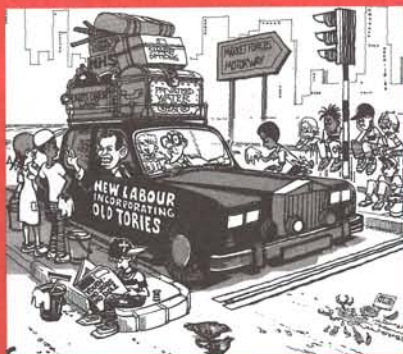




# New Labour or New Right ?



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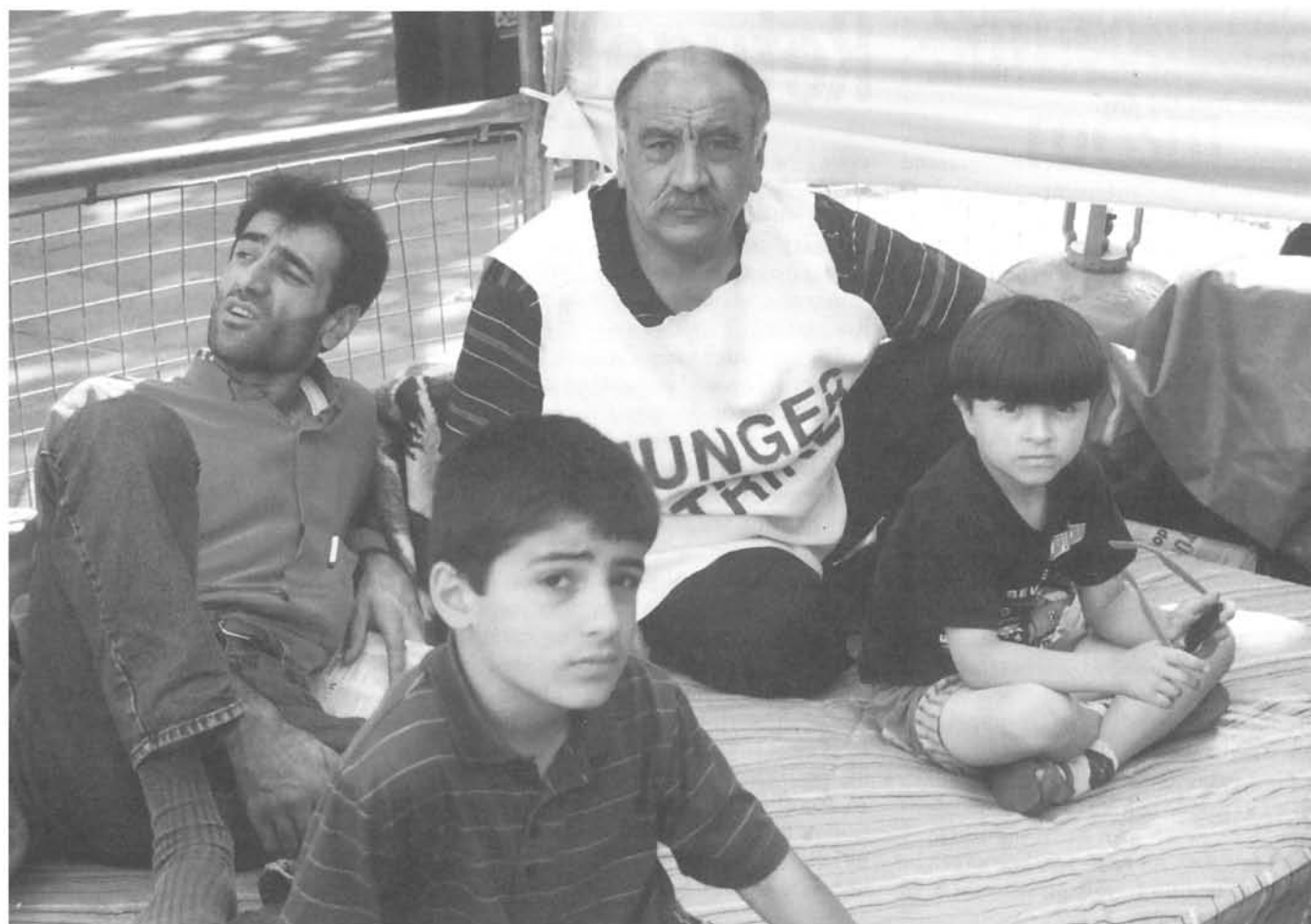
## EDITORIAL

The opening salvo has been fired in the campaign for justice for the Lawrence family. On 11 September, at Belmarsh magistrates court, Neil Acourt and Luke Knight were committed for trial in the first private prosecution for a racist murder in legal history. But let's not get carried away. This is only the first skirmish in a conflict between anti-racists and the Crown Prosecution Service which is set to be protracted.

Even so, Neville and Doreen Lawrence must be congratulated. Not only have they shown enormous courage in instigating a private prosecution after the CPS's refusal to proceed with the prosecution two years ago, but, through their tenacity, they have also succeeded in putting the failures and betrayals of the CPS on the national agenda. When it was set up in 1985, the CPS boasted that it would be independent of the police, exercising its own judgment in prosecuting offenders. Ten years later, the CPS is as great an obstacle to achieving justice for the victims of racist attack as the police themselves, as the families of Panchadcharam Sahitharan, Rohit Duggal, Quddus Ali and countless others can testify.

But now that the Lawrences have seized the initiative, it is up to us to ensure that the control of the case is not taken away from them by the CPS. Nor should the challenge falter through lack of funds. About £45,000 of the £100,000 needed to finance the trial (the date, sometime next year, has yet to be fixed) has been raised. Local solidarity committees, already set up in Scotland, need to be formed throughout the UK. National organisations can contribute too. An emergency resolution proposed by the National Union of Civil and Public Servants (NUCPS) at the TUC conference has committed the TUC to throwing its weight behind efforts to raise the money. Everyone, from the schoolchildren who have staged plays, to the DJs who have cut their dreadlocks and donated £100 for each lock, can do their bit. This is a campaign that unites the anti-racist movement and takes it forward. ■





Elaine Kennedy

# ▶ No more racist laws

**Campaigners will be picketing Tory party conference in October when home secretary Michael Howard announces yet more racist and repressive anti-immigration legislation.**

The Immigration and Asylum Bill will include:

- imposing immigration checks on people claiming benefits, medical care and education
- denying housing, education and health care to 'illegals'
- more visa restrictions on countries from which asylum seekers come
- drawing up a list of 'safe countries' from which no one will be granted asylum
- denying some asylum-seekers the right to an oral appeal.

Protests are already planned against the new measures which represent a signi-

ficant shift towards internal, rather than border, controls and pave the way for widespread and routine immigration checks by doctors, teachers and DSS officials.

The success of the national day of action against detentions and deportations in June, which saw protests in eight different cities (see *CARF* 27), has led to the formation of the National Network Against Detentions and Deportations to coordinate future protests outside detention centres and prisons where immigration detainees are being held.

They will also be holding the first protests against the new legislation with a picket of the Tory Party conference in

Blackpool during Michael Howard's speech on 12 October, and a mass picket outside Downing Street on Saturday 14 October.

The group is working with the National Coalition of Anti-deportation Campaigns which has recently been formed to provide support to those under threat of deportation and to provide a central contact point for local groups. ■

National Network Against Detentions and Deportations, c/o *CARF*, BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX.  
National Coalition of Anti-deportation Campaigns, 22 Berners Street, Lozells, Birmingham B19 2DR.





Young people who claim asylum in Britain should be afforded special care. A CARF investigation shows that this is far from the case.

# Refugee children need

In the past three years, over one thousand refugee children (unaccompanied by their families) have sought asylum in Britain. The majority are teenagers but some are as young as five or six. They come from all parts of the world, escaping the horrors of imploding societies like Somalia and Burundi, the political instability of eastern Europe or civil wars in countries such as Angola, Algeria and Bosnia.

The vulnerability of such children is obvious. They are traumatised by violent events and separated from their families. Once here they are reluctant to seek protection. On paper the Home Office recognises their plight: 'Particular priority and care', according to the immigration rules, 'are to be given to the handling of their cases.' And there is a separate Home Office unit, 'the unaccompanied minors module', from which cases are supposedly referred to the Refugee Council.

## Detention

But the reality for refugee children can be quite different. Significant numbers of

young refugees under 18 are detained on arrival. A Somali boy of 14 was held in detention at the airport for six days. And, contrary to assurances in parliament, young people are being held with adults in detention centres and even prisons like Rochester.

In many such cases the age of a young person is disputed because of inaccurate dates of birth on documents or false information given on arrival. Yet, even when the Home Office establishes that documents are false or the child admits that s/he has lied, it insists on relying on the original date of birth.

A 16-year-old Nigerian boy was held at Haslar, an ex-young offenders' institution in Portsmouth, for three months, while immigration officials insisted he was 29 (because of the date of birth in a false passport). His detention continued even after a medical report submitted by his legal representatives confirmed he was 16. Another 16-year-old, fleeing conscription in Angola, was held for a total of six months in Campsfield. For the first month he was without legal representation. And

even after the Campsfield doctor had assessed his age as 16, he was held for a further three months.

## Refusals

Contrary to ministerial statements, the majority of applications for asylum from refugee children are refused outright. And children are subjected to the ordeal of interviews and appeals. Those as young as 12 and 13 are now having to give evidence to adjudicators.

It is clear from the number of refusals that no special care is taken in the assessment of children's cases, and no allowances made for immaturity or inability to communicate their experience. Just as with adult refugees, applications are refused because the Home Office disbelieves children's accounts. As with adults, slight inconsistencies in statements, or what they said on arrival, or the fact that they have not claimed asylum immediately or in other countries through which they passed, are all used against them. This, despite guidance from the United Nations

The pan-European onslaught against asylum-seekers and those without citizenship rights is intensifying.

# No to compulsory repatriation

Compulsory repatriation and the turning back of potential asylum-seekers at the borders is becoming the order of the day. In France, for example, the new interior minister has announced that weekly flights will be chartered in order to double the number of deportations.



David Drew

The following groups are particularly badly hit: **KURDS** – Germany, which has close economic and political links with Turkey, is leading the way in the deportation of Kurds, but France, Switzerland and Italy are all following suit. Fifteen thousand Kurds living in Germany are threatened with immediate deportation if their claims for political asylum are rejected. But the states of Hessen and Schleswig-Holstein are refusing to comply with a federal government ruling that Kurds are not persecuted as an

ethnic group in Turkey and could seek refuge from fighting in their region inside the country. Hunger-strikes of Kurdish refugees in Frankfurt and Berlin, during which 41-year-old mother of five, Gulnaz Bagiztani, died, have failed to move the German authorities.

Kurds are also being prevented from crossing into Italy via Albania because of the new border patrols, code-named 'Operation Salento', on the Adriatic coast. And 130 CRS riot police patrol the Franco-Italian border to 'stop the exodus of Kurds and discourage them from coming to France'.

**REFUGEES FROM FORMER YUGOSLAVIA** are being denied entry and their asylum applications are refused. Serbian conscientious objectors in Denmark are vulnerable to deportation, and the Swedish government is presently locked in conflict with asylum groups over its attitude towards refugees, principally Bosnian Croats and ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. Germany has already signed a repatriation agreement with Croatia, although the date on which it was due to come into effect has been delayed.

**ROMANY** from eastern Europe, particularly Romania, can expect to find no safe haven in

the west, with France and Germany leading the way on expulsions. In Germany, 200 Romany living in Nordrhein-Westfalen were forcibly deported to Macedonia. Demonstrators protesting outside the town hall, with placards stating 'Gassed yesterday – deported today', could be prosecuted for 'insulting the state'.

**VIETNAMESE GUESTWORKERS** in Germany are definitely no longer welcome since the Vietnamese government received DM100 million in development aid and other financial inducements to accept the repatriation of 40,000 Vietnamese. In 1994, the residence permits of all Vietnamese contract workers were rescinded and the Vietnamese were overnight transformed into 'illegal immigrants'.

**STATELESS REFUGEES** France and Germany are also bringing in special measures to make it easier to carry out deportations where they cannot establish the victim's state or where the state in question refuses to accept deportees. Both countries want to bring in laws so that refugees without identity papers, mainly from Asia and Africa, can be deported to any state on their continent willing to accept them, presumably in return for financial inducements. ■

# rights



Howard J Davies

the outcome of their appeal against a decision to send them to Tanzania.

## Hiding abuses

It takes a scandal like the recent attempt to 'remove' 17-year-old Sita Kamara, who had been detained for five months, placed in solitary confinement during a hunger strike and denied access to independent medical opinion, to bring the abuse of refugee children to media attention.

But this was not an isolated case. A 16-year-old Angolan boy reports that he had his hands tied and a bag placed over his head (allegedly because of his disruptive behaviour) when being moved from one detention centre to another. His treatment, however, never hit the headlines.

Information on what is happening to such children is hard to come by, precisely because of their reticence and isolation. And Home Office statistics obscure more than they reveal. But the horrifying anecdotal evidence CARF has gathered from lawyers and support groups points to a pressing need for a campaign to fight for the rights of refugee children. ■

Refugee Council Children's Advisory Panel, Bondway House, Bondway, London SW8 1SJ.  
Tel: 0171 582 6922 • Refugee Legal Centre, Sussex House, 39-45 Bermondsey Street, London SE1 3XF.  
Tel: 0171 827 9090.

High Commission for Refugees to concentrate on objective factors such as the situation in the country from which they fled.

'Unaccompanied minors' (as they are officially termed) are, like adult asylum-seekers, sent back to 'third countries' with impunity. Recently, a decision was taken 'to remove' to Kenya a Ugandan girl, who was 15 on arrival, despite her claim to have been raped in that country. And two Somali brothers are now awaiting

## Polynesia and France

# Against nuclear testing — for independence

As the rubble settled on Tahiti following the riots after France's first nuclear test since 1987, a Greenpeace spokesperson on the island went on Radio 5 to distance a non-violent western anti-nuclear movement from the violent protests of independence demonstrators in the South Pacific. But for the people of these troubled islands, the issue of nuclear testing cannot be divorced from the racism and violations against them as colonial subjects.

For the Polynesian Liberation Front, founded in 1977, independence from France and an end to testing are inseparable. The massive military spending in the 30 years of testing has distorted the agricultural basis of the Polynesian economy. Around 175 tests (41 above ground) have poisoned sea and land in the region and damaged the fabric of the islands (Mururoa sinks an inch with each explosion). The threat to the lives of the people of Polynesia from a colonial power which experiments with weapons of mass destruction on their land is now evident for all to see. This year the independence movement scored a significant victory when, in response to a boycott call, only 30 per cent of 'French' Polynesians voted in the

French presidential election.

Even if this round of nuclear tests is cut short, 'French' Polynesia is still left occupied, polluted and culturally dominated by a foreign power. The Polynesian independence movement has called on Euro-MPs to launch an independent inquiry into the tests and treatment of the people of Polynesia. Those of us involved in anti-nuclear and environmental movements in Europe need to ensure that our protests are not solely confined to western concerns, but embrace the need of Third World peoples to break loose from racism and colonialism. ■



Papeete burns in anti-colonial riots

## MEDIA

# Soft-soaping racism

Racial violence is increasingly being tackled in soap operas, but how well?

Writers and producers of *Brookside* and *EastEnders* have always prided themselves on their handling of social issues. But now everyone is at it from northern no-nonsense (for years no-black-people-in-sight) *Coronation Street* to English-country-garden *The Archers* on Radio 4.

The contradictions for soap script-writers are ever-present: are they representing reality (which is what the viewer wants to escape) or a fantasy (which cannot be too unreal, or the viewer ceases to identify). Should they, where social issues are concerned, reflect the dominant values of the class or community they depict (when these include bigotry and ignorance) or does the soap have a role in educating or explaining issues to the viewer/listener?

By and large the English soap has chosen the latter path — drawing more on the best of the US alternative (often satirical) programmes than on the straight soap tradition witnessed over here in those terribly all-white Australian imports. It has often been said that US *Soap's* Jodie, a sympathetic, warm, normal person in a completely zany family, did more for the gay cause than a thousand serious articles. HIV-positive Mark Fowler of *EastEnders* appears to be England's answer to Jodie.

CARF has no quarrel with such didacticism in soaps and welcomes the fact that racial incidents are included in the story lines. What it questions is the way it is done.

## Racial violence on The Street

Most disappointing was *Coronation Street*. The story started off quite well when Deidre married a real Muslim role-model-in-the-making. He was loving, hard-working, non-sexist, law-abiding and generous enough to offer one of his kidneys to Deidre's (racist) sick daughter. On the way to hospital he is killed by a racist gang. So we never actually witness the act of heroism — a black man saving the life of

a white girl. No, his kidney is yanked out of the corpse even before it is cold. But worse. The police say he tripped and fell to his death and everyone accepts that version of his death. Even Deidre, after feebly bleating once or twice, 'How do we know that's how he died?', just succumbs to her grief. Viewers could be forgiven for not even realising a racial attack had taken place, for a few confusing frames shot in the dark at the end of one episode were all that marked the incident.



Granada

Coronation Street's Samir – not even allowed to be a victim

## Racial violence in Ambridge

The Archers failed at a higher level. Middle-class Usha Gupta, who had (with one or two skirmishes between samosas and scones) successfully integrated into all-white Ambridge, suddenly becomes the victim of a series of attacks on her person and her Blossom Hill Cottage home. Her safety, the attacks, the possible culprits are the talking points of many episodes. So far so good. Ultimately, it transpires that local village boy Roy Tucker pinpointed her whereabouts to a fascist gang at his city tech. (Presumably fascists can't spot a black person for themselves!) And Roy only comes forward to admit his complicity when his

father's market garden is trashed by the gang, who are angry because Roy wants to pull out. Roy's family accept his explanation that he did not know what the group was about when he joined it.

## Racism infects the outsider

What all this manages to do is to shift the blame for racism from the local community to outsiders and telescope racial violence into generalised vandalism and thuggery. By implication, racism has become a kind of virus which infects a few bad people who inhabit the city and go roaring around on motorbikes wearing helmets with odd insignia. Roy is absolved because he had no idea he was mixing with nasty people! Nowhere in Ambridge do we hear any discussion of racism as an issue in society. (Ironically it was the city policeman during his official caution who had to point out that Roy, to his mind, was no different from any other racist thug.)

## Love thy neighbour

But if racism has no political dimension, neither does anti-racism. In the Archers it is being nice to your neighbour despite her colour. This same kind of anti-racism as an extension of community spirit was evidenced months earlier in *EastEnders* when Gita was the target of racial abuse and attacks. Again the issue of the attacks was given prominence. But again there was no discussion of racism, and anti-racism became reduced to a matter of whether mates could put themselves out for one another.

In place of the political they put the community which is uniform, pure and without fundamental contradictions. We don't want to see a return of Alf Garnett to the screen, but without any arguments or discussion between characters over issues of racism, the resort to the bene-

volent saviour – the community of friends – is politically inept not politically correct.

We live in a world where Grant Mitchell, an ex-army thug with the political acumen of Arthur's allotment shed, is more likely to join the BNP than AFA. We want to know the road he travelled, the political struggles he went through, to become an organiser of a community defence initiative. In a real live Ambridge, the *Daily Telegraph*-reading farmers and small entrepreneurs would be worried that Usha would depress house prices, Kate would be arguing with her father that all immigrants were not scroungers and Shula would be trying to stop Martha from scare-mongering that the shop was about to be taken over by Asians.

## Avoiding the political

All the soaps appear systematically to eschew the political. An *Archers* producer told CARF (whom they consulted over the story-line) that they always tried to keep politics out of the programme. *EastEnders* consulted the Newham Monitoring Project about racial violence and then omitted almost everything about the criminal justice system and the police's woeful record. For that would have been to look at racism politically.

In recent episodes of *Brookside*, where the issue has been male violence rather than racism, the distinction between community action (which is good) and political action (which is bad) has been overtly played out.

When members of Brookside Close picket to release neighbours Mandy and Beth Jordache from a jail sentence (for murdering a brutal incestuous husband/father) all is well. But when politicians arrive – represented as rent-a-mob anarchists and lesbians – they provoke the police and cause mayhem. The prisoners get moved miles away and Rosie miscarries. In two significant speeches, neighbour Jackie tells the crowd they do not know the prisoners and are only using their case to further their own (and, by implication, sinister) cause.

What a wonderful world it would be if neighbours battled against male violence and ran to chase off racial attackers. The reality is that such a community does not exist: we are becoming more and more nuclearised and depoliticised.

Politics in the sense of real activism was made a dirty word by the Thatcherite Tories. Now the soaps are joining in. They appear radical because they tackle social issues – but don't be taken in, these are issues with the politics washed out. ■



BBC

EastEnders cast





# New Labour or New Right?

**Tony Blair is confident that Labour will win the next general election. On the party's present showing and in the light of its historical record, what can the anti-racist movement expect from Labour in government?**

The Labour party as an institution has never actively involved itself in the anti-racist, anti-fascist movement, despite the commitment of local Labour activists and a handful of MPs.

Social democratic and centre parties on the continent have lent support to high-profile organisations such as SOS Racisme, but, apart from a single demonstration over the 'Malawi Asians' immigration scare in the 1970s, Labour has steered clear of any such commitment.

## Party to state racism

The complaint against Labour goes further than mere inactivity, however. State racism has been the foundation of popular racism in the postwar period, and Labour has historically been just as active in producing and implementing racist immigration laws as have the Tories (see box, p8). Indeed, Labour's Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968, which excluded British Asians of East African origin from Britain, was denounced as a racist law violating human

rights by the European Commission on Human Rights.

Labour's response to Howard's new proposals (see p3) was described in a *Guardian* editorial as 'pathetic'. Earlier, in February, when Charles Wardle resigned from the Department of Trade over the issue of the lifting of European border controls, shadow home secretary Jack Straw responded by showing his tough immigration credentials. 'Britain needs, but has not got', he told the media, 'a just and robust system of immigration

rules and controls. Whatever its sympathy, this country cannot sustain a large influx of economic migrants.' His statement must lead us to doubt Blair's recent promise not to capitulate to the Tory ('firm but fair') agenda on immigration during the next election.

## Shadowing the Tories

Is it, then, just a question of more of the same: of Labour capitulating to state racism, while mouthing worthy words about race relations? All the evidence points to an even more depressing scenario, in which Labour shadows the traditional Tory themes of law and order, the family and immigration, and embraces New Right ideology at the same time.

## Communitarianism, not socialism

At the heart of the process is Blair's search for a single political ideology to cohere New Labour, one which dispenses with Clause Four and the values emanating from the old, obsolete creed of socialism and is a worthy inheritor (as Blair hinted in Australia at a conference organised by the Right's press baron, Rupert Murdoch) of 'Thatcher's radical mantle'. Blair and a coterie of advisers may think they have found such a creed in the philosophy of Communitarianism, a US import popularised by sociologist Amitai Etzioni in his book, *The Spirit of Community*.

Etzioni speaks of the need to build a new moral, social and public order based

on restored communities. Communitarianism is seductive because it seems to address concerns about community, but its agenda is a right-wing populist one.

## Attacking welfare

Central to communitarian philosophy is a critique of '1960s-style liberalism' and the values of the welfare state, which have 'reinforced fragmentation and irresponsibility, legitimised family breakdown and created an underclass of passive citizens'. One way to reduce dependency, of course, is to reduce welfare provision.

In the US, Clinton's Democrats have found this argument useful. In Britain, one of the main popularisers of communitarianism is the think-tank, Demos, which came out of the old Euro-Communist *Marxism Today* and boasts both Labour and Tory MPs' support. Demos published Etzioni's *The Parenting Deficit* and hosted a public meeting for him (co-sponsored by the *Times*; its sister paper, the *Sunday Times*, brought New Right guru Charles Murray, author of *The Bell Curve*, to Britain). Another advocate is Melanie Phillips, the *Observer* columnist who claims Left affiliations but has angered anti-racists and feminists alike with her attacks on single mothers and anti-racism. Phillips vociferously backed a successful campaign by right-wing academics to modify the anti-racism policy of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work.

In its central attack on welfare

## LABOUR AND IMMIGRATION

**1965** Labour government abolished rights of unskilled Commonwealth immigrants to come to Britain to work. Its White Paper marked the end of a pro-Commonwealth policy and the start of a 'Little England' one

**1968** Labour government rushed Commonwealth Immigrants Act through parliament in six days to prevent British citizens of Asian origin, who were being expelled from Kenya, from entering Britain. The Act also created the first immigration offences. Home secretary Jim Callaghan assured racists that Labour had been deporting Commonwealth immigrants for two years

**1969** Labour's Immigration Appeals Act imposed visa requirements on family members seeking to join heads of household in Britain, and denied entry to 'Commonwealth' fiancés of British women

**1974-79** Labour government administers Tory Immigration Act of 1971 with no repeal or amendment

**1988** Labour fails to oppose Tory Immigration Act abolishing rights of appeal for most people facing deportation

**1992** Labour front bench offers deal to allow Tory Asylum Bill to go through

**1995** Blair insists Britain's veto over EU immigration policy will be retained; shadow home secretary Straw describes Labour policy as 'just and robust' immigration control and says there will be no haven for 'economic migrants'

dependency, communitarianism mirrors the New Right. The arch New Right advocate, social security minister Peter Lilley, has boasted that his plans for wholesale cuts are on Labour's agenda too. Indeed, Birkenhead Labour MP Frank Field, once chair of the Child Poverty Action Group, wrote a glowing introduction to Lilley's book *Winning the Welfare Debate*. His own book, *A new agenda for Britain*, is seen as a crucial communitarian text. It has been left to Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn to ask, of the Labour-appointed Commission for Social Justice, 'why a Labour-appointed commission should even be considering cuts in the welfare state'.

## Contempt for 'undeserving poor'

From acceptance of welfare dependency theory it is a short step to rejection of those dependent on welfare. New Right welfare-dependency theorists and communitarians share a contempt for some of the most rightless and vulnerable members of society – the homeless, single mothers, drug addicts, etc. Sharing a platform with Met police commissioner Paul Condon at a September 1995 meeting in Lewisham,

## LABOUR AND ANTI-RACISM

The Labour party has often accused the Tories of racism, but has never committed itself wholeheartedly to the anti-racist, anti-fascist cause. Even at the TUC march against fascism in London's east end in March 1994 – which, after all, was concerned with the need to replace Tower Hamlets' Lib Dem administration with a Labour one – no shadow cabinet member was present to represent Labour officially. And whatever we may think of the Anti-Nazi League or the Anti-Racist Alliance, the fact that no member of the Labour leadership signed the founding statement of either organisation is also noteworthy.

As shadow home secretary between 1992 and 1994, Tony Blair did not speak out against the murders of Tamil refugee Panchadcharam Sahitharan or African-Caribbean youth Stephen Lawrence, to name just two who died in this period. Labour's commitment to fighting racism seems to be confined to supporting the introduction of a Racial Harassment Bill, a measure that, as CARF has pointed out in the past, would be a weak and ineffectual tool in the fight against racism.

Nor does it take a genius to note that Labour is hostile to black self-organisation against racism. At Labour's Walworth Road HQ, there is no black or anti-racist officer, but an ethnic minorities development officer, whose function seems to be confined to developing the 'ethnic vote'. The unity of non-white people, or the belief that black is a political colour, is something that unnerves Labour. In a bid to find alternatives, it is likely that the leadership will look more to academics such as Dr Tariq Modood, whose writings have been published by the influential Labour think-tank the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). Dr Modood believes that 'black' is too narrow a conception of racial oppression that 'harms Asians', and too politicised an identity, and favours instead the adoption of 'multi-textured identities'. ■



south London, Jack Straw spoke of the need to 'reclaim the streets' from the 'aggressive begging of winos, addicts and squeegee merchants' who threatened 'decent, compassionate citizens'. Straw's proposals bore a striking similarity to those of the Republican mayor of New York, Rudolph Giuliani, and NY police commissioner William J Bratton, for tougher policing of 'aggressive begging'. Particularly sickening was Straw's attempt to enlist anti-racist and feminist support for his campaign, by including racist graffiti in the 'brutalisation of the streets' and by citing women's 'intimidation by squeegee merchants'. He defended his use of derogatory terms like 'winos' by saying that they reflect the language of the streets.

### Pandering to division

While Straw, unlike the New Right, does not directly racialise crime and disorder, he does not challenge the New Right's linkage of black people and crime. At Lewisham, Straw praised Condon's operation Eagle Eye (the war on street crime) and stayed silent on the commissioner's disastrous racialising of the issue (see *CARF* 27). But it goes further. Straw's rejection of those who are not 'decent citizens' has implications for us as anti-fascists. Labour should be addressing the ravages in the social infrastructure created by 16 years of neglect, which have resulted in a contracting welfare state, massive unemployment, social problems and crime. It should be speaking out for those who have fallen through what was once the welfare state's safety net (among whom black people are disproportionately represented), and who are the targets for vicious fascist attack, as are the destitute and homeless throughout Europe. As the Unity Festival in Newham demonstrated (see opposite), anti-fascism is all about fighting those divisions that fragment the working class. But, instead, Labour is pandering to those divisions, setting the 'respectable' section of society against the 'undeserving poor'.

### Duties not liberties

Labour's new agenda highlights the individual's obligation to society, while ducking difficult issues relating to society's wholesale abuse of individuals through such things as racist and violent policing. It is no longer the guardian of civil liberties, if it ever was.

Labour abstained on the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, an Act which abolished the centuries-old

right to silence (which the UN Human Rights Committee has urged the government to restore), which criminalised trespass and dance music and which abolished local authorities' duties towards Gypsies. Labour stood to the right of a Tory home secretary, Kenneth Clarke, on the issue of the new lethal side-handled baton to police (the type which killed Brian Douglas), saying that the Met should be allowed to go ahead so long as the baton was properly tested. Again, it is in the language of communitarianism that

Labour has found a philosophy to justify its shift towards a New Right agenda.

In the US context, Etzioni has argued that the balance between rights and duties has swung too far in favour of rights. People must recognise their duties. Those who don't should be penalised. US communitarian proposals include curfews for teenagers to prevent them 'roaming the streets' and penalties for homeless people who don't comply with jobsearch requirements.

Compare these views with Blair's. In

## BUILDING UNITY • BUILDING UNITY • BUILDING UNITY

**Instead of pandering to class divisions, and writing off the so-called undeserving poor, the Labour party should follow the imaginative lead set by a coalition of forces, spearheaded by Newham Monitoring Project (NMP) and including Newham council, which organised the 'Unity Festival' on 3 September. More than 15,000 people attended the occasion which included music, stalls, a fun-fair and children's events and proved highly popular.**

**The festival was also unique. While anti-racist groups have, in the past, opted for the softer option of holding such events in black areas, the Unity Festival was held in the heart of Canning Town, a predominantly white area associated in the past more with racist and fascist activity than with anti-racism. When NMP took the bold step of launching the festival, many of its detractors argued that it would be a flop. But by linking the theme of unity against the fascists to the need for a united community to fight for equal rights for all and for more government funding and resources, NMP proved them wrong.**

**The Newham Unity Festival showed how stupid it is to stereotype or write off whole communities. Action is needed, not pessimism. ■**



Photos: Paul Mattsson

## EUROPE'S SOCIALISTS ATTACK BEGGARS

If Jack Straw's attack on 'aggressive begging' demonstrates an adoption of New Right thinking, the situation in France and Belgium is even worse, with Social Democrats and even Communists pandering to the popular mood represented by recent electoral successes of Le Pen's National Front and the Flemish Vlaams Blok.

The move to get beggars and anyone consuming alcohol banned from French city centres started in the seaside resort of La Rochelle, whose mayor, Michelle Crépeau, is a close friend of François Mitterand. Socialist mayors have now introduced laws banning begging in 11 French tourist towns, in order, they say, to address the law and order worries of parts of the electorate and complaints from the business and commerce sector.

Since many of Europe's beggars are people displaced by the war in the former Yugoslavia, or asylum-seekers, particularly Romany, from eastern Europe, anti-begging laws can also be used as a means of rounding up suspected illegal immigrants. This point is not lost on the mayor of the left-wing dominated city council of Brussels, François Xavier de Donnea. Justifying a new law giving police powers to round up beggars and 'vagrants', he said that most of Brussels' beggars had some income from social security, and those who did not were illegal aliens anyway. ■

the 1995 *Spectator*/Allied Dunbar Lecture, Blair said, 'Duty is the cornerstone of a decent society ... It defines the context in which rights are given ... the rights we receive should reflect the duties we owe.' In policy documents, such as *Safer Communities*, *Safer Britain* and *The Quiet Life*, Labour proposes fines and prosecutions against parents of truanting children, and new 'community safety orders' allowing anonymous complainants to get annoying neighbours locked up. Straw cites the anti-racist cause to justify the second proposal. But we have never called for such sweeping powers; rather, we have sought specific measures at local authority level, to tackle racist violence by council tenants. Liberty has described the community safety order proposals as 'draconian, misconceived and possibly amounting to a breach of the European Convention on Human Rights'.

### Preparing for government

The scene is set for history to repeat itself: a Labour government challenged in Europe by civil libertarians for breaching human rights. But if the recent by-election at Littleborough and Saddleworth is anything to go by, Labour is prepared not only to jettison civil liberties but to pillory those who would uphold them.

During the campaign, Labour's Phil Woolas was promoted as a 'practising Anglican and regular churchgoer', a believer in 'strong family values and responsible, disciplined upbringing of the young', while the Lib Dems' Chris Davies was ruthlessly attacked as a supporter of cannabis, rave parties and free immigration advisory services. And to protect Labour's anti-drugs image, while the by-election was in progress, senior Labour

figures, including Jack Straw, tried to dissuade Newport Labour MP Paul Flynn from presenting a Bill (which had cross-party support) to legalise the medical use of cannabis for serious illnesses like cancer. As an anonymous Labour MP commented on the campaign, 'We've never sunk this low before. I hate to think what we would have done if the Lib Dem had had a foreign surname or been a homosexual!' The shape of things to come?

History is replete with examples telling of fascism's growth under weak social democratic governments rather than right-wing ones that embrace people's insecurities. But Labour, it seems, is bent on offering a habitation to prejudice and fear in its bid to out-Right the Tories. ■

Background information for this article was taken from the *New Statesman*, *Red Pepper* and *Labour Briefing*.



## LABOUR AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

**1965** Labour government introduces first paramilitary policing with Special Patrol Group, without parliamentary debate

**1967** Labour Home Office circular encourages hiving off of 'race relations' from mainstream policing

**1974-79** Labour government refuses to listen to black people's complaints of violent and racist policing, refuses to repeal sus law which criminalises young black people

**1979** Labour home secretary Merlyn Rees refuses ban on National Front march through Southall and allows over 2,000 police to occupy town to enable 60 fascists to parade to town hall: 342 arrests; Blair Peach killed by SPG

**1983-86** Labour front bench priorities begin decade-long shift from issues of democratic control of police to present pro-police, law and order agenda. Party leader Neil Kinnock condemns 'violence' of striking miners; front bench fails to maintain principled opposition to Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, which gives police wide new powers of stop and search and detention for questioning.

**1993** Labour supports introduction of side-handled batons when Tory home secretary refuses police request

**1994** Labour abstains on Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which abolishes right to silence, criminalises trespass, abolishes local authorities' duties towards Gypsies

**1995** Shadow home secretary Straw demands reclaiming of streets from 'winos' and beggars; proposes new measures to penalise anti-social neighbours and parents of truants



## CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

# Lawrence family make legal history

Stephen Lawrence was brutally stabbed to death in a racist attack in Eltham, south London on 22 April 1993. Several weeks later, police arrested two white men and charged them with murder. But just a week before the committal was due to take place, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), with no explanation whatsoever and while the family were in Jamaica burying their son, decided to drop the charges against the two accused.

Nevertheless, Neville and Doreen Lawrence were convinced that there was enough evidence to proceed with the prosecution. So, with the help of campaigners and lawyers, they have launched the first ever private prosecution for a racist murder. And on 11 September, a judge at Belmarsh magistrates court agreed with the family that there was enough evidence to commit two men, Neil Acourt and Luke Knight, for trial.

CARF asked Suresh Grover of the Stephen Lawrence Family Campaign, what is the significance of this prosecution and its message for anti-racists in our future dealings with the CPS.

'The legal significance of the case is that it is the first private challenge to perpetrators of racial attacks this century. There have only ever been three private criminal prosecutions for murder, but none

for a racist murder. However, the campaign is not just a legal one because legally there is only so far you can go. A public outcry about racial violence and murders is needed; the campaign is aimed at showing how we can take the initiative and make demands of the authorities. Furthermore, if the prosecution succeeds, in much the same way as the Bradford 12 trial asserted the right to self-defence, a jury will have asserted the right of a black family to bring a private prosecution to get justice.

People will be able to see that it is an independent action made without assistance from any authority, and that the demands we have made are legitimate ones (for example, that police give us information collated from their investigation). We want to be able to set the agenda in court in an informed way, about what is happening to black communities. First, the whole issue of motive, which is never seriously discussed in racial attack trials, is important. The private prosecution will give us a chance to say that there is no motive other than a racial one. The fact that this is the first private prosecution and that the motive will be central to the prosecution's case, are all gains that will be consolidated at the trial.

The trial will open the floodgates for further prosecutions and move the debate forward. Since the committal succeeded, we are now getting other people, similarly failed by the CPS, asking if they can take out a prosecution. The discussion that will now take place is whether the CPS is the appropriate body to bring a prosecution. We argue that if there is a CPS (and we don't want to go back to the police bringing prosecutions), demands should be made of it and conditions attached to the way it goes about things – statutory duties to consult

*continued overleaf*

**Satpal Ram appeal hearing  
9.30am, Friday 20 October  
Appeal Court, the Strand**

Ring CARF on 0171 837 1450 or the  
Free Satpal Campaign on 0121 507 1618  
for more information

**DEMONSTRATE**

## Free Satpal Ram

**Satpal's appeal hearing on 20 October will be his last chance for freedom and justice.**

On 16 November 1986, Satpal went for a meal at the Sky Blue Restaurant in Birmingham. While he was having his meal a group of six whites began to racially abuse the staff of the restaurant and then attacked Satpal, throwing plates and glasses at him. One of the men broke a glass and stabbed Satpal twice in the face and arms. After being stabbed twice Satpal used a small knife (which he used at work to open packages) to defend himself. Satpal's attacker died after refusing medical treatment.



### Satpal's trial

Satpal was given a life sentence for murder in June 1987. Most of the witnesses were the other attackers and Satpal's witnesses were not provided with interpreters, even though their English was poor.

Satpal was convicted of murder by an all-white jury. Because of bad legal advice a defence of self-defence was not presented and he did not receive a fair trial. Satpal has now spent over eight and a half years in prison for defending his life against a racist attack.

In recent weeks Satpal has claimed victimisation by prison officers in Full Sutton prison. He was placed in segregation for over two weeks, and said that while segregated he was not fed properly or given exercise, and deprived of a mattress, which is against prison regulations. This action came shortly after a charge of prison mutiny against him was thrown out of court. ■





victims and their representatives, for instance, and to prosecute all cases with sufficient evidence of a racial motive; a duty to inform people if cases are not being proceeded with, and if not, why not, and the monitoring of how these cases are presented in court. We need an authority that is totally independent of the police, which examines the evidence and tells the police what information to gather. The CPS is not independent. Its hands are tied by the police who do the investigating. The CPS just decides on the charges. And in 45 per cent of cases where there is some form of racial motive, it doesn't press charges or continue with the case. The debate about the CPS cuts across all the superficial arguments about a Racial Harassment Bill—there is sufficient legislation to deal with racist attacks and violence, it's just a question of how it is done.

The decision to take out a private prosecution was arrived at after very extensive discussions between lawyers, family and activists, because it was the only recourse left to us. The fact that for the prosecution we chose lawyers who had never prosecuted before (they had only defended people against miscarriages of justice and frame ups) means that we are conscious that we must not deny defendants rights in pursuit of our prosecution. So we arrived at the concept of 'principled prosecution'. The *Sun* and the *Daily Mail* have written editorials arguing for the killers to be dealt with harshly, but we will not be part of this law and order lobby. This campaign has always been about justice.' ■

Stephen Lawrence Family Campaign, PO Box 3433, London SE18 3SS, Tel/Fax: 0181-317 0960

# Stop dividing

Independent film company First Take provided a moving and compassionate indictment of British immigration laws in its film, *A House Divided*, shown as part of Channel 4's Black Families series in September. Highlighting the cases of three people currently threatened with deportation, the documentary vividly illustrated the effects of racist and barbaric laws on families and how they are being challenged.

**Anwar Ul Haq** has been issued with a deportation order despite having lived in Britain for over eight years and having a British-born wife and child. Anwar became an overstayer because of a delay in filing his papers with the Home Office. After being told to attend an interview at Manchester airport he was issued with a deportation notice and his wife Ruby and their baby were invited to accompany him to Pakistan. Ruby's mother is dependent on her staying in Britain. 'Why should I be forced to choose between my husband and my mother?' Ruby asked. The mental strain led to Anwar being admitted to psychiatric hospital and made him unfit to



Anwar Ul Haq and his family

travel. The deportation has been deferred on these grounds, but in the meantime the family are fighting to stay together in Manchester and have established a campaign there.

**Atia Idrees** is now in hiding having been ordered to be detained pending her deportation from Oldham. Atia came to Britain from Pakistan in 1991 on a visitor's visa, but she is now caring full-time for her 75-year-old grandmother and is the only relative able to do so. Oldham Social Services admit that they are unable to provide the care that Atia's grandmother

## More black deaths in custody

**INQUEST** has drawn attention to yet another four black deaths in custody which could have been prevented. Activists in Scotland are demanding an inquiry into how **Shkander Singh**, a 35-year-old man, died in Stewart Street police station, Glasgow on 19 September 1994. When he was found dead, with bruising on his arms, wrists and hands,

his turban was floating in the cell toilet. And three other black deaths point to the special vulnerability of certain incarcerated black people.

**Lungile Simelane**, a 27-year-old woman was found hanged in Holloway on 6 May 1995, a day after she had been sentenced to 10 years for carrying drugs into the country. Her death raises concerns about the treatment of foreign nationals (particularly women) in UK jails. Prisoners say that following sentence, she was put in a cell with a stranger despite her asking to be with friends. They claim that she warned officers she was going to kill herself and started to give away her personal items.

**Peter Williams**, a 19-year-old black prisoner, took his life in a young offenders' institution at Aylesbury on 31 August 1995, just hours after a fight with white inmates. Peter had recently been transferred over one hundred and twenty miles from his family and friends, who had already expressed worries to the authorities about his mental health.

**Muttavel Vasanthan**, a 23-year-old Tamil asylum-seeker held in Norwich prison, killed himself on 25 August 1995. **INQUEST**, along with other organisations, is campaigning against the incarceration of asylum seekers. 'His death was an outrage,' said Debbie Coles, 'and the inquiry set up by the prison — using a governor and prison doctor — only confirms our concerns about the lack of accountability on prison deaths.' ■

**INQUEST**, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, Tel 0181 802 7430



Campaigners picketed CPS offices and forced them to bring charges against two prisoners for the killing of Norman Washington Manning (Bunson) in Long Lartin prison last September.

# black families

needs. Despite this, the Home Office has refused to change Atia's status and still plans to deport her.

**Kulwinder Phull** is currently petitioning law lords to hear the appeal against her deportation to India in a test case which may affect up to 300 others. Kulwinder came to Britain to get married but was forced to leave her husband within six months because of his violence, so becoming caught under the 'one year rule' which denies the right of residence if the marriage fails within twelve months. Since then Kulwinder has remarried and has a son. Her lawyers argue that, since her husband is a British citizen, he is entitled to the European right of family reunion under the Maastricht Treaty. Her fight is likely to be taken to the European Commission on Human Rights if British law lords refuse to hear her case.

In Cambridge, two families are also fighting deportation and awaiting the outcome of Kulwinder Phull's case. **Abdul-Hamid Aldebs** and his family have been living under threat of deportation for over two years. Mr Aldebs is Syrian-born but has lived in Cambridge since 1984 when

he came to Britain as a student and married a local woman. The Home Office claims that this was a marriage of convenience. Since then Mr Aldebs has married again and has two young children. Local campaigners have collected over 10,000 signatures on petitions and have received strong backing from local MPs and trade union branches.

**Kamla Wells** is fighting to stay in Britain with her husband Michael after failing to have her deportation order overturned by the High Court. Michael and Kamla married three years ago when Kamla was a student. She had been reported to the Home Office for working part-time in a laundry in breach of her immigration conditions. Although the couple informed the Home Office of their intention to marry they received no response other than deportation papers which were served seven months later. ■

Ul Haq family campaign, c/o GMIAU, 400 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester M8 9LE. Atia Idrees anti-deportation campaign, c/o Pakistani Community Centre, Oliver Street, Oldham. Aldebs family defence campaign, 3 Edward Street, Cambridge CB1 2LS. Kamla Wells campaign, 86 Mill Lane, Sawston, Cambridge CB22 4HZ.

## Around the courts

### Decent housing for all?

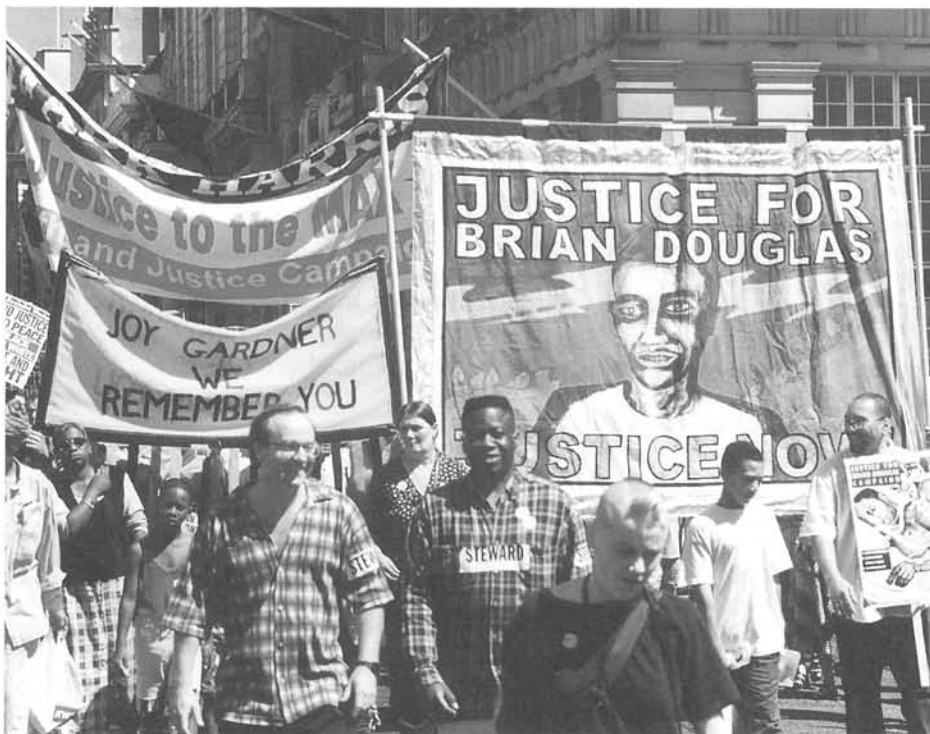
Lewisham Council isn't waiting for Michael Howard, it seems, but has already decided to do housing repairs only for those tenants whose immigration status is beyond question. The council tried to introduce evidence of a Nigerian tenant's immigration history when she took it to court for housing disrepair. Luckily, the magistrate threw the evidence out.

### Flying the flag

An immigration adjudicator harked back to the great days of empire when the British ruled Somalia, when he adjourned a Somali woman's asylum appeal so that evidence confirming her late father's employment in the Somali police force between 1972 and 1977 could be obtained. Despite revolution and civil war, the adjudicator was sure the evidence would be available, because 'when we (the British) were there we documented everything, we were very good at bureaucracy'. He couldn't, of course, speak for Italian Somalia.

### Slippery customer?

When, in July 1995, an 18-year-old African-Caribbean man appeared at Horseferry Road Magistrates court charged with several serious offences, the prison officer asked that he wear handcuffs in court. Why? Was it because the young man had been violent or disruptive in prison? Was it because he tried to escape in the past? On the contrary, he had not caused any trouble at all, and had attended court unhandcuffed a week earlier without there being any trouble. No, it was because the prison officer had seen him applying cocoa butter cream to his hands that morning and concluded that he might try to slip out of handcuffs and escape whilst in court. The young man's barrister objected that cocoa butter cream was a common moisturising lotion, that there were no grounds to fear either violence or escape and no reason to humiliate the young man by forcing him to appear handcuffed. But stipendiary magistrate Roger Davies saw no problem: handcuffs were used all around the world, he remarked, and even OJ Simpson was brought into court each day in handcuffs! Prison officers forced the young man to come into court handcuffed and the magistrate rebuked the barrister for objecting to his client being assaulted in full view of all present in court. ■



The family of Joy Gardner were joined by other victims of police brutality in a 2,000 strong march through central London in July. Following the acquittal of the three police officers tried for Joy's manslaughter, the Joy Gardner memorial campaign is calling for a full public inquiry into Joy's death and plans to serve writs for civil actions against the home secretary, the immigration service and the metropolitan police.

Joy Gardner memorial campaign, PO Box 9501, London N17 6EG. Tel 0370 432 439.



Ian 'gis a job' Dell (right) considers Greenwich Council's equal opportunities policy

## Dell sacking upheld

Greenwich council's sacking of British National Party organiser and 'chief steward' Ian Dell has been upheld by the Employment Appeal Tribunal (EAT). Dell, who worked for the council as a caretaker between 1991-1993, was sacked after appearing on a television programme shouting racist slogans. A nazi since around 1982, he has picked up several criminal convictions while out on BNP activities, including one for attacking the Mandela statue on the South Bank, and was also involved in a smoke-bomb attack on an anti-racist meeting in 1991.

Last year an industrial tribunal ruled that Dell should be re-engaged, though 'in a job which would not bring him into contact, direct or indirect, with racial minorities'. The EAT upheld the council's

appeal, saying that he had 'breached the trust and confidence that the council had to have in all staff to carry out their duties'.

## BNP by-election attack

Following hot on the BNP's announcement that it intends to fight 50 seats at the next general election came a trial run at a by-election in the Hanworth ward of Hounslow, west London on 31 August. Its candidate, Warren Glass, came fourth with a paltry 119 votes (4%).

With Tyndall banging on about the importance of the electoral road to fascism, it would be interesting to know who authorised Warren's candidature. He's not exactly a shining example of the wholesome public image the BNP has tried to adopt recently, and his violent campaign shattered any illusions of respectability.

Warren is no stranger to violence; he was arrested back in April 1993 for a violent attack on an anti-racist meeting in Hounslow, and charged with violent disorder, but escaped conviction after denying any connection with the BNP. His past is an appropriate metaphor for the BNP's current 'electoral' strategy; attack any opponents and if you get caught out, lie through your teeth.

His philosophy was put into practice when about 50 drunken BNP supporters launched an attack on anti-fascists and trade unionists who had gathered at the civic centre for the count. There were violent clashes before the fascists were driven back. They returned to lob bricks and bottles before retreating. One BNP

supporter was later arrested. The BNP's Michael Newland, struggling to maintain the respectable facade, reluctantly admitted that a few supporters had 'lost their temper'.

Although the BNP's promise to field 50 candidates is unlikely to be fulfilled, the Hounslow by-election provided a foretaste of what to expect at those seats the BNP does contest at the general election.

## Anti-BNP protestors jailed

Outrage has greeted the jailing of nine demonstrators who took part in a march demanding the closure of the BNP headquarters in Welling in October 1993. Over 50,000 people joined the march, which ended in confrontations between police and protestors after the police rerouted it away from the area. Environment secretary John Gummer has since conceded that the premises were illegally used as a political HQ without planning permission.

Provocative policing tactics ensuring that the police prediction of trouble was fulfilled included closing roads to prevent people leaving the area, extensive filming of thousands of demonstrators and arbitrary baton charges by riot police, which provoked missile throwing from demonstrators. Afterwards, there was an extensive media campaign to track down the 'troublemakers', with one tabloid newspaper offering a reward of £1,000.

The nine demonstrators were jailed for between sixteen months and three years on riot charges at Maidstone Crown Court in Kent. They had been identified from police video and press and TV coverage. Since their names were published they have received death threats from Combat 18. ■

## DRAMA

## Pentecost

David Edgar must be Britain's leading anti-racist playwright. His *Destiny*, a play against the NF, was the anti-racist play of the 1970s, and *Pentecost* will prove to be the anti-racist play of the 1990s. Set in a fictitious eastern European country, the play explores the plight of Third World refugees thrown up against Europe's walls

and rejected by its governments. By choosing eastern Europe as the location, Edgar also examines the rise of 'new' nationalisms amid the rapid Americanisation of countries which try to leap from communism to capitalism.

*Pentecost*, which takes place in a ruined church containing remains of a medieval, and possibly unique, wall-painting, also examines the way in which all cultures have borrowed from one another - and the value a society places on art. The church (symbolising the history of eastern Europe) had been a mosque under Ottoman rule, a stable for animals in feudal times, a

torture centre under the Nazis, a foodstore under communism. Will it now be a museum? Do the authorities care to preserve the newly found painting? No, they care more to destroy the asylum-seekers who take sanctuary there. As commandos break their way through the painting and into the church, shooting all in sight, the church passes to its final phase - as a cemetery. It is breathtaking, immediate drama. But the political messages go on to haunt you. ■

*Pentecost* is playing at the Young Vic in London. The text of the play has been published by Nick Hern Books (price £6.99).



## FILM

## Panther

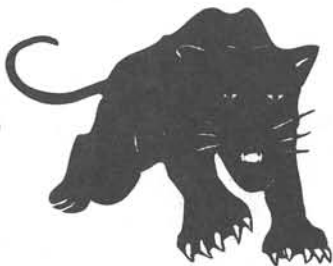
The history of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is often mistold and misrepresented. *Panther*, a film soon to be released in Britain, makes some amends. It tells the story of the Black Panthers through the eyes of a fictional character, Judge, a Vietnam war veteran. He joins the party as the community suffers police brutality and harassment. Judge is soon embroiled in clandestine activities, working



as a 'double-agent' for the police/FBI and the Panthers. The film centres on the counter-intelligence programme aimed at eliminating the Black Panther Party which was identified as 'Public Enemy Number 1', and 'the single greatest threat to the internal security of the United States'.

The importance of the community programmes initiated by

the Panthers is glossed over in the film. The breakfast programme, education of the black community, provision of free health care, the role that women played within the party are issues which, though mentioned, are underplayed to make the film appeal to a mass audience. The soundtrack contains tracks such as 'Freedom', performed by an ad-hoc group of top R'n'B, hip-hop, soul, female vocalists – which all adds to the commercial nature of the film. And it ends with a spectacularly dramatic 'Die Hard'-type sequence which detracts from the political message. Despite this, and the factual inaccuracies, it is highly recommended, as it tells the story of a revolutionary movement that sought to empower black people. *Panther* is a starting point for those who know little about the Panthers. The situation of oppression in the 1960s and 1970s is as relevant today as it was then; sequences in the film show the brutality of the police, in their well-publicised attack on Rodney King and their attacks on the civil rights marchers in the 1960s. By the end of the film you are left with an inspirational feeling, of what can be and could be achieved by black people. ■



**Mumia Abu-Jamal, radical black journalist and former Black Panther, has won a stay of execution after mass protests across the USA. Mumia was framed for the murder of a police officer fourteen years ago. He still remains on death row, and the campaign for his release continues. ■**

## Hit racism for six

It may be the end of the English cricket season, but the first campaign against racism in the sport is just getting off the ground. A press launch at the start of the August Oval Test attracted wide publicity on radio and in the black press. The declaration against racism in cricket has been signed by luminaries including bishops, academics, artists and MPs.

It is a reflection of the nature of institutionalised racism in this establishment-dominated sport that the cricket press has been unsupportive of the campaign and that key figures and players do not sign the declaration for fear of rocking the boat. Undeterred, Hit Racism for Six is now trying to get support from the Test and County Cricket

## FOOTBALL

## No Asians in the boardroom please

As the 'Let's kick racism out of football' campaign launches its 1995/6 programme, CARF reports from Scotland, where positive attempts to combat racism in the game have been undermined, not on the terraces, but in the boardroom.

The boardroom in question is that of Partick Thistle, a club that likes to present itself as non-sectarian, sandwiched as it is between Glasgow Rangers and Celtic. After Labour MP George Galloway announced at an Asian community function that he was acting as go-between in a bid by Asian businessmen to buy financially-troubled Partick, chairman Jim Oliver announced that the club could not be bought by 'some Indian curry shop owner' and accused Galloway of opportunism and seeking Asian votes.

Following strong condemnation from Strathclyde Regional Council, the local Community Relations Council and, most importantly, Partick Thistle fans themselves, Oliver attempted an apology. And what an attempt! First he said, 'I am sorry if I said he [the head of the consortium] was Indian, he is in fact Pakistani.' He followed that by apologising if he had been 'too flippant for the occasion'. 'I have a number of Asian friends who come to my house for a meal regularly and I would not wish to upset them,' Oliver excused himself to the *Scottish Asian Voice*.

## The way forward

What is so irritating is that so much has been done over the past year to combat racism in Scottish football, as the chair of the premier division club should have known. Indeed, groups like the Scottish Professional Footballers' Association have taken a much clearer stand against racism on the



terraces since the 1980s, when black players like Mark Walters (Rangers) and Paul Elliot (Celtic) entered the Scottish game, than their English counterparts. Last season, two men who shouted racist abuse at a Dundee/St Johnson fixture were successfully prosecuted. And an anti-racist pre-match video launched last season as part of the 'Let's kick racism out of football' campaign has proved very popular.

With African-Caribbean players like Fashanu, Boli and, most recently, the black Dutch player Pierre van Hooydonk (Celtic) making their mark on the Scottish game, one would have thought boardroom representatives would be more sensitive about deploying crude 'ethnic' stereotypes. Certainly Glasgow's Asian community will be put off going to grounds if this is the sort of attitude they can expect. But soon they may have something to cheer about: Glasgow Rangers youth team have just signed up their first Asian player, 16-year-old Jaz Juttla. ■

The 'Let's kick racism out of football' campaign is coordinated by Strathclyde Community Relations Council, 15 Wellington Street, Glasgow G2 2XT. Tel: 0141 227 6048.

Board. And it hopes soon to meet Surrey County Cricket Club to discuss complaints about stewarding at the Oval and the ground's policy on 'noise-making instruments'. ■

Hit Racism for Six, c/o Centre for Sport Development Research, Department of Sport Studies, Roehampton Institute, London SW15 3SN. Tel. 0171 561 1606.

**JUL 26** Mother of three alleges she was bound with leg straps and suffered internal bleeding after arrest by Bath police... Arson attack on Sikh temple in Stoke is one in a string of racist attacks, says priest... 42-year-old Henry Jacobs-Bardouville has 27 stitches to cheek after attack by 30-strong racist gang in south London... Londoner John Stabler is sentenced to life imprisonment after admitting to knife attacks on three black men

**JUL 28** Police meeting with black community leaders to launch Operation Eagle Eye is boycotted and picketed by anti-racists outside New Scotland Yard... Court awards former PC Mohammed Mirza £5,000 compensation for assault and malicious prosecution by Hackney police

**JUL 29** Asian woman PC Henrietta Hutcheon claims that no real progress against racism and sexism in the force has been made in the past five years

**AUG 1** 21-year-old Jew treated for facial injuries after being kicked and punched as he sat in his car in Gateshead... Labour MPs complain at party's racist tactics in Littleborough and Saddleworth by-election

**AUG 2** 11-year-old Asian girl is shot in arm with air rifle in spate of racist attacks in Keighley, all involving air guns

**AUG 3** Met police launch Operation Eagle Eye to tackle street robbery, of which 80 per cent is carried out by black youths, according to Commissioner Paul Condon

**AUG 5** South London police responding to call about two suspicious black men posing as gas board officials, detain innocent black man out walking his dog in station for a day

**AUG 6** New 80-page police guide on officer safety includes a section on how to interpret Afro-Caribbean body language

**AUG 7** Muslims and Hindus warned to be on their guard after several racist attacks on mosques and temples in south London and Surrey

**AUG 8** Two prison officers suspended after alleged assault on Somali refugee in west London

**AUG 10** 3,000 people attend funeral of Brian Douglas, beaten to death by south London police... South London councillor Carl Boothe says he will take legal action against police after being racially abused and assaulted by officers... Annual report of Board of Deputies of British Jews says 1994 saw the highest number of anti-semitic incidents since records began in 1982

**AUG 11** Two black youths are cleared of robbery after a black mother withdrew her evidence in protest at Paul Condon's mugging comments, adding that her son could one day be a victim of Operation Eagle Eye... Disciplinary charges are brought against two south east regional crime squad detectives after they assaulted a black ex-policeman at a party saying he was not a guest

**AUG 12** Home office statistics show total number of people issued with deportation notices or recommended for deportation rose by a third in the past year

**AUG 13** Three quarters of London's racially motivated crimes go unsolved, according to Met police figures... Two Swansea City fans are arrested for chanting racist abuse at match and face life ban if convicted

**AUG 14** Three Manchester policemen are cleared of racism at disciplinary hearing after allegations were made against them by former colleague PC Reid

**AUG 16** Seventy people on Abbey Farm Estate in Norwich form barricade on road with wheelie bins in protest at police inaction over racist attacks on estate

**AUG 17** Birmingham bus driver Timothy Samuels hanged himself after suffering racist abuse from work colleagues and passengers, inquest hears

**AUG 20** Research shows that many

# 1995

## CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

perceive the new police caution to be a threat, and less than half understand what it means

**AUG 21** Manager of Essex Superdrug store tore up job applications from anyone with a foreign-sounding name, industrial tribunal hears

**AUG 23** Police figures show racist incidents in Derby have more than doubled in the last year

**AUG 24** Leicester woman is racially abused and has guns pointed at her by soldiers during army social event

**AUG 26** Police monitoring groups reveal an alarming increase in the number of black youths stopped and searched in the four weeks since Operation Eagle Eye began

**AUG 27** Farquharson family demand inquiry into dawn raid by armed police on their Manchester home

**AUG 29** Figures from Nottinghamshire police show that blacks are twice as likely as whites to be stopped and searched, but 90 per cent of those actually arrested after being stopped are white

**AUG 30** Sri Lankan asylum-seeker found hanged in Norwich prison... Nigerian head chef at Chelsea restaurant awarded £20,000 damages after being sacked by manager who wanted to 'get rid of all the monkeys in the kitchen'

**AUG 31** Group 4 found guilty of discriminating against Sikh who applied for job as guard

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37 per cent increase in racist incidents in the past year... Two

black waitresses tell industrial tribunal how they were racially abused while working at a function at

which Bernard Manning was performing

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