

RESISTANCE



AUGUST 1987

10p

RESISTANCE :

a compilation of articles and poems around the theme of resistance to inhuman forces in society and in ourselves - forces which divide us as human beings.

If we offer no resistance - if we do not feel for those who've struggled and died and are struggling and dying now offering resistance - there is no point in our being alive.

The price of apathy is dear. When fascism was allowed to grow in Germany, the depths of barbarism and inhumanity to which we are capable of sinking were revealed. Millions were murdered under the Nazis; millions gave their lives as part of the anti-fascist resistance.

Wherever repression exists, there is resistance. People throughout the world share this common experience of repression - a basis for the unity which is essential for survival. We must fight all forms of segregation and all attempts to divide us. We must share the same goals and beliefs. We must strive for human dignity.

Living is struggling towards justice, equality, freedom and peace. Every person - no matter who they are or where they come from - can contribute towards this fight. Our motivation is the love of humanity.

Are we prepared to live ?

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NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS



At the helm - the respectable Oxbridge graduate image.

Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy provide the clearest examples of fascism in action; it is a serious mistake to limit the meaning of fascism to these two forms. Such a definition would make it impossible to analyse fascist dangers in the present day. Changing circumstances are liable to produce differences in fascist movements; in short, a new fascism adapts, to a new situation. These adaptations are present in the fascist groups of Britain. Their style differs from predecessors - at present they are concerned with appearing **respectable**. Anti-semitism, although less pronounced, is strongly present. They may be slightly restrained, but no less **menacing**.

In this economic slump, fascist parties are steadily growing; with this growth they have launched repeated attacks on people. These attacks are targetted primarily on Asian communities at this moment in time.

"Anyone clamouring about freedom of speech seems to be an apologist for fascism."

Fascists thrive on attacks. Fascist groups practice that "political support is on the streets" - hence the fascist rallies and attacks on communities and opponents.

A slogan which was raised in the 1930's is being raised in Britain today : "Possession of the streets is the key to power in the State".

Anti-Fascists in Britain in the '30's raised the slogan : "They shall not pass", and pass they did not. The streets, where it was possible, were denied to the fascists.

In the 1980's this slogan, while in essence remaining the same, reads : "No platform for fascists". Anyone clamouring about "freedom of speech" seems to be an apologist for fascism. Fascists openly admit their following and love for Adolf Hitler, and have written books trying to distort historical facts, for example, that the Holocaust is



On the street - the not so respectable fascist thuggery.

"No opposition means that fascists can operate much more easily."

a Jewish lie. What right have they to preach about inhuman and repressive systems ?

The present fascist parties may be considered small, but so, initially, was Hitler's party. As the socio-economic problems worsen, fascism becomes fact - no longer a word of abuse. Newspapers seem to report fascist attacks as being perpetrated by the far/extreme right - they shy away from identifying the attackers as fascist. Up and down the country, fascist attacks are a daily occurrence. It is up to people to challenge fascists and deny them access. Anti-fascism is not a question of saying : "I'm against them" - it is an active concept.

People say, "It can't happen here - this is Britain", but it is views like this which only serve to help fascists. No opposition means that fascists can operate much more easily.



Mosley inspects his followers on the day of 'The Battle of Cable Street'.



Anti-Fascist crowd, some of them carrying missiles, run from a barricade they have erected near Aldgate, East London. The police are charging on the far side of the barricade. Despite police efforts, however, anti-fascists prevented Mosley's blackshirts from marching that day - 'The Battle of Cable Street' was won - 5th October 1936.

"As socio-economic problems worsen, Fascism becomes fact - no longer a word of abuse."



"..attacks are targetted primarily on Asian communities at this moment in time"

"They shall not pass..."

the streets, where it was possible, were denied to fascists."

Only active fight-backs by anti-fascists have made some places safer. In Bradford, with a strong anti-fascist movement, the fascists have had great difficulty in organising openly. The slogan : "No platform for fascists" had been successfully followed, and with it the confidence of fascists in Bradford has been broken - but they are not yet beaten. It is time for everyone to take note that "anti-fascism" is people who say : "I will fight fascism - if fascists have a platform I will oppose them."

"The present fascist parties may be considered small, but so, initially, was Hitler's party."



British National Party
chief John Tyndall :
"Hitler was right."

Those people who are on the front line of fascist attack are not interested in hearing the lip service paid to the fight by so-called "anti-fascists". They are not interested in those who choose to flirt with anti-fascism while it is trendy to do so.

Collaborators were not only a phenomenon of the Second World War - they exist (perhaps passively) in great numbers today.

Some may not be in immediate physical danger from fascism now, but remember - if you choose not to fight today, tomorrow the fascists will come for you :

First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out -
because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for the communists
and I did not speak out -
because I was not a communist.

Then they came for the trade unionists
and I did not speak out -
because I was not a trade unionist.

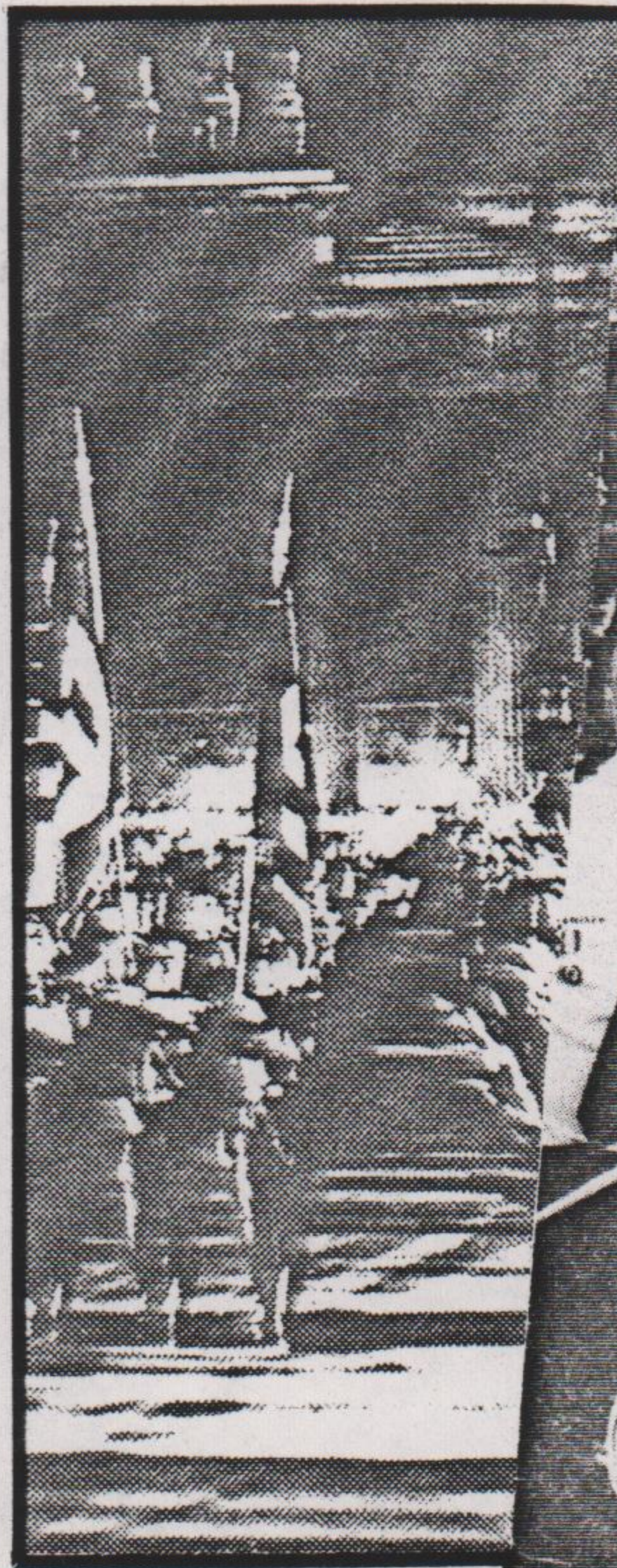
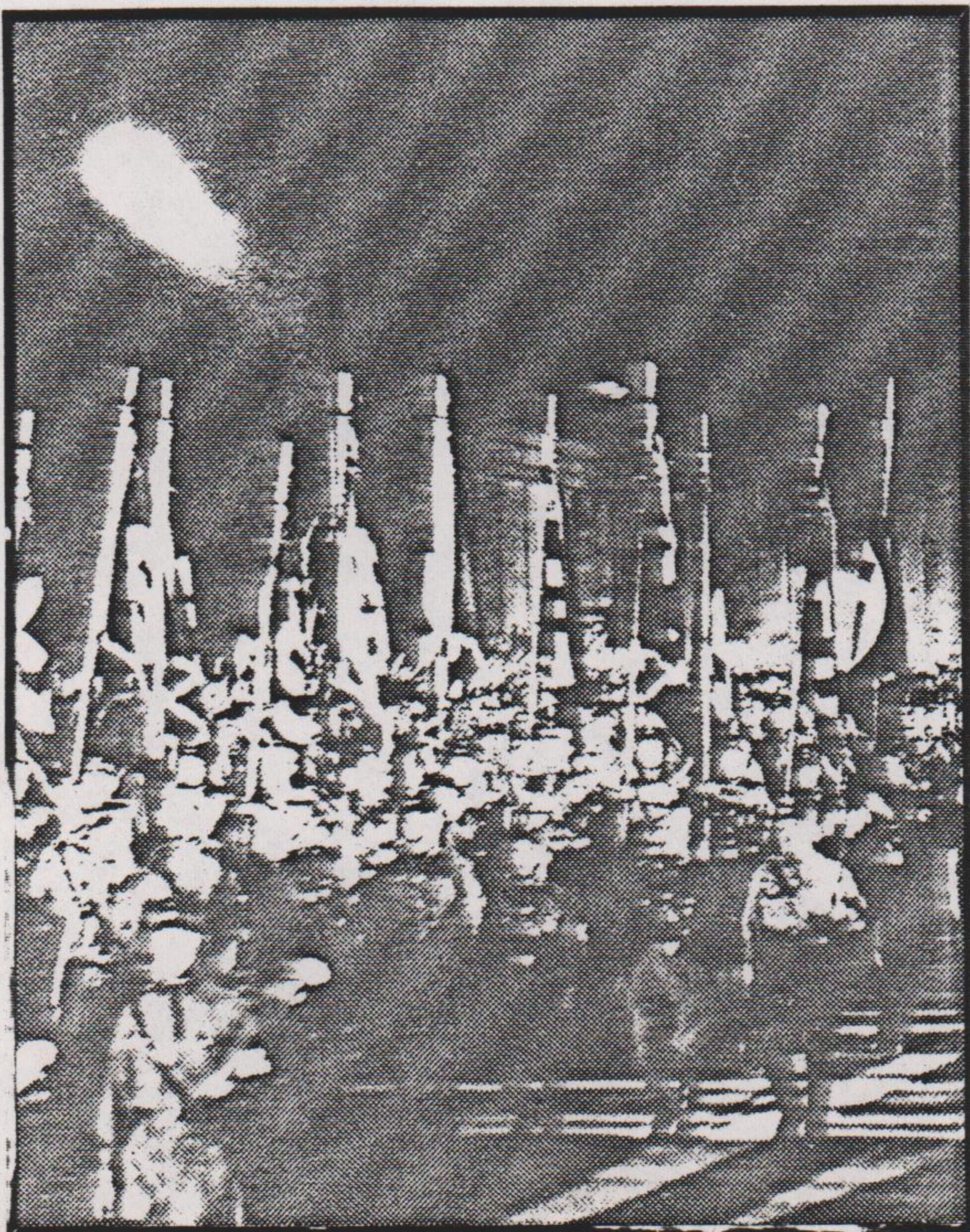
Then they came for me -
and there was no one left
to speak out for me.

(Pastor Niemöller - imprisoned for
speaking out against Hitler.)■

Anon.



"...if you choose
not to fight
today,
tomorrow
the fascists will
come for you."



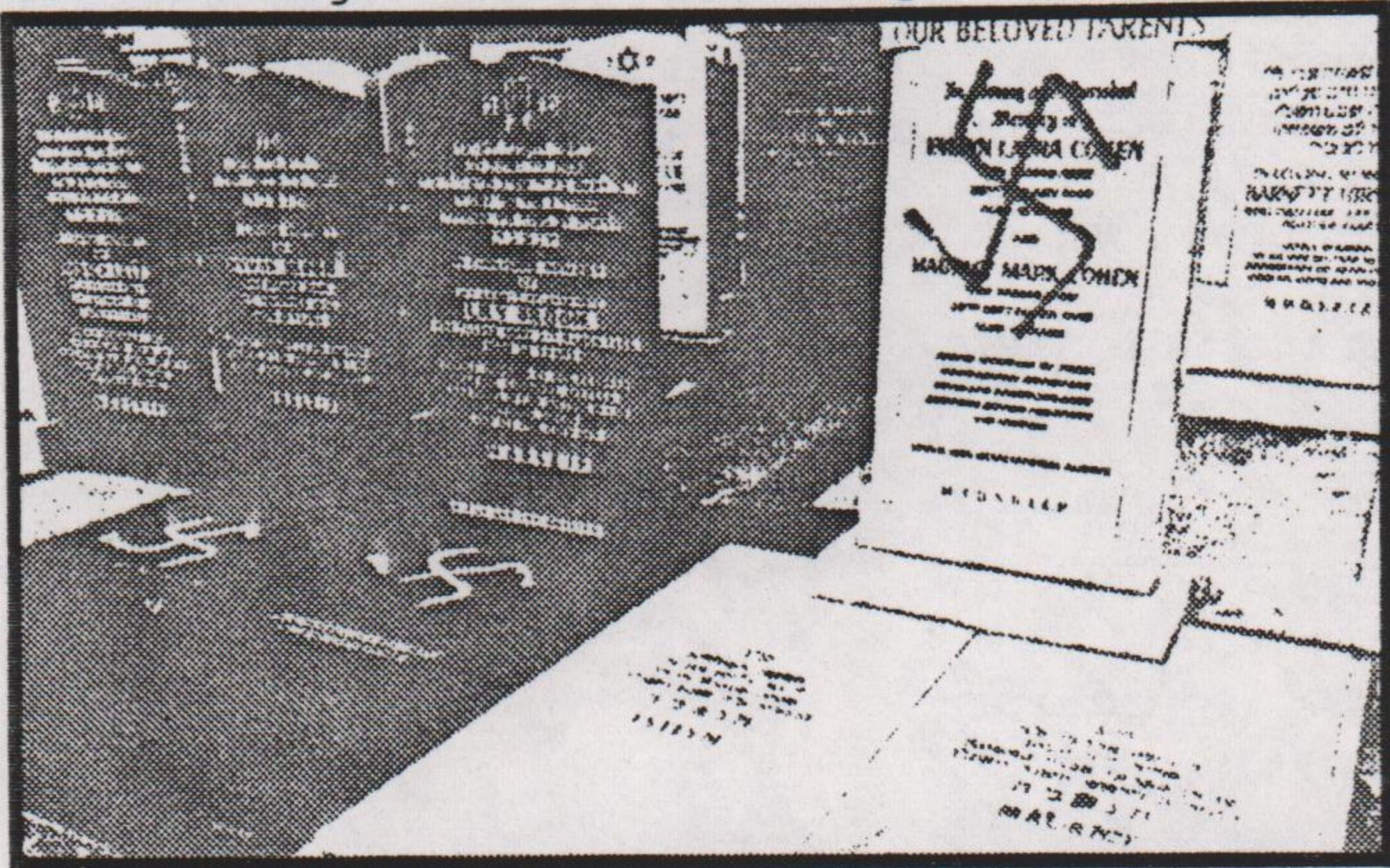
Fascist marches and rallies -
to "possess the streets"

ANTI-SEMITISM

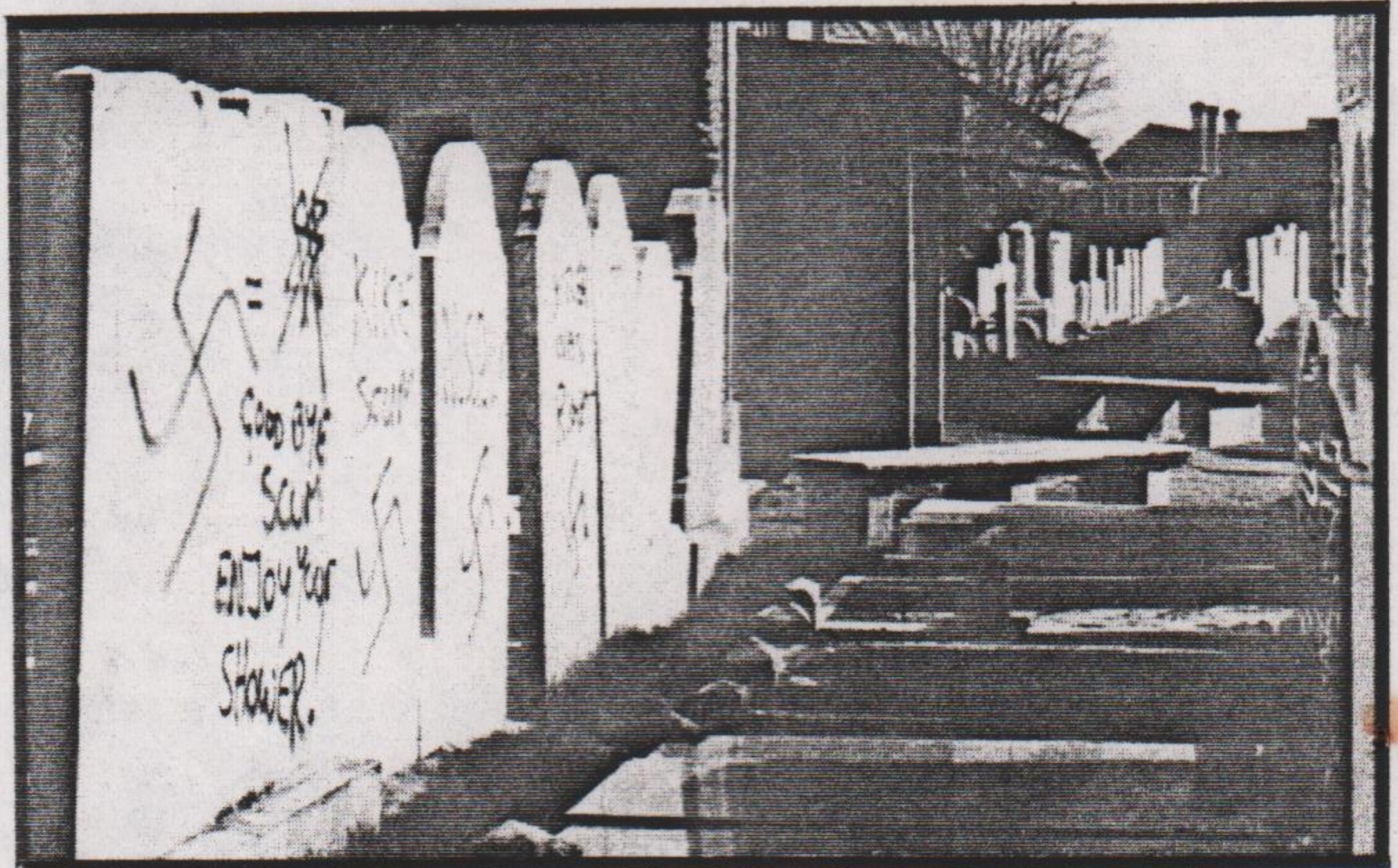
The Jews succeeded, they are now rich and powerful.
The Jews are now oppressors, the right-wing capitalists.
The Jews are now the racists - look, their claims for self determination discriminates against the Palestinians.
The Jews only have the Old Testament, filled with hate and revenge.

An eye for an eye : Jewish ideology acted out by the Israelis.

The Jews just stick together - look after themselves because they think they're the chosen people.
The Jews only want to talk about the Holocaust so that people will feel sorry for them, and if they're not talking about that they talk



Nazi vandalism at Jewish cemetery, Manchester 1986.



Slogan on tombstone reads, "Goodbye scum. Enjoy your shower".

RACISM TODAY!

ANTI-SEMITISM YESTERDAY,

"Anti-semitism is a phenomena of the 1930's"
- Anti Nazi League.

"Thatcherist policies are complimentary with Jewish values".
- Hugo Young, The Guardian 1986

"I don't think we should campaign on behalf of the rights of Soviet Jews imprisoned for wanting to be observant Jews because of what Israel is doing to Palestinians".
- N.U.S. Conference 1986.

"The Jews are rich and powerful and content to see blacks get hurt on the frontline"
- speaker at Anti-Racist Week, Bradford 1986.

about

Soviet Jews
Pogroms
Persecution

The Jewish identity is so negative why don't they stop being Jewish and then they'll stop being persecuted.

In fact I have proof that Jews are all rich, right-wing, money grabbing, racist Zionists because I have a Jewish friend who told me so!

How many people reading this will agree with these statements?
It's so hard to write about anti-semitism when you first have to prove it exists - that your emotions are legitimate.
It is also difficult to write about anti-semitism when some people who are claiming to be anti-racist say these things:

"I didn't know that Jews could be socialists"

- a woman at International Voluntary Service anti-racist work-camp.

"In relation to the Holocaust, one must remember people are often treated in a way they deserve".
- my English teacher at school.

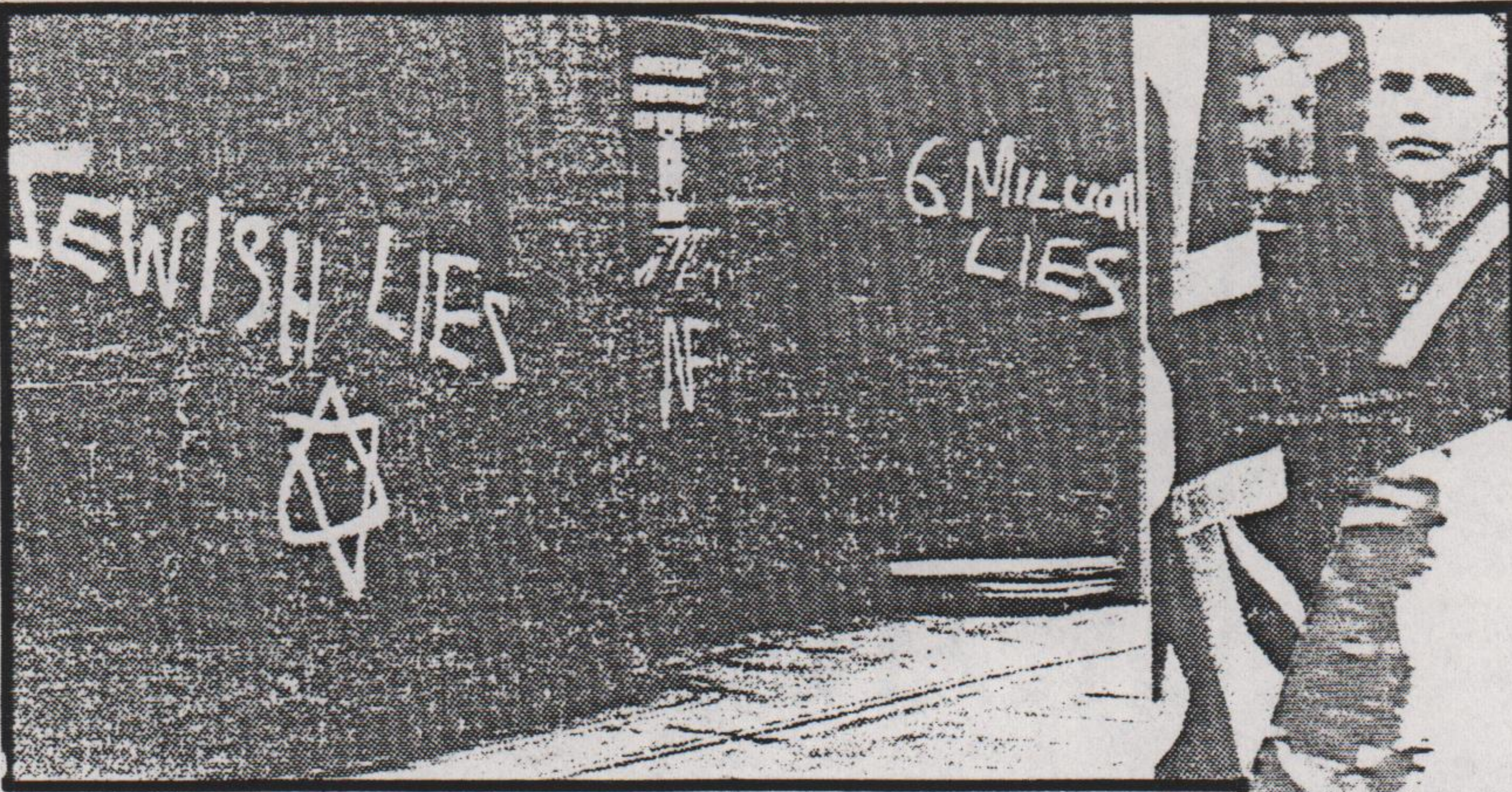
"Will you write a report on anti-semitism but not about pogroms/Holocaust and all that stuff".

- reporter for "Fleece" 1986 (University of Bradford Union journal).

You ask me about anti-semitism - if you don't understand when I say that all these things I am accused of are NOT true - I will not waste my energy to convince you.
Because I have spent too much time crying and feeling isolated by hurtful statements.
It is the anti-semites who push Jews into a shell and when I'm hurt it feels like it is only they who have the key!■

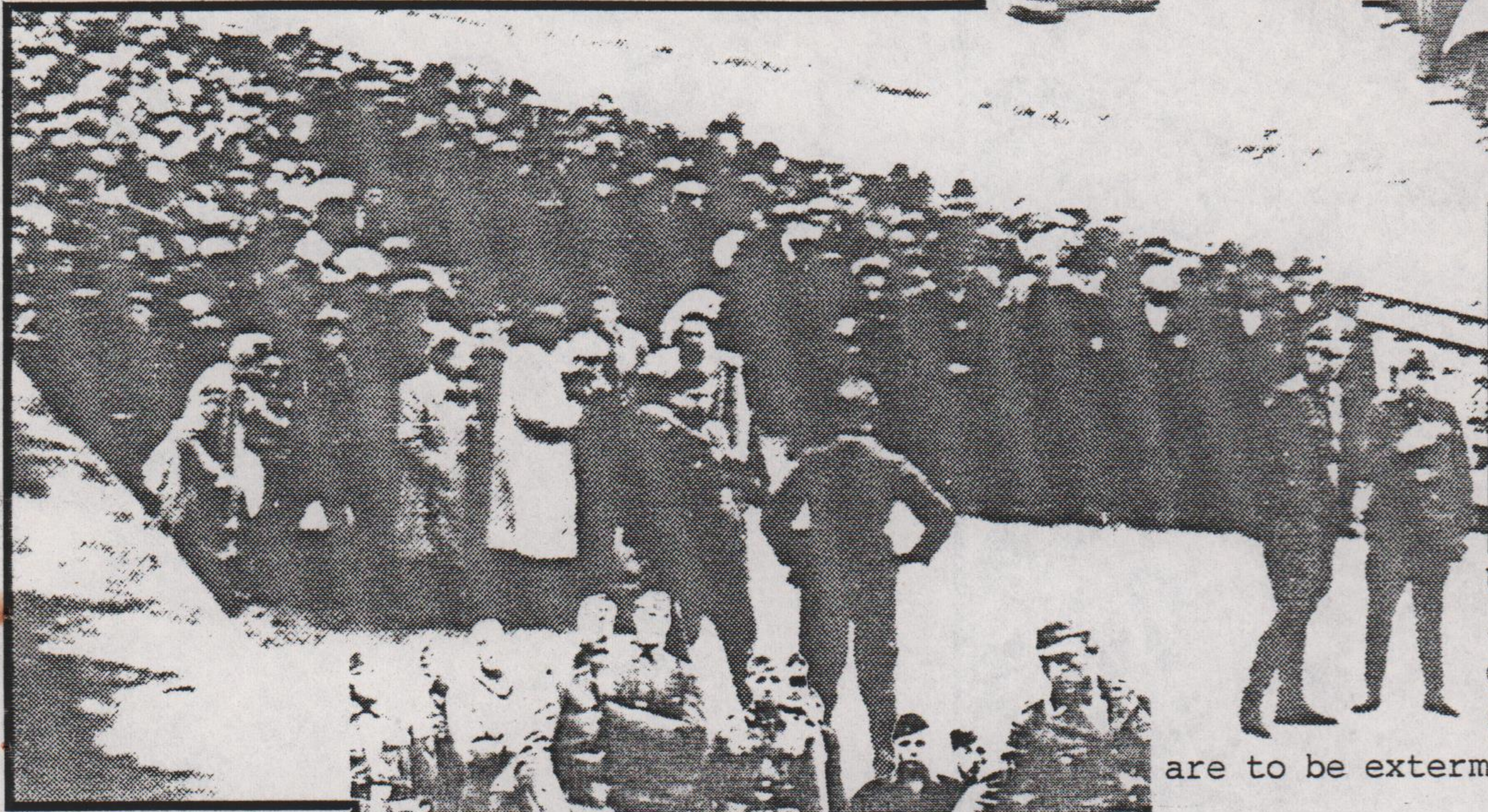
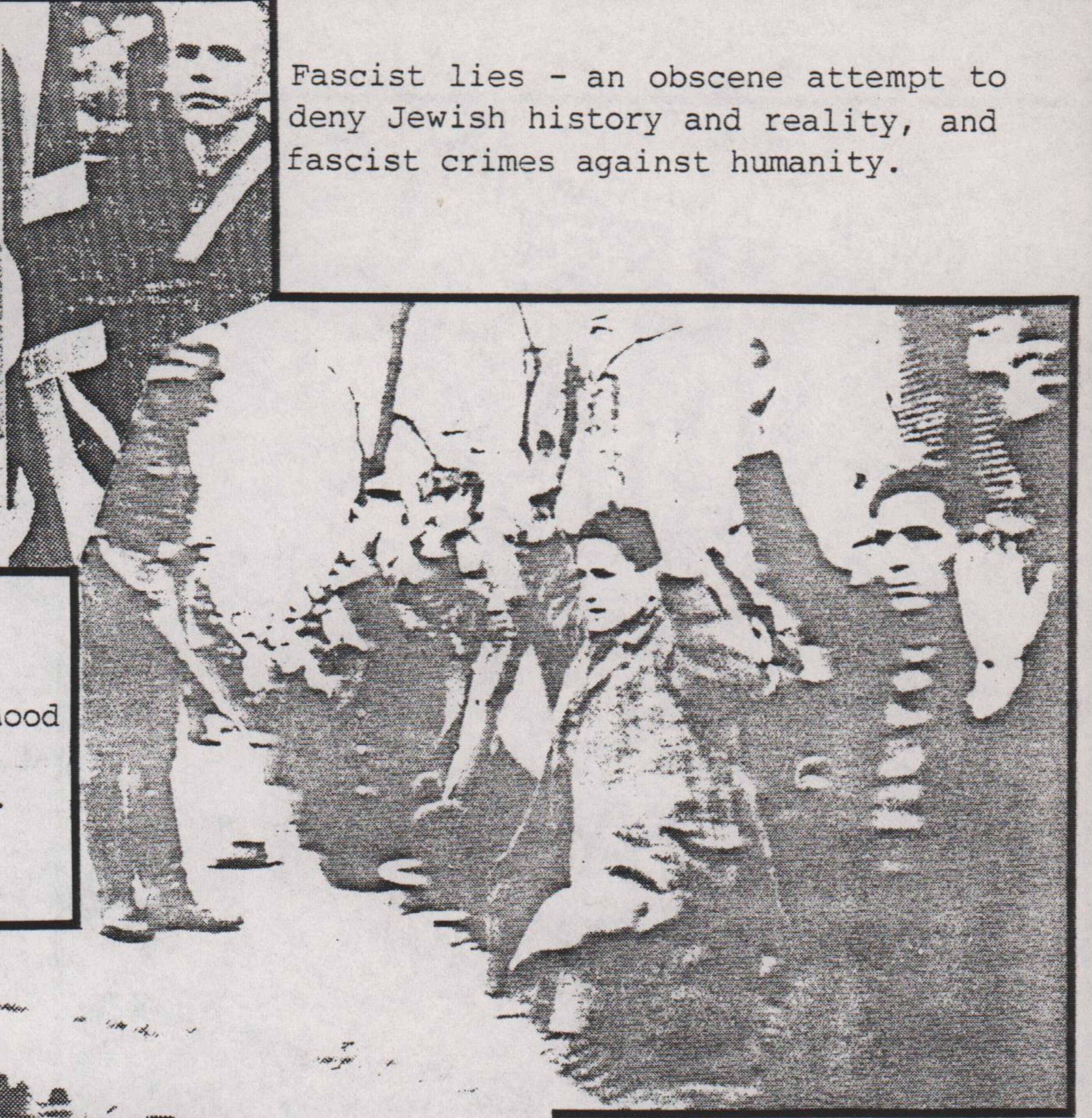
A Jewish student.



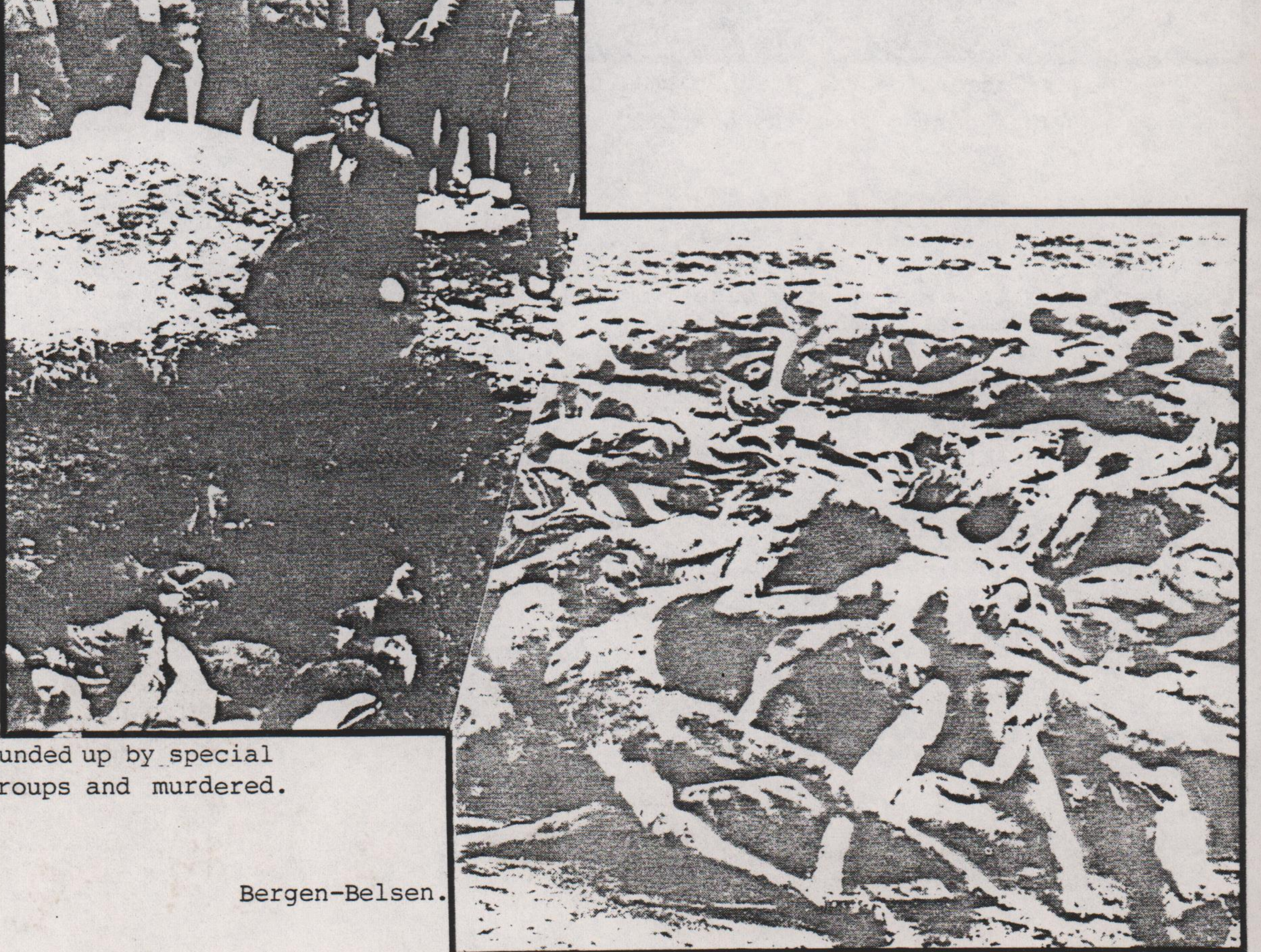


Fascist lies - an obscene attempt to deny Jewish history and reality, and fascist crimes against humanity.

Nazi paramilitaries enter Jewish neighbourhood of Amsterdam and round up the inhabitants. Jews retaliate and organise defence groups.



Upon arrival in Auschwitz Jews are divided into two groups : those who can still work and those who are to be exterminated immediately.



Jews in Eastern Europe are rounded up by special command groups and murdered.

Bergen-Belsen.

ONE BLACK WOMAN SHOT....



...ANOTHER KILLED
IN THE SAFETY OF THEIR HOME

END
STATE
RACISM

"Major attacks on the black communities
are coming from the state."

In the 1979 election, Margaret Thatcher swept to power in the wake of violent clashes between the National Front and Anti-Fascists. She gained a significant number of votes by her televised interview when she referred to Britain as being "swamped by an alien culture".

In 1982, the Union Jack was waved by many in response to the Falklands/Malvinas war. The extreme right were left bemused by a burst of patriotism that claimed to be fighting fascism in Argentina.

So far, racism has not been listed as a question to be asked in public opinion polls but it is there as a potent force on the hidden agenda of British politics. Visa regulations, Tamils at Heathrow, Broadwater Farm

**"Fighting
racism...
means we
have to
challenge
the state.."**

FIGHTING RACISM & FASCISM IN THE 1980's

and Black Sections in the Labour Party are just some of the stories that have hit the headlines in the mass media. The black poet Sam Greenlee, in his poem "Immigrants", begins with the following lines :

"The chief change
I've noted
among
white folk is
how they talking
bout us in code
like
stateside when they
say
crime in the streets
welfare cheats
they talkin bout us."

These code words for blacks have crossed the Atlantic and have been added to : "inner city riots", "drugs", "muggers", "law and order", etc. - code words for "an alien culture"/"too many blacks".

Many on the extreme right are not satisfied with these coded attacks. They want to go further and attack black people verbally or physically. Ray Honeyford, the renegade Bradford Headmaster, called Pakistan the "heroin capital of the world" whilst a National Front member in open court in Oldham boasted that gangs of National Front members roamed the streets, on a regular basis, armed with a frightening array of weapons to beat up blacks.

Of course, the hidden agenda is starkly apparent if you are black. In 1981, the Home Office conceded that West Indians are 36 times more

likely and Asians 50 times more likely to be the subject of racist attacks. Anti-fascist groups generally agree that there have been more than 50 racist murders in this country in the last ten years. Deportation and racist attacks are now so commonplace that they don't often rate a mention. In the words of Cardinal Hume, "A conspiracy of silence covers racist attacks".

There is an economy in crisis where even optimistic estimates say there will be two million long-term unemployed (though in practice I would argue the figure to be nearer six million, irrespective of the



"...all too often the police fail to catch the culprits..."

policies and results of the next General Election). The state is increasingly authoritarian and contemptuous of civil liberties. Banning of Trade Union membership in Cheltenham, stretching the law in the Miners' Strike, raiding the B.B.C. are all signposts to an authoritarian future.

To argue that Margaret Thatcher is a fascist has always been fatuous, but there are certainly sectors of the Tory Party right, the intelligence services, and the uniformed sections of the state who are not too concerned about the way they are going.

Meanwhile, in the sewers of right wing politics, a disturbing development is taking place. Despite splits between the British National Party and both factions of the National Front, there is a common theme developing - the notion of the "political soldier". What this means in practice is that British fascists have, to a greater or lesser degree, accepted the tactics of direct action and terrorism as frequently



"Examples (of racist attacks) are now so frequent that it is impossible to catalogue them all..."

used by European fascists in general and Italian fascists in particular.

The August 1980 Bologna train station bombing, in which 85 people were murdered, has been described as the worst fascist atrocity since the concentration camps of the Second World War, and is the most well known incident of de-stabilisation by terrorism.

Whilst it hasn't happened here yet, on a similar scale, members of the B.N.P. have been arrested on arson charges. Members of extreme right organisations have also been convicted for damage to property, grievous bodily harm, and murder - but all too often the police fail to catch the culprits, despite, in many cases, their identity being known. The East End of London, in particular, has seen a horrific wave of petrol bombings and racist attacks. In the north we have seen a level of planning and premeditation which is new and disturbing in racist attacks. Examples are now so



"...we have not succeeded in eliminating the fascists..."

frequent that it is impossible to catalogue them all, but a couple might serve to get the flavour. On an estate in Bradford, Asian taxi drivers were called to a pub and then ambushed by a large gang of white thugs weilding cricket bats and other weapons; the taxi drivers were lucky to escape with their lives. The Jewish Theological College in Gateshead was attacked by a gang of white youths. In Keighley, West Yorkshire, 70 white youths went on a rampage attacking Asian individuals and shops.

Of course, not every attack is carried out by members of extreme right wing organisations, but Keighley points to how things work. Of the 70 youths, only one or two had links with the National Front through the sale of fascist papers at Leeds United. The extreme right hope to recruit the racists and feed them with ideas about how to operate. It is these disaffected white youths whom the extreme right seek to turn into "political soldiers" - people who have a national socialist ideology and who will carry out orders to physically attack people.

Wherever the right flourish of course there will be some resistance, not least from black people and particularly youths who are a main object of attacks. If Bradford is typical, there is now at street level a well organised but informal system amongst youths to instantly respond to racist gangs coming into their areas. Such groupings probably exist in most black areas, but they are defensive in nature and often end up fighting the police, who usually arrive after the attacks have taken place and arrest black youths still in the area.

It was in response to the street level activity of the N.F. and B.N.P. that A.F.A. (Anti-Fascist Action) was set up two years ago. At the time, there was no co-ordinated national response to fascist activity. In it's two year existence, A.F.A. has significantly contributed to reducing the N.F. and B.N.P. to rump organisations. In the last year, we have opposed fascist mobilisations in Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Oldham, Bury St. Edmunds, York, Sheffield, London and most major towns.

It is of course the case that we have not succeeded in eliminating the fascists, but we have certainly stopped their unopposed growth. It is clear too that we need to mobilise against them at every opportunity and that we need to attack their areas when they hold

"It is these disaffected white youths whom the extreme right seek to turn into 'political soldiers'."

meetings, paper sales, and so on. We need to keep them small, isolated, and on the move so that they do not establish strong bases. In certain areas such as Leeds, A.F.A. clearly has to prioritise anti-fascist work for the foreseeable future. Nationally, we have to develop strategies for dealing with the changed nature of fascist activity, particularly dealing with their direct action groups.

To restrict our activity only to fighting organised fascists is, however, a major mistake.

Fascism does not arise spontaneously from the streets. It is a tool to be used by the ruling class when the economy is in crisis. The movement towards a fascist state is uneven. On the one hand are the fascists seeking to recruit and build cadre and membership. On the other hand are the movements by the state and the ruling class itself which lurches towards repression and scapegoatism in tandem with the growth of fascist groups.



"To restrict our activity ONLY to fighting organised fascists is, however, a major mistake."

"...we need to mobilise against them at every opportunity."

Major attacks on the black communities at the moment are not coming from the N.F./B.N.P. but from the state in two ways. Firstly, there are developments such as drugs raids, stricter immigration controls, more deportations, and increased powers to the police and security services. These developments take place within an atmosphere where blacks are generally blamed for unemployment, poor housing, etc. Secondly, this general racist ideology is siezed upon by sections of white youth to carry out racist attacks - these are the so-called "individual racists".

It is clear that most black people are more worried generally about attacks from the state and individual racists than about the growth of the N.F. and B.N.P. At the same time, it is within an

increasingly racist and repressive society that fascism begins to pose itself as a logical development to what is already going on.

In these circumstances, taking up the fight against racism is not a soft option but a real necessity. Fighting racism does not simply mean changing words and challenging racist remarks. It means we have to challenge the state ideologically and physically. We have to support all defence and anti-deportation campaigns. We have to oppose "respectable" racists like Honeyford and Proctor (sic). We have to support, defend and work with black groups on their terms under their leadership. We have to provide an alternative culture and political answer to young unemployed white people. Saying that the nazis are nasty, and beating-up one or two, is not enough - particularly when the nazis are becoming increasingly sophisticated in their arguments about the economy, the environment and issues like housing conditions.

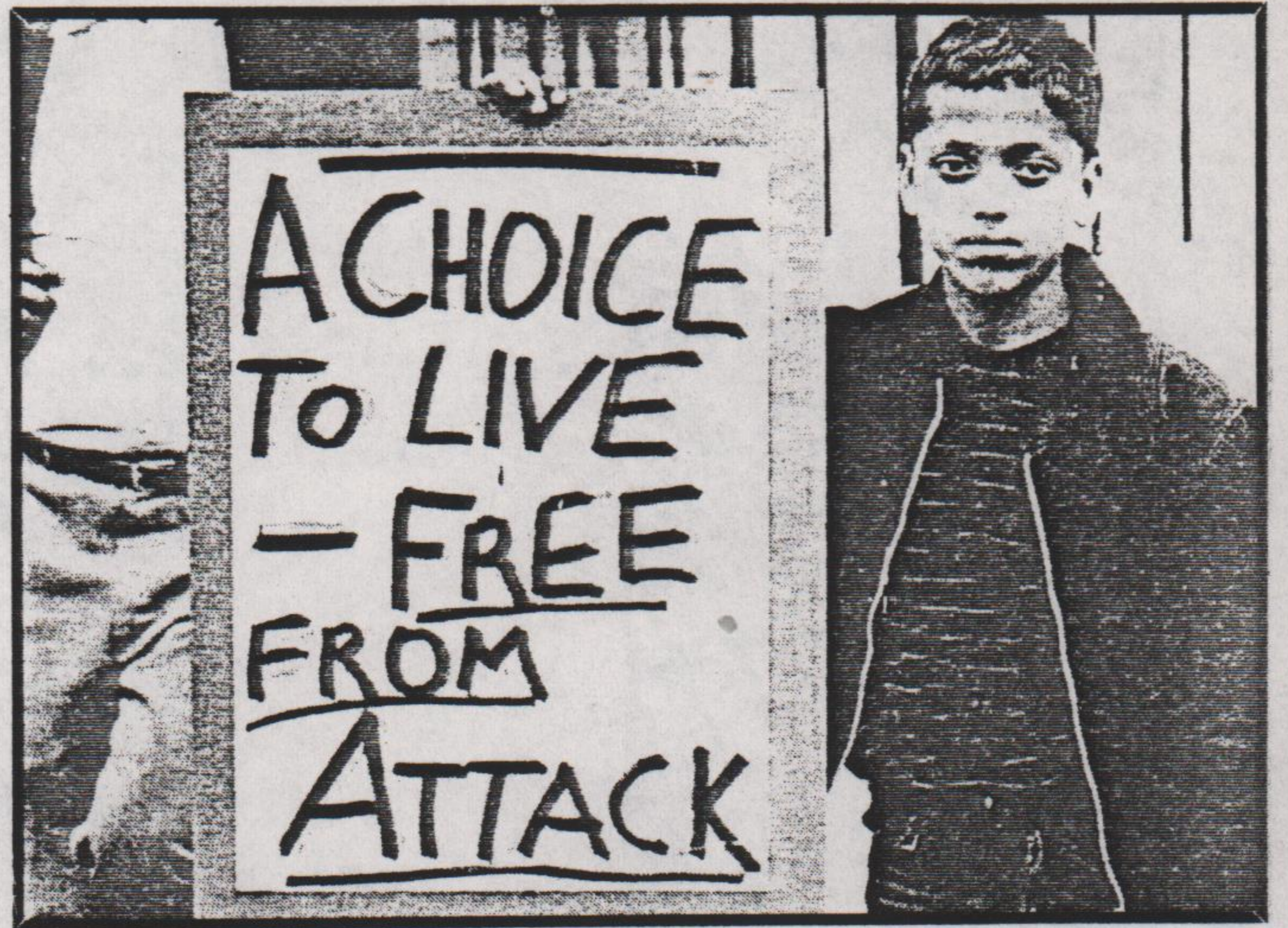
In order to counter the growth of fascism and racism we have to radically alter our approach. We have to recognise that being black means that attacks can come from anybody who is white but particularly from authorities such as the Immigration Service, the police and the courts.

In these circumstances, limiting ourselves to beating-up fascists means that we don't even begin to address the real problems of day to day harassment.

Of course, we cannot be everywhere and confront every racist remark and racist attack, but what we can do is build up political support and encouragement for a mass movement that takes on board these issues. We have to build a mass anti-racist, anti-fascist movement that clearly identifies racism not only with extreme right wing groups but as a core part of British society and British institutions. To do that also means that we have to address, at least in a negative sense, wider political issues to counter racist propaganda.

We have to start by saying that blacks do not cause unemployment. It is caused by a system that increases profit by putting workers on the dole in order to drive down wages. Unemployment in the 1930's was about the same as today - a time when there were few black people in Britain. Unemployment is at it's worst in Northern Ireland, where black people only constitute a very small minority.

We have to take on the arguments about black people and social



"...there have been more than 50 racist murders in this country in the last ten years..."

security, pointing out that in real terms black people have contributed more money to the social services than they are ever likely to claim.

We have to take on the arguments about housing, pointing out the fact that successive governments and councils have not put investment into housing and that far from causing slums, black people are forced to live in them.

We have to take on board arguments about education and point out that it is the Tories and their rich white supporters who send their kids to private schools and who are not bothered about what happens to working class kids.

We have to point out that the judges, police, employers and Members of Parliament who run the system are not black but white, and that it is in the interest of rich whites to keep us divided and against each other by using racism.

In political terms we have to look at and attack the ideology of the new right in the Tory party and the lurch to repression and authoritarianism in the British State. We have to take on board the racists in the Liberal Party, like those in Tower Hamlets who are actively evicting mainly Bengali homeless - which effectively means repatriation by the back door. We also have to address the Labour Party and Trades Unions whose structures and policies also discriminate against blacks.

We can do this if we take on board the fact that being anti-racist and anti-fascist isn't just about opposing the National Front but putting forward a vision of how to organise society in the interests of all, not the powerful rich few who seek to keep us divided■

Geoff Robinson (ARAF.A.)
(Anti-racist/Anti-fascist Action.)

**"...it is in
the interest
of rich
whites to
keep us
divided...
by using
racism."**



REMEMBER THE 9th OF NOVEMBER!

AND ALL THE OTHER DAYS !

A DAY IN WHICH YOU SHOULD HOLD YOUR HEAD IN SHAME !

FOR YOU ALLOW MURDERERS WITH
HITLER ON THEIR FACES,
BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS,
STEEL CAPPED BOOTS
AND NAZI SALUTES,

DEFILING THE CENOTAPHS
AND STREETS OF OUR TOWNS AND CITIES
AS THEY MARCH.

DON'T YOU HEAR THE ANGER
OF THE SOLDIERS,
AS THEY TURN IN THEIR GRAVES ?

SCREAMS FROM THE VICTIMS OF
THE HOLOCAUST ?

AND THE CRIES FROM THE
LATEST VICTIMS OF RACIST ATTACKS ?

DON'T YOU HEAR THEM CALL FROM
THEIR GRAVES ? HOSPITAL BEDS ?

WHY DO YOU ALLOW IT TO HAPPEN ?

GO ON, WHY DON'T YOU ANSWER
THEIR CALLS ?

YOU CAN CLOSE YOUR EYES ,
AND SHUT OFF YOUR EARS,

BUT, THEY WILL STILL BE
CALLING !
WAITING FOR YOUR ANSWER,

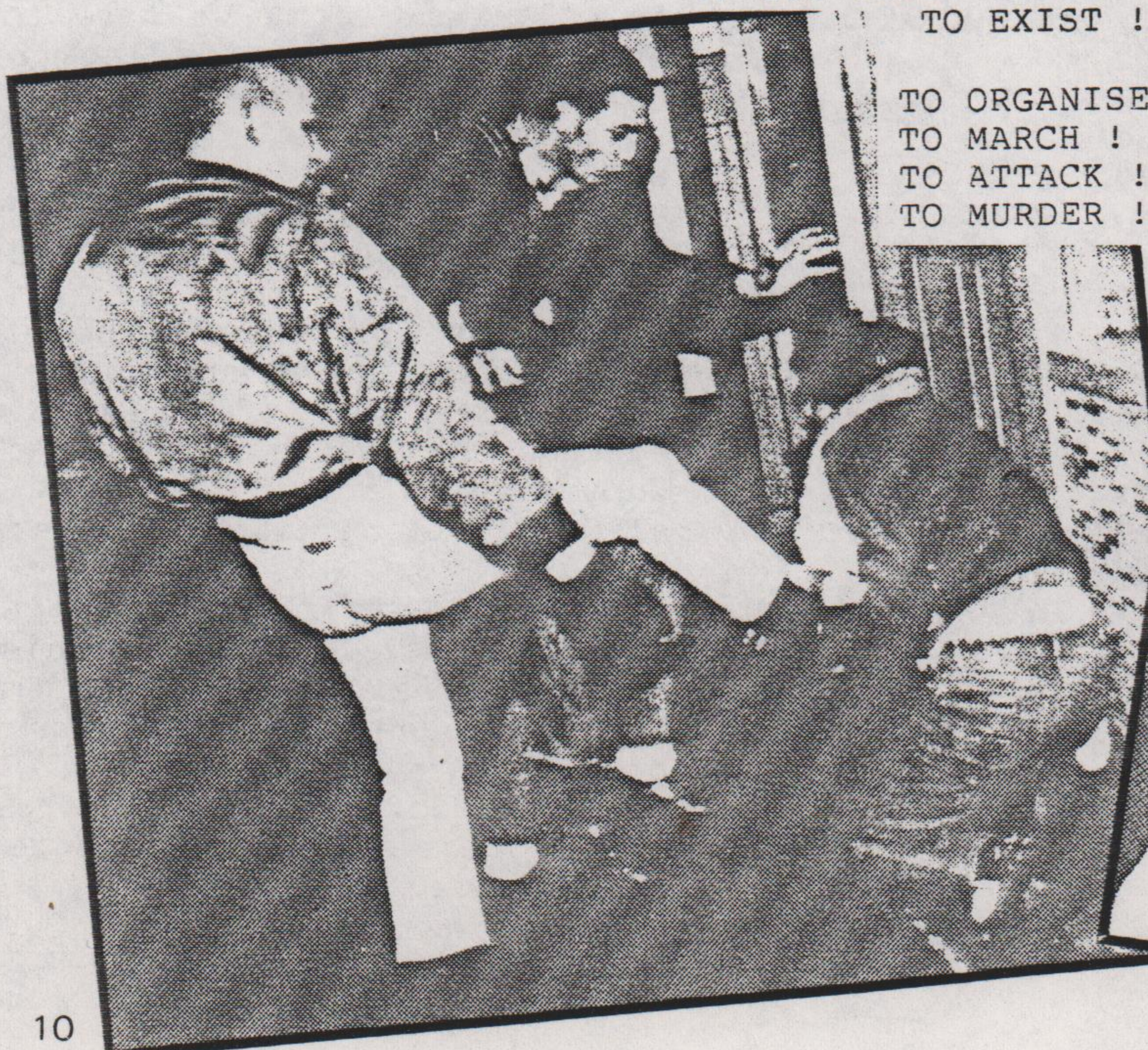
AND THEY WILL STILL BE
MARCHING
WITH HITLER ON THEIR FACES,

BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS,
STEEL CAPPED BOOTS
AND NAZI SALUTES.

AND IT MAY BE **YOUR** BLOOD,
OR **YOUR** CALL FROM THE GRAVE,
ONE DAY SOON,

IF **YOU** CONTINUE TO ALLOW THEM
TO EXIST !

TO ORGANISE !
TO MARCH !
TO ATTACK !
TO MURDER !





Belle Vue pub, Manningham lane - near the scene of the incident.

What happened ?

On the 6th October 1985 at 2.15am, a coach which came from outside of Bradford, full of whites, descended near a West Indian cafe (used by black and white) on Manningham Lane. A brick was thrown through the cafe window by a man from the coach. Three women sitting by the window were badly cut by shattered glass. A white man in a wheelchair was rushed into the kitchen for shelter by his frightened wife; within seconds the other people in the cafe ran to safety as another brick was hurled through the window, while racist abuse was clearly heard. The cafe was under siege.

The police, who witnessed the incident, chose to ignore it, while preventing a gathering crowd of mainly black Bradfordians from getting near the scene. Missiles were thrown, aimed towards the coach, from the back of the angry, agitated crowd. The police attempted to break up the gathering, setting dogs on them; they arrested two innocent, black by-standers. They called for reinforcements and prepared for a riot situation. They escorted the coach-load of racists out of Bradford. None of the real offenders were arrested - it was a racist attack.

**"The police,
who witnessed
the incident,
chose to
ignore it..."**

THE BELLE VUE ATTACK

**"None of the real offenders
were arrested - it was a
racist attack."**

The Campaign.

A campaign was formed by the people who were at the scene, including the two defendants, and was based at the Saathi Centre. The charges were Criminal Damage, Breach of the Peace, and Obstruction. Regarding the latter two charges, both defendants were denied the right to Legal Aid. As a result, the defence campaign was especially in need of financial help. A number of benefits were organised in order to raise money for legal costs.

The defendant charged with Obstruction was tried at Bradford Magistrates Court on 10th February '86, was found "guilty", and was fined £25. The second defendant was found "guilty" at Leeds Crown Court on both charges, and was sentenced to 50 hours Community Service and ordered to pay £522.10 compensation to the coach company. Both verdicts were reached largely on the basis of police evidence which was clearly contradictory.

The case was presented in court as an ordinary criminal case - the racism involved in the incident was not referred to. We were not happy with this. We feel that solicitors and barristers, when dealing with cases of this nature, should argue the case around the issue of

racism. The issue needs to be highlighted and confronted at every opportunity.

Support ?

The campaign has been in operation for well over one and a half years - with very little support from so-called "anti-racists" and "anti-fascists". The defence committee members feel that this is simply because the case was about two ordinary Bradford youths out on a Friday night - not two martyred "lefties" arrested on a demonstration. It was a case about racism - nothing spectacular. There was no glory to be had by supporting the campaign - the defendants do not move in political circles.

If so-called "anti-racist/anti-fascist" groups exist to support victims of racism and fascism, then they're apparently not doing a very good job. Because, at the end of the day, it's ordinary people's

support that counts - support which lefty groups rely on, ie. when money needs to be raised or when petition forms need to be filled. They talk of unity. but when "ignorant" people need their support, they don't want to know.

It seems to be much easier for them to support causes thousands of miles away rather than those happening under their own noses. Do they know what they are fighting for ? Defendants have no confidence in these groups, as they seem to be "political" only to boost their own egos.

Most of the fines have now been paid off, but we may be holding another fund-raising event in the near future. If so, we look forward to seeing all anti-racists there.

Belle Vue Attack Defence Committee.



BELLE VUE ATTACK DEFENCE COMMITTEE
 c/o 2, Hallfield Rd. (off Lumb Lane), Bradford.
 Tel: 731896

.....

APPEAL FOR WITNESSES-

THE INCIDENT
 On 6th Oct. '85 at 2.15 a.m. a coach which came from outside of Bradford, full of white people, descended near a café on Manningham Lane. The café was attacked by people from the coach - bricks were thrown through the windows and people inside were injured. The police arrested two innocent, black by-standers - not the real offenders. A defence campaign has been set up on their behalf, and we are in urgent need of witnesses.

▶ WERE YOU ON THE SCENE?
▶ DID YOU WITNESS ANYTHING OF THE INCIDENT?
● IF SO-PLEASE CONTACT US-NOW!

.....

THE COURT
 The trial date has been set for one of the defendants - beginning at Bradford Magistrate's Court on 10th Feb. at 10 a.m. There will be a picket outside the court on that day and we would urge you all to attend. Show your support for the defendants and Join Us!

PICKET: BRADFORD MAGISTRATE'S COURT
10am. MONDAY 10th FEB.

Belle Vue Attack Defence Committee.

The campaign:-

A campaign has been formed by the people who were at the scene, including the two defendants. Defendants have been charged with Criminal damage, Breach of the Peace and Obstruction. Regarding the latter two charges, both defendants have been denied the right to Legal Aid. As a result of this, the Defence Committee is especially in need of funds. Any contributions would be most welcome - affiliation fees are £10 for individuals - £5 for organisations and £2 for the unemployed. (Cheques payable to Belle Vue Attack Defence Committee, c/o 2, Hallfield Road, Bradford, Tel: 731896).

Court appearances & Other activities.

The two defendants have appeared in magistrates court on the 30th October and the 20th November. A fund raising dance with a raffle was organised by the campaign on the 14th November 1985. People from other organisations have shown support by putting in an appearance on those days.

A public meeting was organised by the Defence Committee with an invited speaker from the Anti-Nazi Defence Campaign.

The defendants are appearing at the magistrates court at 10am on the 2nd and 16th Jan. There will be a picket outside the court on that day. Show your support. Join us!

Come to the next

PUBLIC MEETING:

3pm. Sunday 12th Jan. at
QUEENS HALL
 (Bottom of Great Horton Rd.)

ATTEND the court
 10am. Jan. & 16th. at
 Bradford magistrates.

"It was a case about racism - nothing spectacular."

LESBIANS, GAY MEN AND FASCISM

The fascist ideology is based in the idea of a 'master race' with a supreme culture and religious structure of Totalitarian Christianity. Fascists believe that to achieve their goal of a superior and pure 'master race', all the people of the fascist's homeland must be subjugated totally and ruthlessly to an ideology and a rigid social and cultural order.

Fascism relies on nationalism and prejudice to convince the people of the dominant culture that they are supreme and deserve to rule over all others - that they are born to be a 'master race'. However, to achieve this, fascists argue, they must eliminate all other cultures, races and those who do not fit perfectly into the fascist definition of a superior person - an aggressive male national, basically speaking.

They support the idea that to achieve this 'master race' they must submit all others to their will as slaves or destroy them completely, along with all opposing ideologies and cultures. As fascism stems from western culture in much of its strongholds, the dominant culture is controlled by white people.

Seeking to destroy all other cultures, fascism must therefore use racist ideas and methods to crush not only all ethnic groups but all other individuals and groups who do not conform to the fascist ideal.

Jews are one such group who are viciously opposed by the state in European countries. Socialists, communists and all other non-fascist political groups are its victims, as well as gypsies, the disabled, and lesbians and gay men.

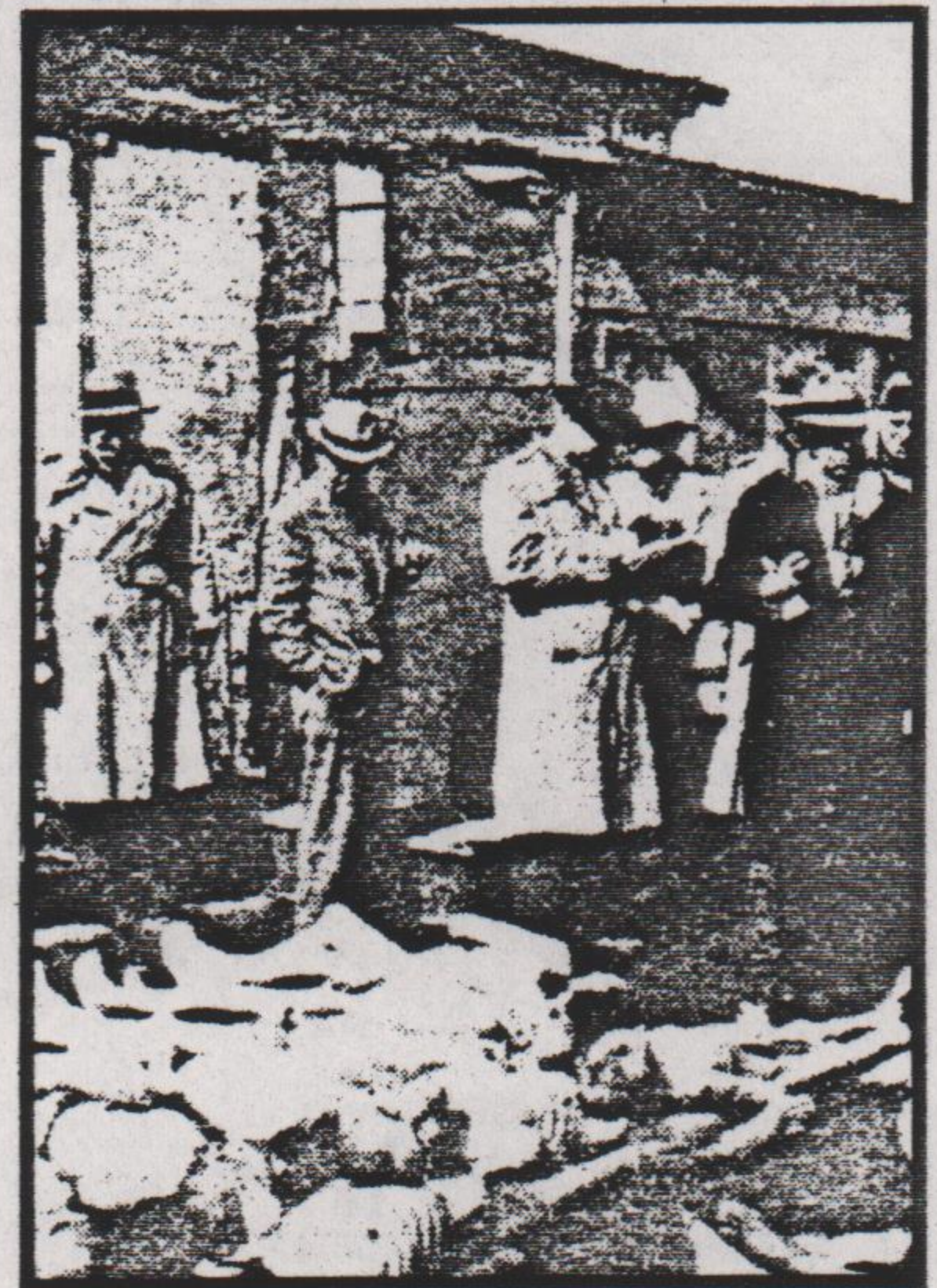
Lesbians and gay men are seen as a threat to the survival of the 'normal family' (father as breadwinner, mother as housewife and child-rearer, with 2.5 children) as a power base for male control over women. They are a threat to the compulsory heterosexuality to which fascism aspires with its

totalitarian christian morals. Lesbians and gays are a threat to the christian ideal of sex within marriage purely for reproduction. Lesbians pose a threat to male superiority over women and the role of women as economic and sexual providers for men. Gay men are seen as a threat to the fascist need for male control over women by violent sexual dominance.

The fascists of the 1930's thus attacked the lesbian and gay movement during that time and were the decisive factor in crushing the early lesbian and gay rights movement in the countries where fascism took power. (See J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstads - 'The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864 - 1935'. Times Change Press. 1974.)

The Second World War saw tens of thousands of lesbians and gay men murdered in the concentration camps. The historical facts of the tortures endured by us, including the burning of the genitals, anal rape using a

**"Lesbians and
gay men...are a
threat to the
compulsory
heterosexuality
to which fascism
aspires..."**



In commemoration of the homosexual victims of Nazism. The "Homosexual-len Initiativen" of Austria.

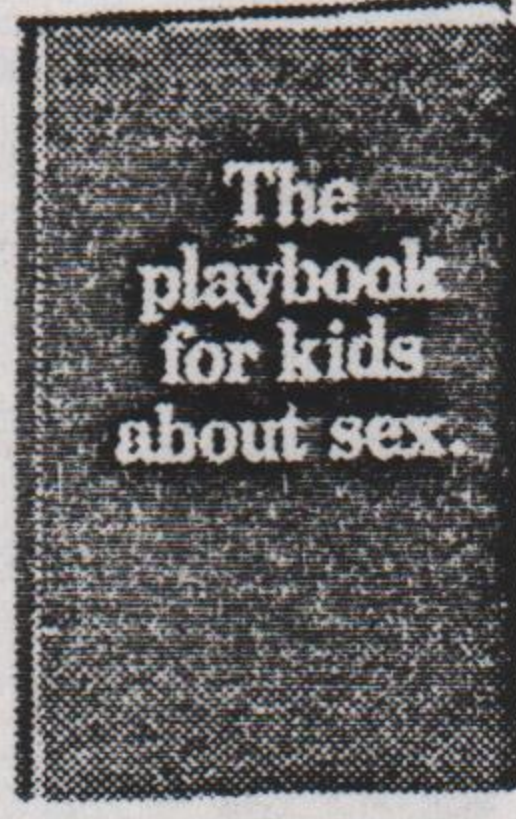
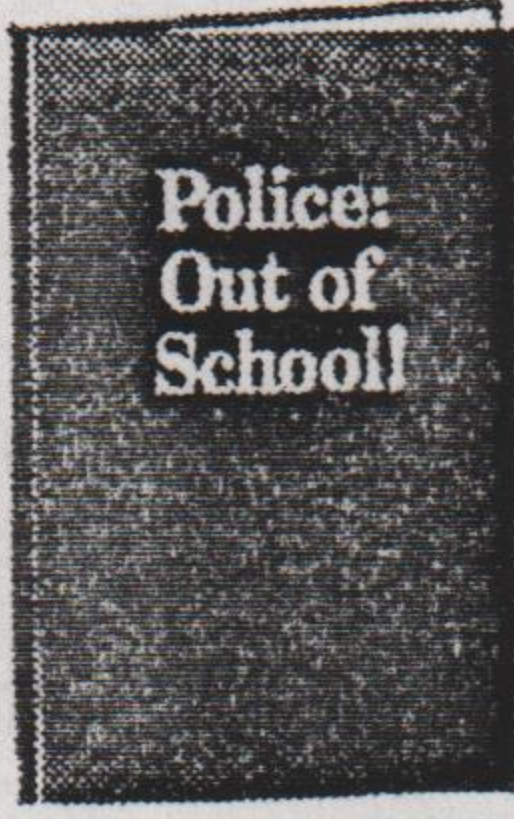
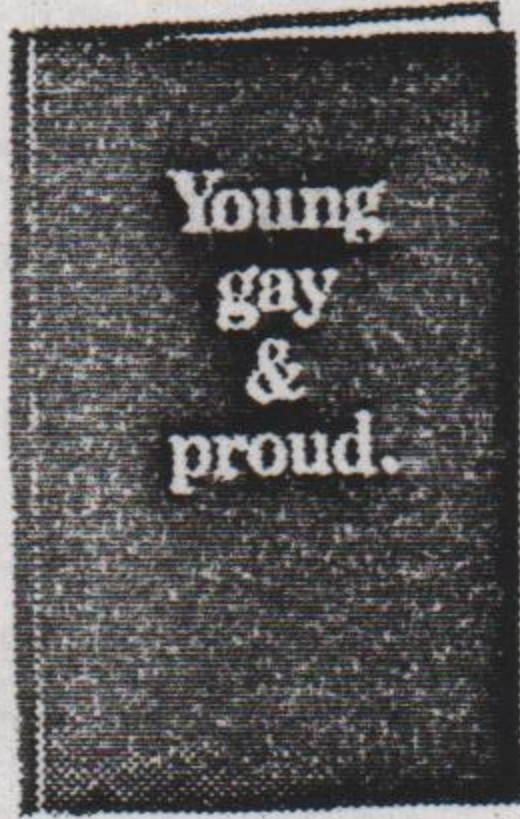
**"Fascism
relies on
nationalism
and
prejudice.."**

red hot poker and being the live subject of sadistic sexual experimentation, as well as starvation and being worked to death, are ill-reported and largely ignored today. (See H. Heger's - 'The Men with the Pink Triangle'. Gay Men's Press. 1980.)

So how does fascism work amongst lesbians and gay men in the 1980's ?

My first experience of fascist views about lesbians and gay men was when I was at college. Young men with fascist views maintained a high level of fear amongst myself and the black women and men at the college - through intimidation and abuse. The one incident I remember most was when our college common-room had a National Front poster pinned up on the wall. It said, "Keep Britain Aids Free - Shoot a Gay". The response of most of the students,

IS THIS LABOUR'S IDEA OF A COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION?



TAKE THE POLITICS OUT OF EDUCATION. VOTE CONSERVATIVE

"...this serves to stir up the hatred which leads towards vicious attacks on lesbians and gays.."

including people I thought were my friends, was to laugh at it. Typically, the only people to offer me any support were two lesbians who were just as angry as I was.

Incidents such as this are commonplace and are far outweighed by the verbal and physical abuse lesbians and gays receive every day. A survey in the London Gay Teenage Group's book - 'Something to tell you', (published in 1984) shows that out of the 416 respondents to the questionnaire, 32 were verbally abused at school because of their sexuality and 19 were beaten up. 45% had problems at school because of people's reactions to their sexuality. It is important to remember that 154 people had not told anyone that they were lesbian or gay and thus avoided any abuse because of their sexuality.

"...lesbians were brutally attacked by fascist thugs with iron bars..."

Prejudice and hostility towards us has always existed, but this Tory government has stirred it up to an unprecedented level since 1979.

In October '85, the Conservative Party Conference cheered the slogan, "If you want a queer for a neighbour vote Labour", (substituting "nigger" for "queer"). In November '85, it was revealed that a secret group of Tory MP's led by Goeffrey Dickens was pressing the government to ban gay pubs and clubs, and Norman Tebbit attacked gays in a television speech; and in April '86 he attacked the hard won reforms of the '60's which made male homosexuality semi-legal.

The right wing press has used Aids to create more hatred of lesbians and gay men, and the fascist right is using Aids to appeal to youth to support their anti-gay witch hunts.

In March '86, fascists tried to attack a lesbian and gay demonstration in Stockport, and gangs of youths harassed the Leicester 'Pride Festival' in June '86.

"...the Tory councillor Bill Brownhill... advocated the gas chamber for lesbians and gay men..."

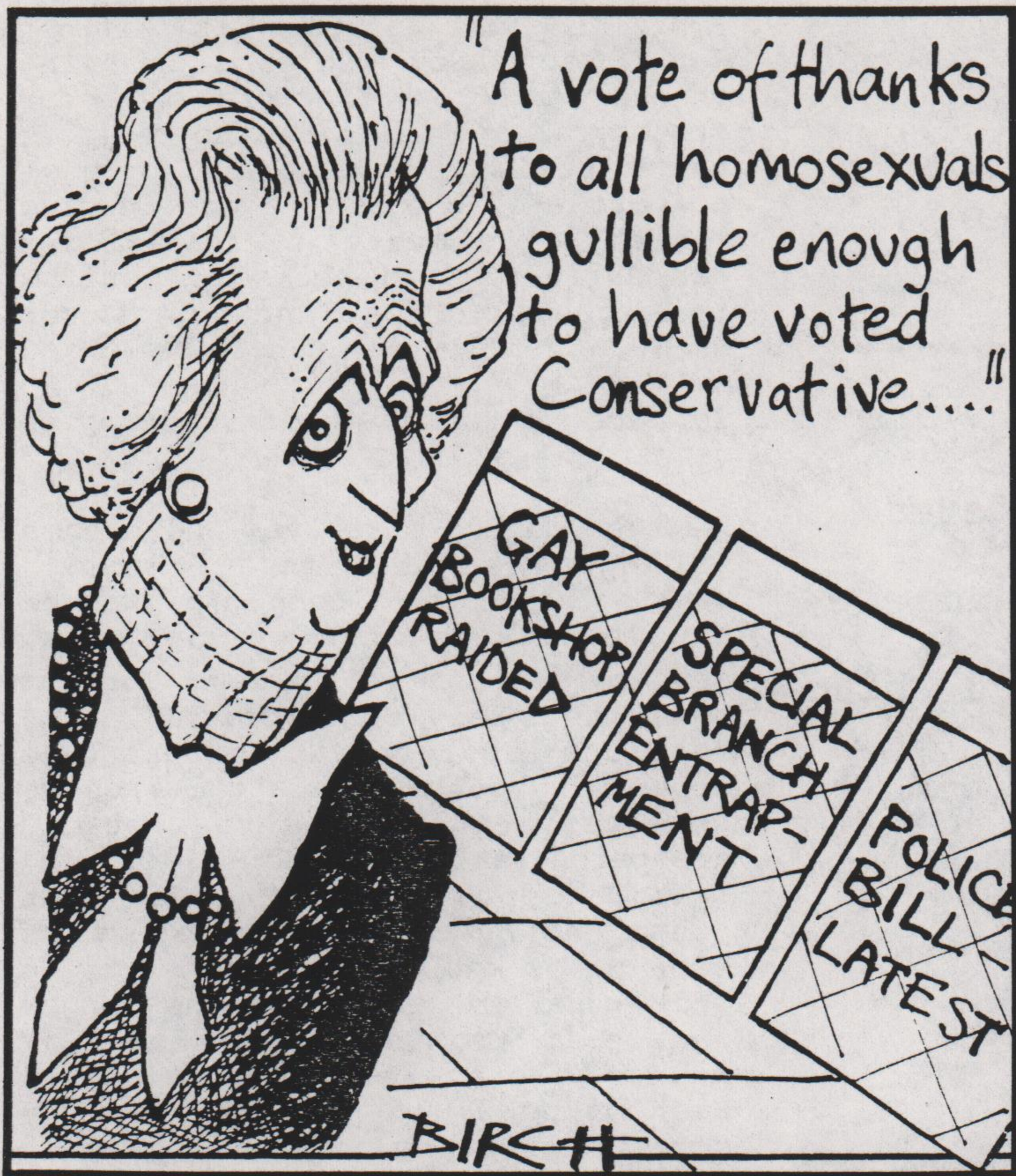
In Womborne this year, the Tory councillor Bill Brownhill (dubbed Brownshirt) advocated the gas chamber for lesbians and gay men. The link with the Second World War is obvious to all. When lesbians and gays protested at this, twelve were arrested, one woman was physically attacked and a man was threatened with violence by an inmate in jail.

In Bradford, the Tories are seeking to stir up prejudice and hatred against lesbians and gays - working in line with the party's national policy. Eric Sunderland, a Ray Honeyford supporter, recently blamed lesbians and gays for spreading Aids. In March, the Telegraph and Argus quoted him as saying, "This Labour group encouraged homosexuality which is the root cause of Aids".



Anti-AIDS uniform with mask "to protect against spitting" - 'The People'.

A Hammersmith gay man opened his door and was greeted by police officers wearing "space suits" because they feared the man "had AIDS".



The Tory councillors used bigoted election leaflets in the May '87 council elections to stir up prejudice and hatred amongst the Asian communities towards lesbians and gay men. More recently we have seen the Tories using lesbians and gays as a General Election issue.

All of this serves to stir up the hatred which leads towards vicious attacks on lesbians and gays - by their own families, by the police and by organised 'queer bashers'.

The police have attitudes which are just as reactionary as those of the Tories. Anderton's recent outburst of bigotry - that gays are "swirling around in a human cesspit of their own making" - caused red faces in high places; his comments, however, simply reflect widespread views amongst the police force. For instance, a police training officer was reported in Gay News as having condemned the 1967 laws which made homosexuality semi-legal (referring only to male homosexuality - apparently, lesbians don't exist in the eyes of the law).

The police do not view lesbians and gays in a positive light. The police harassment of lesbian, gay and black communities is an accepted form of policing. Basil Griffiths, former Chief Constable of South-East Yorkshire, has said, "In every community there is a large minority of people who are not fit for salvage....The only way in which the police can protect society is quite frankly by harassing these people."

Thus, many policies towards lesbians

"Lesbians pose a threat to male superiority.."

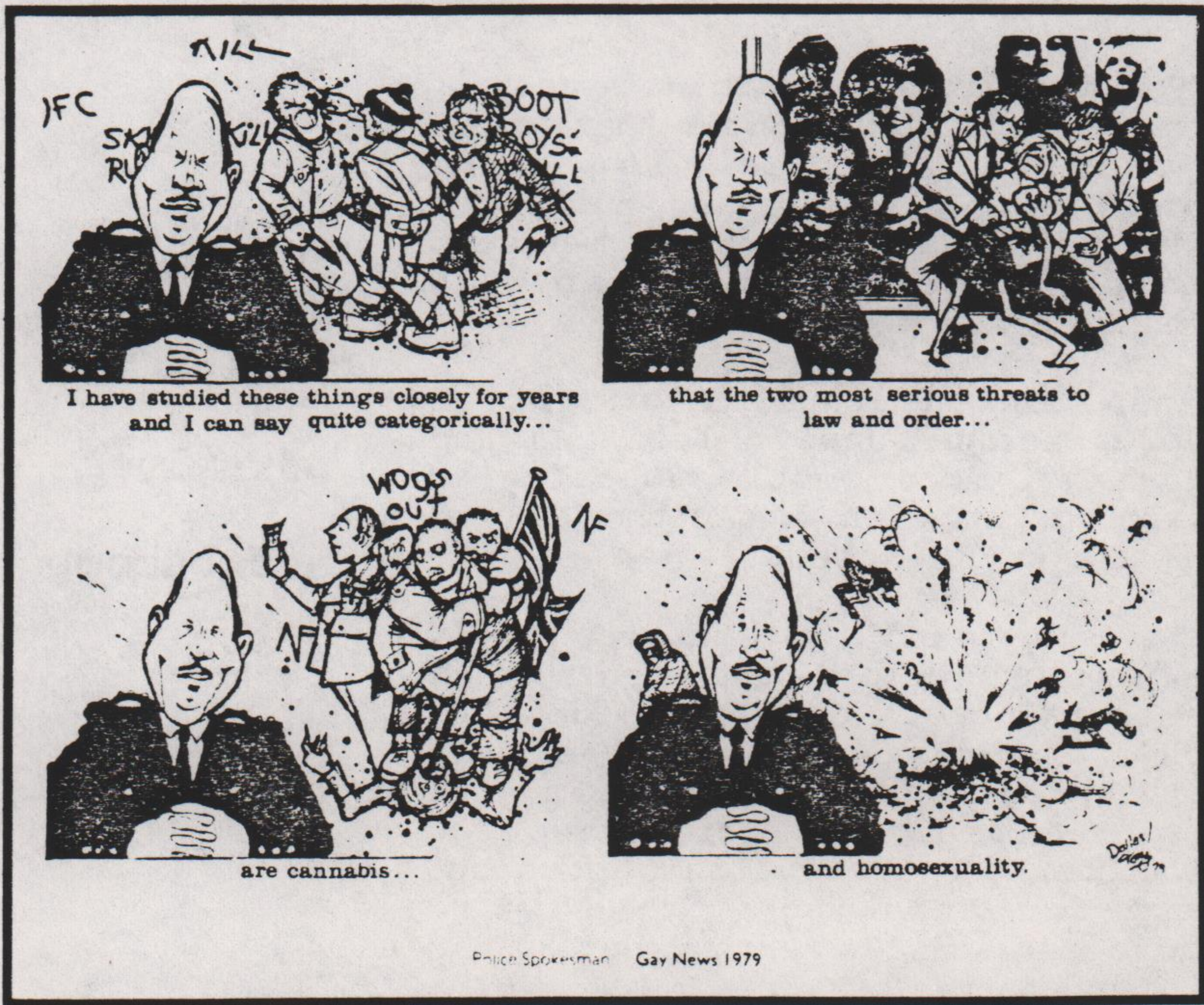
and gays have little to do with maintaining 'law and order' - raids on lesbian and gay meeting places, stopping displays of affection in the street and general attacks on our sexuality, are simply ways to harass us.

Police attitudes have been exposed in a long list of incidents. In one such incident, two gay men were attacked outside the London 'Apprentice' pub in March '87. Both were attacked with broken glasses and had their faces slashed. Within seconds, a police car arrived and officers were told of the attack. Officers were unhelpful and failed to arrest any of the attackers, who were only yards away. One officer told on of the injured, "Stop spitting blood at me or I'll arrest you". The second man was told by another policeman, "Shut up you queer bastard." No arrests were made.

Not only are lesbians and gays under attack from Tory and police policies and practices - they are increasingly becoming a target of fascist violence. In London alone, over a six month period in '86, over 25 gay men were murdered. Recently, in the south west, two lesbians were brutally attacked by fascist thugs with iron bars, were hospitalised, and now have to live with their permanent injuries.

GALOP (Gay London Police Monitoring Group) state that they have received reports of an ever increasing number of attacks on gay men. In terms of cases, numbers have increased ten-fold in the last ten months alone. This is due to the rise in 'queer bashing' rather than to a rise in the reporting of incidents.

In one case reported to GALOP (in Feb. '87) a gay man visited a North London school where his lover had



been victimised by fellow pupils. Whilst waiting to see the headmaster, he was attacked by about fifteen students and beaten unconscious. After hospital treatment he went to the police in an attempt to press charges, but was told by the Crime Desk Officer that since both he and his lover were under twenty-one they might be prosecuted for indecency. He left the station without pressing charges.

In Bradford, lesbians and gays have recently been intimidated and harassed by thugs, who claim to be fascist, outside the 'Sun Inn' (which has been advertised in Gay Times as a gay pub). This month, a gay man was beaten up by three white youths on the way home from 'Fagins' (the gay and lesbian nightclub in Bradford), and a gay man was beaten up outside 'Fagins' by four white youths; police arrived on the scene within minutes, however, no action was taken and no arrests were made.

To combat this, lesbians and gays need to organise to defend ourselves, for as GALOP states,



Police object to banner - Gay demo, Rugby.

"Perhaps the most alarming aspect of the present situation is that 'queer bashers' are becoming more organised. An increasing number of attacks on lesbians and gay men seem to be premeditated rather than casual acts of violence."

When considering the amount of defence and support lesbians and gays get from people when facing fascism, it is a wonder that any of us are still alive.

The lesbian and gay community hardly exists in Bradford, and even then on a social basis only. Lesbians and gays are just as guilty as most other groups of simply looking out for themselves, for accepting Thatcher's individualist approach, and for thinking, "when we're murdered it's a shame but these things happen".

**"...we are
murdered
because we
are lesbian
and gay..."**

By falling prey to this 'I'm alright Jack' mentality, we're supporting the very ideology that dismisses our structural and political oppression; the mentality that denies that we are murdered because we are lesbian and gay; the mentality that denies our existence and seeks to confirm this denial by silencing us for good.

So, are we to let the fascists pick us off one by one ?

We must defend ourselves and become strong. We need to fight our upbringing - we've been brainwashed into believing that we are weak, defenceless and isolated. We sure as hell can't rely on so-called 'anti-fascists' or left wing groups (who apparently don't take attacks on us seriously - whether those attacks are perpetrated by fascists or not) to support and defend us. Just count the number of heterosexuals each of us knows who really try to understand or care about the danger we are in from fascists. How many would be prepared to defend us ? Each of us would probably find we could count them on the fingers of one hand - if that.

So, any choice we might think we have doesn't actually exist. The fascist attacks will increase and will be encouraged by their success and lack of resistance to them - **unless we fight back.**

Don't just think about it - get in touch with us so that we can start to defend ourselves and stop the fascists **dead** in their tracks.

Remember that if we don't, one day, on your way home, you'll turn a corner and come face to boot and stomach to knife with fascists. **You'll then turn round for help and find yourself alone.**

The community officer at Bradford University would like to hear of any such incidents, so that lesbians and gays can unite to defend ourselves.

If you're interested in setting up a lesbian and gay defence group, or have any incidents to report, please write to :

The community officer,
Bradford University Student Union,
Richmond Road,
Bradford.
BD7 1DP.

Any information given will only be used anonymously and in confidence ■

Nick Walton.



**"We must
defend
ourselves
and become
strong."**

CREATION ROOTS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

SELF DEFENCE WE CALL IT SELF DEFENCE.

SELF DEFENCE WE CALL IT SELF DEFENCE.

The big night in York - what a night of violence:
when we end up in a National Front presence:
is them attack we, we just put up a defence:
an them summons we to court like to pass sentence.
But everybody know Creation Roots Innocent.
Them carry we down a station to give evidence:
we tell them the truth no gove no false statement.
Say Gadman a go put now in a contence:

We left Bradford about 3.30:
arrive in York about 4.30.
String up we instrument string them up quickly:
we get a sound check hear the sound quality:
everything in order an set up properly:
one a me bredrin them get up say that him feel hungry:
some wa fish chips some wa Kentucky:
so we jump in a the minibus go down the city.

Outside the chip shop that where we make a stop:
some white boys come up start to swear an chat:
me say call we BLACK this an a call we BLACK that:
next thing Lord a God them just launch an attack:
is them lick first we did have fe lick back:
if never we would end up in a box:
if never them would cut off we dread locks.

One a bredrin them get cut bad in a him gut:
blood gush out like tomato ketchup:
say we a fe damp it down with a long sleeve shirt say
call the ambulance man come pick him up:
tell the operator him have a knife cut:
carry him hospital an try patch him up.

The policeman come a to we them advance:
ask if is we cause the disturbance:
we tell them no we only come play a dance:
all a them surround we them take up a stance:
them wa we come a police station at once:
true the circumstances we don't have a chance:

12 Black people in a whiteman town:
police station that where them carry we down:
emty me pocket take out me ten pound:
throw in a one cell fe sit down pon cold ground:
one bench one toilet one dirty blanket:
the place so cold I couldn't feel me finger tip:
me a fe take me hands put it in me pocket:
egg and beans and a piece a dry bread:
when me see that me nearly Drop Down Dead:
them give we cup a tea it no have no sugar:
in a Jailhouse for over 16 hour.
Them take we finger print an them take we photo:
we a fe call Ruth Bundae we solicitor.

SELF DEFENCE WE CALL IT SELF DEFENCE ME HONOR

SELF DEFENCE WE CALL IT SELF DEFENCE ME HONOR.

Copyright 1987.

Cristo Gad.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

On the evening of Saturday 18th October, the popular black band Creation Roots from Bradford were in York to perform in a sell-out concert at the Arts Centre in Micklegate.

Shortly before they were due to play they went out to purchase some food in the town. In the street they were verbally abused and then physically attacked by a large group of white racists.

Throughout the violent attack the group were forced to defend themselves due to the total lack of police presence in the area at that crucial time. Fortunately, all members of the group managed to escape in their minibus, whereupon they tried to seek medical assistance for a wounded member, and to seek police assistance. The band was subsequently arrested and detained for sixteen hours at the police station, except for one member who was seriously wounded and was admitted to hospital for treatment.



Despite being the innocent victims of a blatant racist attack, the group were treated like criminals and were compelled to be photographed and fingerprinted. They had to endure long hours of confinement in cold cells without food for a very long period. It is clear that none of the racists were detained at the police station for any significant period of time.

In addition, upon being discharged from hospital three days later, the wounded member of the group was also arrested and immediately detained for five hours despite his physical and emotional distress.

Many people in York and Bradford were and still are angry about the incident, the subsequent treatment of the band and at the possibility of the group being punished further because of the fact that they are black.

DEMANDS

In our desire for justice for the victims of this attack, a campaign was organised to address the issues. The following demands were made to the North Yorkshire Police :

1) That the names of all members and friends of the band are cleared and all charges against them are dropped.

2) That the white racists responsible are apprehended and prosecuted.

3) That the policemen responsible are disciplined for failing to act appropriately in respect of the above grievances.

4) That the North Yorkshire Police make a public apology to each of the black people involved

5) That adequate protection be given in future to black people in York, be they residents or visitors to the city.

The five day trial was conducted at York Magistrates Court, commencing Mon. May 18th. The prosecution argued that the incident was not a racist attack but merely a street brawl, and that both parties - 15 Leeds United supporters from York (white) and the twelve Creation Roots members and supporters (all charged with Public Order offences) - should therefore be tried together. The court agreed to this.

On the final day, the conclusion of the court, however, was that Creation Roots members and supporters had no case to answer. All charges were dropped, except that four were bound over - "to keep the peace" for £100 over a 12 month period - during the early stages of the trial.

The verdict on the white defendants (all of whom have previous convictions) is yet to be reached.

Those bind-overs still stand, despite the fact that no evidence existed.

The band members and supporters should have been offered police protection at the time of the incident; the band members and supporters should not have been arrested, detained and forced to appear in court - the incident should have been recognised as a racist attack in the first place, and that they acted in self defence - an act which is now recognised as being within the law.

Where is the justice ?

Creation Roots Defence Campaign.

Extracts from an interview with Creation Roots shortly after the incident :

Ed. First of all, I'd like to know what happened at the time.

CR. We left Bradford and arrived in York. Most of us were feeling hungry so we decided to go into town to get something to eat. We stopped outside a chip shop. While we were there, this white boy came up and abused us -

shouting black this, black that. Some of us were in the minibus..we thought they'd want to attack those in the chip shop, so we had to go out and help them..we went out into the street. Then they started kicking us, punching us, attacking us - we were attacked in the street.

Ed. Did nobody help you..?

CR. Oh no.

Ed. They just stood by and watched, or just walked past ?

CR. Yes, or they joined in. We were the only black people in this place, so we stood out..and if any white person saw it, they must have thought, "it's a fight" and kept themselves to themselves..

Ed. Do you know of any fascist connection ?

CR. I think yes, because this white thing is to do with fascism or racism..they were using National Front slogans like "Seig Heil", sticking their hands in the air.



Members of the reggae band Creation Roots whose court appearance caused a demonstration outside the building.

York court demo

MORE than 50 supporters of the Bradford-based black reggae band Creation Roots demonstrated on the steps of York Magistrates Court today in protest against charges faced by members of the band and its supporters.

The charges arose from an incident in York last October when the band was due to perform at the Art Centre, Micklegate.

Knife

The concert was cancelled after a public disorder incident in the street in which a member of the band and three others suffered knife wounds.

After the incident on October 18 the group's supporters formed the Creation Roots Defence Campaign.

Members bearing placards and

chanting "self-defence is no offence" lined the steps of the city court where the hearing was held today.

Mr Graham Walker, a member of the defence committee said: "We want to draw the public's attention to the case."

Twenty eight people appeared in court today charged with using threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace.

The case against the defendants was adjourned until April 14. Reporting restrictions were notified.

The defendants, charged with using threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace were: Stephen Bain, aged 23, Kensington Street, York; Errol Brown, 24, Bradford; Mark Coulhard, 21, Hull Prison;

Howard Curcher, 22, Brecksfield Skelton; Julian Dwyer, 22, Park Grove, York; Christopher Fountain, 22, Bradford; Michael Gordon, 23, Bradford; Graham Hill, 24, Kensington Street, York; Robert Houseman, 27, Dodsworth Avenue, York; Michael Lumby, 23, Albermarle Road, York; Belinda Musgrave, 28, Bradford; Gerard Musgrave, 28, Bradford; Colin McFarlane, 26, Thornbury, Bradford; Vincent McFarlane, 22, Thornbury, Bradford; Bryan Phillips, 20, of Scalby Road, Scarborough; Granville Pryce, 25, Bradford; Colin Rowan, 27, Prospect House, Bishophill, York; Lloyd Ruddock, 22, Bradford; Paul Sharp, 21, of Albion Road, Scarborough; Jonathan Shaw, 23, Beckfield Lane, York; Michael Sterling, 24, Bradford; Anthony Warley, 23, Kilburn Road, York; Robert Whitworth, 19, Hasby Road, York; Christopher Wilkes, 20, Sycamore Terrace, York; Ralph Wilkinson, Ramsey Avenue, Bishophorpe; Mark Wood, 25, Kilburn Road, York; Nelson Wright, 31, Bradford.

Ed. How many of you were there ?

CR. ..twelve of us..Thirty to forty of them.

Ed. ..They locked all of you in the cells ?

CR. Yes, all of us got arrested - everybody. Though they said that they knew we were not in the wrong and we didn't start any trouble police themselves are racist as well ..And even worse than that - when our brother came out of hospital they arrested him and locked him in a cell for five hours :

They tricked me into going down there ..there were people coming down from Bradford to pick me up and take me home, so they said they wouldn't keep me long - will I just come to the station to give a statement and it'll only take ten minutes..I believed them..They said to leave a message with a nurse at the hospital to say that we're going down to the station - so they'd know to pick me up down there..when I was in the car, the policeman said, "I have to inform you that I'm placing you under arrest". So I said, "Why couldn't

you tell me that before?" The policeman said that he didn't want to embarrass the hospital staff - the doctors would be embarrassed..It was freezing cold (in the cell); I was walking round trying to keep warm, and I had a cold at the time..I was coughing..and the more I coughed, the more the wound hurt..the blood was coming out of it.

Ed. How do you feel about it now - about the whole thing?

CR. Well it's happened now..it shouldn't have happened, but you can't reverse it, can you..not to say that it hasn't affected my life..We're not the first ones to go through this. What we've been through, other black people have been through..and worse than that..and survived it. We've survived this. Other people are going through worse than that right now. And we're determined to live, no matter what the consequences..as long as we are here..But when you're here they want to kill you. It's a backlash from the bad Education which they've received, taught in schools and colleges in this country.

Ed. You reckon that's why?

CR. It's got to be. For instance, Hitler, Mussolini, the Slave Trade in the West Indies and the Americas - those are the same backlashes - that people believe that black people should be treated like animals, should be worked as slaves, should have no rights, no equal opportunities. It's a backlash of education.

For instance, when I was at school, you'd hear white people say, "Get back in the trees and start swinging" and this sort of rubbish. And it's how they portray the history of black people. And they don't teach kids about the moral values that black people have got in this country. All they want really is to see black people back in the days of colonisation..in those times it was "Britannia Rules the Waves"..and because they're losing that, they've got to find something else.

Ed. What kind of future do you see for yourselves in this country?

CR. We live. We must live. But we'll also put ourselves in positions where if they try to put us down, we don't let them..because if they put us down, that's it, we're finished. So we have to stand up for ourselves.

I was born here but I don't get treated equally..because if I go for a job, I get discriminated against. You don't find black people in certain positions - we don't have the qualifications - just because we're **BLACK**. So when we see things like that **CHANGING** and when we're treated **EQUALLY**, we can start living together..When you go for a job they ask for your nationality, when you go for Social Security you have to produce nationality, anywhere you go you have to produce nationality, whether you were born here or not.

They just want to stamp the black man down. All we want is equality and justice, but the government don't want to see that..the rich get richer..and who is not with them must stay back.

Ed. Do you think everyday racism and racist attacks are linked or are they separate?

CR. They are on the same line, because one is a physical attack and the other is discrimination - like when you go for a job and they don't want to know you..You're attacked and unemployed because they don't like you - so it's the same thing.

Ed. What do you think of the attackers?

CR. ..they're disciples of the devil. They are mentally unstable people, because they don't know what they're doing. They don't understand what life is all about. You can't just attack people like that. They're sick.

Ed. Why do you think they did it?

CR. The first thing that came out of their mouth was "black bastard"..And I'm not saying that it's York alone..it happens all over..you get good people in York..in Bradford..in Leeds..you have good and you have bad all over.

Ed. What would you like to see happen - with regards to this country?

CR. In the eyes of those who have power - to respect black people and see sense in having black people in..black people in parliament - and then we'll start getting changes. The same government ruling this country are in link with the government who are ruling South Africa. Until apartheid is abolished there will be wars all over the world..we will never live in peace - black or white.

CR. It doesn't matter who's going to run the country..it's how the people in the country **THINK**. Even if the leaders say they're for black people, it's still up to the people who own businesses to give us jobs, and if they're still racist, we're not getting anywhere. So it's up to the people to change, as a whole, not the government.

CR. But it's apartheid which is running this country as well..having one section ruling and leaving all the rest to struggle. It's like that in England because you've got places like Chappletown. The majority of people in that area are black and that is one run-down area of that city..so it's like that - apartheid. Even London has its own little townships, where it's run down - they let it run down because they know black people live there. There are people with a good job, nice house, car - while most people are out on the streets suffering..they don't care..it's like pushing people out of the way.

Ed. I'd like to ask you more about the attack..how have you changed because of it?

CR. For me, personally, that's the first time I've got into.. a racist attack..It makes me start to think..to think stronger. And the next time - what am I going to do the next time?

It makes me more aware of things..of what's going to happen. I've got two kids, and it makes me start to think about **them**..what's going to happen in **their** future?

Black people should get together more..on a collective base. Because right now, we have to defend ourselves - if you don't defend yourself, you can't live. This is live or die..day to day living. I'm determined to live, and if I have to fight physically for that, I will fight physically for that. ■

POLICING, RACISM AND THE BRITISH STATE

Policing the Crisis.

The issues of law, policing and racism must be located within the nature of policing as a whole. In depth research into Metropolitan Police produced clear and conclusive evidence of widespread prejudice against blacks, women, lesbians, gays - in fact any individuals or groups not conforming to police stereotypes of the 'respectable citizen'. (Policy Studies Institute Report.)

However, it is the relationship between the police and the state, the role of the police in the economic, legal and political changes over the last twenty years, which is central to understanding policing today, and in the future. The legal and policing practices used during the miners strike were familiar to many black people, neither were they a deviation from normal tactics against sections of labour regarded as a threat to the capitalist state. The formation of police forces from the Met. in 1829 onwards were in direct response to demands from sections of the ruling class for legal, social and political action against the expanding working classes and their organisations.

During the first half of this century the process was one of amalgamation, centralisation and the development of policing technology, increasingly separated from democratic accountability. The state has always used the techniques of surveillance, harassment and infiltration against any movements defined as outside the 'consensus', (eg. the infiltration of the unemployed movement in the 1930's).

"...it is
the rela-
tionship
between
the police
and the
state..which
is central
to under-
standing
policing
today and in
the future."

The late 1960's experienced the beginning of the present crisis in British capitalism and the consequent political, social and cultural changes. Events in Northern Ireland, the anti Viet Nam war movement, militancy of certain sections of labour, black resistance against racism and fascism, provided the catalyst for the reformation of policies of social and political control. This was the period when ex-generals were creating paramilitary groups, when 'respectable' Tory politicians were discussing subversion of elected governments, when Brigadier Kitson published his book 'Low Intensity Operations' - a blueprint for anti-subversion on the British mainland. Powell played his card on race - the beginnings of the attempt to reconvene the myth of 'Englishness' in a post colonial society (or, as Rushdie has argued, a neo-colonial society - where black and Irish settlers and their offspring constitute the new colony within Britain), and after the debacle of Suez in 1956. Newman (now Metropolitan Police Commissioner) with his experience in Palestine and Northern Ireland was commander in charge of 'community policing', and responsible for tactics used against the anti Viet Nam war demonstrations. The conjunction of events signalled the end of post war 'consensus' politics, the emergence of a co-ordinated 'New Right' and its influence upon the strong state 'laissez faire' economic policies of the late 1970's - policies already emerging from the Labour governments of the mid-'70's.

The police were central to this process firstly, by direct intervention in legal and political

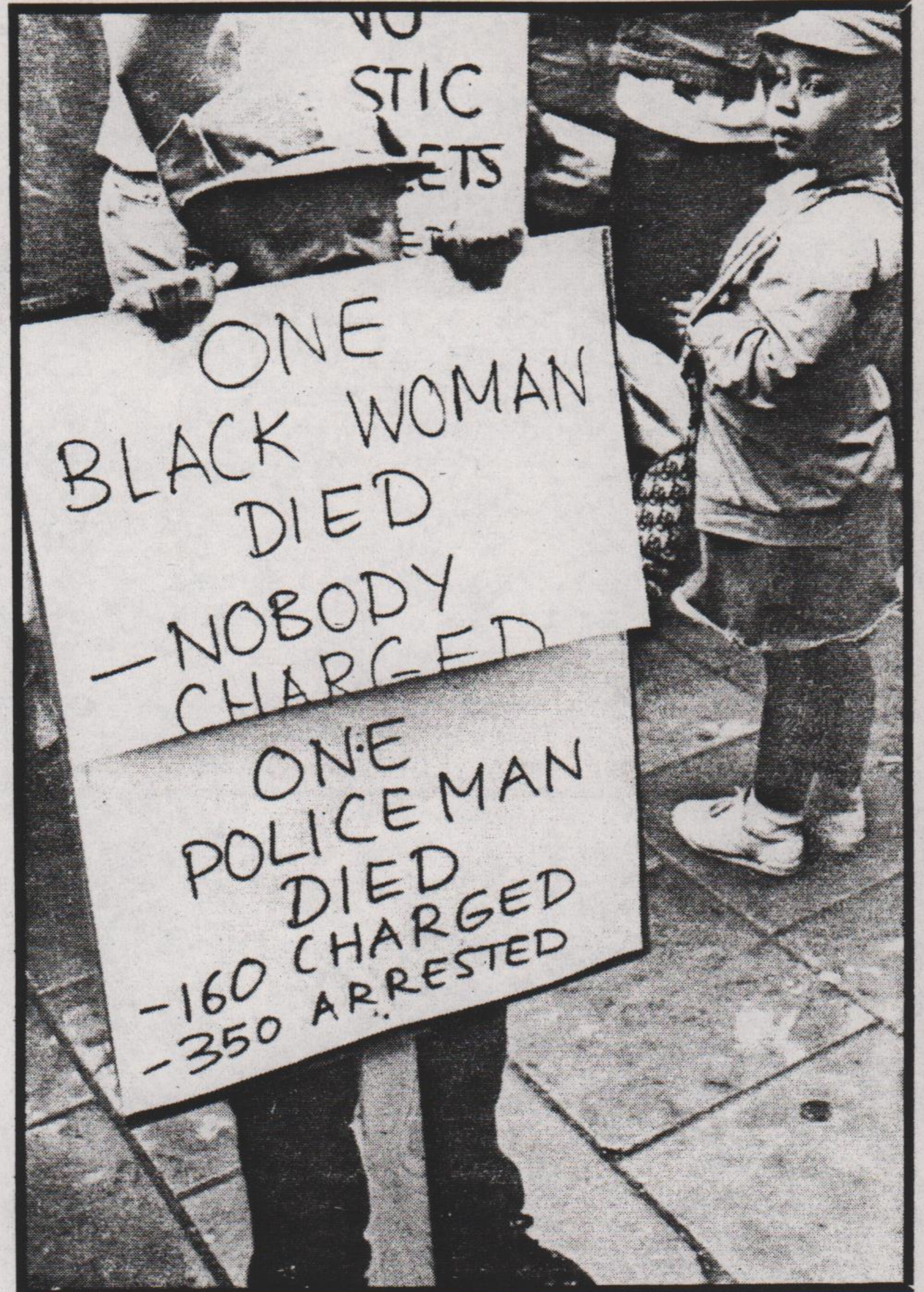


Traditional, friendly English Bobbies ?
- agents of the state.

issues by senior police officers (The Association of Chief Police Officers). In London, the policing of mainly Afro Caribbean youth through 'sus', and the use of 'fishing raids' for 'illegal immigrants' contributed to the moral panics of the time, and the 'enemy within' propaganda directed against black and Irish people. The major theme linking these developments is one of mobilising popular prejudices (supported by state racism) in order to legitimize the responses of the state to the deepening economic and political crisis.

Secondly, we have the increases in centralisation and policing technology necessary for the future policing of the cities, the adoption of 'fire brigade' or 'reactive' policing by para-military units, with pockets of 'community policing' providing the social policing. The Police Review commented on these developments - "Police interest is now forward looking, anticipating who is going to commit what, when and where, and because it is also frequently libellous.....Much of the information is personal details of a suspect, his family, his associates, way of life, and although it seems to impose on the freedom of the individual it is the bread and butter of successful policing". (Police Review, May 5th, 1972.) The political implications are clearly spelt out by a General Order of the Greater Manchester Police 1981 - "....The present tendency of some sections of the public who are either politically motivated to criticise society as a whole, and the police in particular, means that it is even more important today that the police are seen to be acting in the best interests of the whole society".

"...it is even more important today that the police are seen to be acting in the best interests of the whole society."



Cynthia Jarret. Killed. Tottenham. 1986.



Agents of the state - 1980's style.

The riots provided a testing ground for such tactics, and even an official police historian reflected upon the implications of such developments in 1981 - "Tens of thousands of officers trained to employ aggressive tactics to be used on the streets, cannot be expected not to bring some of that aggression to bear when policing the community, or when using the greater powers they are vociferously demanding". (T.A. Critchley - from State Research Bulletin, Aug/Sept. 1980.)

Community policing is directed specifically at those areas of the cities inhabited by black people (we never hear about 'middle class communities' in the suburbs). Thus Sir Robert Mark on the need for



police to organise more in communities in areas of 'social stress', and Newman's concepts of 'corporate policing' involving targetting the inner cities and specific groups, more community surveillance and intelligence gathering at street level upwards, and with individual police officers in community groups. (The Police/Community Forum in Manningham was more concerned with people repairing cars on the streets than with the racist attacks.)

Policing, Racism and State.

Powell was a man for the time - popular racism has always been part of English political culture, this merged with the official racism of the state during the 1960's. Governments of both parties recognised that the reserve army of labour had served its purpose, they had to adjust both to popular racism and

"...the potential of black youth to organise against all forms of state oppression."

the political threats posed by black resistance. State strategies comprised of the soft social control of urban aid, section 11, attempts to reconvene 'community', the growth of the race relations industry, and community policing - on the periphery, the not so soft paramilitary police bodies. The policing of sections of black youth by the use of 'sus' created the criminal image of black youth in the public mind, however this is of secondary importance compared to the need for political control of the potential of black youth to organise against all forms of state oppression. The policing of the young generation is crucial, for it is young blacks - the ones who now resist not at the point of production but in the communities and on the streets - who pose the main 'threats' to 'public order', and who are to be dealt with by the draconian measures of the new public order act.

The policing of the nationality and immigration laws constitute a threat to the whole of the black population irrespective of gender, ethnic group or generation (although used mainly against the Asian population). Again the police operate within the atmosphere of popular prejudice where numbers are linked to 'alien cultures', the prejudices being encoded in legislation which reinforces the popular images. Even the Police Review, presenting the image of neutrality, referred to the 'blurring of demarcation lines' claiming that it was "not the job of the police to help the Home Office, or act as an arm of the government." (Police Review. 13th July, '79.) -despite the fact that the police have always historically performed this role.

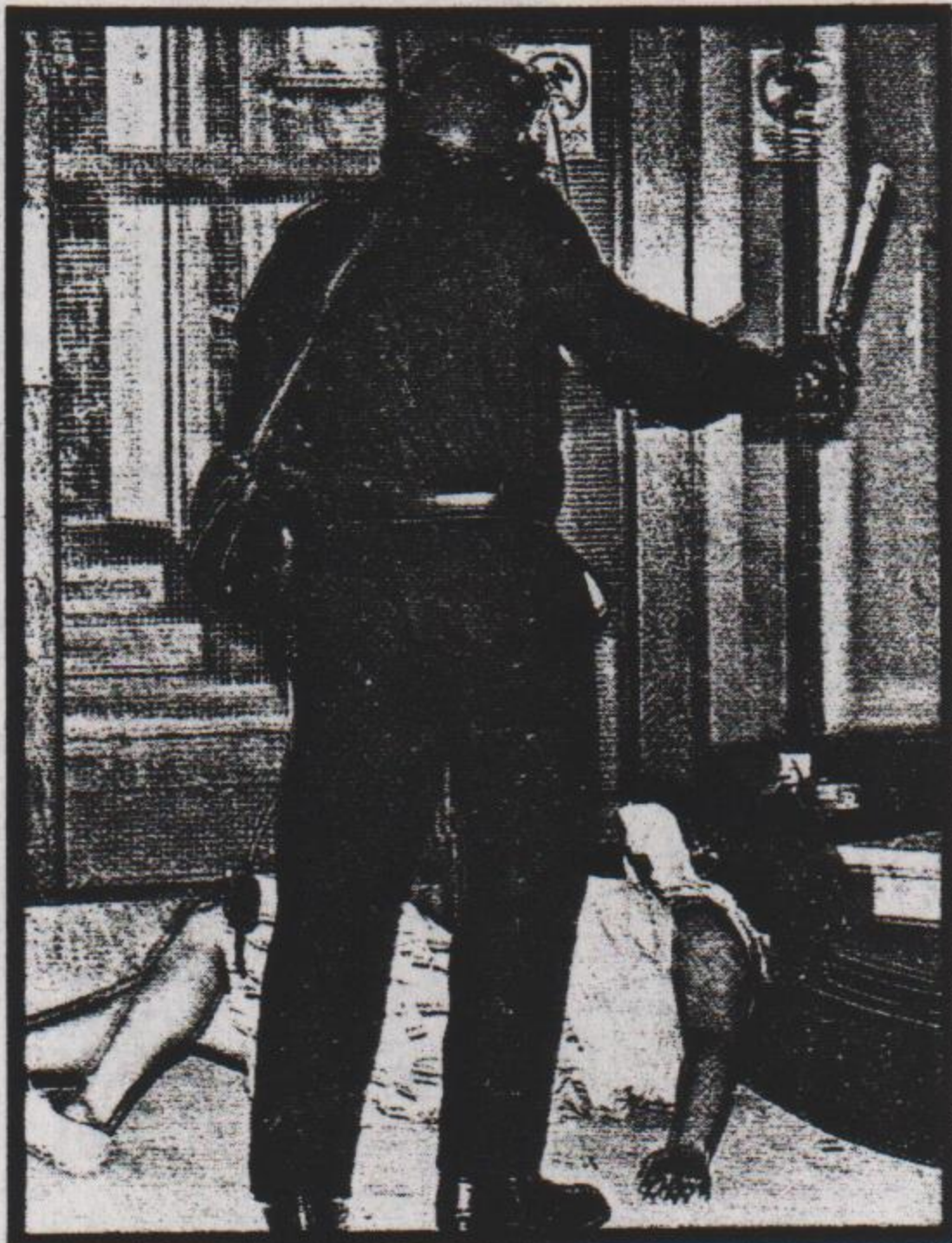
The policing of the Aliens acts in Liverpool in 1919 was described as 'scandalously biased', with local police initiatives "turning an administrative order into a racist practice directed against blacks." (R.May and R.Cohen - 'The interaction between race and colonialism: A case study of the Liverpool riots of 1919). This tradition was continued by the use of 'fishing raids' during the '70's, and the policing of the anti-deportation campaigns - a significant development in the politicisation of Asian youth. Sivanandan describes the impact of these acts - "Immigration laws (backed by the goondahs of the Illegal Immigration Unit with it's special squads and computers) serve to sap the community's strength, preventing it becoming strong. On the other hand, when a community has become strong, self-reliant, to a degree organised, it is subjected to the naked force of the state - through the police,

"...the law and policing are directed against those who organise in their own defence."

the courts, the Local Authority."

The policing of fascist and racist attacks reveals an indifference which reflected the lack of concern of all political parties in the competition for the law and order vote. A few years ago the Met. (as part of their contribution to moral panics over 'mugging') accentuated 'black' crime in their statistics whilst maintaining a deafening silence on the Home Office Report which (conservatively) assessed racist attacks at 50,000 a year.

In the mid-'70's when fascists attempted to occupy Southall, the response of the police was to criminalise those who organised the mass resistance. In Bradford the police, in liason with the local authority and press, consistantly ignored or denied racist motivation (notably in the case of the racist murder of Mohammed Arif, an Asian



taxi driver, by a British Movement member). In the trial of the Bradford 12, the police in court strenuously denied any knowledge of racist and fascist activities in the city.

The experience of black people, the articulation of their experiences of violence and harassment are largely ignored unless presented indirectly in official reports. In fact, ever since the early years of immigration, 'unofficial' reports have been published and extensively circulated.

Obviously, this form of violence does not come within the ambit of threats to 'public order', more often than not the law and policing are directed against those who organise in their own defence.

The patterns of policing and law are set for the foreseeable future; legally the Public Order Act is now in force, even the soft edge of social control is now under sustained attack from the 'New

"...when a community has become strong, self-reliant, to a degree organised, it is subjected to the naked force of the state..."

"...the Home Office Report (conservatively) assessed racist attacks at 50,000 a year."

Right'; calls for more democratic accountability (as in South Yorkshire and other areas ??) will not reverse the developments in centralisation and policing technology. And often this 'accountability' is a process of negotiation between local senior police officers, bureaucrats and politicians. All parties have marginalised major issues of sexism, racism, lesbian and gay rights and so on, and the Tories will continue to use the 'enemy within' card - the quick burst on the banjo of English nationalism over the Falklands cannot be constantly replayed.

On the anti-racist/anti-fascist front, the strategy must be to develop a concerted opposition in the face of fragmentation between black and white, and between the ethnic divisions engendered by the 'soft' control of the race relations industry. The development of



'municipal socialism' (particularly the G.L.C.) allowed funding and organisations which enabled a number of anti-racist groups and individuals to move in from the cold. The third Tory government will complete the destruction of such organisation.

It is essential for anti-racist/anti-fascist groups to remain autonomous from local state and police influence, to develop independant monitoring and information systems, legal networks, etc. An immediate task is to build on and consolidate local and regional networks where lines of communication and contacts are already established.

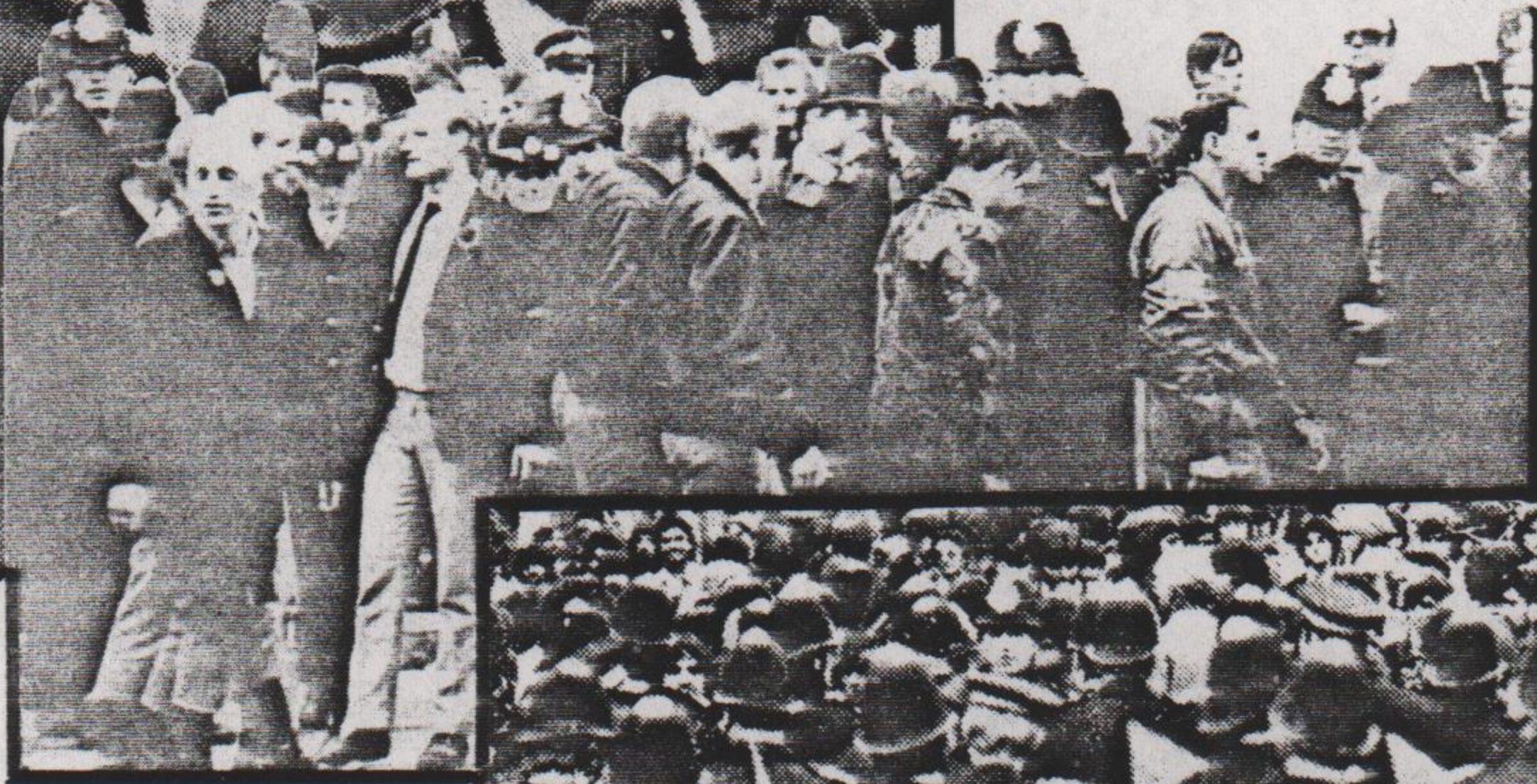
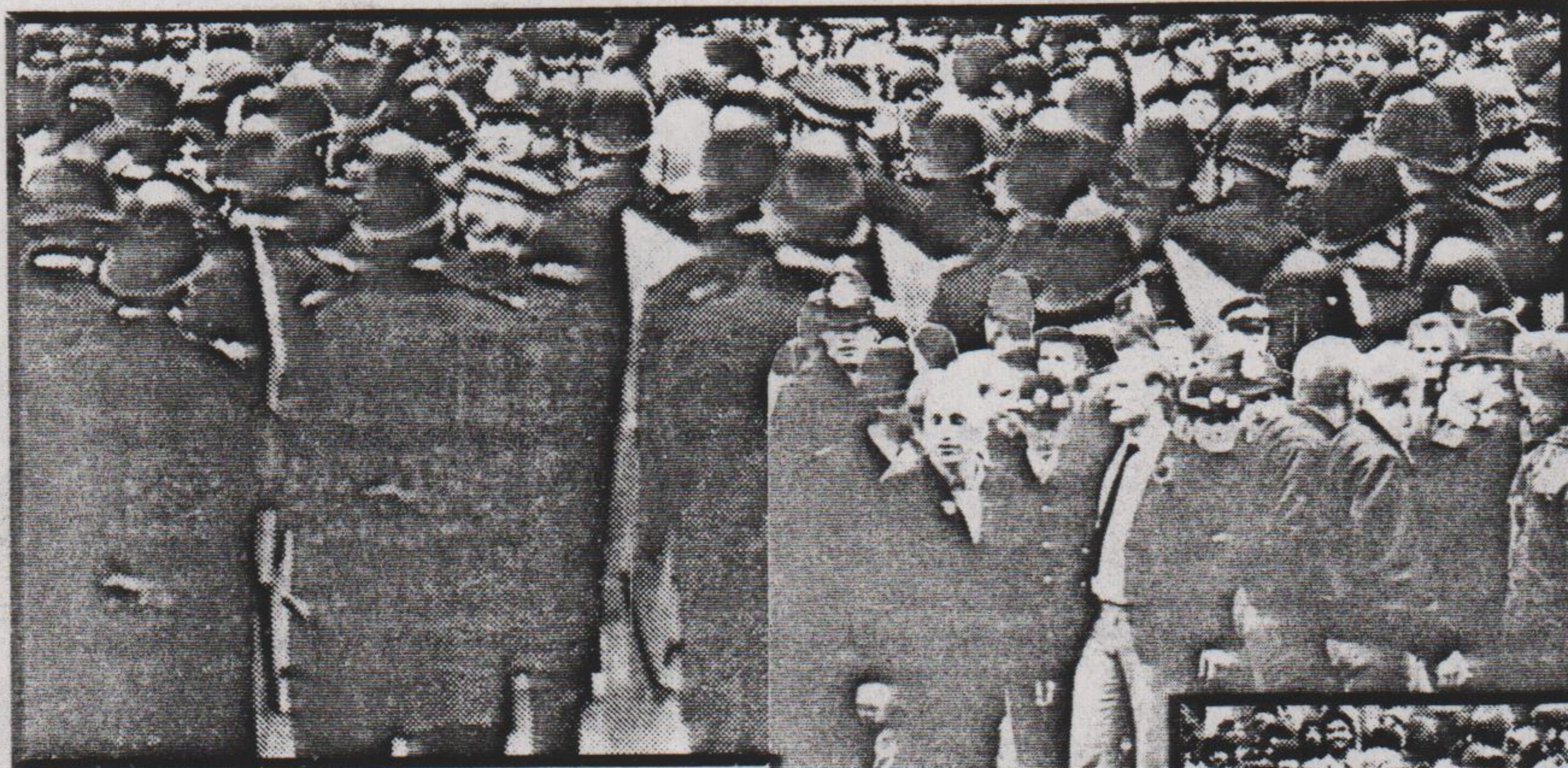
Self defence is all important, although a long term strategy must be to break out of purely defensive activity, and this needs that type of political organisation which cuts across the sectarian divisions which the state is only too willing to use ■

Dave Stark.



HE GAVE

He gave the biggest sacrifice of all,
The sacrifice of his unfinished life,
That was the measure of his faith
In his and our beliefs,
The belief of the cry, "NEVER AGAIN"
He stood there, his heart against those
EVIL NAZI PIRATES.



How dare they float on a sea of blue,
A sea which we were to see coming crashing
down upon our shores.

The shores where BLACK AND WHITE
lived together and worked together
IN HARMONY, IN PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING

OH! How much damage that cruel blue sea
did that day,
Coming down upon our Brothers and Sisters,
in such a stormy way,
But leaving the NAZI PIRATES protected,
secured in the depths of the
Deep Blue Sea,
Ready and eager to sail on in triumph
to other sacred shores.

But as the Mass of Deep Blue Sea rolled
back,
We were to see
the Damage upon our Shore Line:
For there he lay;
He was young and tender-hearted,
Loving Peace, and peaceful ways -
Wanting only Joy and Friendship,
Laughter, Life and Happy Days.
But he knew the Price of Freedom,
Wise beyond his youthful years,
Knowing what the cost would be
in blood and sorrow, toil and tears.
One of the Bravest and Best,
I Salute His Memory;

But that Pirate Ship still sails
on through that Blue Sea.

BUT WE REMEMBER STILL TO THIS DAY
THE DAMAGE DONE UPON OUR SHORE
THAT TERRIBLE DAY.

Sixteen year old student.

Written in memory of Blair Peach, who was
murdered by S.P.G. while opposing the
National Front on April 23rd 1979,
Southall, London.



The Blair Peach memorial march, 28th April, 1979.



I don't think one has to be a Feminist in order to be conscious of the oppression of women, especially of Asian and Afro Caribbean women. The universal oppression experienced by women, past and present, takes many forms, from the most refined to the most vicious, the most visible burdens not always being the most serious.

In this context, the oppressors are the "Host Communities", or perhaps I should say the "White Supremecies", including white women who do not really recognise the oppression of Asians and Afro Caribbeans on Racial Grounds. It is as if injustices suffered by Black Women had nothing to do with Racism or to do with the oppression of Blacks in general. Instead of improving quality of life for Blacks, and for Black Women, and making Equal Opportunities accessible to us, we are constantly misfed information on our culture. We are given a position only if we adopt the White Feminist approach which only divides us as Black Women. As a result, the needs of Asian and Afro Caribbean Women are never met, whilst White Women are provided with the "Leader Role". I think we must speak much more concretely here, leaving problems of theory and principle on one side. It is absolutely vital to look at the experiences of Black Women from a Black perspective and see what is happening to people in

FROM A BLACK WOMAN'S PERSPECTIVE

"It is absolutely vital to look at the experiences of Black Women from a Black perspective.."

"It is as if the injustices suffered by Black Women had nothing to do with Racism..."

real life and what steps can be taken to improve quality of life for Blacks, who are "victims" of Racism.

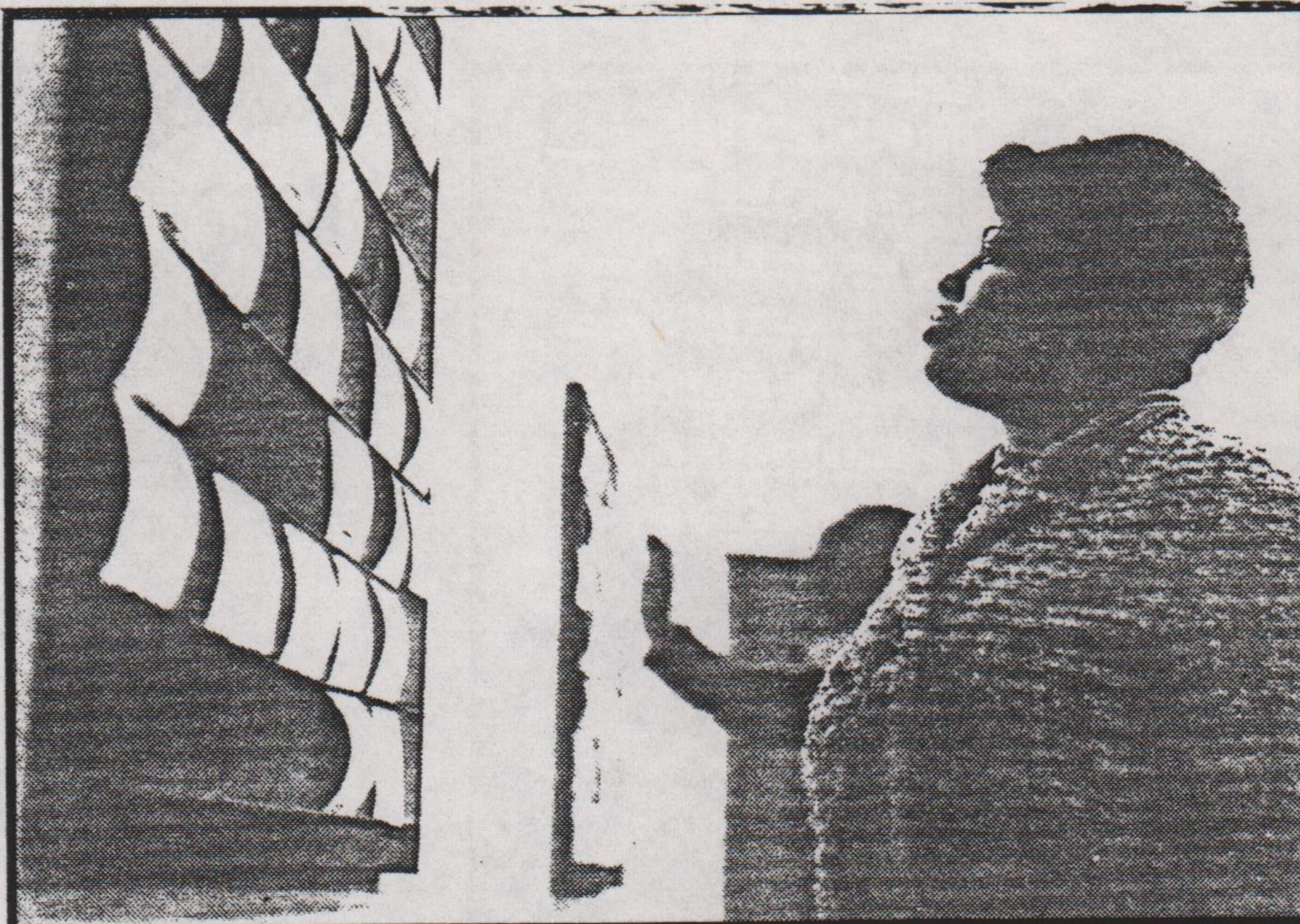
I regret to say that almost all progressive Western writings on the Asian families are on an anti-family level, the message being that family links are oppressive and should be broken. Both Left and Right show little concern for the togetherness of Asian and Black Families. They view conflict within the Asian families as the "Culture Clash" between the "liberating" Western values and the "oppressive" Eastern values. At the same time for themselves, or at least politically the family, is seen as the basic unit of Society, to the extent to giving it an almost sacred status.

So far as the position of Asian Women in Society is concerned: liberation is seen as a peculiarly western value, and Asian women who lead "free and independent" lives are seen as having rejected Asian culture. However even as "free and independent" women, we strongly identify ourselves with the larger Asian Community. If and when we escape the constraints of our families and communities, we don't see ourselves as "free and independent western women" the reason being that we live in a racist society which often denies us normal family life through its laws and which views normality as us conforming to western values. In short, one feels the pressure as society expects us to deny our Asianness, which can only lead towards experiencing a deep sense of loss, conflict and alienation.

In the area of Health, the demand made by Asian Women to be examined by female doctors is quite controversial in Britain. The Asians are often considered closed-minded for not living up to the time and the changes. Such a demand is rejected and resented only because it is made for cultural reasons. It is

not out of place to say that the White Feminists are also fighting for the same rights as they oppose male domination in the area of health care. The demands made by white women are taken seriously into account - as they are about "Women's Rights" and their feminist movement. Here, we need the support of white women who are in a position to influence policies, but white women in such positions do not consult Asian women or relate to them. As a result, Black women are denied essential treatment on social grounds, and because of the barriers imposed on many of us, we have no alternative to turn too. The System has no concept of positive well being of Blacks, especially of Black women, and we feel we should be in a position to demand resources for our own needs.

It is nearly a decade since the Equal Pay Act and Sex Discrimination Act came into operation. Asian and Afro-Caribbean women do not have very much to hope for from this legislation. In spite of legislation, Black women still suffer massive inequalities in the Labour Market. Women have been excluded from many jobs on the grounds that they lack skills (sometimes through having been directed into the wrong educational choices at school) but very often this is not the only problem. Their skills are under-valued and, more often than white women, we are trapped in jobs which offer no scope for career or skill development. There is a lot of talk about Black Women's cultural constraints hindering career prospects. Media also plays a great part in portraying such images, whilst the aim should be to see Black Women represented throughout the occupational structure and no longer at the bottom of the heap.



"The central issue is RACISM..."

"...we should be in a position to demand resources for our own needs."

In England at present time, not many children are doing well in schools, or should I say that Black children are doing less well than the white children, the reasons being : the teachers' attitude; the pupils' attitude; the school curriculum, ie. the general emphasis on the "Third World" and the relating of its' miseries to "immigrants" living in this country, without looking at the social and economic situation in context; and so on.

One of the most insidious ways in which Racism works in the British Education System is that of tearing away that most integral part of our Culture - OUR LANGUAGE. This is done by depriving Asian children of the right to continue to speak their own language. Whilst " Multi-Cultural Education " claims to treat other cultural values with the respect that we would show towards our own, there is a great deal to be done in terms of recognising the importance of Community Languages.

The main objective behind Multi-Cultural Education was to give the minority children a Positive Self-Image. In my opinion, Multi-Cultural Education has failed abysmally. The prime reason for this has been the education establishment's reluctance and perhaps even refusal to acknowledge the central issue. The central issue is not and never has been, in the eyes of black people, that of portraying a Positive Self-Image. The central issue is **RACISM**, which is responsible for creating a **NEGATIVE** self image of black children..

There is clearly a need for greater awareness in Education Institutions and Organisations about the problems of racism and sexism, and mechanisms for monitoring the



Strike action at Imperial Typewriters in Leicester, who employ mostly Asian workers on low pay.

problems should be set up so that the problems can be recognised and addressed. Many Blacks feel strongly about the issue of racial and sexual discrimination, but also feel a lack of someone understanding and sympathetic to whom they can go for help.

There should be a greater responsiveness to the problems of Asian and Afro-Caribbean Women so that they are not intimidated and don't have to put up with patronizing responses. The isolation suffered by women should be recognised and addressed, and association with others of the same race should not be looked upon as "sticking to their own kind" in derogatory terms.

**"We are given
a position
only if we
adopt the
White
Feminist
approach -**

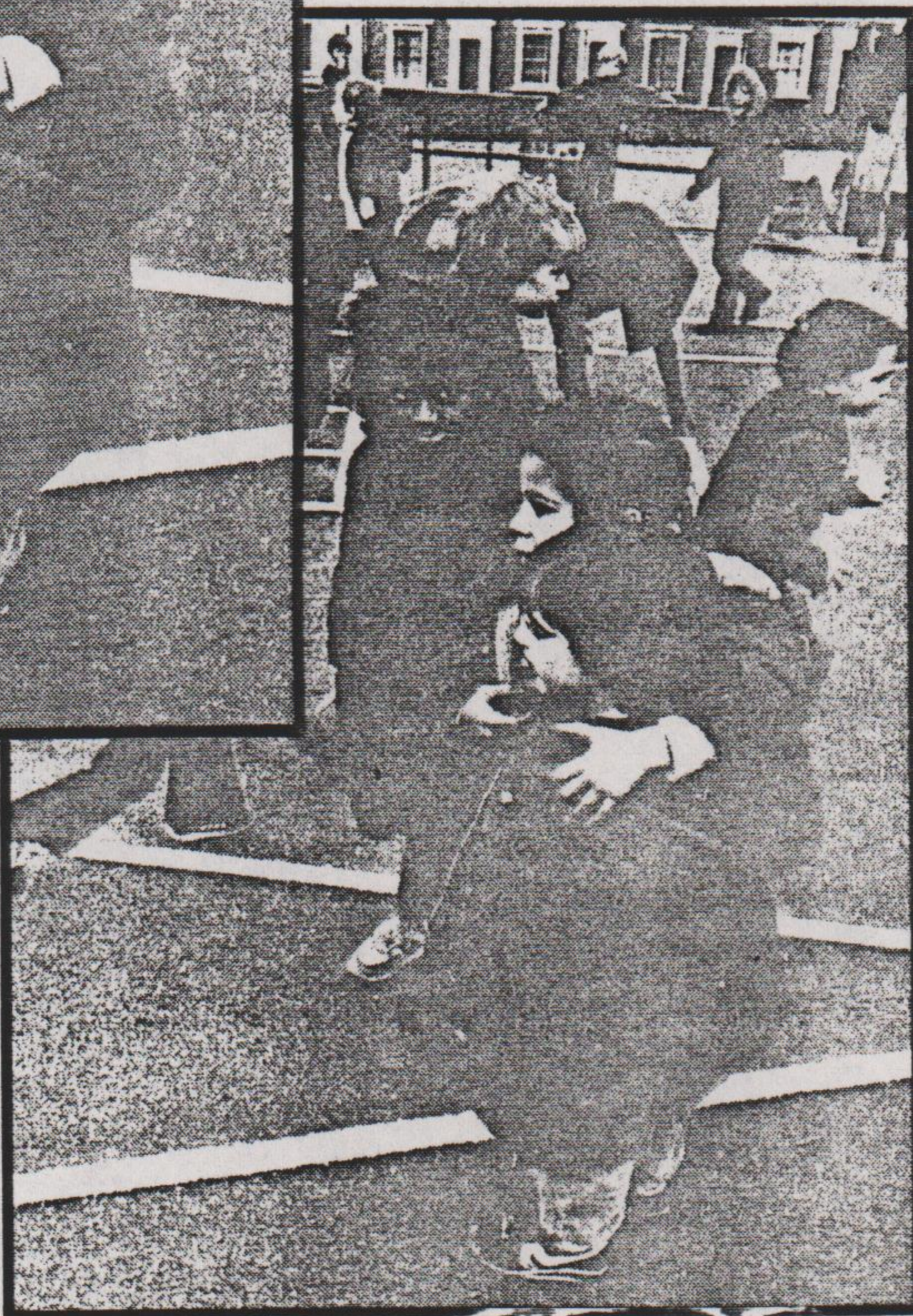
on our shoulder" - then why are they the way they are ?

Could their attitude be to do with "Imperialism"; but they seem to be ordinary people to me, having their own social, economic, and personal problems - I must say, to a greater extent than ourselves. They, in fact, have a lot to learn from us - for example, what they are still striving for in the name of Equality is something we already have in our culture. Why, then, do the white people feel that they have to teach us ? Could it be the fear, I wonder, - but the fear of what ?

**"Why, then, do
the white people
feel they have
to teach us ?"**



**"Could their
attitude be
to do with
'Imperialism' ?"**



In conclusion I would say that we, as Asians, in another country are in the advantageous situation of being able to perceive both cultures, and managing to find a balance between the two can be very progressive. I wonder if the Whites see the situation being as such and oppress us deliberately.

At this stage, many questions come to my mind, and I wonder and want to know why there is a break down in communication ? If, as many whites claim, they are not racist and that the oppression we feel due to their racism is "all in our minds", and that we have a "chip

**- which only
divides us as
Black Women."**

I certainly do not have any answers, but I still want to know what white people's perspective is of us; or is the answer that it is their problem and that it is up to them to examine their attitude ? ■



An Asian Woman.

"CHIPS ON MY SHOULDER"

You'd be surprised how **many** times I've heard that expression - "black people have got chips on their shoulders" - even in a "liberal" environment such as the university. And what do people mean by this? Well let me tell you. They mean black people are over sensitive to racism. After all, they should expect a certain amount of racism - it's not their country, is it!

Well sit back for a minute and think about the circumstances in which black people and people from other "ethnic minorities" find themselves.

To begin with, let's look at black people's position in this country. We were "allowed" into the country to do the jobs the British didn't want to do anymore - as the post war economy expanded and stabilised. These jobs were in the low paid industries with terrible working conditions, or in low prestige jobs such as public transport. (This remains the case today for the black people who still have jobs). A large number of black women went into nursing - and we all know what a brilliantly paid job that is. Even when black people have



...in the hands of the police..

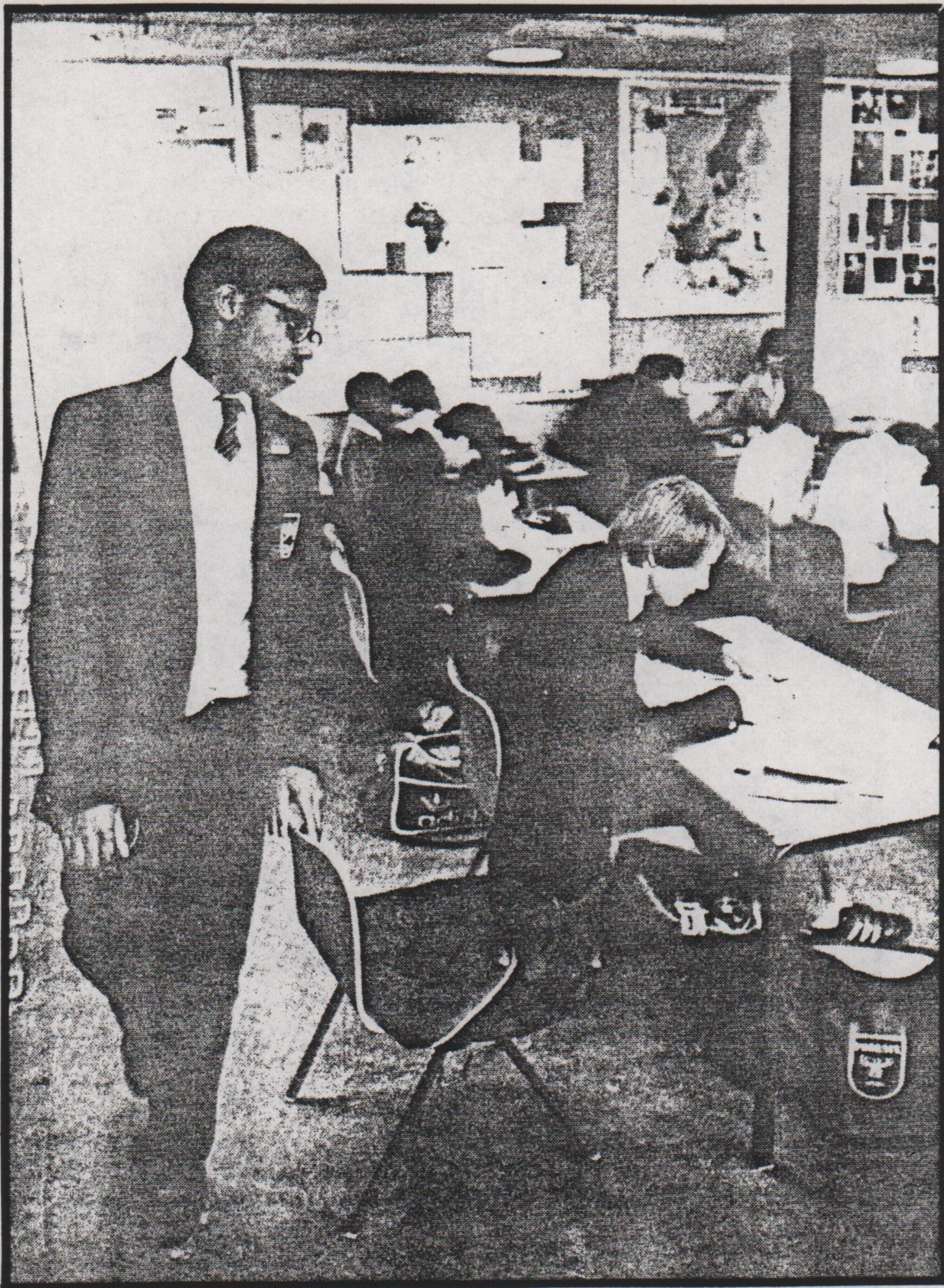
equivalent qualifications as white people and do the same jobs, they are still paid less.

When the economy started to contract, black people were the first to be made redundant. Unemployment rates amongst black people are far higher than amongst whites; this is particularly the case amongst Afro-Caribbean youth - the figure being more than twice that of white youth. Thus, black people's economic position equals the lowest paid jobs and high unemployment rates. There is a small black middle class - not worth talking about because it is so small.

But let's not ignore the other areas (and there are too many to mention all of them in this article). You'd have to be stupid not to notice black people's treatment in the media. Nine times out of ten, when black people are mentioned in the media, it is in a **negative** way. We all know who was to blame



"...racism.. manifests itself throughout every area of society" ...



...in education..

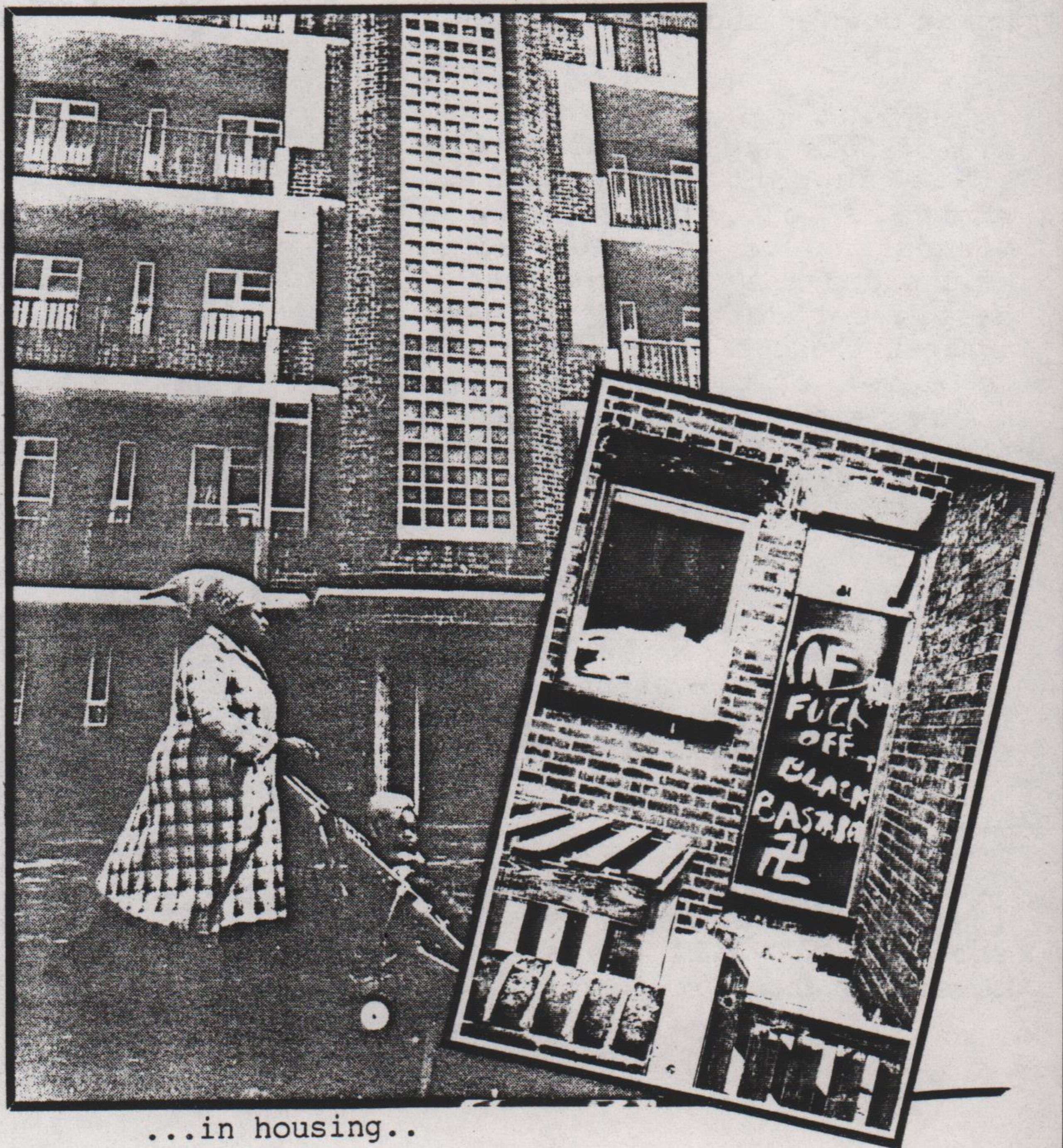
for the '81 and '85 riots, don't we ! We are portrayed as **muggers** and **thieves**, or good-for-nothing lazy **scroungers** off the state. The only time this doesn't happen is when black people are given the chance to present themselves in the way they want to.

Let's turn to the area of housing. We end up in the most "undesirable" housing (often rented) in poor condition and in the "worst" areas. When black people first came to this country in the '50's and '60's, the major problem which faced them was finding somewhere to live - not due to the shortage of housing, no, rather the **RACIST** nature of property owners. Many windows displayed signs informing people of rooms to let, but underneath those signs the bigotry was made quite clear - "**No Irish. No coloureds. No dogs**". They couldn't turn to local authorities due to residency rules disqualifying them. So black people were forced to buy poor housing and rent the rooms singularly to other black people, because this produced the most income needed to pay the mortgage (when they could get one).

Yes, there's more to come. Let's take a look at the area of education. Black kids are viewed by many teachers as "not very academic", and usually as a disruptive influence; but there's one thing which can be said - they are good at sport. So they're pushed into sport and nothing remotely academic is expected of them. This



...in employment..



...in housing..



So think before you say black people have "chips on their shoulders", or when somebody else says it - just think for a minute.

If black people have chips on their shoulders, remember, **IT IS WHITE RACISTS WHO PUT THEM THERE !**

Dave Codner.

"...they choose to harass black people..."

shows up in their lower than average examination results, and in the fact that less black kids go on to do 'A' levels and go into higher education. I was told at school that I wasn't capable of doing 'O' levels (and left school with none) - but here I am at university !

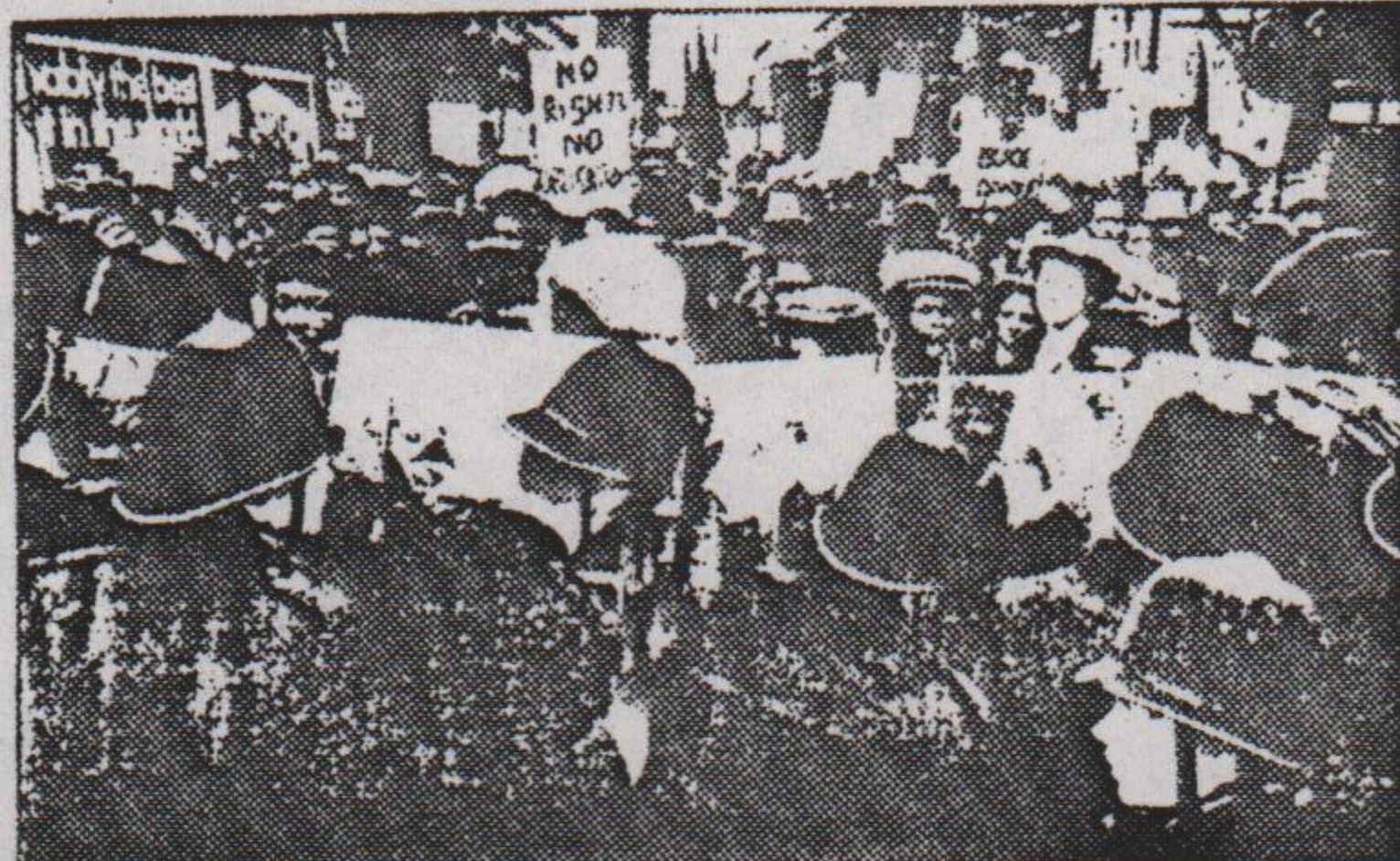
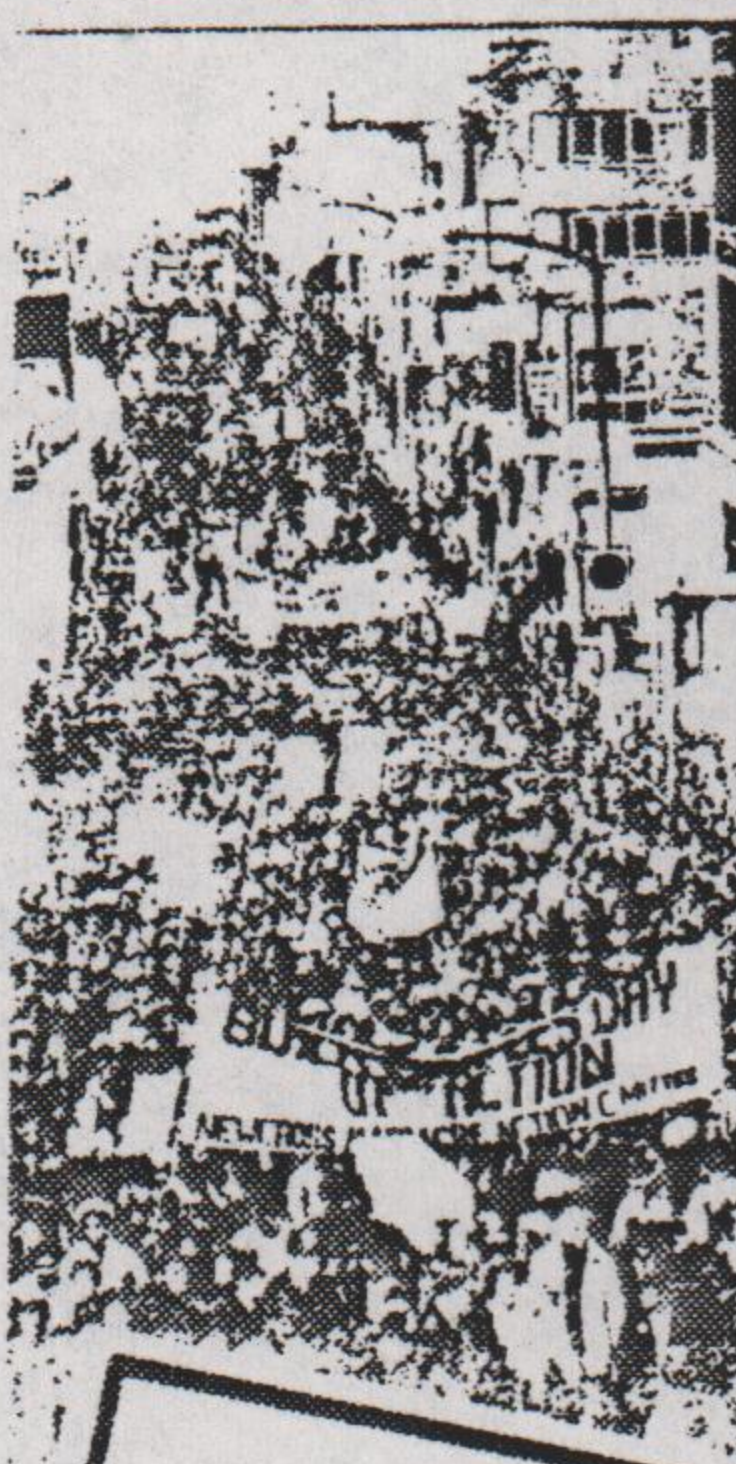
I haven't finished yet - **Racist Attacks. Black people suffer these most vicious attacks - stabbings - kickings - beatings - being spat on - shit smeared on "our" doors - bricks through our windows - dogs set on us - verbal assault - our property destroyed - our houses burnt down - and finally - MURDER.**

All of this happens daily, with no state support network for the victims of these cowardly, disgusting attacks. And what do the police do? They either arrest black people for defending themselves against these attacks (as if we were to blame), or they choose to harass black people - beating them up in the cells or on the way to the police station (via the scenic route). All this is an everyday occurrence for the black community as a whole.

I say **make racist behaviour a hanging offence - after all, racists have made having a "black" skin an offence PUNISHABLE BY DEATH.**

But remember - it's not only the fascists who are racists - racism is socialised into people and manifests itself throughout every area of society. **We - all of us - must do something about it now.**

When the black tide met the thin blue line...



March: Calm start...an angry finish



Police deny cover-up over fire deaths

6,000 BLACKS IN PROTEST

BLACK DAY AT BLACKFRIARS



Riots and looting as marchers run wild

...in the media.. "We all know who was to blame for the '81 and '85 riots, don't we !"



NORTHERN IRELAND : THE FASCIST CONNECTION

The Anglo-Irish accord has brought out the worst in N.Irish Protestant politics - in particular the fascist connection with elements of Unionism has become all the more pronounced. The British media have given marked coverage to National Front connections with Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party and N. Ireland's largest paramilitary force - the Ulster Defence Association. Paisleyism has traditionally articulated the most racist political expression of Unionism to date and the election of his deputy, Peter Robinson from East Belfast, to parliament in 1979 was a disturbing sign of the hardening attitudes of N.Ireland's protestants. This is particularly true of Belfast where the D.U.P. had formerly been struggling to find a base in the working class.



NF marches to support loyalists.

"...Belfast
councillor...
called for
the council
to buy
incinerators


than on issues of principal. This was starkly illustrated by the visit to a Belfast hospital of Jammy Wilson, D.U.P. mayor of Belfast, when he refused to greet Catholic bomb victims, saying he would only speak to Protestants injured in the blast.

The invasion of Hillsborough County Down in July this year, the village where the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed, saw Paisley and a disciplined force occupy the small town and trap the local community in their homes for an hour. While this passed without "incident" Paisley was flanked by National Front chairman Nick Griffin and the organisation's Northern Ireland leader John Field. The two were also present at Portadown where there were riots in July, and are engaged in a concerted recruitment campaign in the province, playing on Protestant fears over the Anglo-Irish process and on working class deprivation in Protestant areas.

The paramilitary connection, though, is more worrying still. In April 1983, a number of Ulster Volunteer Force personell were discovered in a link with the Flemish "Vlaamere Militanten Order", an openly pro-Nazi paramilitary organisation. The U.V.F. were planning to purchase £50,000 worth of guns with a free offer of explosives from the V.M.O. - conditional on a U.V.F. bombing campaign against Jewish "targets" in Britain. The carnage this would have caused, had it gone through, is gruesome to contemplate. Continued

TODAY

TUESDAY, JULY 15, 1986 20p

PAISLEY'S
FASCIST 
SIDESMEN

The D.U.P.'s racist creed was fully articulated by Belfast councillor George Seauright who last year called for the council to buy incinerators to burn Catholic people. Admittedly, Seauright was expelled from the party for making these remarks, but in truth he was simply giving voice to the private thoughts of many Paisleyites, and was expelled more for his stupidity

to burn
Catholic
people."

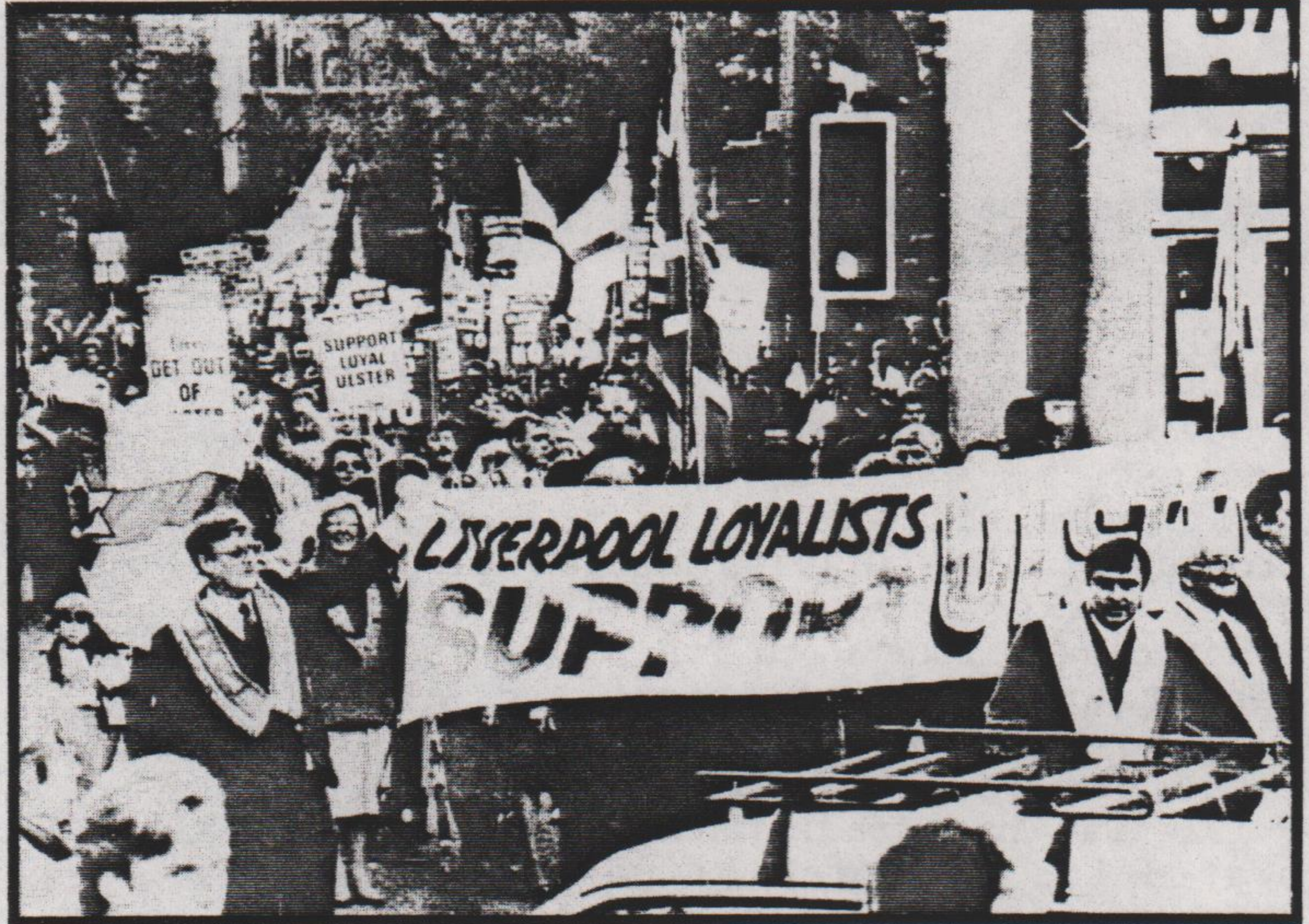
"Paisleyism has traditionally articulated the most racist political expression of Unionism to date..."

connections between both the U.V.F., the U.D.A. and fascist paramilitaries like the V.M.O. and Turkey's "Grey Workers" sect, are a cause for serious concern among British anti-fascists and socialists.

The National Front's status in Northern Ireland is not yet discernably important - they are largely irrelevant in circumstances where the "home-grown" article is already pervasive. It is the impact of their ideas on existing forces which is disturbing - the U.D.A. and D.U.P. both have elements which are developing a "race theory", based on the idea that Catholics are neither "Christians" nor "pure" Irish people :

"Irish nationalists have stolen our heroes - they have none of their own".
("Ulster" - U.D.A.'s magazine.)

This is a reference to the mythology of ancient Ireland, which the growing fascist section of Protestant opinion is grasping to appropriate. The continuation of the themes of moral, cultural and national rejuvenation and reclamation from an "invasionary horde", combined with the insidious references to the "armed party" (taken directly from National Front propaganda) is sickeningly familiar.



NF, Orange Lodges and Apprentice Boys march through Bridgwater in protest against the Hillsborough Agreement.



An aspiration of fascists and the British State.

As the situation polarizes in N.Ireland, a concerted opposition to these movements towards a coherent fascism on the part of petty-bourgeois Unionism is difficult to locate. While Sinn Fein, for instance, can function as a communalist army to defend Catholic enclaves and act as an irritant to the British state, the organisation would be overpowered by sheer weight of numbers and arms in the event of a showdown. British anti-fascists and socialists must campaign for policies which will disarticulate the two class alliances in Northern Ireland - the consequences of failure in this could be grim and far-reaching ■

Graeme Kirkpatrick.



"...the U.D.A. and D.U.P. both have elements which are developing a 'race theory'..."

NEVER AGAIN!



They say, "Take No Notice"
They're just a group of Nazis
They're just a bunch of Fascists
They're just a small minority of lunatics
which will pass out just as a storm does through the night.

But I say STAND UP AND TAKE NOTICE !
FOR THEY ARE NAZIS !
FOR THEY ARE FASCISTS !
THEY ARE A WELL OILED WAR MACHINE !
PROUD OF THE FACT TOO !
FOR AS THE STORM PASSES THROUGH THE NIGHT,
BY DAYLIGHT IT BECOMES QUITE CLEAR
HOW MUCH DAMAGE THE STORM HAS CAUSED !

SO I SAY LET'S NOT FORGET WHAT HAPPENED IN NAZI GERMANY,
AS TIME PASSES, WOUNDS HEAL,
BUT I SAY A PRAYER THAT THIS MEMORY DOES NOT FADE,
FOR AS LONG AS IT LINGERS IT WILL FUEL OUR FIRES,

THE FIRES OF FREEDOM,
THE FIRES OF NEVER AGAIN !

Sixteen year old student



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