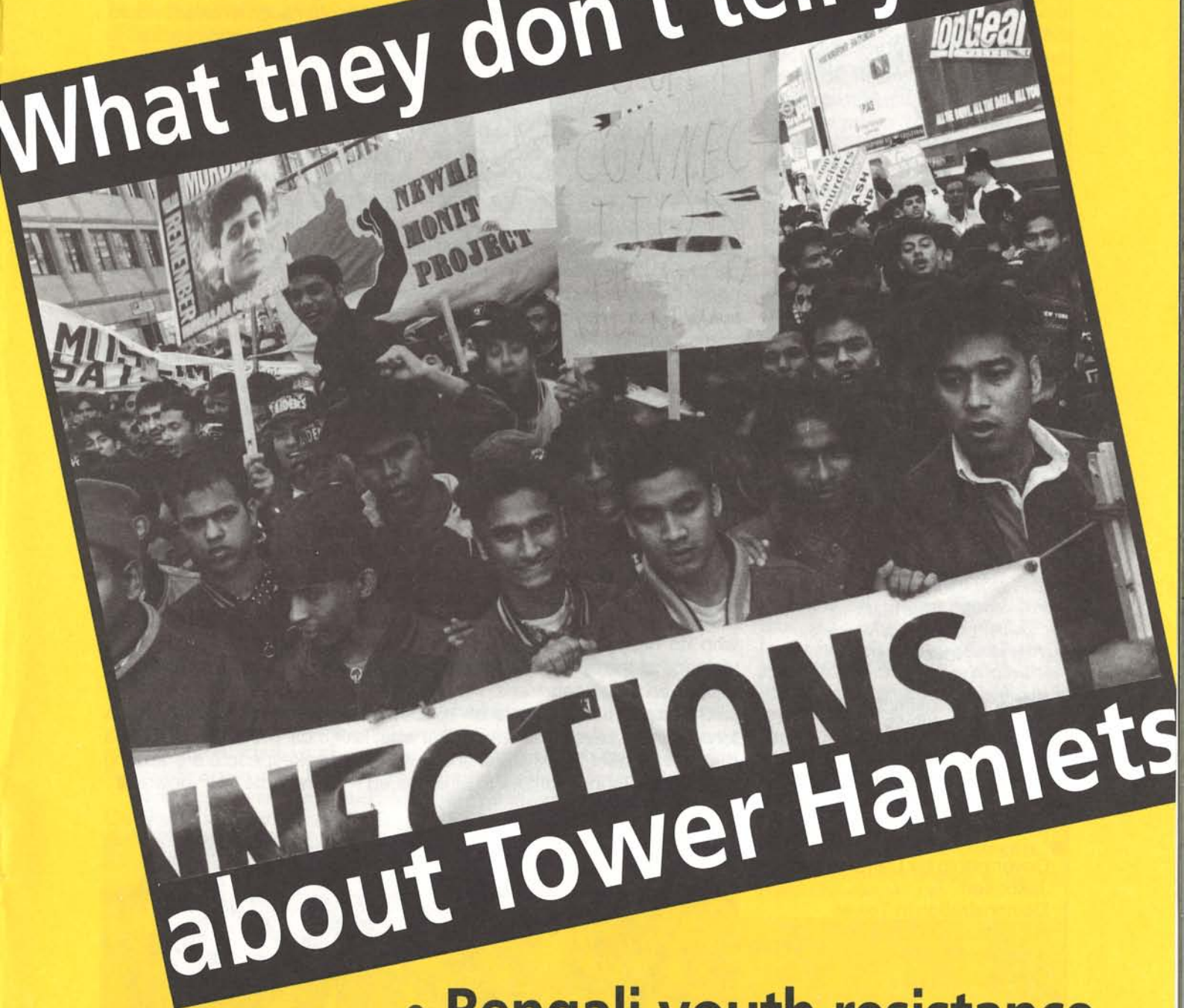


What they don't tell you



- Bengali youth resistance
- How parties play for the racist vote
- Who gets housed • The fascist menace

CONTENTS

- Bengali youth connections
3
- The case against the CPS
4
- European election round-up
6
- Heitmann for president?
Campaign for citizenship
rights
7
- Focus on Tower Hamlets
8-9
- The CARF interview: Cecil
Rajendra
10

CAMPAIGNS & REPORTS

- Joy Gardner: no cover-up
M25 Three: still fighting
People's tribunal
Exclusions victory
11
- Fascist round-up
12
- Burnsalls challenge GMB
The Inquest column
13
- Clive Forbes Support
Committee
Murder trials
Review
Noticeboard
14
- Black footballers: the real
history
15
- Calendar: race & resistance
16

Cover photo by Darren
Jakobsen
Demonstration in Tower
Hamlets on 3 October
organised by Youth
Connection

Campaign Against Racism &
Fascism
No 17 November/December 1993
BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX
Tel: 071-837-1450

ISSN 0966-1050

Printed by Russell Press (TU)

EDITORIAL

A £1,000 reward, courtesy of the *Sun*, for anyone who can provide information on the anti-BNP 'rioters' (photographs duly provided) in Plumstead on 16 October. Why not such a reward for information on who killed Stephen Lawrence, or who left Quddus Ali brain damaged, or Kenneth Harris with a fractured skull after driving a car over him in Ilford two days after the *Unity* march? For the *Sun* to offer such a reward would be to take a principled stand against racism. What it has done instead is to carry out a spy job for the police.

The fact that 40,000 people exercised their democratic right to oppose the BNP on the streets of south-east London and, at the point of 'riot', had those rights curtailed by the police who cordoned the demonstrators off from the prescribed route, did not interest the media. If, before the Millwall by-election, the press were eager to condemn the BNP, after Millwall, they were back to a more familiar target: attacking anti-racists.

Those who marched, we are told, were bent on violence – professional troublemakers not interested in the fight against racism. Even before the events of 16 October, the media were suggesting that anti-fascist opposition to BNP councillor Derek Beackon on the Isle of Dogs had gone too far. Their overriding concern is that Derek Beackon be allowed his democratic right to take up his council seat. Never mind that he is from a party which is not only opposed to the democratic rights of black citizens but actively campaigns for their removal. The media's approach serves simply to popularise and amplify the BNP's complaint that they are being victimised by the Left who are denying them freedom of speech.

By so doing, the media are leaving black people even more vulnerable to racist attack. What is this democracy that supports the BNP's freedom of speech whilst denying its effect on black people's freedom to life, the first principle of any meaningful democracy? Why this sudden concern at 'left-wing violence' in the face of the long silence over racist violence?

The presence of the HQ of a violent nazi organisation in Welling is a provocation that the local Tory council refuses to act against. Instead, the media, the police and the government unite to condemn us, anti-fascists, who do not choose violence but merely respond to the raw, deadly violence of the fascists in the only way left open to us – through mass protest on the streets.

The state, if the events of 16 October are anything to go by, is foreclosing on even that option. But what is of most pressing concern is that some Labour politicians and anti-racist spokespeople are adding their voices to the clamour to close us up – and not the BNP down. ■



Darren Jakobsen

Bengali youth connections

Too often, Bengalis have been portrayed as passive victims in need of outside protection from the white Left. And today, the militant activities of Bengali youth are not seen to be as important as the counter-actions of national Left organisations to the BNP Brick Lane paper sales, which invite more media attention.

An earlier fight

In fact, the events of today mirror those of an earlier period. How many of us who gather in Altab Ali Park for demonstrations know the history behind the name – how machinist Altab Ali was attacked by a white gang who cut the vessels of his thorax open one May evening in 1978, and how, following this, 7,000 local Bengalis and their supporters marched behind his coffin to Downing Street? Then, 8,000 workers came out on a one-day strike against racial violence. Hundreds of children stayed away from school to attend a rally in a local cinema to discuss, among other things, the community's response to a mob attack on Brick Lane.

Redefining public order

The police response to the events of 1978 was to direct resources towards containing the growing militancy of the Bengali youth. Today, nothing has changed. Stop and search operations are taking place where Asian youths gather. Whereas large numbers of Asian youth are seen to pose a public order problem, white youth are not: witness the events of 8-11 September.

First, there was the attack on Quddus Ali and four friends on Commercial Road, within a mile of Altab Ali Park. A gang of white youths, joined by men drinking in the Dean Swift pub, launched a vicious and unprovoked attack. One of Quddus' friends managed to escape, and ran straight into officers from a patrolling police van. The officers ignored his pleas for help, seeming more intent on questioning him as to what he was up to. Another friend, Abu, went to Leman Street police station the next day to tell police what he had seen. 'I was there. They hit me and nearly killed my best friend, and the police tell me to go home because they're too busy', commented Abu.

Two days later, 200 Bengali youth,

After the events of recent weeks, thirty Bengali youth groups in Tower Hamlets have formed Youth Connection.

many under 13 years old, held a vigil outside the London Hospital where Quddus Ali lay in a coma. The police grossly overreacted to the understandable anger of the youth, and attacked the demonstrators. Mature action by a young Bengali leadership prevented more young people from being injured by the police, who had riot reinforcements massed in the side streets. One demonstrator told CARF: 'The police response to the vigil was very provocative. Their objective never seemed to be to calm things down, but to disperse people using as much violence as possible.'

The Bengali youth managed to marshal the crowd and march them away to a local park for a rally. 'Even then, the police kept trying to break up the march into small groups, and to baton-charge us.' Once in the park, the youths managed to negotiate with the police. A delegation was sent to the police station to secure representation for nine arrested youths, who have been charged with riot – a charge carrying a possible life sentence.

Fascists rampage

There was more injustice on the Saturday night. Around forty fascists charged down Brick Lane, smashing restaurant windows and sending customers diving for cover. 'The police were on the scene immediately,' an eyewitness told CARF, 'but all they did was hold the Bengali kids back.' A restaurant proprietor said that a police officer told him to 'get off the

streets, or you will be arrested'.

Within minutes, hundreds of Bengali youth had gathered. They staged an impromptu demonstration at 1 o'clock in the morning through the streets of Stepney and Shadwell.

Later, it emerged that the BNP had been drinking in a local pub under the scrutiny of the police, who had them under surveillance. Despite this, the police 'lost sight of them'. The senior officer of Area 2 Division admitted to a meeting of community representatives the following day that 'things went wrong on the night'. He could not explain why the police failed to prevent the attack.

Defence campaigns formed

The priority for the Tower Hamlets defence campaign is to stop the criminalisation of the nine, who are seen as defenders of the community. For the CPS, supposedly independent of the police, seems determined to press ahead with riot charges which appear politically motivated. At the same time, the Quddus Ali Support Committee will be monitoring the activities of the police and the CPS, to ensure that the perpetrators of an attack that will probably leave Quddus Ali permanently brain damaged are brought to justice.

One thing is clear, as a local activist told CARF: 'This will provide a sea-change in Tower Hamlets politics. It will set a new agenda, informed by the struggles of the 1970s and early 1980s, very much youth-oriented and youth-run, militant and angry. The political climate in the borough has to change, and Youth Connection is the only thing that can change it.' ■

Tower Hamlets defence campaign, PO Box 273, London E7. Tel 081-548 0099.



Some of the 'Tower Hamlets 9' after their first court appearance.

Darren Jakobsen

The case against the CPS

A prosecution service independent of the police, exercising its own judgment on charging and prosecution – such were the claims for the Crown Prosecution Service when it was set up in 1985. But how independent is the CPS, and how well does it do its job in the prosecution of racial violence?

The CPS's treatment of racist attacks is often characterised by inadequacy of investigation, of preparation and of presentation; by the inexplicable dropping of charges; by a failure to oppose bail; by a denial of a racist motive; by prosecution of the victims – in short, by all the same failings observed for years in the police response to racist violence.

Failure of investigation

Sher Singh Sagoo, a London market trader, was killed by racists in October 1992. His assailant eventually gave himself up to the police and was charged with manslaughter. Then, in March 1993, the police told Mr Sagoo's family that the CPS had decided to discontinue the prosecution on the ground of insufficient evidence.

While it is the job of the police to take statements from potential witnesses, the CPS can ask the police to attempt to find further evidence. In Mr Sagoo's case, no statements had ever been taken from his two young daughters, who had witnessed the attack on their father. By failing to ensure that all relevant witnesses had been questioned, the CPS compounded the police's halfhearted investigation of the killing.

Another example of failure to investigate led to the acquittal of Gary Hoskin, one of the two white men charged with the killing of Panchadcharam Sahitharan, a Tamil refugee attacked by a gang of racist thugs in Manor Park, east London, in December 1991. Hoskin faced trial alone at the Old Bailey in autumn 1992, his co-defendant Andrew Noble having been discharged at committal (see below).

Although Hoskin had been picked out at an identity parade by several witnesses, one of whom had seen him being driven away from the scene in a van, he produced an alibi, claiming that he was drinking in a pub with friends at the time. The friends, in fact, both owned the van and are known to have been involved in racist attacks in Newham. Even the pub named by Hoskin in his alibi



David Jackson

appears to have been a favourite BNP haunt. Hoskin was not, however, confronted with any of these matters in court. Thus, the jury never had a chance to question his 'alibi' properly, and he walked free.

Failure of preparation

In its 1991/92 annual report, Newham Monitoring Project described how CPS failures led to charges being dropped against Andrew Noble during his committal for the killing of Sahitharan. NMP had tried to meet with CPS representatives before the committal to pass on relevant information and relay the concerns of the community, but the CPS did not feel that such a meeting was necessary. NMP had also requested a special prosecutor for the case; this, too, was felt to be unnecessary (although such a prosecutor had been appointed to present the case against Mr Altaf, a victim of a racist attack who had defended himself and ended up facing charges himself).

At Noble's committal, prosecution witnesses giving identification evidence were terrified of reprisals, having to face a public gallery filled with the family and friends of Noble and Hoskin. Nothing was done to allay their fears.

This was not the only example of disregard for prosecution witnesses.

The case was heard on a day on which one of them had an exam. The CPS gave witnesses no chance to prepare themselves to recall what they had witnessed months before, so that some stumbled over their evidence. Some were not even called to testify. The result was that Noble was allowed to walk free – on the application not of his defence counsel but of the CPS representative, on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

In May 1993, Neils Michael Neilson was convicted of the murder of Aziz Miah in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This happened despite, rather than because of, the prosecution's efforts. The prosecution was again characterised by a lack of concern for witnesses – it was the local black community who gave support to the witnesses. In addition, vital evidence was translated incompetently by the interpreter booked by the CPS.

After a vicious attack on Mr Singh, including spraying him with ammonia, a man was charged with grievous bodily harm and administering a noxious substance. At the man's trial in August 1993, even the judge was moved to rebuke the CPS for its incompetent and halfhearted preparation and presentation of the case, which led to the man being convicted on a minor assault charge.

Dropping charges

In Sahitharan's case, the charges against Noble were dropped publicly, in court. In the case of Sher Singh Sagoo and also of Stephen Lawrence, a young black man brutally murdered in Eltham, south-east London, in April 1993, the CPS decision was made in private, with no explanation other than 'insufficient evidence'.

In Stephen Lawrence's case, the decision was taken only two days before the two youths charged with the killing were due to be committed for trial, and when the victim's parents were in Jamaica burying their son's body. In Sagoo's case, the family was told by the police that the person charged would be appearing in court, but then, before the date of the

hearing, the CPS dropped the charge. The family was not told why.

The decisions are even more outrageous in the light of the CPS Code of Conduct, which reads: 'A clear racial motivation will be regarded as an aggravating feature when assessing whether prosecution is required in the public interest.'

The CPS has the power to increase the level of the charge or add charges if it believes that the police have not done justice to the seriousness of a crime. Yet, in many cases where racial motivation is clearly present, the CPS does the opposite, entering into plea-bargain deals with the defence which result in less serious charges.

Colleen Simmonds and her family were reported for dozens of racist incidents in Beckton, east London, over a number of years. After a knife attack on their black neighbours, they were finally charged with assault. But the CPS put the case on hold. In May 1989, after a gang attack on another black neighbour, they were charged with violent disorder, criminal damage and threatening behaviour. But then, a deal was done, the charges were reduced and they left court on probation, with other non-custodial sentences.

In several cases of racist killings, the CPS has accepted pleas of guilty to manslaughter rather than press a murder charge. Sometimes, it refuses to charge with murder, using manslaughter again. This happened in Sher Singh Sagoo's case, before the charges were dropped altogether.

Token justice

In other cases, only one of a gang is charged with murder. This happened when minicab driver Ashiq Hussain was stabbed to death.

Stephen Lawrence, Rohit Duggal, Sahitharan, Rolan Adams – all were victims of gang attacks. Yet only one member of the racist gang was charged with the killing of 16-year-old Rohit Duggal in Eltham in July 1992. Only one man, Mark Thornborrow, was charged with the murder of 15-year-old Rolan Adams in Thamesmead in February 1992; eight other gang members were charged with public order offences.

Letting killers loose

It is almost unheard of for people charged with homicide to be granted

bail – except when the killing is racist. The CPS, through its court representative, failed to prevent the granting of bail to Gary Hoskin and Andrew Noble while they awaited trial for the killing of Sahitharan (Noble could not raise the £10,000 surety, so stayed in custody). In September 1992, nine people charged with the murder of Ruhullah Aramesh in south London in July 1992 were given bail. Members of the gang that attacked Rolan Adams were also granted bail, and made use of it to harass members of the dead youth's family.

Denying racism

All these cases demonstrate a half-heartedness in the CPS in dealing with racist attacks. Even when it does press charges, it frequently denies any racial motivation. In Rolan Adams' case, the line taken in court – which was challenged by the judge – was that the killing was a 'territorial dispute'. The racist motive was similarly denied in the case of Rohit Duggal. Nor was a racist motive ever accepted in the case of Sher Singh Sagoo. It was only vigorous community campaigns which led the CPS to accept the racist motivation for the killings of Aziz Miah and Sahitharan.

The CPS shows itself at its most obstructive, unaccountable and dependent on the police in cases where police have charged the victim rather than the perpetrator of racial violence. It is left to community groups to attempt to put the message across that self-defence is a basic right

enshrined in the law.

In the past year or so, the CPS has proceeded with prosecutions against, among others, the Drummond Street four, Gillean Sinckler, Bashir Uddin and Nippon Vadhver. A lawyer who has defended a number of race attack victims charged with offences told CARF: 'The CPS are totally obstructive. They persistently refuse to disclose information, including previous convictions of prosecution witnesses, who are usually the attackers. And whenever I ask the CPS for something, they always tell me to speak to the officer in the case – even when I remind them they're supposed to be independent of the police, and quote the Code of Practice to them.'

Defenders of the CPS could put many of these examples down to incompetence, misunderstandings, loss of documents and so on. But there are just too many examples for such excuses to hold water. And such excuses do not explain the instances where extra zeal has been expended in the prosecution of victims of racist attacks rather than perpetrators. Nor do they explain those cases of downright refusal to bring charges. In July 1992, the CPS showed its independence of the police by refusing to prosecute after police raided BNP headquarters in Welling and seized fascist material.

Incompetence is no excuse. What the cases reveal is intrinsic, institutional racism on the part of the CPS, an almost exact reflection of the racism of the police. For so long as that is allowed to remain the case, the racists will continue to get away with murder. ■



Darren Jakobsen

The CPS have never taken action against the BNP HQ. But will they be equally dismissive when it comes to the prosecution of anti-fascists?

European election round-up

Elections are due to be held in November. CARF reports on some racist trends in the run-up to local elections in Denmark and Italy.

Denmark

Cath Mersh writes: A television documentary broadcast in Denmark in September revealed the behind-closed-doors activities of the country's extreme right-wing parties. The programme contained incriminating evidence linking right-wing extremists to two racially motivated crimes and highlighted their support of violence as a politically justified weapon.

During one recorded telephone conversation, the leader of the Nationalist Party, Albert Larsen, was heard to admit that he knew the six men in grey uniforms who, in Copenhagen in June 1990, attacked and broke the nose of Palestinian-born local politician Lubna Elahi.

Povl Riis-Knudsen, the former leader of the nazi DNSB party, who was forced to step down last year because of his affair with an Iranian refugee, also shed new light on a break-in at an anti-racist organisation premises in June 1991. In another recorded phone call, he named the current DNSB leader, Jonni Hansen, as the man responsible.

Police are now re-opening their files on the two cases.

When a group of anti-nazis gathered outside the home of Jonni Hansen after the programme was broadcast, a 33-year-old nazi sympathiser arrived and threatened them with a gun. He was later arrested and

an arsenal of weapons found in his home by police.

Frede Farmand Rasmussen, the man who provided TV journalists with a complete archive of revealing tapes and videos after 20 years spent



infiltrating Denmark's nazi factions, said he now fears for his life. The 47-year-old archivist said he chose this moment to bring his work to public attention because of the many extreme candidates standing in the local elections on 16 November.

Albert Larsen and leader of the National Party Denmark Kaj Vilhelmsen are among the candidates who are standing with nazi backing in the elections. In the spring of 1993, Kaj Vilhelmsen was fined DKK10,000 for threatening companies and their employees involved in building prefabricated towns for refugees.

Italy

In the local and mayoral elections in Italy in November, the neo-fascist MSI leader stands a good chance of taking Naples, while the Northern League is mounting a strong challenge to the Christian Democrats in Venice. These elections are taking place amid a massive increase in racist campaigns, sometimes fomented by the Northern League and the MSI.

It has become fashionable, even in left and alternative circles across Europe, to view increased support for the Northern League as a positive vote for regionalism and democracy. This overlooks not only the aggressive anti-southerner attitude of the Northern League, but also its virulent racism. The Communist daily, *Il Manifesto* (which has been banned by the Northern League from libraries in Mantua, a district of Milan), characterises the Northern League's programme as 'mobilising rejection of immigrants'.

In the June local and mayoral elections, the Northern League won overwhelming control of the north, with the sole exception of Turin which it failed to capture from the PDS. Victory for the League was followed, in many cities, by scenes where supporters roamed around, threatening blacks and shouting slogans like 'Laugh, laugh, 'cause soon we'll be sending you back home'.

Following an attack by young people on a travellers' camp in Bologna, during which a child was hit with a rubber bullet, the Northern League started a petition to remove the camp from the neighbourhood.

In Genoa, a League regional councillor has denounced Bosnian children for 'stealing our hospital beds'.

The League's most symbolic victory

The September national elections in Norway saw a drop in votes for the anti-immigration Progress party. They now have ten seats in parliament; previously they had twenty-two. The far-right Fatherland party and End Immigration got 12,000 votes (0.5%).

a handbook on the European state

Edited by
Tony Bunyan

Features chapters on • the European state • police and security services • the Northern Ireland factor • immigration, racism and fascism



Published by Statewatch, PO Box 1516, London N16 0EW
£4.50 (including p&p)

was in Milan, where it gained 57.1 per cent of the vote. The Milan mayoral candidate, Marco Formentini, was backed by the neo-fascist MSI. Central to his election campaign was the promise to close down immigrant centres and to bar from the city immigrants not in employment and unable to prove that they had a place to live.

The Republikaner and the German People's Union increased their votes in elections in Hamburg in September (Rep 4.8%; DVU 3.2%).

But the League's most racist action to date has been on the beaches along the Adriatic coast, where it has issued a decree banning African pedlars from selling their wares in five resorts of the Ligurian Riviera, west of Genoa. The League has hired helicopters and planes which pull streamers telling tourists to boycott 'immigrant hawkers'.

Meanwhile, in other parts of Italy, local anti-black campaigns have been organised which are becoming increasingly violent and hysterical in nature. In the last three months, *Il Manifesto* reports:

- Three nights of serious clashes between immigrants and Italians in Genoa which began after an anti-immigrant demonstration in the city centre. The 'riots' were

followed by police raids on immigrant hostels, several of which were bricked up to prevent their re-use. A hundred non-EC citizens were held in identity checks.

- In Castelvoturna, near Genoa, an MSI member spearheaded an anti-black campaign which led to two demonstrations on the town hall. The demonstrators chanted slogans like 'The blacks must go, they have brought us shame and disease'. Later, there were two arson attacks on houses occupied by black people.
- A group of 20 skinheads, armed with bars and bottles, attacked a self-help immigrant centre in the coastal town of Ostia. Seventy immigrants defended the centre from the attackers, who shouted 'Dirty niggers, we'll burn you out'.
- The presence of seasonal workers in Villa Literno led local residents to organise a protest outside the town hall. Around the same time, 22 caravans at the makeshift camp were destroyed in a fire. Two thousand anti-racists marched through the area in protest.
- Hundreds of African migrant tomato pickers were forced to flee from the south-eastern Puglia region, after locals launched a 'black hunt'. ■

Campaign for Citizenship Rights

Two recent cases reveal the need to challenge Article 116 of the German constitution that bases citizenship on blood descent.

● The German embassy in Ankara is refusing to act on behalf of 24-year-old Nülifer Koc, the spokesperson and former chair of the students union of the University of Bremen, who was arrested while on a fact-finding tour of the Kurdish region of Turkey, and has since disappeared. On 29 September, a human rights delegation from Bremen was stopped by Turkish security police and arrested. The other German members of the group were detained for two hours, but Nülifer was separated from them and has not been seen since.

Despite the fact that Nülifer has lived in Germany for over 20 years, the embassy has disclaimed responsi-

bility on the basis that she still has Turkish citizenship.

For further information contact AStA Uni Bremen, Bibliothekstrasse StudentInnenhaus, D28359, Bremen, Germany.

● A German court has ruled that Jews are not Germans and, as such, are not protected by that article of the German constitution forbidding the fomenting of hatred against groups. The decision, made by the prosecuting authorities of Osnabruck, came after a law suit was brought against Heinrich Basilius Streithofen, a former Dominican spiritual adviser to Chancellor Kohl. In October 1992, Streithofen referred to Jews and Poles as 'the greatest exploiters of the German taxpayer'. ■

Heitmann for president?



action press

How much further can the German government go in its open embrace of far-right values? First, it used far-right arguments of foreigners swamping the country in its campaign to remove Article 16 of the German constitution that guaranteed the right to political asylum. Now, Chancellor Kohl is backing the controversial east German former priest, Steffen Heitmann, for federal president.

Heitmann is openly anti-immigrant (he also believes a woman's place is in the home) and nationalistic – basing his nationalism on the belief that Germany should not feel any special responsibility for its Nazi past. He has recently refused to withdraw remarks, made in a newspaper interview, that Germany should no longer dwell on the Holocaust. Heitmann said that the murder of six million Jews in Nazi Germany should not mean that the country should play a special role 'until the end of time'.

In an interview with the *Süd-deutsche Zeitung* in September, Heitmann made great play on what he described as the 'normal' fears of Germans – that is, the 'normal' fear of 'foreign' infiltration and the 'normal' wish to preserve one's national identity and to walk through German cities without being threatened by strangers. Heitmann has also warned that Germans fear being swamped by strangers: 'The people calling for brotherly love', he further commented, 'are not the ones whose washing is nicked every day from the line.'

Whether Heitmann will be successful in his bid for the federal presidency is difficult to tell. Despite criticism in the mass media, the CDU are officially backing him. The very fact that Heitmann could even be considered can only be beneficial to the Right. ■

Who's the most racist of them all?

'Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the most anti-racist of them all?' It was the type of virtuous question that John Major, John Smith and Paddy Ashdown might have asked themselves following the BNP victory in the Millwall by-election in September, which they all roundly condemned. The real reflection, as CARF reports, is not pretty for any of them.

In the table alongside this article, we remind CARF readers of the LibDems' record in Tower Hamlets on housing and race. It is an appalling record – and it is this that has led to allegations of institutionalised racism in the party – and not, as Paddy Ashdown claims, allegations that individual members are racist.

Using housing

The issue of housing in Tower Hamlets is a race issue. It has been made into one by local politicians. They will deny it, of course, but it does not take much intelligence to see that the principal phrases used to debate the housing issue – ie, the rights of the 'indigenous' communities and the abuse of rights by 'outsiders' – are merely a code for 'white' and 'Bangladeshi'.

No one has concentrated more diligently on the housing issue than Tower Hamlets mayor and LibDem councillor John Snooks. Before the May by-election, the letters pages of the *East London Advertiser* and the community newsheet, *The Islander*, were full of complaints about the homeless. Wrote mayor John Snooks: 'It is not more money that is needed to deal with the demand [for housing], it's less abuse of the Homeless Families Act' (there's actually no such Act, as Snooks, who is one of a panel of three who decides



Forgotten by the parties – Quddus Ali

council policy on housing, should know).

The mayor then said that overcrowding was created by people coming to the borough from all over the world, moving in with family, who then chuck them out so that they can go on to the homeless list. So genuine homelessness, according to Snooks' world view, does not exist; scroungers and parasites do.

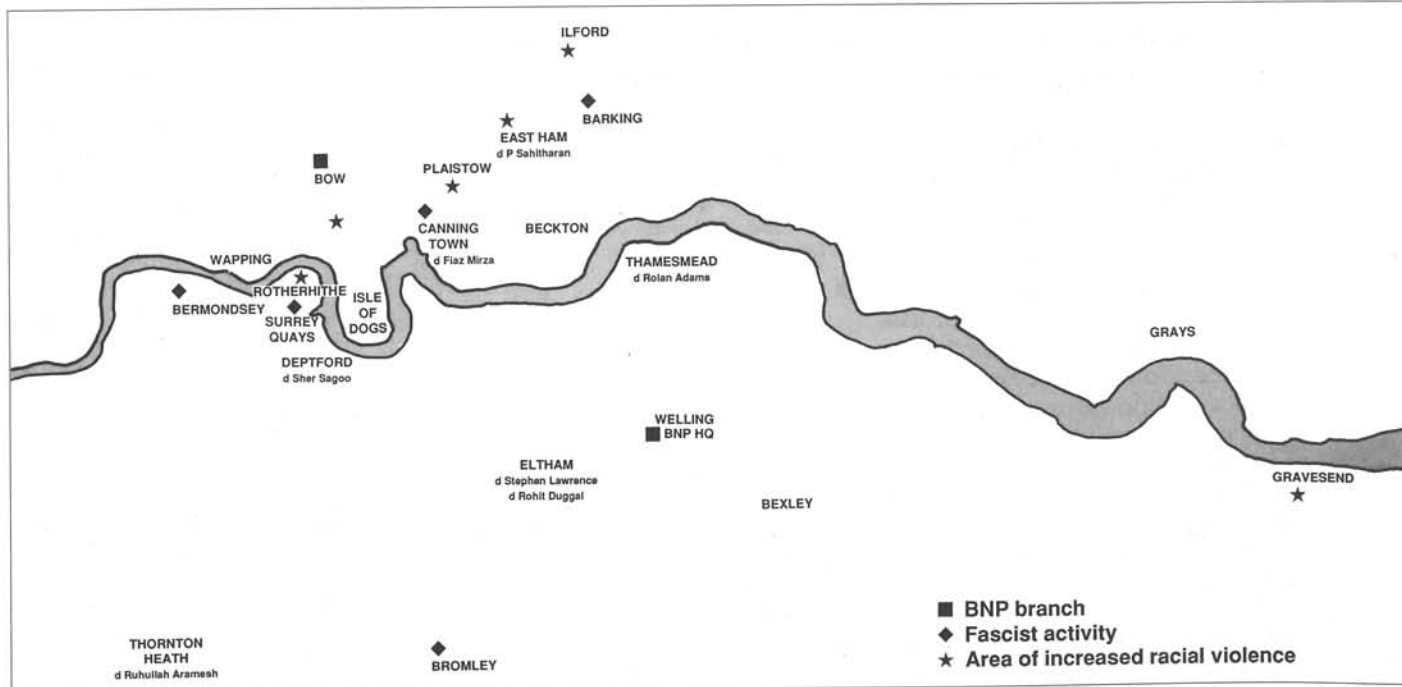
Labour's record

What is even more disturbing is that Millwall Labour Party, instead of putting up a fight against the Liberals, seems to be developing into a pale

reflection of them. One local Bengali activist told CARF that Asian families on the Isle of Dogs could not bring themselves to vote for Labour, which seemed to them to be acquiescing in the LibDems' racist policies. 'For whom do we cast our protest vote?' he asked. 'For us, it's a choice between a vote for racism or for fascism.'

And then there was local Labour by-election candidate James Hunt's tacit support for the Isle of Dogs Action Group for Equality. This group, which CARF has warned about in the past, was set up in March 1992 to press for a 'sons and daughters' housing policy in the neighbourhood and has argued that whites are being discriminated against in the allocation of newly built housing association homes. Afsana Yahya told CARF last November (see CARF No 11) that the group regularly used the slogan 'Rights for Whites' and dominated the Isle of Dogs race forum to the extent that local members of the Bengali community were regularly threatened and abused. And this all occurred under the watchful eye of councillors, neighbourhood officials and the police.

In May 1993, *The Islander* carried a front-page spread on the Action Group's AGM under the headline 'Should all immigration be brought to an end?'. The group wanted to start an



anti-immigration petition to send to the government and a member commented that they must stop the Isle of Dogs becoming a 'satellite of Bangladesh'. Their irresponsible reporting of the meeting led to a flurry of protest letters.

Incredibly, however, in August, Labour candidate James Hunt wrote a letter to *The Islander* with encouraging words for the Action Group and an attack on the chair of a local Bengali organisation for calling the group 'bigots' (quite a polite term, one would have thought, in the circumstances). Hunt went on to criticise as unrepresentative a local community relations group and to express support for the Association of Island Communities, which is chaired by Rita Bensley, a prominent supporter of the Isle of Dogs Action Group for Equality and a former Liberal council candidate.

Of 135 households on Isle of Dogs rehoused between April and August, 25 were Bengali

Following Hunt's stance, there is now open warfare in the Millwall Labour Party ward. Labour councillor Christine Shawcross, removed from the campaign committee during the by-election, argues that a Labour Party inquiry is necessary, not least to investigate the widely-believed allegation that the Labour Party faked canvass returns to show the BNP pulling ahead just days before the count.

What emerges from Tower Hamlets is a depressing picture of local government. Far from being able to challenge the Tories' anti-working class

policies, LibDems and Labour are anchored in old-style machine politics and power-mongering - where, tragically, the exploitation of race issues, if not outright racism, plays a major part.

National trends

To Labour's dismal record in Tower Hamlets (in St Katherine's ward, Wapping, they have asked Bengali candidates to stand down in favour of whites) must be added the dubious stance taken by Sheffield Labour MP Richard Caborn, in supporting Brian Mangle in his fight against eviction for racial harassment (see *CARF* Nos 15 & 16).

On top of the LibDems' record in Tower Hamlets have come allegations of dirty tricks in Lambeth. *Time Out* says that, since December 1992, the Liberals have been accused of dishonest campaigning in four by-elections for Lambeth council.

In July 1993, a leaflet headlined 'Joe Singh, Labour councillor' and featuring a letter from a former Labour councillor urging people not to vote Labour, was distributed in Oval ward. Nothing on it indicated that it had been printed and circulated by the LibDems except a tiny imprint at the bottom, there for legal reasons, which simply bore the name T Cornwall - the party's agent, but whose political affiliation was not revealed. Earlier, in the December 1992 Stockwell by-election, LibDem leaflets promised 'Priority for local people and sons and daughters in housing allocations'.

Meanwhile in Rochdale, LibDem councillors have been threatened with being taken to an electoral court for their use of a Labour leaflet aimed at

Asians. The leaflet was a translation into English of a Labour leaflet in Urdu setting out 21 achievements by Labour for the local Asian community, with the additional words 'Food for thought' at the top, and at the bottom: 'Think deeply, is the Labour party worth your support?'

All a very sordid business indeed. But then local government is increasingly becoming a very dirty affair. Of course, prime minister John Major can lie back and play the vestal virgin. No one bothers to vote for the Tories in inner-city areas any more, so they can't be to blame. ■

Tower Hamlets: Lib Dem record on race and housing

May 1986 Liberals gain control of Tower Hamlets council. Public outcry scuppers one of its first proposals - to put homeless families on a boat, moored on the River Thames.

April 1987 Tower Hamlets council issues eviction orders against over 40 Bengali families living in bed-and-breakfast hostels on the grounds that the families had 'rendered themselves intentionally homeless' by leaving Bangladesh.

March 1987 Head of Race and Housing Action Team, set up by the GLC to monitor allocation policies, resigns because of the council's 'hostile attitude to race relations'.

November 1987 CRE serves Tower Hamlets council with non-discrimination notice, having found that it had contravened the Race Relations Act in four different areas.

May 1990 Liberals run election campaign promising to abolish anti-racist education and scrap four buses provided by the ILEA for black children facing racist attacks. Some members of the Liberals produce spoof Labour party leaflet stating that Labour would stop the eviction policy and the 'sons and daughters' policy and see that 'Bangladeshis are fairly treated'.

April 1993 Tower Hamlets council wins court action against the Department of the Environment over its Code of Guidance on how to apply housing legislation when dealing with homeless people. Code said that councils should treat all applicants equally regardless of their immigration status. Housing officers all over the country are now free to gather information on applicants' immigration status.

September 1993 High Court rules that two interviews conducted by Tower Hamlets council to decide the legitimacy of applications for social benefits or housing were more akin to interrogations than to interviews.

With the election of BNP candidate, Derek Beackon, the nazis have gained their first seat on a local council since the National Party won two seats in May 1976. *CARF* does not believe that the election result will be repeated across the country. However, it does have implications for Londoners.

Racist attacks are particularly high in the Docklands boroughs of Newham, Southwark and Tower Hamlets - and we need to take note of trends in racist violence and fascist activities.

The Millwall vote has, of course, serious implications for anti-racists in Tower Hamlets:

- The Millwall vote could encourage more people to vote for the BNP, because they will no longer view it as a no-hope alternative. Local people are encouraged to see the BNP as viable by actions like the *East London Advertiser's* telephone opinion poll which suggested that there was over

80% support for the BNP across the borough.

- The BNP gain could encourage the other parties, particularly the ruling Liberal Democrats, to campaign more openly on race issues. The LibDems might fear that the BNP will steal the racist vote, so we could expect to see more attacks on the homeless, etc.

- There is a threat that the BNP could gain control of a neighbourhood council. (Tower Hamlets local government is decentralised, with the borough divided into seven neighbourhoods, each with its own town hall. These neighbourhoods make autonomous decisions on key issues like housing.) The Isle of Dogs is divided into two wards: Millwall (three councillors) and Blackwall (two councillors). If, in the May 1994 local elections, the BNP repeats its success and gains all three seats in Millwall, it will gain control of the Isle of Dogs.

The CARF interview

Malaysian civil rights lawyer and poet Cecil Rajendra had his passport impounded in July when he tried to leave his country. He was an alleged security risk because of writing 'anti-logging' poetry in a country where logging is now a multi-billion dollar industry. After international protest, his passport was returned and he visited the UK for a poetry reading in September. CARF spoke to him about the experiences that have formed him and his poetry.

CARF: Your critics obviously see you as some sort of political subversive, while your hosts in Britain, *Apples & Snakes*, describe you as non-political. How would you describe yourself?

CR: I am a political poet, but I am not party-political. The main thrust of my poetry is human rights. I don't want to be compartmentalised as they now try to do by describing me as an anti-logging poet, which is absolutely ridiculous. I haven't been involved in any anti-logging activities. Logging happens in Sarawak, 1,000 miles away from where I live in Penang.

The only thing I have done over the last 25 years is to write environmental poems. This is basically a human rights issue. People are being displaced. Look at the scandalous treatment of the Yanomani Indians in Brazil.

CARF: Your first books of poems included black versions of British nursery rhymes. Were you influenced by the Black Power movement?

CR: Very much so, and at a very early stage. I became feted when I published my first book (of juvenilia) in 1965 when I was here studying at the bar. All kinds of poetry societies wanted to hear me. When I was at Lincoln's Inn and these societies, I was being told that I wasn't really black. But when I went on the streets, or went for flats, the abuse made no bones about it, I was definitely black. I identified totally as a black person and wrote a lot of angry poems about it. It was a very unpopular thing for Asians then to have anything to do with the Black Power movement at all. There was just a handful of Asians who really felt strongly that they were black.



Baa-baa black sheep, have you
lost your cool?
No suh, no suh, but I've three
guns full
One for my massa
One for his flock
And one for the little cop that
struts round our block

We had a group called Third World Troubadors that went around using the media of poetry and music to bear witness to what was going on – not just here but in the Third World as well. And we also found that there was a Third World here in Britain – an unpopular view at the time.

And we had this thing called Black Voices in Earls Court where anyone, in any of the black or Third World movements, could come. We had people like Tony Soares, Obi Egbuna, Althea Lecointe. I remember Tony Gifford spoke about the revolution in Guinea-Bissau (when he had visited Africa), and Carmel Budjiardo came from Tapol – a campaign against Indonesian repression in East Timor.

CARF: So your view of 'black' was more than just about skin colour?

CR: Yeah, that came after reading Fanon. We knew that black was not just a thing of skin, it was about one's complete thinking. There were a lot of black people – especially those few black barristers in the Inns of Court – who had totally white minds. At that time there were very few lawyers who wanted to have anything to do with going down to the prisons and getting bail and so on for black

people. I worked for a while specifically as an adviser on and to Third World students. But the few black barristers wanted to have nothing to do with such issues.

CARF: If you were committed to struggles here, what made you go back home in the mid-1970s?

CR: I really took the decision when my son was born. We wanted our children to be in Asia and have a sense of it. You know at Harambee and the Black House I had seen kids who really hated their parents for bringing them here from the Caribbean. They always romanticised 'back home' where the sun always shines and the coconut palms swing.

It's not that we don't have racism and injustices in Malaysia too. But it's different. In Malaysia it's more a sense of suspicion about other 'races', a kind of distrust. The racism in Britain is of a dehumanising kind, where you feel less than a person. ■

Collections of poetry by Cecil Rajendra are published by Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, 141 Coldershaw Road, London W13 9DU.

Foreign interference

His chain hotels are run
by Swiss and Austrians;
And his dairy project
monitored by Australians.

His electronic industry
is controlled by Japanese;
And his canning-factory
advisers are all Chinese.

His begging bowl is filled
with aid from the States;
And his cars are fuelled
by the United Arab Emirates.

From the United Kingdom
he imports his professors
and a dour German
coaches his footballers.

Yet, when one small voice
questions his detentions
with magisterial petulance
he stomps his foot and rants
against foreign interference!

■ Joy Gardner: no cover up!

Barbaric deportation procedures and the death of Joy Gardner may have been forgotten by the media, but not by the black community.

More than three months after Joy's death, the Police Complaints Authority has still not released the report of its internal investigation and charges have not been brought against the officers involved.

The Joy Gardner Campaign is demanding:

- a full public enquiry into the circumstances of Joy Gardner's killing, including a review of all immigration policy, deportation practice and procedures;
- that the police officers involved in

Joy's death are immediately charged and brought to trial;

- immediate compensation for Joy's family; and

- the repeal of the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act.

Meanwhile in September, just two miles from where Joy Gardner lived in north London, Nigerian student Mohamed Mudashiru was arrested by five police officers for failing to comply with a deportation order. During the arrest, Mr Mudashiru suffered abrasions to his wrists from handcuffs and was later also charged with assault and actual bodily harm upon police.

Joy Gardner Campaign, c/o 3 Devonshire Chambers, 577 High Road, London N17 6SB.



■ People's tribunal

Britain's immigration legislation will be under scrutiny on 25 November, when the People's Tribunal on Immigration and Asylum will sit to hear evidence from black and refugee communities on their experiences at the hands of immigration officers, prison authorities and the police in the name of immigration control.

The organiser of the Tribunal, the Campaign against Immigration Act Detentions, is calling for as many groups as possible to give evidence.

Contact Campaign Against Immigration Act Detentions, c/o 6-20 St John's Mews, London WC1N 2XN; tel: 071-916 1646 or 071-254 9701.

■ Exclusions victory

Sheffield headmaster Chris Searle, who has gone against all the educational conventions by refusing to exclude children from his mainly black, inner-city school, has confounded critics who maintained that this would affect the school's performance.

GCSE results have improved by 300%. Despite the fact that 70% of pupils do not have English as a first language, English language results were 12% above the national average.

■ M25 Three still fighting

The campaign to free the M25 Three continues, despite some serious setbacks. It is more than three years since Raphael Rowe, Michael Davis and Randolph Johnson were convicted of murder, robbery, grievous bodily harm and firearms offences, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Last June, the three men's appeals were finally heard in the Appeal Court, with Deputy Lord Justice Watkins presiding.

At the appeal the most important new evidence brought to light was a police officer's notebook, never before disclosed to the defence. It contained details of an interview with a victim who clearly identified two of the assailants as white, and one black. In evidence at the men's trial the victim no longer indicated the colour of the attackers.

In a judgment in July, the Appeal Court judges dismissed the appeals. They claimed that there was not 'even

a lurking doubt' about the safety of the convictions and decided the non-disclosure of the notebook was an 'irregularity' but not a 'material irregularity'. Rowe's solicitor described the judgment as 'an absurdity in logic and fact'. Lord Justice Watkins announced his retirement soon thereafter.

On 30 September the men's lawyers applied for leave to appeal to House of Lords against the judgment. The application went before the same bench which heard the appeal, and was denied.

Rowe and Davis' lawyers intend to ask the Home Secretary to immediately refer their cases before a new constitution of the Court of Appeal for further review, despite there being no significant new evidence – the main basis for this being the 'perversity and illogicality' of the Watkins judgment.

In addition, they are considering referring to the European Court of



Human Rights the issue of non-disclosure of evidence under a public interest immunity ruling which has prevented the applicants and their lawyers from discovering whether or not any of the £25,000 reward was paid to any of the prosecution witnesses.

For further information contact: M25 Three Campaign c/o 75 Scylla Road, Peckham Rye, London, SE15 3PB

Tower Hamlets earthquake

Not surprisingly, in the October issues of *British Nationalist* and *Spearhead*, Tyndall and Morse were ringing the bells for what they describe as the BNP's 'moment of history' in Tower Hamlets. 'The criminal trash who purport to run Britain were shaking with fear on the Friday morning following the BNP's magnificent victory' (*British Nationalist*). And 'an earthquake has hit British politics, the tremors of which are likely to reverberate for many months, even years' (*Spearhead*).

It seems that Ian Stuart Donaldson, of Screwdriver (henceforth known as Screwed-up-Driver) and Blood and Honour fame, was the first to predict the effects of the violent shaking of the earth's surface. He was killed, alongside another band member (two other passengers were seriously injured) when premature tremors were felt in Derbyshire and the car they were travelling in veered off the road.

Notts AFA reports that 300 skin-heads attended Stuart's wake at a venue on the Notts/Derby border.

Around the courts

At the time of his death, Stuart had been waiting on a court appearance in Blackpool for violence, and had also skipped bail on a stabbing offence in Germany. Other BNP members have not managed to evade court appearances, which seem to be escalating in recent months.

John Tyndall and deputy leader Richard Edmonds were fined £100 each at Kingston crown court for the illegal display of racist materials after the London borough of Merton brought an action against them under regulations governing advertising. Edmonds (alongside Stephen O'Shea of East Ham, Simon Biggs of Penge and Paul Steel of Poplar) was also remanded at Thames magistrates' court in September, accused of a violent assault on a black man. Also remanded at Thames magistrates' court in September were Combat 18 thugs Nicky Cooper and Alan Thompson (see *CARF* No 16).

One BNP member and Combat 18 activist, Stephen Richardson, has just commenced a three-year prison sentence after a judge at Woolwich crown court found him guilty of a



South-east London BNP activist Ian Dell (centre) is in deep water. Dell (33), of Leda Road, SE18, has been suspended from his job as a housing-estate caretaker which he had held for two years. According to the local newspaper, the *Greenwich and Eltham Mercury*, Dell was spotted on TV, after being filmed by a news crew in Brick Lane getting out of a van with other BNP supporters. Dell admitted to the *Mercury* that he had been a member of the BNP for 11 years. The local CRE says he was suspended for distributing racist literature, but Greenwich council refuses to deny or confirm these reports.

cowardly and unprovoked racist attack following a march in memory of Rohit Duggal in November 1992. Meanwhile, Lady Jane Birdwood, publisher of the anti-semitic *The Longest Hatred*, is set to appear at Bow Street magistrates' court on 5 November accused of 'distributing and possessing racially inflammatory material'.

Anti-fascist court victory

As we reported in *CARF* No 16, two anti-fascists, Gill Emerson and 80-year-old Reg Watson, found themselves in court in September charged with distributing an 'abusive and insulting' anti-fascist leaflet 'within the sight or hearing of a person likely to be caused harassment, alarm or distress'. The prosecution's case rested on the assertion that members of the public were distressed by the distribution of a Kent Anti-Fascist Committee leaflet which stated the road where Combat 18 activist John Cato lived. *CARF* is delighted to report that the case collapsed. The prosecution's

main witnesses turned out to be none other than Cato's mum and dad. Cato was last seen keeping a low profile in East Anglia.

Who's quaking now?

What is becoming clear is that the tremors caused by the BNP's 'moment of history' could find the BNP falling down a crater of its own creation.

First, it faces internal problems brought about by the leadership's attempts to straddle two strategies: on the one hand, an electoral approach, requiring discipline, financial solvency and keeping out of the clutches of the law; and, on the other, a street fighting strategy that entails exactly the opposite. The two are just not compatible.

Second, the victory has widened the forces against them. It's one thing, gearing your following up for street fights with small groups of anti-fascists, but it's another thing to defend your bunker from 40,000 people.

FASCIST ROUND-UP •

After Welling

On the day itself, the BNP could not pull off the attack on the *Unity* march that its literature, put out before the march, promised. Given the number of demonstrators, the option of an attack on the rally was unlikely; more realistic was the possibility of attacks on small groups of demonstrators leaving the rally and making their way home.

Reports reaching CARF indicate that, to a small but nasty extent, this did occur. Three people were attacked by C18 thugs at Woolwich station. One of them was pulled off a train and severely beaten – his eye kicked out of its socket and his jaw broken. Later, groups of C18 thugs went on the rampage on a train leaving Welling, attacking small groups of demonstrators.

However, a BNP/Combat 18 posse found themselves locked into a pub in Abbey Wood for much of the afternoon. The fascists, including C18 member Alan Thompson, currently on remand on assault charges, were initially in the Abbey Arms – a well-known BNP haunt. Later that afternoon, they moved on to the Harrow Inn, a hundred yards down the road. There they were confronted by 100 anti-fascists and, following a brief exchange of missiles, police moved in to secure the pub for them. Shortly afterwards, riot police arrived in numbers to ensure their safety by moving on the anti-fascists.

Bexley scandal

Despite the fact that John Howell QC concluded, in a report made public by Greenwich council, that Bexley council could close down the BNP HQ as its presence breaches planning regulations, Bexley council, to its shame, is refusing to act. Len Duvall, leader of Greenwich council, wrote to Bexley council reminding it that the 'presence of the BNP HQ in Welling has contributed to the racial tensions which have resulted in the murder of three black youths in Greenwich over the last two years'. His plea for action seems to have fallen on deaf ears. ■



Burnsalls challenge GMB

The Burnsall dispute, abandoned by the GMB after a year, stands as a symbol of the fight for the rights of superexploited workers in sweatshop industries and as an indicator of union ineffectiveness after years of anti-union legislation. The Burnsall strikers write:

We are angry that John Edmonds, General Secretary of our union, has refused to intervene and ensure official recognition is restored to our strike. When eight strikers had a meeting with him in September, he repeatedly questioned our insistence that our dispute can be won. He said if all GMB members were organised in a stoppage to support the strikers, then every shop steward would be sacked.

Our union's leader is saying that it can do nothing except fight industrial tribunal cases which will neither win us our jobs back nor change conditions at Burnsalls. In other words, he is saying not only can a giant trade union of 800,000 members not defend its members at Burnsalls, it

cannot defend its members anywhere!

John Edmonds should resign!

We are continuing our fight for:

- The restoration of official status to our strike, picketing, and full strike pay, plus an extensive campaign to defeat the employer at Burnsalls.
- An inquiry into the conduct of the strike and the way it was called off.

We are asking trade union branches and trades councils to pass resolutions supporting our struggle. Please invite us to speak at your meetings so we can tell you more about the dispute.

Please contribute to our strike fund.

Cheques payable to 'Burnsall Strike Fund', Burnsall Strikers, c/o 82 Rosefield Road, Smethwick, West Midlands, B67 6DR. Tel: 021-565-5416.



THE WOMEN FROM 10 DOWNING ST.

Anne-Marie Sweeney

INQUEST

More deaths in custody

■ An inquest jury in Yorkshire has decided that another black person died through the lack of care of hospital staff. A verdict of lack of care was returned at an inquest into the death of 26-year-old Munir Majothi at a York psychiatric hospital.

Munir died from toxification and furring of the arteries caused by massive forcible overdosing of Droperidol, a strong sedative. In the hours before his death, staff at the hospital injected him with over six times the recommended dosage of the drug. The coroner refused to allow the inquest jury to consider a verdict of unlawful killing.

■ Thirty-year-old Londoner Adejare Akinbiyi died on remand in the hospital wing at Belmarsh prison after staff failed to report breathing difficulties after an asthma attack, the jury at Southwark coroner's court heard in October. Akinbiyi was described as a 'severe' asthmatic by the senior medical officer at the prison, who told the inquest that staff had not warned him of the seriousness of Akinbiyi's condition. Although he was taken to the prison clinic three hours before his death for 'routine' asthma treatment, when he had difficulty

breathing, he was returned to his cell, where he collapsed.

The jury returned a verdict of accidental death brought about by lack of care. Mr Akinbiyi's brother Michael vowed to sue the Home Office on behalf of his dead brother's children, who lost their mother in a car crash.

Verdicts of lack of care and even unlawful killing are routinely ignored by the authorities, and the families of Omasase Lumumba, Oliver Pryce and Leon Paterson still await decisions from the DPP as to whether criminal charges are to be brought against any of the prison and police officers responsible.

■ Family and friends of 28-year-old John Pellew, who was crushed to death by a police car driven by Kent police, have set up a campaign for a full investigation of his death.

On 18 July, police called to the scene of a burglary saw John Pellew nearby riding a motorbike, and called on him to stop. When he failed to do so a high-speed car chase ensued, which ended after John turned into a field, abandoned the bike and ran towards a hedge. He ended up in a ditch, crushed by a police car with such force that a fire engine had to be called to release the body from beneath the wreckage.

The Deputy Chief Constable of Kent has refused the family's request to suspend the officers involved. A PCA investigation is due to report shortly.

Inquest, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PG

■ Clive Forbes Support Committee

Two men have been arrested and charged with attempted murder after the vicious racist attack on Clive Forbes in Erdington, Birmingham, in May.

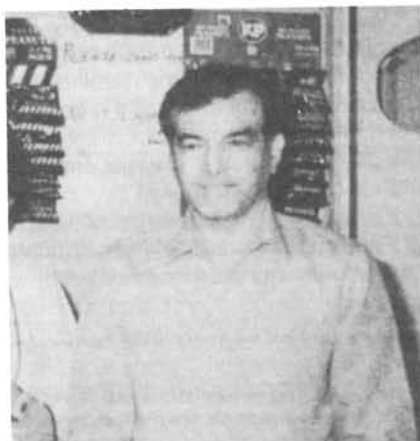
Clive was forced to jump from a third-floor balcony to escape from his attackers. Still receiving medical treatment for his shattered legs, he is unable to walk without crutches. Despite this, he attended a public meeting on black self-defence in Erdington, organised by the Clive Forbes Support Committee.

The committee, which has successfully pressured the council to rehouse Clive and his family, will be picketing the court when the attackers stand trial.

Clive Forbes Support Committee, c/o 346 Soho Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.

■ Murder trials

Ricky Lee and Mark Lee, well known in Newham as racist nutters, were convicted in September of the murder of cab-driver Fiaz Mirza, whom they beat and tortured before throwing his body into the East London docks. The prosecution succeeded not because of the diligence of the police and Crown Prosecution Service, but because the stepmother of one of the youths came forward to give evidence against him after hearing him laughing and boasting about the murder.



Fiaz Mirza

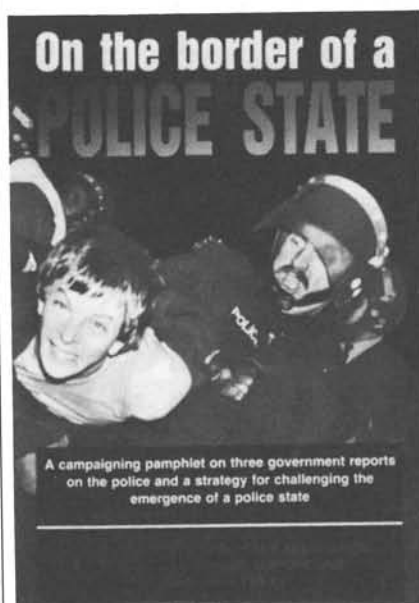
Meanwhile, as CARF goes to press, five youths are standing trial for the murder of Ruhullah Aramesh, an Afghan refugee who died after being attacked by a gang armed with iron bars in Thornton Heath last summer. The fact that charges were dropped against four others involved in the attack, and that all of the accused were released on bail (when has a black accused of murdering a white ever got bail?), will not encourage black people to have confidence in British 'justice'.

REVIEW

Booking the police

The only good cop ... surely is one who is fully accountable to the community which he or she serves. But, as anyone who has been the recipient of a miscarriage of justice will tell you, no adequate structures exist to bring guilty officers to account.

So what about the recent government plans to restructure the police force, based upon proposals laid down in the White Paper, the Sheehy report and the Royal Commission's report on the criminal justice system? Isn't there something in them of significance which addresses the issue of police accountability?



The latest booklet produced by the campaigning group, the Hackney Community Defence Association, *On the Border of a Police State*, has an answer to this question. It makes clear in its thorough analysis that the proposed changes will not benefit those who are continually at the receiving end of police malpractice. In fact, the proposals support moves against the powerless.

One of the central problems the pamphlet identifies is the failure of government to address the issue of 'police crime'. The police have too much power and are able to use their positions as citizens above lawful reproach to mask their 'crimes'. Their powers, it suggests, should be limited through legislative restrictions which would subject them to the same laws as every other person. Instead, the government proposals identify the problem as a managerial one. Therefore, the solution is to keep officers of junior rank in check through the management of specially empowered senior officers.

By placing the problem in such a context, the government sees no need for measures such as the setting up of an independent police supervisory body, and even goes so far as to suggest the erosion of what little concessions already exist for those who become the recipients of police crime. For instance, the right for the defence to cross-examine a police officer about previous cases where the officer involved was seen to be lying, is now under threat. *On the Border of a Police State* puts forward a two-fold strategy for fighting back against the burgeoning police state. One is the setting up of defence campaigns. The other involves the use of trade unions to challenge police power – based on the view that the problem is too 'deeply rooted to be sorted out by single issue campaigns alone'.

On the Border of a Police State is available from Hackney Community Defence Association and Hackney Trade Union Support Unit, Colin Roach Centre, 10A Bradbury Street, London N16 8JN.

NOTICEBOARD

Vigil for East Timor followed by social on Friday 12 November. Vigil 5.30–7pm, St. Martins Church, Trafalgar Square. Benefit at 7.30pm at Caxton House, St. John's Way, London N19. Bar • Stalls • Live music. Tickets £4/£2 (concs) from CAAT, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4.

Campaign Against Double Punishment is holding its second annual conference, 'Black prisoners: deportation and the racism of the criminal justice system', on Saturday 20 November at Cheetham Community School, Halliwell Lane, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

Europe and Ireland: European economic union and its implications for the struggle for a United Ireland. Forum organised by East London Troops Out Movement, to be held at the University of East London, Stratford Campus, Water Lane, London E15 (Stratford tube) on Thursday 25 November at 7pm. Speakers: James Goodman (Open University), John McDonnell (Labour Party Irish Society), Geoff Bell (author) and Mary Mason (Troops Out).

Black footballers: the real history

Black people entered the football league in the 1960s? Not true, writes Phil Vassili. There is a history of black involvement in UK football that dates back to 1886.

Darlington FC is not known for breaking many records. One that they should be proud of, however, is having **Arthur Wharton** as a player. A remarkable all-round athlete, as the AAA 100 yards champion, he was the first to run in under 10 seconds in both heats and finals at Stamford Bridge in July 1886. Later that year, he signed for Preston North End, one of England's top clubs, as a goalkeeper, with a secondary position as winger. In 1889, he turned professional officially, Britain's first black professional football league player.

Wharton came from an established Euro-African family of traders and missionaries. Brought up in the Gold Coast, maternal grandson of a Fante-Royal but educated in England, he was not unusual for being an educated upper middle-class footballer. A glance at the social backgrounds of those picked to play representative football up to the 1914 war shows a heavy bias towards public school, Oxbridge and the army.

What is unusual is why a person from such a background – sport was not encouraged by the Euro-African elders in the Gold Coast – would want to play professional football for a Lancashire, working-class team. The game was controlled, as it still is, by people from a similar background to Wharton, who looked upon professionalism as a form of cheating: the game should be played for enjoyment. A clue may lie in Wharton's rejection for a post in the Gold Coast colonial administration: as a black man in (racist) Victorian society, perhaps he found it hard to find a job that he liked doing and an employer who would pay him to do it. Football may have combined the seemingly irreconcilable.

Wharton became a sporting celebrity, a feat all the more remarkable because it was achieved outside the boxing ring, the usual arena for a black sportsman to make an impression.

Until the second world war, black players were mostly British born. There were exceptions, however – notably three north Africans, Egyptians: **H Hegazi**, centre forward for Fulham 1911-12;

Tewfick Abdallah, inside forward for Derby County 1920-22, and **M Mansour**, goalkeeper for QPR 1938-39.

The first black player to appear for Wales (and probably any of the four British national teams), in December 1931, was **John Edward Parris**. In Scotland, Celtic gave a trial to a barefooted Indian, **Abdul Salim**, who played for the reserves during the 1936-37 season.



Barnsley's manager, Viv Anderson, is one of three black managers in the Football League. But the first black manager was Rochdale's Tony Collins in the 1960s (Photo from *Barnsley Chronicle*).

Fifteen years after Salim was given a chance, Jamaican-born **Giles Heron** scored on his Celtic debut in their 2-1 win against Morton in the 1951-52 season. Father of radical jazz lyricist and musician Gil Scott Heron, he was signed on the club's end of season tour to the USA. According to one of the club's historians, James E Handley, although a successful boxer, he was unable to transfer his pugilistic tenacity on to the football field, 'lacking resource when challenged'. This was a common racial stereotype: that black players did not have what Ron Noades would call 'bottle'.

1948 saw the beginnings of migration of workers from Britain's colonies to fill the growing labour shortage. This soon made its impact on football, as did the burgeoning popularity of the game amongst Africans in the colonised parts of the continent, especially west Africa, where Wharton originated from.

1949 saw the first tour to Britain by a sub-Saharan African national team, from Nigeria (although there had been a tour to Britain in 1899 by a black South African team, organised by the Orange Free State FA, called the 'Kaffirs'). Mirroring its colonial structure, the all-black touring team was led by (expatriate) captain D H Holley, chair of the Nigerian Football Association. An editorial in the *Times* at the end of the Nigerian tour illustrates the thinking that players of African origin were up against:

'The disappearance of tribal warfare and other inconvenient forms of self-expression has left a gap there. Too often, while exempt from terror and famine, the African peoples are powerfully afflicted with boredom. They need new interests, cultural and sporting. Given a chance, the African is a voracious reader and avid sportsman. The Nigerian visit has sociological significance.'

All but two played in bare feet against the top amateur teams of the day, beating Amateur Cup holders Bromley 3-1. At centre forward was **Tesilimi 'Thunder' Balogun**, who later returned to England to play for Peterborough United and QPR. Thus began a trail of footballers from west and southern Africa to Britain in the 1950s and early 60s that included **Gerry Francis** and **Albert Johanneson** (Leeds Utd), **Steve Mokone** (Coventry City), **Elkanah Onyeali** (Tranmere Rovers), **Francis Fayemi** and **John Mensah** (Cambridge City).

During the 1960s, the trinity of sources of black players, West and southern Africa, the Caribbean and Britain began to force attention. Leeds United fielded two black South Africans, Francis and Johanneson, in a league game versus Stoke, in April 1961. By the end of the decade, Bermudan-born **Clyde Best**, a gentle giant of a player, began to exasperate some football writers watching West Ham with his 'inconsistency'.

The first black manager of a Football League club was **Tony Collins**, who took Rochdale to the League Cup final against Norwich in 1962. The Scotland club are still the only fourth division side ever to have played in the final. It has taken another thirty years for the next generation of black managers, **Keith Alexander** at Lincoln, **Ed Stein** at Barnet and **Viv Anderson** at Barnsley.

This is an edited version of a piece that first appeared in the magazine *When Saturday Comes*.

August

- 22 Black minicab driver badly beaten by 2 white men avoiding paying a £3 fare.
- 28 Racists attack 18-year-old black youth in Bristol and set light to his hair.
- 30 A culture of 'organisational racism' at Broadmoor hospital contributed to deaths of three black men, says report of inquiry set up after Orville Blackwood died.

September

- 1 CRE warns five London local authorities about discrimination after Westminster city council worker is awarded £5,000 compensation.
- 3 Lawyers of Dalvinder Kaur, who has legal custody of her brothers and sisters who are wards of court, are to press a contempt of court charge against the Home Secretary for seeking to deport her ... 4 out of 5 African-Caribbeans think junior police are prejudiced, says survey for BBC, and 70% say they have been stopped by the police.
- 8 17-year-old Quddus Ali savagely beaten in racist attack in London's East End.
- 9 Derby Tory councillor Colin Brown says black people don't use local pools because their heavy bones stop them from floating.
- 10 Nine Bengali youths charged with riot after police break up peaceful vigil outside hospital where Quddus Ali is on life support machine ... Dismissing Bradford Asian parents' appeal over discriminatory school allocation policy, High Court says it is based on where pupils live, not race.
- 11 50 BNP members rampage through east London's Brick Lane, smashing windows of Asian-owned premises and shouting racist slogans; later, hundreds of Asians march to Cable Street.
- 13 At vigil marking Stephen Lawrence's birthday, his family express anger that no one has been convicted of his murder.
- 16 Becoming first BNP councillor, Derek Beackon wins Millwall ward in Tower Hamlets by-election with 1,480 votes ... 17-year-old Ismail Ali attacked in Stepney, east London, by 4 white youths who spray acid in his eyes ... BNP member Stephen Richardson jailed for

- assault on black man following anti-racist march in south London last November.
- 17 350 Tower Hamlets council workers walk out, refusing to deal directly with Derek Beackon ... Residents mount guard to stop immigration officers removing Pakistani family in Blythe, Northumberland, as part of community's campaign against their deportation.
- 19 Day after Paddy Ashdown announces inquiry into allegations of racist campaigning by Tower Hamlets LibDem party, it is revealed that complaints about Tower Hamlets were made over 2 years ago ... Winston Churchill calls for end to immigration to prevent further BNP growth ... 33 arrested after 500 anti-nazi demonstrate against BNP leafleters in Brick Lane ... 17-year-old Paul Pye has 90 stitches after being stabbed and called a 'nigger loving bastard' in south London because his best friend is black ... 4 BNP members, including national organiser Richard Edmonds, arrested and charged after bottle attack on black man in Bethnal Green, east London.
- 20 Derek Beackon appears at court to support BNP members charged the previous day; the four are remanded in custody ... 71 illegal workers found when police and immigration officers raid Surrey farm; 18 arrested.
- 21 Ranjeet Gill, partially blinded in racist attack, condemns as 'lenient' the three-year sentences given to his attackers.
- 22 Isle of Dogs neighbourhood committee meeting postponed amid fears of disturbances.
- 23 Black woman to take legal action against her neighbour after accusing south London's Lambeth council of failing to do anything about 19 months of racial harassment.
- 24 Mark Lee and Ricky Lee jailed for life for racial murder of minicab driver Fiaz Mirza last February ... Orthodox Jews in north London to set up own bus service because London Transport leaves them vulnerable to racial attacks.
- 26 Police detain over 50 BNP members on their way to Brick Lane paper sale, then release them without charge ... Greenwich council suspends Ian Dell from his job as council estate caretaker for being BNP member.
- 29 M25 Three appeal to House of Lords rejected.
- 30 Austrian right-wing extremist Gottfried Kussel, convicted of organising neo-Nazi group, sentenced to 10 years.

- 5 Racially motivated incidents, including attacks and arson, have doubled in first 9 months of 1993, say German police.
- 6 Social services secretary Peter Lilley tells Tory party conference that foreigners are coming to Britain to get benefits.
- 7 Department of Health to tighten curbs on visitors from abroad seeking hospital treatment, says health secretary.
- 12 Police ban Unity demonstration from passing BNP Welling HQ ... John Taylor, black Tory candidate for Cheltenham in the general election, admits that racism contributed to his defeat, criticises Tory policy on race and accuses Peter Lilley of pandering to prejudices ... CRE to take Liverpool council to court for failing to comply with its 1989 order to end discrimination in housing allocation.
- 13 Black soldier awarded £6,500 damages after racist treatment.
- 15 Anti-racist and anti-semitic incidents in Golders Green, north London, have increased this year, say local police.
- 17 Six of seven Zairean asylum-seekers forcibly repatriated since June have been imprisoned, *Observer* reports, despite Home Office assurances that there was 'no evidence of danger'.
- 18 African-Caribbean Kenneth Harris attacked and repeatedly driven over by white gang at garage in Ilford, after they taunted his white girlfriend.

Stop deportations!

National demonstration in support of Prakash and Prem Chavrimootoo and against all deportations

Saturday 27 November
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Anti-Deportation Campaign
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Transport from London organised by
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October

- 1 Joy Gardner campaign accuses Police Complaints Authority of delaying investigation into her death on 1 August.
- 3 2,000 demonstrate through Brick Lane in march called by Bengali youth.
- 4 Court hears how refugee Ruhullah Aramesh was beaten to death in July 1992 at trial of gang accused of his murder.

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