

CAMPAIGN AGAINST **carf** RACISM & FASCISM

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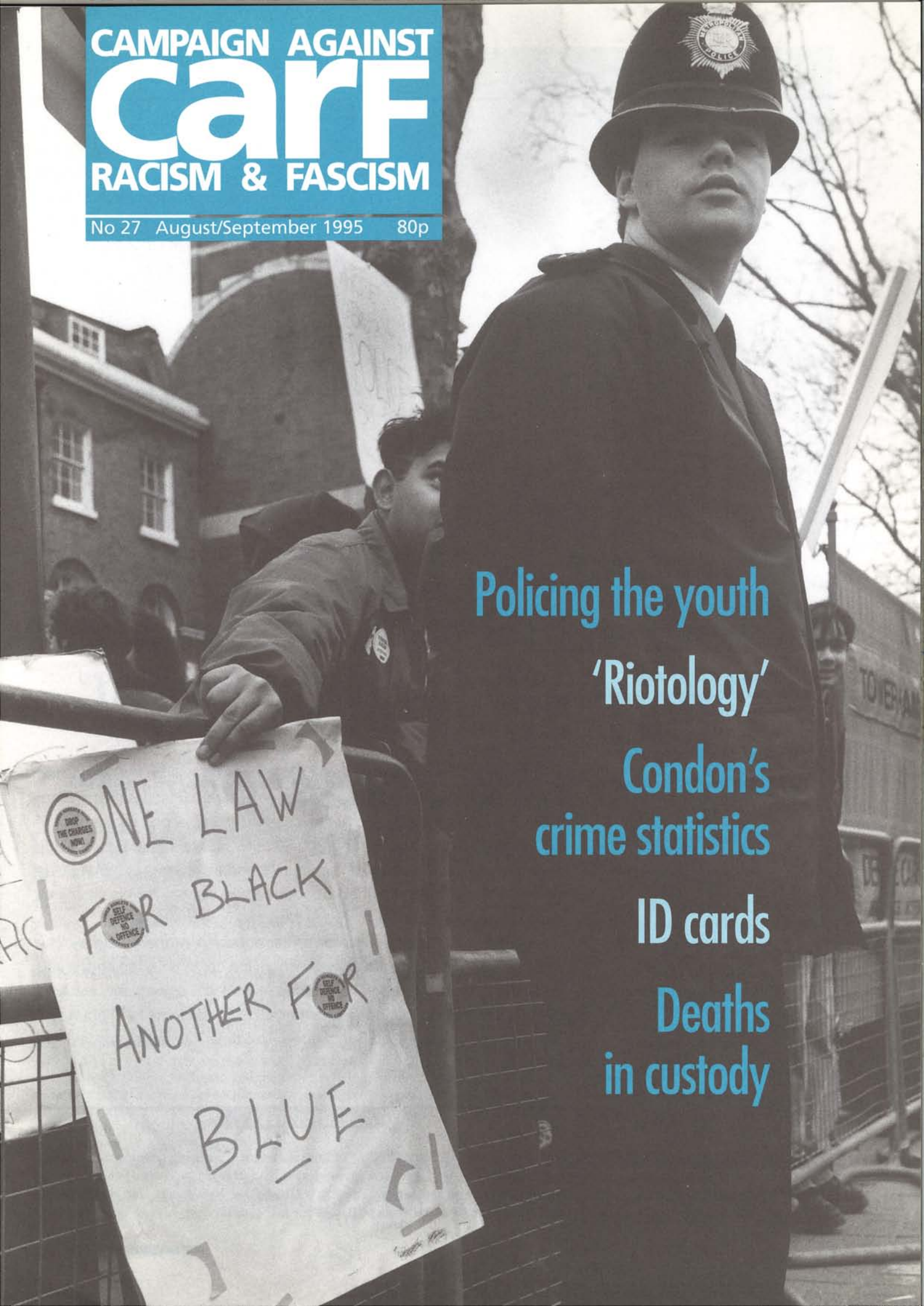
Policing the youth

'Riotology'

Condon's
crime statistics

ID cards

Deaths
in custody



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EDITORIAL



There's a new pseudo-science in the making. It's called 'riotology'. Everyone's at it. Criminologists and cultural theorists, Home Office researchers and Fleet Street journalists. But the Dean of Riotology, based at the University of New Scotland Yard's School of Street Crime, is none other than the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police.

When Sir Paul Condon made his claim that most muggings in London's inner-city areas were carried out by young black men, he was well aware that anger over policing had reached boiling point in London, and that it was likely to spill over, as it had done elsewhere. In June, there was widespread shock and disbelief as the three Met officers involved in Joy Gardner's arrest were acquitted of any responsibility for her death, and there had been, too, a series of angry demonstrations – the most militant seen in south London for years – following the police killing of Brian Douglas. These events were against the background of the highest ever number of complaints against the police recorded in the 1994/5 Police Complaints Authority's annual report. Condon's claim ensured that black crime hit the headlines and that, if there was to be trouble in London, it would be seen as a criminal response to the necessary policing of street crime, and not a legitimate response to heavy-handed and racist street policing.

The message that black street crime and lawlessness are behind 'riots' is familiar from 1981 and 1985. But at least on those occasions police did not have the gall to set up the theory in advance of trouble, as a pre-emptive strike.

The way Condon released the statistics was revealing, too. He invited 'community leaders' and MPs to a 'private' meeting to discuss the problem of black youth criminality. (To fix the meeting for the second anniversary of the violent arrest of Joy Gardner, on 28 July, was to strike a particularly crass note.) To the extent that 'community leaders' were prepared to play ball, they would have provided Condon with legitimacy for his claims as well as respectable cover for future stop and search operations.

Fortunately the leaders were not, on this occasion, prepared to play. The tactic has backfired: the timing was wrong, the community too angry, and Condon has succeeded in provoking a boycott among the leaders. CARF's message to Condon is that targeting black areas for high-profile operations is no Operation Bumblebee. This time, Commissioner, it's you who've been stung. ■

STOP PRESS

Satpal Ram, now in his ninth year of imprisonment after being convicted of murder for defending himself against a racist attack, has, after many years of campaigning, finally been given a date for his appeal. It will be held at the Appeal Court on the Strand on 20 October. See next issue of CARF for full details.



What sparked the 'riots'?

June and July saw confrontations between the police and young people in Bradford, Luton, Nuneaton, Liverpool and Leeds. Policing is still the vital ingredient that sparks 'riots'.

BRADFORD myths and realities

Two nights of uprisings against the police in the predominantly Asian area of Manningham in Bradford led to a series of outpourings from the media and the police which sought to put the blame for the violence everywhere except where it really lay – with the police themselves.

'What we are dealing with here is young men, Bradford-born, brought up and educated. They have lost in some way their ties with their old religion and their country, yet they feel themselves alienated within western culture.' No, not an excerpt from a GCSE Sociology essay, but the words of Keith Hellawell, chief constable of West Yorkshire.

The theme of the Asian generational culture gap as a reason for the uprising was taken up by the newspapers *ad*

infinitum. It runs like this: 'The first generation of Asians who settled in Britain were peace-loving folk, they kept themselves to themselves and ventured out of their corner shops only to visit the cash and carry. The second generation integrated, they sought to work within the system to rid society of the most overt examples of discrimination (because there are still some, you know). But the young Asians (shake head slowly for added emphasis), they've lost respect for their elders, they are neither British nor Asian, but caught in limbo. They've picked up the habits of their African-Caribbean counterparts (who are, as we all know, constitutionally disposed to a bit of rioting now and then).'

And so it happened on the evening of 9 June that a police car managed to run over the foot of a young Asian while he was playing football in the street, an argument developed and 20-year-old Javed Iqbal came out of his house to see what the commotion was about. On refusing to 'bugger off' as instructed by police officers, he was threatened with arrest and ran into his house. Police officers followed where, he says, 'one beat me with his truncheon, they kicked over the food on the table and hit my sister, who was feeding her eight-month-old baby'.

Javed was dragged into the police car along with three of the youths playing football and charged with assaulting a

ABOUT MANNINGHAM

- 38% are unemployed (the figure is higher for young Asians)
- 50% receive housing benefit or community charge rebates
- 42% live in overcrowded conditions (source: Bradford City Council/1991 census)

police officer. During the uprisings that followed, the anger was focused on the Fortress Lawcroft police station on Toller Lane. Up to one hundred people protested to demand the release of those arrested.

'The police treat us like dogs'

The consensus seems to be that the police presence on the streets was provocative and heavy-handed. According to one witness, 'anyone who complained about police behaviour was either arrested or beaten up' – a situation which led to eight more youths being charged with public order offences. The charges against these eight were later dropped, but the screening of video evidence led to another 38 arrests for offences relating to the second night of the uprising, in which 700 took part.

The youth of Manningham are clear about what they see as the problem: 'The newspapers have written bullshit about us being alienated from our culture and traditions. Most of us who were out on the streets those two nights respect our parents and our religion,' 19-year old Sulman told CARF. 'It's rubbish to say that it's all down to culture conflict – it wasn't just kids rioting, it was the whole community, and the generation before us have not been passive, people know about the Bradford 12 – it's part of our community's history.'

'The police treat us like dogs,' Javed Iqbal told CARF; 'that's why people are angry – no other reason.'

'Of course there are generational conflicts in our community, just the same as every society, but we will deal with them – we don't need psychoanalysis from the police, just for them to stop pushing us around,' another youth told CARF. 'I am British, but I am black British, and until I am given the same rights and respect by the police that is given to whites I will riot and protest.'

Whether they riot again or not, the only certain thing is that the youth will continue to be abandoned by politicians of every party. At the first full meeting of Bradford city council since the uprising, Labour, Tory and Lib Dem alike fell over themselves to condemn the violence. What did the politicians propose? More youth service provision perhaps? More job creation in Manningham? An independent inquiry? A call to drop the charges against the 42 youths who are now being criminalised for defending their community? Not a chance.

Instead we got speech after speech beginning 'Bradford has always had a good tradition of race relations...' and ending '...what we want is peace in our community'. There will be an inquiry backed by the council, but it will be carried out by the Bradford Congress, a local

consortium dominated by business interests rather than by local youth.

Manningham Defendants Campaign, c/o Bradford Trades Council, Chapel Street, Bradford. Tel: 01274 725046

LUTON

a multicultural estate

Read the papers and you'd be forgiven for thinking that the Luton uprisings were carried out by bored disaffected white youth with nothing to do when the pubs close. Once again the press have 'framed' the 'riots' in a way that they can understand. But truth does not fit neatly into the stereotype.

Glenn Jenkins is the spokesperson for 'Exodus', Luton's radical housing and music collective. He lives on Marsh Farm estate, where three nights of violence took place at the beginning of June. Glenn told CARF that Marsh Farm 'is a mixed estate, the residents of which are colour-blind. White, Asian, black, we all grew up together and we've all suffered police harassment together.' This is a situation also common to the Hyde Park area of Leeds which erupted in violence several days after the events in Luton.

The Luton disturbances started after the police attempted a violent arrest of a

Catching history on camera

Justice for Joy was recently shown on Channel Four. CARF asked film-makers Migrant Media how they managed to get their hard-hitting documentaries on TV.

Migrant Media: Getting programmes on TV is only part of the work we do. When we make a film we make it for two audiences. *Justice for Joy* was shown on television, which is good, it had a couple of million audience, but apart from that we make films for campaigning, to be shown, for example, in community situations. That is our second audience.

The reason we actually get the stuff on is because of the way we operate. If we get to know about an issue we begin to follow it. On the Joy film, for example, we started working with the family two years ago. We managed to get it on eventually because of the commitment we had to that issue. When we go to see Channel Four or any commissioning editor, the relationship we have built up with, say, the family, our contacts, our in-depth knowledge, the fact that we include a whole group of people normally excluded, all come through.

CARF: Can you tell us how Migrant Media was set up in 1989?

There were four of us initially involved in social welfare work in different migrant communities. There were some Black workshops around but smaller communities – mostly from the Arab world, some

African and some Asian countries – weren't getting a look in. We were involved in housing, immigration problems and race issues and we got fed up of having to argue all the time with the media or set things up for them. So we thought 'well fuck it, we're going to do it ourselves'.

We are very conscious that we can't just stand back and let the mainstream media – including TV – get away with



13-year-old boy who had escaped from a detention centre in Surrey. This provoked the anger of local residents and police called a paramilitary unit to, as Glenn put it, 'reclaim the ground'. According to Glenn Jenkins, the police see the control of Marsh Farm by the forces of law and order as a 'territorial issue'.

This view was reiterated by another local youth, who told the *Guardian* after the third night of violence that 'police were walking around in the daytime like they controlled Marsh Farm. If they had just left it, nothing would have happened.' A Leeds youth made a similar statement in the *Independent*. 'These are police with attitude. They have a gym where they work out, they're body-building to police the area and they've been provoking people now for two or three months.' Among those arrested in Luton were a disproportionate number of black youth. John Jefferson, who has been a Labour councillor for Marsh Farm, says that if you look at the figures for those arrested, 'you'd be forgiven for thinking it was a black riot'.

Inquiry into Bedfordshire police

Precious little was written in the press about the background to the Luton violence. About 3,500 people live on the Marsh Farm estate, which saw similar

disturbances in July 1992 when cars were set alight and petrol bombs thrown at the police. Nor were the press willing to get below the surface of events and examine further the disastrous relationship between police and young people in Luton as a whole. In fact, Bedfordshire police are at the centre of corruption and harassment charges that centre on their treatment of young people.



Exodus itself is extremely popular among young people. The fact that this cooperative holds successful raves, turns derelict property into suitable accommodation for young people and has converted a derelict farm into a city farm open to the public, seems to threaten the police.

This was young people being ingenious ('necessity breeds ingenuity')—and young people doing something positive rather than being bored and disaffected seems to

be something Luton police can't deal with. Police officers who have spoken out in favour of Exodus and the positive initiatives they were operating have been transferred to other areas.

Over the years the police have carried out a series of raids, code-named Operation Anagram, Ashanti, Anatomy and Anchovy, against the Exodus Collective, culminating in a police raid on the farm in January 1993. Four thousand Exodus supporters immediately besieged the police station to demand the release of those arrested—surely the largest demonstration of spontaneous anger Luton has ever seen.

Subsequently, 31 different charges brought against Exodus members have collapsed or been thrown out of court. And this year, Bedfordshire county council voted in favour of an official inquiry which, if it takes place, would investigate not only the series of failed raids against Exodus but other serious allegations of police corruption, including the planting of drugs.

So next time you read in the press of bored delinquent young people rioting mindlessly, think again. Young people in Luton are on the move. It's the police who can't keep up. ■

Thanks to the newspaper *Squall* (c/o 2 St Paul's Road, London N1 2QN) for additional information for this article.

what they're doing. If you take the case of Joy's killing, for two years all we heard was a lot of lies about her, from the *Daily Mail* all the way through the 'quality' press to the *Guardian*, of a violent woman, an illegal immigrant and so on. We couldn't let them get away with it.

Do you see yourselves primarily as film-makers or community activists?

Both. We do a lot of campaigning work when we are not in production. For instance, we are involved in all the three campaigns featured in *Justice for Joy*. When we were doing the film on detentions we were doing a massive amount of publicity and press work for detainees in detention centres. And because they knew us, when they wrote press releases or letters, they would smuggle them to us, so we could get them around.

So, unlike other film-makers, you don't go cap in hand to Channel Four and say 'I have an idea, will you fund us?'

We have never, ever got a commission from a piece of paper. The way we work is that we follow things, we shoot a lot of stuff and cut something together and then we show it to those people. If you were just to go along and say black people are being killed and you want to make a film, they wouldn't believe you, because they hadn't read it in the *Guardian*!

We believe it is always important to document what is going on now. It's important that there is a memory about immigration, a memory about the struggles, and that is what we—and the network we belong to—have been trying to contribute to.

When you film, is the crew made up of the members of the collective or do you buy in skills, editors, etc?

No, we don't hire anybody. Six of us work here and everyone is essentially self-trained. To be honest with you, anyone can use a camera or edit, but the most important thing is how you relate to people—how things that affect you affect other people and how you can work together. That, for us, is the philosophy behind how we work and that is missing in all television.

But if you restrict yourselves like that and only get paid when you have had a film nationally transmitted, isn't funding a bit of a problem?

People just have to do lots of other bits and pieces to survive, like cabbage. We would rather do that than get into a situation where we rely on funding or grants. For that restricts you. We have been going since 1989 and we've managed because we got hold of our own production equipment. If you control the means of production then you are one step ahead—we're never going to control the means of distribution! For us that's still the major battle—to get something on to television. ■

Films from Migrant Media

Germany – the other story (1991)	Sweet France (1992)
Britain's Black legacy (1991)	Tasting freedom (1994)
After the storm (1992)	Justice for Joy (1995)

Migrant Media will be undertaking a nationwide tour, showing their films to community groups throughout August and September. Films are also available to rent or buy (sliding scale of prices). Ring: 0171 254 9701 for details.

Identity cards – not welcome here

As the debate continues on the government's Green Paper on identity cards, CARF looks at the experience of ID cards in three European countries.

We only have to look at other European countries to see that to welcome ID cards is to welcome the formal reintroduction of sus policing. Legalised police harassment is accompanied by the excessive state and bureaucratic surveillance associated with totalitarianism and fascism.

Increased police harassment

The experience of France, whose government introduced a 'voluntary' ID card in August 1993, gives the lie to those who argue that identity cards will make life easier for black people who are stopped by police, in the belief that once you have proved your citizenship rights your nice friendly bobby will apologise and leave you alone. The 'voluntary' card has become compulsory in all but name. Random identity checks are carried out in specified areas and at specified periods on the authority of the public prosecutor, and those who are unable to prove their identity can be detained for up to four hours. In addition, the law gives police the right to check the identity of anyone who seems likely to cause a breach of the peace or commit an assault or a property crime; and there are further powers to check identity in 'frontier zones', which include railway stations.

Street ID checks have resulted in a massive increase in police harassment. In the aftermath of the killing of three French citizens in Algeria in the summer of 1994, an estimated 20,000 north Africans were stopped and checked in Paris in August.

Climate of fear & confrontation

Police in France use to the full this new weapon to harass black communities. There have been several deaths which are directly attributable to ID checks, the first within days of the new laws coming into force, on 17 August 1993, when an African man jumped into the river Seine to avoid an ID check and drowned. And the Paris public transport network (RATP), comprising the metro and overground train systems, has become a site of conflict between black youth and RATP guards in riot gear who, as part of the multi-agency approach to policing, check the ID of young blacks along with their tickets.

For systematic identity checks inevitably give rise to confrontation with the

police from young European blacks who are not prepared to put up with the kind of crude stereotyping and indignities such targeting inevitably entails. Ironically, it also provides the conditions for community-wide alliances that stretch beyond mere ethnic allegiance.

Recently, the residents of Belleville, a working-class neighbourhood of Paris where north Africans, Jews, Arabs and Chinese live side by side, clashed with the police following a random identity check on a Jewish resident by officers who shouted racist abuse. Within minutes, according to an eyewitness, 250 people, mostly mums and dads from all communities, were shaking the police van into which 21-year-old Xavier Lelloum had been forced. Now, the grand rabbi of France has written a letter of complaint to president Chirac, alleging that 200 riot police attacked the crowd with batons, shouting 'dirty Jew' and 'dirty Arab'.

The snooping state

If France provides a lesson in the effect of ID cards on policing on the street, Germany gives an example of the totalitarian uses of the registration system which goes with them. An ID card system requires a central register, with records on every person. In Germany, everyone has an ID card from birth, and no one can change address without notifying the police. Police must be informed when a room is rented or sublet. The central registry is held by the Interior Ministry. Without registration on the ministry's computer, there is no official existence: no access to housing, insurance, health care or any other public service. Failure to produce papers on demand is a common pretext for arrest, particularly of marchers on anti-racist demonstrations. Foreigners must carry their ID at all times and can be

arrested and detained for their identity to be clarified.

There are different cards for foreigners, and different ones again for asylum-seekers. (In France, the Romany have a different ID card.) The Foreigners' Central Register is in Köln, while the new, £10 million Central Asylum Registration Office is in Bavaria. Its national computer network enables it to register the details of an asylum applicant, and to allocate the asylum-seeker to an address in a particular region, in three minutes. That is then the place where the asylum-seeker is to reside. Asylum-seekers driven from their registered address by racist attacks, or moving to live with relatives elsewhere, have found themselves destitute, and branded as illegal.

Resisting the trend

Across Europe, teachers, employers, doctors, social services and housing officers are increasingly being asked to act as immigration officers and carry out identity checks. In such a climate, it is vital that we learn from European campaigns that seek to go against the trend. In the Netherlands, strong campaigns have emerged around the issue of employment.

In June 1994, ID checks were introduced in the Netherlands in a range of situations, including tax coding, looking for or starting work. Employers were given a one-year transitional period to get identity and residence documents from their employees. From 1 June 1995 they must ask for a work or residence permit before employing anyone. An employer who hires undocumented workers is liable to fines of up to 5,000 guilders for a first offence and thereafter 25,000 guilders, and to a prison sentence of up to four years. In addition, workers who fail to provide documentation are liable to pay the highest-rate tax. The Autonom Centre launched a campaign in September 1994, calling for people not to comply with the requirement to give their passports to their employers. Several thousand people have already refused, and are facing huge tax bills as a result.

Anti-ID campaigners in the Netherlands are also alarmed at new police powers to check ID on public transport, saying that they could easily lead to the policing excesses seen in France. Already,





David Drew

From ill treatment to no treatment

Across Europe, health is becoming critical to anti-racist concerns. Why?

A major project has been launched by the Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit (GMIAU) into health and immigration control. A Berlin research centre on Refugees and Migration aims to provide free health services for refugees. A centre for the health of foreign women and children has been opened in Modena, Italy.

Health and immigration control

Health issues are intricately interwoven into immigration laws. Illness, particularly infectious disease, is used to justify tough immigration controls. The trend towards the internalisation of immigration controls, when coupled with a withered welfare state, means that doctors, hospital staff, even dentists, are expected to act as immigration officers. And popular racism is equating 'immigrant' with 'disease'.

There is nothing new in this. In the US in the 1920s, immigration controls were linked to ideas about 'lowering of the eugenic stock', arguments which became central to the murderous 'science' of Nazi Germany. In the UK, the 1905 Aliens Act was aimed at Jewish refugees. Trachoma (an affliction of the eye) came to be known as 'the Jewish disease' and was repeatedly invoked as a reason for excluding Jews. In the 1970s, similar arguments were used for excluding people from the Indian sub-continent, although this time the immigrants' susceptibility to tuberculosis was blamed. And then there were the other pseudo-scientific tests by medical officers at the point of entry into the UK. Virginity testing, exposed in 1978, and the use of x-rays for age-estimation (an administrative practice condemned by health organisation for exposing people to unnecessary radiation risks) led to a public outcry.

Exclusion from the NHS

The result was the 1980 report on the 'Medical Examination of Immigrants' by Sir Henry Yellowlees, chief medical officer at the DHSS. Although the supposed purpose of the Yellowlees report was to examine the extent of vaginal examination and x-rays, in fact only one paragraph was devoted to vaginal examinations and an appendix to x-rays. The

report succeeded in shifting the debate from the use of doctors in immigration control to the internal control of immigrants once here. This laid the foundations for the 1982 regulations on NHS charges to overseas visitors which made free hospital treatment dependent on immigration status and allowed hospitals to start checking immigrants' passports.

A pan-European onslaught

What has become accentuated today is the ferocity of the onslaught on immigrants and refugees both as 'disease-carriers' and as 'scroungers' receiving undeserved hospital treatment. Hardly a week goes by without some scare-story in the press about bogus immigrants scrounging off the welfare state.

Following a statement in July by home secretary Michael Howard (see below), the *Daily Mail* carried a front-page story headlined 'Crackdown on migrant fraud ... dentists and doctors asked to help beat cheats'. And the onslaught is taking place

What Howard's new proposals will mean

- Howard proposes to 'align eligibility with immigration status' by tightening curbs on social security benefits, council housing, free education, free medical and dental treatment so as to prevent them going to visitors and people staying in the country illegally.
- To identify these people, it will be necessary to give 'appropriate training' to DSS staff, local authority housing and education officers, teachers, doctors, dentists and NHS hospital staff.
- Civil servants will be encouraged to pass and exchange information about suspected 'immigration offenders' with Home Office officials.

they say, ticket checks on the metro are carried out in a racist way. White people travelling without a ticket just give their name and address; black people are asked to provide proof. Police can detain suspects overnight to check identity, too. Thus, ID cards are becoming a powerful weapon of harassment, and their psychological effects, on both black and white people, deepen divisions and exacerbate popular racism.

No to emergency measures

In Britain, ID cards and checks are associated with wartime emergency measures (they were introduced in both world wars). And that's exactly what such cards are: an emergency measure for an emergency situation. In 1947, Aneurin Bevan declared that 'Citizens ought to be allowed to move about freely without running the risk of being accosted by a policeman or anyone else, and asked to produce proof of identity.' Identity cards are associated with nazism, yellow stars for Jews and pink triangles for gays, with pass laws and apartheid. They are associated with state violence and oppression, and divide and rule policies. They have been creeping in surreptitiously and by degrees. **They must be resisted.** ■

Written with the help of the Amsterdam Autonom Centre; Anti-racist initiative, Berlin; and MRAP, Paris.

across Europe. In Italy, the trade paper of tobaccoists, with an estimated circulation of 40,000, published a centre spread designed to be displayed in shop windows, warning customers against purchasing cigarettes from 'clandestine non-EC citizens' on the grounds that they might contract leprosy! The Italian minister of health has called for all foreigners entering Italy to be given a health check. The state дума of Russia passed a bill in November

1994 (since modified) requiring all foreigners to undergo compulsory Aids tests. Aids tests are already linked to permission to emigrate to Australia, Canada and the US.

In the UK, old arguments about tuberculosis are once again being invoked. In 1994 Baroness Cumberlege, then minister of health, announced that the government was considering screening immigrants and refugees for tuberculosis. While TB is re-emerging in the UK because of Victorian-style poverty and overcrowding, research into it is being cut and immigrants are blamed for bringing it in.

A deadly cocktail

The situation is most severe in Italy, where the fascist AN and the racist Northern League have helped to spearhead the removal of social protection for immigrants and refugees. Regular documented workers have been struck off health units' registers in their thousands. A doctor on duty at a first aid station near Caserta refused to help a Zairean woman who had gone into labour, with the result that her baby died through lack of oxygen. People are dying because they are too frightened to go to hospital, like pregnant Ghanaian, Giorgina Yaboah. It was in response to Giorgina Yaboah's death that the new health centre in Modena (only the second of its kind in Italy) was established.

But there is no room for complacency in the UK or other European countries, for the exclusion of immigrants and refugees from health systems is pan-European. Already in London we have seen the death of Chilean refugee Carlos Padilla, who hid in a hospital plant room after overhearing hospital staff discuss how much he would have to pay for surgery and aftercare following an operation on a ruptured spleen (he was in fact fully entitled to free treatment). Against this background, the GMIAU's project is no academic piece of research. It aims to send researchers into hospitals to investigate whether treatment is being linked to immigration status, and to offer training to medical staff on the legal and ethical issues of health and immigration control. Let's hope the GMIAU can dent an inhuman system that has rapidly deteriorated from 'ill treatment to no treatment'. ■

The GMIAU can be contacted at 400 Cheetham Hill Road, Cheetham, Manchester M8 7EL. Tel: 0161 740 7722

The title of this piece and most of the historical information is taken from the 1982 handbook, *From ill treatment to no treatment: the new health regulations*, available from GMIAU.

United against detentions

Hundreds of people in eight British cities took part in a National Day of Action against immigration detentions and deportations on 24 June, as part of a European-wide campaign. Coordinated by the anti-racist network UNITED, it involved actions in 16 countries, including Austria, Germany and the Netherlands (where a protest was held outside the EU office in the Hague) to mark the anniversary of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees.

A press conference at the House of Commons to publicise the day of action was made livelier by the presence of about a dozen schoolchildren from the **George Mitchell School in Leyton**, east London, who were making a video for a school project on refugees. On the Commons lawn afterwards, interviewing participants, the kids bumped into Jeremy Hanley (at that time still Tory party chairman) and asked him if they could interview him on video. Mr Hanley was delighted to oblige – but not quite so delighted when an intrepid 13-year-old reporter wanted to know why refugees are being beaten up inside detention centres and why Britain was selling arms to the Third World.

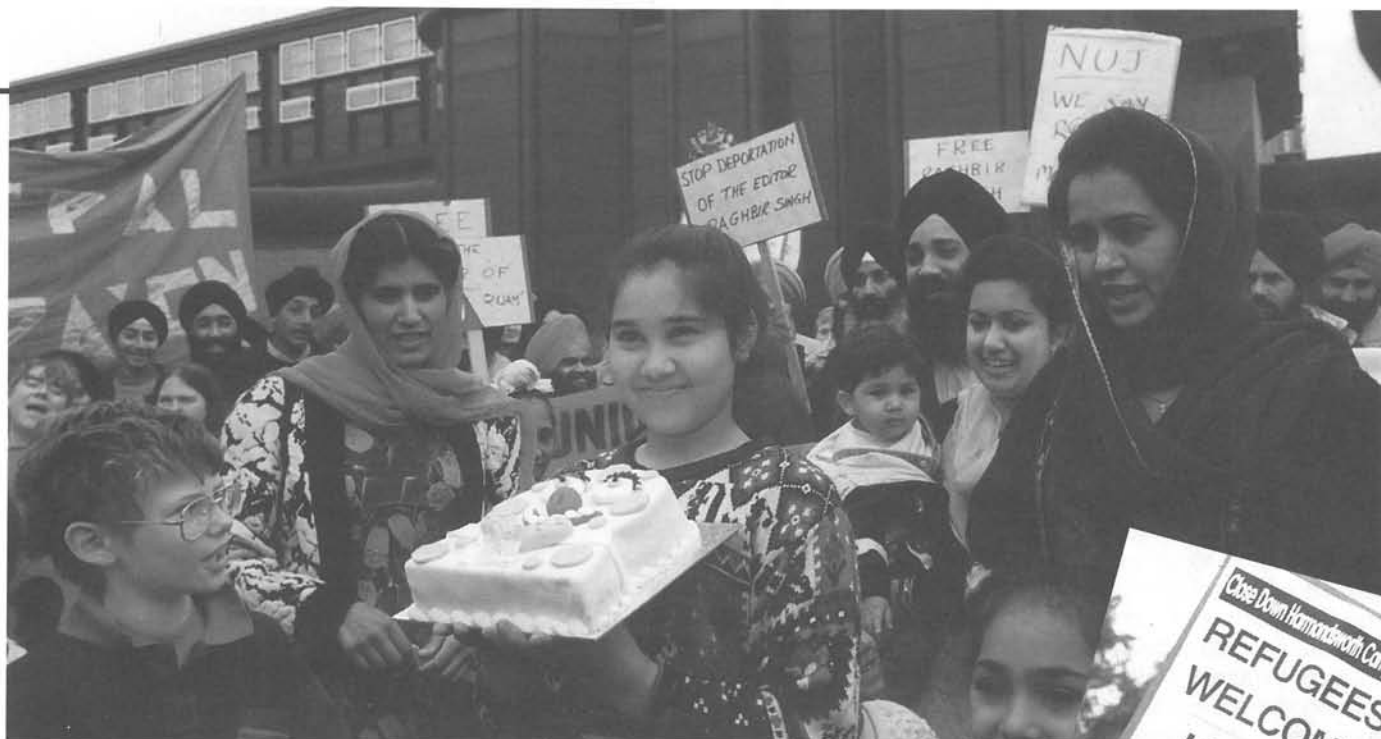


George Mitchell School

In Hull, immigration detainees went on hunger strike inside Hull prison while campaigners held a mass leafleting in the city centre followed by a public meeting to launch the North-West branch of AVID (Association of Visitors to Immigration Detainees).

If you want to know more about 'Why?', the drama and video presentation on refugees by children at George Mitchell School, contact Martin Spafford at George Mitchell School, Farmer Road, Leyton, London E10 5DN.

If you want to contact a local group campaigning against detentions in your area, ring CARF on 0171 837 1450.



John Harris

Over 250 people held a demonstration and birthday party outside **Winson Green high security prison in Birmingham**, to protest at the detention of Punjabi newspaper editor Raghbir Singh on unspecified 'reasons of national security'. The party celebrated Raghbir's daughter's eleventh birthday; a huge cake was cut and handed round to all the protesters. The day after the demonstration, Raghbir was accused of stirring dissent in the prison and of breaking prison rules by being 'in possession of unauthorised items' (ie, hayfever tablets), and transferred 160 miles from his family to Rochester prison in Kent. After protests he was moved back to Winson Green but put into solitary confinement, where he was kept for 24 hours a day with his cell lights left on and denied the right to attend religious services. His supporters claim that this amounted to a form of torture, and mass fax protests to the prison governor succeeded in ending some of this inhumane treatment.



The first public meeting of the North West Coalition Against Deportations was held at **Manchester** town hall. It was addressed by many local people currently fighting deportation including Ruby Haq and Kabir Usman.

At Harmondsworth detention centre, near Heathrow, over 150 people, including many London-based refugee support groups, held a demonstration. A public meeting in Hounslow followed, which was addressed by ex-detainees who vividly described the human cost of the government's barbaric immigration and asylum policies.

At Campsfield detention centre near Oxford, over 100 people, including a delegation from the Ivorian Action Group in London, held a lively rally. Detainees inside the centre took part in a 24-hour hunger strike to coincide with the protest. Uniformed riot squads, present throughout the weekend, did not succeed in intimidating detainees into abandoning their protest. Meanwhile, protesters outside were given permission by police to rally at the back of the detention centre where detainees could see them, but were prevented from doing so by Group 4. Since when has Group 4, a private security firm, had the authority to decide public order policy towards demonstrators?

In Portsmouth, where a 'Free Haslar Detainees' group has recently been formed, a march took place, ending with a rally outside Haslar prison.

A picket in Leicester outside Charles Street police station's nationality office protested at the use of fishing raids and the increase in internal immigration controls.



In Bristol, campaigners held a rally outside Horfield prison and collected signatures on a petition protesting at the use of the Immigration Act's detention powers.

Photos courtesy of Campsfield and Harmondsworth campaigns



CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

No justice for Joy

If the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) believed that its decision not to bring disciplinary charges against the three officers acquitted of the manslaughter of Joy Gardner would end the saga begun on 28 July 1993 with her arrest, it was badly mistaken. Police and judicial authorities have consistently underestimated the depth of the black community's anger about Joy's death, anger which is crystallised and focussed by the fact that the police involved have escaped all punishment.

The trial of the officers involved in the fatal encounter with Joy Gardner was in one respect almost unique. It was only the second time police or other public officers had stood trial in respect of the death of a black person: (the first was David Oluwale, who drowned in the river Aire in Leeds in 1969). Despite verdicts of unlawful killing at the inquests of Winston Rose, Oliver Pryce, Leon Patterson and Omasase Lumumba, the Director of Public Prosecutions has consistently refused to prosecute police and prison officers involved in black deaths.

The trial

But if the prosecution was rare, the events of the trial, and its media coverage, were depressingly familiar. First, an alternative scenario was presented to let the officers off the hook: Joy might have died from head injuries sustained in falling to the floor during the struggle, not from brain damage caused by asphyxiation because of the thirteen feet of sticky tape wound round her head and face; and death in those circumstances would not be the fault of the officers, for some reason. Next, she was subjected to racist demonisation: she was the most violent prisoner the officers had ever encountered; she was savage, she bit. The media joined in with gusto, giving banner headlines such as 'The most violent woman I have ever met' (*Today*), 'Raging Joy Gardner sank her teeth into me' (*Daily Mail*).

The judge soon made it clear where his sympathies lay: half-way through the trial, he directed the jury to acquit PC John Burrell, who was with the other officers but did not himself restrain Joy. (He had obviously not heard of the doctrine of joint enterprise, or 'common purpose', by which thousands of accomplices are convicted every year.) The judge also treated as troublemakers those people in the Old Bailey's public gallery anxious to see justice done, threatening to have them thrown out.

After the trial, the media coverage was, if anything, worse. There were sickening interviews with the woman police officer in the case, Sgt



Linda Evans, about how her career path had been interfered with by the trial, the implication being that not only was Linda Evans not guilty of killing Joy Gardner but that, on the contrary, Joy Gardner, 'illegal immigrant' and 'benefit scrounger', was guilty after her death of causing trauma and distress to a decent, hard-working policewoman.

No disciplinary procedures

In deciding not to bring disciplinary charges, the PCA relied on the 'double jeopardy' clause of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE), which prevents officers being disciplined on charges already faced in the criminal courts. There will apparently be no such problem in the case of Shiji Lapite, who died in the custody of Stoke Newington police in December 1994: on 19 July, the Crown Prosecution Service announced that no police officer is to be prosecuted for his death, since there was 'no realistic prospect' of a conviction against any of the officers involved. In the words of the Shiji Lapite Memorial Committee, the decision confirms the experience of the black community which is 'not to expect the CPS or any authority to exercise the powers they have to ensure justice is done'. The committee is working with the family in a continuing campaign for justice.

More injustices

The widow of David Ewin, shot in Barnes in south London by police, has said she will sue police over her husband's death after



1500 people marched through south London in June to demand justice for Brian Douglas who died from haemorrhages and a fractured skull after his arrest in May.

INQUEST

Concerns about the lack of justice after a death in custody were raised in Parliament on 4 July by Harry Cohen, Labour MP for Leyton. He raised the painful and shameful rollcall of black deaths in custody that INQUEST and the Institute of Race Relations have monitored over the years.

In his speech he highlighted the wall of silence and secrecy that families encounter following such deaths and the inadequate inquest procedures which lend themselves to cover-ups. Home office minister David Maclean treated the issue with complete contempt, answering

that many deaths in custody were the result of drink and drug abuse, and that 'given the number of people who pass through police hands each year, it is an actuarial inevitability that some will die while they are in police custody'. ■

INQUEST, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

the officer who shot him was commended for bravery by Paul Condon. David Ewin was unarmed and, according to campaigners, was shot dead with two shots as he got back into his car after leaving it to buy a can of lager. Eye-witnesses claim the car was not moving when Ewin was shot. Police strongly contest this version of events, claiming that the officer was on the bonnet of Ewin's car and Ewin was manoeuvring the car to throw him off or crush him. According to this version, the killing was in self-defence.

In every other case where someone is killed and self-defence is claimed, there is a criminal trial. Campaigners are entitled to demand the same when it is police who claim self-defence. ■

PCA whitewash

The tenth annual report of the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) makes depressing reading. There were a record number of complaints made during 1994, covering areas that will be familiar to regular CARF readers: deaths in police custody, allegations of heavy-handed policing of demonstrations and the growing number of 'stop and searches', in which black people, representing 5% of the population, constituted 25% of those stopped. Out of 19,103 complaints made, only 288 resulted in disciplinary action, and of the 362 allegations of 'racially discriminatory behaviour', there was just one charge brought. By far the highest number of complaints were for assault, for which 73 police officers were disciplined.

Despite these figures, the chair of the PCA, Sir Leonard Peach, seems to have missed the extent of public concern about 'police investigating police' which leads many to question the PCA's role and to call for an independent complaints system. In his introduction to the Report, he restates the PCA's position that 'civilians cannot investigate police as well as police can', on the grounds of cost and the 'special investigating resource' that the police provide. It is little wonder, then, that only 27% of black people questioned in a survey by the PCA see it as independent, a drop of two per cent in the last year. Sir Leonard's view that the current means of investigating complaints cannot be changed amounts, effectively, to an admission that police forces see themselves as uniquely skilled and thus wholly separate from the public they are supposed to serve. The everyday experience by black communities of this 'siege mentality' amongst police officers, which leads to both routine harassment and incidents of assault, provides the very reason why the system has to be changed. ■

The PCA's report costs £10.40 a copy. It is therefore probably a good idea to borrow rather than buy it. Extracts available from *Statewatch* (0181-802-1882).

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die

Award-winning black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, currently on death row in America, faces execution on 17 August. His death warrant was signed only days before his legal team presented a 500-page dossier in support of their demand for a retrial. Jamal was convicted thirteen years ago for the murder of a police officer. He was framed for his political activities as a former member of the Black Panthers and the Philadelphia branch of radical black organisation, MOVE.

At around 4am on 9 December 1982 Philadelphia police were called out to investigate a shooting. They found two critically wounded men: police officer Daniel Faulkner and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Faulkner subsequently died. Police claim that Jamal shot Faulkner several times at close range with his own gun, but that the bullets said to have come from Jamal's gun were too mutilated for a proper forensic comparison to be made. According to the medical examiner, the bullet that killed Faulkner was judged to be 44 calibre. Jamal's gun was a 38. The absence of gunshot residue on Faulkner's clothing showed that he could not have been shot at close range. Police maintain that Jamal made a loud confession on reaching hospital which was heard by hospital workers. But the only person to hear this confession was Gary Bell, Faulkner's best friend. The confession was only mentioned two months after the event when Jamal began to press brutality charges against the police. A local prostitute told the court at Jamal's trial that police had asked her to implicate Jamal in return for her being allowed to work in the area, but her evidence was dismissed by the judge as 'not relevant'.

Jamal was denied the right to defend himself in court or to have the attorney of his choice. The court-appointed lawyer was incapable of conducting the defence and repeatedly asked to be relieved. The overwhelming evidence in Jamal's favour was never articulated at his trial – it will never be heard unless his execution is stopped and a retrial is granted.

Jamal is a victim of the racist US judicial system. Recently-obtained FBI documents prove that from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesperson for the Philadelphia Black Panthers he was the subject of constant surveillance and frame-up attempts by the police and COINTELPRO, which killed 38 Panthers and imprisoned hundreds more.



Jennifer Beach

International support to stop this legal racist lynching has grown in recent months. Protests have been held right across the USA and demonstrations outside US embassies have taken place in Canada, Germany, Australia, and Italy. In Britain there have been protests outside the US embassy and a national demonstration, and a group in Bradford have raised funds to send a delegation to Philadelphia to persuade Governor Tom Ridge to halt the execution. ■

Send protest letters urgently demanding that this barbaric execution is stopped to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17210 USA. Fax no: 001 717 772 3155.

RACE & CLASS

RACE, CLASS & BLACK STRUGGLE

A conference with:

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Speaking on the themes of:

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Monday 16 October 5.30pm–9.30pm
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Old dogs – new tricks?

The National Front has changed its name. The BNP has taken back an old NF loser.

In July, National Front spokesman Martin Wingfield announced that the party has changed its name to the National Democratic Party. The decision was reached after a postal ballot which voted 72 per cent to 28 per cent in favour of the change. (Are there that many members?)

The name change stems from the NF's disastrous performance at the May local elections. Under the leadership – if that's the right word – of Ian Anderson, the Front suffered a massive haemorrhage of support to the British National Party and Combat 18. According to Wingfield, this is due to people being put off by the old name with its skinhead connotations. With one eye on the AN in Italy, the Front has decided that if you can't convince people with your politics, change your name.

Griffin brown-noses BNP

Failed 'political soldier' Nick Griffin has thrown in his lot with the BNP after several years in the wilderness with his low-profile and politically moribund International Third Position. In a grovelling letter to the BNP's journal *Spearhead*, he congratulates the party on its electoral strategy and admires its 'dedication and experience'. Interestingly, Griffin signs his letter as editor of *The Rune*, the Carshalton BNP's rag run by Jenny Oliver and occasional live-in lover Paul Ballard. While Carshalton BNP is not known for its high profile, it does have important links with Croydon fascists. There are persistent rumours that it has an office which, with the environment minister's July decision that the BNP must remove the barricades from its Welling bunker or else leave, would serve as a convenient base for Griffin's known grandiose ambitions.

Bearing in mind Griffin's almost single-handed role in the demise of the National Front in 1986, CARF looks forward to similar ructions in the BNP.

BNP's premature election

With only two years to go to the next general election, meanwhile, the BNP has begun selecting the candidates and areas that it intends to fight. To date the areas



From the National Front to the National Democrats – same nazi piss in a different pot

announced are in east London where party fuhrer John Tyndall will stand in Bethnal Green and Bow while Derek Beackon will contest the newly formed Canning Town & Poplar seat. In Scotland, Glasgow-based spokesman Steve Sinclair has announced that the BNP will stand in Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow. Canvassing sessions have not, however, gone well for the BNP. A Bethnal Green schoolteacher, outraged to see such racist filth popping through her letterbox, opened her door to confront the master race. She was faced with a 10-year-old child who told her that a skinhead had given him a tenner to deliver the leaflets. Is the BNP a) recruiting them young, b) exploiting children or c) just plain desperate? Answers on a postcard please.

Fascists target Nottinghamshire

Following hard on the BNP's 'encouraging result' (*Spearhead*) in the local elections in Kirby-in-Ashfield in May, where its candidate, Gary Marshall, managed to poll 96 votes, it has pulled out all the stops to build on its 'success'. John Tyndall's whistlestop tour of the north and Midlands arrived in Nottingham at the end of May, where the fuhrer addressed a meeting with Leeds organiser Dave Owens and chair John Peacock. Not long afterwards a number of serious racist attacks took place in neighbouring Radford, where a black family were driven out of their house after racist thugs broke in and daubed swastikas over the walls. In a separate incident an Asian man was beaten with a hammer and had graffiti daubed on his house.

Shock, horror: left 'exposed'

In one of the saddest attempts at an 'exposé' of the anti-fascist movement in many years, *Spearhead* (July 1995) has published a piece on 'observations of the opposition by a newly gained convert ... formerly active in various well-known ultra-left groups' but now a 'dedicated nationalist'. The author claims to have been active around 1992 and implies that he was in close contact with the ANL, AFA, Militant, Red Action, DAM, RCP and Class War. To reassure his readers that he hasn't forgotten anyone he also throws in a couple of anecdotes about animal rights and green groups.

In fact the article consists mainly of rehashed stories originally printed in the C18 magazine *Redwatch*, rumours widely reported in the national press, tittle-tattle about high profile figures and erroneous identifications of less public figures. If this piece is representative of the BNP's knowledge of the anti-racist and anti-fascist movements, many activists will sleep a lot sounder. It not only makes a mockery of the BNP's so-called 'security units', but also reflects serious, if not terminal, organisational decline.

Much Remorse in Norway

Nazi band No Remorse, led by Blood and Honour reject Paul Burnley, played at a Norwegian Rock Against Communism (RAC) gig in Oslo on 22 July, accompanied by the Swedish nazi bands Barsakarna and Swastika, who are associated with the White Aryan Resistance movement and the Norwegian nazi groups Oras and Vidkuns Venner. Attendance at the gig



Remember Donna O'Dwyer

Friends of Donna O'Dwyer and residents from the Oliver Close Estate in Leyton, east London took part in a vigil on 17 July to mark the first anniversary of her death. Donna fell 200 feet from a tower block while trying to escape a racist firebomb attack on a party. The trial of Charles Thurston will restart at the Old Bailey on 11 September and the Leyton Race Attacks Support Group is appealing for people to show their support by attending the court. ■



was a measly 300, mainly from Denmark, less than a third of the 1,000 skins that RAC spokesperson Kristian had expected.

Orange Order fascists jailed

Two Bristol Orange Order members have been jailed for an attack on an Irish man which left him with cracked ribs and vertebrae and a smashed kneecap. James Little of Kingswood, and Paul Green, from Fishponds, were jailed for eight years and seven years respectively by Judge Simon Willis for what he described as a 'vicious assault motivated by racial or sectarian hatred' on Mike Nolan in September 1993 in the office of the Bristol Irish Society. The court heard that Little, a British Telecom engineer, had converted his garage into a Loyalist shrine with flags and memorabilia. Photographs showed him in Orange Lodge regalia drinking with Loyalist paramilitaries in Belfast's Shankill Road. Green, who sports a KKK tattoo on his back, was recruited into the Orange Order by Little in 1993.

British mercenary sought for murder

Staffordshire mercenary and self-styled former British paratrooper Tyrone Chadwick is being sought by South African police for the murder of two black men near Johannesburg after jumping bail. Chadwick was hired by the nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement to train members of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party in paramilitary and assassination techniques. The two men were killed during the course of the training. ■

• FASCIST ROUND-UP •

Newham Monitoring Project worker Piara Powar explains the thinking behind Newham's Unity festival

There's a new parliamentary constituency in Docklands, extending from Shadwell in the west to Beckton in the east and taking in the Isle of Dogs. It contains all the areas in which the far Right has attracted significant electoral support in the past, and the BNP has already announced that Derek Beackon will stand at the next general election in the new seat, named Canning Town and Poplar. With this in mind, and as part of NMP's long-term anti-fascist work around the slogan 'Equal rights for all', it is organising a Unity festival on 3 September, featuring bands such as Jhelisa, The Kaliphz and Fun-da-mental and DJs Soul II Soul and Normal Jay.

In the past, NMP has criticised the 'ANL syndrome': passing off anti-racist concerts in black areas, attracting thousands of people but leaving little lasting effect, as huge anti-racist mobilisations. The Unity festival is different. The venue is in the heart of Canning Town, a predominantly white working-class area seen by the BNP as fertile ground for recruitment. And the Unity festival isn't a one-off, but part of NMP's long-term work in south

*newham
unity
festival*

Newham around issues such as housing and employment.

Our overall aim is to build up a solid relationship with local people. And this is reflected in the way we've gone about organising the festival. Every single group in the area has been contacted and we've got the backing of many tenants' associations and community groups, as well as West Ham United FC.

Consultation meetings have been held in all south Newham's local wards and weekly organisation meetings, open to everyone, are rotated around south Newham. One advantage we have is that this sort of event doesn't normally happen in Canning Town, an area neglected by politicians, deprived of resources and cut off from the rest of Newham. The recent council-organised Newham Festival was held in West Ham, but it cost, and ours is free – and anyway, since when have council events been organised in conjunction with local people? So we are showing people that we're not trying to exploit them, not trying to convert them to some lefty cause, but that we want to work in unity with them. But part of that unity must be to acknowledge that no area in south Newham can be considered a no-go area for black people. A significant black presence, reflected in the bands performing at the Newham Unity festival, will demonstrate that. ■

SUNDAY 3RD SEPTEMBER, CANNING TOWN RECREATION GROUND, 1pm TO DUSK, (PRINCE REGENTS LANE DLR)

Nnalue family support group

The family of Joseph Nnalue, still suffering after he died in 1994 while attempting to escape from police and immigration officials, and reeling from the inquest verdict of accidental death, are facing further harassment from immigration authorities. Joseph died leaving a wife and three children, the third of whom was born one month after his death. Joseph's widow, Grace, has temporary admission to live in Britain and her children are all British-born. Despite this, the Home Office has threatened to deport her when her permission expires in August. South London campaigners have held a public meeting and launched a campaign to stop her deportation. ■

Joseph Nnalue family support group, PO Box 4731, London SE5 9YE. Tel: 0171 635 8463

THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE FAMILY CAMPAIGN IN SCOTLAND

**Friday August 18th
7.15pm until late**

GLASGOW PUBLIC MEETING

With Speakers:
**Neville Lawrence
A. Sivanandan, Suresh Grover**

Chaired by:
**James Kelman
Tommy Gorman**

Followed by live music from
Makosa and The Blues Poets.
Bar facilities, late licence etc.

Caledonian University Park Campus
(Queens College), Woodlands, Glasgow

All proceeds to the family's campaign for justice.
Organised in association with Artists in Solidarity and The Scottish Bookfair of Radical, Black & Third World Books.

Rashid Meer 1956-1995

CARF was deeply saddened to hear of the tragic death of Rashid Meer, killed in a car accident in Johannesburg on 29 May at the age of 38. Azim Hajee, former Secretary to Nalگو's National Black Members Coordinating Committee, writes:

When Rashid was appointed in 1983, Nalگو's black members were locked into battle with our union. We were the first intake of black council workers, in the wake of the 1981 uprisings and the Scarman Report, and we identified more with those who had shaken the streets of Brixton and Bradford, than the exclusive clubs we found in the town halls. It was not so different in Nalگو. So we self-organised. Our movement was rough, angry and determined, but broke new ground. We by-passed rules where necessary and were fiercely protective of our autonomy. We refused to be marginalised or co-opted and demanded resources on our terms.

Nalگو's response was a Race Equality Working Party (REW), a hand-picked, mainly white affair imposed, we felt, to control rather than empower. We boycotted it, and when Rashid was employed to service REW, we boycotted him too – for two years. This was Rashid's predicament and challenge: to tread a delicate balance between those he worked for, and those whose aspirations he shared, now labelled 'black separatists'.

From 1983 to 1985 Rashid worked closely with the Mohammed Idrish anti-deportation campaign. Idrish won his right to stay in October 1985, a testimony to the resilience of his campaign and to Rashid's skill at persuading Nalگو officialdom to provide support. Nalگو went on to back campaigns for Shaheed Sayeed, Rose Alaso, Marion Gaima, Lisa Huen and others.

As black issues became more mainstream, so more black members got involved. 1986 saw Nalگو's first official black members conference, some 500 of us serviced by a team of black staff led by Rashid. Nalگو was now something of a trail blazer on positive action. Self-organised groups replaced REW and Rashid wrote himself a new job description as Black Members Officer.

As a black full-timer, he stood head and shoulders above those who followed him. His supreme achievement was to bring the energy and creativity of black self-organisation into the mainstream of Nalگو. But we will remember him for much more than his pioneering contribution to black trade unionism. Rashid won his way into our hearts through his commitment, his integrity, his modesty, his sense of fun, his infectious love of life. In meetings, we still jealously guarded our autonomy. In the personal domain, he was one of us.

And we loved his parties. They would spill out into the street; there would be ice cool Cuban *mochitos*; hot Brazilian, South African and salsa sounds; and his impeccable birianis.

His span of friends and networks straddled the politics of South Africa, lesbian and gay issues, and numerous campaigns. Over 200 friends came to his recent memorial service in Archway to celebrate his life. He was a lovely human being. We shall miss him terribly. ■

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Challenging racism in the East End

Cities in Schools – Tower Hamlets, a charity for young people, has just produced one of the most imaginative and uncompromising books called *Challenging Racism Valuing Difference*. The 65-page fully illustrated project book is packed with material not just about racism but also about resistance to it. And each concept is approached through the experiences of young people – asking them how they see the East End, the groups they go around with, the bands they like. From there, the text opens out to issues of racism, power and society. The activities suggested are challenging eg, interviewing older people about Tower Hamlets, examining media coverage of local, national and international issues. The project's non-didactic approach – including games, quizzes, questionnaires and a film – proves that anti-racism, correctly presented, need not turn young people off. The pure information about the history and causes of racism is also very well integrated with the activities which explore feelings and everyday experiences.

It celebrates 'difference' by suggesting activities which both white and black young people can do. And the 200 mini biographies of people who have challenged racism (spanning two centuries and including Jewish and other white activists as well as black people) is a unique achievement in integrated anti-racism.



Although this project was geared to the needs of Tower Hamlets' young people, it is of such a high standard that anyone working with young people (in an informal or formal educational setting) would find the materials invaluable. ■

Activities Book (including video) £10, Facilitator's Guide £5, available from Cities In Schools, 91 Brick Lane, London E1 6QN. Tel: 0171 247 9489.

Sheffield's School of the World

This is another excellent collection from the students of Earl Marshall School, and a brilliant example of what genuine anti-racist education can achieve. As our movements are so split by the divisive politics of ethnicity and identity, to read this collection is a humbling experience. The poems and prose collected together in *School of the World* cover a wide variety of themes: from migration, arrival and other journeys, to the experience of racism here in Britain. But what unites the collection is the ability of young authors to strive toward a larger identity ('world citizenship', head teacher Chris Searle calls it in his introduction) that goes beyond individual experience. The students of Earl Marshall School have shown the anti-racist movement that we can learn a lot from young people and their experiences of racism. This book is a testament to the continuing fightback against racism. A breath of fresh air. ■

Adil Rehman

School of the World is available from Earl Marshall School, Earl Marshall Road, Sheffield S4 8LA.

FOOTBALL

Roger Scoon, anti-racism officer at the Football Supporters Association, writes:

Recent months have seen an intake of top quality players from overseas into English league football, Tony Yeboah at Leeds, Dennis Bergkamp at Arsenal, and Ruud Gullit at Chelsea. All three players have arrived to a rapturous welcome, which is symbolic of the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of English football, a state of affairs hard to imagine a decade ago. This cosmopolitan culture is starting to marginalise racism within English football. The football authorities are playing their part in progressing this trend.

Under the auspices of the FA, an Anti-Racism and Intimidation Group has been formed to combat racism in football. The group is unique in football, in that it comprises all the main actors in the football world: administrators, players, managers and coaches, supporters, the Football Trust; local

authorities and the CRE. The group has already agreed an action plan which aims to: raise awareness of the damaging effects of racism and the benefits to be derived from eliminating it; to create a safer and welcoming environment for supporters of all backgrounds, and to remove from the game racial abuse, harassment and discrimination.

English football is sincere in its determination to rid itself of the spectre of racism, and with the active support of the CRE, local authorities, local communities and all involved in the game, the sport should succeed in removing the stain of racism. Hopefully, football's lead will be followed by other sports which will also confront and tackle their problems of racism. ■



Hit racism for six

Mike Marqusee, author of *Anyone but England*, writes:

Robert Henderson's call in July's *Wisden Cricket Monthly* for a Test XI made up of 'unequivocal Englishmen' was denounced by everyone from the *Times* to the *Voice*, Lord Tebbit to Peter Hain, and prompted England captain Mike Atherton to resign from the magazine's editorial board.

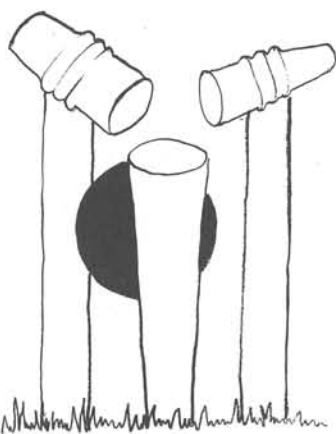
But the unanswered question remains: how did such a racist rant find its way into the country's biggest selling cricket magazine? 'My particular hope in respect of this article,' *Wisden*'s editor, David Frith, now explains, 'was that the plight of foreign born cricketers in this country and those with immigrant parents... might be better understood when their difficulties were considered.'

Those who have followed Frith's writing over the years will remain sceptical. In a letter to Henderson quoted by Donald Treford in the *Telegraph*, Frith said, 'How can a true Englishman ever see this as his representative national side, despite all the chat about the commitment of immigrants.' And for a decade, *WCM*'s pages seethed with rage against the sports boycott of apartheid.

Colonial hang-ups

The context of the Henderson furore is the long-running, often anguished debate over what's wrong with English cricket. England's decline as a cricket power provides an uncomfortable parallel to what is widely perceived as its economic and political decline. As the England Test side has been outplayed by one former colony after another, the search for scapegoats has intensified. In a climate of escalating racism and xenophobia, that search has not surprisingly lighted upon those who fail to measure up to Robert Henderson's idea of an 'unequivocal Englishman'.

The account of England's victory over West Indies in this year's Lord's Test in the *Independent* is revealing. 'What made it additionally pleasing was that England's attack did not for once look like a United Nations strike force. Not since the Old Trafford Test of 1989 (Fraser, Foster, Emburey, Cook and Botham) has England fielded five bowlers (or any amount come



to that) with undiluted allegiance to the country they were representing.' Among those who had bowled for England in the interval were not only the 'Australian' Martin McCague and the 'New Zealander' Andrew Caddick, but also Devon Malcolm and Phil DeFreitas.

Henderson claims that two-thirds of national cricket writers have responded indicating some agreement with his views. That may be so; racial and national stereotyping are commonplace in cricket. It is often asserted that West Indian excellence is 'natural' whereas English excellence is cultivated. A few years ago, the current England cricket supremo, Ray Illingworth, claimed that West Indians needed less training than English players because they were 'bigger' and had 'looser shoulders'. All Indian spin bowlers are said to be 'wily', one of the oldest imperial myths about the denizens of the sub-continent, and all Indian umpires are said to be 'biased'. When the Pakistan side were last here, during the fraught 'ball-tampering' series of 1992, it was rare to see the word 'Pakistani' without the prefix 'volatile' or 'excitable' attached to it. The Aussies, of course, are always 'hard, tough competitors'.

Campaign priorities

At times, racism in cricket is astonishingly flagrant. During this year's Headingley Test, commentator Henry Blofeld referred to a section of cheaper seats as the 'Jewish stand'. He later apologised for 'giving offence'. Yorkshire County Cricket Club continues to refuse to play any Yorkshire-born black cricketers in its first XI, despite the fact that the Asian population gives the West Riding the greatest cricket-playing density in the country.

In response to the Henderson affair, cricket fans and anti-racist organisations (and there is an impressive overlap between the two) are planning a broad-based, long-term campaign against racism in cricket. The first step for this campaign should be to seek support for a declaration against racism in cricket from players, fans, clubs, commentators and

administrators. If it is to have the required resonance, the opposition to racism must be seen to come from within the game. We must take care in identifying our targets and consciously address our arguments to the cricket public in the broadest sense. We will need to monitor the cricket press and commentators and take issue with racial stereotypes as well as insults and abuse.

In the long run, we have to disentangle 'race' and 'nation' – and in the context of the current preoccupation with British 'national identity' that will not be easy. More immediately, we have to take steps to ensure that next summer's visit by the Pakistan and India Test sides is not engulfed in the kind of racist abuse which surrounded the Pakistanis' last visit here.

Campaigners believe that they will attract strong support from English cricket-lovers, but anticipate resistance from many of those who administer or commentate on the game. 'In football, the Nazis are on the terraces. They're organised and visible and you have to confront them directly,' said one of the campaign's initiators. 'In cricket, it's more polite and middle class. The racists here are in the pavilions and the press boxes. But if football stewards can eject fans for racist behaviour, then perhaps fans should be entitled to eject cricket authorities and journalists for the same.'

STOP PRESS

In the August issue of *WCM*, editor David Frith published an 'apology' for Henderson's article that only rubbed salt in the wound. Henderson, he says, 'did not place a question mark beside foreign-born English cricketers. It was already there.' Unfortunately, Mike Atherton appears to have rescinded his resignation from the *WCM* editorial board – a decision he may regret when he reads Frith's latest outburst.

Meanwhile 'Hit racism for six' is to be launched at a major event prior to the Oval test at the end of August. Support has already come in from cricket fanzine *Johnny Miller 96** and a wide range of anti-racist groups. Contact CARF for more details. ■



MAY 26 Asian family from Islington's Packington estate are forced into hiding after attack on 18-year-old Hyder Ali who was beaten by eight youths armed with bricks and sticks **MAY 27** Marriage registrars say they are under increasing pressure to report suspected 'marriages of convenience' **MAY 28** Asian teenager stabbed and punched by two racist thugs in Basingstoke town centre **MAY 29** Reading annual carnival goes ahead successfully despite racist vandalism on the site in an attempt to stop it **MAY 30** Two care assistants sacked for displaying Union Jack stickers on their lockers win claim for unfair dismissal against Croydon council **JUN 1** School lollipop lady in Devon refuses to help 10-year-old Hungarian boy cross road telling him 'I don't help foreigners'... Asian mother and her nine children receive hospital treatment after noxious substance poured through letterbox at south London home... Black sales assistant wins £4,500 compensation for race discrimination after shop manager told her she smelled and customers had complained **JUN 2** Industrial tribunal hears how Jewish policeman suffered depression and eating disorders after racist abuse from colleagues... CRE tells Bar's law school that it will face formal investigation unless it implements reforms to ensure black students are not discriminated against **JUL 4** Newham BNP election agent Stephen O'Connell is charged with assault... Asian cab drivers from Birmingham accuse Taxi Owners Association of operating race bar **JUN 5** Police pay £28,000 damages to Imbert family for assault, battery, wrongful detention and malicious prosecution at their home in Newham, east London **JUN 7** Rise in racist incidents in Greater Manchester are 'the tip of the iceberg' admit police after figures show 809 reported cases in 15 months **JUN 8** David Icke says anti-semitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion are a guide to modern history **JUN 10** Black prison officer Claude Johnson, ostracised for complaining about five officers beating up a black inmate at Brixton prison, awarded record compensation of £28,000 for race discrimination and victimisation **JUN 13** High court orders police to pay mother-of-three Claudette Thompson £51,500 compensation for assault, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution after being acquitted of assaulting a sergeant at Hackney police station in 1991... Fifteen year-old Sahara Yousaf begins legal proceedings against Newham police alleging that they burst into her home, beat her with truncheons and called her an 'Asian shit'... Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture publishes report highly critical of Britain's treatment of Zairean refugees **JUN 14** Student nurse from Zimbabwe threatened with deportation near end of three-year training course, is granted temporary admission after local campaign in Stockport... Three police officers acquitted of manslaughter of Joy Gardner **JUN 16** Police Complaints Authority says that one officer involved in overseeing the deportation of Joy Gardner will face disciplinary charges, two others having left the police **JUN 17** Met chief commissioner Paul Condon asks Home secretary to issue officers with pepper sprays to help restrain violent individuals **JUN 19** Monitoring groups condemn police leaflets explaining stop and search policies as public relations exercise... Report from Coventry CRE says racism is rife amongst school children **JUN 20** Motorist

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arrested on suspicion of having defective headlamp wins £26,000 damages from police for assault, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution... Health of ethnic minority patients is at risk because doctors receive no training in their needs, claims British Medical Association **JUN 22** Hackney council passes list of 600 employees to Immigration and Nationality Department so that checks can be made on their immigration status **JUN 28** Matthew Powell, 18-year-old black student, to sue Nottinghamshire Chief Constable after being stopped in his car 20 times in six months... PCA report estimates that one person dies in police custody every week... Amnesty International claims that Britain's fast-track system for asylum cases amounts to 'human pinball' **JUN 29** Three community policemen assigned to promote good relations in predominantly black area of Manchester face disciplinary proceedings following complaints of racism from former colleague... Home office figures show that of 576,000 people stopped and searched by police in 1994, 42 per cent in London were black **JUN 30** Black motorist Colin Thompson launches civil action against the police after arrest left him with impaired eyesight and permanent swelling on his face... Kurdish refugee suffers broken jaw and nose after attack by two skinheads in Kennington, south London **JUL 1** Lord Chief Justice Taylor says criminal justice system is failing black people by tolerating racist attitudes... Home office figures show 825 people granted asylum in 1994, almost half the figure for 1993 **JUL 2** Three racist thugs jailed for vicious racist attack on Bristol student Marlon Thomas will have their sentences referred to appeal court after complaints that they were too lenient **JUL 3** Trial of electronic tagging for offenders begins **JUL 4** Home office minister David Maclean says that deaths in custody are an 'actuarial inevitability' given the number of people who pass through police hands each year **JUL 6** Bristol REC report shows increase of 65 per cent in reported racist incidents **JUL 7** Swansea police hunt gang who left 12-year-old mixed race child with severely bruised ribs and shoulder injuries after attacking him as he walked to school... Met police commissioner Paul Condon launches new initiative against street robberies claiming that most are carried out by young black men **JUL 10** Black restaurateur Anthony Gad says two racist attacks within five weeks may force him out of business **JUL 12** PCA announces that three Met officers acquitted of killing Joy Gardner will not face police disciplinary charges... George Herbert, 61, acquitted of attempted murder of police officer after court hears his shoulder and cheekbone were broken during struggle with police **JUL 13** East London campaigners protest outside Bethnal police station after police launch attack on four local youngsters **JUL 17** Government's chief adviser on school curriculum says children should be taught to be British, whatever their ethnic background **JUL 18** British international rugby player Jason Robinson held by police after being racially abused while on family holiday in Wigan **JUL 20** Britain's human rights record comes under criticism from United Nations Human Rights Commission **JUL 21** Home office research predicts rise in Asian youth criminality **JUL 25** Residents in the Somerset village of Kilve start campaign for local Malaysian woman threatened with deportation following her husband's death.

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