

S.B. No. 1 (Plain)

Special Report }

S.D.S.

METROPOLITAN POLICE

SPECIAL BRANCH

31st day of March 1981

SUBJECT

1. The following information has been received from a reliable source:

2. "On Saturday 28th March 1981, from 10.30 am until 5 pm at the Polytechnic of Central London, 18-22 Riding House Street, W1, the Anti Nazi League held its 1981 National Conference. Some one hundred and fifty persons were present.

3. The pre-lunch session was chaired by Ernie ROBERTS, MP who, after a brief welcoming address, introduced Privacy from Birmingham ANL who spoke about the fire-bomb attack on the Socialist Workers' Party bookshop in that city on the previous evening. She said that it was considered to be the work of a National Front member who was also responsible for a recent crossbow attack on an Asian. Privacy added to this by announcing that when the woman, whose body had been found in the burnt out car, had been identified, the ANL would send a telegram of condolence to the relatives.

4. Peter HAIN, the National Treasurer of the ANL, informed the Conference of the financial straits of the League. After his speech HAIN departed saying that he had to attend a stewards' meeting in Putney concerning proposed hospital closures in the area.

5. A report on the activity of the ANL since the last Conference in 1979, the current state of the 'Nazis' and an outline of proposals (a precis of the Report to 1981 Conference attached to this report), was given by Privacy. He then went on to say that the ANL would support the 'Peoples' March for Jobs' from Liverpool to London, culminating in a concert at which the "Who" will perform on 31st May 1981. This is in order to recruit unemployed youth rather than let them fall into the clutches of the British Movement.

6. Ernie ROBERTS then invited individual delegates to speak about their particular ANL groups and any

problems they might have. A number volunteered, including:

- a) Privacy from Hackney, outlined the growth of Nazi groups in the locality and stated the obvious, that the ANL would have to multiply in order to combat their threat.
- b) Privacy, a teacher from Islington, said that members of the NF and BM 'peddled their racist filth' in Chapel Street Market. She went on to say that recently she managed to buy some of their publications before being recognised and chased away. These she took to a meeting of the National Union of Teachers forcing those present to read them, an act of which she seemed quite proud.
- c) Privacy from Streatham, informed the Conference of the new NF headquarters in Streatham and asked for support for a march through the area planned for 2nd May 1981.
- d) Privacy from Leeds stated that coloured youths were now afraid to frequent the town centre at night for fear of being attacked.
- e) Privacy, a teacher, also from Leeds said that in local schools the 'Nazis' were recruiting in greater numbers than ANL.
- f) Privacy from Hatfield highly praised the leafletting of the football terraces on the 21st March and urged that the practice be maintained.
- g) Privacy from 'Tottenham Against the Nazis' agreed with Privacy adding that in future a coach will be organised for away fixtures of that club.

... / ...

h) [Privacy] from the NUM (Kent area) said that the correct method of fighting the 'Nazis' was by political methods and not through physical violence. His views were not well accepted.

7. The next topic on the agenda was 'Youth' with [Privacy] from the Sheffield National Union of School Students the speaker. His text was based on the passage headed 'Youth' in the 1981 National Conference Declaration (also attached to this report). [Privacy], a teacher from Islington, was of the opinion that teachers should encourage their pupils to carry out ANL work outside school gates as well as inside.

8. Concluding the pre-lunch session, [Privacy] summed up by agreeing with what all the speakers had said.

9. After lunch the chairman was [Privacy] who introduced John TILLEY (phon) MP, who decried the Nationality Bill. Then [Privacy] of the Indian Workers Association introduced the subject of racialist attacks both by Nazis and the police. His tirade was interrupted by spasmodic applause from the floor and received tumultuous applause at its conclusion. Other speakers on this issue were [Privacy] and [Privacy], a member of the Communist Party.

10. [Privacy] spoke on the theme of racist attacks after which a representative (called [Privacy] (phon)) from the Deptford Massacre Action Committee gave an emotive account of the murder of thirteen young blacks and of the police 'cover-up'.

11. At this stage, due to bad chairmanship by [Privacy] [Privacy], speakers became involved in arguments and there was much criticism from the floor. Furthermore, at this stage, about half of the delegates had left.

12. Having been silent throughout the proceedings, [Privacy] was at last invited to speak. She gave a witty account of her involvement with ANL saying that like her father, who was in Hitler's 'Black Book', she was, together with Peter HAIN and [Privacy] on the Blacklist of the National Front. She said that she

... / ...

had received threatening letters, with enclosures of razor blades and excrement, but though she had reported this to the police, 'nothing had happened'. She advocated that physical violence should not be used to resist the Nazis.

13. Final talks about the more mundane activities of the ANL were given by [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED]

Privacy and Privacy A delegate from Portsmouth asked for support for a counter mobilisation against a National Front march planned to take place in Portsmouth on Saturday 4th April. Those attending were asked to assemble at the A.B.C. car park, Commercial Road, Portsmouth, at 1 pm.

14. After some argument, the 1981 National Conference Declaration was put to the vote and accepted.

15. The penultimate item on the agenda was the re-election of the Steering Committee. [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Privacy had decided to stand down and [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] Privacy and Privacy were nominated for election. Again, after some argument, the undermentioned were elected to the new Steering Committee:

Tariq ALI
[REDACTED]

Privacy

Martin FLANNERY MP
[REDACTED]

Privacy

Peter HAIN
[REDACTED]

Privacy

Ernie ROBERTS MP

Privacy

16. After the inevitable collection and a closing address by Privacy, the Conference ended at 5 pm."

17. References of persons and organizations mentioned in this report and those persons identified as attending are as follows:

Privacy

Tariq ALI

RF 402/65/440

Privacy

Martin FLANNERY MP

Privacy

Peter HAIN

RF 405/69/702A

Privacy

Privacy

Ernie ROBERTS MP

Privacy

John TILLEY MP

Privacy

Organisations:

Anti Nazi League	400/81/54
British Movement	400/81/19
Indian Workers Association	
- (GB)	400/80/110
- (Southall)	400/79/151
National Front	400/81/17
National Union of School Students	400/74/194
Communist Party of Great Britain	400/81/37

... / ...

Deptford Massacre Action
Committee
National Union of Teachers
Socialist Workers' Party
The "Who"

Trevor Butler

CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

Anti Nazi League

Telephone: 01 351 2823

P O Box 51,
London SW10.

1981 National Conference Declaration

The National Front, having suffered from our campaign to publicise their Nazi heritage, can no longer claim respectability as a serious political party. However, they are not now handicapped by the demoralisation and internal divisions which followed their humiliating general election defeat. They have been joined as a significant force on the extreme right by the openly-Nazi British Movement. Both organisations have launched major campaigns to attract disaffected, working-class, white youth on a racialist basis. This has been accompanied by a very disturbing, increased use of violence.

The main reason for the new growth of the Nazis is clear..... unprecedeted levels of post-war unemployment, coupled with rapidly declining living standards and drastic cuts in social welfare provision, have created a climate of despair and frustration suited to their politics. Whether their expansion continues depends largely on the scale of labour movement response to the Government's attack on working people. However, it depends in good measure on the development of the anti-fascist movement and the ANL in particular.

In September 1980 the ANL began alerting the movement of the renewed threat from the Nazis with the distribution of a statement from the steering committee. The call to re-invigorate the League was reinforced by a major rally in London with speakers from Europe, which was held at the beginning of December. The process begun at the end of last year has already resulted in better counter-mobilisations against Nazi marches; a Youth Conference and the beginning of a campaign among young people, production of propaganda material, the re-establishment of an effective national centre and the development of about 80 active local groups.

In rebuilding the League we need to move in new directions with different emphasis in our propaganda, whilst maintaining the general political complexion that served us so well in 1977-79.

1. Youth. The NF and BM have recruited a large number of young workers, unemployed and school students. They have been active on the football terraces, at gigs and in schools and clubs. The ANL Youth Conference, after consideration of these problems, agreed to form a Youth against the Nazis organisation as part of the ANL, with a committee consisting of representatives of the various sponsoring youth organisations.

In schools the ANL should continue to work with the NUSS, with whom a joint leaflet was produced and over 100,000 distributed. The leaflet not only aimed at countering Nazi lies but also at projecting the NUSS as a positive pole of attraction against the problems confronting school students. Consideration should be given to holding another conference of teachers and youth workers, some of whom have come under personal attack with the production of 'Spot the Red Teacher' hit lists by the YNF.

Work around the terraces, revived by the day of action on 21st March, should be continued with the development of such groups as Spurs against the Nazis. Further attempts must be made to involve players and managers in opposing racism on the terraces.

Rock against Racism is now back on the road and this is a most welcome development. Attention will have to be given to winning the approval of a wide variety of bands and organising inside gigs against the Nazis.

Nazi recruitment at the doles is still rare. Where it occurs it is important that it is eradicated without delay. Support should be given to labour movement bodies organising amongst the unemployed and specifically anti-racist propaganda encouraged.

The Peoples March for Jobs, with a music festival in London on 31st May are important events which we intend to sponsor. This should become a major focus for ANL Youth work in the early summer.

Discussions should begin with trade union supporters of the ANL about problems with Nazis in particular unions.

2. Violence. Without doubt there has been an increase in the level of violence associated with Nazi organisations, particularly the BM. Black people and their property have been the chief focus of such attacks, but the premises of working class organisations, supporters of the ANL, other anti-racists, Jews and gays have not escaped. Harassment of black people has become commonplace. There is also a disturbing development towards a willingness to kill and maim on a large scale, in planned acts of terror, as can be seen from the capture of a huge arms cache in Birmingham.

There is still a lethargy in some areas in responding to racist attacks. Every time an attack occurs, ANL supporters should immediately be available to offer assistance. This may mean financial assistance, with collections among workmates, neighbours and on the streets. It may entail physical support, possibly 'sleeping in' or resisting the culprits. Legal assistance may be required or it may be necessary to draw attention to those police who are unhelpful or racist. Certainly racist and other Nazi violence should be publicised in leaflets and the press to isolate those responsible. Where black people are involved in establishing self defence organisations every possible assistance should be offered same time black people should be encouraged to join the ANL.

In engaging in 'defence' activity it is important to remember two things. Firstly, all activity should be located within the general framework of going on the offensive against the Nazis, isolating them publicly and developing mass opposition on the streets. Secondly, 'tit-for-tat' exercises should be avoided, as they are rarely effective, often increase the spiral of violence, and always make it more difficult to wage open public activity with mass mobilisation.

We should discuss with others the possibilities of establishing a national centre for monitoring and disseminating information on racist and fascist attacks.

3. Nationality Bill. The centrepiece of Tory racism is the Nationality Bill. The ANL has been consistently and prominently involved in the Campaign against Racist Laws and the mobilisation for the massive demonstration on April 5th. This involvement should be maintained, as any general rise in the level of racism gives credibility to the Nazi arguments. After the demo, supporters should be involved in local activities against the Bill and other racialist laws, winning trade union support etc. Discussions should be held with CARL, with a view to holding an anti-racist, rank and file, trade union conference in the autumn.

4. May elections. These will undoubtedly provide a forum for the Nazis. Local leaflets should be produced with assistance from the office. Every Nazi meeting should be picketed and opposed.

5. Organising counter-mobilisations to Nazi marches will remain a central part of the ANL's work. Experience has shown that such mobilisations are an important means of developing local anti-fascist organisation.

6. NF HQ. Public pressure was a factor in removing the NF from their offices in Hackney. Similar campaigning to evict them from new premises in Streatham should be supported.

7. Finance. Lack of money is now seriously handicapping the development of the ANL. Fundraising for central funds, particularly through bankers orders, the new Appeal, workplace collections and benefit gigs should become a major priority for local groups.

8. The main elements of the ANL's organisation should remain intact. Local groups are the essential core and must be given every encouragement. The Steering Committee should remain the same size, and together with the national office continue to provide a central co-ordinating focus.

A momentum is once again developing behind the ANL. If this can be maintained and strengthened the new growth of the Nazis will be halted.



REPORT TO 1981 CONFERENCE



National Organisers Report

I. Introduction

i. Since the last Conference, in June 1979, there have been two distinct periods in the development of the ANL.

ii. The first continued until September 1980. This was a period of decline in activity and organization, which affected almost every aspect of the League's work. This decline reflected the fortunes of the Nazis, particularly the National Front, who became demoralized and divided following their electoral demise. Nevertheless, even in this period, there were a number of important mobilisations, particularly those connected with the Blair Peach cover-up and Southall Defence, the Campaign against Racist Laws, and counter-demonstrations against the NF.

iii. The second period followed a recognition by the Steering Committee that the National Front and British Movement were on the move, and that we had to respond. This began with the publication of a statement from the Committee, appointment of new staff, establishment of a new office, and involvement in the 'Leamington Conference'. It continued with the International Rally, better organisation of counter-demonstrations, new propaganda, and the initiation of Youth against the Nazis.

2. Southall

Following the events in Southall on 23rd April 1979, the League, nationally and locally, was responsible for raising large sums of money for the Southall Defence Fund. The ANL also co-operated with the Southall Campaign Committee in organising pickets at Barnet Magistrates Court, where most defendants were tried. This campaign contributed to the increase in acquittal rate, in the latter half of proceedings.

3. Blair Peach

Blair Peach, an ANL activist, was killed by the SPG. The League's campaign, organised together with the 'Friends of Blair Peach' was designed to prevent a cover-up of this fact. On two occasions the League organised national pickets of police stations, and the anniversary march was supported by 10,000 demonstrators. Although the final verdict of the Coroners Court was equivocal, the campaign was successful in arousing widespread concern about the role of the SPG. The League's demand for the disbandment of the SPG was echoed by hundreds of organizations, including the TUC.

4. Counter-Demonstrations

i. From the late Spring of 1980, the Front demonstrated a revived ability to organise marches. Some of these were local, and our intelligence was received too late to organise a satisfactory response. Preparations for their major marches, at Southwark, Lewisham and Croydon was better. However, it was becoming increasingly clear that our mobilisations were suffering from the lack of a general campaign against the Nazis. This was most obvious with the Central London demonstration against the Front march.

ii. Signs of an improvement were first seen with the opposition to the NF's 'British jobs for British workers' march in Nuneaton, during August. Despite Police attempts to stop coaches of counter-demonstrators reaching Nuneaton (partially successful), we assembled about 1,000 supporters and inflicted a demoralizing blow on the Front. Paul Holborow, arrested on the demonstration, was subsequently acquitted.

iii. The British Movement's October attempt to organise a march in Dewsbury provoked a pathetic response and was eventually abandoned. A lively 'Victory March' of 400 was attacked by the Police, without cause. Among others, the League's National Organiser was arrested and was held for 43 hours. A good relationship has been maintained with the Dewsbury Asian Youth Movement, the joint organisers of activities in Dewsbury.

iv. The following week a BM march in Welling, South-East London, indicated that the BM have a significant following amongst young 'skinheads' in London. A counter-mobilisation of about 500 (double the size of the BM march), organised together with Bexley Campaign against Racism and Fascism, prevented the march from passing along the main roads and past Welling Corner.

v. The BM's first national demonstration, held in Paddington on 23rd November 1980, was met with massive opposition. The ANL, together with Paddington Campaign against Racism (PCAR), mobilised over 4,000 on a militant and colourful demonstration. This was in direct contrast to the dispirited, poorly organised contingent of 500 on the Movement's march. Our failure to move the majority of our supporters from our demonstration to near... the BM indicated the need for better stewarding in future. Nevertheless, our march prevented the BM from marching into the areas where most black people live, and boosted the confidence of the local anti-fascist movement. The ANL and PCAR are continuing to organise in support of the 72 anti-racists arrested.

vi. On the same day, there were good mobilisations against the NF in Bolton, and the NNF in Chorley.

vii. Wolverhampton against the Nazis mobilised 2,000 supporters for a demonstration in Wolverhampton against a National Front march, with only 10 days notice, shortly after Christmas. The NF, 50 strong, marched secretly early on a Sunday, in pouring rain. The counter-demonstration, in which the IWAs played an important part, was militant and confident.

viii. On January 25th, 350 NF supporters marched through Cardiff in opposition to a Bloody Sunday march of 600 on the same day. The ANL mobilised about 600 in defence of this march, and in opposition to the Front. Despite the presence of half the South Wales Police, large numbers of ANL supporters, including many local youth, both black and white, made contact with the Nazi procession.

ix. There have also been a number of local demos, organised by the NF and N.F. Lack of prior notice has inhibited large mobilisations against these marches, but in the circumstances our opposition has been credible.

5. Campaign against Racist Laws (CARL)

i. The League has played a prominent part in CARL, including providing a secretariat in the initial stages. About 20,000 supported CARL's first national demonstration, held in London during November 1979, prior to changes in the Immigration rules. The IWAs played the major role in mobilising for this impressive demonstration.

ii. CARL's National Conference, held in Birmingham in January, was well attended, and called for a massive demo against the Nationality Bill. This is to be held in London on Sunday 5th April. Reports suggest that this will be very large indeed. The ANL has played an active part in mobilising for the demo, and the National Organiser has assisted as a joint secretary, together with **Privacy**, **Privacy** and **Privacy** leaders of the two IWAs and both members of the Steering Committee, **Privacy** (CPGB National Organiser) and **Privacy**. CARL is widely supported in the labour movement, and its sponsors include the TUC Race Relations and Advisory Committee, the Labour and Liberal Parties. It was agreed that we should have a Youth against the Nazis contingent on the march.

include the following article on Race, the Labour and Liberal
Party. It was agreed to use it in the next issue of the paper.

6. Anwar Ditta

The League has backed the courageous campaign led by Anwar Ditta to persuade the Home Office to allow her children to enter Britain and be re-united with her. The Rochdale demo was supported and a donation was made to the campaign. Anwar's victory is a tribute to her tenacity and demonstrates the possibilities of campaigns which combine determination and activity.

Reviving the ANL

The Steering Committee's statement 'The Way Forward', was published in September 1980. It has been widely distributed in the movement and is included as Appendix I.

ii. From September 1980, [redacted] Privacy replaced [redacted] Privacy [redacted] as National Organiser. [redacted] Privacy made a major contribution to the work of the League, particularly in organising the Carnivals. Circumstances have now forced him to concentrate his talents on Irish solidarity work. [redacted] Privacy has replaced [redacted] Privacy as Administrative Officer. A number of volunteers have also helped with the work of the office, particularly [redacted] Privacy [redacted], who has been invaluable.

iii. A new office has been acquired. Its address is P.O. Box 51, London SW10. The telephone number is 01-51-2823.

iv. Our Press Conference, held in November, to revive the Anti-Nazi League, and addressed by Peter Hain, has helped to improve our relations with the press.

v. The Conference organised by Leamington Anti-Nazi Anti-Fascist Committee in October provided an important opportunity to discuss the problems of the anti-fascist movement, and to win support for the revival of the ANL.

8. Propoganda

- i. The Steering Committee recognised the need to produce a new range of propoganda suited to our new needs. It was felt that such propoganda h^tt^e take account of the fact that the BM, and the NF to some extent, were attracting support partly because they were Nazis.
- ii. The first new leaflet was produced jointly with the National Union of School Students. It went beyond exposing the Nazis and encouraged support for the NUSS as a positive pole of attraction in the schools. Over 100,000 leaflets have already been distributed.
- iii. An anti-B leaflet has also been produced, and a pamphlet on the B is awaiting publication.
- iv. New badges are now available. However, it is clear we need to rapidly increase the range of propoganda materials available

9. International

- i. Atrocities in Bologna, Munich and Paris were carried out by extreme right-wing organisations, who have close links with the League of St. George, the NF and the BM. The ANL was represented at a massive demonstration in Paris following the anti-semitic outrage in Rue Copernic.
- ii. The first major event of the revived ANL was the International Rally. This was held at the Friends Meeting House on the 8th December. Over 700 people heard speeches from a Bologna City Councillor, a French Policeman, a victim of the Nazi concentration camps, [Privacy] with [Privacy] and [Privacy] representing the League. The rally played an important part in re-establishing the ANL.

10. NF HQ

The campaign against the NF HQ in Hackney, together with splits within the Front, led to them moving their HQ out of the area.

They have their present HQ in Lambeth, operated under the front of an innocent sounding publishing house. This has given impetus to the development of the NF in South London and to increasing violence in the area. A campaign has now been initiated by the ANL to get the Front out of this building as well.

II. Nazi Violence

i: There has been a significant increase in the level of violence inspired by the NF and the BM. Reports produced by the Joint Committee against Racism and also the Commission for Racial Equality provide evidence of this. Some ANL groups, such as Southall and Hackney, have begun to respond to this violence by defending those most vulnerable, picketing the Police and local council, publicising occurrences, and so on. However, by and large the response of local groups has been slow or non-existent and so this is an area where improvement is necessary.

ii. The League responded to the New Cross fire tragedy by immediately sending a message of condolence, sympathy, and support to local community leaders. At an early stage, we stated that all available evidence- admittedly circumstantial- showed that the fire had probably been the work of racists. We picketed Deptford Police Station on two occasions, and supported the massive Black Peoples Day of Action demonstration. We have encouraged support for the Disaster Fund. As soon as we heard that the NF were going to march in Lewisham, we declared our intent to hold a massive counter-demonstration, doubtlessly contributing to the ban. In the end, we held a mass leafletting in Lewisham and Deptford on the 7th March.

12. Youth

Youth against the Nazis was launched at a Conference held at the Conway Hall, on Saturday 28th February. The Conference was attended by 300 people, in delegations from all over the country, with large groups from Sheffield, Bristol and South Wales. The Conference was sponsored by a wide range of organisations, including NUSS, NUS, National Association for Muslim Youth,

Indian Youth Association, Indian Youth League, Student Christian Movement, LPYS, YCL and 'Rebel'. A Statement was passed by the Conference (see Appendix 2) which outlined current problems and proposals for action. It was agreed to form a loose, informal Youth against the Nazis Committee, consisting of representatives of the sponsoring organisations.

ii. Work in the schools has been seen as a major priority and we are grateful for the continuing assistance we have received from the NUSS. We have also maintained a close working relationship with the NUS and received significant support from students.

iii. An important area of Youth Work is activity around the football terraces. The Conference called for a national day of action leafletting football grounds on 21st March, and we expect that this will be carried out at most grounds in the first two divisions. If so, it will give a significant boost to establishing groups like Spurs against the Nazis.

iv. Following the Conference, RAR activists decided that their organisation needed reviving and this is now in hand. RAR intend to share an office with the League. A number of RAR clubs have maintained an independent existence, and it is hoped that the revival of RAR will encourage the development of others.

13. Trade Unions

Contact has been maintained at different levels within the Movement. Trade Union bodies have continued to provide an important source of financial and other support for the League. We are in the process of alerting the movement to the rapid growth of Nazi organisations to ensure a sharper reaction in the future.

I4. Finance and Membership

- i. A copy of the Accounts for the year ending 31.12.80 can be seen on request.
- ii. Lack of finance is now handicapping our activities and prevents the subsidising of propaganda. We have received substantial donations from the Friends of Blair Peach Committee and the Southall Campaign Committee, for which we are very grateful. However, most of our financial support has come in the form of small contributions from unions and subscriptions from individuals, and this is likely to remain the case.
- iii. There has been some resistance to the £10 membership fee, despite the offer of a free subscription to Searchlight. There is a general view that we should return to a supporters card system and charge about £2 and less for unemployed and school students. However we should encourage the use of bankers orders. More attention will have to be given to fund-raising in the future, and the new Youth Campaign Appeal, signed by senior politicians and celebrities will be useful in this respect.

NB Copies of Appendices 1 and 2 are available from the National Office on request.