

CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carf
RACISM & FASCISM

No 25 April/May 1995 80p



LICENCE TO KILL

CONTENTS

- Reclaim the game
3
The CPS: an obstacle to justice
4-5
Local focus: Manchester
Dealing with young offenders
6-7

EUROPEAN REPORT

- Defend undocumented workers
Racism on the high seas
Italian left compromise
8-11

CAMPAIGNS & REPORTS

- Fascist round-up
Remember Kwanele Siziba
Anti-deportation campaigns
12-13
Tower Hamlets 9 vindicated
Satpal Ram appeal granted
Ishtiaq Ahmed
Around the courts
14
Sexuality and immigration controls
Reviews
15
Calendar of race and resistance
16



No 25 April/May 1995
BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX
Tel: 0171-837-1450

ISSN 0966-1050

Printed by Russell Press (TU)

EDITORIAL

Up till now, the anti-racist movement has been oriented more towards fighting fascism than state racism. Yet, today, state racism is proving as deadly as fascism. How?

The combination of carrier sanctions, visa requirements and the 'safe country' rule have made it almost impossible for asylum-seekers to get to Europe. And even for those who make it, a win on the lottery is as likely as getting asylum. Look at the reality. If, as is happening, an increasing number are dying in their desperate efforts to squeeze through ever-narrower avenues of escape, well ... so much the better for European governments. No one need know; no one can point the finger at politicians. And that is why CARF is supporting a European-wide anti-racist campaign (see pp8-11) to broadcast the true facts about the numbers dying - from capsizing in the perilous seas around the continent, from drowning by trying to swim across Germany's border rivers, from being thrown overboard by ships' captains who do not want to pay hefty fines (carrier sanctions) for stowaways. Current governmental asylum policies across Europe are, in effect, a licence to kill.

By making it virtually impossible for political asylum-seekers to reach Europe openly, governments legislate for illegality. And the continuing changes in immigration and citizenship laws, residence permits, student cards, marriage licences, work permits, etc, push those migrants who are already here towards the margins of illegality. This illegality of status then renders them prey in the shadowy world of the black economy. It provides ruthless, sweat-shop employers with a charter to blackmail undocumented workers into accepting starvation wages on a hire and fire basis in the most degrading - and illegal - working conditions imaginable. Unregistered migrants are non-persons because they have no papers. Because they have no papers, they can't organise. No papers, no livelihood, no status, but identifiable, visible, disposable.

More anti-refugee laws

Under the anti-refugee measures to be introduced in the next parliament, the government will:

- publish a list of 'safe' countries and deny asylum to people from those countries
- impose visa requirements on more countries (currently visas are required for citizens of 129 countries)
- deny appeal hearings to asylum-seekers whose claims are deemed by officials to be 'manifestly unfounded'
- reduce benefits to asylum-seekers from the current rate of 90% of income support
- force employers to run immigration checks on new workers and punish those who hire illegal workers.

CARF FINANCIAL APPEAL

Thank you to all those who responded to the financial appeal in the last issue. In the last two months readers and supporters have sent in over £900. Donations have ranged from £1 from a schoolchild in Tower Hamlets to £200. All this money is urgently needed in order to continue producing the magazine and service local campaigns. So, however much you can afford - please keep it coming!



RECLAIM THE GAME

Roger Scoon, the new anti-racism officer at the Football Supporters' Association (FSA), writes that anti-racist fans need to 'reclaim England fixtures' from a small minority of fascist thugs.

The disorder at the Eire v England international at Lansdowne Road delivered a lot of publicity to organised fascist groups. The impression given was that football is a hot-bed of far-Right activity, but this is misleading. Despite the far Right's considerable efforts to organise in English football over the last three decades, fans at club level have reclaimed their grounds from the fascists. Now, we are setting out to reclaim England fixtures.

Nazis unrepresentative

The FSA has organised a message of solidarity and support for the Irish football community, circulated among English supporters' groups and fanzines, for them to sign. This show of solidarity will demonstrate that the fascists are not representative of English football supporters.

Secondly, by improving the lot of the England fan, it is hoped to break down the siege mentality which English fans feel when they travel abroad. Because of their poor reputation, England fans are generally treated badly abroad. At the 1990 World Cup there were indiscriminate police baton charges and the notorious deportation from Rimini, which included people who were on holiday with their families. Such treatment accentuates English fans' feelings of victimisation by 'foreign authorities' and gears them up for a fight. Obviously, this climate provides organised fascists with fertile ground. By improving matters in practical terms for England fans, the FSA hopes to break down barriers.

Undermining the nazis' base

At international tournaments involving England from 1990 onwards, the FSA set up 'embassies' at tournament venues to provide advice and information for England supporters. And we lobbied the authorities to improve services to fans, especially in the areas of ticket allocation, accommodation, transport, entertainment and public order. In Sardinia, the FSA helped to organise matches between local

lads and visiting English fans. By treating fans with some decency, the siege mentality of the England fans can be lifted and the conditions which the fascists seek to exploit undermined.

Similar activities are planned for next year's European Championships, to be held in England. We have liaised with supporters' groups on the continent, and in the UK we are involved with local authorities' advisory groups, organising services for the championships. A series of cultural events is also planned to engender a warm and friendly atmosphere and to break down suspicions. The 'Let's Kick Racism Out of Football' campaign is also planning events to run

throughout next season, with the European Championships as the focal point.

Dublin may have been an initial triumph for the fascists, but in the long term it will be a defeat. The determination to counter nazis has stiffened, especially as success has already been scored against them at club level. It is important to remember that the nazis do not dominate football and that over-amplification of their strength is vital to their cause. As *When Saturday Comes* puts it: 'making people afraid of them is at the core of their self-identity'. ■

The FSA would welcome any comments, ideas or information on its anti-racist programme. FSA, PO Box 11, Liverpool L26 1XP.



Adil Rehman

ANTI-RACISM CAN BE FUN – this was the message that the Newham Monitoring Project (NMP) put forward to the 150 school-kids, both boys and girls, aged 13-15, from every secondary school in the borough, who participated in the first-ever 'Schools Football Against Racism Tournament' to take place in Newham.

Special thanks were due to West Ham player Tony Cottee, who took the afternoon off to give out the prizes and to tell children of the need to kick racism off the terraces. 'Football is for everyone', Cottee told his enraptured audience of young fans, and went on to speak of the need to isolate the racists on the terraces. Millwall, Chelsea, Crystal Palace, Fulham, Leyton Orient, Charlton Athletic, QPR, Spurs, Leeds United and, of course, West Ham all donated prizes, such as autographed footballs and shirts. Wimbledon's Vinnie Jones sent a special message of support.

The event took place at Eastlea School in Canning Town, one of only two secondary schools in the south of the borough and an area of high racial violence. Congratulations are due to NMP for organising a highly imaginative and successful event, which is set to become an annual fixture. By the way, the victorious sides were Eastlea (boys) and Sarah Bonnell (girls). ■

There is growing anger against the Crown Prosecution Service as the perpetrators of racial violence go unpunished.

The CPS: an obstacle to justice

In early March, the CPS Birmingham regional headquarters were picketed by campaigners furious at the CPS refusal to prosecute the alleged killers of Norman Washington Manning ('Bunson'), transferred from Long Lartin where the killing took place, after allegedly boasting of having killed him. The CPS says there is 'insufficient evidence' to bring charges.

Anti-fascists and other likely targets of C18 are concerned that no one has been charged after police raids in January netted hit-lists of trade unionists, anti-racists and MPs, complete with detailed bomb-making instructions in C18 publications.

The problem used to be getting racial incidents seen and logged as such by police. Now it is the CPS which is seen as an equal, if not a greater obstacle to getting justice for victims of racism.

Mukhtar and Quddus betrayed

On 15 November 1994 Nicky Fuller was sentenced to 11 months in a young offenders' institution for his part in the racist attack on Mukhtar Ahmed. Having already served that time on remand, he walked free from the Inner London Crown Court. Fuller was the only person out of a gang of up to 20 white youths to face trial for the Bethnal Green attack on Ahmed in February 1993 which left him with dreadful facial injuries from being kicked around like a football.

Two months later, on 12 January 1995, John Rutter was cleared at Southwark Crown Court of involvement in the attack on Quddus Ali in September 1993 which left him in a coma for almost six months and with permanent brain damage. He was the only person to face trial for the attack, in Stepney in September 1993, in which around 12 white youths beat, stamped on and kicked Ali.

A TV documentary, *Getting away with murder*, got hold of documents which the CPS had in Mukhtar Ahmed's case showing that several youths apart from Fuller could have been charged and, according to leading barrister Ian Macdonald QC, should have been charged. Fuller was convicted largely on the evidence of his girlfriend, 15-year-old

Kelly Turner, who bravely testified against him after he repeatedly boasted to her that he and his friends had 'done a Paki'. But Fuller wasn't the only one to boast to Kelly; she received calls from several of his friends, all boasting that they had been involved, and she passed on all this information to police. In all she gave police 16 names. The police interviewed a number of those she named. At least two admitted that they had been present, but were not charged. One man, who admitted being present and whose shoes had traces of blood, was charged. But the CPS offered no evidence against him.

Fuller, the only one to face trial, was charged with grievous bodily harm, for which he could have been locked up for a long time. But at the trial, he offered a plea of guilty to violent disorder, which carries a much shorter sentence. The plea was accepted by the prosecutor. Ian Macdonald believes that there was evidence to support the charge of GBH. No explanation has been given for accepting the lesser charge, which allowed Fuller to go free at the end of the trial. The CPS declined to take part in the TV programme.

Six people were originally charged in relation to the attack on Quddus Ali. Charges against five of them – ranging from perverting the course of justice to affray – were dropped by the CPS. The stipendiary magistrate reduced the charges against the sole remaining defendant, John Rutter, from attempted murder and grievous bodily harm with intent, to affray, saying there was insufficient evidence to support the more serious charges.

Unaccountable and complacent

Giving evidence to a House of Commons Committee on racial attacks and harassment in February 1994, director of public prosecutions Barbara Mills, who heads the CPS, said that of the 140 cases with a racial element monitored by the CPS since April 1993, 79% had been continued, 18% dropped for 'lack of evidence', and 3% dropped for 'public interest' reasons. Of the cases proceeded with, 73% resulted in a conviction, 4%

resulted in acquittal, and 23% were dealt with by bind-over.

The figure of 140 cases contrasted strongly with the police evidence that there are some 8–9,000 cases a year listed by them as racial incidents. This figure is generally acknowledged to be between 10 and 16 times less than the actual number of incidents of racial harassment or violence experienced. The police are adamant that they mark the file of all cases with a racial motivation for the CPS. They also claim a clear-up rate of around 20% for racial cases, which ought to result in at least 1,500 cases a year for the CPS. The disparity in the figures is unexplained.

In its report, the Committee condemned the CPS for failure to provide meaningful information, such as what 'public interest' lay behind dropping of charges, what sort of cases resulted in bind-overs (which allowed perpetrators to walk free), and for its failure to bring evidence of racial motivation to court. It also expressed concern about the dropping of charges, and commented that 'the CPS should always seek to explain their actions to victims of racial incidents when charges are downgraded or when cases are discontinued'.

Kenneth Harris was driven over repeatedly by racist thugs in a petrol station in Ilford. His three attackers were charged with attempted murder. Just days before the trial, a deal was struck allowing the three to plead guilty to the lesser charge of grievous bodily harm. Kenneth Harris was not consulted, although the ostensible reason for the CPS agreeing to the deal was to spare him having to give evidence.

The treatment of Kenneth Harris shows that the CPS has learned nothing from the widespread public criticism in 1993, when it dropped charges against two youths charged with the murder of teenager Stephen Lawrence (see *CARF17*). The decision was announced two days before the defendants' committal to the Crown Court, while Stephen's family was in the Caribbean burying him. A year later, adding insult to injury, it rejected fresh evidence presented on behalf of Stephen Lawrence's family, saying that



Will the BBC's Crown Prosecutor do for the CPS what The Bill has done for the police?

it was insufficient to charge anyone with Stephen's murder. The TV programme looked at CPS files in Stephen's case too, and again Macdonald concluded that there was evidence which ought to go to trial.

Quddus Ali's case, and the rejection of the charges by the magistrate, raises the question of the relationship between the CPS and the police. Can the CPS ask the police to conduct further investigations, to find further evidence, or is its role passive, merely taking what evidence the police provide? Regional crown prosecutor for the Met area Gordon Hetherington told a meeting of the Society of Black Lawyers recently that the CPS was becoming more proactive, particularly in racially motivated crimes. But there is scant evidence of this improved new attitude.

Kapil Juj, whose solicitors' firm represents many victims of racial harassment who end up being charged themselves, commented: 'If anything, the CPS have got worse. They're complacent, they don't provide us with information and they don't do their job properly. If there isn't enough evidence to prosecute, they should be asking the police to collect more evidence, by holding an identity parade for example. But they rarely do. They allow themselves to be dictated to by the police investigating the case. So if the police arrest victims of a racial attack who defend themselves, rather than the people who started it, the CPS go along with it rather than get further investigations done which might result in the right people being charged.'

Unwilling to examine racism

This is exactly what happened to the Deol family, whose case CARF reported last year. After suffering two years of racist crimes of criminal damage and having the police say they could do nothing without evidence of a specific offence, when the family reported a white youth whom they saw smashing the windscreen of their car with a bottle it was not the youth but Davinder Deol who ended up under arrest. The family was subjected to further racist crimes, including an assault and repeated incidents of criminal damage to their windows, before the events of June 1993 which led to the Deols being charged with kidnapping and manslaughter, later increased to murder. Fortunately, they were acquitted in October 1994.

The CPS often will not accept a racial motivation for attacks, and often crown prosecutors simply don't bring it up in court: the attitude seems to be that the perception of the victim of a racist attack counts for nothing. The prosecutor in the Deol case, for example, told the judge that there was no evidence of racism behind the repeated attacks on the shop, leading the judge to exclaim that the racial motivation was 'as plain as the noses on our collective faces'. And the prosecutor in Kenneth Harris's case seemed very willing to accept at face value the attackers' protestations that it was not a racist attack, just a drunken escapade.

Newham Monitoring Project finds police and CPS alike still unwilling to

accept racial motivation for attacks. NMP is also critical of the failure of prosecutors to keep victims of racial attack informed. NMP worker Hossein Zahir was disgusted when two youths who viciously attacked him (see CARF 13) were given community service orders after their conviction for assaulting him. He was even more disgusted to find out that their convictions were quashed on appeal, six months after it had happened. No one notified him officially; he found out when the council's housing department explained why it would not be evicting the perpetrators.

Community pressure vital

Like NMP, the Shah Alam support committee, formed in east London in the wake of the attack on him, sees an important part of its work as pressing both the police and the CPS and trying to get some accountability from both. Immediately after the attack, the committee met the police to see how they intended to investigate the case. They accompanied Shah to identity parades and interviews with the police and the CPS, to provide support to Shah, to raise issues and ensure that the case was dealt with properly. The committee's persistence led to five men being charged, but owing to the absence of a key witness, the charges were thrown out at committal. The CPS has agreed to try to bring the case back direct to the Crown Court if the witness reappears.

In the Shah Alam case, owing to the unremitting pressure of the support committee, the prosecution has been conducted with reasonable diligence, and the racial motivation acknowledged. It should not be necessary for the police and the CPS to have a community campaign breathing down their necks in order to work efficiently to bring perpetrators of racial attacks to justice. But if that is what it takes to get justice, that is what campaigns will continue to do. ■



Hossein Zahir - no justice from the CPS



Manchester realities

As part of a regular focus on the issues facing local black communities, CARF went to Manchester to examine the reality of policing in an area predicted to become an American-style urban ghetto guarded by armed police.

'Gunchester', 'Britain's Bronx' were the words used to describe a 'culture of drugs and guns' and 'black on black violence' after the fatal shooting of teenager Benjie Stanley in Manchester's Moss Side over two years ago. But the description hides another reality.

Moss Side

Fourteen years ago, the Hytner inquiry, set up after the Moss Side uprisings of 1981, reported widespread racism and brutality to black people by the police. Currently three officers are facing disciplinary investigations after fellow officer PC Reid submitted a dossier of complaints about racism in Greater Manchester police. But for many of Moss Side's black residents, the incidents of individual police racism go hand in hand with the wholesale criminalisation of black youth through the criminal justice system.

Moss Side lies a mile south of Manchester city centre. Its 1960s council estates are home to 14,000 residents. A quarter of the population is aged 15-24 and unemployment for young black males stands at 80 per cent. The local shopping precinct has been closed and residents' shopping needs are served by *The Hot Pot*, a disused pub housing six stalls where

goods are sold out of cardboard boxes. In 1986, £1.4 million was put into urban renewal schemes but, say locals, it was badly spent, and peanuts compared to the £55 million recently invested in Manchester's unsuccessful Olympic bid.

The drugs trade

As in any inner city area, poverty and deprivation have created an illegal drugs trade. People come from miles around both to buy and to sell. Many believe that police have allowed the trade to develop in Moss Side in an attempt to contain it there and stop it spreading to other parts of Manchester. The truce which has existed between the major gangs for the last ten months came about in spite of, rather than because of, police efforts. Black people were violently attacked by officers at the Checkpoint Charlie nightclub last year where gang leaders were meeting to sort out their differences.

Policing and harassment

'The police know who the serious criminals are but won't deal with them - they are happy for the gangsters to literally shoot it out themselves,' said Delsierene Waul, who has lost count of the number of times her 18-year-old

son has been detained in a police cell without charge. Performance-related pay and the pressure to increase arrest rates have resulted in high profile raids like Operation China and Operation Miracle and the arrest of scores of people for relatively minor drugs offences, but the major suppliers are never tackled. 'The police have to be seen to be doing something so they pick on vulnerable people. Whipping kids off the streets manipulates the figures very nicely for them,' one probation officer told CARF.

The result has been an oppressive 'drip-feed' style of policing. 'The drugs issue has undoubtedly been used as a pretext for the widespread harassment of black youth,' said Robert Jones of the Manchester Black Resource Centre. 'The high profile raids are used to get informants on the one hand and to frighten and intimidate the community on the other.' In the eyes of the police, drugs and black people are inextricably linked. There is no way that a black person can stand in the street with a mobile phone without becoming a target for police. In Operation Miracle, which netted 31 convictions, police claimed to have busted a major supply ring. There is an assumption of conspiracy and gangs even if defendants don't know each other. In reality very

few of the offences were related to one another. The case rested on the fact that many of those involved were seen using mobile phones!

Stop and search

'There is a huge amount of racism in the system, from arrest and which charge is brought, right up to sentencing,' a member of the National Association of Probation Officers told CARF. For many, the first impact of racist policing comes from stop and search practices – powers which Robert Jones believes have been used more ruthlessly since the introduction of the Criminal Justice Act, and also to check immigration status. Youth worker Irving Williams claims that 'there are few, if any, young blacks in Manchester who have not been stopped and searched. Some have even been strip searched in the street'.

It is an experience common also to the Asian community. The hype and headlines are about African-Caribbeans in Moss Side, but the policing in other parts of Manchester is no better. Zak, a young Asian, is stopped in his car 'about once a week' and given a 'producer'. 'They have searched the car without giving me a reason', nor has he ever been given a Record of Search form. Regular police heavy-handedness is also reported at at Eid celebrations every year on Manchester's Wilmslow Road, where people gather from all around the north of England for celebrations.

An African-Caribbean man was racially attacked by four white men in a pub. They slashed his back and face with a knife. He was then surrounded by 14 white men who shouted racial abuse at him and kicked him unconscious. When he was eventually interviewed by police it was clear that they had checked his record on police computers. They insinuated that the incident was drugs related, pointing out that he had a conviction for possessing a small amount of cannabis for personal use from 1986. Although he found out the name of the main attacker, police asked for a description of him and told him that if they found the attacker he would only deny it, consequently they could do nothing. The police continued their assault on the victim's character by raising the fact that he had been questioned in a murder inquiry on Moss Side. The victim pointed out that he had no involvement in the murder and no charges were brought. The police talked about him having lived in Moss Side, insinuating that people there carried guns, and told him, 'You're not a nice guy are you.'

Window dressing

The consultative process with the police set up by the Moss Side and Hulme Community Forum has, it claims, made the police more accountable. But for Mukhtar Dar of Manchester Black People's Alliance, these forums, along with the PC Reid inquiry, are just a form of appeasement. 'This is the old trick of presenting the problem as that of a few bad apples in the force – our experience tells us that things for black

people on the streets will not change whatever the outcome of this inquiry. They are putting huge resources into public relations but at the same time they never respond when black people become the victims of crime.'

Attempts by the local authority to tackle structural issues of crime, poverty and bad housing have resulted in a programme of new estates being built in Moss Side and Hulme, but, according to

Robert Jones, they are much more than that. 'The maze-style estates with lots of walkways are a thing of the past. The new estates are designed to be easily policed. In a few years Moss Side will become gentrified and the black community will have been dispersed, like in Notting Hill.'

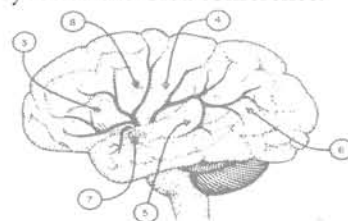
In the meantime the gangsters will continue to rake off extortionate profits from the drugs trade, black people will continue to be on the receiving end of police beatings and harassment, and mothers like Delsierene Waul will continue to wonder what police station she will be called out to next. ■



Dealing with young offenders

You might think it obvious that, with massive increases in poverty and permanent unemployment, there would be an increase in young people turning to crime. Not so. In one week in February, all that 'liberal nonsense' was hit on the head – from two different directions.

First, we heard from the scientists that it is actually our genes which are responsible for criminal behaviour. Dr Deborah Denno of Fordham University, New York, told a conference organised by the Ciba Foundation how genetic evidence may soon be admissible in court to explain criminal behaviour. Stephen Mobley, now on death row, is 'of normal intelligence' and has nothing physically wrong with his brain. But he keeps shooting people. Psychologists will present evidence in his trial that this was predestined since he inherited 'aggressive genes' from his parents. Concerned scientists on both sides of the Atlantic are opposing attempts to treat anti-social behaviour biologically rather than socially – especially since *The Bell Curve* (see CARF 23) linked low intelligence to black people and crime. Notable academics boycotted the Ciba conference.



Can you locate the criminal gene?

But in Britain, too, it looks as though a social approach to crime is on its way out. A Home Office review of the Probation Service has recommended that it be taken out of the ambit of social care altogether. The report was particularly critical of the fact that anti-racism was part of training and that the profession was attracting so many women and members from ethnic minority groups. It went on to make clear that future probation personnel should be drawn from ex-police and army ranks and that since the Probation Service is to be de-linked from social work, universities and academic institutions should no longer oversee training.

Perhaps soldiers will just double up as genetic surgeons and scrape about in the DNA for that offending gene. It would cut down on the costs! ■

In February, CARF participated in an international conference in Hamburg on 'Migration and racism in European seaports'. In order to further the anti-racist network developed there, CARF takes up two of its major themes: how to counter the pan-European popular racism built around 'illegal immigrants', and how to fight racism on the high seas.

EUROPE's press and politicians are bombarding the public with a doomsday scenario about immigration. Europe's generous welfare provisions, we are told, are at risk from hungry and embittered hordes of African, Asian and east European masses. How can anti-racists gear themselves up for another onslaught on asylum and immigrant rights? What are the true facts about Europe's immigration policies? And how can anti-racists shift the debate toward our concerns?

Defend undocumented workers

Far from being defensive about 'illegal immigrants', anti-racists must go on the offensive. By vilifying asylum-seekers as bogus refugees, Europe seeks to criminalise and demonise asylum-seekers. The creation of the 'illegal immigrant' as a new bogeyman is vital to the process of selling to the public inhumane policies that divide families and render migrant workers and foreign students rightless.

- Under France's Pasqua laws mayors can check up on so-called 'bogus marriages'. At least four people are deported each week before marriage ceremonies take place.
- An official at the University of Geneva told CARF that the Geneva Office of Population (the cantonal board which issues work and residency permits) has been systematically denying permits to students coming from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia on the grounds that they were disguised 'illegal immigrants'.

ESSENTIAL READING

Europe on Trial: an indictment of the violation of the human rights of refugees and asylum-seekers by Frances Webber (available from IRR, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS, price £1.50)

Judgment of the Permanent People's Tribunal

(available from Basso-Tribunal, c/o AstA TU Berlin, Marchstr 6, 10587 Berlin, Germany)

MORE CONTROL, NOT LESS

The scenario mischievously painted by politicians like Charles Wardle and dutifully reproduced by the press is of a Europe mis-governed by naive bureaucrats who abolish passport controls to suit a utopian dream of freedom of movement. Their liberal foolhardiness is then abused by the worldly-wise scroungers from the Third World and poor eastern Europe. It is this false picture that anti-racists need to challenge.

First, yes, passport controls within Europe are being abolished, but let's look at what is being put in their place: a more modern system of external and internal controls characterised by:

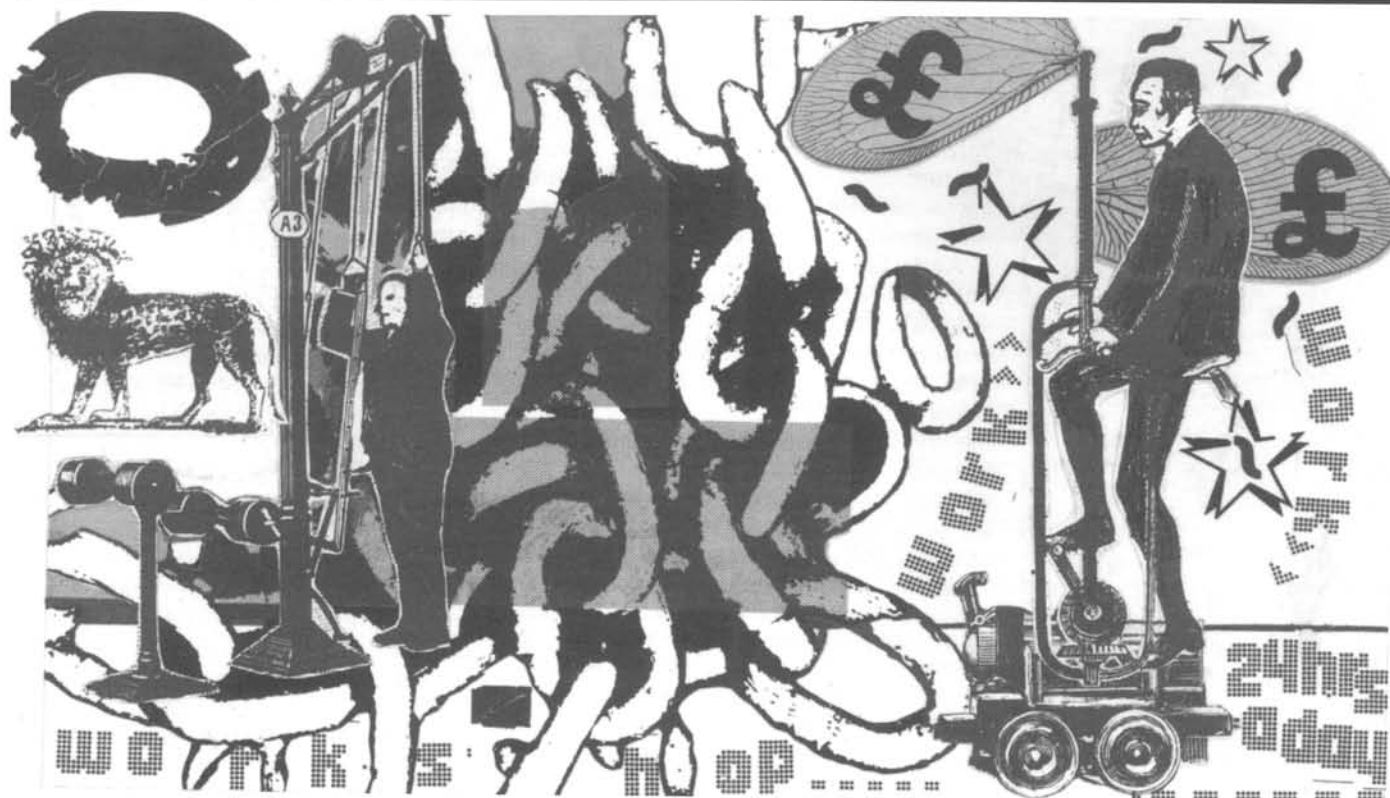
- **militarisation of borders into 'war-like security zones':** The eastern borders of Germany are patrolled by a double line of border guards using dogs, patrol boats, helicopters, radar, heat detectors and night vision. Marine guards patrol the Spanish coastline and barbed wire, closed-circuit TV and electronic monitoring are used to fortify the frontiers of north African enclaves.
- **internal controls:** Identity cards are compulsory in most of northern Europe, and British ministers want to introduce them. Germany is considering an electronic version containing an internal microchip, allowing for storage of personal data, photographs and digitalised fingerprints. Random identity checks by police in immigrant areas are increasing.

ENCOURAGING ILLEGALITY

Second, yes, asylum-seekers are forced to travel to Europe illegally, but that's hardly surprising, given that Europe's tough asylum policies are designed to ensure that asylum-seekers don't leave their country of persecution. The mechanisms for this are:

- **visa requirements:** Citizens of 129 countries, including Iraq, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Zaire, Ghana, Algeria, Rwanda, Turkey, Bosnia, now require visas to enter EU or EFTA territory. It is ludicrous to expect a refugee fleeing persecution to apply for a visa in his or her own country. Would you ask an anti-fascist attempting to escape nazi Germany to go to the SS to request travel documents?
- **carrier sanctions:** By imposing fines on air and shipping companies for carrying visa-less passengers, Europe's asylum laws start at the country of persecution to ensure that airline and ferry staff act as immigration officers.
- **the 'safe country' rule:** European countries have drawn up lists of countries which, they say, respect human rights and therefore do not produce refugees. Labour politicians in Holland recently revealed how unsafe the lists are when they complained that Roma fleeing persecution are denied asylum rights because many eastern European countries are on the safe country list.

It's not just asylum-seekers who are stigmatised as 'illegal entrants'; migrant workers, students and the spouses of European citizens are all subject to tough new European laws and described as 'illegal immigrants'.



David Drew

NEW SITES FOR CAMPAIGNING

European anti-racists are going on the offensive, campaigning around new sites of struggle. Hamburg-based Werkstatt 3 recognised the importance of seaports as a point of entry for asylum-seekers when they organised an international congress in February on 'Migration and racism in European seaports', attended by over 300 delegates from Hamburg, London, Leningrad/St Petersburg, Rotterdam, Lisbon, Barcelona, Marseilles and Copenhagen. Visa rules and carrier sanctions force asylum-seekers into dangerous forms of travel. Now UNITED, the European anti-racist network, has set about the task of collating the facts about deaths at sea. Shipping records worldwide show 8-10,000 stowaways who flee their country, often on cargo ships, risking death at the hands of captains (who throw them overboard rather than pay the fine) or by the numerous hazards they experience on board.

- A Ukrainian captain and his crew were charged with murder or complicity in the murder of eight stowaways from Ghana and the Cameroons in November 1992.

- Two Ghanaians were found dead in the hold of a Polish cargo ship by dockers at St Malo, France. The two men had hidden inside the hold, which was packed with sacks of cassava, treated with rat and insect poison, and the ventilation holes of which had been blocked.

- In Italy, five Kurds were reported lost, probably drowned at sea, in February. A Kurdish woman and her baby who made it were run over on the beach by the smugglers who brought them in. The baby is dead, the mother in a coma.

- Spanish authorities estimate that 1,000 people altogether have drowned making the trip in small leaky boats from north Africa to Spain.

Death does not just strike at sea. In Germany, many have died in the Rivers Oder and Neisse that mark the border with Poland. The militarisation of German border controls means that refugees are forced to cross the river at its most dangerous point, as all safe crossings are heavily guarded. The Berlin-based Anti-Racist Initiative, which helped make an influential TV documentary in which Tamil survivors from the river-crossing gave testimony, has catalogued 16 deaths on the river Neisse between August and November 1994. Spiegel TV in Austria has also produced a documentary about Tamil deaths.

Predictably, politicians and press are concerned about the smuggling rings that bring the asylum-seekers, many of whom pay out their life savings to risk the journey to Europe. Anti-racists need to point the finger at the government policies that create this lucrative and odious trade in human beings.

AMNESTIES & REGULARISATION

But what of the many unregistered migrant workers who are living and working illegally in Europe? Howard and his European counterparts argue that 'illegals' are nothing more than economic migrants, who have come to Europe out of greed. Their presence

here, the politicians argue, threatens the security of legal immigrants. Hence cracking down on 'illegals' is good for 'race relations'. What the politicians never acknowledge, of course, is that Europe's prosperity was and is built on migrant labour, but legal migrant labour has been rendered 'illegal' by changes to immigration laws and the end of the

The economies of Europe rely on rightless, unregistered migrants as a cheap source of labour. By supporting calls for the regularisation of foreign workers, anti-racists will help undermine both the politicians and the controllers of the sweatshop factories.



Immigrants, migrants and refugees are being denied access to the welfare state, with tragic consequences. In challenging the New Right agenda, that stereotypes 'immigrants' as 'welfare scroungers', we must defend a system of universal benefits and fight the racist practice of passport checks.

guestworker system of employment. Even though southern European states have brought in tough new immigration laws to satisfy their north European counterparts, Italy, Spain and Portugal turn a blind eye to migrant labour because the agricultural sector could not survive without seasonal harvesters.

And for the new service-sector entrepreneurs of north-western Europe, 'illegals' are precisely the cheap and rightless workers needed in new 'sweatshop industries'. Far from settling in Europe for the better life, undocumented workers tolerate the lowest standard of living imaginable. For instance:

- In Italy, migrant workers, living in shacks near the coast, are employed in slave-like conditions cultivating flowers. An illegal worker, Sheemar Vijaykumar, choked to death on a boiled egg. His employer disposed of his body simply by wrapping it in rags and throwing it on the beach.
- In Madrid, Chinese migrants were discovered to be working a 16-hour day in a clothing factory. They slept in the factory too, with only a hole in the floor for a toilet.
- In north London JM, raped by the army in

Rwanda, works as a cutter from 8am to 8pm, earning £1.50 an hour. Then she goes to another job as a cleaner in a hotel in central London, from 10pm-6am.

Rudo Sibanda of the recently formed Asylum Campaign for Unregistered Migrants (ACRUM) told CARF that many unregistered migrants in the UK are 'dying of hypertension and high-blood pressure related to diseases caught by sustaining three to four jobs, having no access to welfare benefits, and forced into paying exorbitant rents. The point of ACRUM is to spread the word and build a network so that the legals keep a watchful eye on the illegals.'

For it is migrant and immigrant groups themselves who have been putting forward strategies to undermine popular 'illegal immigration' racism. In Spain, a Federation of Immigrant Collectives in Catalonia has called for a new amnesty period. And among ACRUM's demands is an amnesty to 'reduce incidents of forcible deportation and release resources currently being spent on hunting down and policing unregistered migrants to be used for better social services.'

DEFEND UNIVERSAL

WELFARE BENEFITS

At the beginning of February, EU social security ministers met in Paris to 'brainstorm' about how to 'contain welfare spending'. Immigrants and refugees, stereotyped as 'welfare scroungers', are among the first to suffer the chilling effects of a shrinking welfare state.

- In Italy, 76,000 regular documented workers are being struck off unemployment registers. Emergency centres in Milan demand to see ID cards or residence permits of the homeless; Turin abortion clinics report women suspected of being 'illegals' to immigration authorities.

- 26 Kurdish refugees, all entitled to NHS care, have been refused treatment by the North Middlesex hospital in London.

The growth in passport checks at the point of access to the welfare state leads to a situation whereby all non-white people, regardless of immigration status, fear claiming benefits.

- In Italy, heavily pregnant Ghanaian Georgina Yaboah, married to a legal Ghanaian worker, was too frightened to go to hospital as she had no work permit. She died of high blood pressure.
- In the UK, Chilean refugee Carlos Padilla, operated on for a ruptured appendix, was found dead in a hospital plant room where he hid after overhearing hospital staff discuss how much he would have to pay for his surgery and aftercare. ■

UNITED, Postbus 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam. Tel: (010 31) 20 6834778. ACRUM, 365 Brixton Road, London SW9.

Italian left compromise

Chris Woodall is the Italian correspondent of the Institute of Race Relations' European Race Audit. In the mounting general election fever, he asks, where does the former communist PDS stand?

Just one year on from the landslide triumph of the 'Pole of Liberty' in the first general election to be held since the scrapping of proportional representation, Italy looks set for a further long-drawn course of electoral shock treatment. While the Left's probable candidate, Christian Democrat Romano Prodi, a passionate exponent of privatisation and market disciplines, tours the country in a (pre-)campaign coach, ex-premier Silvio Berlusconi bludgeons his minutely polled and analysed TV mass audiences with 36 political ads a day.

The choice that will be put to the voters – once the current stop-gap government of Lamberto Dini has finally fallen or been pushed – promises to be as unappealing as the ensuing contest must necessarily be uneven. Whether the candidate of the Right turns out to be Berlusconi of the Forza Italia clubs (FI), Gianfranco Fini of National

Alliance (AN) or some ventriloquist's dummy temporarily more presentable than either, their team will be formidable indeed. FI and AN are bound together by mutual self-interest. Berlusconi brings industrial and media clout and Fini a well-disciplined party machine. Throw in for respectability most of the rump of the Christian Democrats (PPI), and you have an alliance that stretches from Mafia-ridden Catania to entrepreneurial Milan, from nazi thug to Catholic centrist, from the pensioners and state employees comforted by Fini's guarantees of 'solidarity' to laid-off workers dazzled or temporarily stunned by Berlusconi's crooning promises of new jobs and economic wonders.

While banging the drum of individual and market freedoms, the family, law and order and threats to the Italian people from 'illegals' and

Racism on the high seas

Is the International Transport Workers' Federation's new push against flag of convenience ships a moment of genuine internationalism? Or are western trade unions controlling the international agenda? CARF spoke to Richard Flint, Communications Secretary of the ITF.

CARF: What are the main concerns about flag of convenience ships?

ITF: Since just after the second world war the problem has been that wealthy western ship-owners have been transferring their ships' registration (the flag it flies under) from the traditional maritime countries to what we call flags of convenience. FOCs offer cheap registration tax and, most importantly, they allow owners to get rid of trade union agreements and national crewing. A British ship-owner might transfer to a Liberian flag, sack its British crew and hire a multinational crew of as many as 17 nationalities from wherever they can find people to work for low wages.

Why the particular campaign push now?

Our campaign is not just about publicity but about international industrial action. In ports where we can do it, maritime and transport workers boycott FOC ships. In the 1980s there was a worldwide attack on ITF organising. But we fought back and relaunched the campaign in the late 1980s as a publicity-based campaign where we went out of our way to tell crews what we were doing. We now produce *Seafarers Bulletin*, a magazine in 13 languages with a worldwide circulation of 300,000. It's the widest circulation magazine in the Philippines. So seafarers in the Philippines know about the campaign.

Are unions here becoming less protectionist, less racist? The NUS was taking 'the Asian levy', a bribe for accepting discrimination against foreign crew members, up till 1984!

The ITF always opposed the Asian levy. Some ship owners call us a racist organisation on the basis that we are trying to save

jobs for western seafarers but that is certainly not what most Filipino seafarers think. The argument is not about who should be working on these ships but what they should be earning. The ITF position is that your wages should be based on the ability of your owner to pay, and whether you come from the Philippines or Holland you should earn the same. Since the 1920s our constitution has stated that we are opposed to all forms of discrimination and colonialism. And, increasingly, the ITF now is not a European organisation; the majority of our membership comes from outside Europe.

And generally seafarers are a very international group of people and they can see the folly of racism more easily than land-based workers because they travel so much.

But what about the argument that if FOCs were abolished, Asian seafarers might be put out of work. Why should all workers be paid the same, the argument goes, if the cost of living in their home countries differs so widely?

They aren't in their country of origin, they are all on the sea or in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Immingham. Let's step back and look at the economics of shipping. The FOC system is a racist system. It is designed to allow western owners to benefit from Third World labour at the expense of the development of Third World infrastructure. That's why when we have campaigned against FOCs we have had such strong support from the South. The Indians, the Brazilians agree with us in saying that if a Norwegian ship-owner can't afford to operate his ship by paying Norwegian wages he should go out of business and it should be



taken over by an Indian ship-owner with Indian management and crew.

If ITF policy is followed there would be a much greater development of Third World shipping. Take the Philippines, a country which has devoted itself to labour export – as maids, as servants and as seafarers. Within the Asia-Pacific region, Philippines is the least successful economy. Export of labour means you get people importing luxury items and there is no infrastructure development. There is no ship-building, ship-owning or ship-management industry, and we argue that the FOC's aim has been to allow westerners to maintain their wealth at the expense of the rest of the world.

Is there still a strict racial hierarchy on ships?

You often get a racial distinction between officers and ratings, eg, Japanese officers and Bulgarian ratings, Korean officers and Nigerian ratings. But the English were typically more racist than anyone else. In the cruise ship sector there is still a lot of racism and racial and sexual harassment. We recently heard that on a Norwegian ship there were toilets for Europeans and another set for Filipinos. There was a star Filipino singer on that ship, and while all the other entertainers were told to fraternise with passengers, he was told not to. He got blasted for using the toilets near the performance area instead of the Filipino toilets miles away. He successfully sued the ship-owner. But on most cargo ships you don't have more than 15 in the crew and that's why divide and rule doesn't work anymore. And with the rise of Asia as a ship-owning area things are less hierarchical. ■

'foreigners' in their midst, the Right finds it all too easy to portray the Left as a pillar of the old, discredited order of 'partyocracy'. The Right does not mince its words in attacking both the person and the office of president and the anti-fascist-inspired constitution. Further, with 'traitor' Dini in office, it is also now free to strike populist stances, shedding tears for the millions of pensioners, workers and others forced to pay the price exacted by the IMF, Bundesbank and Banca d'Italia.

The Left, by contrast, is trapped in defensive mode, miserable in its support for the present government's assault on welfare, pensions and living standards, but determined at all costs to avoid an electoral contest with the 'Pole of Liberty' until anti-monopoly laws have been introduced to rein in Berlusconi's media

empire. A one-time defender of working people, it sustains the economics of the jungle. A vocal defender of democratic institutions, it recoils from the threat of an election.

For it is hard to imagine circumstances under which a grouping led by the Democratic Left (PDS) could win. The PDS complacently led the 'Pole of Progress' into the disastrous March 1994 elections behind a dull monetarist banker who, as prime minister, had just forced through an austerity budget. Now, while propping up the government of Berlusconi's former finance minister Dini, the PDS is attempting to rally a putative centre-Left around the Christian Democrat economic professor Romano Prodi who, as president of state industries (IRI) in successive governments, became a by-word for privatisations

and mass layoffs.

Convinced that the path to government lies in constant compromise, the former Communists strive to present a safe pair of hands to Italian capitalism, an understanding ear to the family values and anti-abortion positions of the Catholics (interviewed in *Famiglia Christiana*, PDS leader Massimo d'Alema said he personally supported Catholic values on the family and abortion), a sympathy with the federalising designs of the Northern League (d'Alema addressed the Northern League AGM), and so on. And to demonstrate its modern breadth and openness, the PDS even sent a high-ranking delegation to the fascists' recent face-lifting conference, declaring that AN were 'no longer enemies but adversaries'. ■



CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

C18 thugs get off lightly

Judging from recent court cases in the north of England, it would seem that if you take part in a vicious racist or sectarian attack and want to get away with a light sentence, you simply have to tell the police that you're a member of Combat 18.

In January 1994, a gang of 30 BNP/C18 thugs attacked the Mushroom Bookshop in Nottingham. The attack, obviously planned, saw the manager of the shop beaten unconscious and resulted in thousands of pounds worth of damage to stock and computer equipment.

Thirteen of those who took part – all from the Midlands and the north of England – appeared in court recently, charged with the relatively minor offence of threatening behaviour. Ten of them received the derisory sentence of two months' imprisonment, while another two were acquitted. Only one of the gang, Stephen Bradley, who pleaded guilty to a more serious charge, was jailed for three years.

In Oldham, several BNP members with a reputation for violence have also received light sentences for taking part in an attack on a Chinese restaurant. Jason Wilcox, Andrew Roughley and Derek Lee were jailed for six months, while a fourth member, Mark Priestley, was jailed for 16 months.

BNP member David Draper, from Billingham in Cleveland, was found guilty of nine charges under the 1986 Public Order Act relating to the possession of racist material. Police seized anti-Jewish and anti-Black leaflets and stickers which were intended for distribution across the north.

Draper, who has a previous conviction for planting a defused hand-grenade in an Irish-owned supermarket, was sentenced to carry out 180 hours' community work 'for an ethnic minority group'. No doubt he will have plenty of time and opportunity to collect information on future targets for racist attacks.

Draper's sentence is all the more disturbing in light of the Combat 18 'White Wolves' document, which recommends the setting up of independent autonomous cells and advocates a policy of random racist attacks and the murder of black and Asian people.

The paper ridicules the 'soft' electoral road taken opportunistically by the BNP, and argues for a 'strategy of tension' created by Loyalist-style arbitrary attacks. It proffers advice on forming cells, the type of attacks to be carried out and how to make a bomb.



The White Wolves document advises nationalists to 'batter a nigger and his white slag; rob a Paki off-licence and buy a couple of crossbows with the proceeds for your next operation; petrol bomb a Sikh temple and watch the bastards go beserk'.

Lansdowne Road violence

The violence that forced the abandonment of the friendly match between England and Ireland at Lansdowne Road in February started after a 23rd-minute goal by Ireland's David Kelly. It saw sections of the English crowd in the upper tier hurl missiles at the Irish supporters below.

Serious rioting continued for almost 15 minutes and about 40 people were injured. One Irish fan died of a heart attack as he left the stadium. The presence of the far Right was signalled by the chants of 'No surrender to the IRA' and other racist anti-Irish slogans accompanied by nazi salutes.

Among the English mobs understood to have taken part in the violence at Lansdowne Road were firms from Aston Villa, Carlisle, Chelsea, Liverpool, Manchester United, Millwall, Newcastle, Sunderland and Wolves.

The anti-Irish racism seen at Lansdowne Road is the culmination of a concerted effort by Combat 18 to link up with football firms across the country. In particular there are strong links between them and the Chelsea Headhunters in which C18 organiser and Headhunter Charlie Seargent plays an important role.

The Headhunters have a long history of

Close down the BNP HQ

The BNP is appealing against a Bexley council decision to stop the use of its Welling headquarters to distribute racist propaganda

Picket the hearing

9am – 18 April

Crayford town hall (Crayford BR station)

involvement in racist violence and during the 1980s, led by Stephen Hickmott and Chubby Henderson, they played a prominent role in providing the muscle for the National Front Remembrance Sunday marches. More recently, joint actions by C18/Chelsea Headhunters have involved serious attacks on supporters of the Chelsea Independent Supporters Association, who have opposed racism in football.

The Headhunter/C18 link extends to Scotland, where they have a working relationship with the Glasgow Rangers firm. Rangers supporters have frequently made the journey south to join fascist attacks on Bloody Sunday marches.

Another London firm that has cooperated with C18 is Millwall, although they are usually considered too independent for regular joint actions. At least one of those detained at Lansdowne Road, Jerry Lindley from Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, is a Millwall supporter. In interviews to the press he acknowledged connections to the far Right, and racist material was observed by reporters at his house.

Others arrested at the match were from the north of England and the Midlands. Sean Knighton, a Newcastle supporter from Wallsend and a known racist, was filmed wearing a balaclava helmet and lobbing missiles into the crowd below. He worked for the Inland Revenue in Sunderland, where he left the message 'Gone to fight for Queen



ORDER SOME NOW!

'Kick racism out of football' stickers available from CARF. Send 20p per sheet of 12 or £1 for 8 sheets (96 stickers).

• FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

and Country' before he left for Ireland.

Graham McNulty from Cheltenham, a director of GMAC Timber, was also photographed throwing objects into the crowd and giving nazi salutes. He is an Aston Villa supporter associated with the Cheltenham Volunteer Force (named after the Loyalist paramilitary UVF), who left calling cards at the ground bearing the slogan 'CVF: England invasion of Ireland, Dublin 1995'.

While none of the major C18 players are known to have been arrested following the violence at Lansdowne Road, Charlie Seargent was identified in the crowd. Judging from previous excursions, C18 are more likely to carry out attacks outside the ground, where they will not be filmed or photographed. What is clear is that several of the most notorious football firms from England took part in the riot and that C18-inspired anti-Irish racism was high on their agenda. ■

Remember Kwanele Siziba

On Monday 20 February 1995 the Kwanele Siziba Memorial Campaign held its first public meeting in Hackney, attended by over 50 people, despite the fact that the venue was changed at short notice.

The meeting was supposed to be held at a community venue on the De Beauvoir estate where Kwanele fell to her death, believing herself to be the target of an immigration raid. However, a number of keyholders became obstructive and denied the campaign access to the building after having decided that there would be trouble if the meeting went ahead.

One of the most important points mentioned at the meeting was that made by Theadora Mathews, Kwanele's sister, who vowed that the campaign would not

only be a means of seeking redress but, just as importantly, would be a tool for tackling the issues that led to the death in the first place and has led to persecution for so many others.

To this end the campaign will be holding a number of activities and events. On the second Tuesday of every month beginning on 10 April at 6pm, a street presence will be organised at Dalston Junction.

The campaign also intends to hold a tribunal on the estate, to bring to light issues such as the discovery that West Midlands officers who investigated Kwanele's death used the opportunity to check the immigration status of the estate's black residents. ■

Kwanele Siziba Memorial Campaign (0181) 533 7111



Lobbying from the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign succeeded in temporarily lifting a deportation order against a Jamaican woman, Audry Grant, in February. Audry's one-year-old daughter, who is British by birth, is seriously ill in hospital and cannot be treated in Jamaica.

Picture: Mark Salmon

Here to stay, here to fight!

Anti-deportation campaigners scored two victories in February. Hemlata Patel has won her appeal hearing after arguing that, after being forced to leave her husband because of his violence, it would be adding insult to injury to force her to leave the country. Witnesses spoke of her valuable community work and the inspiration her example and her courage gave to other women trapped by Home Office rules in violent marriages.

Helen Aladasanwa and her family have also won exceptional leave to remain for a period of 12 months after medical reports presented to the Home Office said that Helen's son Steven, who suffers from sickle cell anaemia, would probably die if he was sent back to Nigeria. Both Hemlata and Helen campaigned hard for many months – they have shown that people can fight and win. Helen said, 'I got a lot of support from the local community. I now want to give my support to other people facing deportation such as Florence Okolo and Bayo Omoyiola.' ■

Demonstrate Against All Deportations

- Saturday 29 April • Assemble 12 noon, All Saints Park, Oxford Road, Manchester
- Called by the Okolo Family Defence Campaign • Details: (0161) 740 7722

Campsfield

Sita Kamara, an 18-year-old asylum-seeker, was released after seven months' detention and 33 days on hunger strike. A student activist who was forced to leave the Ivory Coast because of her activities against the brutal dictatorship there, Sita went on hunger strike with fellow refugee Anne Marie Brou in February in protest at her continued detention and the decision to return her to the Ivory Coast after her appeal was dismissed. The response of the prison staff at Campsfield was to put her in solitary confinement. She became increasingly desperate, and at the end of February swallowed a large quantity of medicines and toiletries in an apparent suicide attempt.

Despite her condition, on 1 March prison staff prepared to move her from Campsfield to Gatwick for return to the Ivory Coast and a request by a doctor from the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture to examine her to assess her fitness to

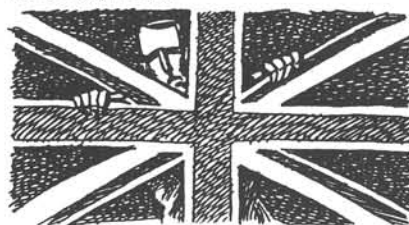
travel was refused. Group 4 guards in full riot gear took her from the detention centre. She stripped in protest, and immigration staff filmed her removal. When fellow detainees protested, they were transferred to Rochester prison, some in handcuffs, and 200 guards were brought in to the detention centre to 'preserve calm'.

On the same day an emergency application to a judge prevented her removal. A doctor was then allowed to see her, and reported that she was not in any fit state to be removed. A strong picket outside the High Court on 10 March secured her release from detention.

Sita still faces the prospect of removal as soon as she is fit enough. The Ivorian Relief Action Group will continue their protest action to highlight this gross injustice and prevent her removal. Meanwhile, the Home Office has initiated an inquiry into Sita's

treatment at Campsfield. The Campaign to Close Campsfield said, 'We will lobby political leaders for statements breaking with the bipartisan aspects of their immigration policies – eg, Labour and Liberal Democrats' failure to call for an end to the opening of immigration detention centres, or detention wings as at Rochester prison'. ■

Ivorian Relief Action Group, Tel: (0181) 265 3587.
Campaign Against Immigration Act Detentions,
Tel: (0370) 432 439. Campaign to Close Campsfield,
Tel: (01865) 724452.



Tower Hamlets 9 vindicated Around the courts



Darren Jakobsen

The Tower Hamlets 9, criminalised for defending their community against racist attacks, walked free from Southwark Crown Court on 10 March.

The Bengali youths were arrested after police provoked a riot at a vigil for Quddus Ali outside Whitechapel hospital where he lay in a coma. Although the nine were found guilty of affray, they were variously given conditional discharges, probation orders and fines. None received a prison sentence.

A spokesperson for the campaign told CARF: 'The nine were spared prison sentences because of the depth of community anger at the charges. They have shown that we will not sit back passively while our brothers and sisters are brutalised. These youths are now a part of our history of black self-defence as much as the Newham 7, the Newham 8 and the Bradford 12.' ■

PICKET

Last July Donna O'Dwyer fell 200 feet to her death when attempting to escape a firebomb attack on a party she was attending in Leyton, east London. Leyton Race Attacks Support Group will be picketing the Old Bailey on 24 April, when Charles Thurston stands trial for murder and arson. Picket, 9am, Monday 24 April, Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, London EC4. ■

Satpal Ram appeal granted

After more than eight years of wrongful imprisonment, Satpal Ram, jailed for defending his life against a racist attack, has had his case referred back to the Court of Appeal. New evidence, bad legal advice at his original trial and pressure from Satpal's supporters have forced the home secretary to reverse the decision made 18 months ago to refuse his appeal. Satpal's supporters said, 'The campaign to free Satpal has been vindicated by the High Court and the home secretary's U-turn. Satpal's actions were entirely in self-defence and he would have never been convicted of murder had it not been for the inherent racism of the criminal justice system.' A date for Satpal's appeal hearing has not yet been set, but a massive protest is planned for the day. ■

Ring the Free Satpal Campaign on (0121) 551 4518 or CARF for more details.

Even-handed justice

Visitors to the High Court in London in January were startled to hear a bewigged, red-robed judge bellowing at a barrister, 'Can you read?' The judge, Mr Justice Turner, subjected the barrister to a tirade of abuse, because he hadn't checked new rules of procedure. A few minutes later a senior barrister got up and said that he had made the same mistake as his colleague. 'Oh, don't worry,' the judge reassured him, 'just make sure you get it right next time.'

Question: what colour was the first barrister? And the second? You got it.

From the bunker

Golfer Neville Bynoe got nine months in February for slamming his golf club into the face of a man who racially abused and taunted him over eight holes in front of his two sons. Sentencing him at Birmingham Crown Court, Judge Thomas Corrie said that the abuse was not racist, but 'amounted to being called an awkward bastard', and that his reaction was 'extreme and unacceptably violent'.

Window frame

Met police officers who claimed that black driver Colin Tomlinson 'leant out of the half-open window of his car and hurled abuse' when they asked him to stop got red faces in Horseferry Road

magistrates' court in January. Tomlinson proved that his car, a Morgan, doesn't have windows. The charge of failing to stop was thrown out.

So that's all right then

From the judgment of an adjudicator (immigration judge) deciding the political asylum appeal of a young Tamil: 'I am prepared to accept that he suffered some maltreatment during the period of his detention and, indeed, it would be unusual bearing in mind the circumstances in Sri Lanka if he were not maltreated to some degree.' He went on to reject the appeal.

You are entitled to a solicitor...

An Asian solicitor trying to see his client, an asylum-seeker detained at Manchester airport, was refused access twice by the immigration authorities. An Asian barrister then attended with the solicitor, and he too was refused access. The detainee was allegedly told to get a white solicitor, as 'we want no more Pakis here'. A white barrister was asked to attend and was immediately allowed in to see the detainee. The immigration service claims that access was denied to prevent prejudice to ongoing investigations into illegal employment. ■

Ishtiaq Ahmed

Ishtiaq Ahmed, dubbed the 'bedsit murderer' by tabloid papers after he was convicted of the murder of one of his tenants in Reading six years ago (see CARF19) has had his appeal dismissed with none of the 18 detailed grounds considered. Much of the appeal concerned police questioning methods, but the PCA investigation into the arresting officers remains unfinished. Ishtiaq has been on hunger strike since

25 February. The campaign is demanding that the PCA investigation is completed and that all paperwork by the CPS regarding the case is disclosed. Ishtiaq's brother Bashir told CARF that 'the rejection of the appeal has been a setback in our fight for justice, but we are determined to carry on fighting until justice is done'. ■

Ishtiaq Ahmed is Innocent campaign (0734) 589087/394432.



Sexuality and immigration controls

On 27 April, a public meeting is being called in Manchester by Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit and Stonewall Immigration Group to discuss sexuality and immigration controls.

Immigration controls have historically been homophobic as well as racist. In 1979, confidential instructions to doctors working at ports of entry were leaked, which told them to certify as undesirable for entry people of 'abnormal sexuality'. In 1984 the Court of Appeal confirmed that homosexual relationships with a person settled in the UK were not, unlike heterosexual marriages, included within the immigration rules and that a Home Office refusal to grant a leave to remain could not be challenged. Under the 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees, lesbians and gay men can obtain political asylum on the grounds of persecution as a member of a social group, but the decisions of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal are erratic and reactionary. In the case of a Cypriot refugee in 1989, Judge Kennedy stated that it was irrelevant whether or not homosexuals constituted a social group since there was no need for anyone to actually practice gay sex. 'It is clear', he said, 'that in Cyprus there is no discrimination against homosexuals who are not active.' And in 1991, the Immigration Appeal Tribunal rejected the argument of an Iranian asylum-seeker that gay men and women were persecuted as a social group.

There have been recent demands that gay couples should be treated the same as heterosexual couples. But this is a strange argument in the light of black heterosexual couples' experiences of immigration laws. Racism, sexism and homophobia meet in immigration controls, but racism is central and no critique makes sense unless that is recognised.

The public meeting takes place at Follies, 6 Whitworth Street, Manchester M1, on 27 April 1995 at 7.30pm. ■

Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit, 400 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester M8 9LE.
Stonewall Immigration Group, 2 Greycoat Place, London SW1P 1SB.

Legal defence

The new Criminal Justice Act restricts even further the right to protest. The newly formed Legal Defence and Monitoring Group has been formed to fill the vacuum that has been left since the demise of the Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign, and will be monitoring police behaviour at demonstrations and providing legal back-up for those who are arrested. They are appealing for volunteers who are prepared to act as observers at demonstrations and also for people with legal knowledge who will be prepared to visit people at police stations. ■

LDMG can be contacted at BM Haven, London WC1N 3XX. Tel (0181) 802 9804.

REVIEWS

IN EXCITED TIMES

Nigel Todd (Berwick Press & TWAFA) 1995. Available from TWAFA, 4 The Cloth Market, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, NE1 1EA (Price: £5.50 inc p&p).

In recent years the activities of the far Right in areas such as the east end of London have been systematically opposed by local black organisations. While the fight against racism and fascism has been led by the communities under attack, the input of veterans of the battles of the 1930s – both as speakers and participants in demonstrations – has taught important historical lessons to many youth engaged in the current struggle.

In excited times documents the work of trade unions, political parties and the National Unemployed Workers' Movement to confront and halt the expansion of



Mosley's British Union of Fascists in the north-east. It charts the creation of the Tyneside Anti-Fascist League and presents a fascinating insight into their smashing of Mosley's campaign following two nights of demonstrations in Newcastle and Gateshead during 1934.

The publication of Todd's *In excited times* is welcome as an additional historical weapon in our political armoury. ■

THE ENEMY IN OUR MIDST

By Newham Monitoring Project. Available from NMP, 382 Katherine Road, London E7 7LY (Price: £1+ 50p p&p).

Could the nightmare of the Isle of Dogs, where in September 1993 the first fascist councillor for nearly 20 years was elected, come to Newham? According to the Newham Monitoring Project the answer is yes. High levels of unemployment and poverty, social dislocation and disillusionment with mainstream parties make

Newham an attractive target for the neo-Nazi BNP, anxious to build on 'the Millwall factor'.

In October 1993, when the BNP announced it would stand in elections in the Customhouse & Silvertown and Beckton wards of south Newham, NMP set out to stop them. It takes a huge effort to stem the tide of support for racist parties. *The enemy in our midst* is the story of NMP's campaign. ■



STILL RESISTING AFTER ALL THESE YEARS

A century of international struggles against immigration controls 1895-1995. By Steve Cohen. Available from Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit, 400 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester M8 9LE. Price: £2.50 (bulk orders £1.00 after first 10).

The latest of GMIAU's excellent pamphlets on aspects of immigration laws focuses on the resistance and self-organisation of those immediately affected by immigration controls, from the Jews fighting proposals for controls on refugees in the 1890s to contemporary anti-deportation campaigns. The pamphlet does not confine its studies of resistance to Britain, but describes the struggles of migrant farmworkers and industrial labourers in the United States, coming up to date with the demonstrations of Haitian and central American refugees seeking recognition of their political status, release from detention and permission to work.

The pamphlet is a vital reminder of the historical and geographical continuity of resistance – taking different forms in response to the different measures of control.

It is necessary to look back, and across the globe, at others' experience of fighting immigration control, and learn imaginative new modes of resistance. *Still resisting after all these years* helps in that process. ■

JAN 10 Court hears how racist abuse on Birmingham golf course caused black golfer to hit man with club and sentences golfer to nine months... Industrial tribunal hears claims that racist policemen tried to drive out the sole Asian in Cleveland traffic department **JAN 11** Special Branch seizes Combat 18 material claiming it encouraged serial killer Colin Ireland to seek out gay victims... Home Office says it will reconsider case of Ogunwobi family who have spent a year in sanctuary in a Hackney church **JAN 12** 22-year-old John Rutter is acquitted of attack on teenager Quddus Ali **JAN 16** Liverpool councillor Petrona Lashley loses appeal against deselection denying her opportunity to become Liverpool's first black lord mayor **JAN 19** Labour Force Survey estimates that 62 per cent of young black men in London are unemployed... Anti Nazi League activist has home firebombed by Combat 18 in Gravesend, Kent **JAN 22** Robert Barker jailed for eight years after stabbing a man whom he called a 'black fucking idiot' in a MacDonalds queue in Dagenham **JAN 23** Harassment of Abbas family culminates in firebomb attempt on their home in Burton-on-Trent, but fire is doused before anyone is injured... 16-year-old Asian boy attacked in Tower Hamlets by gang of BNP supporters during election campaign in Newham, east London **JAN 25** Police figures show that racially motivated crimes have more than doubled in the Derby area in the past year... Residents in West Putney, London, halt the opening of a house for unemployed young black offenders on their doorstep **JAN 26** Dundee Sheriff Court is criticised after man found guilty of shouting racist abuse at shopkeeper is fined £300... Department of Health report says London has 40 times more pregnant women with HIV than elsewhere in the country, of whom 70 to 80 per cent are from Africa **JAN 27** Attempted murder charges against five white youths accused of attacking Bengali student Shah Alam are thrown out of court... Officials at Acklington prison, Northumberland, order the collection of swastika symbols and photographs to be removed from the cell walls of BNP supporters Craig Bond and Simon Biggs... Former Klansman Frank Buck claims Ku Klux Klan has 2,800 members in UK and is actively recruiting in Wales **JAN 28** Family and friends of Shiji Lapite hold a remembrance service to mark 40 days since his death at the hands of Stoke Newington police... Mushtaq Hussain beaten to death in Great Harwood, Lancashire, two men later charged with manslaughter **JAN 30** Disc jockey Carl Joseph lodges formal complaint against the police after being stopped 26 times in one year in his car, which is decorated with Jamaican flags... Racists are given a total of 21 years' imprisonment after racist murder of Newton Stewart in south London in 1993 **JAN 31** Dundee housing officials evict council tenant for racially abusing Asian neighbours... Muslim leaders in Crawley hire security guards to protect half-built mosque after racist attacks **FEB 1** Bernie Grant MP claims that as many as 57 per cent of all stop and searches in some areas of London involve black males... Police appeal for witnesses after horrific race attack on two Yemeni visitors to Merseyside in which one suffered a broken jaw... 200 children hand in 8,000 signature petition asking Home Office not to deport Okolo family from

1995

CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

Manchester **FEB 2** Three racist thugs convicted of violent disorder after Swansea Crown Court hears how Asian shopkeeper and his wife were assaulted outside their shop and £1,800-worth of damage caused to their car **FEB 9** Department of Heath to investigate official leaflet discouraging Africans from giving blood because of AIDS risk **FEB 10** Danny Green jailed for six years after stabbing an Asian youth three times in Birmingham city centre **FEB 12** Family of Somali seaman Mahmood Mattan, who was the last person to be hanged in Cardiff 43 years ago, claim fresh evidence to prove he was framed by racist police force **FEB 14** Muslim prisoner Mohammed Zulfikar asks High Court to rule that the 30 strip searches he has endured in the past 18 months violate his religious beliefs and are unlawful... Italian fascist

leader Gianfranco Fini makes low key entry into Britain after police remove protesters before his flight arrives **FEB 15** Lawrence Akeabo stabbed in neck by five white youths after stopping at traffic lights in his car... Racial chanting at Rugby League matches to be investigated in study by Leeds Metropolitan University **FEB 17** Home secretary Michael Howard says most asylum seekers are bogus applicants seeking better life in Britain... Former circuit judge James Pickles tells literary lunch in Leeds that black people are 'spreading like cancer', that a high proportion of African-Caribbeans are mentally ill and that all immigration should stop **FEB 18** Brighton University authorities protest to Home Office over threatened deportation of Student Union president **FEB 20** North Middlesex hospital is screening patients whose first language is not English and refusing to treat Kurdish refugees, alleges doctor **FEB 24** Government proposals for independent body to investigate miscarriages of justice are criticised as too dependent on police **MAR 3** Southampton police begin investigation after nazi graffiti and posters appear on Southampton housing estates **MAR 4** Scotland Yard announces it will set up a unit to tackle nazi groups, removing the responsibility from Special Branch **MAR 8** High Court jury awards limbo dancer £36,000 damages against Metropolitan Police after assault which ended his career **MAR 9** High Court rules that Britain's border and passport controls can stay **MAR 10** Scotland Yard announce plans to set up squad to combat neo-nazi and racist gangs... Report says that children are the main victims of racist attacks in Newcastle **MAR 11** Former chief superintendent of south London police division where black

teenager Stephen Lawrence was murdered by gang of racist white youths refuses race merit award and issues veiled public apology for not prosecuting the perpetrators **MAR 13** Home Office says new measures to restrict immigration will be announced in the autumn... Police figures show 69 per cent increase in racist incidents in Brighton area **MAR 16** Briton Tyrone Chadwick of Warwickshire is charged with murder of two black men whose bodies were found buried on training ground for South African nazi paramilitaries... 29-year-old Terry Ajakaiye wins financial settlement after police held him for three hours and questioned him about his immigration status when he went to the police station to report a theft **MAR 20** 29 per cent of white Britons believe there is widespread racial prejudice against blacks, says *Guardian*/ICM poll.

Subscribe NOW!

- ☐ I wish to receive copies of CARF each issue to sell.
- ☐ I wish to subscribe to CARF for one year starting with issue No 26 and enclose £7.50 (individuals)/£12 (institutions).*
- ☐ We wish to become a CARF supporting organisation and enclose £70 for one year's subscription of 10 copies per issue.*
- ☐ I wish to become a CARF supporter and make a regular donation to CARF. Please send me a banker's order form.
- ☐ I enclose £..... donation to CARF.*

(*All cheques payable to CARF)

Name

Address

Please return to: CARF, BM Box
8784, London WC1N 3XX.