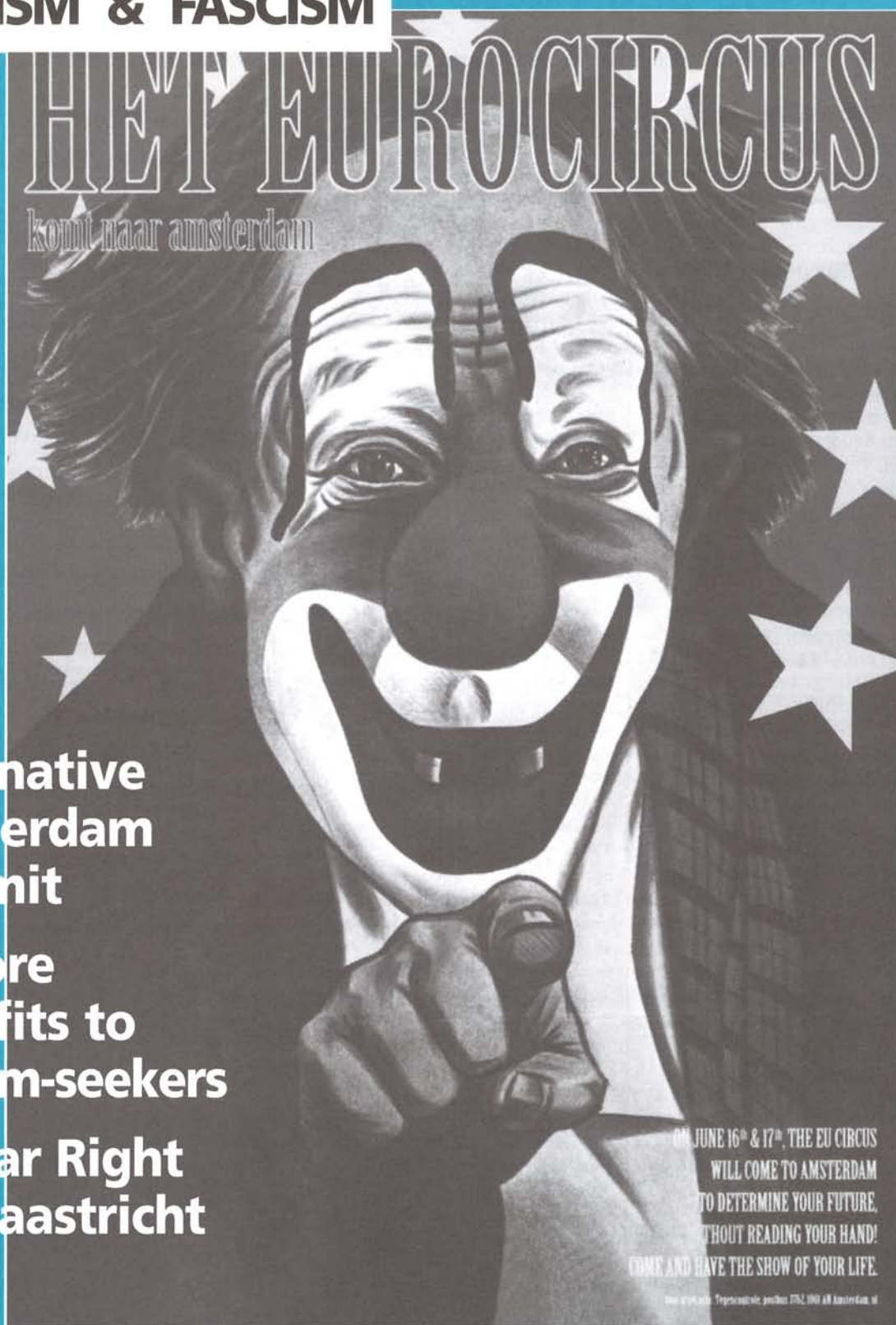


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**carf**  
RACISM & FASCISM

No 38 June/July 1997 80p

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on Maastricht**

**Is there a new approach to immigration in the UK?**

## CONTENTS

HIV/Aids: whose survival?

3

A new agenda on immigration?

4-5

### THE 'EUROCIRCUS'

Austerity hits migrants first

6-7

IGC: immigration and asylum  
The far Right on Europe  
Amsterdam's alternative agenda

8-9

### CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

Victory in Dutch airline campaign

10

Commission slates Lübeck trial  
In touch with Europe

11

Immigration prisoners fight back  
Schoolchildren fight deportations

12

Policing  
Racist murders

13

Fascist round-up:  
mission impossible

14

BNP: Glossy dress  
Sport

15

Calendar of race and resistance

16



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## EDITORIAL



As the Inter-Governmental Conference in Amsterdam takes place in mid-June, campaigners from across Europe host a series of alternative summits, in which they put forward another agenda to what they see as the neo-liberalism of European integration. Demonstrators from every European country, including Liverpool dockers and the Hillingdon hospital strikers from

the UK, will converge on Amsterdam to protest

against unemployment, poverty and social deprivation.

But any alternative agenda must address itself centrally to the plight of migrants and asylum-seekers. For as we report in this issue of CARF, they are the first victims of Europe's new economics. As the European member states frantically cut social welfare budgets in order to meet the Maastricht convergence criteria, they are being systematically excluded from the welfare state – from housing, health care, unemployment benefit, from family, child and disability allowances, from pensions.

This systematic exclusion from the welfare state represents another strand of the familiar Europe-wide exclusion policy which has seen asylum-seekers and undocumented workers expelled as fast as governments can organise charter flights. Less contentious than group deportations, because less visible, is the gradual policy of starving them out. Once again, a far-Right programme – the FN programme of national preference in social policy – has entered the European mainstream.

Racism is central to the attack on the welfare state. And anti-racism must top the alternative agenda. ■

A delegation of 100 marchers from Morocco attempting to attend the Amsterdam Alternative Summit were prevented from entering Spain under the Schengen provisions. A campaign was launched and eventually the Moroccans were allowed through. When the group reached Madrid they linked up with a group of workers made redundant at a factory in Palencia.



# HIV/Aids: a question of whose survival?

Making new treatments for HIV/Aids conditional on immigration status cannot be allowed to continue

When the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Britain would be guilty of inhuman and degrading treatment if it deported a man dying of Aids to St Kitts, the *Evening Standard* and the *Daily Mail* were outraged, claiming that the man had opted to die in London in order to take advantage of hugely expensive NHS treatment. In fact, Mr D is being supported by Aids charities, his medical costs are negligible. 'He wishes only to be allowed to face his imminent death with basic dignity', explained Advice on Individual Rights in Europe, which had taken Mr D's case to Strasbourg.

## Access to treatment

Press hysteria comes at a time when new treatments for HIV/Aids have brought hope to many. But who will get access to the expensive new triple combination drug therapy treatment (estimated cost in the UK £10,000 per person per year)?

The *Journal of the International Association of Physicians in Aids Care* reports that access to combination therapies varies across the European Union. By March 1997, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia were providing the drugs, while Spain, Italy, Belgium and the UK were not. Philippo von Schloesser of the European Aids Treatment Group estimates that nearly 12,000 deaths could be prevented in these four countries in 1997 if the treatment was fully used. Kit Simpson of the University of North California points out that although the treatment is expensive, its impact on morbidity and mortality could offset drug costs by 50-60 per cent.

## UK funding crisis

In the UK, lack of funding for hospital trusts inevitably means that some are denied treatment. 'I have lost weight, had several infections, and now have developed pneumonia. But still they are giving me AZT and septrin only,' said one African Aids patient at Newham general hospital in east London. The East London and City Health Authority, with a deficit of £14 million in its budget for 1996-97 just can't afford the treatment. It is not alone. Hospitals are being told that if they want to fund Aids treatments then they must cut costs in other areas.

Dr Simon Barton, a clinical director of HIV and Genito-Urinary Medicine Services at the Chelsea and Westminster hospital, is angry at the arbitrary nature of decisions as to who is treated and has called for a national response. Fifty HIV-positive respondents to a survey by the Terrence Higgins Trust, the African Advocacy Foundation and the Aids Treatment Project said they have been refused the new triple combination therapy. Many were female African asylum-seekers who were denied treatment because of their uncertain immigration status. Pauline, an asylum-seeker from west Africa, was so ill with HIV-related infections that she and her three children started planning her funeral. Doctors refused the triple combination therapy, saying she was too ill and her asylum claim had not been determined. The doctors relented, following a campaign and since receiving treatment, Pauline's health has improved dramatically.

## French sans papiers excluded

In France, where 10 per cent of the HIV population are on combination therapy, many undocumented workers are either being refused treatment or having it stopped midway, despite scientists' warnings that interruption of treatment could have dire consequences. Ikambere House, which supports HIV-positive African and Maghrebi women, cites a doctor who ripped up a woman's prescription when told that her medical aid had been cut off. Another patient was deported midway through treatment.

Deporting people with HIV ensures that HIV-sufferers don't get access to expensive treatments. In France, politicians have broken promises made to the St Bernard hunger-strikers not to deport seriously ill people. HIV-sufferer Abedratim Zerai, whose partner and child are French, was taken from hospital and expelled to Morocco. Other HIV sufferers are under threat of deportation, like Djamel Benattou, who has lived in France since he was a month old.

Given this background, Migrants Against HIV/Aids (MAHA) are concerned about the use politicians may make of a report by the French Academy of Medicine recommending mandatory HIV/Aids testing of all pregnant women so as to allow them and their future children to benefit from the progress in Aids therapies. According to statistics provided by Aids organisations, 70 per cent of the mothers of HIV children in France are of African and Maghrebi origin. But not all women are benefiting. And MAHA, while agreeing that new treatment can reduce the HIV transmission rate from mother to foetus by two thirds, wants guarantees that it will be made available to pregnant women without papers. Furthermore, MAHA argues, it must be left to women to decide whether they take the test or not.

Aids organisations are putting access to new treatment top of the agenda. In July the first ever conference on ethnic minorities and treatment issues will be held in Barcelona. Unless campaigners act now the future of the HIV community will be down to the survival of the fittest. And only those who are best positioned to fight for treatment will benefit. ■

Information for this article was provided by Migrants Against HIV/Aids and the Big Issue.

Amadou Gaye/IM/média



In opposition, Labour opposed the Tories' Asylum and Immigration Act, and promised to repeal 'offensive' parts of it and to introduce fairer immigration and asylum laws and practices. But how progressive will Labour be in government?

# Is there a new agenda on immigration?

Within days of taking power, the new government suspended all removals of asylum-seekers to countries of transit under the 'safe third country' rule. Refugee workers were delighted; here was real radicalism in practice. Thirty-six hours later, the suspension was lifted and it was business as usual.

## Reform

Things are not, of course, quite the same: Labour has pledged to restore the right of appeal in these cases, abolished by the 1996 Act (although there was no mention of this legislation in the Queen's Speech). Meanwhile, the government responded to events in Zaire, and to the rumoured

death of a returned asylum-seeker in Algeria, by suspending removals of rejected asylum-seekers to those countries. But the short-lived action on 'third-country' refugees served as a sobering reminder that there will be no large-scale changes.

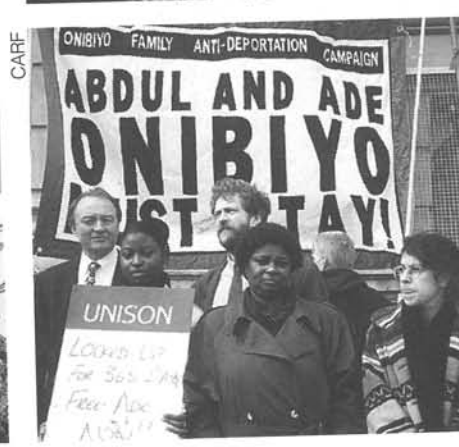
In opposition, Labour promised to abolish the 'white list' of countries of origin deemed safe. It pledged to ensure that asylum-seekers have the means to live; to abolish fines for employers who fail to check whether new employees are entitled to work in the UK, and to restore the right of appeal to those refused permission to come to Britain for a visit. It promised to abolish the primary purpose rule (whereby the couple must

prove that the primary purpose of the marriage was not immigration). And the new government will make the European Convention on Human Rights part of the law in Britain; this means that those complaining that their deportation will expose them to a breach of fundamental rights such as the right to life, the right not to be tortured and the right to respect for family life, will not have to go to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg for a remedy, but will be able to complain to a British court.

## Same old approach

But while Labour's election promises welcomed the positive contribution made

**Under the Tories there were countless anti-deportation campaigns. Will things change under Labour?**



to society by immigrants and refugees, it pledged too to be 'firmer' than the Tories, to speed up the asylum determination process to get rid of 'fraudulent' applicants faster than they did. Labour campaign documents made it clear that under Labour there would be no return to 'mass immigration'.

A major policy decision is the refusal to lift immigration controls for passengers coming from other EU countries, the 'European space' envisaged by the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty. Labour's rationale for following the Tories' line on this is that firm external controls are needed to avoid imposing internal controls such as ID cards. Of course, anti-racists and civil libertarians will welcome the rejection of ID cards. But it is important to recognise that the UK already has a substantial body of internal controls. Passport checks are frequently imposed on claimants of welfare benefits, housing, education and health care, and black people are frequently arrested simply to establish their right to be in the country (see the case of Peter San Pedro, on page 13). Labour is silent on the dismantling of all these internal controls, while wishing to keep the right to check the passports of everyone coming in through Europe – passengers who have already been subjected to rigorous checks at Europe's external borders.

Of course, a desperate few are smuggled into Europe as illegal entrants. But this is because of the draconian policy of visa controls and carrier sanctions which prevents refugees from war, civil war and internal repression from coming legally to western Europe. And, instead of promising to repeal these measures that have resulted in the hugely increased traffic in human cargo, with all the misery it entails, Labour criticised the Tories for waiving fines on airlines, and promised more efficient removal by cooperation with the Immigration Service and the National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS) to trace people who have gone underground.

Labour says it will tackle the causes of refugee flows ('tough on refugees and tough on the causes of refugees', it might have said); but, while its immediate ban on land mines and promise to stop licences for the export of arms to repressive regimes is very welcome, it needs to acknowledge the role of the GATT agreement which strangles Third World economies, the World Bank and the IMF which keep them in hock and demand 'austerity' which kills and which leads to political repression; and the grip of

multinational corporations on Third World resources.

By refusing to contemplate large-scale changes to Britain's immigration and asylum policies, by continuing to use the language of fraud in connection with asylum-seekers, and by failing to commit itself to restoring their right to reach the country legally in order to claim asylum, Labour is not well placed to fight the racism of the European intergovernmental process, and the resulting agreements on stricter asylum procedures and criteria which underlie domestic legislation.

### **Tackling institutionalised racism**

There are higher expectations for change in the culture underlying Home Office practice. The past eighteen years have seen an entrenchment of an official anti-immigrant culture, inaugurated by Mrs Thatcher in her 'the people of Britain are rather afraid of being swamped by an alien culture' speech, and dug deeper every time a minister spoke of 'bogus asylum-seekers', 'illegal immigrants', or identified immigrants as liars, cheats and scroungers. The whole structure of immigration control is built around these notions, and is designed to detect 'abuse'. It is the very opposite of the system regulating the movement of European citizens, which is based on rights. Immigration officers are trained to suspect every black (third-world) immigrant as a potential illegal immigrant, every asylum-seeker as a liar. The primary purpose rule is built on the assumption that black people marry Britons in order to secure immigration status. Rules in asylum law say asylum-seekers who destroy documents, or come in on false passports, or don't apply for asylum immediately on arrival, are likely to be lying. And official documents such as birth or death certificates and arrest warrants emanating from Africa, the Indian subcontinent and now from Iran, are routinely dismissed as false or forged.

It was this mentality which produced the Asylum Arrears Implementation Project, set up by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate of the Home Office on 7 April, the day before the dissolution of parliament, in order to refuse as many asylum claims, and remove as many asylum-seekers as possible before the election with the minimum of fuss. A senior Home Office official told the *Independent*, 'It was very convenient that it was set up at a time when no MPs were available to defend constituents.' To such officials, immigrants are not entitled to MPs' intervention, or legal intervention, or anything at all, for that matter. It is this

attitude which lies behind what happened to Joy Gardner.

Whatever changes Labour makes to the immigration rules, such as the primary purpose rule, the mentality behind them will linger on. Eighteen years makes for strong habits. The idea that most immigrants and asylum-seekers tell the truth will strike some officials as nothing short of revolutionary (and dangerous nonsense too). So even if Labour were to abolish the worst, most racist immigration rules and restore appeal rights with immediate effect, it will take longer to achieve real justice for immigrants and asylum-seekers. That requires tackling the daily racist assumptions and practices of officials.

### **New pressure points**

Campaigners are hoping that a Labour government will make a real difference in family reunion and compassionate cases. But it is rumoured that the cost of abolishing the primary purpose rule will be the extension of the 'probationary period' before foreign spouses get residence rights from one year to two or even four, dashing the hopes of those demanding the abolition of the probationary period which forces wives to stay with violent husbands on pain of deportation. Easier rules for elderly or isolated relatives to join families here, and an end to the deportation of those with a British partner or children are demands that Labour ought to meet but has shown no signs of doing so.

Labour claims to offer fairness, adherence to international obligations and recognition of the fundamental human rights of those affected by immigration procedures. Party leaders have repeatedly and publicly condemned the use of the race card and claim to be committed to treating people with a measure of dignity and decency. But so far, it has remained silent on restoring benefits to asylum-seekers, a policy many feel is the touchstone of the party's bona fides, and until it restores means of subsistence to them, and ends the detention of asylum-seekers, these commitments are open to question.

Anti-racists must as a minimum hold Labour to its pre-election pledges, to ensure that government policies are driven by principle and not by expediency, and that the rearguard actions of officials on the ground are effectively challenged. There is an opportunity, for the first time in a generation, to begin to tackle institutional racism. That is why it's more important than ever to keep up the pressure. ■





EUROCIRCUS

# Austerity hits

**One of the principal concerns European campaigners are airing at alternative rallies during the Intergovernmental Conference in Amsterdam is the need to preserve the welfare state from draconian austerity packages in the run-up to the signing of the new Maastricht Treaty.**

**But across Europe, migrant workers, many of them long resident, with children born here, as well as rejected asylum-seekers, have already been excluded from social and welfare provision.**

**Anti-racism needs to be at the top of any campaign to defend the welfare state. For migrants and asylum-seekers no longer live in a welfare state. Their experience shows us the shape of things to come.**



## HEALTH

**BELGIUM:** The Secretary of State for Social Integration is considering the introduction of a Royal Decree on Emergency Medical Care as doctors in some hospitals are refusing to treat people without papers free of charge, saying hospitals are not reimbursed by the state.

**FRANCE:** If implemented, proposals put forward by the 1996 Philibert parliamentary commission would mean a denial of health care, except emergency treatment for contagious disease, for anyone deemed 'illegal' – justified on the grounds of curbing the excesses of 'illegal immigrants' enjoying free medical treatment courtesy of the French taxpayer. The Commission proposals also introduce the concept of 'priority emergency', described as untenable by Médecins sans Frontières.

**GERMANY:** A Kurdish asylum-seeker died on 25 June 1996 from acute cirrhosis after being denied a liver transplant by the authorities in Bremen on the grounds that they could not meet the cost of the operation.

**ITALY:** In September 1995, authorities in Naples refused to help an Algerian undocumented worker with leukaemia, saying that as he was an illegal immigrant they could not operate free of charge. In April 1995, the baby of a Zairean woman died after a doctor in Caserta refused to treat her during her labour. At around the same time, a two-month-old Roma baby died in a hospital near Rome after doctors refused to treat the baby for bronchitis because the parents could not produce the 6,000 lira (£2) demanded of them. Also in 1995, pregnant Giorgia Yaboah, married to a legal Ghanaian worker but worried about her immigration status, developed high blood pressure, which can be fatal in pregnancy, but was too frightened to go to the hospital in Modena and died.

**NETHERLANDS:** The African Foundation for Aids Prevention and Counselling in Amsterdam states that the policy of limiting access to health care to those officially registered as residents means illegals are too frightened to come forward for testing.

**SWEDEN:** Before hospitalisation, asylum-seekers must have their status checked by the Immigration Board, which is responsible for paying for treatment, according to measures introduced in 1996.

**UK:** The North Middlesex hospital in London was investigated by the Commission for Racial Equality after a GP alleged that the hospital was screening patients whose first language is not English. The Uganda Community Relief Association reports that GPs are turning away Africans with HIV and Aids, saying that the only way they can receive treatment is through hospital accident and emergency departments. The Terrence Higgins Trust, the African Advocacy Foundation and the Aids Treatment Project say that African asylum-seekers are being refused the new triple combination therapy for HIV on the grounds of their uncertain immigration status.

## HOUSING

**AUSTRIA:** The asylum law of 1991, which states that asylum-seekers have no legal claim to assistance from the federal state, has led to increasing homelessness, according to the churches. Council housing in Vienna is not available to foreigners. According to the Socialist mayor, preference must be given to Austrian nationals.

**BELGIUM:** The Vande Lanotte law states that asylum-seekers only have the right to housing (and food) if they stay in state reception centres.

**FRANCE:** The Philibert parliamentary commission has proposed tougher criteria for access to public housing for immigrants.

**ITALY:** Access to state subsidised housing is limited to nationals and privileged aliens.

**NETHERLANDS:** The Coupling Law (1996) ties access to council housing to immigration status. As a number of towns and cities have refused to implement the national policy of evicting rejected asylum-seekers from their homes, the Immigration and Nationality Department has taken over the responsibility. Families with children will not be thrown

# migrants first

on to the streets but taken to reception centres for asylum-seekers (which are usually holding centres pending deportation).

**UK:** The 1996 Asylum & Immigration Act disqualified asylum-seekers and immigrants without settled status from social housing and from housing benefit.

## FAMILY LIFE

**AUSTRIA:** Bilateral accords granting family allowance for children living in the former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Tunisia were unilaterally cancelled in June 1996. Under new austerity proposals, it has been suggested that supplementary unemployment allowance paid to families with children living abroad should be abolished.

**FRANCE:** The Philibert parliamentary commission has suggested the scrapping of child allowance to immigrants. Despite countless rulings in French courts and at the European Court of Justice, France persists in prohibiting the payment of the adult disability allowance and the minimum old-age pension to non-nationals. It has also ignored a ruling by the UN Human Rights Commission that to freeze the war pensions of colonial ex-servicemen who fought for France during two world wars and the war in Indochina is a violation of accords signed by France.

**GERMANY:** 1993 regulations stated that only foreigners with unlimited right of residence or a limited residence permit are entitled to family allowance. Emigrants of German descent were instructed as of February 1996 that they must remain in their assigned region of residence for at least two years before becoming fully entitled to claim integration and social security allowances. (The regulations seem designed to keep them in the former GDR.) All workers, German nationals and others, must contribute to the insurance scheme for care in old age, but under the present law, workers lose all claim to this benefit if they return to their countries of origin.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

**AUSTRIA:** To qualify for unemployment benefits, immigrants must have a work permit valid for two years, issued after at least one year's employment in one firm, or a 'license of release' (gained after completing five years' regular employment within the last eight years). Austria was successfully challenged in the European Court of Human Rights by a Turkish national who was refused an allowance to 'relieve distress', even though he had paid the same contributions to the unemployment insurance fund as Austrian nationals. (Proposals in the new Aliens Bill will make some foreign nationals eligible for this allowance.) A 1990 decree states that all claims for federal care made by asylum-seekers who cannot prove their identity, or are in possession of false documents, are to be rejected. The federal interior minister recently announced that state aid for Bosnian refugees will end on 31 December 1997 because it is impossible for the state 'to perpetually care for people capable of working'.



**BELGIUM:** Under the Vande Lanotte Act, foreign students and their families can be expelled if they apply for social security for any period longer than three months. Asylum-seekers are obliged to stay at designated reception centres while their applications are considered and do not receive social security benefits but are paid in kind, ie, in the form of food parcels, etc.

**DENMARK:** In order to receive benefits, asylum-seekers must demonstrate an attempt to learn the Danish language. At a local level, the Aarhus authorities instigated a policy whereby refugees must work for 20 hours a week before being allowed to take up benefits. Those who fail to comply, including women and children, have social security payments stopped.

**GERMANY:** Legislation on the reduction of social security allowance for asylum-seekers, civil war refugees and 'tolerated' foreigners is presently going through the Bundesrat. The measures will lead to these categories receiving up to 20 per cent less in social welfare than the amount granted to German recipients during their first three years in Germany. Already the 1993 Asylum Benefits Law cut government financial assistance to asylum-seekers in favour of food, clothes and coupons exchangeable only in specific shops.

**NETHERLANDS:** Legislation adopted on 26 February compels asylum-seekers with a temporary residence permit to search for and obtain paid employment. Those who do not will have benefits reduced. Already, from the beginning of 1997, the pocket money allowance granted to asylum-seekers has been reduced. A central body for the relief of asylum-seekers (COA) has set up a study group to put forward proposals on new allowances. A treaty on social security signed with Morocco restricts social security, as well as pension claims.

**SWEDEN:** Asylum-seekers who do not reside in assigned towns or cities may have benefits cut if new proposals put forward by a parliamentary committee go through. And refugees who fail to attend Swedish language classes will not receive full benefits but subsistence payments only.

**SWITZERLAND:** A strict interpretation of Swiss law means that in order to receive benefits, a foreigner must have made contributions for ten years or lived in the country for 15 years. If the law is interpreted rigidly, then asylum-seekers are denied benefits. Under social security regulations issued by the Council of States (one of two chambers in the Swiss federal parliament), refugees must pay back money loaned by social services to cover rent and medical expenses. Social services have been given the authority to recoup money directly from cheques or salaries paid out to refugees.

**UK:** The habitual residence test means that those social security claimants who cannot prove the UK is their 'centre of interest' are denied benefits. The 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act removed all benefits from asylum-seekers who applied after arrival and those whose claims have been rejected, a total of 13,000 asylum-seekers, including 2,000 children at present. *Information from Race & Class*

**RACE & CLASS**

Special issue on 'Europe: the wages of racism', to be published in July. Articles on: ■ welfare and racism ■ state racism ■ the black economy ■ Lübeck ■ Ceuta & Melilla ■ and much more. Available from *Race & Class*, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS.

## THE ugly face OF racism

Le Pen and the Gaullists may be divided on Euro-integration, but they share a common belief that immigrants and asylum-seekers should be denied access to the welfare state



**'When you have a cherry tree, you will see swarms of starlings arrive just when the cherries are ripe ...they will not leave until all the cherries are gone... We should stop giving foreigners what attracts them and explain that we do not have the means to support them or even to employ them.'**

Jean-Marie Le Pen



**'Illegal immigrants are like intruders who come and set themselves up in your home and help themselves to the contents of the fridge.'**

Jean-Louis Debré,  
French ex-interior minister

# IGC: immigration and asylum

If the IGC proposals on immigration and justice go through, all the racist and exclusionary practices and policies we have campaigned against over the past ten years will become part of the law of the European Union, making them more difficult to fight against. At present, the only immigration measure which is part of EU law is the common visa list. But within a very short time, the list of measures could include:

- Tighter family reunion laws, including lengthy probation periods (up to four years) before spouses get settlement rights
- An official ban on all except temporary and seasonal immigration for work
- A ban on all access to the welfare state by immigrants
- Routine and frequent identity checks on all black people
- Limited visa-free travel in Europe for long resident immigrants, with no freedom to work or settle
- Restrictive criteria for granting asylum
- Only one chance to claim asylum in Europe, with the country of first arrival dealing with the claim regardless of the wishes of the asylum-seeker or where he or she has relatives, friends or a supportive community
- Asylum-seekers being shunted around Europe and out to unsafe transit countries
- The removal of asylum-seekers to 'safe' countries of origin which are not safe
- 'Fast-track' appeals which don't provide justice
- Routine detention of asylum-seekers awaiting deportation
- More and more group deportations

At present, most of these measures are in force piecemeal in Europe, having been agreed as policies but not as European law. It seems the main obstacle to the Blair government signing up to them is that they require Britain to remove its immigration controls on people coming from another EU country. This is the same objection the Tories had. For this reason, Britain may opt out of the immigration and justice proposals of the new Maastricht Treaty. If, as threatened, Denmark refuses to sign up too, the states forming the Schengen Group (Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain) may go ahead without Britain (as happened with the Social Chapter under the Tories).

## The far Right on Europe

As we go to press, we do not know the exact scale of the Socialist Party victory in the French general election. But we do know that the issue of European integration was the key to their success – and that of the FN with its record 15 per cent of the vote in the first round. President Chirac's tactic of calling the election to secure a mandate for an austerity package, including a major attack on the welfare state, has backfired. While the former interior minister Charles Pasqua leads a Euro-sceptic faction within the RPR, only the FN stands for outright withdrawal from Europe.

### Europe – in or out?

Over the past few months, Le Pen has seized every opportunity to vaunt his anti-EU, nationalist credentials, accusing prime minister Alain Juppé and Socialist party leader, Lionel Jospin, of wanting to merge France's identity into a federal European superstate. As the anti-fascist magazine *Reflexes* argues: 'The Maastricht treaty was ratified by a very slim

majority in France and one cannot separate the rise of the FN from the acceleration of the European unification and integration process. The issue is now at least as important as immigration.'

Le Pen's anti-Maastricht message is shared by Europe's fastest growing far-Right party, Austria's FPÖ. Jörg Haider, who was pro-Europe until 1994, is now seeking to build on the popular feeling against the government's austerity package which Haider blames on the Maastricht Treaty. Portraying himself as the protector of the poor, the elderly and the working class against the forces of globalisation, Haider has attacked 'unbridled economic liberalism' and the European Union for widening eastwards, allowing for immigration of eastern Europeans westwards.

Not all extreme-Right parties are anti-Europe. But then, not all extreme-Right parties are wrought in the old-fashioned nationalist mould. Italy's secessionist Northern League, for example, views European union as providing an opportunity



As the IGC 'Eurocircus' comes to town, campaigners are ensuring that the 'other Europe' is on display.

Amsterdam city council sees the 'EuroTop' as a blessing. Amsterdam gets the chance to clean up its Sodom and Gomorrah image of sex, drugs and slums and to present itself as a respectable, economically successful city of the world.

To feed the heads of state this image and to ensure that the Summit comes off smoothly, thousands of extra cops are being drafted into Amsterdam, and large areas of the city are being turned into security zones. There will be strict identity checks within these security zones and the streets will be

'cleansed' of homeless people, 'illegal immigrants' and other 'undesirable elements'. A glimpse into the future perhaps? Fortunately, there are plenty of individuals and organisations who won't take this lying down. They plan to use the event to display their contempt and set forth their resistance. The alternative activities during the 'EuroTop' in Amsterdam include:



## AMSTERDAM'S ALTERNATIVE AGENDA

### 11-17 JUNE The Top from Bottom

'Platform Towards Another Europe', a co-ordinating body of different progressive organisations, is organising discussions, actions and theme-days under the banner of an alternative conference, with speakers from various countries. Workshops include unemployment, poverty, social deprivation, feminist Europe, pacifist Europe, Europe and the South, environmental Europe, etc...

### 12-13 JUNE UNITED conference

The biggest NGO meeting of the European Year Against Racism. Themes are 'Fortress Europe', 'Everyday Racism' and 'Institutional Racism' with speakers from various countries.

### 13-15 JUNE Days of Chaos

A massive 'Stop the City' to bring official Amsterdam to its knees.

### 14 JUNE Demo against unemployment, poverty and social deprivation

From the middle of April onwards, thousands of people across Europe are marching on Amsterdam, to protest against the neo-liberal policies of the EU. These marches are coming together in a show of strength on 14 June in Amsterdam.

Britain's delegation will include those who began the 'March for Social Justice' in London in April - the Liverpool dockers, the Hillingdon hospital strikers, and many others.



### 16 JUNE Demo at the border prison

At the Greshospitium, up to 144 people are detained. At the Dutch Bank, politicians will discuss Europe's future.

'With a demonstration by bike we want to connect these two special areas and break through the myth of free travel and free traffic across Europe. We will go from the elite prison (the bank) to the border prison. In this demonstration, we will go through areas of Amsterdam where movement is restricted because of the Summit. At the border prison we will demonstrate in spectacular fashion.'

### 17 JUNE Anarchist demo

Angry people rage hard at the Dutch Bank, Dam Square.



## Responding to European integration is at the top of the far-Right agenda. Globalisation is replacing Communism as the target for a new populism.

to break free both from the bureaucracy of the Italian nation-state and from the economy of the poor south, which the League argues is holding the fictional country of Padania back from meeting Maastricht convergence criteria. For the areas where the League is strongest, the towns and villages around Lombardy, Veneto and Piedmont are amongst the richest in Europe. If the League were to succeed in its secessionist project, Padania, with 32 million people, would have the highest per capita income in Europe, the south one of the lowest. Padania meets all the conditions for EU membership, the south probably none. The League has even written to the European Commission inquiring how Padania should go about joining monetary union. According to Roberto Maroni, head of the Padanian Liberation Committee, 'The whole of the EU is watching us, we are a historic occurrence; we're the first. But others will follow. The EU will eventually

become a union of regions, and not a union of out-dated nation states.'

### Nationalists vs secessionists

All this is anathema to nationalists. However, it is no accident that there is this major schism within the extreme Right over Europe. And it's not just a division between nationalists and secessionists; rather, this division reflects different extreme-Right responses to an increasingly integrated global economy and new world order. The Northern League, on the one hand, represents the rich and successful, the fat-cat entrepreneurs to whom globalism has brought new opportunities for wealth creation and who want the best deal for themselves in Europe. The FN, on the other hand, looks back to a national capitalism, portraying itself as the protector of the working class, small businessmen and French farmers.

For the Northern League, the global

market is a good thing. While it may still attack globalism, it asserts that the only way to fight it is by joining it. But for the FN and other nationalist parties, globalism erodes national culture and the national economy. The franc is a national symbol. France is a great world power. 'Globalisation: eater of workers' has become a popular FN slogan - and FN propaganda increasingly attacks the US and 'le culture Anglo Saxon'.

It is easy to ridicule the extreme Right. But in many senses it is acting with an instinct that many on the Left have lost. An integrated global economy and unbridled economic liberalism are bringing about fear and insecurity in a rapidly changing world. It is in order to compete more successfully in this world economy that European monetary union is sought. In order to do that, Europe needs cheap, flexible workforces. And in order to bring that about, it seeks to dismantle the welfare state. ■



Hans Bouton

## CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

# Victory in Dutch airline campaign

The Autonom Centrum reports on its successful campaign to stop a Dutch airline's involvement in charter deportations.

On 4 December 1996, our centre organised an occupation of the office of Martinair at Schiphol airport. This air carrier (the second largest in the Netherlands) played an important part in the deportation of 'unwanted immigrants' in the Netherlands: rejected refugees, illegal immigrants and others without permission to stay. At the same time as the occupation, a street-theatre performed in the departure lounge. Altogether about 80 people participated in the actions.

Martinair was the most important carrier in the mass expulsions of immigrants. Its aircraft were used in the so-called 'Euro-charters', in which groups of refugees from different European countries have been expelled from Europe (nine times since November 1993). We wanted to break through the wall of silence surrounding the company's co-operation in group expulsions and to set a discussion in motion.

We demanded an open discussion with

representatives of Martinair in which employees could also take part. Until that happened we would continue the occupation. We wanted Martinair to set an example as a company that takes responsibility for its role in causing human misery by stopping its group expulsions. We also called on people to take action should Martinair continue its policy of transporting 'unwanted immigrants'.

Not surprisingly, Martinair was not at all pleased with the action. At first the directors wanted the police to clear the building of protesters. Their own security service tried to put an end to the street-theatre. After almost two hours they finally agreed on a discussion with us. This lasted about 30 minutes. We were able to provide the directors with a lot of information about what happened during group deportations. Martinair promised to read the information, after which they would look at their position again. We promised that we would continue



Dutch campaigners occupy the offices of Martinair

protests if they did not change their position. After the discussion we ended the occupation.

In January Martinair wrote us a letter in which they took a very formal stand. In short: 'We are an air carrier agency, we hire out planes to whomever pays for them; the deportation decision has been taken by a judge in a democratic state and we believe countries of origin are safe until the opposite is proven'. The last part of their statement led to another discussion with the directors on 22 January. After an hour of debate on asylum policy and Martinair's past activities, the founder and director of Martinair (Martin Schröder) came up with a proposal:

- Martinair will stop co-operating in group deportations;
- If they are asked to hire out a plane for the voluntary return of immigrants, they will first contact us to make sure that 'voluntary' really means 'voluntary';
- No more publicity about this issue.

The proposal was based on Martinair's fear of an ongoing campaign against the company. The third point seemed very important to the company, as the tourist season was about to begin and it did not want to be at the centre of a public debate on group deportations. It took yet another meeting to make them accept that there *would* be publicity. At their request we published a press release that made it possible for Martinair to react to it with 'No comment'. On 7 February the news was in most daily newspapers and on the radio: 'Martinair stops group deportations'.

We are satisfied with the result of the action. We consider it to be a victory for all people who believe that change is possible. ■

Autonom Centrum, Bilderdijkstraat 165-f, 1053 KP Amsterdam. Tel: 020 612 6172.

S. O'Neill



In Britain, anti-deportation campaigners have protested against British Airways involvement in deportations

# Commission slates Lübeck trial

Last August, following an outcry about the perverse decision to prosecute asylum-seeker Safwan Eid for a fire which killed ten people and injured 38 in the hostel where he and his family stayed, an international independent commission of lawyers was set up to oversee the conduct of his trial (see *CARF* 33). A verdict is still awaited, but everything points to Safwan's innocence and a bungled police investigation which included the releasing of four original suspects, skinheads from Grevesmühlen.

Meanwhile, the Commission (which included British human rights lawyer, Geoffrey Bindman) issued its statement on 8 May.

## Witness inconsistent

Safwan's prosecution rested on the word of a volunteer medic, Jens Leonhardt, who claimed that Safwan told him in German, 'It was us.' The Commission criticised the 'weight given by the prosecution authorities to the alleged confession... Mr Leonhardt



Safwan Eid on being released on bail

appears to have given different versions of the alleged confession in his statements to the police, to witnesses and in his evidence in court'. The prosecution went ahead despite a statement from another asylum-seeker which flatly contradicted Leonhardt. Expert witnesses also showed that the fire could equally have been started on the ground floor as on the first floor (where Safwan lived).

## Release of skinheads wrong

The Commission underlines what many anti-racists think: 'The release of the original suspects and the rejection of evidence against them which on the face of it is much stronger than that against Safwan Eid, is very disturbing.' Three of the four local youths, who had singed hair, had managed to invent different (and farfetched) stories to explain the fact away. Medical evidence at the trial showed 'that the damage to Safwan's ears is not compatible with his having started the fire whereas the evidence that the original suspects had burnt hair is exactly what would be expected of the true culprits'.

Why, the Commission concludes, is the prosecution still pursuing the case, with all its inconsistencies and lack of corroborative evidence? And why are they not, in the light of the new facts, pursuing the original suspects? ■

**STOP PRESS...** Three homeless people were killed in a fire that destroyed a night shelter in Lübeck on 28 May. Nazi involvement is suspected.

## IN TOUCH WITH EUROPE

OUT OF TOUCH WITH GROUPS IN EUROPE CAMPAIGNING ON SIMILAR ISSUES? WITH THIS REGULAR COLUMN, *CARF* AIMS TO KEEP ANTI-RACISTS IN TOUCH WITH SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT INITIATIVES.

## Against immigration and asylum laws...

A civil disobedience campaign against the Debré immigration laws includes weekly demonstrations outside the Elysée Palace. A Convoy of the Undocumented is touring France.

**Internal controls...** Social security officials in the Anvers region of Belgium are refusing to implement rules that deny asylum-seekers benefits on the grounds that they are inhumane and will lead to public order problems on the streets.

The Antirassistische Initiative in Berlin, Germany, has produced a report detailing the deaths of 70 asylum-seekers, from January 1993 to January 1997, as a result of asylum laws.

**Detention centres...** A detention centre in Hauts-de-Seine, France, operating clandestinely and without public scrutiny, has been closed down after sans-papiers and the immigrant support group *Cimade* publicised its existence.

## Sans papiers hunger strikes...

A hunger strike of four female sans-papiers in Colombes, France has resulted in two Algerians being granted permission to stay and a Tunisian and a Cameroonian woman being granted temporary residence.

**Sanctuary movement...** Church groups in the Netherlands are sheltering greater numbers of Zaireans. Twelve Somalians threatened with deportation have sought sanctuary in Amsterdam churches.

**Racist attacks...** SOS Racisme in Paris has attacked the RATP transport union for failing to take up the case of an African metro worker assaulted by a colleague.

**Anti-fascism...** While 100,000 French anti-fascists demonstrated against the FN's annual general meeting in Strasbourg in February, in Vitrolles, Ras le Front (Fed up with the Front) has been formed to campaign against the

FN-controlled council.

**Academic racism...** SOS Racismo's campaign against a textbook, *Origins of human diversity*, recommended for psychology students at Spain's National Distance Learning University has resulted in two chapters being withdrawn. In the offending chapters, Roberto Colom Marañon accused young Gypsies and immigrants of selling drugs to schoolchildren and said that statistics proved that single mothers were more stupid than the rest of the population.

**Kick racism out of football...** Captains of top Belgian football clubs have published a statement against racism following a series of racist incidents.

## Challenge to 'safe country' rulings...

The Dutch cabinet and the new British government have decided to suspend the deportation of Zaireans, and the British government has declared Zaire a 'country in upheaval', which entitles new asylum-seekers from the country to social security benefits. It has also suspended deportations of Algerians. In Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, rejected Zairean asylum-seekers have had a temporary stay put on their deportation. ■



# Immigration prisoners fight back

**Asylum-seekers across Britain are continuing their protests against their unjust and illegal incarceration.**

At the time of writing, five asylum-seekers are on hunger strike in Winson Green, a high security prison, 14 asylum-seekers have ended their rooftop protest at Campsfield detention centre and detainees at Rochester prison are recovering from an attack by the prison riot squad after a sit-down protest.

The protests have been ignored, without exception, by the national media, which are, no doubt, waiting for a hunger striker to die before the story becomes newsworthy.

The events began on 5 May when asylum-seekers at *Winson Green* refused meals in anger at their detention in a cockroach and vermin-infested punishment block. Their statement said:

'We call upon anyone who is concerned about our detention, to say that we are being treated UNFAIRLY and UNJUSTLY. If we were detained in China or Turkey or any other totalitarian country we could understand the denial of our basic rights under the 1951 Geneva Convention to which Britain is a signatory. Somewhere we have read that the United Kingdom is the leader in the human rights revolution, that the greatness of the United Kingdom is the

freedom of speech and human rights protection. Therefore we write this letter to ask all who read it to make our release from detention the first item on their agenda.'

Some of these asylum-seekers have now been on hunger strike for over three weeks. They say prison warders punished them by turning off the heating and taunted them with racist abuse, telling them they hoped they would be dead soon.

In *Rochester* on 17 May, prison authorities got wind of a planned protest and responded by locking detainees in their cells. The prison riot squad was brought in and disturbances followed in which several detainees were injured. In *Campsfield*, anger at the removal of a detainee to *Winson Green* sparked a rooftop protest and later a hunger strike. And in *Haslar* prison in Portsmouth, detainees refused meals in protest at their conditions.

Last year a tiny glimmer of hope had appeared when the Labour Party, then in opposition, expressed concern at the detention of asylum-seekers in criminal prisons. But new junior Home Office minister Mike O'Brien responded to current protests by saying that disruptive detainees at Campsfield detention centre would be moved to criminal prisons. He affirmed the Labour government's adherence to the policy of detention, saying, 'I made it clear



that there would be a firm line and that I would not get involved in negotiating.'

While a few small individual victories have been gained (one of the hunger strikers, an Algerian was released and granted refugee status on 14 May) there is still a fight to be waged. Another hunger striker from Angola was due to be deported on 15 May. The Home Office claimed the deliberate refusal of food and water was a ploy to prolong the man's stay in Britain (although he was given a temporary reprieve after urgent representations). The political culture which scapegoats and criminalises refugees is still prevalent, but anti-racists cannot sit back and wait. The *Winson Green* hunger strikers have said 'We believe that with your help we can get fair treatment.' Only by stepping up the fight can we do justice to them. ■



Forest Gate Community School organised protests to prevent the deportation of Natasha Mtambele. Now they are campaigning for Dereje and Miliyon Hailemaium.

## Schoolchildren fight deportations

In the last issue of CARF we reported the campaign of children at St Philip's Primary School in Hulme to defend their classmates Anwuli and Awele Okolo, threatened with deportation to Nigeria along with their mother Florence. Now, more schools and their pupils are joining forces with lawyers and campaigns to stop deportations.

In Willesden, north London, Jimmy and Romaric Necua Ndombele are fighting a campaign to stay in Britain with the help of Newfield primary school. Their mother Pauline fled the civil war in Angola but has been refused asylum. Her appeal will be held in October.

CARF readers may remember Natasha Mtambele of Forest Gate Community School in Newham, east London. Her schoolmates organised demonstrations and rallies to prevent her deportation to Angola. She is still under threat and fighting to stay in

Britain, but the school, which is attended by more than 100 refugee children, is now campaigning for two other pupils. Sixteen-year-old Dereje Hailemaium and his 17-year-old brother Miliyon are desperate not to be sent back to Ethiopia, where most of their family, who are orthodox Christians, have been murdered during civil unrest. The boys have received 700 letters of support and collected 1,000 names on a petition calling for them to be allowed to stay in Britain. They have also received the backing of their local MP and new sports minister Tony Banks. How much he can do will depend on whether Labour lifts the restrictions put in place by the Tories which prevent MPs from putting a stop on deportations of constituents. ■

Send letters of support to Friends of Dereje and Miliyon, Forest Gate Community School, Forest Street, London E7 0HR.

**CS spray's second victim...?** Another person has died after being sprayed with the latest police toy. Peter San Pedro, a 25-year-old musician from north London, died in a Kent hospital on 3 April. He was arrested on suspicion of being an illegal immigrant and sprayed in the face with CS spray when he allegedly resisted. After being released on proof that he was legally in the country, he was thought to have been so disoriented from the effects of the spray that he ran on to the A2 in Kent where he was hit by a car. The Police Complaints Authority is investigating the death.

**Epilepsy - the new black fatal condition...?** Lytton Shannon died on 1 May after his arrest in Wolverhampton on suspicion of drug possession. The car that he was travelling in was stopped and searched, while Lytton was arrested and taken to the police station. The police claim that he complained of feeling unwell on the way to the police station and collapsed on arrival after suffering an 'epileptic fit'. Lytton's family, however, are disputing the cause of death as he had never suffered from fits or epilepsy before. After last year's sudden outbreak of fatal heart conditions among young healthy black men under arrest, is epilepsy to be the new excuse for suspicious deaths in police custody?

**Preventable death...** Marlon Thomas, a 20-year-old Royal Mail worker and a friend of Peter San Pedro, was found hanging by his shoelaces in a cell at Harlesden police station in the early hours of 23 March. He was arrested on 21 March and charged with rape, and was due to appear at Brent magistrates court the day after he died. Marlon's family were not allowed to visit him the day before his death. They are shocked at his death, dispute the reason for his arrest and do not believe that he would have killed himself. If the police are to be believed, why were his shoelaces not removed? And why did the police not watch his cell more carefully? For Marlon's family, their son has died with his name blackened and no chance of proving his innocence.

**Prison beating...?** Abel Mukuna died on 12 March in Greenwich hospital, five days after beginning an eight-week sentence in Belmarsh prison for driving while banned. His wife Aminata says that he had complained about the prison conditions and he had lost weight. The next time she saw him he was in hospital, unable to walk or talk. He regained consciousness briefly and told his wife that he had been beaten. A post mortem found that he died from a swelling of his brain. An investigation is under way.

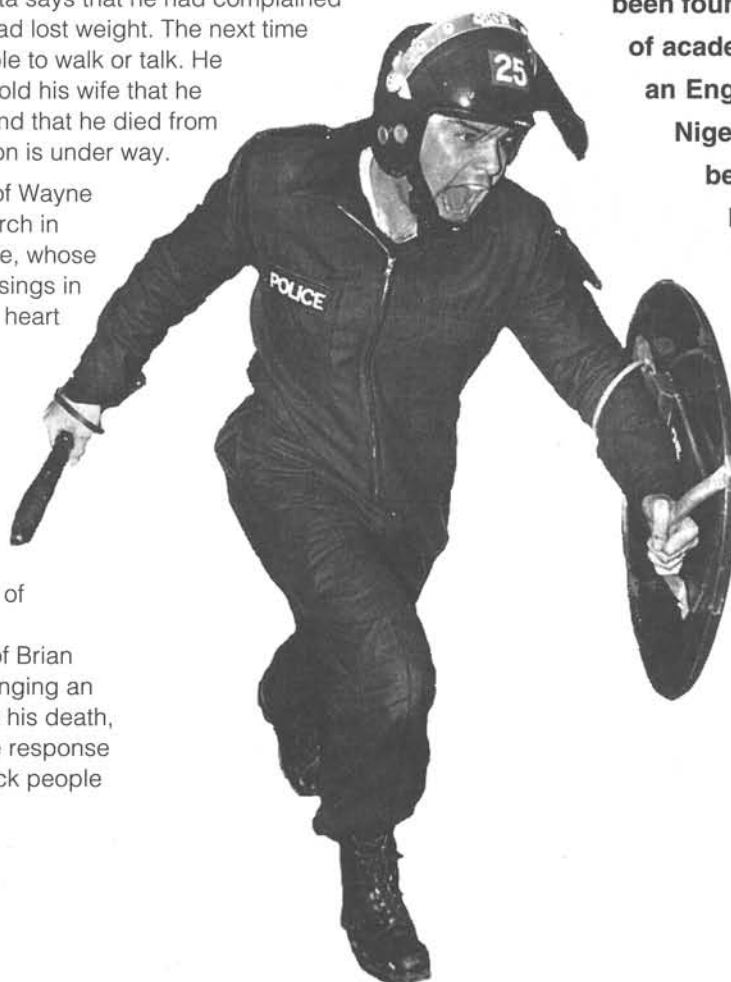
**Campaign victory...** The family of Wayne Douglas took a significant step in March in challenging an inquest verdict. Wayne, whose death in south London provoked uprisings in Brixton in December 1995, died from heart failure brought about by 'positional asphyxia' (strangulation). To the family's surprise, the jury returned a verdict of accidental death. Now the High Court has given the family leave to challenge the verdict on the grounds that the coroner had misdirected the jury about the circumstances under which a verdict of 'unlawful killing' could be reached.

This fight, and the parallel battle of Brian Douglas's family, who are also challenging an inquest verdict (of misadventure) into his death, are significant challenges to the state response of cover-up and whitewash when black people die at the hands of the police. ■

## Racist murders

The family of murdered rap artist Michael Menson have appealed to the public and the police, 'Don't let this become another Stephen Lawrence case.' Menson was horrifically attacked in the early hours of 28 January by four white youths who set him alight as he was making a call in a phone box in Edmonton. He was in a serious burns unit for 16 days before he died of his injuries. During that time he told members of his family about the attack, including descriptions of his attackers, yet police made no attempt to interview Menson. They took the view that he had set light to himself. Now they admit that their murder investigation has been weakened by their slowness to act.

In Plumstead, south London, three racist thugs Victor Boreman, Michael Byrne and Malcolm Byrne have been found guilty of the murder of academic John Reid. Reid, an Englishman married to a Nigerian, was kicked and beaten to death in his flat last April and his body was set alight by the thugs in an attempt to make his death look like the result of a house fire. The court heard how the Reids had been the targets of racist taunting from the group which affected Mrs Reid so badly that she would not stay in the flat by herself. ■



# Mission Impossible



Warning: this party will self-destruct

After two years of planning, the British National Party's (BNP) latest and most extensive foray into electoral politics ground to its inevitable conclusion. Tyndall's fascists managed to save their deposits in just three seats, of 56 contested, two of which were in its east-end heartland. Its London campaign, where over a third of its candidates stood, was often low-key to the point of being non-existent. Police are, CARF understands, investigating complaints about alleged falsification of nominees and seconders. The National Democrats saved their deposit in only one seat; the remaining fascist dregs, the National Front and the Third Way, failed to field a single candidate who got above 2% of the vote.

## The BNP vote

The BNP gained its highest vote in east London, where assistant national organiser Dave King (Bethnal Green) and party Führer John Tyndall (Poplar & Canning Town) both secured over 7%. King's 3350 votes were probably inflated by the fact that he had the

same name as the Labour candidate; he was also one of the few local London BNP candidates, though this didn't prevent clashes outside the count. In neighbouring Newham, where the BNP has attempted to expand its base, candidates Colin Smith and Kenneth Francis lost their deposits. The BNP won between 2-3% in its old haunts of Chingford and Wood Green, Dagenham and Barking, but failed to get above 2% elsewhere in east London.

South London has also been contested strongly by the BNP in the past. In Erith and Thamesmead, Eltham and Bermondsey, all areas where it has support, no candidate got above 2% of the vote. In Mitcham & Morden, where the BNP attempted to have a presence on the ground, supporters received a severe beating after trying to large it with the regulars of a local pub. Outside London the BNP approached meltdown; it only saved one deposit, in Dewsbury, where Frances Taylor received 2232 votes (5.2%). Elsewhere in the midlands and the north its vote averaged 1% or less. In Scotland three candidates averaged 0.6%.

players such as Nick Griffin and Tony Lecomber notably failed to contest seats, thereby maintaining one foot in the more street-orientated camp.

## Racist thugs walk free

Two regulars of the notoriously racist Abbey Arms pub in south-east London have been found guilty of carrying out a serious racist attack, while Gary Starbuck, the licensee of the pub, where Combat 18 and BNP members drink, had charges dropped.

In October 1995, two local black men, Martin Unachukwu and his friend Godwin, were viciously beaten by a gang from the pub, armed with baseball bats and sticks with nails, and led by Brian Brooks and Darren McGarvie, shouting racist abuse. One suffered a broken wrist, and both needed stitches.

Brooks and McGarvie, both from Thamesmead and with a string of previous convictions, were convicted of affray (which carries a maximum sentence of 3 years) and assault (5 years). But, disgracefully, the two were sentenced to community service of 150 and 180 hours.

## C18: Goin' down, goin' down

Another senior Combat 18 player looks as though he's going to be doing time in the not too distant future. West London organiser Mark Atkinson has pleaded guilty at Southwark Crown Court to producing threatening and abusive material that is likely to incite racial hatred. Atkinson's home was raided last year by police who confiscated copies of *The Stormer*, a particularly virulent form of the illiterate crap C18 regularly churns out. Inevitably, it contained the obligatory hit list (or should that be 'wish' list), which included CARF's postal address. Atkinson, who has a penchant for running around in white sheets, burning crosses and daubing synagogues, will be sentenced in September after his co-accused, Robin Gray, who has pleaded not guilty, has faced trial. As seems to be the case with so many key C18 players, Atkinson's more serious activities, such as his involvement in attacks on followers of the Chelsea Independent Supporters Association, have been ignored. When, and if, Atkinson is sent down he will join a clutch of other C18 organisers – Charlie Sargent, Wilf Browning, Martin Cross – currently doing time. ■

## The other fascist groups

The National Democrats stood 20 candidates, the National Front six and the remnants of Patrick Harrington's Third Way two. A piece of typical ND opportunism saw them stand against the Speaker of the House of Commons – who is traditionally unopposed – in West Bromwich west, where they received 4181 votes (11.4%) by conning disaffected and/or ignorant Tory voters. While five ND candidates managed between 1-2% of the vote, the star of the night must be party leader Ian Anderson, who notched up a grand total of 81 votes (0.2%) in Derry east to get the lowest result of any of the fascist candidates, anywhere.

## BNP strategy?

The results of the BNP's election drive confirm that its electoral policy is tactical rather than strategic. Predictably, it failed to make a breakthrough. But the election provided the party with a lot of publicity through a TV broadcast and free mailings. The publicity, and the return of a Labour government, will both provide a strong momentum for a return to the street activities that the party all but abandoned in the last couple of years. Normally high-profile



Protests organised by Media Workers Against the Nazis outside all the TV broadcasting headquarters called on them to 'Pull the plugs on the nazi thugs'. The BNP fielded 56 candidates and was entitled to an election broadcast. In the event only Channel 4 pulled the plug, on the grounds that the broadcast contained scenes of ordinary people who had not consented to the recording. The BBC received hundreds of complaints after the screening. The broadcast featured our hero himself, John Tyndall, in a variety of great British scenes. Against the backdrop of the white cliffs of Dover, outside the Houses of Parliament, and on Brick Lane his wisps of hair blew in the wind (much like his political fortunes). Statesman, convicted criminal or Nazi thug? Answers on a postcard please. ■



Jess Hurd

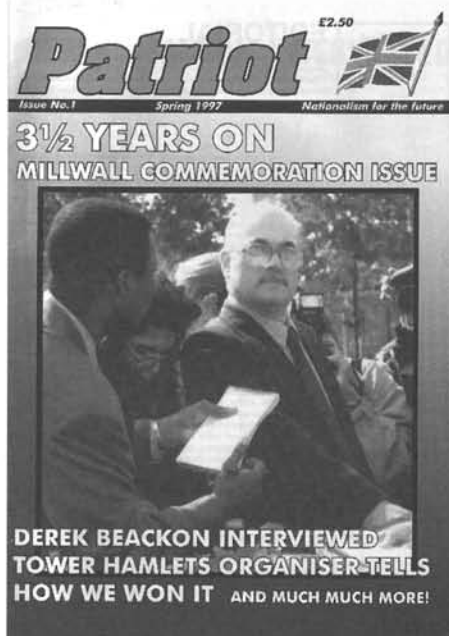


# Gloss dross

CARF was intrigued by the first edition of the BNP's new glossy magazine, 'Patriot'. 'Millwall commemoration issue' the cover proclaims; um 'three-and-a-half years on' (eh?). Inside, nine pages are given over to an 'analysis' of Derek Beackon's election win in the Isle of Dogs. (Sorry, boys, but three-and-a-half years does not quite qualify for a silver jubilee yet, and anyway, you might not have noticed but Beackon only lasted seven months as a councillor.) An interview with Derek 'no brains' Beackon himself reveals insights into BNP canvassing methods, his exploits with scantily-clad voters and the fact that he can count to four (the number of times he voted at council meetings). Steve Smith is also allowed four pages on 'How we won

Millwall'. Maybe the next issue will be another special commemoration issue 'Two years, eleven months, seven days, four hours, How we lost Millwall'.

Elsewhere in the issue, BNP press officer Michael Newland gives a heart-rending account of a visit by three men to his flat which left him covered in blood and his hands tied behind his back. Yet not a single fellow member of Newlands' valiant master race stopped to help. Shocking! Tony Lecomber takes up another four pages to claim that the 'winning formula' has now been found. Given the average 1% vote the BNP achieved in the general election, this is either a) taking the piss, or b) cloud cuckoo land. Either way, don't hold your breath. ■



## BOSSSES HONOUR CRICKET 'RACIST'

Award for 'bigot' Illingworth

A RACIST new left university official refused yesterday as they handed a degree to controversial former England cricket boss Ray Illingworth.

The issue of racism in cricket just won't go away.

implicitly racist notion of what it meant to be a Yorkshireman! (see this page).

Some staff members believed that he was not the type of person the university should honour and that to do so would send out the worst kind of message to the region's black population. A protest letter from forty staff members was sent to the in-house newsletter. The letter was not published. A meeting with the Vice-Chancellor came to naught.

But, though the award went ahead, anti-racists did score a kind of triumph. The event was dominated by the race issue. Illingworth, after a few sexist jokes, spent two minutes defending his record and explaining that he rejected the idea of his being a racist. And black writer Caryl Philips, who also received a degree, took the opportunity of his acceptance speech to underline the importance of Leeds as a multi-cultural city, the contribution of black sports people and the notion of Britishness. (In a further irony, Philips has written a screenplay called 'Playing away' which is about the racism a black cricket team has to face.) No doubt the campaign and the adverse publicity that the university received from Illingworth's award will ensure that academic boards of universities will, in

future, be more careful about whom they choose to honour. ■



## HIT RACISM FOR SIX

## University in 'racist' award fight

When some staff members at Leeds Metropolitan University found out that Yorkshire cricket boss Ray Illingworth, renowned for his controversial statements on race, was to be awarded an honorary degree, they were incensed.

Illingworth has repeatedly used racial stereotyping, had never condemned cricketing links with apartheid, had openly bullied and humiliated black cricketer criticised Devon Malcolm and was said to have referred to him as 'Nig Nog'. Ironically, the School of Leisure and Sports Studies at the university had just published a report on racism in Yorkshire local league cricket which found that Illingworth was frequently identified with the narrow and

Crossing the boundary: a study of the nature and extent of racism in local league cricket  
by Jonathan Long et al.

(Leeds Metropolitan University, 1997. 48pp)

'I don't think I've ever played in a game against Yorkshiremen where there hasn't been a touch of racism,' Syd Lawrence told a *Daily Mirror* reporter last year. Yorkshire cricket epitomises English bigotry for many – especially for those young British-Asians and African-Caribbeans who never get into league cricket.

This research was conducted in the summer of 1996, when racist fighting broke out at Headingley and when the alleged lack of commitment from England's black cricketers was still being hotly debated. Club secretaries, players – white and black – and league umpires were interviewed to find out both how ethnic minorities were represented in the sport at local level and the attitudes that were held about racism.

All the groups believed that the traditional ethos attached to the game protected cricket from the most destructive forms of racism that permeated other sports. However, the black players were very emphatic that players face everyday racism. Quotes illustrate their view: 'One of [their] players came up to me during my innings and said "get out you black bastard". The umpire heard it and did nothing.'

And all groups said that more must be done to increase opportunities at grassroots level. 'It's very difficult for an Asian or a West Indian lad, unless he's got a few mates with him, to go down to an all-white club. He's got to be really serious about playing to go and take the shit, so a lot of Asian lads will just not do it.' 'The formation of the Asian leagues were simply an act of desperation, not an attempt at segregation.'

Although the report, by necessity, is couched in diplomatic language, one message is clear. If Yorkshire is to cleanse itself of its bad reputation, the County Cricket Club has got to take a lead by 'blackening' its team. ■

**APR 9** Crown Prosecution Service begins study into whether black people are more likely to face prosecution because of their colour... BBC journalists join campaign to prevent transmission of BNP election broadcast

**APR 10** Atia Idrees succeeds in her long campaign to stay in Britain in order to care for her sick grandmother in Oldham... Family of Wayne Douglas win right to challenge inquest verdict of accidental death... Tory MP Nick Budgen defies Tory attempts not to play race card, saying that Labour will open the floodgates to immigrants

**APR 11** Winston Silcott says he will sue the police for his wrongful conviction for the killing of PC Blakelock

**APR 12** British government attempts to deport Ethiopian athlete Askale Bireda, saying that the Ethiopian government, from whom she fled, have given an assurance that she will be safe

**APR 13** Ministry of Defence rejects plea from British Sikh Federation to allow Sikhs to wear turbans in army

**APR 15** Mother of 10-year-old girl who was subjected to constant racist abuse at school begins legal action against council for failing to protect her daughter

**APR 16** Political parties make television history by recording broadcasts aimed specifically at Asian voters

**APR 22** Officials at Plymouth's Tamarside Community College launch investigation after 13-year-old Philip Northmore is hospitalised after racist attack

**APR 23** Residents of Portknockie, Morayshire deny that there is racism in the village after Guyanese Michael Jagroop and his Scots wife claim they were forced to leave by 'Ku Klux Klan atmosphere'

**APR 30** Yeovil police promise to crack down on the fascist graffiti that have appeared during the election campaign

**MAY 1** Court of Appeal upholds government decision to deport Turkish woman, who arrived in Britain via Paris, back to France in test case on 'safe third country' rule

**MAY 2** Police say they will investigate British National Party election manifesto to see if it breaches Public Order Act by constituting incitement to racial hatred

**MAY 6** England football manager Glenn Hoddle gives his backing to anti-racist football video produced by Blackburn Asians who suffered racist taunts while playing

**MAY 8** Bristol city council criticised by local government ombudsman for rehousing previously evicted family next to tenants who had already complained of previous neighbours' racism... Scotland Yard reopens investigation into 1981 New Cross Massacre, a fire in which 13 young black people died... Blair says Britain will keep its border controls

**MAY 9** Church of Scotland issues advice to congregations considering offering sanctuary to rejected asylum-seekers... Human Rights Watch report says that Britain has one of the highest rates of racist violence in Europe

**MAY 10** Fascists suspected of being behind leaflet circulating in Derbyshire which calls on Muslims to declare war on blacks

**MAY 12** Tribunal hears allegation that Warwickshire police chief made racist and derogatory remarks to fellow officer who had fostered mixed race children... staff at Leeds Metropolitan University condemn award of honorary degree to Ray Illingworth, saying his comments on black cricketers were racist and contravened the university's equal opportunities policy

# 1997

## CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

**MAY 13** Fee-paying Dame Allan's Boys School in Newcastle issues an apology and pays £4,000 compensation to former pupil Hytham Hamad for failing to take effective action after complaints of racist bullying and physical assaults... Bristol City fan arrested for allegedly subjecting black referee to torrent of racist abuse during game... 16-year-old Lewis Campbell is clubbed to the ground and taken to hospital during spate of violent racist attacks near St Bernadette School in Bristol

**MAY 14** Queen's Speech announces new Crime and Disorder Bill, which will make racially motivated crime a specific offence, and a reform of national security deportations

**MAY 15** BBC2's *East* programme uncovers evidence to suggest that racial bullying in schools is a bigger problem than previously thought... Bradford city council launches £80,000 project to stamp out racial

harassment on housing estates... Westminster council announces that it will move more than 100 asylum-seekers in the borough to Liverpool, where accommodation is cheaper, and Camden council says it intends to do the same... Ghanaian student Emmanuel Afriye awarded £6,000 damages after police stopped him in his car and questioned him for ten minutes purely because he is black

**MAY 16** Asian woman says she will appeal after losing civil action against estate agent who she says prevented her from viewing a property because the owners did not want to sell to an Asian... Home secretary announces three-month stay on deportation of asylum-seekers to Zaire

**MAY 18** Former Three Degrees star Sheila Ferguson says racist abuse has made her life hell... police blame drug dealers for battle with youths in Hyde Park area of Leeds

**MAY 19** Hampshire county council reports that serious racist incidents in schools have fallen, but racist comments and name-calling within classrooms have increased

**MAY 20** Three Filipina domestic workers who allege they were assaulted and imprisoned by their employer, a member of the Saudi Royal family, are given leave to sue him in Britain

**MAY 21** Leicester city council targets schools in new drive against racist harassment... Sheffield United promises to take action and to field more black players after survey exposes hard core of racist fans... Policy Studies Institute report says a growing trend towards mixed relationships illustrates ethnic minority integration, and that east African Asians and the Chinese in Britain are better off financially than the average white Briton

**MAY 22** Two-day rooftop protest by 12 Algerian asylum-seekers at Campsfield detention centre ends peacefully

**MAY 23** Black barrister Joy Okoye, who is suing her chambers for racial discrimination in the allocation of work, is told by Lord Justice Leggatt that she must deposit £4,000 in court before her case can be heard

**MAY 24** Solicitor Neeta Amin begins action against the CPS alleging sexual and racial discrimination over a bonus payment

**MAY 29** Former Home Secretary Michael Howard attacks government plans to abolish primary purpose rule... Home secretary Jack Straw says he may reopen the Stephen Lawrence case and order an official inquiry into the handling of the case by the police and CPS.

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