

not but what form it should take. A fact such that all those eligible claim the idea of a negative income tax is imaginative and should be incorporated in welfare arrangements.

Redistributive effects of the present are far from ideal. Indeed, they are opposite of what is intended. As Pro has put it: "Many of us must . . . now put too much faith in the 1940s in the versatility as applied to social security. It was linked with economic egalitarianism who have benefited most are those who least." And, more recently, it has been broken even point between taxes paid and benefits received, for a household is about £10 per week. The convention of the welfare state as a means of redress from rich to poor is clearly in revision.

Reduction of markets and choice into services could go along with a more determination on poverty and economic inequality before been attempted. Free services to equality and make greater equality, in more difficult to achieve. Brian Abel-Smith and Vaizey have shown that the middle more benefit out of free health and services than the working classes.

Paying for services

And secondary schooling, there are of policy that should be sharply distinguished, administration and finance. If itself, requires neither public provision subsidy. The obligation to carry insurance is an obvious example. The benefits that flow from schooling justify subsidies. But, if freedom of choice is to be maintained, subsidies must be paid to parents and the total subsidy could be anything from a penny agreed upon—larger than at desired. Here we can emphasise a point, namely, that it is not the *fact* but the *subsidy* that is crucial. Subsidies paid to parents create non-market situations in which the price to purchasers are consistent with the price to consumers.

The price to consumers would be sufficient to enable all an agreed minimum of schooling for all. To ensure that it was retained for that the subsidy could take the form of vouchers of money value and which could be used for schooling. Parents would be free to spend the minimum out of their own income. The price to parents would thus be worth less to those with low incomes. The government would supervise minimum standards in the provision of services, and vouchers would be encashable at had desired standards. The government of subsidies to purchasers need not be in the actual provision of the services. Nor, if freedom of choice is to be maintained, must it do so, or, at least, not in a way.

Freedom in schooling is consistent with both a 100 per cent public subsidy for any form of schooling for all children. Health services, quite apart from the fact that they are already discussed, would provide a solution to the volcanic problem of doctor shortage. The root of the conflict between the government and the profession is the capitation/fee system. This system has the following features: a GP invests in his practice, he receives a net income; the better the quality of service, the lower his net income for any given number of hours worked; for any given practice, a GP receives the same net income for any given net income

come, the old GP has to maintain the same size of list of patients as the young GP. There is no incentive to invest in investment and quality of services and the lifetime pattern of earnings is seriously distorted.

It really is difficult to imagine a scheme more skillfully contrived to maximise discontent among doctors. There is, at bottom, no alternative to a fee-for-service system as a solution. An item-of-service system of payment with a fixed pool would quickly degenerate into a capitation system, with additional disadvantages, as did that in Manchester and Salford, 1913-28. An item-of-service system without a fixed pool would leave doctors open to the cuts in the amount per item-of-service suffered periodically by dentists since 1948. And a salaried service, which has serious drawbacks anyway, seems to be ruled out by strong professional opposition.

Once again, the total amount of public subsidy need not fall as a market is created and it could be increased as doctors incomes (through fees) rose to reflect current conditions of supply and demand. In general outline, patients would pay doctors' fees directly and recoup some agreed proportion from the government. This method is used in Scandinavian countries, among others, and seems to work well enough. Doctors would be rid of the incubus of a single employer and would, along with other professions, earn their incomes in the normal way in markets. A Government would need to ensure that the privileges of legal monopoly were not abused.

Another area in which the creation of a market is needed to deal with pressing, immediate problems is higher education. The outstanding fact here is that, outside Oxford and Cambridge colleges, universities are almost wholly dependent for finance on direct grants from government. The two utterly undesirable effects of this system are to undermine the independence of universities and to take no account of the substantial economic gains of many students in the form of higher future incomes.

Once more our general principle of paying subsidies to purchasers (students) rather than to suppliers (universities) comes into play. But in this case the

total amount of subsidy should be reduced by replacing a portion of grants now made to students by loans—a system widely used in other countries. These reforms would enable universities to raise their fees to economic levels, dependence on government would be sharply reduced and, as a bonus, the advantages of a market in higher education would emerge.

Abolishing uniformity

Markets can be introduced in the social services: they must be introduced if freedom of choice is to be effective; and they can be used to give effect to aims other than freedom of choice, like less inequality in the distribution of income and wealth; maintaining minimum standards of living generally; ensuring minimum standards in particular services; and guaranteeing at least a minimum of consumption of a particular service, like schooling. Within these constraints of income and wealth distribution and minimum standards, people will spend their money (including public subsidies) freely in competitive markets. Preferences for social services, as for other things, differ and different families will buy different amounts of schooling, health and pensions.

But that result conflicts irreconcilably with the objective of social policy which says that there must be *uniform*, not *minimum*, standards for all. Or, put another way, that there must be complete equality of consumption of particular goods and services. This is the very antithesis of freedom of choice. Markets are perfectly consistent with equality of consumption of goods and services in general but they can never be so in particular. It is here that the basic logic of non-market situations is revealed, for it is only in them that equality of consumption so defined stands any chance of being achieved. The conflict here is ethical and not technical, a clash of ultimates and not disagreement about different ways of doing the same thing. We have to choose. But we should at least be clear that we can never hope to build freedom of choice into institutional arrangements that are implicitly designed to exclude it.

Welfare: choice and the market

a different point of view will be argued next week by Robert Cassen

BRITAIN'S RACIALISTS

Inevitably, perhaps, some small political groups are expressing and taking advantage of hostility towards immigrants. How successful are the descendants of Britain's prewar Fascists?

Colin Cross

Sitting under a portrait of Adolf Hitler, Colin Jordan at his headquarters in Notting Hill talked of his design for turning Great Britain into a National Socialist State with himself as Leader. His acolytes, respectfully calling him "Mr Jordan", sported swastika badges and armbands. His French wife, with her blonde hair and blue eyes looking like Hitler's dream of Aryan womanhood, stared fixedly at him as he talked.

"I have no illusions", said Jordan, "about the difficulties we are going to encounter. National Socialism is not going to have quick or easy success. Our calculation is that it will take ten years before we count as a major political force in this country."

Once in power, Jordan would behave as an autocrat. He would be willing to tolerate criticism but he would allow no opposition to the basic principles of his regime. His first task in power would be to defend the "British race". This would involve the expulsion of citizens of non-European descent, in which he would include the entire Jewish community. He would define as a Jew anyone with one Jewish grandparent.

"I have no wish to persecute the Jews", said Jordan. "We don't want to keep them here as second class citizens or anything like that. All we want to do is as humanely as possible to expel them from our shores and settle them in some country they could call their own."

Jordan, who is 41, took a second in history at Cam-

bridge. He talks vigorously and lucidly. He has been twice to prison as a result of his political activities and would go again rather than give them up. Everyone who has worked with him regards him as an excellent organiser. He is the most considerable personality to appear on what, for want of a better term, must be called the neo-Fascist wing of British politics since Sir Oswald Mosley took the plunge 33 years ago.

Part of his success lies in his skill at gaining publicity. Such slogans as "Hitler was right", which he distributes on leaflets, attract attention. His Nordic "blood wedding" with his wife brought him publicity, as did their subsequent separation and reconciliation. By using the paraphernalia of Nazism, he identifies himself instantly for what he is. To the general public the name of Colin Jordan has become synonymous with racist politics.

Yet his organisation is minuscule. His membership—which he refuses to discuss—is confined to about two dozen activists. His political activities are confined to the inflammation of racial prejudice in areas of high coloured immigration. "If you don't want a Negro neighbour—send him home!" says a typical Jordan sticker. He claims a share of the credit for defeating Patrick Gordon Walker at Smethwick and Leyton—he, like other racials, was active in both constituencies.

Jordan's main asset is his headquarters in Princesdale Road, Notting Hill. There is a "gymnasium" in

the political minorities: 4

the basement, a shop on the ground floor, a flat for Mr and Mrs Jordan on the first floor, and an office on the second floor. The premises belong to Mrs Winifred Leese, widow of the veterinary surgeon Arnold Leese, who between the wars ran the violently anti-Semitic Imperial Fascist League—Leese as early as 1935 wrote of using "the lethal chamber" to exterminate the Jews. Mrs Leese allows Jordan free use of the building and has left it to him in her will.

Jordan's possession of the premises has been a trump card for him in the incessant quarrels and splits which are characteristic of racist politics. The little groups are always sub-dividing and then forming new alliances. Jordan, whether in the minority or the majority in a particular split, has through Mrs Leese always been able to keep the headquarters. Successively the building has been used by the White Defence League, the British National Party and the National Socialist Movement, all under Jordan's leadership. Last year Jordan quarrelled with his then deputy, John Tyn dall. The two of them expelled each other from the National Socialist Movement but Tyn dall was bound to fail because of Jordan's legal possession of the premises. Now Tyn dall runs an even tinier organisation called "The Greater Britain Movement".

The spur that keeps them all going—especially the lucid and ambitious Jordan—is the recollection of what the Fascist dictators achieved between the wars. Hitler, starting in utter obscurity with a handful of followers, made himself in 20 years the absolute ruler of Germany and the master of Europe. This is the jackpot of which his British successors dream. Incessantly they try to find the right formula for repeating Hitler's success.

Another characteristic is that despite the quarrels and divisions and the adoptions of new names, the movements have a strong thread of continuity and longevity. Jordan is in direct descent from Arnold Leese's Imperial Fascist League, which started in 1928 and in one form and another has been continuously active ever since. One cartoon Jordan uses today in his propaganda—it portrays a Jew flourishing a whip while figures labelled "Tory", "Labour" and "Liberal" lick his boots—is 30 years old.

Mosley's Union Movement

This characteristic of continuity applies even more strongly to Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement.

It was in 1930 that Sir Oswald, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the second Labour Government, produced a memorandum on how to solve unemployment, which then stood at two millions. Many of its quasi-Keynesian principles have since passed into common political currency and, at the time, it aroused the interest and qualified support of such variegated figures as Aneurin Bevan, Harold Macmillan and Lord Nuffield. The Government turned it down and Sir Oswald resigned.

A year later, with John Strachey as his aide, Sir Oswald formed the New Party to carry out his policy. The New Party was routed in the 1931 general election and in 1932 Sir Oswald imported authoritarian ideas from the mainland of Europe and turned it into the British Union of Fascists. For a couple of years the BUF went like a bomb, growing from nothing into an organisation which by 1934 could fill the Albert Hall. Sir Oswald proposed himself as dictator of Britain, to be confirmed in office by plebiscite once every five years. Opposition political parties were to be banned.

After 1934, for a variety of reasons, the rate of growth slowed down and the BUF became an isolated band of a few thousand activists with no semblance of mass support outside the East End of London. In the autumn of 1934 Sir Oswald adopted a vigorously anti-Semitic policy. He said that on coming to power he would deprive Jews of British citizenship and ultimately settle them in a country of their own. In 1936 he changed the name of the organisation to British Union of Fascists and National Social-

ists and in his propaganda tended to make most use of the term "National Socialism".

The Mosley Movement was dissolved under Defence Regulations in the summer of 1940 and most of its active members were imprisoned. Activity continued in a semi-clandestine way with members meeting quietly as "book clubs" and "discussion circles". An association was formed of former detainees, Jeffrey Hamm, a prewar Fascist, played a leading role in establishing "The British League of Ex-Service-men" which in the immediate postwar years held public meetings. In 1948 all these groups joined under Sir Oswald Mosley's leadership to form the Union Movement, of which Hamm ever since has been general secretary. It has headquarters in Vauxhall Bridge Road, near Victoria station, and has lately taken to running the ground floor as a general bookshop—most of the space is filled with non-political paperbacks and many casual customers must be unaware that it is connected with Sir Oswald Mosley.

The leading principle of the Union Movement is "Europe a Nation". Sir Oswald advocates the organic unity of Europe and "white" Africa under vigorous, autarchic government. It was reckoned by his supporters that with Hitler and Mussolini dead and General Franco being unreliable, Sir Oswald was heir to the whole "modern movement" in Europe.

Sir Oswald has dropped some of his more distinctive prewar principles. He no longer proposes a dictatorial regime. He has dropped the formal advocacy of anti-Semitism and at times implies that he was never really anti-Semitic at all. (There is, however, an anti-Semitic strain among many of the rank and file of the Union Movement.) The aim, increasingly, has been to present the Union Movement as a mild, statesmanlike and thoughtful body. There are attempts to penetrate the universities, Union Movement speakers often turning up at undergraduate debates. Sir Oswald's son, Max Mosley, was elected Secretary of the Oxford Union, which ranks as the biggest electoral success of the Mosley family since 1929. The abusive monthly organ *Action* with streaming black headlines has given way to the *National European*, laid out in the soberest magazine style.

On racial questions, the Union Movement attempts to follow literally a policy of apartheid. It advocates the removal of coloured immigrants from Britain, coupled with a programme designed to raise the standard of living in the West Indies. Lately it has actually formed a section for coloured members of the Union Movement; the theory is that many West Indian immigrants have come unwillingly to Britain and would cheerfully accept the Union Movement policy of being sent back to jobs provided in their former country. The West Indian Mosley supporters were paraded at a press conference but otherwise the section appears to have been stillborn.

The apocalyptic vision which haunts Sir Oswald, as it has ever since he started, is that very soon the existing economic system is going to fall into hopeless crisis. The people, in their extremity, will then turn to him as their saviour. As year after year passes with no sign of this happening, spirits, even Sir Oswald's, tend to fall. He is now aged 68 and was badly shaken by the incident two years ago when anti-Fascists knocked him down in the street in the East End of London. There are involved explanations of why the great crisis has not yet come; new recruits get the assertion that the war was to blame—without it the crisis would have come and Sir Oswald in 1940 would have been in power instead of in gaol. As they await the crisis and clutch anxiously at every shred of evidence that it might now be just around the corner, the leaders of the Union Movement drift deeper into a dream world. At the top, the Union Movement has as much the air of some eccentric religious sect as it has of a political party. Lower down, racist propaganda and attacks on coloured immigration are the staple activities of the rank and file.

The size of membership of the Union Movement is kept secret, as has always been Sir Oswald's custom.

There is such a high turnover, with men and leaving, that probably Sir Oswald would put to it, even if he wanted to, to publish figure. The movement is like a bath that taps running and the plug pulled out. The mate is that at any given moment there be between 500 and 1,000 members. That of confirmed and active members would than 100; many such members idolise Sir guarding him as the greatest man of the There are probably in Britain today some 40,000 people who have at one time joined a Mosley organisation—Sir Oswald would give a much higher estimate. Sir millionaire and, so far as the movement all, most of them come from him.

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Bevan, a technical journalist aged 37, sits in the mid-1930s as a member of the Empire Loyalists. Then in 1957 he and a supporters formed the National Labour won its first notoriety in connection with Hill race disturbances of 1958. As pre party Bevan brought in Andrew Fountain landowner who for a brief period had servative parliamentary candidate. Foun from a wealthy family but his capital trusts and he cannot, like Sir Oswald M bute cash on a big enough scale to ma impact. Fountain says that the biggest by an individual to the party is £50 a

pictures opposite, top to bottom: Colin Jordan, leader of the National Socialist Movement; John Tyn dall, late Jordan's deputy, now leader of the Greater Britain Movement; Oswald Mosley, leader of the Union Movement; his son, Max Mosley; Jeffrey Hamm, Mosley's general secretary

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Movement was dissolved under De Gaulle in the summer of 1940 and most of its members were imprisoned. Activity continued in a clandestine way with members meeting in "clubs" and "discussion circles". A new movement was formed of former detainees, prewar Fascist, played a leading role in the British League of Ex-Servicemen. In the immediate postwar years held in 1948 all these groups joined under the leadership of Sir Oswald Mosley, which Hamm ever since has been the headquarters in Vauxhall near Victoria station, and has lately the ground floor as a general bookshop. The space is filled with non-political many casual customers must be unconnected with Sir Oswald Mosley.

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There is such a high turnover, with members joining and leaving, that probably Sir Oswald would be hard put to it, even if he wanted to, to publish an accurate figure. The movement is like a bath tub with both taps running and the plug pulled out. My own estimate is that at any given moment there are likely to be between 500 and 1,000 members. The hard core of confirmed and active members would be not more than 100; many such members idolise Sir Oswald, regarding him as the greatest man of the 20th century. There are probably in Britain today something like 40,000 people who have at one time or another joined a Mosley organisation—Sir Oswald himself would give a much higher estimate. Sir Oswald is a millionaire and, so far as the movement has funds at all, most of them come from him.

Electorially Sir Oswald has never achieved anything since he left the Labour Party. The 24 New Party candidates secured an average poll of under 4 per cent in the 1931 general election. The BUF put up no candidates in the 1935 election. In the early months of the war it fought three by-elections, its highest poll being 722 votes in Leeds. There was no further electoral attempt until 1959 when Sir Oswald himself stood as Union Movement candidate for North Kensington. It was just after the period of the Notting Hill race disturbances and Sir Oswald threw all his resources into a campaign to "send the blacks back home". He polled 8 per cent of the votes and lost his deposit. In 1961 and 1962 the movement fought two by-elections, polling votes of 5 per cent and 2 per cent. In the 1964 general election no candidates were put up, Sir Oswald explaining that it was essential to support the Conservatives on the issue of retaining the British nuclear deterrent. Now the movement is talking of fighting five seats in the next general election, three in the east London area and one each in Manchester and Birmingham. Hamm and Max Mosley are among the prospective candidates.

The Union Movement is so much the creature of Sir Oswald Mosley personally that it is difficult to see any long term future for it. Hamm, aged 47, and Max Mosley, aged 25, are reckoned to be his potential successors but without Sir Oswald's personality the movement would probably fall to pieces, the members either quitting politics or turning to other organisations. Jordan plans his future on the assumption of his eventually capturing the Mosley following.

Bean's BNP

It is possible, however that the true future of British racialist politics lies with the British National Party, which is the only organisation formally to have broken away from the Fascist traditions of the 1930s.

The BNP lacks the sophisticated economic policies of the Mosley movement. It is just a straightforward reaction to the coloured immigration of the 1950s and in the past three or four years has advanced at a quicker rate than any other racialist organisation. It is still smaller than the Mosley movement and in absolute terms it is only a pimple on the body politic but it is so closely tailored to current racial tensions that it possesses a definite potential. In the 1964 general election its National Organiser, John Bean, scored 9 per cent of the poll at Southall. This was the highest percentage ever won by a racialist candidate in a British parliamentary election.

Bean, a technical journalist aged 37, started in politics in the mid-1950s as a member of the League of Empire Loyalists. Then in 1957 he and about a dozen supporters formed the National Labour Party, which won its first notoriety in connection with the Notting Hill race disturbances of 1958. As president of his party Bean brought in Andrew Fountaine, a Norfolk landowner who for a brief period had been a Conservative parliamentary candidate. Fountaine comes from a wealthy family but his capital is tied up in trusts and he cannot, like Sir Oswald Mosley, contribute cash on a big enough scale to make a political impact. Fountaine says that the biggest subscription by an individual to the party is £50 a year. In 1960



Bean joined forces with Jordan to form the British National Party, with Fountaine again as president. It operated from Jordan's Princedale Road premises and had a strong anti-Semitic strain. The original version of its policy called for Britain to be freed from "the domination of the international, Jewish controlled money lending system". Now the same sentence omits the words "Jewish controlled".

Jordan, as National Organiser, was the leading influence but his insistence on making anti-Semitism as well as coloured immigration the leading point in propaganda led to internal disputes. In 1962 there was a split, Jordan breaking away from it to form his National Socialist Movement and Bean with the bulk of the membership continuing as the British National Party. Jordan kept the Princedale Road headquarters but Bean kept the BNP paper *Combat*. Jordan describes the split as a "parting of the ways" but Bean's followers call it a "purge" and mock at Jordan as "Mr Jackboots".

Europeans only

There remains in the British National Party a strong streak of anti-Semitism but the official propaganda is aimed entirely against coloured immigration. In Jordan's day membership was confined to people of "predominantly Northern European ancestry"; now the qualification is merely to be "European". The party's thesis is that Europe (including the Latin nations) has produced the highest civilisation the world has ever seen and that Europeans have achieved this because of their racial characteristics. Coloured immigration will weaken or destroy the European "race". As the party puts it, "integration ends in the bedroom". Therefore civilisation can be preserved only if the coloured immigrants are repatriated to their former countries.

The break with prewar Fascism is almost complete. The BNP has no "Leader" whom it puts forward as a potential dictator and it avowedly works within the parliamentary framework, declaring that it seeks power in just the same way as the orthodox political parties seek power. Bean, the leading personality, says he regards himself as "the drummer boy" awakening public opinion rather than as "the new Charlemagne".

That this line of policy has won success is clear from the results. Until the autumn of 1964 Southall had been regarded as a showpiece of the smooth integration of immigrants into the remainder of the community. Over and over again it was stated that Southall, unlike Notting Hill or Smethwick, was the place where intelligent and enlightened planning had largely eliminated racial friction. Yet in Southall Bean won his uniquely high vote and, when he fights it in the next general election, he may further improve his performance. The BNP membership is certainly tending to rise, and so have its financial resources. According to Fountaine the party has 4,000 adherents. Bean, more conservatively, puts the "active membership" at around 500. Lately it has opened a bookshop, "Kinsmen Books", in the heart of an immigrant area at Kennington and taken to publishing *Combat* monthly instead of bimonthly. Five more years at the present rate of growth could make it a formidable force in several areas.

Who is a racialist?

Around the three most prominent racialist groups—Bean's, Sir Oswald's and Jordan's—drift a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of minor organisations. It is quite common for two or three more or less dotty racialists to band themselves together under some such title as "National Fascists" or "League of Europeans" and set out to chalk "niggers go home" or "perish Judah" on any available wall. For professed authoritarians they can be strikingly anarchic in their habits.

There is also a tendency among the rank and file to drift from one movement to another. The move-

ments are well informed about each other's activities and eager to poach from each other. Jordan sees himself as the guardian of the fundamentalist tradition and pledges himself to support tactically anyone who will campaign on racialist lines. Sir Oswald endlessly seeks support from outside his own movement and calculates that in a time of crisis many in rival organisations would rally to his banner. Bean believes that the future is with him because he alone has jetisoned entirely the outdated Fascist paraphernalia.

It is doubtful, though, whether from the point of view of serious politics the bulk of the present rank and file is worth trying to win over. The average standard of the members is low. The typical neo-Fascist is an unskilled manual worker possessing the type of mentality which is unfitted for reasoned argument and the type of personality which drifts readily into petty crime. The sprinkling of educated, middle class members tends to be so erratic as to be politically totally unreliable.

There is no 1965 counterpart of the lower middle class white collar workers who formed the backbone of Sir Oswald Mosley's prewar Blackshirts. It is a matter of hard observation—as many of the racialist leaders themselves privately admit—that a high proportion of those who seek most militantly to defend their race are themselves untypical of the best of their race. Almost none of the rank and file carry weight outside politics. Very few of them occupy administrative positions at work or fill offices in their trade unions. They have not a hundredth part of the capacity of Communist Party members to make their influence felt outside their party.

Too much publicity

To be a racialist politician brings little in the way of obvious personal reward. In some cases there may be a little satisfaction to be gained at working off the frustrations in one's own life by attacking a minority group but motivations of this kind can exist in mainstream politics as well as in racialism. The active member of a racialist group can expect to experience difficulties at his place of work; is liable to be cold shouldered or be patronised as an eccentric. He runs a risk of physical assault. Jordan was beaten up at Patrick Gordon Walker's adoption meeting at Leyton. There are groups of militant anti-Fascists, such as the "62 Group" which believes in a most vigorous opposition to Racialist propaganda: some of these anti-Fascists are Jews who act as if throwing tomatoes at a British racialist speaker is somehow getting their own back on Hitler. (Such activity is untypical of the Jewish community as a whole.)

The effect of militant anti-Fascism has been precisely the opposite of what the promoters intended. Sir Oswald Mosley for a decade after the war held peaceful meetings in Trafalgar Square without attracting the least public attention. Then, in 1962, Jordan sparked off a riot there by declaring "Hitler was right". The militant anti-Fascists subsequently created so much violence at Mosley and BNP meetings as to bring the racialist movement prominently before the public eye. The free publicity they gained must have been worth tens of thousands of pounds.

At a lesser level, the racialists run constant risk of attacks on their headquarters or attempts to smash their windows. All their headquarters are heavily shuttered. Some of the racialists themselves are not averse to violence—there has been a continuous trickle of prosecutions for physical attacks by members of racialist groups on their opponents and in the Union Movement there has been vague talk of reviving the prewar Blackshirts as a "defence force". As a result of the sporadic violence all the racialist movements are banned from Trafalgar Square and they have difficulty in obtaining halls for indoor meetings without paying very heavy insurance premiums against damage. In many cases, too, they are barred from halls for purely political reasons. But the violence used against them has a boomerang effect. It limits their opportunities for putting their

case but it brings their activities to the attention of a much wider public than they would otherwise command. And the racialists are unlikely to be diverted from their objectives by violence; in many cases, indeed, the racialist positively enjoy a scrap and regard it as a necessary ingredient of their "struggle" as it was of the prewar dictators' struggle.

In an informal way the rival racialist groups tend to split up their territories. Sir Oswald still predominates in the middle of London. He maintains some grip on his prewar stronghold in the East End and retains some of the influence he gained in North Kensington in the late 1950s. The British National Party operates south of the River Thames—it has strong branches in Deptford, Woolwich and Brixton—and in such outer London suburbs as Tottenham and Southall. In Bethnal Green there is some overlapping—the Union Movement and the BNP run regular open air meetings on Sunday mornings at adjoining pitches. The National Socialists operate in the vicinity of their headquarters in Princedale Road, North Kensington.

In the provinces the main area of strength is the Birmingham region, again with some tendency for the territory to be split up among the different movements. Jordan's National Socialists have been very active in Smethwick, where Bean has operated hardly at all. Sir Oswald has an old connection with Smethwick—he used to be Labour MP there—but his main strength is now in Birmingham itself. The BNP tends to be strongest in the East Midlands. Elsewhere in Britain all three movements are very weak; in Scotland they are almost non-existent.

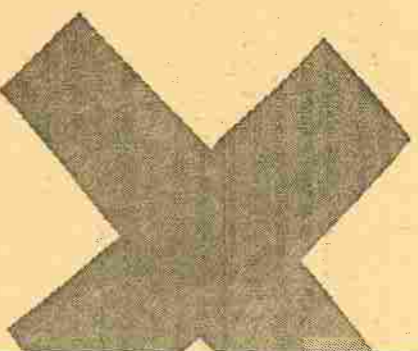
Formally all the groups have little to fear from the Racial Discrimination Bill. In their written propaganda they steer clear of direct incitement to racial hatred, declaring that they have no quarrel with other races as such. They claim, merely, that West Indian and Asiatic immigrants are "different" from the British and as such should be barred from the country. Sir Oswald, Bean, and even Jordan, will go out of their way to put qualifying clauses in their speeches to the effect that non-Europeans should not be objects of hatred. It might be possible by taking the whole trend of their propaganda to launch a prosecution under the Bill but there would be plenty of scope for an elaborate defence. If the Bill becomes law, the effect is likely to be to curb the extravagances of some of the lesser street corner tub thumpers rather than to render the movements themselves criminal.

A new leverage

It would be false to present the racialist politicians as a real force in Britain. But, at the same time, it is worth noting that the existence of substantial immigrant communities has given them a leverage such as they have not possessed since the 1930s. When West Indian and Asian immigrants move into an area there is invariably some colour prejudice among the established inhabitants. The aim of the racialist groups is to direct such prejudice into political channels. Without exception the strongholds of the groups are in areas where there has been substantial immigration.

Every indication is that racial prejudice in Britain has increased in the past three or four years and is likely to continue to do so in the near future. While the main effect of this is likely to be felt in the major political parties, the racialist groups can expect to reap some benefit. The Union Movement may grow and the BNP will almost certainly grow. In the long run, should racialism really get off the ground, Jordan, too, might increase his influence. It may well become insufficient for the racialists' opponents merely to abuse them and hurl the term "Fascist" at them. If they wish to maintain their influence in areas of high immigration, the established parties may find themselves under the necessity of orientating their propaganda to deal point by point with the actual doctrines and arguments the racialists put forward.

QUESTION TIME



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