

CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carf
RACISM & FASCISM

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A SPECIAL carf INVESTIGATION



racist murders
police killings
deaths of
asylum seekers
suicides

Death in Europe

THE TOLL FOR 1992

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Campaign Against Racism and
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Cover photo shows a German
anti-fascist lighting a candle in
front of the Mölln house where
three Turkish people were burnt
to death (Associated Press
photo)
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EDITORIAL

The release of the Cardiff 3 – Yusef Abdullahi, Steven Miller and Tony Paris – by the Court of Appeal in December is cause for celebration. But while congratulating the Cardiff 3 Campaign, whose unstinting work kept the case in the public eye, we need to be wary of the view that the reopening of such cases is evidence of the open and democratic nature of our criminal justice system.

This view is wrong on a number of counts. First, as Yusef Abdullahi pointed out as he left the court, the Cardiff 3's case is just one of hundreds of miscarriages of justice, most of which have no chance of being referred to the Court of Appeal. Second, for the black community, miscarriages of justice are not isolated incidents, but are linked to the targeting of black areas for heavy-handed and military-style policing.

The latest signs are that the police, who are, in effect, at the front line of the criminal justice system, are becoming less democratic. The appointment as Metropolitan Police Commissioner of Paul Condon, who has a reputation for authoritarianism, does not augur well. Nor does the fact that the police have used road blocks (set up in London and Manchester, ostensibly to fight the IRA) to conduct unlawful searches for drugs, while campaigning for more legal powers to enable them to stop and search vehicles at random. And all this takes place at a time when there is less public debate than ever about police accountability.

In the 1970s, we campaigned successfully against *sus* and stop and search. But if policing in Britain is moving backwards to a 1970s' scenario, it is, at the same time, moving towards the European system of identity checking and internal controls. And this, of course, has led, not only to confrontational policing and the deaths of a number of Arab youths (see page 4), but also to uprisings in France and Belgium similar to those experienced in Britain in 1981 and 1985.

All this makes it vital that anti-racists across Europe come together to discuss the contours of the new European state. It is for this reason that CARF is sponsoring and participating in the *Statewatch* Conference on Saturday 27 March, at the University of London Union on 'Statewatching the new Europe'. ■

Refugees to Europe barred

The European immigration ministers' meeting in London on 30 November and 1 December produced far more unanimity than the Edinburgh summit two weeks later. For ministers can readily agree on one thing: keeping asylum-seekers out of Europe. To this end, the resolution discussed in secret earlier in 1992 (reported in *CARF* no 11) was adopted in the form of two resolutions, on 'host third countries' and 'manifestly unfounded applications'.

Those fleeing torture and imprisonment, war and civil war in Somalia, Turkey, Sri Lanka, and the former Yugoslavia – those who are lucky enough to have got round the visa requirements and arrived at a European frontier, that is – will find themselves confronted with a barrage of daunting bureaucracy and security measures.

First, they will be fingerprinted and probably photographed. Then, to show that their applications are not 'manifestly unfounded', they will have to prove that:

- their documents are genuine;
- they have not claimed asylum anywhere else;
- they have not passed through a 'safe' third country;
- no part of their country has been deemed 'safe';
- they have not come to Europe for a better standard of living.

Death in Europe: the toll for 1992

CARF has tried consistently to monitor and draw attention to the number of black people who die in Britain at the hands of racists and fascists on the streets, or in custody in our institutions. With the rise in racism and fascism across Europe, CARF has extended its research to enable us to report on all those deaths in western Europe in 1992 due in some way to racism.



The 59 cases reported here (see page 4) follow a similar pattern to those in Britain already noted by CARF. But new trends are also emerging. There is a very real danger that organised neo-nazi violence in Germany could spread to other European countries. And we believe that if governmental attacks on refugee rights are allowed to continue unchecked, they will give rise to more maltreatment, more deaths of asylum seekers.

Far Right

Due to what can best be described as nazi terrorism in Germany, right-wing inspired killings constitute the largest of our categories. We cannot prove an organised nazi link in each case, but the killings were all certainly inspired by far-Right thinking.

Denmark, Germany, Spain and Italy have all experienced killings in this group. Shootings and bomb attacks also occurred in Sweden in 1992.

Targeting refugee centres

Nazi attacks on refugee centres took place in Germany, Sweden, Holland and Austria. The siege of hostels in Rostock, east Germany, in August received international attention. But it is symptomatic of the scant interest such daily attacks had previously received that the names of three Sri Lankans, including a young child, burnt alive in an attack on a refugee hostel in west Germany in January, went unrecorded. Another barely publicised murder occurred in March, when 40 neo-nazis stormed a hostel near Rostock, beating to death 18-year-old Romanian refugee *Dragomir Chistinel*.

In December, the nazis extended their terrorist attacks to two Turkish homes in Mölln, telephoning the police to say: 'It's burning in the Ratzeburgstrasse. Heil Hitler'. *Badhide Arslan*, her granddaughter and niece died in the fire.

Second target: anti-fascists

In Germany, anti-fascists, or those who simply express dissent, are also

being killed by neo-nazis, something that also occurred in Denmark in March, when a bomb exploded at the Danish Socialist Workers Party HQ, instantaneously killing *Henrik Christensen*.

Often, right-wing murders have been opportunist. Characterised by an ugly bloody-mindedness, many, like the killing of a homeless Italian, have been carried out by skinheads, probably on the fringes of far-Right activity. What is frightening is the explanations that the killers give afterwards. For instance, the murderer of *Frank Bonisch* said: 'I wanted Germany to be orderly and clean', whilst the murderers of *Rolf Schulze* merely stated that they liked murder and violence.

Racist infiltration of armed forces and police

In Germany, members of the armed forces have been involved in at least three killings – eg, that of the homeless German, *Ingo Finnen*, mistaken for a Gypsy and thrown into a river.

Deaths in 1992

BELGIUM

6 July: Lafdil Madini, 19, shot by police in Schaerbeek, Brussels. (P)
 8 July: Mohammed Ghaleb, 31, shot by night club bouncer, who refused to allow him and his friends entrance. (R)
 Summer: Mimoun Sanhaji, 19, threw himself out of a hospital window having suffered serious head injuries following violent assault by police officer. (P/S)
 Date unknown: Mustapha El Hachimi, 19, in police cell in Berchem, St Agatha, Brussels. Police, who say he committed suicide, were believed to be pursuing a vendetta against him. (P/S)

DENMARK

19 March: Henrik Christensen, Danish anti-fascist, after a parcel bomb exploded at Danish Socialist Workers Party offices. (FR)
 Date unknown: Unnamed Togolese man, 30, due for deportation for not having a valid visa, found hanged in a police cell in Copenhagen. (S)

FRANCE

January: Said Boumal, North African, shot and killed by men chasing him in a car. (R)
 February: Idir Merhem, North African, shot by grocer in Montreuil during argument about purchase of beer. (R)
 March: Kamel Hached, killed in Epinay, intervening in row over stolen scooter. (R)
 26 March: Djamel Chettouh, North African, killed by supermarket guard in Sartouville, Yvelines. (R)
 May: Second generation Harki, shot at Olivieres Cité, Narbonne. (UM)
 June: Rhani Zigh, North African, shot during argument in Argenteuil while on military service leave. (UM)
 June: Abdallali Lakdiar, 15, Moroccan, shot by neighbour in Chauny, near Saint-Quentin. (R)
 14 August: Pierre Dieguifait, Haitian asylum-seeker, committed suicide in police custody at Chelles, Seine et Marne. (S/P)
 8 October: Mohamed Bahri, shot by police while driving stolen car. (P)
 Date unknown: Larbi Kada, North African, stabbed in St Symphonien, Rhone, while trying to calm reactions to theft of car radio. (R)
 21 December: Hassan Ben Ahmed, Moroccan teenager, shot by police in the Southern French town of Beziers while allegedly driving a stolen car. Police officer charged with manslaughter. (P)

GERMANY

31 January: Three unnamed Sri Lankans, including child, burnt to death in fire in refugee hostel in Lampertheim, Hesse. (FR)
 14 March: Dragomir Chistinel, 18, Romanian refugee, beaten to death by neo-nazis who stormed a refugee hostel in Saal, near Rostock. (FR)
 18 March: Gustav Schneeclaus, 53, beaten to death by skinheads in Buxtehude, near Hamburg, for calling Hitler a criminal. (FR)
 19 March: Ingo Finnen, 31, homeless German, thrown into harbour in Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, after refusing to give nazi salute. (FR)
 6 April: Unnamed Bulgarian asylum-seeker, 35, found with throat cut in woods near Struvenberg, Brandenburg. (UM)
 24 April: Nguyen Van Tu, 29, Vietnamese guestworker, stabbed in Berlin-Marzahn by right-wing extremists. (FR)
 May: Unnamed North African man, died after nazis stormed African meeting place. (FR)
 9 May: Torsten Lamprecht, 23, left-wing German punk, beaten to death by nazis who storm pub in Sachsen Anhalt, Magdeburg. (FR)
 1 June: Emil Wendland, 60, homeless German, tortured and stabbed to death by skinheads in Neuruppin, Brandenburg. (FR)
 8 June: Sadri Berisha, 55, migrant worker from former Yugoslavia, beaten to death by masked fascists in Ostfildern, Baden Wurttemberg. (FR)
 1 August: Klaus Dieter Klein, 49, homeless German, stabbed to death by skinheads in Bad Breisig, Rhineland-Palatinate. (FR)
 3 August: Ireneusz Szyderski, 24, beaten to death by skinhead doormen at dance hall in Stotternheim, Thuringia. (FR)
 6 August: Unnamed Polish man, stabbed to death in Berlin. (UM)
 24 August: Frank Bonisch, 35, homeless German, shot by skinhead in Koblenz, Baden-Wurttemberg. (FR)
 28 August: Gunter Schwannicke, 58, homeless German, beaten to death by two skinheads (one a KKK member) in Berlin-Charlottenburg. (FR)
 3 October: Unnamed Iranian asylum-seeker, found buried in Forest near Schwandorf. He had been shot. (UM)
 7 November: Rolf Schulze, 52, homeless German, tortured and murdered by skinheads at Kolpin Lake, Brandenburg. (FR)
 12 November: Abduraham, Ethiopian refugee, found dead on railway tracks in Bavaria. He had been badly beaten and stabbed. (UM)
 21 November: Silvio Meier, 27, east German anti-fascist, stabbed by right-wing youth in Berlin-Friedrichshagen. (FR)
 23 November: Badhide Arslan, 51, Ayse Yilmaz, 14, and granddaughter Yeliz Arslan died after nazis firebombed their home in Mölln, Schleswig-Holstein. (FR)
 23 November: Karl Hans Rohn, 53, burnt to death by skinheads in Wuppertal after calling them 'nazi pigs'. (FR)

ITALY

21 January: Unnamed North African, stabbed by masked nazi youths in Rome. (FR)
 April: Unnamed African, shot by police during alleged burglary. (P)
 June: Rakid Telane, shot by police in Bologna during alleged robbery. (P)
 September: Unnamed homeless man, killed by skinheads in Bassano del Grappa, near Venice. (FR)

NETHERLANDS

2 March: Nieu Maas, 25, Ethiopian, died after jumping overboard. Having stowed away on Dutch ship, he had been locked in ship's detention room, and was to be returned to Ethiopia. (S)
 April: Jacqueline Mulata, refugee from Zaire, 7 months' pregnant, died in refugee detention centre following lack of care. (MN)
 9 August: Hamito Ovamar, 16, Moroccan, shot in Hilversum by local resident who said he and his friends were making too much noise. (R)

SPAIN

13 November: Lucrecia Perez, 33, Dominican, shot by hooded gunmen who burst into her squat in Aravaca area of Madrid. (FR)
 14 November: Hassan al-Yahahahaqui, 25, Moroccan, killed by skinheads in Majadahonda, north-west of Madrid. (FR)

UNITED KINGDOM

January: Navid Sadiq, 15, Asian, shot during attempted burglary on shop where he worked. (FR)
 3 January: Panchadcharam Sahitharan, Tamil refugee, died after gang attack in Newham, east London. (R)
 23 January: Mohammed Sarwar, 46, taxi-driver from Manchester, dragged from his car and battered to death. (R)
 23 January: Siddik Dada, 60, Asian shopkeeper, died of multiple skull fractures after attack by gang armed with machetes. (R)
 July: Rohit Duggal, 16, Asian, killed during gang fight in Eltham, south-east London. (R)
 31 July: Ruhullah Aramesh, 24, Afghan refugee, attacked by gang armed with iron bars in Thornton Heath, south London. (R)
 September: Ashiq Hussain, 21, Asian taxi-driver, stabbed by youths after going to aid of another driver being racially abused. (R)
 September: Aziz Miah, 66, battered by racist gang in Newcastle on his way to mosque. (R)

Code: MN Medical neglect; P Police; R Racism; FR Far Right; S Suicide; UM Unsolved murder.

Evidence suggests that the policeman accused of shooting *Lucrecia Perez* in Spain was operating within a far-Right death squad. Prior to the attack, posters had gone up calling for direct action against 'immigrants'.

Attitude of police and courts

The attitude of the police and courts in dealing with murders linked to the far-Right has been open to criticism.

Police

The August events in Rostock demonstrated clearly that the German police were either unwilling, or ill-prepared, to offer protection to refugees. The police, alerted to the attack on the refugee centre near Rostock during which *Dragomir Chistinel* died, arrived late – owing, they claimed, to 'problems with the telephone'. When 60 neo-nazis stormed a left-wing disco, beating 23-year-old *Torsten Lamprecht* to death, the police were present. They argued, though, that they had only seven men in the vicinity, and needed at least 15 to intervene.

In Spain, Denmark and Germany, the police have been accused of attempting to cover up far-Right violence. German police said that *Silvio Meier* was killed during a fight between armed youth gangs. No arrests have been made following the murder of *Henrik Christensen* in Denmark. Police were probably responsible for the initial media report which suggested that the explosion was accidental and due to bomb-making at the IS HQ. Police released no information for over two weeks concerning the death of *Hassan al-Yabahaqui*, murdered by skinheads in Spain. They said that the news would have inflamed tensions.

Courts

Far-Right outrages have led to few successful prosecutions, particularly when refugee or immigrant lives have been taken. And the charge brought is usually manslaughter, not murder. Some cases have even been treated as a form of justified self-defence.

A member of the neo-nazi *Deutsche Volkunion*, who killed Vietnamese guest-worker *Nguyen Van Tu*, received a four-and-a-half year sentence for manslaughter. His claim that he killed *Nguyen* because he was selling smuggled cigarettes was given legitimacy by the judge, who ruled that the killing was a case of



Arrest in Paris

'reprehensible arbitrary law', nothing to do with hatred of foreigners but motivated by a 'dislike of criminality amongst the foreign community'.

In France, Marie-Josée Garnier, whose case was taken up by the National Front, was acquitted in 1992 of the murder of North African Ali Rafa in 1989, in Reims. She claimed that she shot Ali Rafa dead because he was stealing croissants from her bakery. Acquitting her, the judge made a distinction between 'legitimate' violence (defence of family or property) and 'scandalous' violence.

Racism

Killings by nazis are at least acknowledged and the motive established. Murders with a racial element, however, often go unrecorded. These, the second largest category of deaths (16), took place primarily in France and the UK, but also in Belgium and the Netherlands.

The motive in this category of cases is often hotly disputed. For the killers do not go out with the express purpose of committing a racist outrage, but find themselves in a situation where contact with a 'foreigner' allows them to vent a pent-up racism. The following trends can be detected.

Social discrimination

Three killings – *Djamel Chettouh*, *Ireneusz Szyderski* and *Mohammed Ghaleb* – were carried out by security guards, or shopkeepers. In the case of *Mohammed Ghaleb*, a bouncer at a

Belgian night club refused *Ghaleb* and his friends admittance. But the end result of this initial act of racial discrimination was the bouncer reaching for a gun. Racism was present at every stage of this confrontation, but it was not officially acknowledged, leading *Ghaleb's* colleagues at the factory where he worked to organise demonstrations of protest.

Racist tensions

Six other killings arose from a situation where the assailant, usually a neighbour, responded to a trivial incident by reaching for a gun or a knife, revealing the pent-up racism that bubbles beneath the surface of 'ghetto' life. For instance, in France, *Idir Merhem* was shot dead after a row about the purchase of beer, whilst *Larbi Kada* was merely trying to calm reactions to the theft of a car radio when he was stabbed to death.

The assailants usually see their actions not as extreme, but as legitimate self-defence, and reveal a strong prejudice, even a neurosis, against immigrants. The French killer of 15-year-old *Abdallali Lakdiar* was a neighbour, said to dislike Arabs. In court, he justified the shooting on the grounds that he had been having a dispute with neighbours over the consumption of electricity to light the cellar and stairway. The Dutch murderer of 16-year-old *Hamito Ovamar* was, similarly, a neighbour, who resented the fact that young immigrants congregated in the local square. On the day of the killing, he smashed a moped with an iron bar, later returning with a gun, killing *Hamito* and injuring his friend. A crowd had gathered, but only one man attempted to intervene. He has now been ostracised by his neighbours.

As in far-Right cases, police, courts, and other officials have been accused of suppressing the racist motive. The public prosecutor in *Abdallali Lakdiar's* case ruled that 'racism was not the factor that triggered off the incident', while immediately following the murder of *Hamito Ovamar*, the police and the local mayor put out a statement denying that the motive for the murder was racial.

Gang violence and crime

Finally, in this category comes the racism associated with gang violence

and crime, accounting for the eight murders that occurred in the UK in 1992, including the gang assaults on refugees *Panchadcharam Sabitharan* and *Ruhullah Aramesh* in London. What is disturbing is that the assailants are not members of far-Right organisations but seem, nevertheless, to have been motivated by blind race hatred.

Asian shopkeepers are also deliberately targeted. The fact that these murders begin as robbery gives credence to attempts by the police and the courts to deny any racial element. But the link between racism and crime did emerge in the case of *Navid Sadiq*. When murderer Joseph Conroy was told by police that the two men he had shot were seriously injured, he replied 'Good, I hope they die. My name is Conroy. Good English name that. What am I going to get for doing a couple of Pakis? I am Anglo Saxon.'

Police

The police were involved in the deaths of seven men, in Belgium, France and Italy. Again, the individual motive of racism is difficult to establish. But it is clear that police prejudices surface in the course of carrying out duties such as road blocks and identity checks, which are targeted against working-class 'immigrant' communities.

Trigger happy

Killings by the police show a consistent pattern. A young black man is stopped on suspicion of being about to commit, or having committed, a robbery or a trivial motoring offence, or not stopping at a road block. Somehow he ends up shot dead.

And, as we saw in the UK in 1985, following the shooting of Cherry Groce and the death of Cynthia Jarrett, police killings in France and Belgium

have led to violent disturbances which have, in turn, resulted in further allegations of racism.

The attitude of officials has also inflamed tense situations. When *Mohammed Babri* was shot dead, the mayor of Vaulx-en-Velin called him a 'known delinquent' and accused Arab youth protesting at the police killing of 'harassing the police'.

Retribution

In Belgium, two deaths, following contact with the police, have led to allegations of police retribution and violence. Police refused to allow the mother of *Mustapha El Hachim* to see the body of her 19-year-old son close up and could not give her a satisfactory explanation as to how he came to die in a Brussels police station. El Hachim had repeatedly complained of victimisation after injuring a police officer in a car chase two years previously. *Mimoun Sanhaji* suffered serious head injuries after being arrested by a police officer. His offence - kicking a box! There is no information on what fears drove him to commit suicide by throwing himself out of the window of the hospital where he was recovering from the assault.

Custodial treatment of asylum seekers

Whereas Holland and Denmark have not experienced the same levels of far-Right or racist gang violence as Germany, France and the UK, there is plenty to be concerned about in their treatment of asylum seekers in detention.

In Denmark, refugees in Copenhagen are being kept in squalid conditions on floating ships. Meanwhile, a major government investigation is taking place into how the families of Tamil refugees in Denmark were refused permission to join them. Many of them have since died in Sri Lanka's civil war.

Maltreatment and medical neglect

The Dutch national police force is to carry out an investigation into the conduct of riot police at the Border Hostel, Amsterdam. A Nigerian asylum-seeker, U Nehizena, who claims to have been beaten around

the head by the police, says he was denied medical assistance, locked in his room, and given two paracetamol to ease the pain. A doctor who eventually saw him has accused the authorities of medical irresponsibility. Meanwhile, the Department of Home Affairs says Mr Nehizena's head injuries were sustained when he fell out of bed!

A police investigation into the attempted deportation from Holland of a Romanian asylum seeker, during which he sustained brain damage, has concluded that the 'norms of reasonable and measured behaviour were exceeded'. In forcibly attempting to deport the man, officials sealed his mouth with tape (a common practice), winding it horizontally and vertically over his head to prevent him opening his jaws, so that he could only breathe through his nose. The refugee fell over, and went visibly blue and then grey in the face.

The inquest into the death of the seven-months' pregnant asylum seeker, *Jacqueline Mulata* (see *CARF* no 7), has absolved border police of responsibility for her death. Jacqueline, an asylum-seeker from Zaire, died two weeks after arriving at Schiphol airport, Amsterdam. She was held in the transit detention centre for four days and then transferred to a prison for eight days. During this time, she was given no medical care, despite her husband's urgent requests. She collapsed at the gate of an asylum centre she and her husband were sent to, and died the next day of acute anaemia.

Suicides

We also record three suicides of asylum seekers: Haitian *Pierre Dieguifait*, who died in police custody in France; *Nieu Maas*, who jumped off the ship he had stowed away on after being told he was to be sent back from Holland to Ethiopia, and an unnamed Togolese man awaiting deportation in police custody in Denmark. ■

Although more deaths due to racism probably occurred in western Europe in 1992, we have only listed here those which we can corroborate.

We would like to thank the following organisations which helped in the preparation of this article: the Anti-Racist Information Centre (Rotterdam), Anne Frank Foundation (Amsterdam), Party of Labour (Brussels), Anti-Racist Initiative (Berlin) and the Institute of Race Relations Race Audit (London).

Death in western Europe: the toll for 1992

Far-Right	26
Racism	16
Police	7
Suicide	3
Unsolved	6
Medical Neglect	1

Black families demand justice

Arthur Allison

Christine Allison of Camberwell is demanding an independent post-mortem and a police inquiry into how her 50-year-old brother Arthur, of Highfields, Leicester, died four days after being taken to Charles Street police station for questioning. According to the police, Arthur swallowed a substance shortly before he was arrested and was taken, immediately he became ill, to the Royal Infirmary. He died there four days later. His family believe that Arthur would never swallow drugs (as the police are implying) and they are suspicious of the wall of secrecy surrounding all their efforts to find out what happened. The exact cause of Arthur's death is still not established.

Leon Patterson

Like Christine Allison, the family of Leon Patterson, a 31-year-old black man who was found dead in his cell at Ashton-under-Lyme police station on 27 November, are unhappy about official versions of his death. The police say he died of self-inflicted injuries, possibly drug related. The family have arranged a second post-mortem in an attempt to find the real cause of his death.

Orville Blackwood

Clara Buckley, mother of Orville Blackwood, who died in a seclusion room in Broadmoor special hospital in August 1991, has scored something of a victory in her campaign against a cover-up of her boy's death. She has always insisted on knowing exactly how he died in order to prevent any other young black man sharing a similar fate. Ever since the inquest brought in a verdict of 'accidental death', she has campaigned for a proper inquiry into what happened. Now she has been vindicated. After a judicial review last November, it was conceded that there had been irregularities in the inquest proceedings. The verdict was quashed and a fresh inquest, before a different coroner, ordered.

Errol Commuck

Whilst Mrs Buckley may gain some small comfort from her victory, Mrs Mavis Commuck, mother of 24-year-old Errol Commuck, knows how

INQUEST

Black families are leading the fight to find out exactly what has been happening to people held in custody.

much still needs to be done to bring justice into the inquest system and to prevent inhumane and degrading treatment of black prisoners.

The Commuck family is unhappy with the inquest's verdict of suicide and with the fact that the coroner warned the jury against bringing in a 'lack of care' verdict. The family's solicitor is considering the possibility of going for judicial review.

Errol was a remand prisoner when he killed himself on 3 July 1992 at Birmingham's Winson Green prison – a prison in which three prisoners died in 1991. Most of his time was spent in the hospital wing or on D2 which, it emerged, was an overflow of the hospital wing but staffed by ordinary officers. Recorded entries by prison medical staff and visiting psychiatrists show that Errol had a pattern of disturbed behaviour. He was described as being excessively withdrawn, anxious and isolated, hearing voices telling him to kill himself, talking to

himself and inanimate objects, and pacing up and down his cell.

The inquest heard how Errol was subjected to a regime of virtual solitary confinement. He was locked up for at least 23 hours a day and had absolutely nothing in his cell to occupy him. While in prison, Errol tried to hang himself, was found looking for a blade, and covered himself and his cell in excrement – behaviour the prison doctor described as being quite possibly 'manipulative' or a form of protest.

A visiting psychiatrist recorded in the medical file that he thought Errol was developing a psychotic illness and that he would transfer him to an outside hospital if his situation deteriorated. The psychiatrist was never contacted again by the prison, despite a medical describing a progressive deterioration in Errol's condition weeks before his death. Although Errol was seen by other prison doctors and two psychiatrists, it was impossible at the inquest to establish how much communication they had had with Errol or, indeed, with one another. Two days before Errol was found hanging by a sheet from his cell window bars, a visiting psychiatrist assessed him as 'satisfactory'. It is not known how this conclusion was reached, as the coroner failed to call this psychiatrist as a witness.

The failings of the prison service were compounded by those of the coroner. Besides not calling these key witnesses, an issue of great concern was the coroner's refusal to allow the family lawyer to question the prison governor about a highly critical report by Judge Tumin, the Chief Inspector of Prisons. This detailed grave concerns about the 'pitifully barren' regime for the mentally ill and the 'unsatisfactory arrangement' that existed in D2, where the mentally disordered were looked after by discipline officers.

The coroner also did not put aside adequate time for the inquest, and appeared to rush it towards the end. The result was that Errol's death did not receive the proper inquiry it deserved. ■

Prepared by Inquest, the organisation which works to ensure that deaths are properly inquired into and helps families to break down the wall of secrecy surrounding deaths. Inquest, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.



The 10th anniversary of the death of Colin Roach, who died of shotgun wounds in Stoke Newington police station, was marked on 12 January by the opening of the Colin Roach Centre in Hackney, London. The centre, at 10a Bradbury Street, London N16, houses the Hackney Community Defence Association (HCDA), and other campaigning and community groups.

Campaign for asylum rights

As 1993 begins, the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill is on its way through parliament. CARF spoke to Jeremy Corbyn MP, a longtime campaigner against racism and for rights for refugees.

CARF: What worries you most in the Bill?

Corbyn: First, I want to thank everyone who has worked very hard to put arguments in defence of asylum-seekers, including all the campaign groups which support asylum rights, all the anti-racist organisations and the immigration lawyers' group. As to the Bill, I'm worried about the limited timetable for appeals, fingerprinting, particularly of children (and there's no definition of children), the loss of appeal rights for visitors, and the more draconian use of the Carriers' Liability Act, which passes immigration control to airlines. The latter hasn't sorted out the problem of the spivs in fact, it's encouraged them, and created a market. They can charge £1,000 to £1,500 for a one-way ticket from Istanbul.

CARF: What about the housing provisions?

Corbyn: I thought we'd won the argument 15 years ago that housing should be based on need, not on length of residence. Under the Bill, asylum-seekers don't have to be granted permanent accommodation. The onus is thrown on to local authorities to decide whether they are 'deserving' or not. The losers will be refugee children, who waste away for years in bed and breakfast or hostels, with their housing problems adding to the emotional problems they suffer. We should be demanding housing as of right, housing as of need.

CARF: Doesn't this raise the question of internal controls?

Corbyn: Yes. In my borough, officials are specifically debarred from asking about immigration status. It's not a relevant question for local government. Having breached that principle, records will be kept on the immigration status of people applying for housing. The Bill makes every council official potentially an immigration officer.

CARF: What stage has the Bill reached?

Corbyn: It's passed through the committee stage, where I have to say we didn't make any gains. The government would not even accept



Jon Walter

the proposal that every unaccompanied child refugee – and I've seen horrific trauma in such children – would have an advocate, a legal and actual friend to look after them from the airport on.

We heard again the dishonest argument that social problems are caused by asylum-seekers, rather than asylum-seekers themselves being victims of social and economic problems that have been foisted on them. It's very important that we challenge that argument. Soon it goes to the House of Lords. We might make some progress there, but there will be a lot more work. The campaign isn't over.

CARF: If the Bill is passed, what should the focus be for campaigning?

Corbyn: Even if the Bill becomes law, it won't be over: none of us will stand by and allow the bile that's printed about asylum-seekers in the popular press to carry on unchallenged. Also, there's a Euro-dimension. The Bill is not that different from legislation proposed or coming in in other European countries. We need a Europe-wide campaign for positive asylum rights. We should consistently be pointing out, too, that Europe receives the fewest asylum-seekers, and grants the fewest applications.

Asylum problems are being thrust on the Third World. Douglas Hurd said in 1987, when he was Home Secretary, that it wasn't the job of European countries to pick up the pieces of Third World conflicts. The government has admitted, and it's confirmed by Amnesty International, that the carriers' liability provisions have stopped people getting asylum in Europe, but is keen on reducing the numbers still further. We have got to speak up for people who are victims of oppression and torture.

CARF: Do you see anything to take hope from?

Corbyn: I'm heartened by the size of

Alternative proposals

The Institute of Race Relations has put forward a set of proposals for an alternative immigration and anti-racist policy in Europe. During its launch at the PDS Congress in Berlin in November 1992, IRR director A Sivanandan pointed out that European ministers were borrowing from the lowest common denominators of each country's racism to devise a pan-European policy. It was up to the movement to posit the alternative strategy: that pan-European policy should be based on the best (the highest factor) of each country's practice. He suggested, for example, that instead of just fighting a defensive battle to preserve Article 16 of the German Constitution (which gives all those reaching Germany the right to claim asylum), we should demand that a similar clause be inserted in all the constitutions or asylum laws in Europe.

In addition, we should demand that no country bases its right to citizenship on blood – as Germany still does, thereby denying citizenship to 'foreigners' who have worked there all their lives and to their children born there. The British experience has shown the importance of that most fundamental right of citizenship, without which it is so much more difficult for black and Third World peoples to take on a larger fight against racism.

The full text of the proposals is available in the IRR's journal, *Race & Class* (January 1993).

demonstrations in Germany against racism and for asylum-seekers. Next time we organise a demonstration in Britain in favour of asylum rights, I hope we get far more of the British left and liberal-thinking groups to turn out and be there. I admire the way asylum rights campaigns and refugee communities led the demonstration in November, and I was delighted to be there. But we need to have a lot more people supporting them. ■

Criminalising asylum-seekers

Traditionally, the taking of fingerprints has been confined to those charged, convicted or suspected of a criminal offence. The new fingerprinting provision in the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill effectively turns all asylum-seekers, their wives, husbands and children into 'criminals'. They can be asked to have their prints taken at any time and, if they do not agree, they can be arrested and/or have their claim rejected immediately. In criminal law there is a lower age limit of 10 years; no such limit applies for asylum-seekers.

Fingerprinting is normally regarded as an unjustifiable encroachment on privacy, but the Bill provides no safeguards. Prints will be kept for up to 10 years and there are no legal limitations on their use, or on the persons and bodies to whom they can be sent. There is no guarantee that confidential information on asylum-seekers, and their fingerprints, will not remain on file and be transmitted across Europe (under new cooperation arrangements) indefinitely. In the past, similar powers have only been granted against suspected terrorists!

The draconian nature of the measures, their extension to dependants including young children, the contrast with the strictly drawn fingerprinting provisions in the criminal law and the fact that powers already exist under the 1971 Immigration Act – all of these lead to the conclusion that the new fingerprinting provisions are part of a package designed to make life as unpleasant as possible for asylum-seekers and thus to discourage others. ■

Iraqgate and the trade in arms

The Iraqgate scandal has exposed yet again politicians' willingness to collaborate with the world's worst tyrants, and to prolong wars in the interests of the British economy.

Alan Clark, former trade minister and minister for defence, promoted the sale of arms and arms-making equipment to Iraq in the late 1980s, with flagrant disregard for the government's public policy of not supplying Saddam Hussein with equipment which might exacerbate or prolong the conflict with Iran. As Clark told the court in the Matrix Churchill trial last autumn, he considered 1985 government guidelines as both 'elastic' and 'tiresome and intrusive'. The answer was simple: 'keep the record ambiguous', emphasise possible peaceful purposes of machinery known to be going to arms manufacturing establishments within Iraq, even though it was to be used to make components for shell fuses and missiles. Not dishonesty, according to Clark, 'being economical with the actualité'.

Wars for western interests

Clark argued that his motive was purely to increase Britain's export balance. He also asserted, however, that Western interests were 'well served by Iran and Iraq fighting each other'. There were almost a million casualties in the eight-year war, one of the bloodiest in history.

No stranger to controversy, Clark once remarked that black people could go back to 'Bongo-Bongo land'. His comments on the Iran-Iraq war remind us that, for British politicians, black lives rate lower than Britain's trade figures.

For Clark is by no means the only politician to take this attitude. It is inconceivable that other ministers, including both Thatcher and Major, were unaware of the true position on arms sales to Iraq.

Britain's arms sales' history

The Tories do not have the monopoly on callousness. In 1966, the Labour party set up the Defence Sales Organisation within the Ministry of

Defence, explicitly to capture a larger slice of the arms market. By the late 1980s, Britain was the third largest arms exporter in the world (behind the US and the USSR), and the organisation, renamed Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO), had an annual marketing budget of £3m.

Customers have included Somalia, where 55,000 lives were lost in civil war between 1988 and 1990; Sudan, where half a million people died in civil war in the six years to 1990; and a clutch of countries – including Cameroon, Indonesia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Argentina, Chile, Honduras, Israel and Turkey – in which the arms provided have been turned against the people. In many of these countries – and in many more – military training has also been provided.



It is as well to remember this when we hear government ministers talking about the numbers of 'bogus refugees' 'flooding' into Europe: it is often Western 'interests' which lie behind the massive displacements of people caused by civil wars and repression in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. ■

'The danger of a racist nation'

Don't be misled by Prague's old-world charm, with its gold-balled domes and cultivated-looking Bohemian glassware. Black people only have to step into the old square to know that they are in a deeply racist society. They get a slow hand-clap from the crowds of street vendors and people just come up to shout in their faces 'phooee' (which means smelly). That is the treatment meted out to tourists.

Attacks on Africans

For students, particularly those from Africa, Prague has become a really dangerous place. Attacks on black people by right-wing skinheads are taking place regularly. Diplomats, too, have had bottles hurled at them, and last year, the sons of both the Syrian and Libyan ambassadors were attacked on the street.

Vladislav Plechaty, director of the police Group to Fight Against Fascist and Racist Activities of Punk and Skinhead Movements, calls these attacks 'not a significant problem'. Little wonder, then, that many Africans no longer bother to report incidents.

Africans first came in the 1950s when the Communist government began encouraging Third World students – particularly those from Communist regimes. During the 1970s, hundreds of Africans entered the universities. There are approximately 2,500 Africans in the former Czechoslovakia, most of them students living in Prague.

'The Czechs call our building the zoo.'

According to George, an African student, things were, at one level, healthier in Communist times because Africans and Czechs shared dormitories. Czechs just resented the fact that Africans got much larger grants. But now, as the government reduces the places for overseas students and discourages black settlement, black students have been relegated to one separate building in Prague. 'It raises a lot of suspicion ... we look at it as a kind of racism. The Czechs call our building the zoo.'

As Czechoslovakia divides into Czech and Slovak federal republics, CARF examines how its minorities are faring.

While students are segregated, racist views are bound to increase. 'Africans are carrying AIDS ... you see their country is so dirty, that you can't not think that they have AIDS', Radovan Krejca, a Czech student, told an English language paper in Prague. He went on to pontificate on sexual relations: 'The probability that it will be real love between a white girl and a negro is really low ... no intelligent student will have contact with these girls who sleep with negroes.'

Romanies go public

Last autumn, the Romany community (of Gypsies) – the most harassed and discriminated against minority group – went public 'to alert Czechs to the danger of a racist nation'. A conference of 50 Romany leaders was held on 16 October 1992 to discuss Romany rights and the increase in racist violence.

Last year, at least 12 Romanies were killed in racist attacks. On 9 October, a group of off-duty police fought with several Romanies at a disco: two officers were stabbed and one Romany was shot four times. The next day, a group of about 80 skinheads went on the rampage against Romanies in Usti nad Labem, 90 kilometers north of Prague, and a document signed by 'The Squadron of Death', calling for assaults on Romanies, was circulated in northern Bohemia.

Over 800,000 Romanies – people who came in the 10th century from India – live in the former Czechoslovakia. The Communist regime had a policy of forced assimilation. Their language, culture and ethnic origin were all denied, and gypsies were forcibly resettled and forced into work – but of an unskilled kind. Mita, a researcher, described it to CARF as 'a policy of annihilation'.

Today, there are huge settlements of Romanies outside large towns which Mita likens to ghettos or shanties: 'There is no water, no electricity and massive poverty – particularly in Slovakia – and they

suffer acute unemployment.' Formerly, Romanies 'did not exist'; now they get publicity, but of the wrong sort. They are blamed for crime, for having too many children, for being ungrateful... The result is popular racism, skinhead attacks and a refusal by local officials and mayors to change conditions in the notorious settlements.

Last year, at least 12 Romanies were killed in racist attacks.

Romany organisations are not taken in by current attempts to give them cultural autonomy. 'They want to recreate their own cultural heritage, not be subject to state control', explains Mita. The Romany Democratic Congress wants 'to secure rights for Romany citizens and anchor them in the foundation of a new Czech constitution'. It also wants legislation that prohibits discrimination against Romanies.

Milena Hubschmannova, a professor who has just created the first Romany studies course at the Charles University, is not too optimistic about wiping out anti-Gypsy hatred. But, she says, quoting a Rom proverb, 'a journey of a thousand kilometers starts with the first step'. ■

All Scotland

MARCH

against the

**ASYLUM
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**23 January
Edinburgh**

—full details out soon—

LCARF

Lothian Campaign Against Racism and Fascism
PO Box 474, Edinburgh, EH11 2TQ.

Stop deportations

Many women are threatened with deportation. CARF urges readers to write to the Home Office at Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1, to protest at the following cases.

● *Prakash Chavrimootoo* and her son Prem have been denied their application for judicial review of the decision to deport them. Since 1989, they have been battling against Home Office rules which say that women entering Britain on the basis of their husband's British citizenship have no right to remain if the marriage breaks down within one year – meaning many women are forced to choose between staying with a violent husband, or leave and risk deportation. Prakash and Prem may now face another two years of legal challenges and appeals to allow them to stay. (Home Office Ref C151128)



Prakash Chavrimootoo

● *Naheed Ejaz*, who has lived in Britain for eight years, is threatened with deportation because her husband, whom she is in the process of divorcing, originally used false papers to gain entry into Britain. Mrs Ejaz did not know about this until she had her British passport taken away. Naheed's four children were born in Britain, but the Home Office has included them in its deportation plans. Mrs Ejaz has also been constantly harassed by immigration authorities – in September, the family were removed from their home by immigration officers and informed that they would be deported the next day. Mrs Ejaz was subsequently held in detention for six days before being released. (Home Office Ref K393499)

● *The Rahman family* are fighting against their threatened deportation. The mother, Rosina, is suffering from a

rare form of cancer which can only be treated in Britain. (Home Office Ref R311805)

● *Sally Morton*, who came to Britain from Pakistan in 1990. Within weeks, she suffered domestic violence and was thrown out by her husband. (Home Office Ref IMP5758324/2[8])

● *Hemlata Patel*, who came to Britain from India in 1986 and married in 1987. She now faces deportation after leaving her violent husband on the advice of police. (Home Office Ref P199556)

● *Mamta Chopra*, who came to Britain in 1988. She escaped, with the help of friends, from her violent husband to a refuge. (Home Office Ref 424231) ■

Campaign addresses:

West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign, 101 Villa Road, Birmingham B19 1NH; Mamta Chopra Campaign, c/o ARAFA, 31 Manor Road, Bradford BD1 4PS; Rahman Family Defence Campaign, c/o Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, Bolton BL1; Naheed Ejaz Campaign, c/o Women's Information Centre, 6 Silver Street, Reading.

■ Unite the Kaur family

A Sikh couple fighting for asylum for over nine years have been deported despite the fact that their seven children are wards of court in Britain.

In July 1992, Mr Kaur was deported,

and his wife, Kailesh Kaur, was threatened with imminent deportation. The children's 20-year-old sister made the younger children, whose ages range from 3 to 16, wards of court. The wardship means that they cannot leave Britain without the court's permission. But the Home Office went ahead with the deportation of Kailesh Kaur in September.

The children are now adjusting to the trauma of a future without either parent. Unbelievably, the government plans to deport their elder sister, thus removing all adult carers save one. The two youngest children were born in Britain and cannot be deported.

The family is determined to be reunited and the Nottingham-based *Family Reunite* campaign has been formed. An immediate priority is to raise funds for an appeal in the European Court. ■

Please help the campaign by sending donations to *Family Reunite* via Mrs U R Sood, Barrister, Senior Law Lecturer, c/o Nottingham Law School, Nottingham Polytechnic, Burton Street, Nottingham.

■ CPS under fire

The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has come under fire for its handling of racist murder investigations. Following the earlier acquittal of Andrew Noble, a second man, Gary Hoskins, has been found not guilty of the murder in Newham, east London, of Tamil refugee Panchadcharam Sahitharan. The Newham Monitoring Project says that



Asian women at Burnsall's, a metal-finishing company in Smethwick, who have been on strike since 15 June 1992, marched to Handsworth on 28 November in support of their demands for union recognition, safe working conditions and better pay. Send donations for the strikers to Jo Quigley, GMB, 2 Birmingham Road, Halesowen, West Midlands B63 3HP. Contact the London Support Committee c/o Londec, 205 King's Cross Road, London WC1.

the CPS's preparation of the case was incompetent. It is particularly critical of the treatment of key witnesses and the failure of the CPS to appoint a special prosecutor.

Meanwhile, in Manchester, a year has passed since the brutal murders of Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada. The trial of three white youths, aged between 19 and 25, charged with Dada's murder, began on 11 January at Deans Gate Crown Court, Manchester.

During the trial, the Memorial Committee is holding demonstrations to maintain a constant presence outside

the court. Campaigners fear that bad preparation by the CPS could result in no one being convicted.

The same three youths – Lambert, Schofield and Stewart – have been charged with Mr Sarwar's murder. Yet the CPS has decided that the trials should be held separately, ensuring that the connections between the murders will not be explored.

Following the police's lead, the CPS, will, it seems, present burglary as the sole motive of the murders, thus suppressing the issue of racism. And the three white youths, all of whom are

pleading not guilty, have made a shrewd move in briefing an Asian firm of solicitors to defend them.

Racial violence continues against Asian shopkeepers in the Withington area of Manchester. And over in Longsight, a public meeting has been held on the predominantly white Anson estate after an Asian youth was attacked by youths armed with wooden sticks who slashed him across the face. ■

Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada Memorial Committee, c/o WFA, 9 Lucy Street, Old Trafford, Manchester M15 4BX.
Sahitharan Memorial Committee, PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7.

Fascist round-up

Target

In *CARF* no 11, we reported on a new fascist publication. The idea of *Target*, not officially linked to any one Nazi group, is to act as a clearing-house for information on names, addresses, photographs, etc, of anti-fascists. Alongside *Target* has come the formation of the Nazi hit squad 'Combat 18' or 'Redwatch'.

Since these developments, *CARF* has received numerous reports from anti-fascists on the receiving end of threatening phone calls, hate materials, junk mail and catalogue orders that they never asked for. If you think you have been targeted, please contact us. This will help us build up a picture of national trends. And please don't make it easy for the fascists to get personal details of members of your organisation by printing their names and addresses in publications and newsletters.



At the Cenotaph: the bulldog breed ...

BNP/Blood & Honour

● Attempts by 20 fascists to disrupt the annual Scottish Campaign Against Racism and Fascism march in November were unsuccessful.

● In Birmingham, balaclavaed fascists (probably members of Walsall BNP) turned up to a Stockland Green Labour Party meeting, but were unable to stop the meeting going ahead.

● Walsall has been a target for a BNP 'Rights for Whites' campaign following the killing in 1992 of a white youth, Paul Carter, allegedly by Asians. Now, the BNP has set up an HQ on Bloxwich High Street. Labour councillor John Rothery, speaking on Channel 4's 'Comment' programme, described events following a police ban on an anti-fascist demonstration. Three Labour councillors who attempted to hold a 'token march' were arrested, while further down the road, the police 'looked on as masked Nazis stopped cars to give them their racist literature'.

● Notts Anti-Fascist Alliance and Mansfield ANL are furious at the way in which the police escorted some 300 Blood & Honour supporters from Heanor, Derbyshire, to the Palais Club, in the centre of Mansfield, to hold a 'White Christmas' gig on 19 December. Anti-fascists are trying to find out more about the police operation, which allegedly involved officers from the continent, and are also campaigning to get the Palais Club closed down.

Patriotic Forum/Western Goals

Another new far-Right publication has appeared. Edited by ex-NFer Mark Cotterill, who recently launched the South Devon Patriotic Forum (see *CARF* no 10), *British Patriot* is full of side-swipes at Ian Anderson's NF. Anderson himself is criticised for running the once robust 'patriotic' publication *Vanguard* into the ground. Would-be patriots are,

instead, encouraged to join the Tory party, 'rather than right-wing parties on the fringe of the fringe of British politics'. Mark Cotterill himself boasts that he has been made a welcome member of 'a Tory Association'.

What is clear is that the ex-NFers who control this fringe outfit would like to run with Western Goals and its associates. Hence, guest speakers at a SDPF meeting were Melvyn Rendell (anti-federal European candidate in Cheltenham at the general election), Stuart Millson and Jonathan Bowden (described as members of Gloucestershire and Thames Valley Patriotic Forum). The SDPF would like us to believe that it is only one unit of a burgeoning forum across the country which includes groups in Yorkshire, South Wales, Worcestershire, north and east London. ■



... recalling past glories?

Jon Walter



Family and friends of the Cardiff 3 arriving at the High Court last December. On 10 December, the appeal court quashed the murder convictions of the Cardiff 3, and Yusef Abdullahi, Tony Paris and Steven Miller were free. Over Christmas, 28 other victims of miscarriages of justice went on hunger strike in prison. They included Winston Silcott, whose defence of self-defence was not raised at his trial for murder, and Satpal Ram, convicted of murder after intervening in a racist attack (see page 15).

■ Campaigns in education

Black youth throughout the country are organising around issues of racism in education.

Exclusions

In east London's Tower Hamlets, Asian students are campaigning vigorously against exclusions and other measures they perceive as harassment at the local further education college. Taz, a student at the college, was excluded for stealing bikes. 'I was found innocent by the court,' he told CARF, 'but still deemed to be guilty by the college.' To get back in, he was asked to sign a special 'contract' promising not to steal. Another student, Hakim, was excluded for assault, even though his alleged victim denies that he was responsible.

All students enrolling are obliged to sign contracts confirming that they will obey college rules. But Asian young men believe that they are being stereotyped as troublemakers: they are being given special contracts which deny them access to disciplinary procedures, allowing their exclusion without redress.

In December, over 300 students picketed the college, supported by local community and youth groups, to demand the reinstatement of victimised students, a review of college contracts and an end to stereotyping.

Scotland

Exclusions are part of the larger problem of how issues of race and racism are dealt with in colleges and schools. The response to an incident in a Glasgow school in October has again brought into question the official Scottish view of 'race relations', which portrays Scotland as a harmonious multi-cultural society, while sidelining issues of racism.

On 29 October, Asian pupils at the Shawlands Academy, a Glasgow secondary school, were involved in a fight outside the school gates in which four white youths were injured. The press, the police and the education authority all roundly condemned the Asian pupils. The press described the incident as gang warfare by racist Asians.

But Scottish anti-racists argue that such an explanation makes no sense of the incident and does not allow for an exploration of what might lie behind it. Scottish educationalists, and parents of Shawlands pupils, have long been concerned at the Academy's approach to anti-racism. There is a strong feeling in the community that the school has failed to deal satisfactorily with complaints from black parents and students, such as the allegation in 1990 that a teacher had used racist language to a black pupil.

There are fears that, by dismissing the October fight as an 'isolated incident' in a 'well-run multi-cultural school', the school authorities, along with the teachers' union and the Strathclyde Regional Council, are missing out on an opportunity for a real discussion about institutional racism in Scottish schools.

While the call by SARTEN (the Scottish Anti-Racist Teachers' Educational Network) for such a debate falls on deaf ears, the BNP is using the incident to maximum advantage, by publicising it as an example of black racist violence and launching a leafletting campaign outside the school gates.

Southwark

The BNP has also been whipping up race hatred – and violence – against students in Southwark, in south London. In the last two months of 1992, there were at least eight racist incidents at the Bermondsey branch of Southwark College, including an attack by white youths armed with baseball bats on a lone black student, an attack with a pit bull terrier and the shooting of a student and a security guard with an air rifle. Students are angry that police have taken up to half an hour to respond.

The BNP claimed in December's



Tower Hamlets students protest against unfair exclusions

Darren Jacobson

British Nationalist that 'patriotic' attacks were carried out after the College took over premises of a former all-white school.

Students at other London colleges are stepping up their anti-racist campaigning work after a fresh spate of fascist stickering. At City Poly, students at different sites have organised a joint campaign against BNP graffiti; City University students are considering similar action since NF stickers have begun to appear. Meanwhile, campaigners at the University of North London scored a victory by getting revisionist historian David Irving's books removed from general access in the college library. ■

CARF is working with the National Union of Students in London in campaigning against fascist activity in colleges.

■ Justice for Gill Smith

Newham Monitoring Project, the East London Black Women's Organisation and the Newham Asian Women's Project are forming a campaign to protest at the increasing harassment suffered by black women in Newham at the hands of police officers.

A public meeting in December 1992, attended by over 100 people, heard a moving account from Gill Smith of how an unprovoked assault was launched on her as she stood outside Forest Gate train station. After being arrested for threatening behaviour and disorderly conduct, she was, she said, violently assaulted and racially abused by officers in a police van. Once in the police station, she was subjected to an intimate search in the presence of male officers, who made crude and sexist remarks about her. The incident has left Gill extremely distressed and with multiple bruises and swellings.

The *Justice for Gill Smith Campaign* will be highlighting the many other cases of violence against women by the police. The cases of Dawn Ramsey, who was allegedly beaten by police officers and then arrested for 'assaulting the police' and 'disorderly words and behaviour', and Mrs Imbert, an elderly black woman who suffered a heart attack during a police raid at her home, are just two examples. A spokesperson for the campaign told CARF: 'These cases, along with that of the Deane family and Mr Natt and his tape-recording, are merely the tip of the iceberg.' The campaign is calling for supporters to attend Gill Smith's court hearing on 2

Newham Police Beware!



Everyone's buying a Tape Recorder for Christmas!

In July 1992 the tape recording of police abusing Malkjit Singh Natt in the back of a police car was released to the media and received national press coverage. Unfortunately, most people who suffer this sort of treatment from the police are not lucky enough to be carrying a tape recorder. So you know what to ask for this Christmas...

February at Newham East Magistrates' Court in Stratford. ■

Justice for Gill Smith Campaign, PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7, tel 081-555 8151.

■ European football: 1 Racists: 0

The weekend of 12/13 December 1992 will go down in football history, not for the goals scored, but because Europe's top footballers took a decisive public stand against racism and fascism.

In Italy's Serie A, where most of the world's top footballers play, all the matches were preceded by the teams carrying anti-racist banners and laying them out on the pitch's centre-circle. This 'Footballers' Day of Protest against violence and racism' was organised by the Italian Players' Association as a protest against the increasing racist behaviour and fascist activity in and around grounds. Fascist groups – chanting racist and anti-semitic comments, making nazi salutes and displaying nazi banners – have been a growing problem in Italy for some years. This has revived memories of the links that some top Italian teams, like Lazio of Rome and Juventus of Turin, had with fascism in the inter-war period.

Recently, a cache of weapons and nazi flags near Rome's Olympic stadium was found the night before the Lazio-Roma match in which Paul Gascoigne scored his first goal. Incidents such as this led Milan's black Dutch star, Ruud Gullit, to propose action by players.

Ironically, it was comments by his Dutch colleague, Marco Van Basten, that gave momentum to the protest.

Van Basten provoked a wave of criticism by saying that racism in the stadiums was not a serious problem. The Italian media supported the players' protest, and it is hoped that Italian football fans will now take up the campaign.

On the same weekend, all 18 clubs in Germany's Bundesliga, or first division, took a stand against growing racism and fascism on the terraces. Players took to the field wearing shirts bearing the motto 'My friend is a foreigner'. At Bayern Munich's game, children carrying the flags of the world's countries joined hands to march around the pitch at half-time, whilst at Eintracht Frankfurt, fans carried banners declaring that 'Germany without foreigners is like a piano without black keys'.

This public action is in total contrast to the inaction of the English football authorities when racist chanting and fascist activity developed at grounds in the 1970s. The FA and clubs took no real action themselves; neither did they support the campaigns of outside organisations. It was left to individual players and managers to support the work of Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League.

Real anti-racist action was only taken by clubs in the late 1980s, after pressure from fans' organisations like Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism, Newcastle United Against Racism and the Scottish based SCARF. ■



Ruud Gullit

Challenging racist youth culture

At least eight black people have been murdered in racist incidents in the UK this year. None of the murderers was a member of a far-right organisation. On the other hand, an examination of the murders points to the development of a racist culture in our inner cities where killings of black people are seen as an acceptable part of white gang violence. An urgent question for anti-racists is how do we get to the youths in these gangs?

Thamesmead, in south-east London, is identified with such gang violence. Following the murder of Rolan Adams in 1991, Greenwich council embarked on a research project to examine how to combat racism amongst white adolescents. Subsequently, the Central Race Equality Unit of Greenwich council asked the Centre for Multicultural Education at the Institute of Education to carry out the research. *Sagaland* is the result.

In the foreword, the authors define their task as describing young people's perceptions without 'prior conceptions' or 'imposition of their own classifications'. But, apart from the fact that such refusal to judge is itself a value judgment, the very title of their work, *Sagaland*, 'signifies' (to use their language) their particular orientation. 'Sagaland' refers to a German board game about fairy tales. The racist ideas of white Thamesmead youth are similarly like fairy tales that, as they grow, take on added symbolic meaning. The task of the authors, therefore, is to unravel the tales, interpret the interpretations.

The problem with the approach is that the authors are looking first and foremost at youth culture and violence, without locating such violence in the larger racist culture that informs their attitudes and influences their behaviour to the point that kicking a gang opponent if he is white becomes a killing if he is black. In other words, the authors do not address the qualitative difference in gang violence that makes racist attacks a thing apart.

According to the authors, the youth of Thamesmead are resentful and inward-looking, jealous of the attention given to local black people following the murder of Rolan Adams. They take the white youths' complaints at face value, and paint them as 'vulnerable', 'agitated' and 'confused'. This inevitably

leads them to advocate a solution which shies away from dealing with racism openly – as it would lead to further resentment and yet more racism – and stresses instead the need to construe a more positive identity for the white youth of Thamesmead.



And this, apart from shoring up the hoary old adage that if you don't talk about racism it will go away, overlooks the simple fact that, in choosing racism, the youths have – in their terms – already defined their identity. The point is to stop that identity from denying others theirs.

What we have in the UK are all the ingredients for a working-class right-wing youth culture without, at the moment, a neo-nazi group capable of giving it a national expression. *Sagaland* may have identified the problem correctly, but, in seeking the virtue of non-evaluation, it has fallen into the trap of vindication – and so leaves the council that sponsored its research with little policy and less direction. *Sagaland* is itself a fairy tale. ■

Sagaland: youth culture, racism and education: a report on research carried out in Thamesmead by the Centre for Multicultural Education, Institute of Education, University of London.

Learning from history

The Scottish Democratic Resistance and the James Connolly Society have produced a pamphlet recording how an alliance between loyalists and nazis led to the ban of the 1992 Connolly Memorial march on public order grounds by the Labour Lothian Regional Council. It also describes the massive surveillance and intelligence operation on the day and afterwards, conducted by two Scottish police forces.

The Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Committee (MMCC) has

produced a special pamphlet to mark the 125th anniversary of the hanging of the three Irish liberation fighters for the accidental shooting of a policeman in 1867. Through text and illustrations, it tells the story of the martyrs, and of the continued struggle since their death to keep alive the struggle in Manchester for Irish self-determination and against British imperialism. ■

The events of May 30th 1992 and the politics behind the banning of the James Connolly march is available from SDR c/o Review Discussion Group, PO Box 447, 4 Falcon Road West, Edinburgh EH10 4AB, or James Connolly Society, PO Box 4, Prestonpans, East Lothian, price £1.00. Manchester Martyrs 125th Anniversary is available from MMCC, Box 5 SWPDO, Manchester 15.

UPDATE

Drummond Street Defence Campaign • The Drummond Street defence campaign has been formed to defend two Bengali youths who campaigners say have been unjustly charged with causing grievous bodily harm at a football tournament in Ealing on 4 October 1992. The campaign is concerned that these charges are politically motivated. The two youths are members of the Drummond Street Youth Association (DSYA) and their arrests have been followed by dawn raids on the homes of several Bengali families in the Drummond Street area of north London. For further information phone DSYA, 071-388 3259 or Southall Monitoring Group (SMG), 081-843 2333.

Raj Mistry Campaign • The campaign to reinstate dentist Raj Mistry (see *CARF* no 11), accused of delegating x-rays, has been successful.

Free Satpal Campaign • In *CARF* no 8, we reported on the case of Satpal Ram. In 1986, Satpal intervened in an incident in an Indian restaurant in Birmingham when a group of six white men were acting in a racially abusive way. When Satpal was attacked by a man using a broken glass, he picked up a knife in self-defence. He is serving a life sentence for murder. Now the Free Satpal Campaign has been formed, and is asking its supporters to write to the Home Secretary asking him to refer Satpal's case back to the Court of Appeal. Free Satpal Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Birmingham B19 1NH, tel 021-551 4518.

NOVEMBER

- 1 Bar Council calls for investigation of DPP decision not to prosecute police despite inquest verdict of 'unlawful killing' of Oliver Pryce ... Society of Black Lawyers accuses Bar school of racial discrimination after revealed that black students three times more likely to fail Bar exams as white students.
- 2 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill introduced in parliament ... David Winnick MP complains to West Midlands police chief after police stop anti-fascist march through Bloxwich.
- 3 Gary Hoskin cleared of murdering Tamil refugee Panchadcharam Sahitharan in East London ... Neo-Nazi rally in Halbe, near Berlin, banned ... Police deny charges but pay £10,000 damages to Alphaeus Reid for assault, battery and false imprisonment.
- 4 Netherlands court bans distribution of two right-wing leaflets dismissing holocaust as 'lies'.
- 5 Government publishes Bill to abolish wages councils, which set minimum wages for low-paid workers ... Home Secretary imposes visa controls on Bosnians.
- 6 Joseph Conroy, who shouted 'Sieg Heil' after his arrest, jailed for murder of 15-year-old Navid Sadiq in Bermondsey, south London, in January 1992.
- 7 1,000 anti-racists march through Eltham, south London, to protest at murder of 15-year-old Rohit Duggal.
- 8 Bermondsey site of Southwark College, south London, introduces high security measures after series of racial attacks on students ... 350,000 protest in Berlin against neo-Nazi violence.
- 9 30,000 march in Rome against racism.
- 10 23% of 'dubious jailings' in dossier of 163 cases sent to Home Office involve black defendants.
- 13 BNP organiser Simon Chadwick suspended from post as unemployment benefit officer ... German defence ministry confirms has received 24 reports of right-wing offences by soldiers in 1992 ... Government legal aid cuts mean 10 million more people will no longer get free access to justice.
- 14 Less than 1% of prison officers and only 1% of police are black, says report on black under-representation in criminal justice agencies ... 200,000 demonstrate in Bonn against neo-Nazi attacks and asylum law plans.
- 16 High Court orders new inquest into death of Broadmoor patient Orville Blackwood.
- 17 Government refuses visas to over 170 Bosnian refugees waiting in coaches on Austro-Slovene border ... Herman Ouseley appointed first black head of Commission for Racial Equality.
- 20 Home Secretary turns down police request for US-style batons, which have

- greater wounding potential ... Graves in Jewish section of Cardiff cemetery desecrated.
- 21 6,000 march through London against Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill ... 25 officers from north London's Stoke Newington police station named in report sent to DPP.
- 23 George McKay, who bragged 'We are from the NF', jailed for life for murder of Donald Palmer ... Judge drops charges against police constable of planting drugs on Rupert Taylor, who received £60,000 damages.
- 24 Home Secretary refuses MEPs' requests for information on confidential documents on EC plans to curb asylum-seekers.
- 25 Muslim tombstones in French military cemetery in Mulhouse vandalised.
- 26 Neo-Nazi arrested on suspicion of heading organisation responsible for Mölln arson attack ... Three Jewish cemeteries in Stockholm desecrated.
- 27 Western Goals vice-president Gregory Lauder-Frost jailed for 2 years for fraud ... Germany bans neo-Nazi National Front ... French pensioner jailed for 13 years for shooting Arab teenager after complaining about noise.
- 28 After inquiry into distribution of extreme right-wing propaganda, two Ashworth hospital nurses suspended ... BNP supporters attack anti-racist rally in Glasgow.
- 29 Skinheads carve swastika on 14-year-old German girl's cheek because they said she was a left-winger.
- 30 Family who racially abused Asian neighbours in 'two-year campaign of terror' ordered to leave council house in Winson Green, West Midlands ... Police arrest four youths for racist murder of Moroccan two weeks earlier in Madrid. 16,000 march in Barcelona against spread of racist violence in Spain ... Anti-racists disrupt extreme-right marches in Stockholm on anniversary of death of King Karl XII.

DECEMBER

- 1 Junior education minister proposes fines on schools 'over-keen' to exclude children ... In secret meeting, EC interior ministers agree to 'harmonise' asylum laws and speed up removal of 'bogus' asylum-seekers.
- 2 Two neo-Nazis admit arson attack which killed three Turks in Mölln on 23 November ... 13 west London police officers being investigated following allegations of racial discrimination and harassment by black policeman.
- 6 Germany's main political parties agree amendments to the constitution to curb asylum-seekers.
- 7 Home Office says only 599 people granted asylum in first nine months of

1992; 8,064 granted exceptional leave to remain; 2,390 refused, including 414 because they had passed through a 'safe' country.

- 9 CRE study shows significant bias against African-Caribbean men in crown court sentencing patterns ... David Winnick's Racial Violence Bill gets unopposed first reading in House of Commons.
- 10 Court of Appeal frees Cardiff Three after hearing police interview tapes which reveal bullying and oppressive tactics.
- 14 Police deny allegations but pay black soccer fan Stanley Dixon £21,500 for wrongful arrest, assault and malicious prosecution following incident at Arsenal match.
- 15 Ealing council to rename two schools which were named after Blair Peach.
- 18 Chief Inspector of Prisons report on Long Lartin jail highlights racial tensions.
- 20 500,000 in anti-racist protests in German cities ... refugee hostel in Greifswald firebombed by neo-Nazis.
- 22 Nottinghamshire police inquiry announced into allegation that three policemen seen in night club dressed as KKK members.
- 23 Firebomb injures Turkish woman in Cologne ... Raids on members of far-right National Offensive in Germany.

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