



in the NF's package in arguments on the shop floor and in the community. But we have to beware of the tendency to argue simply on the level of 'these policies aren't in your interests'. It's like playing the numbers game with immigration facts — sometimes they form part of the argument, but they are not enough. The important thing is for people to realise what the whole of the NF's package represents. We have to understand the way they understand society — their peculiarly fascist philosophy of the world.

The NF explains the economic crisis, not as a crisis of capitalism, but as a crisis of ideas and leadership. This crisis, they say, is due to the decline of the British Empire, which was itself due to the wrong economic policies of the Tories (free trade) and the domination of the world by international financial complexes (which they see inevitably as Jewish). This meant that Britain lost the economic and nationalist benefits of the white Commonwealth, which was composed of people of northern European race. The extreme emphasis on 'racial' solidarity as the basis for prosperity runs through all the NF's economic doctrines:

"The revival of British power is inextricably bound up with our regaining our lost influence in these three key areas." (Canada, Australasia and 'British Africa' — i.e. Zimbabwe and South Africa).

— Britain: World Power or Pauper State, John Tyndall.

This explicitly racist and nationalist view of history is made even more obvious when we recognise that Britain's problems, according to the NF, stem not only out of the inadequate policies and leadership of the Tory and Labour parties, but from 'international finance' and 'cosmopolitan influences'. As is the general trend in NF pronouncements, the attack on these elements is strongest in their most recent document, significantly titled 'Beyond Capitalism and Socialism'. The terms 'international finance' and 'cosmopolitan' are NF code for 'Jew' and in the 'World Power' pamphlet they let the cat out of the bag and openly admit this. They say that international finance has dominated the world through its control of all the world's media ("the 'free press' is in fact the voice of a small number of gigantic publishing corporations with international links and cosmopolitan loyalties".) Later they say that "almost unlimited financial power carries the

Zionist message to Jews everywhere through its hold over every kind of medium of communication". In the more recent pamphlet the link with the Jews is better hidden but that is made up for by the openly anti-semitic articles in their other publications.

Racialism and nationalism, then, are the core of the NF's economics, just as they are of all fascist policies. All their other policies follow from these basic perspectives — import controls and directed investment are required to establish a trading bloc with the white Commonwealth: we should withdraw from the EEC because we would get our raw materials and food from the white countries (including Rhodesia and South Africa); state intervention and regional policies to redirect labour and industry to make us self-sufficient in manufactured goods; financial control to remove international (Jewish) control of the money supply, which removes the need for Labour or Tory counter inflation policies since, without the deliberately created financial chaos of the 'cosmopolitans' we would have no inflation!

Finally their policies on the unions, presently cloaked in the call for greater union democracy (one union per industry, secret ballots, election of all officials, worker participation to stop the 'red agitators') are all required because the NF knows that the greatest and most effective resistance to their policies will come from the labour movement. But if the NF did ever come to power, they would very quickly set up a corporate state which would do away with unions as a form of independent representation of the working class.

## SOCIALIST POLICIES

It is not enough, then, to argue about the practicality of NF policies.

Revolutionary Marxists have to destroy the racist and nationalist ideas which permeate the working class. We have one enormous ideological advantage over the fascists — we can explain that these ideas stem from imperialism and exploitation, whereas the fascists have to resort to irrational, spiritual ideas like 'racial fraternity', 'common destiny' to 'explain' their assumptions. But since we know that racist and nationalist ideas have this material base, we cannot win by arguments alone. We have to develop revolutionary organisations which have the policies and strategies to totally transform the material base of society. So the fight against fascism has to be integrally linked to the struggle for socialism.

**What do the fascists have in store for women?**



# 'GIVE A BABY TO THE FUEHRER'

**WOMEN UNDER HITLER**

THE WEIMAR Republic of Germany before the rise to power of Hitler's National Socialists (Nazis) was a period of great economic and social upheaval. One aspect of this was the growth of an organised women's movement, which challenged the role of women in the male dominated authoritarian family and fought for equal rights. By 1925 there were 11.5 million women in the German workforce. They had won the vote. Many middle class women were entering professional jobs and the universities. Women were also challenging traditional morality and 'respectability' which denied them sexual freedom and controlled every aspect of their behaviour... from having children to what they could wear, to which public places they could be seen in. Women, too, were involved in wider political movements. Women like Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin were in the forefront of the struggles of the socialist movement.

In the economic and social chaos and uncertainty of Weimar Germany — which suffered from the effects of the First World War, high unemployment, and inflation — the aspirations of women, like the aspirations of the working class were seen as yet another sign of moral degeneracy and collapse.

In this situation the fanatical anti-feminism of the Nazi Party found much support. Many of the unemployed thought that it was women workers who had taken their jobs. Many among the middle classes depended upon the women in their family to run their businesses

and farms. All these groups were bewildered and outraged by the threat to their 'moral standards' which women's militancy represented.

When Hitler promised to return Germany to the harmony and tranquility of a mythical golden past, the middle classes were ready to give him support. This not only meant crushing the conflict between classes by destroying the independent workers' movement, it also meant destroying conflict between the sexes by relegating women to the submission of the home and out of public life.

The fascists had taken the first steps towards this end within their own ranks when in 1921, women

were permanently banned from ever holding office in the Nazi Party.

## 'SACRED' SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

Nazi propaganda revived the vision of the sexually and racially pure peasant woman, content to serve her nordic mate by keeping his house and bearing his children.

'Woman is sacred to us in her naturally predestined role and every man has reverence for her vocation (child bearing). She is the guardian of the German race, pure by nature. No less a person that our Fuhrer has restored the German woman to this most worthy and befitting place in the nation.'

If women were 'sacred' in their role of housebound wife and mother, women who rejected such imprisonment became the enemies of purity and sacredness. Even women who smoked, wore make-up or trousers who enjoyed going out, were abused as 'whores' and 'traitresses'. Goebbels set to work to convince women that it was all for their own good. He pointed out:

*'Our displacement of women from public life occurs solely to restore their essential dignity to them.'*

## WORK WITHOUT WAGES

Firstly, women had to be forced out of their jobs. Amongst working class women this wasn't so easy. Employers, whatever their attachment to Nazi philosophy, were much more swayed by their wallets. And

■ The desire of women for equality was labelled by the Nazis as a 'Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy' infecting Germany. Women's true equality, said Hitler, could only lie in women performing the role which nature had given them — service to men and bearing children.

■ When they came to power, the Nazis made the display and advertisement of contraceptives illegal. Birth control clinics were forced to close. Abortion became an act of sabotage against the state and Germany's racial future, and carried jail sentences of 15 years or more for doctors who performed them.

■ After the Nazi seizure of power, married women doctors and civil servants were dismissed. 'A woman's place is in the home'. From 1936 they were barred from the legal system and couldn't serve on juries as 'they cannot think logically or reason objectively, since they are ruled only by emotion'.

women were cheaper to employ than men. A *skilled* female worker cost only as much as employing an *unskilled* male worker. On top of this women were a vital part of the economy. They represented 37% of the total workforce in 1933. One in two agricultural workers were women, and in many industries, e.g. catering, women were 60% of the total workforce. However, the Fascists made some headway in reducing the numbers of married women employed.

Similarly women were being excluded from education. In schools many married women teachers were dismissed. At the same time the content of girls' education became more geared to domestic subjects like cooking, household management, etc.

The numbers of women allowed to enter college and university were drastically cut. The state ruled that there should be only one woman to every ten men. To discourage women still further a compulsory 'domestic year' was introduced. Girls of 18 were forced to work for one year on a farm or as a domestic servant in return for bed and board. No wages were paid.

#### CHILD FACTORIES

The fascist state needed children, preferably sons, to redress the falling birth rate and as plentiful supplies of cannon fodder in the army.

The question of whether or not to have children and how many was not a matter that the Nazis thought women should have any say in. It was a duty to the state, and the state was all-powerful. This state coercion to breed was dressed up in the most sickening mother cult propaganda. Producing children was the condition of woman's citizenship. Childless women did not rank as fully paid up members of the Nazi state.

Motherhood was elevated to a glorious vocation. The 'Give a baby to the Fuehrer' campaign appealed to patriotism and duty in order to force upon women a battery hen existence. The German state was proud of childbearing women in the same way the peasant is proud of his prize cow. Every year on Hitler's mother's birthday the German Mother's Cross was awarded to women who had produced large broods. Much like the rosettes pinned on animals at cattle shows, this cross was graded according to numbers: bronze for four children, silver for six, gold for eight. The motto on the cross was 'The child ennobles the mother.'

■ Restrictions on contraception and abortion, the sickening racism which is so deeply rooted in everyday life, are normal features of capitalist society. It's just that fascism takes the brutality, the chaos and the personal isolation of capitalist society to their extremes — and that includes the subjugation of women.

#### OFFSPRING

The state refused permission for marriages where the age of one partner made producing children unlikely. Childless marriages were often 'persuaded' to divorce so that the partners might 'produce' with somebody else. Young girls going out with soldiers were urged to become pregnant before their boyfriends were sent to the front — that way they could churn out the maximum crop of offspring. This was the essence of Fascist 'equality' for women.

#### RACIAL PURITY

'What was expected of her' went beyond the mere production of 'quantity'. The state demanded 'quality' offspring. To Hitler's Nazis quality meant 'racially and physically' pure stock. To this end women were told who they could 'mate' with and who they could not. Such regulations were summed up in 'the law for the protection of German blood and honour' (1935). Marriage and sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans were prohibited. The penalty was penal servitude. Jews found guilty of thus 'defiling' the German race were executed. This grotesque doctrine extended beyond race to cover the mentally and physically handicapped, the blind and the deaf, all of whom were compulsorily sterilised. Anyone who escaped sterilisation and became pregnant had their embryos immediately aborted.

#### LYNCHED

The ban on sexual relations extended to cover all other nationalities. This included the many thousands of Poles, Russians and French who were forcibly conscripted to work in Germany during the war, as well as the prisoners of war. German women who worked alongside these men in factories and farms were expected to regard them as being of inferior racial stock. Obviously they did not — for the

only way the state could enforce its hideous ruling was by horrendous punishments. In 1939 sexual relations between German women and foreigners were put on an equal footing with sabotage and disruption against German military potential. Women who committed this supposed 'offence' had their heads shorn, were put in public pillories or sentenced to periods of hard labour. The men concerned were often lynched by local Nazi party officials in the name of racial self defence.

One further task was assigned to women in their production of racially pure stock. They were expected to indoctrinate their children with the Nazi philosophy. Mothers were to be the first moulder of the child's mind into the doctrines of Fascism — the boys to become soldiers — the girls mothers of soldiers — both the tools and property of the state. Women were expected to do this even down to the last detail of explaining their own inferiority. Even the Nazi women's league had to complain that 'A son, even the youngest today laughs in his mother's face. He regards her as his natural servant and women in general as merely willing tools of his desires and wishes.'

#### RESISTANCE

What happened to the women of Germany under the Nazis is an example of what fascism does to all exploited social groups. The Nazis smashed a strong and vital women's movement in Germany. They crushed it just like they crushed the trade unions and political parties of the workers' movement as a whole. After that people who might have wanted to resist found it almost impossible to do so. Once people are isolated from one another and have no *organised* way to fight for what they want, it is very difficult for them to oppose the fascist's police regime — the state really appears to be all powerful.



Every year on Hitler's mother's birthday the German Mother Cross was awarded to women who had produced large broods." A ceremony in Berlin.

THE NAZIS in Germany gained much of their support from the traditional right wing, by expressing 'concern' about 'moral degeneration' in the country. In the same way the fascists of today strongly oppose the womens liberation and gay liberation movements. In their terms signs of this same 'moral degeneration'. They seek a return to 'old style' authoritarian family life, with its repressive sexual morality, and women and children firmly 'in their place'. This is just one aspect of their philosophy, which denies people genuine control over their own lives and makes them subordinate to an all-powerful state.

In two recent articles in 'Spearhead', the National Front have made their position plain. In the first one 'The feminine condition' the writer attempts to make his attack on Women Liberation sound convincing by using the writing of right wing biologists and psychologists to back up his views — in much the same way that fascists have done with ideas of racial 'superiority.'

He attempts to prove that the 'roles' that men and women are expected to play are not due to the way people are brought up, and what is expected of them, but to their physical differences which completely determine their behaviour.

# Women— Beware of the National Front

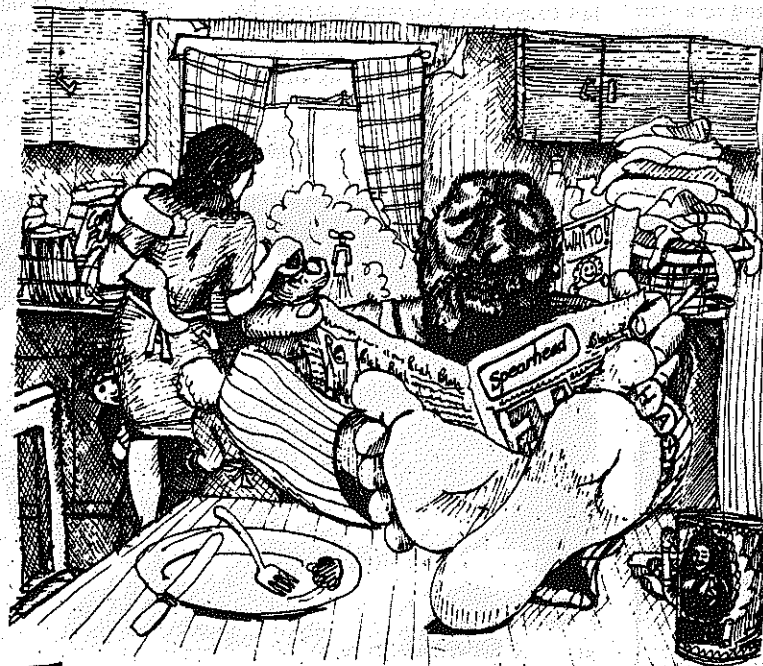
(Just as Jews in Nazi Germany were described as the 'syphilis of the nation' because they were said to be biologically inferior.)

He claims, on 'scientific' evidence that 'masculine' and 'feminine' brains cause us to think differently, women, of course being less capable of rational thought. A good excuse, if ever the NF came to power for giving girls a second rate education, and excluding women from jobs where rational thinking is required.

He asserts that the tendency towards aggression in men is not just that they have been taught 'to be tough', and to reject anything that may seem 'feminine' but is caused by a 'high concentration of androgens in the body'. 'Power, resistance, energy, combativity, the hunting instinct, the itch to conquer and dominate' are all supposedly male characteristics, a convenient explanation for 'masculine' pursuits such as rape, where the male urge to dominate and conquer is being displayed — proof of being a 'real man'. Of course, this view of masculinity also serves to glorify the thuggish activities in which the National Front takes part.

His view of women on the other hand, is that they are characterised by 'submission, passivity, sensibility, tenderness and intuition'. Perhaps he never saw pictures of Vietnamese or Angolan women fighting in their national liberation struggles.

This view of women provides for the National Front, and other fascist groups, the explanation of why women should be denied any other place in society than in the home, in fact it gives them the



*Family Life 'NF Style'*

(From a leaflet of Hackney Committee Against Racism and Hackney Socialist Feminist Group.)

opportunity to glorify this position, as the 'spiritual' heart of the traditional family, rather than someone at everyone's beck and call, whose working hours never finish.

We are told, however, that women's material dependence on men is compensated for, by a 'variety of psychological and sentimental influences' that she exerts over the man. In other words, in the fascists' 'ideal world', the woman has no place in society in her own right, but must try to gain the things she wants by manipulating her male acquaintances!

In the second article the NF leader John Tyndall puts all this 'scientific' evidence to good use. He piously suggests that the church, particularly those members of it that have attacked his organisation, should be more concerned about this country's 'moral sickness'. This 'sickness' is apparently due to the 'breakdown of family life' in Britain, the 'growth of one parent families' and the 'irresponsible' behaviour that leads to them.

Many people, such as the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (an anti-abortion organisation), members of the Festival of Light, or traditional conservatives look back sentimentally to a time when 'Christian

values' ruled the family. The NF wants to influence these people in order to swell their own ranks. Of course what went on under the surface of Christian family life is not to be talked about — illegal backstreet abortions resulting in the death of thousands of women, mothers with 'illegitimate' children treated as outcasts without the possibility of keeping themselves alive; homosexuals, jailed and hounded, and for the majority of women complete and utter dependence on their husbands. This is the 'good old days' to which the NF would have us return.

Their desire to influence the Mary Whitehouses of this world can be seen in the following statement 'Our literature and theatre with the encouragement of TV, have become cesspits in which all manner of moral depravity and perversion abound. Presumably the 'perversions' to which they refer are not their own racist and sexist ideas!

Finally we read that they 'do not accept the rocketing rate of illegitimacy' and nor will they attempt to 'make life easier' for those who 'breed illegitimate children'. Here again we see what their so-called morality really

means — not to ensure that all children have a decent standard of living, but to make life impossible, materially and socially for women who, for whatever reason, find themselves outside the family situation. Especially where women have actually chosen this way of life.

Of course, even without NF interference, women cannot easily choose to live independently. But what the NF want, as did their German Nazi friends, is to reverse the gains that women, through their struggles, have made.

There are several reasons why the NF adopt these positions. On an immediate level, whether or not they adopt this strict morality for themselves, they hope to gain the confidence of the traditional right wing, who do believe in it.

In the longer term, they know that in a fascist regime, the authoritarian family with its emphasis on sexual purity and women submissively in their place, is a necessary part of political control. And the opposite is also true — that the demands of women's liberation and gay liberation, which are attempts to bring women's and gays' lives under their own control, would present the fascists with an intolerable threat.

THE CONCEPT of the strong fascist state is a society built around strong, white men. The family would be the basic institution of society and everything would stem from this. Women would be chained in the home and their only role would be to breed a super-race of men who would rule over them. Women have been organising against their oppression but fascist ideology would chain and oppress them in a way that no other does now.

### THE GAY MOVEMENT

Because gay people don't fit in with the fascist scheme of things they are likely to face the first onslaught from the fascists. They are likely to be physically attacked because women daring to go out alone or with other women, dressing, living and loving how they like, goes against the image of women as feminine breeders that the fascists are determined to create for everyone.

Gay people, even if non-political, are anti-fascists. If you explain to a non-political lesbian what the fascists expect of them they know they could never be a part of a society which demanded that of women.

### LEFT GROUPS AGAINST FASCISM

It is very inadequate the way the male left organises against fascism. They only fight on a limited number

*In this article Big Flame talks to a woman involved in Manchester in the Longsight/Levenshulme Women Against Fascism Group.*

# WOMEN FIGHT FASCISM

of issues. They concentrate on racism but ignore the broader aspects of fascism like the fact that trade unions would have no power or the position of women in the home and the violent reaction fascism creates in people against blacks, Jews, women and gays.

Their way of organisation is very alienating. The assumption behind most meetings is SMASH THE FASCISTS. Therefore, the discussion revolves around tactics and there is no room to discuss the wider implications of fascism and a whole range of ways to organise against fascism. Also there is a lot of infighting amongst different left groups and the meetings tend to be heavy and angry and only the most articulate get a say.

All the demonstrations are very heavy and angry. I believe that socialist have a lot to offer and we should reflect that in our actions. We should put over some positive aspects of our politics, showing that we want a society based on mutual trust.

Most anti-fascist groups are white males. This is because they don't challenge their own racism and sexism. They project the fight against racism as somewhere out there, not as something that concerns them as individuals. This is obvious in the way meetings are organised. There is no account taken of language difficulties or lack of education. A lot of black people are excluded from contributing. The Women's Group sees the need to



work in mixed groups and go as a pressure group to make proposals and hope that some of our proposals are taken up.

### WOMEN ORGANISING AGAINST FASCISM

Organising against fascism in women's groups definitely helps. When you are among women you can raise problems that you don't understand and you don't need to be so articulate and loud. There is more trust and understanding. This trust also helps at pickets and demonstrations. It is important to organise women's contingents so that we can put across our politics in our way and at the same time be surrounded by women who you trust to support you. This is important because the left is so disunited and unimaginative that you cannot rely on their actions and tend to get lost in a crowd.

We also need to organise in non-violent ways which gain the support of the mass of the people and allow these people to demonstrate their support for the anti-fascist movement. Women are more sensitive to these ideas.

### NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS?

I used to disagree with this slogan but now I realise that they should not be allowed a platform for their policies. We must develop mass action so that the community won't let them on the streets and the workers won't let them use

buildings for meetings. This means getting support of porters in public buildings, brewery workers to put pressure on pubs etc.

### WOMEN CONFRONTING FASCISM

If we developed enough support violence wouldn't be necessary, but at the same time we have to prepare ourselves and be able to defend ourselves. It is important for women to be competent at self-defence. Also we should get away from the image of women as weak; we should act tough sometimes and not always look for a man to protect us. It's the fear of physical violence that makes us feel weak, not our physical ability. We should fight this fear and act as stewards and bodyguards for each other and for black comrades being harassed.

We have proposed in the mixed anti-fascist group that a support system is set up for Asians in Levenshulme being attacked. It's interesting that it's women suggesting this as our role is one of support and care. But at the same time it will probably be the women who carry it through and we want to frighten off the thugs.

### BUILDING A MASS CAMPAIGN

We started street meetings. We rejected the idea of grabbing a loud hailer and shouting at people. We got a large piece of paper and wrote on it, "Don't you think the National Front are liars". We gave

out leaflets and invite people to write what they think. This makes people stop and gives time to talk to them. It also encourages people to participate which is important. We can explain and challenge the propaganda of the Front.

The types of leaflets we write are simple and chatty. We also think it is very important to go round and visit people individually and talk about our ideas.

We should think about occupying buildings where the Front are holding meetings and mass sit-downs in front of their marches. We could organise so that we are well-covered by the media. People would see that we aren't thugs and that it's not us that provoke violence. This obviously has its dangers so it is necessary to organise a lot of people who you can trust. This is where women's contingents come in. We can set an example of solidarity and discipline to the rest of the left.

Our demonstrations should be joyful. We should write songs and organise festivals where people enjoy themselves and are politically educated at the same time. We must show that we want a multi-racial society and enjoy the diversity of cultures.

The white women in our group also feel the need to challenge and understand their own racism and we are organising a consciousness raising group to discuss this and educate ourselves. By understanding the roots of our own racism we can more easily combat it in other people.



New Cross Rd. Anti-racists.

Peter Marlow (Camerawork)

# the national front and youth

"I recall the picture of another youth, belong to another age, and the standard bearers of another spirit, their bodies as lithe and muscular as these were as unmasculine and feeble, their faces aglow with boyant health as these were pale and dissipated, their voices echoing not to the gruesome wailing of the African bush but the proud martial airs of their European fatherland..."

*John Tyndall, 1965, Beatlomania'*

The National Front have received a lot of publicity about their recent effort to establish a youth wing, but this grotesque vision of a young militia has been at the centre of Tyndal's strategy for a long time. Over and over again, NF propaganda stresses the need for 'character' and will — all problems, they say, can be solved if only the right people are in command, and these are the people with a truly British nationalist character:

"Clearly only a new type of citizen, the product of a new type of education, will save the Western nations from their own self destruction."

*(page 1 Education for National Survival, NF pamphlet)*

## YOUNG NATIONAL FRONT

The formation of the Young National Front is a logical outcome of the movement's fascist policies, and their latest publications of spotting and 'combating Red Teachers' is their effort to inculcate the basis of a fascist ideology into young people.

The vast majority of the pamphlet is devoted to simplified versions of the whole of the NF's fascist ideology, cleverly dressed up as a reply to the anti-British communism dished out by marxist teachers (which includes people who think of themselves as liberals, according to the NF). Such arguments are not aimed at the unthinking psychopaths the left depicts as the standard NF member. They are aimed at people who may well employ violence, but for whom the vision of an authoritarian community is the strongest appeal. So we should be aware of the ideas and the method that are employed in this major effort to recruit a young fascist cadre.

The method is simple. They say they are simply offering counter arguments to the liberalism/marxism which most teachers put up in sociology, economics, history and general

studies. This way the Front puts itself in the most reasonable light — simply trying to contribute to open debate in the classroom. The NF says the Marxists are the indoctrinators, something which all upstanding youth and their parents would surely oppose. The Front, on the other hand, would have no truck with this:

"There is no justification in NF teachers trying to teach their pupils NF beliefs or to recruit them to the NF. We do not encourage our teachers to do this" (Page 1, 'How to combat red teachers')

In keeping with the 'reasonable' approach, the pamphlet avoids the racist rhetoric of most NF publications, and seeks to quote books and pamphlets, using the word 'Professor' wherever possible to authenticate its views. Richard Verrall, the NF number three, outlines the strategy:

"When we are knocking at the gates of power in Britain, there will be a new generation, the 14 and 15 year olds who are joining us now. They will see us for what we are, a new force, a virile force. And when that happens they won't give a damn who was a fascist and who was a Nazi." (quoted in *CARF, paper of the Campaign against Racism and Fascism, no 3 page 11*)



## MARXISM IN SCHOOLS

The content of the pamphlet covers the ways that the Front thinks Marxism is introduced into schools. When historians study, say, the Russian revolution (merely a guide for indoctrinating Lenin into the pupils) the NF youth is to suggest a study of Franco in Spain. When sociologists suggest that poverty is due to bad social conditions, the NF youth are to point out that, yes, there are some bad things about the present organisation of society, but the crucial factor determining a man's position is his genetic and racial constitution. This is 'proved' by the fact that some murderers come from privileged homes, and by the allegation that Third World countries have not developed their natural wealth, because they are 'genetically inferior.

Marxism is introduced into economics, they say, by teaching the doctrine of free trade, attacking private enterprise and favouring socialist economics. The fact that many socialists in the Labour and Communist parties themselves attack free trade is overlooked. The NF youth should not defend international monopoly capitalism or laissez-faire economics (the doctrine that the system prospers best with no government intervention). They are to argue that socialist systems are inefficient compared to the form of capitalism the NF favours — private enterprise where the genetically superior build up the most prosperous industries without government interference. The fact that this contradicts the other economic policies of the NF — strict control

of the money supply to stop inflation, import controls to protect our industry — is darkly alluded to in the statement that:

**"Private enterprise will be allowed to work because it is the most efficient system but it will be allowed to work to the extent that, and for as long as, it serves the national interest" (p4.)**

All of this is as illogical, circular and factually incorrect as the rest of the pamphlet. But the important point to remember is that fascism does not rely on logic, fact or reason. Sometimes fascists are explicit in their denial of the need for intelligent thought. This is illustrated by Tyndal's statement that a flag, a marching column, the sound of a drum, a banner, or the impression of a crowd do not "contain a single argument, one single piece of logic... (but) they are recognised as being among the things that appeal to the hidden forces of the human soul" and are far more impressive than "a speech or a printed article" (talk on 15th July 1973). But they cannot get by simply with their banners and drums and the hidden forces of the soul.

They need to appear to have a reasonable case - a reasonable set of policies for 'solving the crisis,' a reasonable argument for establishing the racial nationalism at the centre of their thought, and, finally, a reasonable argument for denying the validity of the whole of Western rational thought. This is what their pamphlet sets out to do.

**"Our movement is well aware of the need for great national changes..**

**particularly changes of a nature which will restore the moral fibre of our past days of greatness"** (page 22 'Beyond Capitalism and Socialism' NF pamphlet)

So it's no surprise that the Front has launched a campaign to recruit young people — it needs a reservoir of activists, but more importantly it needs to fill impressionable minds with the nonsense that passes as nationalist ideology. It knows that working people may well go along with the racialism of the NF, but won't swallow the claptrap about the international conspiracy of Jews and communists undermining our moral fibre. But this paranoid world-view is an essential part of the Front, just as it was for Hitler's Nazi Party, and to create a fascist movement they must fix these ideas in young people's minds.

## RACIAL INFERIORITY

The core of the pamphlet, and the core of all fascist ideology, is the section on 'Multi-racial propaganda':

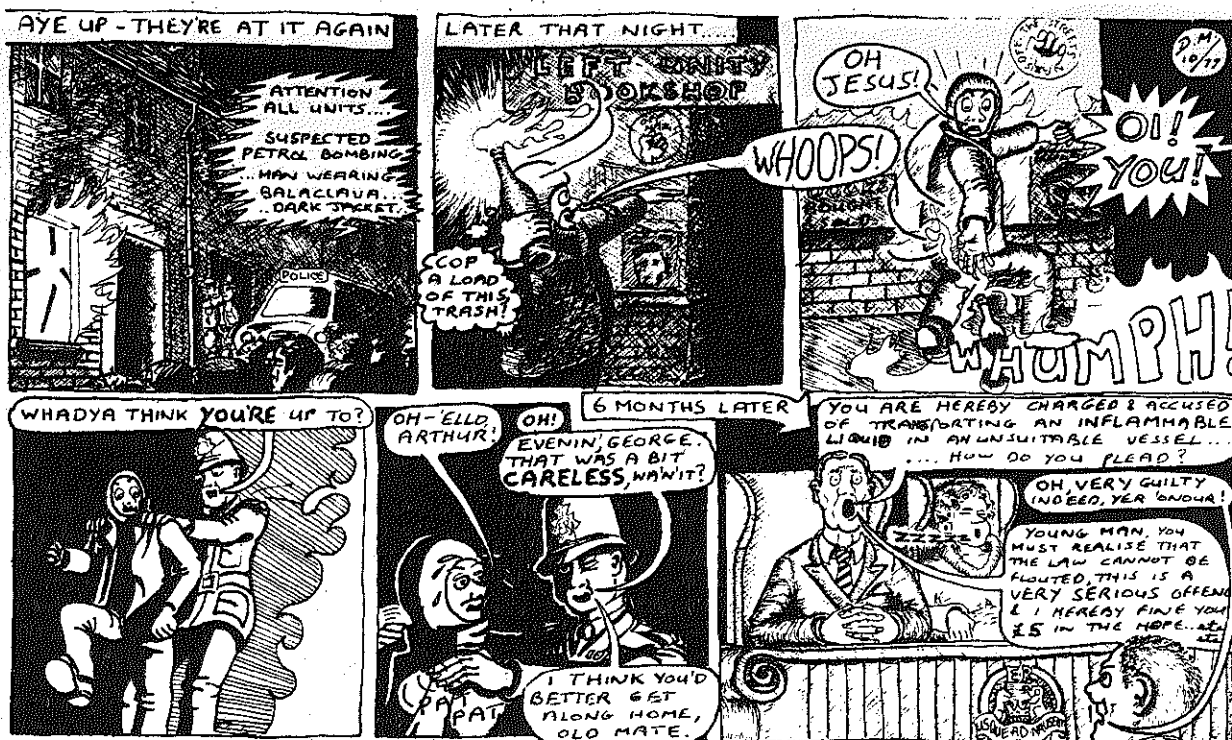
**"It is the National Front's view that genetic factors are the primary ones determining human development and that social and economic factors are only secondary to these. We believe that different races have widely differing capacities for development and that those same differences of capacity apply between different individuals within the same race, depending on inherited characteristics."**

A mound of literature is cited to support this absurd view, including the work of people like Eysenck, Shockley and Jensen -

John Sturrock (Report)







the former being perhaps the best known, British psychologist.

The fact that the original research on which intelligence testing has been based was found to be fraudulent; that the twin studies used to support the idea that 'environment' is less important than 'nature' are totally inconclusive; and that the social biases in the present tests which Jensen uses to allege that black kids are less intelligent than white make the tests worthless - none of this, of course, is mentioned. Instead dubious historical arguments are used to suggest that black nations cannot progress because of their racial inferiority, and that Britain is responsible for what little progress the NF thinks they have made.

The last sections of the pamphlet include a denial that Britain should aid the Third World, the claim that Nationalism is the only way to end war, and the little known 'facts' that the average Russian was richer before the Revolution than after and that the Revolution was financed by Jewish bankers and concludes with rebuttals of the anti-NF propaganda that the NF is Nazi, contains criminals and practises violence.

## VIOLENCE

This is far more insidious than the obviously repugnant attempt to encourage violence against black people among the so-called "football hooligans". We anti-fascists have made a lot

of mileage out of the 'bother boy' image of the NF, and this was used in the Labour Party broadcast against the NF:

"They go around to all the youth wings you know. They go around and look to see the blokes and they say 'You look a hard case, do you want to be in the NF' They don't go to someone and say 'You look clever, you know what we are talking about, do you want to join us?' It's only blokes that want a punch-up. Other than that they don't want to know"

*(football supporter interviewed by Joe Ashton)*

It's true that the fascists want hard-cases. They need people who are willing to use violence against black people and against the left, because this violence is the way they gain publicity and impress their supporters and potential supporters with their strength of purpose. More importantly, they need the equivalent of Hitler's storm troopers.

But they also have to create a new set of ideas, new ways of looking at the world. Hitler did not just beat and trick his way into power. He had a massive popular movement behind him, one which inspired millions of people. The inspiration was that of race, the sense of community which comes from unflinching devotion to the common ideal of a pure race, held together by an all embracing state, personified in its leader (the Fuhrer or Father)

The Hitler Youth created this sense of community and devotion by its camps, marches, sports, songs, uniforms, flags, drums, and its education programme

## RESPONSE OF THE LEFT

We cannot just hope that youth will not be impressed by these arguments. We must start putting into schools propaganda that makes clear how far away the authoritarian society of the NF is from the aspirations and needs of young people. The 'No Freedom, No Fun, No Future' leaflet of the Anti-Nazi League is a useful beginning. It will be up to the local committees to make sure it is used and followed up.

Sources: NF publications  
*Beyond capitalism and socialism*  
*Education for national survival*  
*How to combat red teachers*





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