British far right and anti-fascist media's construction of identity: *Searchlight* and *Spearhead*, 1964 – 1982

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Content Advisory

Please note that this thesis utilises extremist material which contain discussions of race, nationality, faith and other issues that may be offensive or upsetting. At times original language has been quoted, and some images have been reproduced from the original sources – this is not an endorsement of that language or imagery, but it is felt important to understand the nature of these sources. Nothing in this thesis should be construed as endorsement of the sources listed or their claims.

Abstract

Both founded in 1964, *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* became the foremost print cultures within British anti-fascism and fascism respectively. With *Searchlight* addressing the anti-fascist movement and *Spearhead* looking towards the British nationalist movements, both magazines sought to bring and hold together diverse readerships. Throughout their print runs the magazines transmitted their own notions of a new Britain, and mobilised activists to enact that change on the streets of Britain. This thesis will examine these two oppositional print cultures from the period of their creation in 1964 until 1982. This was a period of wider change for the society these print cultures existed within, and which these print cultures had to react to. From the end of Empire in the early 1960s, the rise of the permissive society and the legalisation of homosexuality, rising concern over migration with Powell's 'Rivers of Blood Speech', the debate over Britain's future with Europe and finally the rise of Margaret Thatcher.

This thesis develops a thematic analysis of the output of both print cultures to understand the different politicised identities the magazines sought to appeal to, as well as understand the cultural origins of the magazines themselves. The themes explored are Britishness (including concepts of race and democracy), gender, sexuality and class. It will explore the creation and evocation of narratives of threat, and the ways in which the magazines motivated membership to action. It will test traditional methods of understanding the far right and argues these can be successfully applied to the study of anti-fascism, and demonstrates anti-fascism can be seen as culturally more than a reactionary movement. Finally it examines the methods used by both print cultures to maintain their messaging and their broad coalition of support as both cultures sought to remain relevant amid the wider societal change during this period.

Abbreviations

AJEX	Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen
ANL	Anti-Nazi League
ANP	American Nazi Party
ARAFCC	Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee
BDP	British Democratic Party
BLESW	British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women
BM	British Movement
BNP	British National Party
BUF	British Union of Fascists
CARF	Campaign Against Racism and Fascism
CCARD	Co-ordinating Committee Against Racism and Discrimination
EEC	European Economic Community
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
GBM	Greater Britain Movement
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
IFL	Imperial Fascist League
IM	International Marxists
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRR	Institute for Race Relations
LEL	League of Empire Loyalists
NF	National Front
NLP	National Labour Party
NNF	New National Front
NP	National Party
NSM	National Socialist Movement
NSWPP	National Socialist White People's Party
RAC	Rock Against Communism
RAR	Rock Against Racism
SWP	Socialist Workers Party
UM	Union Movement
WDL	White Defence League
WUFENS	World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists
WUNS	World Union of National Socialists
YNF	Young National Front

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Introduction

When fascist movements such as the Imperial Fascist League (IFL) and the British Union of Fascists (BUF) emerged in Britain during the 1920s and 1930s they founded a political legacy of the British far right that has endured to the present day.[1] However they also spawned a movement whose animus was in opposing and stopping the threat that they posed, the anti-fascist movement. As Andrzej Olechnowicz – among others – describes, rather than belonging to any one group anti-fascism took many forms and was a confederation of pre-existing political, social and cultural groups who pooled efforts in this cause to seek to end what they saw as a threat to their collective way of life.[2] This conflict was waged at the periphery of society, breaking through into public consciousness at key events such as the 1934 Olympia Rally, where a BUF rally descended into violence against anti-fascist disruptors, and most famously at the 1936 Battle of Cable Street, where Jewish and other anti-fascists clashed with the Metropolitan Police Service in a successful attempt to halt a BUF march through the East End.[3] Though the Second World War and the mass detentions under Defence Regulation 18B (under which approximately 1,000 far right figures were detained without trial) might have been thought to have largely settled this conflict, some small parts of the British far right such as the British People's Party had continued to operate during the War. Once the 18B detentions ended, many figures – such as Oswald Mosley – soon found their way back into far-right politics in Britain through organisations such as Jeffrey Hamm's British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women (BLESW) and later through the Union Movement (UM).[4] As these groups emerged, so there

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[1] The British Union of Fascists was founded in 1932 by Sir Oswald Mosley, a Baronet and former Conservative MP and Labour minister outside of cabinet, built upon the remnants of his previous New Party movement. The Imperial Fascist League was founded in 1929 by Arnold Leese, a former British Army vet specialising in camels and noted racial antisemite. Both movements drew on the membership of the declining British Fascist organisation, which had been founded in 1923 and would last until 1934. For more information and key readings on these movements see Appendix B: Key Movements. For more information and key readings on the respective leaders of the BUF and the IFL, Sir Oswald Mosley and Arnold Leese, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

[2] Olechnowicz, Andrzej, 'Liberal Anti-Fascism in the 1930s: The Case of Sir Ernest Barker', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Winter 2004), pp. 636-637.

[3] For a full rundown of the key events mentioned here and running up to the end of the thesis period in 1982, including key events for the two studied magazines, see Appendix A: Timeline.

[4] The Union Movement emerged in 1948, led by Sir Oswald Mosley and used imagery similar to his pre-war openly fascist movements. Jeffrey Hamm was a former BUF member who was interned under Defence Regulation 18B during the war. Though a minor figure in the BUF, his time in internment solidified his support for Mosley's ideas and shortly after the war he took over the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women to ostensibly fight for veteran rights. For more information and key readings on the Union Movement and the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women, see Appendix B: Key Movements. For more information and key readings on Jeffrey Hamm, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

was a return and remobilisation of anti-fascist elements, with new organisations such as 43 Group forming to oppose what they saw as a fascist return.[5]

With the return of mass produced far right newspapers such as the former BUF newspaper *Action*, which had been part of a wide and rich far-right print media culture before the Second World War but which would return in 1948 to support the UM, this rise of organised anti-fascism separate to community organisations also saw its creation of high quality print media in this period. The 43 Group began production of *On Guard* in 1947, a newsletter dedicated to its movement. As a solely anti-fascist print culture, this was relatively unique – the interwar period had relied on existing political cultures and their print media, such as the *Daily Worker*, or on the production of more transitory ephemera such as leafletting by the Labour party anti-fascist groups – which often led to disagreements and criticism of Labour and trade union anti-fascism when those leaflets failed to appear.[6] A dedicated regular, and high print quality, newsletter like *On Guard* introduced this idea of an anti-fascist print culture separate to those of the labour movement, the hard left or community groups. However, *On Guard* was short lived – lasting until 1949 – and by 1950, the 43 Group itself has decided that the immediate threat from fascism had passed and so the organisation voted to disband itself.[7] This would however not prove to be the end of either the far right or anti-fascist stories in the post-war world.

By 1962 a new generation of far-right leaders had emerged, rooted in the guttural antisemitism and racial hatred of Arnold Leese. These included Colin Jordan, who had emerged from Mosleyite circles and found inspiration with Arnold Leese, prompting him to establish his own White Defence League in 1956.[8] Jordan would go on to merge his White

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[5] 43 Group was an anti-fascist organisation founded by Jewish ex-servicemen in April 1946. So-called because of the 43 people in its initial meeting at Maccabi House, the group opposed the return of Mosley and other far right groups to activity in Britain. Particularly focused on London, 43 Group engaged in both infiltration and direct opposition, breaking up far right meetings and engaging in street fighting. From 1947 to 1949 the group published *On Guard,* a newsletter that is one of the earlier examples of regular anti-fascist print culture. The group disbanded in June of 1950, perceiving the threat to have passed. For more information and key readings on 43 Group, see Appendix B: Key Movements

[6] Copsey, Nigel, '"Every Time They Made a Communist, They Made a Fascist": The Labour Party and Popular Anti-Fascism in the 1930s', in, Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz (eds.), *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-War Period*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 61-62.

[7] Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019), pp. 302-307.

[8] Colin Jordan was a post-war neo-Nazi leader and teacher. Initially working with Mosleyite groups, Jordan became close to Arnold Leese, and was left a Notting Hill house in Leese's will. Jordan would launch a series of parties from 1956 onwards, increasingly pushed to the fringe of nationalist politics by his continued insistence on open neo-Nazism. Jordan left frontline nationalist politics with an arrest and conviction for shoplifting women's red underwear and chocolates from a Tesco's store in 1975. He would continue as a godfather figure to British neo-Nazis until his death in 2009. For more information and key readings on Colin Jordan, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

Defence League with John Bean's National Labour Party in 1960, forming the British National Party.[9] This brought together Colin Jordan with another young nationalist leader, John Tyndall.[10] Tyndall and Jordan eventually split from the BNP following disagreements with Bean over Jordan's advocacy of National Socialism within the party, and they established their own National Socialist Movement, with Jordan as leader and Tyndall as secretary.[11] This occurred in April of 1962, at the same time former members of 43 Group – including Harry Bidney, a London nightclub owner – were monitoring this rise of the far right with concern and decided a response was necessary.[12]

This response came in the form of a new organisation, the 62 Group, modelled on the earlier 43 Group but explicitly Jewish in origins.[13] Like 43 Group it engaged in direct confrontation, but also intelligence work for which it established a dedicated intelligence group which incorporated future editor of *Searchlight*, Gerry Gable. This creation seemed prescient as later in 1962 the World Union of National Socialists was formed by Tyndall, Jordan and American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell during a paramilitary-style camp in the Cotswolds.[14] The group hosting the camp, NSM's Spearhead movement,

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[9] The White Defence League was a street-active neo-Nazi movement established in 1956 by Colin Jordan, based out of Notting Hill and publishing its own newspaper, *Black and White News*. National Labour Party was another neo-Nazi movement established in 1957 by John Bean, a disillusioned post-war Mosleyite. Both movements ceased to exist as separate entities after they merged into the British National Party [1960 Creation], which would last until 1967. For more information and key readings on John Bean, see Appendix C: Key Figures. For more information and key readings on the White Defence League, National Labour Party and the 1960 creation of the British National party, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

[10] John Tyndall was a nationalist leader who was active from the 1950s until his death in 2005. An early neo-Nazi, he broke away from Colin Jordan and sought to moderate away from public expressions of neo-Nazism. He began publishing *Spearhead* in 1964 as a journal of nationalist thought. For more information and key readings on John Tyndall, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

[11] The National Socialist Movement was established in 1962 by Colin Jordan, with John Tyndall as his second in command. Leading members were imprisoned for the creation of the paramilitary group Spearhead, and in 1964 Tyndall split from the NSM stating opposition to Jordan's overt neo-Nazism. NSM would continue until 1968 when, after his release from prison for breach of the Race Act, Jordan informed supporters the NSM was defunct. For more information and key readings on the NSM, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

[12] Harry Bidney was a Jewish businessman and nightclub owner from London. Bidney was a former member of 43 Group and would go on to be a key figure in the formation of 62 Group. For more information and key readings on Harry Bidney, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

[13] 62 Group was an anti-fascist group formed in 1962 by members of the Jewish community. While membership of the group was only open to Jewish members, it worked with various other organisations and community groups to oppose the rise of far-right activity. The group engaged in direct action – including the July 1962 protest in opposition to Jordan's Trafalgar Square speech – but also focused on intelligence activity, with a dedicated intelligence unit. For more information and key readings on the 62 Group, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

[14] The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) was a transnational Nazi organisation founded in 1962 following the Cotswold Declaration between George Lincoln Rockwell and National Socialist Movement chiefs Tyndall and Jordan. Led by Rockwell, the group recognised only one group per country and recognition from the WUNS was subject to, at times, heated dispute. George Lincoln Rockwell was leader of the American Nazi Party, founded in 1959 as the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS). After Rockwell's assassination by a disaffected member in 1967, Matt Koehl took over both WUNS and the American Nazi Party. For more information and key readings on WUNS and the American Nazi Party, see

came under investigation as an illegal paramilitary organisation that saw both Tyndall and Jordan sent to jail, and Spearhead wound down. After their release from prison, Jordan and Tyndall's relationship broke down, ultimately causing the NSM to break apart and eventually end. Having tried to continue the NSM until 1967, Jordan would go on to create the British Movement in 1968. Upon leaving the NSM in 1964, Tyndall immediately put his energy into Greater Britain Movement before joining his new group to the National Front in 1967, and also in 1964 set about the establishment of his own journal of nationalist thought, *Spearhead*.[15] *Spearhead*, taking for its name as an echo of Tyndall and Jordan's illegal paramilitary group, would become the official magazine of the Greater British Movement, the National Front and later for the New National Front and the Campaign for Nationalist Unity (which became the third British National Party in 1982).[16] *Spearhead* was published monthly from 1964 until Tyndall's death in 2005, undergoing several changes in editorial staff but remaining at all times under the overall aegis and control of Tyndall.[17]

It is in this same period that 62 Group wanted to create something more permanent, and so they developed a news agency from their intelligence operation, calling the creation *Searchlight*. Founded in 1964, *Searchlight* was dedicated to reporting on the international far right, and doing so from an overtly anti-fascist perspective. It drew an editorial board from all major parties and was created using funding from the 62 Group members, with its initial named editor being Reginald Freeson, a Labour MP, before he was replaced for its

Appendix B: Key Movements. For more information and key readings on George Lincoln Rockwell, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

[15] The Greater Britain Movement was established by John Tyndall in 1964 after his dispute with Colin Jordan led to his departure from the NSM. Adopting Tyndall's *Spearhead* as its official publication, GBM expressed a more British nationalist and white supremacist viewpoints while eschewing open neo-Nazism. It would further moderate its output in advance of 1967, where it dissolved so its members could join the newly formed National Front (NF). The National Front was formed in 1967 from the merger of the League of Empire Loyalists and the British National Party, as well as other smaller nationalist groups. It would become the leading nationalist campaign during the 1970s, though suffering a series of splits. The National Front split apart during the period after the 1979 General Election and never regained this strength, though various splinter movements have continued its existence since. For more information and key readings on the Greater British Movement, the League of Empire Loyalists and the National Front see Appendix B: Key Movements.

[16] The 1982 creation of the British National Party emerged from the Campaign for Nationalist Unity that had started by John Tyndall after he split from the National Front in 1980 to form the New National Front. The BNP brought together Tyndall's remaining supporters, along with other groups like the British Movement faction brought over by *Searchlight* mole Ray Hill. It would use *Spearhead* as an official publication from 1982 until Tyndall's ousting from leadership in 1999, with new leader Nick Griffin trying to moderate some of the party's views in public to make it more appealing to a broader voter base. For more information and key readings on the 1982 creation of the BNP, see Appendix B: Key Movements. For more information and key readings on Ray Hill and Nick Griffin, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

[17] The editorial staff was initially John Tyndall as listed editor with Martin Webster as an unlisted assistant editor. Webster was listed as editor from July 1969. From February 1976 Tyndall retitled himself as publisher, maintaining control of the editorial line, but promoting Richard Verrall to editor and Martin Webster retitled as contributing editor. In January 1980 *Spearhead* removed all mention of its editorial staff, with John Tyndall returning as sole editor in February 1980. For further details and surrounding events, see Appendix A: Timeline.

fourth issue by Joan Lestor, another Labour MP.[18] For these first four issues it retained a broadsheet newspaper format, with eight pages and a listed cover price of sixpence. During its early years *Searchlight* produced several newspapers, pamphlets and acted as a research and press agency providing stories to the mainstream press. Its research editor, Gerry Gable, also supported other anti-fascist print cultures in this period, including the *Anti-Fascist Bulletin*, an anti-fascist news bulletin published for a short period at the start of the 1970s with a low circulation of 200-300 per month.[19]

This focus on supporting other publications changed in 1974 when, following the success of an anti-National Front pamphlet *A Well Oiled Nazi Machine*, funding was sought from the labour movement and other places to launch a monthly magazine under the editorship of Gerry Gable and Maurice Ludmer.[20] This new format was a twenty page magazine, establishing a cover price of 25p by its second issue and soon rising to 30p.[21] In bringing together Jewish-based anti-fascism, labour movement support and hard left influences, *Searchlight* was the first attempt to do something similar to what *Spearhead* professed to do for British ultranationalism, become a journal of record for the thoughts and ideas of an often fractious movement.

Both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*, as magazines and the organisations around them, endured for long periods. *Spearhead* ceased publication only in 2005 with the death of Tyndall, and *Searchlight* continues to be published to the present day at time of writing. Equally they both played important roles as ideological meeting places, providing scaffolding from which

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[18] The change of editorship is detailed on: '*Searchlight* Changes its Editor', *Searchlight*, no. 4, [n.d. but believed to be late 1967], p. 7.; Reginald Freeson was a British Labour Party politician and Member of Parliament from 1964 to 1987. Freeson served as the first named editor for the *Searchlight* newspaper in 1964 but was forced to resign before the fourth issue due to becoming a minister. His role for the final issue of the newspaper was taken over by Joan Lestor MP, another Labour Party Member of Parliament. For more information and further reading on Reginald Freeson and Joan Lestor, see Appendix C: Key Figures.
[19] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-fascism in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 112-113.
[20] Maurice Ludmer was a British sports journalist and founder of the Co-ordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination (CCARD), as well as an active communist until the late 1960s. He helped launch *Searchlight* in February 1975 as managing editor along with Gerry Gable as editor. As Gable became busy with his professional career he would cease being listed as editor by August 1975, instead becoming an unlisted research editor. Ludmer would take over sole editorship of the magazine until his sudden death in 1981. Ludmer would then be replaced by Vron Ware as named editor.

Gerry Gable is an anti-fascist activist, publisher and television researcher. Having worked with the intelligence wing of 62 Group, he was part of the group that formed *Searchlight* in the mid-1960s. When it re-launched as a regular magazine in 1975, he would take on an editorial role but stepped aside due to his television work, though he remained active in the intelligence side. He would return as editor in the 1980s until he stepped aside in 1999, and throughout this time continued as the publisher of the magazine. Following the departure of Hope not Hate in 2011, Gable resumed editorial duties. For more information and key readings on Maurice Ludmer and Gerry Gable, see Appendix C: Key Figures. For editorial changes, see Appendix A: Timeline
[21] For a full catalogue of the changes to the magazine price and format, see Appendix A: Timeline.

wider movements were born, with *Spearhead* acting as journal of record (though always under Tyndall's direct control) for the Greater British Movement, the National Front, the New National Front, the Campaign of Nationalist Unity, the British National Party and eventually a number of fringe movements in the 2000s (ostensibly under a collective known as Spearhead Group).[22] *Searchlight* played a role in the creation of notable movements and campaigns not just in Britain. Its work supported Anti-Fascist Action, both incarnations of the Anti-Nazi League, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) and in its latter years Hope not Hate. It also supported similar international movements and groups, such as the Expo Foundation (and *Expo* magazine) in Sweden, *Antifascistiches Infoblatt* in Germany and many others in France, Denmark, Poland and elsewhere.[23]

This makes them materially different to many of the print cultures of their particular type that have come before or since, in that they moved beyond the fractured and often transitory nature of the individual groups and organisations within their respective activist fields, and

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[22] The New National Front was founded in June 1980 by John Tyndall after he left the National Front in January 1980 after its ruling Directorate rejected his demand for authoritative powers as leader to remove Martin Webster. Claiming to have taken at least one third of the NF membership, the New National Front would merge with other splinters to form the new British National Party in 1982 after Tyndall's Campaign for Nationalist Unity. For more information and key readings on the New National Front, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

[23] Anti-Fascist Action was an anti-fascist organisation that was active from 1985 until 2001, engaged primarily in militant opposition to fascist street activity. It was formed in part from the units of the Anti-Nazi League who continued to operate locally following the end to nationally co-ordinated action by 1982.

The Anti-Nazi League was set up in 1977 by the Socialist Workers Party, dedicated to fighting the far right through a united front. Despite success, including initiatives such as Rock Against Racism, the Socialist Workers Party turned on the ANL members and purged them from their ranks in 1981, labelling them as "Squaddists". ANL subsequently ceased national organisation over the course of 1981 and 1982. It would controversially re-emerge in 1992, before winding up again in 2004 as efforts focused on the new Unite Against Fascism.

The Campaign Against Racism and Fascism started as a journal published in the mid-1970s by London anti-racists. Published from 1977 by London-based Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee (ARAFCC) and affiliated to the Institute of Race Relations, it would publish independent until ARAFCC shut down in 1979. From 1979 until 1991 it was published as a separate section within *Searchlight* until they split, and CARF continued independently again until 2003.

Hope not Hate is an anti-fascist campaigning body and print culture established originally as a campaign of *Searchlight* in 2004 to oppose the BNP. It split from *Searchlight* in late 2011 to form an independent magazine and campaign, led by former Searchlight editor Nick Lowles.

Expo is a Swedish anti-fascist magazine, supported by the Expo Foundation. Established by *Searchlight*'s Swedish correspondent Stieg Larsson in 1995, it mirrored itself on *Searchlight*'s organisational set up – hosting its own research and archive units within the broad umbrella of an anti-fascist campaign based around a magazine print culture. It continued after the death of editor Larsson in 2004.

Antifaschistisches Infoblatt (AIB) is an anti-fascist newspaper founded in Germany in 1987. Like *Expo* it maintained close ties to *Searchlight* and provided intelligence as well as copies of far right and anti-fascist material for *Searchlight*'s central archive. For more information and key readings on CARF and ANL, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

represented the emergence of long durée cultures that attempted to build momentum within society for their affiliated movements to break into public consciousness. Both magazines then are long lasting, both sought to develop a sense of ownership or primacy within their wider movements through a print medium, both were directed primarily at those already engaged with the movements but also designed for a readership beyond that with a radicalising agenda, and both sit atop often fractious coalitions within the contributors that often reveal the tensions existing within the wider movement. These movements, often transitive in nature and with cultures of internal secrecy, are often difficult to study through traditional methods – with those documentary records that do exist scattered, lost or guarded. This is why study of the cultural outputs, such as print media, are important – offering a key window into these networks of activism.

It is these things that make these two print cultures as important ones for consideration and study within this work. This work will examine *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*, exploring the ways in which they created, transmitted and projected a sense of radical identity within the period from 1964 to 1982. As mentioned, these two magazines held important positions within their respective movements in Britain, but this still leaves the question of why this specific period of eighteen years is chosen for study. The obvious point to make is that this is the genesis year for both of these print cultures, and that 1982 also represented a change and transition, as the National Front broke apart following the rifts and departures of 1979 and early 1980 and a new force emerged in 1982, that of the British National Party. *Searchlight* also saw change in the 1980s following the death of its editor, Maurice Ludmer, in 1981 from a heart attack. By focusing on this specific period, the analysis can probe more deeply into the founding identities both magazines set out, how they adapted to changes, and create an analysis that – in future studies of British fascism and anti-fascism – can be used to help examine the development of these radical political identities and strategies over a longer period. The period under examination also takes us from one of splintered movements in the mid-1960s where, as Nigel Copsey states, they were having little impact upon wider debates and were primarily serving only to radicalise one another towards violent solutions, to a period of larger campaigning organisations with commitment to public engagement.[24] There is also a wider context to this time period and it must be remembered that these movements and their print cultures existed within a wider society and a changing culture. It must be recognised that this environment was not separate to the magazines and that major societal shifts also impacted upon these movements. This helps to explain why

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[24] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, pp. 101-102.

long-term and stable print cultures emerged at the same time within both the far right and anti-fascism movements.

As Edward Royle says, the 1950s and 1960s were a turning point for Britain where its new post-war society began to take shape and modern Britain came of age.[25] It was a turbulent period of transition, moving through a process of rapid decolonisation following on from the Second World War, and struggling with the financial troubles first of recovery from the war and then recessions around the Suez crisis in 1956 and the 1961 recession caused by wider global economic trends. Despite these, as Glen O'Hara observes, Britain saw growth that outstripped its pre-war performance and that gave people more disposable income than ever before from the period of 1948 to 1971.[26] This was, however, coupled with an increasingly unpopular political class and a population increasingly doubtful about many of the social programs that were ongoing, such as around housing, driving a rise in engagement with political pressure groups.[27] As Ambalavaner Sivanandan identifies, economic difficulties and stratifications also remain an important part of identifying and understanding race and the racism within the broader society.[28] Of course, Sivanandan also highlights that while economic reasons determine racism, its manifestations and style are down to cultural tropes and movements, which means for this work it is important to recognise the wider cultural and social backdrop as well as how the movements were perceiving and trying to shape and frame wider society and its cultures in order to fully understand their work.[29]

These mass societal changes continued into the period under examination in this thesis, 1964 to 1982. As Britain moved past the crisis of Empire in the 1960s, struggling with issues such as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe), it found itself at a crossroads. Described by Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon as a choice between a retrenching of its past, seeking some avenue to a return to some new form of its imperial past through avenues like the Commonwealth, or seeking a new path with the European Economic Community (EEC).[30] Initially still focused on attempts to retain the British Empire or, through reform of the Commonwealth of Nations, preserve its international

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[25] Royle, Edward, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-2011*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 462.
[26] O'Hara, Glen, *Government Post-War Britain: The Paradoxes of Progress, 1951-1973*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 1.
[27] *Ibid*, pp. 1-4.
[28] Sivanandan, A., *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance,* (London: Pluto Press, 1982), p. 94.
[29] Sivanandan, A., *Communities of Resistance, Writings on Black Struggles for Socialism*, (London: Verso Books, 1990), pp. 19-59.
[30] Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin, *Continental Drift: Britain and Europe from the End of Empire to the Rise of Euroscepticism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 264-270.

standing in some other way, Britain had been wary of the European project, which seemed to favour political integration and whom Britain did not see as its only trading partners.[31] As Richard Davis shows, however, the 1950s and 1960s proved to be a period of decline for Britain and the Commonwealth as the Commonwealth entered into periods of crisis, such as with South Africa and Rhodesia as Britain increasingly rejected their continued white-rule policies, and the larger members such as Canada and Australia increasingly looked to America.[32]

Britain meanwhile by the start of the 1960s found itself vulnerable to the increasingly integrated European trade on essential goods such as foodstuffs, and as it tried to take the first steps to join Europe in the early 1960s the conditions that trying to hold onto the Commonwealth as a trading bloc as well forced those efforts to fail – for Britain it had to be one or the other, Europe would not allow the Commonwealth in via Britain.[33] Though immigration played very little part in the official campaigns around European membership, the ties of race to national identity were strong and immigration policies were often tied to notions of imperial obligations that some felt were no longer relevant – that the end of Empire meant the end of the obligation to accept migration.[34] It is also worth noting that the shrinkage of imperial commitments had led to changes in other policies, such as the elimination of national service by 1964, with concerns over both the political impact of sending troops abroad but also with the view that this was an opportunity to reduce the military pay costs.[35] Eventually following the European path, this saw setbacks such as De Gaulle's veto in 1967 of British membership and the major divisions it opened within the political parties as Britain was in a position where the British government felt it had little option but to accept terms offered with little alternative.[36] It would culminate in national debate and referendum after Britain's joining of the bloc, a debate which opened the divisions within the traditional political groupings.

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[31] Turner, Michael J. *An International History of British Power, 1957-1970*, (London: Teneo Press, 2010), pp. 7-9.

[32] Davis, Richard, 'Vestiges of Empire: Britain, the Commonwealth and the Common Market Negotiations (1957-1967)', in, Richard Davis (ed.), *British Decolonisation, 1918-1984,* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp. 79-98.

[33] *Ibid,* pp. 83-84.

[34] Saunders, Robert, *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 265-267

[35] Broad, Roger, *Conscription in Britain, 1939-1964: The Militarisation of a Generation*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

[36] Gowland, David, *Britain and the European Union*, (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2016), pp. 77-78.

Closer to home for Britain, the unfinished conflict over Ireland once again became an issue in this period. As Peter Catterall and Sean McDougall noted, Northern Ireland was not considered by many in mainland Britain to even necessarily form part of the nation, and was an afterthought in many political decisions of the period.[37] From the end of the Irish War of Independence until the beginning of the Troubles, with civil disturbances from 1966 and the deployment of the military in 1969, it was considered that Britain had greater interest in the Dominions and other parts of the Commonwealth than it had in Northern Ireland.[38] In the immediate post-war period the division of the island of Ireland had been supported by Labour, seen as fitting given Dublin's decision to remain neutral during the Second World War and remove itself from the Commonwealth, and lacking any firm policy with Ireland the Labour government had allowed events to escalate from 1966 until violent riots in 1969 forced deployment of the British military.[39] Throughout the period under examination this question remained unanswered and became a battleground of British identity, especially with the far right where the pro-Ireland Mosleyite tradition gave way to popular racist adherents of Enoch Powell and the hard line nationalism of the National Front.[40] This came into special focus from 1973 onwards, when the IRA widened their bombing campaign to include the British mainland.

As well as Britain's place in the world being under question, there were also changes occurring in the domestic social scene. Traditional gender roles in society were changing, and attitudes to sexuality were shifting as well. The contraceptive pill, seen by Claire Debenham as a key issue in women's liberation, had been introduced for married women in 1961 and in 1967 would be extended in availability to all women.[41] Lynn Abrams describes how the increasing liberalisation of attitudes to gender and sexuality within the post-war generation caused a disconnect with the established cultural touchstones, such as the established church, and a trend that only accelerated for the generation who came of age in

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[37] Catterall, Peter, and Sean McDougall, 'Introduction: Northern Ireland in British Politics', in, Peter Catterall and Sean McDougall (eds.), *The Northern Ireland Question in British Politics*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1-2.
[38] Bloomfield, Ken, *A Tragedy of Errors: The Government and Misgovernment of Northern Ireland*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), p. 13.
[39] Hopkins, Stephen, 'The Memoir Writing of the Wilson and Callaghan Governments: The Labour Party and Constitutional Policy in Northern Ireland', in, Graham Dawson, Jo Dover and Stephen Hopkins (eds.), *The Northern Ireland Troubles in Britain: Impacts, Engagements, Legacies and Memories*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 57-60.
[40] Loughlin, James, 'Northern Ireland: The Mosley and Powell Perspectives', *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict: The British Extreme Right and Ulster in the Twentieth Century*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), pp. 191-217.
[41] Debenham, Claire, *Birth Control and the Rights of Women: Post-Suffrage Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, (London: IB Tauris, 2013), p. 265.

the 1970s.[42] Though this permissive society challenged some of the existing touchstones, Laura Ramsay notes that the Anglican Church was part of the efforts to initially modernise moral attitudes that allowed the passage of permissive acts, including the legalisation of Homosexuality, before becoming regretful and trying to clamp down on these moves in the later 1960s and 1970s.[43] Rather than contributing to stability, this involvement of societal institutions changing their positions further added to the sense of unease in society. It is also interesting to consider the work of Evan Smith and Brodie Nugent, who examined how the networks that sprung up around women's liberation fed into wider political activism on the left wing and how, in bridging Irish and British identities, these activist networks were able to do what traditional politics struggled with, as discussed above.[44]

In 1967 Parliament also legalised homosexuality and campaigns for LGBT rights multiplied and became more public across the period. Homosexuality continued to be viewed with suspicion by its opponents, and as Harry Cocks describes this is an issue that continues after legalisation, with gay men especially being framed as threats to the moral decency and strength of the nation.[45] Both gender and sexual politics tapped into countercultures and activist cultures that bound people together, but also occurred within a society that still had regressive tendencies that promoted conflict. In a November 1969 survey asking what change in the 1960s people most welcomed only 5 percent of respondents opted for liberal laws on homosexuality, divorce and abortion, while these same issues topped the list for the change people liked least – with only non-white migration and student unrest challenging them.[46] As Mark Donnelly notes, this resilience of intolerant attitudes did have a generation component – explaining the emergence of women's liberation and sexual rights campaigns particularly among student activism in this period.[47]

By the start of the period under examination, Britain was also engaged in a public discussion about the demographic changes that were going on within British society. After the Second World War there had been an influx of citizens from Commonwealth nations – many of

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[42] Abrams, Lynn, 'Mothers and Daughters: Negotiating the Discourse on the "Good Woman" in 1950s and 1960s Britain', in, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (eds.), *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe 1945-2000,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 60-65.
[43] Ramsay, Laura, 'The Church of England, Homosexual Law Reform and the Shaping of the Permissive Society, 1957-1979', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 57, iss. 1 (2018), pp. 108-137.
[44] Nugent, Brodie and Evan Smith, 'Intersectional Solidarity? The Armagh Women, the British Left and Women's Liberation', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 31, iss. 4 (2017), pp. 611-635.
[45] Cocks, Harry, 'Conspiracy to Corrupt Public Morals and the "Unlawful" Status of Homosexuality in Britain after 1967', *Social History*, vol. 41, iss. 3 (2016), pp. 267-284.
[46] Donelly, Mark, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society, Politics,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 156-157.
[47] *Ibid,* pp. 157-159.

whom had fought for Britain during the war. Though post-war white migration from countries such as Czechoslovakia – where workers arrived to help in key industries – had passed without much comment, this was not the case when the MV *Empire Windrush* arrived in 1948 with West Indian migrants, which – as James Cantres explains – brought home to white Britain many of the issues of colonial racism.[48] Often referenced as the symbolic start of the British West Indian community, at the time there was concern raised by Members of Parliament over the risks of then-uncontrolled migration from the Empire. Migration into Britain in 1948 was 2,000 per year but by 1961 was 136,000 – at the same time net migration had only increased to 12,000.[49] This had led to rapid changes in demographics in cities such as Leicester, as white British people emigrated to North America and the Commonwealth while non-white immigration from the Commonwealth increased.[50]

This issue of migration was arguably one of the first post-war issues where mainstream concerns were taken on by the British extreme right, with the Union Movement running anti-immigration campaigns for the next decade. The Union Movement campaigns culminated in the 1958 Notting Hill riots, where tensions erupted into violence over several nights from August into September of 1958, and which prompted Mosley to return to active political life.[51] Equally, the start of the period was seen as a time of rising political consciousness within black communities, with the American Black Power movement helping drive a series of new campaigns for rights, against what Rob Waters identifies as successive British governments increasingly identifying and talking about citizenship in racialised terms.[52]

Politics in Britain were also at a volatile point coming into 1964. In 1963 the Profumo Affair had brought down a cabinet minister and created a crisis for the Conservative party, one that was deepened after the Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan resigned citing ill health and was replaced, not by a young man as the Conservative press had hoped for, but

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[48] Cantres, James G., *Blackening Britain: Caribbean Radicalism from Windrush to Decolonization*, (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020), p. 50.
[49] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), p. 213.
[50] Byron, Margaret, *Post-War Caribbean Migration to Britain: The Unfinished Cycle*, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1998), pp. 88-89.
[51] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, pp. 212-213.
[52] Waters, Rob, *Thinking Black: Britain 1964-1985*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018), pp. 1-7.

by the elder statesman Sir Alec Douglas-Home.[53] This scandal, and the damage it did to one of the two major parties, had lasting impact through the 1960s in creating a sense of mistrust in the political class – and took on not just political but cultural interest that prolonged its impact.[54] This led in 1964 to the rise of Harold Wilson, Labour leader and then Prime Minister after his party won a thin majority in 1964 and in 1966, and who would return to power for a second period in 1974.[55] Rather than ending the crisis of Conservatism, the Wilson Government brought with it several of its own challenges. Flagship policies to tackle class inequality, such as its attempts to integrate the elite independent schools system with the state education system, failed to deliver – in the case of school integration, delivering a commission report in 1968 that was never enacted.[56] Wilson's first period also saw repeated economic issues around the balance of trade and currency concerns, leading to devaluation of Sterling. These issues, along with the British decision not to support America militarily in its Vietnam War, placed strain on the special relationship with America – who acted as a financial lifeline to Britain – and this, according to Alex Spelling, helped hasten Britain's

[53] The Profumo affair of 1963 concerned the relationship of John Profumo, Minister for War, with a young model, Christine Keeler, that had begun in 1961. In a statement to the House of Commons in March 1963, Profumo had denied any impropriety in their relationship but following investigations this turned out to have been untrue and, having lied to Parliament, he was forced to resign. The scandal was deepened because of the suggested connection between Keeler and the Soviet naval attaché at their embassy in London, potentially making it a national security issue. Though an inquiry confirmed there had been no security breach, Profumo's reputation never recovered, and the Conservatives went on to lose the 1964 election to the Labour Party.

Harold Macmillan was a British Conservative Party politician and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1957 until 1963. Macmillan had come into office in the aftermath of the Suez Crisis, where Britain had led an abortive occupation of the Suez Canal in late 1956 and which ultimately helped prompt the resignation of Anthony Eden, the previous Prime Minister. Macmillan's leadership saw the end of enforced military service in Britain, the first attempts by Britain to join the EEC and also began a new phase of decolonisation typified by a speech he gave in Cape Town during February 1960, known as the 'Winds of Change' speech. Aging, recovering from an operation to remove a tumour, and beset by the Profumo Affair backlash, Macmillan resigned in October 1963. For more information on Harold Macmillan, see: Beckett, Francis, *Macmillan*, (London: Haus Publishing, 2006).

Alec Douglas-Home, formerly the 14th Earl of Home, was a British Conservative Party politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1963 until 1964, and served twice as Foreign Secretary from 1960 to 1963 and 1970 to 1974. Douglas-Home entered parliament for the first time in the House of Commons in 1931 until 1945 as MP for Lanark. After his re-election in 1950, he left the Commons again on succeeding to his family's seat as Earl of Home and entering the House of Lords. He became Prime Minister as the compromise choice among Conservative Party factions following Macmillan's decision to retire, becoming the last Prime Minister to be a peer before renouncing his title to re-enter the Commons as MP for Kinross and West Perthshire. Douglas-Home was unable to restore Conservative fortunes, and in 1964 he would lose the election to Harold Wilson and Labour. For more information on Douglas-Home, see: Thorpe, D. R., *Alec Douglas-Home*, (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996).
[54] Farmer, Richard, 'The Profumo Affair in Popular Culture: *The Keeler Affair* (1963) and "the Commercial Exploitation of a Public Scandal"', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 31, iss. 3 (2017), pp. 452-470.
[55] Harold Wilson was a British Labour Party politician and Member of Parliament who served as leader of the Labour Party from 1963 until 1976. His time as leader saw him undertake two tenures as Prime Minister, from 1964 until 1970 and from 1974 until 1976. He served in Parliament from 1945 until 1983, after which he was elevated to the Lord as Baron Wilson of Rievaulx until his death in 1995. For further reading on Harold Wilson, see: Pimlott, Ben, *Harold Wilson*, (London: Harper Collins, 1993).
[56] Hillman, Nicholas, 'The Republic Schools Commission: "Impractical, Expensive and Harmful to Children"?', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 24, iss. 4 (2010), pp. 511-531.

decision to scale back some of its international obligations, such as maintaining military forces East of Suez, though its relationship with America would improve at the end of Wilson's term with a new American president.[57]

The 1970 election saw Edward Heath, Conservative leader, elected as Prime Minister and, despite opposition within his own party, Heath scored early successes such as Britain's accession to the European Economic Community, which he promised would bring economic benefits as well as a promise of unity and peace.[58] However this unity did not extend to his own party, with anti-European voices within his own party attacking Heath as he signed Britain into the EEC without further reference to the people, which his opponents claimed he had promised.[59] Heath faced further difficulties due to the 1973 Oil Crisis that saw oil producing states in the Arab world put in place an oil embargo, forcing Britain to adopt a three-day week. The unity Heath had promised in Europe had failed to materialise, leaving Heath to rely on American leadership and, with the oil embargo magnifying divisions at home, Heath lost power in the February 1974 election to a returning Harold Wilson.[60] Wilson's Labour Party came into power deeply split over Europe as well as over wider socio-economic debates, and as Stephen Wall describes, only held together by Wilson's promise of renegotiation and a confirmatory referendum.[61] As Mathias Haeussler observes, Wilson's success in securing a referendum win for his re-negotiation was a domestic triumph for the Prime Minister, and helped him secure an outright majority in a second election in October 1974.[62]

Retiring due to his age shortly after his sixtieth birthday, Harold Wilson made way for James Callaghan as Prime Minister and Labour leader. Callaghan, who had served as Chancellor and Home Secretary in Wilson's first period of office and as Foreign Secretary during the second period, inherited a brewing economic storm – Britain's need to secure a bailout from the International Monetary Fund to pay down its debt. In seeking the bailout, Callaghan had believed that the economy was fundamentally strong, and this was a temporary crisis – but the IMF insisted upon a change in British economic policies, and cuts

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[57] Spelling, Alex, '"A Reputation for Parsimony to Uphold": Harold Wilson, Richard Nixon and the Re-Valued "Special Relationship" 1969-1970', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 27, iss. 2 (2013), pp. 192-213.
[58] Saunders, Robert, *Yes to Europe!,* pp. 50-52.
[59] *Ibid,* pp. 53-57.
[60] Robb, Thomas, 'The Power of Oil: Edward Heath, the "Year of Europe" and the Anglo-American "Special Relationship"', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 26, iss. 1 (2012), pp. 73-96.
[61] Wall, Stephen, *The Official History of Britain and the European Community Vol II: From Rejection to Referendum 1963-1975*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-3.
[62] Haeussler, Mathias, 'A Pyrrhic Victory: Harold Wilson, Helmut Schmidt and the British Renegotiation of EC Membership 1974-5', *The International History Review*, vol. 34, iss. 4 (2015), pp. 768-789.

to expenditure.[63] The result of these cuts and the economic crisis that forced them was high unemployment and a decline in living standards.[64] With wages curtailed, Britain emerged into what was known as the Winter of Discontent, with strikes and industrial disputes raging and ultimately leading to the withdrawal of support for the Callaghan Government, which was reliant on Liberal votes to maintain power. As Colin Hay argues, the Winter of Discontent acted as a crisis that turned into a broader social transition, a rejection of existing political establishments and economic policies that had been part of the post-war consensus, and the imposition of a new political ideology and economic plan that drew from the New Right.[65] This transition delivered Margaret Thatcher, Conservative leader since 1975, her election victory in 1979 and saw her installed as Prime Minister until the end of the period under examination.

It is important therefore to not simply see this period as one of change for the two print cultures, and their respective movements, under study. Instead, it is crucial to also understand that this was a time of much wider fundamental shifts in British society and Britain's geo-political positioning. It was these changes, and the inherent instability that such change brings, that the movements sought to exploit as potential opportunities. These changes were also, to take the example of the far right and the legalisation of homosexuality, presenting what the movements saw as risks and challenges to their world views, and which became motivations for action for their movements to mobilise to tilt Britain's course back towards their desired vision of what this new Britain would become.

Aims of this Project

In considering what this thesis will achieve it is also important to emphasise what this examination of British fascism and anti-fascism will and will not focus on and how it seeks to understand these two print cultures. It will not consider in any great way the wider impact that these two magazines and their associated movements have upon society. Indeed, it is important to recognise that these are fringe groups who, though at times their influence brought them to mainstream attention, never achieved the power to control or direct public discourse. It is also important to understand that what is being examined are specifically

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[63] Burk, Kathleen, and Alec Cairncross, *Goodbye, Great Britain: The 1976 IMF Crisis*, (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 59-78.
[64] *Ibid,* p. 71.
[65] Hay, Colin, 'Narrating Crisis: The Discursive Construction of the "Winter of Discontent"', *Sociology*, vol. 30, iss. 2 (1996), pp. 253-277.

these print cultures and what they tell us about the internal cultures of their broader political movements. While political movements seek to alter the political landscape to effect socio-economic policies, the magazines as print cultures largely internal to those movements sought to alter the internal culture of those movements and aspired to recruit others into those cultures.

Circulation figures for both magazines are not reliably available for the periods, and these magazines were both subject to a great deal of problematic behaviours that could give the wrong impression of their impact. Issues include mass subscriptions through union or political party membership, and the encouragement of the sharing of the issues around like-minded friends or mass purchase by branches for distribution at events to show activity. This means that even were subscription numbers readily available, they could not be taken as a simple translation into readership without further analysis and study far beyond the scope of this work. In focusing on the impact that these movements had upon society it would also fundamentally misunderstand the nature of these movements, whose activity occurred within these movements and sub-cultures which were to an extent hidden from mainstream society, who remained unaware of the deep and at times violent conflict between them. An example of these problems of monitoring print cultures can be seen in the financial logbook of the Union Movement, covering distribution of *Action* and other Union Movement items to local branches. Though the ledger can tell us the raw sums of money owed to central party for the limited period covered from April 1955 to August 1962, and based on circulars to the movement we can establish what the branch was charged per item, we cannot from these records tell how many of these were ultimately distributed compared to any that ended up stored or ultimately destroyed.[66] This encouragement of mass purchase of magazines by branches to act as wholesalers was a common tactic on the extreme right, one used by *Spearhead* as well, and was more focused on ensuring sustainable funding for central print output to continue proliferation and control of identity than it was on necessarily achieving the widest distribution possible, though this was no doubt a desired outcome.[67]

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[66] Union Movement Ledger located at: Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/13/002

[67] The use of this method by *Spearhead* can be seen in issues following John Tyndall's resignation from the National Front and the splintering of the National Front itself. Branches either ceasing to exist or refusing to pay leaves *Spearhead* with bad debts totalling £384.74, with the biggest debts coming up to £30.60 from a single branch. While a cover price of 30p allows us to understand the scale of debts in terms of numbers of issues, the lack of time scale unfortunately prevents this from being a reliable measure of circulation – but is an indication that distribution was occurring via branch distribution. For the debt list and issues mentioned above, see: 'We Need Your Help: Bad Payers Create Financial Problems for *Spearhead*', *Spearhead*, no. 138, Apr. 1980, p. 19.

What this work will seek to do is to develop an understanding of discourse within these two print cultures, *Searchlight* and *Spearhead*, by examining the ways in which they sought to generate, sustain and promulgate their own particular identities to others, and the ways in which – and for what purposes – they then sought to use these identities to motivate support or action within their intended audience. It will also seek to analyse how the changes to Britain and its wider society were represented by the movement, and how the movement identified itself in relation to these events and what challenges – and opportunities – the movements found in these events.

Though this work will not be exploring in great detail the impact these magazines or their wider movements had on society, it remains important to recognise the impact that these magazines had within their respective movements. As stated previously, these particular magazines are based within a wider print culture and longer history of movements and activism from their respective perspectives. The role that magazines played within those wider movements must be understood, as their establishment often – for both anti-fascist and far right groups – represented an important milestone that was a first and critical step towards creating a more organised and longer lasting movement. This also speaks to an importance that these particular magazines had beyond their direct output, but both of them brought forward others who would spawn their own print cultures and movements. For *Spearhead* this included its first assistant editor, Martin Webster, who would go on to form his own National Front affiliated newspaper but also attempt in the 1980s to form his own movement based around a publication of the same name, *Our Nation*. It also included long term editor under John Tyndall, Richard Verrall who achieved international far right fame as Richard Harwood, publisher of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a Holocaust denial publication that was printed worldwide in 1974 and led to several court cases. For *Searchlight* this would include its incorporation of the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) section from 1979, which would go on in the early 1990s to re-establish itself as its own publication before merger with the Institute for Race Relations (IRR).[68] *Searchlight* also helped spread its specific style of print culture merged with intelligence-led anti-fascist activism to other countries, with its Swedish correspondent Stieg Larsson forming a

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[68] The Institute for Race Relations (IRR) is a British think tank that was founded in 1958 to publish research on issues around race. Following internal disagreements and the resignation of the governing council, the IRR was refocused in 1972 into an actively anti-racist organisation. It produced a journal, *Race and Class*, and later on would become a home for CARF following its split from *Searchlight* in the early 1990s. For more information and further reading, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

magazine *Expo* with a supporting Expo Foundation in the early 1990s, both based on *Searchlight*'s model and maintaining close ties to the magazine.

This support and creation of other publications and movements was not always a deliberate choice by, or desirable for, the parent magazine. Though events such as the formation of *Expo* were done in a collegiate and supportive fashion, other events such as the separation of CARF were due to differences of vision and perceived purpose, while others occurred while those figures remained part of the mother magazine (such as Richard Verrall and Martin Webster's continued involvement in *Spearhead* while they produced *British Nationalist).*[69] These moments of separation within print cultures could also represent major cleavages within the wider movements as well – as Verrall and Webster were eventually ejected from the *Spearhead* editorial board as the National Front splintered and *Spearhead* became a champion for Tyndall's unity project that would become the British National Party.

The two print cultures were also not separate. As mentioned earlier, Copsey identities the mutual radicalisation that both movements engaged in with one another.[70] This is also clear within the print cultures, as both publications frequently made reference to what the other side were producing in 'What Their Papers Say' style segments, where getting mention in the opposing print culture or seeming to frustrate them was considered a badge of honour. The comparative nature of this work will allow this symbiotic relationship to be further studied and understood, allowing greater insight into the movements. Study of the print cultures in isolation, similar to study devoid of the wider societal context, would miss these important outside influences and would risk acting as a barrier to understanding the motivations behind certain changes or acts that were driven by those influences. In this way this work makes clear the value of this type of comparative textual analysis of post-war movements and print cultures. This analysis of their identity and cultures will also allow for

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[69] Richard Verrall is a British far right writer and Holocaust denier. Verrall joined the National Front in the early 1970s and became a supporter of Tyndall, eventually becoming editor of *Spearhead* (though still under Tyndall's direction) in 1976 until his dismissal in 1980 when Tyndall split from the NF and Verrall stuck with the continuing NF as Deputy Chairman.

Martin Webster is a British far right figure who was a close ally of John Tyndall for many years. A former member of the National Labour Party, the National Socialist Movement and the Greater Britain Movement, Webster followed Tyndall into the National Front. Involved in guiding the Young National Front as well as the powerful National Activities Organiser for the NF from 1969, Webster published openly neo-Nazi texts in early *Spearhead* and had a role on and off in editing the journal from its creation until 1980. Webster's homosexuality was ostensibly the cause for his split from Tyndall in 1979, with Webster remaining with the continuing NF. For more information and key reading on Richard Verrall and Martin Webster, see Appendix C: Key Figures

[70] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, pp. 101-102.

the examination of how these print cultures fit into – and draw upon – the longer history of fascist as well as anti-fascist cultures.

<u>Literature Review</u>

While this examination, in being a comparative literary analysis of identity within key extreme right and anti-fascist print cultures from 1964 to 1982, is novel it is set within a wider context of study of the far right and the burgeoning study of anti-fascism. These fields are also interlinked, with fascist studies often providing a platform for examination of anti-fascism – for example through a special edition of the journal *Fascism* dedicated to global cultures of anti-fascism.[71] Cultural examination of the extreme right has often been focused, however, on the interwar period, as Nigel Copsey and John Richardson noted in the introduction to their work *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* 'the cultural landscapes of post-war British fascism have yet to be examined in any detail', and their work was 'map[ing] these cultural landscapes, identifying major contours … and discourse of British post-war fascism'.[72] Copsey's own previous work, *Contemporary British Fascism*, is one such book that had attempted this cultural understanding of the post-war movements.[73] The book studied the British National Party's attempts to legitimise themselves through moderated language and engagement with the democratic process, and deliberate crafting of this image in their political outputs including their print cultures. Similar to this work, Copsey selected a limited timeframe – studying from the formation of the British National Party under Tyndall in 1982 through to the early days of Nick Griffin's leadership after 1999 and into the 2000s. The work was also narrow in its focus and drew on thematic analysis of political outputs and print cultures from the party, though it also engaged in a statistical analysis of the outcomes of this work in terms of vote shares and demographic support.

A number of survey books have also covered the post-war period of the British extreme right, which have also explored the cultural nature of these movements. In his book *Fascism in Britain,* Richard Thurlow was interested in exploring not just the political histories but the cultures surrounding, and created by, extreme right movements in Britain.[74] This allowed

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[71] *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, vol. 9, iss. 1-2 (Dec 2020).
[72] Copsey, Nigel, and John Richardson, 'Introduction', in, Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 1.
[73] Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[74] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006)

Thurlow to trace back routes to earlier political concerns from the wider radical right who 'saw their chief enemy as the all-pervasive liberal consensus',[75] creating a deeper understanding of the extreme right exploring cultural influences rather than direct political connections. Thurlow also utilised cultural outputs of these movements as part of his examination, exploring both their correspondence and political literature – even exploring anti-fascist interpretations of the National Front through the use of *Searchlight* as a source. It cannot be ignored however that the work did focus more on the interwar period – as the wider field often does – with only 83 pages of the 294 page book dedicated to chapters on the post-war period. This imbalance is greater than it appears, when you consider the much greater length of time covered post-war compared to the interwar period, primarily focused on the late 1920s to the Second World War.

This is also seen in Roger Eatwell's broader look at European fascist history *Fascism: A History*.[76] Exploring the rise of fascist political identities and theories, greater focus is – understandably – placed in the interwar period and the war time regimes of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It would be an easy mistake to make to take from this recurring focus that post-war far right cultures were either crude and shallow endeavours, or that they were faded continuations of the interwar process, this work will show that the reality is more complex. Post-war far right movements in Britain existed in a different wider societal framework, as Eatwell observes anti-fascism had become a 'key aspect of British national identity',[77] and he uses this hostility to frame British neo-fascism and show its complicated path. Unfortunately, Eatwell does not explore this dynamic between anti-fascist and far right cultures beyond this initial framing comment, and as it is a broad sweep across Europe and over 80 years of history a full exploration of the specific cultures is not possible.

Connecting groups like the BNP into a broader extreme right culture that links into elements of mainstream British national identity like Social Imperialism – the engaging of the state in imperialist actions in order to maintain or support the social fabric of the nation at home – has been approached by works such as Alan Sykes' *The Radical Right in Britain* (2005).[78] In this work Sykes built on notions of publicly stated ideology as being key to understanding these movements, just as he had in his earlier work exploring the broader radical right and

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[75] *Ibid*, p. 10.
[76] Eatwell, Roger, *Fascism: A History*, (London: Pimlico, 2003).
[77] *Ibid*, p. 327
[78] Sykes, Alan, *The Radical Right in Britain: Social Imperialism to the BNP*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

how its rise linked into the failure of the Conservative movement before the First World War.[79] In attempting to be broad in his capture, by using the notion of radical right rather than extreme or far right, Sykes brought together traditional – and socially 'legitimate' – political organisations with revolutionary extreme right organisations, and this broadness did present some challenges and risked confusion, as picked up upon by Richard Thurlow in his review of the book.[80] In casting a broad category that linked the extreme right elements of the traditional right together, Sykes then did not pick up upon the possible impact of oppositional cultures of the left or the often-syncretic nature of the political extremes, where extreme right groups will adopt seemingly left-wing stances on certain issues. However, Sykes's work is still an important introductory work to considering a prevailing culture spreading across the movements and across into different organisations – something recognised by Thurlow when he called it a 'valuable introduction to this submerged but significant tradition in twentieth-century Britain'.[81]

Specific aspects of fascist cultures have also received coverage, and which have helped shed light on the post-war movements as well. Martin Durham's *Women and Fascism* is a standout example of this, laying out how fascist cultures have – over the decades – appealed to and involved women within their movement. This appeal to women has also been examined in the interwar period as well, with Julie Gottlieb's 2000 book *Feminine Fascism* exploring how existing feminist networks had interacted with the emerging fascist cultures and the contributions made by female activists in the period 1923 to 1945.[82] More recent scholarship has continued these investigations of specific aspects of extreme right culture, or specific subcultures such as is the case with Jackson and Shekhovtsov's edited volume which examined the transnational White Power music scene.[83] There has also been an increased focus on cultural figures, rather than purely political leadership, of these movements such as with Matthew Feldman's 2013 examination of poet Ezra Pound's propaganda for fascist movements.[84] This focus highlights the importance of viewing the extreme right as a cultural landscape as much as a political landscape, that cultural output in forms such as internally consumed print media are as important as political outputs and

[79] Sykes, Alan, 'The Radical Right and the Crisis of Conservatism Before the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 26, iss.3 (1983), pp. 661-676.
[80] Thurlow, Richard, 'The Radical Right in Britain: Social Imperialism to the BNP (Book Review)', *The English Historical Review,* vol. 122, iss. 495 (2007), pp. 283-284.
[81] *Ibid* p. 284.
[82] Gottlieb, Julie, *Feminine Fascism: Women in Britain's Fascist Movement*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000).
[83] Shekhovtsov, Anton, and Paul Jackson (eds.), *White Power Music: Scenes of Extreme-Right Cultural Resistance*, (Ilford: Searchlight and RNM Publications, 2012).
[84] Feldman, Matthew, *Ezra Pound's Fascist Propaganda, 1935-45,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

electoral outcomes. This notion of the extreme right as interconnected cultures is also explored in the previously mentioned edited collection *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* by Nigel Copsey and John Richardson.[85] This work focuses almost exclusively on post-war British extreme right cultures, examining questions of how the British far right uses cultural heritage, their production of neo-Nazi fictional work and also explorations of physical culture such as fashion.[86]

Though the post-war far right has received less coverage than its inter-war incarnations, there have been several studies of individual movements. Particularly relevant, given the affiliation of *Spearhead* from 1967 until Tyndall split from the movement in 1980, is that of the National Front – which Tyndall led for two periods. One of the most notable of these was Martin Walker's *National Front*, published in 1977 and so before the fractious end of the National Front's dominance of the British far right scene in 1979 and its splintering through the 1980s.[87] This was also a more journalistic treatment of the National Front and its history, unsurprising given Walker was himself a journalist, but this does mean that the coverage at times was more focused on surface elements of the Front's activity rather than exploring the underlying cultures and deeper questions of identity or dynamics that we might expect from an academic treatment. Some of this was address in Nigel Fielding's book *The National Front*, which was first released in 1981.[88] Fielding attempted a more dispassionate examination of the National Front, attempting to study the history and cultures of the National Front through interviews with members of the National Front Headquarters staff and the various branch official.

Fielding's work is also interesting for raising some of the methodological challenges in his scholarly approach. Fielding very clearly places himself in opposition to the National Front – referring to them as 'those we oppose'[89] – but in discussion of his methodology admits that the process of individual interviews created a level of sympathy towards them.[90] Based around criminology and sociology approaches, Fielding's work largely laid out the history

[85] Copsey, Nigel, and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*.
[86] Woodbridge, Steven, 'History and Cultural Heritage: the Far-Right and the "Battle for Britain"', in Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, pp. 27-48, and, Jackson, Paul, 'British neo-Nazi Fiction: Colin Jordan's *Merrie England – 2000* and *The Uprising*', in Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, pp. 86-107, and, Turner-Graham, Emily, 'Subcultural Style: Fashion and Britain's Extreme Right', in Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, pp. 128-141.
[87] Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977).
[88] Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front*, (London: Routledge, 2016).
[89] *Ibid*, p. vii.
[90] *Ibid*, pp. 7-8.

of the National Front and its policies in a narrative form, engaging with the National Front's printed material to help describe policy and statistical analysis of votes for outcomes. Of interest to this work are those three areas Fielding focused on in his examination, specifically race, anti-permissiveness and the use of conspiracy theories.[91] Based in individual member interviews, and not necessarily with leading figures in the National Front, there was often a striking discord between the views he found and the actual policies and messaging of the National Front as a whole. A focused examination of the National Front itself, Fielding did not seek to place the National Front within a wider context of the extreme right and the interlacing cultures that spread from group to group, informing opinions but also creating these discordant identities below the surface layer. Focused on the National Front itself, instead Fielding often was revealing engaging anecdotes from meetings, or highlighting these discordant and embarrassing double standards held by member as proof of a failure of cultures, rather than evidence of a deeper and more complex wider culture.

Focused more on examination of support for the National Front, Christopher Husbands' 1983 work *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front* investigated the rise of National Front support in British cities.[92] Based around MORI polling and other quantitative data sets, Husbands set out the ways in which this support had increased in certain demographic groupings and voter sets, but did not set out to explore necessarily why these people were attracted to the National Front in a deeper way. Nor did Husbands' take interest in the movement themselves, taking their public statements as truthful representations of their values and ideals, treating them as a political force rather than acknowledging their more revolutionary ideals that stretched beyond council seats in London or the urban north. Husbands did interestingly emphasise, however, how the National Front fortunes and outputs were tied to debates and moral panics in wider society, placing their 1976 rise alongside stories from *The Mirror* and *The Sun* tabloids.[93] The focus within the work on public outputs from the National Front alongside voting and poll results also does not fully explain the decline of the National Front, not capturing the decay of the organisational culture within the National Front during its splintering nor considering the role of opposing movements and cultures from the organised anti-fascist groups in London.

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[91] *Ibid*, p. 86.
[92] Husbands, Christopher, *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front*, (London: Routledge, 2006).
[93] *Ibid*, p. 11.

In examining the ideology and internal milieu of the National Front, Michael Billig's *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front* stands out as an important contribution.[94] Published again before the collapse of the National Front, Billig's work sought to explain how the National Front created a shared ideology to bind the disparate movement together. Though he also did not consider anti-fascism and the oppositional cultures in helping forge together the extreme right cultures, despite the fact Billig was himself active with *Searchlight* during this period. Billig was also writing at a time when the National Front was still active and before the National Front splintering in 1979, so this may also have impacted upon his choice not to focus on oppositional cultures.

There have additionally been studies of key figures and leaders involved in the post-war extreme right. Notable among these are recent works by Graham Macklin and Paul Jackson. Macklin's work, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism*, was published in 2007 and focused on Mosley's resurrection of British Fascism after 1945.[95] Macklin's work identifies Mosley and his followers as an important cultural bridge from pre-war fascism into the post-war extreme right, despite Mosley's later fringe status even within the extreme right, by having reduced fascist identity down to a core set of principles to allow it to be carried within wider movements that may be forced to publicly distance from fascism itself given its discreditation due to the Second World War. Macklin names this idea of reducing the core ideology of fascism as the 'sacred flame',[96] developing and highlighting in his work the idea of fascist culture as being flexible shown by how it adapted to preserve the identity despite the changing conditions. Despite the failure of Mosley's groups in advancing their own public political agendas, Macklin speaks to the real impact of Mosley being in his groups acting as an 'ideological conveyor belt'[97] where its impact was not upon society but on extreme right culture as it focused on 'transmitting its own … political and cultural idioms across the chasm of defeat and despair to a new generation'.[98] Macklin's work also lays down groundwork which this work will continue on, as Macklin argues that this reduced sacred flame of fascism was preserved by Mosley's generation so that it could achieve more success due to Tyndall and his compatriots who formed a 'new generation of activists who, confronted with more

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[94] Billig, Michael, *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front*, (London: Academic Press, 1978).
[95] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007).
[96] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[97] *Ibid*, p 140.
[98] *Ibid*, p 142.

propitious external circumstances, were able to make their own conceptions about race, identity and mass immigration'.[99] This approach by Macklin builds on the work of Roger Griffin, which promotes an interest in fascist culture as a method of understanding such movements, and which this thesis will also be using in its analysis of fascist and anti-fascist publications.[100] In his most recent work, *Failed Führers* (2020), Macklin has expanded his use of this approach to examine post-war leaders of the British extreme right.[101]

Jackson's 2017 biography of Colin Jordan, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, is also an important contribution to the field in this area and also embraces a Griffinian approach to fascist studies.[102] As well as exploring the figure, in Colin Jordan, that John Tyndall was initially reacting against in the creation of *Spearhead*, Jackson took Macklin's work a step further and examined post-war neo-fascism using the historical methods created for understanding interwar fascism but without a direct reliance on the interwar interpretations of fascism. In recognising the different environment these cultures exist within, Jackson also relies on the idea that rather than a monoculture within movements we can recognise different cultures within the same movement – referred to as groupuscules – and that these groupuscules cross pollinate different identities and tropes as each individual culture moves between the public facing outwards movements.[103] Jackson also builds upon the notion of these cultures having both an outwards facing and surface identity layered over an internal identity, one that reinforces a certain shifted view of reality and with an emphasis very much on sacred knowledge being shared among the members – a cultic milieu.[104] This concept of a cultic milieu, which comes from the work of Colin Campbell and which was examined in the edited volume by Jeffrey Kaplan and Helene Lööw, is important for understanding how marginalised fascist movements use their print cultures to generate an on-going and dynamic cultural movement that promulgates and reinforces their world view.[105] These cultic milieus are described by Campbell as creating a

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[99] *Ibid*, p 142.
[100] For an example of Griffin's work examining fascism's intrinsic link to cultural outputs and movements, see: Griffin, Roger, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[101] Macklin, Graham, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020)
[102] Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
[103] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[104] *Ibid*, pp. 15 and 29.
[105] Kaplan, Jeffrey, and Heléne Lööw (eds.), *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization*, (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2002).

sense of mission within those involved, as well as the offering of a sacred or hidden truth that only the movement can offer.[106]

The coverage of anti-fascist movement and cultures in Britain is, comparatively, smaller than the British extreme right – especially within history. As was mentioned previously, it does receive cursory mention by figures such as Eatwell as a framing post-war movements against a passive societal aversion to fascism.[107] This notion of anti-fascism as part of the broad national identity is also used by figures such as Dan Stone when discussing British culture.[108] While it is hard to argue about hostility to fascism being part of the national identity, it is difficult to suggest this is anti-fascism as we understand it in exploring the movements given the hostility that the movements often received from established political cultures and their role often as counter-cultures. It is this role as a counter-culture that means some of the first and most prolific anti-fascist histories come from within the movement themselves. These histories are often problematic due to more narrative style taken, as they are written often to reveal what is felt to be an ignored or hidden history. A more recent example of this is *Militant Anti-Fascism: A Hundred Years of Resistance* published in 2015 by M. Testa.[109] While an interesting examination of the long history of anti-fascism, it approaches it in a narrative style with little of the scholarly apparatus we would expect of true academic treatments. Equally these accounts, even though often solid works, project history through the mythological lenses constructed by the movements themselves when looking back at past events that are glorified, an example of this being *No Retreat* by Dave Hann and Steve Tilzey published in 2003.[110] Hann and Tilzey often glamorised the street-level violence that occurred during confrontations between anti-fascist and extreme right activist groups without engaging in any deep exploration of the underlying reasons why this violence occurred.[111] These myths, such as the mythologised nature of the Battle of Cable Street, have also been addressed by historians.[112]

Academic examinations of anti-fascism have often focused on broad survey pieces or edited volumes that cover individual organisations within a broadly construed anti-fascist

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[106] Campbell, Colin, 'The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization', *The Cultic Milieu*, pp. 14-15.
[107] Eatwell, Roger, *Fascism: A History*, p. 327
[108] Stone, Dan, *Holocaust, Fascism and Memory: Essays in the History of Ideas*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013), p. 79.
[109] Testa, M., *Militant Anti-Fascism: A Hundred Years of Resistance,* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2015).
[110] Hann, Dave, and Steve Tilzey, *No Retreat: The Secret War Between Britain's Anti-fascists and the Far Right*, (Preston: Milo Books, 2003).
[111] For an example of discussion of violence, see: *Ibid*, pp. 87-89.
[112] Tilles, Daniel, 'The Myth of Cable Street', *History Today*, vol. 61, iss. 10 (Oct. 2011), pp. 41-47.

movement. One of the key texts in studying anti-fascism is of this style, Nigel Copsey's *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, which was published in 2000.[113] Copsey's work can be viewed as the beginning of a new examination of anti-fascism within academic works, treating the movement as more than a shallow reaction to the extreme right and instead studying it as a culture and identity in its own right which had its own complicated dynamics. One of the important contributions that Copsey makes in this work is the drawing out and identifying of three strands of anti-fascism, each with their own origin and culture which is influenced by the groups from which they emerged. He identified anti-fascism first emerging from the broad militant left of communism as well as from traditional labour movement, though this split into two strands following disagreements over the analysis of fascist threats in 1926 and subsequent rejection of communist offer of a unified front by the Labour Party, TUC and Co-operative Party in 1933.[114] The third strand identified within Copsey's work was the opposition that emerged from the Jewish communities from 1933, and which was organised separately to other anti-fascist groups along community lines and involving comparatively greater levels of spontaneous street level conflict and violence.[115] Given these origin points, the work does mirror studies of the extreme right in having a relatively greater focus on the interwar period than the post-war period – but that is not to say that it ignores or downplays the post-war movement, but that by the book's nature it cannot get into the depth of the cultures. One important contribution that this work will build on is Copsey's assertion in *Anti-Fascism in Britain* that anti-fascist print cultures, in his case the 43 Group's *On Guard* magazine, played an important role and 'served to reinforce the [anti-fascist] identity'.[116]

Copsey would build on this with a more detailed study of the inter-war period anti-fascism and its varied cultures in an edited volume with Andrzej Olechnowicz published in 2010.[117] By having a tighter timeframe focus this edited collection focused on a number of movements in detail, giving a deeper understanding of the culture of anti-fascism at that particular time. *Varieties of Anti-Fascism* also took a thematic approach to anti-fascist identity, contributing to the discussion raised earlier on the importance of separating out anti-fascism as a distinct movement away from wider British political and cultural identities that may express hostility to fascism. In utilising a thematic approach to understanding

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[113] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).
[114] *Ibid*, pp. 9 and 16.
[115] *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.
[116] *Ibid*, p. 92.
[117] Copsey, Nigel, and Andrzej Olechnowicz (eds.), *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain the Inter-War Period*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

individual cultures within anti-fascism it also provides an approach that this work will build upon.

This can also be seen in Copsey's collaboration with Daniel Tilles, with their 2009 article 'Uniting a Divided Community?' exploring how the sense of threat created by British fascist antisemitism helped provoke such a strong – and often street-level violent – response from the British Jewish community.[118] While this work focuses only on one of the strands of anti-fascism identified by Copsey in *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, it does isolate a particular culture during a particular time frame to allow a more in-depth understanding of how identity and oppositional cultures play an important role in unifying the group and motivating action. Tilles has more recently returned to this topic with *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses 1932 – 40* (2015), which again sought to understand this specific strand of Jewish anti-fascism separate to the labour and militant left strands in part through their reaction to oppositional cultures – namely the antisemitism of the extreme right.[119] As with Tilles' earlier work on British Union of Fascist violence, these works primarily studied cultures by their public outputs and outcomes, for example through detailed quantitative analysis of violence through arrest records.[120] These are important contributions but, given the emphasis placed by Tilles and Copsey especially on understanding anti-fascism at least in part by the oppositional culture that was their animus for coalescing into organised groupings, they also serve to emphasise how important it is to look in detail at anti-fascist cultures within that context of those who opposed them. This work will do that in its comparison between *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*.

Specific elements of anti-fascist culture have also been examined by academics working in other fields. Steven Belletto's work '*Cabaret* and Antifascist Aesthetics' looks at the film *Cabaret* from 1972 and the creation of anti-fascist aesthetic within the work and its transmission through, in this case, dance.[121] Belletto's description of anti-fascism – which he says lies within Emcee's songs of 'ambiguity, irony and uneasiness'[122] in contrast to Sally's songs of 'sex and decadence'[123] – locates anti-fascism wholly within an awareness of the

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[118] Copsey, Nigel and Daniel Tilles, 'Uniting a Divided Community? Re-appraising Jewish Responses to British Fascist Antisemitism, 1932-39', *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, vol. 15, iss. 1-2 (2009), pp. 163-187.
[119] Tilles, Daniel, *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses 1932-40*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015)
[120] *Ibid*, pp. 10, 31-33, 207, and, Tilles, Daniel, 'Bullies or Victims? A Study of British Union of Fascists Violence'*, Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, iss. 3. (2006), pp. 327-346.
[121] Belletto, Steven, 'Cabaret and Antifascist Aesthetics', *Criticism*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Fall 2008), pp. 609-630.
[122] *Ibid*, p. 609.
[123] *Ibid*, p. 609.

coming revolutionary change that fascism brings, while an established culture is unaware of this building threat due to focus on more pressing concerns. This frames anti-fascism entirely as a reactive movement that risks it being seen as conservative in attitude towards the existing status quo and even perhaps counter revolutionary – something this work will argue is opposite to its true nature, as a revolutionary political culture equal to fascism in its desire to remove elements of a failed or unjust state in order to establish a new paradigm for their nation.

Isabel Richet examined the role of transnational networks within the interwar feminist movement across Europe in supporting anti-fascist activists, specifically looking at the case study of Marion Cave Rosselli.[124] Rosselli, a British woman married to an Italian activist opposed to Mussolini's regime, was able to support her husband's work and escape from Italy thanks to these transnational networks, with Richet's work highlighting the important role that gender can have both in terms of support network but also the experience of anti-fascism and treatment. However, both Richet and Belletto's subjects occur within nations with dominant political cultures from the extreme right – specifically Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In those contexts, any acts against the state were by their nature anti-fascist and this can lead to a confusing contrast when such ideas are then looked at in Britain, where fascism nor the broader extreme right could ever be realistically described as coming close to dominant. This is also a point worth bearing in mind when examining Joanne Saynor's work focused on the legacy of anti-Nazi campaigner and post-war communist politician Greta Kuckhoff.[125] Kuckhoff's anti-fascism was based, again, in opposition to an established political culture in the form of the Nazi party and then within post-war East Germany, which embraced anti-fascism – or a constructed form of it – as part of their national identity. While the view Sayner's study presents can be seen as a niche view of anti-fascism, connected to state organisations of post-war Germany, it also reveals the importance of considering contextual history and national identity constructions, as well as the importance of class-based politics. Sayner also, in engaging with the study of the memory of Kuckhoff, highlights some of the distortions and mythologised histories that anti-fascism in the German Democratic Republic developed and how these contexts influence our understanding of culture.[126]

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[124] Richet, Isabel, 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Fall 2012), pp. 117-139.
[125] Sayner, Joanne, *Reframing Antifascism: Memory, Genre and the Life Writings of Greta Kuckhoff*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[126] *Ibid*, p. 22.

Consideration of print cultures as a political tool is also an area that has been looked at by other historians, especially looking at earlier periods of history. Jason Peacey's 2013 book *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* examined texts from the English Civil war that emerged particularly from smaller groups, and the important role these can play as an organisational tool.[127] Most interestingly from this was Peacey's observation that the print media can become a method not just of organisation but one of mobilisation and cultural transmission, especially within discreet groups with common interests and who had a great deal of geographical dispersion.[128] This has strong echoes with the dispersed radical fringe groups that the magazines under examination had sought to service and communicate with. This early period of print culture has seen a great deal of examination, especially in consideration of radical and working-class cultures. Early newsbooks and newssheets were seen by David Worral in a 2004 piece as pieces of political education for these groups, and especially as a method of cultural replication and transmission for radical cultures.[129] Alex Benchimol in his 2010 book *Intellectual Political and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period* described the emergent print cultures as a type of public political speech that stimulated discussion amongst a radical milieu and injected an animus into those movements.[130] One of the foundational texts for these studies, Joad Raymond's *The Invention of the Newspaper*, was released relatively recently in 1996 and drew upon interdisciplinary approaches to help understand the emergence of political print cultures and notably observed that the synthesising of knowledge, and the juxtaposition of competing discourse especially form different print cultures, helped people engage with complex discourses by distilling the essence of debate.[131] There is then an understanding of print cultures as part of cultural transmission and having a role in both organising and communicating with discrete political cultures, at least in a historical sense.

This particular focus on Radical print cultures has remained an active interest within the academic discourse, with works like Jon Mee's 2016 *Print, Publicity, and Popular*

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[127] Peacey, Jason, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[128] *Ibid*, pp. 331-334.
[129] Worrall, David, 'Kinship, Generation and Community: The Transmission of Political Ideology in Radical Plebeian Print Culture', *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 283-295.
[130] Benchimol, Alex, *Intellectual, Political and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period: Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 74-77.
[131] Raymond, Joad, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 18.

Radicalism in the 1790s: The Laurel of Liberty.[132] Though there are older works, such as Marcus Wood's 1994 book *Radical Satire and Print Culture,* this has come into increasing study in recent years and linked into political movements and counter cultures.[133] As noted by John Corner et al, the 1960s saw the beginning of an increase in not just radical discourses, but also a more accessible style of information print culture that dealt with especially political topics in a less traditional manner and sought to engage with the audience.[134] This is supported by Mark Donnelly, who identified this radical and counter culture expansion as especially coming from the increased growth in small magazine cultures dedicated to specific causes.[135] Specific magazine cultures and their impact upon a wider counter cultural movement has also been considered in the wider literature. Julie Enszer's 2015 piece explores in particular the role of one long-run magazine, *Conditions,* and its role in preserving and maintaining a minority and marginalised culture in American against dominant cultural narratives.[136] Alongside this supporting role within a wider culture that Enszer describes, and in a British context, Joanna Hollows has examined the role of feminist magazine *Spare Rib* and, along with using it as a window to study the wider culture it spoke to, has also identified the magazine itself as a point of transmission for political cultural ideas, in this case consumerism.[137] The concept of magazines as print cultures capable of supporting and communicating cultural messaging is established then more broadly in the period under examination, but it is important to consider the particular context of magazine print cultures communicating within extreme and radical political groups which this thesis will study.

In examining in particular the extreme right, Chip Berlet's 2008 piece 'The Write Stuff' highlighted the lack of existing study of these print culture in isolation, outside of their use as one type of source within many in examining the affiliated movements.[138] Berlet recognised the important role that serials, particularly those set up in opposition to other mainstream or counter-cultural periodicals, could play in constructing rhetorical narratives

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[132] Mee, Jon, *Print, Publicity, and Popular Radicalism in the 1790s: The Laurel of Liberty*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
[133] Wood, Marcus, *Radical Satire and Print Culture: 1790-1822*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
[134] Corner, John, Katy Parry and Kay Richardson, *Political Culture and Media Genre: Beyond the News*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 46-55.
[135] Donnelly, Mark, *Sixties Britain*, pp. 125-127.
[136] Enszer, Julie R., '"Fighting to Create and Maintain our own Black Women's Culture": *Conditions* Magazine 1977-1990', *American Periodicals*, vol. 25, iss. 2 (2015), pp. 160-176.
[137] Hollows, Joanna, '*Spare Rib*, Second-Wave Feminism and the Politics of Consumption', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 13, iss. 2 (2013), pp. 268-287.
[138] Berlet, Chip, 'The Write Stuff: U.S. Serial Print Culture from Conservatives out to Neo-Nazis', *Library Trends,* vol. 56, iss. 3 (Winter 2008), pp. 570-600.

and milieus.[139] This work has been built on by more recent studies of, in particular, Holocaust denial – Nicholas Terry explored internet outputs of specific groups as a form of particular print culture since the Irving-Lipstadt trial, exploring how this particular print medium promoted recursive discourse that entrenched denialism using existing narratives present within older print and extreme right cultures from before the internet-era.[140] There has also been examination of specific groupuscular cultures and their communication via print cultures that would eventually fold into the print cultures within this study. John Richardson's 2013 piece studied the expression of racial populism within *COMBAT,* which was the magazine of the 1960s British National Party and would fold into *Spearhead* in October 1968.[141]

There has also been increasingly interest in other particular media cultures as communicators and supporters of particular counter-cultural identities of the extreme. Kirsten Dyck's 2016 book *Reichsrock* examined the role that White Power music played in promulgating and sustaining neo-Nazi identities internationally.[142] Equally David Renton has done something similar for anti-fascism, updating his previous work to a new exploration of the Anti-Nazi League and Rock Against Racism, exploring both the pamphlet and campaigning output of ANL as well as the musical discourse of Rock Against Racism. Study of print cultures however is often done, as Berlet highlighted over a decade ago, as part of wider consideration of movements and individuals.

In recent decades there has also been an increasingly set of works studying the changing nature of Britain's society around racial discourse. An important early contribution came from John Solomos in 1989, with his work focusing on the creation of immigration policy and reframing understandings of inequality in society around the politics of race in post-war Britain.[143] This was built upon by David Mason in 1995, whose book *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain* was primarily a sociological examination of how race impacted across all areas of Government policy but also set out a historical examination of how constructions of race emerged in post-war Britain.[144] Both of these works highlighted how concepts of

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[139] *Ibid*, pp. 570-600.
[140] Dyck, Kirsten, *Reichsrock: The International Web of White-Power and neo-Nazi Hate Music*, (London: Rutgers University Press, 2016).
[141] Richardson, John E., 'Racial Populism in British Fascist Discourse: The Case of *COMBAT* and the British National Party (1960-1967)', in, John E. Richardson and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Analysing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 181-203.
[142] Renton, David, *Never Again: Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League 1976-1982*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019)
[143] Solomos, John, *Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989).
[144] Mason, David, *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

identity were filtered through understandings of race, and how constructs around race were spread through cultural output. This echoes claims from Paul Gilroy, whose 1987 *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* argued that the concerns and problems of Britain's racial minorities were not taken seriously by the power structures in the country and this led to a feeling of exclusion, studying attitudes to race through examination of printed and cultural discourse.[145] This history is also touched upon by the more recent book *Brit(ish)* by Afua Hirsh, exploring how concepts of identity can be layered and also conflicted.[146] Each of these histories of struggle for racial equality, and the impact of racial inequality, have brought forward and given primacy to the views of those impacted by these discourses. In approaching a print culture of the anti-fascist and anti-racist movements, again this historical voice will be fore fronted and help us understand the dissonant discourse that these books highlight, where there were conflicting concepts of Britishness and nation based around constructs of race and otherness.

It is also worthwhile consider what a political movement is and seeks to do, given that both magazines expressed support for specific movements and sought to influence their culture. At its most basic, a political movement is a form of social movement that seeks to alter their society and its governance, often in reaction to a real or perceived social or cultural crisis.[147] In their study of post-communist Polish tenants groups, Katarzyna Jezierska and Dominika Polanska identify that a key part of effecting change and mobilising within these groups is the formation of collective identity and culture.[148] Mayer Zald argued that these cultural and ideological styles would in part depend on those pre-existing social groups the movements sought to draw upon, but that culture and collectivised identity were important in understanding motivation, and also how they framed themselves around current events.[149] This notion of collectivity is also used by Jeff Pratt, identifying it as being built up within the movements via their discourse.[150] This has obvious implications therefore into why studying print cultures that provide key portions of this discourse is important to

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[145] Gilroy, Paul, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
[146] Hirsh, Afua, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging*, (London: Random House, 2018).
[147] Nicholas, Ralph W., 'Social and Political Movements', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 63-84, esp. pp. 63-64.
[148] Jezierska, Katarzyna, and Dominika V. Polanska, 'Social Movements Seen as Radical Political Actors: The Case of the Polish Tenants' Movement', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*, vol. 29 (2018), pp. 683-696.
[149] Zald, Mayer N., 'Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing', in, Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 261-274.
[150] Pratt, Jeff, *Class, Nation and Identity: The Anthropology of Political Movements*, (London: Pluto Press, 2003), pp. 9-10.

understanding these movements. Though theorists such as Robert Michel have argued that it is inevitable that movements will seek organisation, it is important to note that there is a difference between political movements and political parties.[151] Though political movements may grow into or contain parties with formalised membership, and both seek to influence the governance of the nation and its values, a movement remains a wider construct that does not require this organisational structure.[152]

Finally, it is important to consider that while a comparative thematic analysis of identity via these print cultures is novel, there have been other comparative analysis of the extreme right and anti-fascist movements previously, other than those touched on already. At the same time as Copsey's *Anti-Fascism in Britain* was released, David Renton's book *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Britain in the 1940s* was also published.[153] Renton took a great interest in his book in laying out anti-fascism as being more than a personal attitude or attachment, and that it was an ideology equal to fascism in that it developed movements and, just as with fascism, it was important to understand the contextual motivation as well as the shared ideology if one is to have any understanding of anti-fascism as a concept.[154] His methodology of exploring these cultures involved oral history interviews, though he made an active choice to only interview anti-fascists.[155] Writing from a Marxist perspective, Renton challenges the view of Eatwell, Stone and others that anti-fascism was part of the national identity, instead alleging state collusion in favour of fascism – either through providing police protection to extreme right events to avoid street level conflict between extreme right and anti-fascist protestors, or through the active toleration of what Renton felt were fascist ideas.[156]

Definitions, Methods and Structure

In attempting to understand *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* as ideal types of fascist and anti-fascist print cultures for this period, it is important then to understand what we mean by these terms – and also what we do not mean. As mentioned previously, within anti-fascist material it is common to refer to all enemies or those seen to be in opposition as a fascist –

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[151] Michel, Robert, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 61.
[152] Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop and John McCormick, *Comparative Government and Politics*, (London: Red Globe Press, 2019), pp. 316-317.
[153] Renton, Dave, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Britain in the 1940s*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
[154] *Ibid*, p. 72.
[155] *Ibid*, p. 9.
[156] *Ibid*, pp. 104 and 128.

except it is fair to say that anti-fascists found themselves, at various times, opposing far more than pure fascism. Therefore, it is important to be clear on the terms being used. Though the definition of fascism has been debated, it is not proposed to go in depth into this matter here. It must also be remembered how Macklin and others describe that fascism in the post-war period had been reduced down to key ideals – a sacred flame – in order to allow for its easier transmission and sheltering within broader extreme right movements. Therefore, a definition has to be used which considers fascism as a culture but which also presents a streamlined understanding that has heuristic value for this examination. This work will be basing its understanding on that of the New Consensus school of fascist studies, in particular Roger Griffin's definition of fascism as a form of ultranationalism based around a palingenetic mythos.[157] It is important to note that these terms have particular meanings in fascist studies – populism in this case refers to the creation of narratives where the fascist group or figure represents their own views as the true views of the nation, and claims that they are the only voices of truth contrasted against a corrupt ruling elite who wish to confuse and repress the true nation. Ultranationalism in this sense involved not just championing their own nation or race but actively promoting the idea of other nations, races and opponents as simultaneously inferior physically or culturally while also presenting an existential threat. Palingenesis, or rebirth, describes a mythos that sees existing society in a decayed or declining state, and which looks to a point of moral strength in the past for guidance to launch society into a new golden age under fascist leadership. These terms and notions will be returned to throughout this thesis.

Set out in his 1993 work *The Nature of Fascism*, Griffin acknowledges that his definition is an artificial construct and so is open to allegations that the analysis based on this is itself artificial, which Griffin responds to by highlighting that the ideal type should be used as a guide rather than rigid model – as well as observing that 'the seamless web of history… [is] woven in fibres which are highly synthetic'.[158] Based on the approach of Max Weber, Griffin's reduced but still focused definition of fascism will allow this work to both identify fascist thought and tropes within the output of *Spearhead* as well as what *Searchlight* opposes, but also to allow the work to understand where required which parts of the output are referring to true – even if hidden – fascism and which come from the broader extreme right, both of which lived in the same ecosystem of the *Spearhead* print culture.[159]

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[157] Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism*, (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 26.
[158] *Ibid,* p. 9.
[159] For information on the methods of Max Weber, and in particular his notion of an ideal type used by Griffin, see: Weber, Max, *Methodology of Social Sciences*, (London: Transaction Publishers, 2011), esp. p. 90.

With the comparatively less developed state of anti-fascist studies, definitions around anti-fascism are in a much more rapid state of development. A clear definition is important, particularly as one of the arguments of this work is that anti-fascism is a distinct identity, promulgated by print cultures, and not simply a reaction to fascism or the extreme right. Setting aside Eatwell and Stone's view of anti-fascism as an aspect of British national identity, there are definitions set forward in many of the works already mentioned. David Renton put forward the suggestion that anti-fascists are 'activists, people who objected to the rise of fascism, who hated the doctrines of fascism and did something to stop their growth'.[160] Anti-fascism then for Renton is not just an identity but a motivation to act, and his definition is based around activism around that identity.

Copsey, in *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, put forward a definition similar to Renton's – anti-fascism being 'a thought, an attitude or feeling of hostility towards fascist ideology and its propagators which may or may not be acted upon'.[161] Despite Copsey's definition recognising anti-fascism as a cultural identity more than a physical act, he does go on to use action as a differentiator between passive anti-fascism (which simply states opposition to fascism, similar to the Stone or Eatwell understandings) and active anti-fascism (those who engage in action to stop fascism, similar to the Renton definition). He even goes as far as to relegate non-organised and non-activist groups from his initial definition of anti-fascism, saying 'It is thus activism and organisation that separates anti-fascists from "non-fascists"'.[162] Placing agency back into historical actors in how they identify themselves is a strength of Copsey's work, especially when examining the interwar period, but it provides challenges in the post-war environment. With fascism discredited, many groups could – and did – profess anti-fascist credentials while harbouring at their core this sacred flame of fascism that Macklin spoke about. Equally it becomes problematic when we encounter state constructions of anti-fascism, as we do in the East German state, where fascism is used in a reductive manner. As the field engage increasingly with the post-war history of the anti-fascist movement there is therefore a need to develop this further.

In the preface of *Varieties of Anti-Fascism* Copsey himself speaks to this, recognising that the minimalist ideal type he has developed is to accommodate the broad diversity of anti-

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[160] Renton, David, *The Attempted Revival of British Fascism: Fascism and Anti-fascism 1945-1951,* (University of Sheffield, PhD Thesis, 1998), p. 97.
[161] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* p. 4.
[162] *Ibid*, p. 4.

fascism and to allow for greater sampling to better understand the movement, and that it will require further development and consideration – especially when moving away from transnational studies.[163] For the study that this work will undertake it is important that the definition build upon these ideas set forth by Renton and Copsey, but refine them further to be clear in what we consider part of the direct or active anti-fascist culture, such as *Searchlight* itself, and those that might have anti-fascism as part of their wider culture, such as the Trade Union Movement. It is also important to recognise the virtue of Copsey's move to give agency to historical actors and their self-definitions, where this would not be problematic. Therefore, this work will consider anti-fascist those groups, organisations or subsidiaries thereof who identify as anti-fascist and whose primary activity is opposition of groups that hold fascist or proto-fascist ideology, or opposition to institutionally racist or extreme right politics.

This thesis will explore the ways in which *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* developed politicised cultural milieus that inspired a wide range of activists and transmitted these through their particular forms of print culture. In this it will explore the different ways it drew on pre-existing cultures and identities, as well as the ways in which their oppositional animus against one another influenced the identity they sought to create. Both publications were available to wider activist communities, and were primarily aimed at those with an interest or pre-existing connection to the organisations and broad movements they represented. These two publications also function as exemplars of their type of print culture, representing the most stable and long lasting of their style of print culture in the British extreme right and anti-fascist movements during the period 1964-1982 and beyond it.

Spearhead presented itself from its very beginnings as a journal of thought meant to encourage ideas and discussion across the extreme right. Closely tied to John Tyndall as publisher, it would attract contributions from fellow fascists and others in the extreme right, and utilised a group of editors including Richard Verrall and Martin Webster. Articles within it were written by the editorial team and also included text written by figures from across the movement, as well as reprinting of articles from other far right publications – especially those from America. Through Tyndall and the others *Spearhead* both represented one strand of continuation of fascist cultures stretching back to Arnold Leese and the pre-war fascist movements as well as coming to be an official publication of the leading extreme right movements from the late 1960s with the National Front until the removal of Tyndall as

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[163] Copsey, Nigel, and Andrzej Olechnowicz, *Varieties of Anti-Fascism*, pp. xix-xxi.

leader of the British National Party in 1999. *Searchlight* equally had a claim to be a continuation of previous cultures, having emerged from the 62 Group which itself had ties (though was not a direct continuation of) the earlier 43 Group and from them to pre-war Jewish anti-fascists. Though one of a number of magazines, *Searchlight* became a key publication of record – taking on, as Copsey describes, 'a pivotal role in anti-fascist circles'.[164] Highlighting this, Copsey quoted anti-fascists as stating that 'Nearly all the facts that packed our Anti-Nazi League leaflets and other material originated with Maurice [Ludmer, editor of *Searchlight*]. His work literally passed through millions of hands'.[165]

The initial staff for *Searchlight* drew on prominent members of main political parties for editorial work, while drawing on the skills of former Communist Party members and active trades unionists. Combined with its historical ties to the Jewish anti-fascist movement, it could in this way be seen to bring together all of the strands of anti-fascism that Copsey identified – labour movement, militant left and Jewish or community based. This was especially true when Maurice Ludmer, a prominent trades unionist in Birmingham, took over the role of editor as it launched into its monthly format in 1975 – a change noted upon by Jewish anti-fascists like Jules Konopinski who had helped fund and supported *Searchlight*'s creation.[166] For these reasons both magazines serve as exemplars of their type, and were actively read and consumed by both sides.

Both publications made use, as noted above, of large writing teams drawn from many relatively unknown members of their respective movements and particular subcultures. Where these authors are introduced this thesis will seek to explain the author and why they were contributing, but this will not always be possible where figures are minor and unknown or where – as often happened – items go without attribution. It is important to note that understanding the different voices and strands that were drawn into these print cultures, this study is an examination of these two magazines' outputs as whole milieus. Both magazines were also curated by editorial teams, and so while any individual piece may reflect the views of an author, it's inclusion in general must be understood as part of a wider print culture. The editorial teams did change over time, though for *Spearhead* John Tyndall persisted as publisher and ultimately exercised control of the magazine for the entire of the period under

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[164] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, p. 140.
[165] Atkinson, Graeme, quoted in, Nigel Copsey, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, p. 140.
[166] Konopinski, Jules, interviewed by Gavin Bailey on anti-fascist activism (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/BAI/06/2.; Jules Konopinski was a Jewish anti-fascist activist involved in 43 Group and 62 Group, and an early funder of *Searchlight* with a £5 donation. For more information on Jules Konopinski, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

study. *Searchlight* had a much more mainstream political face to its editorial team for its early newspapers with figures such as Reginald Freeson MP, but had relied on activists including Gerry Gable and Maurice Ludmer even before their roles in editorial decisions were cemented in its 1975 relaunch. Though this thesis has not set out to explore the internal cultures of the organisations producing these magazines, where editorial changes and disagreements impact very clearly in the output of the magazines these have been fully explored, and a full timeline of both magazines – including editorial staff changes – has been recreated in Appendix A, with all editorial figures covered in Appendix C.

This thesis also makes use, where noted, of the letters portions of both magazines as the primary method to understand the views and responses of readers. This is because these magazines, though both key publications for their intended readerships, were not the only outputs influencing these cultures – while extrapolations can, and will, be made as to how the output of these magazines influenced their movements as a whole, it is only with the response column that we can truly glimpse the much more intimate reciprocal culture developed between the print culture and the reader. As mentioned previously there are regrettably no reliable readership figures for either magazine, and the distribution methods utilised by the magazines – including mass union subscriptions, bulk purchases by branches, cultures encouraging the passing on of copies after reading – make it difficult, if not impossible, to forensically reconstruct these from available records. As this thesis will be focused on exploring the messaging and identity of these magazines, rather than worrying about the impact the magazines and their associated movements had upon society, this is less of a concern but it must be born in mind for future examinations as a potential issue to be overcome.

This thesis makes use of runs of these magazines held at the University of Northampton's Searchlight Archive, where almost entirely complete runs of both publications exist and were relatively recently opened to researchers.[167] These magazines sit within a much wider collection that catalogues the national and transnational context in which these reside, and where necessary this will be drawn upon to locate these print cultures within a wider context and help understand how the magazines were viewed by the wider extreme right and anti-

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[167] These full runs can be found in the boxes contained in: Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/SCH, and, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/01.

fascist movements as well as by society as a whole. Having such complete runs also allows for this analysis to track themes and topics across issues, allowing full exploration of how these print media reacted to transitory events in the wider world that forced them to adapt their messaging, for example around public votes, and also how these fit into longer term messaging, as will be done around the question of the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence and its eventual de-colonisation as Zimbabwe. Though this collection came from one of the print cultures under study, and though the author is connected as archivist of this collection, the collections themselves are not curated – almost entire runs are available, with complete issues that have not been subjected to additional editing by *Searchlight*. Though this material was collected by anti-fascists, and so may raise concerns about whether it is an unbiased source, *Searchlight* sought to collect as complete runs as it could for its work and did not seek to editorialise these collections within the research archive. It has also further been catalogued and arranged within a Higher Education Institution archive, and is available to all serious researchers to interrogate. While in the process of this thesis and work friendships have been created with some figures mentioned within this book, it is felt that the best contribution academia can make to anti-fascism is through dispassionate analysis that offers no favours to either side and instead honestly assesses the strengths and weaknesses of all sides. This is what this thesis will seek to achieve.

This thesis will develop this understanding through a thematic textual analysis, drawing on the methods and styles of Copsey, Thurlow, Jackson and others mentioned previously. This will begin in the first three chapters with thematic analysis examining different strands of identity. The first chapter will be an examination of how both *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* utilised notions of Britishness, constructing specific forms of this national identity. These created identities of what Britain was, and the new Britain both wished to create, were important to both groups – often framing themselves as defenders of British values. This chapter will explore different facets of this national identity and how these magazines interacted with wider understandings of Britishness, exploring the rule of law, the language of democracy and defence, and examination of the role race and ethnicity played in these imagined desired communities. In exploring these separate and bringing them together in a comparative analysis this chapter will allow an understanding of the ways in which the notion of Britishness was developed towards a purpose, and how it was used to animate the movements the magazines were speaking to into greater action.

The second chapter will focus on examining the question of how class is represented within the magazines. As described by Copsey in describing the origins of anti-fascism, part of it originated from the class-based critique of the militant left as well as from class-based labour campaigns and it is therefore important that we see to what extent this is present in *Searchlight*. Equally with *Spearhead* there are many potential influences that such an analysis shall reveal. The magazine incorporated figures from traditional fascist revolutionaries who rejected traditional understandings of class, Strasserite-influenced writers who favoured Fascism as the true revolutionary body of the working class, and will also help us differentiate these from traditional middle-class racial conservatives that formed the broad coalition of the National Front. The third chapter looks at the role that gender and sexuality played in the magazines, both in how the magazines represented gender but also how they appealed to gender in different ways. As discussed previously, this period was one of flux for gender roles as well as one of sexual liberation, changes that both movements sought to address. These notions of a time of change will also show how both movements sought to utilise these changes to argue that their own version of truth was superior, either narratives of moral and social decline, or arguments that liberation and equality now being striven for in gender and sexuality should be applied to race and other features of society.

Finally, the fourth chapter will explore the ways in which both magazines reacted to events within the period that affected Britain, and how they sought to reframe and utilise them in their messaging. The chapter will also explore how the ideologies of the magazines influenced how they perceived these events, and to what extent they dictated their responses – as well as to what extent their responses challenged their established identities as set out in the preceding chapters. The chapter will explore the Rhodesian Crisis and the ways in which it signalled the final decline of Empire, the fight over the post-imperial socio-economic settlement of Britain in the debate over Europe running up to the Referendum of 1975 and finally how the movements reacted to the rise of neo-liberalism and often charged rhetoric of the Conservative leader – and then Prime Minister – Margaret Thatcher. This chapter will make clear how both fascists and anti-fascists drew upon wider issues and framing in order to inspire activism through the creation of a sense of instability. This instability in turn would represent either an opportunity or a threat, a turning point which the intended audience of these print cultures could make manifest the identity the magazines espoused.

All of these chapters and their concepts – Britishness, race, gender, sexuality and class – were undergoing significant changes at this time in wider society, and so were issues active

in both fascist and anti-fascist cultures. In studying two discreet print cultures we will attempt through analysis of their discourse understand how they approached these issues, before engaging in comparative examinations that will help us delve deeper into how these print cultures used identity. This examination will inform us to what extent these views were in conflict, but also those moments of agreement. It will also explore to what extent the oppositional animus between the two movements is reflected in the print cultures, and to what extent we should consider the movements as reactionary to one another or whether this reaction is merely an aspect of identity used to further inspire action within their readers. This will be built upon by the understanding created of the extent in which both sides were seeking to create something novel – such as a New Britain – and creative, or whether these cultures were focused entirely on the destruction of their identified, and idealised, other. Finally, this will allow us to understand how the ideological cores and origins of the movements that created these print cultures preserved existing ideas, how the fascist minimum of the sacred flame and the anti-fascist strands of labour, left and community persevered and prospered through these print cultures.

Chapter 1: Constructions of Britishness in *Searchlight* and *Spearhead*

Introduction

When they talk of the struggle they are engaged in, both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* claimed to be saving the people of Britain from a fearful 'other'. For a party like the National Front (NF) it might be obvious that they would focus on the idea of protecting the nation, and of course that may be why it was little explored in their time. It is more surprising to see a language of defending Britishness linked to the anti-fascist movement, containing as it did many left-leaning activists with internationalists viewpoints, and others who derided the extreme right for its parochial world view. However, what comes through from the discussions in *Searchlight* is a clear language of wanting to save Britain and preserve Britishness. Anti-fascism became framed as a political cause that could move Britain into a better place, a claim often made by figures such as John Tyndall. Therefore, the theme of this chapter, constructions of Britishness, allows for scrutiny of how a language of national identity was deployed in both magazines. For both fascist and anti-fascist discourses the idea of Britishness is of great importance. This raises some interesting questions for comparative analysis. What did they mean when they talked of the concept of 'Britishness'? What did fascists and anti-fascists understand Britain to be? Why did they see a value in this language to construct their identity, and how did they use it to further their goals? Finally, how were they communicating and imparting their vision upon their respective readerships?

As both the fascist and the anti-fascist movements claimed to defend Britishness, whilst also remaining in polar opposition to one another, it becomes clear that each side had divergent views as to what exactly it was to be British, and what Britain was and should be. There is little to suggest that either consider themselves un-British or outside of British society, but they also developed radically contrasting ideals to evoke their ideas of what Britishness was. This chapter will argue that *Spearhead*'s ideals of Britishness focused on notions of Britain as the pinnacle of a white race rooted in muscular Christianity, and evoked strength both militarily and in terms of a traditional masculinity. It also offered a Britishness steeped in a monoculture, resistant to outside influences and all supported by a strong leader-led state that saw democracy merely as an advisory tool. This contrasts with *Searchlight* which

instead saw strength in Britishness coming from the bringing in of other cultures and celebrating that diversity, in strong democratic traditions reinforced by a compassionate state and one that did not differentiate based on ethnicity.

Theories of Britishness

It is important to preface this with some discussion on this growing area of enquiry. Debates on how to study this phenomenon developed in the 1980s and 1990s, and one key voice was Philip Schelsinger, who set out what he considers to be the underdeveloped nature of the field of national identity construction.[1] Michael Billig's 1995 work, *Banal Nationalism,* suggested that national identity provides very little understanding when studying any specific nationalism. Billig states that 'The notion of "national identity" was itself a rhetorical symbol',[2] describing how it consisted of simple 'stereotypes of character, identity and history … summoned with ease'.[3] Billig sees these national identities as passive elements built out of nationalism that rest in the receiver of communications, used rhetorically by politicians to connect to the public but not necessarily something created deliberately. The notion of national identities in this model is a fixed set of basic reference points, informed by nationalism, which are universal across all nations, and only at that nation level – and so does not have an understanding of different nationalisms existing within internal groups. As Billig describes it:

> The notion is constructed from the more universal themes of nationalism. The way 'we' assert 'our' particularity is not itself particular. 'We' have a history, identity and flag, just like all those other 'We's. In this, 'we' (whichever national 'we' is to be proclaimed) speak (or imagine ourselves to speak) a universal code of particularity.[4]

In their analysis of the field of national identity, Jodi Wallwork and John Dixon identify as crucial Billig's focus on 'the banal gestures, routines and turns of speech that preserve [a national identity's] integrity'[5] and that this can be used by a nationalist movement to 'prime its members for action'.[6] Where there is disagreement is that for Billig this identity is fixed

[1] Schlesinger, Philip, 'On National Identity: Some Conceptions and Misconceptions Criticized', *Social Science Information*, no. 26 (1987), pp. 219-264.
[2] Billig, Michael A., *Banal Nationalism*, (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), p. 72.
[3] *Ibid*.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Dixon, John and Jodi Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness: On the Rhetorical Construction of Place and National Identity', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 43, iss. 1 (Mar. 2004), p. 22.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 22.

on a national scale, and rather than being highly dynamic it rests as a passive identity in the receiver, even if it is then manipulated by a specific movement. Instead Wallwork and Dixon view national identity as being more than the perceived collective experiences of a nation, as Billig argued with his focus on shared history.[7] Drawing on Benedict Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities',[8] they instead state:

> We argue that both the flexibility and the essentialism of nationalist rhetoric stems … from the fact 'nations' are imagined not only as social categories, based around perceived similarities and differences between people. They are also imagined as entities possessing a geographic and historical 'reality' that somehow exceeds their human membership.[9]

Wallwork and Dixon also agree with Billig's concept of national identity not being a natural construct of the human experience, but instead as culturally constructed, and that is embraced by both society in general, and especially by modern political movements. They also acknowledge that national identity is something used by discrete movements in specific ways and is useful for the purpose of moving beyond their limited circle and to cultivate wider, mass appeal and mobilisation.[10]

Wallwork and Dixon also highlight the importance of Stephen Reicher and Nick Hopkins, who claim that 'National Identity is always a project, the success of which depends upon being seen as an essence'.[11] In this, Reicher and Hopkins are acknowledging that national identities must appear as more than simple rhetorical devices, there must be an element of reification of these concepts, such as by attaching them to the shared experiences Billig discussed. What is interesting for this topic is that Reicher and Hopkins were, as Wallwork and Dixon saw it, 'concerned with how rhetorical constructions … may enable varying forms of political organization' and through this, they perceived national identity as an artificial idea built up in people by others for some motivating purpose.[12]

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[7] Billig, Michael A., *Banal Nationalism*, p. 72.
[8] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983).
[9] Dixon, John and Jodi Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green fields and Britishness', p. 22
[10] *Ibid,* p. 22.
[11] Hopkins, Nick and Stephen Reicher, *Self and Nation* (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), p. 222.
[12] *Ibid*, p. ix, and, Dixon and Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness', p. 22.

In other words, people will commit acts, even ones they might recognise as extreme, if these acts can be placed to them in the context of defending their nation or for the good of their nation. This use of national identity as a motivating factor, how they framed and sought to build up this national identity within the targeted audience and the specific form this national identity took within each movement will be explored in the analysis developed in this chapter. It is important that we remember the key goal, for both sides, was to use this national identity as a complex constructed identity that evoked a sense of threat to motivate and build a movement to establish societal change. From such a viewpoint it becomes more straightforward to see how manufacturing the notion of defending the nation from attack can be an attractive argument to make for groups who are advocating extreme behaviour – whether fascist, or anti-fascist. Anti-fascists needed to motivate large numbers of people out to demonstrations, while others risked their lives infiltrating fascist groups. *Spearhead* too needed people to go beyond the bounds of mainstream society and engage in promotion of revolution against the perceived corrupt system.

As for how important national identity is in understanding the mobilisation of these movements, Reicher and Hopkins come to a different conclusion than Billig. They state that identity and its impact upon mobilisation is crucial for understanding extreme nationalist movements.[13] The same point could be suggested for studying national identity in anti-fascist groups too. It is worth noting that the conclusions reached by Reicher and Hopkins are similar to the understanding that Hobsbawm had as to the purpose and utility of nationalism. As he put it, 'There is no more effective way of bonding together the disparate sections of restless people than to unite them against outsiders'.[14] Hobsbawm goes further and claims that this was something encouraged for political ends, often through conflict and struggle, adding 'One does not have to accept the absolute *Primary der Innenpolitik* to recognize that governments had a considerable domestic interest in mobilizing nationalism among their citizens'.[15] Such cultures of conflict and struggle are typical of both fascist and anti-fascist movements.

George Renan, one of the earliest voices on how national identities forge together nation, stated in 1882 that the modern nation state and its unified identity was achieved by identifying themes of struggle against threats. Renan also suggests that the creation of

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[13] Hopkins, Nick and Stephen Reicher, *Self and Nation*, p. ix.
[14] Hobsbawm, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 91
[15] *Ibid*, p. 91.

identity through threat is far easier for those seeking to forge a collective identity than relying on positive images of the future. As Renan says: 'shared suffering unites more than does joy'.[16] Though both Hobsbawm and Renan spoke about the formation of identity and the use of nationality in relation to nation states, parallels can be drawn with the creation of these identities by *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*. Both groups were not interested in a theoretical debate over such an identity, but instead in forging that identity into a new cohesive force in the Britain that they envisaged.

This concept of conflict against an outsider being a driving force in national identity is echoed in the work of Linda Colley. She argues that Britishness was often defined against enemies, as an identity that was oppositional to the French, Chinese or German.[17] What will be shown in this chapter is that of equal importance to their creation of Britishness, *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* were both dedicated to making it clear what was outside of this Britishness and framing enemies as undermining or opposing the nation. Colley's concept of Britishness, where identity is built up and developed in whole or in part based on oppositional concepts of primary enemies, does seem to have a place in a rudimentary understanding of the difference between the fascists and anti-fascists, with the fascists taking more time denigrating the position of other races to cement their view of where the white Anglo-Saxon British man was to be found. For *Spearhead*, there was a recognition that the racially and culturally pure Britain that they desired had already been damaged and, as they would put it, become polluted by the time of publication.[18] As well as an oppositional positioning tool, this enemy was a crucial mobilising aspect. It was part of their perceived mission, as they wished to remove the influence of perceived foreign cultures. It also helped them frame their recurrent theme of traitors within their writing, of a fifth column who worked against British interests.

As the chapter will demonstrate, for the anti-fascists, there was a more progressive image of what Britain and its people were to be. *Searchlight* often proposed Britishness as a multi-cultural society, defined by bringing together other cultures from migrants from the Commonwealth. They tended to see Britishness as a marketplace of many cultures. By identifying their desire to present a more progressive image of what Britain could be, it is

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[16] Renan, Ernest, *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?*, (1882), translated by Ethan Rundell, <http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf>, [last accessed 8 April 2016].
[17] Colley, Linda, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1992), pp. 309-329.
[18] 'Global Race War Looms Nearer', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 1, and, 'How Good Europeans?', *Spearhead*, no. 45, Aug. 1971, p. 9.

also possible to explore how anti-fascists constructed this vision as one in conflict with the politics of the NF. On both sides, then, adversarial and combative pieces appear in *Searchlight* and *Spearhead*. Though both sides wished to speak about the Britain they wanted, in order to mobilise movements, they needed to develop enemy identities and rhetoric of a fearful other, threatening their idealised new Britain. Both magazines evoked existential threats to their notion of Britain and used such evocations to bring people further into the movement so they would then hear the positive aspects. This issue has been commented on by other scholars of the extreme right, such as William Brierley and Luca Giacometti, who also identified such strategies within the Northern League's attempts to gain traction for its politics in the 1980s and 1990s.[19]

Political causes are held together by collective identities but are also made up of individuals. These group identities based on threatened constructions of Britishness, what Bernd Simon and Bert Klandermans call collective identities, also relate to individual identities, a distinction that also has a utility for researchers. As Simon and Klandermans put it, 'The concept of collective identity helps researchers to better understand when and why people stereotype themselves and others, discriminate against out-groups ... and accept influence from in-group members but reject influence from out-group members'.[20] When considering the extreme right and anti-fascist movements, the threat to Britishness was used as a call to get people to take more extreme action and the need for exclusionary politics. In this, the individual identity could become subsumed into a collective identity, and part of this is the key identification of the out-group, and the rejection of their views and arguments as they are unaware of or are themselves the threat to this identity. While this approach of collective and individual identities has obvious heuristic value, its utility dwindles when one considered these ultimately niche groups as active anti-fascists and the extreme right movements. For these groups those lines often blurred, and identities could become more total in nature – all of one's life became viewed through the prism of an anti-fascist or an extreme right identity. To persist with a division between the collective identity and personal identity may hamper accuracy and understanding. It is crucial to see the value of considering how mixtures of personal and collective identities develop, and how they might become shaped by events and reconfigure pre-existing identities.

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[19] Brierley, William and Luca Giacometti, 'Italian National Identity and the Failure of Regionalism', in, Brian Jenkins and Spyros A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*, (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 170-171.
[20] Klandermans, Bert, and Bernd Simon 'Politicized Collective Identity: A Social Psychological Analysis', *American Psychologist*, vol. 56, no. 4 (2001), p. 320.

On this topic Paul Ward's *Britishness Since 1870* provides a useful theoretical understanding. He discusses the concept of layered identities, where the personal and collective identities form around gender, race and in Ward's discussions Republican or Protestant, informing how you then saw the wider collective identity.[21] This concept of layered identities and collective identities, of people belonging to more than one subgroup, and this informing the direction of an overarching identity, is also applied directly within social movement theory. Using a contrasting methodological approach, this notion was applied directly to the shifting nature of the extreme right in Griffin's analysis of the groupuscular dynamics of neo-fascism.[22] His description of individual groupuscules forming variants of the same underlying ideas, and the transmission of these ideas due to the permeable nature of these distinct groups within the larger movement, exemplifies the nebulous dynamics of British anti-fascist and extreme right groups. After all, the NF was not a homogenous organisation, but rather a coalition of various extreme right movements that agreed to subsume their own goals under this larger grouping in 1967. In the anti-fascist context too, outside of its core staff *Searchlight* was constantly trying to hold together a coalition of many anti-fascist groupings with whom it tried to co-ordinate. Individuals within such groups again had their own motivations, and they too were willing, to varying degrees, to subsume their individuality to the wider cause.

In summation, then, the study of Britishness is crucial for an exploration of the similarities and differences between fascist and anti-fascist cultures found in *Spearhead* and *Searchlight.* By drawing on the ideas of Billig, Wallwork and Dixon, Reicher and Hopkins, Griffin, Klandermans and Simon, Ward and others, it is possible to see why the theme of Britishness is important. This Britishness included with it the sense of threat from a defined enemy, a common theme identified by those who have commented on constructions of Britishness in other contexts. For British fascists and anti-fascists, this threat was used as a positional tool, clearly marking their ideological opposition and in so doing making their own positioning clearer. As will be shown, this could also serve as a motivational tool, as Hobsbawm described it. The focus upon the threat identification, and the additional flexibility this gave to both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* in terms of their own identity, could

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[21] Ward, Paul, *Britishness Since 1870*, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 166-167.
[22] Griffin, Roger, 'From Slime Mould to Rhizome: An Introduction to the Groupsucular Right', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2003), pp. 27-50.

be seen through the lens of Wallwork and Dixon as an effort to achieve mass mobilisation for their causes.

This threat-based identity, contrasting with an identified other, was developed from the very start in *Spearhead*. Its initial editorials of 1964 and 1965 set out its starting position not in terms of what it was but in terms of what it was not. The magazine argued that it was not like the Conservatives, who it claimed had betrayed Britain due to the rise of the 'internationalist pro-communist, left-wing of the Tory Party';[23] and nor was it like Colin Jordan's openly neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, who it was claimed had corrupted themselves with their focus on the glories of non-British peoples, namely the defence of Germany in the Second World War. It was its concept of Britishness that it used to try and differentiate itself from its competitors, arguing that *Spearhead* would remain of interest to British people and to other 'British communities throughout the world',[24] referring to the former Empire that it dreamed of bringing back to Britain.

In its own constructions of Britishness, *Searchlight* rarely responded directly to the arguments the extreme right used to justify their need for revolutionary change. *Searchlight* was more focused on presenting its own views of Britishness, and how it saw the nation it aimed to protect. When *Searchlight* talked about the British nation that it wished to create and defend, it emphasised issues such as the multicultural aspects and the proven capability of British culture to absorb minority cultures. *Searchlight* sought to ensure that multiculturalism was a key part of the anti-fascist movement by adopting the campaigns and concerns of minority groups and bringing them into the mainstream of anti-fascist campaigning, merging it with anti-racism. This creation of a broad based, multi-cultural movement and embrace of minority campaigns was epitomised when *Searchlight* engaged with the emerging field of black British History and, rather than seeing it as something outside to the British experience, instead labelled it as part of British history.[25]

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[23] Tyndall, John, 'Editorial', *Spearhead,* no. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 1.
[24] Tyndall, John, 'Editorial', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 1.
[25] 'Review', *Searchlight*, no. 70, Apr. 1981, p. 9, and, 'New Anti-Racist Films', *Searchlight*, no. 83, May 1982, p. 15.

A Language of Britishness and Faith

The first facet of Britishness this chapter will explore is that of how British fascists and anti-fascists used the broad concept of religion, but also their interactions with the established church and clergy. A British identity has often been linked to its faith for its identity, and labels such as Christian or an Anglican or Catholic have a wider cultural significance that extends beyond a factual description of church attendance.[26] Britain has been referred to many times as a Christian nation, and its Christian identity has acted as a reference point for its beliefs and values. It is argued by Jeremy Morris that this religious element of British identity was still strong in the latter half of the twentieth century, despite popular narratives to the contrary.[27] Indeed, Clive Field observes that between the years of 1947 and 1994 the proportion of the population who attended weekly services remained relatively stable, around 12 to 16 percent.[28] Despite this, others such as Hugh McLeod identify the long 1960s (from 1958 to 1975) as the height of a crisis within Christendom in the West including Britain, in particular highlighting the years 1967 and 1968 as seeing breaks with traditional Christian cultures.[29] Ultimately – as Callum Brown observes – whether this was a true decline or merely a readjustment back to the norm from immediate post-war surges in attendance, it was a crisis that was very real to Christian cultures at the time.[30] This created a sense of Christian identity being under threat as states became increasingly secularised, and the role of faith within that became open for debate.

There has also been a long serving view that holds the notion that Britain is a country that tolerated those of other faiths. This is something that came to the fore of narratives in the twentieth century, especially the 1940s and 1950s, as the Empire evolved into a Commonwealth of equals, and with unrestricted migration from these nations who were now asserting their own identities and cultures outside of the notion of imperial subjects.[31] As Wendy Webster has observed, this tolerance did not extend into unproblematic acceptance

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[26] Crockett, Alasdair and David Voas, 'Religion in Britain: Neither Believing not Belonging', *Sociology,* vol. 39, no. 1 (Feb. 2005), p. 18.

[27] Morris, Jeremy, 'The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Secularization Debate', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4 (Dec. 2003), pp. 963-976.

[28] Field, Clive, 'Faith in the Metropolis: Opinion Polls and Christianity in Post-war London', *London Journal*, vol. 24, iss. 1 (1999), p. 73.

[29] McLeod, Hugh, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1, 141-160, 265.

[30] Brown, Callum G., 'What was the Religious Crisis of the 1960s?', *Journal of Religious History,* vol. 34, iss. 4 (2010), pp. 468-479.

[31] Webster, Wendy, 'The Empire Comes Home: Commonwealth Migration to Britain', in Andrew Thompson (ed.), *Britain's Experience of the Empire in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 127.

of cultural integration, and certainly did not result in an uncontested acceptance of Britain as a melting-pot narrative, which we might associate with the ideas of multiculturalism promoted by anti-fascists.[32]

It is also important to note that faith is not just part of the cultural identity, but that churches are often identified as one of the great vehicles for developing the national identity. They have acted as a motivator to move beyond local identities and into the development of an overarching British culture, though the divided nature of the Christian churches in Britain has often helped in preserving constituent country identities such as Scottishness.[33] With faith acting as a key incubator for national identities, and a potential source of moral justification for their actions, it is obvious why this would be a tempting theme for both groups to develop in their rhetoric. What must be examined, then, is what faiths fascists and anti-fascists looked to, and how they sought to develop and discuss established churches in order to appropriate the identities and moral righteousness for their causes.

In its handling of relations with the established church in England, *Spearhead* found itself taking on a very typical fascist position. Juan Linz identified that fascism had a deep hatred of the organised church that came out in a strong anti-clericalism. The cause of this anti-clerical attitude is further explored in the work of, amongst others, Emilio Gentile who has explored the ways fascisms have competed with religious faiths, and so wanted to control the message and meaning of faith to the exclusion of established churches. Indeed, he stresses that fascism's own political structure is a 'monotheism in that it refused to countenance rival deities ... [and] fundamentalist fascists claimed to possess the absolute inviolable truth'.[34] Gentile also explores how fascism have appropriated elements of identity from Christianity, and used them to help develop a claim of infallibility. This need to be unquestionable presented *Spearhead* with a problem however in attempting to appeal to the latent Christian identity within white Britain. They needed to differentiate between attacks on the clergy and attacks upon the idea of faith itself, which would be counter to their aims of appropriating Christian themes for their own cause. More problematic still was how to deal with the attacks upon themselves from the clergy, an issue that required them to find clergy who would work with them, or to find avenues to separate clergy from the laity.

[32] Webster, Wendy, *Englishness and Empire: 1939-1965*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 53.

[33] Robbins, Keith, *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 85-86.

[34] Linehan, Thomas, '"On the Side of Christ": Fascist Clerics in 1930s Britain', in Matthew Feldman, Marius Turda and Tudor Georgescu (eds.), *Clerical Fascism in Interwar Europe*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 76.

Despite these problems, the British extreme right has often sought to use the dominant Christian faith, and its identity, as a signifier for white Britain, and as a unifying and motivating force towards their goals and legitimising it. Thomas Linehan has explored how the British Union of Fascists made use of Christian imagery to justify its activities, and how a cadre of lower clergy of the Anglican church joined the BUF and used faith to inspire action and self-sacrifice within BUF members and supporters.[35] The extreme right also sought to use faith aggressively, by claiming ownership of the identity and in consequence de-legitimising any opposition as being unchristian and by extension un-British. As Anton Shekhovstov suggests, this is something we see across fascist and far right movements in Christian countries and the aggressive nature is that if one places one's own people as angels then the out group becomes devils.[36] Whilst the BUF had drawn in some Catholic and Anglican clergy, in part due to an anti-Communist stance, *Spearhead* lacked any prominent open clerical support.[37] This did not however stop *Spearhead* in their pursuit of a notion of their movement as a defender or representative of the faith, and instead they sought to turn that lack of clerical support into a positive by contrasting themselves with the ecumenical elite.

Spearhead claimed from its very beginning in 1965 to be the spokespeople of the common Christian in opposition an out of touch clergy who had been infested with 'reds, pinks and Liberals', [38] betraying the people who had looked to the Church to defend them against threats. This can be read as part of the wider rhetoric of Tyndall and *Spearhead*, to represent the ordinary British man against the great liberal powers-that-be. This positioning, the placement of the movement as the voice
.0of the ordinary people against a corrupt and liberal elite, fits squarely with Griffin's concept of populism within fascism. Yet there is more to this than that simple populism – faith has been highlighted as one of the battlegrounds this identity war was to be fought on. As the years progressed, this position of *Spearhead* and its associated movements as representatives of the lay faithful was entrenched and ultimately forced upon them by the reaction to their activity from within the established church. For groups claiming to represent Christian values and the British people*, Spearhead* faced an awkward task in

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[35] *Ibid*, pp. 75-76.
[36] Shekhovstov, Anton, 'By Cross and Sword: "Clerical Fascism" in Interwar Western Ukraine', in Matthew Feldman, Marius Turda and Tudor Georgescu, eds., *Clerical Fascism in Interwar Europe,* p.60.
[37] Linehan, Thomas., '"On the Side of Christ"', pp. 77-78.
[38] Clark, Robert, 'Yes – Britain needs an Ideology', *Spearhead,* no. 5, Mar. 1965, p. 8.

having to defend themselves against attacks from the leaders of Christian communities who derided them as attacking and breaking down the very same British traditions that *Spearhead* claimed to be defending. This was a situation that *Spearhead* had to create an explanation for or lose a large part of their self-legitimising rhetoric.

In 1977 the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chichester and the Bishop of Aston, all gave talks warning the public against the NF and the 'terror, violence and murder which were the logical end results of Fascist rule'.[39] In response, Tyndall accused the clergy, via the World Council of Churches, of funnelling around £500,000 into the purchase of arms to be used to fight white rule in Africa, framing them as race traitors.[40] This echoes claims from *Spearhead* that the clergy, or what its contributor Denis Pirie referred to as 'pink Churchianity',[41] were promoting bolshevism in Africa, and so bore the blame for bloody events like the Mau Mau. Throughout its lifetime, articles in *Spearhead* gravitated around this type of rhetoric, styling the church as working with identifiable enemy others. This was deployed to evoke the concept of Britain beset by enemies, thereby undermining the status of the clergy in their traditional role as part of Britishness, seeking instead to establish the NF as the authentic voice of the laity.

To give some examples of this type of rhetoric, Tyndall accused clerics of abandoning their duty to fight evils, blaming them for a higher crime rate by suggesting they are complicit through inaction and corruption in allowing a 'moral sickness which the country has a right to look to you for some sort of deliverance'.[42] Such condemnation also took a racialist form, for example when he scathingly attacked them for failing to be vociferous in their opposition to abortion, and the breakdown of the nuclear family, and thus reduce white populations. He also criticised the church for its silence on the 'homosexual degenerate' risk involved in having the Liberal Party holding the balance of power.[43] He was referring to the fear that Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe, who faced widespread allegations of homosexuality, would hold the balance of power in a narrowly hung parliament.[44] Through this evocation of a crisis in British politics, Tyndall framed the clergy as abrogating their responsibilities,

[39] Tyndall, John, 'A Reply to the Clerics', *Spearhead*, no. 112, Dec. 1977, p. 6.
[40] *Ibid,* p. 6.
[41] Pirie, Denis, 'White Traitors Cause African Bloodbath', *Spearhead*, no. 3, Jan. 1965, p. 6.
[42] Tyndall, 'A Reply to the Clerics', p. 6.
[43] *Ibid*, p. 6.
[44] Jeremy Thorpe was a Liberal Party Member of Parliament for North Devon from 1959 to 1979 and leader of the Liberal Party from 1967 until 1976. From 1975 onwards there was increasing newspaper speculation around claims of a homosexual relationship with Norman Scott and a conspiracy to shoot Scott, which resulted in the death of Scott's dog. This would eventually lead to Thorpe's trial and acquittal at the Old Bailey in 1979. For more information on Thorpe, see: Bloch, Michael, *Jeremy Thorpe*, (London: Abacus, 2014).

while also declaring the NF to be simply taking up the cause of decent Christian culture, and seeking only to represent the common person and their needs against the true enemies, being the godless forces of the Left. In so doing, Tyndall was attempting to sidestep the clergy from their traditional role as moral guardians and claim that role for the movement. In other words, in criticising the Church, he also appealed directly to the laity that if they were concerned on Christian matters such as homosexuality, sin, abortion and family that they should be looking not to their vicar but to Tyndall for leadership.

Though the established Anglican church was *Spearhead*'s primary focus, their anti-Clericalism was not limited to the Anglican clergy. Contributors also attacked Catholic clergy and looked at the actions in and around the Roman Curia. In May 1969, the Vatican revised its Calendar of Saints, and in doing so it dropped the day for Saint George. Robert Corfe's response piece for *Spearhead* expressed not just the NF's offense but the offense of 'all patriotic Britons – not just Englishmen'.[45] The article did not refer to the Catholic Church but instead spoke only of the Vatican, and in so doing it contrasted the 'left leaning "progressives"'[46] of the Vatican against Roman Catholic and broader Christian belief, which it claims to represent with the neo-reformist cry of 'faith alone should form the foundation for belief'.[47] Again, *Spearhead* was positioning itself as the remaining bastion of morals, and claimed that the faith was itself under attack from progressive elements within the church. By defining these clergy as an 'outside' group, they would have hoped to diminish the impact of their sermons and statements denouncing *Spearhead*'s associated movements, turning a moral disagreement over the actions of the fascists instead into a question of political disagreement over the direction of the church.

In *Spearhead*, Tyndall also drew heavily on Christian imagery to excite his readers, especially as he tried to frame the ideological conflict of the Cold War as a great holy war between western Christians and the militant atheism of Communism. Tyndall did not just wish to argue for his vision of Britain, but also wanted show how it was under attack. In doing so, Tyndall hoped to motivate his movements' foot soldiers. This creation of enemies, done in this case by folding their struggle into the wider geopolitics of the Cold War, allowed for oppositional positioning of this Britishness as well, fitting in with Colley's understanding of traditional Britishness. A part of this was the listing of ephemeral Christian

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[45] Corfe, Robert, 'St. George and the Vatican', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 6.
[46] *Ibid,* p. 6.
[47] *Ibid*, p. 6.

virtues when trying to describe the ideal of the British Man – with strong focus on decency and even compassion, though Tyndall would restrict such affection to those considered worthy in his racialist understanding, admitting that 'We <u>should</u> be compassionate to the very old. We <u>should</u> be compassionate to those who are disabled. But beyond that we could do with a great deal less compassion and a good deal more toughness'.[48] Tyndall even went as far as to claim the NF was the 'only party fighting for decency'.[49]

A continuation of this trend was to describe their entire movement as a 'Crusade'. St. George was praised as the 'champion of European civilisation against the teeming millions of the East',[50] with the modern version of the east being linked to communism, which is itself a doctrine of godlessness according to their theories. This repeated trope of the threat from the Bolshevist east was one typical of the extreme right, and again drew on a wider Cold War rhetoric to build its sense of Christian Britain under threat. However, *Spearhead* moved beyond the political, and interpolated the religious call into this action with the appeal for a crusade not just framing the communist and left-wing, and even liberal democracy itself, as enemies in a political sense, but also as heathens who represent a direct threat to faith as well and thus worthy of not just opposition but holy war. Some of this rhetoric was seen in a piece written by Robert Gregory which called for opposition outside of the established political structure, a rejection of liberal-democratic methods and an adoption of the total resistance required against totalitarian Marxist states:

> 'Moderation' (i.e. limited opposition) must be recognised as the expression of liberal-democratic corruption and be totally rejected. The crusade against the liberal system must not be deflected by the allurements of such a system, but must maintain its resolve to destroy it – the cause of so much *evil* – and begin the task of rebuilding a better and Greater Britain.[51]

A language of faith was part of the anti-fascist milieu too. The anti-fascist rhetoric, far from being the atheist internationalists that *Spearhead* alleged, could often be found to include a large amount of positive commentary on the role of faith and support for Britishness, though as it was a movement steeped in an embrace of pluralism it did not really promote any one faith exclusively. This embrace of a pluralist notion of Britishness, found in multiple faiths,

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[48] Tyndall, John, 'Thought for the Month', *Spearhead*, no. 87, Sep. 1975, p.9. Emphasis as per the original.
[49] Tyndall, John, 'A Reply to the Clerics', p. 6.
[50] Corfe, Robert, 'St. George and the Vatican', p. 6.
[51] Gregory, Robert, '"Opposition": The Shadow and the Substance', *Spearhead*, no. 132, Oct. 1979, p. 13.

was in direct contrast to the white Christianity exclusively promoted by *Spearhead.* The clergy that the NF saw as enemies, *Searchlight* wanted to cultivate as potential allies. In 1975 the magazine highlight the stabbing of a priest by a fascist activist after the priest 'threw a leaflet they gave him into the gutter where he felt it belonged',[52] and cautioned 'anybody wearing clerical garb should stay well clear of racist meetings'.[53] *Searchlight* likened the stabbing of the priest to the attack on Trades Councillor Dave Ward by the NF, suggesting some common cause between the Trades Unionists and the Clergy in response to these attacks. Examples such as this highlight how *Searchlight* sought to form a unified front, manifesting support for religious and political activists alike.

To further deepen these types of bonds, *Searchlight* again went into detail of an assault on priests in 1975, though this time by Francisco Franco's supporters in the Basque region of Spain. One article on this theme talked of how four men were tortured and disfigured with ruptured kidneys. They use this identification of fascist violence to attack the claims from the extreme right to be acting in 'Defence of the values of the Christian West against the Atheism of the left'.[54] Similarly, there was also a continued effort by *Searchlight* to erode the claims of the NF to defend Christian faith, even going so far as to deny that they represented Christianity at all and were alien to such a faith. For example, it derided their self-declared status as the defenders of white Christians by arguing that by supporting Rhodesia as it arrested Bishops, the NF were 'not Christians either, but practisers of various Pagan creeds, the worship of the Norse Gods and their bloody religions that stem from pre-history'.[55] This theme of paganism did show there were limits to the embrace of all cultures and faith in *Searchlight*.

Some attacks on the NF were based on links between neo-Wotanist movements and neo-Nazi circles. These concepts, that of a return to the worship of the old Norse and Germanic gods, had entered the NF with some of its earliest figures, though never represented the bulk of its membership. For *Searchlight*, there was much to be made by identifying various sensational histories of the Nazi Party in Germany, yet which actually held little sway with Hitler and the leading Nazi ideology, which was far more focused on the Aryan people over Wotanism or other Thule concepts promoted by SS officers like Alfred Rosenberg.[56] Indeed,

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[52] 'Thor's Hammer', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 7.
[53] *Ibid,* p. 7.
[54] 'News from Europe', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p. 8.
[55] 'The Defenders of White Christian Civilisation', *Searchlight,* no. 9, Nov./Dec. 1975, p. 14.
[56] Mees, Bernard, 'Hitler and *Germanentum*', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2004), pp. 263-264

according to historian Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke these occult influences even had an effect on Hitler, being viewed by one of the leading occultists as their student and possessing a large collection of pagan-related artefacts.[57] Playing on this concept of Nazi interests in strands of paganism, *Searchlight* used photos to illustrate how the camps held by Fountaine, Tyndall and Colin Jordan in the early 1960s, where ignited pagan sunwheels and quasi-religious ceremonies were common.[58] These were later deployed as evidence of the non-Christian, pagan sympathies of figures such as Tyndall and Webster. This was despite the fact that such camps were the work of Fountaine, while Jordan had no relationship with the NF.[59] *Searchlight* however suggested that these images provided proof that these ideas had been brought into the NF by Fountaine and Tyndall, asking 'What the leaders of the National Front intend doing with priests in this country'.[60] In framing these concepts as a threat to Britain, *Searchlight* is attempting to both degrade the NF's claim to be true defenders of Christian Britain but also to call its own people to action against this alleged secret threat which would change Britain away from its current morality, a curiously conservative proposal.

When there was support for the NF from those of faith, *Searchlight* tended to question the credentials of such supporters, questioning them as true followers of the faith too. Christians who did show support for the NF could be reduced to being described as 'So-called Christians'[61], making them part of the 'other', rather than the in group of British Christians who *Searchlight* assumed would always be opposed to the extreme right. There was a strong effort to associate the NF with anti-Christian views too, and a nexus of criticisms that highlighted the relationship to Nazi Germany, making use of faith to exclude the NF and place them firmly as a foreign non-British influence. When speaking of the temptation of the NF, Canon Richards wrote in *Searchlight* that 'To her undying shame Germany fell for that temptation and today the graves cry out to us: "Beware"'.[62] So, not only here was

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[57] Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and their Influence on Nazi Ideology*, (New York: New York University Press, 1993), pp. 192-196.
[58] Andrew Fountaine was a British far right politician, former soldier, former naval officer and a Norfolk landowner. Fountaine had served with Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War and he served in the Royal Navy during the Second World War. He had tried to set up his own National Front in the early 1950s but ended up as part of the League of Empire Loyalists when that failed. He made his ancestral home, Narford Hall, available for these military-style camps.

For more information and suggested reading on Andrew Fountaine, see Appendix C: Key Figures.
[59] 'The Defenders of White Christian Civilisation', p. 14.
[60] *Ibid*, p. 14.
[61] 'Churches Launch National Campaign Against Racialism – National Front Activities Denounced', *Searchlight*, no. 31, Jan. 1978, p. 10.
[62] *Ibid*, p. 11.

Searchlight using a member of the clergy to provide an authoritative voice to appeal to notions of faith within the public and reinforce their claim to be true defenders of faith, but they suggest that the NF were seeking to impose a foreign notion of faith onto the British. With their references to Wotanism, and to Nazi Germany, *Searchlight* attempted to frame the NF as representing not only such a foreign faith, but through the discussion on their political action representing this threat as a real and imminent threat to modern Britain too.

Searchlight also highlighted the attacks upon the clergy and the organised church as being again part of a foreign un-British style. Its pages suggested not only that the NF were attacking a part of the British fabric by doing so but also that 'This attack on the clergy for commenting on the great social issues is to be found on the pages of any publication of the extreme right, all over the world'.[63] It also highlighted that Tyndall's work was being published abroad in America, suggesting he was a conduit for foreign extremist ideas entering into British society, so that that Tyndall, rather than, say, migration, was a true source of the corruption of modern Britain. Similarly, *Searchlight* also clearly defined the Anglican Church as being quite different to the 'Church in Germany in the 1930s' because 'the clergy in this country are not standing back and passively watching the use of racism as a political tool'.[64] Again, the focus was on the foreignness of the NF.

Both *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* seemed to agree on Britain as a Christian nation and sought to appeal to this. Key differences came in the exclusivity of this appeal, with *Spearhead* focused upon appealing to Christian identity in society, while *Searchlight* also sought to create a broad front amongst other faiths. It is important to note however that *Searchlight* still focused primarily on the Christian nature of Britain and did use non-mainstream faiths such as paganism in a very regressive manner to try and attack the extreme right and so drifted from the inclusive vision they had for themselves.

We also see a key difference in who the message was targeted at, with *Spearhead* focused on the laity and seeking to circumvent the clergy. This was a secular approach to faith, with the identity of religion included into themes of state and nationhood, that would match the stated need of fascism to create or use a lay religious identity to motivate the nation to meet the challenges of the era, as put forward by Gentile.[65] It is clear then that though both

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[63] 'Racism & Christianity', *Searchlight*, no. 44, Feb. 1979, p. 13.
[64] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[65] Gentile, Emilio, *The Origins of Fascist Ideology 1918-1925*, (New York: Enigma, 2005), p. 393.

Spearhead and *Searchlight* spoke about faith and used this in their understandings of Britishness, they framed it in divergent ways. For *Spearhead*, faith was clearly rooted in Christianity and its link to a supposedly morally superior white Britishness, but they sought to position themselves as the voice of this Christian laity against a Clergy deemed decadent, evocative of what Griffin describes the populist drive in fascism to decry corrupt elites in order to appeal to the masses. They also used it to frame the clergy as out of touch and betraying their faith, placing them as part of the outside group as Simon and Klandermans describe, and thus seeking to erode the strength of the Clergy's message. From *Searchlight* there was a more pluralistic approach to faith and its role in the national identity, as opposed to the monocultural vision presented by *Spearhead*. Rather than the concepts of Simon and Klandermans, what *Searchlight* strove for seemed more informed by the notions of Paul Ward and the layered identities, and maintaining, as Wallwork and Dixon would suggest, a flexible notion of Britishness, and in doing so allowed them to try and achieve mass mobilisation of a street movement.

What both groups did attempt was what Colley recognised as a key aspect of historical notions of Britishness, in that they created a clear sense of an enemy, not least in defining each other as having been an 'other' to their ideal of Britishness. For *Spearhead* these enemies in faith were not just the alien cultures that were entering Britain with differing values, but they also defined the establishment politicians as enemies of faith for legislating to allow homosexuality and other acts deemed immoral, their political enemies in the left by being a fifth column for the godless hordes of the east but most surprisingly the clergy themselves. Their assault on the clergy was interesting on two fronts, first in that it showed a recognition that they would not be able to rely on the support of the traditional guardians of Britishness and engaged in typical fascist anti-clericalism, but also that they attacked the clergy for betraying Britain just by seeking to provide aid to foreign groups, such as the Kenyans, who were seen by *Spearhead* to be outside of Britishness.

Searchlight equally spoke of enemies, though for them it was *Spearhead*, and the NF's usage of Christian identity itself, which was the danger to the faith of Britain. What is surprising is the regressive manner in which a purportedly progressive movement treated the pagan faiths of Odinism, and were willing to exploit this minority faith group within the extreme right – which had a culture of its own that extended well beyond just the extreme right – to create this sense of enemy and outsider influence. What unifies both the approach of *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* though is that this faith was placed under imminent threat –

whether from the homosexuality of Jeremy Thorpe and his abortion-loving friends in Labour, or from the allegedly Wotanistic NF who sought to impose foreign pagan religions. This was used, as in Hobsbawm's theories, to achieve mass mobilisation of a national culture in defence of this aspect of their faith.

A Language of Britishness and Rule of Law

Both Billig and Hobsbawm argue that nationalism exists, fundamentally, at a national level and Hobsbawm suggests this used by the state to mobilise their people into action in preservation of the state.[66] Both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*, though perhaps notionally in the case of *Spearhead*, sought to operate within the laws of this state and sought change using the system, a system which Hobsbawm suggested through his *Primary der Innenpolitik* was in place and cultivated by the state to help promulgate a civil notion of Britishness that already existed.[67] Both magazines were seeking to adapt an existing aspect of nationalism rather than seek to create and impose some new paradigm. They also sought to appeal to a long-standing notion of the British as a free and lawful people, and so they had to engage with these notions of law and order and of the place of law within society. Given how close both sides – despite their claims to lawfulness – skirted close to the lines of criminality, they found themselves facing in a practical manner the question of how to claim to represent British sense of societal order and the rule of law, while being condemned by that same institution.

When dealing with state institutions that are part of Britishness *Spearhead* faced a similar conundrum as it did with its relationship with the church. As *Spearhead* could often be seen as close to infringing the Race Relations Acts (1965, 1968 and 1976), *Spearhead* and its sister publications for its movements often found themselves running foul in various ways before the courts. It could never agree with the rulings brought down against itself or its compatriots, and so *Spearhead* found itself needing to attack the rulings, and the judiciary that made them. In doing this, however, the conundrum appears – for the British prided themselves on an independent and fair judiciary, with the adage that every Englishman shall have his day in court.[68]

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[66] Hobsbawm, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, p. 91, and, John Dixon and Jodi Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness', p. 22.
[67] Hobsbawm, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, p. 91.
[68] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 113, Jan. 1978, p. 2.

The strategy that *Spearhead* developed was often targeted. Rather than attack the judiciary in general, it published articles that accused a specific judge behind a ruling against the NF of being part of a left-wing conspiracy. As was the case with a typical article from 1975, they also often went on to allege that this was a conspiracy aimed at destroying British independence, in order to frame themselves as the saviours of a threatened Britain. When judges ruled against their interests, the judge involved must have been controlled by 'Leftists', *Spearhead* concluded, as was the case when a judge gave lenient sentences to the Birmingham bombers, who received a life sentence without a minimum and so could be released within twelve years and who were seen by *Spearhead* as enemies of the nation due to their involvement in the fight for Irish unification.[69] Another common trope was that, if the judge had not been coerced by the establishment, then it is instead that they were deemed to be 'soft and sloppy creatures ... who have sat on the benches too long'.[70] Through this narrative of the apparatus of the state having been under attack through the betrayal of those working for left-wing causes, *Spearhead* framed any action against themselves as being driven by these enemies and suggested that there was a genuine attack upon British institutions and thus extreme action was required from its members to defend against this threat.

Another example of *Spearhead*'s attack on the judiciary came in 1978, when a case was brought against John Kingsley Read under the Race Relations Act before Judge McKinnon.[71] McKinnon ruled that, though Read had been stupid, the words were not themselves a breach of the Act. McKinnon was promptly attacked for this ruling by the more left-wing press and anti-racism and anti-fascist campaigners, even so far as the Lord

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[69] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 87, Sep. 1975, p. 2.; The Birmingham bombings occurred on 21st November 1974, with bombs detonating in two pubs in Birmingham. Though the Provisional Irish Republican Army never took formal responsibility for the attack, the bombings were widely ascribed to the Irish Republican movement and six men were arrested. This group, known as the Birmingham Six, claimed they were innocent and the confessions furnished at their trial were obtained through duress by the police. All 6 were found guilty at trial in June 1975 and sentenced to life sentences. These convictions would be quashed as unsafe in 1991. For specific coverage of the Birmingham bombings and the creation of the Irish diaspora as a suspect people, see: O'Reilly, Laura, 'The Birmingham Pub Bombings, the Irish as a "Suspect Community" and the Memories of the O'Reilly Family', in, Graham Dawson, Jo Dover and Stephen Hopkins (eds.), *The Northern Ireland Troubles in Britain: Impacts, Engagements, Legacies and Memories*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017). For a more general history of the Northern Irish conflict, see: Sanders, Andrew, and Ian Wood, *Times of Troubles: Britain's War in Northern Ireland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
[70] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 87, Sep. 1975, p. 2.
[71] John Kingsley Read was a former Conservative Party member who joined the National Front in 1973 before becoming Chairman in 1974. After attempting, and failing, to expel John Tyndall in 1975, Read went on to found the National Party. He was charged over an anti-immigration speech where he used the term 'niggers, wogs and coons', but was acquitted by Judge McKinnon in 1978. For more information on the trial and its response, see: 'British Judge Backs Right to Air Race Views, Stirring Bitter Debate', *New York Times,* 13 Jan. 1978, p. 4. For more information and further reading on John Kingsley Read, see Appendix C: Key Figures.

Chancellor intervening to discuss his behaviour and McKinnon being removed from any such future case of this type.[72] *Spearhead* hailed McKinnon's ruling as a great victory for the independence of the judiciary, declaring that 'in Britain, the independence of the judiciary is at least as old as the right of free speech … the freedom of judges from executive control was a freedom literally fought for over 400 years ago'.[73] Tyndall did not simply leave it as a matter of praising the elites involved, instead stating that the 'heroes of the hour who were the twelve good men and true of the jury', contrasting the 'Tyrannical race relations laws', and the unruly 'Noisy tribe of Zionist MPs ... shrill voice of support for the Immigrant', against the 'basic liberties of free expression that Britons have enjoyed for centuries',[74] which McKinnon and the jury upheld.

Such claims could be taken even further. Against this strong judiciary that they were quick to claim as patriots, *Spearhead*'s commentary brought up the Labour Party and 'their mentor state, the Soviet Union', as an example of anti-Britishness with how 'the party [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] controls the judges' and suggesting they are a group who fight 'for the Immigrant and Minority campaign rather than for the upholding of the freedoms of the ordinary White British Majority'.[75] *Spearhead* was stating that the Labour Party were a fifth column who represented a threat to the nation even if they were well intentioned and were being misled by their controllers. Special exception from this more sympathetic interpretation of their actions was reserved for the Jewish dominated parts of the Labour Party, who were framed as the worst offenders, accusing them of using political influence. *Spearhead* railed about how 'Zionist Attorney General Sam Silkin demanded a transcript of Judge McKinnon's summing up and an interview with the Lord Chief Justice', the sending of 'a deputation of Labour MPs led by Zionists Edmund Lyons and Leo Abse', to the Lord Chancellor and summing it up with a quote, reporting that 'Zionist Marcus Lipton announced that: "Judges who do not represent the general drift of public opinion (sic) should be removed" – a statement of unbelievable idiocy'.[76] These comments reflect a recurrent theme within fascism namely the creation of 'the Jew' as an existential racial threat intent on controlling and bringing down gentiles.

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[72] 'Silly Judge, Silly Law', *Spectator*, 14 Jan. 1978, p. 3, and, Brazier, Rodney, *Constitutional Practice: The Foundations of British Government*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 290.
[73] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 113, Jan. 1978, p. 2.
[74] *Ibid*, p. 2. All quotes in this sentence come from this source.
[75] *Ibid*, p. 2. All quotes in this sentence come from this source.
[76] *Ibid*, p. 2. All quotes in this sentence come from this source.

Spearhead had problems in its assertion that independence of the judiciary was a sign of civilisation when countries that they supported as part of the wider British community, such as white Rhodesia, took actions that went against this institution. This can be seen with the previously mentioned incidences of Bishops taken into custody for supporting minority rights or as in the case of Peter Niesewand's sentence for two years of hard labour in 1973 in a secret trial. Niesewand, a freelance journalist, was a constant critic of the white Rhodesian government and was detained in isolation for 73 days before a secret trial convicted him of violating the Official Secrets Act for his coverage of the Bush War.[77] *Spearhead* argued that it was not those who chose the secret trial who had subverted this plank of British freedom, but the black terrorists who had engaged in 'armed attack and subversion' which justified Rhodesia in taking 'special measures to protect itself'.[78] The need of this is argued to be proven by detention without trial of IRA terrorists, but also by the internment of British fascists such as Oswald Mosley during the war. This was a move *Spearhead* claims was 'vigorously supported by the very left-liberal elements who are today howling about Niesewand'.[79] Such statements epitomised the view developed by *Spearhead* that legislation like the Race Relations Act impinged on the rights of freeborn Englishmen, and that the British establishment was concerned with developing a conspiracy to supress the nationalist cause. This vision of a conspiracy against their views was also linked to *Spearhead*'s racialist theories of white supremacy. In April 1971, *Spearhead* assistant editor Martin Webster in a primer for young nationalists laid out the conspiracy to hide the truth of racial politics:

> Despite all the huff and puff from left wingers and internationalists about there being no difference between the races ... [the] world government know very well the truth ... internationalist elements of all types are at the forefront of all attempts to encourage people of different races to interbreed and produce half-caste offspring. The reason for this is obvious. If separate races can be eradicated by the process of

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[77] 'Bittersweet Victory', *Time*, 14 May 1973; The Rhodesian Bush War, also known as the Rhodesian War or the Zimbabwe War of Liberation, took place from November 1965, following Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, until December 1979. It saw conflict between the forces of the white minority rule government of Ian Smith against the Zimbabwe African National Union, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and their military wings. ZANU and ZAPU wanted full decolonisation of Rhodesia, including equal rights for Black Africans and implementation of majority rule. For further reading on the Rhodesian Bush War, see: McLaughlin, Peter and Paul L. Moorcraft, *Rhodesian War: A Military History*, (London: Stackpole, 2010), and, Law, Kate, *The Decolonisation of Zimbabwe*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2020), and, Onslow, Sue, 'War and Interrogation: The Rhodesian Bush War', in, Christopher Andrew and Simona Tobia (eds.), *Interrogation in War and Conflict* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 205-228.
[78] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 63, May 1973, p. 2.
[79] *Ibid*, p. 2.

miscegenation and the whole of humanity submerged into a single slant-eyed khaki coloured lumpen, then racial differences will have disappeared – along with any sense of national identity [80]

In contrast, *Searchlight* was very vocal in its support of the Race Relations Act, describing it as supporting Britishness and enhancing freedom by ensuring that hate was isolated, a law that represent the will of the people against the fascists. For *Searchlight* there was no understanding of a Britishness that excluded other ethnicities. It was consistent in arguing for a multi-ethnic approach, embracing lines such as the campaigning organisation 'All Faiths for One Race',[81] reprinting calls for action by 'all decent minded people, irrespective of race, religion or political beliefs',[82] and condemning methods such as the IQ test that were seen to divide the races and which *Searchlight* claimed were 'used to provide objective scientific basis for the class and race nature of the education and political/economic system'.[83] They were often greatly concerned by the actions of the extreme right in seeking to inflame racial tensions. One of the earliest accusations against Tyndall was that 'During the days of the Notting Hill race riots in 1959, the movements with which Tyndall was associated played a key role in aggravating the situation and participating in the street activities that followed'.[84] Tyndall, and his fellow travellers, were clearly framed as active threats to not just ideas of Britishness, but to the peace and tranquillity of society, and to property with the prospect of riots once again raised. *Searchlight* demanded that the NF and others in the extreme right were excluded from civil society and the rights to use public buildings, their chances of achieving any success summed up as 'Their racism stinks so high and wide that they will never get the acceptance of anything but a lunatic fringe in this country'.[85]

It is worth considering how *Searchlight* commented on the criminality of the NF. When prosecutions were brought against extreme-right groups or were brought on points of principle by such groups to gain access for their views or redress from detractors, *Searchlight* often celebrated the free and independent judiciary, just as *Spearhead* did when the judges rule in their favour. As with *Spearhead,* they too used this as justification for their

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[80] Webster, Martin, 'The Spirit of Nationalism Part 2: Race and Nation – An Introduction for Young People', *Spearhead,* no. 42, Apr. 1971, p. 7.
[81] Wilkins, G., 'No Threats Just the Truth', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 5
[82] 'News in Brief', *Searchlight*, no. 23, Apr. 1977, p. 16.
[83] 'Racism: Scientific and Crude Part 1', *Searchlight*, no. 27, Aug. 1977, p. 18.
[84] 'Who's Who on the Right', *Searchlight* no. 1, Feb. 1975, p. 14.
[85] 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 1.

own actions and for their belief that they were the embodiment of defence of British values. These victories, especially when they directly involved *Searchlight*, were often given greater coverage than might otherwise be expected. Of note is when Colin Jordan brought an unsuccessful action against *Searchlight* for criminal libel in 1976, with *Searchlight* having twice referred to Jordan having been involved in arson attacks on synagogues. *Searchlight* included commentary on the fact that the organs of the state, the Director of Public Prosecutions in particular, had sided with them in their view of these groups as criminal as part of the justification for its claim to be defending Britain.[86] It was continued through into the next issue, a rare occurrence as *Searchlight* often preferred concise and complete narratives, by reprinting all of Jordan's testimony. In doing so they highlighted Jordan's Nazi sympathies, which were characterised as German, so un-British, but also quoted what they clearly consider important: Jordan's rejection of British Nationality as it was defined. *Searchlight* used their counsel, where Jordan had none, at the trial to compel Jordan to give evidence that they could then repeat his answers to leading questions that revealed that Britishness, for Jordan, was tied to race and not location.[87]

> I do not accept the present definition of British Nationality, it is a function and a falsity ... I do not believe the other people should have any choice [other than deportation], it should be decided by the truly British people. My definition of British people is not based on geography but on race ... I do not regard it as a problem to differentiate between persons of Anglo Saxon origin and persons from West Indies and Pakistan and India.[88]

Where judgments went against *Searchlight* there was a degree of disconnect from this narrative of the courts being truly British and true arbiters. *Searchlight* was quick to condemn judges who did not go far enough, or who let off fascists, as Judge McKinnon did. Sometimes, this played into the conspiracy theories around state collusion and improper pressure being brought to bear on judges that *Spearhead* was launching. Both sides proclaimed their great love of independence of the judiciary – provided it conformed to their own views on a case. *Searchlight* used its broad base as a campaign organisation and the links it had made to strike back against judges. When it was criticised by the stipendiary magistrate in 1976 when Colin Jordan brought a criminal libel case against Maurice Ludmer

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[86] 'Criminal Libel Charge Thrown Out', *Searchlight*, no. 21, Feb. 1977, p. 7.
[87] 'Criminal Libel Charge Thrown Out: Part Two', *Searchlight*, no. 22, Mar. 1977, pp. 17-18.
[88] *Ibid*, p. 18.

for comments in *Searchlight* relating to arson attacks against synagogues, the magazine published a letter under its editorial with signatures from leading figures from unions and from anti-racism and race relations.[89] The weighted nature of this response, giving over half their editorial, is explained by the magistrate's accusations, that *Searchlight* was a false friend to anti-fascists and brought them into disrepute by its zealous reporting, something the groups refuted in their letter as 'strange and bizarre'.[90] *Searchlight* had both sought the approval of the director of public prosecutions, and celebrated his praise, in this case and also relied on community action groups to defend it, relying on their diversity to prove its own credentials as a campaigning organisation.

The relationship between the apparatus of state, its role in the British identity, and their own movements was difficult for both *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* to grapple with. Both sought the legitimacy of the courts to support their notions of, and their claims to be defending, Britishness. This can be seen both as an attempt to usurp some of the latent nationalism developed by the state around its structures for their own purposes, as Hobsbawm argues the state does, and allowing them to frame the other campaign as the enemy, with the support of the courts. As both movements struggled with the courts and celebrated any kind words from authority figures, the key difference between the two magazines views seems to stem from the future direction of the law and its impact on their new Britains. *Searchlight* campaigned for laws to evolve to provide equality, they approved of changes such as the Race Relations Act and were happy to adopt them and their promotion of an anti-racist and welcoming society into their understanding of Britishness. *Spearhead* instead relied on the courts to defend what it saw as traditional British rights and laws, especially those of freedom of speech, against what it saw as the assault on them organised by Zionists and the Jewish controlled press.

A Language of Britishness and Race

To say that race was one important part of *Spearhead*'s national image is to understate the prominence it had within their writing, equally it was the difference in treatment of races that often drove campaigns by *Searchlight*. There was often a crude racism within

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[89] 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 20, Jan. 1977, p. 2. Signatories were: Tony Huq (Bangladesh Workers' Association UK), Jogmanhon Joshi (Indian Workers Association GB), Mohammed Yunis (Kashmiri Workers' Union UK), Dr S. A. Khan (Pakistani Welfare Society), Clare Short (All Faiths for One Race), Maurice Andrews (Afro-Caribbean Self-Help Organisation), David Perris (Birmingham Trades Council) and Jack Turner (West Midlands Labour Party Race Relations Action Committee)
[90] *Ibid*, p. 2.

Spearhead, though at times it was very developed and nuanced understanding, based on racialist pseudo-science and grand conspiracies around Jewish attempts to destroy the white race. Given the visual differentiation between white and black British populations, it was straightforward for *Spearhead* to identify them as the obvious target for the creation of a hostile other, under Colley's concept of Britishness. *Spearhead*'s focus on a whiteness and a unity of whiteness that it is hard to think truly existed, echoes the calls of Dixon and Wallwork, as well as Anderson, that the communities they sought to create in people's mind as objects to be defended were themselves imagined constructs. Equally for *Searchlight* we will see that race was a large campaigning issue for them, seeking to defend the rights of minorities, but perhaps understanding some of the problematic ways in which they themselves viewed races and struggled with defending those rights of distinct communities, while pushing for a multi-cultural Britain that was under threat from the hatred of *Spearhead* and its associated groups.

From the very first *Spearhead,* which included images on the front designed to represent African cultures as alien to British readers, they set out to establish the alien and 'other' nature black and African identities.[91] There would be little acceptance of the concept of black Britishness. Indeed, there was a clear sense of racial hierarchy and dehumanisation, established in *Spearhead.* One article from the first edition included a discussion on the civilisations that white people first found in Africa, which were described as 'Wild Animals' and the actions of black African leaders successively referred to as horrors, declaring 'The Black African could no more claim that he effectively occupied Africa than could the Red Indian claim that he owned the plains of North America'.[92] This presentation of people living in Africa in early colonial times through a language of wildness or savagery continued in other issues too. An arrested black man was described as an 'Uncaged Animal',[93] which was contrasted against a British civilisation that they claimed was developed to tame such wildness, and that civilisation was 'The very factor that has set man apart from the animal'.[94] For *Spearhead* black migration and a black presence was not just the presence of an alternative to their vision of civilisation, but an active anti-civilisation that posed a degenerative threat to the Britain that they knew, and would do to British civilisation what *Spearhead* alleges they did to Africa post-Empire.[95]

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[91] Images, *Spearhead,* no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p, 1.
[92] Webster, Martin, 'Who Will Save Africa from the Black Death?', *Spearhead,* no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 2.
[93] 'Uncaged Animal', *Spearhead,* no. 8, Jul. 1965, p. 8.
[94] Tyndall, John, 'Prescription for Suicide', *Spearhead,* no. 21, Nov./Dec. 1968, p. 5.
[95] Webster, Martin, 'Who Will Save Africa from the Black Death?'.

This view of the African as the savage beast echoed colonial stereotypes around black people. What *Spearhead* put forward though was a clear emphasis on the claimed savage and bestial nature of black people. This echoed older notions, such as the Victorian colonial imagery described by Philip Curtin that was based upon comparison of animal and human skulls from Africa.[96] What is surprising is a lack of the 'Lazy African' stereotype, identified by Klas Rönnbäck as being one of the older stereotypes of black people that could be traced back before the 15th century.[97] The absence early on of the lazy stereotype can be seen by studying the use of the stereotypes and the goal of *Spearhead* at the time. The 'Lazy African' stereotype has been used to justify slavery and later labour coercion within the British Empire, and deliberately developed for that purpose.[98] Meanwhile in this early period the NF's primary interest was in halting immigration and reversing it with the imposition of repatriation, with early support for Enoch Powell following his Rivers of Blood speech.[99] The NF sought to suggest that immigration was a direct threat to white culture, with a sense of immediacy requiring urgent action. In this context, the negative stereotype of a bestial and aggressive black man could chime with public fears more successfully.

Nevertheless, as the economy deteriorated through the 1970s *Spearhead* placed an ever greater focus on issues such as the dole and benefits, and here articles increasingly employed the 'Lazy African' stereotype. They linked the paucity of the old age pension with a theme of welfare funds being given to undeserving black immigrants. Typically, one article from 1976 contrasted the 'meagre standard of living' of the pensioner with the 'layabouts, drug addicts [and] immigrants'.[100] It also described as pampered the immigrants who, awaiting deportation, were placed in a disused RAF barracks.[101] This colonial stereotype of laziness was presented not only as a threat to the country, but directly placed as a threat to the

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[96] Curtin, Philip D., *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1964), p. 367.
[97] Rönnbäck, Klas, '"The Men Seldom Suffer a Woman to Sit Down": The Historical Development of the Stereotype of the "Lazy African"', *African Studies*, vol. 73, no. 2 (2014), pp. 211-212.
[98] Whitehead, Ann, '"Lazy Men", time-use, and rural development in Zambia', *Gender & Development*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1999), pp. 49-61.
[99] Enoch Powell was a British Conservative Party politician and Member of Parliament from 1950 until 1974, when he left the Conservative Party. He re-joined Parliament later in 1974 as the Ulster Unionist Party MP for South Down, where he served until 1987. A former Minister for Health, Powell became prominent for his opposition to the Race Relations Act and for giving a speech in April 1968 which predicted racial unrest, known as the 'Rivers of Blood' speech. Though condemned as racist, and costing Powell his position in the Shadow Cabinet, Powell's supporters claimed Powell's views were popular in the country at large. For more information and further reading on Enoch Powell, see Appendix C: Key Figures.
[100] Drane, A. R, 'Our Pensioners: A Nationalist Priority', *Spearhead,* no. 94, May 1976, p. 7.
[101] *Ibid*, p. 7.

wellbeing of pensioners in denying them the increases they need for suitable living. This was something the NF claimed it would rectify to restore dignity to the elderly.[102]

In that same first issue where he sought to reinforce these bestial and highly racist images, Tyndall, only recently departed as secretary of the National Socialist Movement, was seeking to distance his new movement from the NSM and the choices they had made in the name of nationalists. He blamed the French wife of Colin Jordan for corrupting him, and Jordan's obsession with the glories of Germany, arguing instead that they should talk to British people about British problems. While this sounds like a narrowing down of world view, Tyndall also argued for a widening the concept of Britishness. In his early writings for *Spearhead*, Tyndall explained that a New Commonwealth needed to be formed around people of British descent across the globe, and he is clear this meant white people, and enclaves of white people in Africa needed to be supported.[103] He described this mission to build a community of white British peoples from across the world as an evolution of British ideas, not a rejection, adding the 'Commonwealth partnership is natural and beneficial to Britain. It is natural because of the strong links of flesh and blood that bind the majority of people in the Dominions to this country ... the basis for a new Commonwealth, which is one of a partnership of white nations, and not the multi-racial non-partnership that we have today'.[104] He framed such themes as a defence of Britain, stressing that 'Where British workers met competition in the Commonwealth, it would be the competition of highly paid workers like themselves, not the competition of coolie sweatshops'.[105] Tyndall was setting out his movement as the defenders of a traditional white Britishness from outside threats. In seeking this transnational vision, of a united white New Commonwealth, Tyndall's Britishness transcended the geographical and became a transnational Britishness focused around ethnicity.

Though Tyndall drew on the language of working for the Commonwealth, a language accepted by society in the 1950s and 1960s, the truth underlying such discussions were the promotion of an Empire run according to racial hierarchies. He wished to reverse the imposition of the international free market trade system, what he termed the liberal system, and which he links to 'mov[ing] money out of Britain for the purpose of setting up these sweatshops in the Far East ... profit earned in Britain is not ploughed back into Britain and

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[102] *Ibid*, p. 7.
[103] Tyndall, John, 'Editorial', *Spearhead,* no. 6, Apr. 1965, p. 2.
[104] 'Economic Sickness: The Root of the Trouble', *Spearhead,* no. 49, Jan./Feb. 1972, p. 5.
[105] *Ibid,* p. 5.

for the benefit of Britain'.[106] Tyndall was, once again, trying to link his ideological enemies of the left to the weakening of Britain and operating as a fifth column. Like many great and lofty goals of Empire from the British extreme right, this one again waned as the Empire continued to shrink, and majority rule came to place outside of South Africa. As Tyndall saw his vision for an alternative to independence come to nothing, other than perhaps encouraging a few rebellious young men to go to Africa and fight for white rule in Rhodesia, the vision became less pronounced in *Spearhead*. Nevertheless, Tyndall's concept of Britishness remained one that was based on race rather than geographic location or birthplace and was one that envisioned Britain once again establishing an imperial dominion.

Spearhead also rejected the idea of there being a black African civilisation. It was made clear from the first issue of the magazine that Africans were unable to rule themselves, let alone make any meaningful progress in providing the basic building blocks of British-style life. This was contrasted against the ordered rule of Rhodesia, white Kenya and South Africa, all presented as places where British values had tamed the 'primitive people'[107] of the continent, with their 'witch doctors, ju-ju bones and black magic'.[108] Webster argued that 'White nations moved in and built mighty empires … for everything they took from Africa, something of value was given in return. Hospitals, roads, schools, universities, workplaces and homes'.[109] These imperial, and to Webster positive, actions were contrasted with what occurred in the post-imperial settlement, with 'the Whitehall traitors, having pawned their souls to International Jewish Finance in order to fight Jewish wars, have perverted the purpose of our Empire … the *raison d'être* of the Commonwealth (sic) is to bring to nationhood and to finance any and every conglomeration of black half-savages'.[110] Where black African leadership had risen, such as Joshua Nkomo, *Spearhead* ridiculed him as merely an ape.[111] A cartoon even suggested that Nkomo was indistinguishable from a creature in the zoo, to be studied and poked fun of by white children.[112]

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[106] *Ibid,* p. 5.
[107] Webster, Martin, 'Who Will Save Africa from the Black Death', p. 2.
[108] *Ibid,* p. 2.
[109] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[110] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[111] Joshua Nkomo was a trade union leader, politician and political leader in Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe). As leader of the National Democratic Party he was imprisoned for ten years by Ian Smith's regime from 1964 until 1974. After his release he formed the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and ran both a guerrilla and conventional war against the Rhodesian Government from his base in Zambia. He would later serve as a cabinet minister and Vice President of Zimbabwe before his death in 1999. For further reading on Joshua Nkomo, see: Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J., *Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo of Zimbabwe: Politics, Power, and Memory*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
[112] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 127, Mar. 1979, p. 3.

"No dear —
Joshua Nkomo
lives in Zambia!"
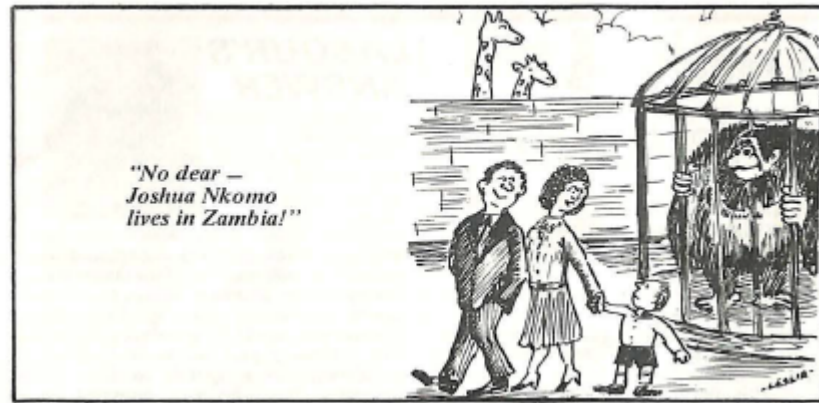
[113]

Spearhead continued this narrative of British civilisation in contrast to what it saw as black barbarism in later years too, championing the NF as a line of defence against the regression of society to a bestial state. To highlight this theme, they frequently described the interests of British citizens in such a way as to make it clear this was a uniquely white society was under siege by a dangerous black community. This can be seen as clearly when in 1976 they echoed British judge Gwyn Morris's call for vigilante patrols to protect 'elderly white women from assaults by black muggers',[114] and that 'British Citizens, whether they like it or not, will be called upon to defend themselves and their womenfolk'.[115] Such language was very clearly aligning Britishness with the elderly white woman and its position as 'the strongest support of law and order',[116] rather than the non-white muggers. This was designed to appear simply as reasonable fair comment, yet figures such as Webster clearly also viewed mugging as a 'racial crime', a claim they supported with police statistics stating that '92 percent of the muggers in Peckham ... are black',[117] adding, 'and, say the police, they will soon kill'.[118] *Spearhead* took an ostensibly reasonable position, that mugging old women is a criminal act, and used it in a racist manner to talk about the threat to Britain being posed by black people, to the point where all black people become excluded from British national identity and seen as a dangerous other. *Spearhead* made it clear that they were the only political organisation able to stand up to defend Britishness from such threats, using an image of NATO troops with long hair and sunglasses used to suggest that the nation was in the grip of a crisis of manhood in white culture, and everyone else is too feminised to become involved.[119] In doing this, representing the other white European

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[113] Image copied from: 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 127, Mar. 1979, p. 3.
[114] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 99, Nov. 1976, p. 2.
[115] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[116] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[117] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[118] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[119] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 85, Jul. 1975, p. 2.

Christian nations as feminised and weak, they suggested Britain was a pinnacle of white culture, and that they were taking a leading role fighting the enemies of the nation, and the race: a clear adoption of fascist ultranationalism.

This attempt to create a moral panic around black muggers was used to evoke the idea of an alien threat. This could be quite direct, such as when the magazine echoed the words of Enoch Powell when he described non-white migration as an '"alien implant"…[that] had reduced a community that was once homogenous to a divided, violent society in which self-identifying groups were growing apart "because of their inherent natures"'.[120] In this description, mugging was presented as a phenomenon that demonstrated not just the more violent nature of the black community, but was used to suggest mugging was somehow beyond British behaviour, and had only emerged in white British people as a pollutant from 'social disintegration brought about by coloured immigration'.[121] Powell was not part of the solution according to *Spearhead*, as he lacked the conviction for a 'bold and forthright policy which gets to the root of that problem'[122] adding that 'Powell is a political tinkerer [and that] marks him indelibly as part of the tired and outworn establishment'.[123] *Spearhead* described Britain as both under threat from this mugging threat, and also state the inability of anyone part of the current establishment to solve this, arguing for the need for a revolutionary solution to defend the nation.

The timing of these reports is interesting when considering the wider media commentary of the period. As Stuart Hall identifies, there are two periods, 1970-1973 and 1975, in which the British media created a moral panic around mugging, specifically mugging by black people.[124] Hall connects this development, in part, to the collapse of relations between the police and black society in the later 1960s.[125] When examining the NF's role within that, although Hall identifies Powell as a cause, he is clear that this is a broad panic caused by many factors.[126] Following from this, what can be seen with the coverage in *Spearhead* shortly after the second wave of this panic, and primarily based around coverage of Powell, is racist messaging not trying to drive public opinion but instead a discourse that was responding to and seeking to appropriate an existing threat generated by mainstream media.

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[120] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 94, May 1976, pp. 2-3.
[121] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[122] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[123] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[124] Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson et al, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 20-29.
[125] *Ibid*, p. 179.
[126] *Ibid,* p. 271.

Despite this wider context, it is notable that there is little reference to coverage elsewhere other than the comments of Powell himself, framing themselves as being the only ones speaking these hidden truths to their readership. This also shows how *Spearhead* were content to import concepts and struggles from other white countries where they believed it would help. Hall is clear that the moral panic around mugging was itself an import from American culture, which is why it was so heavily laced with a racist imagery that the NF could exploit.[127] Britishness, for *Spearhead*, was interwoven with race, and so these imports from other English-descended nations seem natural, while *Searchlight* used these same American links to suggest a foreignness to *Spearhead*'s rhetoric.

With the decline of white rule in Africa, *Spearhead* sought out those who were to blame within Britain – with white supremacy meaning this could not be a natural defeat. They made clear who was betraying these 'bastions of sanity' to the 'Black Death': 'names such as Goldreich, Goldberg, Berstein and Volpe'[128] were cited by *Spearhead*. This focus on 'Jewish High Finance' that was seen as a force corrupting Britishness as also linked to the 'Bolshevist subversion',[129] again identifying both their ideological enemies to Britishness, namely the left, with one of their racial enemies, the Jews. Jewish people, understood as another racially distinct community, were often framed as the active enemy of the British people. The traditional parties, liberals by *Spearhead*'s terms, were claimed to collude with this agenda. Not only were Jewish people accused of having undue influence through the Zionist lobby, but figures such as new Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson were repeatedly accused of being under the control of international Jewish forces.[130] This was communicated in picture as well as word, and Wilson was depicted as a dog on a leash before an Israeli businessman.[131]

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[127] *Ibid,* p. xvii.
[128] Webster, Martin, 'Who Will Save Africa from the Black Death?', p. 2.
[129] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[130] 'Who Controls Harold Wilson?', *Spearhead,* no. 2, Dec. 1964. p. 3; For more information on Harold Wilson, see footnote 55 in the introduction.
[131] 'Harold Wilson – Watchdog of Democracy', *Spearhead,* no. 8, Jul. 1965, p. 9.

Harold Wilson —Watchdog of Democracy

This is supposed to be a democracy, but it is clear that Wilson's alien over-lords will permit no free-speech on the racial question.

[132]
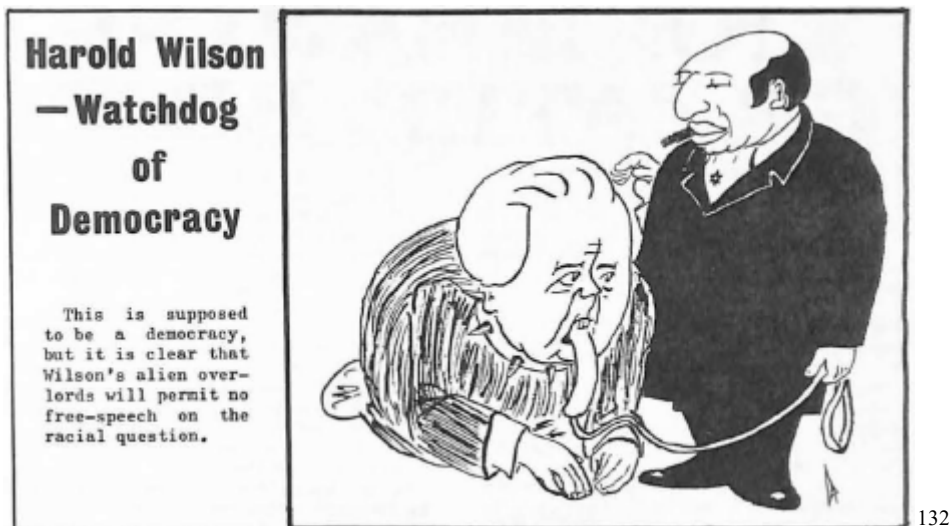
To *Spearhead* this was not just a case of political control, but erosion of the very heart of British culture through the British Broadcasting Company. They complained that 'Leo Grade (alias Winogradsky) ... can now claim without contradiction that the British people can only see films, plays and TV shows that the Jews want them to see'.[133] This fed into a narrative in the far right identified by Ray Hill, and conforming to the notions already mentioned of the cultic milieu, that though the primary outward rhetoric was that black migration was degrading society, once activists moved deeper into the movements it was made clear to them that this was no accident.[134] The migration was claimed to be a Jewish plot to destroy the British nation, and the white race more widely.[135]

Antisemitism had long been present within British society, with Aaron Goldman identifying its strengthening after the First World War and reaching new heights within the Second World War despite the ongoing Holocaust in Europe.[136] Part of this was driven by the fascist groups, who sought to take advantage of existing prejudice to claim the Second World War was fought for Jewish interests, as Julie Gottlieb has explored.[137] In the immediate period before the war, the concern over this antisemitism was so established that the Jewish community in Britain took steps to actively disperse new Jewish migrants from continental

[132] *Ibid.*
[133] 'News in Brief', *Spearhead*, no. 3, Jan. 1965, p. 2.
[134] Hill, Ray, interviewed by Benjamin Lee on far right and anti-fascist activism (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archives, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/13/1.
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Goldman, Aaron, 'The Resurgence of Antisemitism in Britain During World War II', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1 (Winter 1984), pp. 37-50.
[137] Gottlieb, Julie, 'Gender and the "Jews' War": Women, Anti-Semitism and the Anti-War Campaigns in Britain, 1938 – 1940', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 31, no. 4 (2020), pp. 745-770.

Europe across Britain to avoid further tension or conflict.[138] This prejudice was not simply a product of the conflict and the fascist propaganda of the 1930s but claimed to exist deep within the cultural fabric of Britain, with George Orwell noting in a 1945 small booklet that antisemitic caricatures and references were present within British novels, plays and music.[139] Colin Holmes identifies one cause of this intensification after 1876 as being rooted in an increasing hatred not just of Jewishness as a religion, but as a cultural group due to the perceived separation of them as a dispersed migrant culture from the mainstream society and allegations of disproportionate financial wealth.[140] And as Daniel Tilles identifies, it was this sense of a rising thread of antisemitism through to the 1930s that helped promote specifically Jewish versions of anti-fascism.[141]

In the period since the Second World War there have been attempts to frame Britain as being free of antisemitic hatred – and thus its re-emergence in the 2000s and 2010s as some new creation – but Tony Kushner argues that close examination of the historical record shows its continued existence throughout the Twentieth Century and the period under examination in this thesis.[142] Therefore in its attacks *Spearhead* was tapping into tropes and themes that would be familiar to many of its audience – it was an expression of a particular part of British culture, and why there needed to be little framing of the exaggerated depictions of Jewish figures and why they could expect arguments of Jewish power to connect even wider than their core audience.

The representation of the Jewish people as the primary enemy of the British people was developed in relation to its racist rhetoric on black people too. According to *Spearhead*, black people themselves were of insufficient intelligence to rule themselves, let alone organise a political threat against Britain. Instead, Jewish people were styled as holding more advanced abilities, hence why they were the masterminds behind this plot. This theme was shown a number of times, such as when articles in *Spearhead* associated the end of empire with a great 'betrayal' by Churchill and the Liberals in allowing the Aliens Act in 1905, which though it set out to control immigration also allowed some migration, including migrants identified by Tyndall as the 'worst of the European ghettos'.[143] An attack on

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[138] Wasserstein, Bernard, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939 – 1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 90-93.
[139] Orwell, George, *Antisemitism in Britain*, (London: Penguin, 1945).
[140] Holmes, Colin, *Anti-Semitism and British Society 1876-1939*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 9.
[141] Tilles, Daniel, *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses 1932-40*, p. 96.
[142] Kushner, Tony, 'Anti-Semitism in Britain: Continuity and the Absence of a Resurgence?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 3 (2013), pp. 434-449.
[143] Tyndall, John, 'Laid Bare.....The Churchill Record', *Spearhead,* no. 4, Feb. 1965, p. 4.

Churchill seems like a counterintuitive strategy to develop a sense of British identity, especially looking back from a contemporary perspective where Churchill has become an icon of Britishness that the extreme right seek to utilise. Even in 1965, *Spearhead* spoke positively of 'the need for a leader of Churchillian personality to come forth and speak frankly upon the evils facing Britain'.[144] However, for the extreme right, Churchill was also a key figure betraying Britain by leading the country in an unnecessary war against Germany. The fallout from the Second World War was represented as a crucial turning point too, with figures from Mosley to Arnold Leese claiming it led to the sudden decline of the Empire after 1945. *Spearhead* even attacked Churchill in its obituary for him and, despite their complaints of Jordan's obsession with Germany, sought to defend Germany's part in the war. They accused Churchill of dragging Britain into the war for Jewish Interests, in contrast to British interests that lay in peace with their German cousins, and firmly placed Jewishness outside of the sphere of Britishness and set it up as a competing and incompatible identity.[145]

This visceral hatred of the racial Jew suggests a degree of importation of their constructed identity. Tyndall and *Spearhead*'s idea of uniting the British people to reverse Imperial decline and re-establish Britain's greatness can be seen as an appeal to a British version of a 'People's Community'. This notion of a 'People's Community' was a common feature of the Nazi ideologies. Dan Stone has explored a fringe culture in Britain populated by figures deeply concerned with racial politics and racial science, with a large part of this being informed by a variant of Nietzscheanism which was adopted into British discourse through eugenicists at the beginning of the twentieth century. This culture was brought to Britain by foreign figures promoting extreme right viewpoints, such as Anthony Ludovici, a British philosopher active in the inter-war period and who wrote for the extreme right British People's Party and argued in favour of aristocracy as well as promoted eugenics as a method through which to strengthen social order and enhance racial purity.[146] Stone plots these ideas, such as Ludovici's, through into the 1960s and the growth of fascism in Britain at this time.[147] Stone's work helps identify the importation of white racial doctrine, which fed into notions of Britishness developed by the extreme right of John Tyndall's generation, and was not unique to *Spearhead*. Racial antisemitism has a much longer history in Britain and is

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[144] Tyndall, John, 'What has Toryism to Offer Us', *Spearhead*, no. 13, Nov./Dec. 1966, p. 7.
[145] Tyndall, John, 'Laid Bare.....The Churchill Record', pp. 4-5.
[146] Ludovici, Anthony M., 'Eugenics and Consanguineous Marriages', *The Eugenics Review*, iss. 25 (1933-1934), pp. 147-155.
[147] Stone, Dan, *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), pp. 33-61.

part of a wider set of discourses constructing extreme right politics. This narrative of hidden Jewish influence agitating for mass migration, and for black and Asian citizens to undermine the racial integrity of the nation, became *Spearhead*'s own 'stab in the back myth'. It explained why the country's Empire had declined, and why its communities had become fragmented. As Wendy Webster identifies, Britain was genuinely undergoing a major shift in its demographics during this period, with the number of aliens doubling between 1939 and 1950 and continuing rise into the 1960s and 1970s too, especially with increases in non-white migration. As a result of this migration, some Britons inevitably became increasingly aware of their own whiteness. This had not happened with the immediate post war immigration, which was advertised as being primarily for economic purposes with the polish, Czech and other white immigrants along with the war time European Volunteer Workers as being, as Webster as well as Kay and Miles describe, presented as 'ideal immigrants'.[148]

These 'ideal immigrants', were regularly contrasted with the migration from the commonwealth, and the concern this black migration caused was highlighted by the furore surrounding the arrival of MV *Empire Windrush*. This fear of migrants who were not white, that *Spearhead* were trying to tap into, was not limited to the far right, and the use of the terminology fearful of limitless immigration that politicians had been using in the 1950s and 1960s had caused deep resentment, and we see politicians trying to limit migration from the commonwealth countries in 1961, despite white migrants still outnumbering black migrants.[149] In *Spearhead* this was contrasted very clearly – though they made the case that the country was full, they do indicate it would be preferable if the migrants were 'simply 2 ½ million people of our own stock, with our own way of life and our own standards of behaviour'.[150] There was little reference to white migration more generally, though they made a direct response to a *Sunday Telegraph* article by its deputy editor Peregrine Worsthorne which suggested that the nation had been the 'beneficiary of so many immigrants from Hitler's Europe, most of whom, being highly intelligent, rose swiftly to positions of great cultural and academic influence'.[151] *Spearhead* was clear that these migrants were far from ideal or wanted, and instead represented part of a conspiracy that had

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[148] Webster, Wendy, 'Immigration and Racism', in, Paul Addison and Harriet Jones, eds., *A Companion to Contemporary Britain: 1939-2000*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 102, and, Kay, Diana and Robert Miles, 'Refugees or Migrant Workers? The Case of the European Volunteer Workers', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3-4 (1988), pp. 214-236.
[149] Webster, Wendy, 'Immigration and Racism', pp. 93-109.
[150] Tyndall, John, 'Editorial: 2 ½ Million Problems', *Spearhead*, no. 15, Jun. 1967, p. 2.
[151] Julius (Identified by Gerry Gable as Martin Webster), 'Gleanings from the Ghetto', *Spearhead*, no. 4, Feb. 1965, p. 5.

led to further black migration, stating 'the "aliens" Mr. Worsthorne refers to are the Jews …
if Britain were Jew-clean she would have no "nigger neighbours" to worry about. Mr
Worsthorne, don't be coy: spell it out. It is the Jews who are our misfortune'.[152] *Spearhead*
stated how ideal it felt black migration was, describing it as 'the tide of unwanted
immigrants',[153] and went on in further issues to state they were not just unwanted but a clear
threat, using quotes from Black Power activists to argue 'immigrants were being imported to
help foment red revolution'.[154] Despite this, when the NF was launched in 1967 it was done
so without overtly racial language, and with *Spearhead* dropping its most antisemitic
columns. However, it is made clear that this is a style and not substantive change:

> There are many of us, especially those who fought in two world wars, who have very
> strong views about winning the wars only to hand over our beloved country to
> Jewish financial power and a flood of African and Asiatic immigrants – peoples
> whose presence in our midst threatens the future of the British breed with a genetical
> peril it has never encountered before: the deadly peril of irreparable mongrelisation.
> We have to oppose these evils with all our might, but if in the act of doing so we
> label ourselves 'Jew-haters' or 'nigger-haters' we shall lose the battle for survival in
> which we are engaged.[155]

Searchlight did not evoke a sense of British society though articles written in terms of
exclusion, rather it sought an inclusive narrative and promoted the development of a more
multicultural society. They attempted to generate a broad consensus, talking about the
struggle of 'Women, as well as Blacks and Asians, still have a long way to go in the struggle
for equality'.[156] This recognition of the struggle of others, legitimising and supporting them,
was part of the rhetoric used in *Searchlight* to try and build up a multi-cultural campaign
with a broad base, a mutually supportive campaign also being reminiscent of the labour
movement. *Searchlight* also used terms like black British and British Asian to bring these
communities into the vision of an inclusive Britain, and styled their different cultural
influences as enhancing the British identity. They also make a case of championing the
causes of minorities in their own campaigns, without a precursor campaign from within the
community. When far-right Libertarian Professor Butz came to the United Kingdom they

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[152] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[153] 'News in Brief', *Spearhead*, no. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 2.
[154] Miller, James, 'Behind the Façade', *Spearhead*, no. 22, Jan./Feb. 1969, p. 16.
[155] Chesterton, A. K., 'A Movement is Born', *Spearhead*, no. 17, Nov./Dec. 1967, p. 7.
[156] 'Editorial', *Searchlight,* no. 26, Jul. 1977, p.2.

contrasted how he, a promoter of antisemitic and anti-black propaganda that was harmful to Britain's cultural fabric, was allowed in easily while Asian immigrants were treated with hostility.[157] *Searchlight*'s description of Butz fits into their wider descriptions of antisemitism and the far right as imported cultures that would disrupt the multi-cultural society that *Searchlight* desired for post-war Britain.[158]

Searchlight also championed the rights of minority groups and sought for abrogation of these rights to be seen as a British, rather than a secondary, concern. As part of this they questioned how black British subjects would be affected by legal changes and demanded clarity from the government raised the concern about divisive activities by the police. In opposition to early moves by the Thatcher government, *Searchlight* were outspoken in their criticism of how the government rhetoric was adding to a culture of hate, stating:

> The present government has already shown its willingness to play the racist card in answer to protests about living standards. Since it has taken office, raids on 'illegal immigrants' have increased, delays in immigration procedures have grown, police harassment of black youth has continued unchecked, overall its policies are geared to 'cutting down the numbers'.[159]

Searchlight also promoted the idea of black British history, deemed as being part of British history rather than being discrete from white British traditions. To justify their inclusion of these other ethnicities within a broader Britishness, *Searchlight* harkened back to the contribution that the Empire made to the war effort. The magazine played on the lingering jingoism of the war, having placed black British communities on the side of the British against Nazism. *Searchlight* contested the racist views of *Spearhead* in this way and utilised emotive language in the early 1980s.

> [B]eginning with the docking of *Empire Windrush* in London ... The involvement of the West Indies in the Second World War, showing the continuity of black British

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[157] Arthur Butz is an American electrical engineering professor and a prominent Holocaust denier, publishing his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry* (Brighton: Historical Review Press, 1975). For more information and further reading on Arthur Butz, and on Anthony Hancock who ran Historical Review Press, see Appendix C: Key Figures.
[158] 'Nutz to Butz', *Searchlight,* no. 27, Aug. 1977, p. 12.
[159] Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, 'Count the Racists not the Blacks', *Searchlight,* no. 56, Feb. 1980, p.17.

history. West Indians came to Europe to fight fascism and those who stayed at home provided a vital part of Britain' war economy in the mines, factories and fields.[160]

This viewed the history of the various peoples who lived in Britain as enriching and strengthening Britain, rather than an 'other' that was stealing the nation's its prosperity, as *Spearhead* alleged.

Examining how *Searchlight* framed their cause and Britishness helps explain why the anti-fascist movement was more than a narrow and insular set of activists, but instead were constantly making new connections and gained acknowledgement by state bodies, in contrast to the collapse into infighting that we see in the NF, especially after 1979. Daniel Bell theorises that movements that fail to achieve material success in some way fall in on themselves, descending into internal dispute rather than focusing on the external threat that initially unified their cause – echoing some of the concepts of the cultic milieu, and the potential for conflict seen there. Interestingly his example, that of the trades union movement, is one of the large components of the anti-fascist movement and many of the internal divisions that are thought of come from the extreme right, though this may simply represent that splits within the extreme right were fought in public and revealed in the pages of *Searchlight*, in contrast to more private disagreement within anti-fascism. His work may also explain why small victories are trumpeted loudly by both sides, to avoid sinking into the quagmire of the sect and becoming 'In the world, but not of it'.[161]

The area of race was a key battleground between the fascists and anti-fascists, and consequently between *Searchlight* and *Spearhead.* It is also an area where there was change and development over the period examined. *Spearhead* started the period with the Greater British Movement and, with its 'Gleanings from the Ghetto' column, imitated the crude antisemitism of *Der Stürmer*.[162] When the NF was formed, however, they proved they could heed Chesterton's call not to be identified as '"Jew-haters" or "nigger-haters"',[163] and moderated their language through the use of coded phrasing that still made clear their dislike of migrants. Equally *Searchlight* started the period using the same clumsy language as the far right, talking of 'coloured children',[164] and when it did adapt to use black it was merely a

[160] 'New Anti-Racist Films', *Searchlight*, no. 83, May 1982, p. 15.
[161] Bell, Daniel, *Marxian Socialism,* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. xli-xlii.
[162] For examples, see: Julius, 'Gleanings from the Ghetto', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 6, and, Julius, 'Gleanings from the Ghetto', *Spearhead*, no. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 5.
[163] Chesterton, A. K., 'A Movement is Born', p. 7.
[164] 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p 2.

simple replacement of the term coloured without any granular understanding of the cultures under this, though with some notable exceptions, showing that *Searchlight* was still responsive to popular understandings rather than necessarily developing a niche language.[165] These two groups had very different understandings of where they saw race within Britishness, yet were using similar understandings and language about race for differing reasons.

Just as at the start of this section Anderson's work on imagined communities was highlighted along with Wallwork and Dixon who suggest that ethnicity was a category around which nationalism could be founded, so the study returns to it as we consider the two views of the magazines. As has been shown, for *Spearhead* there could be no acceptance of blackness or anything other than pure whiteness in their understanding of Britishness, in part because they rejected the idea that black people possessed culture in anything more than a degenerative form and were unable to create, but rather appropriated and assimilated the produce of other superior cultures. Instead *Spearhead* envisaged a coming together of the white British cultures of the former Empire to re-entrench a traditional Britishness and to provide living space for their expanded community. Conversely *Searchlight* constructed Britishness as accepting of other races and building them into a stronger and more vibrant society, sharing their struggles in a search for equality – but equally, this was an imagined culture yet to come into being, as Wendy Webster laid out British society was still riven with disagreements over immigration. It has been shown how racialist theories had been reimported into British society, a society that had just prior to our period passed new laws limiting immigration even as it sought to make racism a criminal act. Both of the magazines were establishing a new understanding of race within Britishness, even if they did not recognise it as such, and their divergence of thought brings into question Billig's assertion that nationalism operates purely on a national level, instead urging us to adopt a more flexible understanding.

Both of them also develop the concept of there being an 'other', which Colley identifies as a key part of the negatively defined concept of Britishness, to define themselves against and develop as a threat to motivate their base in relation to race.[166] For *Spearhead* this was the Victorian understanding of savage Africans, waiting to come over at the beck and call of the Jewish controllers and engage in sprees of mugging and cultural degeneration that would

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[165] For an example of an exception see: 'What a Liberty', *Searchlight*, no. 5, Jul. 1975, p. 17.
[166] Colley, Linda, 'Britishness and Otherness', pp. 309-329.

eliminate the whiteness that *Spearhead* championed. For *Searchlight* the threat was the foreignness of the hate that was being imported by *Spearhead*, the NF and its other organisations. With people like Butz, as well as the accusations around imported German antisemitism, they argued that these importations were not just a corruption of Britain but also that it would disrupt civil life and incite more riots, and thus present a danger to society beyond the anti-fascist cause.

A Language of Britishness, Democracy and Defence

Both magazines spoke of democracy being vital to Britishness, and both magazines, as Klandermans and Simon identify, present the need to defend this democracy, and the country, from outside forces as a motivating method. In this section, the study will explore how these two groups framed their understandings of democracy in the British context, and also how they proposed to defend it and from what. In understanding how *Spearhead* viewed democracy the study will be able to examine how far the traditional authoritarianism of fascism and the extreme right had managed to maintain itself, drawing on the suggestions from Macklin that these key concepts were preserved from the inter-war and immediate post-war period as a sacred flame through these movements.[167] Equally by examining how *Searchlight* viewed democracy, the extent to which *Searchlight* drew on the hard militant left model of anti-fascism that stemmed from the Communist party as opposed to broader left and labour movements, as well as the Jewish strands of anti-fascism, can be seen.

Searchlight regularly published articles setting out support for the British democratic process. Their first issue proudly declares the magazine will 'Defend Democracy'. They use it as a cornerstone of their claim to be the ones defending true British society. This contrasts with statements in *Spearhead* that stated that 'We do not take the view that God is a democrat – or an autocrat. We do not take the view that either of these systems is more morally right than the other'.[168] Clearly, *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* had differing views on the role of the state, and its powers over people who lived within it.

Spearhead could be quite critical of the democratic process, strikingly it suggested in its 100th issue that democracy in the form it took in the UK was anti-British. It declared: 'Let us make no mistake: the extreme left has not run our nation into the ground: Social

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[167] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black*, p. 15.
[168] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 79, Sep./Oct. 1974, p. 2.

Democracy and "liberal" Toryism have done that. Left-wing and communist elements only now stand by to give the final heave that will deliver Britain into oblivion'.[169] Here as elsewhere, *Spearhead* sought to lay out their political enemies, and the system that consistently failed to give them power, as being part of the unBritish corruption that they claimed had set into society. By so firmly establishing their opponents as outside of Britishness, along with the democratic system, it sought to delegitimise the output of both. Democracy, in the *Spearhead* view, did not grant them power because it was a foreign import and was working against the British, whom *Spearhead* sought to protect. Tyndall increasingly suggested an erosion of democratic principles, and in 1975 after some difficulties within the NF he projected this out into the wider British political system and proposed that leaders should be free to enact policy with little referral to any other body or the public.[170] As well as suggesting that those who promoted immigration might 'one day … receive the penalty that Britain has traditionally meted out to those who commit the crime of Treason, it will not be one iota more than they deserve',[171] Tyndall also wanted the use of violence by the state to be acceptable in pursuing the agenda it laid out to safeguard the future of British culture and values.[172] This semi-autocratic vision of leadership, seen as the true British form of democracy by *Spearhead*, was referred to again by *Spearhead* in terms of their claims to have been the true guardians of British democracy. It was called Genuine Democracy by *Spearhead*, but in an attempt to emphasise its supposed foreignness, *Searchlight* called it a *Fuhrerprinzip*.[173] This strong leadership style, modelled on the interwar totalitarian regimes with a strong leader who would be free to disregard the advisory voices because he would have the true interests of the people at heart, was regularly contrasted in the language of *Spearhead* with the supposed decadence of a liberal system. *Spearhead* declared that strength was essential and the willingness to take it, and that 'courage is a quality for which there is no substitute and which will prove the truly decisive quality in the times ahead'.[174]

The focus from *Spearhead* was on how Britain could be strong again, how it could rekindle idealised Anglo-Saxon roots, and achieve strength through expansion of its nuclear arsenal in order to restore a sense of national greatness. Since the cancellation of the home-developed Blue Streak nuclear missile in 1960, Britain had been increasingly reliant on

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[169] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 100, Dec. 1976, p. 2.
[170] *Ibid,* p. 2.
[171] 'What we Think', *Spearhead*, no. 85, Jul. 1975, p. 3.
[172] *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.
[173] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p. 14.
[174] Tyndall, John, 'Courage the Decisive Quality', *Spearhead*, no. 42, Apr. 1971, p. 8.

American nuclear missile technology, cemented by Britain's purchase of Polaris nuclear missile systems from the Kennedy administration in 1963 – which prompted concerns in Parliament about Britain's nuclear independence.[175] These attempts to latch onto wider held concerns about weakness and project back to a period of strength is quite typical of fascist rhetoric, contrasting the restoration of a mythologised lost era with the present seen as falling into moral decay – and this despite the fact the British nuclear policy had often been reliant upon American involvement, with Churchill having urged provision of nuclear weapons to Britain by America as early as 1953.[176] The way back, the way to strengthen the people, was not merely to return to a lost time but to attempt to transcend it through military strength and displays of power. The talk of nuclear weapons became a key part of an increasingly rambling defence series that *Spearhead* published in a period for a year leading up to the local elections of 1977.[177] This also showed the importance of the issue of strength and defence to them, as a topic run like that was rare in *Spearhead*. Nuclear weapons were one of two defence policies that *Spearhead* believed would ensure not just the future existence but the dominance of the British peoples, though *Spearhead* envisaged their use to deter not just the 'godless, raceless, mindless mass' of Marxism,[178] but also as threats to help rebuild their colonial empire.

The second policy was the return of National Service, which had been abolished in 1963, and which *Spearhead* claimed would return virtues and morals to the nation's youth. *Spearhead* was very worried about the blurring gender lines due to men with features such as long hair, and listening to what was described as 'jungle drum'[179] music, thereby showing a subservience to other race's cultures. *Spearhead* also decried the 'Race Relations Industry'[180] at the heart of such corruption of the race, equating the impact of the Race Relations Act to that of legalisation of homosexuality, of abortion and of the abolition of capital punishment. Again, this reflected strongly their fascist roots, decrying the decadence of the modern age and the changes that they believed had occurred, while calling for a return to an idealised notion of a pure masculinity. This language of moral decay around themes of national service, set alongside palingenetic ideals, attempted to restore a mythologised past

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[175] Jones, Matthew, *The Official History of the UK Strategic Nuclear Deterrent: Volume I From the V-Bomber Era to the Arrival of Polaris, 1945 – 1964*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 371, 380-381.
[176] Paul, Septimus, *Nuclear Rivals: Anglo American Atomic Relations* 1941 – 1952, (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), pp. 200-201.
[177] The first of these essays appears in May 1976 and it concludes in April 1977. See: Tyndall, John, 'British Defence: Time for New Thinking Part 1', *Spearhead,* no. 94, May 1976, pp. 10-11, and, Tyndall, John, 'British Defence: Time for New Thinking Part 8 (Conclusion)', *Spearhead*, no. 104, Apr. 1977, pp. 6-7.
[178] Gregory, Robert, 'The Menace of Materialism', *Spearhead*, no. 100, Dec. 1976, p. 13.
[179] Tyndall, John, 'Some Thoughts on Conscription', *Spearhead*, no. 32, Apr. 1970, p. 5.
[180] 'Why Britain Needs the National Front', *Spearhead*, no. 103, Mar. 1977, p. 4.

where morals were strong was laid bare through their involvement in things like the emerging skinhead scene, in opposition to hippies, and the new genres of reggae and ska. Reggae in particular had emerged as a popular music form in the 1970s through imported Jamaican groups before the emergence of native British reggae acts, and had helped seed the popularity of other music styles with origins within Britain's black communities such as soul music and ska.[181] This music was increasingly being consumed, along with its messages formed in the struggle for decolonisation and the fight against apartheid, by white urban youth who would take in ska, reggae and Jamaican dub music and expressing it in the new British punk scene.[182] In promoting a 'white' music, in opposition to the 'imported' music of reggae, *Spearhead* again established a narrative of a Britain under threat from unBritish outside influences. For example, it declared that 'Large sections of British youth, deprived of leadership, are drifting to drugs, dirt and the worship of weird alien jungle rhythms'.[183] It did not place the blame on the youths, but instead on the system, alleging 'Reared in a "liberal" environment in which they are continually pampered, starved of patriotism and made to think only of their "rights", much of the youth of Western Europe today present a sorry picture in comparison with their communist counterparts'.[184]

This fed into the wider rhetoric around an external threat to the nation that was summed up by Tyndall as follows: 'It cannot be denied that the existence of Britain-indeed the whole of Europe-is menaced as never before by the swarming millions of the East, large sections of whom have been mobilised under the communist red flag, the symbol of militant atheism'.[185] Again, Tyndall was placing Britain as the pinnacle of white European based culture against an identified uncultured 'other', using rhetoric similar to that of the Nazi party, who used the notion of Germany as the bastion against the Judeo-Bolshevik hordes of the east as a justification for extreme action. This great belief in the outdoors as a panacea to moral decline, and a reinforcement of Britishness, is touched on by Lowenthal's 1991 work *British National Identity and the English Language*.[186] Here, Lowenthal describes how many variants of British identity have a tendency to idealise the virtues of the countryside, and stresses that this can often be linked to moral virtues: the countryside becomes more

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[181] Marks, Anthony, 'Young, Gifted and Black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean Music in Britain 1963 – 88', in Paul Oliver (ed.), *Black Music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian Contribution to Popular Music*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 1990), pp. 111-112.
[182] Riley, Mykaell, 'Bass Culture: An Alternative Soundtrack to Britishness', in, Jon Stratton and Nabeel Zuberi (eds.), *Black Popular Music in Britain Since 1945*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 107-108.
[183] 'Why Britain Needs the National Front', p. 4.
[184] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 85, Jul. 1975, p. 2.
[185] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 2.
[186] Lowenthal, David, 'British National Identity and the English Landscape', *Rural History,* vol. 2, iss. 2 (1991), pp. 205-230.

than a simply landscape but becomes part of a vision that encompasses an ideal of wholesome British virtue. This is a trope found regularly in the British extreme right, with their focus on camping trips and away weekends. Such wider patterns of this type can be seen in Jeremy A. Booker's book *Blackshirts on-Sea,* which shows the pictorial history of the British Union of Fascists away camps in Sussex and the relatively normal nature of these camps, a focus on outside activity over indoctrination.[187] Moreover, as Thomas Linehan has described*,* there was a Nietzschean focus on the development of the new man, of the new Briton too.[188] These can be seen as part of a program to instil virtues and good British sense into British youth. According to Gillian Rose, the rural idyll, which is often referenced in right-wing political rhetoric, is also tempting because an English sense of place or belonging that has built up in the countryside excludes things that, for the far right at least, are not 'native' to Britain, and very much represents a white English countryside, before migration and in a manner that never truly existed, but an ideal to be fought for. [189]

On one of the large subjects of the period was that of nuclear disarmament. In this *Searchlight*'s view was driven very much by its political make up, with many members of the left and far left. While on many of the contentious issues of the left, such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, *Searchlight* avoided frequent comment to avoid splitting the movement and instead only sought to engage with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) when there were killings against them from the extreme right,[190] or on those occasions where PLO delegates themselves engaged with Holocaust denial,[191] still there were some areas where it did offer a clear opinion.[192] On nuclear weapons, *Searchlight* did have a constant anti-nuclear message when the issue arose, thought this was usually set out in response to *Spearhead*'s promotion of nuclear weapons, rather than being a topic *Searchlight* sought to introduce. It derided Tyndall's love of nuclear weapons as harmful to Britain's interests,

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[187] Booker, Jeremy A., *Blackshirts On-Sea: A Pictorial History of the Mosley Summer Camps 1933-1938,* (London: Brockingday, 1999).
[188] Linehan, Thomas, '"On the Side of Christ"', p. 86
[189] Rose, Gillian, 'Place and Identity: A Sense of Place', in Doreen Massey and Pet Jess (eds.), *A Place in the World? Places Cultures and Globalization*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[190] 'International Round-Up', *Searchlight,* no. 86, Aug. 1982, p. 9.
[191] 'Revisionist Gathering Held in Secret After Venue Banned', *Searchlight*, no. 79, Jan. 1982, p. 12.
[192] The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964 to organise and fight for the liberation of Palestine, as they defined it. Considered a terrorist organisation by Israel as well as countries like the United States at this time, its original charter called for the destruction of the State of Israel. The PLO operations became increasingly international, including plane hijackings and the Munich Massacre of the Israeli Olympic athletes at the 1972 Munich Games. For more information on the PLO, see: Cobban, Helena, *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and; Chamberlain, Paul, 'The Struggle Against Oppression Everywhere: The Global Politic of Palestinian Liberation', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2011), pp. 25-41.

suggesting that he always loved the idea of 'having us all blown up',[193] and mocked him in an irreverent tone for hating the 'unpatriotic stuff about Nuclear Disarmament'.[194] The strength of feeling that *Searchlight* wished to avoid in these debates does get shown on occasion, when in January 1976 it carried a letter from a reader along with a cartoon that characterised Israel as using the same racialist policies as Nazi Germany.[195] Alongside other letters of complaint they chose to publish, *Searchlight* also published a letter of complaint received from the Board of Deputies of British Jews, complaining that *Searchlight* had promulgated this and was helping create divisions between anti-fascists and anti-racists of both a pro and anti-Zionist leaning.[196] In response, and in the face of losing the support of an important group, *Searchlight* made clear their policy which was to act as a bridge and bring together both sides:

> <u>Searchlight</u> has not jumped on the 'Zionism-Racism' band waggon. The suggestion to which you understandably take exception was expressed by a reader in the correspondence section of the paper. Unfortunately, there is considerable difference of opinion on the matter … <u>Searchlight</u>'s policy is to work to reduce such differences.[197]

Indeed, what *Searchlight* did was to fully adopt the view of the Movement against Racism Anti-Semitism and for Peace, which in that same issue was reported to have taken the position that Zionism and racism were two separate issues and that groups could take their own view thereafter on whether Zionism was good but it was to the detriment of anti-racism work to consider it a part of this.[198]

While *Spearhead* trumpeted the military in jingoistic fashion, *Searchlight* was far more reluctant in its engagement with them. There is little mention of the British military, with most military commentary being the condemnation of militaries abroad such as Rhodesia for becoming tools of oppression. Where *Searchlight* did talk about them, at times it was using controversial language, referring to the deployment of the army in Northern Ireland as the 'Special Assassination Squad'[199] and a 'group of hired killers',[200] and that rather than in

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[193] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight,* no. 25, Jun. 1977, p. 14.
[194] *Ibid,* p. 14.
[195] Elias, Gertrude, 'Letter', *Searchlight*, no. 10, Jan. 1976, pp. 19-20.
[196] Simmonds, N. B., 'Letters', *Searchlight*, no. 11, Feb. 1976, p. 4.
[197] Editor, 'Letters', *Searchlight*, no. 11, Feb. 1976, p. 4. Emphasis is as per the original source.
[198] 'Racism Kills in France', *Searchlight*, no. 11, Feb. 1976, p. 8.
[199] 'Sean Sinclair's Column', *Searchlight,* no. 11, Feb. 1976, pp. 14-15
[200] *Ibid*, pp. 14-15

defence of democracy this should 'give all democrats cause for concern'.[201] This certainly should not be taken to be a pacifistic concern, as *Searchlight* was very supportive of community defence efforts, with the proviso they were not engaged with along racial grounds. In attacking Robert Skidelsky's book on Oswald Mosley, they loudly defend the Jewish defence groups of the inter-war period stating 'there were certain developments in Germany and in Austria in 1934 which gave the Jews every justification for defence and retaliation against gangs of Mosley's ilk'.[202] It seems then that this lack of comment from *Searchlight* was not rooted in the rejection of violence as part of Britishness but a traditional hard left concern that the army is somehow an oppressive tool rather than a defence mechanism, and that defence is best done within the community against those that threaten that community. There was also a running conspiracy theory fear following on from the Column 88 revelations that under the cover of this wave of street violence from Column 88, the NF and others, the 'more extreme elements in the world parliamentary politics, the army and big business, prepare for something more permanent for this country'.[203] A fear that was intensified when they reacted to desires from the Monday Club wing of the Conservative Party to utilise the army to deal with left-wing demonstrators and labour movement picketers, along with harsher police methods.[204]

The strength that *Spearhead* idealised, a military great power with national service and nuclear arms that was central to defending its idea of Britishness, was seen as foolish by *Searchlight. Searchlight* sought a strength that is instead one of community, a strong society that cared for and looked after one another will be able to resist the threats to its version of Britishness. Just as *Searchlight* had sought to use the apparatus of state, and the pre-existing notions of Britishness on a national level in the rule of law, here it found itself at odds with a traditional pillar of the British state and in a position where the version of Britishness it presented was at odds with a more traditional patriotism.

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[201] *Ibid*, pp. 14-15
[202] Foot, Paul, 'Paul Foot Reviews Robert Skidelsky's Book on "Oswald Mosley"', *Searchlight,* no. 3, May 1975, p. 16.
[203] 'March of Shame', *Searchlight*, no. 7, Sep. 1975, pp. 5-6.
[204] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 11.; The Monday Club was founded in 1961 by Conservative Party members to counter what they perceived as a leftward drift in the Party's political position under Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. The Club supported Ian Smith's White-minority Government in Rhodesia and opposed the decolonisation policies of Harold Macmillan. Gaining support from MPs and peers, by 1971 it claimed to the largest of all the Conservative-aligned groups, stating its membership to be in the thousands. Before 1980 it took an agnostic approach to the Europe, only taking up a firm Eurosceptic stance towards the end of that year. For more information and key reading on the Monday Club, see Appendix B: Key Movements.

Conclusion

This chapter has been able to survey evocations of Britishness in *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* by focusing on several critical themes. At the start of this chapter several questions were posed, and it is useful now to return to them. What did these magazines mean when they talked of the concept of 'Britishness'? As identified earlier from the work of Paul Ward, Britishness is not an exclusive identity, nor is it something static. It is ever changing, and not just between different periods but also between different groups during the same period. As Hobsbawm and others stress, national identities are often used to mobilise against an external threat, and so in part they can be analysed by focusing on who these groups identify as the 'other', and against which they mobilise. What did fascists and anti-fascists understand Britain to be? Well, for the contributors to *Spearhead*, whose understanding of Britishness was based on race, and predicated on a narrative arguing that the legacy of the British empire had been betrayed by liberal and other dark forces, Britishness was rooted in an understanding of the past that needed to be both returned to, and transcended. Here the rebirth mythology of fascism, as identified by Griffin, was clear. The threat that *Spearhead* contributors tended to perceive, namely immigration, organised Jewry and the left in general, was informed by their fascist political ideology, and their desires for a new manhood based around a strong leader and a strong nation in turn influence their polices. Strength of Britishness for *Spearhead* came from a strong Britain, one possessing a strong nuclear arsenal, and a white 'Anglo-Saxon' Britain too. It based its story projecting into the future the ideals of regenerating Britain on these types of messages.

This contrasts with the anti-fascist construction of Britishness offered by *Searchlight*. Again, in general terms there were similarities. The idea of a strong British people for them was based around the idea of a strong, cohesive society. The fact they did not recognise race or nation as a divisive issue was not because they rejected notions of Britishness. Just as the ideals of Britishness offered by *Spearhead* were rooted in an ideology, so too with the anti-fascist model, which was informed by its Trades Union and wider socialist sympathies as epitomised by its leading members, such as Maurice Ludmer. As *Searchlight* did not have a racial understanding of Britishness, the efforts of far-right groups were seen as damaging a multi-racial and multicultural set of ideals that it saw as vital to a modern Britain. So, for the anti-fascists too, Britain was under attack, and so they too felt a need to defend their ideas of Britishness. As *Searchlight* stated in its first issue as a monthly magazine: 'We are biased against those on the extreme Right and the violence and unhappiness their ideas cause by

setting citizen against citizen, race against race and religion against religion'.[205] It was not simply reacting to *Spearhead*'s ideology, and to the NF's often racist actions, but was also rooted in a theme of the defence of Britain.

Why did they see a value in this language to construct their identity, and how did they use it to further their goals? In so tightly defining the community they imagined Britain to be, and the definition of those within it, they also defined what was on the outside and used this Other to help them further develop their understandings of what it was to be British. Where *Searchlight* was unsure, it could know with certainty that it was not whatever the fascists were, and equally *Spearhead* knew that whatever the situation, Britishness was not liberal democracy and the far left. Though this most obviously lines up with Colley's understanding of Britishness, and the oppositional definition of itself, this vagueness in defining what they are over what they are not allows for the changes in parts of their understanding over this period, and the, at times, cognitive dissonance in their rhetoric. As Reicher and Hopkins discuss, the success of a concept of nationalism is in whether you manage to transfer it into an essence, a feeling of certainty that it is there but perhaps without the certainty of it being a tangible or firm concept. Equally, this provides the flexibility that Wallwork and Dixon suggest is so vital, and which itself draws on the notion of these constructions being wholly artificial as Billig and Anderson suggest. Part of the use to *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* was to help people overcome their individual identity and to adopt a more overarching collective identity, as Klandermans and Simon put forward. It should also be considered using the concepts of Hobsbawm and Renan, where the creation of a threat to that collective will motivate individuals to actions beyond those considered moderate within civil society. Britishness is therefore a key motivator in building not just a following but a movement to try and create the new Britain that they imagined.

The final question posed at the start of this chapter, how were they communicating and imparting their vision upon their respective readerships, has been answered through the examples chosen, but to re-iterate the primary theme both groups sought to develop notions of Britishness that encouraged the new Britain they wished to create, but also cultivate notions of threat to this identity as a motivator. Both sides engaged in this, whether it is claims of foreign-imported racism and corrupting pagan rituals made by *Searchlight* against the NF, or whether it is the conspiracy theories of Jewish power cultivating an invasion of black migration for *Spearhead*, these threats were a clarion call to action put out by both

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[205] 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 1, Feb. 1975, p. 2.

groups and repeated time and time again. This is similar to the use of threat and identity identified by Brierley and Giacometti within Italian regional nationalism.[206]

Though the concept of their opponents as a threat was a clear theme that they developed in order to utilise the collective identity of their followers, neither magazine's concept of Britishness was merely reactionary or based purely on their oppositional natures. There was a clear idea of what the Britain they were fighting for would be, a constructive ideology no matter how destructive the means. This was built from several planks which this chapter has studied, namely faith, rule of law, race, democracy and national defence. On matters of faith we can see how *Searchlight* sought to adopt elements of the British establishment, not just seeking but expecting the support of the clergy against the extreme right. We also saw how the concepts of toleration they proposed were quickly compromised to develop the attack lines against the NF for being somehow a pagan cult determined to overthrow Christian Britain. *Spearhead* equally sought to use the Christian heritage of the country, but for them this was a Christianity under threat from not just the migrant community but also the betrayal of the liberal elite of the clergy who were aiding Marxists in their plan to use the black African to destroy culture. *Spearhead*'s solution to this conforms classically to the Griffin concept of a populist movement of the traditional fascist cause, in seeking to interpose itself as the voice of the people in replacement of a corrupt liberal elite.[207]

When it came to the question of the rule of law within Britain, we saw again both magazines eager for the support of the judiciary and the legitimising effect that this would have on their claim that their vision for Britain was the true one. That both groups were eager for this same recognition suggests that criticism of Billig's notion of there being a latent shared nationalism that exists at a national level were perhaps overly harsh and that there might exist, as with the layered identities of Paul Ward, multiple informing notions of Britishness that draw both from below and the divisions within society but also from above and those national thoughts.[208] For *Spearhead* these institutions were under attack by Jewish conspiracies to alter the fundamental freedoms of a British person, while for *Searchlight* they were on generally a good course, and it was their revolution itself, namely the push towards Race Relations laws, which was under threat.

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[206] Brierley, William and Luca Giacometti, 'Italian National Identity and the Failure of Regionalism', pp. 170-171.
[207] Griffin, Roger, *Nature of Fascism*, pp. 32-36.
[208] Billig, Michael A., *Banal Nationalism*, p. 72, and, Ward, Paul, *Britishness Since 1870*, pp. 166-167.

The two magazines were radically apart on how they viewed race as a part of Britishness, with *Spearhead* only able to envision a white Britishness and *Searchlight* viewing ethnicity as a separate issue to that of nationality. Yet, both groups were using similar understandings of race at the start of the period, with only *Searchlight* truly advancing its use of language and seeking to provide a more nuanced understanding while *Spearhead* sought to disguise its guttural racism with softer coded language. It is interesting that on this subject the groups had defined their notions of Britishness around two differing focal points and this informed how they then interacted with notions of race. As Wallwork and Dixon suggest, nations and nationalisms can be built around perceived differences or similarities within a population, or by the geographical boundaries.[209] For *Spearhead*, the differences were the most important, and their Britishness was built around exclusion entirely of black or any non-white culture and the attempt to try to revert society to some imagined ideal imperial past and form a new fellowship of white colonial legacies, their own rebirth mythos to view it through a Griffinite lens. For *Searchlight*, the focus was clearly around the geographical boundaries, and once these groups were within Britain they then had to be accommodated within the broader Britishness they sought, using their nationalism, as Hobsbawm suggests, to bind together a disparate people.[210]

Finally, on the issue of democracy and defence we see the greatest divergence in understanding and in cases language as well between the two magazines. *Spearhead* built defence and the sense of a strong nation, a strong society, into their understanding of Britishness, typical of many nationalist movements. What is notable was their embrace of the term democracy. *Spearhead* took it and modified it to suggest that the people should be involved in informing the leader, but this leader would then make the ultimate decision. It was adopting language that would not cause a dissonance between orthodox Britishness and the Britishness it wished to cultivate. Conversely *Searchlight* used this *Fuhrerprinzip* to attack *Spearhead* for importing foreign concepts, while it instead devolved defence away from the state and down onto communities. In this we see the differing scopes that the two parties had, with *Spearhead* envisioning a global struggle for survival with vast conspiracies, while *Searchlight* was focused upon the community level disruption caused by the far-right presence.

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[209] Dixon, John and Jodi Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness', p. 22.
[210] Hobsbawm, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, p. 91.

What the examination of Britishness has shown is that there were varying levels of divergence between the creation of Britishness between the two groups, but many areas where they identified the same ideas and concepts as being important and this is where they directly engaged with one another in an oppositional conflict to label the other as the enemy. Though for *Spearhead* the magazine *Searchlight* was merely a small part of the large conspiracy of liberal democracy, left-wing thought and racial enemies that they saw as the opposition to their vision of Britain, and which they attempted to utilise to motivate their people, it is also clear that for *Searchlight* the groups that *Spearhead* represented were relatively far more important. Focused far more on the community over grand ideologies, *Searchlight*'s Britishness was threatened directly by the disruptive elements of the extreme right and the conflict they created.

Chapter 2: Use and Perceptions of Class

This chapter will explore how *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* both represented and understood class, and also how they sought to use it within their appeals to their membership. Class has long been considered as a classic analytical category in historical studies, but it also has a particular role within these movements during this period and was represented in ways that were not necessarily reflective of the understanding of wider society. The period under examination was also one where questions of class and what it meant were being reconsidered, and a sense of societal change was created through these discussions. Whereas in 1890 a working-class married woman would, on average, spend fifteen years of her life either pregnant or tending to a child under the age of one, by the 1960s this was reduced to four years.[1] As Joanna Bourke explains, this resulted in shifts of the working-class population as women entered the workforce in larger numbers.[2] In turn, as George Stevenson shows, this influx of working-class women drove activism such as the women's liberation movement, and we saw record levels of trades union membership and activity in the 1970s.[3] At the same time, however, Mark Franklin argues that class specific issues that drove voting in 1964 were replaced by issue-based voting in 1979.[4] This is supported by election studies undertaken at the time, suggesting that class consciousness had hit a low in 1979, with less than half of all voters claiming a class identity.[5]

These shifts within the class structure, and a decline in the formal deference given within the class structure, have been seen by academics such as David Cannadine to represent a weakening of the rigidity of the pre-existing class structure, in part because of a reduced interest in enforcing traditional class structures within the political parties.[6] Cannadine also suggested that class lost some of its functional meaning as Britain declined as an imperial power while many within the working class were now wealthy enough to own homes, and yet as an identity it was still appealed to by politicians – seeking to assert concern for an expanding middle class.[7] In this an appeal to class from both *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* can

[1] Bourke, Joanna, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890-1960*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), p. 105.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 105-106.
[3] Stevenson, George, *The Women's Liberation Movement and the Politics of Class in Britain*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 2-3, 53.
[4] Franklin, Mark, *The Decline of Class Voting in Britain: Changes in the Basis of Electoral Choice, 1964-1983*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 11, 111-112.
[5] Edgell, Stephen, and Vic Duke, *A Measure of Thatcherism: A Sociology of Britain*, (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991), p. 62.
[6] Cannadine, David, *Class in Britain*, (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 3.
[7] *Ibid*, pp. 3, 10.

be understood, reflecting their existence within a broader pre-established political culture that valued class-centred discourse, but where traditional parties were moving away from the rigid certainties of this discourse and leaving opportunity for outsider discourses to fill this space.

In classical Marxist thought, fascism and the extreme right existed as an attempt by the bourgeoisie to enslave the working class and redirect their revolutionary energies against their own interests and towards the interests of finance capital.[8] In his book *Fascism* historian David Renton rejects the view of Griffin and other historians who view fascism as a movement that transcends class, and instead argues that its overrepresentation of the middle class within the interwar expressions of fascism is a product of its deliberate focus on middle-class recruits.[9] This is supported by works such as Carl Levy's, which identified fascist regimes such as Italy as being middle-class groups that, upon seizing control of organs of state, directed them towards the creation of a mass movement amongst the working class.[10] This was in contrast to the anti-fascists, built on networks of working-class discontent.[11] Yet, there are questions as to what extent these classic understandings of the relationship between class and these movements hold up in the post-war environment.

Copsey challenges these assumptions for the post-war environment, with his work on the National Front (NF) identifying that it was finding its support and voter base not in the stereotype of the lower middle class, nervous about their own position in society and so fearful of outsiders and change, but instead in working-class areas with high immigration.[12] There was also an attachment of the extreme right to expressions of working-class culture within the skinhead and football fan 'Casuals', using these street active working-class cultures as vehicles for their own counter-cultural message. Writing contemporaneously to the period under examination, Ian Taylor proposed an understanding of football fans – and in particular football hooligans or 'Casuals' – as an expression of not just a working-class culture but working-class frustrations at changing, and threatened, communities.[13] Though this was later challenged by Eric Dunning and others as they believed it to be a longer term

[8] Dimitrov, Georgi, *Against Fascism and War*, (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1975), p. 7.
[9] Renton, David, *Fascism: History and Theory*, (London: Pluto, 2020), pp. 28-31.
[10] Levy, Carl, 'From Fascism to 'Post-Fascists', in Richard Bessel (ed.), *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 177-178.
[11] *Ibid*, p. 179.
[12] Copsey, Nigel, 'When Popular Culture met the Far Right: Cultural Encounters with Post-War British Fascism', in Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, p. 118.
[13] Taylor, Ian, '"Football Mad" – A Speculative Sociology of Soccer Hooliganism', in, Eric Dunning (ed.), *The Sociology of Sport: A Collection of Readings,* (London: Cass, 1971), pp. 352-369.

culture not just one driven by crisis, these works still confirmed it as an expression of working-class culture, particularly of working-class notions of violence within masculinities.[14] As Ramón Spaaij identities, both of these explanations move beyond earlier attempts at understanding hooligans as a purely reactive and xenophobic movement – and instead ascribe to it an expression of class identity, whether threat based as Taylor argues or reacting to existing longer term parts of class identity as Dunning puts forward.[15] Given this particular expression of class, it is then obviously to understand why both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* would seek to control them – attempts to curtail those parts they felt were harmful, but also to redirect the seeming revolutionary energy towards both magazine's preferred vision for Britain. It takes on, as Spaaij observes, even more importance when you consider how these hooligan cultures often tied into broader cultural trends and conflicts around sub-genres of music, alternative subcultures such as punks or skinheads, and other countercultures.[16]

There is also a question of which traditions of fascism that *Spearhead* and the extreme right in Britain were drawing upon, which the focus and way that they engage with the working class can help us understand. As Roger Eatwell identifies, and is made perhaps obvious by their name, the branch of fascism known as National Socialism entertained greater sympathy with the ideals of socialism and of working class mobilisation, through the philosophical ideas of Sorel and others.[17] The view of the working class as the target for mobilisation and as the body of their revolution is also identified within National Socialist as opposed to the anti-capitalist corporatism of Italian fascism is also identified by David Baker.[18] Baker saw this concept as being linked more clearly with the concepts of National Bolshevism within Nazism led by the Strasser brothers and Baker observes that it caused much controversy within the Nazi party until their eventual purging.[19] After their removal from the German extreme right, Otto Strasser repudiated the political violence of the National Socialists but

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[14] Dunning, Eric, Patrick Murphy and John M. Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1988), p. 29.

[15] Spaaij, Ramón, *Understanding Football Hooliganism: A Comparison of Six Western European Football Clubs,* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 24-26

[16] *Ibid,* pp. 26-27 76-77.

[17] Eatwell, Roger, *Fascism: A History*, pp. 8-10.; Georges Eugène Sorel was a French political theorist who was active from the late 1880s until his death in 1922. Becoming an avowed Marxist in the 1890s, Sorel supported communist causes, including the Russian Revolution, but also aligned with French nationalist politics. His later work, combining these ideas, increasingly supported syndicalist positions and his work broke the link in Marxist thought between the renewal of anti-capitalist revolution and the working class. For more information on Sorel, see: Sternhell, Zeev, Mario Sznajder and Maia Asheri, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 36-54.

[18] Baker, David, 'The Political Economy of Fascism: Myth or Reality, or Myth and Reality?', *New Political Economy*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2006), p. 231.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 231.

not the ideas, and he developed links between his ideas and British members of the extreme right such as his personal friend A. K. Chesterton, eventual founder Chairman of the National Front.[20] Thurlow goes on to see this socialism and affinity to the working class as a defining marker between the ideology of the more ideological members of the NF and its pragmatic terrorist-involved political soldier faction.[21] So, in identifying and observing this kind of rhetoric within *Spearhead* it will also give insight into the development of the rift between the ideological and the pragmatic strands within the British extreme right.

Class also formed a part of the rhetoric of the extreme right in the creation of the threat to society, in the form of the liberal corruption of the upper class. This classic trope of the populism of fascism, with the extreme right groups framing the elites as corrupt and decadent and trying to interpose themselves as the new gatekeepers of society, was alive and well in the politics of John Tyndall and *Spearhead*.[22] As Thurlow identifies, Tyndall felt that the ruling class and its liberal weakness was not just a reflection of the societal health of Britain, but a cause of its national decline.[23] The post-war period also saw the marginalisation of previously central extreme right figures who were members of the aristocracy and the gentry, including the 6th Baronet of Ancoats – better known as Sir Oswald Mosley.

Equally class formed part of the identity of the anti-fascist movements, though as identified in earlier chapters we have differing strands within anti-fascism that approached this with differing ideology. It is obvious that the left inspired and labour based anti-fascist strands would view this through the lens of class action and class struggle, though their approaches then to appeals beyond that class differ. As Copsey identifies, many radical groups such as Anti-Fascist Action refused to deal in any way with the ruling elites or the state, and instead saw this purely as a struggle from below.[24] This was contrasted with the approach taken, as Copsey identifies, in *Searchlight* which was willing – at least in the Thatcher era – to call for state intervention and engage with the state and seek legal methods to fight fascism.[25]

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[20] Baker, David, 'A.K. Chesterton, the Strasser Brothers and the Politics of the National Front', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1985), pp. 23-33.
[21] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 267.
[22] Thurlow, Richard, 'The Developing British Fascist Interpretation of Race, Culture and Evolution', in, Julie V. Gottlieb and Thomas P. Linehan (eds.), *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 71-72.
[23] *Ibid*, pp. 71-72.
[24] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, pp. 164-165.
[25] *Ibid.*

It is possible however that this different approach comes in part from the way *Searchlight* straddled differing strands of anti-fascism. In his work on Jewish anti-fascism in the interwar period, Dan Tilles identifies a debate that existed amongst the Jewish groups as to whether to remain purely Jewish, across class, or whether it was better for the Jewish groups to ally with non-Jewish working-class youths and admit that the wealthy and influential Jews were themselves problematic for the community. What is interesting from this analysis is that the reason for this debate to be pushed, primarily by Zionists, was to curtail the influence of the Marxist groups by themselves addressing working-class concerns.[26] What emerges is, at least from the interwar Jewish anti-fascism, a conscious struggle not just over the working class as the foundation of a movement, but as the ideological battlefield between them and not just the British Union of Fascists but other political groups such as Marxists who were engaged in anti-fascism as well.

In the first half of this chapter we will examine the questions that emerge in how both the extreme right and anti-fascism, in both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*, contextualise class in their works, how they use the language to class to identify their allies and enemies, the extent to which we see the targeting of specific class groups and cultures in an appeal for support, and also an awareness of the class-based actions of their enemy and the attempts, if any, to stymie their support growth in this way.

It is also a prime area for us to consider to what extent that we can see the driving force behind these identities being from reactionary origins or whether these identities and underlying ideologies are actually deriving from the particular makeup of the movement itself and the ways in which they have drawn together their movements from other pre-existing groups, what Griffin reefers to on the far right as their groupuscular nature.[27] Of particular interest here is the question of whether antifascism is being driven in their thinking by the language and behaviour of the far right, in contesting their view of class, or whether we can begin to see the labour and far left origins of several of its engaged members within this, and can therefore begin to assert that though their animus was reactionary their ideology might indeed be distinct and owes more to those within the movement than those they oppose.

[26] Tilles, Dan, *British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1932-40*, pp. 123-125.
[27] Griffin, Roger, 'From Sime Mould to Rhizome', pp. 27-50.

Use of Class Identity

Within *Spearhead* there was a rejection from its early editions of the common understanding of classes, of social creations that stratify society and play into inbuilt societal prejudices and stereotypes. *Spearhead* did not see class in this manner, though it acknowledged their existence. For *Spearhead* hereditary characteristics trumped any concept of class and was at the primacy in determining a person's value and worth. This focus on pseudo-scientific racialism in contrast to a class-based analysis led to *Spearhead* engaging with genuine scientific debates but recast through their own lens. This could be seen when the second set of the TV series *Seven Up!* was released in 1971, studying a collection of children and how they had developed. *Spearhead* found some of the debates around the findings fascinating. *Spearhead* discussed at length the debate between Mr Duane, a sociologist, and Professor Cohen, a psychologist. In this debate, Cohen had placed some emphasis on hereditary traits, this was singled out as the single most important thing by *Spearhead* and seen as supporting *Spearhead*'s claims of a scientific basis for hierarchies of race and class. What is interesting is the clear reference to class-based concepts as being 'Marxist orientated propaganda',[28] and this shows part of the motive in attacking the class-based concept, in so doing they deny the very basis of Marxist complaints about the existing societal structure.

There certainly was a superficially Marxist tone to some of the rhetoric, though as identified by Thurlow part of the coalition of groups that had formed the National Front included a Strasserite wing, which focused on anti-capitalist rhetoric.[29] These Strasserites, focused around Martin Webster and later Nick Griffin, Joe Pearce and the others who would go on to form the Political Soldier faction in the 1980s, wanted to focus on the development of an appeal to the working class and to focus on a revolution from below against capital control, often mixed with conspiratorial antisemitism that placed capital as a proxy for Jews. How genuine the Strasserite ideology was in appealing to the working class, however, is disputed by historians, particularly Marxist historians, such as David Renton, who argued that Strasser's brand of proclaimed socialism was shallow and merely an attempt by a middle-class dominated Nazi party to appeal to working-class cultures and subvert the existing parties and movements of the working class.[30] Zeev Sternhell also speaks of how British fascism under Mosley, as well as Belgian Rexists and the para-fascist Falange of Jose

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[28] Coniam, Andrew, 'The Source of Intelligence', *Spearhead*, no. 40, Feb. 1971, p. 5.
[29] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 282.
[30] Renton, David, *Fascism: Theory and Practice*, pp. 35-38.

Antonio Primo de Rivera, were all making use of a rhetoric of workers of all class rising against the bourgeoise, thus framing their revolution still in terms of worker against capital but also working against traditional class structures that was driven by their particular use of populist rhetoric.[31] In an early *Spearhead*, in answer to the economic crisis they described as facing the country, they proposed that the solution was to destroy the power of what they termed Private Finance and the tyranny of Capitalism – again setting workers against capital. The reason they proposed is that because of the presence of finance, most likely a coded reference to the Jews, industry was run down and therefore workers are rendered unemployed and their money wasted – an idea which *Spearhead* placed in opposition to the Marxist idea that would simply remove the wealth as a solution. *Spearhead* made this clear by transposing the Marxist desire to remove enterprise and wealth with their desire to eliminate this wasting issue in the economy, namely 'omnipotent finance'.[32]

Richard Verrall, writing in *Spearhead* in March of 1979, explicitly rejected Marxist interpretations of class as a socio-economic grouping and instead framed class around biological explanations. In this argument, Verrall claimed to simply be an anthropologist, a group hounded through history, so he claimed, as racists but who were vindicated by the current racial tensions in Britain. There was an equation here between social class and stratification and race, as all men were a product of their genetic inheritance then they could only ever be what their genetics decided, and those more regressive genetics were relegated to sit at the bottom of this society. In this piece Verrall was attacking both Marxism and other forms of class warfare, in which he includes feminism as an attempt to subvert this natural order.[33] This can be read both in its ideological basis, but also as part of a wider argument within the National Front over the direction, and whether the NF should pursue a strategy of appealing to all classes against an existing structure, as Tyndall would wish, or whether they should listen to the voices of Webster and the Young National Front of Pearce and Griffin who wanted the NF to appeal more openly to working-class voters through a Strasserite anti-capitalist rhetoric.

Yet *Spearhead*'s understanding was of course more complicated than simple rejection of class. Though it denied the impact of class upon intelligence and undermined its validity as an overall sociological construct, it recognised its reality. In the same issue that it celebrated

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[31] Sternhell, Zeev, 'Fascist Ideology', in, Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 353.
[32] 'Make Money the Servant', *Spearhead*, no. 12, Jul. 1966, p. 7.
[33] Verrall, Richard, 'Sociobiology: The Instincts in Our Genes', *Spearhead*, no. 127, March 1979, pp. 10-11.

the debate between Duane and Cohen, Tyndall published a discussion between himself and a member of the Monday Club. In this, he argued that the working class should have no automatic loyalty to the left, and the weakness of the traditional right was in accepting this, and not fighting to break the hold of the left on the working class and thus denying the left its support. Tyndall was quite clear:

> We can only win if the Left is truly and irreparably sunk. In this country, with its democratic traditions, that means defeating the Left, not by any kind of suppression, but by utterly discrediting it and winning away from it its grass roots support…[34]

These links created by *Spearhead* between class and genetic heritage persist through their writing, such as when discussing the Falklands War in 1982. Here Tyndall is eager to praise how our soldiers seem to be from 'extremely fine racial types….whatever social class they may have originated'.[35] So *Spearhead* was clear that what mattered to them over the issue of class was that of inherited characteristics and racial science, and so it viewed class struggle as a distraction from the real issue. Yet, *Spearhead* saw that it must detach the left from this class structure and win over the working class for pragmatic political aims, namely the destruction of the left and thus the victory of patriotism, nationalism and racialism.

During the aftermath of the 1974 Imperial Typewriters strike, *Searchlight* reported repeatedly on the National Front involvement in the dispute, and the claims made by the National Front of victory.[36] They use this to equate the 'racialist demagogy of the National Front' with the 'weakening [of] the whole of the working class'.[37] In doing so, *Searchlight* claimed that the efforts of the National Front to impose a racist element to the dispute within

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[34] Tyndall, John, 'Monday Club or National Front?', *Spearhead*, no. 40, Feb. 1971, p. 7.
[35] Tyndall, John, 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 170, Dec. 1982, p. 3.
[36] The Imperial Typewriters strike began in May of 1974 in Leicester when mostly Asian workers began three months of strike action in protest of their treatment by the company and a lack of support from unions. Asian workers at the Imperial Typewriters factory in Leicester, owned by Litton, complained about a lack of promotion for Asian workers and also over bonuses not being paid. Brought in by Litton to boost productivity, Asian workers made up 1,100 of the 1,600 workers at Imperial Typewriters but suffered worse conditions than white colleagues. The strike grew from an initial 39 into the hundreds, but the Transport and General Workers Union representatives locally refused to support them, claiming they had no legitimate grievances. The National Front became involved opposing the picketing strikers, and supporting the TGWU stance which was framed as being in defence of white workers by the NF. The dispute ended after the majority of strikers were fired at the end of July 1974 followed by the shutdown of the factory for two weeks. The factory was announced for closure soon after and would shut down in 1975. For more information on the strike, see: Knudsen, Herman, and Alan Tuckman, 'The Success and Failings of UK Work-Ins and Sit-Ins in the 1970s: Briant Colour Printing and Imperial Typewriters', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations*, vol. 37 (2016), pp. 113-139, and also; Smith, Evan, 'Asian Workers and the Trade Unions in the Early 1970s: Mansfield Hosiery Mills and Imperial Typewriters', *British Communism and the Politics of Race*, (Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 147-155.
[37] 'National Front and the Trade Unions', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 16.

the Leicester workers at Imperial Typewriters not just undermined the trade union movement but also that their actions resulted in job losses and 'proved to be damaging to the worker's interests'.[38] Echoing the claims of traditional Marxist historians who claimed that fascism represented a false revolution that subverted the true awakening of the communist revolution, *Searchlight* suggests this is a typical fascist trick, that their appeals to the working class and their aspirations are only a tactic and would result in destruction of the trade unions, which *Searchlight* interposes as not just the real champions of the working class but as synonymous with the working class itself.

This line of argument from *Searchlight* seems obvious given the position of its then editor, Maurice Ludmer, within the Birmingham Trades Union movement. It also reflects though a wider debate, and struggle, over the claims around whether the trade union movement could still claim to be working class, as more white-collar professions unionised, and whether then it could be seen to be representative of the whole of working-class culture. David Lockwood – an academic writing just before the period of this thesis, at a time when *Searchlight*'s editorial team were within the broad labour movement – suggests that such an equation of trade unionism and the working class may itself be an oversimplification, with it hard to argue some automatic link between trade unionism and a broad class consciousness, though he does acknowledge that it is still fundamentally an expression of working-lass identity with those middle-class elements assuming the identity of the working class rather than altering it.[39] What does develop though is a concept from Robert Blackburn, again writing at the start of the thesis period in 1963, and others that the trade union movement, whilst not representing the whole of the working class nor being in and of itself a direct replacement for such a class notion, could be used as a barometer of people's identity with their class, and so as trade union activity rose, so people would feel greater affinity and place greater value upon their identity as a working class person.[40] This could be extrapolated to suggest that it applies to class consciousness as a whole, and thus trade unionised middle-class professions would equally feel greater awareness of their class and kinship within it due to involvement with that union.

As mentioned previously, the period under examination was one of increasing trade union activity – with total number strikes increasing six percent from the 1960s to the 1970s and

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[38] *Ibid*, p. 16.
[39] Lockwood, David, *The Black Coated Worker*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958), p. 137.
[40] Blackburn, Robert, *Union Character and Social Class: A Study of White Collar Unionism*, (London: Batsford, 1963), p. 9.

union membership reaching record highs in the 1970s with nineteen percent more workers involved in those strikes and the days lost increasing almost three-fold to almost thirteen million days lost in the 1970s.[41] Despite the narratives of class decline, Chris Wrigley describes how trade unionism saw a period of growth from 1945 to 1979, in part led by its expansion to welcome women and – despite the difficulties at the Imperial Typewriters strike – also through campaigning within the unions on racial discrimination.[42] While narratives of the 1980s often suggest an unusual decline in strike action, with the notion of unions defeated by Thatcher, David Metcalf and Simon Milner instead argue that the 1970s was simply an unusually active period and the drop off in the 1980s merely a return to the long term trends seen up to the end of the 1960s.[43] This is supported by Wrigley, who identified the early 1970s and late 1960s as periods of high inflation and largescale disputes in particular industries, such as mining, that drove a politicisation of strikes, and an increasing awareness of trades unions and solidarity actions.[44] It is in this context – and with figures like Maurice Ludmer from that culture – that *Searchlight* engaged on the issue.

Searchlight also identified its own work, that of anti-fascism, as a working class pursuit, going further in a review by Paul Foot to suggest that it was a duty and that 'Working men and women of goodwill will have to recapture some of the courage and persistence of the anti-Fascists in the East End of 1930s'.[45] At the same time Foot identified the fascism of Mosley, that focused around friendships with peers such as Lord Rothermere, as belonging to that of the 'spirited young middle class',[46] saying that a return to Mosley's politics in the NF is because of the nervousness of the petit bourgeois.[47] These forces, *Searchlight* was

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[41] Stevenson, George, *The Women's Liberation Movement and the Politics of Class in Britain*, p. 53, and, Wrigley, Chris, *British Trade Unions: 1945-1995*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 31.

[42] Wrigley, Chris, *British Trade Unions*, pp. 181, 187-188.

[43] Metcalf, David, and Simon Milner, 'A Century of UK Strike Activity; A New Perspective', in, David Metcalf and Simon Milner (eds.), *New Perspectives on Industrial Disputes*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), p. 238.

[44] Wrigley, Chris, *British Trade Unions*, pp. 25-27.

[45] Foot, Paul, 'Paul Foot Reviews Robert Skidelsky's Book on "Oswald Mosley"', *Searchlight*, no. 3, May 1975, p. 16; Paul Foot was a British journalist and political activist who wrote a small number of articles for *Searchlight* during its early years as a magazine. Foot, a nephew of the Labour politician and later leader Michael Foot, had joined the International Socialists – later the Socialist Workers Party – in 1963 while working as a journalist at the *Daily Record* in Glasgow. In 1964 he moved to *The Sun*, and later *The Sunday Telegraph* before taking on a permanent job at *Private Eye* in 1967. Foot left *Private Eye* in 1972 to work at the *Socialist Worker*, becoming editor in 1974 – a role he held while he was writing for *Searchlight* in the mid to late 1970s. He would return to *Private Eye* in 1978, before taking on a long-term role at the *Daily Mirror* the next year. Foot re-joined *Private Eye* for a third time in 1993 and began writing for *The Guardian*. He stood for election at various levels for socialist and left-wing parties. He died in 2004. For more information on Paul Foot, see: Ingrams, Richard, *My Friend Footy: A Memoir of Paul Foot*, (London: Private Eye, 2005).

[46] Foot, Paul, 'Paul Foot Reviews Robert Skidelsky's Book on "Oswald Mosley"'*, p. 16.

[47] Harold Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Rothermere, was a British newspaper owner and politician. Having joined his brother Alfred, later Viscount Northcliffe, at his newspaper company, the pair founded the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror*, as well as having taken ownership of many existing publications such as the *Evening News*. Having become Viscount Rothermere after the First World War, he founded his own political party, the United

clear, were in direct competition, with the middle class looking to a strong man in the form of fascism in order to 'rescue Britain from its working people'.[48] When examining the Monday Club and its tactics, it accused them of 'dividing good (middle-class) from bad (working-class) black people'[49] and thus it equated this to 'turning class struggle into race struggle'.[50] In equating the struggle for anti-racism and anti-fascism once again with that of the perceived class struggle, we see what one of Maurice Ludmer's colleagues Jagmohan Joshi, General Secretary of the Indian Workers Association, said the movement was about at this time, namely the creation of a broad working class solidarity across race, though Joshi admits this tactic struggled in the 1960s and into the 1970s as Labour backed anti-immigration measures.[51] These attacks against migrant populations were presented equally as attacks against white working-class groups, with black (used by *Searchlight* at this time to refer to any non-white grouping) groups constantly placed alongside working-class white groups in terms of targeting by the Special Patrol Group (SPG), in terms of the biased nature of IQ tests and even observations that under apartheid all working class were exploited and were in need of liberation.[52]

This viewpoint around the equation of class struggle and anti-fascism was not limited to *Searchlight* and its own contributors, however. When they reprinted the press statement that came out of a conference of European anti-racist organisations, attended by the managing

Empire Party, to campaign for a free trade zone within the British Empire, Rothermere went on to use his publishing company to support his political positions – championing appeasement of Nazi Germany. In 1934, Rothermere's papers began open support of the British Union of Fascists, with the *Daily Mail* publishing his article 'Hurrah for the Blackshirts' on 15th January 1934. Rothermere continued his support of Hitler up to the Second World War, sending Hitler congratulatory telegrams after the invasions of the Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia. Rothermere took a holiday to Bermuda early in the war in November 1940 and died of a heart attack. For more information on the impact of Rothermere and his support for the BUF, see: Dack, Janet, '"It Certainly Isn't Cricket!": Media Responses to Mosley and the BUF', in Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz, *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-war Period*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 145-155.

[48] Foot, Paul, 'Paul Foot Reviews Robert Skidelsky's Book on "Oswald Mosley"', p. 16.

[49] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 19, Nov./Dec. 1976, p. 16.

[50] *Ibid*, p. 18.

[51] Joshi, Jagmohan, quoted in '15 Years On…Searchlight Interviews Jagmohan Joshi', *Searchlight*, no. 46, Apr. 1979, p. 7.

[52] 'Police and Black People', *Searchlight*, no. 46, Apr. 1979, p. 11, and 'Reviews', *Searchlight,* no. 46, Apr. 1979, p. 12, and 'Women and Namibia's Fight for Freedom', *Searchlight*, no. 47, May 1979, p. 10; The Special Patrol Group was a unit of the Metropolitan Police Service active from 1961 to 1987 that supported local units in handling serious incidents. Due to its role in policing protests and repeated deployments into deprived areas to reduce levels of crime, it became a source of controversy. The most famous controversy came for its role in the killing of Blair Peach – a white teacher from New Zealand who had been protesting against the National Front in Southall in 1979, and who was beaten around the head by an SPG officer resulting in his death. For more information on the SPG and the controversy surrounding their policing, see: Renton, David, *Never Again: Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League 1976-1982* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 134-150.; Sivanandan, A., *Catching History on the Wing: Race, Culture and Globalisation*, (London: Pluto Press, 2008), pp. 122 and 131-133.

editor of *Searchlight* Maurice Ludmer, it included a statement that blamed racism on the economic exploitation of the working class due to a system controlled by a 'privileged class'.[53] In this groups were forming alliances across Europe to oppose racism shared not only their hatred of fascism and racism alone, but they had mixed into it a need to subscribe to a Marxist interpretation. This seems to be part of what members of the Jewish defence organisation 62 Group, who started the funding of *Searchlight*, meant when they refer to a sense of having lost control of *Searchlight* from the Jewish sense of anti-fascism and that it had become something more in tune with the labour movement.[54]

Throughout the early magazine issues of *Searchlight* these same references are repeated, the construction of the extreme right as a creation of a nervous and financially precarious middle class driven by 'conspiracy theory [that] can unite shopkeepers'[55] and that it is opposed by 'the independent organisations of working class'[56] who oppose the 'interests of big capital for which task anti-Black racism and anti-Semitism are weapons'.[57] Yet there is a confusion in their analysis that recognises the National Front's attempt to gain support from across the spectrum, especially recognising that the National Front has targeted the working class. Though this echoes Copsey's findings on where the National Front found favour, outside of the traditional middle class and from a broad base of working-class voters, it is explained away by *Searchlight* as a 'pseudo-left gloss…big business against the organised Labour Movement',[58] an attempt to 'divert from real socialism'[59] and their attempts to engage in unionism is a 'state-serving sham',[60] indeed that the 'NF and their supporters are no friends of the working class'.[61] The extreme right were thus presented as an existential threat to the true organised working class and the very presence of them, such as when Oswald Mosley was going to debate at Oxford University, inspires in them 'outrage over the insult to the working class of Oxford implied by the invitation of Sir Oswald Mosley'.[62]

The very nature of being working class was given a sense of honesty and good nature by *Searchlight*. When questions were raised over the character of an infiltrator into the extreme

[53] 'News From Europe', *Searchlight*, no. 3, May 1975, pp. 18-19.
[54] Konopinski, Jules, interviewed by Gavin Bailey on anti-fascist activism (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/BAI/06/2.
[55] 'The Philosophy of Hate', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 8.
[56] 'The Philosophy of Hate – Part Two', *Searchlight,* no. 7, Sep. 1975, p. 12.
[57] *Ibid*, p. 11.
[58] 'The Philosophy of Hate', p. 8.
[59] 'The Philosophy of Hate – Part Two', p. 10.
[60] *Ibid*, p. 12.
[61] Editorial, *Searchlight*, no. 15, Jun. 1976, p. 2.
[62] Bell, Andrew, quoted in, 'News in Brief', *Searchlight*, no. 12, Mar. 1976, p. 20.

right, David Roberts, suggesting he was a fantasist or some elaborate James Bond type, the answer from *Searchlight* was that 'he's a very ordinary working class young man' sitting this alongside his 'strong sense of justice'.[63] This should not be taken to mean that *Searchlight* saw no virtue in other classes, and in their review of *Race, Class and the State: The Black Experience in Britain* the magazine recognises the achievements of the Community Relations Board in developing a black middle class, which the reviewer states is adept at mediating within its own community and acting as a buffer between the state and the working class black population.[64]

It can be seen then how their views upon class impacted upon their world views and thus also impacted upon the path they saw for implementation of their ideals. For *Searchlight* a traditional left class-based understanding of society, and the role of the revolutionary spirit of an awakened working class was to be the base upon which they built their change, driving forward equality for everyone. Though *Spearhead* did include those Strasserite elements who also wished to appeal to that notion of a working-class revolution, and Webster was one of those who played a key role in *Spearhead* throughout most of our period, for them it remained a revolution of all the classes that would overturn the establishment. Ultimately for *Spearhead* it was establishment and the ignored which would form the dividing line rather than class necessarily, but they did still recognise that class existed within society, even if it was a tool as they saw it used by the establishment. Accordingly, then it is important that as well as understanding the broader world views, we understand how they then appealed to these notions of class in an attempt to build up these revolutionary movements.

Appeals to Working Class Cultures

Despite the support it received from the football fan groups known as casuals, often seen in the pages of the Young National Front magazine *Bulldog* where they ran a 'League of Louts' and young fans would report their violent or racist acts to demand higher League positions, there is an initial disdain within *Spearhead* for football fans and specifically the emergence of football violence amongst the fans. There was an active effort, as they discussed how these fans attacked the police at a football match with ammonia, to suggest that these were simply agitators from the anarchist left, linking it to the rise in Europe of riot

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[63] 'Mr. R. S. Marshall and the N.F.', *Searchlight*, no. 14, May 1976, p. 12.
[64] 'Books', *Searchlight*, no. 14, May 1976, p. 19.

police such as the French *Compagnie Republicaine de Securite*.[65] Seeking little affinity, the editor even admits that they are not a football lover, suggesting little awareness or attention given to the support the movement would eventually draw from these groups.[66]

As mentioned, for *Searchlight* the working class and the trade union movement was seen as a reserve of power with which to battle what it saw as fascism and so it was a natural constituency for them to appeal to. After his death, Ludmer's obituary in *Searchlight* made clear how the trade union culture and the concept of a unified class struggle against racism and fascism was seen as the unifying ideal to appeal to in order to tap into the strength and power of the working class.[67] In giving the trade unions a place of primacy in his understanding of fighting fascism, Ludmer – so his *Searchlight* obituary suggested – could build a coalition that might otherwise be divided on other political grounds of party, issues, race. The obituary also reflected Ludmer's views, as expressed previously through *Searchlight*, of that uncomfortable relationship with the state, with a great fear expressed of the incorporation of workers movements within authoritarian regimes, and the need for workers groups to ultimately be in some part oppositional to the state in order to deliver for the workers rather than a tool against them. In the immediate post-Ludmer period we saw this oppositional view of state and workers reinforced as it addressed the issues around the riots, often described as race riots and protests of the end of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Following the 1981 riots in Brixton, Toxteth and elsewhere across the country, the Campaign against Racism and Fascism section within *Searchlight* suggested an alternative reading of the disturbances. It was important for *Searchlight* to address and reframe these issues – writing about the events in Toxteth in Liverpool, John Belchem observes that the response set back genuine multi-culturalism and rather than unifying non-white communities against shared repression, pitted recently arrived migrant communities against established black British communities in the cities as inequality of treatment was felt.[68] Though *Searchlight* admitted the riots in Brixton in April of 1981 showed the anger of black youth at the unemployment and police harassment, it suggests that this is a class issue and that – having seen the police were no longer invincible – it was this rising tide of working class, rather than racialised, youth who came out in the more recent riots in Liverpool and

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[65] 'Where Will All This Lead', *Spearhead*, no. 21, Nov./Dec. 1968, p. 15.
[66] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[67] 'Maurice Ludmer', *Searchlight*, no. 73, Jul. 1981, p. 6.
[68] Belchem, John, *Before the Windrush: Race Relations in 20th Century Liverpool*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. xviii-x.

Southall.[69] It suggested that the failure of the government to understand this issue, to seek further repression and an iron fist in policing was a mistake and to treat it only as a community issue ignored the division between older and younger generations. It quoted from a shopkeeper, Dashanial Kalhan, who stated that they could control the youths so far against the provocation of the National Front who had initiated the tensions, but further provocation would make that impossible – and *Searchlight* described how things escalated from that point, with 30 police soon becoming over 600 and a pub set on fire when a skinhead group ended up Sieg Heiling and handing out NF leaflets.

In his examination of the inquiry campaign for the earlier Bristol riots, Simon Peplow identifies that this class-based analysis of the riots was already growing from socialist groups in Britain.[70] Peplow also observed that this means rather than divisions being between different communities, it often led to generational divisions being created, with an older generation of migrants placed into an enterprising aspiring middle-class position, working primarily through pressure groups, compared to the younger generations who were determined to stand up for their riots and use violent methods to achieve that is required.[71]

Searchlight saw itself as being pragmatic on these protest events, often described as riots though the term was disputed by *Searchlight* and others due to its pejorative nature, providing insights that the police and others missed because of their distance from the community groups and failure to understand this as a unified class struggle, supported by allies. They spoke out against the use of rhetoric that suggested there was ever a golden age of policing under Peel, and that the modern community tensions should be seen as an aberration, and instead viewed this as an element of state repression of working class expressions of frustrations and concerns that had been ignored, and that only by addressing these things honestly could we ever adopt a model of what we would now call policing by consent.[72]

During its criticism of Victor Bailey's edited volume *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, *Searchlight* stated the potent political force of the unemployed was ignored in the Nineteenth Century as the unemployed working class were represented as simple

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[69] 'Hotter Than July', *Searchlight*, no. 75, Sep. 1981, pp. 16-19.
[70] Peplow, Simon, '"A Tactical Manoeuvre to Apply Pressure": Race and the Role of Public Inquiries in the 1980 Bristol "Riot"', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2018), p. 143.
[71] *Ibid*, p. 143.
[72] 'Review', *Searchlight*, no. 77, Nov. 1981, p. 13.

criminals without political thought, with the clear comparison to the riots in 1980 and 1981, and the suggestion that this mistake was being repeated by contemporary commentators.[73] More modern studies have reinforced the view that break downs in relationships between the police and these communities were to blame, Peter Joyce observing how reports after the riots identified concerns about harassment and arrest without cause.[74] As Joyce notes, this also came at a time when relationships between the police and the wider public as a whole were also poor and coming under increasing focus in critiques of policing.[75] These issues were also deeply ingrained and had worsened since Thatcher's election, with the stop and search laws being used overwhelmingly on black and other non-white populations. Nicole Jackson though warns us against overemphasising the immediate triggers, such as Thatcher's particular hard line on policing or the police tactics of flooding areas with officers as part of their operation Swamp 81, and instead the riots needed to be seen as part of a longer history of marginalisation, and that blame went beyond the police and into the fabric of British law.[76]

The reason why *Searchlight* promoted a concept of a class-based society and class-based unification across racial lines, and the extent to which this is shared across the movement, was openly stated within the pages of its Campaign Against Racism and Fascism section.[77] Working class youth, black and white, had been divided, according to the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF), by right-wing activity.[78] The argument put forward by CARF was that instead of truly understanding, the media and others went for a one-dimensional understanding of race and ignored the fact that black youths are affected by the same issues that face the white working-class youths. It pointed out the history of far right activity in Croydon, and the division in youth clubs down racial lines, and the solution therefore was to be found in minimising this far right influence, and understanding this crisis as being one which was caused by the shock of the economic crisis. It was this economic shock that caused what others had seen as racial violence, exploited by the far right and in greater impact in Croydon due to a more prosperous community than the inner city. This is exactly the theme CARF's section in *Searchlight* returned to the next month in its evaluation of the

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[73] *Ibid*, p. 13; Bailey, Victor (ed.), *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (London: Croom Helm, 1981).
[74] Joyce, Peter, *The Policing of Protest, Disorder and International Terrorism in the UK Since 1945,* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 206-210.
[75] *Ibid*, p. 210.
[76] Jackson, Nicole M., '"A Nigger in the New England": "Sus", the Brixton riot, and Citizenship', *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, vol. 8, iss. 2 (2015), pp. 158-170.
[77] The Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, as discussed in the introduction, was incorporated into *Searchlight* from December 1979. For more information, see Appendix B: Key Movements.
[78] '"…In the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time"', *Searchlight*, no. 74, Aug. 1981, pp. 16-17.

riots, when it spoke of the rioters as those left behind in permanent unemployment, placing this as a class response to Thatcher's Britain.[79] Thatcher's premiership was, and has remained, controversial – as Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders describe, 'No Prime Minister since Gladstone aroused such emotions, or stirred such equal measures of hatred and veneration'.[80] As Matthew Grimley explores, Thatcher supported many liberalising acts in her early years, supporting the legalisation of both abortion and homosexuality – but once leader, her rhetoric turned more towards advocating for a public morality, in contrast to a state of immorality left by her political opposition.[81] This often meant Thatcher was seen within black communities as representing the established British order that had marginalised them, seen as trying to outflank the National Front to the right by endorsing middle-class concerns about feeling swamped by migrants – it was this legacy that saw Thatcher so easily personified by CARF as having direct responsibility for the riots.[82]

One of the ways we can see how deep this view went within the anti-fascist circles around *Searchlight* is to move beyond the polemical statements and responses to current events and instead look at how they conceptualised cultural output. Again, here we see the notion of class struggle emerging as being the underlying root of what many others would have seen, and did describe, as racial strife. In reviewing the film *Amin: The Rise and Fall*, Harish Patel took issue with not just what he described as racist portrayal of Amin, and the tendency to apologise for colonialism, but also its failure to understand the core part of the cause for the expulsion of the Ugandan Asians.[83] For Patel the real cause is class antagonism created by the British empire, when it brought over Asian labourers to Africa that became an 'exploitative Asian entrepreneurial class' who were placed in opposition to 'African peasantry'.[84] The traditional view that the film presented, of Amin as an erratic and tyrannical leader driven by dreams and irrationality, is described by Patel as being the 'slick

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[79] 'Hotter Than July', *Searchlight*, no. 75, Sep. 1981, pp. 16-19.

[80] Jackson, Ben, and Robert Saunders, 'Introduction: Varieties of Thatcherism', in Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1.

[81] Grimley, Matthew, 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion', in Ben Jackson and Robert Sanders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain*, pp. 77-82.

[82] Bourne, Jenny, '"May we Bring Harmony"? Thatcher's Legacy on Race', *Race and Class*, vol. 55, iss. 1 (2013), pp. 87-91.; Thatcher and her reaction to race will be discuss further in chapter four.

[83] Patel, Harish, 'Heart of Darkness', *Searchlight*, no. 77, Nov. 1981, p. 18.; The Ugandan Asians were a group of South Asians expelled from Uganda by President Idi Amin in August of 1972. Amin objected to the role of South Asians within Uganda, claiming they controlled trade and other commercial activity that should belong to native Ugandans. Given 90 days to leave the country, most of the 80,000 South Asians in Uganda left with over 25,000 emigrating to the United Kingdom. For more information on the 1972 expulsion, see: Hundle, Anneeth Kaur, '1970s Uganda: Past, Present, Future', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 53, iss. 3 (2018), pp. 455-475.

[84] Patel, Harish, 'Heart of Darkness', p. 18.

simplistic white "liberal" version' that the director Sharad Patel has bought into.[85] What Harish Patel argues for in this review is a traditional Marxist interpretation of the resolution of class conflict, with a pre-existing economic arrangement being confronted by the awakening class consciousness of below, in this case the neo-colonial economics of an Asian middle class being confronted by liberated black peasants, and this being resolved through the imposition of a new order. In order words, thesis confronted by anthesis results in imposition of a new synthesis that becomes the new orthodoxy.

It is important though to note that *Searchlight* was not a slavish adherent to the Trades Union movements themselves and included, when the unions were willing to admit it, reports on their failings to address racial issues. This included events such as when the General Secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union opened the first conference his union held on racial issues.[86] Here the union clearly agreed with the view *Searchlight* took, stating that the riots in Bristol and Brixton were caused by urban neglect, unemployment and austerity, and that it was the black community reacting first because they were hardest hit. Going on to criticise the trade union movement more broadly, Basnett suggested the movement had failed black workers, whose conditions and wages were poorest, and that this lack of equality meant there was division and antagonization within the workers and this was to the detriment of all the working class. In other words, equality through work would solve many of the racial tensions that trade unionism and class struggle could find a solution.

As has been discussed, the blame for preventing this rise of class unity that *Searchlight* had sought to cultivate was firmly placed on the far right and their allies in the populist right who spoke of legitimate immigration concerns. When reporting the comments of journalist Peregrine Worsthorne, who wrote in the *Sunday Telegraph* that the withdrawal of the state from the economy needed to be matched by strengthening of the state in terms of law and order in response to unrest, it was described as being part of a wider theme called 'New Authoritarianism'.[87] Here *Searchlight* had laid out how through articles such as Worsthorne's, and ideological collection *Conservative Essays* by Maurice Cowling, that this movement argued that it was the construction of Nation – as these groups saw it – that

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[85] *Ibid*, p. 18.
[86] 'News in Brief: Basnett Warns of Racialism', *Searchlight*, no. 73, Jul. 1981, p. 15.
[87] 'The Resistible Rise of the Tory Racist Right', *Searchlight*, no. 75, Sep. 1981, p. 5.

would replace class as a unifying goal, becoming the binding spiritual glue of society.[88] This was quickly linked to hatred of immigration, with its article having framed the opposition of Cowling and Worsthorne and their cohorts as fearing that migrant communities brought with them alien nations that would disrupt that national identity the saw as the glue. Even when it was journalists of the right like Ronald Butt, who *Searchlight* described as being one of the wettest when it came to economic policy, that were wishing to soften the economic reforms their contributions were criticised by *Searchlight*. Conservative commentators recognised, correctly in *Searchlight*'s view, that it was unemployment driving the unrest but to *Searchlight* the reliance on racial explanations meant that this analysis failed because the commentators could not understand the social issues. Instead, *Searchlight* felt the commentators responded with authoritarianism that caused racial division where compassion and unity was needed, with Butt suggesting that it was indeed pressure groups of the communities themselves rather than even the neo-Nazis who were blame for racial violence at Toxteth.[89] Though working with and through communities was important and vital to *Searchlight*'s work, ultimately it was only through unity – a unity forged by the rising class consciousness – that was going to achieve equality for all. That *Searchlight* felt it needed to comment upon this shows that it felt it was something its audience would react against, this denial of class and focus upon mono-cultural national communities, but also that it was a threat to what they viewed as the essential path.

Some of this sense of threat is explained in the date – namely in 1981, during the period of Tyndall's New National Front having split away from the continuing National Front, still at that time containing Webster and the Young National Front group around the *Bulldog* collective. At the start of 1982, *Searchlight* argued that the removal of Tyndall's control over Webster and the Young National Front, who had long advocated different strategies, meant that the far-right tactics that had hitherto been subdued by Tyndall would switch to an open appeal to working class cultures to advance their cause and seek dominance in the

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[88] *Ibid*, p. 5.; Maurice Cowling was an academic and Conservative politician who wrote several political histories of British politics as well as serving as a Conservative councillor in Cambridgeshire. As one of the founders in 1976 of the Salisbury Group, he became part of a group of Conservative-aligned thinkers who argued for a minimalist laissez-faire approach to governing in contrast to the enforced free market thought emerging in Thatcher's leadership, or a socialist nationalised or command economy. Supporting figures like Enoch Powell, Cowling and his group found themselves to the right of, and farmed as opponents of, Thatcher once she entered power, earning them a place among those defined as 'Wets' – in contrast to the 'Dries' who supported her. For an examination of Cowling's thought and place within Conservatism, see: Crowcroft, Robert, S. J. D. Green and Richard Whiting (eds.), *The Philosophy, Politics and Religion of British Democracy: Maurice Cowling and Conservatism*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).
[89] 'Reviews: Greatest Danger to Democracy', *Searchlight*, no. 80, Feb. 1982, p. 14.

factional battle that was then ongoing on the far right.[90] With *National Front News* attempting to appeal to radical working class cultures, having gone so far as to decry capitalism as an alien invention (a reference *Searchlight* felt was certain to be antisemitic), it was pointed out that they still allowed acceptance of the existing order as being a Nordic concept of private enterprise. This focus on the working class by the continuing National Front was treated by *Searchlight* as more novel and disturbing than the return of Tyndall's New National Front to more traditional ideological roots, with overt advertising of works by rabid antisemite Arnold Leese being included in *Spearhead*. *Searchlight* was convinced that this change was brought about by the 1979 electoral failure of the NF and its split, but that it marked a change overall by the far right, who *Searchlight* felt would now be more open in their discussion of class, with a tone from *Searchlight* that this was very much an unwelcome and insincere intrusion into its area.

Searchlight had tried to draw parallels between this increasing rhetoric around class and appeals to the working class from the continuing National Front and the historical context of the first emergence of Strasserism, namely in 1930s Germany, and the fate of working-class movements under Nazi rule.[91] Just as left-wing historians such as Renton have long identified fascism as a subversion of the emergent class awareness and revolutionary mobilisation of the working class, so *Searchlight* placed this same view on the appeals by the National Front. They asked the reader whether, given these moves, could 1933 happen in Britain, with the far right in general, and the NF in particular, subverting anger and disadvantaged groups for their own ends. It showed the extent to which *Searchlight* thought this shift in the NF was not just a threat to the country but an existential threat to their own identity as a movement. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there was a shift in *Spearhead* that reflected some of this changing rhetoric within the National Front as the NF broke apart, so certainly *Searchlight* was reacting to the far right's own language when it expressed this fear. However, this was because *Spearhead*'s rhetoric challenged *Searchlight*'s existing identity as the champion of the working class and disenfranchised, rather than simply being animated by its desire to stop the far right.

After the splits in the National Front in 1979 and 1980, it became clear that Tyndall's faction would become the dominant nationalist group. For *Searchlight* this minimised the influence of those who had advocated these appeals to the working class, and instead saw a return to

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[90] 'Nazi Press Changes Tone', *Searchlight*, no. 79, Jan. 1982, pp. 6-8.
[91] 'International Round-up', *Searchlight*, no. 78, Dec. 1981, pp. 12-13.

the classical fascist attempt to appeal to all classes. The focus in *Searchlight* moved on from a fear of nationalist appeals to class unity concerns about unity in the far right, with Tyndall's former rival Colin Jordan writing in *Spearhead* in January of 1982.[92] Tyndall confirmed *Searchlight*'s reading of this, describing the advocacy of class hatred and national bolshevism as being the pursuit of those in 'a youthful phase of political development'.[93] *Searchlight* appeared quite happy to report that these attempts at Strasserite rebellion from below in the right were now a minor concern. This period raises some important questions on how *Searchlight* approached this perceived threat to its own identity from the far right, given the role of *Searchlight* mole Ray Hill in giving credibility and an upper hand to John Tyndall in his struggle to form a new movement by bringing over a large part of the street active British Movement to Tyndall's Campaign for Nationalist Unity. Rather than the passive observer, in directing Hill to move into Tyndall's direction and provide him with the cross-movement endorsement, *Searchlight* had to make an active choice in which direction the far right would take. It chose to minimise the impact of both the street active and violent British Movement but also the other elements of the former National Front, the Strasserite group around Nick Griffin and the remaining populist racists that would eventually form the Flag Group.

There is evidence though that *Searchlight* already saw the efforts to appeal to the working class as failing with it already having described all the various factions of the National Front (including its Constitutional Movement, New National Front and continuing National Front) turning up to Welsh Irish Scots English (WISE) events as being full of the middle class and middle aged.[94] It does differentiate between Tyndall and Jordan however and the continuing National Front, which it describes as 'young thugs',[95] highlighting that Tyndall and Jordan had much more in common with the broader meeting, suggesting a greater affinity for Tyndall and his efforts for unity, and that the working-class politics of the continuing National Front was out of place. In this *Searchlight* was not above trying to sow a degree of division in the far right using class itself as a tool for this, a tool they no doubt felt was a powerful lever.

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[92] 'Tyndall and Jordan in Harness', *Searchlight*, no. 81, Mar. 1982, pp. 12-13.
[93] *Ibid*, p. 12.
[94] 'Racist Tory Right Emerge from the Shadows', *Searchlight*, no. 79, Jan. 1982, pp. 10-11.
[95] *Ibid*, p. 11.

Conclusion

The way in which *Searchlight* appealed to and argued for a class understanding of society tells us a great deal of their world view, but also explains a great deal about why anti-fascist and far-right groups were often talking about each other but rarely to each other, as both had separate and conflicting world views. For *Searchlight* class was the method through which they understood society, that people and their movement was unified by their struggle against oppressive forces and this generated the need to move forward and rise together, with other differences minimised so that they could focus on this core goal. It was so central that they rejected any attempt to understand the far right without understanding class, made clear when they criticised Paul Wilkinson's *The New Fascists* for failing to consider this and where they described the very notion of the fascist appeal to all the classes to create a mobilised movement against the elites to be a 'fantasy',[96] though one they admit is effective and thus needing to be challenged.[97] This attempt to weld together the working class also led to a hostility to those who would otherwise attempt to use class as a method of promoting racist or racially dividing language, as happened in the case of Dr Stephen Haseler of the Social Democratic Party, who argued that hostility to immigration from the working class was not racism but simply hostility driven by immigration resulting in large changes to working-class areas in cities.[98] The working class, for the project *Searchlight* wished to embark upon of a jointly rising tide of equality driven by class awareness and allies from other classes, had to belong firmly to the anti-fascist movement and those elements who had been corrupted by others needed to be challenged, or were in fact not truly working class.

In contrast the main Tyndallite argument in *Spearhead* described class as an imposed division designed to keep the workers locked in these debates and that workers of all classes needed to overcome that notion of class warfare to seize control from those who were misleading the country and indeed all aspects of life. For them nation and race were the

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[96] 'Reviews: Greatest Danger to Democracy', *Searchlight*, no. 80, Feb. 1982, p. 14.
[97] Wilkinson, Paul, *The New Fascists*, (London: Grant McIntyre, 1981).
[98] 'Whispers: The Tragedy of Haseler', *Searchlight*, no. 83, May 1982, p. 10.; Stephen Haseler was a British academic and member of the Labour Party who joined the Social Democratic Party in 1981. A founder of the Social Democratic Alliance within the Labour Party, he opposed the move by far-left organisations to take control of the Labour Party and argued for a more centre-left arrangement. This resulted, in 1980, in Haseler's expulsion from the Labour Party as they deemed the SDA incompatible with party membership. In 1982, having joined the Social Democratic Party, Haseler stood to be its president but lost to Shirley Williams. For more information on Haseler, see: Campbell, John, *Roy Jenkins*, (London: Random House, 2014), pp. 542-543. also see: Berrington, Hugh, *Change in British Politics*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), p. 83, and, Calum Aikman, 'From Labourism to Thatcherism: Stephen Haesler and the Social Democratic Alliance', *Labour History Review*, vol. 84, no. 3 (2019), pp. 267-294.

unifying glue of society, that which would hold them together – to them class was a division. This monocultural or limited diversity culture would of course then see immigration as an existential threat that could only ever lead to disruption of society. For *Searchlight* and its class based view, immigration meant the bringing in of potential allies in their campaign to move forward their campaign against the ruling establishment, for them disruption is a positive and not a negative.

Chapter 3: Gender and Sexuality

This chapter will examine to how gender is represented and used within *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* during the period under examination. In wider society, this period saw many changes for women's status within society, with the passing of both the Equal Pay Act 1970 and Sex Discrimination Act 1975, and as was explored in the previous chapter, the 1960s and 1970s saw a much greater involvement of women within the economy.[1] The increasing involvement of women in work and education was helping drive political cultures as well. Within the trade union movement George Stevenson describes women and the women's liberation movement as helping to drive the peak in union activity.[2] Many older prejudices and systematic disadvantages still existed, however. To take the example of Higher Education – often touted as a vehicle of societal change – in 1970 women still only made up 11 percent of students at Cambridge, despite near equal entry rates into higher education for men and women since at least 1964.[3] Yet even these modest increases in women on campus – as students and as academics – during the 1960s and early 1970s, the campus as a more gender diverse space helped foster student activism around women's rights and sexual liberation – and also prompted opposition to these movements.[4] Despite these things, women remained largely excluded from creation of the legal frameworks that governed their lives – as Jane Lewis observes, when it came to matters such as designing how an abortion system might work, far greater emphasis was placed on the views of overwhelmingly male politicians and physicians than on the views of women themselves.[5] There were also, within campaigns around women's rights, disputes over understandings of the complex intersections between race and gender. Natalie Thomlinson describes frustrations within the women's liberation movement continuing from the 1960s and 1970s into the 1980s as black feminists accused their white colleagues of failing to understand the specific disadvantages that black women faced and the need for campaigns to address racial equality as well.[6]

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[1] Bourke, Joanna, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890-1960*, pp. 105-106.
[2] Stevenson, George, *The Women's Liberation Movement and the Politics of Class in Britain*, pp. 2-3, 53.
[3] Bagilhole, Barbara, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations: Challenging Men*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 64
[4] Hoefferle, Caroline M., *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 189-193.
[5] Lewis, Jane, *Women in Britain Since 1945: Women, Family, Work and the State in the Post-war Years*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 60-62.
[6] Thomlinson, Natalie, '"Sisterhood is Plain Sailing?" Multiracial Feminist Collectives in 1980s Britain', in, Kristina Schulz (ed.), *The Women's Liberation Movement: Impacts and Outcomes*, (Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), pp. 198-199.

That these changes were going on is important to note, both as something which the magazines reacted to, but also something which may be found reflected in some of their writing as we move through the period. *Searchlight* championed a notion of discriminated groups coming together in order to collectively combat the prejudices within society, but to what extent did women feature in this? Did *Spearhead*, in their pursuit of a return to a fictional idyll to be found in Britain's history where her morals and society were healthy, also want a return to more traditional gender roles?

To this end, it is useful to consider how traditional British fascism viewed women. Though there was a general view of Women's Studies scholars in the early period that tended to view the extreme right's treatment of women in counter-revolutionary Marxist terms, with the extreme right reacting against the revolutionary nature of women's liberation, this loses much of the nuance.[7] In viewing it in this way, women have much of their agency removed and they are reduced to that of a marginalised faction of society. This ignores that women were not just victims of fascist movements, or aspects of society considered, but were also active participants, and that there is an ideology that wishes to create a new path for them, even if such a path might from our standpoint seem regressive.

In British fascism, women had been involved from close to the very start, with some former suffragettes transferring their energies to this new political creation. The British Union of Fascism was, in many ways, happy to recognise and promote their female members, providing women with their own forums and magazines to discuss topics that the female members wished, though this support did lapse at times.[8] Still, there was a clear compartmentalisation of life in the ideal British extreme right, which looked back to the Victorian past of Empire for moral stability and purpose, and so drew forward the concepts of separate spheres, with women occupying the role of mistresses of the private home sphere and the men masters of the public outwards facing sphere.[9] Though often referred to by the old German phrase, rekindled by the Third Reich, "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (meaning Children, Kitchen and Church – three areas of focus for a virtuous woman), the extreme right view of women both within their movement and within wider society was more nuanced because these old ideas were being brought forward and filtered through their own experience and existing identities.

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[7] Gottlieb, Julie, *Feminine Fascism*, p. 4.
[8] *Ibid*, pp. 101-102.
[9] For an exploration of Separate Spheres, see: Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

To the ideas of the pre-war extreme right, built on notions of totalitarianism where the home life is part of the public, and that the health of society is dependent upon the individual health and virtue of its people, the private sphere became just as public and a balanced and peaceful existence was needed between both home and public life.[10] In this, women as mistresses of the home took on a vital importance in the health of society and the strength of the nation, but this should not be taken as a mistaken view of equivalency or of equality. In the post war period there was a characterisation of this view, in a less nuanced way, as viewing women as 'Breeders for Race and Nation', which was leapt upon by feminists and by *Searchlight* as a route to critique the extreme right.[11] These attacks again seem designed not just to undermine the extreme right, but to dissuade women from joining their ranks. That women were being targeted in this way suggested the extreme right had something more on offer than simply breeding, and this again will be explored.

There is also the question of how women were spoken of as part of the movements within *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*. In exploring the roles within the movement that women came to occupy and how reports concerning their behaviour are handled, we can begin to understand more than the intellectual conceptualisation of gender that *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* espoused, but also understand the practical nature of these relationships and how they impacted upon the language and tone used. It will also be necessary to explore whether idealised gender politics were borne out in the way in which women are referred to in these magazines. We may also by this consideration appreciate the importance placed upon the involvement of women within the movement, and the emphasis placed upon gender within the output of these magazines.

Representations and Role of Gender within the movements

Part of understanding how both the far right and anti-fascist groups saw the ideal society developing is understanding the role they say for both sexes within that society. This can be important for a number of reasons, Jane Pilcher suggests that the key method of either gender seeking to strengthen and improve their status within society is through becoming involved in political action.[12] Particularly important from this is the idea that it not just

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[10] Gottlieb, Julie, *Feminine Fascism*, pp. 102-103
[11] Thomlinson, Natalie, *Race, Ethnicity and the Women's Movement in England, 1968-1993*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 143
[12] Pilcher, Jane, *Women in Contemporary Britain,* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 150-151.

through broad political engagement that women, as she describes, can be strengthened, but through their personal involvement in activity. This meant that the role both groups saw for women within their movements has a fundamental impact on whether they would seek equality or division amongst the genders. It is also important when we consider the long history of the Twentieth Century, where the emergence of challenges to the established gender roles created a fear of societal degeneration during the early years, and one which Lesley Hall suggests was seen to be rectified by the application of traditional, and masculine, pursuits such as the engagement in and celebration of war.[13] As Hall points out, the First World War did not provide the cauterisation of these problems as some at the time thought it might but instead saw an opening up of the divisions into the twenties.[14]

It was this crisis of gender identities which the first wave of fascism sought to address in its theories of gender roles, and it will therefore be an opportunity to see to what extent the debates used by the far right during our period reflect a response to more internal and fascist influenced debate, or whether they are responding to a more contemporary perceived crisis, or indeed both and are reaching back to old solutions for new problems. There is a prevailing view of fascism and the broader far right as having a traditionally male dominated culture, with emphasis on extreme masculinity and being framed, even by fascist leaders such as Mosley, as a reaction against the status quo by young British men.[15] Martin Durham urged us to move beyond this simple understanding of fascism as a misogynistic reaction to gains in women's rights in his 1998 book *Women and Fascism.* Durham points out that in Italy the Fascists were early supporters of votes and rights for women, and many women were involved in the takeover by D'Annunzio of Fiume in 1919, with women engaged in both more front line roles as fighters but also in what we might see as more traditional female roles, caring for the children of the city.[16] This was however short lived and the promise of female empowerment evaporated, with an increasing focus on the role of women within demographic warfare, as mothers to a new generation of strong fascist children and feminism became derided as a Jewish plot by the Italian state.[17]

In Britain during this period the British Union of Fascists (BUF) presented an equally conflicted picture. They defended Italian and German policies on gender, sex and race,

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[13] Hall, Lesley A., *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain Since 1880*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 78-80.
[14] *Ibid*, pp. 83-84.
[15] Billig, Michael, *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front*, p. 255.
[16] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 8-9.
[17] *Ibid*, pp. 9-11.

while at the same time professing to be a party strongly in favour of equality of the sexes. This Janus-like position was achieved by arguing that fascist policies in Europe were misunderstood and actually sought to liberate women and bring them together as a gender for their own empowerment.[18] Considering Pilcher's view that involvement in political action itself is progressive for women's status, the role of women within the BUF must be considered alongside their place as part of policy. Thurlow identifies women as making up over 20% of the active membership of the BUF in the 1930s, and Durham explains how in his interrogations following his internment Mosley was clear that his achievements would not have been possible without his female members.[19] Durham certainly paints a vivid picture of female empowerment and deliberate activation to political action within the BUF, pointing out the role of Mosley's mother in organising events for promising women, the establishment of a national headquarters for women, and dedicated training days and events.[20] This though is put into stark contrast by Gottlieb, who quotes Nicholas Mosley in describing his father as keen to separate out gender and politics.[21] Gottlieb goes on to describe how the death of his first wife Cynthia changed Mosley's attitude to women and led to him avoiding a front-line political role for his second wife Diana, using her in a business management role rather than a public one due to concerns that Cynthia's death had been hastened due to the political abuse she received as his wife.[22]

What Gottlieb also identifies is that there is a tendency, understandable though it might be, in the prevailing casual antifascist culture of the post-war consensus to want to view fascism and the far right in a simplistic way and attribute to them all that is anti-progressive and anti-feminist.[23] The true picture remains more complex, as Gottlieb and Durham both showed, and allows us in turn to consider, as Gottlieb does, whether these anti-female tropes are more rooted in continental fascism and far right origins rather than the Mosleyite traditions of the dominant interwar British fascist group. Durham's analysis of Italian fascism's journey from a pro-women position in its early days to full acceptance of a constrained role for women in society more in tune with the Nazi rhetoric suggests that this idea of a continental versus a British attitude might itself be a little simplistic. This is especially important to bear in mind when considering the other diverse groups in the inter-war British

[18] *Ibid*, pp. 32-35.
[19] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 140, and, Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, p. 36.
[20] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, pp. 36-38.
[21] Gottlieb, Julie, *Feminine Fascism*, pp. 182-183.
[22] *Ibid*, pp. 189-190.
[23] *Ibid*, pp. 262-263.

far right, it certainly proves an interesting comparison in looking at influences on the post-war British movements and their attitude to the role of gender in society.

Antifascism in the interwar period also had some interesting interactions with the feminist movements that can start to inform our understanding of the background to attitudes to gender within these movements. Though Mosley made much of the suffragettes that joined his cause, going so far as to use them to deflect from accusations levelled by other former suffragettes of the BUF not being a vehicle for women's progress, it is important that we do not presume those pre-existing socio-political groups marched lock-step into the fascist cause. It is an area much in need of further research beyond this work, as Julie Gottlieb identifies, to understand women's active role in anti-fascism but a key part of being able to find differentiation from pure reaction to real or perceived far right ideology.[24] An interesting case raised by Isabelle Richet is that of Marion Cave Rosselli, a British woman married to an Italian antifascist and pregnant with their child when she was arrested for allegedly organising the escape of her husband from prison.[25] Richet described Rosselli as having been active in antifascist groups, taking great personal risk as secretary to an underground newspaper and smuggling out copy as well as offering her home up as a meeting place, but highlighting that as Cave Rosselli was a woman she was cut off from traditional support group such as political parties in her struggle away from her husband.[26] Richet identifies these antifascist support networks as being from distinct strands. The first – and what Richet describes as the most openly political – formed around Sylvia Pankhurst and brought together her former allies in the suffragettes and her new colleagues in socialist circles, the second was formed around social Catholicism and involved prominent female journalists such as Virginia Crawford and Barbara Barclay Clay and finally the third network was focused on humanitarian support to antifascist women.[27] These groups often shared membership and ideas, and operated on a transnational level while antifascists in general were still operating along national lines. What is most interesting for our considerations is that these groups, according to Richet, served as interlocutors between antifascist organisations, women's social groups and traditional political parties such as the labour left and that in bringing together a transnational internationalist antifascist alliance, these feminist support groups helped form a structure on which could be built the

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[24] Gottlieb, Julie, 'Women and British Fascism Revisited: Gender, the Far-Right and Resistance', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 120-121.
[25] Richet, Isabelle, 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks', pp. 117-118.
[26] *Ibid*, pp. 121-125, 132.
[27] *Ibid*, pp. 126-127.

transnational antifascist consensus within Europe, as identified by Gerd-Rainer Horn, which gained ascendency in the post-war period.[28]

When examining the time period of this study, and studying the movements directly affiliated with *Spearhead* and *Searchlight,* we do see involvement of women, and material targeted at them. As Durham observes, the National Front (NF) in the late 1960s and into the 1970s had many women active within its local branch committees and standing as candidates.[29] However, according to Durham this involvement of women is located primarily within the narrative of the NF as a continuation of far right activity in Britain from the BUF through to the modern British National Party, highlighting the role of women within groups that formed the NF such as the League of Empire Loyalists, it is important to consider that the NF drew from a wider support base than the old traditional far right.[30] To that extent, analysis of the output of the magazines must also include consideration as to what groups were being targeted to understand if it was aiming for traditional supporters of the far right or looking to build a broader consensus bringing on board women who had come to the NF from more traditional Conservative groups on the popular racist side of the NF's support base.

When it comes to the question of post-war women within antifascism, there are fewer authoritative works to examine, especially for the post-war period. As Richet identifies, though her focus is on Italian anti-fascism, there are few pieces that cover this period with a focus on women's roles and those that do often fail to be archivally supported pieces and instead rely on testimony exclusively, while most histories focus on antifascism as a space for male action.[31] In one of the notable exceptions to this, Julie Gottlieb in a 2012 piece offers some explanation for why this might be, pointing to both the still developing field of anti-fascism that has yet to find firm definitional structures and a reliance on Labour and Communist history traditions that have often neglected the gender dimension.[32] Gottlieb describes how women were often in subordinate roles within anti-fascism, making it more difficult to examine them, and also that there were interactions between anti-fascism,

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[28] *Ibid*, p. 13, and, Gerd-Rainer Horn, *European Socialists Respond to Fascism: Ideology, Activism and Contingency in the 1930s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 117-134.
[29] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, pp. 73-75.
[30] *Ibid,* p. 73.
[31] Richet, Isabelle, 'Women and Antifascism: Historiographical and Methodological Approaches', in Hugo Garcia et al, *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory, and Politics, 1922 to the Present*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp. 152-154.
[32] Gottlieb, Julie V., '"Broken Friendships and Vanished Loyalties': Gender, Collective (In)Security and Anti-Fascism in Britain in the 1930s', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 13, iss. 2 (2012), pp. 197-219.

concepts of collective security and the gendered space around the peace campaigns that further alienated women from organised anti-fascism.[33] When women do appear in wider histories of antifascism, it tends to either be isolated or when violence against them is used by either side as exemplars of the barbarism of the opposing groups, as was the case with the Union Movement after they claimed two of their female supporters were attacked by Jewish antifascists in 1962.[34] There is also certainly an awareness of post-war antifascism often being a homosocial space, as Copsey reveals when he looks at how later antifascists in the 1990s feared a return to the male cadres of AFA.[35] This is supported by Gottlieb who describes how inter-war anti-fascists, despite condemning fascists for their attitudes towards women, would often express the same societal sexism that existed at the time.[36]

Just as the role and representation of women is a complex picture and often marginalised in these studies, the concept of masculinity was also an important part of locating gender within the far right and antifascist views of society. The background to the far right's pursuit of this is most expertly laid out in Dan Stone's book *Breeding Superman*, where he describes how eugenics, Nietzsche and emerging racial politics combined and were debated and evolved across national lines, with ideas transferring to Germany from Britain where they evolved and were then returned to Britain through groups like the BUF.[37] Here the attempt was to fix the perceived weakness of society, in part, through a resurgence of traditional concepts of 'manliness' and what were seen as male virtues.

Within antifascism we face a relationship with masculinity that is made more complex precisely because of the hyper-masculinity of the inter-war fascist movements. As Elizabeth Heinemann identifies, there was a reaction – particularly in Germany – against this masculinity of the Nazis and others, and so antifascists had to craft their own masculinity that could conform both with their antifascism but also with other wider social constructs around gender.[38] This aspect of masculinity has been explored in detail in continental literary cultural history, such as studies of the German Democratic Republic by academics such as Julia Hell but has not received as focused an analysis by historians of this period

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[33] *Ibid*, pp. 200-201.
[34] Copsey, Nigel, *Antifascism in Britain*, p. 106.
[35] *Ibid,* pp. 170-171.
[36] Gottlieb, Julie, '"Broken Friendships and Vanished Loyalties"', p. 201.
[37] Stone, Dan, *Breeding Superman*, esp. pp. 42-52.
[38] Heineman, Elizabeth, 'Gender, Sexuality, and Coming to Terms with the Nazi Past', *Central European History*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2005), pp. 41-74.

utilising archival record.[39] This work will therefore provide an opportunity to examine how antifascism frames male involvement and how, if at all, it attempts to craft a progressive vision of manliness and what this might be able to tell us about its views of society's ordering in their constructed antifascist ideal future. As women were often defined in relation to the male space, it will therefore make sense to start with our consideration of how these movements approached masculinity.

Masculinity – the creation of the ideal type

Just as we discussed how Hall identified a crisis of masculinity in the period before the First World War and just after, so these fears were very present in the writings of *Spearhead* throughout our period. There was a fear that men were no longer even men, but instead were feminised – something presented as certainly negative if not an existential threat to white British civilisation. In its very first issue, *Spearhead* covered contemporary music in the form of The Beatles and the Rolling Stones, who were in the view of *Spearhead* of 'doubtful sex'.[40] What was worse for *Spearhead* was that what they termed the '"Beat" Cult' was spreading to other white western nations and the Commonwealth, including Australia, New Zealand and the 'usually phlegmatic Dutch', and subverting their youth by presenting 'these effeminate little clowns'[41] as ideal types of man. Conspiratorially, *Spearhead* claimed this was done carefully through the use of the masses of screaming young women who showed affection to these bands, and that this in turn would make teenage men 'think that the way to attract the notice of the wenches next door is to wear the hair shoulder-length….and act generally in the manner of the pansy',[42] using terms such as wench to suggest a moral degeneracy on behalf of the women. Furthermore, this was combined with 'music of the primitive jungle', a code term often appearing for what was perceived to be black-origin music that were 'dark and insidious forces in Britain [which] foster the degeneration of our youth'.[43] *Spearhead* offered a remedy on restoring manliness and to counter these subversive cultural forces by suggesting that those adult males who had served in the forces might dream of 'having charge of these specimen on the barrack-square, if only for half an hour',[44] militarism being suggested as a wellspring of masculinity. While no doubt

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[39] Hell, Julia, 'At the Center an Absence: Foundationalist Narratives of the GDR and the Legitimatory Discourse of Antifascism', *Monatshefte*, vol. 84, no. 1 (1992), pp. 23-45.
[40] 'Beat Cult Marches On', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 3.
[41] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[42] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[43] *Ibid, p. 3.*
[44] *Ibid, p. 3.*

expressing the views of some in championing conscription, Roger Broad's examination of conscription suggests that not only was conscription seen by the military as an undesirable move that they were forced to take, the wider consensus for it within society had begun to break down as early as the 1950s.[45] As Joseph Paul Vasquez describes, this break down in consent led to a severe curtailing of the utility of conscripts, with foreign deployments being seen as increasingly undesirable – though Vasquez also hints at why *Spearhead* may have viewed conscription as an answer, given its abolition hastened Britain's imperial decline once it was denied both the manpower reservoir of British India and then conscription.[46]

It was therefore of great concern to *Spearhead* when a Swedish pop star was conscripted into the Swedish Army. Pictured with long hair and a big smile, *Spearhead* referred to him as a 'thing',[47] suggesting readers would be shocked to discover he is not only male but a soldier. Permitting this long hair within the military was a symbol of what *Spearhead* termed ultra-liberalism, in contrast to the authority and discipline that they champion. Indeed, for *Spearhead* this 'breed of sexless, pansified half-men' were an inseparable part of liberal democracy, and the solution they proposed once again was a return to the old martial values, suggesting that they would relish the 'thought of their old R.S.M. [Regimental Sergeant Major] getting a batch of these freaks on the regimental square for just a couple of hours rifle drill on a hot summer's day'.[48] They were also clear on what threat this degeneration of manliness was opening the west up to, suggesting that these effeminate men would not be able to stand up against any future attack from the communist powers, powers often seen in the far right more broadly and *Spearhead* more specifically as linked to Jewish influence within their conspiratorial rhetoric.[49] It should also be noted that these fears about the strength of NATO's largely conscript forces and their ability to match, and thus hold, the Soviet forces were part of mainstream thought at this time – with NATO in the 1950s switching away from its Massive Conventional Build-Up doctrine in favour of a Massive Retaliation strategy that would instead fight localised defensive actions and hope the use of tactical nuclear weapons could force a de-escalation.[50]

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[45] Broad, Roger, *Conscription in Britain, 1939-1964,* pp. 250-251.
[46] Vasquez, Joseph Paul, 'More Than Meets the Eye: Domestic Politics and the End of British Conscription', *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 37, iss. 4 (2011), pp. 636-656.
[47] 'Fighters or Fairies?', *Spearhead*, no. 10, Apr./May 1966, p. 3.
[48] *Ibid, p. 3.*
[49] *Ibid, p. 3.*
[50] Heuser, Beatrice, 'The Development of NATO's Nuclear Strategy', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Mar 1995), pp. 37-66.

Fighters or Fairies?

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We see these themes returning in later issues and becoming more developed. In July of 1975, *Spearhead* once again raised its concerns over the infiltration of what it saw as unmanly natures into the armed forces of Europe.[52] This time highlighting the Dutch army, *Spearhead* published a picture of three of their soldiers in full uniform but with long flowing hair. There was no doubt from *Spearhead* that these were male – helpfully they had beards – but a highlighting of how men such as this would be unable to defend the west, and this represented a degeneration of the position of the west where previously any one of France, Germany or Britain was equal to the power of Russia but that in the 1970s all three together could only stand with the support of America. In this, *Spearhead* transformed a simple advancement of culture into more toleration of different understandings of masculinity into a crisis of western civilisation, suggesting that this new liberal style of masculinity was to blame for this 'softness, decadence and lack of will to survive'[53], even going so far as to suggest that the communist states have a stronger male youth, which is why they would triumph against the west whose young men lack 'discipline, training and morale'.[54]

In these three articles the solution remains the same, that of military training and additional military services, and it strikes a number of parallels to the response to the crisis of masculinity and gender that Hall identified in the run up to the First World War and after,

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[51] Image from: 'Fighters or Fairies?', *Spearhead*, no. 10, p. 3.
[52] 'Defenceless Europe', *Spearhead*, no. 85, Jul. 1975, p. 2.
[53] *Ibid, p. 2.*
[54] *Ibid, p. 2.*

the crisis that returned after the war and which was answered in part by the first fascist parties turning to hyper-masculinity. It would be a mistake to think fascist movements alone were concerned with the crisis of masculinity, yet their response and that of *Spearhead* bear sufficient similarity for us to suggest this was the influence which they were harking back to, which – as Gottlieb described – sought a paramilitary basis for hyper-masculinity, with a blurring of the civilian and military spaces, which we see in the highlighting of military drill as a solution for wider societal issues like gender roles within *Spearhead*.[55] This was echoing cultural trends within wider society that continued to glorify the military past. The British film industry produced numerous war films in the 1950s and 1960s, and ones that – as Michael Paris notes – highlighted war as a masculine space, with women appearing mostly in background roles.[56] It is also important, as Robert Saunders argued in the wake of the 2016 Brexit referendum, to understand that this glorification of the Imperial past and its military exploits was not unique to the political right and rather it runs through the whole of British society.[57] In this, it can be seen how *Spearhead* not only exists within a wider context, but also that this appeals to this militarism were building on widely held popular beliefs.

The extent to which *Spearhead* expressed raw militarism within society as a solution to masculine issues alters through our period, however. In one of its early issues *Spearhead* expressed that violence, notably in this street violence, is simply the normal expression of male aggression – 'the natural aggressive nervous energies that exist in every healthy male youth' – and of that '[t]he warrior spirit was valued; man was recognised as a fighter',[58] *Spearhead* decried, mourning the loss of this traditional part of manhood. The reason for why this traditional manly pursuit of fighting was emerging in thuggery is made clear – it was the 'pacifistic, unpatriotic, "love-thy-neighbour-even-if-he-spits-at-you" non-sense' that came from 'Liberal and Left-Wing schoolmarms, club leaders, psychologists and priests', and that this discouraged men from the violence that *Spearhead* felt was a healthy part of manhood and encouraged young men more to thoughts of 'Waterloo, Trafalgar, and the Flanders trenches'.[59] Though *Spearhead* suggested that this street violence was understandable and perhaps even acceptable given the failure of Britain to provide the

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[55] Gottlieb, Julie, 'Body Fascism in Britain: Building the Blackshirt in the Inter-War Period', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2011), pp. 126 and 135.
[56] Paris, Michael, *Warrior Nation*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp. 223-227.
[57] Saunders, Robert, 'Brexit and Empire: "Global Britain" and the Myth of Imperial Nostalgia', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 48, iss. 6 (2020), pp. 1140-1174.
[58] 'Violent Youth', *Spearhead*, no. 12, Jul. 1966, p. 3.
[59] *Ibid,* p. 3.

proper training for these young men in soldiery and military pursuits, it has also been clear that what it termed 'sadistic violence', a term used to describe violence they claimed was coming from the non-white migrants in the form of crime, was 'most rare in the normal British and Nordic European character'.[60] So violence was not seen as acceptable part of black manhood, but a right reserved for a white patriotic male.

Despite these arguments in favour of tolerating violence from young nationalist males, violence more broadly was seen by *Spearhead* as 'sickening'[61] when done by the Anti-Apartheid movement, a tool of 'red thugs'[62] when engaged upon by antifascists, an indication of 'years of infiltration and subversion at all levels of University life by the Communists'[63] when performed by students, and 'barbarism'[64] when it occurs within non-white communities in Britain.[65] Part of the reason for this rejection of civil violence, even if amongst their supporters they were previously willing to see it as simple manly hijinks, appears to be part of the cost Tyndall and his supporters had to pay in order to be allowed to join the broader NF. Violence is made clear to be a reason for expulsion unless it is in self defence against 'left-wing troublemakers',[66] though even as they said this it was made clear that to '[m]eekly consent'[67] to left-wing violence is contemptible and so violence in turn is a virtue when in response to threats. This suggested they still held their earlier views on violence being an acceptable aspect of manliness and a sign of a healthy virile man providing it is done in the cause of nationalism.

Searchlight did not accept the very foundation of the concerns of *Spearhead*, deriding fears of 'genetic decay and modern effeteness'[68] as they mocked the words of Konrad Lorenz and deride him as having been 'an unsufferable [sic] prig as a child',[69] suggesting his promotion

[60] 'Trevelyan, Paul', 'Crime and the Race Factor', *Spearhead*, no. 11, Jun. 1966, p. 8.

[61] 'Springboks Welcomed', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 14.

[62] Pirie, Denis, 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 30, Feb. 1970, p. 11.

[63] 'Student Violence: Why Did it Start? Who's Behind it? How Can We Stop it?', *Spearhead*, no. 31, Mar. 1970, p. 8.

[64] Webster, Martin, '£6 ¼ Million Labour Bribe to Black Muggers', *Spearhead*, no. 81, Feb. 1975, p. 12.

[65] The Anti-Apartheid movement was the collection of activists and organisations that campaigned within Britain in opposition to the South African apartheid system of racial segregation. Though campaigns had begun in the 1950s, activism in Britain stepped up after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Supporters of the anti-apartheid cause spanned across the mainstream political spectrum and engaged in a variety of tactics – from commercial boycott, to political isolation and also protest (and direct) action against South African interests within Britain. For a detailed history, see: Fieldhouse, Roger, *Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain* (London: Merlin, 2005).

[66] Anon. Spokesman of the National Front (Likely John Tyndall), 'Nationalist Unity: Interview with a Spokesman of the National Front', *Spearhead*, no. 32, Apr. 1970, p. 6.

[67] *Ibid,* p. 6.

[68] 'Konrad Lorenz: Past and Present', *Searchlight*, no. 35, May 1978, p. 12.

[69] *Ibid*, p. 12.

of hyper-masculine responses relates more to Lorenz's own insecurities rather than a real threat.[70] This disdain for the narrative of the hyper-masculine was not limited to this isolated article, and continued with a mocking of calls for manliness in place of the perceived liberal effeminacy from *Spearhead* by suggesting that they could 'force Iggy Pop to do a patriotic musical about the life of an impeccably Nordic snooker champion'.[71] *Spearhead*'s rhetoric on masculinity was also used to suggest the National Association for Freedom spokesperson on a BBC show was influenced by the NF, so extreme were his views on masculinity.[72] Indeed, for *Searchlight* it is self-evident that women should be allowed to work and granted equality, mocking suggestions of different roles for men and women within society as being dependent upon the idea of the superior male and that they no longer saw the family as being defined or defended by a male patriarch.[73]

Searchlight frames traditional male gender roles, which include belief in male superiority in social or biological terms, as being indications of far-right sympathies and outdated ideas. They refer to them simply as 'nonsense…historical nonsense…biological nonsense'[74] that worked for Hitler and his ilk to convince the German middle class to support them. If to believe in gender superiority is far right, indeed fascist, then equality of the genders in every way must therefore be anti-fascist and so the right path that *Searchlight* believed people should follow. Despite this though there are indications of traditional concepts of male virtue existing within *Searchlight*, as they express special disdain for far-right figures who fought women, referring to them as cowards.[75] At the same time *Searchlight* expressed support and respect for anti-fascist street fighters, even if they made it clear they did not support fighting against the police.[76] *Searchlight* did not exist within a vacuum and reflected society at the time, but this protective and often paternalistic view on the protection of women does call into question blanket assumptions around anti-fascism as a pure

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[70] Konrad Lorenz was a German zoologist, Nobel Prize winner, and is regarded as one of the founders of modern ethology – the study of animal behaviour. Before the Second World War, Lorenz had joined the Nazi Party and wrote several papers that supported National Socialist eugenics policies, as well as holding a position as a psychologist within the Office of Racial Policy. Lorenz distanced himself from these positions after the war and denied his party membership until it was proven, and he then expressed regret. For more information on Lorenz and his work see: Evans, Richard I. (ed.), *Konrad Lorenz: The Man and his Ideas*, (San Diego, CA: Harcourt, 1975). For more information on Lorenz's work on eugenics and work within Nazi Germany, see: Klopfer, Peter, 'Konrad Lorenz and the National Socialists: On the Politics of Ethology', *International Journal of Comparative Psychology*, vol. 7, iss. 4 (1994), pp. 202-208.
[71] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 63, Sep. 1980, p. 9.
[72] 'Keeping Women in Their Place: The NAFF and the "Unisex Perversion"', *Searchlight*, no. 42, Dec. 1978, pp. 7-9.
[73] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 34, Apr. 1978, p. 13.
[74] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 40, Oct. 1978, p. 12.
[75] Gable, Gerry, 'An Open Letter to Members of the National Front', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p. 11.
[76] 'The March of Shame', *Searchlight*, no. 7, Sep. 1975, p. 4.

progressiveness. It also highlights how they occupied the same cultural environment as the far right but rather than simply reacting to the far right, which would have pushed them harder into some pure equality, it suggests more that they were reacting to that same crisis of sexuality and gender that *Spearhead* and the far right faced, but were doing so while informed by a different set of ideals and ideological underpinning.

Women's Liberation

When it comes to the subject of feminism and the progression of women's rights through organised action, there is little doubt of *Spearhead*'s position. Feminism, for them, was a tool of liberalism set to debase and degenerate the vital societal health of the body politic, and equality of the genders, the move away from concepts such as separate spheres, was shown to be a threat. This is not clearer than when one of *Spearhead*'s readers writes into the magazine to agree with Tyndall's article on the decline of societal health, stating:

> As a result of liberalism in connivance with capitalism trying to radically change the role of woman in society, from that of first and foremost a mother and housewife, into that of some kind of repulsive imitation of man, breast feeding has diminished and further declines.[77]

The letter goes on to describe feminists as 'rabid'[78] and 'unholy',[79] and while it is a letter into the magazine, we can presume from their choice to publish it without comment that they certainly had sympathy for its statements.

When making pronouncements on their own views, *Spearhead* attempted to engage in constructive ambiguity as they stated that, when asked if they supported Women's Liberation or not, it was not a simple yes or no and that it was an issue which had good and bad points which must be considered for each initiative.[80] This was followed, however, by them rejecting a proposal of removing gender from job applications, a move they deemed the 'crackpot thinking of the Totalitarian left',[81] before going on to describe their 'most basic human right: the right to discriminate'.[82] *Spearhead* claimed it was not necessarily

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[77] Bidwell, Barry, 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 59, Dec. 1972, p. 16.
[78] *Ibid,* p. 16.
[79] *Ibid,* p. 16.
[80] 'What We Think: Crackpot Thinking', *Spearhead*, no. 69, Oct. 1973, p. 3.
[81] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[82] *Ibid,* p. 3.

anti-feminist but against what Alain de Benoist calls neo-feminists in an article reprinted by *Spearhead* in January of 1978.[83] This can be seen as similar to what Durham described occurring with the interwar BUF and their attempts to rationalise the gender regulation laws and policies of the European fascist powers, where a desire to appeal to women came into conflict with German-style fascist gender politics, a position *Spearhead* found itself in when it tried to continue to appeal to the wider NF and its populist racist support while also dealing with its own origins in British neo-Nazism.[84]

This nuanced position eventually collapsed when *Spearhead* came under the editorial influence of Richard Verrall, who was a proponent of racial pseudo-science and provided talks to NF members on racial intelligence and other subjects, and his assistant editor, Martin Webster, who had been an early proponent of Nazi-style biological racism in the early days of *Spearhead* when writing as Julius. In his piece on biology's role in society, Verrall argued that gender roles were dictated by genetics and biology, and that the assertion by feminists to the contrary was 'puerile Marxist rubbish'.[85] Though late in our period, we can see the impact of this focus on biological roles on *Spearhead*'s view of women's liberation stretching further back. The contraceptive pill and the liberalisation of contraceptives more generally had become such a part of women's liberation that the Women's Institute, traditionally a more conservative organisation that had until that point avoided taking a stand, even adopted it in their AGM of 1972.[86] A symbol of women's freedom, as Claire Debenham describes, it freed women from invasive physical examinations and gave them agency, forming a key part of the liberalising agenda when it came to women's rights.[87] For *Spearhead* this symbol of female sexual liberation presented a very real threat not just to the order of society as they saw it, but to western civilisation as a whole, describing it as the 'Self-Extinction of Western Man'.[88] What is clear though is that Verrall's influence as editor under Tyndall pushed *Spearhead* to finally declare a side in this

[83] de Benoist, Alain, 'The Feminine Condition', *Spearhead*, no. 113, Jan. 1978, pp. 8-9.; Alain de Benoist is a French journalist and political philosopher whose work emphasises ethno-nationalist notions in opposition to multi-culturalism. Having been involved in nationalist politics since university in the 1960s, Benoist established a research group – Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (GRECE) – that promoted ethno-nationalism. Benoist gained more widespread fame in the later 1970s as part of the Nouvelle Droite movement of far-right political thought, and his articles had been reprinted by nationalist groups in Europe throughout the 1970s. For more information, see: Camus, Jean-Yves, 'Alain de Benoist and the New Right', in, Mark Sedgwick (ed.), *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 73-90.
[84] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, p. 36.
[85] Verrall, Richard, 'Sociobiology: The Instincts in our Genes', p. 10.
[86] Debenham, Claire, *Birth Control and the Rights of Women,* p. 265.
[87] *Ibid*, esp. pp. 262-266.
[88] 'Self Extinction of Western Man', *Spearhead*, no. 75, May 1974, p. 13.

debate, removing the equivocation and constructive ambiguity which Tyndall had long clung to. These pieces from Verrall were presented not as editorials but instead he was clearly marked as the author and it was framed as a contribution in that way, which opened the possibility of Tyndall walking back from those views if it was required, as he had done with other contributions.

Spearhead declared that population control was unnecessary, as Britain was not overpopulated and birth control in Britain would not solve the issue of overpopulation in other parts of the world, but that the continuing trends of population control would make the British race feeble rather than strong.[89] The letters into *Spearhead* also reflected this view, showing how the ideas had resonated with their audience and how *Spearhead* was reflecting popular conspiracies within the far right. R. Bernard's letter alleged a large-scale conspiracy around contraceptive pills, not just for financial gain but also by those who wish to destroy the white race, as they knew that non-white people would not heed the marketing calling for population control as Bernard alleges they lack the intelligence of the white race.[90] This tapping into a wider culture of the far right on this issue is highlighted when they reprinted an article by Nathaniel Weyl from *The Mankind Quarterly*, which had been a staunch advocate of the Bell Curve theory around racial intelligence. The article argued that birth rates were declining among the more intelligent groups, and that this indicated the decline of society in America and the west, drawing parallels with the fall of the Roman Empire.[91]

When the new Labour government announced that contraceptives would now be available on the National Health Service, *Spearhead* criticised the decision and declared this undermined the very nature of the National Health Service, referring to its name as a misnomer.[92] It went on to use a long extract from Oswald Spangler's *Decline of the West* to emphasise the uncertainty of what this would lead to, and the threat it could have posed leading to the decline of Western Civilisation, drawing comparisons to Buddhist India, Babylon, Rome and others.[93] Richard Verrall made it clear that their issue was not with the contraceptive pill, which was framed as a symptom of a wider problem in society that needed addressing, which was the push by Government towards family planning. Verrall made it clear, family planning was derived from mistaken Nineteenth-century liberal

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[89] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 71, Dec. 1973, p. 3.
[90] 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 51, Apr. 1972, p. 16.
[91] Weyl, Nataniel, 'The Threat of Genetic Decay', *Spearhead*, no. 99, Nov. 1976, p. 20.
[92] 'Self-Extinction of Western Man', p. 13.
[93] *Ibid*, p. 13.

concepts of freedom, and it was wrong to place this freedom of choice, and indeed freedom for women, on a greater level than survival of the nation, and that family planning was a state-sponsored genocide that should have stirred even the liberals to action.[94]

Despite their claim to be neither for nor against women's liberation in 1973, *Spearhead* saw female choice as a necessary sacrifice to deal with the demographic threat they felt was an existential question for western civilisation. Women could have as much liberation as they wished providing it did nothing to take them away from their role as mothers and nurturers for a new generation of white youth – in effect they could have all the choice they want, providing they did not choose to use it. This attitude can be seen as response to the crisis of masculinity and gender of the post-war period, similar to that Hall and others identified in the inter-war period that first prompted fascist response on these matters. The way this mirrors the rhetoric of the inter-war fascists, echoing what Gottlieb identifies in Mosley's British Union of Fascists as the role of mothers to provide society with soldiers and heroes, a role that seemed to give them mastery of a sphere but which was always subordinated to the primacy of the male sphere of war and struggle.[95] We see these ideas crossing over from the interwar into the post-war period in Germany as well, as Durham identifies the National Socialists as honouring the mother and that the mother then returns as a strong theme of the post-war nationalist, and arguably neo-Nazi, Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP) whose 1955 party paper argued a strong theme of women as the guardians of the moral fortitude, suggesting women should be the mother of children and women pure, while attacking the liberalisation of women's roles and sexualisation as doing injury to the dignity of womankind itself.[96]

Searchlight was quick to react to the use of the notion of defence of women being used by the far right, who sought to create a sense of threat to women as a justification for violent acts against minorities and other breaches of the law. When the far right promoted purchase of CS gas sprays from US far-right stockists to defend against non-white populations in Bradford, *Searchlight* was scornful of the need for such devices and pointed out they are illegal and urged police investigation.[97] Equally when the far-right trades unionist Neil Farnell wrote in *Spearhead* about how alien habits of non-white workers around lunch were obnoxious and it was deplorable how women should be exposed to them, *Searchlight* simply

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[94] Verrall, Richard, 'Policies to Meet the Rising Tide of Colour', *Spearhead*, no. 101, Jan. 1977, pp. 6-7, 10.
[95] Gottlieb, Julia, *Feminine Fascism*, pp. 100-101.
[96] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, p. 86.
[97] 'Round-Up on the Right', *Searchlight*, no. 1, Feb. 1975, p. 6.

questioned what exactly was alien about eating lunch. *Searchlight* was seeking to debunk the notion that the far right was truly a defender of womanly virtue or safety. When it came to the Imperial Typewriters strike, *Searchlight* described the terms of the strikers, which included a demand against the exploitation of female workers, as 'good trade union demands'.[98] *Searchlight* therefore felt it was the true guardian of these principles rather than the far right.

Yet this same paternalistic attitude to protect women they ridiculed did at times raise its head within *Searchlight*'s coverage of events. Of course, part of the charge against the far right was that they were insincere in these beliefs and were misusing the interests of women to further their own often violent agendas, and at least in its early days of regular publication *Searchlight* never stated an overt belief that gender boundaries should be simply abolished, often maintaining the language of man and woman. We see some of this attitude in the lower threshold *Searchlight* would place on reporting violence against women than against men, reporting the theft of a trades union banner from some women during a march on the same level and even before reporting on violent physical assaults in Harrow and in Preston that left men in hospital.[99] *Searchlight* also used violence against women to denigrate John Cook, a former neo-Nazi who had joined the NF, claiming that he was 'a little coward whose match appears to be women'.[100] This idea that attacks on women were somehow worse was also highlighted when *Searchlight* singled out a member of the violent NF Honour Guard for his propensity for spitting on elderly Jewish women.[101]

While it is easy to criticize *Searchlight* for expressing views dominant in its period, it is also worth noting that they were also keen to highlight the role of women not just in contemporary but also in historical anti-fascist movements. They highlighted women's role in western European resistance during the war, and how these pre-existing networks were now forming the basis for post-war activity against what they labelled fascists. Women's agency and heroism in these acts was recognised and helped form part of that continuity that *Searchlight* claimed from the anti-fascist movement to the historic anti-fascist groups.[102] Thinking back to the observations of Isabel Richet on the lack of awareness within post-war writing of the importance and role of women and their feminist networks in anti-fascist

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98 'National Front and the Trade Unions', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 16.
99 'Punch-ups, Posters and Provocation', *Searchlight*, no. 3, May 1975, p. 13.
100 Gable, Gerry, 'An Open Letter to Members of the National Front', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p. 11.
101 'The Battle for the Streets', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun. 1975, p. 19.
102 'News from Europe', *Searchlight*, no. 4, Jun 1975, p. 8.

campaigns, it shows that while this may have been true of academic texts and wider society until the more recent past, within the movement those histories were acknowledged and celebrated more widely – indeed over four decades before Richet writes.[103] *Searchlight* was willing to highlight the role women played for fascism as well, highlighting the role of women within Ustasha cells both during and after the war.[104] Equally it applied this at home, after the attack on Roy Jenkins on the day the Race Relations bill was made public *Searchlight* spoke of the danger still posed by militant groups and was highlighting female involvement in NF military style training camps.[105]

Clear and unequivocal statements around the issue of women's liberation first appear at the start of 1976, when *Searchlight* attacked East-West Digest for attacking the Women's Movement as being a cover for other social changes, such as gay rights and abortion. In ridiculing the Digest, *Searchlight* made it clear that it views as self-evident that more must be done to stop domestic abuse and violence against homosexuals, deriding the suggestion that campaigning for these rights might be labelled as subversive. What the Digest is really against, *Searchlight* argued, is equality for women – and *Searchlight* happily saw itself as being the opposite side of this, and picked a journalistic fight with the Digest to champion the Women's Movement.[106] However, later in that same year *Searchlight* contributor John Ardent reprinted in his regular column a piece by Rabbi David Goldberg seemingly attacking the Women's Liberation movement and feminists within the Progressive Movement of Judaism for demanding change and modernisation at a pace he feels uncomfortable with. This was printed with little contextualisation and in full, but it is thanked for opening their eyes to a very specialised form of discrimination. While ultimately the piece seemed to denigrate the rabbi's views, lack of sympathy in its handling brings many more questions than answers when it comes to understanding *Searchlight*'s position.[107]

Part of this confusing stand came from *Searchlight*'s ideological roots within the broader left and particularly the trades union movement, and a desire to keep some degree of purity within the anti-racist and anti-fascist community, conscious that taking on other causes risked division on sex and gender just as it did with Europe, nuclear weapons and the Middle

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[103] Richet, Isabelle, 'Women and Antifascism', pp. 152-154.
[104] 'News from Europe', *Searchlight*, no. 5, Jul. 1975, p. 15.
[105] 'The March of Shame', *Searchlight*, no. 7, Sep. 1975, p. 6.
[106] 'Dog Eat Dog', *Searchlight*, no. 10, Jan. 1976, p. 9.
[107] Ardent, John, 'What I Liked About Monty', *Searchlight*, no. 13, Apr. 1976, p. 15.

East. In July of 1978 the editor of *Searchlight*, Maurice Ludmer, published an editorial commenting on the rise of the NF, the issues of ghetto creation in London, the licensing of violent behaviour by politicians and its impact on black and Asian households, but more controversially on the failure of a national conference on Racism and Fascism to set up a national co-ordinating group for anti-racism and anti-fascist committees.[108] The blame, so Ludmer argued, falls at the feet of 'certain women, Gay and Left groups'[109] who 'sought continuously to confuse issues and saw the question of "Sexism" as one of the dominant themes',[110] which Ludmer contrasts against the trade unionist, black and Asian organisations, claiming they were upset by these tactics and this is why they withdrew support. The solution, so the editorial argues, was to make a stricter definition of who has a right to attend such a conference, so clearly placing the struggle for women's rights and sexual freedom outside of the anti-racism and anti-fascist identity, though not denouncing the movements or the cause.[111] This prompted a strong reaction from within the anti-fascist community, with letters appearing in *Searchlight* from the Oxford Anti-Fascist Committee as well as the Leamington Women Against Racism and Fascism group both stating *Searchlight*'s suggestions were counterproductive and that the purity of conference, focusing down purely on trades union and the anti-racist concerns by narrower attendance rights, was seen as a move to block sexual liberation and women's groups from involvement and had ignored the fact many of the gay and feminist delegates were themselves active within the trade union movement.[112] In their defence, *Searchlight* provided editorial reply to these arguing it wanted a more fruitful dialogue and that a national conference of Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Committees should consist purely of those local committees it was seeking to co-ordinate.[113]

This position was reversed less than two years later when, in a review of a pamphlet on sexual politics within the far right, *Searchlight* openly stated that they hope the pamphlet will be the basis for more debate within the anti-fascist movement of sexual politics and gender issues, stating racism and sexism are incontrovertibly linked, pointing to the use by the far right of socio-biological arguments.[114] They did acknowledge some of the past conflict that had occurred, saying that the pamphlet reflected the dominant preoccupations of

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[108] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, 37, Jul. 1978, p. 2.
[109] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[110] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[111] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[112] 'Ersletterslet', *Searchlight*, no. 39, Sep. 1978, p. 5.
[113] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[114] 'Reviews: Women and the White Man's Front', *Searchlight*, no. 59, May 1980, p. 9.

Women Against Racism and Fascism and the anti-fascist movement at that time, and lamented that it did not reflect developments, in both the arguments and positions, but also in the practical considerations. In the intervening years, according to *Searchlight*, many Women Against Racism and Fascism groups and many anti-fascist groups more generally, had disbanded. While *Searchlight*'s review took no issue with the conclusion that the Women's Liberation Movement is a strategy and vehicle for combatting fascism, it did take issue with several of the other conclusions – worried not only that they focused on cultural opposition rather than physical but also that they introduced confusion by their attempts to spread the women's movement, fight fascism and fight the Conservative Government at the same time. Instead it urged that they should recognise racism primarily, and in turn this will help push forward the liberation movement as equality for all. Perhaps most interesting of all, thinking back to Isabel Richet's highlighting of the strength of anti-fascist women's networks on a transnational scale, *Searchlight* criticised it for being England centric and not considering sexual politics role in fascism abroad, indeed highlighting the role of, for example, French female right-wing writer Micheline Peyrebonne in being published by *Spearhead* by Tyndall and Webster.[115] *Searchlight* in this once again approached women's liberation and women's campaigns from the view that not only is the answer to fight for equality for all, but also a tendency to view women's role within anti-fascism through these previous historic roles.

This more developed view, of understanding sexual politics being used by fascism as a tool is one which *Searchlight* returned to in its critique of the book by Colin Sparks entitled *Never Again! The Hows and Whys of Stopping Fascism*.[116] Critical of Sparks' Marxist read on fascism, which viewed it as a reaction by the middle class against the working class and thus ignored fascism's appeal across the class structure, *Searchlight* considered his failure to consider the role of gender and sexual politics within fascism to be a large failing in the piece that they admitted was otherwise a well-written piece. In doing so, *Searchlight* raised two interesting points that give us some insight into its beliefs. The first is that the sexual politics positions of fascists were reactionary, suggesting they recognised the changing

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[115] Micheline Peyrebonne was a French social commentator and historian, primarily of France in the medieval period. Active primarily from the 1950s to the 1980s, Peyrebonne also edited a newsletter *Europe Notre Patrie* (English: Europe Our Homeland) which was one of several international texts sold by British far right groups such as the League of Saint George, as well as having portions reprinted in *Spearhead*. This was largely due to her writing on immigration, a collection of which was published in 1987 [Peyrebonne, Micheline, *Articles sur l'Immigration (1965-1981)*, (Paris: Europe Notre Patrie, 1987)].

[116] 'Reviews: Colin Sparks: Never Again! The Hows and Whys of Stopping Fascism', *Searchlight*, no. 66, Dec. 1980, p. 13.; Sparks, Colin, *Never Again! The Hows and Whys of Stopping Fascism*, (London: Bookmarks, 1980).

nature of sexual politics and that the far right was responding to what it saw as a crisis created by this change. The second is *Searchlight*'s statement that any examination of how to fight fascism needed to include an understanding of the emergence of autonomous black community groups, cultural politics and, most important for this examination, the women's movement. By the end of 1980, less than two and a half years since *Searchlight* had caused controversy and a degree of division by making the decision to speak out against the inclusion of sexual politics and women's liberation on the anti-fascist platform, concerned ironically about the division and distraction such inclusion might cause, it was now advocating the understanding and inclusion of these movements was essential to their core motivator of fighting the far right.

Part of this journey was covered in the obituary of Maurice Ludmer in *Searchlight*, where it spoke of how in the last three years of his life he had become convinced of the importance of anti-feminism to fascist groups, and that he gave coverage to the NF's attempts to create an ideal type of woman centred around home and hearth to counter this.[117] As it points out, under Ludmer *Searchlight* had published a pamphlet titled *Women and the National Front* to expose some of these ideas. So though the need to grapple directly with gender politics, as well as sexual politics, was driven by the desire of the far right to embrace this, it is important too to remember that the nature of *Searchlight*'s struggle with the question over how it framed women's liberation and the fight for rights was approached not from a desire to take a view opposite to that of the far right. Instead it was driven by their reaching back to their own ideological roots, in trade union process and anti-fascist historical networks, to try to find answers. What this revealed was, though the animus for anti-fascism remained the actions of those whom they opposed, the formulation of their ideas and identities remained firmly rooted in the collective identities they held and their own sense of a sustained historical identity from the interwar period.

Homosexuality – the response to a changing landscape

When discussing sexuality it is important to note the environment in which these movements were existing. As Lesley Hall identifies, there is a tendency to want to presume that the 1960s was a period of sexual liberation that instantly began, but in truth it was a period like any other that saw a gradual evolving of positions, and what Hall referred to as the long

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[117] 'Maurice Ludmer', *Searchlight*, no. 73, Jul. 1981, p. 6.

Victorian era in terms of attitudes continued well into the decade.[118] Before the period under analysis there had already been attempts to reform the law around gay sex, notably the parliamentary debate in May 1960 and later the 1962 private members bill by Leo Abse MP. By the start of our period academics were only just feeling free to publish studies on this, and even then legalisation was spoken about in terms of containing a problem, rather than liberation.[119] Most prominent in terms of gay rights is the legalisation of homosexual sex in 1967 but again academics like Stephen Brooke are eager to point out that this comes as part of a push, one which he identifies firmly with the left.[120] Based around a wide range of liberalisations in post-war society, we can see its roots in the campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s around birth control and reform of laws around prostitution.[121]

It is also important to understand the other cultures involved and how they changed as these legal reform changes came about. With gay liberation movements energised by the Stonewall Riots in June 1969, Britain saw the establishment of the Gay Liberation Front in October of 1970 based on the American models that had emerged since the riots.[122] These fronts, based around cultural expressions of homosexuality as well as groups discussing faith and other societal issues, were aiming to make the position of LGBT people in society more visible and spread across the country by early 1971.[123] Though they collapsed in 1973 these groups left a legacy of LGBT activism, especially left-wing activism.[124] Despite these movements there remained a great deal of resistance to the advancement of gay rights, with Brooke describing how we see a return of the pre-war arguments against homosexuality, saying it is a threat to existing power structures and societal frameworks – often to the family unit – and through that a risk to society as a whole.[125]

One of the key sexual issues for the NF was homosexuality, particularly here male homosexuality. It is something *Spearhead* first confronted in its earliest issues, and it did so with stark language, talking about a 'Young Pansy Cult'[126] existing within British youth and representing homosexuality as an issue with democratic versus National Socialist society.

[118] Hall, Lesley A., *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880*, p. 148.
[119] *Ibid,* pp. 148-149.
[120] Brooke, Stephen, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 117-118.
[121] *Ibid*, pp. 117-118.
[122] Robinson, Lucy, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain: How the Personal got Political*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 65-68.
[123] *Ibid*, p. 68.
[124] *Ibid*, p. 68.
[125] Brooke, Stephen, *Sexual Politics*, pp. 118-119.
[126] Tyndall, John, 'Wanted – A Return to Manhood!', *Spearhead*, no. 6, Apr. 1965, p. 4.

As spoken about in Chapter 2, *Spearhead* held a great fear of the degeneration of society, especially of youth, which is consistent with the general nature of fascism as identified by George Mosse.[127] This degeneration theme was one often repeated, and it was treated by *Spearhead* as though it was an infectious disease, harming all it touched. One author of gay fiction was crudely described as '[a] creature … a love-sick baboon',[128] dehumanised by *Spearhead* in a way that then could be used to excuse actions and attitudes one would not perhaps tolerate towards a human.[129] In November 1969 *Spearhead* compared gay rights activists to early Christian proselytisers who spread their foreign faith in a land already rich in tradition and faith they were trying to supplant, and how this was now being used by left-wing infiltrators within the Church to spread homosexuality, along with immigration and Marxism.[130]

Their concerns over the threat that homosexuality presented is fitted into a traditionally fascist rhetoric, with homosexuality being a symptom of the wider moral decay of society and providing a means to draw conservative mainstream reactions against homosexuality into their cultic understanding of existential threats to society that justified extreme action. Their answer was found in National Socialist youth organisations of the past, a method they felt could cure society and end the creation of effeminate men.[131] *Spearhead* were clear that National Socialism was at war with homosexuality, and that this was desired.[132] This raises serious questions about what extreme reaction they might be justifying given the Nazi references. It is important to note that these overt appeals to a foreign model for handling this did not last past the Greater British Movement stage of *Spearhead* and once affiliated to the NF this fell away. *Spearhead* even suggested that Europe might be the source of the rise of homosexuality, claiming homosexuality's established nature on the continent was the pretext for it being legalised in Britain.[133] This coincides with *Spearhead*'s cultivation of a growing fear of the feminisation of male behaviour and an ungendered society, for example when it condemned the Swedish armed forces' acceptance of long-haired singers as recruits.[134] Again we can see this reinforced theme of threat to forge a unified identity as *Spearhead* had to pivot away from a fascist audience obsessed with a Nazi past to a more

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[127] Mosse, George, 'Towards a General Theory of Fascism', in, Roger Griffin and Matthew Feldman (eds.), *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science – Volume 1: The Nature of Fascism*, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 159-160.
[128] 'News in Brief', *Spearhead,* no. 5, Mar. 1965, p. 3.
[129] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[130] Lobb, Michael, 'From Bishop to Queen's Pawn', *Spearhead*, no. 27, Nov. 1969, p. 10.
[131] Tyndall, John, 'Wanted – A Return to Manhood!', p. 4.
[132] Tyndall, John, 'Wanted – A Return to Manhood!', p. 4.
[133] 'Common Market Myths Exploded', *Spearhead*, no. 42, Apr. 1971, p. 11.
[134] 'Fighters or Fairies?', *Spearhead*, no. 10, Apr./May. 1966, p. 3.

broad movement by seeking agreement over what they are against. What we also saw in these early pieces was the suggestion that this increased prominence of homosexuality was not a natural occurrence, but something planned by forces acting counter to Britain's national interests. In their 1965 piece, *Spearhead* suggested this was being done on many levels, with music being carefully manufactured and crafted to appeal to young men, that films, television and magazines backed up this message – the cause being that the Bolsheviks wished to poison Britain's body politic and create a weaker race that could be dominated.[135] *Spearhead*'s argument that homosexuality was harmful to the fighting strength of a nation was not unusual in this period. The armed forces were exempted from the Sexual Offences Act 1967 and until 1990 the military continued to prosecute homosexuality as a criminal matter prejudicial to military discipline, before lifting all restrictions in 2000.[136]

Spearhead described homosexuality as a tool used against Britain in their conspiratorial thinking, stating that homosexuality reduced the virility of British men while it claimed black men were less susceptible to homosexual indoctrination.[137] Homosexuality thus formed part of the wider idea of demographic warfare, with the white race dwindling within Britain resulting in the nation become mixed race and therefore, in *Spearhead*'s eyes, weaker and vulnerable to occupation by Marxist forces.[138] They also saw this conspiracy as being widespread and not just targeting Britain, but also other bastions of Anglo-Saxon culture in the west. *Spearhead* reprinted articles from America describing this same conspiracy, using the same language *Spearhead* had used previously, framing homosexuals as anti-heroes whose celebration was a sign of how unnatural society became when sexual laws were liberalised.[139]

Spearhead also saw this conspiracy to promote gay rights as self-perpetuating, with the gay networks once established finding allies and ways to flourish, which reflects to an extent how Robinson described the emergence and proliferation of overt gay networks in 1969 and 1970.[140] When students from the NF wrote into *Spearhead* questioning the need to oppose

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[135] Tyndall, John, 'Wanted – a Return to Manhood', p. 4.
[136] Bishop, Stefanie L. 'U.S. & Great Britain: Restrictions on Homosexuality in the Military as a Barricade to Effectiveness', *Dickinson Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1996), pp. 613-645, especially pp. 624-625.
[137] McMenemie, Peter, 'Front Facts: Leo Abse on Virility', *Spearhead*, no. 33, May 1970, p. 4.
[138] *Ibid*, p. 4.
[139] Merrill Root, E., 'In Praise of Heroism', *Spearhead*, no. 41, Mar. 1971, pp. 14-16., and, John Tyndall, 'Wanted – a Return to Manhood', p. 4.
[140] Robinson, Lucy, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-war Britain*, pp. 65-68.

gay rights, Tyndall chose to print their letter and post a reply in a couple of instances. The first letter, from a NF university student who was self-declared as 'not a homosexual or a leftist infiltrator',[141] asked whether this rejection of liberalisation of laws around homosexuality was simply reactionary because such a move was liberal, and asked for consideration that homosexuality is being better understood scientifically and like any other 'sexually abnormal behaviour'[142] it may be that the 'sufferer bears little responsibility'.[143] The response from Tyndall was brisk, and made clear why this was an issue that they had to care about, as '"Society" is made up of individuals and the corruption of just one individual provides a germ by which society at large can be infected'.[144] While willing to allow that some people might be homosexual by virtue of nature, Tyndall worried that it would spread and suppress 'the values of real manhood and womanhood that we should be instilling into the young'.[145] Homosexuality was then a perpetuating and infectious social disease, according to Tyndall, and their opposition was because the individual was part of society, an argument that rendered individual rights essentially voided.

When more letters came in, Tyndall expressed his frustration with the continued debate – he had said what he wished to in his January 1970 reply and he blamed student opposition on the left-wing infiltration of universities, people who wished to advance a degeneration agenda through indoctrination of the youth.[146] Tyndall went further, making it clear he said this as an individual and not on behalf of the NF or even *Spearhead*, stating that the failure of the NF in universities was due to the lack of personal leadership by those NF members within the universities, not the failure of the policy on homosexuality – which he saw as virtuous.[147] It is interesting how sexuality became a wedge issue which can be seen as one of the roots of the division between Tyndall and the Young National Front that would tear apart the NF as a whole in 1979 and 1980.

It was not just in the universities that homosexuality had, according to Tyndall, found allies and created a position of power. When the issue of liberalisation of the law first passed in parliament in 1967, *Spearhead* put this down to both the left-wing nature of many members, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also to a collection of secretly gay

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[141] Coniam, Stephen, 'Homosexuality: Tolerant Attitude? – The Case For', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 7.
[142] *Ibid,* p. 7.
[143] *Ibid,* p. 7.
[144] Tyndall, John, 'Homosexuality: Tolerant Attitude? – The Case Against', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 7.
[145] *Ibid,* p. 7.
[146] Tyndall, John, 'Advice from – and to – Students', *Spearhead*, no. 31, Mar. 1970, p. 15.
[147] *Ibid,* p. 15.

parliamentarians who had managed to usurp the institution that was meant to represent British values, with *Spearhead* referring to them as 'scum of the nation [that] has somehow been allowed to drift to the top'.[148] We can see the impact of the wider environment, with the emergence of more open gay rights organisations campaigning for equality, on the rhetoric of *Spearhead* when this same theme of a gay-controlled Parliament is returned to in 1971.[149] *Spearhead* no longer spoke about secret cabals or hidden homosexuals but instead of more open activity from the political parties.[150] They identified the Liberals in particular as having been taken over by homosexuality and being anti-British by supporting gay rights while also promoting the Race Relations Act.[151] In so doing, *Spearhead* argues, the Liberals were attacking that which strengthened the national community, namely racial unity, and were promoting that which disintegrated its binds, namely 'obscenity'.[152] They also raised concerns about the Conservatives, who were facing the prospect of a debate on gay rights after a campaign by the Greater London Young Conservatives.[153] *Spearhead* put this down to the infiltration and influence of 'Gay Power'[154] within all the major parties, which had propelled practicing homosexuals into high places within the parties and the press to obtain a dominant position controlling the people. They argued there was still a chance to save Britain, that the Greater London Young Tories did not represent yet the whole of the British nation, and that in opposing homosexuality *Spearhead* represented the 'peasant view',[155] the view of the common man. *Spearhead* was again arguing it represented the authentic British voice, suggesting to its members it had the support of a silent majority. As Brooke identifies there is an element of truth in this, there was a large social concern over the perceived threat to families from homosexuality that was wider than niche movements like *Spearhead*.[156] For *Spearhead* this was more serious because of the way it understood the peoples community and the role of families in maintaining moral and therefore societal strength. Indeed when *Spearhead* first raised allegations of a secret contingent of gay parliamentarians who were influencing the law, it was only echoing the comments of Harold Gurden, MP for Selly Oak, who had asked the house at the time what personal interests certain MPs had in securing the passage of the bill.[157]

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[148] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 16, Sep. 1967, p. 3.
[149] 'What We Think: The "Porn" Debate', *Spearhead*, no. 57, Oct. 1972, p. 3.
[150] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[151] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[152] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[153] 'What We Think: Gay Tories', *Spearhead*, no. 57, Oct. 1972, p. 3.
[154] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[155] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[156] Brooke, Stephen, *Sexual Politics*, pp. 118-119.
[157] 'What We Think', *Spearhead,* no. 16, Sep. 1967, p. 3.; House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (3 Jul 1967, vol 749, cols. 1477-1478).

As mentioned, in Tyndall's January 1970 article he was willing to admit the possibility that homosexuality might be natural behaviour for some but that for most it was not the case.[158] This is rare for early discourse within *Spearhead* in showing nuance and even a modicum of understanding around homosexuality as they were often simply hostile, such as when they listed it as a crime along with murder, treason or violent offences that were being ignored in favour of persecuting the nationalists for the Race Act.[159] Homosexuality was used an issue, along with abortion, taxation and race-relations, that showed the Government was elected on false promises, claiming that 'that many of those who voted for it would never have done so had they known … its policies'.[160] *Spearhead* celebrated the early NF for having 'led local campaigns and produced considerable amounts of propaganda material'[161] in relation to homosexuality and hanging. It also listed 'adultery, homosexuality, pornography, abortion and drug-taking'[162] as those things the NF considers taboos that are being promoted by the BBC.

Spearhead returned to the question of homosexuality's innate or taught nature however in its later work in our period, reflecting a need to find a more moderate path when handling the fragmented ideology of the broad NF, especially after the allegations that emerged in 1974 of it being a 'Well Oiled Nazi Machine'.[163] This moderation of their outwards message reflected the impact of the other campaigning groups on society's attitudes to homosexuality, and *Spearhead*'s wish to continue appealing to a shifting population across the classes. It is that need to receive public support that will always tie movements like those around *Spearhead* to wider society, whether that is to support or to oppose change. By 1977 *Spearhead* stated that their concern was not with homosexuality in and of itself, and repeated that in some people homosexuality was an innate physical and psychological trait – instead they stated their concern was with the targeted spread of these ideas particularly amongst children.[164] It was returned to in a piece they reprinted by Alain de Benoist, which argued for a physiological origin for gendered behaviours, though allowing for exceptions primarily if a male child were to be treated as a girl he would simply become a 'neurotic child ... a good candidate for transvestism and homosexuality'.[165] This change may be

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[158] Tyndall, John, 'Homosexuality: Tolerant Attitude? – The Case Against', p. 7.
[159] 'Crime and Punishment under Wilson', *Spearhead*, no. 8, Jul. 1965, pp. 4-5.
[160] 'Britain's First NF Councillors', *Spearhead*, no. 28, Dec. 1969, p. 15.
[161] Webster, Martin, 'Trouble Shooting', *Spearhead*, no. 30, Feb. 1970, p. 13.
[162] 'National Front at the Polls: Some Voters' Questions Answered', *Spearhead*, no. 62, Mar. 1973, p. 20.
[163] *Well Oiled Nazi Machine*, (Birmingham: AFAR Publications, 1974).
[164] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 102, Feb. 1977, p. 3.
[165] De Benoist, Alain, 'The Feminine Condition', *Spearhead*, no. 113, Jan. 1978, p. 9.

explained by changes within the editorial team, with Tyndall having brought on racial science adherent Richard Verrall as managing editor, though Tyndall retained direct influence.

Just as in the piece by Alain de Benoist, the 1977 piece also alleged that children would be drawn into homosexuality as a lifestyle due to their emotional and physical immaturity, and that these children were targeted deliberately.[166] Allegations of targeting of youth were not novel, dating back at least as far as John Tyndall's article of 1970.[167] Here the targeting of children is presented by Tyndall as the reason why, even if it were to be accepted that some homosexuality was innate and inherent, that it should remain illegal.[168] This concern was shown again when the National Union of Students wanted homosexuality to be included in sex education for children.[169] The role of education in promoting homosexuality was also referenced when a theatre workshop for school children was put on by a group called Gay Sweatshop. *Spearhead* again accepted that homosexuality might be innate in some but claimed they were driven to oppose this initiative by concern for the young children and their moral and emotional security.[170] The creation of a threat only they can reveal has been a common part of *Spearhead*'s messaging to unite its readership, easier as it is to gain agreement over what people are against rather than for. Moreover, their concerns over homosexuality reflected mainstream concerns of a threat to traditional family roles, as Brookes highlighted, and they also echo a concern that emerged even within gay movements over the influence and attempted infiltration of the gay liberation movement by groups such as the Paedophile Information Exchange.[171]

This view is echoed back to *Spearhead* in a letter whose author was concerned that progressive elements – the Young Liberals in particular – were misusing the plight of gay men, who were to Burton unwell and in need of help, to further efforts alongside the women's liberations and interracial marriage to subvert and degenerate society by poisoning

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[166] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 102, Feb. 1977, p. 3.

[167] Tyndall, John, 'Homosexuality: Tolerant Attitude? – The Case Against', *Spearhead*, no. 29, Jan. 1970, p. 7.

[168] *Ibid,* p. 7.

[169] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 71, Dec. 1973, p. 3.

[170] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 102, Feb. 1977, p. 3.

[171] Brooke, Stephen, *Sexual Politics*, pp. 118-119. And, Lucy Robinson, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-war Britain,* pp. 129-139.; The Pedophile Information Exchange was an activist group that was active between 1974 and 1984 that campaigned to abolish the age of consent. It also supported campaigns to equalise the age of consent between heterosexual and homosexual acts as a way to gain supporters. Police crackdowns against the group began in 1978. For more information on PIE and their involvement with gay rights, see: Weeks, Jeffrey, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*, (London: Quartet, 1990), pp. 226-235.

the minds of the next generation.[172] This letter illustrates how, through the use of oppositional identities – by declaring what they were against – based around mainstream societal concerns *Spearhead* had managed to use conspiratorial thinking to fuse together a motivational animus, and one which drew in others to radical thinking on the grounds that the threat is urgent due to its targeting of children. It is clear *Spearhead* was appealing to the mainstream when it spoke of its issue not necessarily being with legalisation of homosexuality generally, but instead that these changes had occurred swiftly and without debate, and therefore without the consent of society.[173] Language designed to allow the reader an opportunity to deny they are bigoted or prejudiced, but are simply people with concerns who have been mistreated by those in power, and thus identifying *Spearhead* as champion of the powerless against the establishment.

With *Searchlight* the whole language around the issue of gay liberation and gay rights was different. They were much more willing to use the term gay over homosexual, preferring to talk about the person and the identity, though they would make reference to homosexual in quoting the far right or on rare occasions such as their review of an episode of the TV series *Open Door* that starred a member of the National Association for Freedom (NAFF).[174] The exception often occurs where the person was a member of the far right – such as when they referred simply to a 'homosexual Mosleyite'.[175] *Searchlight* was keen to acknowledge the gay identity, but also to separate out the far right from it, that one could be gay or one could be a member of the far right, but to be both was not something they were prepared to accept. This was made clear when a supporter of the NAFF was revealed to be a business owner who sold items focused on the gay community and gay culture, and *Searchlight*'s questioned whether the gay community could truly include or provide patronage to someone who was willing to support what *Searchlight* saw as the broader far right.[176]

Searchlight did make overt efforts to present a unified front alongside gay men and women, and to bring gay culture into the broader cultures and identities it sought to cultivate around the anti-fascist movement. When hard-right conservative periodical *East-West Digest* attacked a feminist writer, described as being a lesbian or a bisexual, for promoting women's liberation and gay rights, *Searchlight* ridiculed *East-West Digest* for opposing her

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[172] Burton, R. D., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 76, Jun. 1974, p. 16.
[173] Birtley, A. J., 'Sociology for the White Nationalist', *Spearhead*, no. 118, Jun. 1978, p. 14.
[174] 'Keeping Women in their Place', *Searchlight*, no. 42, Dec. 1978, p. 7.
[175] 'London: A Centre for International Fascism', *Searchlight*, no. 16, Jul./Aug. 1976, p. 19.
[176] 'Freedom Leotards', *Searchlight*, no. 44, Feb. 1979, p. 19.

campaigns, asking whether 'the Digest therefore approve of wife beating and queer bashing?'.[177] *Searchlight* was speaking up for the right of women's groups and gay groups to gather for collective defence, something repeated as it highlighted attacks on gay centres in Britain. Considering these attacks to be fascist terror attacks, *Searchlight* was seeking to bring the gay identity within anti-fascism and so foster an idea of the far right as an enemy.[178] This occurs numerous times throughout our period, including an attack reported in April of 1979 where members of the Gay Sweatshop theatre group were attacked by men wielding iron bars.[179] Though *Searchlight* seemed to feel that this was a gang-related attack, it was willing to include it as the gay community themselves felt that it was organised by the extreme right – and it is worth remembering that this was a group that *Spearhead* had highlighted as corrupting British youth just two months previously.[180] It was also willing to stand up to others beyond the far right in supporting gay rights. When a gang of men in black shirts and with anti-communist slogans attacked a gay rights meeting in January of 1979 in Brighton, *Searchlight* attacked the local paper, the *Evening Argus*, for an editorial which it saw as legitimising the attack by explaining it as an understandable reaction to homosexuality, something *Searchlight* labelled as 'disgraceful'.[181]

Defending the gay community when they were under attack from the far right provides only limited insight into the identity *Searchlight* sought to instil in their readership. It could be argued it was just a reactive response to the involvement of the far right within those attacks, rather than genuine concern. Yet *Searchlight* was also engaged in the promotion of gay rights and sought unity of purpose with the gay movement. In 1982, *Searchlight* looked back at the advance of the far right in the 1960s, and among the repressed communities that it identified were gay men and women.[182] When Mary Kenny, a writer for the *Sunday Telegraph*, attacked progressive causes such as women's liberation (which she jokingly stated she supported because 'it puts more crumpet on the market')[183] and gay rights it was opposed by *Searchlight.* Her support for these causes became more alarming for *Searchlight* when she issued her support for Phyllis Schlafly, who campaigned against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution.[184] *Searchlight* linked Schlafly

[177] 'Dog Eat Dog', *Searchlight*, no. 10, Jan. 1976, p. 9.
[178] 'Time to Call a Halt to Fascist Terror Tactics', *Searchlight*, no. 30, Nov./Dec. 1977, pp. 8-9.
[179] 'News in Brief', *Searchlight*, no. 24, May 1977, p. 19.
[180] 'News in Brief', *Searchlight*, no. 24, May 1977, p. 19, and, 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 102, Feb. 1977, p. 3.
[181] 'Black Uniforms', *Searchlight*, no. 45, Mar. 1979, pp. 4-5.
[182] 'Anti-fascism and the Peace Movement', *Searchlight*, no. 86, Aug. 1982, p. 7.
[183] Kenny, Mary, quoted in, 'Whispers', *Searchlight*, no. 82, Apr. 1982, p. 8.
[184] 'Whispers', *Searchlight,* no. 82, Apr. 1982, p. 8.; Phyllis Schlafly was an American conservative activist and attorney who campaigned against feminism, LGBT+ rights and also campaigned for pro-life causes. This

with the New Right and Moral Majority movements, whose policies included banning abortions and denying gay people employment at will, along with literal interpretation of the Bible in schools.[185] *Searchlight* was clear about these issues, they would 'prefer "equality of rights under the law" any day of the month'.[186]

There are other tantalising glimpses into how deep this support for gay rights goes within *Searchlight*, though many of these are minor acts such as the willingness to advertise pin badges to raise money for the Gay Liberation Front.[187] Promotion of gay rights became so linked with *Searchlight* and its fellow anti-fascist campaigns, such as the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), that fake anti-fascist stickers produced by the far right identified ANL and anti-fascism with the supporting of gay rights – though interestingly the fake stickers put a divisive slant on this by suggesting they supported only gay rights for black people.[188] The greatest indication of how deep these links go however comes when *Searchlight* articulated concerns for the gay community alongside the black community when challenging the actions of state and media entities on their behalf. This is seen following documentary series covering ethnic minorities, such as *Empire Road*, *Mixed Blessings, Babylon* and *Skin*, as well as an announced series covering Asian arranged marriages, though it was to feature no mention of racism due to concerns over viewers feeling threatened.[189] It was in this context that London Weekend Television had begun to include coverage of black British and gay communities via its Monitories Programme Unit. *Searchlight* had grave concerns over this being hailed as a victory, observing that control of these programmes was not being handed to their subjects nor were they given any say over the format, and thus that these programmes will be a reflection of the needs of the state, and not of the communities.[190] The fear of this kind of coverage was that it presented the cultures as a passive, where *Searchlight* wished these to be active cultures, involved and campaigning for their rights alongside them – they would provide the key energy and activists for *Searchlight* and the wider anti-fascist and anti-racist movement.[191] This not only shows how *Searchlight* felt a

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included her Stop the ERA campaign that campaigned to halt the passing of the Equal Rights Amendment that would have guaranteed equal rights for men and women. To help organise and fundraise for these causes, Schlafly established the Eagle Forum and ran it from its founding in 1972 until her death in 2016. For more information, see: Critchlow, Donald, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
[185] 'Whispers', *Searchlight*, no. 82, p. 8.
[186] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[187] 'Gays Against Fascism Badges', *Searchlight*, no. 39, Sep. 1978, p. 19.
[188] 'More ANL Forgeries', *Searchlight*, no. 45, Mar. 1979, p. 7.
[189] 'Distorted Image: Media Moves in on Blacks', no. 58, *Searchlight*, Apr. 1980, pp. 17-18.
[190] *Ibid*, p. 17.
[191] *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

deep connection to, and wished to integrate, these radical campaigning cultures but also how they also served a practical purpose in subsuming the community awareness and activism into driving their broader movement.

Searchlight was not just focused on highlighting attacks on gay groups in its attempts to help bring them into the defensive collective against the far right, it also sought to deconstruct and analyse the language of the far right. They highlighted the use of coded phrasing within the far-right language, such as references to 'young men who go to beauty parlours'[192] being somehow less desirable than football hooligans, as being anti-gay rhetoric. They described how the NF was using this anti-gay rights agenda to forge its own identity, quoting Martin Webster at length about how the NF was using the language of sin to define what they were against and so communicate their message.[193] It is again tempting then to think that their support of the gay community was a reaction to this move by the NF. However as has been shown their support for the gay community was something embedded and done often with care, and reflected less their desire to oppose the NF than it was to support a repressed group and make them feel at home within the movement, to strengthen their identity through inclusion of another strand of liberation. This support though was necessarily always helpful and often played on those existing societal prejudices and concerns. In one instance *Searchlight* became concerned about former Mosleyites who were becoming involved in gay campaigning and gay cultures, specifically Roger Gleaves who owned a security company that was trying to list with the Gay Switchboard, and trying to place personals in *Gay News*.[194] Their main concern in this case was that Gleaves had been involved in the 'Johnny Go Home' scandal in 1975 where Gleaves had established a series of hostels to assist poor and homeless young men and which saw Gleaves imprisoned for four years for sex offences while three associates were given life sentences for the murder of one hostel resident.[195] Though well intentioned, the conversation around gay exchanges and child molestation reflected more a public concern alongside a concern for the community, which as identified by Robinson has been an ongoing concern following a decision among some groups to co-operate with the Pedophile Information Exchange, and this risked sustaining prejudices into the 1980s.[196] Though we may consider these movements as trying to create ideal or purified

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[192] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 33, Mar. 1978, p. 13.
[193] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[194] 'Would You Want This Man Protecting You?', *Searchlight*, no. 90, Dec. 1982, p. 5.
[195] *Ibid*, p. 5.; Beloff, Nora, 'Tories Want a "Johnny Go Home" Inquiry', *The Observer*, 17 August 1975.; Jenkins, Philip, *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*, (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991), p. 99.
[196] Robinson, Lucy, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-war Britain,* pp. 129-139.

identities, they were social movements and social movements drew upon the society they were part of and so things parsed through the lens of their contemporary experiences, whether they wished it to or not.

It is therefore important to remember the 1978 editorial by Maurice Ludmer that attacked the groups campaigning for sexual politics as Ludmer believed them to be fracturing and distracting the movement away from opposing the far right.[197] When *Searchlight* published the responses, both the Oxford Anti-Fascist Committee and the Leamington Women Against Racism and Fascism letters expressed – implicitly or explicitly – solidarity with gay movements.[198] It helps show that when *Searchlight* recanted its 1978 editorial and began unequivocal support of women's and gay rights it reflected mainstream anti-fascist viewpoints.

Another aspect worthy of note is how a sense of threat was presented surrounding the anti-gay networks. As mentioned, *Searchlight* sought to exclude members of the far right who were homosexual from gay culture through its use of language, but they also identified anti-gay politics as an ideological meeting point allowing transfer of campaigning resources between groups that would otherwise not interact. This concern initially focused around the British context, with fears being expressed that the anti-gay rhetoric of the NF was allowing them to appeal to a wider movement within society and form links with the Monday Club faction of the Conservative Party.[199] *Searchlight* felt this linkup was deliberate and was attempting to pull conservative hard liners further right – with *Spearhead* and the NF using messaging of a threat to family and moral standards, a common conservative fear as Brooke identified.[200] One of the primary aims of *Searchlight* was to contain the NF and other far-right groups from breaking out of their limited niche, as it wished to present itself as the voice of true Britain – something hard to do if the NF gathered mass support.

As the 1980s began, this threat became much larger and more advanced with the emergence of the New Right movement. The more internationally minded Strasserite wing of the NF broke away under Nick Griffin and Joe Pearce and launched into attacks on the gay community and 'the humourless old dykes of Women's Lib'[201] in an attempt to appeal to

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[197] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight,* no. 37, Jul. 1978, p. 2.
[198] 'Ersletterslet', *Searchlight*, no. 51, Sep. 1979, p. 5.
[199] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight,* no. 33, Mar. 1978, pp. 13-14.
[200] *Ibid*, pp. 13-14, and, Brooke, Stephen, *Sexual Politics*, pp. 118-119.
[201] Nationalism Today, quoted in, '"Rooting Fascism in the Workplace" – the Old Heresy of the Right', *Searchlight*, no. 60, Jun. 1980, p. 4.

working-class culture. This was similar to increasing attacks from New Right thinkers in the mainstream, where Anna Marie Smith describes how through the 1980s they increasingly cultivated notions of threats to family, and sought to promote the notion of restrained (and thus good) and militant (and thus bad) homosexuality.[202] There was also concern that on the other side of the Atlantic the neo-Conservative movement were using this same anti-gay rhetoric to appeal to a Christian-identifying upper-working/lower-middle class mainstream and using this to drive conflict against left-wing governments and also the third world.[203] This concern is partially supported in recent academic work, with Daniel Schlozman identifying anti-gay rhetoric as part of a concerted effort by the New Right to present itself as pro-family and generate activism – particularly within the evangelical south.[204] Seeing these developments as a threat to its identity, *Searchlight* framed these attempts as manipulation, subversion or exploitation rather than expression of genuine prejudice that might exist in the working class. The anti-gay networks were then of concern not because of the threat to gay rights or gay people, but their threat to the cohesive unity of the working class and their true interests. So, while there was a genuine desire to support gay rights and integrate gay liberation cultures by *Searchlight*, there is still a hierarchy of identities within that and notions of class unity and working-class culture remained dominant.

For *Searchlight* the fears they expressed appeared to come to pass when they looked at emerging anti-gay networks and the New Right. Phyllis Schafly of the Stop the ERA campaign was writing for the Heritage Foundation as well as *Conservative Digest*, and other figures were crossing over to join these campaigns supported by the New Right with the creation of The Moral Majority organisation, led by the Reverend Jerry Falwell.[205] These links impacted upon Britain, with the involvement of Sir Keith Joseph – former health minister – who went on a Heritage Foundation sponsored tour in 1977 where he spoke to neo-Conservatives.[206] The fear for *Searchlight* was not just the spread of the anti-gay and anti-women agenda of the New Right, but also the attacks on the National Health Service.[207] With the Heritage Foundation and its Moral Majority promoting rhetoric around gay men

[202] Smith, Anna Marie, *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968-1990*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 226-230.
[203] Edgar, David, 'US Elections – In the Republican Camp: Part One: The neo-Conservatives', *Searchlight*, no. 63, Sep. 1980, pp. 3-5.
[204] Schlozman, Daniel, *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 87-90.
[205] Edgar, David, 'US Elections – In the Republican Camp: Part 2: The New Right and the American Way', *Searchlight*, no. 64, Oct. 1980, pp. 3-5.
[206] Edgar, David, 'US Elections – In the Republican Camp: Part 3: The British Connection', *Searchlight*, no. 65, Nov. 1980, pp. 9-10.
[207] *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

targeting children, and linked homosexuality to Satan, *Searchlight* was worried what other messages they might then promote with mainstream politicians. In effect the anti-gay network became a focal point, a single remaining broadly socially acceptable prejudice which could act as cover to unite the far right with more acceptable groupings.[208] The focus within this though remained on the threat of this not to gay people but instead to its impact upon the *cordon sanitaire*, and its political ramifications.

Though this is not to say that they did not confront figures for their anti-gay agenda or place those holding such an agenda outside of the mainstream. *Searchlight* could be seen doing this with Stephen Haseler, when it claimed his involvement in the Heritage Foundation breached the Social Democratic Party's Limehouse Declaration of 1981, that applied anti-discrimination particularly to immigrant groups and gay liberation.[209] It is important to note that just as anti-gay networking was seen as an intersectional focus point on the far right, this intersectionality was reflected in how *Searchlight* campaigned against homophobia, wanting to oppose people not just for anti-gay attitudes, but because this was an oppression and therefore those promoting it were likely to be involved in other oppressions. One of the reasons for this fear was also the way in which these groups could more easily communicate across their traditional grouping divides, not just through traditional networking in the style of the Heritage Foundation, but in the embracing of the digital age. One of the old enemies of *Searchlight* was David Irving, and in 1982 Irving demonstrated how these new intersections were easily created, when he was buying the electronic mailing lists from various small groups and amalgamating them all to allow him to spread his policy documents, and that methods such as this were allowing the sending of millions of direct mail pieces out to promote campaigns against equal opportunities, including against gay rights and female rights.[210] It was these mailing lists that had allowed Irving – identified by Roger Griffin as a prime example of the 'self-appointed international "experts"' who spread Holocaust revisionism – to establish his Focus Policy Group in 1980, a pressure group that he would try to use to form the nucleus of a new ultra-right movement based around his ethnonationalist viewpoints.[211] It is worth noting however that Nigel Copsey views Irving's attempted New Right, driven through Focus Policy Group's magazine *Focal Point*, as being

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[208] Edgar, David, 'US Elections – In the Republican Camp: Part 2, p. 5.
[209] 'Haseler Joins the Gang', no. 69, *Searchlight*, Mar. 1981, p. 3.
[210] 'David Irving: A Man Meets his Destiny', *Searchlight*, no. 81, Mar. 1982, pp. 6-10.
[211] Griffin, Roger, *Nature of Fascism*, pp. 167-168.

inspired by the New Right in France and America in style, but borrowing very little in ideology and presenting a far more Germanic tone.[212]

Homosexuality was not just an identity that *Searchlight* wished to defend, nor was it simply an existing identity to be brought within the broader anti-fascist identity and to have the far right excluded from. It was also a tool that *Searchlight* recognised could cause discord within the far right, where *Searchlight* itself could make use of the anti-gay networking within the far right as a pressure point. This is seen when *Searchlight* used the sexuality of an anti-VAT campaigner to embarrass the anti-gay National Association for Freedom after they supported his cause.[213] When Martin Webster was under attack for his homosexuality during the splintering of the NF, *Searchlight* was not sympathetic about the abuse he was receiving. Letters from the NF reproduced in *Searchlight* showed the magazine's key role in revealing Webster's homosexuality and thus placing him at risk.[214] Webster's far-right behaviour clearly, for *Searchlight*, was justification for him to receive whatever abuse he was destined to receive. At the end of an article, a reference is made that this may well be the NF's Night of the Long Knives, suggesting Webster would play the role of Ernst Röhm, the gay *Sturmabteilung* leader forced to kill himself.[215] While *Searchlight* reduced this dispute to that of Webster's homosexuality, John E. Richardson notes that writing after this split Webster complained about the overfocus on racial politics without sufficient focus on establishing a true nationalist economic policy, suggesting that this was not a monocausal dispute even if it was couched in terms of his homosexuality.[216] This view is shared by Martin Durham, who highlights disagreements over the desired anti-capitalist stand that Webster and others wished to take.[217] Webster was also no stranger to dispute within the far right, having reported the paramilitary National Socialist Group to the police after they approached him in the late 1960s about collaboration with the National Front.[218]

Searchlight continued to point out the hypocrisy of gay members of the NF and in effect out their homosexuality publicly by unearthing their private lives. This included Jack Noble,

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[212] Copsey, Nigel, '*Au Revoir* to "Sacred Cows"? Assessing the Impact of the *Nouvelle Droite* in Britain', *Democracy and Security*, vol. 9, iss. 3 (2013), p. 289.
[213] 'Freedom Leotards', *Searchlight*, no. 44, Feb. 1979, p. 19.
[214] 'NF Internal Wrangle', *Searchlight*, no. 48, Jun. 1979, p. 8.
[215] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[216] Richardson, John E., 'The National Front: The Search for a "Nationalist" Economic Policy', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *'Tomorrow Belongs to us': The British Far Right Since 1967*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 49.
[217] Martin Durham, *Women and Fascism*, p. 71.
[218] Jackson, Paul and Daniel Jones, 'The National Socialist Group: A Case Study in the Groupuscular Right', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *'Tomorrow Belongs to us'*, pp. 39 and 44.

who *Searchlight* alleged had been running a gay bar while in South Africa and had spoken against the treatment of black South Africans at the hands of the Apartheid Government.[219] This was used to attempt to undermine Tyndall's New National Front, who had celebrated their Grimsby branch of which Noble was one of six activists. Noble's well-being was placed at risk in an effort to use his sexuality to further deepen divisions within the already fractured far right, which could be seen as exploiting rather than confronting the anti-gay rhetoric. This use of gay members within the NF, and suggestions of gay networks more broadly in the far right, continues as the divisions in the NF over this issue are reported on in detail.[220] The gay identity of men like Martin Webster was a lever which the anti-fascists were willing to lean upon to try and open up division, acting as an amplification of the message as they were no doubt aware of their avid readership amongst parts of the far right.

In studying how this fits into the overall question of *Searchlight*'s creation and use of identity, it must be considered whether this challenges or disrupts the notion discussed in Chapter 1 of layered identities as described by Paul Ward, where identities are created and informed based on other identities that are possessed, or whether there is some other explanation we must consider.[221] *Searchlight* clearly had a deep belief in equality around gay rights and a desire to bring that identity within its own broader front concepts of the anti-fascist movement, yet at the same time it was willing to use gay rights as a tool and repeat the homophobic abuse within the far right in order to do harm to the far right. Part of this willingness to place gay men who were also far right in life-threatening situations by revealing their homosexuality can be answered by the existential struggle that *Searchlight* saw itself as part of. This alone however is simplistic and suggests a lack of integration of the gay rights campaign as part of the liberation strand of anti-racism and anti-fascism, which the examples drawn out suggest cannot be the case.

Therefore, alternative explanations must be considered. Just as Ward describes how composite identities can be understood – anti-fascism may be different for a gay black woman than for a straight white man – it must also be understood that different identities will impact differently in whether someone chooses to become engaged with social movements like anti-fascism. If they cannot see themselves in the movement, they are less likely to become active within it and thus adopt its identity. This concept, identity salience,

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[219] 'Not so Noble', *Searchlight*, no. 69, Mar. 1981, p. 8.
[220] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 73, Jul. 1981, pp. 12-13.
[221] Ward, Paul, *Britishness Since 1870*, pp. 166-167.

is put forward by Sheldon Stryker who concludes that an identity that is denser in terms of connecting ideas and which contains more elements is far more likely to trigger a response in an individual to bring them into activism.[222] Developed from Stryker's work, Peter Burke and Jan Stets have suggested that more than layered identities being a passive thing that helps engagement by ensuring there are more connecting points, instead we can understand these identities as existing within a hierarchy of identities, with some identities being dominant.[223] Burke and Stets go further to suggest that not only can some identities be dominant, but can operate what they term a control system whereby they suppress and subvert other existing identities in instances where only one identity can be serviced and others may need to be contravened, and that more generalised and broader identities will tend to be those dominant.[224] This can be seen in how *Searchlight* treated gay rights, it attempted to appeal to a liberation culture and bring it within the broader identity of anti-fascism politics, but that it was not a core or dominant identity and so when undermining that identity was the surest and most effective way of confronting the far right, they were willing to do this for the greater good of stopping the far right, an existential threat to them all.

This theory can also help explain for the continued presence of Martin Webster at the heart of *Spearhead* while it proclaimed an anti-gay viewpoint, with some of those articles coming from Webster himself as he argued for a halt to gay liberation.[225] The danger Martin Webster's homosexuality posed to the NF was so great, or so Tyndall claimed, that it was used by Tyndall as defence for him taking radical action that created a legal fallout and threatened bankruptcy of Tyndall and the NF.[226] Rumours of Webster's homosexuality had been widespread for many years, as Tyndall himself admitted in *Spearhead* when he spoke of how A. K. Chesterton had warned him of Webster when he took over the NF in the early 1970s, though these warnings were often coded by simply referring to his unacceptable behaviour or to his personality and conduct rather than explicitly stating his homosexuality.[227] That these correspondences are coded does suggest they were aware of the damage such revelations could have done and even perhaps ashamed of the compromise they were having to make to work with someone whose behaviour they stated elsewhere was

[222] Stryker, Sheldon, 'Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation?', in Sheldon Stryker et al (eds.), *Self, Identity and Social Movements*, (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 33-36.
[223] Burke, Peter J., and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 132.
[224] *Ibid*, pp. 132-137.
[225] Webster, Martin, 'Trouble Shooting', *Spearhead*, no. 26, Oct. 1969, p. 13.
[226] 'Getting the Record Straight', *Spearhead*, no. 166, Aug. 1982, p. 18.
[227] 'NFCM: A Last Throw of the Dice', *Spearhead*, no. 155, Sep. 1981, pp. 14-15.

a threat to British ways of life. Yet they were still willing to make that compromise and it is only when Webster and Tyndall fall out over the splitting apart of the NF that suddenly these issues are now stated to be unbearable and an outright threat. It is also worth noting that Tyndall and Webster had, together, long been targeted by anti-fascist campaigners as a weakness in the NF, according to Nigel Copsey.[228] Copsey explains how their post-war Nazi affiliations had allowed the NF as a whole to be identified with Nazism and the way the two had worked together after having to retake control of the NF after these revelations forced Tyndall's ousting as Chairman in 1972.[229] Thurlow even identifies Tyndall and Webster as allied as late as 1978, as factions began to emerge following the local elections – Thurlow commenting on the success of this grouping, in which Verrall supplied an academic presentation, Tyndall gave a forceful and rational rhetorical presentation and Martin Webster appealed to the racial populism of the rank and file membership.[230] Martin Durham viewed Tyndall and Webster together as the most important figures in the organisation by the early 1970s.[231]

Despite the many personalities involved in the splitting apart from the NF, which suffered two major fractures in 1979, *Spearhead* increasingly focused on Webster as the primary obstacle facing nationalism in the 1980s. Described as in total control of the NF, Webster was singled out as the reason that Tyndall's Campaign for Nationalist Unity had struggled and that disagreements had occurred, rather than accepting there might be genuine disagreements over policy and style.[232] It also claimed that Webster was in fact not truly a nationalist by suggestion the real reason he wanted to remain in control was to take 'hard-raised local funds to party headquarters',[233] though rather ironically this appeared next to a large appeal for funds to help *Spearhead*.[234] It was a theme *Spearhead* returned to, Webster being the only Directorate member referred to by name when it spoke of the attempts to thwart their campaign for unity upon the founding of the British National Party.[235] *Spearhead* was keen to personify opposition to Tyndall in Webster, and thus associate all the characteristics of Webster with their opponents, and so use Webster – a man who they state could never be a part of a nationalist unity project – to frame all who oppose them as

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[228] Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, pp. 115 118-119 and 129.
[229] *Ibid*, pp. 118-119.
[230] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, pp. 262-263.
[231] Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, p. 70.
[232] 'Webster Tries to Smash Unity Project', *Spearhead*, no. 160, Feb. 1982, p. 19.
[233] *Ibid*, p. 19.
[234] 'Spearhead Fund', *Spearhead*, no. 160, Feb. 1982, p. 19.
[235] Tyndall, John, 'A New Era Begins', *Spearhead*, no. 163, May 1982, pp. 6-8.

somehow lesser nationalists or indeed not nationalists at all.[236] As Steven Woodbridge describes, this dispute between Tyndall and Webster had become deeply personal, with it continuing into the 1980s as Webster derided Tyndall as a liar and ridiculed his desire to mimic Mosley or Mussolini.[237]

This often-coded attack on Webster continued in the letters *Spearhead* published from NF members who list him as the reason for their leaving. In these Webster's presence was referred to as a 'mockery of the ideals of our party and a cancer'[238] and that in dealing with him Tyndall had 'cleansed the party … saving British nationalism',[239] and this last one came right after a letter from America speaking of kicking out all the 'sexual perverts and other kinds of degenerates',[240] no doubt a reference to Webster. It is important though to note they referred to Webster's failings more broadly, even in articles that seemingly make no reference what so ever to his sexuality, and painted him as both a divisive figure, with one letter referring to him as 'the main reason I left the National Front',[241] though this was followed by a letter on the following spread of pages from a senior activist that simply states of Webster that 'I knew Martin Webster was a poof'.[242]

So despite the years of working together with Webster, his homosexuality was now placed at the forefront of the issues causing the split, with the party described as hijacked and Tyndall openly stating he 'placed the issue of Webster and homosexuality in the forefront',[243] going on to state later that removing Webster was the 'one overriding priority in [my] mind'.[244] Yet this was not his only failing that *Spearhead* laid at his feet, stating that Webster and his Strasserite allies are only playing at nationalism to subvert the movement to their ends, as they buy into class warfare of the left and many were little more than disenchanted Conservatives – supporting Durham's assertion that it was the drive for anti-capitalism that was the true division.[245] Even this though went on to suggest that whatever happened, there could not be unity with gay members of the NF, as whatever divides existed within the gay

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[236] *Ibid*, pp. 6-8.
[237] Woodbridge, Steven, 'Ambivalent Admiration? The Response of Other Extreme-Right Groups to the Rise of the BNP', in, Copsey, Nigel, and Graham Macklin (eds.), *The British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 103.
[238] D.P.B., 'New N.F. Postbag', *Spearhead*, no. 141, Jul. 1980, p. 13.
[239] Fox, M.D., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 144, Oct. 1980, p. 16.
[240] Lee, Robert H., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 144, Oct. 1980, p. 16.
[241] Scott, M., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 156, Oct. 1981, p. 16.
[242] Caradas, Tony, 'Letter to John Tyndall', *Spearhead*, no. 156, Oct. 1981, p. 18.
[243] Tyndall, John, 'National Front Policies are Being Changed', *Spearhead*, no. 153, Jul. 1981, p. 5.
[244] Tyndall, John, 'What Chance Unity in 1982?', *Spearhead*, no. 159, Jan. 1982, p. 11.
[245] Hill, Ray, 'It's a Non-Starter', *Spearhead*, no. 152, Jun. 1981, p.7.; Martin Durham, *Women and Fascism*, p. 71.

movement on political or other grounds, they would always be loyal to their gay identity first – thus denying gay nationalists the right to the nationalist identity, contrasting them with 'sexually normal nationalists'.[246] These accusations that linked Webster with the Young National Front faction of Strasserites continued, with allegations that the NF was now represented by 'The Gay, the Punks and the Racial Trotskyites'.[247]

Hill's article also suggested that there was a conspiracy of homosexuality behind Webster – and here the conspiratorial nature of the far right is once again taking over, to unify an identity against them though this time the enemy was within the movement, hence the need to narrow the nationalist identity by taking stance against Webster's allies such as the Strasserites of Griffin and Pearce. This was done bluntly by declaring that Webster was the 'Gay In Chief'[248] of the 'Gay National Front'[249] but also by alleging a Gay network that transcended party loyalties and was operating in several movements.[250] These Gay network claims, or sometimes more crudely phrased as 'Homosexual Network',[251] were repeated and expressed in in such a way as to imply all who continued to support Webster were supporting his lifestyle – ignoring that Tyndall had done so for many years.[252] It is interesting to note that the way *Spearhead* describes this gay power network is similar to how we would talk about the groupuscules of the far right, just this time with Webster's gay network operating its own groupuscular network that was within nationalism just as nationalism operated within society.

So in dealing with Webster, *Spearhead* had sought to exclude them from the nationalist identity and even used Webster's homosexuality and the notion of a gay network as a threat both to discredit Webster's allies and also to unify their own nascent rump, projecting Tyndall as the true voice of nationalists. Just as their descriptions of Webster and his gay network are interesting for mimicking how we might talk of groupuscular networks, equally within the movement the way in which *Spearhead* sought to assert their right to be seen as a true and authentic voice of the grassroots against a corrupt NF leadership is itself a microcosm of the populism that Griffin describes as being inherent in fascism, and mentioned previously as being inherent to *Spearhead*'s world view.[253] Yet, how did Tyndall

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[246] *Ibid*, p.7.
[247] 'NF and BM Link up in "Gay" Axis', *Spearhead*, no. 151, May 1981, p. 17.
[248] *Ibid*, p. 17.
[249] *Ibid*, p. 17.
[250] *Ibid*, p. 18.
[251] 'Introducing The New National Front; How It Came About', *Spearhead*, no. 140, Jun. 1980, p. 9.
[252] Tyndall, John, 'It's the Only Hope', *Spearhead*, no. 152, Jun. 1981, p. 7.
[253] Griffin, Roger, *Nature of Fascism*, pp. 36-41 and 241

deal with the issue that he had worked with Webster for so many years, how did he defend his own image from association with these gay networks he alleged existed? Tyndall approached this head on, arguing that it was not a sudden separation at all, but had been a long time coming, with Webster often causing trouble for the party in some way.[254] Tyndall said it was a desire to preserve party unity that meant he did not remove Webster from *Spearhead*'s editorial staff and continued to publish his articles, as he was wanting to try to co-operate for the nationalist good – though he adds continued association with Webster caused 'growing nausea'.[255] Tyndall then was trying to paint himself as martyr, dedicated to the nationalist cause but forced by the greater good to work with Webster despite the personal discomfort. The extent to which he was genuinely reluctant seems questionable, however, given that Webster remained on the editorial board for so long at *Spearhead* and Tyndall was content up until the split to publish material praising him, as it did over an anti-mugging protest which it claimed proved the Constitutional Movement split from the NF had failed.[256] Tyndall was even willing to openly accept Webster, this man he claimed made him physically ill, when Webster endorsed Tyndall for continued leadership of the NF.[257] There was also an enduring commercial relationship, with Tyndall advertising Webster's publication within *Spearhead*.[258]

Verrall placed an editorial note in *Spearhead* in January 1980 that also undermines Tyndall's claim he was willing to continue working with Webster.[259] Verrall states that he has received instructions that no article by Webster would be allowed in that issue or any future edition.[260] The note also makes clear Webster's long involvement in *Spearhead*, having been assistant editor from 1964 to 1965, from 1969 to 1976 and then from 1976 to the end of 1979 as contributing editor.[261] Tyndall was still happy to take Webster's money for advertisement even in this issue.[262] All of this comes together to suggest that Tyndall, whatever discomfort he claims to have felt, was content to work with Webster for a prolonged period of time, beyond what any concept of Nationalist Unity would suggest was reasonable. The cliff edge nature of their relationship, with Tyndall ejecting Webster from *Spearhead* as the leadership struggles over the NF continued, suggest that these challenges

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[254] Tyndall, John, 'Why We Had To Act', *Spearhead*, no. 140, Jun. 1980, pp. 13-14.
[255] *Ibid,* pp. 13-14.; For further details on the changes to the editorial board, see Appendix A: Timeline.
[256] 'N.F. in Anti Muggers Protest', *Spearhead*, no. 136, Feb. 1980, p. 19.
[257] 'Keep the National Front United!', *Spearhead*, no. 134, Dec. 1979, p. 19.
[258] 'National Front News', *Spearhead*, no. 134, Dec. 1979, p. 11.
[259] Verrall, Richard, Untitled Editorial Note, *Spearhead*, no. 135, Jan. 1980, p. 20.
[260] *Ibid*, p. 20.
[261] *Ibid*, p. 20.
[262] 'National Front News', *Spearhead*, no. 135, Jan. 1980, p. 8.

to his preferred dictatorial style are more likely to be the causes of the disintegration of their relationship. The anti-gay identity that he sought to employ against Webster, and which ran throughout *Spearhead*, was then an identity that was flexible and could be subdued in the interests of the nationalist cause. Echoing similarities with *Searchlight,* anti-gay identities can be characterised as not necessarily core to *Spearhead* but more used as a totemic shorthand for the moral decay of society. *Spearhead* was willing to work with gay nationalists until they became a threat to the prime identity, that of nationalism, and then they had to be aggressively purged.

Conclusion

Gender, and sexuality, played important roles for both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* in how they presented themselves. The changing balance between the sexes and the societal disruption that caused was an opportunity for them to set out the world they wished to create. For *Spearhead* this meant attempts to champion the cause of traditional gender roles, folding changes to these roles and to sexuality into their claimed moral decay of the British people, and thus an argument for their violent revolution. For *Searchlight* the move towards female liberation and gay rights provided another strand of equality into which they could tap for support in their wider campaign for equality for all, which to them began with opposition to and defeating the forces against such equality, namely the far right. Both magazines then were attempting to absorb existing campaigns and concerns, the reactionary conservatives and sexual politics campaigns respectively, into their own groupings where they could then be drawn into the broader core campaign. It was a much more complicated picture than a simple narrative of the far right wishing to suppress women and anti-fascists being some progressive ideal, and this chapter has shown the deep and complex debates from both movements, and how they were informed by existing identities and also tapped into concerns of wider society. Gender is an important lens if we wish to truly understand both movements as having a world view with a clear view of the world they wished to create, and also see them as informed by ideologies based in their groupuscular origins rather than their oppositional animus.

However, a note of caution must be sounded that though both magazines stated strong views on these matters and attempted to draw gender and sexual political advocates into their milieu it did not mean they accepted them fully as parts of the core identities. In both cases, with the example of *Searchlight*'s reaction to sexual politics disrupting a national anti-

fascism conference and with *Spearhead*'s willingness to work long-term with Webster long after his homosexuality was a known secret, we see how those identities remained secondary, peripheral. This meant that, when required, these issues would be suppressed for the benefit of their primary or core identity.

Chapter 4: Cultural Turning Points – Struggling in the Post-Colonial Space

The period under examination was one that, as the introduction stated, saw a great deal of cultural change and entered into a period of what Harry Goulbourne calls a crisis of community, as existing cleavages between individual communities in Britain deepened.[1] Society in this period was going through a great change, from the ongoing dismantling of the British Empire at the start of our period, through the emergence of Britain within the European Community and ultimately to the rise of Margaret Thatcher as leader of the Conservative Party and then as Prime Minister, arguably ushering in a new era of politics. As laid out by historian of this post-imperial attitude Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon, for the mainstream of British politics, this post-imperial post-colonial crisis at the start of our period revolved around the two avenues open for Britain, to pursue the Commonwealth, who had strong support in the form of Harold Wilson who took office late in 1964, or to pursue the European path, despite the French veto over Britain's membership in 1963.[2] While internationally the 1960s were a period of growth for many countries, Britain was facing the accelerating post-imperial crisis that had begun in the 1950s, and failing to find a place as either a European or a fully American-aligned state.[3]

Finally from 1975 we have the rise of Margaret Thatcher as leader of the Conservatives and then Prime Minister, ushering in a fundamental shift in the socio-economic post-war settlement with the imposition of neo-liberal policies and a push by Thatcher, as Gino Raymond argues, for firm control of the direction of the nation.[4] These cultural pressures presented several questions that *Searchlight* and *Spearhead* would have to answer if they were to present their identities and relevant to the lives and experiences of contemporary British people. These were not only what Britain was to be in the post-colonial space, and the nature of its Britishness, but also where it saw its economic future and cultural ties as being found, whether with the traditional imperial Commonwealth or in the European project. As David Renton observes, there was also a question for the far-right cultures

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[1] Goulbourne, Harry, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Post-Imperial Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 33-36.
[2] Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin, *Continental Drift*, pp. 264-270.
[3] Gifford, Chris, *The Making of Eurosceptic Britain: Identity and Economy in a Post-Imperial State*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 49-51
[4] Raymond, Gino, 'The 1970s and the Thatcherite Revolution: Crisis of Ideology or Control?', *French Journal of British Studies*, vol. 21, iss. 2 (2016). Accessed online at: <https://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/962>, [last accessed 19 February 2021].

around *Spearhead* as to whether they could connect with the British people on these issues rather than be mired in the colonial milieu that many of their leadership came from.[5] In these questions, and in the rise of neo-liberalism under Thatcher, Britain was at crisis points in its identity where the existing cultural orthodoxy was no longer dominant, and a period of change ensued.

Having examined in previous chapters the identities and messages the magazines sought to build and communicate around key themes through the period, it is also important to examine their messaging around these key moments of societal change. These moments not only placed existing identities under strain, but also represented an opportunity for the movements. It was imperative for them to motivate and activate their followers, and this chapter will examine how they did this. This chapter will also examine how these identities affected their view and reaction to events, how their world view shifted their perception of these crucial events, but also to what extent their identities and ideology was flexible enough to allow them to take advantage of these points of crisis.

In seeing how these broader cultural turning points were filtered through the magazines' world views we can understand the practical effect these identities have in helping separation of members of these counter-cultural movements from the mainstream and reinforcing the sense of a milieu. It will also be seen how these events were used to reinforce identity and drive the movements forward, uniting their disparate cadres and groupuscules. The groupuscular understanding of the far right, as mentioned in Chapter 2, describes an extreme right which, though fragmented in terms of distinct movements, had a unifying ideological framework that underpinned and was transported between these groups by various members, evolving and changing the ideologies within discreet groups as aspects of ideology mixed in different ways.[6] In this case, both the anti-racist and extreme right – and indeed both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* – were formed from disparate groups, forming and reforming into new pairings. Within *Spearhead* it represented 4 movements during our period, had several people involved in the editorial staff under Tyndall's direction who would each go in a different direction ultimately within the far right. Within *Searchlight* there were also editorial changes and a number of different organisations over the period who affiliated or disaffiliated with *Searchlight*. Therefore, the need to appeal to the wider movements, and position themselves as leading their respective counter cultures during

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[5] Renton, David, *The New Authoritarians*, (London: Pluto, 2019), p. 173.
[6] Griffin, Roger, 'From Slime Mould to Rhizome', pp. 27-50

these times of cultural change, impacts upon how they presented themselves and changed emphasis in the identities they cultivated. It will be shown to what extent they were forced to adapt due to positions taken on these issues by other groupuscules within their wider movements, especially visible during the break-up of the National Front (NF) from 1979 and the emerging anti-fascist response to Thatcher from 1978. This will build upon the ideas of Macklin and others in examining the continuation of an ideological core across the movements of the extreme right and allowing exploration of what ideological core might exist within the anti-fascist groups by understanding what identities viewed as core rather than peripheral to their identity.[7]

Joe Mulhall has challenged the assertion often made that imperial decline and its accompanying cultural crisis had little impact upon domestic politics beyond the international focus, laying out how for the extreme right combatting imperial decline was at the forefront of their politics, and framed their narratives around Britain's declining economic power and moral health.[8] What's more, Mulhall identified the League of Empire Loyalists particularly, who would fold into the NF, as exponents of this and that embedded within this was the conspiratorial aspects of antisemitism, blaming Jewish groups for organising the failure of Empire.[9] This clearly identified the threat that in society which other chapters have identified as being crucial to *Spearhead*'s identity – the fall of empire and the weakness of Britain, and the conspiracy (often Jewish) behind it. Both magazines were also interested in the changing social make up of Britain and the tension this created within the dominant white Christian monoculture of Britain. Since the arrival of MV *Empire Windrush*, Britain had experienced a crisis in how it would deal with the changing nature of its populations brought about by what Robert Gildea terms colonialising in reverse, with Britain now seeing itself as the colonised country.[10] Britain was now the destination for migration, both of people and culture, from its former Empire and Gildea describes how this created a sense of uncertainty and threat within the existing British identity that was unresolved. This change was seen within the cities, and the fear of that change within the rural shires – the 1950s had seen numerous so called "Race Riots" breaking out in London but also in places like Nottingham.[11] While for the extreme right this fed into a narrative of

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[7] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black,* pp. 140-142.
[8] Mulhall, Joe, 'From Apathy to Obsession: The Reactions of A.K. Chesterton and the British Far Right to Imperial Decline', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 40, no. 4-5 (2016), pp. 458-477.
[9] *Ibid*, pp. 458-477.
[10] Gildea, Robert, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 122-123.
[11] *Ibid*, pp. 123-129.

degeneration, that of a visually foreign population and cultures being imported into Britain, for the anti-fascist organisations it was the hostile response to these populations that risked harming Britain further.

These events then raised important questions about the new Britain the magazines wanted to see emerge from these crises and how they dealt with the emergent new cultural orthodoxy that did. It will show to what extent the movements are utilising the concept of change as a threat to move beyond their limited circle and to reach a greater appeal per the ideas of Wallwork and Dixon.[12] It will also show to what extent the movements were successful at using these crises to bind their people into a collective 'we', as described by Billig as a key element of these identity politics when looking at nationalism, but which equally applies to the motivating power of these identities within the disparate anti-fascist groups.[13] It is important though to understand that as well as opportunity, these threats brought challenges to the movements.

As events unfolded it was inevitable that, given the broad nature of both movements, internal fissures were a risk. Such cleavages could risk schisms within their movements and risk the publications losing the support of the groups they sought to champion and promote. As we explored in Chapter 2, Stryker's use of a hierarchy of identities becomes important to understanding how these composite identities reacted to changing events, both in terms of how differentiation between the identities was important in understanding how identities could be mobilised, but also how it is possible these broad based identities could survive such a crisis.[14] Using the concept that Burke and Stets developed from this of dominant, or core, identities existing within movements as well as less dominant, or peripheral, identities, we can see in the way in which some identities are strengthened or forced to be subsumed into the broader dominant movement identity, and thus begin to understand the hierarchy of identities that might exist within the two movements and which identities therefore fall into core or peripheral status.[15]

The other challenge is that as these cleavages developed within the movements, and new groupuscules spun off championing some or all of the ideology of the original group, how these movements were able to contain that. This is important when we consider the way in

[12] Dixon, John and Jodi Wallwork, 'Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness, p. 22.
[13] Billig, Michael A., *Banal Nationalism*, p. 72.
[14] Stryker, Sheldon, 'Identity Competition', pp. 33-36.
[15] Burke, Peter J., and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, pp. 132-137.

which these counter-cultural movements existed within cultic milieus, valuing information from within the movements, or milieu, greater than they otherwise would and devaluing information from outside, despite it coming from normally authentic or trustworthy sources. These ideas, originally put forward by Colin Campbell, were applied to far right cultures by Heléne Lööw and Jeffrey Kaplan and describe how at a time when their ideas are away from the mainstream they form select groups who seek some forbidden knowledge or hidden truth and they do this by passing information within the movements.[16] Therefore when those within the movement seek to introduce a new truth that runs counter to the orthodoxy of the leadership due to these outward pressures, it can be seen how this is resolved, and to what extent this may apply to the anti-fascist movement, who were themselves often fighting against an orthodox truth of lingering institutional racism and prejudices within society.

Rhodesian Crisis

One of the earliest crises picked up on by both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* was the continuing process of decolonisation in Africa, focused for many years around the continued struggles in Rhodesia, later Zimbabwe. The crisis began in earnest with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965 by the white minority-rule government of Ian Smith, determined to avoid the British demands for the involvement of the majority black population in government in return for a settled independence and feeling excluded from decision making around its future by Britain.[17] This support for majority rule by the Labour government of Harold Wilson can be seen in the context of the continuation of the Winds of Change policy followed by Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. This had sought to accept the inevitability of change and extricate the British from their colonial entanglements – but as Kate Law observes, these white communities continued to have emotional impact and influence within Britain itself, which Smith was relying on to prevent direct intervention by Britain.[18]

The British government took a position of moderation, it neither sent troops into Rhodesia to restore obedience to the Crown – as requested by ZANU and ZAPU, groups representing the black majority in Rhodesia – nor did it leave Smith's Government to its business. The

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[16] Kaplan, Jeffrey and Heléne Lööw, 'Introduction', in, Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw, *The Cultic Milieu*, pp. 2-4.
[17] Law, Kate, 'Pattern, Puzzle and Peculiarity: Rhodesia's UDI and Decolonisation in Southern Africa', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 45, iss. 5 (2017), pp. 721-723.
[18] *Ibid*, pp. 721-726.

British instead placed a series of economic sanctions on Rhodesia, including on the valuable tobacco trade, and encouraged its allies to adopt these sanctions as well. Britain also ceased all aid to Rhodesia and recalled its high commissioner, as well as in 1969 cutting off Rhodesia's vital link to the international community through its London representatives at Rhodesia House.[19] Though in reaction to the UDI, these moves came as part of a longer running campaign to force Smith to accept the inevitability of majority rule in Rhodesia, which had seen Rhodesia gradually frozen out of groups such as the Commonwealth, and where the British were content to let the United Nations take the lead in applying pressure to force them to the table, in large part to avoid confrontation with South Africa.[20] The continued dispute over Rhodesia had impacts at home, prompting new activism within particularly the Afro-Caribbean communities in Britain as James Cantres observes, but also within left-wing and progressive activist campaigns such as the student movement, building on existing anti-apartheid campaigns and seeking to pressure the British Government to action.[21] At the same time conservative voices were, as Paul Stocker describes, placing Rhodesia as an exemplar of traditional British values that Britain herself ad steered away from and urging support.[22] It is in this context that the magazines both had to address this issue, one on which they had little direct influence given the international dimension, but one which wider society was already divided over.

For *Spearhead,* this manifested as part of a continued narrative of the failure of the British Government to deal with black savagery on the continent. As described in previous chapters, *Spearhead* in its very earliest issue saw no value at all to black civilisation, going so far as to deny there was even such a thing as a black culture or any capability of self-rule.[23] For them then the treatment of Rhodesia was part of this continued failure of British leadership, highlighting in 1964 the exclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia from Commonwealth events in order to 'appease the so-called "coloured nations"'.[24] Demanding unity on this issue and claiming that if the British did not halt the advance of the black peoples in Africa soon the British at home will be terrorised by violence at home, *Spearhead* called for a vow

[19] Brownell, Josiah, '"A Sordid Tussle on the Strand": Rhodesia House during the UDI Rebellion (1965-80)', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 38, iss. 3 (2010), pp. 471-499.
[20] Rowe, David M., 'Economic Sanctions Do Work: Economic Statecraft and the Oil Embargo of Rhodesia', in, Jean-Marc Blanchard, Edward Mansfield and Norrin Ripsman (eds.), *Power and the Purse: Economic Statecraft, Interdependence and National Security,* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 280-281.
[21] Cantres, James G., *Blackening Britain*, p. 154, and, Hoefferle, Caroline M., *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties*, pp. 65-67.
[22] Stocker, Paul, *Lost Imperium: Far Right Visions of the British Empire c. 1920-1980*, (London: Routledge, 2020), p. 192.
[23] 'Global Race War Looms Nearer', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 1.
[24] *Ibid*, p. 1.

from all white men. This vow was to re-capture the 'Will to Rule',[25] and stand alongside what they saw as their kinsmen in South Africa and Rhodesia against the demands of black Africans, but it can also be seen as a final call to preserve the institution of Empire against the advance of a new global re-alignment away from the old Great Powers, which by this point was almost complete. With this call to white Commonwealth, *Spearhead* intended to reinvigorate the ailing institution of empire by absorbing back into British culture the strength of South African and Rhodesian settler cultures.

Rhodesia also took on a wider global politics to *Spearhead*, who saw the move against the British empire as being one orchestrated by Jewish Bolshevists and being part of the wider conflict of the West and Soviet blocs. *Spearhead* went so far as to state that in having defied the demands of African Nationalists, supported by a weak West, Rhodesia and South Africa 'represent the only sparks of sanity, not only in Africa but in the whole world'.[26] To *Spearhead* the UDI was not a treasonous act, as it was represented in mainstream press at the time, but instead was a sign of their 'loyalty and service to Crown and Motherland'[27] in contrast to the 'vile and underhand intimidation'[28] action of the British Government which sought to 'criminally alienat[e] a community of British stock'[29] and further damage the British reputation in Africa. Again, in *Spearhead*, they were contrasting the strength of will and purpose of a colonial reserve of British stock with the weak acquiescence of domestic Britain, and were arguing that some form of reabsorption of that colonial stock back into the mother country would restore something Britain itself had lost. For *Spearhead* the entire situation came down to a question of race, and in Rhodesia they saw white people doing what was necessary to defy the emerging mainstream consensus and state that black culture was inferior and should be dominated by British colonial culture.

This became an opportunity for *Spearhead* to highlight the decline in Britain and the weakness of its establishment leaders, as they did when Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Secretary, attempted to promote multi-racial rule in Rhodesia in 1965. Reporting the rejection of his ideas by native African chiefs, they contrasted strong rule under Smith with the Congo Republic and the violence there.[30] *Spearhead* also saw Britain as funding this war

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[25] *Ibid,* p. 1.
[26] Webster, Martin, 'Who Will Save Africa from the Black Death?', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 2.
[27] 'News in Brief', *Spearhead*, no. 2, Dec. 1964, p. 2.
[28] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[29] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[30] 'News in Brief', *Spearhead*, no. 5, Mar. 1965, p. 3.

against the white settlers in its grant of aid to Kenya and other African states.[31] It does not argue however for aid to go to Rhodesia, but instead to direct funding to Britain itself.[32] Rhodesia then was used as an example of betrayal of the wider white British community and also to highlight how the establishment powers were working against British interests, but to some higher or hidden plan.

This hidden plan is often referred to when speaking about Rhodesia, a hidden truth that only *Spearhead* claimed it could reveal. The left and right were really all just some form of left, *Spearhead* argued, and the plan to abandon Rhodesia – just as the plan not to engage in Vietnam, or Britain's abolition of the death penalty – was a left-wing plot, urging people 'don't be fooled by pink ideas just because they seem preferable to red ones'.[33] This plan was expanded on to state that the removal of white rule in Rhodesia as a policy is being set up by an 'alien Left (the crypto-Communists)',[34] and that Rhodesia would be given over to the communist cause. Wilson was viewed as a traitor answering to international masters, the conspiratorial truth that *Spearhead* offered to its readers and representing themselves as the voice of ordinary British people against a corrupt elite.[35]

In the immediate aftermath of the UDI, *Spearhead* struggled with how to justify why they were supporting a group termed traitor by the Government. They recognised though that this was a pressure point that could gain them wider traction by using Rhodesia to highlight these concerns over migration back in Britain. They exaggerated a sense of crisis, suggesting that a war would be coming and that the choice would be to fight against your brothers or to refuse to fight at all, as they would.[36] They also tried to create a sense of an existential threat to Britain's place in the world, comparing the breakaway of Rhodesia to the breakaway of the Thirteen Colonies in 1776, arguing that though Rhodesia was forced away by British misrule it would eventually become a threat, just as America had usurped much of Britain's status and place within the post-war world.[37] There were even attempts to import what was seen by many as a last colonial war back to the metropole, with Tyndall engaged in street violence with anti-fascists from the *Searchlight* group in March of 1966. Tyndall, who had been touring in a vehicle urging people not to vote for a pro-migration candidate and to

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[31] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 9, Feb/Mar. 1966, p. 2.
[32] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[34] 'Rhodesia the Facts', *Spearhead*, no. 9, Feb./Mar. 1966, p. 4.
[35] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[36] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[37] Tyndall, John, 'Rhodesia – History Will Know Only One Right', *Spearhead*, no. 9, Feb./Mar. 1966, p. 6.

support Rhodesia, was arrested after a fight started between one of his members and anti-fascists, and several weapons were found in the vehicle.[38]

Tyndall observed that the attackers had links to the Jewish community, via the 62 Group, and that it was, according to Tyndall, the Jewish community who pressed charges that saw him in jail for three weeks.[39] Tyndall attempted to press this point, that the law was no longer equal and was being used to suppress revelations against Jewish and black groups, contrasting this again with Rhodesia where a natural state of white domination by their kin was being attacked by the Commonwealth.[40] This idea of a nation whose majority were being silenced or excluded led to Tyndall using the Rhodesian crisis and the language of majority rule to state it would be a good thing to be brought to Britain, arguing a plebiscite held in Britain would validate their position on Rhodesia and sweep away Wilson.[41] There were also attempts to try to capitalise on national emotional points, such as the exclusion of Rhodesia from the remembrance events, but none of these crystallised into the mass response that Tyndall and *Spearhead* were looking for.[42]

As the immediate pressure passed, Rhodesia became a background argument for *Spearhead* – a rallying cry used when they wished to speak of the fraternity of Anglo people that they longed for, or to highlight the weakness of the British government, in general but also over racial issues, describing their position in terms like 'Gutlessness'.[43] It came back often associated with the Common Market question, being seen as the route not travelled when it came to Britain's two choices for solution in the 1970s, to follow the path of Europe or to instead seek to restore Empire and Commonwealth, as Tyndall had argued.[44] It is highlighted again by *Spearhead* as one of the nations, along with Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, that could form the new British world system as an alternative to pursuit of the European project, though they were careful to note that the coloured commonwealth was itself finished.[45] However, it also presented problems for *Spearhead* as well. Having championed Ian Smith as a right-thinking person on racial issues, when Smith made moves to reach a settlement with the British *Spearhead* felt forced to separate him

[38] Trevelyan, Paul, 'A Case in Point', *Spearhead*, no. 10, Apr./May 1966, p. 5.
[39] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[40] 'What We Think: "Lawful" Race-Hate?', *Spearhead*, no. 13, Nov./Dec. 1966, p. 3.
[41] Tyndall, John, 'Majority Rule and Mr. Wilson', *Spearhead*, no. 14, Spring 1967, p. 4.
[42] Tyndall, John, 'Editorial', *Spearhead*, no. 13, Nov./Dec. 1966, p. 11.
[43] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 24, Jun./Jul. 1969, p. 2.
[44] 'NF May Day Triumph', *Spearhead*, no. 24, Jun./Jul. 1969, p. 13.
[45] 'The Four Big Lies', *Spearhead*, no. 25, Sep. 1969, p. 8.

from their own position on Rhodesia. In an interview with A. K. Chesterton, Smith is denounced as left of centre and someone who accepts multiracialism.[46]

Though moderated since the formation of the NF, conspiracy also still played a part. Rhodesia, along with South Africa and the other white-ruled former parts of Empire, were being targeted in what *Spearhead* claimed was a Wall Street (for which read Jewish) and Kremlin backed plot, carried out by the main parties.[47] Rhodesia's resilience in the face of this was often praised, an attempt to give hope to the alternative to the European project and show the ability of organised racial resistance to what they described as an internationalist plot.[48] The stance of the two major parties being similar on this was often emphasised as well, used to shore up arguments from *Spearhead* that there is a conspiracy to keep Britons in the dark.[49] Rhodesia had become a long term totemic issue, both to prove that their vision of an alternative to Europe and that direction of travel was still alive, but also of the corruption and anti-white nature of the two main parties, and of the continued destruction of British power in the post-Imperial process. *Spearhead* described this as essentially giving up everything Britain had fought for in the war, saying that 'our position is no better than had Rommel won […] we have now surrendered all influence in Rhodesia and South Africa'.[50]

As the 1970s continued, there was increasing feeling in *Spearhead* that all was not well in the Rhodesian war. Talk began to shift towards the idea that South Africa now needed their support as much as if not more than Rhodesia.[51] Rhodesia began to be described essentially as an outpost or bulwark for South Africa, that should it fall the full weight of the international conspiracy would fall upon South Africa and terminate white civilisation in Africa.[52] Even arguments for military action by *Spearhead* are acknowledged to be unlikely to come to anything, as Britain itself is too moribund to oppose the Marxist plot to seize Africa that *Spearhead* saw as coming.[53] *Spearhead* still championed Rhodesia's resistance and campaigned for change in British policy even as they urged Rhodesia to continue to hold out, but the language had changed from one where it was for Britain to fight for Rhodesia to one where 'it is their country, and that they must fight for it'.[54] For *Spearhead*

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[46] Chesterton, A. K., and unknown interviewer, 'A.K.', *Spearhead*, no. 25, Sep. 1969, pp. 4-5.
[47] 'Estrangement', *Spearhead*, no. 26, Oct. 1969, p. 9.
[48] 'What We Think: Sense from Rhodesia', no. 27, *Spearhead*, Nov. 1969, p. 3.
[49] 'What We Think: Nonsense on Rhodesia', no. 31, *Spearhead*, Mar. 1970, p. 3.
[50] 'VE + 25: Where do we Stand?', *Spearhead*, no. 33, May 1970, p. 9.
[51] 'The Attack on Southern Africa: Part 4', *Spearhead*, no. 71, Dec. 1973, pp. 6-9.
[52] 'The Attack on Southern Africa: Part 2', *Spearhead*, no. 65, Jun. 1973, pp. 6-7.
[53] 'What We Think: After Angola', *Spearhead*, no. 92, Mar. 1976, p. 2.
[54] 'What We Think: Rhodesian Realities', *Spearhead*, no. 93, Apr. 1976, p. 2.

then the practical purpose of championing Rhodesia had passed, and it had become purely a symbolic struggle, referenced only as a shorthand for a raft of anti-establishment and pro-colonial ideals that was used to contrast themselves with the mainstream. It served as a reminder of the decay and fall of the west narrative they sought to promote, and the need for their supporters to mobilise to stop such a fate befalling Britain itself.

For *Searchlight*, Rhodesia became an important issue just as it waned for *Spearhead,* as talks with Britain and the Smith government continued and would lead to a referendum on majority rule. Early work was done in 1975 to establish a common cause between their struggle for the rights of black majority rule in Rhodesia and their struggles at home, in particular in Northern Ireland. The National Front's narrative, which Martin Durham describes as 'embattled British nationalism' or a nation under threat, was one which the NF felt would appeal in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, which at its most essential saw a pro-Irish Catholic minority pitted against a pro-Union Protestant majority. Despite this the NF, according to Durham, never truly broke through in Ulster, in part because of their own disunity that could never offer the UVF and others a stable partner.[55] This echoes earlier failed attempts at connection between the British far right and earlier forms of Ulster Unionism which had been attempted in the 1920s and 1930s, but which ultimately failed – as Loughlin observes – due to the emergence of Mosley and the BUF as the dominant form of British far right culture, with Mosley actively courting the Catholic community.[56] This conflict is often viewed through a political spectrum lens, with the Loyalist groups seen as right wing while parts of the pro-Irish movement openly described themselves as Marxist in the 1970s.[57] This is based in the 1920s and 1930s, where the conflict was depicted as a battle between orderly conservative Unionists and socialist rebels.[58] Yet, as Brian Graham identifies when looking at how identities emerged later on in the conflict, the Loyalist identity is more complicated – including left wing groups, and its own local cleavages around class and other socio-economic factors.[59] Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd go further, stating that there is no agreement within the Protestant community over the construction of ethnic or natural identity.[60] The struggles the NF then faced in trying to bring

[55] Durham, Martin, 'The British Extreme Right and Northern Ireland', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 26, iss. 2 (2012), pp. 195-211.
[56] Loughlin, James, 'Rotha Lintorn-Orman, Ulster and the British Fascists Movements', *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity Migration and Diaspora*, vol. 32, iss. 1 (2014), pp. 62-89.
[57] Durham, Martin, 'The British Extreme Right and Northern Ireland', p. 196.
[58] Loughlin, James, 'Rotha Lintorn-Orman, Ulster and the British Fascists Movements', pp. 68-69.
[59] Graham, Brian, 'The Past in the Present: The Shaping of Identity in Loyalist Ulster', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 16, iss. 3 (2004), pp. 483-500.
[60] Ruane, Joseph, and Jennifer Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict in Northern Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.22.

Loyalist groups together in support of their own aims were large, and suggest why they were eager to utilise Rhodesia to create a potential sense of this embattled nationalism – but also why *Searchlight* might feel they could stymie such attempts through appeals to that same resistance culture.

In *Searchlight*'s second issue, they reported on a unity talk given by the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and NF. In this, the UVF had declared that opposing the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was the same as opposing black rule in Rhodesia, for both were to them plots of the Communists. The UVF were expressing the conspiracy ideal that the fall of Empire, the attacks in Ireland and the attacks against white majority colonies in Africa, were part of a communist plot and so should be seem in that global struggle context. *Searchlight* in answer to this suggested that the UVF should potentially consider support for black rule in the same way they support majority rule for the loyalists, but it is clear that the purpose is to highlight that the NF were making these alliances at home and bringing places like Rhodesia into that home conflict, and so it was a valid area for anti-fascists to now engage in an attempt to stop the NF.[61]

This was followed up months later when the UVF, seeking to differentiate from the NF, stated their preference for black British people to white Republicans, with *Searchlight* highlighting their involvement in the overtly race based warfare in Rhodesia. The statement came from Billy Mitchell, who under the name Richard Cameron put out the UVF newsletter *Combat*, which had reprinted material from NF publications that stated the fight of the loyalists against the nationalists was the same as the struggle of white Rhodesia against black rule, all part of a fight of freedom against communist revolution and liberal terrorism. Juxtaposed against the campaign to release Hess on the opposite column, it is made clear that the alliances made over the Rhodesian issue were being used to press nationalist agendas back in Britain.[62]

Searchlight took this line again when the Monday Club quoted former Conservative MP, Harold Soref, that Britain was softening itself and abdicating its responsibility to its former colonies and territories, in part because it was hypocritical in demanding for Rhodesia majority rule while standing up for minority Catholics in Ulster. *Searchlight* attacked Soref for his hypocrisy, in demanding majority rule at home in Ulster but not for the black

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[61] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 14.
[62] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 12.

majority in Rhodesia – in this they highlighted that Soref was himself complaining that Britain was 'beset by double standards'.[63] Again, *Searchlight* linked the cause of opposing the extreme right in Britain by uniting in solidarity with the cause of majority rule in Rhodesia. It made the links between the extreme right and Smith's government clear, explicitly inferring from Soref's use of the term 'our Rhodesian friends'[64] to mean the white minority leaders in Rhodesia. This used a situation occurring in the south-eastern parts of Africa to frame anti-racist politics back in Britain. As the extreme right in Britain was supporting white rule in Rhodesia, so their own support for majority rule was then also opposition to racism at home and they hoped to draw in those anti-racism campaigners who would otherwise not concern themselves with African affairs.

Bringing in the voices of the Trades Union movement, an article in *Searchlight* in 1975 called for not just the military sanction regime against Rhodesia, but that it should suffer an embargo of labour.[65] *Searchlight* argued the government was helping Rhodesia indirectly, as a Foreign Office team had been directing people to a Rhodesian organisation they claimed was a NF front. This shows anti-fascism is more than its name describes and draws in its anti-racism work from the left-wing notion of support for the oppressed involved in liberation struggles and also the perceived solidarity and unity of international labour, and sought support based on this. Quick to claim credit for the left, they suggested this solidarity of the labour movement – rather than the fact there was an active bush war – was the reason for Smith's government failing to get the ten million white immigrants they wanted.[66] Strong labour movement themes were presented by *Searchlight* and the concept of unity across labour was transformed into the concept of a unity across continents, solidarity together against what *Searchlight* framed as the same enemy.

As the situation in Rhodesia continued into violence, *Searchlight* linked the activities of the extreme right in Britain to the events in Africa. Describing them as 'Nation Wreckers',[67] it compared attempts to tear down democracy in Africa with the attempts of various nationalist groups to create an alternative to our representative democracy in Britain, using their intelligence resources to link several campaign groups together and show the co-operation of

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[63] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 5, Jul. 1975, p. 9. [Note that due to a type-setting error in *Searchlight* the header for this page suggests this is part of the 'Round up on the Right' section but it in fact is part of 'What Their Papers Say']
[64] *Ibid*, p. 9.
[65] Pritchard, Rod, 'No Collaboration with Racialism: End Emigration to South Africa and Rhodesia', *Searchlight*, no. 5, Jul. 1975, pp. 19-20.
[66] *Ibid*, p. 20.
[67] 'The Nation Wreckers – and How to Defeat Them', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 3.

Tory Monday Club MPs through the NF into the violence in Rhodesia. Highlighted was the proxy war attacking the Church in Rhodesia, with the Monday Club claiming it was being run by Communists. Again, this was overtly linked to the campaigns at home, with these '[Nation Wreckers] at work planting the seeds of discontent and disruption in this Country that they obviously hope will bloom forth into Racial troubles'[68] and that their plans were to destroy 'the delicate balance in Race Relations in this country'.[69] In doing so, *Searchlight* sought to reframe what distant troubles into ones relevant to ordinary people, and highlight the damage that these racialist forces could do to Britain and the need therefore to embrace the change towards multiculturalism.

What is more nuanced in *Searchlight*'s efforts is the method employed to link together these groups. Its intelligence efforts were focused on linking the groups – in this case the National Assembly through the NF, to antisemites, into the Tory party and Monday club, and through that to the World Anti-Communist League. Where *Searchlight* saw these groups unifying, and what gave them the cover to make these alliances that often would be abhorrent to supporters of the more mainstream parts of them, was in their shared cause of Rhodesia. In disrupting this cause, *Searchlight* hoped it could break these groups apart and prevent them from coordinating on shared campaigns through groups such as the 24th of June Campaign which attempted to, according to *Searchlight*, occupy the Home Office and disrupt community relations groups.[70]

A sense of looming disaster was created when Tyndall went to visit Rhodesia in 1976, with sensational reports in *Searchlight* that claimed he was going to be the conduit for military aid from South Africa to make its way to the regime in Salisbury.[71] While the claims were certainly sensational, this formed part of a wider narrative that *Searchlight* developed through into 1977, where they claimed that support from British non-governmental actors to Rhodesia was accelerating. They highlighted a dinner held by British Movement with Ken Rodgers of the Rhodesia White Peoples Party (a group *Searchlight* identified as Nazi), with the alleged consent of the British government, who had failed to either expel Rodgers or to deal with the wearing of uniforms by British Movement in breach of the 1936 Public Order Act.[72]

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[68] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[69] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[70] *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.
[71] 'Rhodesia', *Searchlight*, no. 14, May 1976, p. 18.
[72] 'Rhodesian Nazi Speaks in London', *Searchlight*, no. 15, Jun. 1976, p. 8.

This attempt to create the concept of an active war between British values and the racialist state of Smith in Rhodesia was clearly a motivational tool. In it, they presented a clear enemy and a division of an in and an out group defined in British terms for a conflict half a world away. They used traditional left-wing anti-establishment positions to reframe the debate, using Government failures to crack down on embargo breaches as proof of a complicit attitude when it came to Nationalist support of the Rhodesian cause. Yet it is also obvious that *Searchlight* had changed how it characterised the Rhodesian crisis. In its initial report, it reported the insurrection as nearly over with Smith hiding large scale causalities from the press. The involvement of the extreme right was not framed as a new threat or an expanding one to the home front, but instead as the last hurrah of imperialism. Something clearly had changed between this early report and the later usage, whether in the intensification of the Bush War or the full adoption of this cause.[73]

For both our groups then Rhodesia represented a moment of change and of opportunity. For *Spearhead* it was a sign of the coming end of Empire, a last chance to reverse the long decline and avoid the inevitable draw to a European future. It became a bulwark in defence not just of this latter-day imperial New Commonwealth project of Tyndall's, but of the white British cultural outposts that were often represented as a purer stock for Britain to be renewed from. It also acted as a rallying point and as a symbol of their claim to be true defenders of the British people. As *Spearhead* lost hope and relegated Rhodesia to a totemic statement of its ideals, *Searchlight* found great hope in its totemic statement. Rather than having to bend or trade its ideals, the transition of Rhodesia to majority rule and a rising tide, as they framed it, of equality proved that these broad fronted anti-fascist methods it projected could prove successful. It was also utilised though as a mirror to hold up against the face of a British establishment they felt was too permissive of the racial politicians of white Rhodesia and their supporters, to press their case for the need of a unified and cohesive campaign to protect the future multi-cultural Britain they strove for from the regressive elements of Empire and its return.

European Referendum

Another key cultural turning point was the referendum on Britain's membership of the European Community. Like the conflict in Rhodesia and de-colonisation, the question of

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[73] 'Round-Up on the Right', *Searchlight*, no. 5, Jul. 1975, p. 17.

Britain's place in the European Community was an important reference point around which the extreme right and anti-fascists could debate Britain's wider place in the world in the post-Imperial space. Having lost its empire, the prospect of the European Economic Community offered Britain a role – both in transforming the EEC into an outwards looking political force and taking on a role of leadership within the modern world, but also in avoiding the isolation that continued existence outside of an expanding EEC would bring.[74] The conclusion of Politicians and political commentators at the time viewed the referendum as bringing to a close fourteen years of debate over Britain's place within Europe and as one of the most important events in post-war British history, equal in importance to the fall of the British Empire.[75] The vote came at a time of British economic decline – where productivity had been 10% higher than the Common Market in 1961, by 1974 it was almost 40% below with rampant inflation of almost 25% and unemployment approaching one million.[76] It was increasingly acknowledged within Government that the Commonwealth could also not provide the economic muscle needed to pull Britain out of its increasing problems, as it was not yet at a stage of providing sufficient revenues through trade.[77] Politically Britain was also stymied over the issue, and the 1974 elections were the first time since 1945 that the main Conservative and Labour parties both fell below 40% of the vote.[78] Publicly members of Cabinet at the time of the referendum were openly admitting that Britain no longer had the possibility of independent existence, and that the Commonwealth was not going to provide Britain with its required purpose.[79]

It was then a moment of national decision, and crisis, that both magazines could not ignore but also one where the division cut across traditional political boundaries – with Labour divided on the issue, and anti-EEC Conservatives supporting Labour to force a vote on membership.[80] Through the question of Europe the magazines were able to articulate their respective positions on not just where Britain was but also where they felt it should have been going and what problems faced the country on the way to that end state. *Spearhead* had long stated its opposition to British involvement in the European project, where Britain's important voice would be swamped and its sovereignty impugned.[81] When the British

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[74] Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin, *Continental Drift*, pp. 249-259.
[75] Saunders, Robert, *Yes to Europe*, p. 2.
[76] Butler, David and Uwe Kitzinger, *The 1975 Referendum*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1-3.
[77] Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin, *Continental Drift*, p. 259.
[78] *Ibid,* pp. 2, 24-25.
[79] Wall, Stephen, *The Official History of Britain and the European Community: Volume II,* p. 193.
[80] Crowson, N. J., *Britain and Europe: A Political History Since 1918*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 101-102.
[81] 'Common Market Myths Exploded', *Spearhead*, no. 42, Apr. 1971, p. 11.

Government agreed terms in 1971 for its later accession into the EC, *Spearhead* dedicated an entire issue and stated that they sought to be 'the most militant opponents of entry into Europe'[82] and described the joining of the EC as if 'Britain were invaded and occupied by a foreign power'.[83]

Divisions over Europe were famously present in the left of British politics, with the Labour party split over its approach due to the influence of the itself-divided Trades Union movement within the party.[84] However, it should not be seen purely as a problem of the left in this period, as we also saw division amongst both the regular and, of more interest to this thesis, the radical right. One of the most prominent members of the extreme right, Oswald Mosley, argued strongly for a European Community of nations throughout his political career, though the one he envisaged was on a very different model and a very strict racial understand of European that would stand opposed to the emerging two-power system of the Cold War between America and Soviet Russia.[85] Mosley also still had many admirers in the extreme right at that time, though this period was dominated quite heavily by the NF. This was even picked up upon in *Searchlight* during the summer of 1975, who observed that Mosley was being revitalised and put forward as a possible alternative to those discontent with the NF leadership.[86]

There was tension in the extreme right over its future direction and focus, and how it should approach the referendum. The NF cemented its position in the successive 1974 elections where they capitalised on disconnection with the major parties amongst the public, making itself the most prominent of the fringe parties in Britain.[87] Within the NF there was an awareness that they needed to capitalise on the misfortune of their fellow travellers, 1975 being the same year that Colin Jordan fell from political relevance after being caught shoplifting women's underwear from Tesco.[88] However, the European issue was not the primary concern for all factions within the NF. Though traditionalist NF members like William Owens in South Shields fought the 1974 campaigns on an anti-Common Market platform, the Tyndall-associated faction such as Webster in Bromwich West instead focused on immigration issues.

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[82] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 45. Aug. 1971, p. 2.
[83] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[84] Gifford, Chris, *The Making of Eurosceptic Britain*, pp. 60-61.
[85] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black*, p. 80.
[86] Sholem, Oliver, 'The National Rump', *Searchlight*, no. 4, June 1975, p. 4.
[87] Kosmin, Barry and Nigel Grizzard, 'The British National Front in the Two General Elections of 1974', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 8, no. 6 (1974), pp. 18-22.
[88] Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 9, 180.

This desire to see the anti-Common Market campaign within this broader context was also reflected in the pages of *Spearhead*. From the very start of *Spearhead*'s run, the Common Market was placed squarely in opposition to Imperial ties and, therefore, the resurgent Commonwealth that Tyndall had advocated. One of the few positive things that *Spearhead* could say about Lord Beaverbrook on his passing was how they admired Beaverbrook's papers for their 'advocacy of a united British Empire'[89] and 'staunch opposition to Britain's entry into the European Common Market'.[90] This need for a broad front on common market issues was commented upon by A. K. Chesterton in his opening speech as NF leader, where he stated that they needed to become more than purely anti-marketeers, but be seen to be for something as well – which is where Tyndall and *Spearhead* stepped in with their pre-existing Greater Britain and New Commonwealth narrative.[91] This re-entrenchment of Empire would return Britain to Great Power status with an economic resurgence that would negate the need for economic co-operation with Europe.

It was the idea of a New Commonwealth that *Spearhead* argued made them the true leading lights of the anti-Common Market campaign, presenting as it did a powerful positive narrative to counter what *Spearhead* admitted was a positive case about a resurgent Britain within Europe.[92] This criticism of the negative nature of the campaign and the lack of positive vision within the anti-Common Market campaign continued to the end of the campaign, with *Spearhead* putting the blame for defeat down to the fear and hysteria of the pro-Common Market campaign and the exclusion of the NF, as the only party with a clear vision, from the anti-Common Market campaign.[93]

The debate over whether to focus on New Commonwealth and immigration or instead to focus purely on an anti-Common Market message was, despite the urging of Chesterton, ongoing and altered some of *Spearhead*'s messaging. The debate came into focus around the 1970 St. Marylebone by-election, where the NF chose to run a simple anti-Common Market message, as reported in *Spearhead*.[94] Before the by-election, we had a steady stream of commentary from *Spearhead* on how the Commonwealth was a more suitable alternative to the Common Market. Just before the by-election *Spearhead* accepted that the central plank

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[89] 'The Enigma of Fleet Street', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 3.
[90] *Ibid*
[91] Chesterton, A. K., 'A Movement is Born', pp. 6-7.
[92] Tyndall, John, 'An Alternative to the Common Market', *Spearhead*, no. 15, Jun. 1967, p. 4.
[93] 'Europe: The Fight to Get Out Goes On', *Spearhead*, no. 85, Jul. 1975, p. 4.
[94] 'NF to Fight Marylebone', *Spearhead*, no. 35, Aug. 1970, p. 15.

of the pro-Common Market campaign was correct, the need for a larger trading market to revitalise the UK economy, but pointed out that the Commonwealth, when totalled together, represented a much larger market place.[95] Few actual figures were used, outside of one or two highlighted examples such as Australia, and *Spearhead* assumed that all white-led commonwealth economies would perform at similar or exceeding rates to these chosen main economies, ignoring for example the eruption of civil war in Rhodesia and the overall drift of some Commonwealth countries into other spheres of influence. Had Tyndall been brought into the mainstream of the anti-EC campaign, it is unclear to what extent this positive message of a New Commonwealth would stand up to scrutiny.

This acceptance of the importance of a new economic market was not novel in *Spearhead*, with Tyndall having accepted this during a seemingly imagined conversation with a pro-Common Market campaigner where Tyndall sought to provide answers to all the arguments of the pro-Common Market campaign.[96] It must be stressed that this was a campaign given significant prominence, including a front cover of the magazine – highlighting the difference in size between the Common Market and Australia, though it somewhat neglected the fact that much of the area covered was sparsely populated and included several deserts.[97] It also ties in with their existing rhetoric around race and the birth of *Spearhead* to argue for a distinctly British solution to what it perceived as the country's ills, based around a refocusing on this New Commonwealth as a way to regain a moral purity or health that was missing from the post-imperial society. The anti-Common Market campaign was a way in which *Spearhead* was able to show case what it believed to be its most appealing of its existing ideas, rather than necessarily crafting tailored answers to the problems raised by the Common Market question.

Its inclusion also shows an important robustness in the racial world view of *Spearhead* and the groups it represented, that though they were willing to compromise on language and tone, they used a major issue of the day to pivot public debate to their talking point, that of New Commonwealth. It is important to note the way they presented this and highlight that compromise on language and tone. While they did place an emphasis on the white Commonwealth and its uniting bonds, there was little prominence within Common Market material in *Spearhead* given to the views of racial science held by men like Richard Verrell.

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[95] 'Economic Revival', *Spearhead*, no. 34, Jun. 1970, pp. 8-9.
[96] Tyndall, John, 'Europe: Should We Join? Would We Profit? Have We An Alternative?', *Spearhead*, no. 18, Feb./Mar. 1968, pp. 4-6.
[97] 'Do We Need Europe?', *Spearhead*, no. 18, Feb./Mar. 1968, p. 1.

There was no argument that the white commonwealth was supreme because black civilisation does not exist as a constructive force, as we saw in the first *Spearhead*. This represents a moderating of language in the far right to draw people into the movement where further truths would then be revealed to them, and so the moderation here begs the question on whether *Spearhead* saw the Common Market campaign primarily as an opportunity to recruit or a fight to win.

It is also a campaign that reveals the role of *Spearhead* and its associated factions played in the wider movements in which they sat. In the campaign, *Spearhead* used a number of tropes – such as the call to the idea of a superior past period, looking back to the British Empire for the strength Britain now lacks, playing on an ultranationalist understanding of race and nation being intertwined and the desire for a purity of their superior national racial stock through resumption of a white Commonwealth based new Britain. These would be classic fascist tropes under the New Consensus understanding. What is different here is that by examining *Spearhead*'s promotion of their message on Europe to the wider NF, they reveal how this more readily accepted anti-European view allowed for the transmission of these classic fascist cultural tropes within it.

One of the ways in which they did this was to claim a conspiracy of collusion on the issue of the referendum. They claimed that the entire event was pre-determined by the major parties, proven by their exclusion from the official campaigns. This conspiratorial language built on earlier articles, when in 1967 *Spearhead* declared that this decision was being taken far removed from the people and in 'lofty and remote chambers'.[98] They went so far as to claim that the decision is proof of a shadow government, which directs the false representative democracy government and which is hidden from the people.[99] The international conspiracy subverting Britain was then responsible for Britain's decay, and as the conspiracy favoured Europe that must be the path of sickness and decay in contrast to the truly free choice of *Spearhead*'s New Commonwealth. This conspiracy myth allowed *Spearhead* to create a sense that they were the true representatives of Britain against this faceless conspiracy, led by financial interests and by foreign attempts, primarily American, to destroy the British empire, and thus destroy their greatness.[100] *Spearhead* was positioning itself and the NF as the saviours of Britain, using an event that appealed beyond their own membership and

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[98] 'What We Think: That Other Government', *Spearhead*, no. 15, Jun. 1967, p.2.
[99] *Ibid*, p.2.
[100] 'What We Think: Results of Market Moves', *Spearhead*, no. 17, Nov./Dec. 1967, p. 2.

usual support – namely that of opposing the European Common Market. This kind of populist narrative was repeatedly backed up not just by delegitimising their opponents by having claimed they were tools of a foreign power or unknown enemy, but also by their suggestions that the people who claimed to represent the anti-Common Market were themselves traitors or sabotaging efforts, and only Tyndall and the NF could have saved the campaigns.

This narrative developed over time, from the initial claims in 1967 that it was a shadowy cabal of power players, to the Americans later that year. Eventually *Spearhead* claimed that the Common Market was no less than an attempt to impose a world government upon the capitalist states, backed by an international shadowy cabal now named as international finance.[101] This piece, targeted at young members, was built upon close to the referendum as it was claimed that the Common Market was a form of capitalist communism to help bring the world government to the western states as it ruled in the east.[102] This final piece also dropped all the pretence of coded language normally so prevalent and revealed the identity of the international financiers that allegedly orchestrated all of this. Unsurprisingly *Spearhead* blamed the Jews, specifically the Rothschilds, for seeking to dominate the economics of the West and control its direction, declaring that 'Mayor Rothschild is credited with the observation that so long as he was permitted to issue the financial credit of a nation, he did not care who made the laws'.[103]

This threat from Jewish money power was so great that *Spearhead* defended working with the left-wing anti-Marketeers, stating that it was justified given the extreme threat to the British the Referendum represented as it fuelled regional tension, especially in Ulster.[104] Veteran far-right leader John Bean had previously urged dialogue with moderates sceptical about the Common Market but nonetheless backing it because of a desire to oppose American money power.[105] This focus on America highlighted concerns around the eclipsing of Britain's place in the world and the replacement of the Great Power system with the twin poles of the Super Power system in which Britain was presented as a supplicant to the Americans, and that the need to fight this should not be lost in opposing domination by Europe. To support this narrative *Spearhead* tried to fold in other seemingly unrelated

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[101] Webster, Martin, 'The Spirit of Nationalism Part 3: Knowing The Enemy', *Spearhead*, no. 43, Jun. 1971, pp. 6-7.
[102] Butler, Eric, 'The Plotters Behind the World Crisis', *Spearhead*, no. 76, Jun. 1974, pp. 12-14.
[103] *Ibid*, p. 12.
[104] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 84, May 1975, pp. 2-3.
[105] Bean, John, 'When Extremism is a Virtue', *Spearhead*, no. 40, Feb. 1971, p. 20.

events, trying to use popular ley conservatism to build their own support and build a wider group of common travellers that might be converted fully to their ideas. The two key angles we saw of this within the anti-Common Market campaign are anti-Communism and anti-decimalisation concerns.

Anti-decimalisation narratives focused on presenting *Spearhead* as the alternative to an out-of-touch political elite, having claimed that this change was to better integrate with the Common Market and allow trade without consultation of the public.[106] They highlighted public concerns within mainstream media for their own purposes, one example of which is the inflation of prices that occurred at the time of decimalisation. They blamed the rise in prices on what they claimed was a step towards a single currency in Europe, and called it a confidence trick –presenting it opposite a claim from Martin Webster that the Common Market was inefficient and lacked compassion, sending only butter to help a famine in Romania.[107] A more direct link that *Spearhead* tried to cultivate was that fighting the Common Market was attached to the fight against Communism. As already mentioned, many of these conspiracies painted Europe as a plot of international communism, or of America working at the behest of Jewish money power.[108] Europe was painted as a weak conglomeration of disparate peoples, and Mosley misguided in supporting it as a white man's club, because *Spearhead* claimed it was polluted with other races, such as the black population in France and the 'Black Turkish'.[109] Equally Europe was presented as under the control of existing power blocs, doing trade deals with Soviet states and reliant upon incoming US money and trade.[110] *Spearhead* argued that if people wished to oppose both communist and American influence in Europe then they should support Tyndall's New Commonwealth, described as a real white man's club that would create a third superpower and restore Britain's place as the European peacekeeper.[111]

Despite later attempts to work with them, *Spearhead* attempted to delegitimise the major party anti-Common Market campaigners in various ways during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1964, *Spearhead* accused the main parties of being dishonest about their true feelings over the Common Market because supporting it was a vote loser.[112] With Edward Heath having

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[106] 'Why Decimals?', *Spearhead*, no. 41, Mar. 1971, p. 16.
[107] Webster, Martin, 'Troubleshooting', *Spearhead*, no. 41, Mar. 1971, p. 17.
[108] Butler, Eric, 'The Plotters Behind the World Crisis', pp. 12-14, and, Bean, John, 'When Extremism is a Virtue', p. 20.
[109] 'Not a "White Man's Club"', *Spearhead*, no. 45, Aug. 1971, p. 9.
[110] 'Dollar Imperialists Behind E.E.C', *Spearhead*, no. 45, Aug. 1971, pp. 11-12.
[111] Webster, Martin, 'The Spirit of Nationalism Part 4: The Will to Live', no. 44, Jul. 1971, pp. 7-9.
[112] 'Ambiguity on Common Market', *Spearhead*, no. 1, Aug./Sep. 1964, p. 3.

described the Common Market as a dead duck, *Spearhead* was forced to question his honesty on this in order to keep the Common Market threat alive, as the major parties claimed it was a settled issue. This took a step further when Heath began negotiations to take Britain into the Common Market, an act which *Spearhead* claimed delegitimised his Government and legitimised *Spearhead*'s opposition.[113] *Spearhead* was trying to leverage this policy reversal to place itself as the natural and authentic anti-Common Market voice, a tactic that ultimately failed. Labour received greater scorn though, in large part because it was with Labour that *Spearhead* saw the NF as competing to represent the anti-Common Market position to the masses. One line of attack that was used was to suggest that Labour were only using anti-Market principles to gain votes, in contrast to the principled position taken by the early NF.[114] Later in the same issue of *Spearhead*, the NF were claimed to represent the true voice of the people on Europe compared to the dishonesty of the main parties, as a majority of people polled by Harris Poll supported NF policies.[115] This notion of Labour as duplicitous over Europe was repeated in *Spearhead* as Common Market debates reignited.[116] When Wilson's Labour government was elected, *Spearhead* expressed doubt that Labour would honour their commitment to hold a referendum. [117]

When the referendum was held there was no apology from *Spearhead* for doubting Labour's commitment to it. Instead there was a continued recrimination that, because of a bias against them by the extreme left and Zionists, they were excluded from the campaign.[118] *Spearhead* had often protested this exclusion and it was one of the reasons it sought to move around Labour to those left elements who opposed Europe to try and forge a unified front. What did not help relations with the wider anti-Europe campaign was an unwillingness to fully decouple Europe from *Spearhead*'s wider politics. As the Referendum closed in, *Spearhead* declared defeat was inevitable because of their exclusion and the positive constructive image of life outside of Europe that the NF could provide within the campaign.[119] Yet in that same issue they published articles stating their concern must be non-white migration, and the need to infuse the Europe campaign with this concern.[120] This, to the wider anti-Europe movement, was unacceptable, and so blunted their attempt to widen their appeal and make a broad alliance.

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[113] 'Europe: Parties v. People', *Spearhead*, no. 26, Oct. 1969, p. 11.
[114] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 26, Oct. 1969, pp. 2-3.
[115] 'Europe: Parties v. People', p. 11.
[116] 'What We Think: Beware Labour Duplicity Over Europe', *Spearhead*, no. 39, Jan. 1971, pp. 2-3.
[117] 'What We Think: Referendum Jiggery Pokery', *Spearhead*, no. 80, Jan. 1975, pp. 2-3.
[118] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 86, Aug. 1975, pp. 2-3.
[119] 'What We Think: Referendum – What Must Be Done', *Spearhead*, no. 81, Feb. 1975, pp. 2-3.
[120] Farnell, Neil, 'Workers Against Immigration', *Spearhead*, no. 81, Feb. 1975, pp. 8-9.

Europe was part of *Spearhead*'s quest for a place for Britain in the post-colonial and post-imperial space around which they attempted to adapt their rhetoric in order to appeal to a broad base outside of nationalism. This was developed through attempts to moderate language and by layering of their ideology into anti-Market arguments, trying to link the Common Market issue to race and migration, and in so doing draw people into their broader agenda. This never managed to gain traction and several reasons present themselves. Firstly, *Spearhead* was using traditional methods of drawing people into its milieu – creating that sense of a cohesive 'We' which Billig said was so important a function of identity.[121] The problem was that to engage with outsiders it had to operate in the open and so its moderated language was appearing next to unmoderated thought, and so trying to slowly introduce these themes while they hid their true face was difficult if not impossible to achieve. Secondly *Spearhead* could never step fully away from its ideas to form a broader coalition – potentially in part due to the wars it was fighting over the ideology of the fledgling NF, which culminated in the 1974-76 civil war with the populist faction.[122] This dispute saw Tyndall ousted as Chairman in 1975, ostensibly due to concerns about his Nazi past, in favour of John Kingsley Read, who led a group of former Conservative Party members who had joined the National Front in 1973.[123] After an attempted ousting of Tyndall from the party was overturned by the courts and Tyndall had retained control of the internal party propaganda networks, Kingsley Read's populist faction left – with a few exceptions – to form the National Party in 1976.[124] *Spearhead*'s inability to place the race issue on a back burner, or to understand the world without the conspiratorial world view they had developed, meant they could not come to an understanding with far-left anti-EU elements within Labour, and thus never gained access to the audience they desired to convert. This failure to develop a broad front is an interesting comparison against the anti-fascist movements.

The first time that *Searchlight* engaged with a European identity was when tackling the re-emergence of Oswald Mosley with his launch of *The European*.[125] Though Mosley had – like many interwar fascists – been publicly discredited, he had reinvented himself for a post-war period, though as Macklin observes within this rhetoric of a new Mosley was hidden an

[121] Billig, Michael A., *Banal Nationalism*, p. 72.
[122] Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, pp. 175-188
[123] Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, pp. 251-253.
[124] *Ibid*, pp. 253-254.
[125] 'What Price Patriotism?', *Searchlight*, no. 1, Spring 1965, p. 2. [n.b. *Searchlight* published four newspaper editions numbered 1 to 4 from 1964 to 1967, then restarted its numbering again at 1 from 1975].

ideological core of fascist ideals.[126] It is interesting that, removed from the debate that would come in the next decade, *Searchlight* ridiculed the call from Mosley that people should become European. Instead it suggested his appeal to Europe was a sign of Britain's rejection of his politics, and this was him 'being "kicked upstairs"'.[127] It urged readers to 'remember that Mussolini and Hitler were the friends of Mosley',[128] contrasting European support for dictators with British values, declaring that Mosley would never find support as 'the people of Britain have a long memory, and they are decent humane, and tolerant', finally stating 'He chose Hitler. We shall never forget'.[129] Through Mosley's return, though he was shunned by the main body of the post-war British extreme right, *Searchlight* hoped to use the revealing of the fascist rhetoric and hopes within his movement to tarnish by association those elements of the extreme right who sought to mainstream themselves through the European debate, including the NF whose own leadership's fascist ties had been used to try to isolate them with the pamphlet *A Well Oiled Nazi Machine*.[130]

This hostile attitude to Mosley in part was based on the idea that Europe was where the threat of fascism had originated, but also reveals a part of the early identity of *Searchlight* that saw Europeanness as an outsider identity. In this, *Searchlight* showed it was steeped in a sense of British identity, still relying on old notions of Britain as separate to the mainland of Europe in ideals that dated back centuries as explored by Colley.[131] This appeared again in its first issue where it examines the views of the British generations to other races, being views 'of Europeans, of the Irish, of the Jews'.[132] This view though was perhaps more representative though of British attitudes to European identity rather than something specific to the anti-fascist movement. They do see a positive role for this European project, however, identifying the demise of a post-war pan-Europeanism in German youth as one of the roots of the rebirth of German Nationalism, and thus saw Europeanness as a possible antidote to fascism.[133]

Much of the campaign for the Common Market occurred during *Searchlight*'s publishing dormancy between the last of its newspaper-style publications in 1967 and the launch of its magazine in 1975. Yet it launched quickly into the detail of the anti-Common Market

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[126] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black,* p. 15.
[127] 'What Price Patriotism?', p. 2.
[128] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[129] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[130] *A Well Oiled Nazi Machine*, (Birmingham: A and R Publications, 1974).
[131] Colley, Linda, 'Britishness and Otherness', pp. 309-329.
[132] 'There Ought to be a Law', *Searchlight*, no. 1, Spring 1965, p. 6.
[133] 'New Nazis Rise Again', *Searchlight*, no. 3, Spring 1967, p. 8.

campaign upon its return, covering it in its first return issue. Rather than being focused on the message of the anti-Common Market campaign, *Searchlight* had sought to bring attention to the links being forged between the extreme right and the left. Concerned by the appearance of Enoch Powell alongside Labour party parliamentarians, as well as involvement with the labour movement, *Searchlight* laid out for its readers the links that led within one or two steps through to the far right and provide more detail on the individuals. Their concern was the use by the extreme right to breach the *cordon sanitaire* that had been established around fascist ideas, and through Don Martin were able to link anti-Common Market campaigns with Lady Birdwood and the NF. They showed how his anti-Common Market Activities newssheet and National Assembly of Anti-Market Groups listed the same 25 Morpeth Mansions address as the NF press office, and thus proving these groups were attempts to infiltrate the mainstream campaigns. Don Martin was also connected to the Conservative Party, through the Monday Club and Sir Iain McTaggart, and the Liberal party through the Anti-Dear Food Campaign and Oliver Smedley, former Liberal candidate. Their aim was clearly stated, to make the unions bankrolling anti-Common Market campaigns cut off funding for groups working with the far right. The language used by *Searchlight* did not attack the anti-Common Market campaign directly, or offer any opinion on the referendum, but saw the campaign as a whole as a risk because of the divisions it caused in the left and the way the extreme right were able to exploit those divisions to seek broader co-operation.[134] These infiltration attempts encouraged *Searchlight* to report on many innocuous sounding groups and their links to the far right, including the Women Against the Common Market who had been in contact with Colin Jordan, showing that not insignificant investigative resources had been allocated to monitoring the groups.[135] The risks of this co-operation were highlighted in *Searchlight*'s second issue when Powell shared a platform with Clive Jenkins (General Secretary of the ASTMS union) but was using the legitimacy that gave him as cover to allow him to 'visit to his Monday Club friends in Croydon and make his worst speech in years'.[136] Again, their focus was the use of the legitimising force of their allies in the labour movement to normalise and license racial hatred.

As the vote came closer, *Searchlight* expressed its concern that, having achieved a referendum over Europe, the nationalist groupings would press now for referendums on hanging and migration. It is not clear if they were more concerned that such issues were

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[134] 'Strange Company: or a Brief Look at the anti-Common Market Line-up', *Searchlight*, no. 1, Feb. 1975, p. 19.
[135] 'Round-Up on the Right', *Searchlight*¸ no. 3, May 1975, p. 8.
[136] 'News', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 3.

vulnerable to populism and thus obtaining what they saw as the wrong result, or if the concern was based around the types of discussions that would be brought out, but they are clear that it would be bad for the democratic process to have had these issues brought forward by those groups. Again, *Searchlight* did what it was famous for and investigated the groups who were demanding direct democracy and these changes. Though the main group, The Nationalist Assembly, was publicly rejected by the NF leadership and by Colin Jordan, this was only to provide suggestions of distance from the far right. Behind the scenes, it was again based at the familiar NF address of 25 Morpeth Mansions, and linked into various pressure groups such as Tru-Aim and Immigration Control Association. Increasingly *Searchlight* appeared sanguine about the results of the 1975 referendum, but deeply concerned about the impact of the debate on legitimising anti-immigration views and destroying progress it saw as having been made.[137]

As noted previously, the failure of the NF to create a broad base support was in part due to its inability to cease its rhetoric around race, despite the links it was making into the anti-Market campaigns. This was commented upon by *Searchlight* as well, who noted that even when dedicating a whole issue to the Common Market campaign, '"*Spearhead"* cannot resist throwing a little red meat down for its racist faithful',[138] distilling the NF fear down to the fact that 'wogs may not yet begin quite at Calais. But they've certainly reached Salerno'.[139] That *Searchlight* felt the NF's anti-Market nature was partially contrived is shown in its choice of language, describing them as 'infiltrating'[140] the anti-Market Campaign – in a comical twist, doing so by using quotes from *Spearhead* describing their failure to secure collaboration from other anti-Market groups.

When the campaign was over *Searchlight* sought to ensure any NF links with the anti-Common Market campaigns were severed and the continuing groups campaigning against Europe did not carry along the extreme right groupuscules. They highlighted how NF papers had returned to stories about race exclusively on their front pages, having previously led with the Common Market as three fifths of their rhetoric alongside moderated attempts at immigration discussion during the campaign.[141] *Searchlight* also covered how the Common Market debate was now used to take down those groups who had supported the EEC, with

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[137] 'Come All Ye Faithfull', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 5.
[138] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 3, May 1975, p. 14.
[139] *Ibid,* p. 14.
[140] *Ibid*, p. 14.
[141] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 6, Aug. 1975, p. 9.

sectarian anti-Catholic pieces against the League of St George from Martin Webster, accusing them of being traitors – an article so extreme that Tyndall immediately disowned it.[142] *Searchlight* was attempting to make clear that the nationalists had reverted to their factionalist, racialist type and were toxic and of no use to mainstream campaigns.

There was far more interest shown from *Searchlight* in what the referendum result might mean for the extreme right than in what the result would be. In his piece examining the NF, Oliver Sholem in *Searchlight* identified that the referendum was a proxy battle for control over the extreme right, between the forces of the NF – who in 1975 looked as though they may split between the Anthony Herbert-Reed and John Tyndall factions – and the traditional figures like Oswald Mosley. In this there is palpable glee in the writing at the prospect that the referendum was a point that would finally break the NF, and yet again a meticulous avoidance of any opinion on which way is better, carefully pointing out that 'Whichever way they jump, it is clear that the next few months will see the end of the National Front…Nobody will be sorry about that'.[143] While the NF had attempted to build a broad consensus within the anti-Common Market movement, and failed, *Searchlight* instead kept meticulously on message – namely opposing the extreme right – without risking a split in the broad front they had built up, reliant on labour movement and left figures who were so divided over the European question.

There is one small indication of some of the tension that existed at the time in a column published almost a year after the referendum. The column's writer refers in a pun to the EEC vote with the phrase 'It is no use, to coin a phrase, crying over skimmed milk'. It went further, as it described how an EEC directive requiring skimmed milk in animal feed overrode the House of Commons who rejected it – this it argued was the whole point of the Common Market referendum, the struggle over sovereignty. Skimmed milk, it said, was only the beginning and Westminster was now subordinate to the continental parliament, something '[e]ven the late unlamented Adolf H. couldn't achieve'.[144] This strong comparison of the EEC to Hitler's desires for European dominion show that amongst *Searchlight*'s contributors there were these strong feelings, but they had been suppressed so successfully during the referendum period in order to avoid the dispute.

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[142] 'What Their Papers Say', *Searchlight*, no. 7, Sep. 1975, p. 8.
[143] Sholem, Oliver, 'The National Rump', p. 4.
[144] Ardent, John, 'John Ardent's Column', *Searchlight*, no. 14, May 1976, p. 5.

Ironically it is this lone break of neutrality that highlighted the success of the *Searchlight* broad front policy – the need to emphasise its primary identity of anti-fascism and suppress other more peripheral identities and the debates within them, even the normally core identity of the left. In many ways the European Referendum was a competition in discipline – and one which it can be said *Searchlight* was able to focus more readily on its core principles and bring together disparate identities within its movement. It was also far less the watershed that both sides predicted it would be. For *Spearhead* the Common Market presented a clear existential threat to everything British, the core rationale behind their appeal beyond the movement and the need to work together, yet even as they admonished others to forget their prejudices about the NF, they were unable to forge the discipline to abandon their racialist language that enforced their isolation. For *Searchlight,* the referendum was both boon and bane, talking up the possibility of the referendum irrevocably breaking the power of the extreme right into factionalism, but warning about the risk of co-operation in the anti-Common Market campaign allowing racialist politics into the mainstream. Ultimately the *cordon sanitaire* held and can be viewed as a vindication of the choices of *Searchlight* in devoting the resources to uncover the links of the dummy campaigns and how the money was routed into the hands of the nationalists. The hoped-for end of the NF would not come for several years – and Tyndall emerged from the Common Market campaign with a firmer grip on the NF, rather than the hoped-for exit by the back door that Oliver Sholem had prophesised would follow a Referendum defeat.

Spearhead was unable to make that breakthrough into the broader audience it had hoped, which may be one of the reasons for its quick reversion to its racialist line so quickly after the vote. However, its messaging did help establish the NF as the leading nationalist part of the anti-Common Market campaign and use that position to further marginalise the pro-European Mosleyite elements of the extreme right, and assert the dominance of the Tyndall faction within that. In that regard, though it failed to enter into a larger pond, it ensured in its small pond it was the biggest fish by far. While it had been unsuccessful, the way in which it attempted to reach out remains interesting. In moderating its language, while not moderating its beliefs, we see it using the cultic nature of its groupuscule to its advantage, where words and phrasing that may seem innocuous or straight forward to the outsider are in fact concept-dense code phrasing. Though they rejected his pro-European politics, in this they were following Mosley's path of reducing fascist and far-right concepts to a set of hidden core beliefs, what Macklin referred to as the sacred flame, in order to bring that mass appeal.

<u>Margaret Thatcher</u>

There are few leaders in the modern era as polarising as Margaret Thatcher. As noted by Reicher, Hopkins and Harrison in their exploration of national identity around the Scottish independence debate, hatred of Thatcher remained an animating part of identities into the late 2000s.[145] As mentioned in Chapter 2, according to Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders in their edited volume *Making Thatcher's Britain*, Thatcher's premiership was controversial at the time and has remained controversial since – inspiring hatred in her opponents and veneration from her supporters.[146] This divisive nature exists not only in retrospective views but was also an active issue in contemporary movements to her leadership and rule. As noted by Jeremy Black, this division was so vitriolic that the very term 'Thatcherite' became one of abuse, especially from the political and intellectual left but, as we will see, also from the extreme right.[147] This abuse was also noted at the time, including by journalist Philip Howard who, writing at the time about neologisms, observed Thatcher and Thatcherite becoming terms of abuse politically within Labour Party discourse as well as radical groups.[148]

The division over Thatcher also extends into academic consideration of her legacy. In rejecting the label of populist for Thatcher, Geoffrey Fry argues that 'the "Thatcher revolution" never strayed much beyond the economic sphere', pointing to the failure by some Conservatives to undo some of the permissive acts from the 1960s that they had opposed, such as around capital punishment which was defeated in a free vote of Conservative MPs in 1983.[149] Eric Evans frames Thatcher in a vastly different light, pointing to quotes from Thatcher herself about wishing to set out a radical agenda of change, and summarising the impact of Thatcher as having 'shook the country up',[150] and having altered the very nature of political cultures on both the right and the left.[151] This section will explore how the view of Thatcher from both magazines evolved in relation to three distinct aspects of her political career in the period under study. These will be her time as leader of the Conservative party from 1975, her use of the concept of cultural swamping in speeches

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[145] Reicher, Stephen, et al, 'Identity Matters: On the Importance of Scottish Identity for Scottish Society', in, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone (eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 37.
[146] Jackson, Ben, and Robert Saunders, 'Introduction: Varieties of Thatcherism', p. 1.
[147] Black, Jeremy, *The Making of Modern Britain: The Age of Empire to the New Millennium*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), p. 233.
[148] Howard, Philip, *Winged Words*, (London: Hamilton, 1988), p. 245.
[149] Fry, Geoffrey K., 'Parliament and "Morality"', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 12, iss. 1 (1998), p. 145.
[150] Evans, Eric J., *Thatcher and Thatcherism*, (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 1.
[151] *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

in 1978 and 1979, and her early period as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1982. In studying Thatcher, it will be shown how the movements under examination responded to the traditional forces of the broader right wing, but also their reaction to a female leader and to the erosion of the post-war socio-economic compact with the rise of neo-liberalism.

Her rise to lead the Conservative Party was met with concern by both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight*. For *Spearhead* the concern pre-dated her leadership, with *Spearhead* having reported on her activities as Education Minister in the Conservative Government in 1973. Thatcher, along with Robert Carr, had been tasked with creating a policy which would see the introduction of anti-discrimination rules to remove gender from job advertisements. Thatcher's close involvement in this policy was highlighted as Orwellian and of the 'totalitarian left',[152] that it was a 'step even further along the road to totalitarianism'[153] and as proof of the corruption of the traditional parties, suggesting that the 'nightmare realm of 1984…is indeed where a lot of modern day Conservatives, as well as Socialists, would like to take us'.[154] *Spearhead* objected to the very basis of this policy – complaining as they did that this sought to 'alter one of the most basic human rights: the right to discriminate'.[155] This is an early attempt to place Thatcher at the centre of the moral decay of the traditional voice of conservatism, and so use her as a banner call for why it was essential that the British public should look to them to preserve and conserve British values and traditions of the right. *Spearhead* used contemporary events to reinforce their narrative of a nation in decay, and of a people whose traditional voices and civil bastions are corrupted or otherwise unfit, and that the new radical voices of *Spearhead* and the NF were required. Later, Thatcher is portrayed supporting academics rather than conservatives, where Webster claimed academics were in league with communist students when Harold Soref MP was allegedly attacked.[156] This idea of a corrupt and ineffective liberal elite, and placing Thatcher within that, was repeated back to *Spearhead* in its letter section with accusations of Thatcher's Department doctoring numbers to hide the scale of immigration, saying only the NF held the truth.[157]

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[152] 'What We Think: Crackpot Thinking', *Spearhead*, no. 69, Oct. 1973, p. 3.
[153] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[154] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[155] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[156] Webster, Martin, 'Red Violence: Will we have to Meet Force with Force?', *Spearhead*, no. 76, Jun. 1974, p. 4.
[157] Pask, Martin, 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 72, Jan. 1974, p. 16.

For *Searchlight* the focus was very much on her actions and associations, and the ramifications those had, rather than policy proposals. The language she used was important, but the policies themselves – lacking practical implications while not in power – were not something *Searchlight*, at least in that 1970s atmosphere, was eager to engage with. Its first mention of Thatcher was condemning her actions shortly after becoming leader. Whereas Heath was praised by *Searchlight* for confronting extreme right groups within the party such as the Monday Club and launching investigations, Thatcher halted these investigations and as a result several suspended members that *Searchlight* considered far-right infiltrators resumed their membership.[158] Thatcher had also launched attacks upon party moderates, with whom *Searchlight* had been working.[159] One of the regular complaints related to Lady Birdwood, who in September of 1975 was photographed at a NF march while still a Conservative Party member. *Searchlight* asked the question of when Thatcher might expel her – a question they would return to in 1978 and 1982.[160] Thatcher was attacked in 1978 for failing to take a position on Lady Birdwood, despite the fact Birdwood was now supporting events held by British Movement and was giving talks guarded by violent paramilitary neo-Nazis.[161] Equally Birdwood came up again in 1982, where Lady Birdwood and Thatcher both attended and represented organisations at the memorial meeting for Sir Ronald Bell MP. For *Searchlight*, Thatcher's permissive attitude risked 'bridging the gap between the right-wing of the Tory party and more sinister forces'.[162]

Thatcher's allegedly permissive attitude to the extreme right within the Conservative party was something *Searchlight* returned to often, concerned about mainstreaming of NF views. *Searchlight* was not simply passively reporting these concerns and at the start of 1977 they claimed they were in contact with several Conservative party members who wanted to know what was going on in their party, with the links Thatcher was allowing between the Monday Club and the NF, including re-admission of former Monday Club member and defector to the NF, Roy Painter. *Searchlight*, while criticising Thatcher for these links, was very careful not to imply a guilt by association for the whole of the party – *Searchlight* presented itself as defending a valuable public institution in the form of the party. *Searchlight* also clearly differentiated between the NF, who were beyond the pale in terms of acceptability, and the National Association for Freedom, who were primarily focused on anti-communist activity.

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[158] 'Heath's Last Act', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 3.
[159] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[160] 'The March of Shame', *Searchlight*, no. 7, Sep. 1975, pp. 3-6.
[161] 'The Dowager and the Nazis', *Searchlight*, no. 39, Sep. 1978, pp. 10-11.
[162] 'Memorial Meeting Reflects Ronald Bell's Career', *Searchlight*, no. 83, May 1982, p. 9.

It showed that *Searchlight* maintained a degree of nuance in its criticisms of Thatcher and that it was content for her to pursue relations with groups they disagreed with on a policy level, but that arrangements with groups like the NF that were seen as enemies of British democracy were beyond toleration.[163]

While *Searchlight* opposed Thatcher's links to groups it disapproved of, it was also willing to celebrate her successes, as it had done Heath's, when she was willing to alienate these groups. In 1977 and 1978, following on from concerns raised by Conservative members about links to the anti-communist National Association for Freedom, Thatcher's increasingly cautious attitude was welcomed by *Searchlight*.[164] When Thatcher, following the Lewisham and Ladywood by-elections, stated the NF were extreme and compared them to the broad left, *Searchlight*'s response was defensive but also sought to refute and educate on the matter. A series of bullet points countered Thatcher's argument in detail, and then claimed similarities between Thatcher's points and those talking points laid out by National Association for Freedom. In suggesting the National Association for Freedom were the true authors of the attack, and welcoming the refutation of the NF, they sought to create a path for Thatcher and her supporters into what they saw as acceptable discourse. This is helped by *Searchlight*, when comparing the NAFF and the NF, asserting that NAFF were problematic but not fascist.[165]

Unlike *Searchlight,* who saw Thatcher as leading an important institution in guarding British society against extremism, *Spearhead* saw Thatcher as a rival for right-wing votes. Despite previous claims of her left totalitarianism, *Spearhead* criticised all of the candidates for Conservative Party leader as lacking anything important to say, saying that when it came to empty platitudes 'it is indeed difficult to know whether to present the first prize to Margaret Thatcher, William Whitelaw or James Prior'.[166] These transmitted ideas are echoed back to *Spearhead* in the letters section shortly after Thatcher's confirmation as leader. Echoing the words of *Spearhead*'s earlier criticism, B. Warner of Inverness observes that Thatcher's policies will be the same as Heath's, and these are disastrous for the country. That her changes are only to the image rather than substance of Conservative policy, according to the letter, presents a continued existential threat to Britain, and it ends beseeching 'God help

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[163] 'Mr Rippon MP in Strange Company', *Searchlight*, no. 21, Feb. 1977, pp. 10-11.
[164] 'How to Gain Friends and Lose a National Activities Organiser', *Searchlight*, no. 28, Sep. 1977, pp. 3-4.
[165] 'NAFF and Fascism', *Searchlight*, no. 29, Oct. 1977, p. 15.
[166] 'What We Think: Heah! Heah!', *Spearhead*, no. 92, Mar. 1976, p. 2.

poor Britain!'.[167] What Warner's letter also shows is how the line of traditional continuance of party politics, which Thatcher represents, presents a very real and immediate threat to Britain. *Spearhead* repeated this view throughout the years as Leader of the Opposition.

Spearhead presented themselves as finding a solution to the post-imperial decline, and in 1975 this decline had deepened due to the surrendering of sovereignty to Europe. *Spearhead* made it clear that Thatcher could not reverse this decline or handle the threat from Europe, urging the Conservative Party membership and voters to wake up to this threat.[168] They represented her in two ways to achieve this aim, either by suggesting she was in some way loyal to some conspiracy of foreign or international power or by alleging that she was a corrupt and false representative of the views of right leaning people whose policies and beliefs did not match her rhetoric. Even when Thatcher spoke in New York about a 'British Sickness'[169] around a societal malaise that was affecting productivity, and placing part of the blame for this on the 'mania for "equality" that is levelling down everything in British life'[170], they criticised her for airing what they saw as a British matter to the Americans. To *Spearhead* Britain should have still projected a sense of strength to foreigners even if they themselves know this to be false. As Stephen Woodbridge identities, this narrative of the sickness had been a central part of both *Spearhead* and the wider neo-fascist movement in post-war Britain. In pursuing this vision of a nation in decline, they saw the nation as a body that was corrupted by moral and cultural sicknesses due to the various influences of liberalism and of communism. As Woodbridge describes, they saw this threat as originating from several avenues – from things as seemingly innocuous as art, through to the active policies of liberal economics. This shows the ideological pedigree on which *Spearhead* was drawing for its work, as Woodbridge documents the origin in British discourse of these ideas as coming into *Spearhead* and the NF from Mosley and Spengler via Tyndall and Richard Verrell respectively.[171]

The second element of their criticism, that based on links to foreign and especially Jewish groups, could be dismissed as a bizarre conspiratorial rant. This would, however, be a

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[167] Warner, B., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 81, Mar. 1975, p. 16. [n.b. This is the second no. 81 due to publisher error; Mar. 1975 should have been no. 82].
[168] 'What We Think: Tory Inanities', *Spearhead*, no. 97, Sep. 1976, p. 3.
[169] Thatcher, Margaret, quoted in, 'What We Think: The Right Thing in the Wrong Place', *Spearhead*, no. 88, Oct. 1975, p. 3.
[170] 'What We Think: The Right Thing in the Wrong Place', *Spearhead*, no. 88, Oct. 1975, p. 3.
[171] Woodbridge, Steven, 'Purifying the Nation: Critiques of Cultural Decadence and Decline in British Neo-Fascist Ideology' in, Julie Gottlieb and Thomas Linehan (eds.), *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 138-140

mistake. As Michael Billig describes, these beliefs – strange as they are – must not be seen 'merely as schizoid reflections of paranoid personalities'[172] and instead they must be understand as having a rhetorical use to the movements, and also reveal these movements are not perceiving reality through the mainstream lens.[173] These concerns were raised early on in her leadership, with Thatcher reported as attending a Bilderberg group meeting with the Labour chancellor, proof to *Spearhead* that all parties were working together for this world government at the behest of 'Zionists and prominent international bankers'.[174] These claims are repeated later in the year, when discussing an argument – which *Spearhead* claimed was fabricated – between Healey and Thatcher. Here *Spearhead* contended that the true allegiance of our politicians was not to party but instead to the overarching interests of 'International Finance' based around the Bilderberg group with an end goal of monetary control in order to seek integration between the West and the Communist East.[175]

It is in this rhetoric that the purpose of the Jewish conspiracy, often masked as International Finance, within *Spearhead* is seen. As Billig suggested, this is not simply conspiratorial, but an attempt to shift the focus and world view of the reader. Instead of seeing the nation divided into left and right, *Spearhead* argued that the mainstream parties are all under the control of a monetary cabal and the British population, most of whom it argues are naturally right leaning, are unserved by faithful representatives. This thinking was laid bare in a 1977 piece for *Spearhead* by Robert Gregory entitled 'The Conservative Party: Failure and Betrayal'.[176] Gregory looks back to Conservative thinking of the 1930s, referencing *Conservatism in England* by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, to illustrate how he feels the Conservative Party has abandoned its roots, and has now 'moved further and further to the left' and embraced 'Liberal-Marxist notions that now hold sway within the British political establishment'.[177] Thatcher is described as powerless in the face of her party's movement to the left, painting a narrative of Rhodesia, the Winds of Change speech and joining the European Community as all proof of not only a decline but of a solid shift that leaves Britain without an organised right wing. Describing how, when it came to the true Conservatism of men like Prof. Hearnshaw, 'every single Conservative Government from the period of Stanley Baldwin…failed and betrayed both those ideas and Britain'[178] Gregory then

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[172] Billig, Michael, *Ideology and Opinions,* (London: SAGE, 1991), p. 107
[173] *Ibid,* pp. 107-108
[174] Verrall, Richard, 'Behind the Bribery Scandal … Prince Bernhard and the Bilderberg Conspirators', *Spearhead*, no. 92, Mar. 1976, p 11.
[175] Verrall, Richard, 'The Making of a President … or Two', *Spearhead*, no. 99, Nov. 1976, pp. 12-13.
[176] Gregory, Robert, 'The Conservative Party: Failure and Betrayal', *Spearhead*, no. 104, Apr. 1977, p. 10.
[177] *Ibid*, p. 10.
[178] *Ibid*, p. 10.

suggested that 'the Conservative party no longer exists' and that its leaders, and those of the other parties, are now 'dominated by Internationalism and is dedicated to the creation of World Government'.[179] Therefore, so Gregory argues, no regeneration of Britain can be found in the modern Conservative party, who were 'busily handing over vast area of the Empire to African barbarism',[180] and instead true patriots of the right must instead 'look elsewhere, to a new party, to the National Front'.[181] In having attempted to appropriate figures like Pitt, Liverpool, Wellington, Disraeli and Salisbury, and by deriding Thatcher's leadership as not truly of the right, they instead sought to position themselves as the true voice of the silent majority against the forces of barbarism, in the form of advancing black rule in Africa, and also against the forces of Liberal Marxism and its World Government, advanced by the left and the enemies of Britain.

For *Searchlight* Thatcher's leadership of the Conservatives had a high bar to meet when it came to handling the extreme elements in her party, given their approval of Heath's previous efforts against extreme right infiltration of the party.[182] Thatcher's initial efforts fell far short of *Searchlight*'s standards however, with her appointing a former supporter of Powell, Lord Peter Thorneycroft, as Chairman of the Conservative Party, with concern this might mean a return of Powell himself.[183] Though *Searchlight* saw no possibility of that happening in the short term, they did express concern that this risked the Conservatives becoming a meeting place of the extreme right, highlighting how Powell was prominent in the anti-Common Market debates and Monday Club meetings, while Conservative allies in Ulster were making antisemitic statements in the Commons and forming bridges with the NF.[184]

Of particular concern was the presence figures who crossed from far-right campaigns through to the mainstream Conservative party, providing a bridge that breached the *cordon sanitaire* that *Searchlight* saw as one of the key things it must defend, as was described in the debate around the 1975 Referendum. As mentioned previously, Lady Birdwood was seen as a nexus of the far right by *Searchlight*, who detailed her activity over the years including involvement around the Ku Klux Klan, British Movement, the NF and other groups that *Searchlight* saw as fascist.[185] Her continued presence within the Conservative

[179] *Ibid*, p. 10.
[180] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[181] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[182] 'Heath's Last Act', p. 3.
[183] 'Parliamentary News', *Searchlight*, no. 2, Apr. 1975, p. 3.
[184] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[185] 'The Dowager and the Nazis', pp. 10-11.

Party was seen as condoning of her associations by Thatcher, and thus calling into question Thatcher's own acceptability to be considered mainstream, with *Searchlight* separating out Thatcher's position from that of the Conservative party, presenting her as more extreme.[186] *Searchlight* also framed itself as a champion of mainstream Conservative members when it raised concerns over Roy Painter's readmission.[187] This sense of threat around Thatcher's failing to denounce the radical right became more serious when *Searchlight* revealed she was being endorsed by the leader of Civil Assistance, a group that offered volunteers – in effect a private army – in case of widespread strikes.[188] To *Searchlight*, which as Chapter 3 showed had a world view based around class awareness, this was not just a matter of law and order but a real threat to its core identity.

All of this risked Thatcher being seen as a threat instead of just a problematic political leader, but their concerns were consistently framed as questions and appeals, indicating they were willing to forgive if Thatcher repented on these issues. Being framed as a threat to be opposed was repeatedly used to try to correct errant behaviour, suggesting her action was now required, ending one article as they did with 'Over to you Maggie'.[189] *Searchlight* was only too happy to report when Thatcher did start to distance herself from these elements, seeing her distancing from the National Association for Freedom (NAFF) as a sign of this, but also the bringing back of Edward Heath, who as mentioned *Searchlight* had seen as an ally in isolating the influence of the far right.[190] Thatcher here was separated away from the grouping of extreme Conservatives who were willing to work with the NF and others on the far right, but also separate from the moderates like Heath who were actively combatting that infiltration.[191] Previously *Searchlight* had also highlighted Thatcher's speech to Conservative trade unionists as she came under attack from the NF trade unionist Neil Farnell. In the process *Searchlight* argued that trade unionists could not support the NF as they favoured union repression, calling readers to trust mainstream parties on this issue – an interesting position if one considers Thatcher's eventual interactions with the unions.[192]

This raises the question as to why *Searchlight* were engaged in such sophistry around separating Thatcher out from the extreme Conservatism of the likes of Birdwood as well as

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[186] *Ibid,* pp. 10-11.
[187] 'Mr Rippon MP in Strange Company', pp. 10-11.
[188] 'Some Old Soldiers Don't Even Fade Away', *Searchlight*, no. 21, Feb. 1977, p. 17.
[189] 'Mr Rippon MP in Strange Company', p. 11.
[190] 'How to Gain Friends and Lose a National Activities Organiser', p. 3.
[191] *Ibid,* p. 3.
[192] 'Trades Council Bars National Front Delegate', *Searchlight*, no. 16, Jul./Aug. 1976, p. 5.

from a mainstream conservative identity. It is answered in a piece they carried written ostensibly by a Conservative activist. The writer admitted that to some being a Conservative and an anti-racist might appear to be a contradiction, acknowledging the left-wing nature of many of the political strands that fed into *Searchlight*, but also made the case that a number of Conservatives did honestly claim to be both.[193] The piece went on to separate out Thatcher's policies, and her harder line on migration, from the mainstream of the Conservative Party, including from the workers of central office. This was a conscious effort to make space for people who identified both as Conservative and as anti-racist, to avoid those identities being in conflict. It also allowed for Thatcher to take steps to become an ally, as while holding her responsible for Birdwood and others *Searchlight* had not yet decided she was an irretrievable enemy. The reason why we see this careful accommodation also speaks to a concern that, when we consider the hierarchy of identities, political identity may be a dominant identity that cannot be subsumed by and so should it oppositional to anti-fascism that conflict would ultimately resolve through the rejection by the individual of one of those identities, thus potentially harming anti-fascism within the Conservative movement.

This careful balance came under severe strain after her television interview from 1978 where Thatcher expressed understanding with those who feared British culture being swamped by migration, referred to as her Swamping Speech when she repeated these statements in April of 1979 in the run up to the General Election. This speech is suggested by Geoffrey Fry to have been a deliberate attempt by Thatcher to hint at the populist racist groups that backed Enoch Powell that she shared their concerns, or at least sympathy for them, and to do so in such a way that fostered little immediate opposition – though Fry does concede that it became a point of contention with her political enemies.[194] Eric Evans's work *Thatcher and Thatcherism* describes the negative reaction at the time of the speeches as predictable, and more that those expecting from this speech a shift to populism were also likely to be disappointed, as Thatcher was unwilling to make clear promises on migration she knew she would not keep in office.[195] Indeed, on migration, which Evans describes as 'the most emotive and sensitive issue of the day',[196] the Swamping Speech marked a departure from the norm as Thatcher had been reluctant to speak on migration directly in opposition, instead preferring what Matthew Grimley saw as coded language around Christianity and culture to

[193] A Prominent Conservative, 'Will the Tories Fight the Election with a Black and White Policy', *Searchlight,* no. 34, Apr. 1978, p. 18.
[194] Fry, Geoffrey K., 'Parliament and "Morality"', pp. 140-141.
[195] Evans, Eric J., *Thatcher and Thatcherism*, pp. 4-5.
[196] *Ibid*, p. 5.

tackle the issue.[197] The 'swamping' speech can then be seen as part of Thatcher's attempt to frame issues around race and migration as clashes of culture and using language which evoked these cultural threats, something which Camilla Schofield identifies as continuing after the 1981 riots and which was opposed by anti-racists at the time.[198]

Certainly, for *Spearhead* this was an echoing of their language, they had made reference to swamping at least as early as 1970 when they were discussing non-white migration into Britain.[199] It was also not language they used casually, with the phrase repeated on numerous occasions, including when speaking about migrant children.[200] It was deliberately used to cultivate a sense of existential threat and therefore become a call to arms, asking as they did in 1974 'White Man! Are you ready to fight?'.[201] *Spearhead* were not just referring to mere physical threat or presence, but in the very style that Thatcher referenced, a sense of cultural threat – *Spearhead* described those who were swamping us as barbarians, a great uncivilised mass which destroyed civilisations and cultures like the Romans.[202] Their initial response to Thatcher then was an angry retort, claiming that this was all a false electioneering promise and that as she was against repatriation, it was impossible for her to understand the issue or solve it.[203]

Thatcher's use of their language presented a problem because *Spearhead* had dedicated itself to cultivating cultic milieu around those who express racialist viewpoints, the idea that those within the milieu should be trusted more than those outside meant there was risk of Thatcher being given greater credence by the very audience they had cultivated. As part of this *Spearhead* presented itself as the authentic and true voice of the British people, of those with genuine concerns unspoken of by mainstream politicians. If those views were then addressed not just by a mainstream politician but a likely Prime Minister, it would undermine such a claim. One of the ways in which they approached this was to suggest that Thatcher herself did not believe these claims, the other was to attempt to separate out

[197] Grimley, Matthew, 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion', pp. 87-88.
[198] Schofield, Camilla, '"A Nation or No Nation?" Enoch Powell and Thatcherism', in, Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain*, p. 108.
[199] 'Trouble Shooting', *Spearhead*, no. 35, Aug. 1970, p. 13.
[200] 'Too Little and Too Late', *Spearhead*, no. 41, Mar. 1971, p. 8. See also, Eric Frampton, 'The Tory Party: An Instrument for Preserving Power', *Spearhead*, no. 66, Jul. 1973, p. 5; Arthur de Gobineau, 'Thought for the Month', *Spearhead*, no. 91, Feb. 1976, p. 11; Richard Verrall, 'Policies to Meet the Rising Tide of Colour', *Spearhead*, no. 101, Jan. 1977, pp. 6-7, and, 'NF Housewives Fight Lambeth and Wycombe Seats', *Spearhead*, no. 104, Apr. 1977, p. 18.
[201] Webster, Martin, 'Trouble Shooting', *Spearhead*, no. 77, Jul. 1974, p. 17.
[202] Secundus, Junius, 'A Letter to Rome: Forthcoming London Statuary?', *Spearhead*, no. 74, Apr. 1977, p. 15.
[203] 'What We Think: Tory Immigration Fraud', *Spearhead*, no. 114, Feb. 1978, p. 2.

Thatcher from Conservative mainstream, in much the same way *Searchlight* was also trying at this time, by suggesting her sincerity did not matter as her party would never accept it.

The first claim was the one most repeated, that rhetoric around swamping and halting immigration was a pragmatic electoral trick that Thatcher was using. Repeating the charge that this was a 'cynical electioneering gimic [sic]'[204] *Spearhead* claimed Conservative economic stimulus was focused on the cities of the midlands and south, and thus ignored the North East, Scotland, Merseyside and Northern Ireland, areas they identified as containing many native British people who were unemployed.[205] This contrasted Thatcher's insincere gesture towards what *Spearhead* viewed as native British concerns with *Spearhead*'s genuine care, pointing out that establishment parties were spending the public's money on these economic plans that serviced migrants over British people – again *Spearhead* identified itself with the public against the establishment.[206] This was how *Spearhead* attempted to use what they saw as Thatcher's attempt to subvert their support, and superficially hijack their identity, into an opportunity. The dishonest they claimed she showed was proof of the dishonesty of all politicians, *Spearhead* argued, and the reason why ordinary people should not be listening to them but to the authentic voice of the NF.[207]

More than this, the fact that the Conservatives wished to use their policies was claimed to be proof of the validity and popularity of what the NF and *Spearhead* had to offer.[208] Thatcher's taking of their swamping message was then not the defeat for the NF at the local elections in 1978 that others suggested, or so the article argued, but instead a great success for their policies – just unfortunately stolen by a party who were engaged in a large confidence trick against the interests of the British people.[209] It was not contributors alone that provided this argument, but in the letters section of that same month R. D. Molesworth of Cheltenham wrote to echo the same sentiment, and arguing that continued campaigning was required by the NF to ensure that the pressure remained and the Tories would not feel able to abandon their policies on immigration.[210] Webster seized upon this narrative in the following issue, highlighting the co-ordinated nature of attacks from the *News of the World* that condemned the NF while at the same time promoting the Conservative policies that

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[204] 'What We Think: More Tory Race Waffle', *Spearhead*, no. 115, Mar. 1978, p. 2.
[205] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[206] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[207] Gannaway, Philip, 'Tories' Day of Reckoning on Race', *Spearhead*, no. 115, Mar. 1978, p. 8.
[208] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[209] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[210] Molesworth, R. D., 'Letters', *Spearhead*, no. 115, Mar. 1978, p. 16.

were on similar lines, though Webster claimed that Thatcher was pretending to hold these policies rather than it being genuine.[211] It was used in turn though to suggest that the attacks on Tyndall and Webster's leadership of the NF, and its failure to breakthrough in 1978, was therefore orchestrated by these outside forces in an attempt to prevent NF candidates at the next elections.[212] In this way Webster framed those who would support the attacks as promoting external interests rather than the NF's, turning an internal party debate into instead one of the "True" NF-supporting members against outside interests, so using this sense of threat to attempt to unify and create resilience within their shared nationalist identity.

Even while accusing her of trying to usurp their identity, *Spearhead* also tried to show Thatcher as hostile to their identity. *Spearhead* had cultivated the notion of themselves as racialists as opposed to racists, a way for them to try to suggest their objection to non-white migration was informed and rational rather than an irrational prejudice as racism would imply, and that this racialism was somehow then different to the charge of race hate.[213] The Conservatives were, *Spearhead* argued, against racialists – viewing it as an anathema to their donors and thus something that could never fully support.[214] This was seen to be proven by the response of prominent Conservatives like Willie Whitelaw to the accusation from Labour in the House of Commons that they were racialist.[215] Rejecting the accusations, Whitelaw and Peter Walker spoke of their commitment to integration and *Spearhead* argued it was clear that Thatcher and the Conservatives were not going to stand with racialists like them, but viewed them as somehow lesser.[216] Thatcher was therefore framed not just insincere in her adoption of their identity, but she was an outsider who threatened and hated the very nature of their being and therefore her views should have been devalued as one outside of the milieu of the authentic nationalism.

Not long after her initial comments, *Spearhead* made the claim Thatcher was not representative of Conservative thinking and therefore was unable to pursue her policy. They reported that the Federation of Conservative Students – the future of the Conservative Party, as framed by *Spearhead* – had signed a statement against racialism with other student

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[211] Webster, Martin, 'News of the World's Dirty Games', *Spearhead*, no. 116, Apr. 1978, p. 5.
[212] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[213] Webster' Martin, quoted in, Ludovic Kennedy and Martin Webster, 'We Want Britain to be Free and Independent', *Spearhead*, no. 114, Feb. 1978, p. 19.
[214] 'The Real Face of Toryism', *Spearhead*, no. 114, Feb. 1978, p. 15.
[215] 'What We Think: More Tory Race Waffle', p. 2.
[216] *Ibid*, p. 2.

groups, including left-wing and Jewish groups, which *Spearhead* viewed as further proof of the 'decadent and anti-British'[217] future which the Tory party offered. It also helped underline the opposition of the Conservative party to racialism. Though often derided similarly as failing to understand fully the racialist standpoint, Powell was used as a comparison point against Thatcher, with the support that he had within the Tory party showing he represents an authentic Conservative voice compared to Thatcher, so presenting Thatcher as isolated both from the left and right of her party.[218] This must be understood within the context of *Spearhead*'s long argument for a strong leader being a necessary part of a strong nation, as was described in Chapter 2 – Thatcher was not this, she was therefore going to be a continuation of British degeneration, rather than the Iron Lady.

Thatcher as a weak potential leader unable to forge her own path on migration is further expounded upon in the run up to the 1979 election, when the Conservative party made a concerted effort to attract the votes of Asian constituents with the formation of the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society with Thatcher as honorary President.[219] Featuring a picture of the Conservative candidate for Gravesend in a head covering addressing the Sikh Temple, the article argued that in most marginal constituencies the non-white vote exceeded the majority of the winning party.[220] So even had Thatcher wished, she could not upset the non-white vote and win, *Spearhead* even described her in this supplicant position 'desperately grovelling for the Immigrant vote…terrified of permanent opposition status because of the black support for the Labour party'.[221] This weak supplicant Thatcher was contrasted with their argument that non-white cultures were outside of British identity, with *Spearhead* claiming to be an authentic British party against the establishment who were in thrall to non-white voters. Indeed, *Spearhead* joked that the only migration problem the Conservatives had was how to get the migrants to vote for them.[222]

Ultimately Thatcher's swamping speech was seen by *Spearhead* as a false promise designed to counter the strength of the NF. Just after the General Election, with the Conservatives entering power, *Spearhead* highlighted the lack of a radical solutions – which they argued started with compulsory repatriation – and that therefore this was all just a confidence

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[217] 'What We Think: Our Future Tories', *Spearhead*, no. 114, Feb. 1978, p. 3.
[218] Gannaway, Philip, 'Tories' Day of Reckoning on Race', p. 8.
[219] 'Tories Grovel for the Black Vote', *Spearhead*, no. 123, Nov. 1978, p. 4.
[220] *Ibid*, p. 4.
[221] *Ibid*, p. 4.
[222] 'Tory's Answer', *Spearhead*, no. 127, Mar. 1979, p. 4.

trick.[223] For *Spearhead* the true future of Britain was going to be secured through revolutionary action, but the true revolution they offered and not this false subversion of their justified anger. Ironically perhaps this echoes the critique of classical fascism by Marxist interpretations, that it was the subversion of the genuine revolution of the working class by late stage capitalism wearing false revolutionary clothing. This fits into long term themes from *Spearhead* who believed the entire notion of left and right was obsolete, arguing that instead the true debate was between racialists and multi-racialists.[224] As Verrall framed it, the racialists represented the true and authentic voice of the public, against a multi-racial supporting liberal tyranny represented by established parties who feigned disagreement in a conspiracy against the people.[225] This reframing of the debate helped *Spearhead* argue for their traditional populist concept that they were the true voice of the common man against a corrupt establishment while at the same time supporting the necessary revolution that would have to occur to disrupt that hegemony, classical fascist rhetoric. Thatcher then, in using their rhetoric around race in her swamping speeches, represented a threat, as she represented a more acceptable outlet for that desire for change. She also challenged their narrative that the mainstream was refusing to discuss these racial issues. They turned this though into an opportunity to try to separate out enemies within the movement as being tools of outside threats, and to reinforce arguments that Thatcher's stealing of their voice proved their claim of a deep well of popular support for their authentic voice on migration.

Just as *Spearhead*, *Searchlight* had strong reservations about Thatcher's swamping speeches, though understandably from a very different standpoint. Their first reaction was both a condemnation of but also a refutation of her point, arguing that far from being some topic no-one spoke about concerns over migration had been allowed more than fair airing in the past, suggesting that 'the good lady has never heard of the immigration control committees'.[226] For *Searchlight* her 1978 speech represented the culmination of a long history of the British right wing's obsession over migration, drawing a line from the immigration control committees of the 1950s, the Smethwick election of the 1960s, Powell's anti-immigrant rhetoric in the late 1960s and the opposition to Kenyan and Ugandan Asians in the 1970s through to her speech.[227] This notion of Thatcher as now part of the extreme

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[223] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 128, May/Jun. 1979, p. 3.
[224] Verrall, Richard, 'The Illusion of Radicalism', *Spearhead*, no. 104, Apr. 1977, p. 8.
[225] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[226] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 33, Mar. 1978, p. 2.
[227] *Ibid* p. 2.

parts of the Conservative party, which *Searchlight* had so delicately tried to avoid before, is stressed with Thatcher accused of standing alongside Powell and giving support to racialists and making racism acceptable, allowing figures like Dr Gayre – an anthropologist who expressed racial science views – to avoid isolation.[228] This condemnation also came from Dr Jacob Gerwitz, director of the Defence Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies, who criticised any party who was seeking to try to claim the racialist vote or adopt NF language, specifically mentioning Thatcher's swamping speeches.[229] In selecting this quote alongside their own reaction, *Searchlight* sought to draw together its various composite identities to face this new threat.

Though this reaction clearly had a motivating potential for *Searchlight* it was also the threat that led to *Searchlight*'s misstep around sexual politics spoken about in Chapter 4. In an editorial Maurice Ludmer spoke about this new threat, of Thatcher now alongside Powell in providing racists political cover which allowed them to entrench racism, such as the issue around housing for Bengalis in London that amounted to ghettoization.[230] This was a threat not just to the communities targeted, many of whom *Searchlight* considered as part of its broader identity, but also on the vision that *Searchlight* had for Britain as a multi-cultural society, addressed in Chapter 1. With this threat seen to be looming, this explains why Ludmer made the statements that – as outlined in Chapter 3 – caused such division by seeming to dismiss sexual politics and their groups after the failure of a national conference on anti-fascism to agree on a national co-ordination.[231]

This shows the level of threat that *Searchlight* saw in Thatcher's comments, and the genuine nature of their concerns – in the immediate aftermath they clearly felt this was an existential crisis and that she was not pragmatic in these claims, as *Spearhead* argued. It also shows us how *Searchlight* ordered its identities within a hierarchy, as described by Stryker, and how the dominant or core identities, being the broadest, could attempt to suppress these more fringe identities, as Burke and Stets developed.[232] This threat to the most disadvantaged minorities, and a threat overall to anti-fascist campaigns, would mean a rollback on gains made and severe damage to their evolution of Britain to a multi-racial post-colonial state. It then required what were to *Searchlight* secondary concerns to be placed on hold to achieve

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[228] 'Academic Racism: South African and Nazi Links', *Searchlight*, no. 34, Apr. 1978, p. 3.
[229] 'Jewish Leader Condemns Competition for Racialist Vote', *Searchlight*, no. 36, Jun. 1978, p. 18.
[230] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 37, Jul. 1978, p. 2.
[231] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[232] Stryker, Sheldon, 'Identity Competition', pp. 33-36; and, Burke, Peter J., and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, pp. 132-137.

unity. The negative reaction that followed suggests that this was not wholly successful –
with some groups complaining the appeal to delay addressing sexual politics was itself
existential, such as the Leamington Women Against Racism and Fascism.[233]

The swamping speeches also shifted the careful balance that *Searchlight* had been trying to
take to allow for Conservative identity to co-exist easily with that of anti-fascist, where they
had been carefully separating Thatcher out from the extreme parts of her party such as
Powell and also the more moderate groups around men like Edward Heath. Whereas before
they had been critical of her actions but urged her to step back from the extremist factions,
Searchlight now showed it was comfortable placing Thatcher alongside the extremists
within her party. It must be noted though, they were still careful to try to separate out her
and other extremists from the moderates, thus allowing moderates to continue to preserve
their shared identities.[234] In seeing Thatcher's Conservative Party as different to Heath's,
one of the key reasons they cite is her use of swamping, and how this allows members
associated with extremist groups such as Councillor Raymond Pearson to rise to prospective
MPs, concerning as Pearson had been involved in the British Campaign to Stop Immigration
alongside the NF.[235] The reason for the increased hostility is also clear, whereas before there
was allowance that she may have made a mistake in trusting people like the NAFF, now
there was certainty in *Searchlight* that she was following a deliberate political strategy, one
laid out by Monday Club MP Ronald Bell.[236]

It is important though to make clear Thatcher and the Conservatives were still not seen as a
threat on the scale of the NF or other far-right groups. Though they had begun to place
Thatcher alongside those extreme elements of her party, they were willing to recognise her
swamping language had a pragmatic purpose, though they worried about the impacts of
this.[237] The Conservative policies, for all their talk on migration, were felt by *Searchlight* to
make no appreciable difference in terms of the non-white population in Britain.[238] The
problem that *Searchlight* saw was that the NF gained support when people were
disillusioned with the mainstream parties, and that having raised expectations with a rhetoric
that her policies could never achieve, Thatcher risked driving people to the NF when she got

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[233] 'Ersletterslet', *Searchlight*, no. 51, Sep. 1979, p. 5.
[234] 'From Smethwick to Brick Lane: 15 Years of Racialism', *Searchlight*, no. 46, Apr. 1979, p. 3.
[235] 'Politics of Prejudice', *Searchlight*, no. 40, Oct. 1978, pp. 7-8.
[236] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[237] 'The Young NF Supporter', *Searchlight*, no. 36, Jun. 1978, p. 15.
[238] *Ibid*, p. 15.

into power.[239] This, *Searchlight* reasoned, would cause the resurgence of the NF that they felt they had only just dealt a crushing defeat to in the local elections.[240] It had already discussed in the same issue the local elections as a failure for the NF, and the impact Thatcher's swamping talk had upon that, but also how legitimising their views at the same time as electorally isolating them was only strengthening extreme movements like the British Movement.[241] Thatcher herself was not the primary risk nor an existential one, but what she would enable and the behaviour she enabled would be.

There were positives *Searchlight* saw in this situation, however. They were able to continue to differentiate and find allies within the Conservative party, highlighting the lack of warm welcome on the Conservative benches for the new immigration policy, suggesting Thatcher's policy was isolated from the mainstream of the party.[242] *Searchlight* also claimed that Thatcher's comments on swamping and the fear this generated was behind the growth in the Anti-Nazi League activity and had also unified the Trades Union Council behind procedures to block racist delegates.[243] This explains why even though they felt it was pragmatic politics and would have no impact, *Searchlight* saw such a threat in Thatcher's comments – an attempt to use her as an outsider identity against which they could rally their own support, and cause allied movements to coalesce by tapping into their own antagonistic identities and concerns, as existed between the traditionally Labour backing TUC and Thatcher's Conservatives.

Finally, in a change that foreshadowed the unrest of the late 1970s and early 1980s, *Searchlight* was also willing to publish advocations for community defence. In an interview with Jagmohan Joshi, *Searchlight* reported Joshi's opinion that should the 'law of the land…not afford us adequate protection against racialists, we reserve the right to protect ourselves'.[244] This extract is especially interesting as Joshi evokes within it both the formation of broad front community defence across existing identities, stating that this defence will occur 'in co-operation with all others who are opposed to the spread of racial hatred', but also evokes Brick Lane, a protest the previous year where the community anti-fascists had blocked a NF march, but the Anti-Nazi League were criticised for having

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[239] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[240] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[241] 'Webster Under the Hammer', *Searchlight*, no. 36, Jun. 1978, pp. 3-4.
[242] A Prominent Conservative, 'Will the Tories Fight the Election with a Black and White Policy', p. 18.
[243] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial: Mixed Fortunes', *Searchlight*, no. 43, Jan. 1979, p. 2.
[244] Joshi, Jagmohan, quoted in '15 Years on… Searchlight Interviews Jagmohan Joshi', p. 7.

organised their own event elsewhere.[245] This is then a call for unity, echoing *Searchlight*'s own calls from 1978, across the anti-fascist movement and subjugation of other interests into that singular cause. It is also interesting to consider how *Searchlight* would later use the arming of far-right elements to justify community self-defence in the period of the Scarman Report after the Brixton Riots, making it clear it did not feel the state was any longer necessarily a successful mediator of those tensions.[246]

When it came to Thatcher after the 1979 elections, for both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* the story largely was one of confirming their already low expectations of her. After the election *Spearhead* repeated their claim that Thatcher had stolen their rhetoric but would not deliver – she would not halt the degeneration of Britain, further echoing notions of Thatcher as a threat to their revolution rather than a herald.[247] They also claimed victory was gained with their rhetoric and policies that Thatcher had aped, allegedly proving their popularity with the electorate and that only true implementation of their policies, including compulsory repatriation, could save Britain.[248] *Spearhead* denied it was any opposition from anti-fascism that stopped them, claiming dominance in that battle and that it was Thatcher's mimicry alone that had defeated them – presenting Thatcher's use of racialist rhetoric as an existential threat that might wipe them out if not countered, and framing those who were beginning internal disputes at this time as part of that threat.[249] *Spearhead* was seeking to exploit Thatcher as an enemy to unite around, but also as a taint it might be able to associate with internal enemies to delegitimise them and separate them out from the identity they had crafted and devalue their opinion.

Thatcher's rule was also proof to *Spearhead* of the degeneration of Britain, using classical fascist tropes around moral decay, and of the betrayal of the ruling establishment class that forced them to be the true and authentic interlocutors for the will of the people. This final point became all the more important for *Spearhead* as it tried to argue, following the split in the NF after the election, for Tyndall's preferred revolution of all the classes against the establishment rather than the Strasserite faction, under Webster and others, that argued for greater appeal to the working class. *Spearhead* did not wait long to claim proof of Thatcher's duplicity, as in July of 1979 they reported that 25 days after the election Thatcher

[245] '15 Years on… Searchlight Interviews Jagmohan Joshi', pp. 6-7, and, David Renton, *When We Touched the Sky*, (Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2006), pp. 132-134.
[246] 'Riots, Rumours and the Right', *Searchlight*, no. 75, Sep. 1981, p. 15.
[247] 'What We Think: Cold Comfort from Tories', *Spearhead*, no. 128, May/Jun. 1979, p. 2.
[248] 'What We Think: "Swamping" No Alternative", *Spearhead*, no. 128, May/Jun. 1979, p. 3.
[249] Tyndall, John, 'Our Movement Lives to Fight Again!', *Spearhead*, no. 133, Nov. 1979, pp. 6-9.

had decided to allow in the Vietnamese Boat People.[250] This decision was on Thatcher personally, *Spearhead* stated, and this was quickly mobilised into a large scale campaign by the NF.[251] The reason *Spearhead* claimed this was not just a betrayal but an imminent threat that required action as they felt most of the refugees were 'dope peddlers, vice operators, black marketeers, bar owners and other corrupt "businessmen".[252] Britain's degeneration was being enabled by Thatcher's rule, a degeneration that was spread across the West as a sickness – *Spearhead* described that taking them in meant that Thatcher had 'succumb[ed] totally to the Western sickness'.[253]

Spearhead identified this sickness manifesting in several ways. The first was a reversal of what they saw as the correct order of things as regards race relations. As highlighted before, they were concerned that the number of non-white voters in several seats prevented the Government from being able to act in the interest of what they viewed as native Britons. The election had not changed this, and they highlighted Conservative MP Robert Atkins, whose majority of 39 caused him to write to Thatcher that 'I could not betray my 3,000 Asian voters, even if I wanted to'.[254] On top of this, *Spearhead* viewed British foreign relations as showing weakness, after a commonwealth meeting they described how 'Mrs. Thatcher spent most of the time genuflecting to the shrill demands of African nabobs'.[255] The direct cost of this to their proposed community of white nations was the claimed betrayal of Rhodesia's white population after demands by the non-white African countries.[256] Termed the final betrayal, this action was seen to end white civilisation in Rhodesia, and was said to show uniformity in the establishment class with dissenting voices having ended during the process of the 1975 EEC Referendum.[257]

Spearhead also identified Thatcher as failing the military in the face of an aggressive Soviet Union, talking about a fifth column within Britain and the defence budget was insufficient – it argued that Thatcher should defend the British, rather than the freedom of disarmament campaigners.[258] All of this was used to convey an image of weakness in Thatcher, and they launched attacks on her Iron Lady epithet, arguing she was weak and that weakness could be

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[250] 'What We Think: Invasion of the "Boat People"', *Spearhead*, no. 129, Jul. 1979, p. 2.
[251] 'NF Backs British Campaign to Keep Out the Boat People', *Spearhead*, no. 129, Jul. 1979, p. 18.
[252] 'What We Think: Invasion of the "Boat People"', p. 2.
[253] 'What We Think: The Western Sickness', *Spearhead*, no. 130, Aug. 1979, p. 2.
[254] Atkins, Robert, quoted in 'What We Think: The Immigrant Vote', *Spearhead*, no. 136, Feb. 1980, p. 2.
[255] 'What We Think: The Sane and the Insane', *Spearhead*, no. 131, Sep. 1979, p. 2.
[256] 'What We Think', *Spearhead*, no. 131, Sep. 1979, pp. 2-3.
[257] Gregory, Robert, '"Opposition": The Shadow and the Substance', pp. 10-11, 13.
[258] 'What We Think: Russia's Fifth Column Marches Again', *Spearhead*, no. 141, Jul. 1980, p. 2.

seen in the continued collapse of British industry and society.[259] Interspersed with this were demands from *Spearhead* for increased radical action, after the election they describe Britain as still having the same weakness as under Labour and that the only solution is by 'dynamic change, by change so sweeping and so radical as to be far beyond the powers of the old parties'.[260] This call for radical new future through revolutionary acts was repeated in the rather succinctly titled 'Why Britain Needs a Revolution', *Spearhead* argued that 'nothing less will bring about her recovery'.[261] They claimed this would be a peaceful revolution – except that the forces of the old system would likely resist and force violence upon them.[262] This revolution would sweep away capital and socialism – echoing traditional inter-war fascist rhetoric, as explored by Zeev Sternhell in his studies of French fascism, to no longer be part of the existing capitalist structure, but also not part of the degeneration of socialism.[263]

Thatcher's rise had proven to *Spearhead* that Britain was in a long period of decline since the fall of Empire. Weak and now grovelling to the Empire it had once ruled; Britain was beset by internal enemies and thus now was the time for strength to be returned by the nationalists. Considering the two paths that Grob-Fitzgibbon laid out for Britain at the start of the period, Thatcher was seen as firmly closing the Commonwealth path that *Spearhead* had so favoured and affirming the European path.[264] This of course meant that nationalists had to pull together, so such a rhetoric was tempting to *Spearhead* given the internal disputes within their movement, but why exactly was revolution required? How did they attempt to motivate their people to this extra stage of activism?

It must first be remembered that as Woodbridge identified, Tyndall saw history through the conspiratorial lenses established by men like Chesterton, Leese and Domvile.[265] This was an

[259] 'What We Think: The Murder of Industry', *Spearhead*, no. 146, Dec. 1980, pp. 2-3.
[260] Tyndall, John, 'Our Movement Lives to Fight Again!', p. 9.
[261] 'Why Britain Needs a Revolution', *Spearhead*, no. 136, Feb. 1980, p. 4.
[262] *Ibid,* p. 4.
[263] *Ibid*, p. 4; and, Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*¸ (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 161-166.
[264] Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin, *Continental Drift*, pp. 264-270.
[265] Woodbridge, Steven, 'History and Cultural Heritage', pp. 34-38.; Admiral Sir Barry Domvile was a senior Royal Navy officer and Director of Naval Intelligence who, following his departure from the Royal Navy in the mid-1930s, became an active supporter of Anglo-German friendship with Nazi Germany. He was interned by the British Government during the Second World War from July 1940 to July 1943. After the war he joined the League of Empire Loyalists before becoming a founding member of the National Front, serving on its National Council until his death in 1971. For more information on Barry Domvile's, see: Thurlow, Richard, 'The Hitler Fan Club' and 'Internment, 1939-1945', *Fascism in Britain*, pp. 132-156, 157-202. Also see: Pitchford, Mark, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right 1945-1975*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 51, 61-62, 146.

important element that he brought into *Spearhead* and the NF, though as Mulhall identifies conspiratorial antisemitism had also come into the NF from other avenues such as the League of Empire Loyalists.[266] *Spearhead* created a sense of urgency by building on previous accusations of a Bilderberg conspiracy by asserting Thatcher was no longer fully in control, with the media truly directing matters and both parties merged as some lumpen establishment which was contrasted with the authentic voice of the NF.[267] People were being denied, according to *Spearhead*, a real political choice, and this was proven by Thatcher's failure to deal with the unions, despite presenting herself as an opponent of the left.[268] Even when the left did attack Thatcher, such as Labour-controlled Lambeth Council helping fund Rock Against Thatcher, this was also blamed on Thatcher and her failure to introduce direct control on local government budgets that would ensure all cuts fell on what *Spearhead* termed politically motivated projects, rather than the services for 'local folk'.[269] What they were including in this notion of local folk is made clear by what they wish to exclude, namely carnivals, resource centres and projects designed to help minority groups – councils should have served white British people, and not promote what they termed multi-racialism.[270]

The true interests of this alleged conspiracy and Thatcher's role in delivering it were revealed when *Spearhead* covered her economic policy. Thatcher, it was claimed, had no answer for the failing economy because she would not admit to the hidden truth, that control over money was held by a secret cabal of creditors who ran the Bank of England.[271] This focus on monetary policy continued, with the charge that Thatcher was taking advice from Milton Friedman against the national interest.[272] The high inflation rate was argued by *Spearhead* to not be a by-product of other systems, but instead was a deliberate choice by monetarists to maximise their profits through usury. In this way ordinary British people were, with the alleged consent of the political establishment, being economically bled to pay a shadowy group. It is easy to see the antisemitic conspiracy at the heart of this, the claims of money power and secretive control over the economy were present in many of the groups that formed the NF, and John Richardson charts how this emerged and also how populism

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[266] Mulhall, Joe, 'From Apathy to Obsession', pp. 458-477.
[267] Verrall, Richard, 'How the Election was Decided: The Media is the Number 1 Enemy', *Spearhead*, no. 129, Jul. 1979, pp. 10-12.
[268] Gregory, Robert, '"Opposition": The Shadow and the Substance', pp. 10-11, 13; and, 'What We Think: Another Tory Back-down', *Spearhead*, no. 130, Aug. 1979, p. 2.
[269] 'What We Think: Uselessness of the Cuts', *Spearhead*, no. 135, Jan. 1980, p. 3.
[270] *Ibid*, p. 3.
[271] Wade, A. M., 'Inflation: No Change from the Tories', *Spearhead*, no. 128, May/Jun. 1979, p. 9.
[272] 'The Fraud of "Monetarism"', *Spearhead*, no. 136, Feb. 1980, pp. 14-15.

and immigration fears were used to mask these antisemitic conspiracies.[273] Building on this, *Spearhead* said that these monetarist policies were leading Britain on the path to ruin, Thatcher's party had no control over monetary policy so could not fix things, even as they blamed it for all the failings of unemployment and inflation.[274] There were glimpses into less coded language that provide the true identity of those that *Spearhead* saw as behind this conspiracy. Thatcher's election, *Spearhead* claimed, marked a new phase in the Zionist takeover of Britain – she was a committed Zionist and the Conservative party as a whole had become more Zionist under her leadership, pointing to her involvement in the Conservative Friends of Israel and the Finchley Anglo-Israel Friendship League.[275] Through a long laying out of various Zionists, *Spearhead* was able to connect from Thatcher to the Labour leadership and also to David Steel and the Liberal Party – Zionism then provided the vehicle for this grand conspiracy, it was the environment in which others would decide Britain's fate in the conspiratorial world of *Spearhead*.[276]

Thatcher was presented as a threat in many ways – as a weak leader in opposition, as someone who stole their ideas and votes by an insincere mimicry of their language on migration, and as a final stage of Britain's post-war decline as she continued the plot to weaken Britain and cut off the rebirth that *Spearhead* felt was necessary by a return to Commonwealth and Empire. Thatcher was used as the ultimate embodiment of the establishment, and the conspiratorial thinking *Spearhead* used allowed them to ignore the vocal opposition by the left. In using these notions of a secret monetarist and Zionist cabal they could say that left-wing opposition was part of a public theatre. This allowed them to continue to frame the world as the establishment against the non-establishment, classical positioning that Griffin identies in fascist movements.[277] In stealing their identity through use of swamping, as well as by being a personification of European project, Thatcher was presented as a threat to motivate members but also to attempt to force unity. By framing internal opponents to Tyndall as being servants of this external Thatcherite threat *Spearhead* could frame them as outside figures, false prophets in the pursuit of the cultic milieu's hidden truth. This was important to Tyndall as the NF splintered, and he wished to use *Spearhead* to help pool this unified nationalist movement, free of the Strasserite and homosexual elements.

[273] Richardson, John E., 'Racial Populism in British Fascist Discourse', pp. 186-196.
[274] 'What We Think: The Path to Ruin', *Spearhead*, no. 142, Aug. 1980, pp. 2-3.
[275] King, Donald, F., 'The Zionists in "Our" Political Parties', *Spearhead*, no. 129, Jul. 1979, p. 8.
[276] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[277] Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism*, pp. 59-60

These ideas of Thatcher in power proving the pre-election presumptions about her is true of *Searchlight* as well. Just as in 1978, *Searchlight* credited the Anti-Nazi League, Jewish Defence groups and other anti-fascists with seeing off the NF threat in 1979.[278] They acknowledged that Thatcher had taken NF votes, and they expressed concern that she would now disappoint them and potentially revitalise them, but the NF vote had been minimised by anti-fascist efforts.[279] Thatcher was seen as secondary to their main efforts opposing Tyndall and the NF, and Thatcher's allowance of 10,000 boat people is used to embarrass Tyndall, contrasting it against Tyndall's claims to the American supporters that the NF had ensured Britain was the only European country not to accept refugees from Asia.[280]

Searchlight was also once again willing to give Thatcher a chance to return to an acceptable position on migration and race. In contrast to *Spearhead*, *Searchlight* saw her Commonwealth diplomacy as risking being seen as neo-colonial, with Thatcher 'as some latter day Brittania secure in her island stronghold',[281] instead arguing Britain's future relationships was not with white South Africa and Rhodesia, but with the African and Asian members of the Commonwealth. *Searchlight* used interviews with the President of the Indian Workers Association, Avtar Jouhl, to highlight what they saw as Thatcher's hypocrisy in condemning the NF and racial hatred, while presenting Jouhl's report of harassment and institutional racism.[282] Room was created in this for Thatcher to make her actions match her words, to step back from instituting reforms that would be harmful, and embrace anti-racist policies.

As Thatcher continued to press policies that *Searchlight* saw as harmful to equality and to their desired multi-cultural society, so *Searchlight* became increasingly hostile. There was a concern that the Conservative Party as a whole was now embracing Thatcherism, following on from the 1979 Conservative Party Conference. *Searchlight* quoted the *Observer* newspaper in saying the Conservative Party's mask had slipped when it came to the race debate, that the deep rooted racism that existed in some parts of the party had flourished due to Thatcher's language.[283] Though the main conference motion on immigration was used to

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[278] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 48, Jun. 1979, p. 2.
[279] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 48, Jun. 1979, p. 2; and 'How They Kicked Their Way Into the Headlines: The Story of the Front's Election Campaign', *Searchlight*, no. 48, Jun. 1979, p. 3.
[280] 'Laugh-in Time', *Searchlight*, no. 50, Aug. 1979, p. 19.
[281] Ludmer, Maurice, 'Editorial', *Searchlight*, no. 51, Sep. 1979, p. 2.
[282] 'IWA Challenges Thatcher's Hypocrisy', *Searchlight*, no. 51, Sep. 1979, p. 9.
[283] '"The Tory Mask Slips Over Race"', *Searchlight*, no. 53, Nov. 1979, p. 10.

show how Thatcher's use of swamping language had given credence to the far right and made it difficult to now subdue those tensions, *Searchlight* also highlighted a number of motions not discussed from Conservative associations that were to ban immigration totally.[284] The Conservative party was increasingly at risk of being seen as hostile to anti-racism, and *Searchlight* struggled to provide the ideological space they had previously for Conservative anti-racists.

One of the first openly hostile pieces came from the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) section of *Searchlight* in an interview with the Institute for Race Relations' A. Sivanandan. Sivanandan contrasted Callaghan and Heath, who he saw as representing modern capitalism and who used racism as a pragmatic tool, with Thatcher, who he said represented more archaic private enterprise and who had deeply held supremacist views – for him swamping proved this.[285] In this piece Thatcher, at least from the view of one prominent ethnic minority campaigner within *Searchlight*'s broader family, Thatcher and the Conservatives are not seen as potential allies or errant politicians, but instead as an enemy that represented supremacist threats to minority rights, and must be opposed. It was a transition of the Conservatives and of Thatcher to an enemy identity – though in a semi-independent section of *Searchlight* so not necessarily under their editorial control. Such arguments did begin to enter the main body of the magazine however, suggesting that racism was not pragmatic but an entrenched part of the Thatcherite project such as when Thatcher brought in advisors that *Searchlight* considered extreme. Advisors like Alfred Sherman, who had linked caring for ethnic minorities with the destruction of British civilisation, proved to *Searchlight* that Thatcher's racism was 'a great deal more than a cynical trick to steal votes from the NF'.[286] This crystallised into Thatcher as a threat when *Searchlight* analysed the emerging neo-conservative movement in America and their transatlantic links. These portrayed Thatcher as working with eugenicists like Roger Pearson, and with anti-gay networks and other networks targeting various minority interests.[287] Thatcher was in this view now a threat to many of the composite identities of anti-fascism, and it was impossible for *Searchlight* to maintain any ambiguity towards her as to do so would fundamentally rupture itself from those groups targeted by the neo-con movement.

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[284] *Ibid*, p. 10; and 'What the Tory Grass Roots Think – The Conference Motions that Weren't Discussed', *Searchlight*, no. 53, Nov. 1979, p. 10.
[285] Sivanandan, A. and unidentified interviewer, 'CARF: Campaign Against Racism and Fascism', *Searchlight*, no. 54, Dec. 1979, p. 16.
[286] 'Alfred Sherman – Thatcher's High Priest', *Searchlight*, no. 55, Jan. 1980, p. 14.
[287] Edgar, David, 'US Elections – In the Republican Camp: Part One: The neo-Conservatives', pp. 3-5.

1980 was the year of great change in the attitude of *Searchlight* to Thatcher. Whereas it had been willing to presume she was pragmatic up until the conference season of 1979, with voices like Jouhl, Sivanandan and CARF highlighting the institutional racism she was creating, it finally had to choose a side. This created a difficulty for *Searchlight* in that it placed Conservative anti-racist identity into a very niche state, no longer able to try to use differentiation between the Conservative mainstream and Thatcher to ensure harmony. Ultimately *Searchlight* preserved the united front by responding to the hurt and threat articulated by the community campaigners, and that identity was always going to be higher in importance to them.

During all of these key cultural turning points from our period, both magazines sought to speak to their broader movements and solidify their position as the leading organisations in their spheres, even as they tried to influence wider public discourse. Whether it was *Spearhead* attempting to lead on Europe by presenting what it claimed was a uniquely positive viewpoint of a return to Empire, or *Searchlight* trying to bring its views on Thatcher in line with community-based groups, it shows how flexible their use of identities had to be in pursuit of their primary missions. This led to subversion of existing identities, such as the suppression by *Searchlight* of debate over Europe in order to focus on preserving the *cordon sanitaire* or *Spearhead* reducing its ideology to a minimal core, hidden from public view, as it sought to engage with left-wing figures like Foot and Benn. This flexibility explains some of the moments of incongruity in previous chapters, as both movements sought to be agile in their positioning. As interesting though is that when these crucial turning points turned out in ways the movements did not want, whether it was the end of Rhodesia or the EEC referendum for *Spearhead* or Thatcher's continued political direction for *Searchlight*, they were both able to fall back onto a conspiratorial world view. In explaining how the political establishment were secretly in league with communists and international finance to end Empire, or how Thatcher was supported by dark neo-liberal forces from America that tapped into far-right networks, *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* were able to resort to their cultic offering of hidden knowledge to attempt to lock in those people drawn in during these crisis points and deflect criticism that would suggest their movements were fringe or ineffective. Their new world, they would argue, could still be fought for.

Conclusion

This thesis has laid out the response of both *Spearhead* and *Searchlight* to the changing world from 1964 to 1982, and the identities they tried to transmit to their readers through their work. It has done this though an innovative comparative analysis that drew upon the analytical lenses and tools developed to study the far right and testing their applicability in understanding anti-fascism. In the process it has developed new understandings of the cultural dynamics within both print cultures that were transmitted to their wider movements, and definitively shown that anti-fascism is a substantive culture in its own right rather than a mere reactionary movement. It has also raised some important questions for further study, and it is hoped that this is the start of a new wave of examination of discreet cultures of anti-fascism and the far right in the post-war period.

The thesis has shown some similarity in the dynamics of both print cultures. Both magazines showed flexibility when confronted with the realities of national or international crisis, or facing splits within their print culture or the wider movements. Both recognised the need to maintain leadership within their movements if they are to deliver the new Britain they both wished to create. Both print cultures were formed from coalitions of support – coalitions of identities – that had to be cultivated and managed, and which both existed in the wider context of British society. They also existed as part of an oppositional relationship between their wider fascist and anti-fascist cultures – and for *Searchlight* this conflict was the very heart of its original animus. This relationship meant that both magazines knew each other far better than wider society knew either of them.

The dominance of their two broadest and therefore most prominent competing identities – fascism and anti-fascism – forced, at times, compromises by secondary identities that the wider movement encompassed. Both magazines created narratives around existential threat to their main identity, and this in turn was used to sublimate the needs of other identities within their readership and prioritise the main identity. The flexibility this sublimation of identity granted the magazines helped ensure they could both maintain a continued broad appeal within their respective movements while also maintaining the core ideology of their magazine. In promoting this flexibility of identity, both magazines could continue to use this periphery or secondary identities to help widen their campaign base, and especially for *Searchlight* this allowed for a broad-based campaign that drew from several marginalised

identities. Their oppositional nature aided in this as, although both sides did not speak to one another directly, they often spoke about one another and reported on the other's actions. This created a reciprocal and cumulative radicalisation, as Eatwell describes, that both sides engaged in and created the perfect breeding ground for the concept of an existential threat.[1]

The examination of the construction of identity within both magazines, and their response to external events, has also allowed examination of the origins of these identities and their ideas. For *Spearhead*, its origins in revolutionary and violent National Socialism is well known, as was Tyndall's adoption of not just the political identity but the conspiracy-laden mystical culture of fascism.[2] Though *Spearhead* was founded in Tyndall's rejection of Colin Jordan's overt Nazi style, this was for practical and pragmatic reasons rather than an abandonment of the political faith.[3] The thesis has shown how *Spearhead* cultivated the sense of an endangered nationalism, describing external cultures in heavily racialised terms and with an emphasis upon the alleged supremacy, and necessary dominance, of the native British people. Coupled with its sense of rebirth, in pursuit of the past glories of Empire and a new future through their vision of a white Commonwealth in opposition to Europe, *Spearhead* was promulgating a traditional fascist culture to its readership. Though reduced to an ideological core to allow its survival within a broader movement, *Spearhead* nevertheless expressed concepts of palingenesis and ultranationalism fitting the New Consensus understanding of fascism.[4]

Spearhead's approach to gender, which sought an ambiguous position on women's liberation while emphasising traditional gender roles, echoed Mosley who faced similar decisions in the interwar period, as Gottlieb describes.[5] In the guttural racism of *Spearhead*'s early issues, and continued promotion of scientific racism through contributors such as Verrall, it was also a continuation of Leese's style of fascism. *Spearhead* acted as a vehicle for the connection of pre-war fascist cultures into the post-war nationalist milieu. This supports, and builds upon, the assertion by Jackson that Jordan and his coterie – of which Tyndall was once part – played an important role in connecting post-war far-right cultures with interwar fascist thought and biological racism.[6] *Spearhead* can then be seen as

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[1] Eatwell, Roger, 'Community Cohesion and Cumulative Extremism in Contemporary Britain', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 2 (2006), pp. 204-216.
[2] Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth and Neo Nazism*, (London: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 190-192.
[3] Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 125-128.
[4] Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism*, pp. 32-34, 37-38.
[5] Gottlieb, Julie, *Feminine Fascism,* pp. 182-192.
[6] Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 54-57.

part of a particular far right cultural groupuscule that advanced what Macklin identifies as the reduced, and adaptable, minimalist core of fascism – its sacred flame – into new broader cultures such as the National Front.[7] It is through *Spearhead* that this fascist minimum could adapt its language – introducing coded terms around Jewish conspiracies and fewer outward expressions of violence – and gain access to this broader NF culture and express itself in new ways that could cohabit with conservative populist racists, non-fascist nationalists and other otherwise competing far-right cultures within a broader post-war society that was culturally anti-fascist.

This flexibility and the need to draw together coalition of identities by the print culture is part of the very nature of *Searchlight* as an anti-fascist group. As Tilles and Copsey discussed, and mentioned in the introduction, anti-fascism drew upon its three strands – the hard left, the broad labour movement and Jewish communities.[8] In the post-war and post-imperial space, *Searchlight* expanded from these strands to attempt to bring on board broader community movements, from the black and Asian communities, as well as having to accommodate the burgeoning women's and sexual rights organisations. In crafting its messaging *Searchlight* had to take on board all of these movements, and they in turn informed its language. Under Ludmer's editorship, what others referred to as race riots were seen as class-based uprisings that reflected the greater exposure of disadvantaged non-white communities to economic change. *Searchlight* was also willing to adapt its vision of a broad based campaign when its messaging risked division – as was the case around its appeal to subsume gender and sexuality based campaigns to a focus on anti-racism, or its shift to a more hostile view on Thatcher when community campaigners made it clear Thatcher was, to them, an existential threat. *Searchlight* can then be seen in the same groupuscular terms that academics like Roger Griffin have developed to understand far right cultures.[9]

Both magazines cultivated identity and presented threats to those identities as a method of motivating their audiences to take practical action to enact the revolutionary changes they both wished to see in British culture and society. The conflict between the two movements the magazines spoke to that resulted from this street-level activity was celebrated by both, even as they condemned the violence of the other side. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, Hobsbawm as well as Reicher and Hopkins argue that nationalist identities were effective in

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[7] Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black*, pp. 15, 140-142.
[8] Copsey, Nigel and Daniel Tilles, 'Uniting a Divided Community? Re-appraising Jewish Responses to British Fascist Antisemitism, 1932-39', pp. 163-187.
[9] Griffin, Roger, 'From Slime Mould to Rhizome', pp. 27-50.

mobilising against outsiders, what this thesis has shown is how both these magazines utilised their broadening identities to expand the identified outsider group.[10] Homosexual members of the far right, for example, were excluded by *Searchlight* from the gay identity or the way NF trades unionists were not true representatives of the labour movement. Considering intersectionality, and building on Paul Ward's notion of layered identities as well as the discussion of hierarchical primary and secondary identities from Chapter 3, it can be seen how both magazines sought to emphasise their core identity as primary, and in so doing then subvert or suspend secondary identities when required to drive their mission.[11] This facet of intersectionality is a useful concept for understanding how these groups tapped into other issue-based identities, and assimilated their causes and dynamism into their own. It is especially interesting when considering Jeffrey Bale's call for groupuscules to be studied in groupings, rather than in isolation, so that an understanding can be developed in how the cultures influence one another and create novel expressions and dynamics.[12] This can be seen multiple times and in both print cultures, whether it is *Spearhead*'s toleration of Webster's well-known homosexuality in the interests of bringing the Strasserite faction and opposing the populists, or *Searchlight*'s call for gender and sexual politics to be placed to the side in the interests of forging a stronger united anti-fascist front. What this thesis has definitely shown however is that anti-fascist cultures had their own dynamics and discourses separate to their oppositional nature, and that they cannot just be seen as shallow reactionary cultures.

The key method that both magazines used to manage these identities was the cultic milieu, and the offering of seemingly secret or forbidden knowledge. While this was most obviously present in *Spearhead*'s conspiratorial offerings of communist threats or Jewish control, *Searchlight* also offered its own sacred truth. This is especially seen later in the period of this thesis, when *Searchlight* explores the international neo-liberal politics around Thatcher and Reagan. Only by reading *Searchlight* would you find out about the true threats to democracy, and only by supporting *Searchlight* could these hidden secrets continue to be revealed. Both of the magazines then were addressing the same wider society and the crises it faced, from the end of Empire to sexual liberation, and while they held oppositional animus they were primarily addressing their own people and those they felt could be

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[10] Hobsbawm, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, p. 91, and, Hopkins, Nick and Stephen Reicher, *Self and Nation*, p. 222.

[11] Ward, Paul, *Britishness Since 1870*, pp. 166-167.; Stryker, Sheldon, 'Identity Competition', pp. 33-36.; Burke, Peter J., and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, pp. 132-137.

[12] Bale, Jeffrey M., '"National Revolutionary" groupuscules and the Resurgence of "Left-Wing" Fascism: The Case of France's Nouvelle Résistance', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 36, no. 3 (2002), pp. 24-49.

recruited to their cause. The temptation to see *Searchlight* and broader anti-fascism as purely reactive ignores this internal dynamic and rhetoric, as well as the broad base from which it pulled its identity – though yes, its animus was in reaction to the presence of the far right, it defined itself much more broadly and created its own vision of a new multi-cultural Britain separate to the far right cause.

This study, being one of few engaged in comparative analysis of fascism and anti-fascism together, has opened up a new set of research questions that future works will need to explore to help us understand anti-fascism as an ideological phenomenon, and in turn deepen our understanding of the far right. To what extent was this pursuit of a new Britain unique to *Searchlight*, or can we map a creative ideology onto anti-fascism in the same way academics have done with fascism? How did the cleavages within anti-fascism such as with CARF in the early 1990s and with Hope Not Hate in the early 2010s impact on these identities, and to what extent can the understanding of a groupuscular dynamic within anti-fascism be sustained? It has also emphasised the need for further study of individual anti-fascist and far-right cultures, both print and organisational, in post-war Britain to allow further comparative analysis between similar movements and the cultural transmission that occurs.

This study has also, by having examined these print cultures, allowed an understanding of the often hidden internal cultural dynamics – and groupuscular structures – within these fringe movements. This is achieved not by examining how anti-fascism or fascism interacted with broader society but by understanding how it ideologically developed and communicated within itself. Understanding the print cultures reveals the world views and cultural reference points for the movements they were informing, and this thesis has set out a way to achieve this. This has shone a light onto the ways in which the ideas of pre-war fascism and forms of pre-war anti-fascism were able to be transmitted into new generations, and the thesis has followed these threads of culture through to connect them to contemporary expressions of these cultures. This research will have impact beyond academia, in helping provide the understandings of culture necessary for effective deradicalization. It will also, through these dispassionate assessments, help anti-fascist and pro-rights organisations understand how to most effectively build and motivate their movements. What this study has set out of greatest value though is how many of the tools academics have developed to understand far right dynamics can be applied successfully to

anti-fascist cultures, and that any understanding of the far right's cultural dynamics devoid of an understanding of the practical opposition they faced may well need reconsideration.

Appendix A: Timeline

		Searchlight and Anti-Fascism	General Events	*Spearhead* and the Far Right
1964			Malawi, Malta and Zambia gained independence.	
	January			Jordan offered to resign as NSM leader.
	April			Tyndall claimed to have removed Jordan.
	May	*Searchlight* was created from parts of the 62 Group.		Jordan wrote to dismiss Tyndall as NSM secretary.
	July			Tyndall formed Greater British Movement.
	September			The first issue of *Spearhead.*
	October		Labour won General Election.	
	December			*Spearhead* became a magazine, costing a shilling.
1965		*Searchlight* launched as a newspaper for 6p.	The Gambia and the Maldives gained independence.	
	January		Churchill died.	*Spearhead* expanded beyond GBM.
	July		Douglas-Home replaced by Heath as Conservative leader.	Last appearance of 'Gleanings from the Ghetto'.

	October	62 Group investigated synagogue arson attacks.		
	November		Death penalty abolished. Race Relations Act 1965 received royal assent. Rhodesia issued unilateral declaration of independence.	
1966			Barbados, Botswana, Guyana and Lesotho gained independence.	
	February			Six members of National Socialist Movement convicted of synagogue arsons.
	March		Labour won General Election.	Mosley retired from public life. *Spearhead* announced support for Rhodesia and claims headquarters shot at.
	April			Four more members of National Socialist Movement pleaded guilty to arson.

	May			*Spearhead* launched 'Great Britons.
	July			*Spearhead* expanded from 8 pages to 12.
	October			Talks began about merger of groups into National Front.
	December	62 Group protested against merger talks as 'League of Anti-Fascism'.		*Spearhead* moved to the Nationalist Centre in Birkbeck Hill, London.
1967		*Searchlight* published final newspapers.	South Yemen gained independence.	
	January			Jordan sentenced to 18 months in prison.
	February			National Front formed.
	April			The Nationalist Centre broken into, anti-fascists suspected.
	June			*Spearhead* launched an appeal for £750. Tyndall disbanded Greater Britain Movement.
	July		Sexual Offences Act 1967 received royal assent.	
	August			Rockwell assassinated in Virginia.

	September			*Spearhead* announced support for NF
	October		Abortion Act 1967 received royal assent.	NF held first annual conference.
	November		Sterling devalued.	
1968		Searchlight Associates established.	Eswatini (then Swaziland) and Mauritius gained independence.	
	March			Jordan disbanded NSM. *Spearhead* expanded to 16 pages.
	April		Powell gave 'Rivers of Blood' speech.	NF claimed to have 10,000 members.
	May			Local elections see more NF candidates, but lower vote share. Jordan launched British Movement.
	October		Race Relations Act 1968 was given royal assent.	*Spearhead* incorporated *Combat*.
1969		Gable supported production of *Anti-Fascist Bulletin*.		
	March			Nationalist Centre broken into, anti-fascists blamed.

	April			*Spearhead* appealed for funds, revealing Tyndall contributes £100 per year.
	May			NF held rally at Porchester Hall, London.
	June		Rhodesia voted to become a republic.	
	July			Martin Webster became assistant editor of *Spearhead*.
	August		Military deployed to Northern Ireland.	
	September			*Spearhead* secures monthly publication. NF holds a meeting at Caxton Hall, London.
1970			Fiji gained independence.	
	March		Rhodesia declared itself a republic.	
	June		Conservatives won General Election.	NF stood 10 candidates.
	August			NF enters the Marylebone by-election.
1971			Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates gained independence.	

	February		Britain adopted decimal currency.	O'Brien became NF chairman. *Spearhead* expanded to 20 pages, costing 7½p.
	March			*Spearhead* published Webster's 'The Spirit of Nationalism'
	August			*Spearhead* issued first special edition, price rising to 10p.
	November	Paskin and anti-fascists attack a meeting in Brighton.		
	December			*Spearhead* printed letter from Tyndall to trade unionists.
1972				
	January		Treaty of Accession was signed between UK and EEC.	
	February			*Spearhead* issued second special edition.
	April	Sivanandan became director of IRR.		
	May			*Spearhead* included supplement on Ulster. *Spearhead* moved to Pawsons Road, Croydon.

	June		Troop numbers peak in Northern Ireland.	O'Brien and supporters quit NF.
	July			Tyndall became chairman of the National Front.
	August		Expulsion of the Ugandan Asians.	
	October		Mansfield Hosiery Mills strike began.	
1973			The Bahamas gained independence. IRA began English bombing campaign.	Mosley resigned as leader of the Union Movement.
	January		UK joined the European Economic Community.	Jordan applied for an arrest warrant against Heath.
	February			Tyndall addressed a dinner of Monday Club's Essex branch.
	March			Kingsley Read and other Conservatives joined the National Front.
	April			NF launched an appeal for £20,000.
	May			Webster gets 16% of vote in West Bromwich.
	August			Chesterton died.
1974			Grenada gained independence.	*Did Six Million Really Die?* published.
	January			

	February		Labour won General Election.	NF stood 54 candidates and got 0.2% of votes
	May		Imperial Typewriters strike began.	
	June	Red Lion Square protest, resulting in death of anti-fascist student Kevin Gately.		National Front Trade Unionists Association launched. *Spearhead* price raised to 12p.
	July			Reed Herbert joined national directorate. *Spearhead* price raised to 15p.
	October		Labour won General Election Five people died in the IRA Guildford pub bombings.	Tyndall removed as NF chairman NF stood 90 candidates and got 0.4% of votes.
	November		Birmingham Pub bombings killed 21 and injured 182.	Jordan engaged in final public campaigns for BM.
	December		IRA attempted to assassinate Heath.	
1975				*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Butz is published.
	February	*Searchlight* relaunched as a 20-page magazine.	Heath resigned and was replaced by Thatcher.	Jordan resigned as leader of BM

March			Jordan was arrested.
April	*Searchlight* set price at 25p.		*Spearhead* ran a special edition on Common Market.
May	*Searchlight* claimed there was a neo-Nazi paramilitary force active in the UK called Column 88.		Jordan is found guilty and fined for shoplifting. *Spearhead* suggested working with Foot and Benn on EEC. Tyndall published proposals to change the NF constitution.
June		UK votes 67% Yes to remain in EEC.	
July			*Spearhead* pledged fight against EEC went on and relaunched appeal for funds.
August	Gable no longer listed as editor of *Searchlight*.		
September			Buster Mottram gave an interview to Webster that seemed to support NF.
October	*Searchlight* price raised to 30p.	IRA attempted to assassinate Conservative MP Hugh Fraser.	
November		IRA attempted to kill Heath.	Tyndall briefly expelled from NF.

	December	*Searchlight* publishes a 32-page edition, returning to 20 pages in January.		
1976			Seychelles gained independence.	
	January	*Searchlight* produced their first full-cover image.		Kingsley Read resigned as NF chairman. Tyndall resumed chairmanship. *Spearhead* moved to Connaught Road, Teddington and urged loyalty to NF. Verrall published first article for *Spearhead*.
	February			29 NF branches defected to National Party. Tyndall retitled publisher of *Spearhead*, Verrall editor and Webster contributing editor.
	April		Wilson resigned, replaced by Callaghan.	Verrall published his first article about racial science.
	May	*Searchlight* included colour and launched		Tyndall published first article on

		fundraising plan for £7,000.		British defence policy in *Spearhead*.

Leicester NF secured 43,000 votes in local elections. |
	June			Robert Relf jailed after refusing to sell his house to non-whites.
	September		Britain borrowed almost $4bn from International Monetary Fund.	
	November		Race Relations Act 1976 received royal assent.	
	December	*Searchlight* switched to new two-tone cover and began using issue numbers.		
1977				
	March	National Conference Against Racism is held in London.		Special NF 10-year anniversary issue of *Spearhead*.
	April			NF launched appeal to fund new headquarters.

Spearhead concluded Tyndall's defence articles with part 8. |
| | May | *Searchlight* began using a single colour | | NF secured 119,000 votes in London. |

		for the whole of its front page.		*Spearhead* price raised to 20p.
	August	'Battle of Lewisham' occurred. Ludmer retitled Editor of *Searchlight*.		
	September		Race Relations Act 1976 came into force.	
	October			The Young National Front was formed.
	November	The Anti-Nazi League was founded.		
	December			Webster was interviewed by Ludovic Kennedy on the *Tonight* program.
1978			Dominica, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu gained independence.	Action Party abandoned electoral politics.
	January		Thatcher gave her 'swamped' interview.	Kingsley Read was put on trial for inciting racial hatred.
	February	The National Council for Civil Liberties investigated the Battle of Digbeth.		A YNF meeting in Digbeth Town Hall caused 'The Battle of Digbeth'.
	March		Internal Settlement signed in Rhodesia.	YNF published *How to Combat Red Teachers*.

	April	The ANL held Carnival in Victoria Park.		
	May			Conservative students use anti-NF posters, comparing Tyndall to Hitler.
	June			NF established an overseas affiliate in South Africa.
	July	Ludmer rebuked gender and sexual rights groups for disrupting an anti-fascist conference.		*World in Action* program about NF. Tyndall condemned it as a Zionist plot.
	October	*Searchlight* price raised to 35p.		NF and *Spearhead* moved into Excalibur House.
1979			Kiribati, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines gained independence.	Reed Herbert left the NF to form British Democratic Party.
	February		Reports that female Asian migrants were subjected to virginity testing and X-rays.	
	March		Motion of no-confidence in Government passed.	
	April	Southall protest against NF resulted in the death of Blair Peach, an ANL member.	The United African National Council win Rhodesian elections.	Kingsley Read quit front-line politics.

			Thatcher repeated her comments about swamping.	
	May	*Searchlight* celebrated failure of NF in election.	Conservatives won the General Election	NF stood 303 candidates and got 0.6% of votes.
	June		Abel Muzorewa became prime minister of Rhodesia, changing its name to Zimbabwe Rhodesia.	A letter was circulated within NF attacking Webster. Tyndall visited USA on a tour of far-right groups. *Spearhead* published Tyndall's strategy for NF
	July	Death of Jagmohan Joshi was announced.	Home Office blocked Commission for Racial Equality from investigating immigration procedures.	
	August		IRA killed Louis Mountbatten.	
	September			Fountaine is expelled from NF. *Spearhead* price raised to 30p.
	October	Decision made not to prosecute SPG for death of Blair Peach.		Tyndall urged NF directorate to expel Webster and expand his powers as leader.

				Webster is convicted under the Race Relations Act.
	November			*Spearhead* published an interview with Tyndall arguing for more powers.
	December	*Searchlight* incorporated *CARF*.	Lancaster House Agreement signed.	First issue of *Gothic Ripples*. *Spearhead* published letter supporting Tyndall.
1980				
	January	*Searchlight* published first 'Calendar of Racism'.		Tyndall resigned from NF. *Spearhead* removed Verrall and Webster and moved to Hove, Sussex.
	February		ZANU won elections in Southern Rhodesia.	*Spearhead* listed Tyndall as editor and included supplemental on industrial policy.
	March			Brons elected as NF chairman. *Spearhead* included supplemental on trade policy.
	April	National demonstration	Southern Rhodesia became an	

		marked anniversary of Blair Peach's death.	independent country as the Republic of Zimbabwe.	
May	*Searchlight* launched appeal for £4,000 and raised price to 40p.		Far-right candidates achieved similar results to 1978 in local elections.
June			New National Front founded.
July			*Spearhead* listed 32 branches or groups of NF who transferred to NNF.
August	*Searchlight* reported that sales had fallen, blaming inert state of anti-fascism.		Armed Revolutionary Nuclei claimed the Bologna Bombing which killed 82.
September	*Searchlight* published articles on America by David Edgar.		Tyndall hosted meetings in Hull, Plymouth and London. National Front Australia published statement supporting Tyndall.
October			Hill re-joined the BM as a mole.
November		Callaghan resigned as Labour leader and replaced by Foot.	*Spearhead* revealed debts owed to it by former NF branches.
December	Campaign to revive ANL announced a		Mosley died.

		rally in London for December.		Reed Herbert's BDP began working with Hill's BM group.
1981			Antigua and Barbuda and Belize gained independence.	
	January	New Cross Fire killed 13 people. Campaign Against Racist Laws conference held in Birmingham.		
	February	Anti-Nazi Youth League conference held in Conway Hall, London.	Inquiry announced into racist and extremist organisations.	
	March	Asian youth in Southall held down and had 'NF' carved into his stomach. Firebomb blamed on the far right exploded in a majority-Asian Birmingham school.		NNF march occurred in Burton on Trent.
	April		Riots in Brixton.	
	May	Ludmer died of a heart attack.		
	June			*Spearhead* price raised to 35p
	July	Ware took over as named editor. July	Riots in Toxteth and Southall. Riots spread to 20 areas of	A Nationalist Unity Campaign held a meeting sponsored

		issue dedicated to Ludmer. Leeds ANL hosted a carnival, attended by 20,000. Police arrest 'Bradford 12', Asian youths in Bradford who made petrol bombs to defend their community.	London and 30 towns and cities.	by the NNF in London.
	August	*Searchlight* claimed far right planned to blow up the Notting Hill carnival.		
	September			*Spearhead* published an article by Hill.
	October	*Searchlight* reported that ANL had ceased national co-ordination of events. *Searchlight* moves to New Cavendish Street, London.		
	November		Scarman Inquiry issued its report on riots in Brixton.	
	December	National demonstrations organised by anti-fascists in support of 'Bradford 12'.		

1982				
	January	*Searchlight* renewed appeal for donations as it was desperately short of money.		Campaign for Nationalist Unity was launched formally. *Spearhead* published an article by Jordan.
	February	*Searchlight* claimed there was a gunrunning operation between British and American far-right groups.		Fountaine gave an interview to *Searchlight* announcing his retirement from politics.
	March	*Searchlight* stepped up their campaign to have Brons fired.		Campaign for Nationalist Unity conference agreed to form new party.
	April		The Falklands War begins.	BNP was launched and *Spearhead* announced its support.
	May		British operations to retake the Falklands began.	Hill disrupted a taping of BBC's *Any Questions?* by shouting out Tyndall's name. *Spearhead* declared the Falklands invasion showed British decline.
	June		The Falklands War ended.	

	July	The Press Council rejected a complaint against *Searchlight* from Tony Malski about recording a conversation. *Searchlight* price raised to 50p.		
	October			Hill and Tyndall addressed first major rally of BNP in central London.

Appendix B: Key Movements

Far Right Groups

Action Party[1]

The Action Party (c. 1973 – d. 1994) was the successor movement to the Union Movement after Mosley formally resigned from its leadership. New leader Jeffrey Hamm renamed the UM to the Action Party and focused on contesting local elections within London. A section of the Action Party broke away to form the League of Saint George to continue Mosley's ideas in a non-party politics manner. Combined with a steady defection of members to the dominant National Front, the Action Party ceased party politics in 1978 and became the Action Society, organising Mosleyite functions and publishing material. This continued until 1994, when Hamm died and funding was withdrawn.

American Nazi Party (ANP)[2]

The American Nazi Party (c. 1959 – d. 1983) was an American neo-Nazi political party founded first as the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS) in 1959. Created by naval aviator and advertising worker George Lincoln Rockwell, it would espouse open Nazism and support of Adolf Hitler's views from its base in Arlington, Virginia. Renamed American Nazi Party in 1960, it established a barracks in Arlington that would house its paramilitary stormtroopers. The ANP tried to create links internationally, being a founding member of the World Union of National Socialists after Rockwell signed the Cotswold Declaration in 1962.

In the later 1960s the ANP began publishing its own magazine, *Stormtrooper*, as well as other publications in an attempt to broaden its appeal, even creating a cartoon character –

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[1] For further information, see: Hamm, Jeffrey, *Action Replay*, (London: Black House Publishing, 2012); Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007), p. 46-50; Thurlow, Richard C., 'The Guardian of the "Sacred Flame": The Failed Political Resurrection of Sir Oswald Mosley after 1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33, iss. 2 (1998), pp. 241-254.

[2] For further information, see: Kaplan, J., 'The Post-War Paths of Occult National Socialism: From Rockwell and Madole to Manson', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 35, iss. 3 (2001), pp. 41-67; Simonelli, Frederick J., *American Fuhrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*, (Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Smith, Evan, 'Keeping the Nazi Menace Out: George Lincoln Rockwell and the Border Control System in Australia and Britain in the Early 1960s', *Social Sciences*, vol. 9, iss. 9 (2020), pp. 158-170.

Whiteman – who fought against threats made up of exaggerated racial stereotypes. It also tried to make itself more attractive by moving away from some of the open Nazism, renaming itself the National Socialist White People's Party. However, before these reforms could be completed, Rockwell was assassinated in August 1967 by a former member. His successor, Matt Koehl, embraced some of the moderation of language that Rockwell had started, but retained the Stormtroopers and the use of the swastika.

Under Koehl the party began to break apart due to ideological disputes, both over the overall party strategy and rejection of Koehl's espousing of Nazi mysticism. By 1979, Koehl disbanded the party's paramilitary unit. After party members were involved in shootings and with civil cases looming over damages, Koehl re-launched a new movement – New Order – in 1983, ending the ANP.

British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women (BLESW)[3]

The British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women (c. 1937 – d. 1948) was created in 1937 as a veteran's group to campaign for better pensions and other rights. During the Second World War it was taken over by Jeffrey Hamm and others who had been interned under Defence Regulation 18B, holding public meetings to espouse fascist views, becoming especially active in East London. By 1946 Hamm had taken full control, with other former BUF figures forced out to create their own splinter movements. It was one of the groups whose activity spawned anti-fascist responses, especially under 43 Group where it would clash with Harry Bidney's East End section.

With Mosley's decision to return to front line politics in 1947, the League – along with 50 other small groups, including those which had splintered from the League – united to create the Union Movement, ending its independent existence.

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[3] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 68-86; Dorril, Stephen, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 542-547, 566-569; Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007), pp. 39-46; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 201, 213.

British Movement (BM)[4]

The British Movement (c. 1968 – d. 1983) was a British far right political party founded by Colin Jordan in 1968 out of the remnants of the National Socialist Movement. Though it dropped open National Socialism from its party name, the British Movement adopted a flag similar to Jordan's old movement, the White Defence League, with a red sun wheel on a white circle on a broader blue background. Favouring street action, the BM was seen as more violent than the National Front, which sought to engage in the electoral process. BM was especially strong in Leicester, where its leader was Ray Hill.

For a brief period over the winter of 1968 into 1969 there was an attempt by one of Jordan's deputies, David Courtney (under the pseudonym Simon Gifford), to set up a covert paramilitary group known as National Socialist Group. This ended in disaster and was quickly covered up in 1969 as Special Branch launched investigations following tip offs, leading to Courtney leaving the scene. BM saw further loss in 1969 where, following street violence and police charges, Ray Hill decided to emigrate to South Africa.

Despite its preference for street violence, the BM did stand candidates for elections – with Jordan's 3.5% in 1969's Ladywood by-election proving there was a core of voters happy to support an openly Nazi candidate. Similar results in 1970 and February 1974 also meant the party was never a serious electoral threat. Jordan stepped back in 1974, with Michael McLaughlin beginning to take over – finalised when in 1975 Jordan was arrested in Leamington Spa branch of Tesco for stealing women's underwear.

Under McLaughlin the BM focused on white working class support, especially among the skinhead movement and White Power music scene. In 1980 it had the return of Ray Hill, who was well regarded by the skinhead street fighters of the BM. Unknown to BM, he had become an anti-fascist mole, and was appointed as their organiser in the East Midlands and then to run the whole of the Midlands. Agitating against McLaughlin over leadership, Hill was expelled but this was contested, and the British Movement renamed to the British

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[4] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, and Matthew Worley, 'White Youth: The Far Right, Punk and British Youth Culture, 1977-1987', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Tomorrow Belongs to us*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 113-131; Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Jackson, Paul, and Daniel Jones, 'The National Socialist Group: A Case Study in the Groupuscular Right', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Tomorrow Belongs to us*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 27-47; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231, 237, 252-266.

Nationalist and Socialist Movement, claiming to be a new movement. Hill walked out of the BM to join Tyndall's Nationalist Unity project, to be named the British National Party, and took a good portion of the membership. Following this, and with debts, McLaughlin announced the BM's dissolution in September 1983, though its name would be revived by later groups.

British National Party (BNP) [1960 Creation][5]

The 1960 creation of the British National Party (c. 1960 – d. 1967) was a far right and openly neo-Nazi party created by the merger of John Bean's National Labour Party with Colin Jordan's White Defence League. The new party would be based at Jordan's headquarters, Arnold Leese House in Notting Hill, and the notional president was Andrew Fountaine, though power lay with John Bean as leader. The party demanded an immediate halt to immigration, and the deportation of Britain's Jewish population. To try and build support, the BNP favoured street active tactics, including protests against immigration, in the style of the WDL. In local elections in 1960, the BNP managed to secure over 8% of the vote in Deptford.

Jordan, who held the post of National Activities Organiser, worked with his close ally John Tyndall to establish a Spearhead group that became a paramilitary organisation. Camps were held in Norfolk at Fountaine's estate, inviting international far right figures. Bean and Jordan began to disagree over Jordan's open support for Nazism and Hitler, rather than British nationalism, and in 1962 Jordan, Tyndall and their Spearhead unit (as well as some other members) left to form a new National Socialist Movement. The majority of the party stayed with Bean, who now led the party without any real opposition.

The BNP had developed their own magazine, *Combat*, which members were encouraged to subscribe to. Under Bean's sole leadership the BNP had some success in the 1963 elections, allying with local groups and seeking their nominations. This led to Bean running in the 1964 General Election in Southall, securing almost 10% of the vote on an openly racist policy of ending non-white migration. This success, despite setbacks in 1966, led to the BNP becoming one of the largest parties of the far right in the mid-1960s. After talks with other

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[5] For further information, see: Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231-236, 241-243, 248-249; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), pp. 34-37, 41-44, 49-67.

nationalist groups, the BNP merged with the League of Empire Loyalists, the Racial Preservation Society and others to form the National Front in 1967.

British National Party (BNP) [1982 Creation][6]

The 1982 creation of the British National Party (c. 1982) emerged from the Campaign for Nationalist Unity that had started by John Tyndall after he split from the National Front in 1979 to form the New National Front. Bringing together various far right groups, including Tyndall's own New National Front, a large portion of British Movement under Ray Hill, Anthony Reed Herbert and various splinter factions of the National Front, the BNP was formed in London in March 1982. Formally launched in April 1982, the BNP did away from the powerful leadership committee of the National Front and instead invested greater power in the leader to act without consultation to the membership or their representatives. Tyndall also installed his magazine *Spearhead* as a source of party propaganda.

From its creation the BNP clashed with anti-fascist groups, and concern over this opposition deepened when Ray Hill – a senior figure in the leadership – was revealed to be a mole for anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*. Though a political party, the BNP took limited part in elections, only standing 54 candidates in 1983's General Election, no candidates in 1987 and just over a dozen in 1992. Candidates received very small vote shares – at times below 0.1% – with the BNP blaming this on Thatcher's public stance on migration. Its electoral fortunes changed in 1993, when in a local by-election in Millwall they won a single councillor – the party's first elected public official.

By December 1993 internal fights and physical altercations led to the proscribing of Combat 18, originally set up as a security unit but which was becoming increasingly paramilitary and violent. In the local elections in 1994 they also failed to defend their seat in Millwall, facing intense campaigning from anti-fascists and anti-racists. The increasing struggle of the party led to a growing modernisation faction in the 1990s, culminating in Nick Griffin challenging

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[6] For further information, see: Carvalho, Joao, 'The End of a Strategic Opening? The BNP's Window of Opportunity in the 2000s and its Closure in the 2010s', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 49, iss. 3, pp. 271-293; Copsey, Nigel, 'Changing Course or Changing Clothes? Reflections on the Ideological Evolution of the British National party 1999-2006', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 41, iss. 1 (2007), pp. 61-82; Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Copsey, Nigel, 'Sustaining a Mortal Blow? The British National party and the 2010 General and Local Elections', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 46, iss. 1 (2012), pp. 16-39; Goodwin, Matthew J., *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

Tyndall for the leadership and winning. Griffin set about modernising the party with new party literature and by moderating the language used in public.

Increasing its vote share steadily through the 2000s, and gaining councillors, the BNP would win two MEPs at the 2009 European Elections – Nick Griffin and Andrew Brons. Disputes over finances soon emerged over party finances, and Griffin was challenged for the leadership by Brons, though Griffin won. Brons and others split from the party, leaving it weakened and it failed to retain either of its MEPs in 2014. Griffin resigned as leader in July 2014 and was expelled in October 2014, with Adam Walker taking over as leader. Fielding just 8 candidates in 2015's General Election, down from 338 in 2010, the party entered a period of rapid decline. They lost their last councillor in 2018, and only stood 1 candidate for Parliament in 2019.

British Union of Fascists (BUF)[7]

The British Union of Fascists (c. 1932 – d. 1940) was founded in 1932 by Sir Oswald Mosley, a Baronet and former Conservative MP and Labour minister outside of cabinet, and built upon the remnants of his previous New Party movement. The BUF attracted early support, including from press owner Viscount Rothermere, and drew together members from across the British fascist movement. Facing opposition from the political left and other anti-fascist groups, Mosley established a paramilitary security force – the Fascist Defence Force, better known as the Blackshirts. The BUF also launched its own newspaper, *The Blackshirt*, in 1933 that would be replaced by *Action* in 1936.

The BUF encountered difficulty when it embarked on a series of rallies in 1934. At the Olympia Rally there was violence between anti-fascist protestors and the Blackshirts. This violence ended the vocal support that the BUF had received from Lord Rothermere's papers, and caused disengagement from parts of the membership. As a result of the lost support, it urged supporters to abstain in the 1935 General Election. Further conflict in 1936 after provocative marches, such as at Cable Street, led to the British government banning political

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[7] For further information, see: Dorril, Stephen, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, (London: Penguin, 2007); Feldman, Matthew, 'Make it Crude: Ezra Pound's Antisemitic Propaganda for the BUF and PNF', *Holocaust Studies*, vol. 15, iss. 1-2 (2009), pp. 59-77; Gottlieb, Julie, 'Gender and the "Jews' War": Women, Anti-Semitism, and Anti-War Campaigns in Britain, 1938-1940', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 34, iss. 4 (2020), pp. 745-770; Liburd, Liam J., 'Beyond the Pale: Whiteness, Masculinity and Empire in the British Union of Fascists, 1932-1940', *Fascism*, vol. 7, iss. 2 (2018), pp. 275-296; Linehan, Thomas P., *East London for Mosley: The British Union of Fascists in East London and South-West Essex 1933-40*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996).

paramilitarism. The BUF abolished the Blackshirt paramilitary group in response, leading to many of its members splitting from the movement.

Despite these struggles, the BUF managed to attract prominent support – including from American modernist poet Ezra Pound, who wrote for their *Action* newspaper. It also attracted prominent supporters, particularly among women, as part of its campaign against the coming war. It also is alleged to have received funding from Italy and then Nazi Germany to help its operations. From a high of 50,000 members, by 1939 its membership was down to 20,000. In May 1940 the BUF was proscribed by enactment of Defence Regulation 18B, and Mosley along with over 700 others were interned for the majority of the war.

Greater Britain Movement (GBM)[8]

The Greater Britain Movement (c. 1964 – d. 1967) was established by John Tyndall in 1964 after his dispute with Colin Jordan led to his departure from the NSM. Adopting Tyndall's newly created *Spearhead* journal as its official publication, GBM expressed a more British nationalist and white supremacist viewpoints while eschewing open neo-Nazism. It was still openly racist, and denied the very notion of black culture or black civilisation, advocating instead for a restored British Empire. With limited funds, it focused on street activism and political stunts, most famously when Martin Webster assaulted Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya, in London.

The GBM tried to displace the NSM from its position as the British chapter of the World Union of National Socialists, but it failed to convince Rockwell to switch the WUNS affiliation. Meanwhile the GBM faced conflict at home with anti-fascists, including the 62 Group, and some of its members were convicted over arson attacks on synagogues, further cementing their public image as extremists among the extreme. The GBM began supporting other far right groups, not standing its own candidates, and attempted to talk to other groups about possible mergers. To make itself more acceptable it further moderated its output but ultimately the GBM was not allowed to formally merge into the National Front, instead Tyndall dissolved the GBM and its members were instructed to join as individuals.

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[8] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 101-103; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231, 240, 248-253, 262, 282; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), pp. 46-47, 58-58, 71-73.

Imperial Fascist League (IFL)[9]

The Imperial Fascist League (c. 1929 – d. 1939) was founded in 1929 by Arnold Leese, a former British Army vet specialising in camels and noted racial antisemite. It operated its own newspaper, *The Fascist* and published leaflets written by Leese on various subjects, often emblazoned with a swastika. Leese established a paramilitary security group, The Fascists Legion, who wore black shirts. After Leese visited Nazi Germany it drifted away from the Italian Fascism and into Nazism, in the end deriding Mussolini as pro-Semite, a charge they also levelled at Mosley back in Britain. This hostility with the BUF and Mosley stymied any efforts to create a unified front and was largely based around Leese's biological antisemitism while Mosley at the time followed the Italian Fascist model of viewing it as a cultural issue. This opposition eventually became violent.

Like the BUF, in the Second World War many leading members of the ILF – including Leese – were interned under Defence Regulation 18B, though by this point the ILF had already fallen apart as it strained to marry its staunch pro-Nazi stance with its professed devoted loyalty to Britain and the monarchy.

League of Empire Loyalists (LEL)[10]

The League of Empire Loyalists (c. 1954 – d. 1967) was an activist and pressure group that was created within the Conservative Party by A. K. Chesterton, a former member of the BUF. It opposed the geopolitical duopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union, instead proposing keeping the Empire and strengthening it to act as a third geo-political pole. Among its early supporters it claimed a number of high-profile supporters, including former

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[9] For further information, see: Griffiths, Richard, *Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Macklin, Graham, 'Arnold Leese: The "Anti-Jewish" Camel Doctor', in, Graham Macklin, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 22-91; Morell, John, 'Arnold Leese and the Imperial Fascist League: The Impact of Racial Fascism', in, Kenneth Lunn and Richard C. Thurlow (eds.), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain*, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 57-76; Stocker, Paul, '"The Imperial Spirit": British Fascism and Empire, 1919-1940', *Religion Compass*, vol. 9, iss. 2 (2015), pp. 45-54; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 35-40.

[10] For further information, see: Mulhall, Joe, 'From Apathy to Obsession: The Reactions of A. K. Chesterton and the British Far Right to Imperial Decline', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 50, iss. 4-5 (2016), pp. 458-477; Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019), p. 312-314; Stocker, Paul, 'The Postwar British Extreme Right and Empire, 1945-1967', *Religion Compass,* vol. 9, iss. 5 (2015), pp. 162-172; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), pp. 47-67.

high ranking officers from the Second World War, but this dwindled as the LEL became increasingly obsessed with conspiratorial world views.

The LEL was further hurt by official discouragement of membership of the group by the Conservative Party, after the LEL engaged on a series of publicity stunts that included disruption of Conservative Party conference. In the aftermath of the Suez Crisis in 1956 the Conservatives moved away from notions of Empire and the LEL felt itself increasingly distant from the main party. Decline in the late 1950s and early 1960s its membership reduced by up to 90% from its peak due to this and further splits as groups broke away to form their own organisations – such as Colin Jordan and his White Defence League.

Chesterton supported the League and its publication, *Candour*, from his own financial reserves and the group was largely moribund. This changed when the LEL stood candidates for parliament in 1964. Despites only standing a small number, and achieving poor results, this prompted renewed support and interest in the LEL and allowed the LEL to begin talks with other nationalist groups about creation of a new unified campaign, which Chesterton had previously attempted, called the National Front. Following agreement between the British National Party, the Racial Preservation Society and the LEL, the National Front was created in February 1967 and the LEL was dissolved.

The Monday Club[11]

The Monday Club (c. 1961) is a campaigning group that was formerly affiliated to the Conservative Party (until 2001) as well as maintaining links to Unionist parties in Northern Ireland. Like the League of Empire Loyalists it was created due to concerns over the direction of the Conservative Party, with founders concerned that under Harold Macmillan the party was drifting leftwards and focusing on decolonisation. Unlike the LEL, which had drawn on support of established figures, the Monday Club was founded by a cadre of young activists. Concerned about Macmillan's policies in Africa, the Monday Club became quickly known for its support of white Rhodesia and South Africa.

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[11] For further information, see: McNeil, Daniel, '"The Rivers of Zimbabwe Will Run Red with Blood": Enoch Powell and the Post-Imperial Nostalgia of the Monday Club', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 37, iss. 4 (2011), pp. 731-745; Pitchford, Mark, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right 1945-75*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Rich, Paul B., 'Conservative Ideology and Race in Modern British Politics', in, Zig Layton-Henry and Paul B. Rich (eds.), *Race, Government and Politics in Britain*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 45-73 esp. 56-66; Schofield, Camilla, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 185-186, 241-250, 311.

The first president of the Monday Club was appointed in 1962 when Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, the Marquess of Salisbury, took up the role. The Monday Club remained relatively small, with membership in the hundreds in the mid-1960s, but still attracted senior Conservative politicians who wanted their support – in part due to an increasing presence among current and recent parliamentarians. Its anti-immigration stance became more popular after Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968, leading to its membership rapidly increasing to several thousand by the early 1970s. It portrayed itself as the guardian of the Conservative conscience. It avoided taking a position on the EEC membership due to internal splits on the matter, though some prominent figures did campaign for a No vote in 1975, and by 1980 it had embraced an anti-Europe position.

The Monday Club produced its own independent publications, *Right Ahead* and *Monday World* as well as some booklets on policy. Internal disputes in the early 1990s led the Monday Club to eventually transform from a pressure group trying to direct Conservative Party policy into a supporting group. Despite still being courted up until 2001 by leadership hopefuls in the Conservative Party, in October of 2001 the Monday Club was disaffiliated by Conservative leader Ian Duncan-Smith. This was largely due to the Monday Club's reputation on immigration and race, and the desire of the Conservative Party to modernise and moderate its image. It has continued since then, but in a much diminished form.

National Front (NF)[12]

The National Front (c. 1967) is a far right political party that was formed in February 1967 from the merger of the League of Empire Loyalists, the British National Party and other smaller nationalist groups. It also brought on board a large portion of the Racial Preservation Society, though this maintained an independent existence. Though it initially barred the Greater Britain Movement of John Tyndall from joining, it would relent and allow them to join as individual members in the summer of 1967. At this point Tyndall and his GBM cohorts became a dominant force in the NF, though Tyndall supported Chairman A. K. Chesterton.

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[12] For further information, see: Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front,* (London: Routledge, 2016); Linehan, Thomas, 'Cultures of Space: Spatialising the National Front', in, Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 68-85; Schaffer, Ryan, 'The Soundtrack of Neo-Fascism: Youth and Music in the National Front', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 47, iss. 4-5 (2013), pp. 458-482; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 245-277; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977).

Under Chesterton's directions the NF eschewed some of the overt and extreme forms of racism some of its founding groups had engaged in, and this translated into a moderation of language in its publications such as *Spearhead* which had been adopted as one of its official publications. This caused some friction between LEL and BNP factions, but Tyndall's support for moderation and embracing British nationalism as opposed to open neo-Nazism cemented Chesterton's leadership despite challenges from Andrew Fountaine.

The former GBM and BNP members continued to perform street events and publicity stunts, despite disapproval from Chesterton, and these created conflict with anti-fascist groups. The party ran a limited number of candidates in 1969 and 1970 local elections after Powell's anti-immigration speeches, but these provided diminishing returns. Chesterton resigned as leader in 1970, and an anti-Tyndall faction around John O'Brien secured enough support to take over in 1971. However their attempts to expel Tyndall and his allies from the party led to their own resignations, and in 1972 the NF would come under Tyndall's direct control as chairman.

Under Tyndall the National Front launched several initiatives to appeal to racial populists and a broader class appeal, launching its own association for trade unionists. This period also saw the defection of a number of Conservative Party members, primarily Monday Club members displeased with the Conservative rejection of Powell and its response to the Ugandan Asians in 1972. The NF also saw an upturn in its electoral fortunes, with Martin Webster gaining over 16% of the vote in the 1973 West Bromwich parliamentary by-election and securing sizable – though still losing – vote shares in some wards during the 1973 local elections. This activity prompted anti-fascists to attack the NF by highlighting the openly Nazi past various leading figures, such as Tyndall, in 1974.

Growing concern among the racial populist wing of the party over Tyndall as a liability due to his Nazi links led to moves to replace him as chairman. Roy Painter, a leading populist figure, secured the support necessary to have Tyndall removed, largely through the support of the former Conservative Party members such as Anthony Reed Herbert. John Kingsley Read became leader in 1974 and again in 1975 and during his leadership he attempted to have Tyndall expelled, but Tyndall contested this in court and won. With Tyndall restored to the party, Read and many of his supporters quit the party – taking almost a quarter of all the branches with him. Tyndall however resumed control of a slightly depleted National Front.

In Tyndall's second leadership the NF increasingly focused on its London base, where its vote share was increasing. This involved increasing opposition, leading to running street battles with anti-fascists such as the August 1977 march in Lewisham, dubbed the 'Battle of Lewisham' for the violence. However in the 1978 and 1979 elections the NF saw its vote deflate and collapse, blamed by the NF on Thatcher's use of their language around the swamping of Britain by migrants. This led to divisions in the party, with various groups splintering away in 1979 before finally, after a dispute around Martin Webster and increased powers for its leader, Tyndall quit in January 1980.

After Tyndall's departure the NF became increasingly factionalised between what became known as the Political Soldier faction who supported Third Positionism and Strasserite policies, and the Flag Group who wished to maintain racial populism. Though initially, with moderating figures, these two groups co-existed, by 1986 the Political Soldier wing had taken control of the continuation organisation. The Flag Group split away and formed their own National Front in 1987. Eventually Griffin and other Political Soldiers split away from the National Front to form their own party based around their Third Positionist views, disbanding their National Front and allowing re-unification of the party in 1990.

By this time the National Front had become a niche movement within the far right, with the British National Party under Tyndall having grown and had success, including winning a council by-election in 1993. In 1997 the chairman, Ian Anderson, tried to relaunch the National Front by adopting a new name – the National Democrats – under which they contested elections in 1997 with little success. Since this time the National Front name has continued to be used and re-appeared in local areas, but has lacked any of the strength that made it the foremost nationalist group of the 1970s.

National Labour Party (NLP)[13]

The National Labour Party (c. 1957 – d. 1960) was a far right political party created by John Bean and John Tyndall after they left the League of Empire Loyalists over dissatisfaction with A. K. Chesterton's leadership. The NLP was created to espouse a British variant of

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[13] For further information, see: Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 73, 86-87, 90-92; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 233-234.

national socialism, rather than either the LEL's conservatism or the open Nazism of Jordan's White Defence League that had split away from the LEL a year earlier. It was openly racist and anti-migration, producing a newspaper *Combat* that Tyndall wrote for. They would campaign for the elimination of the Jewish community in Britain. There was co-operation between Bean, Tyndall and Jordan, with Jordan speaking at NLP rallies. In 1960 the NLP merged with Jordan's WDL to form the British National Party.

National Socialist Movement (NSM)[14]

The National Socialist Movement (c. 1962 – d. 1968) was a far right and openly Nazi movement established by Colin Jordan and John Tyndall upon their departure from the British National Party. Based around the Spearhead paramilitary unit that the two had developed within the BNP, the NSM was launched on Hitler's birthday of 20 April 1962. As well as avowed antisemitism, Jordan wanted the new movement to establish international links with National Socialist movements around the world. It also sustained the Spearhead unit as a paramilitary group, with twice weekly training and a gym established for the unit in the NSM headquarters.

The National Socialist Movement began with a small grouping, reports of an early meeting listed an audience of just twenty five people. It soon gained wider notice however when it held a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 1 July 1962. In what became known as 'The Battle of Trafalgar Square' the NSM faced off against anti-fascist protestors while Jordan and others delivered antisemitic speeches. As a result Jordan was suspended from his teaching position and the NSM was debated in Parliament. In that summer the NSM also took part in the Cotswold camp (officially held by the Northern European Ring), where American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell along with others signed a declaration forming the World Union of National Socialists. The NSM was to become the British chapter of the WUNS, with only one chapter permitted per nation.

The attention brought by these actions however led to police investigations and subsequent charges against a number of NSM members for paramilitary activities in breach of the

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[14] For further information, see: Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 107-148; Jackson, Paul, 'Dreaming of a National Socialist World: The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) and the Recurring Vision of Transnational Neo-Nazism', *Fascism*, vol. 8, iss. 2 (2019), pp. 275-306; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231-244.

Public Order Act of 1936, resulting in imprisonment. Jordan and Tyndall were also charged and imprisoned for their speeches at Trafalgar Square. The remaining NSM members out of prison, such as Martin Webster, framed them as political prisoners for national socialism. When its leadership was released from prison, the NSM printed a number of leaflets but internal disputes had broken out. After release, Jordan had married French heiress Francoise Dior, who had been engaged to Tyndall. This, and concerns over Dior's influence and erratic behaviour, led to distance between Tyndall and Jordan and the group began to splinter in winter of 1963 with some expulsions.

In 1964 Tyndall and Jordan's relationship finally broke down and both sides claimed to have expelled the other from the party, though ultimately Tyndall left the NSM to Jordan and set up his own institution. Though Jordan had retained the National Socialist Movement name, Tyndall had taken a good portion of the membership. The remaining reduced NSM continued its activity, focusing on disrupting mainstream political events to gain exposure. The NSM also became more open about embracing Nazi occultism, the final issue of its newspaper *National Socialist* containing an essay from Jordan that was openly hostile towards Christianity.

The NSM faced further issues in 1965 and 1966 when a number of synagogues were subjected to arson attacks, with suspicion falling on Jordan and NSM members. The party had also continued to publish racist pamphlets, and it was for distribution of *The Coloured Invasion* that Jordan was arrested at the end of 1966. In 1967 Jordan received an eighteen-month prison sentence, in effect ending the National Socialist Movement as a going concern. Upon his release from prison in 1968 this was confirmed by Jordan and he announced the formation of his new creation, British Movement.

New National Front (NNF)[15]

The New National Front (c. 1980 – d. 1982) was a splinter group from the National Front created by John Tyndall in June 1980 after he left the National Front that January. Tyndall had left the National Front due to the refusal of its directorate to give him powers as leader

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[15] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 22-26; Goodwin, Matthew, *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 54-72; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 251-255.

to act without reference to them or the membership on issues, and this became a defining idea for the NNF and the later British National Party. The NNF claimed to have taken at least one third of the NF membership and it became a vehicle for Tyndall to hold unification talks with other far right groups. In April 1982 it would merge with other National Front splinters and groups from other movements (such as Ray Hill's group from British Movement) to form the new British National Party.

Union Movement (UM)[16]

The Union Movement (c. 1948 – d. 1973) was founded by Oswald Mosley on his return to front line politics following the Second World War, encouraged back by supporters such as Jeffrey Hamm of the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women. It would campaign on Mosley's new idea, set out in his book *The Alternative*, of a pan European state as an alternative to the power blocs of the USSR and the United States. While it continued rejecting the existing democratic system, Mosley's new group stood in several elections – with increasing opposition from anti-fascists such as the 43 Group. As a result of this pressure, and poor results, the Union Movement became dormant for a time as a political party and simply acted as a publishing and distributing group for Mosley publications such as *Action*, *Union*, *The European* and *National European*.

With migration increasing in the 1950s and disturbances in Notting Hill in 1958 being described as race riots, Mosley returned to Britain and the Union Movement once again contested elections, Mosley's first parliamentary election for almost 30 years. Focusing on migration, and the inferiority of non-white migrants, Mosley secured 8.1% of the vote in Kensington North – considered a humiliation. While other far right groups looked to American sister organisations, the UM focused on European alliances and tried to form a united front to campaign for Mosley's united Europe idea. This was ultimately unsuccessful.

The Union Movement attempted a final electoral run in the 1966 election, but Mosley saw his vote drop even lower and he withdrew from frontline activity. Though Mosley remained nominally leader, Jeffrey Hamm would effectively run the organisation, taking over

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[16] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 88-109; Hamm, Jeffrey, *Action Replay*, (London: Black House Publishing, 2012); Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007), p. 46-50; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 78, 206, 277; Thurlow, Richard C., 'The Guardian of the "Sacred Flame": The Failed Political Resurrection of Sir Oswald Mosley after 1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33, iss. 2 (1998), pp. 241-254.

formally when Mosley retired in 1973. Hamm would rename and try to refocus the UM as the Action Party.

White Defence League (WDL)[17]

The White Defence League (c. 1957 – d. 1960) was a street-active neo-Nazi movement established in 1956 by Colin Jordan. The new movement was based out of Arnold Leese's old house that had been left to Jordan in Notting Hill and publishing its own newspaper, *Black and White News*. The WDL was open in its praise and support of Hitler and Nazism, rather than any attempt to reform or reframe national socialism for a post-war audience. As well as antisemitism, the WDL promoted anti-immigration arguments along racial grounds. It adopted the sun wheel, seen as both a reference to some of the occult influences on Nazism as well as a crypto-swastika, as its logo – white sun wheel on a black background. The group began talks with the National Labour party and in 1960 both movements ceased to exist as separate entities and they merged to create the British National Party.

World Union of National Socialists (WUNS)[18]

The World Union of National Socialists (c. 1962) is a transnational international national socialist organisation that was created to bring together far right parties and movements from across the world. Originally founded in 1962 after the Cotswold Declaration was signed at a summer camp in Britain, control of the organisation lay with George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party. It published its own journal, *National Socialist World,* and originally limited membership to one recognised chapter per country. It facilitated co-operation and the sharing of methods and information between international groups.

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[17] For further information, see: Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Jones, Ben, and Camilla Schofield, '"Whatever Community is, This is Not it": Notting Hill and the Reconstruction of "Race" in Britain after 1958', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 58, iss. 1, pp. 142-173; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 233-244.
[18] For further information, see: Feldman, Matthew, and Andrea Rinaldi, '"Penny-Wise … ": Ezra Pound's Posthumous Legacy to Fascism', *Sanglap: Journal of Literary and Cultural Inquiry*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2015), pp. 27-70; Jackson, Paul, 'Accumulative Extremism: The Post-War Tradition of Anglo-American Neo-Nazi Activism', in, Paul Jackson and Anton Shekhovtsov (eds.), *The Post-War Anglo-American Far Right: A Special Relationship of Hate*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 2-38; Jackson, Paul, 'Dreaming of a National Socialist World: The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) and the Recurring Vision of Transnational Neo-Nazism', *Fascism*, vol. 8, iss. 2 (2019), pp. 275-306.

After Rockwell's assassination in 1967 control passed to Matt Koehl before he left the organisation. Eventually control passed to the European chapters, and to Colin Jordan who tried to reform and reinvigorate the movement with little success. By this time the WUNS was a fringe group, though its name had sufficient value still in the 1990s that copycats did exist – such as the briefly created International Union of National Socialists.

Anti-Fascist Groups

43 Group[19]

The 43 Group (c. 1946 – d. 1950) was an anti-fascist group formed in April 1946 following a meeting in Maccabi House in Hampstead convened by a group of Jewish ex-servicemen and attended by 43 people who joined (giving it its name). With links to groups like the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (but who disagreed formally with the 43 group, due to a policy of non-violence), 43 Group grew to number in the hundreds and published its own magazine *On Guard* from 1947 to 1949. It was affiliated to no political movement, though there were groups from political parties like the Communist Party within it but they were eventually asked to resign from the party due to concern over the appearance of Jewish Communists fighting fascists in the streets.

The group was motivated to oppose the return of the far right, and was one of the main anti-fascist groups opposing the Union Movement upon its creation in 1948. Before this the main battleground for the group had been its East End section, which was the major area of activity for Jeffrey Hamm and the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women. In contrast to the Board of Deputies policy of non-violence, the 43 Group was known for its physical approach to anti-fascism, seeking to take over spaces that the far right were attempting to use. To this end it contained fighting units of men and women such as Jules Konopinski. During mid-1946 it was disrupting an estimated ten far right meetings a week. It also operated intelligence work, with Harry Bidney among those helping run infiltrators into the far right. 43 Group also allowed, in 1948, Israeli recruiters to approach members who would

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[19] For further information, see: Beckman, Morris, *The 43 Group,* (London: Centerprise, 1993); Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 78-92; Ronson, Gerald, *Leading from the Front: My Story*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009); Sherwood, Harriet, 'The British Jews Who Fought Postwar Fascism on London's Streets', *The Observer*, 24 May 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/may/24/the-british-jews-who-fought-postwar-fascism-on-londons-streets>, [last accessed 23 February 2021]; Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019).

be interested in joining the Israeli armed forces. Members voted to disband in June of 1950, though with some opposition, it was believed the far-right threat had waned. Remaining members were encouraged to join the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen

62 Group[20]

The 62 Group (c. 1962 – d. 1970s), also known as the 62 Committee, was an anti-fascist group created largely by former members of 43 Group but with no official connection. 62 Group was created in reaction to the resurgence of a new wave of far right activism from figures such as Colin Jordan, John Tyndall and the continued presence of those around Mosley. Unlike 43 Group, 62 Group was explicitly a Jewish-only membership group, but worked with other organisations in opposing the far right – which it did using similar physical space control methods to 43 Group.

Like 43 Group, 62 Group was set up into sections under its field commander, Cyril Paskin. This included two sections dedicated to intelligence, one focused on infiltration of people into the far right and the other focusing on turning far right members into informers. This intelligence side brought on board people like Gerry Gable and would form the basis for *Searchlight* newspaper in 1964 and its later Searchlight Associate press agency, with 62 Group members being asked to donate £5.

Initially the 62 Group drew in support from across the Jewish community, including funding from prominent Jewish businessmen. After physical confrontations and arrests hit the newspapers many of these backers withdrew, leaving 62 Group increasingly reliant upon paymaster and recruiting sergeant Harry Bidney. It also suffered a reduction in members in 1964, but managed to secure the conviction of several NSM members for arson attacks that same year. Accusations against the 62 Group included claims they engaged in kidnap and questioning of National Socialist Movement members, as well as claims they broke into the National Front headquarters in April 1967 and March 1969, and finally a ramraid against their headquarters with a lorry – though nothing was ever proven. Though much diminished,

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[20] For further information, see: Cohen, Joshua, '"Somehow Getting Their Own Back on Hitler": British Antifascism and the Holocaust, 1960-1967', *Fascism*, vol. 9, iss. 1-2 (2020), pp. 121-145; Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 98-112; Gable, Gerry, 'Cyril Paskin, Anti-Fascist Fighter – A Life Well Lived', *Searchlight*, no. 437, Nov 2011, pp. 12-13; Ronson, Gerald, *Leading from the Front: My Story*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009); Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019), p. 312-314.

some 62 Group members continued operations into the 1970s, including the 1971 assault on a meeting of The Northern League in a Brighton Hotel with smoke bombs.

Anti-Nazi League (ANL)[21]

The Anti-Nazi League (c. 1977 – d. 1981) was set up in 1977 by the Socialist Workers Party, dedicated to fighting the far right through a united front. The ANL gained support early on from some trades union, workers groups (such as the Indian Workers Association), and elected officials of the Labour Party such as Neil Kinnock. The ANL thus represents a moment of unification between militant left and broad left strands of anti-fascism in a broad united front strategy. The ANL's co-operation with broad left groups was criticised by others within the militant left anti-fascism.

ANL focused on opposition to the National Front – taking on the *Searchlight* line that the National Front was a Nazi Front – but also opposed other active far right movements like British Movement. This campaigning took traditional forms such as leafletting, counter-protests and marches, but also sought to develop innovative cultural initiatives, such as Rock Against Racism, with which ANL was involved. This brought bands out such as The Clash to host concerts dedicated to opposing racism and fascism.

Despite these successes, the Socialist Workers Party turned on the ANL members and purged them from their ranks in 1981, labelling them as 'Squaddists' – referring to the ANL fighting groups or 'Squads' who would defend ANL events and run militant anti-National Front actions. ANL subsequently wound up later that year, after British Movement collapsed and the National Front splintered – but before creation of the 1982 British National Party. This winding up was opposed by factions within the ANL ,but went ahead none the less.

Following the advance of the British National Party during local elections from the late 1980s into the early 1990s, several new anti-racist and anti-fascist organisations would emerge. One group sought to bring back the ANL brand, arguing the BNP was in fact a Nazi party – just as they had argued of the National Front. This recreation was denounced by

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[21] For further information, see: Renton, David, *Never Again: Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Renton, David, *When We Touched the Sky: The Anti-Nazi League, 1977-1981*, (Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2006); Goodyear, Ian, *Crisis Music: The Cultural Politics of Rock Against Racism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 111-150.

Searchlight as well as figures like Ken Livingstone. It would however continue to campaign until 2004, when it merged with other groups to form Unite Against Fascism.

Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF)[22]

The Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (c. 1976) is an anti-fascist group that ran a journal of the same name, published in the mid-1970s by the Richmond and Twickenham Anti Racist Committee. After all 23 London anti-fascist committees came together in 1977 to form London-based Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee (ARAFCC) they adopted CARF as their publication and it was affiliated to the Institute of Race Relations. The journal would continue to publish until ARAFCC shut down in 1979, and emphasised it was first anti-racist – and because of that anti-fascist – in contrast to anti-fascists who were therefore anti-racist.

After the shutting down of ARAFCC it entered into talks with Maurice Ludmer at Searchlight and it was given its own section within the magazine with a degree of editorial control that allowed it to express a more radical form of anti-fascism. Every year Searchlight and CARF published a calendar of key racist events from the previous year, the 'Calendar of Racism'. This relationship broke down in 1991 due to disagreements over Searchlight's wider editorial stance and CARF separated from Searchlight.

CARF resumed publication as an independent journal, but drew heavily on the Institute of Race Relations for its members. In 2003 it ceased publication and was absorbed into the wider efforts of the IRR.

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[22] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 121-122, 147, 165; Higgs, Michael, 'From the Streets to the State: Making Anti-Fascism Anti-Racist in 1970s Britain', *Race & Class*, vol. 58, iss. 1 (2016), pp. 66-84; Shukra, Kalbir, *The Changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain*, (London: Pluto Press, 1998), p. 90.

Institute for Race Relations (IRR)[23]

The Institute for Race Relations (c. 1958) is a British think tank and anti-racism organisation that was created initially as part of the Royal Institute of International Affairs – better known as Chatham House. The Institute's origins are in the Royal Institute of International Affairs' race unit, established in 1952, but which was upgraded and formed into an institute in 1958, partly in response to the riots in Notting Hill. It's first director was Philip Mason, who had led the race unit, and it brought on a number of staff which included A. Sivanandan as Chief Librarian in 1964.

After Mason's retirement in 1970 there were disagreements within the Institute of Race Relations as to the directions of the group and over the methods of its research, with staff members criticising some recent work as effectively spying on communities. The IRR was run by a Council, composed by establishment figures from politics, academia and business. As the dispute deepened a general meeting of the IRR and its members was called in April of 1972 and the Council lost on the motions, resulting in them resigning. Sivanandan took over as director and, given it had lost the funding that the Council had brought in, the IRR moved out of its prestigious West End offices.

Under its new leadership, the IRR sought out funding from community sources and charitable organisations, as well as local government. This allowed the IRR to continue its work, including the production of its journal *Race & Class* as well as numerous pamphlets and reports. In the 1980s the IRR increasingly studied relations between black communities and the police, in light of the 1981 riots. It has also been close to the front in helping publish and support black history in Britain. In 1984 it was able to move into its own offices in Camden, which it remains in to the present day.

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[23] For further information, see: Bebber, Brett, 'The Architects of Integration: Research, Public Policy, and the Institute of Race Relations in Post-Imperial Britain', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 48, iss. 2 (2020), pp. 319-350; Grant, Paul, and Louis Kushnick, 'Catching History on the Wing: A. Sivanandan as Activist, Teacher and Rebel', in, Benjamin P. Bowser and Louis Kushnick (eds.), *Against the Odds: Scholars who Challenged Racism in the Twentieth Century*, (Amhurst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Jenkins, Robin, *The Production of Knowledge at the Institute of Race Relations*, (London: Independent Labour Party, 1971); Sivanandan, A., 'Race and Resistance: The IRR Story', *Race & Class*, vol. 50, iss. 2 (2009), pp. 1-30; Younge, Gary, 'Ambalavaner Sivanandan Obituary', *The Guardian*, 7 Feb 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/ambalavaner-sivanandan>, [last accessed 22 February 2021].

In the 1990s it took on the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism collective, and has spent recent years digitising and making available all its research on its website. It has also hosted its own news service, IRR News, and continues to produce *Race & Class*.

International Marxists (IM)[24]

The International Marxists (c. 1968 – d. 1982), also known as the International Marxist Group, were a Communist group of the Trotskyist tradition that was part of the fourth international and was at its peak in the mid to late 1970s. The organisation was formed from splinters of the Communist Party of Great Britain who had broken away in the 1950s. The International Marxists launched in 1968 with their own journal *International*, and under their secretary Pat Jordan. It supported a number of newspapers over its existence, including *The Black Dwarf*, *Red Mole* and *Socialist Action*.

The group had an active student recruitment in the 1970s and found some success in university towns, including active branches in Oxford. As part of its policy of working with the Labour Party, many members were able to openly be part of both organisations. It also became involved in efforts in the mid-1970s to create networks of anti-fascist committees, with drawing together existing political structures and community groups under the umbrella of a national co-ordinating council, though this ultimately failed to materialise.

By the early 1980s the group had been labelled as an entryist faction in the Labour Party and many in the group supported the Bennite tendencies within Labour. The membership dwindled to below half of its late 1970s peak of a thousand, and in dispute of how to respond to the 1984 Miners Strike the group fell apart into different factions.

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[24] For further information, see: Ali, Tariq, *Street-Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties,* (London: Verso, 2018), pp. 262, 272, 281-282, 305-207, 314-318, 326-331; Anonymous, 'Those Were the Days … of Revolting Students', *Times Higher Education*, 26 Jun 2008, p. 30; Hoefferle, Caroline, *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 178-207; Smith, Evan, and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Against the Grain: The British Far Left From 1956*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

Appendix C: Key Figures

Far Right Figures

Bean, John[1]

John Bean (b. 1927) is a British far right politician who begin his career with the post-war Union Movement and is still active at the time of writing. He joined the UM in 1950 and became a well-known figure within the London branches, but despite this left in 1953. He would go on to join the League of Empire loyalists after a period away from the far right, and would become part of its HQ staff and published a small far right paper called *The Loyalist*.

In 1957, Bean established the National Labour Party along with Andrew Fountaine. Fountaine took the role of president, with Bean taking on the actual task of running the party. In 1960 Bean merged the NLP with Colin Jordan's White Defence League to form the 1960s creation of the British National Party. Despite a relatively successful 1964 General Election, Bean merged his party into the National Front in 1967. Within the National Front he was a peripheral figure and ceased most activity in 1972, and left the National Front in 1977 and entered a second longer period away from the front line of politics.

During his time away he wrote his political memoirs, *Many Shades of Black*, in 1999. In that same year, following the leadership contest won by Nick Griffin, he joined the British National Party and became an active part of the party, editing the new party magazine *Identity*. Following the election of Andrew Brons and Nick Griffin to the European Parliament in 2009, and the splits that followed, Bean supported Andrew Brons and joined Brons' new party in 2013.

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[1] For further information, see: Bean, John, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far-Right*, (London: New Millennium, 1999); Hillman, Nicholas, '"Tell Me Chum, in Case I Got it Wrong. What Was it We Were Fighting During the War?" The Re-Emergence of British Fascism, 1945-58', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 15, iss. 4 (2001), pp. 1-34; Shaffer, Ryan, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism: The Transformation of Extremism*, (London: Springer, 2017), pp. 25-48, 240-263; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977).

Birdwood, Lady Jane[2]

Jane Birdwood, Baroness Birdwood (b. 1913 – d. 2000) was a Canadian-born British far right activist and promoter. Having worked in entertainment during the Second World War, after the war she became the second wife of Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Birdwood, who had inherited the title Baron Birdwood from his father, Field Marshal William Birdwood. In the UK she became a prominent supporter of nationalist émigré groups whose countries were occupied by Soviet forces, and became a vocal supporter of apartheid and an opponent of the breakup of Empire. As part of this she would become an early member of the Monday Club.

Becoming more politically active after the death of her husband in 1962, she founded anti-communist groups such as the League for European Freedom as well as beginning to publish, with a journal called *New Times*, opposed British membership of the EEC via her group British League of Rights, and was also involved with international group the World Anti-Communist League. She went on to help found WISE (Welsh Irish Scots English), an anti-migration group, in 1974 and increasingly took on a strong anti-immigration narrative, working with the British National Party in the 1980s before standing for them as a candidate in 1992. Her later journal, *Choice*, was a popular right-wing journal in the 1980s.

In the 1990s Birdwood was charged and convicted in relation to distributing antisemitic pamphlets, only avoiding prison via a plea bargain with prosecutors. She broke her agreement and republished the pamphlet in 1994. She was convicted again and given a 3-month suspended prison sentence. As she retired from active life at the end of the 1990s, *Choice* was taken over by Martin Webster.

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[2] For further information, see: 'Convicted Twice for Sending Racist Literature: Disliked all Foreigners: Attributed Death Toll of Holocaust to Typhoid [Obituary]', *National Post*, 30 Jun 2000, p. 21; Bruce, Steve, *British Gods: Religion in Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 237; Durham, Martin, *Sex and Politics: The Family and Morality in the Thatcher Years*, (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 171; Durham, Martin, *Women and Fascism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), pp. 71, 82-83, 98, 11; Seidel, Gill, *The Holocaust Denial: Antisemitism, Racism and the New Right*, (Leeds: Beyond the Pale Collective, 1986), pp. 44, 169.

Brons, Andrew[3]

Andrew Brons (b. 1947) is a British far right politician, former Member of the European Parliament and college lecturer. Brons joined the National Socialist Movement in 1964 when he was 17, a move that in later life he has dismissed as a bout of youthful silliness. After the National Socialist Movement split apart, Brons left to join the British National Party under John Bean and would continue with the National Front after its creation. In 1974, Brons began to take a more prominent role as a member of the National Directorate and education officer. He contested several elections for the National Front, his best result being third place in Birmingham Stechford in a 1977 by-election.

After Tyndall left the NF, Brons became Chairman of the front, and he began to edit the *New Nation* journal along with former *Spearhead* editor Richard Verrall. From the early 1980s his work was targeted by anti-fascist protestors, particularly the Anti-Nazi League, who demanded the college remove him from teaching. He resigned as Chairman in 1984 after growing increasingly unhappy with the party's positions, and left altogether in 1986. He became involved with the NF Flag Group splinter faction, who would become the official National Front again in 1989 resuming Brons' membership that he would maintain until 1999.

After his retirement from teaching in 2005, Brons joined the British National Party and in 2009 was the lead candidate for Yorkshire and the Humber in the European Elections, resulting in his election to the European Parliament. Growing unhappy with Griffin's leadership, Brons announced a leadership challenge in May 2011. After he narrowly lost the leadership election, he resigned from the BNP the following year in October 2012. In November 2012 he established the British Democratic Party, taking the role of party president.

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[3] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 33-38; Loughlin, James, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict: The British Extreme Right and Ulster in the Twentieth Century*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), pp. 241, 256-258; Startin, Nicolas, 'Contrasting Fortunes, Differing Futures? The Rise (and Fall) of the Front National and the British National Party', *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 22, iss. 3 (2014), pp. 277-299; Taylor, Stan, *The National Front in English Politics*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982), esp p. 62.

Butz, Arthur[4]

Arthur Butz (b. Unknown) is an American professor of engineering and Holocaust denier, having authored *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* in 1975. The book, which denies the Holocaust, was originally published in Britain by Anthony Hancock and the Historical Review Press. Having achieved tenure at Northwestern University, he was not removed from the faculty and continues to teach. He continued to give talks and he addressed the Nation of Islam in 1985 where he repeated his views that the Holocaust was a propaganda hoax designed to further Zionism.

Devi, Savitri[5]

Savitri Devi Mukherji (b. 1905 – d. 1982) was an international Nazi activist, occultist and author, who worked for the Axis powers as a spy during the Second World War. Born in France to a Greek/Italian father and an English mother, and named Maximiani Julia Portas, she attended school in France, eventually earning a PhD in Philosophy. Having become increasingly interested in Greek nationalism, she renounced her French citizenship and became a Greek national in 1928.

Increasingly interested in the concept of Aryanism, Devi travelled to India in 1932 where she converted to Hinduism and took the name Savitri Devi, supporting Hindu nationalism and Indian independence, while condemning monotheistic religions. She also distributed pro-Axis propaganda. She married a pro-Nazi Bengali Brahmin in 1940, Asit Krishna Mukherji, and – viewing allied support for Greece as an invasion – began gathering intelligence for the Axis cause.

After the war she travelled to Europe, distributing pro-Nazi messages in Germany which saw her arrested in 1949 and sentenced to two years imprisonment, of which she served 8

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[4] For further information, see: Lipstadt, Deborah E., *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, (New York, NY: Free Press, 1993), pp. 125-133; Yonover, Geri J., 'Anti-Semitism and Holocaust Denial in the Academy: A Tort Remedy', in, F. C. Decoste and Bernard Schwartz (eds.), *The Holocaust's Ghost: Writings on Art, Politics, Law and Education*, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2000), pp. 328-341.

[5] For further information, see: Devi, Savitri, *And Time Rolls On*, (San Francisco, CA: Counter Currents Publishing, 2013); Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity*, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2003); Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism*, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998); Jackson, Paul, 'Dreaming of a National Socialist World: The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) and the Recurring Vision of Transnational Neo-Nazism', *Fascism*, vol. 8, iss. 2 (2019), pp. 275-306.

months before being thrown out of Germany. Devi continued to visit Nazi sites, including trips back into Germany, and wrote on Nazi spiritualism – often blending Nazi occultism with Hindu philosophy. She increasingly made contact with Nazis across Europe, and in England became a supporter of Colin Jordan and his National Socialist Movement. This led to Devi's attendance at the 1962 Cotswold camp, where they formed the World Union of National Socialists, and Devi contributed to its journal *National Socialist World*.

Devi continued to write books and talk to leading Nazi and neo-Nazi figures across the world, promoting Nazi spiritualism, Holocaust Denial and other causes. After her death in 1982 her ashes were taken to Arlington, Virginia to be placed alongside George Lincoln Rockwell's, who she met at the Cotswold camp in 1962.

Fountaine, Andrew[6]

Andrew Fountaine (b. 1918 – d. 1997) was a British far right politician, former soldier, former naval officer and land owner. Before the Second World War Fountaine fought for Franco's nationalist forces in the Spanish Civil War, and during the Second World War he served in the Royal Navy, ending the way as a Lieutenant Commander. After the war he joined the Conservative Party, but was disavowed after he made antisemitic comments, though he still came a close second for Chorley in the 1950 General Election.

Dissatisfied, Fountaine left the Conservative Party and tried to establish his own movement known as the National Front Movement but this failed and so he joined the League of Empire Loyalists. He left the LEL with John Bean to serve as president of the National Labour Party, and continued with the NLP until it merged into the National Front. He made his ancestral home, Narford Hall in Norfolk, available for military-style camps for the international far right during this period. He also delivered funding to the National Front and some of its stronger results, including over 5% of the vote at Acton in 1968's General Election.

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[6] For further information, see: 'Andrew Fountaine: Obituary', *The Times*, 22 Sep 1997, p. 25; Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front,* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 22-24, 158-159; Richardson, John E., 'Racial Populism in British Fascist Discourse: The Case of COMBAT and the British National Party (1960-1967)', in, John E. Richardson and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Analysing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text,* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 184-197.

Fountaine left the National Front after 1979 and a failed leadership challenge, establishing his own splinter group – the NF Constitutional Movement, later known as the Nationalist Party. This lasted only for a short time and Fountaine left far right politics in 1981 to retire to his estate, serving in local politics within Norfolk until his death in 1997.

Griffin, Nicholas[7]

Nicholas "Nick" Griffin (b. 1959) is a British far right politician and former Member of the European Parliament, serving from 2009 to 2014. Having joined the National Front in 1974, Griffin worked for the party after his graduation from the University of Cambridge, during which time he founded the Young National Front Students, and for which he wrote for *Spearhead* and other NF publications. Supporting the involvement of white power music, helping set up the White Noise Club in 1979, he came into dispute with NF leader John Tyndall.

After Tyndall's departure, he joined the NF's National Directorate and launched *Nationalism Today*. Typical of National Front candidates in this period, when Griffin stood for the NF in the early 80s he struggled to achieve more than 1% of the vote. Influenced by Italian fascist Roberto Fiore and Third Positionism, and along with other younger NF members formed the Political Soldier faction which advocated semi-feudal nationalist communes. As part of this, Griffin attempted to form links with the National of Islam's Louis Farrakhan and Libyan leader Muammar al-Gaddafi. Griffin left the National Front in 1989 however, and despite helping form a break away International Third Position group, he left frontline politics in 1990.

Griffin returned in 1993, joining the British National Party in 1995 where he joined the editorial team of *Spearhead*. In 1998 he was convicted of distributing racially inflammatory material in another publication, *The Rune,* and was given a suspended 9-month prison sentence and a £2,300 fine. Griffin used the profile given to promote debate over

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[7] For further information, see: Carvalho, Joao, 'The End of a Strategic Opening? The BNP's Window of Opportunity in the 2000s and its Closure in the 2010s', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 49, iss. 3, pp. 271-293; Copsey, Nigel, 'Changing Course or Changing Clothes? Reflections on the Ideological Evolution of the British National party 1999-2006', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 41, iss. 1 (2007), pp. 61-82; Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Copsey, Nigel, 'Sustaining a Mortal Blow? The British National party and the 2010 General and Local Elections', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 46, iss. 1 (2012), pp. 16-39; Schaffer, Ryan, 'Pan-European Thought in British Fascism: The International Third Position and the Alliance for Peace and Freedom', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 52, iss. 1 (2018), pp. 78-99.

modernising the party, and in 1999 he launched a leadership challenge to Tyndall, which Griffin won. With a new modernising agenda, that saw racist and openly nationalist rhetoric masked by moderating terms, Griffin saw some success as a candidate for the BNP with results such as in Oldham West and Royton at the 2001 General Election (where Griffin obtained 16% of the vote), In 2009 Griffin was elected to represent the North West region at the European Parliament. As a result of this, he was invited onto the BBC's *Question Time*, seen as a watershed for the party in terms of recognition.

With the increased funding moving through the party, Griffin faced increasing questions around the spending of party funds, even as the party asked for more money to campaign. After a disappointing 2010 General Election, Griffin faced a leadership challenge in 2011 from Andrew Brons, which Griffin won. Griffin went on to lose his re-election bid for his European seat, and he stepped down as leader in July 2014 to become president. He was then expelled from the BNP in October 2014, since when Griffin has attempted several new ventures but with a much reduced profile.

Hamm, Jeffrey[8]

Edward Jeffrey Hamm (b. 1915 – d. 1992) was a British far right politician within Mosleyite circles who took over the running of Mosley's movements following his retirement. Born in Wales, he joined the BUF when he moved to London in 1935 to become a teacher in Harrow. In the pre-war movement, Hamm remained a minor figure and was detained under Defence Regulation 18B in 1940 due to accusations he had promoted fascism with his students. He was released in 1941 to serve in the British army but was removed from front line duty for being disruptive and was discharged in 1944. He would take control of the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women after discharge and promoted fascist and racist policies in London.

When Mosley announced his return to politics in 1947, Hamm eagerly committed the League to this cause and he joined the Union Movement on its founding in 1948. Quickly becoming a senior figure in the Union Movement, he took over northern operations before

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[8] For further information, see: Dorril, Stephen, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, (London: Penguin, 2007); Hamm, Jeffrey, *Action Replay*, (London: Black House Publishing, 2012); Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007); Thurlow, Richard C., 'The Guardian of the "Sacred Flame": The Failed Political Resurrection of Sir Oswald Mosley after 1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33, iss. 2 (1998), pp. 241-254.

returning to London in 1952 to help lead campaigns against Afro Caribbean migrants. After 1955 he served as Mosley's private secretary and, following Mosley's gradual withdrawal from 1966, he increasingly ran the party before taking over officially when Mosley retired in 1973.

Hamm tried to relaunch the Union Movement as the Action Party, but after failure he transformed it into the Action Society in 1978, giving up on electoral politics in favour of cultural work and publishing. He organised events to celebrate Mosley's life and ideas after Mosley's death in 1980, and published his own autobiography in 1983. He died in 1992.

Hancock, Anthony[9]

Anthony Hancock (b. 1947 – d. 2012) was a British far right activist, publisher and hotelier based in Brighton. Hancock began his political involvement with the Racial Preservation Society, and through that became a member of the National Front upon its creation. With funding from some RPS members he had established a small publishing firm, the Historical Review Press, which in 1975 published the Holocaust denial work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz. Hancock departed the NF in 1976 along with the populist wing and he joined their break away National Party.

From the latter half of the 1970s, Hancock focused on his publishing work and was the printer for various far right groups, even those he did not personally support. The press would increasingly produce Holocaust denial material as well, including a republishing of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a pamphlet written by Richard Verrall under the name Richard E. Harwood. Hancock passed away in 2012.

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[9] For further information, see: Bell, Andrew, and Ray Hill, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network*, (London: Grafton, 1988), pp. 204-206, 227-229; Harris, Geoff, *The Dark Side of Europe: The Extreme Right Today*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 118.

Jordan, Colin[10]

Colin Jordan (b. 1923 – d. 2009) was a post-war neo-Nazi leader and teacher. Jordan served in the Royal Army Educational Corps during the war, before returning to University and graduating in 1949 and becoming a teacher. Jordan first became involved in nationalist politics at Cambridge, forming a Nationalist Club and becoming involved with Mosleyite groups around Jeffrey Hamm and Lord Tavistock. However, Jordan moved away from Mosleyite thought and instead became associated with Arnold Leese, a pre-war fascist and camel doctor. The two became close enough that Leese left Jordan a house in his will.

In 1956 Jordan launched his first political party, the White Defence League, but as it struggled for support he merged it with John Bean's National Labour Party to form the British National Party in 1960. As an open National Socialist, Jordan came into conflict with Bean and Jordan split from the BNP to form the National Socialist Movement in 1962, taking with him John Tyndall and several other key activists. Following a riot in Trafalgar Square when the 62 Group opposed a speech he was giving, Jordan lost his job as a teacher. Shortly after this he held a paramilitary camp in the Cotswolds where the NSM hosted George Lincoln Rockwell and founded the World Union of National Socialists, in which Jordan took a leading role.

Along with Tyndall and several other allies, Jordan was convicted and sentenced to jail for establishing a paramilitary force, Spearhead, within the National Socialist Movement. It was on his release from prison that Jordan married French heiress Francoise Dior, helping accelerate a split between himself and Dior's former fiancé Tyndall. Jordan would separate from Dior in 1964 but they reconciled, finally divorcing in 1968. Jordan continued to campaign through the 1960s, using confrontational street-level actions combined with racist rhetoric. These actions saw Jordan convicted several times and spend several periods in prison.

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[10] For further information, see: 'Colin Jordan [Obituary]', *Independent*, 28 Apr 2009, p. 34; Jackson, Paul, 'Accumulative Extremism: The Post-War Tradition of Anglo-American Neo-Nazi Activism', in, Paul Jackson and Anton Shekhovtsov (eds.), *The Post-War Anglo-American Far Right: A Special Relationship of Hate*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 2-38; Jackson, Paul, 'British neo-Nazi fiction: Colin Jordan's *Merrie England 2000* and *The Uprising*', in, Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 86-107; Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Macklin, Graham, 'Colin Jordan: Dreaming of the Nazi "Vanguard"', in, Graham Macklin, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 257-345; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231-252.

In 1968 he launched a new movement, the British Movement, but stepped down in 1974, and in 1975 was fined by magistrates for shoplifting women's underwear from a Leamington Spa branch of Tesco's. This caused Jordan to retire from frontline politics, but he continued to publish and act as a generator of far right thought. In 1979 he began to publish *Gothic Ripples,* initially irregularly but more regularly from the early 1980s, based on Leese's publication of the same name. This included Holocaust denial as well as advocation against moderation of nationalist messaging. He also produced fictional works, including *The Uprising* in 2004 which had a similar narrative arc to the *Turner Diaries*. He died in 2009.

Kingsley Read, John[11]

John Kingsley Read (b. 1936 – d. 1985) was a British political activist. Read had joined the Conservatives in Blackburn, chairing the Young Conservative branch there. A supporter of Powell, he resigned from the Conservatives with some other Monday Club members and joined the National Front in 1973 after the arrival of Ugandan Asians. Securing the support of the populist wing of the NF and those opposed to Tyndall, he became Chairman in 1974. After his re-election in 1975 he tried to oust Tyndall from the NF, but this was overturned in the High Court and so in 1976 he resigned from the NF to set up the National Party.

The National Party had limited local success in Blackburn, seeing Read elected as a councillor. He was put on trial for comments in an anti-immigrant speech in 1978, and was acquitted by Judge McKinnon. Before his death in 1985, he admitted in the 1984 TV documentary *The Other Face of Terror* that he had been involved in the production and distribution of Holocaust denial pamphlets. After his death, it has been repeatedly claimed that he co-operated with *Searchlight*, with *Searchlight* itself claiming in 2002 that he had passed along membership lists.

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[11] For further information, see: 'Outfighting and Outthinking the Enemy: Intelligence-Led Action', *Searchlight*, no. 325, Jul 2002, p. 23; Bland, Benjamin, '"Publish and Be Damned?" Race, Crisis and the Press in England during the Long, Hot Summer of 1976', *Immigrants & Minorities*, vol. 37, iss. 3 (2019), pp. 163-183; Collinson, Marc, 'A "Fertile Ground for Poisonous Doctrines"? Understanding Far-Right Electoral Appeal in the South Pennine Textile Belt c. 1967-1979', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 34, iss. 2 (2020), pp. 273-298; Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 118-119, 137; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), pp. 8, 136, 175-177, 218.

Leese, Arnold[12]

Arnold Leese (b. 1878 – d. 1956) was a British fascist politician, soldier and veterinarian. A qualified veterinarian, he worked in India in the mid-1900s where he became an expert on the camel. His expertise was such that a parasitic nematode that attacked camels was named after him, *Thelazia leeisei*. He was in East Africa when the First World War broke out and was commissioned into the Royal Army Veterinary Corps, going on to serve with the Camel Corps in Africa and later transferring to serve in France. After the war he returned to England and settled in Lincolnshire with his wife, Winifred.

Leese began to take an interest in the Italian Fascists and their leader, Mussolini, in the 1920s – resulting in Leese publishing a pamphlet in support of fascism in Britain. An early member of the British Fascists in 1923, he set up his own successful branch in Lincolnshire. Leese soon came into conflict with the British Fascists, however, over their policy allowing Jewish members. Despite this, Leese became a local councillor in 1924, one of the first fascists elected in Britain. The following year, in 1925, he left the British Fascists for a splinter called the National Fascisti until its collapse in 1927. Leese only served a single term as councillor and retired from professional life in 1928.

In 1929 Leese finally established his own party, the Imperial Fascist League. A deeply antisemitic organisation, it published a newspaper called *The Fascist* as well as several pamphlets written by Leese on subjects such as agricultural policy and the threat of Judaism to British interests. Leese would denounce fellow fascist Oswald Mosley due to Mosley's perceived ambivalence on Jewishness in the early 1930s. Though originally more Italian in style, Leese increasingly became convinced by the Nazi regime in Germany, and adopted many of its elements – especially the guttural antisemitism of Julius Streicher. He would propose the murder of Jewish people in gas chambers in 1935, and in 1936 was convicted over this suggestion and other pamphlets that repeated the Blood Libel that Jews engaged in ritual slaughter of Christian children.

[12] For further information, see: Hillman, Nicholas, '"Tell Me Chum, in Case I Got it Wrong. What Was it We Were Fighting During the War?" The Re-Emergence of British Fascism, 1945-58', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 15, iss. 4 (2001), pp. 1-34; Macklin, Graham, 'Arnold Leese: The "Anti-Jewish" Camel Doctor', in, Graham Macklin, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 22-91; Morell, John, 'Arnold Leese and the Imperial Fascist League: The Impact of Racial Fascism', in, Kenneth Lunn and Richard C. Thurlow (eds.), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain*, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 57-76; Pugh, Martin, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain Between the Wars*, (London: Random House, 2006); Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 35-67, pp. 134-139, 177-178, 192-198, 205-213, 218-242, 247, 252, 263-264, 282, 294-296.

During the war Leese was interned under Defence Regulation 18B in 1940, publishing pamphlets while trying to evade capture by the British police. Though he condemned the war and increasingly stated opposition to Hitler's actions, he was only released in 1944 due to ill health. After the war he left party politics and instead set up the Jewish Information Bureau and published *Gothic Ripples*, primarily to continue antisemitism but also folding in racism against other minorities such as black migration. He was convicted and sentenced to one year in jail for helping escaped Waffen SS members in 1947, and again stood trial in 1950 for criminal libel, though he was acquitted. During publications in the 1950s, Leese strongly denied the Holocaust and acted as a mentor to young nationalist leaders, notably to Colin Jordan and John Tyndall. He died in 1956, leaving his house – what became Arnold Leese House – to Colin Jordan and which became the base for several far right movements.

Mosley, Oswald[13]

Oswald Mosley, 6th Baronet Ancoats (b. 1896 – d. 1980) was a British politician, having been a member of the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, his own parties, and represented both Smethwick and Harrow in the House of Commons. Mosley was born into an Anglo-Irish family with landholdings in Staffordshire. Having attended Sandhurst briefly in early 1914, Mosley was commissioned into The Queen's Lancers cavalry unit and fought in France. He transferred to the Royal Flying Corps, but was injured in a crash. After subsequently returning to front line duty, he was found unfit for combat duties and transferred to work in the Ministry of Munitions.

After the war Mosley was elected as a Conservative Member of Parliament for Harrow in the 1918 election, becoming the youngest MP at the time. In 1920 he married Lady Cynthia Curzon, the daughter of Earl George Curzon, the Foreign Secretary and former Viceroy of India. Increasingly Mosley fell out with Conservative policy, particularly over Ireland where Mosley supported Home Rule and condemned the British response. He resigned the

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[13] For further information, see: Dorril, Stephen, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, (London: Penguin, 2007); Macklin, Graham, 'Sir Oswald Mosley: From "Britain First" to "Europe-a-Nation"', in, Graham Macklin, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 92-178; Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism After 1945*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007); Thurlow, Richard C., 'The Guardian of the "Sacred Flame": The Failed Political Resurrection of Sir Oswald Mosley after 1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33, iss. 2 (1998), pp. 241-254; Worley, Matthew, *Oswald Mosley and the New Party*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Conservative whip and stood as an independent in the 1922 and 1923 General Elections, retaining his seat.

In 1924 he joined the Labour Party. Seeking a new seat, he ran against Neville Chamberlain in Birmingham Ladywood and narrowly lost by 77 votes. He returned to Parliament in 1926 in a by-election for Smethwick. Having become close to the Labour leadership, Mosley obtained a position in Government after the 1929 General Election as the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and given responsibility for unemployment, but was denied a seat at Cabinet. Proposing aggressive economic policies to tackle the economic impact of the Great Depression, Mosley felt stymied by the Labour leadership who rejected his plans for protectionist tariffs and nationalisation of industries. When it was rejected in 1930, he resigned from his post and put forward his proposal to the Labour conference, but was again defeated.

He resigned from Labour and formed his own party, the New Party, in 1931. Mosley lost his seat, and the New Party did not return any candidates to Parliament. As a result Mosley went to Europe and studied the political movement of Mussolini, resulting in his establishment of the British Union of Fascists in 1932. He had gained the support of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Mirror* via their owner Viscount Rothermere, but lost this support after the 1934 Olympia rally that ended in violence between anti-fascist and his Blackshirt paramilitary security. These confrontations continued, and in 1936 Mosley attempted a march through a Jewish area of London, resulting in the Battle of Cable Street as protestors came into conflict with the police and the march was called off. Following the Public Order Act 1936 banning political paramilitarism, he disbanded the Blackshirts and this caused a split as William Joyce and others left the party. In this period Mosley became increasingly attracted to National Socialist styles, and – following the death of his wife in 1933 – married Diana Guinness at the home of Joseph Goebbels.

When war broke out, Mosley campaigned for peace but was soon detained in 1940 under Defence Regulation 18B. Diana Mosley was also interned shortly after, and they were able to live together in prison. Mosley and his family were released from detention in November 1943 into house arrest. After the war he returned to political activity with the Union Movement in 1948. A target of anti-fascists, Mosley retired from Britain for a time to Ireland and then to Paris. He returned in 1959 for the General Election, but after several years and a poor result in the 1966 election, Mosley retired to France permanently. During

both his periods in France he continued to publish material, along with his wife, and published his autobiography in 1968. Mosley died in December of 1980 just outside of Paris.

Powell, Enoch[14]

John Enoch Powell (b. 1912 – d. 1998) was a British Conservative and Ulster Unionist politician, academic and soldier. Powell began his career in academia as a fellow at Trinity College, where he had graduated, studying classics. He was appointed a professor in Australia in 1937. He returned to Britain in 1939 after the outbreak of war and enlisted with the Royal Warwickshire Regiment. Having entered as an enlisted soldier, he gained a commission in 1940 and transferred to the Intelligence Corps. Having attended Staff College, Powell was posted to the Middle East and then, in 1943, to British India as a Lieutenant Colonel. He would become assistant director of military intelligence in India, and at the end of the war was promoted to Brigadier.

Powell declined a permanent post with the Indian Army and returned to Britain, where he joined the Conservative Party and began to work for the party in its Research Department. He was elected in 1950 as the Conservative Member of Parliament for Wolverhampton South West. Initially a strong imperialist, Powell increasingly took the view that Britain could no longer afford to be a world power and should not pursue it, opposing efforts to retake the Suez Canal in 1956. He briefly served as Financial Secretary of the Treasury from 1957 to 1958 but resigned over increased government spending. He would return to government in 1960 as Minister for Health. He refused to serve under Alec Douglas-Home.

In 1964's General Election, Powell advocated for immigration controls, and after the election stood in the Conservative Party leadership contest, but came third. The winner, Edwards Heath, appointed him Shadow Defence Secretary. In 1968 Powell gave a speech warning against what he perceived to be the dangers of continued mass immigration from the Commonwealth to the UK, known as the Rivers of Blood speech. Heath immediately sacked him from the Shadow Cabinet. Derided as a racialist in the press, Powell gained

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[14] For further information, see: 'Enoch Powell (Obituary)', *The Daily Telegraph*, 9 Feb 1998; Corthorn, Paul, *Enoch Powell: Politics and Ideas in Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Peele, Gillian, 'Enoch Powell and the Conservative Party: Reflections on an Ambiguous Legacy', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 89, iss. 3 (2018), pp. 377-384; Sandbrook, Dominic, '"Enoch Powell Speaks for Britain": The Press, the Public and the Speech', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 89, iss. 3 (2018), pp. 392-399; Schofield, Camilla, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

support in the country and prompted demonstrations in support of his stance, and his opposition to the Race Relations Bill then under debate.

Opposed to British entry to the EEC, Powell did not seek re-election in February 1974 and surprisingly condemned his party just days before the election and advocated a vote for the Labour Party. He re-entered Parliament in October, but as the Ulster Unionist Member of Parliament for South Down, a seat he would hold until 1987. Powell campaigned against EEC membership in the 1975 referendum. Following riots in 1980, Powell again repeated claims that this was a result of migration, predicted disaster. He gave speeches in 1981 warning of a demographic shift, due to the birth rate of immigrant populations. He was condemned as alarmist by mainstream politicians.

Declining a peerage after he lost the 1987 election, Powell continued as a political commentator. He continued to campaign against European membership, and spoke in favour of Alan Sked, one of the founders of the United Kingdom Independence Party. He went on to endorse UKIP candidates in several elections. He died in 1998 in London.

Reed Herbert, Anthony[15]

Anthony Reed Herbert (b. unknown) was a British far right activist and lawyer. Similar to John Kingsley Read, Anthony Reed Herbert had been a local Young Conservative chair who grew unhappy when the Conservative Government allowed in Ugandan Asians in 1972, and in 1973 he joined the National Front. He joined the National Directorate in 1974, where he used his casting vote as acting chairman of the meeting to oust John Tyndall in favour of John Kingsley Read. However, unlike John Kingsley Read, he stayed with the NF after Tyndall was restored to power. He continued to stand for the NF, contesting Birmingham Ladywood in 1977, and turned Leicester into a strong NF branch. Reed Herbert broke with the NF in 1979 to form the British Democratic Party, which signed up to the Campaign for Nationalist Unity which became the British National Party of 1982.

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[15] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 156-157; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), pp. 189, 198.

Rockwell, George Lincoln[16]

George Lincoln Rockwell (b. 1918 – d. 1967) was an American far right leader and a sailor. Having joined the US Navy before the outbreak of war and undergoing flight school, Rockwell served on several ships in both the Battle of the Atlantic and the Pacific Campaign primarily undertaking support and reconnaissance flights. Becoming a commercial painter and advertiser after the war, Rockwell was recalled to active service for the Korean War, training pilots in San Diego.

During his time in San Diego, Rockwell became interested in Nazism and antisemitism. After a tour to Iceland, where he was promoted to commander, Rockwell moved to Washington D.C. Once in D.C. he set up a magazine, *U. S. Lady*, in 1955 which opposed communism and racial integration, but which he soon sold. In 1958 Rockwell funds from a wealth supporter to begin publishing material and set up the National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination.

In March 1959 he founded as the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS), which was renamed the American Nazi Party in December 1959, with Rockwell relocating to Arlington, Virginia. He was given an honourable discharge from the US Navy in 1960 as his political views had made him problematic to deploy, an event for which Rockwell blamed Jewish control. Rockwell arranged several public events in the early 1960s, often using refusal of permission as further means of gaining publicity, and was even supported by the American Civil Liberties Union in court cases to gain permits.

In 1962 Rockwell was snuck into Britain, which had tried to ban him, and attended the Cotswold camp with Colin Jordan and the National Socialist Movement. There, with other Nazis such as Savitri Devi, he founded the World Union of National Socialists. When he returned to the states, he began to run in elections, standing as a write-in candidate in the 1964 Presidential Election and in the 1965 Virginia gubernatorial race. In both elections he did poorly. Rockwell increasingly acted in opposition to Martin Luther King Jnr and the

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[16] For further information, see: Jackson, Paul, 'Accumulative Extremism: The Post-War Tradition of Anglo-American Neo-Nazi Activism', in, Paul Jackson and Anton Shekhovtsov (eds.), *The Post-War Anglo-American Far Right: A Special Relationship of Hate*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 2-38; Simonelli, Frederick J., *American Fuhrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*, (Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Smith, Evan, 'Keeping the Nazi Menace Out: George Lincoln Rockwell and the Border Control System in Australia and Britain in the Early 1960's', *Social Sciences*, vol. 9, iss. 9 (2020), pp. 158-170.

civil rights movement, rewarding American Nazi Party members who assaulted Martin Luther King and working with the Ku Klux Klan to block civil rights protests.

In 1966 Rockwell established his *Stormtrooper* magazine, which included Whiteman, an Aryan superhero. He also published several other pamphlets, and gained an interview in *Playboy* magazine. In 1967 however a former member of the American Nazi Party, John Patler, shot and killed Rockwell in Arlington. Matthias "Matt" Koehl took over and continued Rockwell's legacy. Rockwell, being an honourable discharge, was offered burial with military honours at Culpeper National Cemetery, but this was rescinded after mourners displayed open Nazi insignia.

Tyndall, John[17]

John Tyndall (b. 1934 – d. 2005) was a British far right leader, political activist and publisher who was active from the 1950s until his death in 2005. Despite his first political forays after his national service being on the political left, he quickly moved right and opposed the breaking up of the British Empire and what he saw as moral decay. Becoming exposed to Nazi publications, and meeting with key figures such as Arnold Leese, Tyndall moved to support the League of Empire Loyalists from 1957. Growing frustrated with the lack of radical policies, Tyndall joined John Bean and helped him found the National Labour Party in April 1958.

Bean's merger of the National Labour Party with the White Defence League brought Tyndall alongside Colin Jordan, another follower of Leese. Tyndall and Jordan became close friends within the BNP, and both expressed open Nazism and supported the formation of a paramilitary force. This led to John Bean to expel Tyndall, with Tyndall then going on to Form the National Socialist Movement in 1962 based around his paramilitary group,

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[17] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Eatwell, Roger, 'Obituary: John Tyndall; National Front Leader who Founded the BNP', *Independent*, 21 July 2005, p. 53; Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front,* (London: Routledge, 2016); Linehan, Thomas, 'Cultures of Space: Spatialising the National Front', in, Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 68-85; Macklin, Graham, 'John Tyndall: In Pursuit of the "Anglo-Saxon Reich"', in, Graham Macklin, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 346-434; Renton, David, 'Tyndall, John Hutchyns (1934-2005)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 228-269; Walker, Martin, *The National Front*, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977); Woodbridge, Steven, 'History and Cultural Heritage: The Far Right and the "Battle for Britain"', in, Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 27-48.

Spearhead. Following the 1962 Trafalgar Square protests, Tyndall was arrested in July 1962 and convicted for inciting racial hatred. In late summer 1962 Tyndall was present at the Cotswold camp where himself, Jordan, George Lincoln Rockwell and others formed the World Union of National Socialists. Later on that year Tyndall, Jordan and others were then charged for establishing a paramilitary group, for which Tyndall received a six month sentence.

After his release from prison, Tyndall's relationship with Jordan began to break down over Jordan's marriage to Francoise Dior, to whom Tyndall had been engaged, and over political philosophy. Despite letters to Jordan in early 1964 promising his support, Tyndall attempted to oust Jordan in spring of 1964, and having failed established his own movement – the Greater Britain Movement. The GBM would pursue Tyndall's vision of a British expression of National Socialist politics, rather than the avowedly German Nazi style of Jordan. Tyndall however failed to convince the WUNS to transfer the recognised British group from Jordan's NSM to his own GBM. To support this new party Tyndall launched *Spearhead*, a monthly magazine of nationalist thought, and set up a publishing company, Albion Press.

Tyndall's GBM's neo-Nazism and provocative political stunts meant that they were excluded formally from joining the National Front upon its creation in 1967, but Tyndall disbanded the GBM and joined the National Front along with his members. *Spearhead* was turned into a National Front monthly magazine, with Tyndall retaining control. Tyndall had become vice chairman of the National Front, and in 1972 he took over as chairman. After poor results in the first 1974 election and revelations once again circulating about Tyndall's Nazi past, Tyndall was ousted as leader by the populist faction and replaced by John Kingsley Read. Tyndall was then expelled from the National Front towards the end of 1975, but Tyndall challenged this in court and won reinstatement. When the populists resigned in protest, Tyndall regained his old position as chairman.

Tyndall continued to control the National Front until 1979, when a poor election result increased pressure on Tyndall. The party's ruling body refused his October 1979 request for additional powers that would allow him to oust Martin Webster, an old ally, from the National Front. Tyndall resigned from the party in protest in 1980 and established the New National Front though he quickly moved to form a Campaign for Nationalist Unity, holding talks with various far right figures through 1981 and launching it as a Committee for Nationalist Unity in January of 1982. This would establish the British National Party,

unifying lots of small groups on the far right, and would be launched in April 1982. Tyndall's new party gave extensive powers to the chairman, allowing Tyndall to remain in control.

Via the BNP, Tyndall attempted to rebuild international connections, working with the French National Front and also American groups via William Pierce. Tyndall stood for parliament several times for the BNP, and in 1994 retained his deposit in the Dagenham by-election with 9% of the vote. With a poor showing in 1997 however, Tyndall's leadership was questioned and the editor of his *Spearhead* magazine, Nick Griffin, challenged him for leadership in 1999 on a modernising agenda. On Tyndall's loss of the leadership election, he became an ordinary member and tried to rally support around *Spearhead*, which was replaced as the BNP go-to magazine by *Identity*. His continued disagreements with Griffin's leadership and attempts to moderate the outwards appearance of the party led to him attempting a brief leadership attempt in 2001. Tyndall was expelled by Griffin in 2003, but was allowed back in after court action. After a 2004 speech at a BNP event, where Tyndall made racist comments and was filmed secretly by the BBC, Tyndall was once again expelled from the BNP after being charged for incitement to racial hatred. Released on bail in early 2005, he died in July 2005 before he could face trial.

Verrall, Richard (a.k.a Richard E. Harwood)[18]

Richard Verrall (b. 1948) is a British far right activist, holocaust denier and speaker. Verrall was a Conservative Party member who supported Enoch Powell after his Rivers of Blood speech and subsequently left the Conservatives to join the National Front. Unlikely many of the other former Conservatives who fell close to the populist faction and John Kingsley Read, Verrall became close to John Tyndall. After writing several articles for *Spearhead*, Verrall was appointed as editor in 1976, though Tyndall was still actively involved in day-to-day decisions.

Verrall increasingly lectured for the National Front on scientific racism, recycling classic Nazi-era texts on race, as well as drawing in more contemporary scientific expressions of

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[18] For further information, see: Hobbs, Mark, '"The Men who Rewrite History": Holocaust Denial and the British Far Right from 1967', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Tomorrow Belongs to us*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 9-26; Linehan, Thomas, 'Cultures of Space: Spatialising the National Front', in, Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 68-85; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 254-266.

racism. In 1974 his Holocaust denial pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last,* was published under the pseudonym Richard E. Harwood. Popular in the far right, it became the focus of court cases in Canada where it was found to be unreliable. Verrall was dismissed as editor of *Searchlight* in the winter of 1979/1980 as he backed Webster and the continuing National Front when Tyndall formed the New National Front, and Verrall's loyalty was rewarded with appointment as deputy chairman of the National Front. Verrall took little involvement in the front line of politics after this, in 1982 he sued Anthony Hancock for royalties from Hancock's republishing of his *Did Six Million Really Die?* Pamphlet.

Webster, Martin[19]

Martin Webster (b. 1943) is a British far right political activist and publisher. Webster joined the far right via the League of Empire Loyalists, though gained his early prominence as a member of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement. An ally of John Tyndall, he was part of the paramilitary Spearhead unit, for which he was convicted and sent to prison. After his release and the split in the NSM, Webster followed Tyndall into the Greater Britain Movement. Within the GBM, Webster became the front for several high-profile events – most famously for assaulting Jomo Kenyatta, the President of Kenya, in London. Webster was returned to prison for this assault.

Webster had begun writing for *Spearhead* in 1964 and spent some time as assistant editor. As Tyndall made the transfer to the National Front in 1967, Webster continued his support for his mentor and followed him. Championed by the Tyndall faction, Webster was appointed National Activities Organiser – a paid role – in 1969. When approached by the paramilitary National Socialist Group about co-operation with the National Front, Webster informed the security services, leading to the winding up of that group. Webster continued his high-profile actions, including a single man march through Hyde that drew a lot of attention. Famously in this period Webster gave the quote that gave the title to the 1974

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[19] For further information, see: Carter, Alex, 'The Dog That Didn't Bark? Assessing the Development of "Cumulative Extremism" Between Fascists and Anti-Fascists in the 1970s', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Tomorrow Belongs to us*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 90-112; Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 114-118, 125-129, 135, 143; Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front,* (London: Routledge, 2016); Severs, George J. 'The "Obnoxious Mobilised Minority": Homophobia and Homohysteria in the British National Party, 1982-1999', in, Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Tomorrow Belongs to us*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 150-168; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 231-266.

Searchlight pamphlet *Well Oiled Nazi Machine* that condemned the NF as a Nazi front. Webster also supported Griffin and Pearce of the Young National Front in their efforts, much as their strategies upset Tyndall. As the NF failed to break through electorally, Tyndall blamed Webster for these failings – suggesting Webster's behaviour, referring to the open secret of his homosexuality, had disrupted the organisation. When Tyndall tried to oust Webster in 1979, Webster apologised and was supported by the National Front ruling body.

Continuing with the National Front, Webster soon fell out with the Political Soldier faction run by the YNF group and was removed from his positions and eventually expelled. Having set up his own movement, Our Nation, it saw little success and he retired from front line politics. He helped Lady Jane Birdwood with her publication *Choice*, taking it over on her retirement from public life at the end of the 1990s. Webster briefly reappeared in front line nationalist politics after the BNP leadership election in 1999 when he claimed to have had a four-year long affair with Nick Griffin, which Griffin denied.

Anti-Fascist Figures

Bell, Andrew[20]

Andrew "Andy" Bell (b. Unknown) is a British investigative journalist who worked with *Panorama* and *World in Action*, as well as working with *Searchlight* and other groups. When attending Oxford University in the 1970s, Bell was involved with the International Marxists, local student activism and anti-fascist organisations, and through them the short-lived National Committee of Anti-Fascist Committees that sought to unify anti-fascist campaigning in Britain. During his postgraduate study in Birmingham, he assisted Maurice Ludmer with parts of the publishing of *Searchlight*. Following Ludmer's death, Bell assisted in keeping *Searchlight* going but due to his career this could not be public.

Bell went on to have a successful investigative journalism career, working on ITV's *World in Action* and later *Panorama*. Some of his most famous programs he worked on were on police corruption during the 1980s and 1990s, and exposing parts of the far right – notably Combat 18, during which Charlie Sergeant threatened on screen to shoot Bell for linking

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[20] For further information, see: Bell, Andrew, interviewed by Benjamin Lee on anti-fascist activism (2016), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/34/1; Bell, Andrew, and Ray Hill, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network*, (London: Grafton, 1988).

Combat 18 and the UDA. In 1988 he wrote, with Ray Hill, *The Other Face of Terror* – the story of Ray Hill's time inside the far right and as an anti-fascist mole.

Bidney, Harry[21]

Harry Bidney (b. 1922 – d. 1986) was a Jewish anti-fascist activist, businessman and nightclub owner from London. During the Second World War, Bidney reached the rank of Warrant Officer and served in Burma. After the war, Bidney returned to London where he was noted for creative business actions, and who was also an open homosexual despite the prejudice and illegality at the time. Upon his return he helped form Jewish resistance to the re-emergence of far right activists in London, joining the 43 Group on its creation. As part of 43 Group, Bidney helped run infiltrators in the far right, and was engaged in a number of street fights. Bidney also ran the East End section of the 43 Group, putting him at the forefront of fights against Jeffrey Hamm.

Bidney would become a founder member of 62 Group in 1962, and was identified as the paymaster group as well as its recruiting sergeant. As 62 Group membership contracted by 1964, with other financial backers stepping back due to the fines being accrued by the group, Bidney became even more important for the remainder of its existence, helping secure the conviction of several National Socialist Movement activists for arson attacks on synagogues. He also shared his intelligence experience with the parts of 62 Group that would go on to form *Searchlight*.

Edgar, David[22]

David Edgar (b. 1948) is a British playwright, writer and anti-fascist supporter. Edgar became involved in the Socialist Society at university in Manchester during the late 1960s, and after graduation took a role as a journalist for the *Telegraph & Argus* in Bradford. He left his job in 1972 to pursue writing fulltime, though continued to contribute articles to

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[21] For further information, see: Beckman, Morris, *The 43 Group,* (London: Centerprise, 1993); Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 98-102; Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019).

[22] For further information, see: Edgar, David, interviewed by Benjamin Lee on anti-fascist activism (2016), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/09/1; Hewitt, Gerald and Janelle Reinelt, *The Political Theatre of David Edgar: Negotiation and Retrieval*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Megson, Chris and Janelle Reinelt, 'Conversations with David Edgar', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, vol. 22, iss. 3 (2012), pp. 372-391.

newspapers and journals throughout his life. Edgar wrote a number of plays in this period, often transposing the politics of the time into retellings of classical stories.

In 1976 he finished *Destiny*, a play about the National Front and questioning how fascism could return to Britain, which was picked up by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Despite some criticism, it received awards and was televised by the BBC as part of their *Play for Today* in 1978. He offered occasional contributions to *Searchlight* during this period, including a series on the American conservative right in 1980. Edgar continued to have success as a playwright with the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1980, but returned to writing his own plays after that. He tackled issues such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, Albert Speer and the Holocaust, the rise of New Labour and the continued ethnic tensions in Britain.

Freeson, Reginald[23]

Reginald "Reg" Freeson (b. 1926 – d. 2006) was a British Labour party politician, serving as a Member of Parliament from 1964 to 1987 and in several ministerial and shadow ministerial positions from 1967 until 1981. Born into a Jewish family and raised in an orphanage, Freeson served briefly in the Second World War having volunteered at age 16. After his training he spend some time working as a journalist for the armed forces in the Middle East, before leaving the military in 1947.

Upon returning to Britain, Freeson joined the Labour Party and also continued his career in journalism, including work for the *Daily Mirror*, before he became a civil service press officer. He was elected in 1952 to Willesden Borough Council, which he led from 1958 until the council's abolition in 1965. Freeson became known as a known as an anti-racist and a Zionist, and was a founder member of the CND. This reputation lead to his appointment as editor of *Searchlight* when it began publication as a newspaper in 1964. That same year, Freeson was elected as MP for Willesden East, and became known for his opposition to limits on migration. In 1967 he was appointed as Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Power, forcing his resignation as editor of *Searchlight* after its third newspaper issue.

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[23] For further information, see: Dalyell, Tam, 'Reg Freeson [Obituary]', *Independent*, 12 October 2006, p. 40; Gable, Gerry, interviewed by Benjamin Lee (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/11/1; Roth, Andrew, 'Reg Freeson [Obituary]', *The Guardian*, 11 October 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/oct/11/guardianobituaries.obituaries>, [last accessed 11 March 2021].

Freeson would continue to have a successful political career, promoted to Minister of Housing and Local Government in 1969 and serving as spokesperson on housing during Labour's opposition from 1970-1974. When Labour returned to power, Freeson became Minister for Housing and Construction until he resigned after Callaghan became Prime Minister. Opposition from the Labour hard left meant he was de-selected in 1985 in favour of Ken Livingstone. After political life he continued in local politics and print journalism, before his death in 2006.

Gable, Gerry[24]

Gerry Gable (b. 1937) is an anti-fascist activist, publisher, journalist and television researcher. Having tried to be involved in 43 Group, but rejected due to his young age, Gable became involved in 62 Group on its creation, though he was unable to formally be a member as he was not Jewish. In 1962 he had stood for the Communist Party of Great Britain in Stamford Hill during a local election, but soon drifted away from the party. Within 62 Group Gable helped organise the intelligence organisation, building on Harry Bidney's success in 43 Group by launching new infiltrators into the far right. By 1964 he was within the core of 1962 decision making, and in May 1964 became the research editor for the new anti-fascist newspaper *Searchlight*. During this period he also served as steward for North East London Anti-Fascist Committee and participated in the raid on the Union Movement headquarters by anti-fascists in May 1963. In January 1964 Gable was found guilty of gaining access through artifice into David Irving's home in Hornsey by posing as General Post Office engineers. They were fined £20 for the offense.

Gable supported *Searchlight* during its early years as a newspaper, and began to work as a journalist. *Searchlight* in this period turned into a news agency from 1968 until 1974, providing material to various media outlets about far right activity in Britain and overseas. Along with Maurice Ludmer, Gable in 1974 helped produce *Well Oiled Nazi Machine* – a pamphlet exposing the Nazi past of several members of the National Front around John

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[24] For further information, see: Cohen, Joshua, '"Somehow Getting Their Own Back on Hitler": British Antifascism and the Holocaust, 1960-1967', *Fascism*, vol. 9, iss. 1-2 (2020), pp. 121-145; Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 101-109, 117, 162, 215; Gable, Gerry, interviewed by Benjamin Lee and Siobhan Hyland (2015 and 2018), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/11/1, and, AFOH/01/Res/HYL/03/1-2; Sonabend, Daniel, *We Fight Fascists: The 43 Group and Their Forgotten Battle for Post-War Britain*, (London: Verso, 2019), p. 312-314.

Tyndall. Due to its quick sales, Ludmer and Gable decided to re-launch *Searchlight* in a magazine format in February 1975.

Gable took on the role of editor alongside Ludmer as managing editor, but within the first few months stepped aside due to his work commitments, though he remained active working on the magazine. He became involved in investigative journalism, working for ITV companies and for the BBC. Following the death of Maurice Ludmer in 1981, Gable ended up with control of the magazine and its publication. After Vron Ware ended her period editing the magazine in 1983, Gable took over as editor until 1999.

Following complaints to the Charity Commission, *Searchlight* separated its operations clearly from those of its sister organisations Searchlight Educational Trust and its commercial services arm Searchlight Investigative Services, with Gable involved in both. During his period running the magazine, Gable complained at various points of attempts on his life – including a crude letter bomb in the mid-1990s. In 1999 Gable stepped down as editor, handing over the editorship to Nick Lowles and Steve Silver who revamped *Searchlight*, introducing a new format and more colour printing. Gable continued to write sections for the magazine, and continued as its research editor.

For his services to journalism and anti-racism, Gable was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Northampton in 2011. This was the same year that *Searchlight* split with its former campaign Hope not Hate, led by Nick Lowles, over disagreements about running of the magazine. Resuming the editorship of the magazine, Gable – now in his 1970s – established Searchlight Research Associates to help support his activity. Following talks in 2012, he placed *Searchlight*'s archive in the University of Northampton on long term loan.

Hill, Raymond[25]

Raymond "Ray" Hill (b. 1939) is a former far right activist and leader, and also an anti-fascist informant and activist. Hill was born into a Labour-supporting family in Mossley in Lancashire. During his national service he became known as a boxer within the military. His

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[25] For further information, see: Bell, Andrew, and Ray Hill, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network*, (London: Grafton, 1988); Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 156-157, 169; Hill, Ray, interviewed by Benjamin Lee on far right and anti-fascist activism (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/13/1-2; Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), p. 258.

family had moved to Leicester in 1955, and in 1966 he married his wife Glennis. Struggling for work, Hill was drawn into the Anti-Immigration Society who argued that the reason he could not get employment was due to migrants. Hill was soon pulled into the Racial Preservation Society, and finally into Colin Jordan's British Movement. In interviews, Hill has described how there he was told that the migration that stopped him getting employment was unfair because of the inferiority of non-white migrants, and finally that migration was not a mistake but a conspiracy.

Hill quickly rose in the BM ranks, becoming organiser for Leicester and one of Jordan's inner circle, serving as his election agent for the Ladywood by-election in 1969. His reputation as a street fighter saw him rising in popularity within the far right. In late 1969 he was arrested for actual bodily harm however, and it was decided with his wife to emigrate for work. In 1970 he left for South Africa, finding work within the mining industry. Having experienced the racism of the Apartheid system and kindness from the Jewish community, Hill rejected his previous far right views. Hill was asked by a Jewish friend to infiltrate the South African National Front, and was so successful he became its chairman – helping ensure the organisation did very little.

After a decade away, Hill returned to Britain in 1980 and became an infiltrator, after recommendation, for *Searchlight*. At their direction Hill became associated with National Front figure and solicitor Anthony Reed Herbert, who would soon break away to form the British Democratic Party where Hill would disrupt an alleged attempt at gun smuggling. Hill himself resumed his membership of the British Movement, rising to become its deputy leader and passing information on their activity back to *Searchlight* and to the police.

Following disputes with BM leader McLaughlin, Hill moved to join up with Tyndall and his Campaign for Nationalist Unity, writing pieces urging nationalists to join the effort. Hill brought along a good portion of the BM membership as well as bringing Reed Herbert and his BDP along, securing himself a position in the BNP deputy leadership. He took part in several public campaigns for the BNP, including disrupting a filming of BBC *Any Questions?*. By 1984 he wished to leave the far right, and with *Searchlight* arranged for his revelation as a mole in a documentary – *The Other Face of Terror* – for Channel 4, revealing international far right terror links and an alleged plot to attack events like the Notting Hill Carnival.

After his departure from the far right, Hill became a regular writer for *Searchlight* – in a column entitled 'Hill Street Blues' – and published a book with *Searchlight* contributor and supporter Andy Bell about his experiences. Hill also set up a small bed and breakfast, which was allegedly targeted for bomb attacks by the far right in retaliation. Hill has provided talks to parliamentary commissions and given talks about racism and the far right to school children and others. For his work he was voted in as an Honorary Vice President of the National Union of Students.

Joshi, Jagmohan[26]

Jagmohan Joshi (b. unknown – d. 1979) was General Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association (GB), a communist and an anti-racism campaigner. Joshi became General Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association (GB) in the early 1960s, and would serve until his death in 1979. Joshi supported the wildcat strikes such as at Mansfield Hosiery and Imperial Typewriters, which had been denied support or even encountered active hostility from the unions. In wider terms, Joshi believed that non-white workers had a special place within the fight for rights, being those most exposed to the existing system.

Joshi's leadership caused some division, with Southall IWA breaking away due to the communist control of the top of the IWA (GB), but he also worked across community lines and became an ally and friend of Maurice Ludmer, the editor of *Searchlight* and a prominent leader within the Birmingham trade union movement. Joshi died suddenly in 1979.

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[26] For further information, see: Josephides, Sasha, 'Towards a History of the Indian Workers' Association', in *Research Papers in Ethnic Relations – Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations*, (Warwick: University of Warwick, 1991), accessed online at <https://web.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER_RC/publications/pdfs/Research%20Papers%20in%20Ethnic%20Relations/RP%20No.18.pdf>, [last accessed 23 February 2021]; Richards, Sam and Paul Saba, 'Red Salute to Comrade Joshi', *New Age*, no. 14, Jun 1979.

Konopinski, Jules[27]

Jules Konopinski (b. 1930) is a German-born British anti-fascist and Israeli fighter. Konopinski was born in Breslau, Germany, into a Jewish family and moved to Britain in 1939 to escape Nazi rule. After the war, Konopinski – when he was 17 – joined the 43 Group in 1947, developing a reputation as a tough fighter for the group as one of their commandos. Having lost nine uncles and aunts to the Holocaust, Konopinski was motivated to stop a return of fascism. Taking up the offer of Israeli recruiters in 1948, Konopinski spent a year away from the group fighting for the Palmach in Israel. On his return he opposed the closing down of the 43 Group, feeling there was still work to do. Konopinski continued to support anti-fascism, and was one of the group that donated £5 to help set up *Searchlight*.

Lestor, Joan[28]

Joan Lestor (b. 1931 – d. 1998) was a British Labour Party politician who served as Member of Parliament from 1966 to 1983 and again from 1987 to 1997. Born in Canada to British parents, Lestor attended London University to study sociology and became a nursey school teacher. Her father was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and, rejecting the more hard line elements of this upbringing, Lestor joined the Labour Party in 1955 and was successful in local politics before being elected to Parliament in 1966. During her campaigning she became a prominent advocate for women's rights and also anti-racism and was a founding member of *Searchlight*'s board of editors.

Following the resignation of Reginald Freeson, Lestor became the named Editor in 1967, though *Searchlight* would publish only one more issue as a newspaper. Lestor herself was promoted to ministerial rank in 1969, as well as having joined the Labour National

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[27] For further information, see: Jewish Book Club, 'We Fight Fascists [Interview with Daniel Sonabend, Harry Kaufman and Jules Konopinski chaired by Bidisha]', *Jewish Book Week*, 1 Mar 2020, video embedded at <https://jewishbookweek.com/event/we-fight-fascists/>, [last accessed 23 February 2021]; Konopinski, Jules, interviewed by Gavin Bailey on anti-fascist activism (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/BAI/06/1-2; Sherwood, Harriet, 'The British Jews Who Fought Postwar Fascism on London's Streets', *The Observer*, 24 May 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/may/24/the-british-jews-who-fought-postwar-fascism-on-londons-streets>, [last accessed 23 February 2021].

[28] For further information, see: Dalyell, Tam, 'Obituary: Baroness Lestor of Eccles', *Independent*, 30 March 1998, p. 18; Gable, Gerry, interviewed by Benjamin Lee (2015), Anti-Fascist Oral History Collection, Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, AFOH/01/Res/LEE/11/1; Lyall, Sarah, 'Joan Lestor, 66, a Crusader in Britain for Children's Rights: Obituary', *The New York Times*, 1 April 1998, p. 12.

Executive in 1967, which would also have prevented the continued role. She was a prominent campaigner for adoption, winning the right to adopt a child without being married in 1967. She became well known as a campaigner for children's rights and against child poverty both in Britain and internationally.

Lestor took responsibility for Africa in the Foreign Office from 1974 until she moved to the Department of Education and Science in 1975. She left Government in 1976 and served largely on the backbenches, including a year as Chair of the Labour Party from 1977-1978. After leaving the Commons she was elevated to the Lords as Baroness Lestor of Eccles but died the following year.

Ludmer, Maurice[29]

Maurice Ludmer (b. 1926 – d. 1981) was a British anti-fascist activist, publisher, journalist and trade union activist. When he was young the family moved to Birmingham, which became his home for the rest of his life. After school, Ludmer worked briefly at the Austin Motor Works and joined the Young Communist League. In the Second World War he served in the British Army, a result of which was him visiting Belsen concentration camp. On his return to Britain, he took up work initially as a quality controller in a knitwear company, marrying his wife Liz in 1954. Ludmer became active in anti-racist activities towards the end of the 1950s.

In 1961 Ludmer, along with the Indian Workers Association leader Jagmohan Joshi, set up the Co-ordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Birmingham, and later the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination. As part of this, Ludmer opposed British imperialism. In the 1960s he both left the Communist Party, seeing it as insufficiently committed to anti-racism, and began working with *Searchlight*. He became involved in *Searchlight* at the end of its first publication period as a newspaper in 1967, supporting the work of Searchlight Associates, the continuation organisation that acted as a press agency. In 1973 he left his full-time employment in the clothing trade to focus on journalism, becoming a freelance journalist, eventually gaining work as a sports journalist.

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[29] For further information, see: 'He Taught Anti-Fascism to Anti-Fascists and Anti-Racism to Anti-Fascists: Maurice Ludmer', *Searchlight*, no. 73, Jul 1981, pp. 3-7; Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 117-126, 134-135, 152, 165; Renton, David, *When We Touched the Sky: The Anti-Nazi League, 1977-1981*, (Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2006), pp. 77-84; Sivanandan, A., *A Different Hunger; Writings on Black Resistance*, (London: Pluto Press, 1982), p. 11.

In 1974, along with Gerry Gable, he produced the leaflet *Well Oiled Nazi Machine*, and on the back of its success helped launch the magazine format of *Searchlight* – becoming its managing editor. Soon left as sole editor as Gable's work commitments took him away from the editorship, Ludmer balanced his job reporting on sports for the *Morning Star* and organising *Searchlight*. This included creating plans for continuation of the magazine should he pass.

Having also become more active in trade union activity, Ludmer was elected as President of Birmingham Trades Council, helping funnel support to anti-racism causes. Ludmer also joined the steering group of the first Anti-Nazi League from 1977 until 1978. He suffered a stroke in 1980 and died suddenly of a heart attack while on the phone in 1981.

Paskin, Cyril[30]

Cyril Paskin (b. 1922 – d. 2011) was a British soldier, anti-fascist, businessman and philanthropist. Paskin served in the Second World War as a Private with the RAF Regiment in the Burma campaigns, before returning home to London. Following the Trafalgar Square Rally by Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement, Paskin was part of the group that formalised the structures of 62 Group into a long-lasting campaign, taking the role as 62 Group's field commander. Paskin organised 62 Group with sections and recruited their section chiefs along with Harry Bidney.

Paskin was noted for leading 62 Group from the front in direct action against far right groups and was known as 'Uncle' by his comrades for the care he took of 62 Group members and non-Jewish allies, and their families, should they be hurt or arrested. Paskin was photographed just before his arrest in 1964 assaulting Martin Webster, and would be arrested again in 1971 when 62 Group attacked a meeting of The Northern League in a Brighton hotel, using smoke bombs.

As 62 Group faded away, Paskin focused on his business interests and established philanthropic efforts, helping establish the Philip Green Memorial Trust to provide support

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[30] For further information, see: Copsey, Nigel, *Anti-Fascism in Britain,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp.98-101, 109-112; Gable, Gerry, 'Cyril Paskin, Anti-Fascist Fighter – A Life Well Lived', *Searchlight*, no. 437, Nov 2011, pp. 12-13; Ronson, Gerald, *Leading from the Front: My Story*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009), pp. 242-244.

and hospice care for terminally and seriously ill children. Paskin also travelled to Nepal during its civil war to help children there, in tribute to his Gurkha comrades from the Second World War. He died in 2011.

Sivanandan, Ambalavaner[31]

Ambalavaner Sivanandan (b. 1923 – d. 2018) was a Sri Lankan and British writer, activist, librarian and scholar. Having been born in the then-colony of Ceylon to a Tamil family, Sivanandan studied economics and became a bank manager for Bank of Ceylon. After the 1958 anti-Tamil riots, he migrated to the UK, though was unable to gain stable or senior work in banking and so became a librarian, working within both the public library system as well as for the Colonial Office.

In 1964 Sivanandan first began working for the Institute of Race Relations, then part of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, as its chief librarian. In 1972, after a long running dispute over the direction and methods of IRR research, the staff of the IRR (organised by Sivanandan) and its membership removed the Council. Sivanandan became the new director of the IRR, though it now faced a large funding crisis. In 1974 he became editor of its journal, *Race* (and later *Race & Class*) and turned it into a leading international journal on racism and the impacts of imperialism.

Building on his contributions to Race and Class, Sivanandan developed nuanced understandings of racism and also worked on creating histories of black struggle in Britain, especially in the post-war era. His work helped fashion the understanding of xenoracism, thought that was xenophobic in origin but racist in effect. Sivanandan also published two fictional works, in 1997 *When Memory Dies* that looks at imperialism and its downfall, and a collection of short stories *Where the Dance is* in 2000. He died in January 2018.

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[31] For further information, see: Grant, Paul, and Louis Kushnick, 'Catching History on the Wing: A. Sivanandan as Activist, Teacher and Rebel', in, Benjamin P. Bowser and Louis Kushnick (eds.), *Against the Odds: Scholars who Challenged Racism in the Twentieth Century*, (Amhurst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Sivanandan, A., 'The Heart is Where the Battle is: An Interview with A. Sivanandan', *Race & Class*, vol. 59, iss 4 (2018), pp. 3-14; Younge, Gary, 'Ambalavaner Sivanandan Obituary', *The Guardian*, 7 Feb 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/ambalavaner-sivanandan>, [last accessed 22 February 2021].

Ware, Vron[32]

Vron Ware (b. Unknown) is a former journalist and an academic who was involved in Searchlight from its emergence as a magazine in 1975 until her departure in 1983 to focus on her work. Having joined in its early days as a magazine, Ware took over art working and editing the cover of the magazine in the late 1970s. Following the death of Maurice Ludmer in 1981, Ware took over as the named editor of the magazine until 1983 with the support of other members of the *Searchlight* team. During her time at *Searchlight*, Ware took particular interest in the role of women in the far right – Ware was also part of the group Women against Racism and Fascism. This resulted in the 1978 booklet *Women and the National Front.* This focus on gender was also reflected in her academic career that included lecturing in Gender Studies at Yale University from 1999 to 2005.

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[32] For further information, see: Bhandar, Brenna, and Rafeef Ziadah, 'Vron Ware', in Brenna Bhandar and Rafeef Ziadah (eds.), *Revolutionary Feminisms*, (London: Verso, 2020).

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