

## The struggle against right-wing populist/radical and extreme right-wing movements by the Labour Research Department

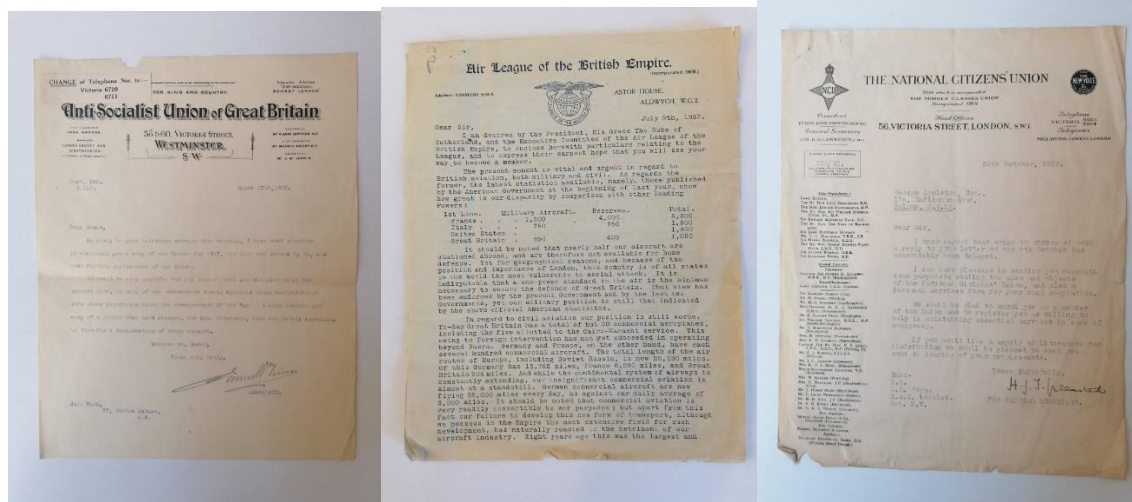


Throughout the C20th the trade union movement has monitored the activities of far-right groups, trying to understand their aims and the threat that they presented. This work has continued into the C21st.

This presentation is based on my own search through the collections in the TUC Library, and largely on the work and the archive of the Labour Research Department.

The Labour Research Department collected information on groups including the **British Empire Union, the British Union of Fascists, the League of Empire Loyalists, and the National Front.**

Theirs has largely been an information war, as they gathered information on these groups' finances, leadership, membership, methods and their language and message.



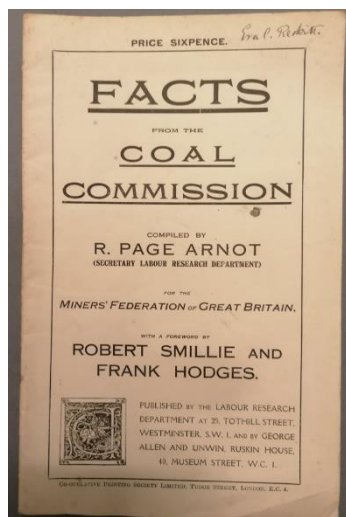
On the evidence of what I found it appears that sometimes this work was done through subterfuge, as it appears that (very much like Christian described yesterday) the Labour Research Department was certainly on the mailing list of many of the groups, if not actually becoming a member of some in order to get classified information. In the archive there are thank you letters for their “support” and appeals for “contributions”.

The results of this research would then go into reports to the affiliated unions and organisations and publications for wider circulation.

## But first a little bit of history about the Labour Research Department

### History of LRD

The Labour Research Department was set up in 1912 as the Fabian Research Department, producing research reports and organising lectures and conferences. Many famous authors and activists have been involved including **George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Ellen Wilkinson** and **G.D.H. Cole**.



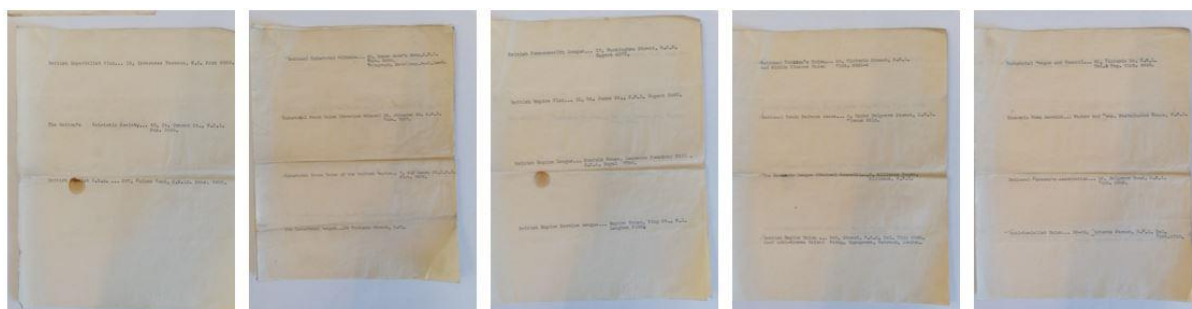
In 1918, the name changed to the **Labour Research Department** and it prioritised supplying unions and other groups with information to use in negotiations, political debates and public meetings.

To make things easier I’m going to refer to the Labour Research Department as the LRD from now on.

The LRD has been involved with political developments and has responded to changes in the law, government policies, and general political attitudes. Its history is also a history of the workers’ movement of the C20th.

National and local trade unions, co-operative and socialist bodies could affiliate. In return for an annual fee affiliates received a monthly bulletin entitled Labour Research and access to the their inquiry service.

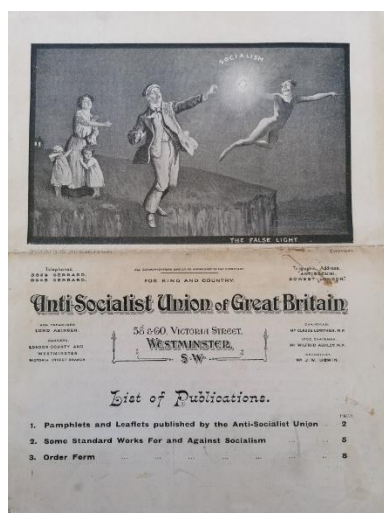
From 1922 onwards LRD directed more attention to the companies which dominated British industry, their accounts, profits, directors and shareholders, together with wages and conditions. For example an investigation into the cotton industry was undertaken for the United Textile Factory Workers Association, followed by a large scale enquiry into theatre companies for the Musicians Union and one on nightwork for the Railway Clerks Association.



From our archives it is obvious the LRD was collecting information on various pressure groups and where appropriate exposing their practices.

Many of these groups were characterised by their anti- trade union and anti-labour stances, which makes it understandable that they should be of interest.

### The groups included:

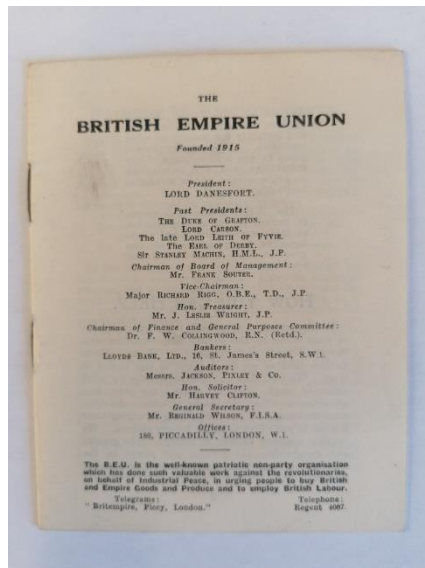


**The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain.** This was a British political pressure group that supported free trade economics and opposed socialism. It was active from 1908 to 1948 with its heyday occurring before the First World War

**The National Citizens' Union** (incorporating the Middle Class Union, which was set up in 1919). It became associated with the emerging strand of British fascism and shared members.

**The British Empire League** – this society was founded by Lord Avebury Lord Roberts and Lord Strathcona in London in 1895 with the aim of securing permanent unity for the British Empire.



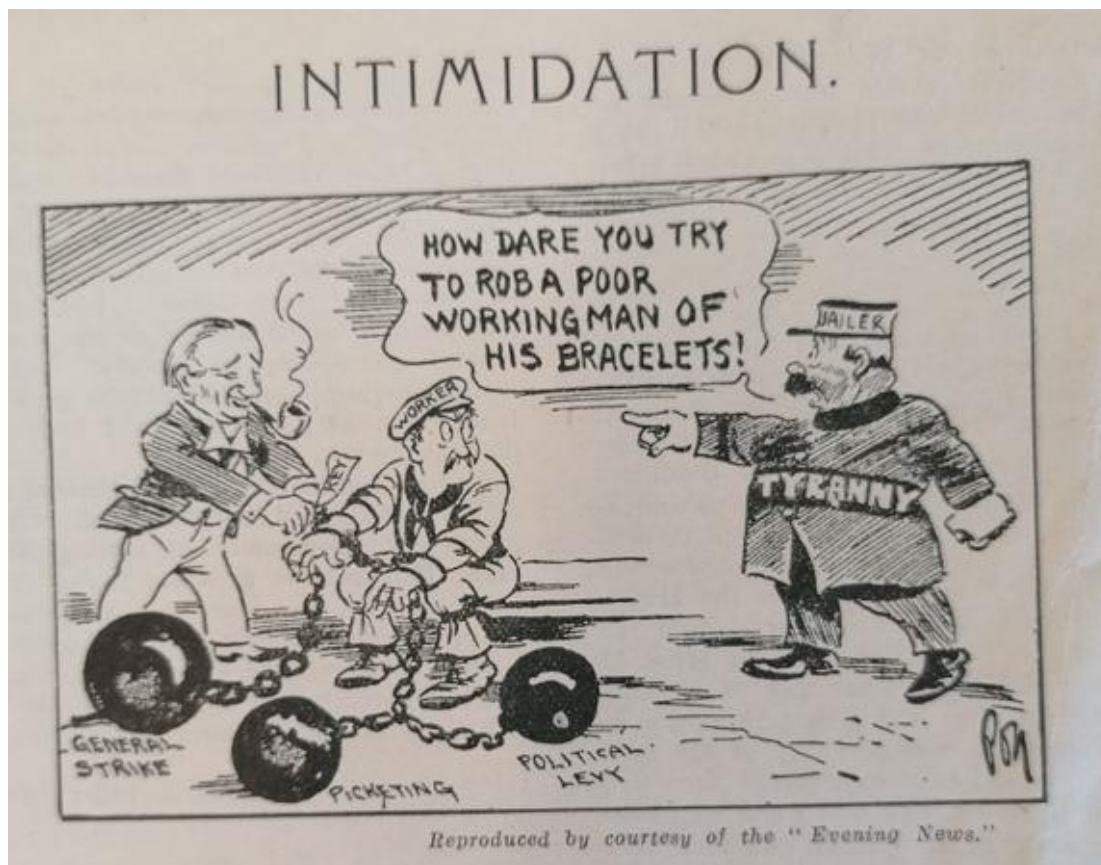


But possibly the most significant group was the **British Empire Union** founded in 1915, which was pro-empire, anti-trade union and anti-socialist. Its publications included “Keep Britain for the British”. And policies included

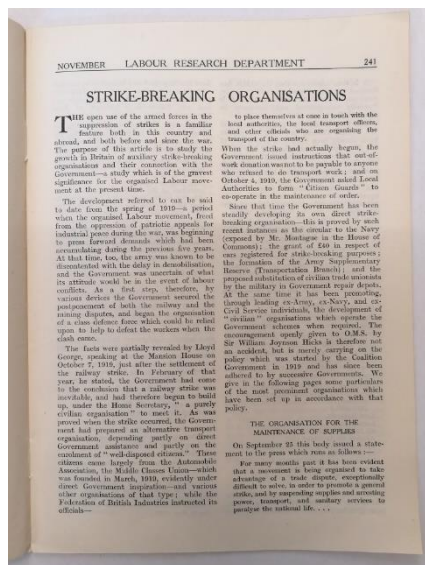
“To exclude undesirable aliens”

“To oppose the teaching of sedition, blasphemy and atheism to children in the Communist, Proletarian and some Socialist Sunday schools.”

“To encourage private enterprise, and the co-operation between capital and labour by impressing upon employers and workers that their real interests are identical.”



“To protect the worker from tyranny and undue interference by the State, Employers, or Trades Unions.”



In 1925 the Labour Research Department exposed their work in a comprehensive article entitled **Strike Breaking Organisations**. It was the Conservative Government of the time that described these groups as “auxiliary strike-breaking organisations” and saw them as providing a potential pool of volunteers to be called on during industrial disputes.

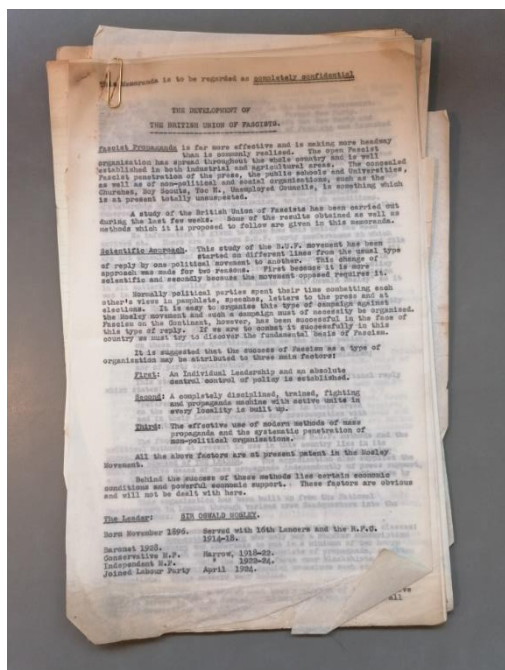
They promoted this initiative through “ex-army, ex-navy and ex civil service individuals”.

Their responsibilities included acting as special constables and voluntary workers on railways and other transport networks

The groups include the nascent British Fascists.

The same article exposes the proposal to enrol of 2 to 3,000 British Fascists into Wolverhampton and Liverpool special constabulary in November 1925. These proposals were supported by sympathetic chief constables.

However the British Fascists were a small organisation and they were overtaken by the much more successful British Union of Fascists formed by Oswald Mosley in 1932.



An internal report marked “completely confidential” reveals how seriously the LRD took the threat of the British Union of Fascists. It noted:

*Fascist propaganda is far more effective and is making more headway than is commonly realised.*

Fascists were advised to become active in trade union branches and to adopt methods to discredit the leaders, local or national, in order to cause dissension and disruption.... And they report that they were effective in establishing themselves in trade union branches, with some reporting a 20% membership of fascists. It was alleged they had members in the National Union of Railwaymen, the transport workers, and the engineering unions.

Thus we find that in the two years since its establishment this new political structure has been built up with branches across the country, with the significance of Mosley especially marked amongst the rank and file of the party. The report notes.

*There is a special problem here in writing anti-Fascist propaganda which will be read by those individuals who are already interested in Fascism. It is possible to approach them in various ways and reveal the systematic brutality, the economic and social impossibility of the State they are working for.*

They also note the support from the press, especially the Daily Mail and its owner Lord Rothermere, who in 1934 published an editorial

“Hurrah for the Blackshirts!”



The files include details of the methods of the BUF including their use of weapons, and there is a frightening letter establishing the supply of knuckledusters which were frequently used by members of the BUF, tracking them down to a sports shop in Lambeth, South London.

With some sense of urgency *the report details the “Methods of Combatting Fascism:*

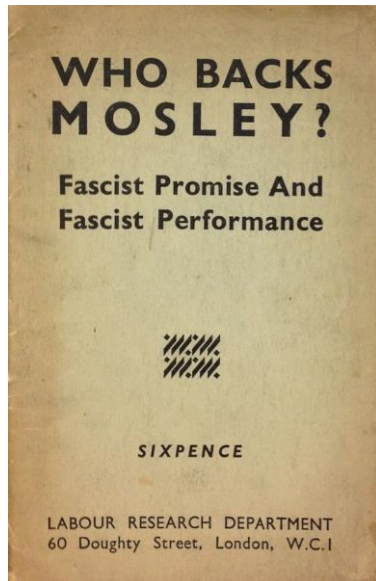
*Highlighting the importance of collecting information from the BUF at all levels across the country.*

*To Sustain this research, and to penetrate the BUF in order to expose it.*

*They recognise the importance of using this information effectively.*



As a consequence the LRD started publishing a series of pamphlets.

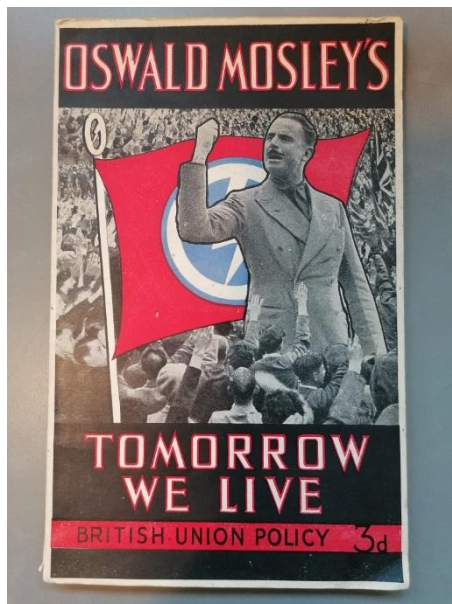


WHO BACKS MOSLEY? FASCIST PROMISE AND FASCIST PERFORMANCE was thus published in 1934.

The intention of this booklet was to draw attention to the true nature of their charismatic leader Sir Oswald Mosley, a politician and former cavalry officer. They wanted to expose the extreme views hidden behind the promises, their links to the establishment, where the support comes from, and to shame those who provide support.

It starts with a critique of Mosley, describing his family history as landowners, accused of “oppression, injustice and vexation.” How Mosley inherited or married into his wealth (married Lady Cynthia Curzon, daughter of American millionaire and an Earl ).

His political career is contradictory, changing from Conservative, to independent, to Labour depending on his need and what best suits his rise to political power. He initially mocks others for imitating Italian fascists. Making much of first denying his hereditary peerage and then accepting it on the death of his father.



The pamphlet does much to detail the lavish lifestyle the rich couple lead, travelling, staying in the best hotels and accumulating properties. During election campaigns he hires a modest car, hiding away his own luxury vehicle. His ideas began to develop into fascism, and following their rejection by the Labour Party, he was expelled. He got a more appreciative audience in the Conservative Party.

In 1932 Mosley visited Rome and met Mussolini. He had also been in touch with Nazi leaders. Soon afterwards a statement was issued that “the decision on all matters of policy is in the hands of Sir Oswald Mosley.” There followed the publication of Mosley’s fascist manifesto ***The Greater Britain***.

Mosley like all populists, attempted to appeal to people’s grievances related to poverty & societal neglect, and offering vague hopes of economic and political solution through authoritarian policies.

Despite Mosley’s pronouncements about breaking with the establishment the pamphlet does much to connect him to the ruling class and financial power including the support from Lord Inchcape, a shipping magnate, and Lord Rothermere of the

Daily Mail. They list establishment supporters.

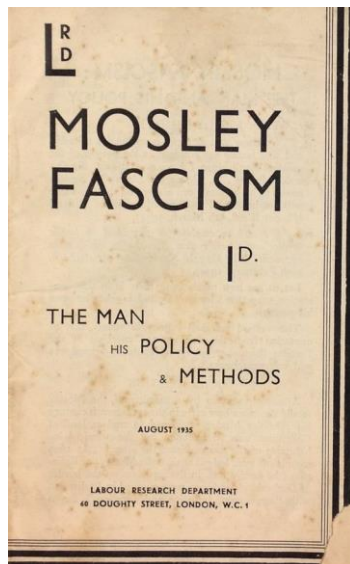
There is a deconstruction of fascist theory. And an explosion of the fantasy promises, including:

“recovering millions of acres from the sea.”

“doubling agriculture production.”

There is some analysis and criticism of economic policy. It details the proposal of state run labour camps for the unemployed based on the model in Nazi Germany.

And it provides evidence of their Antisemitism, and the contradiction between mild official public statements and those much more extreme views expressed within BUF publications describing Jewish people as a block war-mongers.



In the smaller pamphlet **MOSLEY, FASCISM – THE MAN HIS POLICY & METHODS** published August 1935

again the focus is on critiquing Mosley. *Let us see ...who this “leader” is, and to what he owes his position.*

In the section ***Mosley’s Promises*** - there is a list of promises broken during his political career to date.

Finally in the section ***Blackshirt Brutality*** there is detail on the violence of the BUF with members using knuckledusters, short knives, sections of broom handles, and throwing potatoes with ..razorblades embedded in them.

Beyond the report this violence culminates with a rally at the Olympia centre in London in 1934 when some of the 12,000 supporters attending attacked and beat up anti-fascist protesters.

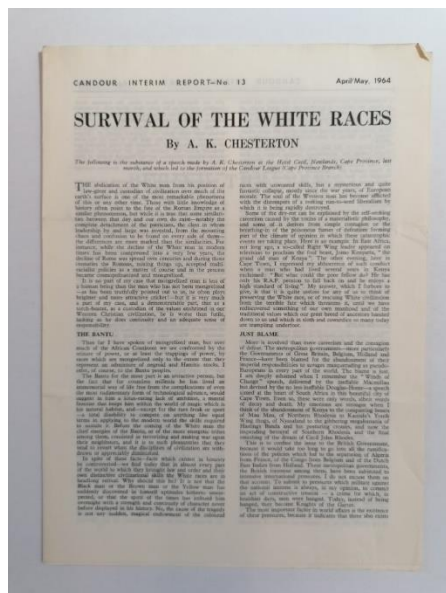
However as the Nazi threat in Europe increased the BUF became weaker and less popular. Their activities were curtailed following a 1936 Public Order Act which forbade wearing paramilitary uniforms and outlawed rallies. And in 1940 the BUF was finally banned.





In 1937 the LRD published a report ***Fascism - Fight it Now*** about the threat of Nazis to democracy in Europe. According to the introduction *This pamphlet gives us a straightforward picture of fascism in action in a neighbouring country – a picture of unspeakable cruelty and oppression.*

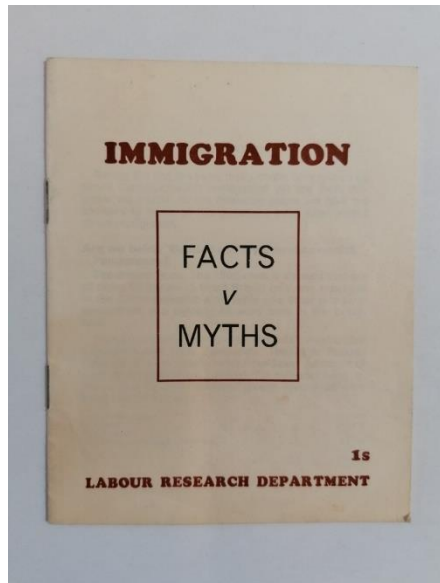
Following the war the LRD continues to monitor the manifestation of far right groups which continue with many of the same individuals from the inter-war period.



The focus for many concerns Britain's remaining colonial territories which were struggling for independence. Key in this was the white supremacist group the **League of Empire Loyalists** and the LRD exposed the company connections and financial interests in Malaya, Kenya, Rhodesia and West Africa. The League was a small group of current or former members of the Conservative Party. Its main purpose was to stop the dissolution of the British Empire led by Arthur K. Chesterton, a former leading figure in the British Union of Fascists, who had served under Sir Oswald Mosley. The League found support from some Conservative Party members, although it was disliked very much by the leadership

With post-war economic expansion, successive governments appealed to the Commonwealth for workers to migrate to the motherland. Subsequently the 1950s saw large scale immigration from the Caribbean, then from the Asian Sub-continent a decade later. Racism was overt in the 50s and 60s, with colour bars in housing, employment and entertainment. There were race riots in Notting Hill and Nottingham. Race was an issue in the 1964 General Election. And in 1968 the Conservative Government minister Enoch Powell gave his infamous *rivers of blood* speech, saying

that British society would end in civil war if immigration was not stopped.



LRD exposed the activities of racist organisations, stressing the need for a law against dissemination of race hatred and in 1961 in the face of moves to limit immigration issued a pamphlet ***The Colour Bar Bill***, answering all the racist arguments

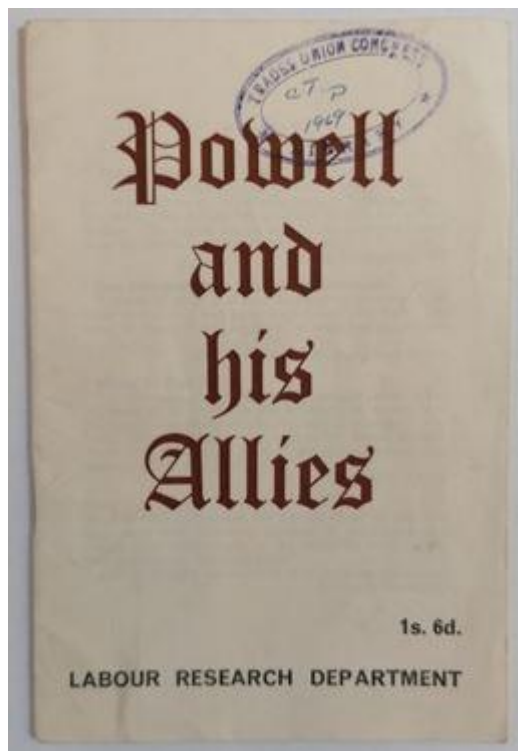
In ***Facts v Myths*** published in May 1968 such questions as

***Are we being 'flooded out' by Commonwealth immigrants?***

And ***Are commonwealth immigrants a drain on our resources?***

were addressed with rational arguments and evidence.

The LRD concludes that : *We live in a capitalist society in which the dominant class has always tried to deflect attention away from the real source of grievances on to an imaginary foe. 5% of the adult population owns 75% of the wealth – coloured immigrants are not among this 5%, yet we are told the immigrants make us poor.*



In ***Powell and his Allies*** a pamphlet published in June 1969

The LRD links Enoch Powell's speeches on immigration to a wave of racial abuse and violence.

The pamphlet examines Powell's claims and exposes his lies and exaggerations. They quote Powell from an interview in which he likened a politician to an artist and

*As such he deceives and is required to deceive, but only in the sense that every kind of art involves deception, deliberated and calculated.*

It details Powell's distortion of statistics about rising population, exposing the fallacies of immigrants raising huge families and their high fertility.

Focuses on Powell's obsession with black immigrants not white.

And exposes Powell's links to far-right groups such as the ultra-right Monday Club, exposing their white supremacist beliefs, and naming the MPs and those in the establishment who are members.

There are also details of fascist parties including the National Front which was formed in 1967.

## National Front

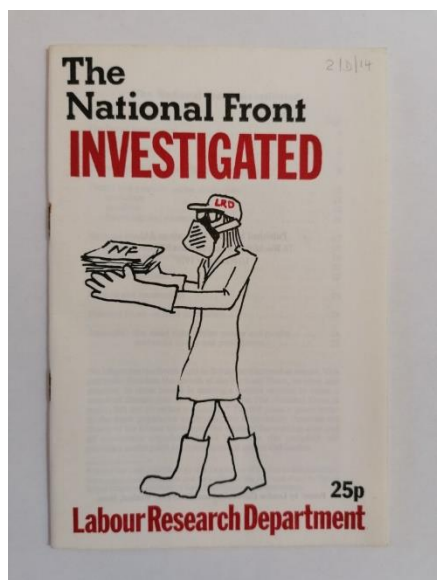


The LRD Keeps tabs on the movements of far right groups including the National Front and publishes details of their electoral successes, and warns against complacency. At their peak the National Front polled 8% in local elections in Leicester in 1972, rising to as high as 27.5% in one ward in 1976.

In 1978 they published **The National Front Investigated**

Stating "No longer can the fascist right in Britain be dismissed as cranks". This pamphlet discusses the growth of the National Front, its ideas and practice, to show how it is making a serious attempt to inject a streak of fascism into British political life.

They describe the origins of NF, with the merger of League of Empire Loyalists, British National Party and the Greater Britain Movement, with direct links back to BUF. All sharing members.



It examines the NF' attitudes, including nation above class and the superiority of the white English male, along with a philosophy of the superiority of leaders over non-leaders.

"Fascist movements have always been structured around the idea and practice of 'natural' leadership pointing to Hitler, Mussolini and Franco." And Ross Bradshaw in ***Germany Calling: a short history of British Fascism*** has argued that this has been a pivotal weakness in their success in Britain, as potential leaders cannot agree who will be the supreme leader and thus splinter off into factions.

The pamphlet details the National Front in action – their use of physical violence and intimidation, with case studies of violent publicity stunts like heckling and pelting MPs with food, and



thus winning recruits in those places who then formed branches.

In 1973 the National Front set up a trade union section with the aim of being an effective force to put pressure on the government to stop non-white immigration and start repatriation of black migrants.

They exposed the work of National Front youth wing and their attempts to recruit young men through publications such as Bulldog.

They name the millionaires who supply funding and list other associated groups and individuals.

However a consistent conflict between the Nazis and the racists led to its break-up in 1980. And when the Conservative Party took a swing to the right under Margaret Thatcher it absorbed many former National Front supporters.

The archives thin out from the late part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century but it is obvious that they are still monitoring far right groups. As these covers suggest, the LRD was carrying out research on the British National Party, and the electoral success of the far right across Europe. And UKIP.



The mainstreaming of the right-wing party UKIP and populist politicians like Nigel Farage, followed by Brexit and the subsequent shift to the right by the Conservative Government has emboldened those on the far right. This provides a challenge to the trade union movement. And the establishment of coalitions like Unite Against Fascism and The Trade Union Co-ordinating Group proves how seriously they take this threat.

The Labour Research Department continues to provide an important role in collecting and providing the information the labour and trade union movement has needed to counter such manifestations in Britain.

***Studying Right-Wing Movements in Argentina:  
An Overview of Topics, Perspectives, and Sources***

Dr. Mercedes López Cantera

Buenos Aires, Argentina




**Argentinian XX<sup>o</sup> century**  
**most important right wing traditions**

**right-wing**  
**Catholicism**

**nationalist**  
**extreme-right**

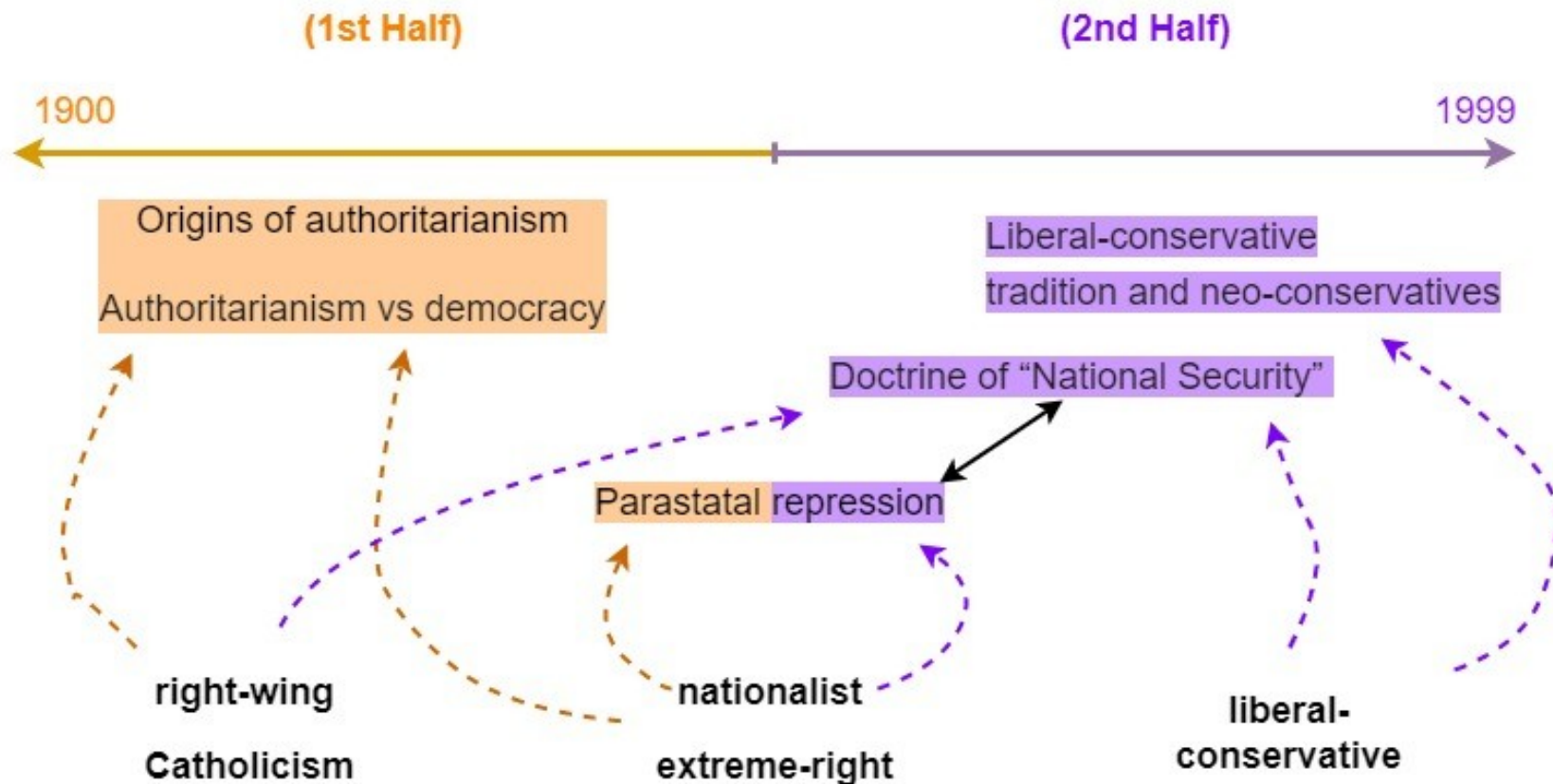
**liberal-**  
**conservative**



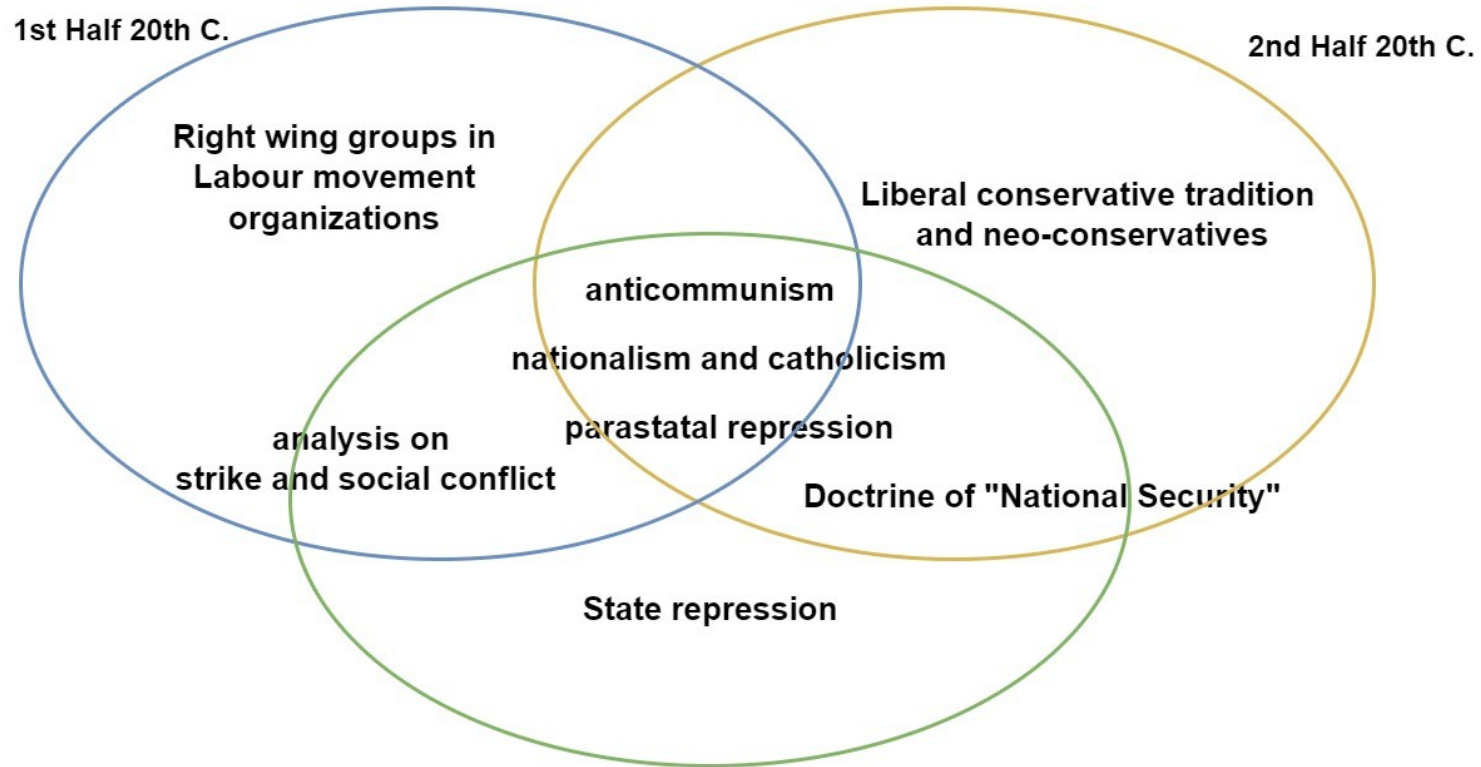
**ideological roots of new political groups**



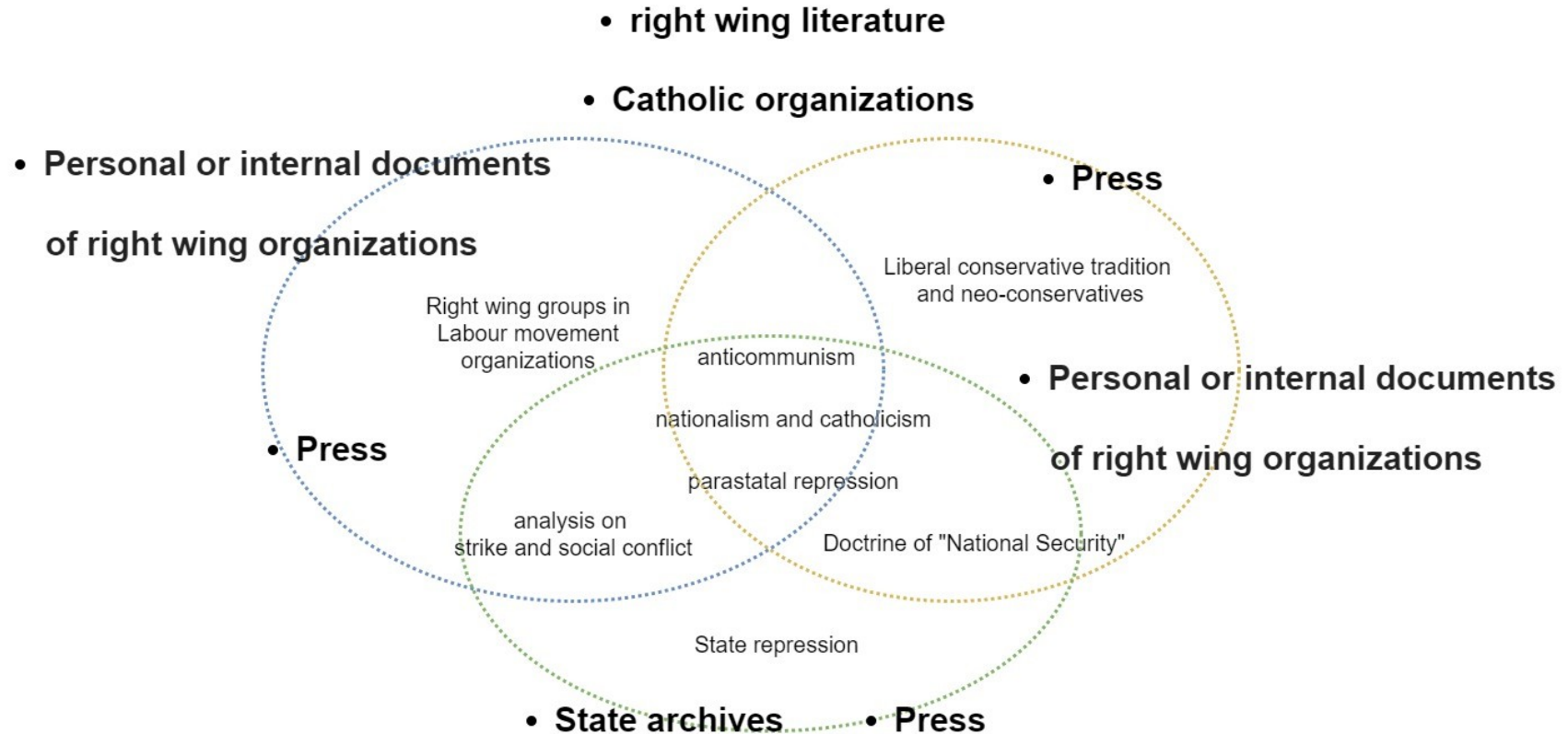
# Main topics of studies about right wing movements in Argentina's 20th. Century



# Researches about right wing that explored connections with left wing movements



# Archives and documents





## Most relevant archives and sources

- **State archives** —————→ AGN Intermedio (ministerio del Interior) / AGN Fondos Documentales / Comisión Provincial por la Memoria,  
Archivo de la Dirección de Inteligencia de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (DIPBA) /  
Diarios de Sesiones del Congreso de la Nación –  
Archivo de la Memoria Legislativa (on line) / Boletines Oficiales
- **Catholic organizations** —————→ Archivo de la Asociación Católica Argentina / Círculos de Obreros Católicos (Central y otros)  
Archivo del Arzobispado de Buenos Aires / Archivo del Arzobispado de Córdoba
- **Personal or internal documents** —————→ Biblioteca del Congreso de los EEUU. Fondo Woodrow Wilson (Lvovich 2020) /  
Wilson Center Digital Archive (Bohoslavsky 2019)
- **Press** —————→ Hemeroteca de la Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno / Hemeroteca de la  
Biblioteca Nacional del Congreso de la Nación
- **Right wing literature**

## Main issues / Research and perspectives of members of the CEHTI

- The proposals of right-wing associations to organize workers
- How a trade union or a strike/struggle must be according to their position
- How the right-wing press analyzes strikes and labour movement organizations (trade unions, Communist Party)
- Searches in the left-wing press about conflicts with right-wing leagues
- What was said by both left and right about a specific conflict or government performance → economy, crisis, repression, etc
- Relationships between extreme right organizations and security agencies (More difficult)

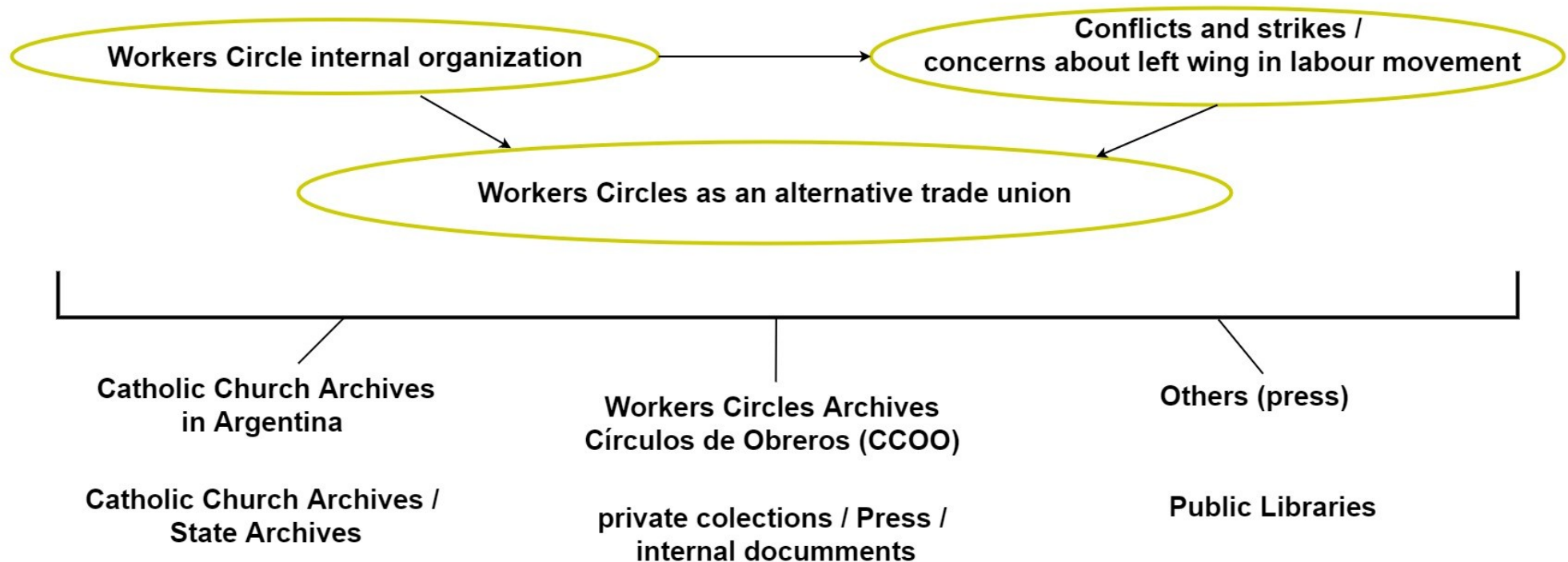
**Catholic and extreme-right  
in the labour movement**

**counter-revolutionary  
narratives and strategies**

# Research and perspectives of members of the CEHTI

Asquini, Sabrina (2022) *Social Catholicism in Labor world: the Workers Circles experience (Buenos Aires, 1890-1922)*

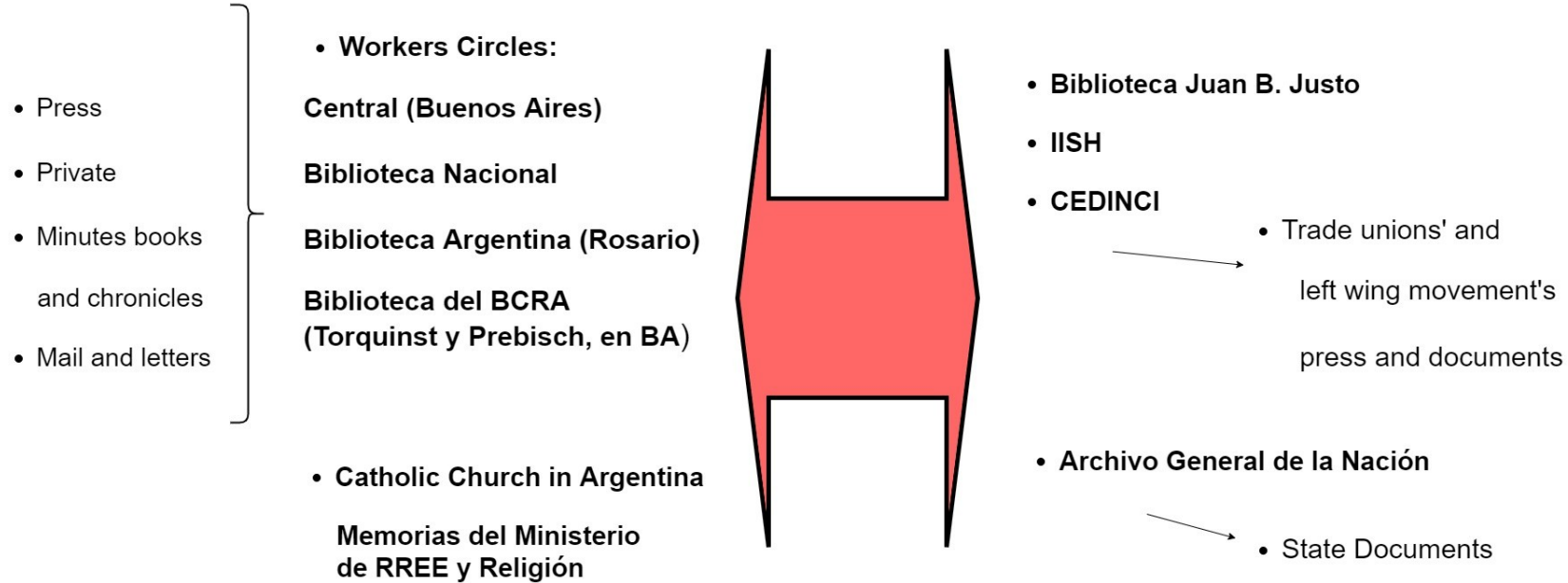
*El catolicismo social en el mundo de los trabajadores: la experiencia de los Círculos de Obreros (Buenos Aires, 1890-1922)*



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**Problems** → Restrictions in Archivo Central Salesiano (BA)

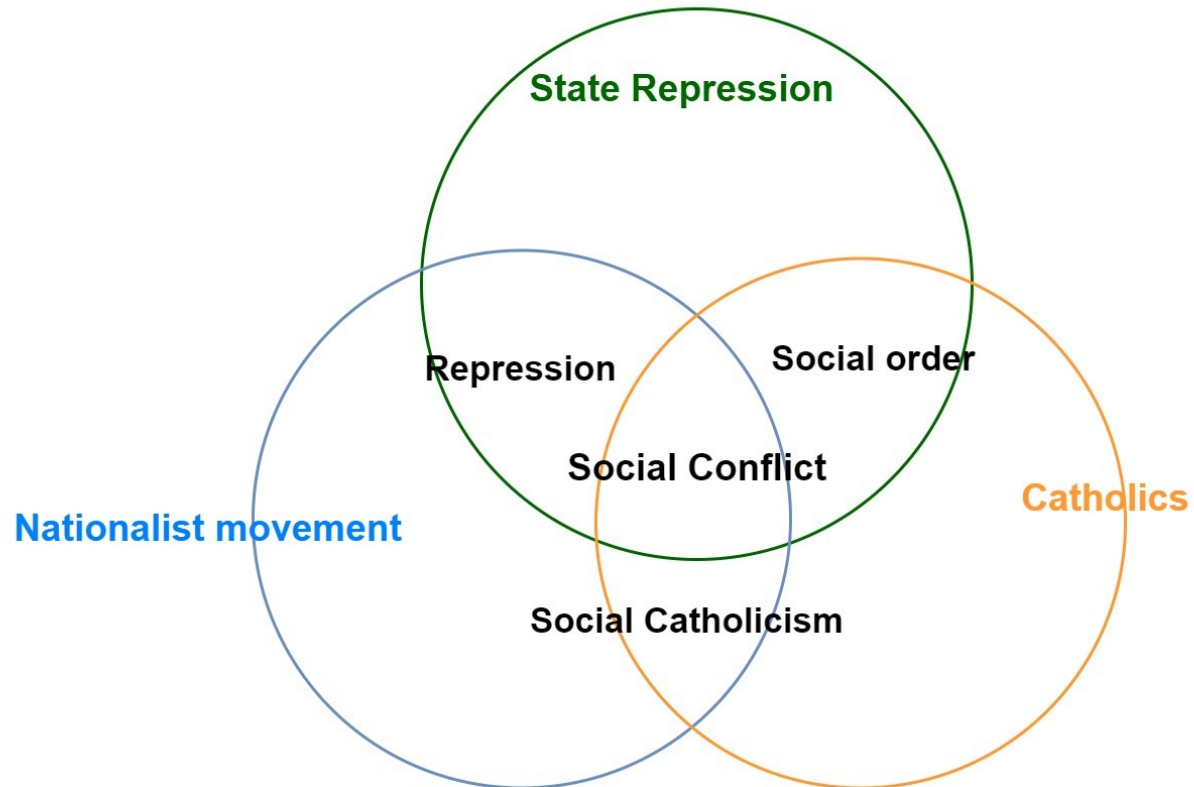
Arzobispado de Buenos Aires, documents before 1950 are mostly-destroyed



## Research and perspectives of members of the CEHTI

López Cantera, Mercedes (2019): *Origins and development of anticommunism in Argentina during interwar period (1917-1943)*

*Orígenes y desarrollo del anticomunismo en la Argentina de entreguerras (1917-1943)*



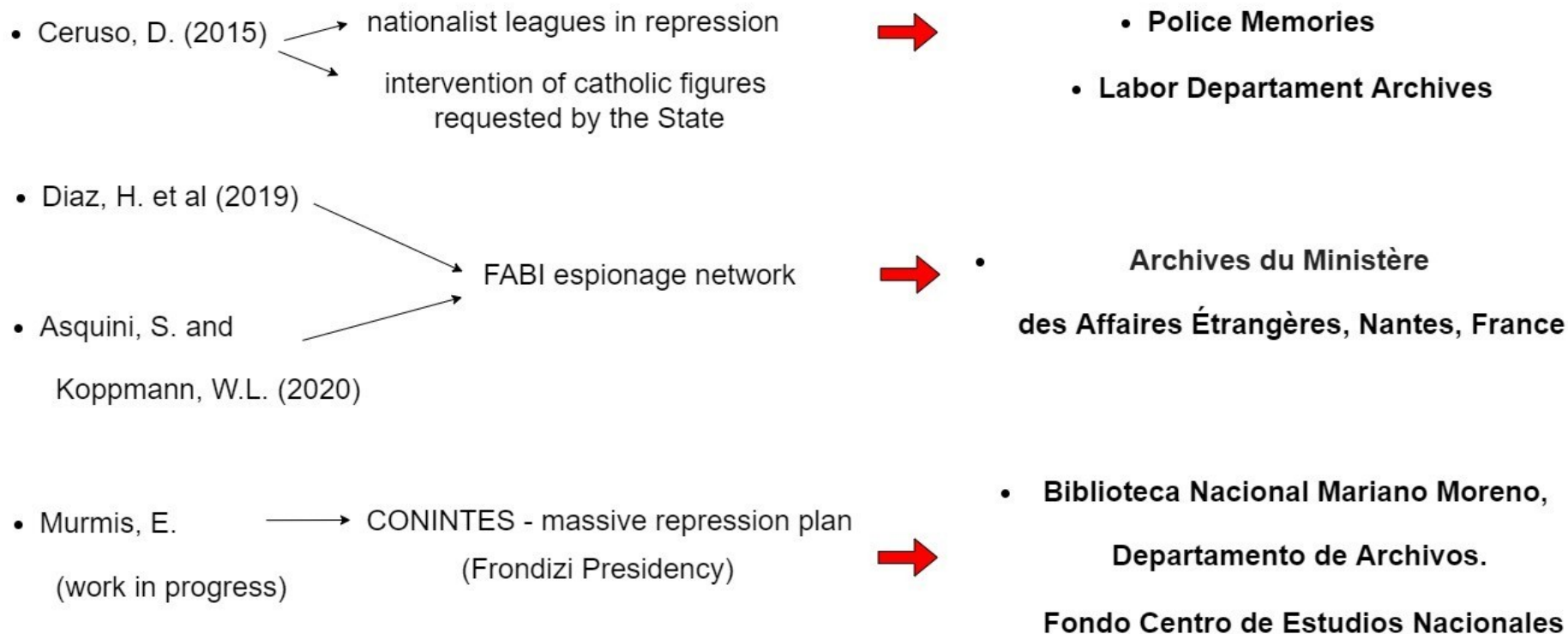
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## Research and perspectives of members of the CEHTI



***¡¡¡ Muchas gracias!!!***

***Thank you very much!!!***





# Activist documentation

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New Left's Struggle against New Right in Denmark in the 1960-70s

Jesper Jørgensen

New Right:  
Democratic  
Alliance  
(1962-1968)



- Press conference 1967
- Hans Hetler, Henning Jensen, president Nguyễn Văn Thiệu

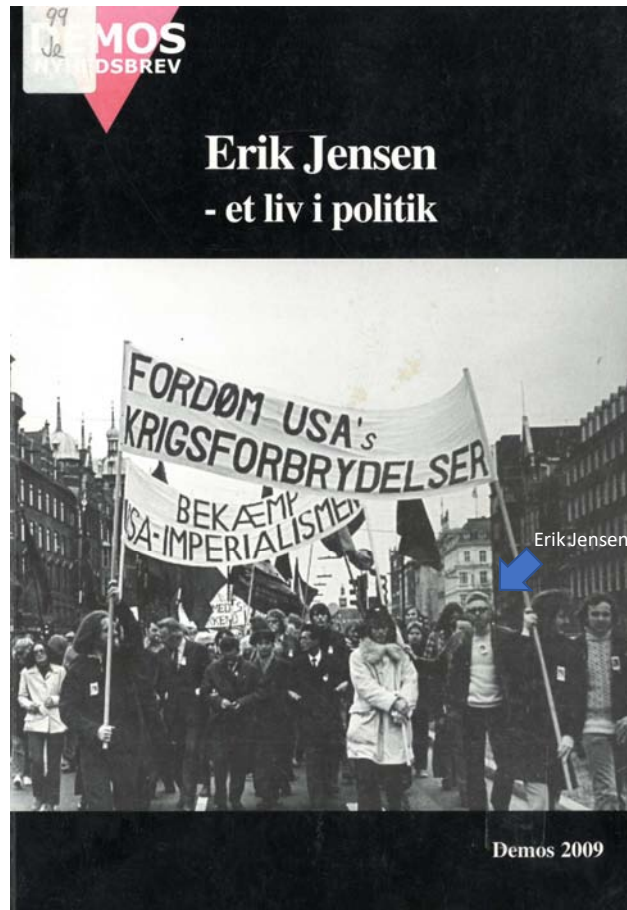




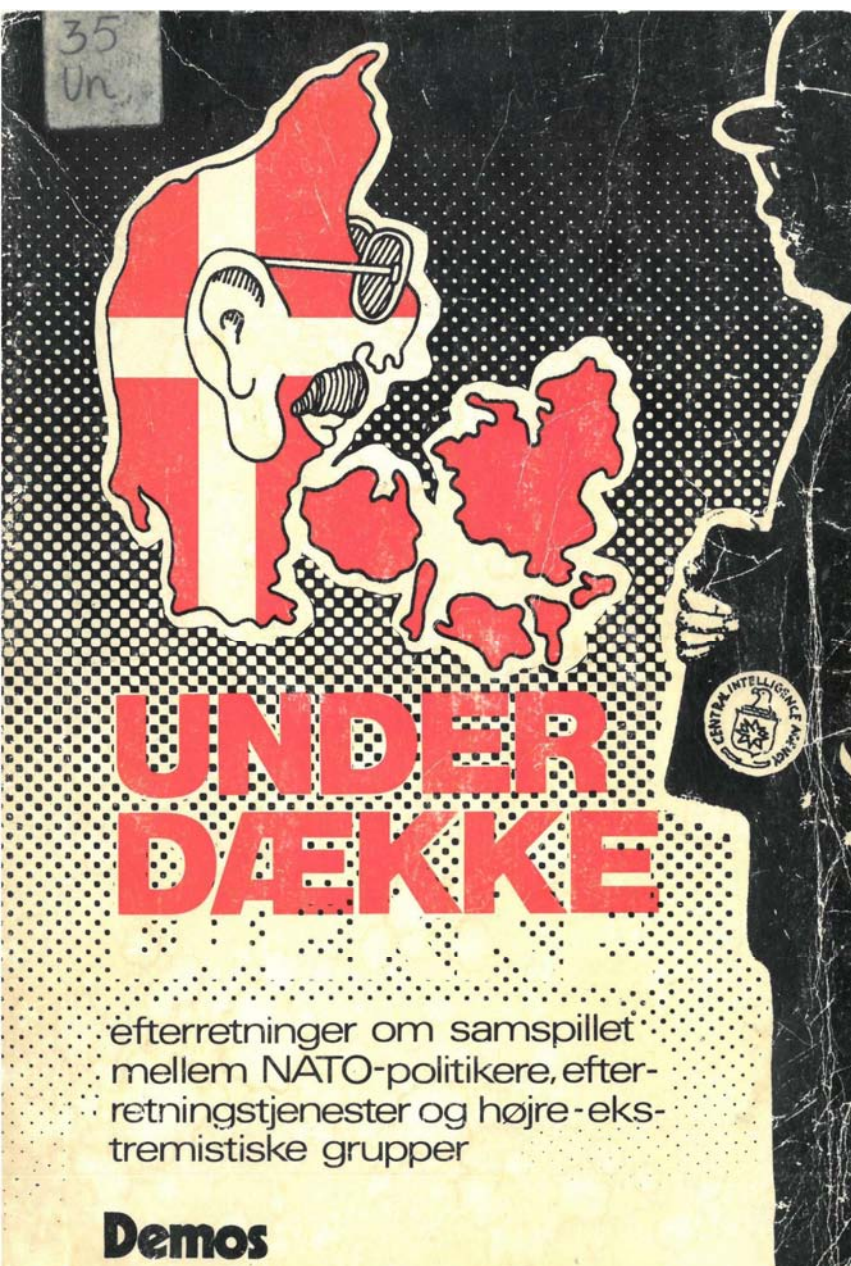
The Battle of the Student Union 1966



New Left:  
The  
Documentation  
Group  
DDV/Demos  
(1968-)







Under Cover - Intelligence on the interaction between NATO politicians, intelligence services and right-wing extremist groups (1978)

# Sources of inspirations



Carl Madsen outside the High Court, 1968

“I have helped to collect material about the right wing, which should and could be published. It was spying on private individuals, that I fought in the 1960s. Back then, it was about spying on leftists, pacifists, radicals, etc. Will [you] now spy on inferior private individuals on the right wing? What should such a material be used for? I am simply very worried. One of the consequences of Stalinism was precisely unrestrained and unscrupulous collecting of material for the secret police. So, there are some things you have to think through, before you end up in something very bad. I can say that if you end up [doing] secret card indexes on right-wingers, I will fight you.”

Mads Nissen Styrk





RESEARCHKOLLEKTIVET
**REDOX**
ARTIKLER
BAGGRUND
STØT
OM REDOX
KONTAKT
NYHEDSBREV
PODCAST
SHOP

Grundlag

Redox er en venstreorienteret, antifascistisk researchgruppe. Vi graver i den yderste højrefløjts aktivitet og strukturer, og derefter publicerer vi vores resultater.

Vores journalistiske research har mange facetter: Vi opsøger og taler med tidligere og nuværende aktive fascister, deres skolekammerater, ekskærester, kolleger og mange andre, der har eller har haft kontakt med fascisterne. Vi fotograferer fascisternes møder og demonstrationer, læser deres nyhedsbreve og hjemmesider. Vi overvåger retsmøder. Vi snakker med researchere fra andre medier og andre lande. Og vigtigst af alt, så modtager vi tips fra rigtig mange mennesker, der gerne vil dele deres viden med os.

Det har konsekvenser for fascisterne at blive trukket frem i lyset. Når en mor finder ud af, at hendes søn bruger søndag på at slå side om side med White Pride, så får det følger. Nogen gange trækker sønnen sig derefter fra sine nazistiske kammerater - andre gange gør han ikke. Det samme gælder, når klassekammerater, lærere, kolleger, bestofteforældre eller alle mulige andre finder ud af, at en de kender er aktiv på den yderste højrefløj. Vores journalistik giver folk mulighed for at sige fra overfor fascisterne.

Nyeste artikler
25 JULI 2022
**Kim Møller smider håndklædet i ringen - Uriaeposten lukker for tredje gang**
16 JULI 2022
**He is convicted of violence and praised as terrorist organisation - Danish Nazi now wears Ukrainian uniform**



Exhibition:  
Activist  
(2021-2022)

# AKTIVIST





Collection of testimonies from Vietnam Demonstration 1968



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*Tove Jensen*  
*(born 1944)*



# Conclusions

- Tracks of continuity from the communist movement
- Dynamics of radicalization between the parties
- Ethical dilemmas in disseminating history bordering on the illegal



Far Right Collections

at the International Institute of Social History

Marien van der Heijden – IALHI Annual Conference 16-9-2022



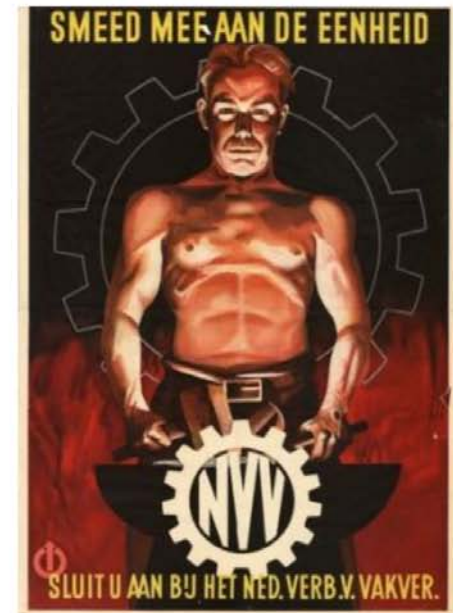
- Our Far Right collections
- Acquisition practices and policies
- Access and use
- Some questions and dilemmas

## Our Far Right collections (pre-1945)

- Quite a few Far Right periodicals from the 1930s, especially German Nazi publications
- Archives and publications of Dutch socialist organizations that were taken over during WWII
- Papers of individual persons who evolved from far left to far right

Smeed mee aan de eenheid.

	 Visual Documents
Other Organization(s):	<b>NVV</b>
Period:	<b>1941-1942</b>
Physical Description:	122x86 cm. 85.5x60.5 cm. 59.5x42 cm.
Published:	(1941?) (S.l. :s.n.,
Genres:	<b>Poster</b>
Subject:	<b>Membership recruitment</b>
Subject Location:	<b>Netherlands</b>



Holdings

Marc

Call number

IISG BG G1/394

[Order reproduction](#)

Dutch trade union poster, 1941

## Double portrait Erich Wichman, Clara Meijer-Wichmann

 Visual Documents

Collector:	Meijer-Wichmann, Clara
Other Organization(s):	Benque & Kindermann (Hamburg)
Published:	1894.
Genres:	Photo
Subject Person:	Wichman, Erich Meijer-Wichmann, Clara
Subject:	Double portrait



Holdings **Marc**

Call number

IISG BG A59/101

[Order reproduction](#)

Youth portrait of Erich Wichman with his sister, 1894

## Our Far Right collections (more recent)

- 1970s and onwards: small far right groups (esp. racist, some pro-NATO and anti-communist); lots of leaflets, brochures, periodicals and some posters; mainly Dutch, some Western and Southern European
- Hans Janmaat papers (1970s-90s)
- Bela Althans papers (1980-2000) and collection of books, brochures and periodicals



De Centruumpartij is nu volwassen. Wij heten voortaan: Centrumdemocraten.

	 Visual Documents
Other Organization(s):	<b>Centruumpartij</b> <b>Centrumdemocraten</b> <b>Comite Turkije voor de Turken</b>
Period:	<b><u>1984-1984</u></b>
Physical Description:	60x42 cm
Genres:	<b>Poster</b>
Subject Person:	<b>Janmaat, Hans</b>
Subject:	<b>Portrait</b>
Subject Location:	<b>Netherlands</b>









Holdings **Marc**

Call number

IISG BG D83/136 [ **Online access** ] [Order reproduction](#)

Poster of Hans Janmaat's party, 1984



<input type="checkbox"/> 1		<b>Hess : the missing years 1941-1945</b> Irving, David 1989 Subject(s): "...Hess, Rudolf...." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Books and Brochures
<input type="checkbox"/> 2	 NO IMAGE AVAILABLE	<b>Rundbrief / Rudolf Hess Gesellschaft Rudolf Hess Gesellschaft (Planegg)</b> "...Althans, Bernd Ewald,..." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Serials
<input type="checkbox"/> 3	 NO IMAGE AVAILABLE	<b>Rudolf Hess : Gefangener der Unmenschlichkeit.</b> 1985 Subject(s): "...Hess, Rudolf...." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Books and Brochures
<input type="checkbox"/> 4	 NO IMAGE AVAILABLE	<b>Rudolf Hess : "der Stellvertreter des Führers" : Stationen seines Lebens</b> Bird, Eugene K 1978 Subject(s): "...Hess, Rudolf...." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Books and Brochures
<input type="checkbox"/> 5	 NO IMAGE AVAILABLE	<b>Rudolf Hess : zum Tod von Rudolf Hess : Wunsiedel 1990.</b> Subject(s): "...Hess, Rudolf...." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Visual Documents
<input type="checkbox"/> 6	 NO IMAGE AVAILABLE	<b>Rudolf Hess ein Märtyrer für Deutschland.</b> Subject(s): "...Hess, Rudolf...." Collector: Althans, Bernd Ewald Visual Documents

Some titles from the Althans collection

## Acquisition practices and policies (1)

- 1935-1940: National Socialism seen as 'important subject' that had to be documented; subscriptions to German periodicals
- Up to mid 1970s: not much was done
- Mid 1970s – present: not an active collecting area, but indirectly a lot of material came in – mainly Dutch

## Acquisition practice and policies (2)

- No direct acquisition from active Far Right organizations/persons
  - Not at the core of our collection profile
  - Network, 'trust relationship'...
- Mostly via anti-fascist organizations and activists, and researchers/journalists
  - Leaflets, brochures and etc.
- Mediation by researcher or journalist
  - Janmaat and Althans papers
- No web/Social Media archiving



## Access and use

- The two recent archives
  - Mediator and archive creator give permission for access; sometimes this poses problems
  - Nothing digitized
  - Finding aids give context
- Publications and visual documents: open in catalog
  - No questions asked to users
  - No publications digitized
  - Visual documents digitized and displayed
  - No contextualization, no 'warning' displayed

## Some questions and dilemmas

### Access:

- Should we be concerned with who uses it and for which reasons?
- Should we digitize?
- Should we provide more context, 'warnings'?

### Acquisition:

- When we mainly collect indirectly and mainly public material, do we get the most relevant materials?
- If the present Far Right is to be documented, are the semi-public statements/insults/threats on social media the most relevant? How to get to the internal discussions?
- If we do not cover this topic actively, who does?

*IALHI, Zürich, September 2022*

geoff.brown@gmail.com



# The united front: founding statement, sponsors, publicity

## Anti Nazi League Founding statement

The National Front are emerging as a growing force in British politics. In the last elections in London they received over 110,000 votes. In some recent by-elections they have pushed the Liberal Party into fourth place. They intend to stand over 318 candidates in the next General Election.

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

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

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

Dave Allen Comedian  
Frank Aikman MP  
Paul Allen Playwright  
Dame Peggy Ashcroft Actress  
Joe Aspinall MP  
Ron Atkins MP  
Norman Atkinson MP  
Lord Aylesbury

Beryl Beardsley Writer  
John Babbalan CEO  
Gavin Barnatt NUPE  
Alan Bass Actor  
Dr. Berry Beaumont, Socialist Medical Association

Sobhy Bellwell MP  
Professor T. B. Birtwistle  
Marion Briers Publisher  
Leslie Brown Bricklayer  
Mervyn Briggs Author  
Michael Bryant Actor  
Norman Buchan MP  
Roy Buckton ASLEF

James Canning journalist  
Bobby Campbell Musician  
Dennis Carleton MP  
Jackie Charlton Football Manager

Richard Clements journalist  
Brian Clough Football Manager  
Professor John Cohen  
Professor Stanley Cohen  
Professor Percy Cohen  
John Coward, Community Relations Worker

Barry Cox MP  
Francis Cocks Actress  
Lawrence Daly MP  
Clifford Davis MP  
Jon Dean MP  
Dale Ditch Director  
James Dimbleby, TV Journalist

Bill Dodgin Football Manager  
Gwyneth Dwyer MP  
John Evans MP  
David Edgar Playwright  
Professor J. E. T. Edridge  
Professor A. R. Emerson

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

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

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

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

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

Alain Farrow NUPE  
Martin Flannery MP  
Paul Fawcett Journalist  
Barry Foster Actor  
Vincent Fox SONGS  
Gerry Gable Journalist  
Lord Gilford

Alan Gledhill Musician  
Larry Grant, Solicitor  
Bob Graham TV journalist  
Trevor Griffiths Playwright  
Walter Hall Actor  
Alexis Groussier, Solicitor

Kenneth Haigh Actor  
Peter Hall, Trade Union Research Officer  
Stuart Hall, Birmingham University  
Wilks Hall, Bristol  
Professor J. D. Harrison  
Professor Royden Harrison  
Mary Holland Journalist  
Doug Hoyle MP  
Bishop Trevor Huddleston  
Bob Hughes MP  
Roy Hughes MP

Gertrude Jackson Actress  
Margaret Jackson MP  
Professor Custer Jacobs  
Bill James, TIGERS  
J. John, Indian Workers Association (IGB)  
Mary Kildor, Author

Miriam Kates Actress  
New Kennedy MP  
Alan Kilian TIGERS  
James Lynam MP  
A. J. Little, Labour MP  
Professor J. Latham  
John Little MP  
Professor Henry Lipson  
Tom Little MP

Max MacDonald  
Donagh Macdonald MP  
John MacGraith Playwright  
Dennis MacIntyre NUJ  
M. A. and Maurine Marlow  
Ian Martin, Joint Council for Welfare of Immigrants  
Max Mason MP  
John Maynard MP  
David Maxwell Playwright  
Ian McKean MP  
John Maynard Playwright  
Professor Alan Milward  
Maurice Milne Actor  
William Milnes MP  
Professor Robert Moore  
Iris Murdoch, Author

Stan Newens MP  
Brian Nicholson TIGERS  
Michael Noble MP  
N. S. Noor Indian Workers Association (IGB)  
Professor J. D. Harrison  
Dish North MP  
Trevor Nunn, Director Royal Shakespeare Company  
Rev. Paul Oestreicher

Professor B. E. Pugh  
Piers Singh Poonacha, Indian Workers Association (IGB)  
Michael Parkes MP  
Laurie Pavey MP  
Professor Sidney Pollard  
Professor Robert Powell  
James Potts MP  
Rev. R. E. Pugh  
John Roper MP  
A. J. Little, Labour MP  
Elena Roberts ASLEF  
Jennifer Robertson Barrister  
Piaul Rose MP  
Jack Rosenthal, Playwright

Anti Nazi League,  
12 Little Newport Street,  
London WC2

**DAILY Mirror**  
BRITAIN'S BIGGEST DAILY SALE 7p  
Monday, December 12, 1977

**The naked truth about men**  
by Marje Proops—CENTRE PAGES

**Soldiers "to break lorry strike"**

**MP WINS SOCCER BOSSES' HELP**

**CLOUGH FIGHTS THE FRONT**

**And Jackie Charlton puts the boot in too**

**Storm as NF man lectures police on riots**

**NEW SMOKING CURBS TO HIT SPORT**

**THE NATIONAL FRONT IS A NAZI FRONT!**

**NEVER AGAIN!**

**STOP THE NATIONAL FRONT!**

**NF? NO!**

**Anti Nazi League**

12 Little Newport Street, London WC2



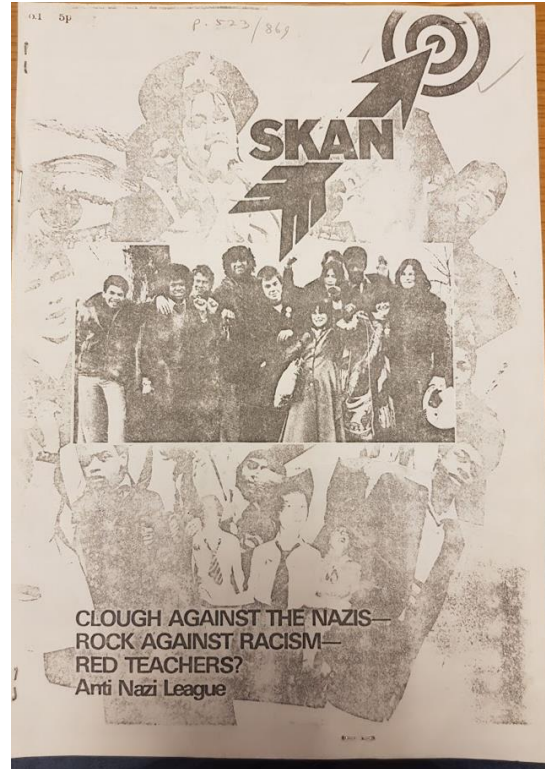


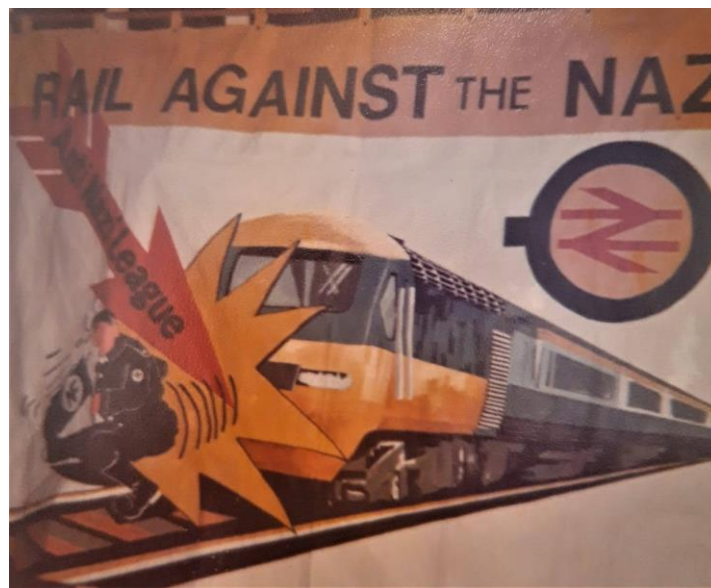




# *Accessing materials relating to the movement at the grass roots*

## School Students against the Nazis, SKAN







# Accessing materials relating to the movement at the grass roots

## Football Fans against the Nazis



### Join the FAN Club

#### Football Against the Nazis

SPURS are unbeaten in the league since a little upset at Liverpool.  
Coughie's FOREST are unbeaten in 36 games. The Spurs team are definitely playing well enough to break Forest's run.  
But are we, the Spurs supporters, good enough to beat the racists?

So far this season, we have managed to keep the Nazi National Front off our terraces at White Hart Lane. There has been no racist chanting at black players. Today the Nazi rats will be trying to stir up racist abuse against Viv Anderson the black Nottingham Forest fullback.  
Viv Anderson is one of the most exciting defenders in the country—strong in the tackle and superb coming forward. Anderson should be judged on his merits as a footballer which has nothing to do with the colour of his skin.

The only thing wrong with Viv Anderson, is that he doesn't play for a decent side!

At other clubs the Nazi Front have been trying to organise on the terraces. This cowardly scum are a tiny minority, but it only takes a minority to act as fascist cheer leaders—that is how they get the racist chanting going.

At Spurs we don't put up with this nonsense. Our Spurs Against the Nazis leaflets have gone down well. Last Sunday over 500 young Spurs fans, black and white, participated in a Spurs Against the Nazis 5-a-side knockout competition—see overleaf for results and report. Let's keep it that way.

**TOTTENHAM HOTSPUR - MAGIC  
NATIONAL FRONT - TRAGIC**

**Keep racism out of football, join us and become a real FAN (Football Against the Nazis).**



**BADGES: (15p+ 7p postage) and further information from  
FAN c/o 265a Seven Sisters Road, London, N4**

## "Dazzler socks racists"

### SKY BLUES



"The new Nazis of soccer, who have adopted the nauseating practice of jeering at coloured players to try to put them off their game, got the order of the boot in a big way at Coventry.

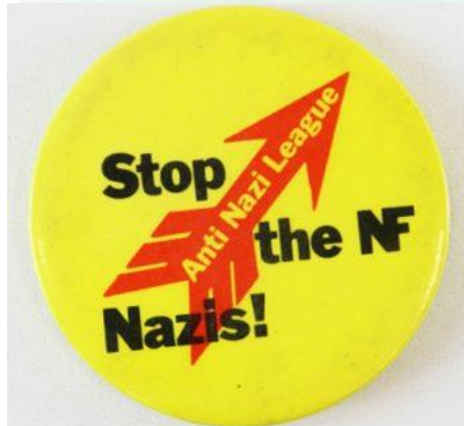
Outside the ground an entire group of city fans distributed thousands of leaflets saying that Highfield Road should become a no-go area for those racists who abuse coloured players."

After the Ipswich match, the Mirror printed this report by Frank Taylor. Meanwhile, the Coventry Telegraph responded with a deafening silence.

### AGAINST THE NAZIS

## Anti Nazi League

# Civil Servants against the Nazis



REGISTERED NUMBER  
1075016

RELEVANT PAPERS

SUBJECT  
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS -  
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES  
(THE WEARING OF BADGES & DISPLAY OF  
NOTICES ON OFFICIAL PREMISES)

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27/10/74

DRG NELSON

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# Web based sources

[How Eric Clapton's Bigotry Begat UK's Rock Against Racism Movement](#)

[Anti Nazi League | Documentary | Thames Television |1978](#)

[Hackney School Kids Against The Nazis \(1978\)](#)

[London Against Racism Timeline](#)

[Memories of Brick Lane Oral History Films - Swadhinata Trust Organisation](#)



# 52nd ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LABOUR HISTORY INSTITUTIONS (IALHI)

Swiss Social Archives, Zurich, Switzerland  
September 14-17, 2022

Responses of social democracy and trade  
unions to the challenges of right-wing  
extremism in Germany since the 1950s



# Development of right-wing extremism in Germany

Phase classification according to Richard Stöss:

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
1946 - 1961	1962 - 1982	1983 - 1990	Since 1990
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>❖ Right-wing extremism initially benefited from the profound post-war problems</li><li>❖ Rapid economic growth in the 1950s ("Wirtschaftswunder") largely deprived right-wing extremism of its social basis</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>❖ Coalition between CDU/SPD and the economic crisis of 1966/67 favored the rise of the NPD</li><li>❖ Political changes (CDU in opposition in 1969) deprived NPD of political basis. This led to the crisis and fragmentation of right-wing extremism</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>❖ Economic and political changes (globalisation &amp; modernisation) resulted in the rise of right-wing extremism all over Europe</li><li>❖ "New right-wing extremism" became a European phenomenon</li><li>❖ Organised membership grew</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>❖ Racist violence increased between 1991 and 1994</li><li>❖ Violent subcultures embedded in a latent right-wing extremist environment</li><li>❖ Emergence of the NSU terrorist group</li><li>❖ Organised right-wing extremism has been in crisis at the party level</li></ul>



# Prohibition „Sozialistische Reichspartei“ (SRP) (1950s)

## Sozialistische Reichspartei (SRP)

- Founded in October 1949
- Characterised as the successor organisation to the NSDAP
- Leadership: Former members of the NSDAP
- Prohibition in 1952

## Archive holdings:

- SPD
- Trade unions (DGB)
- Collections (Photographs, Leaflets, posters)





# Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands – NPD (1960s)

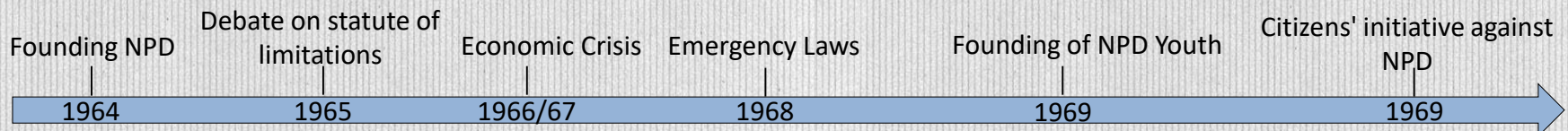
## Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands – NPD

- Founded in 1964
- 1966/67 Elected to several state parliaments
- 1969 Defeat in the Bundestag elections



## Regional holdings of the SPD:

- SPD Hessen
- SPD Bayern
- SPD Bremen
- SPD Rheinland-Pfalz
- SPD Niedersachsen
- SPD Schleswig-Holstein

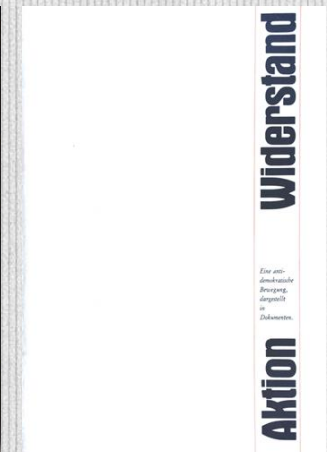




# Non-parliamentary right-wing extremism (1970s)

## „Aktion Widerstand“ („Action Resistance“)

- Right-wing extremist organisation (1970-1971)
- Directed against the German government's policy towards the East ("Warsaw Treaty")
- Non-parliamentary right-wing extremism
- Increasing violence and militarisation in the 1970s
- First conviction of right-wing extremists as terrorists ("Bückeburg Trial", 1979)



## Archive holdings:

- SPD Youth Organisation
- Fes archive holdings





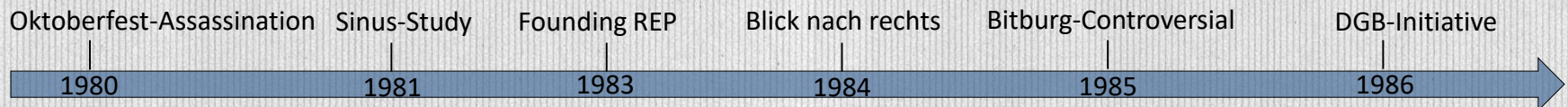
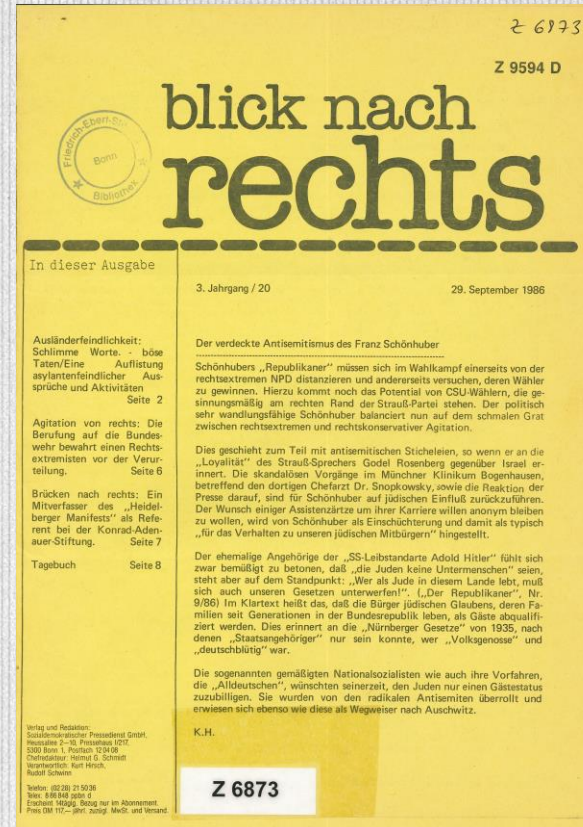
# Education and information services (1980s)

## „Blick nach Rechts“ („View to the right“)

- Information service to raise awareness of right-wing extremist activities
- Re-founded under SPD leadership in 1984

## Archive holdings:

- Institut für Information und Dokumentationen e.V. (Present publisher)
- Estate Klaus-Henning Rosen (Member of the Editorial Board)
- Library collection (DGB migration stock)

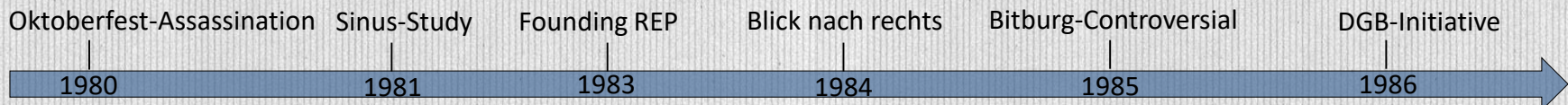




# Solidarity (1980s)

„Mach meinen Kumpel nicht an!“  
(„Don't hit on my buddy!“)

- 1986 Foundation of the trade union initiative against xenophobia and racism
- Solidarity with foreign workers





# Right wing riots (1990s)

## „Rostock-Lichtenhagen riots“

- In August 1992 violent xenophobic riots took place in Rostock-Lichtenhagen
- Up to 3,000 people watched the violent attacks and applauded

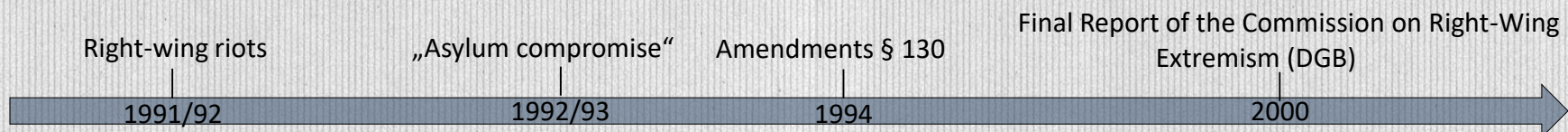
## „Asylum compromise“:

- New regulation of asylum law with the consent of the SPD
- Controversial debate within the SPD
- Reversal of guilt



## Archive holdings:

- SPD-PV und SPD-BTF
- SPD Jusos
- Trade unions





# From the fringe to the middle of society (2000er)



Increase in right-wing motivated offences and demonstrations.

Photo: AdsD, Paul Glaser

## First „Middle“-Study (FES):

- Examines anti-democratic attitudes in the German population
- FES archive holdings

Oliver Decker und Elmar Brähler  
unter Mitarbeit von Norman Geißler

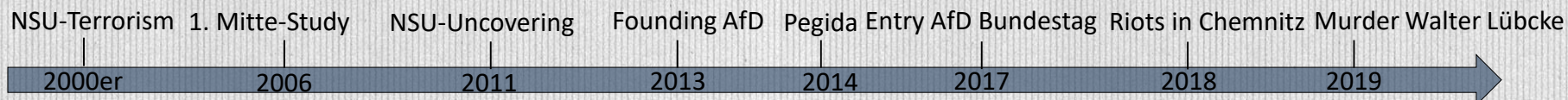
## Vom Rand zur Mitte

Rechtsextreme Einstellungen und  
ihre Einflussfaktoren in Deutschland

FRIEDRICH  
EBERT  
STIFTUNG  
Forum Berlin

## “Youth for Tolerance and Democracy”:

- Programme against Right-Wing Extremism, Xenophobia and Anti-Semitism
- Initiated by the Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance - against Extremism and Violence (BfDT)
- The BfDT was co-founded by the SPD politician Cornelia Sonntag-Wolgast





# Developments since 2010

- Uncovering of the NSU in November 2011 revealed a new dimension of right-wing terrorism in Germany
- Spread of further fragmented small parties and movements since 2015 (Pegida, III. Weg)
- Murder of the politician Walter Lübcke in 2019

*Right-wing extremism is classified as the greatest extremist danger to democracy (Report on the Protection of the Constitution 2021) and must be discussed as a social problem.*





# Thank you for your attention!