show that racist attacks are not necessarily a reflection of fascist activity, because the areas with the highest levels of fascist activity are not the areas in which most racial attacks occur. However, no conclusions can really be drawn in this way because of the obvious inadequacies of the M.C.R.C. data. It is certain that there has been a large number of attacks in the northern area which have not been reported to M.C.R.C. In fact, Merseyside Victim Support Group also have statistics on racial attacks and these apparently show that a significant number of attacks are occurring in the north of the city, especially in Walton. Unfortun-

FIGURE 19RACIAL ATTACKS IN LIVERPOOL BY POSTAL DISTRICT

<u>POSTAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ATTACKS</u>
3	1
4	4
6	7
7	9
8	21
10	1
11	4
12	1
13	1
14	7
15	2
17	2
24	1
25	5
27	5
28	4

Map 7
Racial Attacks in Liverpool:
by Postal District



ately, the precise statistics were unavailable at the time of writing. Statistics were also unavailable relating to attacks on Jewish targets, although, in 1986, it was reported that a Jewish cemetery was desecrated with swastikas and a synagogue was similarly attacked [Elliot, 1986]. The exact locations of these attacks are unknown.

Places of Residence of Prominent Fascists

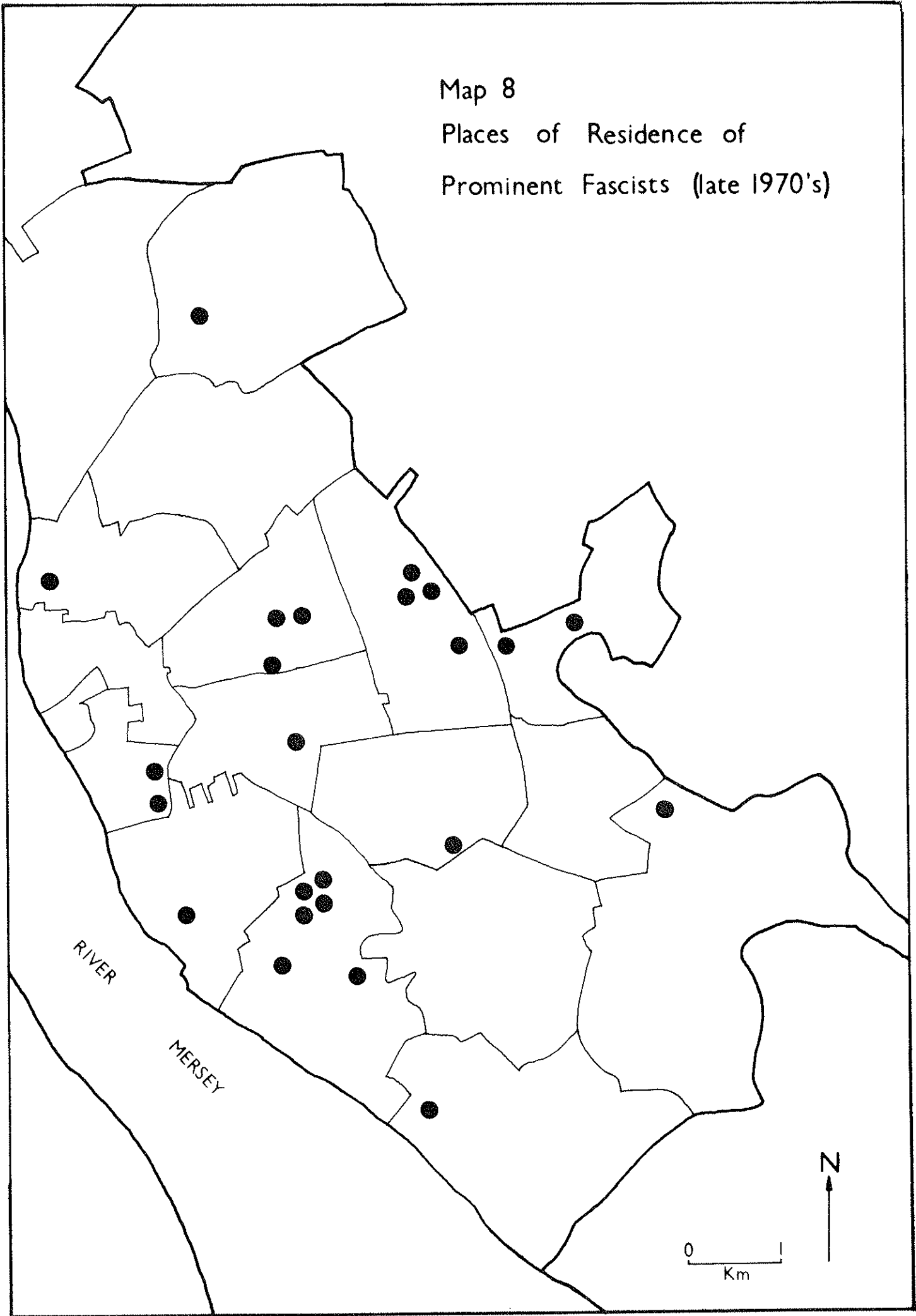
Finding the places of residence of local fascists was not an easy task. It involved much investigative research and hours spent in the library, checking electoral registers, to confirm the information. In the end, two sets of addresses were obtained, those of active fascists in the late 1970's and those of active fascists today. Many of the addresses were obtained from newspaper reports and the post office³ and the remainder came from confidential sources. The addresses are therefore those of the most prominent activists, those who have been arrested, hold P.O. boxes or become known to the public in other ways. The sheer drop in the number of prominent activists between the two dates indicates the declining fortunes of fascist groups on Merseyside since their heyday, a little under a decade ago.

The shifting spatial pattern is also revealing. In the late 1970's, the majority of fascists lived in the wealthier eastern and southern parts of Liverpool, especially in the areas of Aigburth (L17), Tuebrook (L6) and Old Swan (L13) (see map 8). Today, the majority live in the eastern and northern areas of the city with, again, Tuebrook (L6) being prominent (see map 9). This perhaps reflects the shifting nature of the extreme Right from a predominantly parliamentary orientated party, appealing to the middle class, to the so-called populist parties that exist today, mainly aiming for working-class support.

These kinds of conclusions are highly speculative and perhaps should not be made at all, due to the inherent inaccuracy of place of residence data. At its best, this material can only give a rough, and possibly inaccurate, idea of where the majority of fascists live. It is interesting to note though that the northern areas, which house the majority of today's most active fascists, also bear the largest number of indicators of fascist activity. Any statistical correlation to confirm this would be pointless, due to the possible inaccuracies of place of residence data, and the dearth of this material any way.

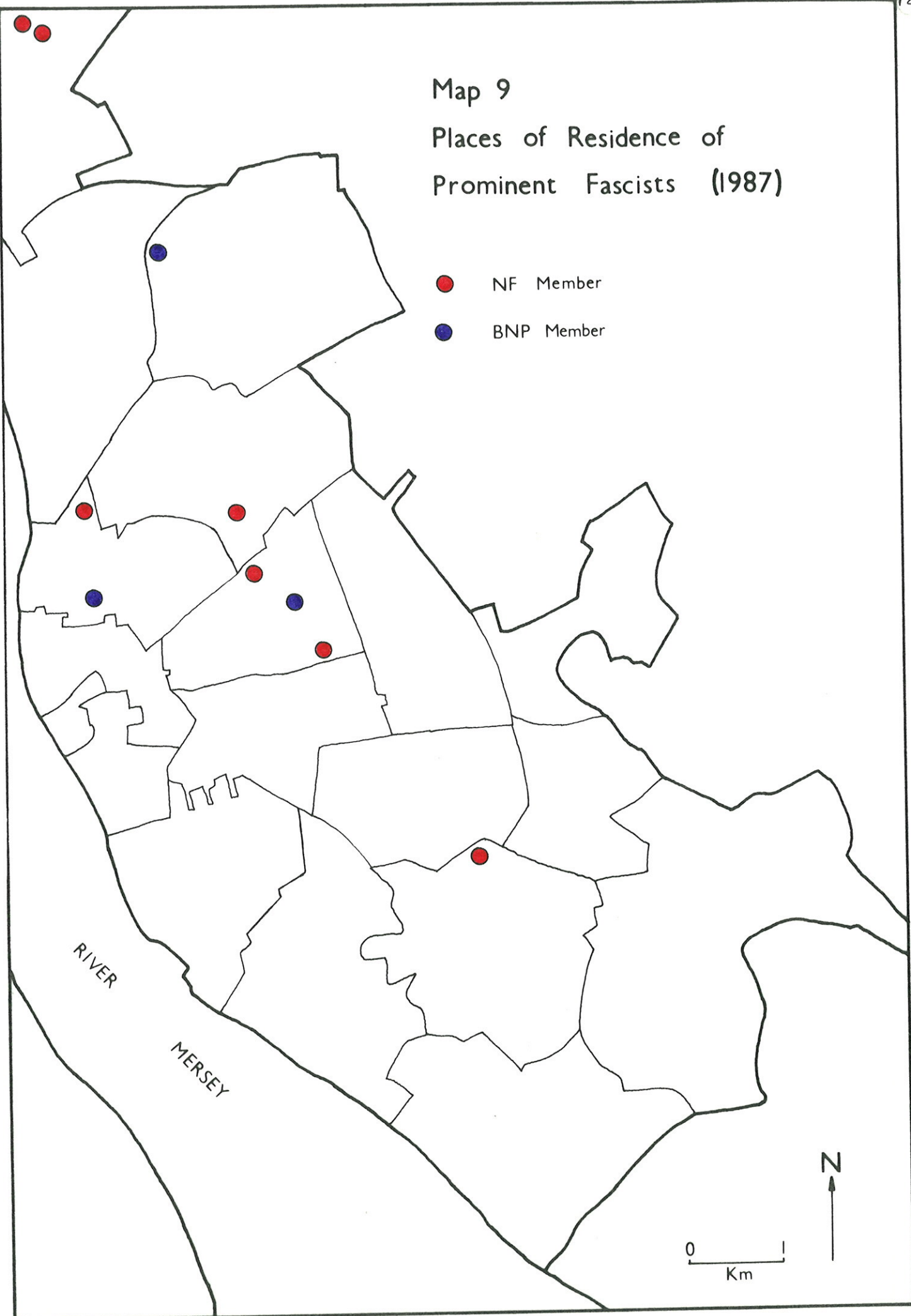
3. The Post Office has by law to tell any member of the public the names and addresses of P.O. box holders. In Liverpool, the N.F. hold P.O. Box 89

Map 8
Places of Residence of
Prominent Fascists (late 1970's)



Map 9
Places of Residence of
Prominent Fascists (1987)

- NF Member
- BNP Member



and the B.N.P. hold P.O. Box 72. In Birkenhead, the N.F. hold P.O. box 17.

The Geography of Fascism in Liverpool

The evidence of fascist activity in Liverpool confirms the original hypotheses. Fascist groups do seem to target certain areas as receptive to their views and hence concentrate their propaganda efforts there. Even in the late 1970's, N.F. candidates, with a few exceptions, stood in predominantly white working-class areas and, in the next general election, the only seat the N.F. intends to fight is Bootle [Liverpool Echo, 26th March, 1986]. The evidence of graffiti, stickers and posters is even more conclusive. These items were almost exclusively found in white working-class areas, and especially those to the north of the city. It should also be noted that more prosperous enclaves within working-class areas were devoid of fascist and racist material. For instance, Southport Road, which runs through Bootle, was relatively free of such material, compared to adjacent roads (see maps). The fact that there is a certain level of racist graffiti in the southern area suggests that there is some racist sentiment there, albeit small, which the organised fascist groups do not seem to be taking much advantage of. This contrasts with recruiting in the late 1970's which seemed to attract a significant number of supporters in the southern areas. Today though the majority of the most active members are resident in the northern parts of the city. The evidence of racial attacks does not confirm this picture, because, according to M.C.R.C. data, the areas of highest fascist activity do not co-incide with those where the largest number of racial attacks occur. However, the obvious inaccuracies of M.C.R.C. data means that it cannot be seen as a conclusive deduction from the overall view established in other ways.

As the N.F. and the B.N.P. are still one-issue parties (although the N.F. is trying to widen its appeal), their activities are concentrated in the central and northern parts of Liverpool where there is only a small black population and where economic problems are rife. In these areas, it is easy for them to prey on the problems of its residents and offer simplistic solutions and scapegoats - the black population. In areas with a small or practically non-

existent ethnic component, the racial stereotypes which the N.F. and B.N.P. promote can become widely accepted by a white community which rarely comes into contact with black people.

Conclusion

Currently, the N.F. and B.N.P. on Merseyside are small, but growing. It must be remembered that, by the fly-posting of hundreds of stickers and posters, a handful of people can give the impression of being a much larger group. It seems likely that the nucleus of activists will increase in size in the next few months, however, especially in the run-up to the general election which is likely to be the most-racist yet. Currently, the popular press, in keeping with its traditional, xenophobic paranoia, is sensationalising immigration issues. The way in which the recent case of the Tamil refugees was treated is a case in point. The government is also playing the immigration card by introducing fines on airlines that bring in so-called illegal immigrants. It again seems that race will be a major election issue, and one which the groups of the fascist right could take advantage of. The N.F. and B.N.P. will each present themselves as the only party that can really deal with the situation and reverse the process of immigration. The way in which the N.F. claims it would go about the task of repatriation can be seen in figure 5. Whether or not either group gains significantly in numbers is not really important. The N.F. has openly abandoned electoral politics, except as a platform for its propaganda, and encourages its members to become "political soldiers" instead (see appendix). In fact, it is unlikely that the N.F. will grow as quickly as it did in the 1970's, due to the current eccentricity of its leadership and ideology. However, it is this eccentricity that makes the N.F. a more dangerous force than it was in the 70's, regardless of the extent of its membership. The veneer of the B.N.P.'s "respectability" also wears thin when one considers the criminal records and nazi past of many of its leading members (see "The History of Fascism on Merseyside" and appendix). Both groups are dedicated to the destruction of society and democracy by whatever means possible. In the N.F. leaflet (figure 5), they use the analogy of Britain as a powder keg waiting for a spark to ignite it. It is the N.F. and B.N.P. who are most likely to provide this spark rather than the ethnic communities.

The shock troops in this fight will be sections of the white working-class and they will come from the deprived areas of Britain's cities. In Liverpool, these are places such as Bootle, Litherland, Walton and Anfield. It is therefore in these areas that the ideology of fascism must be fought most determinedly.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

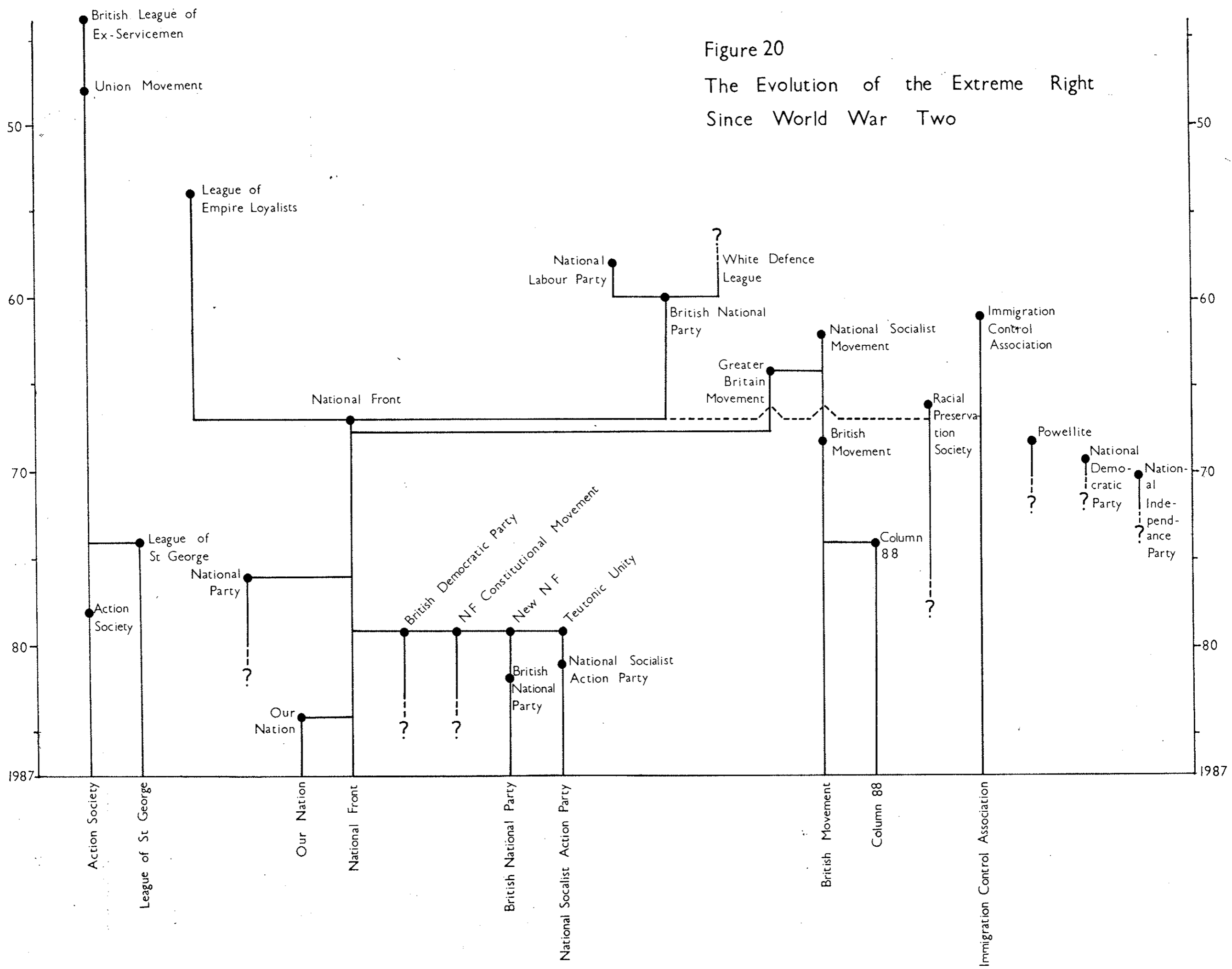
British Post-War Fascism

Unlike other European nations such as Germany, Italy and Spain and to a lesser extent the countries of eastern Europe, Britain has never had a strong National Socialist or fascist tradition. The "British Union of Fascists" (B.U.F.), led by Sir Oswald Mosley, was indeed one of the smallest and least influential of the inter-war fascist movements. Not only were the British fascists defeated at the polls and on the streets at home during the now legendary "Battle of Cable Street", but the defeat of the Hitlerite war machine in 1945 was one of the biggest blows a political ideology has ever had to endure. National Socialism was not merely militarily crushed; the discovery of Nazi concentration camps and publicity resulting from the Nuremberg Trials discredited it as a political doctrine and made its supporters political outcasts.

Nevertheless, Mosley's pre-war compatriots did regroup again quickly after the Second World War. In fact, Jeffrey Hamm, a former B.U.F. member, founded the "British League of Ex-Servicemen" as early as 1944 (see figure 20). This organisation was the nucleus for what became Mosley's new organisation in 1948, the "Union Movement" (U.M.). Mosley's policies were still based upon the "corporate state" and marches and rallies were still the political fare of the day as they had been in the thirties and indeed continue to be today with most extremist groups. Mosley had based hope for the growth of his new movement on an economic slump which never came and he went into self-exile in Eire in 1951. Hamm continued to lead the movement, however, which has continued to the present day, changing its name in 1978 to the "Action Society".

The next major, and possibly most important, pre-National Front (N.F.) party to be formed by the extreme right was A.K. Chesterton's "League of Empire Loyalists" (L.E.L.) in 1954. Chesterton had been active in the B.U.F. during the 1930's but had fought against the Axis powers in the Second

Figure 20
The Evolution of the Extreme Right
Since World War Two



World War and so his party, unsurprisingly consisted mostly of Ultra Tories and what Baker [1985] calls "Colonel Blimps who sought influence rather than power." More importantly, this group provided the breeding ground for more extreme "racial nationalists" like Colin Jordan, John Tyndall and Martin Webster who clung to its periphery.

By the late 1950's, the issue that was to create a mass movement in the 1970's in the form of the National Front was emerging. This was immigration and not colonisation which had been the main preoccupation of the L.E.L. Between 1955 and 1957, the arrival of 132,000 coloured Commonwealth immigrants in Britain provoked a primitive response from extreme right-wing dissidents from the L.E.L. The "National Labour Party" was founded by John Bean, John Tyndall and Andrew Fountaine in 1958, the same year as Colin Jordan formed the provocatively named "White Defence League". These two groups worked closely together, especially in Notting Hill - the scene of vicious race riots in 1958, and joined together as the "British National Party" (B.N.P.) in 1960. Created within the B.N.P. was the first of Tyndall's para-military groups. This one was ominously called "Spearhead" and it held training camps on Fountaine's estate in Norfolk where swastika flags were displayed outside tents [Searchlight, July, 1986]. It was partly due to this that divisions began to appear in the party between those who wanted to adopt a more overtly Nazi stance and those who wanted to gain respectability. The party split in 1962 with Bean and Fountaine retaining the name B.N.P., 80% of the membership and the party's magazine "Combat". Jordan, Tyndall and Denis Pirie left to form the "National Socialist Movement" (N.S.M.) on April 20th, Hitler's birthday. During their time in the movement, Jordan and Tyndall were each jailed twice; first for using "insulting words likely to cause a breach of the peace" and then for arms offences [Walker, 1977].

Mosley had in the meantime returned from Ireland and was again in charge of his "Union Movement" which stood in municipal elections, gaining

5.5% of the vote. The U.M. was less successful with its open-air rallies though which were invariably disrupted by left-wing and Jewish organisations. The N.S.M. and the B.N.P. were suffering similar problems and Bean saw the answer to this as the unification of the Right into a united "Front" of like-minded organisations. Mosley had similar ideas and approached Jordan and Bean, trying to persuade them to incorporate their organisations into the U.M. These overtures came to nothing though.

The Right became even further fragmented when the N.S.M. split in 1964 after Jordan and Tyndall fell out over the woman they both loved - future arsonist Francoise Dior [Searchlight, January, 1986]. Ninety per cent of the membership followed Tyndall (who incidentally lost Dior's hand to Jordan) into his "Greater Britain Movement" (G.B.M.). An important figure to follow Tyndall from the N.S.M. to the G.B.M. was the future N.F. fuhrer Martin Webster who had written an article in 1962, entitled "Why I am a Nazi". This has been used frequently by many groups as proof that the N.F. was and is a Nazi front [e.g., National Student, June, 1986].

Seeing a need to revitalise the fragmented Right, and especially his imperialistic L.E.L., which by 1966 was becoming increasingly anachronistic as various parts of the Empire gained independence, Chesterton echoed Bean's call from earlier in the decade for a united front. At the same time, he saw that it was the local residents' associations like the "Southall Residents' Association" (united as affiliates to the "Racial Preservation Society" [R.P.S.]) which were gaining membership and support for demanding that "their areas" be kept "white", not the political groups of the extreme right. Tyndall agreed that the Right must unite, but for a different reason. He saw that there was a gap in the political "market" to be filled by a party advocating a halt to immigration and a start to repatriation because the three main parties were united in their belief in the integration of recent immigrants. He believed that the comparatively liberal Conservative manifesto for the election of 1966 had opened a space on the political spectrum which the

extreme Right could fill.

Tyndall's group, the G.B.M., was not to be included initially when the Right did unite in 1967 though. During the Summer and Autumn of 1966, negotiations took place between the L.E.L., R.P.S., G.B.M. and B.N.P. Most disagreements between these organisations occurred over the issue of including known Nazis like Tyndall and Jordan in the group. In the end, it was the L.E.L. and B.N.P. which combined; together with a considerable proportion of the R.P.S. membership. The N.F. claimed to have 1500 members at its inception; 300 from the L.E.L., 1000 from the B.N.P. and more than 100 from the R.P.S. [Walker, 1977]. Thus the National Front was born under the chairmanship of Chesterton. It was based on policies to halt immigration, promote repatriation, support Rhodesia and other white dominions, and to fight Communism. Another key policy though was the continuing exclusion of known Nazis, such as Jordan, Tyndall and Webster from the group.

However, Tyndall disbanded the G.B.M. in September, 1967, and told his supporters to join the N.F. as individual members. The B.N.P. faction was secretly pleased about this despite their protestations to Chesterton of the contrary. A power struggle ensued between the B.N.P. who wanted the N.F. to become a mass movement, and the ex-L.E.L. members who wanted the group to remain an elitist organisation like the L.E.L. had been. The dominance of the B.N.P. on the N.F. directorate ensured that they usually got their own way. Hence the neo-nazi members of the G.B.M. were allowed to join the Front. Movements were not all towards the N.F. though. When Jordan wound up the N.S.M. in 1968 and formed the "British Movement" (B.M.), a number of N.F. members, albeit a small number, joined Jordan's new group.

Meanwhile, a rising wave of anti-immigrant feeling was erupting in the wake of immigrant mugging scandals and Enoch Powell's famous "Rivers of Blood" speech, given on 20th April, 1968. This was to give the N.F. some short-lived success, the highlight of which was winning an average of 8% of the vote in the May, 1969, municipal elections. By the general election of

1971, however, the N.F. could only poll 3.6% of the vote in the ten constituencies they stood in - all supposed areas of N.F. strength. A coup ensued led by the faction which had come into the N.F. from the G.B.M. which resulted in the resignation of Chesterton while on his customary winter holiday in Capetown, South Africa. Tyndall was asked to take the leadership position, but out of loyalty to Chesterton, he refused and it was John O'Brien who was finally elected as chairman in February, 1971.

Nineteen seventy-one saw the beginning of the N.F.'s campaign against Britain's entry to the Common Market and it also saw them put up a record number of candidates (84) in the local elections of that year. They gained an average of 5.2% of the vote. Further divisions also occurred as O'Brien tried to purge the party of known Nazis like Tyndall and Webster whose activities with European Nazis had brought the N.F. into disrepute. He failed though and left for the "National Independence Party" in 1972. This left the way open for Tyndall to seize control of the movement.

As soon as Tyndall stepped into this position, a great immigration uproar occurred as Idi Amin expelled thousands of Asians from Uganda, and Britain prepared itself to accept up to 70,000 destitute immigrants. The N.F. quickly organised deputations to Downing Street, demonstrations in London and pickets at Heathrow airport. Walker [1977] states that it was at this time that the N.F. enjoyed its most rapid period of growth, gaining up to 250 new members per month. Even Conservatives and Monday Clubbers like Roy Painter and John Kingsley-Reid (later to become N.F. chairman) began to defect to the N.F. Electoral success was also gained with an N.F. candidate for the first and the last time standing in an election and not losing his deposit. Martin Webster gained 16% of the vote in the West Bromwich by-election of May, 1973. Gains in the next month's local elections were also higher than ever before, winning 15% of the vote in the wards they fought in Leicester, 29% in Nottingham, 23.7% in Blackburn and 33.2% in Bristol. This seemed to confirm that the Front were right to take the electoral path.

They tried to gain further support by appealing to the working class and at this time their policies took a definite move to the left. The new populist programme, surprisingly devised by ex-Tories Kingsley-Reid and Painter, included the nationalisation of foreign-owned companies and banks, as well as the traditional anti-immigrant stance.

In this atmosphere of new-found success, these populist policies became revered within the N.F. and a faction began to emerge which threatened the power of the neo-nazis within the movement. By October, 1974, Tyndall had been voted out of chairmanship, and the populist Kingsley-Reid was elected to replace him. By this time, the N.F. had a membership of about 17,500 [Searchlight, January, 1986], and in the October, 1974, election the 90 N.F. candidates were able to push up their share of the vote by 0.3%. This success also led to confrontations with the Left though, which meant that every N.F. march and rally had to be heavily policed. It also led to bitter feuding between the populists and neo-nazis again, meaning that much of the Front's resources were expended on internal wrangling, not important campaigning work.

Tyndall finally suffered a unanimous vote of no-confidence from the directorate in May, 1975, and he was expelled from the movement; the other main Nazis, Webster and Fountaine, were merely suspended. On application to the High Court, all three were reinstated though, causing Kingsley-Reid, Painter and several supporters to leave the N.F. and form the "National Party". The departure of the populists meant that the N.F., which retained two-thirds of its membership, was able to engage in more extreme, vitriolic racism. Britain was entering economic crisis as her balance of payments remained only narrowly in the black, and there were over a million unemployed. Consequently, scapegoats were looked for and while the government picked on the Trades Union movement, the N.F. blamed racial minorities as the Nazis had done in pre-war Germany. The N.F.'s success again rose, just as Mosley had hypothesised his fascist groups would, during economic crises.

They were successful in the municipal elections of May, 1977, especially in their traditional stronghold of London where they won more than 15% of votes in 5 seats and beat the Liberals in 33. So confident of future success at this time was the N.F. that studies were even commissioned on the role of National Front M.P.'s in Parliament. Tyndall told a Times journalist in August, 1977, that the N.F.'s major electoral breakthrough would occur at the next general election but one, 1983 [Walker, 1977]. Little did he know that, by then, membership and support would be at their lowest ever level, and he would not even be a member of the party, having left it during its most serious split in 1979.

The 1979 election was an important turning point in the history of the far Right. If it was the elections of 1974 which signalled an upturn in the fortunes of the N.F., it was this election that almost brought the death of Britain's main post-war fascist movement. The N.F. were expected to make greater gains in this election than they had ever done before. The Front fielded 303 candidates at a cost of £45,450 in an attempt to gain equal radio and television time as the main parties. As Martin Webster said, after the October, 1974, election:

"...where else could you buy 5 minutes on both television channels for thirteen and a half grand?" [quoted in Anwar, 1980].

Political researchers before the election also feared that the N.F. would make substantial electoral gains. As Billig [1978] said the year before the election:

"A decline in overall performance is not to be expected."

The vast electoral gains the Front and others expected never materialised though. The party's vote-pulling power had in fact diminished and they managed to capture only 1.3% of the vote, although the proportions in their traditional strongholds such as London, Wolverhampton and Leicester were substantially higher. In retrospect, the key reason for the collapse of support seems to have been the return of the Conservative party to the question of

race. In her election campaign, Mrs. Thatcher spoke of the British people being "swamped" by "different cultures" [quoted in Gordon and Klug, 1986], and this may have attracted some anti-immigrant votes away from the National Front. Billig and Cochrane [1981] even state that the Conservatives gained "an immediate 10% rise in popularity, as measured by opinion surveys" after this speech. Whether this upturn in support for the Tories was solely due to Mrs. Thatcher's speech is open to speculation and seems unlikely. It does seem likely that the hardened attitudes of the Tories as a whole on the question of immigration attracted some of the N.F. vote though. Among the policies set out in the Conservative party election manifesto of 1979 were the severe restriction of work permits, the cession of the right of husbands and fiancées to join their wives in the U.K., and the introduction of a quota system, applying to all those outside the E.E.C. to control entry for settlement. Perhaps the key proposal though was:

"We shall take firm action against illegal immigrants and overstayers and help those immigrants who genuinely wish to leave this country - but there can be no question of compulsory repatriation."

There is no doubt that this would have attracted a considerable amount of moderate support away from the N.F. The effects of the propaganda campaign by the Anti-Nazi League (A.N.L.) and their successful labelling of the N.F. as "a Nazi Front" cannot be ignored either as contributing to the Front's downfall. Its concentration on the young meant that an alternative youth culture to that which the N.F. had hoped to create was formed which was ultimately thousands of times more successful. The A.N.L. prevented the N.F. from gaining the "virtual monopoly of the young vote" [Spearhead quoted in Billig and Cochrane, 1981] to which it aspired.

Whatever the cause, the N.F. by mid-1979 was again in crisis, and again there was division between the more moderate populists and the extremists. The populists believed the N.F. may yet gain support if the extremists like

Tyndall and Webster were dropped thus avoiding the "Nazi" tag the A.N.L. and the media had successfully given them. On the other hand the extremists believed the lesson of the election was that a nationalist party could never come to power by election, and that more clandestine tactics would have to be adopted. Thus after the election four groups split from the N.F: the British Democratic Party, the National Front Constitutional Movement, the New National Front and Teutonic Unity. The only one of these parties to make any significant mark was the New N.F. led by Tyndall and Richard Edmonds which later became the re-formed British National Party. Of the divergent groups, the N.F. Constitutional Movement was the most moderate. Under Fountaine it sought political respectability, playing down the more overt Nazi and anti-semitic connotations of the N.F. brand of nationalism. The N.F. and the New N.F. became more extreme though, both rejecting democracy as a means of gaining power. In March, 1980, Tyndall stated:

"...there is just no mileage to be obtained from the pursuit of an illusive respectability in politics." [quoted in Billig and Cochrane, 1981].

Both groups also became more virulently anti-semitic and anti-black. They were moving more closely to the most extreme models, the League of St. George and the British Movement (B.M.). Tyndall even formed a new para-military group - the "Special Tactical Activities Group" (S.T.A.G.), a crack unit intended to be similar to Hitler's Stormtroopers, the S.A. [Patterns of Prejudice, 1981]. The S.T.A.G. was to be the elite vanguard of his movement, while in contrast the N.F. sought to attract the mass support of tough, young, white, working class youths and they, together with the B.M., won over a sizeable part of the Skinhead movement, which was again developing in the late 1970's. In contrast, Tyndall did not want to attract "scruffs, punks or unruly types" [Spearhead, quoted in Billig and Cochrane, 1980]. Billig and Cochrane [1980?] described the differences between the N.F. and the New N.F. as "parallel with the differences between the S.A. and

the S.S." As will be seen later, this is not the only S.A./S.S. comparison that can be levelled at the N.F. and Tyndall's groups.

As for Teutonic Unity, this was a tiny and overtly Nazi para-military group led by Tony Malski which showed its true colours by changing its name to the National Socialist Action Party (N.S.A.P.) in 1981. Though small, the N.S.A.P. is also dangerous: in 1981, several members, including Malski, were implicated in a plot to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival, and in 1983, the party published a "hit-list" which listed, among others Ken Livingstone and Leon Brittan. On both occasions the D.P.P. decided not to prosecute [Searchlight, December, 1985].

Despite the fact that the 1979 split was the most damaging crisis in the N.F.'s history, the party still managed to keep together under Webster. The period until about 1985 was the quietest in the movement's history, however, and they even failed to make any political capital from the 1981 riots. Unsurprisingly, the chaos within the party also provoked power struggles. Ian Anderson became a leading figure in the N.F. during the 1980's and he led what was to be the anti-Webster faction. This anti-Webster faction adopted views mostly derived from the writings of the German Strasser brothers and the Italian fascist Evola. The final expulsion of Webster and his close associates in 1984 (who later formed "Our Nation") left the way open for this young, intellectual faction to make these views N.F. policy.

The Strasser Brothers and their followers were the backbone of the S.A. Brownshirts. They emphasised the socialist, anti-capitalist element of National Socialism and criticised Hitler for bargaining with German industrialists. It was this criticism of Hitler which led to their deaths during the Night of the Long Knives. They also advocated a return to a mediaeval economic system based on guilds. Julius Evola took this a stage further by proposing the depopulation of cities and a return to ruralism with an economic system which he called the "Third Position" - being neither capitalism nor communism. This has led many commentators to describe the N.F. today as a

right-wing version of Cambodian Pol-Potism [e.g., National Student, June, 1986]. Yet the adoption of these men's views has led to a marked left turn in N.F. policy which even resulted in the Front setting up miners' support groups and recommending that its members attend the regular Saturday night Print Workers' march at Wapping. N.F. News no. 77 even reproduced the official print unions' poster advertising these weekly marches. However, says the accompanying article, the print workers should "radicalise their demands" and set up "workers' co-operatives" which of course would have to be "white". So the outrageous racism of the Front still exists, but today it is not just expressed in crude slogans like "British Jobs For British People", the N.F. have also adopted a kind of "spiritual racism" that Evola advocated. In N.F. News [quoted in Searchlight, September, 1985], the Front says that "we are also a spiritual and cultural movement" and articles in Nationalism Today have included features on Northlander poetry and the author Tolkien.

Evola's views are said to have been introduced to the N.F. by a group of Italian terrorists, including Roberto Fiore, who are currently living in England. These terrorists have been convicted in their absence for, among other crimes, the bombing of Bologna Railway Station in 1980 which killed 85 people [Searchlight, September, 1985]. Influenced by these Italian fascists, the N.F. has put much effort into attracting young men and turning them into what Derek Holland, in his book of the same title, calls "Political Soldiers". Through organising these political soldiers, the N.F. seems to have the aim of destabilising society in much the same way as American nazi William Pierce sets out in his novel "The Turner Diaries". This book describes the way in which a "National Revolution" could be fought and won by engaging in a "strategy of tension" to destabilise society. The novel advocates the forging of currency, bank robbery and the random murder of prominent liberals, blacks and Jews to fulfil its aim. Ironically, the novel has a very similar story line to a satire on right-wing revolution by the radical American author, William S. Burroughs, called "The Advanced Boy Scouts Manual".

Pierce's book has been sold through the N.F. book club "Nationalist Books" and has been on sale at the party's Croydon bookshop.

In the adoption of its "Strategy of Tension", the N.F. has not only tried to exploit working class struggles, like the miners' and print workers' strikes. Its most prominent role in recent months has been in post-Hillsborough-Agreement-Ulster. There is conclusive evidence of N.F. participation in Loyalist riots and many mainland members have been injured during violent confrontations [Searchlight, May, 1986]. John Field, the N.F.'s permanent organiser in Ireland, and Nick Griffin marched shoulder-to-shoulder with Ian Paisley during the illegal night-time Loyalist march through the Catholic areas of Hillsborough [Today, 15th July, 1986]. Proof that the Front is increasingly active in Ulster as part of its "Strategy of Tension" is evident from an article by Nick Griffin which appeared in the N.F. journal "Nationalism Today" [quoted in Searchlight, May, 1986]:-

"If things develop as they easily could, and if we influence them as easily as we should, then our British Revolution will start in Ulster...The present situation in Ulster represents the best opportunity for genuine National Revolution anywhere in Europe".

The N.F. have even dropped their long-held view that Northern Ireland should remain part of the United Kingdom - they are now saying that Ulster should "declare U.D.I."

"An Independent Ulster will sever all - corrupt - political ties with Britain. But its racial, spiritual, historical and cultural ties with Britain will remain forever." [N.F. News no. 77].

The increasingly violent direction the N.F. is now taking does not mean that it has abandoned electoral politics altogether though. In the next election, it proposes to field 50 candidates, at a cost of £25,000, to gain access to a five minute party political broadcast. Whether the N.F. will be able to raise the money needed is open to question. In the past the Front has obtained money from very strange sources, an anti-Semitic broadsheet

"Victory to Palestine", written by Derek Holland, was even funded by the Libyan People's Bureau before it was closed down [Searchlight, August, 1986].

N.F. leaders have also taken a more defiant approach to the law in recent times. The "party of law and order" now encourages its members to "stuff the Race Act" and two prominent N.F. leaders, Martin Wingfield and Joe Pearce (see photographs 13 and 14) were jailed for the non-payment of fines after convictions under the Race Relations Act. Two leading members of the B.N.P., John Tyndall and John Morse, were also jailed for "incitement to racial hatred" in July, 1986, despite their efforts to cultivate a more respectable, anti-working class image than the N.F. Strasserites. B.N.P. members have indulged in terrorism as well. In November, 1986, Anthony Leacomber, Tyndall's former bodyguard, was jailed for three years on explosives charges after he accidentally blew himself up outside the Workers' Revolutionary Party Headquarters in London. The B.N.P. seems to be implementing what Jordan once called "a strict separation of the personnel of the overt from those of the underground." So while the B.N.P. is making overtures to the Tory Party, and especially the Federation of Conservative Students and the Monday Club, some of its members are indulging in strictly covert activities. The N.F. is far more open in its support for terrorism and illegal activities.

This does not mean that the N.F. leadership has been united in embracing terrorism though. Recently, a serious split in the party occurred when a directive from the then Chairman, Martin Wingfield, to drop all links with known Italian terrorists was ignored. The N.F. leaders most involved with the Italian terrorists, Nick Griffin, Derek Holland and Patrick Harrington, suspended Wingfield's faction, which included Ian Anderson and on his release from prison, the popular Joe Pearce. Wingfield's group retaliated by freezing the N.F. bank account and making sure that the N.F. was evicted from its new Norwich headquarters. The dispute intensified when Griffin threatened An-



Photograph 13. Martin Wingfield (left) in Sheffield, Protesting against Irish Republican "Bloody Sunday" March, February, 1987.

Photograph 14. Joe Pearce (right) and Leeds N.F. Leader, Frank Burden, Discuss Tactics shortly before Attacking "Bloody Sunday" March, Sheffield, 1987.





Photograph 15. "Political Soldiers" on the march. The N.F. Support Group in Sheffield seconds before they Attacked the Photographer.

derson with a shotgun [Searchlight, June, 1986] and then a bomb was placed beneath Anderson's car [Searchlight, September, 1986]. Wingfield's faction have now set up the "National Front Support Group" which seems to be gaining quite a lot of support, especially in the Provinces. The Support Group paper, "The Flag", has even been sold in Birkenhead. Meanwhile, the N.F. has fully embraced terrorism, and despite the split seems to be capable of mobilising large numbers of supporters. They managed to attract 500 members to their 1986 Remembrance Day parade [Guardian, 10th November, 1986], although this was half the number they mobilised the year before. If the B.N.P. was not in a state of crisis itself, with Tyndall and Morse only recently released from jail, it may have been conceivable that the party would make great gains at the expense of the N.F. This now seems unlikely in view of the B.N.P.'s present crisis, although reports from an infiltrator in Leeds state that most of Leeds N.F. (led by Frank Burden [see photograph 14]) has joined the B.N.P. It seems more likely that the N.F. Support Group will usurp the current leaders of the party, because they have the sheer weight of numbers behind them. A more conventional approach will then be resumed and the carpet will have been pulled from beneath John Tyndall's feet.

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