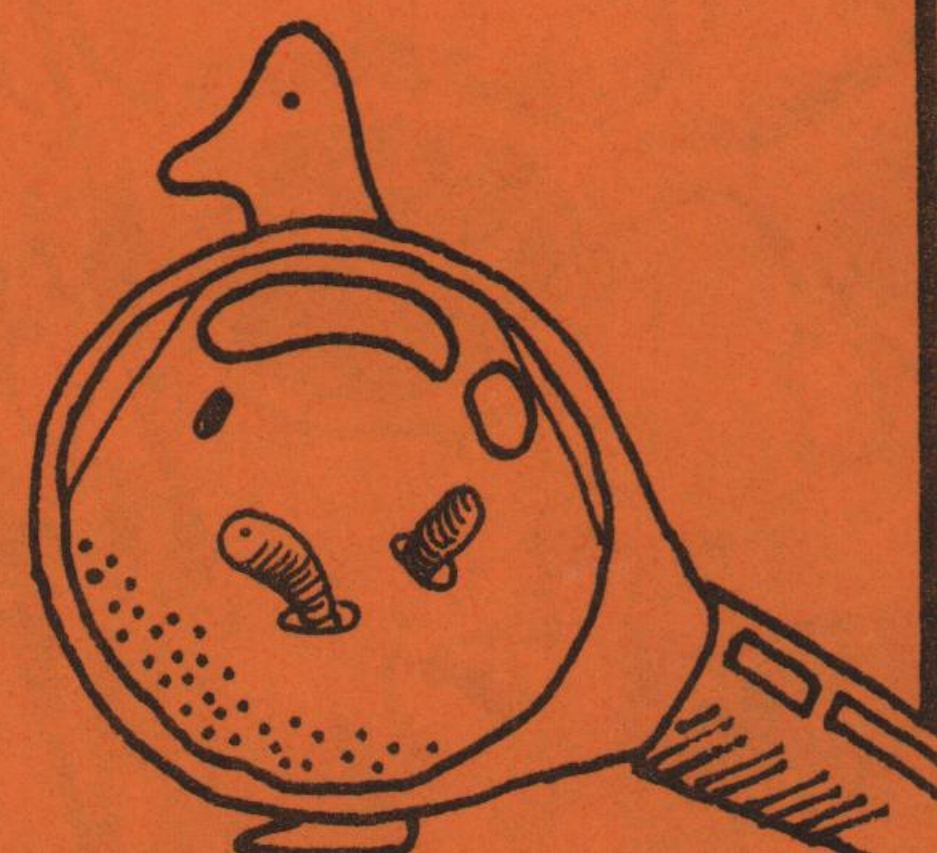


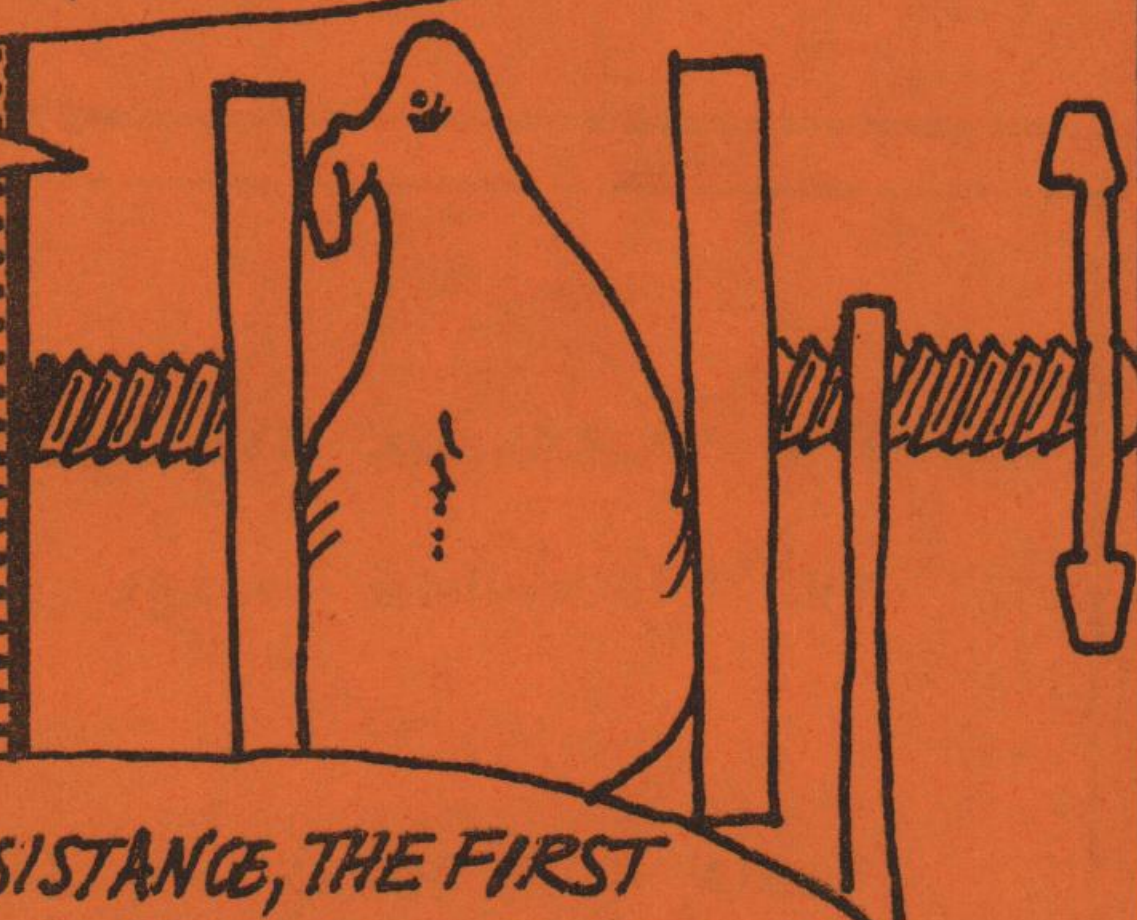
# IF YOU DO...

TO BE GOVERNED IS TO BE KEPT UNDER SURVEILLANCE, INSPECTED, SPIED UPON, BOSSED, LAW-RIDDEN, REGULATED, PENNED IN, INDOCTRINATED, PREACHED AT, REGISTERED, EVALUATED, APPRAISED, CENSURED, ORDERED ABOUT BY CREATURES WHO HAVE NEITHER THE RIGHT, NOR THE KNOWLEDGE, NOR THE VIRTUE TO DO SO.



TO BE GOVERNED IS TO BE AT EACH OPERATION, AT EACH TRANSACTION, MARKED DOWN, RECORDED, INVENTORIED, PRICED, STAMPED, MEASURED, NUMBERED, ASSESSED, LICENSED, AUTHORISED, SANCTIONED ENDORSED, REPRIMANDED, OBSTRUCTED, REFORMED, REBUKED, CHASTISED.

IT IS UNDER THE PRETENCE OF PUBLIC BENEFIT AND IN THE NAME OF THE GENERAL INTEREST, TO BE REQUISITIONED, DRILLED, FLEECEED, EXPLOITED, MONOPOLIZED, EXTORTED, SQUEEZED, HOAXED, ROBBED.



THEN, AT THE SLIGHTEST RESISTANCE, THE FIRST WORD OF COMPLAINT, TO BE SQUELCHED, CORRECTED, VILIFIED, BULLIED, HOUNDED, TORMENTED, BLUDGEONED, DISARMED, STRANGLED, IMPRISONED, SHOT DOWN, JUDGED, CONDEMNED, DEPORTED, SACRIFICED, SOLD, BETRAYED, AND TO TOP IT OFF, RIDICULED, MADE A FOOL OF, OUTRAGED, DISHONoured.



THAT'S GOVERNMENT, THAT'S ITS JUSTICE, THAT'S ITS MORALITY! AND TO THINK THERE ARE LIBERALS AMONG US WHO CLAIM THAT THERE IS SOME GOOD IN GOVERNMENT - SOCIALISTS WHO SUPPORT THIS INFAMY IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY - PROLETARIANS WHO PROCLAIM THEIR CANDIDACY FOR PARLIAMENT. HYPOCRISY!



IF YOU DON'T HIT IT...  
...IT WON'T FALL

Nº 25 AUGUST 78

% PO BOX No 1  
WESTERN PDO  
NOTTINGHAM  
NG7 6ND



THE WORDS ON THE COVER (OR MOST OF 'EM) WERE WRITTEN IN 1851 BY P-J. PROUDHON.  
THE FOLLOWING WORDS WERE WRITTEN ALMOST A HUNDRED YEARS LATER BY WOODY GUTHRIE.

BEEN HELD DOWN, NAILED DOWN, BEAT DOWN, SHOT DOWN, SHUT DOWN, SET DOWN, DROVE DOWN,  
SHOVED DOWN, PUSHED DOWN, TALKED DOWN, CHAINED DOWN, BLOWED DOWN, SHOWED DOWN,  
CHOPPED DOWN, HOED DOWN, PLOUGHED UNDER, HELD UNDER, DUCKED UNDER, DUSTED UNDER,  
TRACTORED UNDER, SHOT AT AND MISSED, SPAT AT AND HIT, CALLED FOR AND COULD NOT  
COME, CALLED TO WAR AND WOULDN'T GO, CALLED TO WORK AND COULDN'T EAT, CALLED  
TO FIGHT FOR SOMETHING WE AIN'T GOT, BULLDOZED, LIED TO, KNOCKED UP, HELD UP,  
HIJACKED, RAPED, SKINT LENT, BROKE, BENT, PISTOL WHIPPED, GASSED, BOMBED, MACHINE-  
GUNNED, STRUCK, LOG-CHAINED, LIED ABOUT, GOSSIPED ON, CUSSSED OUT, SEDUCED,  
SCREWED-UP, MISLED, STRIPPED NAKED, LEFT RAGGED, HUNGRY, BROKE, DISGUSTED,  
BUSTED, NOT TO BE TRUSTED, BUT IN SPITE OF ALL THIS AND MANY MORE THINGS...

... WE AIN'T DOWN YET !!

# WHAT DID YOU DO IN THE ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE, DADDY

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had its origins in the CP Civil Liberties campaign of the thirties which goes to show that a united front is as broad as it is popular. (Socialist Challenge editorial? - from memory)

Meanwhile, back to the National Front. If you can't beat them, you certainly do not join them or the police force. You think about it and you decide what best you can do (and why) at this point in your life and at this moment in history and then you act (if your Equity dues are paid up or Marius Goring has bankrupt the union).

## NEWS LINE

ANTI NAZI  
LEAGUE IS A  
ZIONIST PLOT-  
CONFIRMED!

NOTTINGHAM  
ANL RALLY  
STARTS OUTSIDE  
MARKS & SPENCER

But seriously, of course, what do you do, with who, (+m for pedants), now?

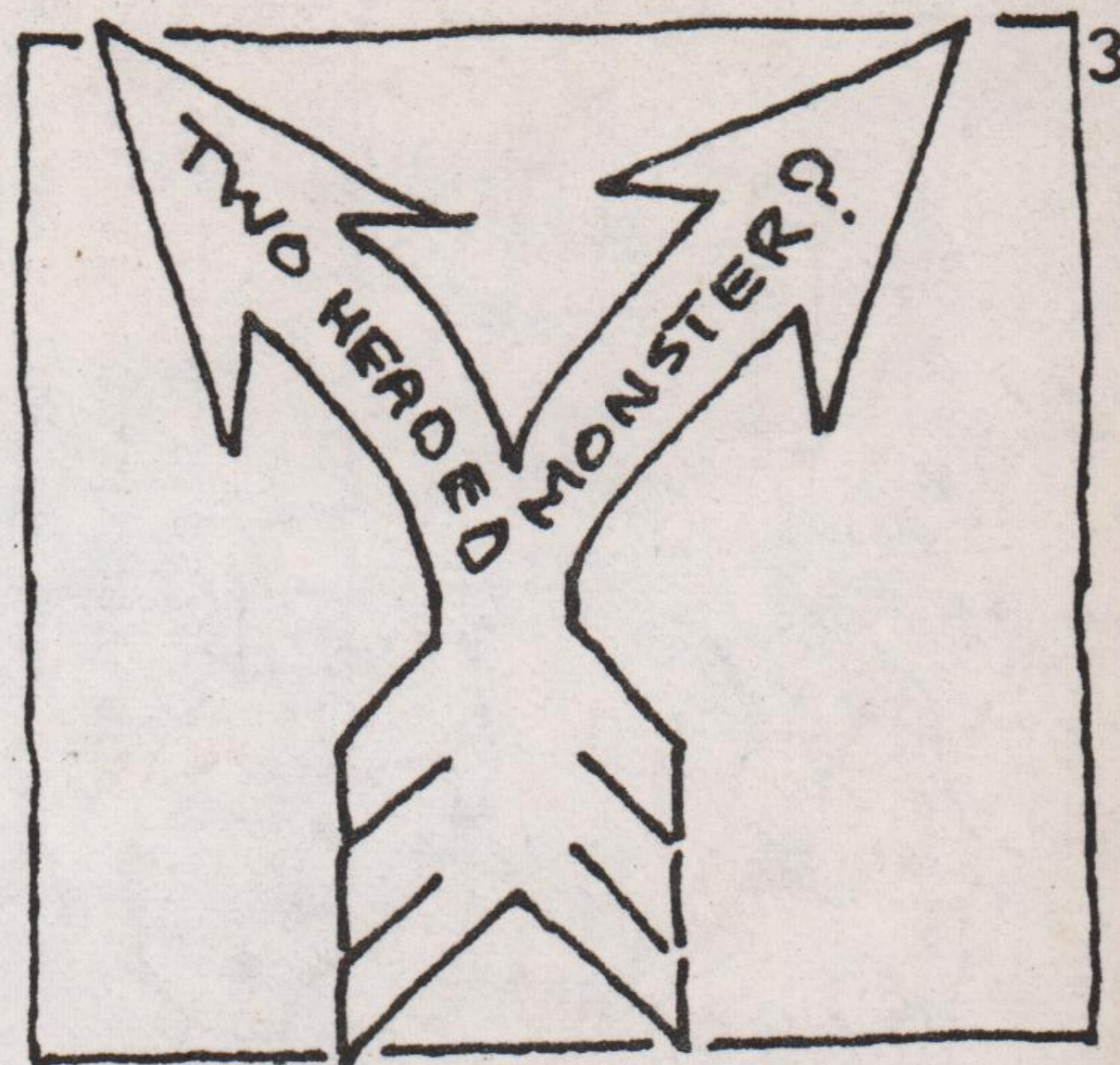
You'll be expecting me to tell you soon what you should do or where I stand - well I am sitting down as I write this, but not on the fence and sitting and writing is not all I do.

What I suggest is that you articulate the popular consciousness but before you will want to do this, you will need to change the popular consciousness (otherwise known as raising it and your own at the same time) won't you? But you can only do this by being there or at least somewhere. So get out and do something. And this is the point, a lot of people are finding it easier to do something now the Bandwagon Against Racism (BAR - see you in the Newmarket) is rolling.



But then what? Life long 'they shall not passers' are now being asked to let the Front pass (unless they can stop them) by the responsible ANL leadership (responsible for getting clergymen and the CP and the Labour Party branches on the same ticket as serious revolutionaries (Vanessa where are you?) and, at last, some sign of the immigrant leaders. All this is difficult for the 'they shall not passers' but then at least there is the recruitment potential.....

Right, lets get this phase over as soon as possible so we can get back to the serious work. If you are prepared to take part at all then throw yourself into it briefly but fully. It is not difficult to become a 'member' of the ANL. In fact, if you think you are a 'member' then you are. (Not since pre St Paul christianity has it been as easy as that!) But to be fair, 15p for a badge which you can show everyone or £1 for a supporters card which you can hide from your father, does help a bit.



Now get active, be there every time and offer what skills, talents, energy and money that you can. But don't let any of these out of your sight lest you lower your own consciousness while raising unconsciousness in others.

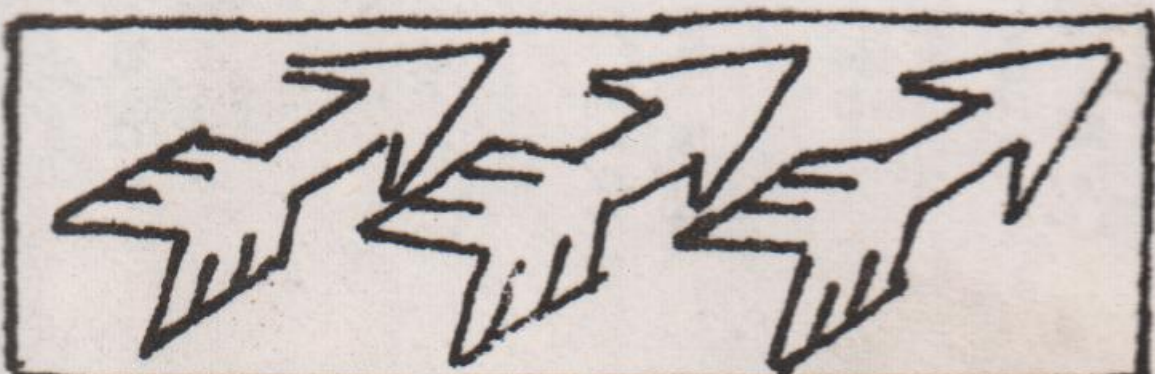
As Rin Tin Hogg (once a tory lord chancellor) said 'Law is not enforceable at all if a sufficient number of people disregard it.....' And if there are a sufficient number of people and consciousness is high enough then we will disregard the law and its officers and we will be moving. History has shown that history is wrong but tomorrow will be another twenty four hours of history. Will you be there?

SOCIAL  
DEMOCRATS  
FOR THE  
NAZIS

SOCIAL  
DEMOCRATS  
AGAINST THE  
NAZIS

THE PRICE IS  
INDEX LINKED

ORDERS MAY  
BE PLACED  
FOR THIS PLA-  
CARD WITH  
TRANSPORT NO.



Tom W.

# THE FASCIST FRONT

"I don't object a bit if you call me a fascist. This country needs a right-wing dictatorship"

These are the words of Richard Verral, a leader of the National Front.

Behind the mask of union jacks and 'respectability' they are ambitious Hitlers and Mussolinis.

DEMOCRACY: They claim they are for democracy BUT say: "Democracy.. is destined to go under", "Dictatorships are often the best".  
(John Tyndall, NF leader)

FREEDOM OF SPEECH: The NF claims to support free speech BUT says: "When we get to power, our opponents will be swept away like flies."  
(John Tyndall, NF leader)

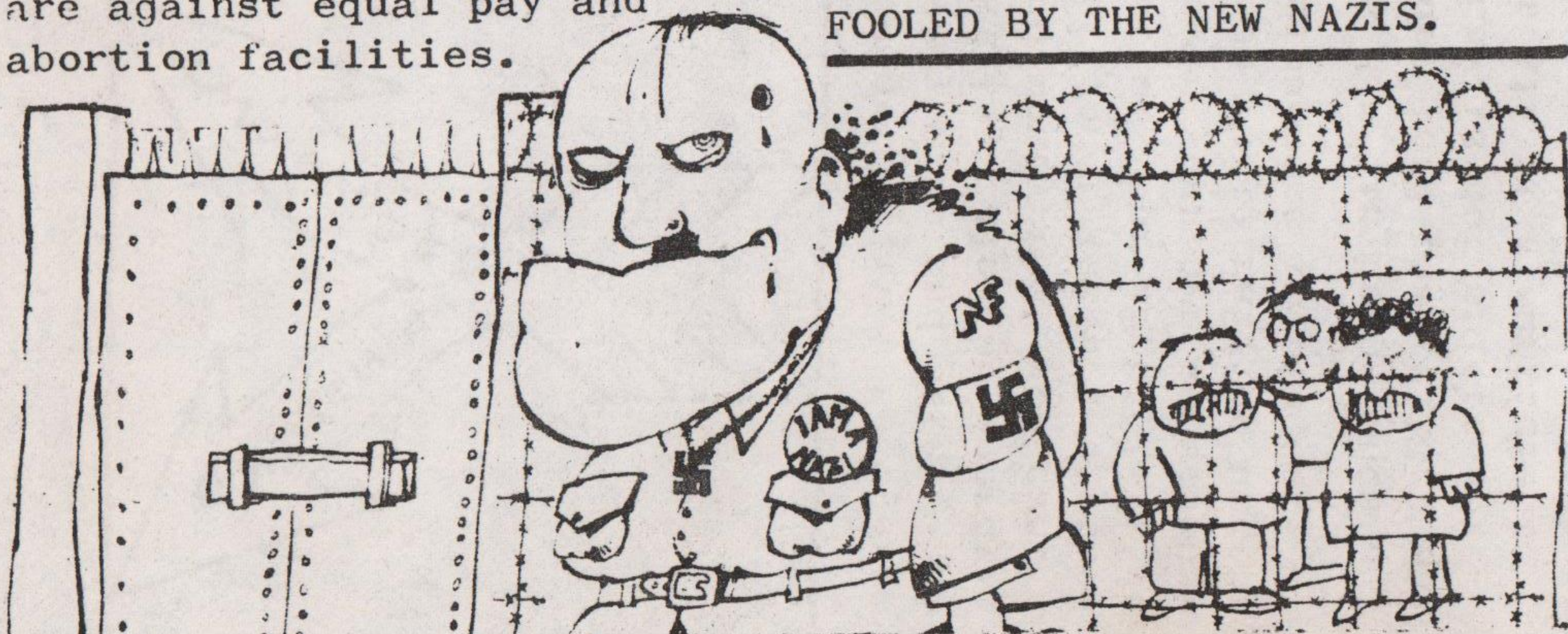
WOMEN: The NF claim they are for women's interests... so long as that means being a second class citizen at work or at home. That's why they are against equal pay and abortion facilities.

CARE FOR THE ELDERLY: The NF claim that they want to help the needy, especially pensioners, BUT say: "Except in marginal and extreme cases, the duty of the government is not to assure citizens... security against the hazards of unemployment, illness and old age." (NF paper Spearhead) Pensioners beware!

TRADE UNIONS: The NF claim to support trade unions BUT during the 3 day week they called for compulsory arbitration, forced secret ballots and for 'detaining' union leaders. Their support for unions is like their idol Hitler's.... He destroyed them and put their leaders in concentration camps.

HOMOSEXUALS: The NF regularly go round 'queer bashing' and lesbians and gay men face extermination in gas chambers if they come to power.

NF STANDS FOR NO FREEDOM FOR YOU. DON'T BE FOOLED BY THE NEW NAZIS.



Nottingham Anti Nazi League. PO Box No1 Western PDO

# FIGHT THE RACISTS

WE WANT ENOUGH GOOD HOUSES FOR ALL. WE WANT JOBS NOT THE DOLE. WE WANT HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS, NOT CUTS.

But the racists blame black people for unemployment and bad housing.  
THEY ARE CONNING US.

The NF and Powell call for repatriation. The Tory and Labour MP's call for more immigration controls.

THEY ARE TRYING TO MAKE BLACK PEOPLE INTO SCAPEGOATS, SO WE WON'T SEE THE REAL CAUSES OF THESE PROBLEMS.

UNEMPLOYMENT is not caused by too many workers, but by bosses who put their own profits before workers jobs, and by cuts in public spending... which means less homes being built, hospitals closing and 30,000 building workers on the dole.

In the 1930's there were 3 million unemployed and no black people; and in Glasgow and the North-East unemployment figures are highest where there are fewest black people.

NOT ENOUGH HOUSES. This won't be solved by kicking anyone out. We must fight for the unemployed building workers to be given work, to reduce interest payments on council loans and mortgages, and to kick out property speculators who play the market at our expense.

The Racists want to stop us uniting to fight for these things together.  
At work they tell us to fight our fellow black workers and not the bosses.  
At home they tell us to fight fellow black tenants and not landlords.  
At school they tell us to fight fellow black students and not for better schools and rights for all students.

WE ALL HAVE A CHOICE.... to fall for the tricks of the racists, or to fight together, black and white, women and men, for jobs, for decent homes, for adequate social services. If we fall for the first choice we will end up with a 'final solution' like Hitlers...6 million Jewish scapegoats dead, in concentration camps.

DON'T BE CONNED... TURN YOUR BACKS ON THE RACIST LIES.

## DEFEND YOURSELVES!

Just like their model, Hitler's Nazis, the NF deal in violence. Their attacks are increasing everywhere.

ORGANIZE NOW - STOP THE NF  
In your workplace and in your community get organized to take a positive stand against the National Front.

## ANTI NAZI LEAGUE

Write to the Nottingham Anti Nazi League for information, leaflets etc and contacts in your area.

# WHY YOU SHOULD OPPOSE THE NATIONAL FRONT

The National Front says it is just an ordinary political party. Is it?

1. They say they are not Nazi  
Then WHY did their leaders say:

'Mein Kampf is my doctrine' [National NF Chairman Tyndall] — Mein Kampf was 'the Bible' of the German Nazis. 'We're busy forming a well-oiled Nazi machine throughout the country... Hitler put Germany on its feet. We and fellow-Nazis will do the same for England' [NF National Organiser Webster].

'When we are knocking at the gates of power in Britain, there will be a new generation...they won't give a damn who was a Fascist and who was a Nazi' [NF national leader Verrall].

2. They say they are just patriots  
Then WHY does Chairman Tyndall say:

'The Second World War was fought for Jewish, not British interests. Under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, Germany proved...she could be a truly great power' [Tyndall].

'We did not fight for our own freedom [in the Second World War], we fought for the freedom of the parasitic Jew to leech unmolested' [Tyndall].

'The most decisive influence behind Britain's war against Germany was the determination of world Jewry to destroy National Socialism [Nazism]. I support this belief' [Tyndall].

3. They say they are against violence

Then WHY does the NF leadership say:

'Our membership would suffer a loss of morale if they weren't attacked. They want it, because it makes them stronger...We want to sort out the weak people from the strong' [Webster].

'Driving down Carnaby Street, I beheld walking about a species of humanity that I thought only existed in the wider forms of horror fiction, and I resolved there and then that if I ever revisited this neighbourhood in the future, it would be...at the tiller of a Chieftain tank, preferably with a flame thrower apparatus attached as an extra, and a large refuse van bringing up the rear' [Tyndall].

'We've got some really vicious bastards. I'd never cross them...My branch is the biggest gang of thugs in London' [NF Wandsworth organiser Hampton].

'The day our followers lose their ability to hate will be the day they lose their power to achieve anything' [Tyndall].

4. They say they are for democracy

Then WHY do they say:

'Democracy raises the small men to the kind of position only great men are worthy of...it keeps great men down by its hatred of true leadership and true personality...It is destined soon to go under' [Tyndall].

'I'd have elections only every eight or ten years. Then, as a strong Government, we'd go to the people and ask if they wanted us to carry on...Dictatorships are often the best' [Tyndall].

'There are a great number of people in this country who have democratic rights who should not have them' [Tyndall].

5. They say they are for freedom of speech

Then WHY do they say:

'When we get to power, our opponents will be swept aside like flies' [Tyndall]. 'If the law against us should be strengthened, then the time would come to stop giving out leaflets and start giving out guns' [Lawson, editor NF 'Britain First'].

'We should restore 'real' freedom of press. We wouldn't allow anything seditious or subversive or slanderous' [Tyndall].

One thing is clear — they are liars and hypocrites.

Why? Because they are Nazis, but they know if they admitted it, no-one would vote for them.

Hitler did the same thing in Germany. He said all problems could be solved if Germany expelled the Jews.

Tyndall wants to do the same. He says all problems could be solved if Britain expelled the blacks and the Jews.

Hitler's policies led straight to the Second World War, to mass slaughter and the concentration camps. Tyndall is trying to do the same.

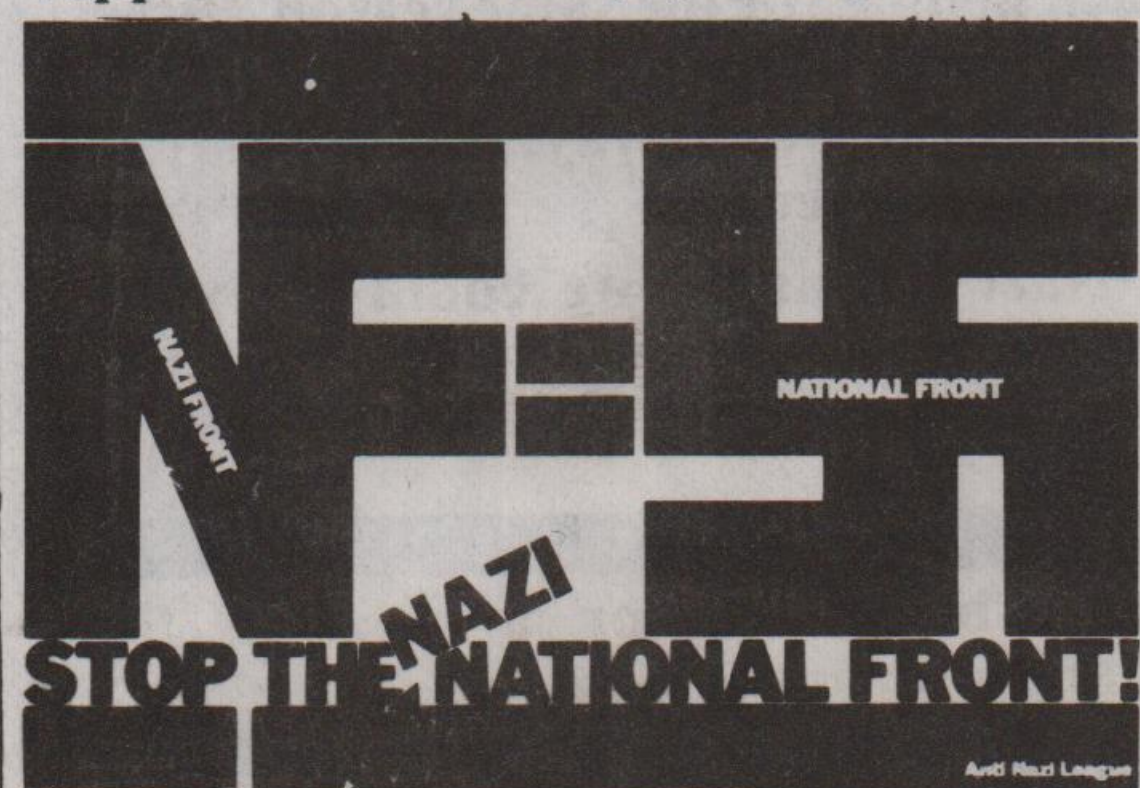
Don't be conned by the new Nazis — oppose the National Front.

For further information fill in this coupon and send to: Anti Nazi League, P.O. Box 151, London WC2H 7JQ

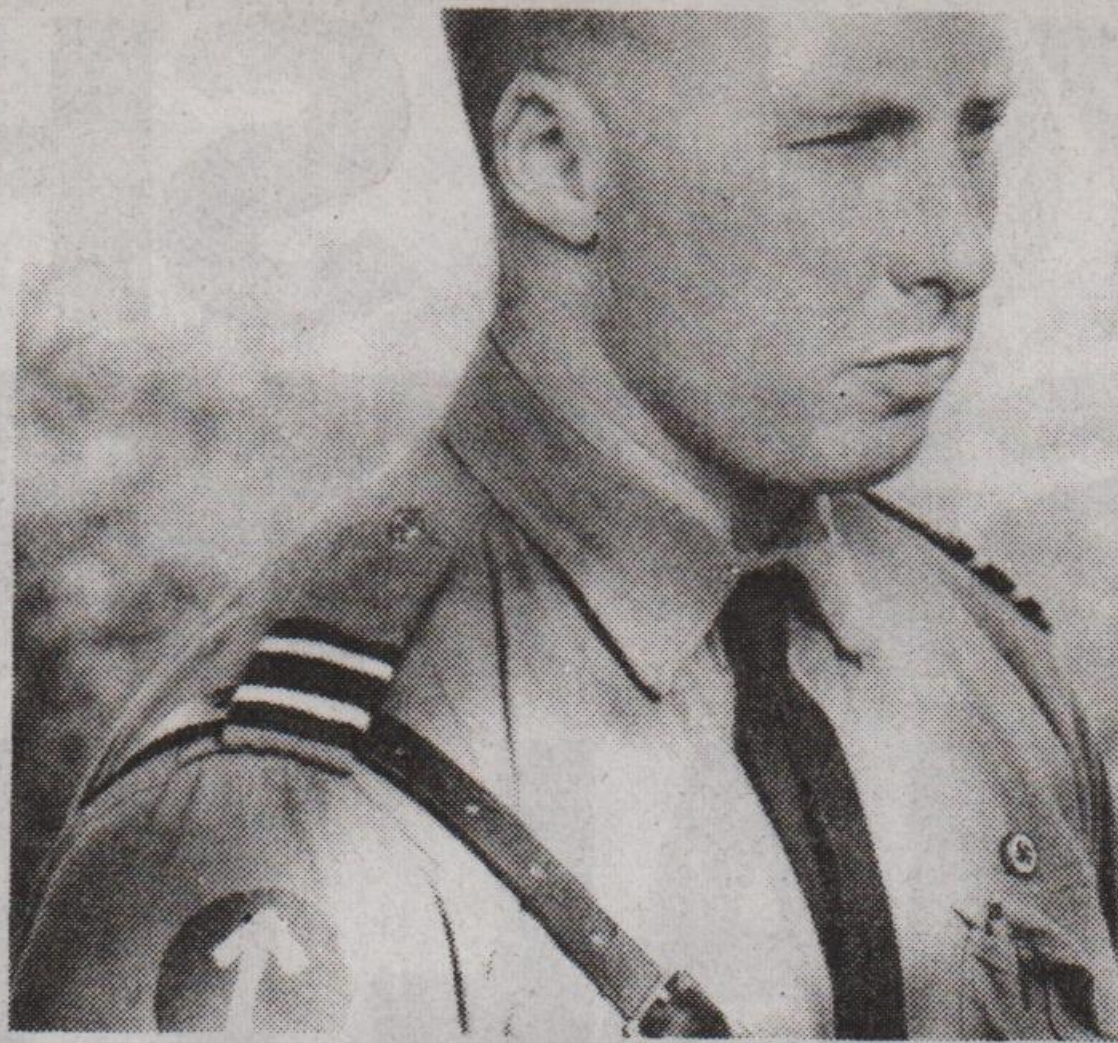
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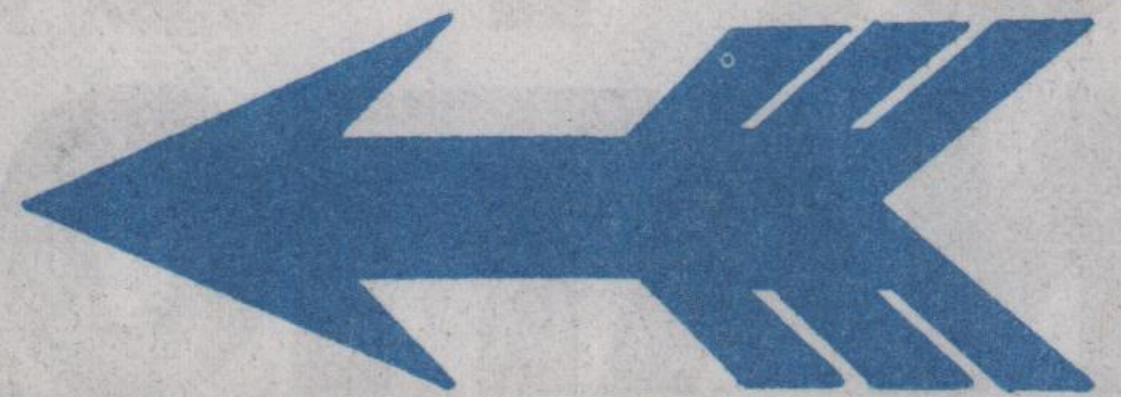
T.U./Organisation \_\_\_\_\_



# THE LIARS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT



John Tyndall,  
Chairman of the  
National Front,  
in Nazi uniform  
with swastika.



## LIE Number 1

The NF says the country is overcrowded with black people.  
**BUT**

1. Every year since 1961 more people have left Britain than came in! Between 1970 and 1975, 1,215,600 people came into the country — but 1,509,400 people left.
2. For every 100 white people in Britain, there are only THREE black people. Most of the country has NO black people at all.
3. For every 88 children born to white parents, 2 are born to Asian parents and under 1 to West Indian. By the year 2,000 when the black population will stop increasing, there will be 5 black people for every 100 whites.

## LIE Number 2

The NF says the country is being 'flooded' with black immigrants.  
**BUT**

1. For every 70 immigrants entering the country in 1977, only 28 were black; 26 of those were wives, children and aged parents of people living here. More West Indians are leaving than coming in — between 1970 and 1976, 5,000 more West Indians left than entered.
2. Most black immigrants' wives and children are now being kept out of the country, with all the anguish and heartache that family separation involves. People who apply to enter Britain have to wait between 15 and 19 months even for a first interview at the British Embassy. About half the applications are being refused even then.

## LIE Number 3

The NF says black people are taking the jobs of whites.  
**BUT**

1. The NF does not explain how there were three million out of work in 1932

[23 per cent of all insured workers] — but no black people in the country.

2. The NF doesn't explain why there are more black people unemployed — there are twice as many West Indians out of work [15%] than the rest [7%]. Between 1974 and 1977, unemployment for all workers doubled — but for young blacks it went up five times over.

3. In London, where unemployment is lowest, there are most blacks. In Glasgow and Northern Ireland, where unemployment is highest, there are very few black workers.

## LIE Number 4

The NF says black people take the homes of whites.

**BUT**

1. Black people can't get houses — so they end up with the worst housing of all. On official figures, they are more overcrowded, have more sharing, fewer facilities in the oldest and most broken down buildings.
2. Glasgow has the worst housing in Britain — there are 27,000 people homeless there. But there are hardly any black people in Glasgow.
3. It is not black people who caused 300,000 building workers and 8,000 architects to be unemployed. Nor the 800,000 second and third houses belonging to the rich.

## LIE Number 5

The NF says black people sponge off the welfare services.

**BUT**

an official study shows that immigrants get 20 per cent less from the social and welfare services than those born in Britain. This is because they

have few aged parents or children. Even by 1981, they will still get 10 to 15 per cent less — while paying the same for National Insurance as everybody else.

## LIE Number 6

The NF says black people do all the mugging — and they do it to whites.  
**BUT**

1. On police figures, the rate of crime for black people is 'remarkably low' [for Asians, it is a quarter of the rate for the English].
2. Lewisham was supposed to be the case that proved everything. In the first six months of 1975, there were 103 cases of mugging in Lewisham — 84 involving West Indian youths. But in Glasgow at the same time there were 480 cases of mugging — not one of them involving any black.
3. The rate of assault on black people by whites is much higher than the other way around.

These are the lies the new Nazis invent to mislead ordinary people.

The lies exploit real problems — unemployment, bad housing, poor hospitals — to divert attention on to black people. But black people no more 'cause' these problems than they cause bad weather! Usually black people suffer from these problems worse than everybody else.

The NF picks on the tiny minority of black people for the same reason Hitler picked on the Jews. Once everybody is looking the other way, the Nazis can come to power.

In Nazi Germany, we could see what that meant — a police state, the concentration camps and finally world war.

Don't be taken for a ride — the National Front is Nazi.

# Anti Nazi League

# Anti Nazi League

## Founding statement

THE National Front are emerging as a growing force in British politics. In the local elections in London they received over 119,000 votes. In some recent bye-elections they have pushed the Liberal Party into fourth place. They intend to stand over 318 candidates in the next General Election.

For the first time since Mosley in the thirties, there is the worrying prospect of a Nazi party gaining significant support in Britain. The leaders, philosophy and origins of the National Front and similar organisations follow directly from the Nazis in Germany. Like Hitler with the Jews, the British Nazis seek to make scapegoats of black people. They exploit the real problems of unemployment, bad housing, cuts in education and in social and welfare services. Physical assaults on black people are increasing at a disturbing rate. If their evil propaganda takes root we will be facing an alarming development in Britain, which affects every one of us.

In these months before the General Election the Nazis will seize every opportunity to spread their propaganda. During the Election itself, National Front candidates will be entitled to equal TV and radio time to the major parties. The British electorate will be exposed to Nazi propaganda on an unprecedented scale.

This must not go unopposed. Ordinary voters must be made aware of the threat that lies behind the National Front. In every town, in every factory, in every school, on every housing estate, wherever the Nazis attempt to organise they must be countered. Millions of leaflets and posters will have to be distributed. To have the necessary impact, this demands a campaign on a national and massive scale.

● That is why we, the undersigned, believe that an Anti-Nazi League has to be built urgently to unite all those who oppose the growth of the Nazis in Britain, irrespective of other political differences.

● The League's objectives will be to organise on the widest possible scale against the propaganda and activities of the Nazis in Britain today.

● We believe that many people—in the professions and in trade unions—are already aware of the danger. The experience of Hitler's Germany shows that the Nazis will not go away of their own accord.

● We, the undersigned, appeal for the widest possible support for our efforts to alert the people of this country to the growing menace of the New Nazis.

The following people to date have sponsored the statement in their personal capacity.

### A

Dave Allen *Comedian*  
Jim Allen *Playwright*  
Frank Allaun *MP*  
John Arden *Playwright*  
Dame Peggy Ashcroft *Actress*  
Joe Ashton *MP*  
Ron Atkins *MP*  
Norman Atkinson *MP*  
Lord Avebury  
Professor A J Ayer

### B

Beryl Bainbridge *Writer*  
John Baldwin *CEU*  
Colin Barnett *NUPE*  
Keith Barron *Actor*  
Stan Barstow *Writer*  
Lionel Bart *Musician*  
Alfie Bass *Actor*  
Professor Zygmunt Bauman  
Hywel Bennett *Actor*  
Dr. Berry Beaumont *Socialist Medical Association*  
Sidney Bidwell *MP*  
John Bird *Actor*  
Claire Bloom *Actress*  
Professor T B Bottomore  
Edward Bond *Writer*  
Dave Bowen *Football Manager*  
Marion Boyars *Publisher*  
Lord Fenner Brockway  
Melvyn Bragg *Writer*  
Alan Brien *Writer*  
Jack Bruce, *Musician*  
Michael Bryant *Actor*  
Norman Buchan *MP*  
Ray Buckton *ASLEF*

### C

James Cameron *Journalist*  
Bobby Campbell *Musician*  
Dennis Canavan *MP*  
Lord Caradon  
John Chapman *Playwright*  
Jackie Charlton *Football Manager*  
Richard Clements *Journalist*  
Brian Clough *Football Manager*  
Claud Cockburn *Writer*  
Professor John Cohen  
Professor Stanley Cohen  
Professor Percy Cohen  
Jack Collins *NUM*  
Jane Cousins *Journalist*  
Harry Cowens *MP*  
Jeff Crawford *Community Relations Worker*  
Pat Crerand *Football Manager*  
Bob Cryer *MP*  
Frances Cuka *Actress*

### D

Professor Ralf Dahrendorf  
Laurence Daly *NUM*  
Johnny Dankworth *Musician*  
S. Clinton Davis *MP*  
Joe Dean *MP*  
Judi Dench *Actress*  
Jonathan Dibleby *TV Journalist*  
Bill Dodgin *Football Manager*  
Clive Donner *Film Director*  
Margaret Drabble, *Writer*  
Gwynneth Dunwoody *MP*

### E

John Evans *MP*  
David Edgar *Playwright*  
Professor J. E. T. Eldridge  
Professor A. R. Emerson

### F

Lynn Farleigh *Actress*  
Mia Farrow *Actress*  
Alan Fisher *NUPE*  
Martin Flannery *MP*  
Paul Foot *Journalist*  
Barry Foster *Actor*  
Vincent Flynn *SOGAT*

### G

Gerry Gable *Journalist*  
John Gale *Theatre Manager*  
Kamlesh Gandhi *Grunwick Strike Committee*  
Tony Garnett *Film Producer*  
Sir John Gielgud *Actor*  
Lord Gifford  
Alex Glasgow *Musician*  
Larry Grant *Solicitor*  
Bob Greaves *TV Journalist*  
Trevor Griffiths *Playwright*  
Derek Griffiths *Comedian*  
Alexis Grower, *Solicitor*

### H

Kenneth Haigh *Actor*  
Peter Hain *Trade Union Research Officer*  
Joe Haines, *Journalist*  
Stuart Hall *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies*  
Willis Hall *Writer*  
David Halliwell *Playwright*  
Professor J. D. Halloran  
Christopher Hampton *Playwright*  
Professor Royden Harrison  
Professor Dorothy Hodgkin  
Professor Thomas Hodgkin  
Mary Holland *Journalist*  
Stuart Holland *Economist*  
Doug Hoyle *MP*  
Bishop Trevor Huddleston  
Bob Hughes *MP*  
Roy Hughes *MP*

### J

Glenda Jackson *Actress*  
Margaret Jackson *MP*  
Professor Gustav Jahoda  
Bill Jones *TGWU*  
Bettina Jonic *Singer*  
J. Joshi *Indian Workers Association (GB)*

### K

S. Kadri *Standing Conference of Pakistani Organizations*  
Mary Kaldor *Writer*  
Miriam Karlin *Actress*  
Deborah Kerr *Actress*  
Neil Kinnock *MP*  
Alex Kitson *TGWU*  
Alexis Korner *Singer*  
Surrendrar Kumar *Manchester Commission for Racial Equality*  
Michael Kustow, *Theatre Director*

### L

Cleo Laine *Singer*  
James Lamond *MP*  
Arthur Latham *MP*  
Professor J Latham  
Denis Lemon, *Editor Gay News*  
Joan Lester *MP*  
Professor Henry Lipson  
Tom Litterick *MP*  
Alfred Lomas, *Sec. London Co-op Political Committee*  
Maurice Ludmer *Editor 'Searchlight'*  
Roger Lyons *ASTMS*  
Humphrey Lyttleton *Musician*

### M

Councillor Bashir Maan  
Ian McDonald *Barrister*

Oonagh MacDonald *MP*  
 Mick McGahey *NUM*  
 John McGrath *Playwright*  
 Ian McKellen *Actor*  
 T. P. McKenna *Actor*  
 Philip Mackie *Playwright*  
 Gordon McLennan  
 Denis MacShane *NUJ*  
 M. A. and Maureen Marfani  
 Wolf Mankowitz, *Writer*  
 Ken Marks, *MP*  
 Ian Martin *Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants*  
 Max Madden *MP*  
 Frank Marcus *Playwright*  
 Michael Mason *News Editor Gay News*

Joan Maynard *MP*  
 George Melly *Singer*  
 David Mercer *Playwright*  
 Professor Istvan Meszaros  
 Ian Mikardo *MP*  
 Ronald Millar *Playwright*  
 John Miller, *TGWU*  
 Professor Alan Miliward  
 Adrian Mitchell *Poet*  
 Warren Mitchell *Actor*  
 William Molloy *MP*  
 Ron Moody *Actor*  
 Professor Robert Moore  
 Robert Muller *Writer*  
 Iris Murdoch *Writer*

## N

Stan Newens *MP*  
 Brian Nicholson *TGWU*  
 Michael Noble *MP*  
 N. S. Noor *Indian Workers Association (GB)*  
 Dick North *NUT*  
 Trevor Nunn *Director Royal Shakespeare Company*

## O

Rev Paul Oestreicher

Mary O'Malley *Playwright*  
 David Oxley *Secretary The Rugby League*

## P

Professor R. E. Pahl  
 John Palmer *European Editor, The Guardian*  
 Prem Singh *Pardeshi Indian Workers Association (GB)*  
 Michael Parkinson  
 Praful Patel *Secretary Committee on UK Citizenship*  
 Laurie Pavitt *MP*  
 Tom Pendry, *MP*  
 John Pilger *Journalist*  
 Professor Sidney Pollard  
 Alan Plater *Playwright*  
 Professor Valdo Pons  
 John Platts-Mills *QC*  
 Andre Previn *Musician*  
 Christopher Price *MP*

## R

Frederick Raphael *Writer*  
 Lee Remick *Actress*  
 Professor John Rex  
 Jo Richardson *MP*  
 Jocelyn Rickards *Designer*  
 Ernie Roberts *AUEW*  
 Geoffrey Robertson *Barrister*  
 Tom Robinson *Singer*  
 Jeff Rooker *MP*  
 Paul Rose *MP*  
 Jack Rosenthal *Playwright*  
 Annie Ross *Singer/Actress*  
 Barrie Rutter *Actor*

## S

Professor Michael Samuels  
 Jeremy Sandford *Writer*  
 Alan Sapper *ACTT*  
 Professor John Saville  
 Prunella Scales *Actress*

Arthur Scargill *NUM*  
 John Schlesinger *Film Director*  
 Ann Scott *TV Producer*  
 Michael Seifert *Solicitor*  
 John Sever *MP*  
 Professor Teodor Shanin  
 Madhav Sharma *Actor*  
 Vishnu Sharma *Indian Workers Association*  
 Jack Shepherd *Actor*  
 Clancy Sigal *Writer*  
 Professor Brian Simon  
 Dennis Skinner *MP*  
 Harry Smith *AUEW-TASS*  
 Laurie Smith *AUEW*  
 Professor T. C. Smout  
 Johnny Speight *Writer*  
 Colin Spencer *Playwright*  
 Robert Stephens *Actor*  
 Roger Stott *MP*  
 Professor Ian Steedman  
 Janet Suzman *Actress*  
 Tom Stoppard *Playwright*

## T

Dan Tana *Chairman Brentford F.C.*  
 John Taylor *Rugby Footballer*  
 Professor H Tajfel  
 Tariq Ali *Journalist*  
 Peter Terson *Playwright*  
 Ron Thomas *MP*  
 Stan Thorne *MP*  
 E. P. Thompson, *Labour Historian*  
 Dorothy Thompson *Labour Historian*  
 John Tocher *AUEW*  
 Professor Peter Townsend  
 David Turner-Samuels *QC*  
 Dorothy Tutin *Actress*

## U

Dave Underwood *Chairman Barnet FC*

## V

Frankie Vaughan *Singer*  
 Professor Michalina Vaughan  
 Terry Venables *Football Manager*  
 Peter Viertel *Writer*

## W

David Warburton *National Organizer GMWU*  
 David Watkins *MP*  
 Dave Watson *Footballer*  
 W. L. Webb *Literary Editor, Guardian*  
 David Weitzman *QC, MP*  
 Colin Welland *Actor/Playwright*  
 Arnold Wesker *Playwright*  
 Timothy West *Actor*  
 Professor John Westergaard  
 Professor Gwyn Williams  
 Billie Whitelaw *Actress*  
 John Williams *Guitarist*  
 Professor Raymond Williams  
 Lord Ted Willis  
 Angus Wilson *Writer*  
 Audrey Wise *MP*  
 Edward Woodward, *OBE, Actor*  
 Bob Wright *AUEW*

## Y

G. Yazdani *Pakistan Workers' Association*

## Z

Professor Michael Zander

**Anti Nazi League,  
 12 Little Newport Street,  
 London WC2**

# YO : KNOW WHAT YOU CAN DO WITH THE ANL.....

This article is written in great haste, to meet a deadline, whilst I'm very busy with other things. Excuse the style. It stirs a lot of shit and asks for positively cries out for, replies in the next (?) issue of IF YOU DON'T. It is written by a member of Big Flame (1) but in a personal capacity.

## INTRODUCTION

With the rise of the NF(2) in recent crisis-dominated years a tremendous movement has been taking shape against the NF's racism and its fascism. The racist inspired murders of 1976 were met by black immigrant mobilisation in many parts of the country(3) and later, events like the big demo at Lewisham brought violence as the necessary self defence of a black community into play. The Left and some parts of the Labour Movement have organised massive counter-NF demonstrations, the police have responded to this by a giantic presence. Women against Racism and Fascism Groups, Gays against Fascism groups have emerged(4). There is a lot more to this story.

Amidst this growing and increasingly class-conscious development has emerged the ANL(5).

## FIRST - THE BAD NEWS

The ANL, formed last November, initially drew on several main areas of support. The signatories of the founding statement included prominent figures, sports personalities, academics etc.

### 1) THE LABOUR PARTY

It is clear that the support from within the Labour Party (left and middle now right) is to stop the rot started by Labour voters defecting to the National Front. Labour's support which has been considerable, especially where they've twisted the arm of certain Trade Union leaders to provide money, will probably end after they win the next election (which they probable will).

What is the Labour Party? It is the left-wing of capital(7) and in the last four years has proved to big business (including the IMF(6) and other multinational forces) that it is the only party now able to control, discipline and re-organise the working class. For this reason "advanced capital" will support Labour, with its Social Contract, now 5% pay limit etc.

Looking back over the last 25 years we can see that at different times over the question of immigration (and therefore racism) capital has pushed both multi-racial harmony and race hatred. The first even came from the mouth of Enoch Powell when capital wanted to recruit Caribbean and South Asian labour in the 1950's; now that less labour is wanted the Labour Party is carefully arguing for a 'sensible' immigration policy (i.e. no more immigration) and social peace in Britain to keep the workers here working (e.g. Race Relations Industry). What the Labour Party and Tory Party are arguing about is how much immigration control and race conflict is needed to discipline the whole working class, especially black sections of the working class.

What I've tried to do is show why the most important sections of business, national and multinational, have confidence in the Labour Party and why they want Labour in power next time. They will lend their support to the Labour Party re-attracting votes from the NF, using the ANL, even if this only means

6 keeping quiet and not mounting a campaign against the ANL (which they could have easily done with the Socialist Worker Party backing etc.).

## 2) JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

Were involved at the beginning but withdrew because ANL is anti-Zionist.

## 3) BRIGHT LIGHT

An important influence has come from the people around this journal, but more of this later.

## 4) SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

SWP has been the driving force getting the ANL off the ground. Some very odd things have been happening. In the anti-fascist street battles of 12 to 18 months ago the SWP always tried to claim they were the vanguard, the conscious leadership, they were where the action was. Of course, this was never true (but SWP have a good Public Relations Department) with much of the important developments coming from blacks (including fighting with the police) women, gays and youth. Where it was true it was usually a bad thing. For example, a few years ago when the SWP was called the I.S. (8) you often heard the slogan "we are the I.S. boot boys". Now you hear "we are the ANL boot boys". The SWP recruits single men on the basis of it being the most aggressive party around and apart from the fact that as a strategy until recently the SWP's mindless militancy towards the NF (making comparisons with belting rats who crawl out of sewers) this "Real Man" aggression is just as easily turned against women, queers etc.

However, with the SWP taking a "long march through institutions" (9) and, with a little help, setting up the ANL, they've acted as midwives to a movement more like a Communist Party (CP) front than an SWP front. Very strange! The CP have therefore got more involved and the SWP support is now wavering in certain quarters.

One way of describing the SWP - which is the biggest revolutionary organisation in the UK - is that it survives (just about) on a whole series of political tricks. They believe primarily in recruiting. The way to do this is to appear attractive in certain ways and then grab new members.

Examples: Rank and File

Right to Work Campaign

Changing name from IS to SWP  
and now the ANL.

On a more serious level the SWP is generally ahistorical in its politics, snatching ideas from a period of working class defeat - the hungry thirties). What this means for the SWP is a tremendous turnover of membership (loads join loads leave), that the important and fairly large working class section of the SWP's membership can never impose its own politics against an all-powerful "middle class" leadership. The black caucuses have left SWP as a block in recent years, one group starting Samaj an Babylon. Women in SWP, however, have fought a hard battle against the SWP leadership and now have relative autonomy and Women's Voice which is an excellent magazine, in anyone's terms. The question is, can they go much further in harmony with the SWP?

What this means for the ANL is that the SWP is mainly trying to recruit ANL youth. The reason for writing this section is so that those youths who do join, don't do so with their eyes closed.

## 5) POLITICAL CAREERISTS

ANL has more than its fair share of political careerists, both locally and nationally, who survive by pushing politics to the background which anyway leads to control by an elite. Peter Hain, one such careerist, summed up himself as well as ANL policy when he said "We're aiming to get people who

will take action rather than talk about it"(10) The ridiculous idea that you can separate "theory from practice" is a smokescreen to get people to do what you want them to.

### WHAT KIND OF ANL HAVE WE GOT AT THE TOP?

Accepting that the previous section give the background to some of the ANL's influences, what kind of ANL have we got?

#### 1) JUMPING ON THE BANDWAGON

The IMG(11) have jumped on the bandwagon, even greeting the ANL with an editorial "hats off to the SWP".

The Communist Party similarly have got involved where possible since ANL is pretty close to their kind of politics.

#### 2) THEY DID PASS

The day after the ANL's Carnival on April 30th the fascists held a march through London, said to be the first time they've been allowed to do this since the 1930's. All the antifascist forces were tied up with keep the carnival against the Nazi's "respectable". No platform for fascists is basically a good position since the formal organisation of fascism can be and should be hampered, although this begs the question of male violence etc. However, in saying that I'm not saying that anti-NF mobilisation can be anything more than a tiny, tiny part of an overall politics which understands the roots of fascism and finds ways to undermine the NF's appeal by strengthening the struggle in everyday life.

#### 3) NF IS A NAZI FRONT

By arguing the Nazi connections of the NF as the main issue several important mistakes are made:-

##### a) "I died for you in the last war"

The first is associate fascism with Germans and to say "we beat them in the last war and now they're back again". This comes mainly from the CP and Labour Party and was particularly noticable in the 200 people meeting launching the ANL in April in Nottingham. It says "NEVER AGAIN: Fascism is foreign, German, - it is just not British". There is no mention of the Second World War as a tussle between imperialist powers, slaughtering millions of German English, French, Russian etc. workers. The slogan NEVER AGAIN should be dropped and its open nationalism attacked.

##### b) Fascist or Nazi

The anti-fascist committees across the country are/were bad enough, narrowing their practice to attacking the NF but the ANL is worse, launching the campaign against Nazism, limiting it even more. It's true that the NF has Nazis at the top and it's important that should be pointed out but the NF's wide appeal is the most important issue and they recit over racism, the glorification of motherland and nation, authoritarianism etc. The Searchlight magazine has for years regularly been explaining the Nazi backgrounds and international fascist connections of the NF(12) but in such a way as to utterly confuse the issue. They, and David Edgar(13), must take a lot of the blame for the reduction of the struggle over the fascist form of capitalism to an Anti Nazi level.

##### c) Racism or Nazism?

Briefly, there's a constant stream of articles and information from informers (like the World in Action TV programme 3 July) and ex-NF members saying that behind the NF's respectable RACISM there's sinister nazi's(14). What a twisted way to look at the problem!

These articles always underplay the significance of racism to point their fingers at the Nazi Nutters.

8 4) INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

The ANL has, up to yet, not been very democratic, different points of view getting put down as "sectarian wrangles". There would seem to me to be three layers of control the top which is London based, controlled by those forces who set it up the middle level which has attracted a lot of experienced local activists, Carnival organisers, anti-fascist committee people etc. There's a struggle going on here about what should be done but at the moment the top is definitely calling the tune. Almost no black people, very few women. the bottom the thousands who attend Carnivals, demos, etc and we have no say, not even a vote.

However, talk of simply 'democratising the ANL' as I.M.G. and Big Flame often do is an empty suggestion - the form of the ANL is to a large degree dictated by the content (Labour back to power etc)

RACISM - THE B-I-G QUESTION

The ANL is notoriously insensitive to the black section of the working class, seeking to rope in supposedly 'un-political' blacks rather than offer support for the already existing struggles against racism and facism, attacks, police harassment etc. This may differ from area to area but generally it is not surprising that very few Caribbean or Asian people are activists in the ANL. It's an example of racism when whites on ANL demos say "Where are the blacks - we're here fighting for them". The Labour Party, for example, has passed enough racist legislation to inspire little confidence by blacks in a Labour influenced ANL. There are many other reasons - a few worth mentioning here. The SWP (and the Communist Party) are in the business of 'magic tricks' arguing for U-N-I-T-Y (black and white unite and fight) as the only way to solve the problems of blacks; a unity usually at the expense of black people (more later) ANL leaflets about racism are piss-weak to say the least. ETC

Racism is certainly one of the major issues in Britain at the moment - and will remain so. (for anyone interested in serious anti-racism activity either contact Black People's Freedom Mvt or FARG c/o 126 Derby Rd., Nottm). The ANL's combination of antiNazism and lukewarm antiracism must be its major fault.

As the expression of many other issues - sexuality, work, nation etc - racism is often the thing which everything else hinges on. For example, ask a skilled toolsetter at Fords why he doesn't like blacks and he might say: "They are all lazy and strike at the drop of a hat". Or he might say "They have a thing about white girls - our girls"

AND NOW FOR THE GOOD NEWS - THE ANL BOSSES CAN'T CONTROL  
THEIR SUPPORTERS

So far I've been damning the ANL to hell as being implicitly racist, openly nationalistic, full of political dealers but yet.....but yet I would say that what's been happening through the ANL is very positive, especially encouraging a potential youth movement and bringing militants into contact with one another. Now for the GOOD NEWS, the Labour Party (and others) are trying to do their usual trick by using the ANL to keep the working class in check - and it ain't working!!

The ANL is stimulating a movement with possibilities way beyond its own narrow limits. The last 3 or 4 years have sent a major setback for mass, collective struggle. There have been few victories. 80,000 people marching through the streets of London on April 30th was (like the Grunwick picket of the previous year) a tremendous expression of potential working class power. Although the overall battle at Grunwick was lost, there were many, important and successful struggles on the way. ANL events (even when

poorly organised) do provide an important opportunity to bring your politics 9 out onto the streets and fight one aspect of the system, expressing other forms of resistance/rebellion at the same time, alongside hundreds, sometimes thousands, of others. Before expanding on this and looking what makes up this 'movement' I want to deviate for a while.

#### FASCISM AND WORKING CLASS POWER

"One of the most powerful weapons in the fascist arsenal is to take advantage of the already existing divisions amongst oppressed people to mobilise popular support." (15)

Fascism grabs hold of divisions that already exist and intensify them to build its mass movement (16) but these divisions are being used all the time in 'normal' capitalist conditions to undermine the whole working class's ability to control its own destiny. (By working class here I mean to include housewives, factory workers, school kids, office workers, pensioners etc) As I've said earlier, the Labour Party is Past Master at this (17)

Capital is constantly making these attacks (called decomposition) and the working class class as a whole is trying to run affairs its own way (whether over wages, police harassment, equal pay, nurseries facilities and so on). The recomposition of the working class, and capital's attempt to decompose it again is class struggle (as someone said 'history is the history of class struggle') This rather simplistic introduction to one aspect of Marxism is meant to show the connections between capitalist rule and fascist aspirations.

The period of economic expansion following World War II until the mid-60s relied very heavily on promising working class people a future within the system (education, council housing, full employment) at the same time as re-organising industry and society to undermine important areas of working class strength eg the docks, many working class communities. At the same time, using the existence of racism and sexism (no time to define what I mean here), women and black immigrants were used to supply cheap labour to fuel this expansion.

BUT NOW, with the economic and political crisis on, when Britain's bosses future's don't seem so rosy anymore, they use these very same divisions in a much more repressive and nasty way. At times like the present, Thatcher and Callaghan find common cause with the NF's more extreme racism, attitudes to work, to sexuality, the nation and so on.

In this general period of defeat, what we all have to do is find ways of fighting back but ways that are not at the expense of sections who have less power within the hierarchy of capitalism.

"The worker class is divided because certain sectors have greater material power than others. Thus factory workers in general have more power than the unemployed, men have more power than women, older workers have more power than school students. What is most relevant here is that white workers have more power than black. Because of the rewards that go with these power differentials, the more powerful are, in general, reluctant to give up their privilege." (18)

And the way to undermine these differentials of power and find real working class unity (not wishful thinking or wave the magic wand unity) is only possible on the basis of the strength of the sections that are presently weak. For example, over the position of black workers:

"Since there are real divisions within the class, there will be real conflict. Class unity cannot take place until such struggles have been won by black workers, and white workers have realised that their real interests lie in taking power from the bosses, not maintaining their power over black people.

Class unity can only be meaningful on the basis of the strength of the sectors that are presently weak. " (19)

What we're talking about is autonomy; autonomy of particular 'less powerful' sections of the working class - youth, women, blacks, unskilled workers, unemployed - and the autonomy of the class as a whole to present its needs in the face of capitalist interests.

#### AUTONOMY AND THE ANL

It follows from the section on "Fascism and Working Class Power" that the ANL's politics of the 'widest possible numbers', 'consensus politics', 'broad front politics' can only be at the expense of the less powerful parts of the class UNLESS those people REFUSE TO LET THIS HAPPEN.

It's nonsense to say "We're all united against the Nazis" because Nazism attacks different groups within society in differing ways. For example, to most black people Nazi (ie fascist) attacks are one kind of racist attack whereas to both the Tory and Labour Parties the NF threat is a threat to their parliamentary way of ruling us! The so-called unity the ANL thrives on is a fake, it masks the divisions of power, it hides them rather than resolves them.

But what I think is happening is that the 'supporters' - the mass of people on the demos etc are fighting to use these events for their own purposes. When else can you march down the street with 10 OR 60 thousand people at the moment as at the London or Northern Carnivals?

To recap, to understand the ANL we have to ask what use various people are making - people like youth, women, blacks, industrial militants - of this complicated piece of intrigue and enthusiasm called the ANL. How can various sections further their struggles? What are the signs of real (materialist) unity? How effectively are the ideas and organisation of the 'Left wing of Capital' (eg the rampant nationalism) being overcome? This is a question that I don't pretend to be able to answer here - because of space but more important because I don't know many of the answers, a lot of things that are happening new. However, some points.

#### The Workplace

Miners/Railwaymen etc against the Nazis is a tame form of organisation, often acceptable to the Union leaderships at certain levels BUT it seems very clear that these kinds of organisations are providing a very important and useful meeting place for various militants, trying to find a way out of a period of defeat.

#### Immigrants against the Nazis

Significantly, there ain't none (as far as I know) and I've gone into why earlier. This does depend very much from area to area, though, and in many cases sections of the immigrant community (albeit very respectable sections) have given the ANL its backing. The point is that many immigrants have much better organisations of their own than the ANL can offer. What's been happening in East London recently - and many other developments - show the real signs of working class power against the Nazis, or any other similar agency.

#### Women against the Nazis - Gays against the Nazis

Both the Womens' and Gay Liberation Movements have developed an anti fascist and anti racist politics of a kind well beyond W.A.N. & G.A.N. It's significant that a recent conference was of Women against Racism and Fascism and that a lot of gays wear Gays against Fascism (ie not just Nazism) badges. In some places such as W.A.N. have provided an opportunity for getting something going and in many cases - because ANL has the finance and organisation to do massive publicity, women have been able to get in touch with many other women.

#### AN INDEPENDENT YOUTH MOVEMENT

Unlike the womens, gay and black movements there's <sup>been</sup> no autonomous movement of

youth in this country in recent years. School Kids Against the Nazis, along with 11  
punk, the school walk-outs earlier this year and the like could help to form an  
independent youth-controlled youth movement, pointing in an anticapitalist  
direction. The Carnivals and Rock against Racism are an important focus for this.  
The most important spin-off from ANL could be youth using it to form their own  
movement. However, it is said that there's not a genuine SKAN anywhere yet and  
the SWP are interested in SKAN mainly as a recruiting ground. We'll see.

#### IN CONCLUSION

But to return to the mass, collective nature of many ANL events. If the ANL is  
to be any use then they hold the key as to whether a youth movement, revived  
industrial and community militancy, a strengthened feminist and gay socialist  
current and a real struggle against racism and facism and other forms of  
working class power can blossom again and start to tip the balance against the  
system.

WHETHER THIS HAPPENS OR NOT will depend on whether capital (especially its  
Left wing versions) can use the ANL to limit and narrow our struggle or WHETHER  
WE CAN EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN OUR STRUGGLE.

keith venables 14th July 1978

#### notes

- 1) Big Flame is a revolutionary organisation, information from BF, 217 Wavertree  
Rd., Liverpool 7 or phone Nottm 43145
- 2) National Front
- 3) eg Southall, East End London, Bradford, Bolton.
- 4) WARFS and GAFs Also Gay activist alliance
- 5) Anti Nazi League
- 6) International Monetary Fund
- 7) capital - combined forces of big business and the state (crude definition  
for this article)
- 8) International Socialists
- 9) said Paul Foot
- 10) quote "And now we're in the big league" Socialist Challenge 11th May '78
- 11) International Marxist Group
- 12) and National Party and that currently rising star, the British Movement
- 13) Edgar has written a very popular pamphlet and a TV play 'Destiny'
- 14) eg Chesterton, CARF no 6 recent Socialist Challenge
- 15) GAA (4 above) motion to the Nat'l AntiFascism Conference
- 16) see "Family, Fraternity and Fatherland: the sexual politics of Nazi Germany"
- 17) So is the Tory Party, of course.
- 18) Fred Read, "Why Big Flame offers unconditional support to black autonomy"

General Reading would be Sivanandan in the Race & Class series  
F Gambino Workers Struggles and the Development of  
Ford in Britain  
Proletarians and Money pub this autumn "Alison & Busby"  
A significant analysis that's missing here is the role of the CP.

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I would like to thank "barefooted Julian" for some of the ideas here and  
Keith Paton for info on ANLs backers.

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THE SPECTATOR IS A BEAST |

# MORE ON ANL

On the 21st April the Anti-Nazi League (ANL) held its first Nottingham public meeting. I suppose it could be called a success - a couple of hundred people attended. A contingent from the National Front (NF) came and went without any violent confrontation. But for me the event was not enjoyable or worthwhile. It started off with twenty-odd people standing at the gate, mostly men looking heavy, some with hard hats on (totally useless in a scuffle, but the image . . . ). I wonder if anyone who otherwise would have come to the meeting turned away at the sight of such a welcoming committee? It frightened me and I'm rather large! It was meant to deter the expected coachload of NF supporters. But if I hadn't recognized a few faces it would have given me more than second thoughts. Thankfully the numbers were reduced later but the damage had already been done.

And then into the hall. A slight case of overkill, the hard-sell. The same few posters over and over again. And the speeches, oh dear the speeches! Two things stick in my mind from the speeches. The first was the continuous reference to the chairman and, even worse, lady chairman. The second was the nationalism. The NF should be stopped from using the Union Jack, "I'm British down to my shoes/my heart", "I'm British and proud of it". A number of times with reference to world war two the equation was made German = Nazi. The war was discussed as a simple issue Freedom-Loving-British v Nazi-Germans and people almost boasted about their part in the slaughter. We were told over and over again of the millions who died fighting fascism, of the British peoples' hatred of German bombers. But no mention was made of those German civilians (and conscript soldiers) who were obliterated in Allied air raids or those killed in Russian

concentration camps. If the British people were so willing to go get killed for their king and country why was conscription needed? If the British people were so anti-German why was legislation passed to prevent fraternisation with prisoners of war? If the British state was against fascism/Nazism in principle it could have moved much quicker to bring its development to a halt. The fact is that the second world war, like all others, was based on economics. It wasn't the liquidation of millions of Jews or the suppression of trade unions or the suspension of the most basic human rights that led to the war. It was Germany's expansion into areas of Allied (British) influence. As a speaker from the floor (Workers' Action) said - the second world war was not a war against fascism, that war had already been lost in the thirties.

The ANL is an organization aimed specifically at the NF - seen as a nazi front - not at racist/fascist trends in the Lib/Lab/Tory/C.P. democratic alliance and elsewhere. But this is a very shortsighted view. (If I were a cynic I'd say it was merely established politicians protecting themselves from these NF upstarts.) The NF is the vehicle of those who want facism now, supported mainly by those who are frightened and confused and see the NF as giving instant easy solutions. But it's the others who are more dangerous: those who while campaigning against the NF support parties who are moving further and further to the right in their immigration policies; who maintain a Prevention of Terrorism Act while using terror daily to uphold British rule in Northern Ireland, Oman and Britain; who use Official Secrets legislation to prevent the British people from knowing what every KGB and CIA agent knew years ago; who require everyone to have a state license to do anything from keeping a dog to broadcasting radio signals; who control our morals with blasphemous libel cases, cohabiting rules, "child pornography" legislation and many more; who promise to be tough on law and order and forget justice and the individual; who

despite sex discrimination acts and race discrimination acts are sexist and racist (and agist, nationalist to boot). No, it's not the NF which is the vanguard of fascism - that's just the lunatic fringe. The real danger of fascism lies in those organizations which are gradually increasing the areas of influence and power of the state. The ANL want us

SON... YOUR MOTHER AND I  
WERE HOPING THAT YOU  
MIGHT TAKE A LITTLE MORE  
... ER... RESPECTABLE PATH IN  
LIFE — LIKE BECOME A  
SOCIALIST PERHAPS.



to get rid of the NF. The NF are scabs on the body politic but it's not the scabs that kill you - it's the pus you can't see spreading beneath them throughout the body. Trying to defeat fascism by picking at the scabs will do nothing except provide temporary diversion for those who feel ill. It's the causes of fascism which must be fought, not the symptoms.

Yes, I'll fight fascism. I'll fight the NF (physically if need be). But I'll do it with no illusions. I'll not call for NF meetings and marches to be banned or for legislation against fascists. (The Public Order Act was passed to combat Fascists before the war - it has been used almost exclusively against lefties). Politicians cannot be relied upon to fight fascism: that is up to the people, to us. We must fight through mobilisations, education and organization. But not the type of organization that the ANL has in mind - the state against fascism is a contradiction in terms. To organize against fascism we must work from the bottom. Seeking prestigious support from the big battalions of the Labour movement, and star personalities only reinforces the hierarchy. That paves the way for fascism.

NO MORE HEROES ANYMORE!

## BEHIND MUSHROOM

Most people reading this probably know Mushroom. However, "Nottingham's alternative bookshop" doesn't exist in a vacuum. This article is about two developments in the last few years behind the scenes of the alternative bookworld.

### Federation of Alternative Bookshops

When Mushroom first opened in Arkwright Street in 1972, there were few alternative bookshops in existence, and there was very little contact between them. Over the years many more projects have started, some have closed or metamorphosed into something else. In 1975 people in some shops felt that a federation which would function at the very least as a forum for exchanging ideas and information would be a good thing, a meeting was called, and F. A. B. was formed.

CONT. ↗

14 Eighteen months later, the federation almost died. It's difficult to say why. Inertia, plus the lack of time/energy/money on anyone's part to put into effect any of the ideas that arose, certainly played a part. Often the physical distances between shops prevented any great co-operation - even today the federation member to us is Blackthorn in Leicester, there being no shops in Loughborough, or Newark, or Mansfield, or even Derby.

Lately, however, there has been a big upsurge of interest. The last conference (in Coventry over the Spring Bank Holiday weekend) was the most well attended and lively one yet. This renewal of vigour is due partly to more new and enthusiastic shops springing up, partly to the realisation that many shops have an increasingly active "common enemy" in the form of the fascist brick throwers and firebomb-senders and, behind them, the general political swing to the right in Britain.

What is an "alternative" bookshop, anyway? The sense in which the word is used here is a good deal narrower than that in which it is commonly used (e.g. in Alternative England and Wales). This is best seen by reading the aims of the federation and criteria for membership as defined by the first large conference in 1975:

"AIMS OF F.A.B. To promote and support a network of autonomous worker-controlled radical bookshops making available a wide range of constructive radical literature acting as agitprop centres in their areas and providing solidarity and support to other community groups and projects.

The Federation is intended for bookshops which are

- a) non-aligned radical bookshops
- b) working towards a non-hierarchical internal structure
- c) where any profits are collectively controlled and where no profits are taken out for personal use above a normal wage rate".

A new criterion d) was added at the last conference to the effect that member shops should encourage co-operation and co-ordination between members of the F.A.B. and other radical left bookshops.

One or two comments on this. Non-aligned: the members of F.A.B. draw an important distinction between independent shops and those which, although their stock may sometimes be virtually the same, are ultimately controlled by a particular party. Such shops could not join the federation, though the new criterion d) indicated that F.A.B. members are now more prepared to work with non-members who nonetheless share common problems. Non-hierarchical: there is no requirement, as there is with the Northern

- Wholefoods Co-op., for members to be registered as legal co-operatives, e.g. with ICOM (the Industrial Common-Ownership Movement). The feeling seems to be that if you're working informally in that sort of way it's alright. It's hard to see how a small bookshop could sustain the seven members needed for registration anyway: put simply, there isn't the money in radical books that there is in wholefoods. The average weekly turnover of an average FAB shop is perhaps £300 compared with an estimated £800 for an average wholefood shop member of NWC, which means that most of the living expenses of the bookshop's seven workers would have to come from sources other than the shop.

FAB now has around 40 member shops, ranging from small projects little bigger than a permanent bookstall to the large Grass Roots shop in Manchester. The federation is in a state of flux, and the next two conferences in July and September will have to make major decisions which will either list FAB to a much more active level or let it flounder again. It was felt at the last conference that it would be premature to publicise

the plans and ideas for future action until these major decisions had been made, hence the lack of detail here. One encouraging thing that happened at the last conference can be told, however - two people were present from one of the newest member shops, Just Books in Belfast. If ever there was a town that needed an alternative bookshop . . . 15

#### Publications Distribution Co-operative

Where FAB shops try to remove the retailing of radical literature from commercial outlets, in a sense PDC is trying to do the same for wholesaling. It is a workers co-operative set up in 1976 to help solve the problem of distributing radical literature to various small outlets, something which individual magazines were finding almost impossible as the cost of postage increased rapidly.

In addition to a large range of periodicals (The Leveller, Spare Rib, Undercurrents, Zero, IT, Libertarian Education, Community Action, Radical Science Journal, Women's Report, Black Flag, State Research and many more), PDC now also handle a lot of pamphlets from many different sources (e.g. NCCL, Falling Wall Press, Community Development Project, Friends of the Earth) and a number of books.

With a job Creation grant to help their development, the operation has been building encouragingly, but the complexity of the scheme has naturally meant that problems have occurred. Blunders and delays cause frequent grumbles in the bookshop. Magazines, understandably, put pressure on PDC to take the best-selling ones into commercial newsagents and other outlets, while some alternative bookshop workers, taking as they do very low wages to keep alive outlets for less popular but still important items feel that this is somehow unfair in that it would reduce their own sales if the better-selling magazines were more widely available. PDC have, however, discontinued a mail-order scheme which they operated for a while, as this was also felt to be a threat to the bookshops. To confuse things further, PDC was admitted to membership of FAB in a period of about ten seconds at the end of a session of the last conference which had already over-run . . .

Despite all this, it is clear that without PDC many of the publications would never reach the shops, and hence their readers, at all, and those that did would be likely to be sold at a loss for all concerned (due to the high cost of postage and administration). The biggest circulation magazines (Spare Rib, Undercurrents and The Leveller - if the Leveller would have started without the prospect of PDC being around to handle it) would probably have used independent commercial distributors which - in view of the "soft porn" material most of them survive on and their attitude to small radical outlets - are none too popular with FAB members. To feed an (almost) regular supply of non-sectarian radical literature to most of the main population centres in the country is a considerable achievement, and one on which PDC will hopefully build. They will soon be opening regional warehouses in order to decentralise and improve distribution outside London. They are aware of the powerful position they occupy and have meetings open to magazine and bookshop workers and other interested people. We hope that they continue growing stronger so that they will be able to withstand the heavy repression (following the West German model) which many fear is on its way.

Footnote 2. Anyone interested in discussing issues raised by this article is welcome to come and see us in Mushroom (preferably not on a Saturday). We would particularly like your opinions on how far Mushroom lives up to the alternative bookshop ideal as expressed in the membership criteria, and constructive criticism generally. Also, we will probably be looking for an extra committed corker soon - please come in and talk about it if you're interested.

# QUESTION:

$$(ABC + L + PN + U) \times (DPP + SB + MI5 + HAJ) = ?$$

It's but a few weeks to the opening of the "official secrets" trial of journalists Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell and ex-SIGINT soldier John Berry, due to start at the Old Bailey on September 5th. The whole case throws up issues of great importance - and great state-wobbling potential - and certainly merits close attention.

Just imagine the possible effects on peoples' consciousness of three months experience of the state's totally undemocratic ways of ensuring the security of their so-called "democracy", the revolutionary fervour that so many people might feel if everyone knew that:

- (1) perfectly legal political/trades union/student union activities are the subject of surveillance by the political police not just in exceptional circumstances but as a matter of course;
- (2) people can be threatened with 14 years in jail for just talking about something which, while it may be "officially" secret, could be worked out by anyone from sources available in public libraries - see, for example, the article on SIGINT in the June 1978 issue of the Leveller;
- (3) as a deduction from (2), foreign intelligence officers, assuming they can read English, will know all about SIGINT, and therefore the so-called "threat to national security" involved would be from knowledge of what the state is doing reaching us;
- (4) SIGINT eavesdropping operations are illegal under the International Telecommunication Convention, which Britain has ratified.

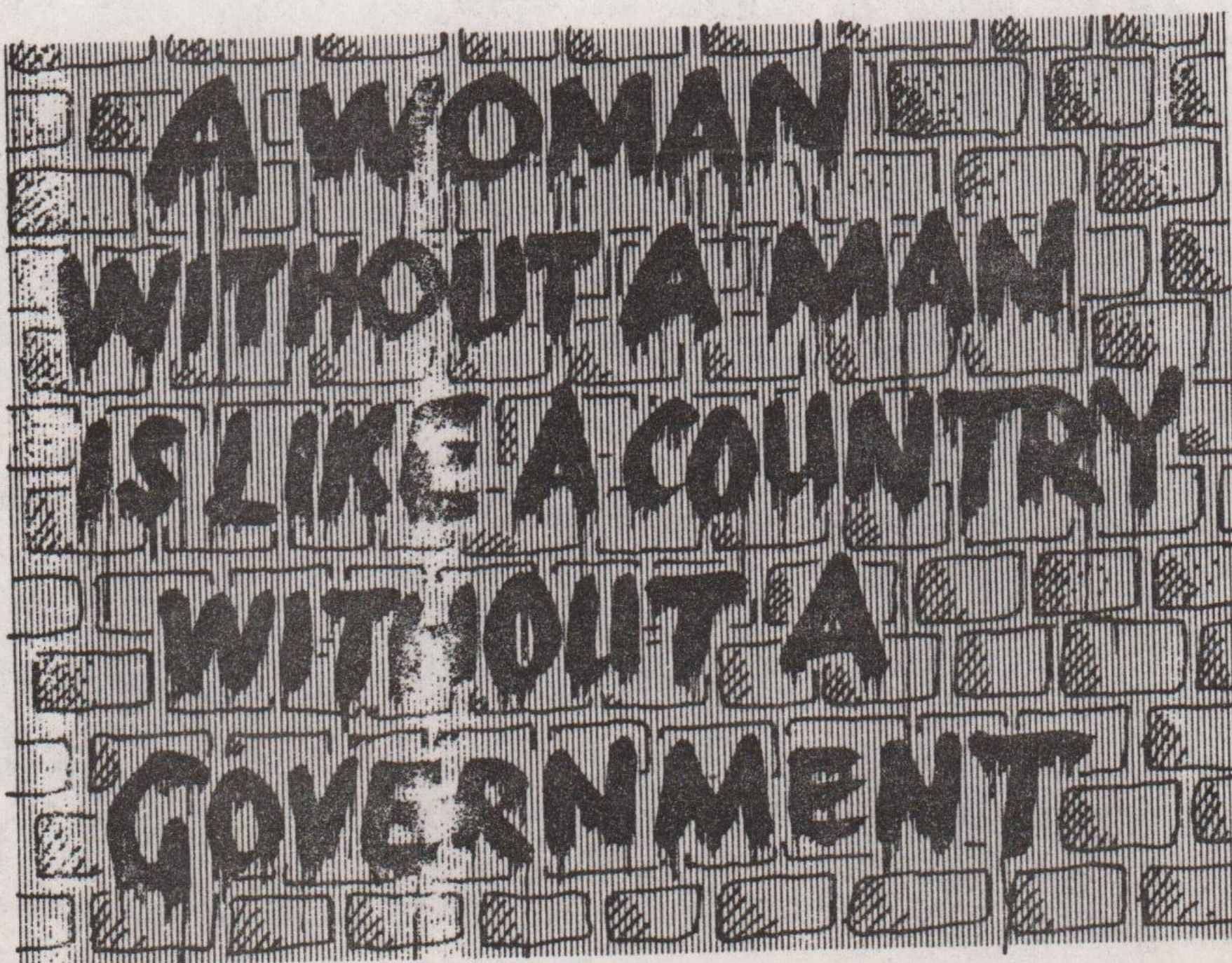
The possibilities are endless - even the naming of Colonel B. caused a constitutional crisis" - but doubtless most of the mass media, taking heed of the Peace News/Leveller/NUJ convictions and the rumoured request from the Prime Minister to play down the ABC case will be very cautious about how they report the trial. It seems likely that the Guardian will give the best daily coverage

but read the papers listed below for a more radical perspective. Let us collect information and use it well - and, in the words of The Leveller, induce apoplexy among a whole alphabet of colonels!

## RECOMMENDED READING

Periodicals: Peace News, The Leveller, Time Out, Nottingham Voice, State Research, New Scientist.

Books: The Political police in Britain (Tony Bunyan), Technology of Political Control (Ackroyd etc., CIA Diary (P. Agee),



Civil liberties (NCC).

You can buy all these at Mushroom, Heathcote Street except for Time Out and New Scientist (which are available from Briddocks, Upper Parliament Street).

And, to be published about when the ABC trial begins, a new completely revised version of BENEATH THE CITY STREETS, the classic of investigative journalism, by Peter Laurie.

#### USEFUL ADDRESSES

Nottingham ABC Support Group, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham.  
ABC Defence Committee, c/o Time Out, Tower House, Southampton Street, London WC2  
tel. 01 - 836 4411

Peace News/Leveller Defence Fund, Box B/HAJ, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.  
Sir Leonard Hooper, 3c Carlisle Place, London SW1, tel. 01 - 834 5172  
MI5, Carzon Street House, Carzon Street, London. tel. 01 - 491 4488 and 01 930 6789

ANSWER:  
14 YEARS. But if u came out of the bracket and set about re-arranging the terms...

## MOBILE PLAYGROUP

The mobile playgroup has been running since March, apart from a longish whooping-cough break, every Monday and Friday afternoon. It grew out of a group of children who were used to playing with each other but not all together, and it tries to meet the need of the parents to get a break from the children, and the needs of the children to play together and to engage in more ambitious activities than are easily done at home with just one or two children.

We are so widely scattered that we have to use a van for picking up and returning the children. This has worked fairly well, although it makes us dependent on drivers and a vehicle, and creates a hectic atmosphere at the start of the afternoon when children, rota-people and materials all burst out of the van together.

We raised a lot of money at a benefit given by Gaffa, and with this we are slowly getting equipment better organised, and are therefore able to plan activities better. This aspect is more important to some people than others - some are content that the kids just play together, others would like more adventurous things to happen through adult fore-thought. This is partly because some people take their children to other nurseries or playschools as well, while others want to avoid that and to develop this playgroup into a real alternative, not just a supplement.

The extent to which the playgroup is, at the moment, "alternative" is very debatable. There is a tacit agreement among the helpers that such things as excessive competitiveness, sex-stereotyping and militarism are to be discouraged, and the playgroup also differs from conventional ones in that the active involvement of the parents is the basis of its operation. But this is as far as it goes.




We meet on Mondays at 20 Corporation Oaks and on Fridays at 30 Colville street. It's been suggested that we should try to meet always in the same place and to involve people from the local community. We have not discussed this idea, so it's not clear what direction the playgroup will take in future. The opportunity of having permanent premises would force us to think hard about this.

The kids are by far the best part of the playgroup, and once people get used to playing with them, not not always leading but sometimes taking up the children's initiatives, being on the rota is a pleasure not a chore. They're full of ideas and imagination, generally getting on well together (although not in a small room on a rainy afternoon). We all have basically the same attitude towards tussles and fights between children, which

is not to interfere unless necessary to prevent injury, but of course everyone has a different idea of when this point is reached.

It's been a great disappointment that the playgroup is run so much by parents, and nearly all of them mothers. We hoped to involve more non-parents and more men, and think this important for the children. We hope to get an exchange of workers going with Ouroboros, but we have failed to organise the rota properly to do this regularly so far. We'd like to hear from anyone, parent or not, who's interested in joining in. We've still got problems, but we're working on them and would like help.

Contact: 

\* WOMEN'S AID REGULARLY PROVIDES REFUGE FOR WOMEN WHO NEED TO GET AWAY FROM PHYSICAL OR MENTAL VIOLENCE FROM MEN.

\* THERE IS OFTEN A LOT OF CHILDREN WHO WOULD APPRECIATE BEING TAKEN TO THE SATURDAY MORNING PICTURES AT THE ODEON. WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO PROMISE WOMEN'S AID THERE'LL BE AT LEAST ONE PERSON EVERY SATURDAY TO TAKE CHILDREN TO THE PICTURES.

\* WOMEN'S AID ALSO HAVE OCCASIONAL SOCIALS AND THEN (AS WELL AS OTHER TIMES) NEED BABYSITTERS.

\* IF YOU COULD HELP OUT WITH EITHER OF THESE NEEDS PLEASE GET IN TOUCH WITH :

JOHN OR KEITH, PHONE 789826

\* WE'D PARTICULARLY LIKE TO GET MEN INVOLVED.