



Evening Standard
LONDON, THURSDAY 3 JANUARY 1994

Where
the bright
young
things
party

**BRA BURNING
IS BACK!**

Diana and the
New Spare Mar

**STOP THIS RACE
ROW BANDWAGON**

Deportee's death
is not a black
issue, says lawyer

Bitterness and
scandal buried
with Margaret

Who's being framed?

- racist
programming
- platform for
propaganda
- out of view:
EUROPE'S DEATHS

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EDITORIAL

Unity in action

The Metropolitan police are pressing ahead with riot charges against the Tower Hamlets 9. Not since the 1980s, and the days of the Bradford 12, the Newham 8 and the Newham 7, has a case thrown up so many issues for the anti-racist movement to unite around.

The background to the case should by now be familiar. A peaceful vigil outside the Whitechapel hospital, where Quddus Ali, the victim of a brutal racist attack, lay critically ill, was attacked by police in riot gear. Nine youths were charged with riot (which carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment). Recent developments have added further twists to the predictable tale. In December, campaigners were disgusted to learn that a white youth, arrested and charged with the attempted murder of Quddus, was immediately released on bail by magistrates. Lawyers for the Tower Hamlets 9, on the other hand, have had to fight tooth and nail for the lifting of restrictive bail conditions, including the conditions that the youths should not meet in groups of more than four (which prevented them from attending meetings on their own defence), or move outside a restricted area of Tower Hamlets, and a curfew. That the police are intent on criminalising the Tower Hamlets 9 was shown in October, when broadcasting organisations were ordered to hand over film and video of the events leading up to the arrests.

At a meeting of 400 people at Stepney Green school in December (see p12), black youth of Tower Hamlets made clear what their own agenda for the TUC demonstration on 19 March would be: to stop the criminalisation of those who defend the community from the attacks that maim and kill. And they reiterated that the defence of the Tower Hamlets 9 is a continuation of the tradition of self-defence, a part of a culture of resistance.

It is now up to the anti-racist movement to seize the initiative and to help turn the case of the Tower Hamlets 9 into a national issue. And in the process, the anti-racist movement has an ideal opportunity to build the kind of unity in action that has been painfully lacking over the last few years. Rather than a forced unity imposed from above in the name of a narrow, sectarian project, we have the chance to build a unity that is 'organic, dynamic and builds from the community up: a unity that springs from serving communities under attack, that comes out of that process, and is therefore meaningful and effective'. To do anything less would be to fail the Tower Hamlets 9 and the Quddus Ali Support Committee. ■



Tower Hamlets 9 Defence Campaign, PO Box 273, London E7

Darren Jakobsen



Close down Campsfield

Oxford Trades Union Council and Oxford Against Racism and Fascism report on opposition to the Campsfield detention centre.

A month before 190 Jamaicans were detained en masse on arrival in Britain, the first detainees arrived at the new immigration prison at Kidlington, Oxford, on 29 November 1993. By the time the second minibus arrived, demonstrators were at the gates with placards bearing the slogans 'Refugees are not Criminals', 'Stop the Detentions' and 'Close down Campsfield', and the banner of Oxford Trades Union Council.

Local press, radio and Central South TV, invited in by the Home Office to view the premises and provide a favourable gloss on the opening, also covered the demonstration, interviewing demonstrators. Reporters were shown the carpeted visiting room (scrutinised by cameras), 'tuck shop' and prayer room. The Home Office briefing included the information that 'compasses will be provided so that Muslims will know they are facing Mecca'.

Campsfield House Detention Centre is a high-security unit bounded by 20-foot fences and a series of electronically operated gates. It is on the site of a former youth detention centre, away from other habitations, on the south side of Kidlington Air-

port. It is being run for profit by Group 4. By mid-December there were over 50 prisoners, most of whom are refugees and black. The 200 places at Kidlington represent most of the 330 extra capacity for detentions which the government announced in 1992.

Local opposition to the prison has built up. 'Campsfield Forum' is the name taken by a network that has met monthly since July with the principal aims of obtaining information and providing support for detainees. Bodies involved include the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, Asylum Aid, Winchester Refugee Action Group, Stop the Detentions Action Group, Oxfordshire Refugee Council, Refugees in Oxford, Oxford Trades

Union Council, and churches.

On 25 November a torchlit demonstration by about 50 people took place at Carfax crossroads, central Oxford, under the slogan 'Stop the Refugee Prison'.

Local and national speakers addressed a public meeting called by Oxford TUC in Oxford Town Hall on 16 December, and called for repeal of the immigration legislation and support for immigration detainees. The Campaign Against Campsfield, and the complementary Campsfield Forum and visitors' group will continue to meet monthly. ■

Campaign Against Campsfield: 0865-724452.
Campsfield Forum/Visitors' Group: 0865-201867;
071-359 4026.

21 December: Immigration officials at Gatwick detain 190 of 323 passengers arriving from Jamaica for four-week holiday in Britain. Immigration officers board the plane and search it before any passengers allowed to disembark, and some passengers strip-searched. Relatives waiting all day to collect passengers given no information. Nearly 60 passengers held overnight at Campsfield Detention Centre, Kidlington.

23 December: 71 admitted, 48 refused, 45 released pending further enquiries and 26 kept in detention.

25 December: Police at Gatwick refuse to allow relatives to give detainees Christmas lunch. 27 passengers deported on specially chartered Boeing 757.

26 December: Jamaican government protests at detentions and deportations. It emerges that 100 passengers on a previous flight which arrived at Gatwick on 15 December were also detained.

Here to stay here to fight

Victory for Naheed Ejaz. After living in Britain for nine years and facing constant harassment from immigration authorities who tried to strip her of her British citizenship, Naheed Ejaz won a crucial battle in her fight against deportation to Pakistan at the High Court in November.

Campaigns are continuing for others under threat of deportation. Prafulaben Gohil, Joan Christie, Sally Morton, Hemlata Patel and Prakash Chavrimootoo all face deportation under the 'one year' rule after leaving violent husbands within 12 months of marriage.

The West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign has also taken up the case of Dexter Sewell, refused entry to Britain from Jamaica on the grounds that his wife does not earn



enough to support the couple. His wife earns £12,000 and is employed in the Education Department at Birmingham City Council!

The Rahman family from Bolton are still fighting deportation to Djibouti, threatened despite their need of specialist medical treatment only available in Britain. An appeal is expected to be heard in the summer.

Their supporters have produced a campaigning video for use by trade unions and Labour party branches, outlining the racist history of immigration controls and the struggle of the Rahman family against deportation. ■

Copies of the video are available for £10 from the Rahman Family Defence Campaign, 16 Wood Street, Bolton BL1 1DY.
West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign, 101 Villa Road, Birmingham B19.

Mark Salmon

Deadly Europe

If this article were to be the subject of a television documentary, it would contain a pre-screening warning: the facts you are going to be presented with are extremely disturbing. Below we examine all those deaths in western Europe in 1993 due in some way to racism.

FAR RIGHT

CARF documented 66 deaths last year in western Europe. Of the 75 cases we have uncovered this year, a staggering 52 took place in Germany (last year the figure was 25). Forty-one of those 52 murders are believed to have been connected to the far right.



Germany: news black-out

And yet, even this, the very barest of facts, is difficult to say with any certainty, reflecting the scarcity of information there is on the situation on the ground in Germany. For, despite the attention given to the trial of Lars

Christiansen and Michael Peters for the 1992 Mölln firebombings, in which a Turkish woman and two girls died, the simple fact is that murder after murder in Germany is going unacknowledged and uninvestigated. The Mölln trial, which resulted in Peters being jailed for life, has allowed the German government to say: 'look how tough we are, look how we are cracking down on the fascists'. But the reality is that there is a virtual news black-out, with only Left newspapers like *Die Tageszeitung* providing any reliable information.

True, when the killings are carried out on the streets by neo-nazi gangs,

it's difficult for the police to suppress the facts. But as arson is becoming a favoured tactic of the racists, the pattern behind the attacks is easier to suppress. After arson attacks at Heppenheim and Mannheim, for instance, the police responded by saying that these killings were not racially motivated, yet failed to enlighten us as to what other possible motive there could be for wiping out whole families in their sleep. A far-right students' convention was taking place when the fire in Coburg occurred, in which four Turks were injured and one German died. Rather than close the convention down, the police withheld information on the deaths in order, it is believed, to prevent any anti-fascist demonstration from taking place.

It almost seems as if any explanation will do, as long as it's not a racial one. A fire in Berlin, started in the basement underneath a Kurdish restaurant, which took the lives of a German



DEATHS IN 1993

BELGIUM

12 May: ■ Abdel Haq, 21, shot in the head by Brussels café-owner. (R)
11 September: ■ Omar, 15, killed by café-owner in Liege. (R)

DENMARK

August: ■ Bosnian refugee girl, 7, killed by psychiatric patient in Ribe. (R)

FRANCE

April: ■ Makone M'Bowle, 17, shot by police officer whilst being interrogated in a police station in Paris. (P) ■ Pascal Tais, 32, Arab immigrant, died of a ruptured spleen in police custody in Arachon. (P) ■ Rachid Ardjouni, 17, Arab immigrant, shot in the head by police in Wattrelos, northern France. (P) **September:** ■ André Nkala, 23, Zairean, committed suicide following police identity check. (S)
October: ■ Linda Benzounai, 22, French-Algerian, shot by police during a road block in Givors, Rhone. (P)

GERMANY

January: ■ Kerstin Winter, 24, lesbian and anti-fascist activist, killed after opening parcel bomb in Freiburg. (FR) ■ Lebanese man, 38, found shot in the hallway of a council house. (FR) ■ Turkish man, 35, stabbed to death in Berlin. (FR) ■ Refugee from the former Yugoslavia shot dead in Frankfurt. (FR) ■ Italian man, 55, shot dead in Offenbach. (FR) ■ Syrian man, 35, shot dead. (FR) **4 January:** ■ Ghanaian man, 33, committed suicide after hearing he was to be deported. (S)
18 January: ■ German man, 46, killed in Thuringen, east Germany,

by skinheads who drove a car over his body. (FR)

21 January: ■ Romanian asylum-seeker, 21, shot and killed in a police station in Strassfurt, Sachsen-Anhalt. (P) **23 January:** ■ Punk killed by a right-wing heavy-metal fan in Schlotheim. (FR) ■ Two homeless Germans burnt to death in arson attack in Arnstadt. (FR) **February:** ■ Olay Haydenblu, anti-fascist, found dead in his apartment in Suhl, Thuringen. (FR) ■ Mabilia Mavinga, 30, Zairean refugee, found dead near a railway station near Berlin. He appeared to have been hurled out of a moving train. (FR) **26 February:** ■ Mike Kern, 22, anti-fascist, killed in Hoyerswerda by skinheads who crushed his body under a car. (FR) **10 March:** ■ Mustafa Demiral, Turkish man, 56, died of a heart attack in Mühlheim after being beaten by two members of the Republikaner party. They first carried out a mock execution by placing a pistol to his temple and pretending to shoot him in the neck. (FR) **14 April:** ■ Three Turks, including two children, die in a mystery blaze in Mannheim. (FR) **23 April:** ■ Asylum-seeker from Senegal, 25, found hanging in police cell in Eislingen. (S) **26 April:** ■ Matthias Luders, German, 23, died after being beaten by a gang of skinheads, who carried out a commando-style raid on disco popular with anarchists in Obhausen. (FR) **20 May:** ■ German man died after arson attack on house in Coburg where Turks lived. (FR) ■ Russian soldier, 22, stabbed to death in Schwerin. (FR) **21 May:** ■ German soldier, 20, killed in Göttingen by neo-nazis who mistook him for a foreigner. (FR) **26 May:** ■ Three Eritrean refugee children, aged 1, 2 and 4, died in suspected fascist arson attack in Heppenheim. (FR) **29 May:** ■ Two Turkish women, Gursun and Hatice Ince, aged 27 and 18, died in the

Code: R Racism; FR Far Right (known or believed); P Police; S Suicide; UM Unsolved Murder.

EUROPEAN-WIDE: European Parliament elections, June 1994, to be held in all 12 EU countries. At present there are far-right MEPs elected from Belgium (Vlaams Blok 1), France (FN 10), Germany (Republikaner and others 6) and Italy (MSI 4, Northern League 2). The far Right in all



Alessandra Mussolini

these countries, and also in the Netherlands, is expected to improve its vote over that of 1989, when elections were last held.

BELGIUM: Local elections, autumn 1994. The fascist Vlaams Blok will hope to do even better than they did in the 1988 local elections and the 1991 general election, where they gained a quarter of the votes in Antwerp.

GERMANY: General election, autumn 1994. The fascists of the Republikaner party, following recent far-right electoral gains, are being treated by the other political parties as a serious challenge and could win seats in the German parliament (at present they have one).

HUNGARY: General election due 1994. The newly-formed Hungarian Life and Freedom party, led by the notorious anti-Semite Istvan Csurkas, who was expelled

from the Hungarian Democratic Forum in 1993, will be putting forward candidates for the first time.

ITALY: General election expected in the next three months. In the mayoral elections last December, the fascist MSI and the racist Northern League did well, and they would expect to replicate this.

NETHERLANDS: General election due before June 1994. Support for the fascist Centrum Democraten is extremely small, but growing. They could possibly increase MPs from one to two or three.

UK: Local council elections, May 1994. While support for the fascist BNP nationally is insignificant, it will look to target key wards in a handful of areas, hoping for a repeat of the Millwall success of last year.

woman and her four-year-old son, was probably caused by criminal delinquents or the homeless, said police. What they didn't acknowledge was that a few days prior to the fire, swastikas had been painted in the courtyard and hallway of the building.

In so many of the cases we have documented here, we don't even know the names of the dead – proof, beyond any other measure, of the small value that is placed on a 'foreigner's' life in the new, united Germany.

Spain: Franco revival

Apart from Germany, Spain was the only other country to experience deaths in the far-right category. After 18-year-old Guillem Agullo, a member of Skinheads

Against Racial Prejudice, was stabbed to death with a flick-knife, fascists ran through the streets shouting 'Long live Spain, long live Franco.' And it was after the annual Franco celebrations in Madrid in November that 27-year-old Jesus Sanchez was killed. Skinheads beat him so badly that he suffered a fractured skull and a huge hole to the head which led to his death from cerebral contusions and cranial bleeding. It seems that the skinheads had picked on Sanchez when they spotted him smoking a joint.

Although Spain has no mainstream electoral fascist party as such, nostalgia for the Franco dictatorship (which was supported in the war years by Mussolini and Hitler) has always been a strong element in post-war far-right parties.

According to a report published by German intelligence sources in November, the Spanish neo-nazi group CEDADE, which through its publishing wing, 'Europa Editions', provides racist and revisionist materials for the European neo-nazi movement, is the greatest source of assistance to nazi groups in Germany and Austria. ➡

Death in western Europe: the toll for 1993

Far Right murders (known or believed)	43
Racist murders	16
Death by police brutality or neglect	8
Suicide provoked by official racism	7
Unsolved murders	1
Total:	75

GERMANY cont...

Solingen fire alongside three girls, Saime Genc, 5, Hulya, 9, and Gulistan Osturk, 13. (FR) ■ Turkish woman, 29, and two young children killed in a fire at their apartment in Mannheim. (FR) 10 June: ■ Mozambican man died after fire broke out at a hostel for 150 former contract workers in Dresden. (FR) 17 June: ■ Kurdish refugee, 41, shot and killed in front of a refugee hostel in Dulmen by nazis. (FR) ■ Vietnamese man, Hung Va Quant, shot and killed in Berlin. (UM) 19 June: ■ German woman, 29, and her son, 4, died after arsonists started a fire in a basement underneath a Kurdish restaurant, previously daubed with swastikas, in the Kreuzberg area of Berlin. (FR) 28 June: ■ Romanian refugee, 26, stabbed to death by a German man in a park in Mulhausen. (FR) July: ■ Lebanese woman, 23, committed suicide in a Berlin prison after being told she would be deported. (S) 24 July: ■ African, 30, stabbed to death in Hamburg-St Pauli. (R) 19 September: ■ Horst T, 51, beaten with iron bars and then burnt with petrol by neo-nazis who dumped his body into a canal in Werneuchen. (FR) ■ Sujitha Puvaneswaran, 13, Tamil girl, found dead in the forest in Mindergangelt. (R/P) 25 September: ■ Polish youth, 18, stabbed to death by two Germans after fight in a pub in Gross-Zimmern. (FR) October: ■ Sri Lankan man, German wife, and two children, 1 and 3, died in fire in Bad Wildungen, near Frankfurt. (R) ■ Mentally handicapped man, 28, beaten to death by unidentified attackers in Berlin. (FR) 25 December: ■ Turkish man killed in arson attack on refugee home in Kaltenkirchen. (FR)

ITALY

September: ■ Tarzan Sulic, 11, Roma, shot in police custody in Padua. (P)

NETHERLANDS

6 January: ■ Huseyin Koksai died from blood clot to brain after being forcibly arrested by the police. (P) March: ■ Zulbiye Gunduz, 12, Turkish girl, murdered outside her home by a man described as 'psychotic'. (R) 25 May: ■ Kadir Akdemir, Turkish man, 35, committed suicide after suffering a campaign of racial harassment. (S/R) August: ■ Ethiopian youth, 19, shot dead by Dutch youths in Dordrecht. (R) 21 August: ■ Naïma Quaghamiri, 9, girl, drowned in a lake in Rotterdam whilst bystanders made no attempt to help. (R)

SPAIN

April: ■ Guillem Agullo, 18, killed by neo-nazis in Montanejos, L'horta Nord province. (FR) 5 June: ■ Ben Amar Cheringuene, north African, killed after being beaten and thrown off the 'Expresso del Sol' – the night train from Malaga to Madrid. (R) November: ■ Jesus Sanchez, 27, killed by a gang of skinheads following Franco celebrations. (FR)

UNITED KINGDOM

17 March: ■ Fiaz Mirza, Asian taxi-driver, murdered in east London. (R) ■ Turan Pekoz, Kurdish asylum-seeker, set fire to himself at immigration centre. (S) April: ■ Stephen Lawrence, 18, African-Caribbean youth, stabbed to death in Eltham, south-east London. (R) June: ■ Sohan Sanghera committed suicide in Gravesend after being charged with carrying offensive weapons to defend himself from racists. (S) 1 August: ■ Joy Gardner, Jamaican woman, 40, died during attempted deportation. (P) November: ■ Ali Ibrahim, Sudanese refugee, stabbed to death in Brighton. (R)

RACISM

The deaths we document in this section, from Belgium, the UK, Netherlands, Spain and Italy, are hard to categorise, throwing up a myriad of issues. What links them, though, is the refusal of the courts and society as a whole to acknowledge the racial dimension.

Individual neurosis and mob hysteria

As we argued in our review of 1992, many killings reveal a neurotic hatred of immigrants. In Belgium, the killings of two young Arabs fit into this category. For what other explanation can there be for the shooting of 21-year-old immigrant **Abdel Haq** in the head by a Brussels café owner who had previously said, 'The first Arab I get my hands on, I'll shoot.' Or why a café owner in Liege took a massive sledge-hammer to a 15-year-old Moroccan boy who stood outside the café talking to his friends. The café owner, who has been charged with manslaughter and not murder, justified his savagery by saying he wanted the pavement cleared. Although witnesses said that racist remarks were made before and after the incident, the police ruled out a racial motive.

Racist acts are not confined to crazed individuals, but form a sort of collective mob hysteria. Although Italy (where there were anti-immigrant riots this year), has not experienced any deaths in this category, mob violence on a frightening scale swept through that country from July onwards, directed in the main against African migrant workers. In the most horrendous attack, 500 African migrant workers were forced to flee under police escort from the south-eastern region of Puglia, after locals launched a 'black hunt'.

Indifference and institutionalised racism

The other side of mob hysteria is mass indifference. One of the most upsetting cases we came across this year was that of 9-year-old **Naïma Quaghmiri**, who drowned in the waters of a shallow lake in Rotterdam after her rubber dinghy suddenly turned over. There were 200 people present at the scene, whose indifference to the little girl's fate was caught on video. According to the police, these 'spectators' refused to form a cordon with firemen in order to search for the body underwater (at this point Naïma could still have been saved). Racist remarks were made by bystanders, to the effect that the young



girl was only an immigrant, and perhaps an 'illegal immigrant' at that.

We will never know the full story of the crowd's complicity in Naïma Quaghmiri's death. Rotterdam police wanted to take further action against those who refused to intervene, but the public prosecutor decided that no further action was necessary.

Indifference is not confined to the crowd. Two cases of suicide this year were a direct result of institutional failure to protect the individual from the mental and physical torments of racism.

According to the Democratic Federation of Turkish Workers in the Netherlands, 'institutionalised racism' is to blame for the suicide of 35-year-old **Kadir Adkemir**, who had suffered continuous racist harassment by neighbours. In one instance, they had burst into his home and destroyed all his possessions. His repeated requests for help to the Housing Association were not taken seriously. Finally Mr Adkemir turned up at the Housing Association office with a bucket of

petrol and set fire to himself.

In the UK, **Sohan Sanghera** carried a knife and a cosh to protect himself from racists who had been responsible for a wave of violence in Gravesend during which an elderly Sikh man was beaten around the head by a white youth with a piece of wood. But it was Mr Sanghera who was arrested. He committed suicide after being found guilty of being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Gang violence and criminality

There are three deaths in this category, two in the UK (**Fiaz Mirza** and **Ali Ibrahim**) and one in Spain.

Mark Lee, 22, and 19-year-old Ricky Lee lured Fiaz Mirza to a deserted part of the docklands where they beat him and robbed him before throwing him and his car into the dock. Mark Lee's step-mother gave evidence to the police after she heard the two murderers boasting about their actions as they laughed and imitated a 'Paki accent', saying 'Vit, vit, ding, ding, slosh'. After being sentenced, in one of the few cases where courts have recognised a racial motive for the murder, Mark Lee made cut-throat gestures to Asians in the gallery and snarled abuse at the police.

The drunken murderers of north African **Ben Amar Cheringuene**, whose dismembered body was found lying on the Malaga-Madrid railway line, showed the same repulsive lack of concern when confronted with the implications of their actions. The murderers were two men recently released from jail. They beat the north African in the train corridor and then threw him off for no other reason than that he had had the misfortune to walk into their compartment when they were having sex with their girlfriends.

When the police boarded the train to make arrests, the two couples were still there, apparently unperturbed. They



The inquest into Stephen Lawrence's death was adjourned in December after new witnesses came forward with evidence that could lead to the arrest of his attackers.

had not even thought to clean up the bloodstains in the compartment or in the corridor outside. They confessed to the murder and that they hated Arabs.

POLICING

New, harsh citizenship and asylum laws across Europe are being backed up by aggressive policing and identity

checks that are leading to a climate of fear and a culture of brutality. The situation is at its most serious in France, where five people have died, although Italy and the Netherlands have also experienced deaths in this category.

Europe's new 'Sus' laws

One of the first actions of France's right-wing Gaullist administration, on

taking office in April, was to introduce a new immigration bill backed by measures to legalise random police identity checks and hasten expulsions – all part of a philosophy of 'zero immigration'.

Even as Pasqua announced his draconian law-and-order package, three north African men were killed by the police. **Makone M'Bowle**, 17, was shot in the head at point blank range while being interrogated at a Paris police station. The police officer claimed that he was only trying to intimidate the suspect by putting a gun to his head. **Pascal Tais**, 32, died of a ruptured spleen in police custody. Police said that the blow that ruptured his spleen was self-inflicted.

'Sus' policing is not confined to France; nor is the failure to bring to book the police killers of black people. No police officer is to face charges following the death of **Huseyin Koksai**, forcibly arrested by the police in the early hours of the morning in Venlo, the Netherlands. Mr Koksai had got out of his car because he was feeling sick. The police suspected him of being drunk. He lay unattended in a police station for eleven hours and died 24 hours later. The cause of his death was a blood clot to the brain.

In Italy, a 11-year-old Roma child became the latest victim of a prejudice that dates back centuries. **Tarzan Sulik** was shot dead whilst allegedly trying to escape from police custody – although why he and his 13-year-old cousin were locked in a police cell, unaccompanied by any adult, is anyone's guess. According to police, Tarzan, with the skill of a 'true pickpocket', had spirited a pistol from a police officer's holster. When the officer tried to retrieve it, his pistol went off accidentally. A public inquiry is under way.

Vulnerability of status

Of course, those who are the most vulnerable to 'Sus' policing are those whose citizenship or asylum status is not assured. In France, in September, a 23-year-old Zairean drowned when he jumped into the River Seine. Police were not satisfied with the photocopy of a provisional French residence permit he produced at an identity check. In Germany, two suicides of asylum-seekers threatened with deportation also occurred in 1993.

It is small wonder that asylum-seekers live in fear of any contact with the police. In Germany, a Romanian was shot dead in a police station, allegedly whilst trying to escape. And in the UK, the ultimate vulnerability

RESTRICTING REFUGEE RIGHTS

The European war against immigrants and asylum-seekers has intensified. CARF examines the grim trends in forcible repatriations and detentions.

NEW LAWS

There were new asylum laws in virtually every European country in 1993. Their purpose: to institutionalise into legal practice the political ideology of keeping refugees out, by adopting 'fast-track' procedures to deal with 'bogus' or so-called manifestly unfounded asylum claims.

CRIMINALISATION

Being imprisoned on arrival is not the only way in which asylum-seekers have been criminalised. In several European countries, politicians and police have accused them of crime and have called for their deportation regardless of the risks facing them at home. In Belgium and Switzerland, new laws allow for prolonged detention of asylum-seekers and other foreigners deemed to be a threat to public order.

Asylum-seekers are also being accused of terrorist activity in their host countries. In Germany the Kurdish liberation groups Dev-Sol and the PKK were banned in November. Fears of Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism were the justification for massive coordinated raids in France in early December.

DEPORTATION

European leaders came together in June 1993 to agree new measures to ensure that all undocumented or 'illegal' immigrants were detected and expelled as quickly and efficiently as possible. In Britain, it was only with the death of Joy Gardner in August 1993 that the existence of the secret deportation police squad was known. In France, trains to Marseilles were commandeered by interior minister Pasqua for the sole purpose of deportations.

INTERNAL CONTROLS

The institutions of what used to be called the welfare state have been recruited in the repatriation project. Housing authorities in Britain were told by the Court of Appeal in April to report applicants they suspected of being illegal to the Home Office and to deny them housing. The Home Office followed this up in October by announcing new measures of multi-agency cooperation in the detection of illegal immigrants. Asylum-seekers had their housing rights reduced in the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act in July.

In the rest of Europe, entitlement to benefits has been linked to immigration status for many years. But European leaders agreed in June to redouble their efforts to squeeze out immigrants and asylum-seekers by adopting common internal control measures. In Austria, a new law in July ordered the deportation of foreigners who had less than 10m² of space per person in their home and less than a specified income.

BORDER CONTROLS

Rejection of asylum-seekers at the borders, and mass repatriation and expulsion of entire groups of refugees, is on the increase. Germany expelled 23,000 Romanians in the twelve months to October 1993. Switzerland expelled 1,300 ethnic Albanians to Kosovo in 1993, despite recognising that human rights are not guaranteed there, and has signed an agreement with Sri Lanka enabling it to begin the forced repatriation of several thousand Tamils from the country. Austria, which has since 1990 deployed 2,000 military personnel at its borders, turned away 77,000 people in the first six months of 1993. All asylum-seekers who go to Germany through Poland are immediately expelled back to Poland under an agreement between the two countries. All asylum-seekers arriving in Britain at Dover are returned to France or Belgium. And France amended its constitution at the end of the year to enable it to do the same.

of black people at the point of deportation was revealed by the death of Joy Gardner, who collapsed when a special deportation squad sealed her mouth with adhesive tape and restrained her with a leather body belt.

CHILDREN

Of the 75 deaths we have reported here, 17 have been of children under the age of 15. In Germany, nine children under the age of 5 have died in nazi-inspired arson attacks. We have already mentioned the death of Tarzan Sulik at the hands of the Italian police. But a culture of police indifference to 'foreigners' in Germany also played a part in the tragic death of 13-year-old Sujitha Puvaneswaran.

The remains of Sujitha's burnt body were found in a forest in September after she had gone missing from her home some 23 days earlier. The police, who were immediately informed of her disappearance, refused to launch a search, saying it was not their responsibility. They even used the media to put forward the view that Sujitha's Sri Lankan parents killed her themselves when they found that she had a boyfriend. Meanwhile, the distraught family, helped by neighbours, launched their own search and pointed out that there had been several sexual assaults on children in the area prior to Sujitha's disappearance.

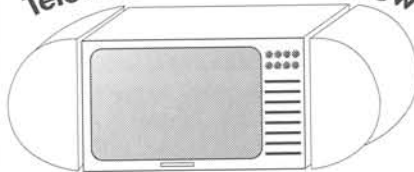
Two other little girls died this year, victims of Europe's indifference to the safety of refugee children.

Authorities in Denmark say there was no racial element to the killing by a psychiatric patient of a 7-year-old girl from Bosnia. But the Danish refugee community wants to know why a man who lived in the closed wing of a nearby psychiatric institution, was allowed to work as a gardener in the asylum centre area where the girl lived. They are asking why no action was taken when, on previous occasions, residents at the centre had complained to the staff about the man's behaviour after he had asked small girls to sit next to him on a tractor.

In the Netherlands, 12-year-old Zulbiye Gunduz was murdered by a disturbed man previously reported to the police for his violent behaviour. Even before the homeless man took a broken-off table leg to Zulbiye, the girl's family had asked the authorities to transfer them from the area. No action was forthcoming until the day after Zulbiye died, when the authorities came up with a new home. 'My child is dead, what must I do with another house?' answered Mr Gunduz. ■

Two TV studio discussions about fascism, BBC's *After Millwall* and Channel 4's *Bloody Foreigners*, have raised fundamental questions about the 'No Platform' policy and when we should, and when we should not, participate in studio programmes about fascism. Following criticism from many of those who participated in *Bloody Foreigners* and were later furious to see the kind of platform it gave to the European far Right, Channel 4's commissioning editor for religion and talks, Nicholas Fraser, writing in the media page of the *Guardian* (29.11.93), defended its screening, arguing that 'television must uphold freedom of speech - even for racists'. It's time anti-fascists took a long, hard look at 'No Platform' and what it means both for us and for journalists. Some of Fraser's arguments provide us with the opportunity to clarify our position.

Television: Do Not Swallow



Fraser argues:

'Anti-racists want a broadcasting ban imposed on all parties or individuals who they consider to be racist.'

CARF says: Not true. CARF is opposed to all state and media bans which only serve the interests of censorship. To equate 'No platform' with bans is to interpret 'No platform' mechanically, rather than politically. 'No platform' does not mean a ban on reporting or investigating fascists and fascism. We are not saying don't give them a platform in the literal sense of banishing them from the screens. But what we are saying is that journalists should be aware of the power the medium of television gives the fascists to propagandise and present their violent, anti-democratic creed in acceptable terms.

One of the most powerful weapons we have at our disposal in unmasking the nazis, and educating the wider public about fascism's undemocratic nature, is television. But television aids the fascists when it gives the nazis an open platform to

No platform

put forward the palatable, respectable image that they want to present. Denying them this opportunity is what we mean by 'No platform'.

The first duty of any decent journalist is not merely to uphold freedom of speech, but to protect it from being debased and degraded.

It's easy to uphold freedom of speech—you just give licence to everyone to say what they like. But to protect it from being abused is to take on a more questioning and self-critical role in terms of how such abuse could lead to an abuse of the first freedom, the freedom to life itself.

In the absence of an awareness of these issues amongst journalists, the only tool we, anti-fascists, have at our disposal is to refuse to participate in programmes that we consider irresponsible and dangerous. That is our responsibility. Rather than see this as a threat, broadcasters should be thankful that there are groups in society acting as a watchdog on them.

'In the defence of freedom of speech, consistency is the most important quality. How else can broadcasters coherently oppose the broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein?'

This is disingenuous. When have broadcasters defied the state ban (which, if nothing else, has tarnished the image of British television around the world), on the grounds of freedom of speech for Sinn Fein? Where broadcasters have lobbied against the ban, the argument they have used is that the British state, by imposing the ban, is preventing journalists from doing their job properly. They argue that they should be allowed to interview members of Sinn Fein in order to put them on the spot about IRA violence.

All we ask is that they do the same with the fascists, put them on the spot. That is consistency.

'Anti-racists won't sit with the BNP or debate with them.'

True. Fascism is not a set of ideas that can be politely discussed—it is a violent, undemocratic creed. As anti-fascists, we want to defeat fascism. By debating with the fascists, rather than relegating them to the margins of society where they belong, we are helping to bring fascist views into

the mainstream of political debate. Our business is to deny them the oxygen of publicity in as much as they deny black citizens the right to breathe whatever free air there is in this country.



‘You cannot defend free societies by means of censorship.’

However, two points need to be borne in mind. First, freedom of speech also brings with it certain responsibilities, in particular the responsibility not to violate other people's freedoms. One is only as free as the next man or woman is allowed to be. My freedom ceases where yours begins.

'Allowing such people to be interviewed, gives them a platform, confers respectability or legitimacy, argue anti-racists. It needn't and that

True, to some extent. But what is false is to defend *Bloody Foreigners* (of which Nicholas Fraser was the commissioning editor) on this basis. Programmes like this show that broadcasters have not looked at the question of how some formats 'confer respectability', whilst others don't. An investigative documentary, for instance, can undermine the respectability of fascists by producing hard facts about their criminal actions, involvement in violence, anti-democratic nature, etc. Even a TV studio discussion, if preceded by a short film that puts the facts and then is followed by a grilling of the fascists



Unfortunately, though, the present vogue within television is to *debate* fascism, rather than *investigate* the fascists. The favoured format is a studio discussion with fascists (or in the case of *After Millwall*, BNP voters), on the one hand, and anti-fascists, on the other. Within this approach, the presenter becomes neutral; he or she merely adjudicates between two opposing views which, under the spurious rubric of balance, are equally valid. To have a truly balanced discussion, however, about something as unbalanced as fascism, you need in the first instance to examine that 'un-balance'.

This is lazy and irresponsible journalism. On a subject like racism, it's the programme-makers' responsibility to unearth the facts and present the audience with the truth. But even when hard statistics have been readily available, as was the case in the Millwall programme, the journalists have neither availed themselves of the facts nor, allegedly, used them when they were made available.

Rubbish. This is Channel 4/BBC elitism at its worst. Why should broadcasters be any different from any other section of society? Even the police accept that they must follow certain guidelines to ensure good race relations. Why should broadcasters be free to make mistakes and not accept the ensuing criticism? This is the worst type of non-accountability and arrogance. ■

Today anything controversial which grabs an audience, especially if it involves sex and violence, is fair game for black TV slots. What happened to the struggles against racism in the media?

Fighting racism in the media

Twenty-five years ago, black actors and actresses were either completely absent from films, plays and soaps or fighting against the stereotyped parts they were being offered – eg, as prostitutes, petty criminals, low grade hospital staff or, at best, singers and dancers. As in the USA, black parts here served to reinforce the 'roles' that racism allowed black people in society. And current affairs programmes treated blacks only as problems – as causing crime, as being too numerous.

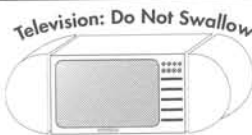
Groups like the Campaign Against Racism in the Media, which grew up to oppose popular racism and the fascists' access to the media in the mid-1970s, successfully campaigned against the showing of overtly racist sitcoms such as *It ain't half hot Mum* and *Mind your language*. But CARM did more. It began to analyse how racism got into every aspect of programme-making – into shots, into format, into the ways debate was 'framed'. It even began to look at the portrayal of the Third World in the British media.

Black Media Workers' Group

But, when CARM gave way to the Black Media Workers' Group, much of the in-depth analysis passed out of the debate about racism in the media. The BMWG, an unofficial trade union of black journalists and media workers, had a simple belief: if more black people were behind the camera and in production it would lead to more black people on screen and 'blacker' perspectives in programmes.

The ghetto slot

The first current affairs programme with black researchers/ presenters, *Skin*, came from London Weekend Television and was transmitted on a Sunday lunchtime (when, presumably, LWT hoped few people would watch). From the outset, the programmes did not so much examine the black experience of British society and therefore expose racism, as examine the internal,



cultural problems of minority communities. When CARF and others challenged the programme-makers about the superficial, dangerous and stereotypical views they were conveying, their defence was: 'That is what people want to watch'.

The reactionary nature of the programmes was reinforced by the way that the Afro-Caribbean and Asian experiences were divided into two separate series of programmes – one 'black', one Asian. (It was in the media that the term black, which had originally included all non-white peoples experiencing racism in the UK, first became restricted to people of African and Caribbean descent.) *Ebony*, *Babylon*, *Black on Black*, *All Black* have been the programmes for Afro-Caribbeans that came from this mould. *East*, *Network East*, *Eastern Eye* have been the slots for the Asian community.

Black people had agitated about the racism in the media and the restricted access for black people. The result was this 30 minutes per week of transmission made by and for 'black' and Asian individuals. Not only were groups being ethnically defined and separated from each other by the TV companies, but these slots effectively cordoned off their concerns from the rest of TV. 'Look', the companies could say, 'what we are doing for them. We've given them their own programmes.' Very soon these ethnic programmes became known as the 'ghetto slot'.

The black media:

Buying the white format

It soon became apparent that such programmes presented another problem. Black programme-makers did not dare to be partisan. They conformed to the ideas of neutrality and impartiality in white broadcasting and were busy 'balancing' racism in the studio discussion. When John Fernandes exposed rampant racism at Hendon Police Training College, *Eastern Eye* put Commissioner Richard Wells and his own hand-picked black recruits in the studio to refute it!

Issues for debate

With the advent of Channel 4 in the early 1980s and commissions from independent companies, new debates began to open up. A. Sivanandan asked that black journalists and programme-makers try to bring a black/Third World perspective to mainstream current affairs programmes, rather than remain in the 'ghetto slot'. 'We have to stop tackling only ethnic themes and look at every aspect of British society from the vantage point of the black experience'.

On the other hand Farrukh Dhondy, himself author of sitcoms like *Tandoori Nights* and *No Problem* and who became commissioning editor of multicultural programmes for Channel 4, pushed the line that, 'If whites can take sitcoms about Cockneys, blacks will have to do the same'. Objecting to the use of black



Doing it with you is taboo – voyeuristic programming on mixed-race relationships

from resistance to ratings

films and plays to plug blackness and anti-racism, he called for a broader depiction of black communities wherein all their complexities and internal differences and problems could be transmitted. He welcomed Kureishi's *My beautiful launderette* because, he said, 'It had broken the barrier that all [black] art must be community relations art'.

Other black journalists also wanted to leave community relations arts and black problems behind them because they were themselves entering the professional middle class. They asked for more positive images and programmes which focused on black achievement.



Darcus Howe: advocate or buffoon?

But nowhere were the principal issues, which remain problems today, fully addressed. How do you present differences within the black community on TV in a country riddled with racism? When is it legitimate to 'protect' groups from certain types of journalism, and when does this shade into an inverted racism of paternalism? How can black media workers be honest journalists without reinforcing stereotypes? Do they have a 'public service' role for their own communities or are they speaking to everyone? Should characterisation of black people in dramas and soap operas veer towards realism or positive images, or is there a possible synthesis? Are we to judge black programmes solely in terms of how many people watch them?

Sensationalism and shit-stirring

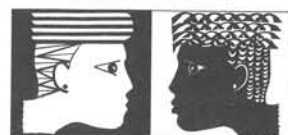
Today these questions have become more pressing. Ethnicised TV is becoming institutionalised; its makers no longer seem to want to

leave the ghetto. Instead they exploit it through sensationalism and voyeuristic, as opposed to investigative and analytical, journalism. Lurid 'exposés' about black 'rent boys', the hiring of thugs to find runaway girls in the Asian community, Asian dancing girls who are in fact prostitutes, the fraud of marriages of convenience, gun-culture in the black community, sex-life in mixed relationships, are some of the recent offerings.

This kind of journalism is not confined to the multicultural unit of the BBC (which took over where LWT left off), but has spread to Channel 4's black output and even into mainstream programmes like *Panorama*. If white people had made such 'tabloid' programmes they would have been pilloried. But now TV channels have assured black mediamen who go on the air and justify such voyeurism as journalistic bravery. The pretence at dethroning black sacred cows in *Devil's Advocate* amounts to no more than treading on some people's toes and sensibilities in the cause of promoting one cynic's view. Yet critics of such programmes are being written off as reactionary censors. And where the new programmes are not merely putting community dirt under the microscope, they attempt to manipulate black opinions by gathering a cross-section of views and pitting one against the other, so that they all cancel each other out in so-called studio 'debates'.

So, just after Derek Beackon's BNP election victory, it was black programme-makers who invited members of the BNP into the studio. A far cry from the 1977 CARM/ANL campaign to 'pull the plugs on the nazi thugs'. Apart from *Bandung File* and *Rear Window* (both of which have been removed by Channel 4), no programmes have challenged the dominant reactionary pattern. And nowhere is the issue of black media morality (politics is, presumably, now too big and dangerous a word) being debated. In today's market-led media world where everything is about ratings and 'entertainment', it is crucial to have the debate now, and in the open, before the battle is completely lost. ■

REVIEW



Available from the London Borough of Greenwich

RaceTracks a resource pack for tackling racism with young people

RaceTracks is packed with a plethora of tools and suggestions for tackling racism with young people (11-21), primarily within a youth club setting. The pack is divided into six compact units, each ending with an action plan check list, materials for further reading or useful contact addresses. Unit 1 sets the basis for doing any anti-racist work with young people. Unit 2 deals with the administration of anti-racist work within an institutional framework, codes of conduct, staff recruitment etc. Unit 3 is a solid historical analysis of British racism in textual and graphical form, a kind of mosaic from 18th-century Britain to the present day. Unit 4 gives insights about responding to racist activities within an institutional framework, while Unit 5 delineates a positive view of black culture.

Although produced for the London Borough of Greenwich Education Service, its content is perfectly adaptable to any location. Only Unit 6, which contains very specific statistical and demographic data about Greenwich, would need to be radically altered. Not very explicit is the independent black resistance to racism, though reading through the resource list at the end of each section, that particular response can be gleaned. Some more details on how youth workers can deal with issues of racism within the context of a management hostile to tackling such issues might also have been useful. ■

Resisting attack, building unity

At a meeting of 400 people at Stepney Green school in Tower Hamlets in December, black speakers described the kind of unity and action that is needed in Tower Hamlets today.

Charges against the Tower Hamlets 9 arose from the attempt to criminalise a whole generation of young people. The Campaign was launched to provoke action by the community, to demand that the charges be dropped, and that charges be brought against the police who provoked that riot. If you want to know whose riot it was, it was a police riot... Anti-racism and anti-fascism are now trendy issues. Let's be clear: if you're not going to take on the police you're not an anti-racist. The police are one of the main problems in terms of racial violence and racism in this country. We have to take them on. If you're not there with us, we're not interested in you. In all the hype and all the propaganda, we want people to firmly place the police on the agenda. It's the police we deal with as well as the BNP, as well as the racists.

Hossein Zahir, Tower Hamlets 9 Defence Campaign

Racism is a national issue. If it's a national issue in a democratic country like Great Britain, why is there no debate in parliament? Why aren't politicians doing something about it? They can't just expect to brush it under the carpet and hope it will go away. We're making a lot of noise about it, we're getting arrested and beaten up, and now we expect politicians to do something back... We must have unity. We shouldn't be bickering with each other. Even the media have picked up on it, and we've let ourselves down. If our cause is common, why can't we work together? Our ideas might be different, but at the end of the day we've all got to aim at the same thing. We, the youth, look up to the community leaders and the adults and the organisations and the politicians. Give us something to look up to, give us something to follow, you be our role model. We haven't a command structure or a lot of education, we only go by what we see and what the politicians do. If everyone makes false promises then that's what we're going to do and then that's not going to work, for the little ones following us will do the same thing.

Khosru Uddin, Youth Connections

The reason Bangladeshi young people are victims of racial attacks is because of the circumstances created by local politicians... Bangladeshi youth are no longer prepared to be blamed for the cuts in services in this borough. We are

no longer prepared to be pushed about by politicians or fascist thugs in the street. We will fight back with the necessary force if that is the case. If the needs of the Bengali people are continually denied and misrepresented, then we will take up the fight on our own and we will hold the politicians responsible. Young people will no longer allow so-called leaders and so-called community activists to speak on their behalf. We believe we can express our feelings. We can express our needs better and more effectively than the so-called leaders.

Zakir Khan, Community Action Group



Darren Jakobsen

Quddus in a coma

He is lying there like a dead body
Trying to fight for his life.
He knows what's happening outside
He can feel the pain over and over again
Like a bad nightmare.
His friends are opening a campaign
To fight for their rights
To defend themselves and their families.
Then the Police came,
Hitting whoever came in their way.
Nine teenagers were arrested,
And all they did was defend themselves.
Quddus is still in hospital,
And if he dies
And if the Nine go to prison,
Then there will be no such word
As JUSTICE.

*Ghulam Farooq (13),
Earl Marshal School, Sheffield*

On unity

Not a mechanical unity, a top-down unity, a tactical unity

Not the two-faced unity of political parties who will unite with anyone and any body that brings them the votes – as you have seen in Tower Hamlets

Not the opportunistic unity of trade unions which take up black working-class action when it enhances their reputation but abandon it when it can't – as the GMB has done recently over the year-long strike of Asian women at Burnsalls in Smethwick

Not the subsume-your-anti-racist struggle to our-anti-fascist-struggle unity of our anti-Nazi comrades

Not the you join us, we won't join you unity of our national black organisations

Not a structural or mechanical unity.

But a unity that grows from a common service in a common cause and is therefore organic, dynamic, and provides the springboard for a movement.

Beyond self-defence

It is around issues of self-defence that we begin to organise and cohere our community. It is the base from which we take off into our other fights against racism. It is the line of no retreat. But that is not enough any more. Racism is becoming too acceptable, fascism is becoming too bold. It is time we pushed back the frontiers. It is time we denied the fascists the freedom of speech that they deny others, the freedom of assembly that they deny others. It is time we drove them out of our communities. For beyond the freedom of assembly and the freedom of speech, there is another freedom – the first freedom, the freedom to life – and that is the freedom the fascists deny us.

A. Sivanandan

Remaining loyal – the far-right way



One of the most frequent questions that CARF is asked by anti-fascists is: what are the links between British nazis and loyalist paramilitaries in the north of Ireland. CARF argues that we need to concentrate on developments in England and Scotland.

The annual march in January to commemorate the events of Bloody Sunday is always a target for the nazis. But with the far Right and loyalists in the UK seething over the Major/Reynolds peace initiative, the threat to this year's march is intensified.

'No Surrender'

There is a distinct crossover between what is expressed on the 'Ulster question' in nazi publications, and the views of the far Right of the Conservative party. Support for loyalist groups in northern Ireland has always been a strong factor in British nazi politics. In 1973 John Tyndall, influenced by the Ulster Workers' Council strike against the Sunningdale agreement, told the NF's annual conference: 'The duty of Britain is to fight Republicanism and to destroy Republicanism – as represented by the IRA – but Republicanism in every shape and form.' Twenty years later, Tyndall's BNP is still dancing to the same 'in defence of our British kinfolk in Ulster' tune. The BNP argues that the proposed peace initiative represents 'yet another round to the terrorists'. 'The British government are eating out of his [Gerry Adams] hand', says a comment piece in the December issue of *Spearhead*. On the streets, Tyndall's line translates into BNP support for loyalist demonstrations. The April 1993 issue of *British Nationalist*, for instance, boasts a joint BNP/Ulster loyalist initiative to disrupt a meeting on Ireland in Edinburgh.

How much the loyalist paramilitaries in the north of Ireland want to be linked to the BNP – as opposed to using it as cannon-fodder for attacks on Republican targets in England, Scotland and Wales – is open to debate.

Far more important to the Unionists are their links with the right wing of the Tory party. In the past these were maintained through groups like the Monday Club (which this year has invited Ian Paisley to be the guest speaker at its January AGM) and through the notorious anti-immigration and unionist politician, Enoch Powell.

Today, however, there is a plethora of pressure groups on the right of the Tory party which increasingly highlight 'Ulster' in their publications. The magazine of the newly-formed Campaign for Conservative Victory, *Right Now*, the first edition of which was on sale at Tory party conference this year, has a feature by Wilson McCausland that speaks of the 'ethnic cleansing' that is going on 'on British soil, to British people', and the 'evil history of Irish Republicanism'.

What role Mark Cotterill, the former south-west National Front organiser, who recently joined the Torbay Conservative party, will play in furthering Tory party/loyalist links remains to be seen. 'Cotterill has long been an ardent supporter of the UDA and had written for its



From *Right Now*

publications since at least the late '80s' says Exeter AFA. 'Cotterill continues to make regular visits to Loyalist areas of Belfast and in 1992 he went on a trip to the USA with Steve Brady as part of a Loyalist speaking tour.'

Scotland's street forces

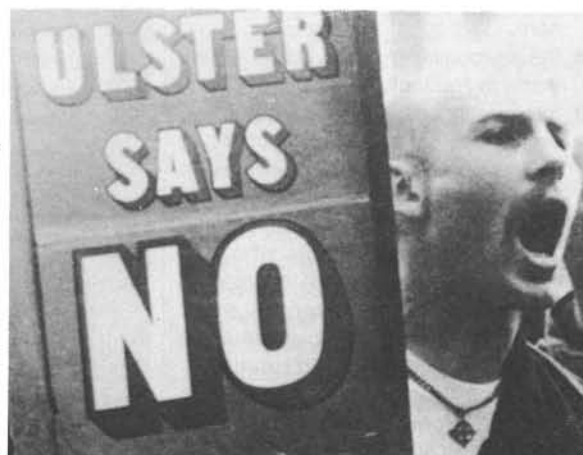
Much has been made of Combat 18's links with loyalist paramilitaries. But, particularly after the April *World in Action* exposé, the hard men in the paramilitaries have been quick to dissociate themselves from what they see as a bunch of amateurs open to state infiltration. How-

ever, for loyalists in areas like Scotland, groups like the BNP and Combat 18 provide useful cannon-fodder for their own project – a project that is similar to that of Combat 18, and involves intelligence-gathering, harassment and physical violence on those who oppose the British presence in the north of Ireland.

In December, the *Scotsman* carried an investigative report on the current state of play within Scotland's Orange Order. In the late 1980s, when there was a growth in support for the Ulster Volunteer Force, and its prisoners' fundraising wing, the Loyalist Prisoners Welfare Association (LPWA), Scotland's Grand Orange Order decided to enforce a ban on members' support for paramilitary groups.

Then, Scottish loyalists, disgruntled by the Grand Orange Order's 'sell-out' of the protestant community in 'Ulster', formed the Independent Loyal Orange Order. Most recently, this in turn split, and hard-core loyalist members, mainly from east and central Scotland, formed the Scottish Loyalist League, a self-proclaimed 'street-fighting organisation formed to oppose the Scottish Republican movement'. In this, it concurs with the LPWA which, through its publication *Red Hand*, advocates attacks on Republicans. A recent edition tells members to 'Smash the Edinburgh Unemployed Workers Centre and Anti-Fascist Action'.

And this is where the threat to anti-fascists comes. For far more concrete than the links between British fascists and paramilitaries in the north of Ireland, are the opportunistic coalitions that are forming between street-fighting Loyalists and BNP/Combat 18 members, already linked around football and through BNP fundraising for the LPWA. Whether it will develop into something more sinister remains to be seen. ■



Remember Ali Ibrahim

The killing of Ali Ibrahim, a 22-year-old Sudanese refugee stabbed in the street in Brighton, was not deemed important enough to make the headlines. Only one national newspaper (the *Daily Telegraph*) reported Britain's fifteenth racist murder in two years. Police reports initially stressed the lack of any motive in the murder but after public pressure and a picket of the local police station it was admitted 'on reflection' that the killing was racially motivated. Two white men have been remanded in custody.



Ali Ibrahim

Barry Hannon was convicted in November of the murder of Afghan refugee Ruhullah Aramesh in south London last year. Hannon, who was 15 at the time when he and about 20 others prepared an ambush to beat Ruhullah with iron bars, attacked police officers in the court room when the verdict was announced. The court had heard how he had attacked another stranger with a baseball bat two weeks previously. Hannon, his brother, Paul, and Joseph Curtain all received life sentences, while three other members of the gang were acquitted and charges against many others involved in the attack were never pursued.

Other recent attacks have included:

- the stabbing of Charles Oppeng, an African-Caribbean, at a bus stop in north London;
- the firebombing of an Asian family home in Hainault, east London;
- the beating of a 13-year-old Asian paper boy in south-east London – racists poured white spirit on him and scrawled 'NF' on his newspaper bag;
- an arson attack on the home of an African-Caribbean family who had suffered continuous racist harassment in Crumpsall, Manchester;
- the stabbing and racist abuse of an Asian shopkeeper in Stockport;
- racist harassment which forced an Asian family out of their home in Edinburgh, after an increase in BNP graffiti

in the area and bricks thrown through the windows of several Asian homes; ● police failure to respond for an hour to a serious attack on Hartlepool man Abdul Majid, involving an air rifle, despite several emergency calls.

Unity over policing

Newham Monitoring Project demonstrated the difference between empty sloganeering and real black and white working class unity when its members picketed Plaistow police station in November to protest against the increasing number of cases of police brutality in Newham. The case of the Drays, a white family from the racist stronghold of Canning Town in east London, showed how principled campaigning around policing issues can unite black and white communities.

Teenagers Tony and Lee Dray were, they alleged, subjected to a vicious and unprovoked assault by police officers. While Lee was kicked and punched and had his face ground against the floor of the police van, his brother Tony was punched in the face by officers and had his head slammed against a car. Both were arrested, but the charges against them were thrown out in November after a campaign which had the support of local black and white people.

Meanwhile, the Hackney Community Defence Association scored two important victories in December in its continuing battle against the notoriously corrupt and racist Stoke Newington police. Hazel Bruno-Gilbert and Audley Harrison went to Stoke Newington police station to complain after witnessing police officers assault a man at a bus stop and then in a police van. When they reported what they had seen, police officers in the station

allegedly jumped on them, calling Bruno-Gilbert a 'black slag', and stood on her face. Audley Harrison was punched in the mouth. They were then arrested and charged with actual bodily harm and obstructing the police. The charges were eventually thrown out of court.

The conviction of a young black man from Hackney, Danny Bailey, for supplying drugs was overturned in December. Bailey's conviction was caused by the evidence of officers who are thought to be under investigation in the Operation Jackpot inquiry. Danny Bailey is the eleventh young black man, convicted on the evidence of Stoke Newington police, whose conviction has been overturned on appeal.

INQUEST

Lumumba: no prosecution

Once again the Crown Prosecution Service has taken the perverse decision not to prosecute anyone for a death in custody, despite the fact that a jury was satisfied beyond any reasonable doubt, using the *criminal standard of proof*, that the victim was killed unlawfully. Omasase Lumumba sought safety and protection in the UK and died an unnatural death, and yet it appears nobody is criminally responsible or indeed accountable for this.

INQUEST calls for immediate independent and public inquiries into the deaths of Omasase and Joy Gardner and for an urgent review of the powers of arrest and detention under the Immigration Acts.



Picket of Plaistow Police Station (Inset: Lee Dray after his arrest)

■ Racism and tenants' associations

By April 1994, the management of housing estates will have passed out of local authority control. Tenants' associations (TAs) will have more power. But what happens when those associations are all white, or racist, in black areas?

A few organisations are realising that the extension of compulsory competitive tendering into the management of public housing has profound implications for black tenants. Bad though local authorities have been in the past few years, they have had to bow to public pressure on issues like equal opportunities and racial harassment. Now, with TAs managing housing or acting as consultants to private companies, that level of accountability has gone.

Up till the 1970s, TAs had a reputation for radicalism. The rent strikes of the early 1970s testified to that tradition. But more recently, and especially in areas of intense housing scarcity, they have become notorious as closed-shops for white tenants. A recent CRE study of TAs, *Room for All*, found that black participation was extremely low. Black tenants thought there was no point in joining, because they did nothing to promote their interests.

What will it be like when racist TAs are setting the agenda for housing provision? What priority will they give to countering racial harassment, to maintaining interpreting services, or just to seeing that repairs get done for black tenants? How would housing need be judged?

Those are among the issues that caused Newham's Race and Housing Unit to call a conference last November to encourage black tenant participation. 'As racist violence is increasing throughout the country, TAs have a key role to play in safeguarding the welfare of all the communities on their estates,' an organiser told CARF. 'In Cardiff a housing manager asked the TA to help someone who had been racially harassed. Members checked on the family every day. And the very public stand that the association took helped to encourage a genuine positive spirit on the estate and prevent further racial attacks.'

In the long term, groups like Newham Race and Housing Unit and the CRE believe that TAs must make a public commitment to racial equality, and must go out of their way to ensure black membership and participation by, amongst other things, taking racial harassment seriously. If nothing else,

Derek Beackon's victory should tell us how potent a 'Rights for Whites' message can be in today's housing crisis.

■ Racism in Oldham housing

A formal investigation by the CRE into Oldham's housing allocation found that Asian families were being allocated inferior housing to whites. The figures are startling. The

study examined four estates and found that on the two more modern and popular estates there were only three Asian tenants, whereas on the worse estates there were 127. Remarks by housing officials found on files, such as: 'Bit of a United Nations mix here', 'Landlord (Asian) is 53 and still producing. Applicant is 57 and no guarantee that he won't have more children', 'Not at all spicy' - must go some way to explaining how Asian families were getting so systematically steered into inferior housing.

■ Consensus politics

The Labour party has sought the permission of the Attorney General to take out a private prosecution against Lib Dems who produced racist campaign literature in the Tower Hamlets by-election. But the local Labour party could soon be blushing over its own disciplinary inquiry, into the leaking of canvass returns predicting a BNP victory. The inquiry is likely to ban the Labour candidate, James Hunt from standing in the May local elections.

Lib Dem MP Simon Hughes, who threatened to resign if the inquiry into party racism proved to be a 'whitewash', will no doubt have a clear conscience now that three local party members have been expelled for pandering to racist sentiment in the by-election campaign. But when will the party conduct a proper investigation into the racism of Tower Hamlets council's housing policy, which

has been the subject of criticism since 1986?

Also on the Lib Dem front, Martin Vaux was forced to resign from a party branch in North Devon in October following the publication in the North Devon Journal of the fact that he had been a member of the National Front's National Directorate in 1970 and agent for an NF candidate in 1974. Exeter AFA confirms that the pub that Vaux runs in South Molton, The Black Cock, is plastered with racist press cuttings and has hosted a number of meetings of the Patriotic Forum and a group of South African fascist ex-pats called the White Rhino Club. Vaux is also a close associate of ex-NF member turned Tory, Mark Cotterill.

You can scratch 'n sniff but the smell is always the same.

■ Fascists target Camden

The stated intention of the BNP to target Camden in north London for recruitment has been accompanied by an upsurge in racist violence on several housing estates in the borough. Even police statistics, acknowledged to be a gross underestimate, show 20 incidents of harassment taking place in the space of just 17 days. There has been a sharp rise in racist attacks in the south of the borough, including the petrol bombing of homes on the Regents Park estate, which has led to confrontations between whites and local Bengali youths.

Graffiti from the 'Cumberland Front', using a CF logo similar to a swastika, have appeared around the estate, crates of petrol bombs have been discovered in the area and large numbers of skinheads wearing scarves to hide their faces have been spotted.

Local Bengali youths have also reported an increase in 'stop and search' and police harassment in the area. Local community workers and activists have responded by initiating a campaign whose immediate priority will be to provide support for people under attack.

For details contact: REC, 58 Hampstead Road, London NW1.

NOTICEBOARD

29 January Bloody Sunday Commemoration march, central London. Organised by Troops Out Movement and others. For details, contact 071-609 1743.

26 February Conference in Reading on 'Euro-fascism, racism and the '94 elections'. For details, contact Reading Labour Party, 81 Kings Road, Reading, Berkshire. Tel: 0734-573756.

OCTOBER

- 19 Southwark police figures show 114% increase in racist attacks in last year ... Bexley council refuses to take action against BNP headquarters.
- 20 Evidence that German nazi bomb making manuals are being used by British fascists prompts Special Branch investigation.
- 22 Michael Howard, visiting Tower Hamlets, announces that £11,000 compensation ceiling for race discrimination at work is to be scrapped.
- 24 Two black barristers issue legal proceedings against Bar Council for racial discrimination and victimisation.
- 29 Tory mayor of Brent council condemns 'scrounging foreigners' in speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg.
- 30 Police in north-west London report 'terrific rise' in racial harassment in Camden.

NOVEMBER

- 3 Two teenagers given four months and six months youth custody for racist attack on Asian teenager, Omar Sharif, at London tube station.
- 4 PC Harry Oldham, suing Merseyside police for discrimination, alleges he was told to 'go home nigger' by other police officers ... Oldham Council report reveals that half the local Asian population are living in poverty.
- 5 National Front wins 16.4% of vote in local election in Sandwell, West Midlands.
- 6 Channel 4 poll shows that 51% believe that immigrants should not be admitted to council housing lists on the same terms as those born in Britain ... seven anti-fascists arrested in protests as BNP holds AGM in London.
- 7 Ali Ibrahim, 22-year-old Sudanese refugee, murdered in Brighton ... Coventry shopping mall bans Asian youths from congregating in the centre.
- 8 Record shops in Birmingham forced to remove anti-fascist T-shirts after threats from Ku Klux Klan.
- 10 English test cricketer Syd Lawrence punched and called 'black bastard' at fundraising dinner ... report from Social Services Inspectorate says staff ignore needs of black children in care.
- 11 CRE threatens to take Liverpool City Council to court over discrimination in allocation of council homes.
- 12 National Front wins 10.2% of vote in local by-election in Feltham, west London.
- 13 Sikh Temple in London covered in nazi insignia and Combat 18 graffiti ... Sussex school sends home two Muslim pupils claiming that a boy growing a beard and a girl wearing a headscarf contravene school uniform rules.

- 14 Two prison officers at Holme House prison in Cleveland given oral warning for displaying swastikas and nazi insignia in the prison... less than 100 National Front members attend annual Remembrance Sunday parade.
- 15 Lord Chancellor unveils plans to give judges Racism Awareness Training.
- 18 Three teenagers given life sentences for murder of Ruhullah Aramesh after jury hears how his head was 'kicked like a football'... Scottish anti-fascists tear down memorial to Rudolph Hess erected in Glasgow field.
- 19 Southwark council wins High Court injunctions to stop racists harassing black council tenants.
- 21 Jason Schofield, from south London, jailed for nine years for attacking and raping a woman because she slept with a black man.
- 22 23-year-old African student struck by car and attacked by two men with a hammer in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.
- 26 Study of north London shows that blacks are four times more likely to be stopped by police than whites.
- 27 22-year-old Letitia Pringle awarded £5,000 damages after she was refused entry to Bradford club because she is black.
- 28 Meya Mangete deported to Zaire amid violent scenes at Heathrow airport.

DECEMBER

- 2 CRE launches full-scale investigation into army racism.
- 3 John Stephen Rutter, 21, of east London charged with attempted murder of Qudus Ali, who is still on life support machine ... mother of four Naheed Ejaz wins two-and-a-half year battle to prevent her deportation to Pakistan.
- 4 City University, London provides minibus for students to travel between sites after at least 12 racist attacks in five weeks.
- 6 PC Sarah Locker awarded £30,000 after claiming sexual and racial discrimination at work.
- 7 Doris and Christian Nadal jailed for three and eight years respectively for selling arms to American nazis.
- 9 Crown Prosecution Service decides that no prison officers from Pentonville prison will face charges for unlawful killing of Omasase Lumumba.
- 11 Relatives of Joy Gardner join picket of the Crown Prosecution service to protest at four-month wait for report into causes of her death.
- 13 Research into youth training shows fewer black people gain qualifications and only 28% get jobs compared with 49% for all youth training leavers.
- 14 Immigration Complaints Audit Committee formed to monitor complaints

about Immigration and Nationality Department.

- 15 Department of Health orders hospitals and health authorities to employ more black staff in senior posts.
- 16 Fire Brigades' Union instructs members not to record ethnic origin of fire victims, contrary to Home Office recommendation ... Armed forces start ethnic monitoring ... Lib Dems' inquiry into racism in Tower Hamlets recommends that 3 members, including former mayor Jeremy Shaw, be expelled for pandering to racism and conduct detrimental to the party.
- 17 Five Tower Hamlets Lib Dem councillors resign in protest at expulsions.
- 21 Stafford Scott, his mother and brother win damages from police for assault and racial abuse following 1985 raid on their Broadwater Farm home ... Inquest into death of Stephen Lawrence adjourned after new evidence discovered.
- 22 Immigration officials detain 190 passengers on charter flight from Jamaica. 29 told to leave immediately, 27 given a few days.
- 25 27 passengers from Jamaica deported.
- 26 Jamaican government protests at detentions and deportations of its nationals.

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