

## BUCHENWALD

The German authorities are planning to build a museum in commemoration of the 32,000 Nazi Party members held at Buchenwald by the Soviets after the war.

Under the Nazis Buchenwald served as a concentration camp in which over 56,000 Jews, gypsies and others perished, a large percentage of them children. After the war, senior Nazis, mainly government officials and businessmen were held at the camp where between 9-13,000 of them died of hunger and disease.

The idea of building a memorial to the captains of Hitler's genocide programme is repugnant. In the context of last month's electoral success for the fascists of the Republikaner Party and the DVU, and with the government doing nothing to halt the rocketing rate of racist attacks, this can only be seen as yet another State concession to the neo-Nazis.

## MOSCOW BOMB

In Moscow, the synagogue and headquarters of the Lubavitch Jewish community has been demolished in a firebomb attack, following daubings of swastikas and anti-semitic graffiti on the walls. While no one was hurt, this comes at a time of increasing levels of racism and growth of the organised fascist parties.

## Programme Cont....

lum-seekers being held at the border. It could mean all Euro anti-racist/anti-fascists mobilising to stop a major nazi gathering, etc.

12.8 Linked with this is the need for the strategy of Euro-wide industrial action. Big businesses proved to be financing or connected with fascists can be very effectively hit if we organise simultaneous strike and/or direct action against the firm's interests in each country.

12.9 As EAFE we will jointly produce a regular European bulletin containing reports on the growth of fascism and the struggle being waged against it in each country. This should be distributed as widely as possible, targeting anti-fascist and anti-racist activists, but also trade union militants, grass roots campaigners etc.. The version of the bulletin in each country would contain a section written by local activists and orientated specifically to the situation in that particular country.

13.1 Internationally. Finally, despite being a "European" movement we are aware that fascism is growing on an international and not just Euro-wide scale. We therefore take notice of developments outside Europe, build links with anti-fascists in those countries, and take action against visits from non-European fascists (e.g. David Duke). Our aim is to become part of an international anti-fascist movement (with a EAFE-style programme) as soon as possible. ▲

# AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS

The first round of the Austrian presidential elections has resulted in the favourite, Social Democrat Rudolf Streicher, falling short of the 50% he needed to win outright. The fascist "Freedom Party" led by Nazi heir Jorg Haider, emerged holding the balance of power with 16.4%. They are now in a position of real bargaining power vis-a-vis the conservative People's Party, who badly need the votes of Haider's supporters in the second round.

Haider is in a good position to reverse the "official" line of the conservatives under which any deals with the fascists are strictly taboo. From there he could ultimately bring down the government, currently formed by a coalition of the Social Democrats and the People's Party. Last November, Haider beat the

People's Party into third place in Austria's capital, Vienna.

Though the outgoing president, Kurt Waldheim, became something of an outcast when his Nazi past was exposed, the evidence suggests that Western leaders knew about his past long before pressure from Jewish groups internationally forced the issue into the open. The People's Party candidate, Thomas Klestil, a former ambassador to the US, did his best to defend Waldheim at that time. Would success for the "respectable" Freedom Party, whose candidate Heide Schmidt became deputy president of the Nationalrat (House of Commons) in 1990, attract the same international disgust today, when fascists are gaining cred all over Europe and the United States?



**Question:** Which of the two photos above shows fascist supporters at Le Pen's Joan of Arc rally on Mayday this year?

**Answer:** Both. This year 3500-4000 FN supporters gathered in a central Paris square to hear the fuhrer speak. Hours later over 10,000 trade unionists and anti-racists demonstrated. No attempt whatsoever was made to confront the Le Pen rally, which as you can see drew support from all sectors of (pure-blooded) French society.

## Sam Swerling: A Bigot Bows Out

The Campaign Against Fascism in Europe would like to extend its congratulations to Sam Swerling, racist bigot, on the occasion of his resignation as Tory councillor. For the first time in his life, it seems, Swerling has done something worthwhile. Now do the right thing Sam, and resign from your lecturer's post in City of London Poly, while you still have the freedom to resign!

Sam Swerling distinguished himself last December as the only Tory elected official to openly announce he was going to meet French fascist leader Jean Marie Le Pen during the latter's visit to this country. Swerling has a long history of Monday Club involvement and during the 1970's had a good working relationship with the National Front.

It seems that hard work by anti-fascists in Hertsmere where Swerling was councillor, and in the City of London Poly is finally paying off. Students at the Poly in particular have been campaigning relentlessly for his removal from the law faculty, and will continue to fight until the dirty bigot goes. Meanwhile, we at CAFE will continue supporting their efforts in every way we can.

Le Pen's visit last December was part of a deliberate attempt to extend his growing fascist

network into Britain. On his arrival it was announced that seven Tory MP's would meet with him. By the end of the week, a week in which CAFE (then the Campaign Against Fascism in France), unleashed the Stop Le Pen campaign with mass demonstrations and a dossier of evidence revealing Le Pen's party as a neo-Nazi organisation, the Tory MP's had not only been frightened away from meeting him, but even refused to give their names.

Had Le Pen succeeded in his aims and met publicly with leading Conservatives here, this would have had extremely grave consequences for people in both France and Britain. His credibility at home would have soared, and the potential for a Le-Pennist movement to form itself in Britain (especially in the context of today's divided Tory party) would have risen dangerously.

Kicking out Sam Swerling sends a clear message to other individuals on the Tory right who would like to see the Le Pen success story repeated here. Those who follow Swerling's path will be hounded just like him - all the way back to the sewer.

## Campaign Against Fascism in Europe

# NAZIS OUT!

Nº 5 May 1992 CAFE PO Box 30, London SE15 5EP 071-277 0817

## Vichy Cleared!

During the Second World War, the Vichy government in France carried out the Nazis' orders to the letter. Now a group of French magistrates have rewritten history and judged Vichy innocent of complicity in Nazi war crimes. And of course no one is happier with this than Jean Marie Le Pen.

The April verdict in which Nazi collaborator Paul Touvier, wartime head of the Lyon Milice, was cleared of crimes against humanity, marks a dark turning point in our history.

For it was not just Touvier himself, responsible for the murder of Jews and Resistance fighters, whose case has been thrown out. Vichy itself has been cleared - officially. The Vichy collaborationist regime was set up by the Nazis after their invasion of France and was headed by Marshal Philippe Petain. Fiercely loyal to Hitler, it was run by Frenchmen who eagerly collaborated with the Nazis. There are several documented cases of Vichy officials ordering the round-up of Jewish children before the Germans themselves had demanded it.

Under the Vichy regime 76,000 Jews were deported, 11,000 of them children. Only 2500 survived.

For years Vichy's biggest monsters were not only allowed to go free, but were able to maintain extremely high positions in society. Maurice Papon, former chief of police in the Bordeaux region under Vichy, was Paris chief of police for decades after the war and even served as a government Minister. In 1961 he was responsible for organising the Paris massacre of over 200 Algerians taking part in a peaceful protest. The demonstrators were beaten to death, their bodies thrown into the Seine.

Rene Bousquet, former Vichy secretary general of the police, also enjoyed a successful career after the war. Today, both Papon and Bousquet remain free, thanks to a justice system that took nearly half a century to catch up with them and continues to (voluntarily) drag its feet.

The three Paris magistrates who cleared Touvier justified their decision on the grounds that the murders committed were "relatively improvised". They did not constitute a crime against humanity, the judges said, because the Vichy regime Touvier served had no policy of "ideological hegemony" and no official programme of genocide.

No doubt the deportation of 76,000 Jews to the Nazi death camps was also "relatively

improvised".

Paul Touvier was hidden by Catholic clerics for 44 years after the war. No doubt the French state, which was prepared to jail Klaus Barbie, hesitates to convict his French assistant Touvier, as well as men like Papon and Bousquet, because of the extent to which the old conspiracy of silence on Vichy's role would be shattered.

It is not just France which tried to cover up official collaboration in Nazi war crimes. Today the British government, for example is dragging its feet over the prosecution of men responsible for atrocities during the Second World War. Many of them were allowed to find refuge in this country under extremely suspicious circumstances. Recently the press has focused on evidence that the governments of Jersey and Guernsey collaborated with the Nazis throughout the occupation of the Channel Islands. Thousands died in the camps built on the islands, where Nazis were rewarded with cigarettes and extra leave for shooting prisoners trying to escape, and where a starving prisoner too exhausted to work was pitched alive into setting concrete.

The Touvier verdict is a huge victory, not just for Le Pen, but for nazis all over the world. As anti-fascists, we will continue to fight so that the truth about Vichy and about all collaborationist governments is known. Above all we must draw the lessons, understanding what this verdict means in the context of today's rise in neo-fascism. In the 1940's respectable "conservatives" backed the Vichy regime (Petain himself was a hero of the First World War). Are the pillars of today's respectable right in France - the politicians, industrialists, top magistrates, etc., - fearful of the economic crisis, looking more and more to Le Pen as the answer to their prayers? And if so, what better way to respectabilise him than by whitewashing his ideological forefathers - Vichy itself?

## ANTI-FASCIST ACTION - POLITICAL PRISONERS

AFA currently has two comrades serving 4 year sentences for anti-fascist activity, with two more facing serious charges. Support from the anti-racist/anti-fascist movement is welcome. Particularly letters and donations should be set to AFA Welfare, BM 1734 London WC1N 3XX.

**NAZIS OUT** is the monthly bulletin of Campaign Against Fascism in Europe

## Chaotic Italy

In last month's "Nazis Out!" we reported on the collapse of the Christian Democrats' 46-year domination of Italian politics in the April general election, and the huge gains made by the openly racist Northern League (formerly the Lombardy League). The latter, despite being a regionalist party, captured 9% of the national vote and will now hold 55 seats in the parliament.

Weeks later the Italian political system remains in crisis, the mainstream parties unable to form a majority. President Cossiga appeared to go into a state of confusion. He called on the Northern League to help him form a government, promising a measure of devolution for northern Italy and real governing power for the League. Needless to say, the racists did not turn down this offer. Almost simultaneously, Cossiga made strong overtures to the Communist Party (now renamed Democratic Party of the Left). They turned his offer down. Less than three weeks later Cossiga himself resigned.

At the time of writing Italy is without a government, prime minister, or president. The country has come perilously close to placing the racist League at its political heart. Cossiga may have been acting out of shameless opportunism or desperation, but there are, no doubt, plenty of individuals in Italy's ruling class who are conscious of the deepening economic crisis and looking over their shoulders with fear at the massive wave of strikes currently sweeping Germany. When the need for racial scapegoats becomes great enough, it is the giants of big business who pour money into the coffers of parties like the League, rocket them onto the political scene, and eventually hand over the keys, confident that the new order will protect what matters most - their profits.



# Draft Programme of Action FOR A EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS ANTI-RACIST ANTI-FASCIST UNITED FRONT

1.1 Therapid growth of racist attacks and fascist parties throughout Europe in recent times requires from anti-racist/anti-fascists the most urgent action in building a militant opposition across Europe. The immediate reasons for this growth are connected most centrally with a decade of general defeats for working class organisations, the collapse of the Soviet Union and east European states, and the deepening global economic recession/depression of recent years. But also it is essentially connected with there being no organised, effective mass working class anti-racist/anti-fascist movement to combat fascism.

1.2 As the capitalist system is plunging the world further into depression, more sections of big business and industrial/monopoly finance will be turning further towards traditional fascist solutions for their crisis, so we can only predict the continued growth of fascism. Success for a fascism that builds on racism means increases in apartheid methods by western capitalist states that culminates in particular with genocide: that is the end logic of nazism. Success for fascism means certain death for many millions well beyond that of the 30's, it means imperialist (nuclear) war and massacre on an unimaginable scale. Words cannot express the importance in building a mass fighting working class anti-racist, anti-fascist united front now! To begin, existing European activists must unite and fight around this programme of action.

2.1 There are five absolutely essential and inter-dependent aspects in our programme of action for any locality, region or country:

- No reliance on the state in fighting racism and fascism.
- No-platform means physical confrontation against fascists, seeking maximum numbers.
- Ideological opposition to racism and fascism.
- Support for organised community self-defence against racist/police/fascist attacks.
- Struggle for the alliance of working class organisations, unions and parties, with those attacked by racists/fascists; blacks, Jews, immigrants, lesbians and gay men, disabled, travellers, etc.

3.1 Each point above depends upon all the others: e.g., self-defence of those communities under attack also means physical and ideological opposition, as well as no reliance on the state, along with mobilising workers groups as part of that physical defence.

4.1 This would be a flexible integrated programme. Some aspects would be prominent over others according to the locality where you live and to changing circumstances. So, in many parts of Germany the direct physical confrontation with organised fas-

cists would take more prominence than in Britain where organised fascism is small. British activists should place more emphasis on fighting police/state racism and racism in general as part of the anti-fascist fight. However, in both countries the whole programme is important. No-platforming of fascists in Britain is essential in keeping them insignificant in general political life, whilst in Germany the ideological combat, self-defence, and fighting for the alliance of workers groups and oppressed groups, must be given importance in order to fight the fascists properly.

4.2 Westress that in those countries where the genocidal threat is ultimately posed to Black and other minority people by the growth of a powerful fascist party, eg France or Germany today, we prioritise the urgency of dealing with that immediate threat over the day-to-day struggle for equal rights and the fight against institutionalised state racism. This does not mean we stop fighting for the latter. It simply means we put most of our resources into tackling the deadly threat posed by a strong, structured fascist party gathering mass support.

5.1 No reliance on the state means what it says! As the capitalist state institutions constantly fan the flames of racism, as fascism is the most despotic and repugnant form of capitalism/imperialism, then it is worse than futile to look to its institutions and structures for a solution.

5.2 In times of economic and political instability, sections of the ruling class turn towards fascism, to smothering and smashing the organisations of the working class by force. A central part of this strategy involves designating certain minorities as scapegoats and applying rigorously the principle of divide and rule. Racism, sexism, homophobia, etc are essential to this. Local councils, courts, parliaments are all used to carry out policies that exacerbate the divisions.

5.3 We are for the urgent defence and extension of asylum rights as denial of asylum can and does mean torture and death for many of those forcibly returned to their country of origin. Along with defending/extending immigration rights, we use militant/direct action methods to achieve our aims, whilst lobbying officials, petitioning, etc, is seen as a supplement to action. We support the fight for equal rights for all minorities including the right to vote for all immigrants in all elections.

5.4 It is necessary to make demands on the state: no access to buildings, parks, etc; no electoral rights, no rights at all; those who engage in racial harassment or attacks on lesbians and gay men must be evicted from council homes; schools must provide anti-racist education, etc. However, we are opposed to the method of anti-racists who concentrate mainly on trying to change laws or the legal situation whilst playing down independent working class direct action. Any reliance on the existing state institutions can

only lead to a mis-channelling of efforts and in the end is an obstacle to building a fighting grass roots anti-racist, anti-fascist united front.

6.1 For a working class united front. On a different scale, both capitalism and fascism attack working class rights, jobs, wages, hospitals, schools, services, etc. As an integrated part of the working class as a whole, anti-racists and anti-fascists support all struggles of our movement, defending its gains and extending its achievements. This is why we support putting real pressure on all authorities for the rights of workers and the oppressed. We support the mobilisation of large numbers to demonstrate, to picket, to occupy council/parliamentary chambers, etc in a militant fashion. Those mass left parties that traditionally claim to represent the working class and oppressed should get the same treatment.

6.2 We particularly take our experience and understanding of the dangers of racism and fascism into the trade unions, schools, football/sports arenas, music gigs, dole houses, tenants associations, workplaces, community groups, etc. We fight for a genuinely independent and stronger working class movement and for it to be united in fighting racism and fascism around our programme of action.

7.1 No platform means no platform! This does not mean we simply pressure 'officials' to ban nazis. It means mass physical direct action to prevent them having any public presence, any meetings, marches, or distribution of their propaganda. As this often means police protection for the fascists, this requires we either tactically outmanoeuvre the police to stop the fascists or we mobilise to go through police lines. We must highlight that the police protect the fascists. Workers should be won to taking strike action against any TV, newspaper, council, etc, that allows any public presence of fascists or their ideas. All comrades arrested will be given full and immediate support.

8.1 Ideological opposition means we explain and prove in our propaganda that fascism is the uglier face of capitalism/imperialism; that it is not only anti-working class, but aims to completely smash the organised working class in the way that Hitler did, first with his SA squads and later using the full force of the national army and the Gestapo. We explain that the fascists real programme for minorities is beyond their threats of mass deportations, increasing apartheid, etc, that it is ultimately genocide. We explain how they attempt to divide and rule us, use scapegoats, operate respectable and thug wings of the same movement. We explain how serious the fascist "women in the home", anti-abortion outlook, actually is. We explain how the capitalist system is responsible for the shortages of jobs, schools, hospitals, homes and other services that we so much need, and that blacks

## REPORT ON EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONFERENCE

On the 8th, 9th and 10th of May, 100 delegates from anti-racist/anti-fascist organisations from most European countries met under the title of **European Anti-Fascists (EAFE)**.

CAFE organised a British contingent of 15 delegates representing CAFE, AFA, Searchlight, LGCARF, Cardiff 3, Muirhouse Anti-Racist Committee, Islington ARAFA and Lothian CARF; along with colleagues from Workers Power, Socialist Outlook and the R.I.L.

CAFE wrote an article in last months 'Nazis Out' bulletin explaining our hopes and our concerns for this conference. Our fears were that the liberal wing of the organisers would dominate the conference in opposition to no-platform of fascists and organised self-defence of those under attack. These fears were well founded and proven when a few weeks before the conference CAFE received the draft manifesto produced by the organisers. It was a manifesto wholly orienting towards Brussels and changing EEC law. Joint 'action' amounted to lobbies and petitioning of MEP's to 'ensure' implementation of EC and United Nations(!) laws on racism and immigration. EAFE was to lobby for money from the EC to employ well-paid full-timers in a European Anti-Fascist movement.

At the conference CAFE produced this draft manifesto in opposition to the organisers' draft. The whole conference revolved around the two manifestos. We lost the adoption of our manifesto by 4 votes, which made the attitude of those who said they supported our position in general but then abstained, giving an apoliti-

and immigrants are falsely blamed for the shortages.

9.1 Organised community self-defence. Those communities under attack must be supported in organising effective physical self-defence against racist/police/fascist attacks. Local trade unions and other workers groups must organise defence units in support. Defence of abortion clinics is one example often missed out. Without effective locally based groups inside our communities, without grass roots bases, then the rest of our programme becomes pointless at the very time sections of big business start financing fascist groups.

10.1 An alliance of working-class people and their organisations with those who are the chief victims of fascism and racism: Black people, Jews, immigrants, gypsies/travellers, lesbians and gay men, the disabled, etc., is absolutely essential. These are the forces with the most interest in defeating the fascists, and only by rallying them will we have sufficient numbers to take on the fascists and their police protectors. The leadership and self-organisation of those sectors of the community in the firing line of racist and fascist attack is vital and we must fight to ensure that these organisations are fully represented in the wider working class movement.

10.2 Our alliance looks particularly to youth (young workers, black youth, etc), who will be first among our own shock troops in the battles ahead. We particularly bring youth into the forefront of our movement.

10.3 We acknowledge that racism, anti-semitism, homophobia, sexism and ablist exist among the very forces we are calling on to build the alliance. We therefore resolve to

combat them wherever they appear, knowing that if left unchallenged, they can tear our movement apart. The left in general must learn to change its ways and spend much more time and consideration forging alliances with black and immigrant communities, along with other minorities.

10.4 We are conscious of the special situation of immigrants in many parts of Europe who will face deportation as a direct result of engaging in our struggle. We make defence of these comrades an absolute priority, knowing that if we don't, our fighting alliance becomes an impossibility in many countries.

11.1 Local and national anti-racist/fascist organisations are often quite divided in many parts of Europe. Around this programme we must make moves now towards overcoming the divisions. But these divisions must be overcome in deeds as well as words and we recognise this cannot happen overnight. Our local/town/borough branches must be fully integrated and based within local working class organisations, into the unions, the black and immigrant groups, community groups, etc; and must organise defence units who need to learn the necessary skills and so on.

12.1 European co-operation. As a Europe-wide anti-fascist movement, we must decide priorities for our movement as a whole. These priorities will be dictated by those areas where racism and/or fascism presents the greatest danger.

12.2 In practise this means that member groups of EAFE, in addition to conducting the fight in their own countries, also come together to focus our resources (money, personnel, equipment etc.) on the areas of greatest need.

cal "talk is useless - we need action" excuse, a real shame. There were also those who said they agreed with us, yet we couldn't talk so openly about no-platform as it could be taken as conspiracy to break the law.

There is to be another Euro-wide conference in the autumn and we hope those who agree with our general approach will make sure they attend! CAFE wants to ensure that this time each group makes reports about the real situation in each country at the beginning, so that any programmatic discussion is more concrete.

CAFE gained more out of the conference than we'd hoped in terms of deepening existing links and making new links with comrades from various countries. The fight for a clear way forward as we have presented in this manifesto, and the building of a mass movement of organisations who agree with us is essential.

### EURO-DISCUSSION BULLETIN

This manifesto, though the best around, is far from perfect and we welcome constructive discussion and improvements to it. We are now presenting this draft manifesto to anti-racists and anti-fascists everywhere for discussion about the way forward. As such we are prepared to produce a discussion bulletin for widespread distribution. Those interested in contributing to this bulletin please keep articles to the point. Deadline for the bulletin is August 31st!

12.3 Taking note of the fact that the fascists (despite their nationalism), operate and build up international networks, we aim to subvert this by direct action. Thus, a visit by the leader of the Vlaams Blok to Holland, for example, would be met by direct "no platform" action by Dutch anti-fascists. This not only interferes with the fascists' attempt to broaden links but also shows Dutch solidarity for the Belgian fight.

12.4 The Group of the European Right (and others technically outside it, e.g. the MSI) constitute a fascist group within the European Parliament. Our movement must organise to take direct action against fascist MEP's.

12.5 As Europe moves further into political unity and harmonisation of anti-immigration legislation (Fortress Europe), we must organise the fight for immigrants' and asylum rights on a Euro-wide basis. Multi-country delegations to lobby the European Parliament are one tactic, but again we do not place reliance on such strategies and look primarily to direct action (with Euro-wide co-ordination).

12.6 Euro-wide co-operation must also take place in the field of intelligence. Information on the movements of fascists across borders should be shared by our movement as a whole. It is also essential that we trace and share information on the flow of money, arms, training and other resources across borders.

12.7 Above all our movement must be capable of organising joint action against racism and fascism. This could mean, for example, anti-fascists from one country crossing to a neighbouring one to re-inforce a no-platform demo there. It could mean EAFE members from two neighbouring countries co-operating to take action in defence of asy-