

**Europe's suspect
communities**

**Refugees treated
as terrorists**

The human trade

emergency

**Britain's new
asylum law**



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EDITORIAL

Michael Howard must go. A home secretary who can authorise the violation of sanctuary to deport a man who has made his home in Britain for seventeen years, and continue with the deportation process after the raid has provoked a heart attack; who can refuse a visa to a son whose sole purpose of entry is to donate a kidney to his dialysis-patient father, should not still be in office.

What is Howard's record? In his three years as home secretary, he has been responsible for a nearly 60% increase in the number of asylum-seekers refused and told to leave; a 250% increase in immigration prisoners; and a massive prison-building programme to accommodate them. Appeal rights have been slashed, entitlement to benefits abolished, 'white lists' and 'fast-track procedures' implemented. He has brought in sniffer dogs to hunt out illegal immigrants, fines on employers to make them hunt out illegal workers, and incentives to immigration officers to reject more passengers at the ports.

The level of opposition to the most authoritarian home secretary in living memory has been unprecedented. From Amnesty International to the European Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the High Commission for Refugees, there has been widespread condemnation of British asylum procedures, detentions, forced deportations – and outrage at the deaths of asylum-seekers.

That international opposition has been more than matched nationally both inside and outside the establishment. The chief immigration adjudicator outlawed his attempt to deport Mohammed al-Masari. Senior judges weekly overrule his decisions on deportation. The Court of Appeal described the removal of basic benefits from asylum-seekers as uncivilised and inhumane. The House of Lords tried unsuccessfully to restore the benefits to some asylum-seekers. Church groups characterised his policies as 'reminiscent of the Nazis'. Anti-racists have fought, locally, over case after case while combining nationally to mobilise opposition to his latest racist laws. Even a Home Office official is on record as saying 'No Home Secretary in living memory has ever been so hated.'

And yet his policies become law, despite near-universal condemnation, despite the international organisations, despite the courts, despite the House of Lords. For there is no real opposition where we most need it, in the House of Commons. The Labour Party, desperate for office, only goes through the motion of opposing, mouthing platitudes of outrage. Our job as anti-racists is to push progressive forces in parliament to the limits and insist on proof of Labour's commitment to repealing racist laws. It is time that Labour came out. ■

Don't forget suburban racism

Racial violence doesn't only affect inner city black communities. One suburban black family's story shows that anti-racists need to build in previously overlooked areas.

Mr and Mrs B, who are African-Caribbean, moved to Sutton, Surrey four years ago. Their nightmare started when a neighbour accused them of trying to show him up, simply because the B's kept their driveway clean. This neighbour's fixation with a black family led him to repeatedly throw litter over the fence, smear their windows with excrement and even to soak them with a garden sprinkler if they dared to use their backyard. On at least one occasion he got the police round on the pretext that Mr B was trying to break in to a neighbouring house.

Then, on 18 April 1996, as Mrs B swept the front drive, the man came for her. The subsequent beating left her with a bloody lip, loosened teeth and a hugely swollen face. When her husband and her adult son tried to intervene, they too were beaten, and the son suffered a ruptured spleen. The B family called the police, who arrived, took in the situation at a glance and arrested – yes, Mr and Mrs B and their son. Mrs B's son was in hospital for ten weeks, under police guard for six days. But Mr and Mrs B were the ones charged, with wounding with intent and false imprisonment! The police said they had abducted the neighbour and held him in their house. Kept in police custody for three days, the Bs were then placed in a north London bail hostel. They were forbidden to return home without an escort – a condition which was also applied to their daughter when she returned from a visit abroad.

In July, magistrates dropped the charges against the Bs, because the CPS had failed to produce the prosecution evidence in time. But the police now say that because the charges were thrown out on a technicality the couple may be recharged. ■

A black British construction worker has been paralysed from the neck down following a vicious racist attack in Mahlow, Germany

Bring Noel home

Noel Martin will probably never walk again. His family are appealing for help in raising the £10,000 needed to transfer him from Berlin to a Birmingham hospital in accordance with Noel's wishes. Even if Noel gets compensation from the

German Criminal Compensation Board (and this is by no means guaranteed for the victims of racist attack), this will take years to come through and in the meantime, Noel needs support as the cost of post-hospital care will be enormous.



Far-Right attack

It was in Mahlow, a sleepy little village south of Berlin, that Noel and two black British friends were working as plasterers. Since their arrival in the town they had been the focus of racism from a far-Right gang which regularly congregates

outside the railway station, harassing immigrants working at local restaurants.

On 16 June, Noel and his two friends were making a phone call at the railway station when the gang started to racially abuse them. When the three men left the area, the gang got into their car and made hot pursuit. As they overtook the car Noel was driving, they threw a large stone into the rear window. The car spiralled out of control. Noel's friends escaped uninjured, but Noel suffered broken neck bones and a shattered spine. Four weeks after the attack, he could not breathe without the help of a respirator. He has no movement in his arms and legs.

Campaign for justice

CARF's colleagues in the Anti-Racist Initiative have formed a campaign to get justice for Noel. The immediate issue, apart from the raising of funds, is to ensure a proper police investigation and arrests. All the indicators point to police prejudice and indifference. A police press release, issued the day after the attack, blamed Noel and

In response to demands from survivors of the Lübeck fire, a Commission is investigating the case of Safwan Eid, accused of starting the fire in which ten people died, and of which he and his family were themselves survivors

Support the Lübeck survivors

The International Independent Commission was established in Utrecht in April. It comprises nine members—lawyers and writers from France, Great Britain, Italy, Israel and the Netherlands – and has already had two sittings.

So concerned is the Commission by the stone wall of silence from the investigating authorities (the state prosecutor has refused to meet members) and the lack of balance in investigational proceedings, that it has produced an interim report 'to give expression to its justified fears about the nature and results of the investigations by the state prosecutor'.

The Commission calls on the authorities:

■ **to suspend the threatened deportation of witnesses** to the fire and to arrange for the return of Victor Atoe, deported to Nigeria in May. 'In order to get

to the bottom of this tragedy and to arrest those responsible, all witnesses must be present and able to make their testimony.'

■ **to explain why the state prosecutor ceased investigation** of three German youths with neo-Nazi connections who were initially suspected, only to be released despite strong evidence against them. Forensic evidence showed them to have freshly singed hair, eyebrows and eyelashes at the time of arrest. 'It is painfully obvious and is the cause of grave concern to us, that the state prosecutor on the one hand does not pursue tangible leads against these persons yet on the other hand is prosecuting Safwan Eid on the basis of an alleged confession.'

■ **to justify the decision to use electronic listening devices** to tape conversations between Safwan Eid

NOEL MARTIN

his friends. Four weeks later, the gang were still loitering undisturbed outside the railway station. Following publicity, the police made one arrest (the man was later released).

Then, following the intervention of the state prosecutor, two men were said to have confessed. But whether they will be charged with reckless driving, as first indicated, or attempted murder, remains to be seen. At the same time, the Brandenburg secret service has declared that they know nothing about far-Right organisations in Mahlow, even though in 1994 a left-wing meeting place was attacked.

Meanwhile, racism thrives in Mahlow. Youths with T-shirts bearing the slogan: 'I am proud to be a German' patrol the railway station. An employee at the local butcher's shop comments: 'They managed to get the right ones, the British are the worst.'

Irresponsible unions

But responsibility for the attack on Noel goes further. Noel was one of thousands of British construction workers who, alongside other nationalities such as Polish, Irish and Portuguese, have been helping to reconstruct Germany after reunification. Now the boom in construction is over and, as workers are hit by large-scale unemployment, unions have been clamouring for protection for German workers.

But instead of moving to ensure better conditions in the industry as a whole, which would entail taking on unscrupulous sub-contractors, the main building workers' union, the IGB, has made common cause with the police to announce a joint crackdown on illegal non-contractual work. The unions also (successfully) campaigned for a law guaranteeing a minimum wage in the industry. But even this progressive

demand was sold to the public on the basis that it would ensure foreign workers were priced out of the market as, at present, it is cheaper for employers to sub-contract work rather than pay the steep national insurance contributions that German law requires.

Unwittingly, Noel and his friends – just plasterers attempting, as Noel's friend Arthur put it, 'to make the place prettier' – got caught up in the climate against foreign workers generated by calls for protectionism. The German construction union bears a responsibility for what happened to Noel, and CARF will be writing to them and related unions in the UK, to ask what action they intend to take. ■

Reporting from Germany by Anjuli Gupta

If you would like to make a donation towards Noel Martin's medical costs, please send it to CARF (marked Noel Martin campaign) and we will pass it on to the Anti-Racist Initiative, which is raising money for Noel in Germany.

Official letters of protest should be sent to: Herr Mayor, Lattaine, Gemeindeverwaltung, Heinrich Heinestraße No. 3, 15831 Mahlow, Germany. Fax no: 00 49 33 79 37 21 66

Chief Prosecutor, Staatsanwaltschaft, Potsdam, Heinrich Mann Allee No. 103, Haus 18, 14473 Potsdam, Germany.



FIGHT FOR COMPENSATION

When are the families of victims of crime entitled to official criminal compensation? Not when they have lost loved ones through murderous racist attacks.

In Germany, two of the worst outrages in recent times were the Solingen and Mölln fires in which eight Turkish women and girls were burnt to death. Now the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Security has ruled that the families of the dead are not entitled to criminal compensation on the grounds that the girls were staying with distant relatives ('twice removed') rather than direct (nuclear) family. The underlying logic of this outrageous decision is that the extended families of immigrants cannot expect justice unless they integrate into the patterns of the modern nuclear German family. The fascists must be laughing....

LÜBECK

and his relatives in jail when this contradicts the right to private and family life accorded to all persons, even those accused of crimes, by Article 8 of the European Human Rights Convention. *'The results of this bugging, which is largely in contravention of basic rights, contain nothing which proves Safwan's guilt. They merely give rise to speculation, which the state prosecutor presents as a confession.'*

When racist violence reached new heights in Germany in 1991, international solidarity forced the German state to act against the neo-nazi terror. Now international support is needed to prevent a major miscarriage of justice. ■

Send donations to continue the vital work of the Commission to: Anwaltsbüro Heinecke, Budapest Str. 49, 20359 Hamburg. Tel: 00 49 0 40 439. Bank account no: 498 463-203. Postbank Hamburg BLZ 200 100 20. Account in the name of: A. Wulf/Pax Christi; heading IUK Lübeck.

From refugee to terrorist

The UK is leading the way in calling for anti-terrorist and emergency powers to be used against Europe's refugee communities

In April, a huge police operation, with marksmen and helicopters, was launched to raid a Kurdish community centre in Haringey, north London. Inside, embarrassed police found a Kurdish group rehearsing a Harold Pinter play about repression of Kurds. Someone had seen hooded armed men going into the community centre and the police, forgetting the advance notification they had of the rehearsal, assumed the Kurds were engaged in terrorist violence. Fortunately for the Kurds, on this occasion at least the police didn't shoot first and ask questions later.

When the IRA announced a ceasefire on 31 August 1994, there was a general expectation that the emergency and anti-terrorist laws allowing the police to cordon off whole areas and stop and search vehicles, to detain people incommunicado

for up to a week and to banish them into internal exile, would not be renewed. After all, the main law was called the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, and had to be renewed annually. But it was not to be. The draconian powers were kept intact, and used on different targets; no longer Irish, but 'international' terrorism was the justification for retaining powers which the European Court of Human Rights has repeatedly condemned for infringing fundamental rights to freedom. And the police stop and search powers under the PTA were even extended in April 1996 to pedestrians within designated areas, who can now be stopped and searched at random.

Why did the leaders of the major parties agree not only to continue but also to expand these repressive measures?

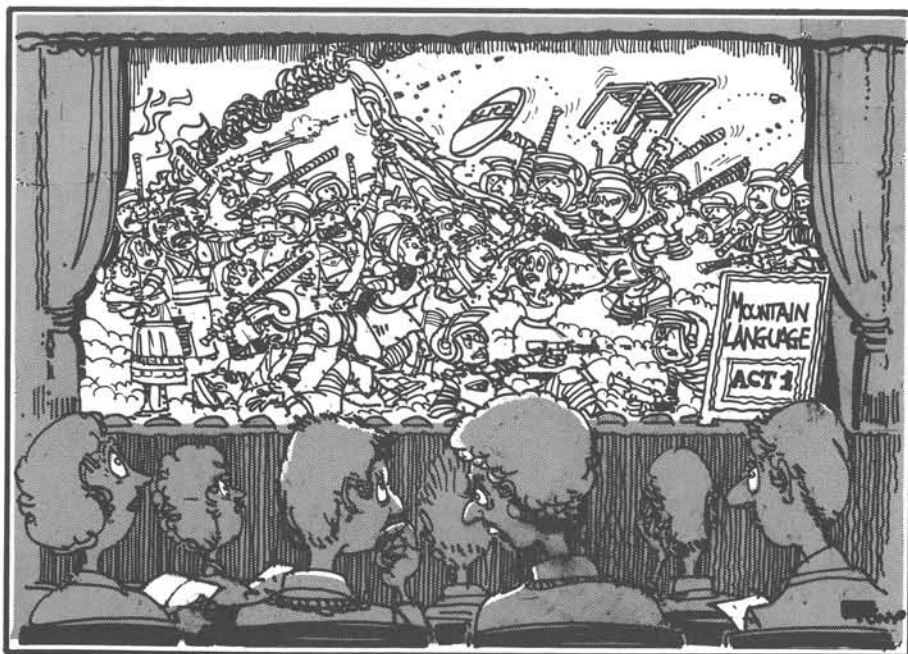
Because to the politicians and the racist opinion-formers, immigrants and asylum-seekers are a threat of the same order as terrorists, and merit the same response: extreme powers of prevention, detection and apprehension, with no regard to democratic or human rights.

Different countries, different threat

Different communities come in for special targeting in different European countries. In Britain it tends to be Middle Eastern people, from Palestine, Lebanon or the Gulf states, and Sikhs from the Punjab who are given the full anti-terrorist treatment, although in recent times, and under pressure from France and Germany, Kurds and north Africans have come under scrutiny too.

Karamjit Singh Chahal is treated as a terrorist suspect despite his acquittal on criminal charges, and has been in prison for over five years awaiting deportation to India, where he is likely to be tortured to death, on evidence he is not allowed to know, let alone challenge. Raghbir Singh, held at Winson Green prison in Birmingham for 18 months, is another Sikh 'terrorist' who has yet to hear what he is alleged to have done to merit deportation on national security grounds: the equivalent for non-British or Irish terror suspects to the PTA's exclusion orders, with the same absence of real appeal rights.

In France, the main suspect community is the Algerians. In the clampdown on suspected Islamists in 1993, 2,000 were rounded up and deported to Algeria, where some were never heard of again. Others were put on a charter flight to Burkina Faso, where they remain stranded, unable to return to France or to Algeria. Others still were placed under house arrest. Over a million were stopped and searched in the wake of the metro bomb in August 1995. What particularly enraged the Algerian community in France was the issue of three fake photofit pictures of north Africans even before the identity or nationality of the bombers was known, in a police public relations exercise designed 'to reassure the public'. When the Swedish authorities refused to extradite a suspect with an unbreakable alibi the French did not conceal their fury; and France has also been leaning on Britain to clamp down on Islamist activists. Up to 800 Algerians remain detained without charge, their children taken by social services and their houses repossessed. An unknown number



'Typical Pinter - totally over the top'

have been deported to Algeria, where they have been put in the notorious concentration camps in the Sahara desert or simply been killed. Now the UK is proposing that French expertise on dealing with Islamic extremists be drawn on in the creation of EU-wide counter-terrorist centres of excellence.

Collusion

Algerian exiles accuse the French authorities of open collusion with the junta which has ruled Algeria illegally since depriving FIS of its election victory in 1991, for the sake of the huge reserves of oil and natural gas in Algeria. They refer to the banning of a book describing the excesses of the Algerian junta since 1991, the White Book on repression in Algeria, censored by Interior minister Debré early

public order, and 'ringleaders' are dealt with harshly. President Roman Herzog said in March 1996, referring to participation in banned demonstrations, that foreigners engaged in 'violence and terror' have forfeited the right to stay in the country; and a bill going through the German Bundestag makes deportation of those breaching the peace at banned demonstrations easier. Germany is also seeking the extradition of European Kurdish leader Kani Yilmaz from Britain, where he has been in top-security Belmarsh prison for 21 months, ever since coming from Germany (where he had political asylum) to a House of Commons meeting in October 1994.

Once more, Germany's interests in cooperation with Turkey against Kurdish dissidents are obvious: German arms sales and trade links to Turkey. Germany is currently cultivating trade links with Iran, and is simultaneously clamping down on Iranian opposition activity in Germany. This is worrying Iranian refugees there, who fear an attempt to declare Iran safe, followed by attempted deportations. It is particularly frightening as the German internal security police enjoy close links with their Iranian counterparts.

Silencing dissent

For within the suspect communities, it is political activists who are the prime targets, and the true aim is often to silence them. Kani Yilmaz' extradition is sought not because he is alleged to have committed any acts of terrorism, but for the leadership he gives to the Kurdish community in exile. In France too, it is leading Islamists rather than terrorists who find themselves in detention, under house arrest or deported. A leading activist of FAF (an Algerian solidarity group in France), Moussa Kraouche, is still under house arrest two years after it was disclosed that the evidence linking him with terrorism was false and probably planted by police. Mohammed Al-Masari was threatened with deportation to Dominica because of his peaceful but noisy dissident activities against the Saudi regime. In the wake of the Masari affair, the British government has announced plans for a new conspiracy law to prevent foreigners seeking asylum in Britain if their activities are considered detrimental to 'national interests'. Such a move would contravene the Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees. Now the UK government is attempting to preempt criticism by fighting to change the Convention. At a meeting of G7 foreign and interior ministers, the UK argued that anyone deemed guilty of

'planning, financing and incitement to terrorism' be excluded from the benefits of the Convention. Such moves amount to a public declaration that commercial, diplomatic and arms links with refugee-producing countries take precedence over refugees' rights to life and freedom.

Emergency

But the safeguarding of commercial and diplomatic ties with repressive regimes by targeting refugee communities and activists

This is part of a testimony that was submitted to Lord Lloyd who is conducting an investigation into the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

I had spent a wonderful ten-day holiday with my family in Nablus, and on the day of my travel, half-packed and ready for my trip back to London, I was visiting my brother's house to say goodbye, when Israeli soldiers came for me. At first I thought they were mistaken, but they took me to the Centre of Israeli intelligence in Jalameh, near Haifa, kept me for four days and interrogated me for 14-16 hours a day for two days. Afterwards, my interrogators told me I was free to go; they were satisfied I had done nothing. As a result of the detention, I was unable to walk for a week; the conditions of the cell were not conducive to good health to someone recovering from a back injury like myself. I had to put off my return to Britain.

After my release I learned that, while I was jailed in Israel, the British police had been to my flat in London and totally wrecked it. They caused structural damage of over £20,000, ripping tiles and mirrors from walls, removing a ventilator, drilling holes in the walls, removing screws, tearing out carpets and flooring. They hacked my fridge into pieces, ripped upholstery, smashed the cooker, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, radios and TV. My clothes were dirtied. They took away all the food, including unopened packets of pasta and rice, frozen foods, coffee, tea, salt, herbs, broke soap, took samples of shampoos and creams, and seized about 30 boxfuls of papers, correspondence, files, photos, personal and academic notes...

Two weeks later I was able to travel, accompanied by my brother. I knew I was to be arrested at the airport. I was in a wheelchair, as usual when travelling, when I was arrested from the plane. My brother was questioned, searched



**YESTERDAY'S 'TERRORIST',
TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL
STATESMAN**

this year on public order grounds. This collusion makes a terrorist out of every dissident, out of every gang leader. Even Khalid Kelkal, a young French Arab killed by police in a gun battle in March 1996 near Lille, was posthumously elevated from 'gang leader' to 'terrorist', to justify his extrajudicial execution.

In Germany, it is the Kurds who are singled out as a suspect community. Germany, with France, banned the PKK and ERNK, the main Kurdish groups, in 1993 at the request of Turkish prime minister Tansu Ciller, who vowed to crush the Kurdish rebels within a year, and followed up the bans with vicious repression of Kurdish protests. Banned demonstrations are labelled a threat to

is only part of the story. For the vote-mongering politicians of western Europe, an equally important element is the presentation of the 'invasion' of immigrants and asylum-seekers as a threat of the same order of magnitude as terrorists, justifying the same sort of emergency measures. We have become used to the imprisonment without trial of immigrants and asylum-seekers, to their routine fingerprinting, to the illegal immigrant intelligence units exchanging information: in short, to measures

belonging to serious and urgent criminal investigations, being used on immigrants and asylum-seekers. An automated fingerprint-matching system to match the prints of all asylum-seekers anywhere in the EU and access personal data on them all, agreed by EU ministers in 1992, is well on the way to completion. EU ministers are planning a European Information System to collect, collate and exchange information on all immigrants or foreigners travelling or staying in any EU country. In the Netherlands, traditionally

UNDER INTERROGATION

thoroughly and had his travel documents seized. They took me to Paddington Green police station. It was stiflingly hot in the cells, and there was no ventilation. My solicitor, who met me there, tried in vain to get the police to question me there and then and release me; they insisted on keeping me overnight, and then questioned me for just a few minutes the following day before releasing me without charge.

My brother and my future husband did not let me see the flat immediately, but two days later I returned there. It looked as if a hurricane had hit the place. My feelings were of fear and outrage. I felt, and still feel a deep sense of invasion and exposure – all my life was open to people I did not know. Someone opened all my cupboards and drawers, and searched everything I owned. Someone saw all my letters, all my diaries, all my private thoughts. Someone had my life open in front of them, and they scrutinised it thoroughly and cruelly. These unknown people now know my most inner

thoughts, some of which I had not shared with my mother, my sister or with a best friend. I feel this experience is like a big wound in my soul.

My husband and I rebuilt the flat and got legally married. When they (British Anti-Terrorist Branch) came to arrest us four months later, we were planning a big wedding party for later in the month. It never happened. We were taken separately to Paddington Green station, interrogated for less than a day, and then charged with possession of explosives and firearms. I could not believe it. I could not even allow my ears to hear the charges against me being read by an officer. It took me two weeks to be able to actually vocalise the words, 'possession of explosives and firearms'.

My husband was taken to Belmarsh prison, I to Holloway. As a high security 'Category A' prisoner, one of only three in Holloway, I had no rights. Many days I was locked up for over 23 hours. I was repeatedly refused a wheelchair and was made to walk, and even to climb four flights of stairs. There were strip searches before and after legal and social visits, although my difficulty in taking off even my cardigan was obvious. Since 'Cat A' prisoners must be 'in vision' at all times, lights were kept on all night, and an officer accompanied me everywhere, even in the toilet.

Two months after the arrest the Crown Prosecution Service dropped the charges against me and my husband because of 'lack of sufficient evidence'. Afterwards, they came back twice to interview me under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, telling me I had to cooperate or I'd be charged with obstructing justice.

I never received an apology. ■

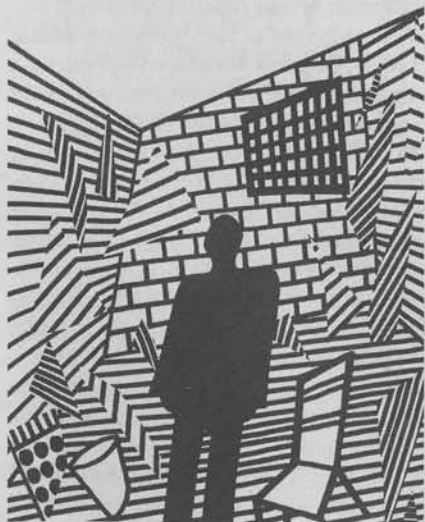
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one of the more open societies, the government plans a central register which would make information on all foreigners available to all police and immigration officers. Such an internal scheme has been recommended for all EU countries by the European Council of Ministers.

In Italy, groups helping immigrants and asylum-seekers in the fields of health and welfare have called for an end to the 'emergency and public order approach to immigration'. But the opposite approach is currently rampant, and those groups helping immigrants and campaigning against racist immigration laws are finding themselves increasingly treated as if they were aiding and abetting dangerous criminals and terrorists. In Belgium on 23 March, police in Geel raided the homes of members of the political organisation 'Truth'. The organisation, set up to tell the truth about imperialism and exploitation in Africa and to help refugees, has been accused of aiding illegal immigration to Belgium. Those arrested had their identity papers confiscated and were taken to the police station in windowless vans, like terrorist suspects.

And in Germany, the same law which is being invoked against Kani Yilmaz is being used in a show trial against the anti-fascist group Autonome Antifa (M), whose members are charged with 'building and being members of a criminal organisation'. A five-year investigation of 143 suspected members of the organisation, during which almost 14,000 phone calls were tapped in eight months, culminated in a massive police raid on 5 and 6 July 1994. The law, §129 of the Law of Assembly, was introduced over a century ago by Bismarck and does not require specific criminal offences to be proved. It has historically been used against perceived 'enemies of the state' such as organised workers, Communists and opponents of German rearmament. ■



The truth about the

Those who seek to aid refugees fleeing persecution are being tarred with the same brush as the profiteering human smugglers. Across Europe, the press is running salacious stories about illegal immigrants tricking their way into a country, aided by ethnic mafia. Anti-racists need to face facts about the trade in human beings and realise that the criminals who make a fortune on the backs of the desperate are the creation of European immigration and asylum policy.

Cast your minds back to the Second World War and imagine what it was like living in Nazi Germany. Then, brave people risked their lives helping Jews escape the Holocaust. Then, criminal gangs preyed on Jewish suffering, taking life savings in exchange for a safe passage. Then, those in positions of power turned a blind eye if the bribe was big enough.

All three tendencies exist today.

VICTIMS OF SMUGGLERS

The sealing of all borders gives new scope for criminal fraternities like the mafia, which can add the trade in human beings to existing operations like drug-smuggling. A fortune is made on the backs of the desperate.

The Vienna International Centre for Migration Policy Development estimates that smuggling immigrants into Europe earned crime syndicates between \$100m and \$1 billion in 1993. In Italy, according to a DIA report, the international mafia charges the following fees: from Albania, 1m lire (£440); from Russia and the CIS,



3m lire; from Asia, Africa and South America, 7m-10m lire. Official sources say that the Russian mafia nets £12 million a year through the traffic in human beings. Italian magistrates in Bolzano investigating illegal immigration networks estimated that \$7 billion was netted from smuggling 20,000 people.

■ 121 immigrants smuggled by the mafia to Naples paid £3,000 each to be taken by container ship from Istanbul.

Conditions experienced during the passage are grim. Members of the Italian clandestine network investigated by Bolzano magistrates had raped young women in transit. Many of those smuggled

are simply abandoned once they reach their destination, or forced overboard by launch pilots – sometimes at gunpoint – several hundred yards offshore. A Moroccan who could not swim died this way after drug traffickers threw him overboard.

Payment of your life savings is no guarantee of reaching your final destination alive.

■ 18 Sri Lankan Tamils suffocated at temperatures of more than 35 degrees centigrade in a container truck parked in the Hungarian city of Győr. The bodies were only discovered when local residents complained of a swarm of flies and smells coming from the truck.

■ There was only one lifeboat on board a 13-metre yacht used to bring twenty Sri Lankan Tamils to Italy. The Italian smugglers sailed off in it when the yacht capsized. Six Tamils are missing, presumed dead; the remainder survived by drifting on a raft for 15 hours. They have been issued with deportation orders.

BLACK MARKET IN DOCUMENTS

The trade in false documents also opens up the possibility for corruption amongst police, immigration officers and embassy officials, as only they are in the position to sell such documents.

If a visa is a ticket to freedom; if a residence or work permit means escape from illegality and the underground economy, no wonder then that 'illegals' will pay a small fortune to obtain such documents on the black market.

■ Employees at the Italian consulate in Lagos, Nigeria have been operating a visa scam whereby documents were sold at an estimated cost of \$1,000-\$3,000.

■ Immigrants paid police officers at Orly airport, Paris, a commission so as to gain entry to France. The police superintendent of Paris is amongst those suspended pending an investigation.

■ Tamils were found to be paying US\$5,000 in order to obtain false travel documents to enter the Netherlands.

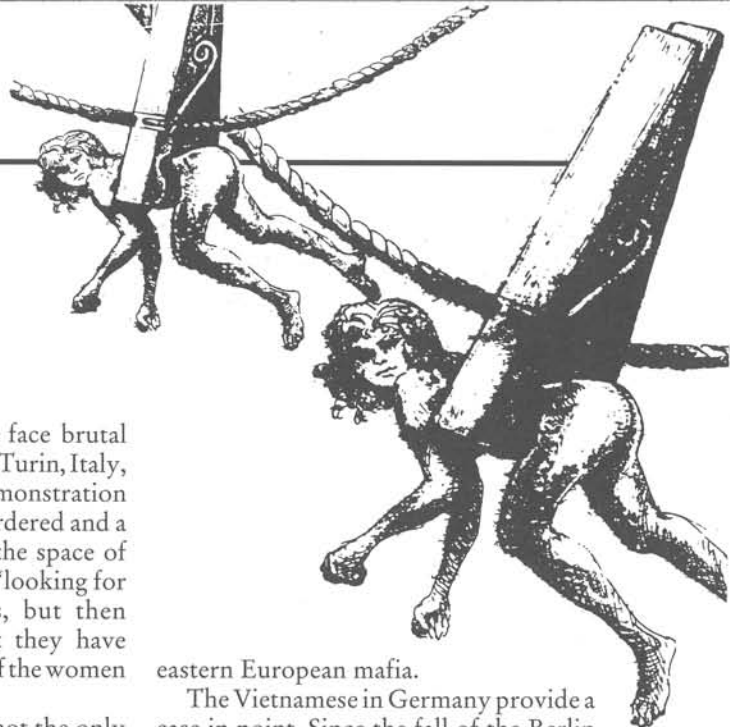
■ A German court official in Cologne was convicted of selling residence permits to ex-Yugoslav nationals at a fee of DM3,000. A Berlin immigration official and a court translator were charged with illegally issuing residence permits to 57

For friends and family, recourse to the human smugglers in the absence of legal methods of entry may be the only way to snatch relatives and loved ones from persecution and death.

In Britain, each week, people are sent to prison for 'facilitating illegal entry'. They are not the ones who are paid vast sums of money to organise operations; those people are never caught. But the relatives and friends who wait for the phone call from Dover, and then drive down to a designated lay-by to collect the passengers from the lorry or camper van and take them to their homes, are the ones picked up by special squads equipped with night vision binoculars and other electronic aids to detection.

In July 1996, two Kurdish men were acquitted of helping to smuggle in their nephew and niece from Turkey, by a jury who accepted their defence of necessity. It was a groundbreaking decision that should be studied by anti-racist lawyers across Europe. The jury heard that the defendants had indeed helped in the arrangements to get their relatives out of Turkey and illegally into the UK. But they also heard expert evidence about the war against the Kurds in Turkey and how the British government has made it impossible for refugees to leave legally. They need visas, and cannot get them as refugees until they have left Turkey. But they can't get on a plane to leave Turkey without a visa. So, the defence argued, the defendants had no choice. They had to get their family out; they couldn't do so legally.

human trade



asylum-seekers between 1992 and 1993.

■ Following police labour inspection raids in Liège, Belgium, official public records at the town hall were inspected and several public servants accused of issuing false residence permits to Chinese and Vietnamese gangs which employ 'illegals' under slave-like conditions.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN PROCURED

Criminals are also active in procuring women and children to meet the demands of the western market for prostitutes.

Women from Africa, Latin America and, increasingly, eastern Europe are lured to the west on the promise of a work permit and well-paid jobs as waitresses and dancers, only to be sold into bondage. Once inside Europe, passports are confiscated and in order to pay off inflated debts for food, accommodation and travel, the women are forced to work a 12-hour day as prostitutes, suffering imprisonment, violence and rape. Criminal proceedings against seven pimps in France exposed a recruiting ring whereby women from the Ukraine were brought in on false documents, called 'heifers' and treated like cattle. Needless to say, women are propelled toward the black market in false documents in order to escape such slavery. Nigerian women in Italy pay 3m lire (£1,300) for documents to aid regularisation.



According to the European Union, 500,000 women may be living illegally in Europe after being smuggled in by international traders and organised crime syndicates. The Foundation Against Trafficking in Women believes that the Netherlands has become an important transit-point for this lucrative trade and that a quarter of Holland's 30,000 prostitutes are held in slavery. Seventy per cent of Vienna's estimated 4,000 prostitutes come from abroad, mainly from eastern Europe.

The women also have to face brutal racism among their clients. In Turin, Italy, Nigerian women called a demonstration after six prostitutes were murdered and a further two disappeared in the space of two months. Italian men are 'looking for sex without complications, but then cannot handle the fact that they have done it with a "nigger"', one of the women explained.

But street prostitution is not the only method of exploitation and debasement. In Sweden, an official inquiry has been launched to investigate the abuse of women by Swedish men who import wives from abroad only to dump them, leaving them vulnerable to expulsion. Donna Hughes, a lecturer at Bradford University, recently told a conference on pornography that the Internet is being used to market women for sex in an 'unprecedented' way, for instance, by providing a Mail Order Brides catalogue, with women from the Philippines, Costa Rica, Eastern Europe and South America popular choices.

One neglected aspect of this brutal trade involves children. In Italy, reports *il manifesto*, young children and even babies are being sold into prostitution, theft and beggary. Young unaccompanied refugees may be specially vulnerable. In the Netherlands, 270 children have gone missing from asylum-centres. Police in Eindhoven are investigating whether the 100 children who disappeared from one centre over a period of eighteen months could have been abducted by criminal organisations. In September 1995, Dutch police discovered nine 12-year-old Indian boys in a building owned by the head of a criminal organisation involved in child-smuggling. Although the boys were taken to an asylum-centre, all but one of them has since disappeared.

THE ETHNIC ARGUMENT

The way the traffic in humans is reported nearly always obscures the international aspects of the trade, evades criticism of European laws which victimise whole communities and conflates 'ethnic' gangs with 'ethnic' victims.

The press portrays the real victim of ethnic-based crime as European society itself, overrun by Asian, African and

eastern European mafia.

The Vietnamese in Germany provide a case in point. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, former Vietnamese guestworkers, once employed in the hazardous industries of the east, have been left stranded and without funds. The new Germany no longer needs them. Their residence permits were revoked in 1994, rendering them illegal overnight. Now facing concerted attempts to repatriate them, the Vietnamese have been forced to sink or swim in the black market for illegal cigarettes.

It is a deadly livelihood. Sellers do not keep much money from sales and must pay for their pitches outside supermarkets or train stations. Constant police raids have put a premium on safe sites, which now have to be bought for up to DM30,000 (£13,000). Hence, 'wars' have emerged between rival gangs seeking territorial control. Since 1992, 41 Vietnamese have been murdered in Berlin. The latest seven victims were shot through the head in a mass execution.

The in-fighting and resulting murders are used, not to re-examine society's attitude toward the Vietnamese, but to subject them to another round of political and popular racism. The politicians have used the bloody murders to justify the repatriation of the Vietnamese en masse, while the press have concentrated on scare stories about the Vietnamese underworld. Nobody wants to examine how racist policies criminalise communities, or to see the poor Vietnamese street seller as a powerless victim. Nor does it suit political purposes to admit that crime is international, not 'ethnic', and that even within the ruthless world of international crime there is such a thing as a race hierarchy. For the Vietnamese gangs in Berlin who exploit their Vietnamese compatriots are on the lowest rung of a mafia hierarchy, in which Russians, Baltic nationals, Germans and Swiss control the sale of contraband cigarettes. ■

Is race research neutral?

CARF asks if recent reports from academics and researchers aren't setting back the anti-racist fight

Ethnic stereotyping reached a new high when, in June, social geographer Ceri Peach concluded, from his study of *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, that while Asians had a 'Jewish future', people of Caribbean descent were facing an 'Irish future'. Official anti-racists were quick to point out that these were 'irrelevant generalisations' or 'unhelpful' stereotypes. The nub of the matter, however, is not the generalisation or the stereotyping, but the way Peach, even though implying in the very first chapter that class might have something to do with all this, then proceeds to force his findings into ethnic conclusions. In a word, he ethnicises class – by substituting (ethnic) analogy for (social) analysis.

This tendency to substitute an ethnic interpretation for class analysis when dealing with Britain's black communities is not new. The Policy Studies Institute's interpretation of Labour Force Survey data on ethnic origin, published in 1993, was similarly used by some groups, who argued that Muslims needed special state protection because they fared worst in British society. Nobody asked which Muslims? The well-to-do or the poor?

If you ask an ethnic question you will come up with an ethnic answer, and if you generalise you will come up with simplifications – which together constitute a stereotype. The problem lies in deriving social conclusions from something as crude as census data. What Peach and others do is to look at all the demographic data on the census form (which asks about employment, education, housing tenure, family size, mobility) through the prism of ethnicity. They ask, for example, how many Asians own their home or how many African-Caribbeans are in professional jobs. Such a methodology has no room for other variables like social environment, class or poverty. And devoid of a social context, such ethnic determinism inevitably blames the individual for underachievement – and we are then only one step away from a genetic argument. It is clear from the US, where the 'success' of certain ethnic groups is being used by the New Right to deny the persistence of racism (see CARF 32), that this is a dangerous line of argument.

What the ethnic argument never allows of is an understanding of racism and how it has impacted differently on different groups, depending on the time they entered Britain, the nature of the job market, the sector they were recruited into, the health of the economy at that time and the skills, education, level of English, professional qualifications, capital, etc, that they came with.

Taking a snapshot of how different ethnic groups are faring in society at a point in time (which is what Peach and the PSI study do) is not at all the same thing as determining how racism affects such 'faring'. To quantify racism, on the other hand, means inverting the kind of methodology used by the ethnocrats. It means asking how many rejected asylum-seekers are from the Third World, how

many of those stopped and searched are from black communities and how many Asian and African-Caribbean people are racially attacked. In that way we can examine how laws and institutions operate against black people and how they affect different sections of the community differently, so that while middle-class blacks are concerned about equal opportunities and job prospects, working-class communities are fighting for subsistence and survival in areas of society where racism and poverty have become intertwined. As A. Sivanandan points out, 'there are two racisms in Britain today, stratified along class lines: the racism that affects middle-class blacks and the racism that affects the working-class and workless blacks – the racism that discriminates and the racism that kills.' ■

Criminalising the excluded

Another research initiative seems likely to aid the criminalisation of black pupils excluded from school. Up till now exclusions, especially those of black children, were viewed as an aspect of racism in education. CARF has underlined the attempts by educationalists like Chris Searle to fight for the right of all children to education.

But recently there has been a two-pronged attack turning exclusion into a law and order issue. While some teachers' unions have led campaigns for more exclusions on the basis that their members need protecting from violent and unruly pupils, the Runnymede Trust (a race relations charity) has also been helping to shift the concern away from education and on to street crime.

In January, Runnymede's chair, Trevor Phillips, invited Police Commissioner Condon to a private (but highly publicised) seminar to discuss Condon's worry that so many of those arrested during Operation Eagle Eye were young black males who had been excluded from school. Now, the way that Runnymede is promoting its new study *This is where I*

live, a collection of accounts by young people about living in Brixton, is reinforcing Condon's observation. Thus, on the one hand, teachers feel justified in decanting difficult children on to the streets instead of making the effort to turn them into good citizens in the one place where such influence can count, the school. And on the other, Runnymede, in agreeing that exclusions present a law and order problem, is giving Condon a justification for his controversial statement that most street crime is committed by black youngsters, thereby helping to shift attention away from his force's stop and search operations which daily criminalise black youngsters.

Exclusion is for teachers and parents to deal with, crime for the police. To collapse the two is to allow the police into schools by a different door. ■



Trevor Phillips: condoning Condon?



Lilley's pride: Britain's shame

Frances Webber, one of the barristers involved in the legal challenge to the government's withdrawal of benefits to asylum-seekers, writes:



Jon Walter

250 organisations dealing with refugees and asylum-seekers condemned it. The government's own social security advisory committee wanted it scrapped. The Court of Appeal declared it unlawful. But the government went ahead and did it anyway – removed basic safety-net benefits from the majority of asylum-seekers, while simultaneously removing the right of all asylum-seekers to emergency housing.

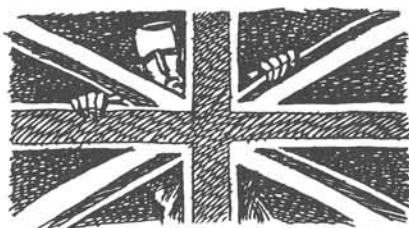
The shadow of Lilley and Howard and their infernal package of anti-refugee measures, in the shape of new social security regulations and asylum laws, has loomed large for almost a year like some frightful double-headed monster. On the one hand were Lilley's regulations, designed to starve out asylum-seekers by denying benefit to all who claim asylum after their arrival (70% of all asylum-seekers), and removing benefit from those whose claims are rejected before they have a chance to appeal, a populist

political measure announced to acclaim at the Tory party conference in October 1995 and in force from 5 February. On the other was Howard's bill to turf asylum-seekers out of public housing by abolishing local authorities' duties to house them, and out of the country by means of the 'safe country' list. The Bill also turns employers of black people into immigration officers by criminalising the employers of those who shouldn't be working.

The Court of Appeal's declaration that the social security regulations were unlawful was a stunning victory. The legal challenge was taken on behalf of Ms B, a Zairean who had suffered rape and torture at the hands of the notorious security police, who had killed her husband. She arrived in Britain on Eurostar from Belgium, not declaring herself on the train (had she done so she would have been returned to Belgium, with the risk of deportation to Zaire), but travelling immediately to the Croydon headquarters of the Immigration and Nationality Department where she claimed asylum. Having not claimed 'on arrival' (ie on the train or at Waterloo) she was denied all benefits, and had nothing to live on. Her solicitor supported her during the case.

Although in March the High Court rejected the claim that the regulations were unlawful, the Appeal Court reversed its decision.

Asylum Bill: final form



- **White lists** asylum-seekers from 'safe' countries deemed bogus (amended by House of Lords to exempt torture victims

Lord Justice Simon Brown, who represented the government as a barrister before becoming a judge, said that the regulations 'contemplate a life so destitute that no civilised nation can tolerate it'. He referred to an 1803 case holding that the 'law of humanity, which is anterior to all positive laws, obliges us to afford relief to poor foreigners, to save them from starving', and said that Parliament simply could not have intended asylum-seekers to be 'impaled on the horns of so intolerable a dilemma': abandoning their claims and going home, or facing utter destitution.

But Parliament soon showed that, after all, it did intend such a result. Lilley added a clause to the Howard Bill and the House of Commons, overturning a Lords amendment which would have given asylum-seekers in Ms B's position three days grace to claim, voted it in; the Tories gleeful at the electoral advantage afforded by yet another opportunity to show how tough they were on 'bogus' asylum-seekers; Labour keeping a low profile for fear of upsetting the racist vote; and the LibDems seething with futility.

In the matter of starving out refugees, as in the export of torture equipment which produces them, Britain leads the way. Indeed, Britain is going in the opposite direction to its European partners. An EU proposal for discussion by affairs ministers at their meeting in Ireland later in the year would commit member states to the adoption of social, health, educational and cultural measures 'to ensure that the immediate human, social and cultural needs' of asylum-seekers are met and to preserve their personal dignity. Such measures could cover the provision of board and lodging, medical and psychiatric care, economic assistance, education and employment. While the rest of Europe seeks marginally to improve the lot of asylum-seekers, Britain turns the screw.

With this viciously racist bill on its way to the statute book, there is an urgent need for alternative support and solidarity networks to prevent the deportation of those in fear for their lives and the criminalisation of those who help them. ■

or those from torturing countries)

- **Appeals** no hearing for 'white list' applicants; no in-country appeal for those coming through 'safe' transit countries
- **Criminal offences** new crimes of employing those who should not work, helping asylum-seekers and people staying illegally
- **Welfare** no public housing or benefits for immigrants or most asylum-seekers
- **Police powers** more powers to arrest and search for people illegally here

On 11 June the Prime Minister attacked the National Lotteries Board in Parliament, calling a grant of £65,000 to the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign 'ill-founded and ill-judged'



The West Midlands Anti-Deportation campaign, frequently featured in the campaigns pages of *CARF*, is one of the most active and successful anti-deportation groups in Britain. It was formed ten years ago after individual activists, including the group's secretary Muhamed Idrish, had won campaigns against deportation in the early 1980s. It has run campaigns for over 20 people who have faced deportation, and every public campaign has been successful. It is one of the only independent groups in the country fighting against racist immigration laws, not just giving people legal advice and help but actively going into the community, with demonstrations, pickets and petitions. 'We do everything we can to help an individual fight deportation and in the process campaign against the racism of immigration laws,' says a member. 'We know that fighting a deportation through the courts is not enough, our public actions give voice to the anger of the community when one of us is threatened with removal. With each Immigration Act our work be-

comes harder. Since January of this year nearly 100 people have been deported from Winson Green prison, which is a mile from our office. Many of these people have not received proper advice and, because of legal aid cuts, restrictions are put on the amount of advice lawyers can give to people facing deportation. We will be spending the money on producing a free information pack informing asylum-seekers of their rights. The Tories spend vast amounts of money persecuting asylum-seekers and dividing families - we shall spend our grant helping those Major's government discriminates against.'

Two of the campaigns currently being fought have hearings in September and October (see box). *CARF* will be joining the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign in pickets outside the High Court. ■

The West Midlands Anti Deportation Campaign is also campaigning against the deportation of Raghbir Singh and Mohammed Siddique. They can be contacted at 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B19. Tel 0121-507 1618.

Neglect ... and worse

Black deaths in custody have once again been raised in Parliament, as MPs questioned the government about the delay in arranging a new inquest into the death of Leon Patterson. Leon died after being held on remand for six days by Stockport police, Manchester. Police doctors had said he was fit to be detained. An inquest found 'a failure of duty which contributed to or caused Leon's death', and a verdict of unlawful killing was returned. In October 1994, this verdict was quashed by the High Court on a legal technicality, and a new inquest ordered, which has yet to be held (see *CARF* 12/13). The early day motion called for legal aid to be made available to the families of those who die in custody. Nearly four years after his death, Leon's family are still waiting to uncover the details behind his death.

Too often the police assume that black people in their charge are under the influence of drugs or alcohol rather than suffering from a medical problem. The case of Oscar Okoye (53) is another example. On 15 June 1996, Oscar was arrested by police officers in Streatham for suspected drink driving. Only later did the officers realise that Oscar was not drunk but seriously ill. He had suffered a massive brain haemorrhage, and remains critically ill in hospital.

If eye-witness accounts of Brian Douglas's arrest are true, his death raises issues going way beyond neglect. Brian, 33, was arrested by police in Clapham, south London on 3 May 1995. Stafford Soloman, who was arrested with him, told the coroner on the first day of the inquest in July 1996 that he saw PC Tuffey strike Brian on the back of the head, twice, with a 22-inch American-style baton (then newly introduced). Mr. Soloman, who says he was also beaten by officers, saw Brian slump to the ground. Brian was taken to Vauxhall police station, where he was held in a cell for fifteen hours. A doctor who saw him on four occasions concluded each time that Brian was suffering from the effects of excess drugs or alcohol. Brian died five days later. The inquest continues as *CARF* goes to press. ■

Campaigning works!... *CARF* is pleased to inform readers that Mamta Chopra has been given the right to stay in Britain permanently. She was another victim of the 'one year rule' who fled her violent husband and in-laws. On her escape she learned English and started a series of jobs helping battered women and other vulnerable members of the community. Her fight to stay won the support of her union, UNISON, and of anti-racist groups up and down the country. It achieved much publicity and inspired many other anti-deportation campaigns. ■

AUDREY AND SEREENA MUST STAY

10.00AM 9 SEPTEMBER
HIGH COURT, THE STRAND

Audrey Grant, who faces deportation to Jamaica with her 2-year-old daughter Sereena, will have her case heard at the High Court on 9 September. The Home Office have already attempted to deport Audrey, detaining her as she was signing on at the police station and taking her to the airport. She was given no opportunity to collect her belongings or to contact her daughter who had been left with a neighbour. Public pressure and demonstrations outside Manchester airport forced the Home Office to back down temporarily pending a judicial review. Although Sereena is British-born and has a right to family life in the country of her birth, the Home Office says Audrey must go, either leaving Sereena here or taking her with her. ■

ABOLISH THE ONE YEAR RULE

10.30AM 2 OCTOBER
HIGH COURT, THE STRAND

Prakash Chavrimootoo and her son Prem, who have waged a six year campaign against deportation to Mauritius, have their judicial review hearing on 2 October.

Prakash fell foul of the notorious 'one year rule' which prevents those whose marriages fail within 12 months from staying in Britain. Prakash escaped from her violent husband only to be hounded by immigration authorities who make the common racist assumption that all marriages of black people are for immigration purposes. Prakash and Prem have made their life in Britain and need supporters to attend the High Court for the hearing. ■

demonstrate

PCA sham

Police Complaints Authority (PCA) acting chair Peter Moorhouse was on the defensive at the launch of the PCA's annual report in July. Record damages awards in recent civil actions against the police, he claimed, do not prove a lack of faith in the police complaints system. Rather, he suggested, the increase in civil actions is a result of the high awards; in other words people bringing such cases to the courts are motivated by money, rather than justice.

The PCA claims success in the handling of police complaints. But the figures tell a different story. In 1994/5 the PCA received a total of 18,607 complaints; in 94% of them no action was taken at all, either because of 'insufficient or conflicting evidence' or because they were anonymous, delayed or withdrawn.

Very few police officers face disciplinary action, let alone criminal prosecution arising from their activities. Out of the total 18,607

complaints, disciplinary charges were preferred in only 1% of cases, and 'advice' was given to officers in a further 4% of cases. In only four out of 397 complaints of racially discriminatory behaviour was disciplinary action taken. In another three, 'advice' was given, and in the remaining 390 no action was taken. Officers often escape investigation by retiring on medical grounds before charges can be brought.

The PCA announced that it is to conduct a two-year study into deaths in police custody. But despite its lip service to openness and to the benefits of disclosure of information to complainants, the study will be confidential. The wall of silence that exists for victims of police brutality and their families is compounded by the refusal of the PCA to reveal findings of investigations, which are



used to justify a refusal to prosecute officers by the Crown Prosecution Service. No officer was prosecuted for the deaths of Winston Rose, Oliver Pryce or Shiji Lapite, all 'unlawfully killed' according to inquest verdicts. And the PCA report on the blinding in one eye of 21-year-old Amer Rafiq was sent to the police and the CPS in July, but Amer and his family were not allowed to see it.

It is this refusal to disclose information, to explain or to prosecute which has led to the

rising number of civil actions against the police – demonstrating a total lack of confidence in the complaints authority. In many instances civil actions are the only redress for people with grievances against the police. Police racism across the country will go unchecked as long as the body investigating the police remains part of the same structure. ■

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

Loony British National Monster Party by-election shock

The British National Party's electoral strategy continues to unravel with its contesting of the Wick and De Beauvoir wards in Hackney, east London. The outcome, in which hapless candidates Vic Dooley and Bill Binding polled 50 and 56 votes respectively, is understood to have left the Natural Law Party and the Monster Raving Loony Party demoralised. In reality, John Tyndall must be tearing out his last hair. Never mind John, there's still time for a name change – how about the Loony British National Monster Party? It does have a certain ring to it.

BNP headquarters: Edmonds in court – again

National organiser Richard Edmonds was up in court again in June over the BNP's failure to remove the fortifications to its headquarters in Bexley, Kent. Following a long campaign by anti-fascists, Bexley council ordered the party to stop using the building as its headquarters and to remove its protective grilles and bars. Edmonds, with an eye on the forthcoming general election, elected trial by jury when he appeared at Bexley magistrates court. Renowned for his lack of bottle on the streets, Edmonds will no doubt present



Will Browning arrives at the Old Bailey to face charges of distributing racist literature. The case was adjourned to later this year.

himself as a 'race martyr' in the courts, insisting on the BNP's 'democratic right' (an unfamiliar concept) to set up shop in an area where it is neither wanted nor welcome. Edmonds and his cronies have spent the last few weeks travelling to Croydon to harass local people who attended a public meeting there to discuss the building of a mosque.

'BNSP' woos BNP members

Last month, CARF received an unsolicited manifesto from a new outfit called the British National Socialist Party (BNSP). Compared with the outpourings of the overtly nazi Combat 18, it was mild; with no blood-curdling threats, no celebration of the Holocaust, it would have had many a right-wing Tory nodding with approval. Intriguingly, according to *British Nationalist* and *Spearhead*, it was mailed to members of

the BNP. This immediately brought to mind last year's theft of three computers from the home of former BNP office organiser, Alf Waite. At the time, *Spearhead* reassured BNP members that no vital information had been stolen, as it was all transferred onto floppy disks. But the party has now been forced to admit that subscription information did go missing. Not, of course, due to any incompetence, ineptitude or negligence on the part of the BNP leadership but as part of a dastardly plot in which 'professional experts' using sophisticated technology painstakingly recovered data that had been erased from the hard drive. Even funnier, *British Nationalist* identifies the front person responsible for distributing the BNSP manifesto as Athena McHugh, a former BNP member who was kicked out of the organisation when it was discovered that she was a transsexual.

The BNP initially blamed the 'reds' for the theft of the computers, but now Combat 18/Blood and Honour are held responsible – a theory that hardly fits with the idea of the burglars as technological whizz-kids. Most of the dregs recruited by Combat 18 would have difficulty writing their name. But *Searchlight* has suggested that the security services may have some involvement. Whoever is responsible, the contortions of the BNP trying to salvage both their membership and their electoral strategy provide hours of amusement. ■

The nazi hooli-fest failed to materialise, but the Euro 96 football tournament was not completely free of racism.

EURO 96



THE FANS

So what happened to all the Euro 96 violence and racism at English football grounds? Beforehand, the media led us to expect a neo-nazi-led Hooli-Fest. Instead, Euro 96 was, well... enjoyable. There were outbreaks of violence, but isolated, and the most serious violence, in Trafalgar Square following England-Germany, owed much to poor policing. The prevailing mood was one of celebration, as thousands of fans from competing countries mixed and drank happily together. The majority of English fans who might have been interested in trouble found that foreign fans simply weren't interested. The police at matches responded with a relaxed approach so that the few arrests were for ticket touting and drunkenness.

Potential flashpoints around fans from countries like Turkey and Germany failed to yield racist responses from other fans or from the communities that hosted them. Drums and flags created a vibrant festive atmosphere in the grounds. One of the

most positive aspects of the tournament was the nature of the support for England. Traditionally, the Wembley crowd has been overwhelmingly white, male and negative, united only by xenophobia and disrespect for the opposition. Euro 96 saw a real increase in the number of black and female fans at Wembley, and a genuinely positive atmosphere. Opposition anthems were largely respected and even after the emotional semi-final defeat by Germany the German team was clapped off by a large section of the crowd. It remains to be seen whether this will be the pattern for things to come.

This atmosphere was why the xenophobia of the tabloids, and, in particular, the *Daily Mirror*, was so misjudged. Casual racist coverage that would have been the norm a few years ago caused outrage, with many sections of the media expressing embarrassment. England manager Terry Venables went out of his way to condemn it, a milestone in a game that operated on such stereotypes for many years. ■

Leeds Fans Against Racism



Daily Mirror 24/6/96



HIT RACISM FOR SIX

Ian McDonald, convenor of Hit Racism for Six, writes:

Events since the launch of Hit Racism for Six in August last year have confirmed the need for a campaign against racial bigotry and discrimination in cricket. The treatment of Devon Malcolm by the England management in South Africa (neatly summarised in a *Caribbean Times* headline: 'England Shamed, Malcolm Blamed'), the recent tabloid resurrection of sinister allegations regarding ball-tampering Pakistanis, and the continued alienation of Afro-Caribbean and Asian players and supporters from the cricket establishment, all demonstrate that Robert Henderson's racist article in *Wisden Cricket Monthly*, the catalyst for the creation of Hit Racism for Six, was not an aberration.

But the past 12 months have not been all

doom and gloom. Devon Malcolm and Phil De Freitas received out-of-court settlements against *Wisden* for the Henderson article, and the magazine's editor, David Frith, resigned. And attacks on Malcolm by England supremo Ray Illingworth in newspaper serialisations of his autobiography landed him with a £2,000 fine from the TCCB on a charge of bringing the game into disrepute.

This season, we intend to step up our campaign by launching two key initiatives. Firstly, a 'Hit Racism for Six' pamphlet has been produced to explore the relationship between the various manifestations of racism and cricket in more detail. Secondly, a public meeting of Hit Racism for Six is to be held on Thursday 8 August at Leeds

Civic Hall, in the City Centre, from 7.30pm. It is no accident that the meeting is being organised in Yorkshire, where the county cricket club has still to play its first Yorkshire-born Asian cricketer. But Yorkshire is the most appropriate venue, not only because the problem of racism is most entrenched there, but also because the resistance to racism is most advanced and organised in Yorkshire. The timing of the meeting is also appropriate, coinciding with the second England-Pakistan Test at Headingley. ■

For more details, or for copies of *Hit Racism for Six* pamphlet (price £2.50 plus 30p p&p), contact: Hit Racism for Six, c/o Centre for Sport Development Research, Roehampton Institute, London SW15 3SN. Tel/fax: 0181-392 3541.

► THE THUGS

Although the atmosphere at Wembley was more positive than many would have predicted and there was no organised fascist presence at the grounds, nationalist fervour spilled over into racist violence on a few occasions.

In Brighton, a few hours after England's defeat by Germany, a Russian student was hospitalised after being stabbed by youths who mistook him for a German.

Thugs at the notorious Kings Arms pub in east London carried out a vicious racist attack on 9 June. Following the England-Switzerland match, Dilwa and Hakim Motin were passing the Kings Arms in Bethnal Green when they were abused by a gang who had been watching the fixture in the pub and who came out shouting 'Oy Paki, come here'. The group of men chased the Motin brothers home and attacked them with broken bottles and pool cues. Dilwa's wife and a young African-Caribbean boy, Clinton, were also attacked and suffered bruising. Unbelievably, the gang went to the hospital that evening to attack the brothers again and were only stopped by hospital security. Dilwa remained unconscious for two days following the attack.

Following the assault, east London residents held a public meeting which heard how many members of the local black community had been attacked by people drinking in the Kings Arms. A group called Community Action Against Racial Attacks, was set up to fight for justice for the Motin brothers, the closure of the Kings Arms, and the right to live free from intimidation and attack. Six men were arrested and

bailed in connection with the attack. ■

Community Action Against Racial Attacks
Tel: 0374-777070.

► THE PLAYERS

Allegations of racism within the Dutch team's management, as well as racist remarks made by one of the world's top footballers, made sure that race was a key issue in the tournament.

Much of the focus was on the Dutch team. Black players such as Edgar Davids, Clarence Seedorf and Patrick Kluivert were expected to inspire the Dutch team and indeed the whole tournament. In the end Kluivert only played one game, Seedorf was substituted 25 minutes into the Switzerland game and Davids was sent home.

Davids subsequently revealed that the Dutch camp had become almost totally divided between black and white players in a row that had been brewing for two years. The central issue was that although black players were expected to win the tournament for Holland, manager Guus Hiddink was excluding them from tactical discussions. Davids was sent home after a public row with the captain who openly criticised the black player's performance.

Although the row was papered over by the Dutch management, two pictures revealed the tension that remained between the two camps. One showed the Dutch team having lunch, with the white players all sitting at one table while the black players sat at another. Another portrayed the Dutch team's final moments in the tournament.

After Seedorf's missed penalty shot that sent the Dutch team home, he was comforted by both Dutch and French players. Yet every player who sympathised with Seedorf was black.

The tournament's other race row focused on the behaviour of Bulgarian Hristo Stoichkov. Stoichkov, a former European footballer of the year, spent the first twenty minutes of the Bulgaria-France fixture racially abusing black players in the French team. Marcel Desailly, the Ghana-born star player for AC Milan, commented: 'I do not think he is such a good player any more. Racist comments are not suitable for a player like him.' Stoichkov's only comment was, 'It is normal for that to happen all over the pitch. If you took a microphone round every player they would all be saying things like that.' ■



Beeb against racism?

Following the publication of a highly racist article by Robert Henderson in the cricket magazine, *Wisden* last year, the issue of racism in cricket has been getting more publicity. But, as journalist Mike Marqusee found out this summer, there still is a strong lobby that won't allow criticism.

Marqusee was commissioned by BBC Radio 5 to make a programme on racism in cricket for the *Race Around the UK* series. On the day of broadcasting, he was pressured into making last minute changes over references to Henderson. Then, when the programme was transmitted, it was followed by a phone-in, where studio guests Mike Vockins of the Test and County Cricket Board, Ravi Shastri (who lives in Bombay and is unfamiliar with English develop-

ments) and anchor man David Gower, managed to undo everything that the first programme had tried to do. Factual errors from callers were ignored, complaints of racism in the game were laughed off. The fact that *Wisden* had paid substantial damages to black players was never mentioned in the phone-in. In fact, according to Marqusee, the phone-in's participants acted as though the earlier programme had not even been on air. He complains that the BBC managed to use their kind of 'balance' to negate a serious investigation by giving people 'with no expertise and no sensitivity to the matter under discussion, who, indeed, seemed to think it should not be under discussion in the first place, a free run for half an hour.' ■

Kick it, hit it, now drive out racism

Not just restricted to football and cricket, it seems that more campaigns against racism in sport are called for, after an outburst of anti-German hysteria among motor racing fans. In July, English motor racing fans at Silverstone attacked the mobile headquarters of the Michael Schumacher fan club. Empty beer cans were thrown and German flags ripped down, leading Damon Hill to comment: 'I want nothing to do with any misplaced nationalism, jingoism or hatred.' ■

MAY 28 Seven black Ford workers tell industrial tribunal they have been barred from better paid jobs because of their colour **MAY 29** Relatives of Ruhullah Aramesh, who was battered to death in a racist attack, take legal advice following Appeal Court decision to free killer Joseph Curtain on a technicality after three years of a life sentence **MAY 31** A quarter of ethnic minority tenants complained to the Southampton city council about racial harassment last year **JUN 3** Nottingham housing officer Ibibo Amachree, accused of making a death threat to a colleague, tells industrial tribunal he had been a victim of racial discrimination **JUN 4** British National Party ordered to remove barbed wire and grilles fortifying the party's headquarters in south-east London **JUN 5** Jewish policeman wins compensation for racial discrimination after claiming that colleagues called him 'jewboy' and waved bacon in his face **JUN 6** Industrial tribunal in Leeds rules that St James's Hospital is guilty of racial discrimination after kitchen worker Beverley Russell was forced to leave her job because of stress caused by racial harassment **JUN 10** Hing Fai 'Albert' Tong, the Hong Kong man who spent 17 years in Britain and is married to a Cornish born woman with a three year old daughter, fled from his home in Cornwall to avoid being deported, then took sanctuary in a Methodist church after two weeks on the run **JUN 12** Kurdish political refugees Haci Bozkurt and Baki Ates win £150,000 damages for assault and malicious prosecution by the police **JUN 13** Tribunal finds that Edinburgh job centre racially discriminated against Tapela Mavudzi, a student from Botswana, by preventing her from getting a waitress job while allowing her American classmate a barmaid job **JUN 16** Mohammed Tahir and Nasir Ahmed win a race discrimination claim against Fareday Ltd for refusing them taxi radio facilities **JUN 20** Hate mail sent to schools after visits by Anne Frank exhibition... Torture victims claiming refugee status are to be exempted from the new Asylum and Immigration Bill... Albert Tong is taken to hospital after collapsing in police custody. He was arrested from the Cornish church in which he was hiding to avoid deportation... Inquest at Poplar Coroner's Court hears that Noorjahan Begum, from Bangladesh, fell 30 feet from a balcony after two immigration officers knocked at the door **JUN 21** Court of Appeal overturns government's withdrawal of welfare benefits from asylum seekers, condemning the move as 'uncivilized' and 'inhuman'... Several cases of extreme poverty are emerging as a result of benefit cuts for asylum seekers, Mrs B from Zaire had no money for food or living, Memet and Hecaz Bulut and their daughter have to live on handouts since their benefits were cut... Pakistani-born nurse Nargis Firdous is awarded £50,000 from a NHS trust after allegations of racial discrimination and harassment **JUN 23** Kevin Keena claims racial discrimination after being refused a job

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CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

with the Inland Revenue because he is Irish **JUN 24** government is to overturn Court of Appeal ruling on withdrawing welfare benefits from most asylum seekers by rushing emergency asylum legislation through Parliament **JUN 27** Report by the Police Federation and trade unions into South Yorkshire police concludes that female and ethnic minority officers face intimidation from colleague when they become detectives... Education social worker Theresa Tueje wins out of court settlement of £30,000 for racial discrimination in the workplace **JUN 28** Two boys aged 10 and 11 are given deferred caution after smashing headstones at Jewish cemetery in north Manchester **JUL 1** House of Lords votes to change Asylum Bill to give asylum seekers three days grace - instead of one - to claim refugee status on arrival without losing welfare bene-

fits... Nigerian asylum seeker Abiodun Igbinidu is granted leave to remain after spending a year in Campsfield Detention Centre... Industrial tribunal rejects claim by health visitor Mohsin Hussein's claim against trade union UNISON because he was not a member at the relevant time **JUL 4** Jewish man has penis bitten by racist outside east London pub **JUL 10** 21-year-old Anthony Heale jailed for a year by Swansea magistrates after attacking his Asian neighbour claiming he did not like the smell of his curries... Council report shows that racial harassment and attacks have increased by 18 per cent in the Greater Manchester area... Albert Tong goes to Ireland with his family after suffering a heart attack during his attempted deportation to Hong Kong... Government publishes guidelines ordering housing officials to take tougher action against racist attackers **JUL 11** Jewish community protests at CPS decision not to take action against Holocaust denial literature, thought to have been produced by Lady Jane Birdwood's Choice organisation... BNP deputy Richard Edmonds in court for defying council order to close BNP headquarters in Welling... Home secretary announces that standard of proof required to take disciplinary action against police will be reduced **JUL 13** Figures show racist attacks have soared by 500 per cent in Burton and South Derbyshire **JUL 14** Shireen Bari, the only black student on her course at Keele University, says she will seek compensation for racial discrimination after being excluded from course **JUL 15** Police begin investigation into

claims that Nottingham fascists are behind distribution of nazi propaganda in Scotland... Government overturns House of Lords amendment to Asylum Bill which would give asylum-seekers three days to lodge their claim before losing benefits **JUL 17** Black soldier in Scotland plans to sue army after racist taunts destroy his career... Nepalese teenager adopted by British millionaire wins right to challenge home secretary in court over deportation order... Inquest begins into death of Brian Douglas, who died last year after being hit with police baton **JUL 22** Asylum Bill completes passage through parliament, and goes for royal assent.

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