

Getting through

New dimensions in youth work
Interactive anti-racism

Plus • Labour on racist attacks and immigration • Scandinavia's new racism

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EDITORIAL

The judicial inquiry into the Stephen Lawrence murder investigation, which starts on 8 October, is a welcome indication of the government's intention to tackle racism.

With its broad terms of reference, embracing 'the lessons to be learned for the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes', it provides an opportunity for a thoroughgoing examination of the police and CPS racism which, in Stephen's case as in many others, obstructed proper investigation and successful prosecution, resulting in gross injustice.

But it is vital that the inquiry keeps police and CPS racism firmly in the spotlight. It must not be allowed to fudge the issues, either by focussing too narrowly on the apportionment of blame among individuals in the particular case, or by too wide a focus which, by looking at all inter-racial crime, dilutes and renders meaningless the real problem.

There will be attempts to hijack the inquiry. In the past, judicial inquiries, such as the Scarman inquiry into the Brixton riots, and Royal Commissions on Criminal Procedure and Criminal Justice, set up in the 1980s and early 1990s to deal with police racism, misconduct and miscarriages of justice, ended up being hijacked by the police and resulted in the award of more powers and equipment to the police and the erosion of suspects' rights such as the right to silence. And already the Police Superintendents' Association has moved in on the Lawrence inquiry, saying it wants criminals who are wrongly acquitted to face trial again. Superficially, the PSA seems to be addressing the real injustice suffered by the Lawrences – that the racist murderers who killed their son are still free. But the power to persecute someone by repeated trials because the police disagree with a 'Not Guilty' verdict is a dangerous weapon, and doubly so in the context of a racist police and criminal justice system. How many times would Winston Silcott have had to face trial if the police suggestion was law?

The Lawrence inquiry must not be hijacked. ■

Beleaguered shopkeeper Mal Hussain and his partner Linda Livingstone, targets of almost daily racist attacks since their arrival on Lancaster's Ryelands estate six years ago, celebrated an important victory when the High Court, overruling a lower court, ruled that they could sue the local authority for its failure to protect them by evicting perpetrators. Mal and Linda's victory gives hope to victims of racist harassment everywhere. ■



THE LAWRENCE INQUIRY

Justice at last?

CARF welcomes the Macpherson inquiry into the Stephen Lawrence murder investigation, due to begin on 8 October, and the proposed toughening of sentences for racist violence.

The terms of reference for the inquiry, announced by Jack Straw in August, are to inquire into 'matters arising from the death of Stephen Lawrence to date' and seek to 'identify the lessons to be learned for the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes'. This gives the panel the scope to investigate the extent to which institutionalised racism in the police and CPS obstructed a proper investigation and fatally damaged the chances of a successful prosecution.

Justice for the Lawrences

Understandably, Neville and Doreen Lawrence's primary desire is to see the killers of their son behind bars. The inquiry will have the power to compel witnesses to give evidence on oath, and it is inconceivable that the five alleged killers named by the *Daily Mail* – the three who were tried, and Jamie Acourt and David Norris – will not be summoned to give

evidence, after declining to answer questions at Stephen's inquest. If they refuse to testify, they can be sent to prison for contempt of court.

In a parallel development, the Police Superintendents' Association has suggested that the ancient rule of double jeopardy be abolished, to allow the men to be retried. He points to developments in forensic evidence which allow for better detection and says the rule which allows guilty men to go free is outmoded and creates miscarriages of justice. Clearly there has been a miscarriage of justice in the Lawrence case. But the suggested change is very dangerous. The rule is a fundamental pillar of the legal system, and is necessary to protect people from persecution by the state in the form of repeated prosecutions. The proposal to abolish it came from a body not known for its anti-racism, and was coupled with a proposal that juries should be told of a defendant's previous convictions before

deciding on guilt: a recipe for giving a dog a bad name and hanging him which would feed in to the racism of the criminal justice system to further criminalise black youth. The proposals bear all the hallmarks of bandwaggoning and should be resisted. This might mean that the Lawrences' expectations are disappointed. The inquiry will not end in the killers of their son being put behind bars: they will not see that. What we are entitled to hope they will see is a degree of honesty about the failure of the investigation into the death, and about the racism underlying that failure.

Racist assumptions

Evidence which emerged from the Lawrences' abortive private prosecution of three of the alleged killers, Neil Acourt, Luke Knight and Gary Dobson (see CARF 32), revealed an appalling saga of racist assumptions by police and CPS

which dictated the handling of the case from the start. To the police, it seems Stephen was the suspect; suspected of being involved in drug dealing purely because of his colour. The suspicion extended to his friend, the only eye-witness to the killing, Duwayne Brooks. This racist assumption led, first, to a two-week delay in making arrests, enabling forensic evidence to be disposed of and identifications of suspects to be contaminated by gossip. Then there was the



Mourners at the funeral of Manish Patel

arrest of the witness, Duwayne Brooks, on a demonstration days after Stephen's death, and the subsequent police-CPS collusion to discredit his evidence.

Jack Straw has promised that the full Police Complaints Authority report into the Lawrences' complaints about the investigation will be published, not just the conclusions of the PCA, as normally happens. The PCA report is expected at the beginning of October.

The context

While it is vital that these aspects of the case are revealed to public view, it is important that they are not ascribed to individual, personal prejudice by particular officers. It would be a very partial and limited victory if the only result of the inquiry was the dismissal or resignation of the officers involved in this particular case. The racism dictating police responses to Stephen's death must be seen in the context

of their response – and that of the CPS – to black victims of crime generally, a 20-year saga of failure. For instance, failure to take statements from relevant witnesses led to the dropping of charges against the alleged killer of Sher Singh Sagoo in March 1993. Failure to investigate alibi evidence properly led to the discharge of one of the alleged killers of Tamil refugee Panchadcharam Sahitharan before trial and the other being acquitted, in 1992.

But the saga of failure is not merely historical. Lessons have not yet been learnt. Just this year, in January 1997, musician Michael Menson, aged 29, was found in agony trying to rip off his burning clothes after being set alight by four white youths who followed him off a bus in Edmonton, north London. He suffered 25 per cent third-degree burns, but was lucid in hospital for six days before going into a coma. He died ten days later. During the six days when he was lucid, police failed to take a statement from him, although he told his family what had happened and they repeatedly urged police to interview him. Officers initially believed that his burns were accidental, or self-inflicted because of Michael's depression after his band broke up. Police admit that the prospects of bringing his attackers to justice may have been seriously damaged by their failure to act earlier.

As police in Strathclyde (the largest police district in Scotland, which includes Glasgow) and in South Wales announced separate new initiatives to combat racist violence in September, the latter's chief constable acknowledged that a massive lack of confidence in the force was responsible for the low figures for recorded racial attacks in the area. His words were echoed by shopkeeper Narinder Bal, a racist attack victim who needed 13 stitches and was partially blinded in one eye after being subjected to a racist attack. He didn't know whether police had caught the perpetrator: they hadn't told him. Racial attacks were accepted as part of life, he said. Victims of racist crime will continue to have no confidence in the police as long as they are treated as of no account (or, as sometimes happens, as criminals themselves).

Racism acknowledged

In 1996 over 12,000 incidents of racism were recorded, one of the highest rates in western Europe (unrecorded incidents run into the hundred-thousands). The number of incidents resulting in prosecutions by the CPS is less than a thousand. Of these, only a fifth, less than 200, were punished by sentences which reflected the racist motive. Home secretary Jack Straw

announced measures to deal with this problem when he announced the Lawrence inquiry at the end of July. The proposal is for a two-pronged approach: the creation of offences of 'racially motivated assault' which will carry a maximum sentence of two years more than the maximum for the non-racial offence; and the imposition of a duty on the judiciary to acknowledge racist motive in all cases where it exists and increase sentence accordingly.

Labour firm but

There are particular cases which provide an indication of the government's way of thinking. The Onibiyo family's is one such case, as we reported in the last issue of *CARF*, illustrating the tendency of the new government to allow firmness to defeat fairness in asylum policy.

Another case is that of Pardeep Saini, the 23-year-old Sikh who miraculously survived a ten-hour flight in the wheel-casing of a jumbo jet travelling from India; his 19-year-old brother died. If there was ever a case crying out for compassionate treatment, this is it. Months after the event, Pardeep is hardly able to speak. He is suffering from intense trauma as well as the physical after-effects of his ordeal. His father recently died and there is no one in India whom he can turn to. But in Britain he has four uncles and cousins who are providing and will continue to provide support.



Pardeep Saini

But the tough approach to racist attacks depends on their being recognised as such, investigated as such by the police and prosecuted as such by the CPS. Racist motives were denied in the killings of 16-year-old Rohit Duggal, killed in south London in July 1992, and of 15-year-old Rolan Adams, killed in Thamesmead, south-east London, in February of the same year. The family of 16-year-old Manish Patel, who died after being kicked

and beaten in broad daylight in Stanmore, north London, in July 1997, say the racist motivation for the murder has not been acknowledged and there has been no media interest in their son's death. Yet when the victim is white and the alleged attacker or attackers are black, the case rates front-page national news coverage and race is the first assumed motivation, as in the case of Richard Everitt, who died in Somers Town, north London, and that of Dan Moore, the

policeman's son who was attacked in Hounslow in September.

The Lawrence inquiry can help square the circle. An honest appraisal of the failures at all stages by the police, the CPS and by the judge whose decision to exclude evidence resulted in the collapse of the private prosecution, will help to create a climate in which such failures, and the racism underlying them, will not be tolerated. ■

& immigration: not fair



WHAT'S UP JACK?

None of the government's policy reviews have come to fruition, but events over the summer revealed the Home Office to be more concerned with reassuring the Right of its toughness than with being fair.

But Pardeep's asylum claim was refused on the basis of an interview conducted within hours of his arrival in the country, when he could hardly have been conscious. His appeal was turned down and the Home Office told him to leave the country. Only the intervention of his MP secured a stay on his removal and a grudging promise by immigration minister Mike O'Brien to reconsider. 'I'd need an awful lot of convincing,' said our firm but fair minister, 'I'm reluctant to reward someone for using extreme methods to evade immigration controls.'

Leave aside for a moment the fact that (as we have repeatedly observed) 'extreme methods' are rendered necessary by the near-impossibility of reaching the UK to claim asylum by orthodox means. By any standard of fairness, if Britain is to comply with international obligations to refugees, an asylum-seeker should not be refused asylum on the basis of an interview conducted in such circumstances. And by any standard of compassion Pardeep should be allowed to stay – unless the government seriously believes that thousands of 'bogus asylum-seekers' will be tempted to hitch a lift at -60° to get here.

Reinforcing the tough message, the Home Office relaunched the *Tory Coastwatch* initiative to protect Britain's shores from illegal immigrants. The focus on seeking out illegal immigrants has led to tragedy; in September, a stowaway swam for four hours in the Bristol Channel and his brother was feared drowned after the two jumped off a cargo ship to avoid capture by immigration officials.

The August riot at Campsfield detention centre (see page 14) provided O'Brien with another opportunity for tough talking. And the minister moved fast to show that he was cracking down on the so-called 'bogus' Somali asylum-seekers

alleged by the *Daily Mail* to be coming in on Eurostar from Paris. Since Eurostar is exempt from the carrier liability law, passengers can embark without visas. But after being spoken to by O'Brien, French officials have agreed to carry out spot checks for visas at the Gare du Nord, and have turned passengers away if they don't possess visas for Britain.

Brutal deportation

In early September, the Home Office refused to divulge the name of the company whose employees attempted to gag a Nigerian deportee on board a KLM flight to Amsterdam as he screamed that he would be killed and begged passengers to help him. Horrified passengers, including children, watched as employees wrestled to gag him and his wrists bled from the handcuffs cutting them. The man was taken off the flight because of passengers' complaints, but no-one knows whether he was put on a later flight. The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants called for a ban on private companies carrying out deportations, but the Home Office confirmed that its policy was the same as the Tories' on this. And the response to an increase in the number of Colombians claiming asylum has been the imposition of a new visa requirement. Until June, Colombians were able to come to Britain without visas, but with a dramatic increase in violence in the country – Amnesty International reports over 1,000 extra-judicial killings by security forces and paramilitary groups last year – there was a surge in refugees. Minister Mike O'Brien's response, in which he spoke of an 'increasing and alarming' number of Colombians making 'unfounded' claims, sounded alarmingly identical to the Tories' knee-jerk reaction.

Tightening up

Within days of a *Mail* story claiming that 44,000 asylum-seekers had 'disappeared', Home Secretary Jack Straw was reported to be considering imposing a surety or bond requirement for sponsors, to ensure that visitors they sponsor don't disappear, or alternatively fining the sponsor if their guests abscond. He is also considering giving immigration officers immigrants' social security records (a daft suggestion since immigrants can't any longer claim social security), shortening the 6-month standard visit visa, and 'tackling' solicitors who 'abuse' legal aid in immigration appeals.

For good measure, Straw is reportedly considering re-introducing a Bill which failed under the Tories for lack of a quorum, which would criminalise refugees in Britain for supporting liberation struggle abroad. Under the Bill, anyone in Britain conspiring, inciting or aiding a criminal offence anywhere in the world could be sent to prison. This would cover activities ranging from fundraising for liberation movements to the fax campaign of Mohammed al-Masari against the corrupt Saudi regime.

The minister has said that the government intends to protect domestic workers, whose current inability to leave their employer on pain of deportation exposes them to slavery and sexual and physical abuse. And cohabitants and gay partners are to be given the same residence rights as husbands and wives of British citizens. But the obsessive need to prove to the *Daily Mail* that it will be as tough as the Tories means that such concessions are few and far between, and the picture which is emerging very clearly is that Labour is not about to tear down the walls of the fortress. ■

How do we tackle racism among a hard core of white working-class youth who have proved totally unreceptive to anti-racism in the classroom?

At the front line of new initiatives are youth workers. The voluntary relationship between youth worker and 'client' (as opposed to the official relationship between teacher and pupil) provides a unique environment for tackling racism. An informal and more personal relationship can develop, giving the youth worker room for manoeuvre denied to the teacher. On the other hand, for the youth worker, the intimacy of the relationship carries with it increased burdens. Should the youth worker act to police youth's anti-social behaviour? Should they 'sneak' on white youth who they suspect of racist behaviour and, by so doing, end any chance of bringing about a long-term change in attitudes?

Two projects in south-east London

The importance of developing anti-racist projects aimed specifically at white working class youth with extreme racist views, often outside the classroom context, is increasingly being acknowledged. A debate is under way about the best approaches to develop to this sensitive issue, and the pitfalls to avoid, so that projects targeted at racist youth aren't

Getting through?

New approaches to tackling youth racism

perceived by them as rewards for racist action. Two new publications, both focusing on south-east London, where black youths Rolan Adams, Rohit Duggal and Stephen Lawrence were murdered in racist attacks, are based on development work with young white people and are, in their different ways, important interventions in this debate.

Blood, Sweat and Tears details a 3-year project undertaken by workers at the Bede Anti-Racist Detached Youth Project in the predominantly white working-class area of Bermondsey to 'influence the potential or actual perpetrators of racial violence' – not out of any anti-racist missionary zeal, but in the hope that they could help create a safer environment for young black people in south-east London, and thereby make a specific contribution to the fight for racial justice. The second report, *Routes of Racism: the social basis of racist action* by Roger Hewitt of the International Centre for Intercultural Studies at the University of London's Institute of Education, is based on interviews with young people

and, as such, is more of an academic study. But because it seeks to 'extend our understanding of the social basis of racist activity and facilitate appropriate and effective strategies and responses to combat it', its aims are practical too.

Aims and objectives

For the workers on the Bede Project, publicly declaring their anti-racist intentions at the outset would have been counter-productive. Instead of wearing their anti-racism on their sleeve, youth workers set about responding to the boredom that is at the root of so many anti-social attitudes. They befriended young white people, offered them access to leisure facilities, sports, trips outside the borough, but always setting clear limits as to what sort of behaviour would and would not be tolerated if the kids were to enjoy continued use of the facilities. The Bede report details step by step the development of the project, outlining the intentions of the workers at every stage, their successes and setbacks, as set out at regular appraisal meetings. Throughout, workers constantly questioned their chosen methods. (For instance, they

Local project points the way

In the paroxysm of activity which followed the 1981 'riots' and Scarman's recommendations, anti-racism in education and training got a bad name. Some people elevated anti-racism into an ideology. Others reduced it to a dangerous moralism which played on white guilt. But, gradually, and despite local authority cuts, people have begun to develop new tools to fight racism. One of the best has been produced by an agency in Liverpool.

Liverpool's Curriculum Development Project is exciting because it is based on a game. There are different sets of questions (depending on where you land on the board) about local history, general politics, history and culture and personal matters. Eighteen questions provoke discussions around images which range from racist stereotypes and cartoons to the policing of Toxteth. Personal questions involve discussions around power and role plays of everyday situations involving racism that young people could find themselves in. Although some questions, such as 'Who is the President of South Africa?' have one direct answer, many are deliberately open-ended, such as 'Why do people fear different groups before they even know them?' ■

The Power Game, adapted to a national framework, will be available through the National Youth Agency in Spring 1998.

A real role model for the white working class: East Londoner Kelly Turner bravely shopped her ex-boyfriend for his involvement in a violent racist attack on Mukhtar Ahmed.



asked, 'by targeting potential perpetrators, aren't we reinforcing the exclusion of young black people?' and 'how do we acknowledge the young people's sense of injustice while not pandering to their prejudices?')

No such misgiving is allowed to cloud Hewitt's report. And the lack of any chronological outline, or details of research methods, is a further obstacle in understanding the project's aims. As the research explicitly set out to study 'the social basis of racist action', we are entitled to ask how important decisions were made at the outset. On what basis were young people selected for interview? What questions were asked? Only questions about involvement in racist attacks, and attitudes to black people, or questions about wider social issues too? We only know that interviewers went to 'certain neighbourhoods which black people experienced as threatening and got to know young people'. But what were those neighbourhoods like, and how did they differ from other neighbourhoods where racist attacks weren't a specific problem? Maybe it would have been useful to contrast this group of teenagers, and their neighbourhoods, with others, not involved in racist action? And why did they choose to interview young people in groups, in schools and youth clubs, and not alone, given the importance of peer pressure in encouraging teenagers into racist activity? There may be sensible answers to all these questions; if so, readers ought to be told. Because we don't know, the research comes over as curiously unfocused.

Anti-racism criticised

It is perhaps owing to this lack of focus, as well as to the narrow sample of youth examined, that halfway through, the study drifts almost imperceptibly from examining the social basis of racist action to questioning anti-racism itself. It's almost as though Hewitt has been led by the nose by his racist sample. At the same time as displaying every obnoxious prejudice possible ('my aunt said AIDS only got in to this country 'cos a black man fucked a monkey, right and then he fucked a white person and then...' and 'if we didn't 'ave the BNP, like, we'd probably 'ave a black government'), these white youth perceive themselves as victimised by teachers who only care about black kids and black culture and by local authority race policies that benefit black people and exclude white. The conclusion Hewitt reaches is that because 'the sense of injustice they talk about holds together as truth for a

significant number of people' it should not be dismissed as irrational racism as it is 'sincerely held'. (So was Hitler's.) Furthermore, the white youths' 'sense of injustice is based on the absence of any culture they can identify with'.

Hewitt's conclusions contradict his own material. First, to argue that the youth have no culture to identify with counters his observation that in some neighbourhoods the researchers went to 'it seemed that an open and unapologetic racism was wall to wall amongst adolescents, with almost no gaps', and that this 'local culture of racism' was 'deeply entrenched'. The white youths, far from having no culture to identify with, were proud to identify with the violent racist culture of their neighbourhood ('We beat up niggers down Kidbrooke'). Underlying their sense of injustice (at anti-racism) was the sense of white cultural superiority (black people eat dog food, Asians throw dirty nappies out of windows), not a belief in black and white equality.

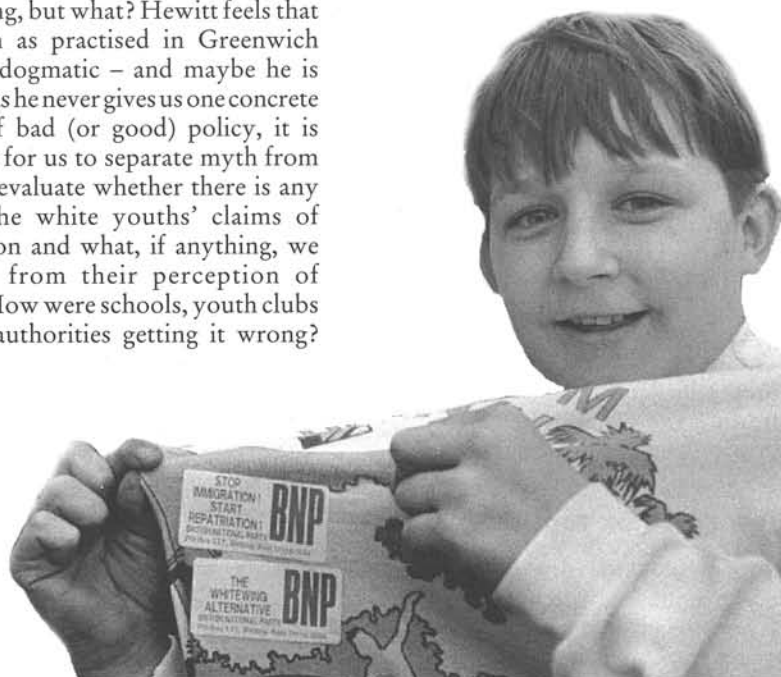
No single approach to anti-racism

We are told that the Institute also interviewed teachers and youth workers, but interviews with them are not transcribed, which is not helpful. Clearly something is going wrong, but what? Hewitt feels that anti-racism as practised in Greenwich schools is dogmatic – and maybe he is right – but as he never gives us one concrete example of bad (or good) policy, it is impossible for us to separate myth from fact, or to evaluate whether there is any truth in the white youths' claims of victimisation and what, if anything, we can learn from their perception of injustice. How were schools, youth clubs and local authorities getting it wrong?

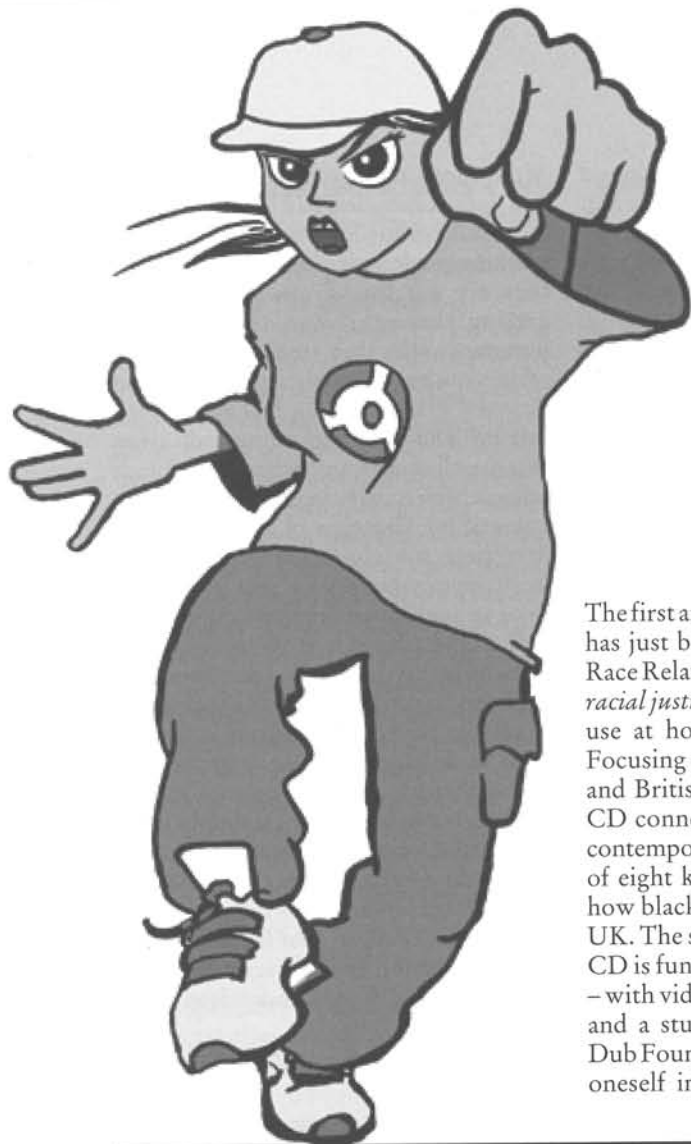
Were approaches good in some schools and youth clubs, and bad in others? How did teachers and youth workers feel about teaching such kids? Under siege? Did they cry out for advice, despair about getting through? Was this sense of impotence why they resorted to treating white youth as a discipline problem? And how did black children feel about anti-racism? Did they feel protected, given that they live in an area where three black schoolchildren have been killed, or more vulnerable? This type of analysis would have been a useful starting point for a fresh appraisal of policy. But instead we have an undifferentiated attack on anti-racism, as though it were a single homogeneous ideology (not so many different ways of fighting racism), leading to Hewitt's confident suggestion that the local authority instigate a process of 'deracialisation'. What he means by this is unclear, but what it seems to imply is the stripping of racial definitions and concepts from policy – a sort of 'race' sterilisation.

Reading Hewitt's report, one could be forgiven for thinking that the social basis for racist action is anti-racism. Indeed, that is precisely the conclusion leapt to by

continued overleaf



HOW DO YOU TEACH A NEW GENERATION OF KIDS ABOUT THE BLACK PRESENCE IN THE UK AND ANTI-RACIST AND ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLES, PAST AND PRESENT? WHAT SORT OF APPROACHES ARE NEEDED TO HELP US GET THROUGH TO WHITE KIDS, LOCKED IN RACIST RESENTMENTS? IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ARE BEING ASKED. PRACTICAL AND INNOVATIVE EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS DEVELOPED. IS THIS A NEW DIRECTION FOR ANTI-RACISM?



One of the most exciting and innovative anti-racist educational projects is being produced by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR). CARF sneaked a preview and talked to its creators.

Interactive anti-racism

The first anti-racist interactive CD-ROM has just been created by the Institute of Race Relations. *Home Beats: struggles for racial justice* is aimed at young people for use at home, school or youth centres. Focusing on the black presence in Britain and British struggles against racism, the CD connects slavery and colonialism to contemporary racism and, through studies of eight key locations, tells the story of how black communities were built in the UK. The subject matter is serious but the CD is fun. It informs even as it entertains – with video material, animation, quizzes and a stunning soundtrack from Asian Dub Foundation. 'To see, to hear, to image oneself into other people's experiences

and to interact with them,' says IRR director A. Sivanandan, 'gives young people a chance of understanding racism as never before.'

From different directions

Home Beats, with hundreds of different screens, approaches the subject from many directions. You can travel geographically through the 'Memories' sections on the USA, Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian-subcontinent, Ireland and the UK, or historically via the time-lines. You can enter racism's story through the lives of 50 individuals – from Steve Biko to Anwar Ditta – who have contributed to the anti-

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Observer columnist Melanie Phillips, who has long attacked anti-racism which she lumps with political correctness. In the warm welcome she gives to Dr Hewitt's study for detailing the miseries of white English working-class youth with no sense of identity, Phillips claims that it is 'those who deprive the working classes of the means to connect with their English identity who create racism'.

New academic race debate

More importantly, the assault on anti-racism, once confined to the New Right, is gaining ground among a gaggle of academics who seem less concerned with countering racism than in describing its representation, less concerned with the fight for racial justice than with the way that fight is represented in anti-racist discourse.

One such lot, directed by Phil Cohen, is located at the Centre for New Ethnicities at the University of East London. Cohen, who is attempting to provide new educational techniques for

work with white racist working class youth, argues for the introduction of psychoanalytic methods into anti-racism and for anti-racism to be seen as part of cultural studies. 'Popular racism' for him is a 'behavioural ideology, one which works through everyday cultural practices to shape basic bodily images of self and other'. The racism of white working class youth, he holds, is so intrinsically tied up with their identity – even their body image – that challenging it is counter-productive; instead, 'new identities' should be constructed 'that offer to resolve, however magically, certain lived social contradictions'.

Both Cohen and Hewitt seem to argue, in their different ways, that working-class identity is so fragile, and cultural identification so insecure, that any attempt to challenge it causes a backlash, entrenching racism. But whereas Hewitt seems genuinely confused, fluctuating between scolding anti-racism and calling for new resources to support it, Cohen goes much further, attacking anti-racists for attempting to 'censor the racist imagination' by use of disciplinary measures, since



'discipline reinforces strategies of resistance within white working-class pupils, as resistance to anti-racism in schools is part of a wider process of cultural resistance to the civilising mission in schools'.

Practical implications

That a top-down, dogmatic anti-racism confirms racist youth in their perceptions is not in dispute, but Cohen's tendency to treat all anti-racist approaches as part of one overarching ideology, and to put himself forward as the champion of a new anti-racist pedagogy based on cultural studies, undermines the force of his claim. The logical implication of his view that it is wrong to censor the racist imagination



racist struggle, or the 'Visions' that people have had for a more just world – like the Black Panthers' Ten Point Programme or Gandhi's *Satyagraha*. And to know racism's inscape (as opposed to its impact) you can visit the 'Images' screens. Here you can learn about anything from the development of the black press in Britain to imperial advertising and the use of racial imagery in war propaganda.

Making connections

The CD follows the philosophy IRR has adopted for many years – that to understand racism you do not have to traverse identity and ethnicity, guilt or

morality, but the fundamental relationships established through Britain's history of slavery, colonialism, imperialism and the post-war need for black labour. Said A. Sivanandan, 'I do not accept that anti-racist education is only a kind of black studies which excludes whites. Anti-racist education is not about instilling black pride in some, white guilt in others. It is not about individuals or attitudes, it is simply telling everyone – black and white – the truth about Britain and its relationship to the Third World and its peoples. And that is an inclusive history.' Arun Kundnani, the multi-media creator of *Home Beats*, is only too aware of the potential in interactive media for presenting historical connections between a broad and diverse set of stories. 'The range of the project is exceptionally wide and encompasses different histories which are often not seen as related,' he said. 'But what we have realised is that new interactive media have the potential for presenting the connections between a broad and diverse set of stories. In fact their strength, when com-

pared to other media such as television, is the ability to allow a story to be contextualised and inter-related in hundreds of different ways. In the end what you have is a network of open-ended fragments rather than a closed narrative with a beginning, middle and end.'

Interactivity

The CD embraces interactivity at all stages. The first is to change the way information about the history of anti-racism is *experienced* by users. The choice of what path to follow through that history is in their hands. 'Every page in our "book"', Arun explains, 'has links into other stories'. There are literally hundreds of paths through the material. For

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is that it should be allowed to run free, and this is precisely what he has set out to do in the classroom studies with white racist youth, sitting them down before a tape recorder and letting them talk – so that he could then frame it in theory and practise it in technique.

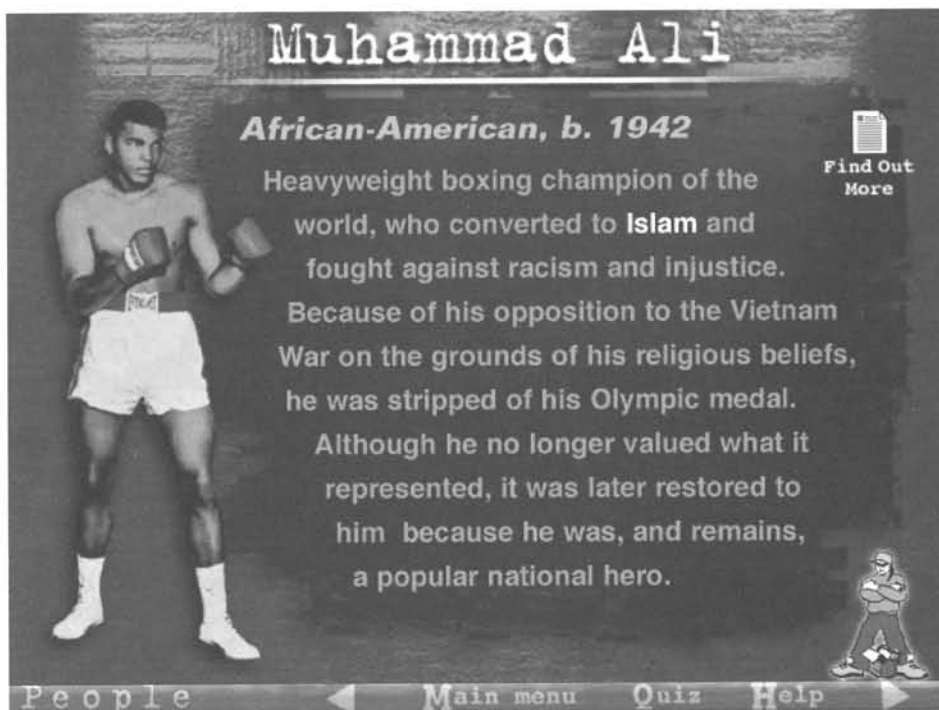
But these are laboratory experiments, carried out on white racist youths in isolation. How, though, can such findings translate into a living, breathing, everyday classroom situation where white kids sit alongside black? Are teachers to abdicate their responsibility to all their students and, in the interests of white (racist) students in search of their identity, allow the racist imagination free rein at the expense of black students? But even in an all-white environment, how many teachers or youth workers would feel confident that such an approach was really helping to 'construct new identities', let alone challenging racism? Wouldn't they worry instead that, by allowing a thousand racist flowers to bloom, they were unwittingly helping the more extreme racist youths in the class-room influence those who may only be on the fringes of racist activity, let alone those who weren't racist but were too frightened to speak up.

The answer to these problems lies, as ever, not with social engineers or ivory-tower academics, but with ordinary workers on the ground. Hence, it is the approach of the Bede workers, who were emotionally engaged with the young people they chose to work with, in an environment outside the classroom, that has charted new territory. What comes over throughout their report is a constant awareness of the obstacle-ridden path they must chart between political correctness on the one hand (condemn the white youths' racism out of hand, ram your anti-racist views down their throat), and the abandonment of all principles on the other (act as though you're on the youth's side, don't contradict their views and, maybe, later, they'll respect you). An important ground rule for their activities was laid down at the start, namely that while it was their duty to challenge racist attitudes at every turn, this must be done in a way that was 'realistic', 'realisable', 'timed' and 'measured' in terms of the receptivity of that young person at a particular moment in time. Soon the workers were rewarded for their perseverance and commitment. Young people who had been aggressively racist in their views and

behaviour were starting to opt out when their mates made racist jokes or comments. Provocative statements designed to entertain the group or contradict the workers' views were rephrased as genuine questions by individuals who were starting to doubt their own and others' racist assumptions. Some young people were finding a new language with which to talk about race, identity and difference. Others found their stereotypes challenged by their positive experience of black workers on the project or by their exposure to new situations in which their views were no longer shared by the majority.

Unlike the work of Cohen, or even that of Hewitt, *Blood, Sweat and Tears* is the report of a pioneering, innovative and decidedly undogmatic anti-racist project. Unfortunately, the Project, which was initially funded by the National Youth Agency, came to an end in 1996 and, with some funding from Southwark Council, is only able to continue to operate on a much smaller scale. ■

Blood, Sweat and Tears: A report of the Bede Anti-Racist Detached Youth Work Project by Stella Dadzie (Youth Work Project, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD. £8.50. *Routes of Racism: the social basis of racist action* by Roger Hewitt (Trentham Books) £5.95.



A screen shot from the People section of the *Home Beats* CD-ROM.

continued from previous page

example, somebody might know of Southall and what it is like today, so they go into that section. They then trace back through the history of Southall and discover how the community was built up through different struggles over the years. One thing catches their attention: for example that the Punjabis who came to Southall were migrating from an area that had been partitioned in 1947. They then follow through this lead and explore anti-colonial struggle in India. This might take them to a link to the anti-colonial struggle and partition in Ireland, and to think about the ways in which anti-Irish racism compares to the racism that people in Southall have faced. The CD enables users to connect recent struggles to earlier ones. It also allows them to start from a point or place with which they are familiar, and then move from the particular to the general and back to the particular.

Arun explains another advantage. 'By putting control of how one moves through the material in the hands of the user, one gets away from the difficulty of other approaches to anti-racist education, in which the accumulation of facts or moral instruction about racism can backfire.'

But interactivity is not just a simple matter of giving the user choice over the order in which to read material. 'It is a matter of writing things differently from the start so that connections are anticipated.

This also means a politics which embraces connections between different people's struggles and looks outwards, rather than closing in on one's own particular location.'

These are not just pious hopes. *Home Beats* itself has only been able to focus on eight UK areas – Notting Hill, Brixton, Southall, the East End, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford and Glasgow. But there are so many other community histories waiting to be written – and built into the CD-ROM is the facility for users to add their own materials, to research, write and illustrate their own experience, their own history of their own community. And by connecting the CD to the Internet via its own web site, *Home Beats* will initiate an ongoing process of accumulating and exchanging material. This

is, as Arun explains, 'a democratic relationship by which communities participate in producing what is said about them'. For A. Sivanandan, who has pioneered the writing of black history in Britain, this is all-important. 'We can now write our own histories, be the authors of our own experiences. What this CD-

ROM does is to provide us with the framework and the signposts.' ■

For ages 13+, features a searchable database, large glossary, suitable for training courses and subjects at key stages 3 and 4 of the National Curriculum, with optional study pack. Runs on Windows 3.1 (requires 486 processor), Windows 95 and Macintosh (68040 processor or native Power PC). 8MB of memory and a sound card is recommended. *Home Beats* is available from: The Multimedia Department, IRR, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS. Price: £25 (£35 with study pack). Tel: 0171-833 2010. <http://www.homebeats.co.uk/>



Scandinavia's anti-immigration lobbies are gaining strength

In Norway, the extreme-Right Progress Party more than doubled its vote in the September general election and is now the second biggest political party in the country. Meanwhile, in Sweden, academic arguments confer new respectability on the growing anti-immigration lobby.

Norway: extreme-Right victory

Although commentators had predicted that the Progress Party was about to make an electoral breakthrough, the news that it had gained 15.3 per cent of the vote and 25 parliamentary seats still came as a shock. This is a diehard anti-immigrant party, with well-documented links with neo-nazis. And it pulls no punches when attacking immigrants. Purporting to speak up for Christianity (but not for Christian priests, who 'should be sacked' for giving sanctuary to asylum-seekers), the party's anti-immigrant rhetoric embraces anti-Muslim and anti-refugee racism. Earlier proposals by senior party members, for Norway to accept only immigrants from Christian countries, were firmed up at the party's recent AGM, when it agreed to call for special measures would be brought in against the 'fjernkulturelle' (ie those 'far-off cultural immigrants' who 'cause cultural problems in a Norwegian environment').

The Progress Party's fascination with immigrant birth rates would mean compulsory family planning for refugees and the introduction of a law forbidding immigrants from having more than two children on the grounds that large families are 'unnatural' and 'clash with Norwegian culture'.

Norway for the Norwegians

In the run-up to the election, the Progress Party lost none of its anti-immigrant rhetoric, but it did seek to add new themes and new dimensions to its campaign. Modelling himself on the Austrian Freedom Party leader, Jörg Haider, Progress Party boss Carl Hagen presented himself as the champion of the poor, promising that the wealth generated from North Sea oil would be spent on the sick and the elderly and that the Progress Party would put

Scandinavia's new racisms

Norwegians first. One of the main thrusts of the party's election campaign, which centred on the Finnmark country, home to Norway's indigenous people, was an attack on the Sami minority and the Sami parliament, the Sametinget. The Progress Party would like to see this abolished, together with regulations that require it to be consulted before operating licences are handed out to mining companies.

Anti-Racist Centre under attack

After the election, the Progress Party made a public statement calling for the Anti-Racist Centre in Oslo to be closed down. Centre workers Khalid Salimi and Henrik Lunde both blame the extreme-Right breakthrough on the mainstream political parties, particularly the outgoing Labour administration which did so much to accommodate the Progress Party. 'They always wanted to understand the rise of the extreme-Right, never combat it,' Salimi told CARF, a view reiterated by Lunde, who points out that the Labour Party in power echoed the Progress Party's Christian rhetoric by imposing an exclusively Christian curriculum on schools. Concludes Lunde, 'If a racist policy is becoming more acceptable to the Norwegian public, then it is the political parties which are to blame.'

Swedish academics criticised

If the political parties help to create the climate which gives rise to the extreme Right, then so too do academics, as anti-

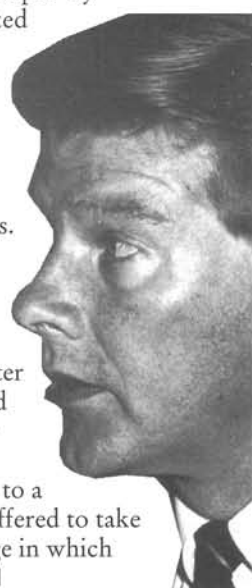
racists in Sweden are finding out to their cost. Recently, a row broke out at the University of Lund after social anthropologist Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman, wife of internationally renowned globalisation theorist Jonathan Friedman, attended the inaugural meeting of the anti-immigration lobby group 'The People's Will and Mass Immigration'. Ekholm-Friedman went on to defend her presence at the meeting in an article in Sweden's second largest newspaper, the *Dagens Nyheter*. She argued that the multicultural society is doomed to failure as it destroys the cement of society and devastates social solidarity because people direct their loyalty towards their own ethnic group at the expense of the nation. Jonathan Friedman denounced those who criticised his wife, accusing them of 'practising fascism' and 'launching a witch-hunt' against her.

New Left or New Right?

Mats Deland, a doctoral student at the University of Stockholm, sees the Friedman row in a wider context. In an article in *Race & Class*, Deland points to the intellectual drift amongst academics once on the Left towards theories previously associated with the New Right. From arguing in the 1960s in defence of the cultures of the Third World, some academics now argue that cultures work best if they are not mixed.

According to this argument, ethnic mixing caused by immigration is not worth the cost, as ethnicity, combined with economic circumstances, leads to antagonism between groups and violent conflicts. Or as Jonathan Friedman puts it, in an article in defence of his wife in the *Malmo Daily*, mass immigration leads to 'enclavisation' and the 'politicisation of identities of all sorts, ethnic as well as nationalistic'. In an angry attack which should give heart to the far Right, he accused Sweden's 'elite strata' of distancing themselves from the everyday problems of ordinary people by criticising the 'uneducated masses for rising racism'.

The Friedmans are clearly shaken by the outcry they have caused. The University of Lund has made it clear that it does not accept their views. Four lecturers in the anthropology department criticised their colleague in an article in the *Dagens Nyheter*. After her own students criticised her for attending the anti-immigration meeting, Ekholm-Friedman agreed to a public debate where she offered to take back some of the language in which her article was couched. ■



National security deportation

Campaigners in Sweden are horrified about the proposed deportation on national security grounds of Dr Zewar Al Dabbagh, an Iraqi refugee who has lived and worked in Sweden for eleven years. Once again, a European state is carrying out a highly controversial deportation without the deportee being allowed to see the evidence against him.

Colleagues at the Carolingian university hospital in Solna, greater Stockholm, were shocked to learn of the ruling against Dr Al Dabbagh. Well-respected among staff at Carolingian – which is one of Sweden's leading university hospitals – Dr Al Dabbagh has the support of at least 20 distinguished medical scholars and specialists. They believe that Sweden's terrorist laws should be reformed. And leading politicians from nearly every political party – from Greens to Christian Democrats – agree.

Under Swedish law, the political police (SÄPO) can demand the deportation of foreign citizens on national security grounds without allowing the deportee to see any of the evidence against him. Dennis Töllborg, professor of jurisprudence at the University of Gothenburg, is concerned at SÄPO's role, pointing out that in several other cases it has been known to harass foreign citizens, as well as members of the Swedish Left.

Many national newspapers have followed the debate for a reform of the law, and particularly for the right of national security deportees to see the evidence against them. But press publicity may have come too late for Dr Al Dabbagh. In September, the European Commission of Human Rights turned down his application. Who provided the evidence upon which the Commission based its decision? You've guessed it! SÄPO. ■



Academic theories nourish the far Right

Ibrahima Sey – unlawfully killed

PCA on the defensive

Aziz Rahman



Friends and family remember Ibrahima Sey

The verdict of unlawful killing of Gambian asylum-seeker Ibrahima Sey, given on 2 October by a jury at Snaresbrook crown court, comes hot on the heels of a massive public outcry over the failure of the CPS and the PCA to act over deaths in police custody (see last issue). The inquest revealed that Sey's death was characterised by violence and brutality, followed by misinformation.

Immediately after Sey's death at Ilford police station in March 1996, the police propaganda machine went into action. First it was said that Ibrahima, a former member of the Gambian national football team, died from 'hypertensive heart disease'. Then, later in the year, this became 'acute exhaustive mania', and it was implied that Sey was a violent wife-beater and child abuser.

But during the inquest, the cover-ups and fabrications were revealed. It emerged that Sey suffered from no heart abnormalities and that there was no basis for the diagnosis of hypertensive heart disease. Nor did Sey have any history of violence towards his wife and family.

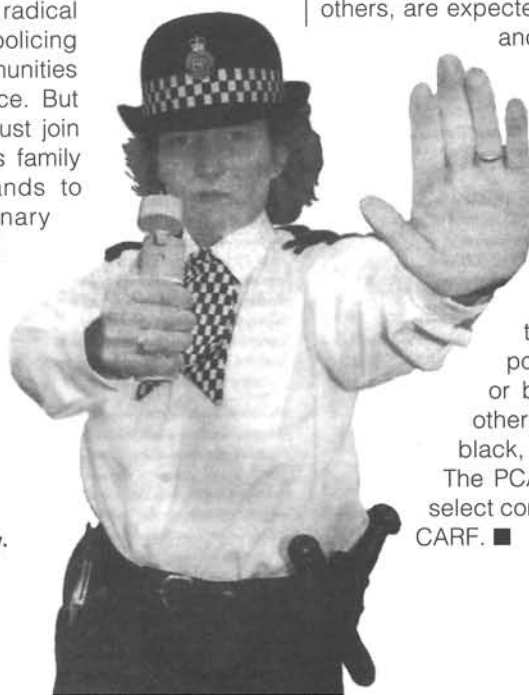
That Sey was in a state of delirium when the police arrested him at his home was, however, not in question. Sey's wife, Amie, specifically informed police officers of his history of mental instability before he was arrested and, as a result, a friend, Pa Ndimbalan, was allowed to accompany him. His presence allowed Ibrahima to be arrested without a struggle. The real tragedy unfolded in the back yard of police station when, as Ibrahima pleaded that Pa be allowed to accompany him inside the station, he was seized by several police officers who handcuffed his hands behind his back. While trying to drag him into the station, police sprayed him in the face with CS. Pushed bodily into the station, he was held face down in a cell. It was then that he stopped breathing. The cause of Ibrahima's death was given as positional (or restraint) asphyxia, with the effects of CS and exhaustion due to mental illness as

contributory factors. The police account of 'sudden death' brought on by his mental condition was rejected.

The verdict must now put the use of killer CS spray back on the public agenda. CS spray was introduced precisely because it causes respiratory problems. The police evidence, presented to the inquest as a justification for officers' actions, revealed their disregard for their own so-called safeguards on the use of CS. Why was CS spray used at all when it is intended for use in self-defence or for a level of violence that cannot otherwise be dealt with? Why was it sprayed into Ibrahima's face? Why was his condition not monitored after the spraying? What about ACPO guidelines that 'prisoners must not be left in or transported in a prone face down position'? But mere adherence to police guidelines is not enough: Ibrahima was the first person to die after the use of CS on him but many others (including police officers) have reported its ill-effects of blistering, scarring and nausea.

Ibrahima died as a result of asphyxia, caused by restraint methods which have already been condemned in other inquests. The police's abhorrent treatment of a man they knew to be mentally ill confirms the disregard in which black lives are held. Only a radical change in the policing of black communities will bring justice. But for now, we must join with Ibrahima's family in their demands to bring disciplinary and criminal charges against the police officers involved and to ban the killer CS spray. ■

The image of the defenceless WPC belies the brutal reality of CS spray.



The lessons have not been learned. Before the inquest into the death of Ibrahima Sey had even started (see box), Strathclyde police announced its plans to issue CS spray canisters as standard to officers patrolling Glasgow's Easterhouse estate.

The announcement illustrated the police forces' belief that they can act with impunity. But the growing public disquiet about deaths in custody and the focus on the police mishandling of racial attacks in the Lawrence inquiry has forced the increasingly discredited Police Complaints Authority on to a public relations offensive. In September, the PCA inserted a glossy leaflet outlining its work into London listings magazine *Time Out* and numerous black papers. (CARF was not approached!) This piece of newspeak managed to extract the most irrelevant and misleading information possible from its annual report. It told us that the PCA supervised 844 investigations last year, but not that there were many thousands of complaints against the police in which they had no involvement. It said that PCA members are not and never have been police officers, but not that the PCA is limited to supervising a small number of investigations which are carried out by police officers.

What lies behind this Mandelsonesque effort, and the increasingly public disputes between the PCA, the Association of Chief Police Officers, the Crown Prosecution Service and magistrates? Passing the buck and covering your arse is the name of the game, as every agency tries to blame the others for the lack of action against racist police. When the Home Office select committee reconvenes later this year, its first topic for investigation is the police complaints and discipline procedure. Submissions from *Liberty* and *Inquest*, among others, are expected to be highly critical, and the PCA's spin is an

obvious attempt to pre-empt forthcoming criticism. Chaired by Chris Mullen MP, who made his name by campaigning for the Birmingham 6, the select committee will at least start from the understanding that police can and do fit and/or beat people up for no other reason than they are black, Irish or working-class. The PCA will be watching the select committee closely. So will CARF. ■

• FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

Browning supplied 'explosives'

Danish nazis Thomas Nakaba, Michael Volder and Nicky Steensgaard were jailed in September for sending letterbombs to targets in the UK. Ringleader Nakaba was sentenced to eight years, the others to three years. All of the men were linked to the Danish NS 88 (see *CARF* 36).

Although the letterbombs were posted in Scandinavia, they represented a dramatic escalation of the feud between the Wilf Browning and Charlie Sargent factions of Combat 18. While some of the devices were directed at prominent anti-racist groups and black sportspeople, others targeted rival fascists. One was directed at the Sargent-run Combat 18 PO Box in London, another to the former Scottish Blood & Honour organiser, Stephen Cartwright, who dumped Blood & Honour to set up his own Highlander outfit in Scotland. Since May the anti-C18 Cartwright wing of the music scene has received the backing of the British National Party.

The explosives used in the devices, disguised as video cassettes, were fake, although the detonators were genuine and would have caused serious injury. Browning obtained the dummy explosives in eastern Europe and passed them on to Nakaba in 1995. Browning is currently in prison for possessing threatening material, including bomb-making instructions. Nakaba has sought extra prison protection against retaliation—whatever happened to the fascist slogan 'No more brothers' wars'?

Flop Against Communism

A Rock Against Communism concert, organised by south Wales nazi Billy Bartlett, ended in disarray after a large police operation in August. Bartlett and three others, including two Americans, were arrested at his home in Ely. He was charged with public order offences after police seized CS gas and nazi literature.

Fascist bands from Wales (Celtic Warrior), England (Brutal Attack, Squadron, English Rose and White Law), Scotland (British Standard), Germany (08/15) and the United States (Intimidation One) were scheduled to take part in the event. None of the overseas bands made it through immigration. About 800 nazis, including some from Germany and Holland, were also turned away by police at redirection points in Wiltshire and the Severn Bridge. Others were confronted by anti-fascists who monitored railway stations in the area. About 100 fascists eventually held a mini-concert in the Midlands.

More C18 timeservers

Ku Klux Klan and Combat 18 activist Mark Atkinson and flatmate Robin Gray were sent down in September after being found guilty of publishing and distributing a 'vile and evil' C18 hitlist in *The Stormer*. Atkinson, from Feltham, Middlesex, received 21 months, while Gray, a former National Front election candidate, had his sentence adjourned for reports. ■



Remember the BNP in your will!

John Tyndall almost had an opportunity to take the advice of his journal *Spearhead* to 'Remember the BNP in your will' when he turned out for the BNP annual meeting in Stratford, east London, in late September. Post-election the organisation has sought to regain some of its tarnished street credibility by flattering its abandoned foot soldiers and wooing the anti-C18 skinhead faction on the music scene. But this flexing of fascist muscles came to an abrupt end when Tyndall and Co walked into a group of anti-fascists en route to the meeting. The stormtroopers fell over one another in a desperate attempt to put as much distance between themselves and their fuhrer as possible. Tyndall received a severe beating before being escorted from the area by the police. The AGM was abandoned. ■



Racism forgotten at Ford's

The TUC Disputes Committee has at last ruled on the bitter inter-union dispute at Ford's between the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) and the United Road Transport Union (URTU). But still the battle between the unions goes on. And the racism which lay at the root of the dispute seems to be forgotten.

The dispute arose after the TGWU helped seven black assembly-line workers at Ford's Dagenham plant take the company to an industrial tribunal for racial discrimination. The men had all been refused jobs in Ford's elite truck-drivers fleet, which is almost entirely white, as existing workers pass jobs down to friends and family. The industrial tribunal awarded the men £70,000 in compensation and instructed Ford to change recruitment procedures to the fleet by bringing in an independent assessor. When drivers attempted to leave the TGWU, no other union would accept them until the URTU moved in, taking on 300 of the men, in breach of trade union anti-poaching rules.

In September, the TUC Disputes Committee absolved URTU of racism, but instructed it to make no attempt to secure recognition at Ford and to persuade its members to rejoin the TGWU. Failure would elicit a penalty of £36,000, to be paid over to the TGWU in compensation. Since then, URTU has been on the war-path. It has threatened strike action and a legal challenge. As well as insisting on official recognition at Ford, it refuses to accept the introduction of an independent element into the recruitment process. Whether it will ballot for strike action is still not certain. But if URTU does call a strike, the truck drivers will lose their jobs, as Ford has made it clear that acceptance of the independent assessor is not up for negotiation. It is a legal requirement which the company will not and cannot breach.

Ford's agenda

URTU is playing right into the company's

hands. It has long since been Ford's cherished aim to contract out transport operations, as the truck-fleet drivers have the potential to bring its British operation to a standstill within hours and cause other factories in western Europe to shut in days. Ford's production system means that stocks are virtually non-existent, with assembly plants totally reliant on regular deliveries of components. If the truck drivers strike, they will be sacked and their jobs contracted out. Ford will have achieved its aim.

Instead of climbing down, URTU has resorted to throwing mud at the TGWU, accusing officials of siding with employers and backing 'scab' labour. Yet it is its own intransigence which brought about the situation. As the dispute becomes more and more bitter, maybe it is time for reflection. Racism has long festered at Ford's. URTU is on the offensive, but the TGWU has been too passive in the face of discriminatory recruitment practices, for far too long. ■

Concentration Campsfield?

Despite repeatedly condemning the practice of detaining immigration prisoners in criminal jails while in opposition, the government is continuing to transfer asylum-seekers to Winson Green prison, Birmingham. Punishment seems to be the order of the day. Protests by detainees are met with an increasingly hardline approach. For months detainees have complained that Group 4 security officers treat them badly, watch loud pornographic films during Muslim prayers, fail to register complaints and move them to prisons if they 'make trouble'. When four detainees attempted to stop the transfer of another detainee to Winson Green on 20 August, the protest spread rapidly, with over 40 detainees taking control of part of the centre. Home Office minister Mike O'Brien threatened to bring criminal charges, and after the disturbances, 120 detainees, including 80 who had not been involved, were also transferred to Winson Green. And inside Campsfield, detainees report that they are not allowed to eat together, are given insufficient food, and can't phone friends and family. A letter signed by 60 detainees stated, 'We don't understand why we are treated this way. While we are not involved in violence at all... the way we are treated in this place is unfair. They make us feel guilty doing nothing and taking the punishment. Your officers are always swearing and shouting like children ... Please will you kindly come down to this centre and see for yourself what is going on.'

The hardline approach towards immigration detainees does not bode well for the review of detention, although an Early Day Motion, signed by nearly 100 MPs, calls for an end to the practice of holding detainees in prisons and recalls the view of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that 'as a general rule, asylum-seekers should not be detained'. ■



INVESTED INTERESTS

This year's Arms Fair at Farnborough, otherwise known as the Royal Navy and British Army Equipment Exhibition, was not allowed to take place without protests. But when local Tory MP Gerald Howarth discovered that several Kurds, demonstrating against the export of arms of Turkey, were among the 85 people arrested, he was not slow to demand their deportation, saying that they should not be given 'the freedom of British soil'. If the sleazy and mercenary Tories have learnt nothing from their election defeat, nor have the press, who reported Howarth's comments without bothering to mention his previous directorship of arms exporters Richard Unwin International or his three-year parliamentary consultancy to arms company Astra. ■



LET THE ONIBIYOS STAY

The Onibiyos, torn apart by the Tory government, are facing further harassment by the immigration authorities. First, Abdul was sent back to the military regime in Nigeria. Then his son Ade was deported, and is now living in Guyana. Now Abdul's wife Joyce and their two youngest daughters, Tora and Yemi, face deportation to Nigeria, from where Abdul has fled.

As campaigners demonstrated outside an appeal hearing (which was adjourned), they expressed anger at the actions of new home secretary Jack Straw, who, while in opposition, expressed support for the campaign to reunite the Onibiyos, but in office, has intensified the hardline approach towards the family.

There will be another demonstration outside the Immigration Appellate Authority in Feltham at the next hearing for the Onibiyos. Date to be announced.

The Onibiyo family campaign, c/o Lambeth Unison, 6a Acre Lane, London SW2. Tel: 0171 737 2134. Fax 0171 501 9670.

Camden United, showing racism the red card

The activities of youth workers in Camden have succeeded in uniting different communities

Camden United, a multi-racial football team, emerged against a background of racial tension and violence, heightened by the murder of white teenager Richard Everitt in 1994. The already high level of racial incidents soared, forcing youth workers to look at ways to bring youth of all races together, an unenviable task, given that most youth clubs in the borough are unofficially segregated. Youth workers found that what all the youth had in common – Asian, African-Caribbean and white – was an obsession with football. As one youth worker commented, 'If sport can't bring people together, I don't know what can.' Through regular training sessions, a team was established, going on to play at tournaments in Denmark and the Netherlands as well as local friendlies in London. Its meaning to the youth of Camden was summed up by one of the players, 17-year-old Leroi Williams. 'Kings Cross was very bad two years ago... there were lots of gangs – there'd be white boys' groups, a black boys' group and an Asian boys' group. We all used to hang out with our own race and there used to be fights between all of us... At first it was awkward playing with guys I've had run-ins with... When I started and I saw them there, I

thought, "oh no, here we go again", but there was no hassle at all... Playing football we realised we were all right with each other on the pitch, so how come we can't be all right together on the streets?... All of us could easily be outside Kings Cross selling drugs... but because of the love of football, we all just stick together.'

Camden United's success in changing the climate in the borough has been recognised by the British Urban Regeneration Association and Professional Footballers Association, and footballers Paul Elliot and John Barnes have also spoken up for the project. One of Camden United's founders, Nasim Ali, summed up the change in mood: 'When the project first began it was called "Conflict between youth" in recognition of the tension and aggro between the different elements. I think we've now moved from "Conflict" to "Co-operation between youth", a real sense of teamwork among all those participating, regardless of colour or background.' ■

Camden United has produced a fundraising pamphlet about the club and its philosophy. For details contact Nasim Ali at Kings Cross-Brunswick Neighbourhood Association, Marchmont Community Association, Marchmont Street, London WC1N 1AB. Tel: 0171 278 5635.

Habitually destitute

The government has so far left untouched the legacy of the Lilley campaigns against benefit 'scroungers' which deprive immigrants and British citizens of basic subsistence.

One of the most notorious benefits changes was that stripping benefits from anyone deemed not 'habitually resident' in Britain. The rule was brought in in 1994 to target European 'benefit tourists', but three years on a report shows its disproportionate impact on black British citizens. The study, by Citizens' Advice Bureaux (CABx) in Bradford, Calderdale and Kirklees, found that of 33 cases analysed, 19 involved British Asians denied benefits after spending time abroad in India or Pakistan. The findings were repeated in a Birmingham study, where over half of the 49 claimants refused benefits were British Asians.

One young woman in the Bradford report was denied benefit after a seven-week holiday to Pakistan. Another British woman had benefits stopped after returning from a four-month visit to Pakistan to care for her husband, who had been seriously injured in a work accident. She was told by the chair of an appeal tribunal that she had lost her residency when she married a Pakistani man. By contrast, a white British man who had lived in South Africa for 20 years, initially denied income support on his return to Britain, had it restored three months later without needing to appeal.

Apart from the hardship caused to individuals by the denial of subsistence benefits and the general inconsistency of decision-making by Benefit Agency officials and tribunals, the case studies highlight the inequality of treatment of claimants from different ethnic backgrounds. As long as the 'habitual residence' test remains, black British citizens are likely to suffer from the prejudices and ignorance of decision-makers. ■

IN MEMORIAM

Roger Lofters

CARF was extremely saddened to hear of the death in early August of Roger Lofters in Jamaica. An electrician by trade, Roger had been a leading figure in the British Black Unity and Freedom Movement in the 1970s. He was a dedicated fighter against racism and imperialism. And it was his enthusiasm and energy which got the South East London Summer School (a supplementary school for black children – many of whom were diagnosed as educationally subnormal) off the ground in 1972. Roger will be remembered for his humour, humanity and generosity – not least in helping to wire so many of the buildings used by black organisations in London!

What should CARF readers make of the launch of 'English Rights Scotland'?

Untangling anti-English sentiment in Scotland

The launch of 'English Rights Scotland' in September, just days before the referendum on the Scottish parliament, was greeted with much publicity in the Scottish press and throughout the regional press in England. Newspapers reporting its launch did so under banner headlines which suggested a shocking rise in racist attacks against the English in Scotland and further claimed that, unlike attacks on black people, these received very little attention and were seldom officially acknowledged.

There have been allegations of discrimination and cases of name-calling at the workplace. The Scottish Commission for Racial Equality acknowledges an increase in complaints from the English from two to ten per cent of its workload in recent years.

English Rights Scotland is concerned with discrimination against the English. It is affiliated to the CRE, aims to place representatives on all racial equality councils in Scotland and claims to be helping 400 English people fighting discrimination cases. But is this racism as it is usually understood?

Class antagonism?

There is some evidence to suggest that some of this antagonism is based on underlying class differences. Historically, the Scots, like the Irish, have tended to migrate to England in search of work, and not the English to Scotland. It was not until the 1980s that (mainly middle class) English people arrived in Scotland, mostly to take up jobs in the professions, particularly in government, and often at a senior level.

Cause for most concern comes from the victimisation of working-class English people in de-industrialised areas, but the attacks seem to be based on class and other factors such as antagonism towards newcomers, as an ugly situation in Brechin, a small town of 9,500 inhabitants in Angus, reveals.

Tensions between new arrivals (denigrated as 'inabootcomers') and locals came to a head in August when a newspaper virtually accused the newcomers of moving to the area to get a council house. Angry new residents then spoke out against the hostility they had faced since coming to Brechin. Some English families had

withdrawn children from school because of the abuse their children suffered.

But even here the abuse and victimisation isn't just targeted against the English. Locals describe the new arrivals as 'scum from Dundee, Perth and Manchester', bringing to Brechin the problems of the inner city and turning it into a 'dustbin for undesirables'. According to a local historian, narrow-minded parochialism, and attempts to ostracise and exclude newcomers, have increased since economic hardship and mass unemployment hit Brechin.

There is no indication that neo-Nazi groups are attacking the English. The British National Party would hardly back attacks against the English, given its fervent support for the Union and antipathy to Scottish nationalism! But a Scottish brand of fascism could potentially grow out of the extreme nationalism of groups like Settler Watch and Flame, which use violent campaigns against the English buying up property in rural areas. But so far these groups have minuscule support.

Exploiting race law

English Rights Scotland's public launch has taken advantage of the opportunity provided by a landmark legal case. An English police officer alleged that anti-English discrimination was behind the Northern Constabulary's failure to shortlist him for a job. Graham Power, deputy chief constable of Lothian and Borders, was backed by the CRE and English Rights when he took his case to an industrial tribunal. The tribunal ruled that English people working in Scotland can claim discrimination under the 1976 Race Relations Act because England and Scotland have 'retained a separate status and identity notwithstanding having been absorbed into what is the United Kingdom'.

Although individual cases may exist, there is no evidence of institutionalised discrimination against the English, and much of the anti-English sentiment in Scotland seems to be based on class antagonisms. And while racial equality councils have a duty to take up all cases of discrimination, it is important that they understand the roots of the new anti-English sentiment and how it differs from other forms of discrimination. ■

1997

CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

AUG 2 Industrial tribunal rules that Asian law lecturer was racially victimised and harassed by Professor Rodney Brazier, Dean of Manchester University's law department and Queen's legal adviser... Policy Studies Institute research on poverty reveals that ethnic minorities are 50 per cent more likely to fall ill

AUG 7 Huddersfield Town FC captain fined £1,000 for hurling racial abuse at black bus driver during road rage incident... Home Secretary tells Police Complaints Authority to publish in full its investigations in the Stephen Lawrence case... Glaswegian Shaidsa Yousaf awarded £2,000 compensation after estate agent prevented her viewing a house because she was black

AUG 8 Police operation scuppers plans for international nazi music festival in Wales **AUG 11** Birmingham City Council workers threaten industrial action over suspension of union official who represented worker on racial harassment complaint

AUG 13 Two HIV-positive Ugandan asylum-seekers win right to claim disability benefit in test case ruling **AUG 14** Judge Caroline Alton awards black nightclub bouncer Mike Smith £81,000 for police assault and promises to refer case to CPS

AUG 15 Local government union Unison demands inquiry into Brent council's targeting of black staff for redundancy **AUG 17** Rastafarian suspect complains that he was only picked out of an ID parade because the others were wearing wigs and had been 'blackened up'

AUG 18 British and French governments devise plans for spot checks on Eurostar in move to combat illegal immigration **AUG 19** Group of visiting young West Indian cricketers chased and attacked by gang of racist thugs in Maidstone town centre... Government promises more protection for foreign domestic workers abused by their wealthy employers

AUG 20 Campsfield detention centre erupts in fifth riot in recent months as prisoners demand better treatment... Metropolitan police pay £30,000 in out-of-court settlement to Mark Thomas who alleged racial abuse and assault from officers on demonstration... Home Office rejects asylum claim of Pardeep Saini, who endured temperatures of -60° for ten hours underneath a plane to reach Britain

AUG 22 Court hears that five Aberdeen men led a trainload of football fans in Hitler salutes and racist chants on their way home from a match in Motherwell **AUG 23** Plans to combat social security fraud will target employers of illegal immigrants, says minister Harriet Harman... Government says measures to discourage asylum-seekers may include withdrawal of Legal Aid for immigration cases and a £5,000 surety for sponsors of those on 6-month visas

AUG 25 Massive security marks beginning of trial in Copenhagen of three nazis accused of sending letter bombs to black Britons... Tory leader William Hague attends Notting Hill carnival in attempt to prove he likes black people really **AUG 26** Keith Vaz MP calls for inquiry into First Battalion of Cheshire Regiment after soldier is discharged for racial abuse of woman in Leicester

AUG 27 Home Office indicates that same-sex relationships will be recognised under immigration law **AUG 28** Arson attack on an Oxford family's home which killed two children may have racial motivation, say police

AUG 30 Army recruits advertising agency to counter racist image and halt decline in ethnic minority applicants... New measures giving power of immediate arrest for breach of court injunction, will aid racial harassment victims, says

government **SEPT 4** Airline passengers protest at 'brutal' treatment of Nigerian deportee on KLM flight to Amsterdam

SEPT 5 Woman says that threats and vandalism against her Carlisle home are directed against her half-Chinese children

SEPT 7 Health minister Paul Boateng says young blacks are scared of mental health services because of the high risk of misdiagnosis... Criminal Cases Review Commission orders review of case of M25 Three

SEPT 8 European Committee for the Prevention of Torture makes unprecedented ad hoc visit to England to examine deaths in custody **SEPT 11** Two C18 members jailed for publication and distribution of race-hate material

SEPT 12 22-year-old Gary Dobson jailed for 33 months for his part in racist assault on James Ozigi, executive secretary of Churches Commission for Racial Justice

SEPT 17 CRE to conduct formal investigation into claims that Hackney Council operated racist recruitment practices... 18-year-old Dale Colley sentenced to 10 weeks in young offenders institution for racist attack on Indian takeaway in Doncaster village

SEPT 18 Four BBC employees to take allegations of anti-Semitism to industrial tribunal **SEPT 21** Woman says that racial abuse from children as young as ten has driven her out of her Sheffield home... Report says that staff working in Birmingham's Indian and Chinese restaurants face rising tide of racist abuse and assaults... Burnley court jails 22-year-old Peter Mooring for nine months for attack on 15-year-old Asian schoolboy with 3-foot length of wood, partially blinding him for two days

SEPT 22 Government publishes new guidelines on exclusion of children from school amid reports that African-Caribbean boys are six times more likely to be excluded than any other group... Court hears how black former Royal Marine Officer was viciously stabbed in the thigh and buttocks during racist violence outside a Cheltenham nightclub

SEPT 23 Brazilian Aids victim wins right to mount legal challenge against local authority which has refused to provide him with food and shelter... Undercover police posing as Everton fans arrest four fans for racial abuse at match

SEPT 24 Crown Prosecution Service criticises police failure to acknowledge racial motivation and magistrates' failure to impose stiffer sentences in racial attack cases... Irish Ambassador accuses *EastEnders* of 'cultural and racial stereotyping' forcing BBC to apologise ... Stowaway who survived four hours in the sea before reaching the Bristol Channel to be sent back to the Dominican Republic

SEPT 25 Broadcasting Standards Commission calls for review of rules on party political broadcasts after receiving complaints about transmission of BNP broadcast... West Midlands bakery worker Pritpal Singh Bhalla awarded £15,000 for years of racist abuse at work... Andrzej Sawoniuk arrested in east London and charged with nazi war crimes...

Refugee Council expresses concern at proposals to house up to 210 asylum-seekers on Thames ship... Kick Racism Out of Football campaign to investigate reports of organised racist chanting at match against Leicester City

SEPT 26 Government rejects calls for asylum-seekers' amnesty in order to cut backlog... CRE gives guidance on equal opportunities to government departments after Home Office employees complain of racial discrimination and harassment... Chartered Society of Physiotherapy suspends chief executive over complaints about 'racist and sexist' after-dinner speech at the society's annual congress.

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