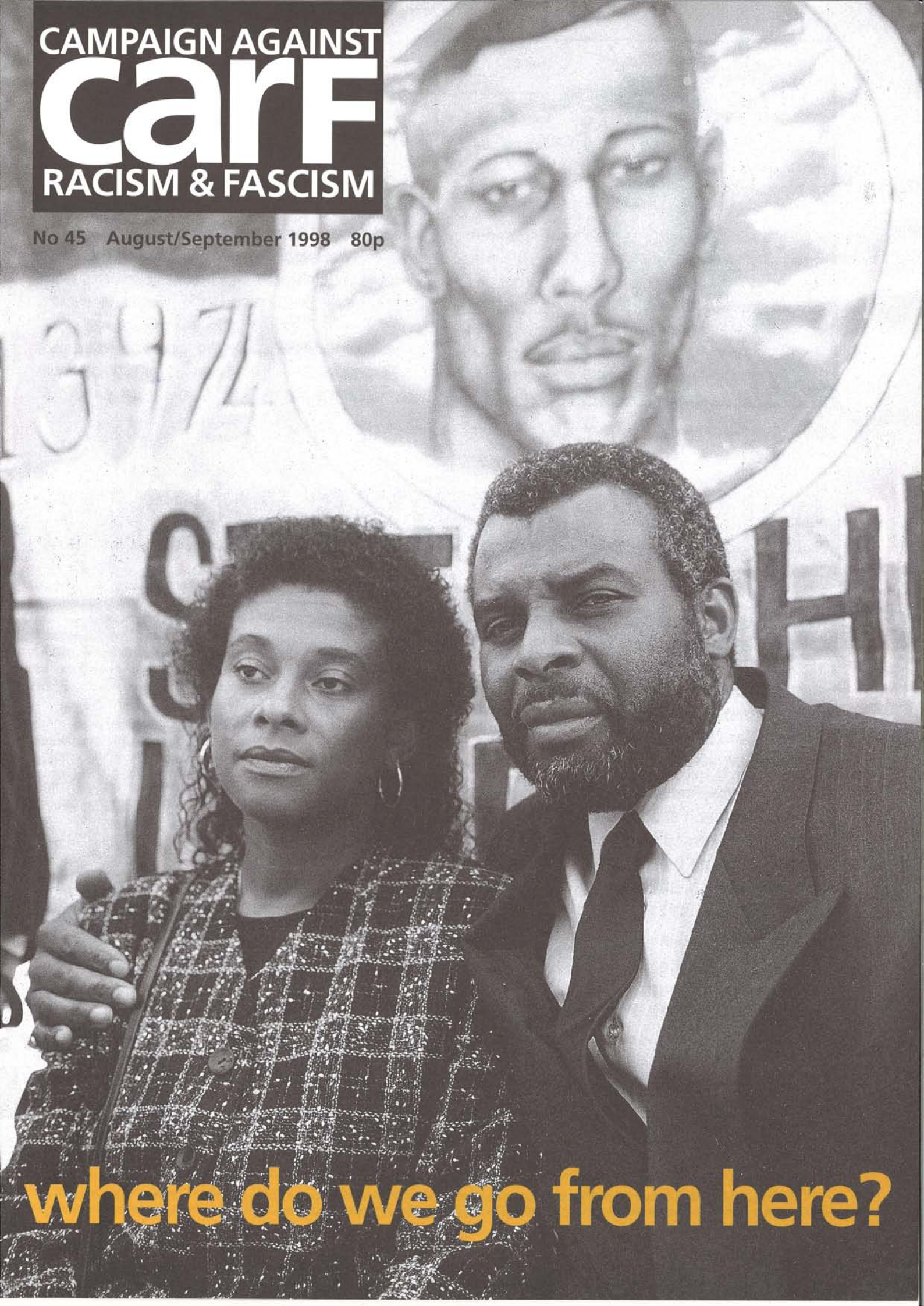


CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carf
RACISM & FASCISM

No 45 August/September 1998 80p



where do we go from here?



EDITORIAL STATEMENT

THERE IS A TIDE OF SELF-CONGRATULATION swelling in both Britain and France, coalescing around the idea that both are inclusive societies that have arrived in terms of race relations. In Cool Britannia, this tendency focuses around the image of a nation at ease with itself: One Nation, where merit is rewarded, where black people are visible in the professions and where the black contribution to Britishness can be openly celebrated. In France, the euphoria over the World Cup victory of a 'tricolour and multicolour' national squad including many immigrants has led to similar self-congratulation, as France boasts the superiority of its republican tradition – liberty, fraternity, equality.

Lawrence inquiry:

The public inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence has completed its first phase after hearing 56 days of evidence about the police investigation and the failure to mount a successful prosecution.

The second phase, due to begin in the autumn, will examine the lessons to be learned from this case and examine police policy and procedures in dealing with racially motivated crimes.

CARF spoke to Suresh Grover, coordinator of the Stephen Lawrence Family Campaign, and Imran Khan, solicitor to the Lawrence family.

What is the significance of this inquiry?

Suresh Grover: For the first time in the history of the criminal justice system the government has been forced, by five years of vigorous campaigning by a family, and massive public support for them, to institute a public judicial inquiry into the police investigation of a racial murder. That is a historic event. What has been revealed is an epic tale of police incompetence, raising extremely serious issues about police investigation. Then we have an absolutely terrifying exposure of police racism.

There were three main elements. First, a family who did not hesitate for a moment to get to the truth. Second, a magnificent legal team which ploughed through thousands of documents. No one has ever looked at a police investigation of a racial murder in such detail before. If it were not for their work the whole inquiry could have been a whitewash. Third, we have also had a glimpse of a dynamic campaign, which

shows that what has been revealed in the inquiry has resonance with what's happening in our local communities. The anger of the Lawrences has been matched by the anger of people outside.

Now that the first phase of the inquiry has ended, what are your immediate reactions to what has been heard?

Imran Khan: The inquiry has unequivocally shown that there was incompetence and racism, individual and institutional. Most importantly it has vindicated the Lawrence family, and everything they have been saying since 1993 about the conduct of the police investigation. We were pleased that the judge gave a lot of latitude to the family's team to introduce evidence. There was evidence, submitted but not aired publicly, relating to corruption and collusion within the Met which we hope will be taken into account by the panel.

SG: The legal team brought out the issues

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where do we
go from here?



Both portraits are, of course, bullshit. In Britain, the image-makers who have marked the 50th anniversary of Empire Windrush with a celebration of cultural diversity have ignored militants like Rudy Narayan and Brother Herman (see p15) who challenged a deeply racist and hostile system. And while some black people have advanced in the system thanks to these earlier struggles, racism still permeates British institutions and denies justice to the families of Stephen Lawrence and countless others. France, meanwhile, may bask briefly in a multicoloured glow, but French society is poisoned by a level of racism and chauvinism that has led 15 percent of voters to back the Front National and has split the Right into those who will and those

who won't work with the FN. Chirac's challenge to the FN reveals only a different form of racism, one which demands assimilation to French culture and republican values in exchange for 'tolerance'.

Anti-racists have to expose the lie that the 'arrival' of black people in the media, the professions and on the football field means society has ceased to be racist. The Stephen Lawrence inquiry has revealed how institutions such as the police are still saturated in racism. As the inquiry moves on to the next stage where anti-racists will give their evidence, we have to ensure that the issue of institutionalised racism, which has come to the fore, is not sidelined.

keeping up the pressure

of collusion and corruption with very little documentation available. There were hidden agendas and hidden mechanisms at work, doing everything in their power to hide the issue of corruption because they knew that it would expose the nature of policing in this country. There will be massive anger and uproar if this inquiry doesn't find that there is institutionalised racism in the police force – I don't think anyone would be satisfied with anything less. It would be very difficult for Jack Straw not to concede that. The Met would love to single out incompetence because racism and corruption are far more serious charges.

How would you assess the police handling of the inquiry – will they simply ride out the storm?

IK: The police were dragged kicking and screaming to the point at which they had to accept that there was incompetence in the original investigation. Year in year out, they attempted to smooth over the cracks. At every stage, from the internal review to when we met Condon in 1994, the police publicly said that the investigation had been satisfactory. Even when the Police Complaints Authority report came out there was still no unreserved apology. Then we had Met Commissioner Condon accepting there were some failures but still no apology.

Only after hearing over 40 days of

evidence of police incompetence, did Johnston, the assistant commissioner, apologise. But the Police Federation, which represents the rank and file, was still saying, 'well it wasn't our fault, it was senior officers'.

Then police started attacking lawyers and the family for hindering the investigation. You cannot on the one hand apologise for your mistakes, and then attempt to blame the family on the other! It gave the family a very strong feeling that it was a false apology. We feel it was done after 40 days to limit the scope for further cross-examination. The family want an unreserved apology for racism, incompetence and corruption and an acknowledgement that all those existed in 1993 – from the most senior officer down to the constable on the street.

SG: There are junior officers who still say that Stephen's death was not a racially motivated attack. The inquiry has exposed the futile nature of the last ten years of police public relations exercises. If there had been an organised lobby of racial harassment victims in Greenwich, rather than this ridiculous diversion into multi-agency policing, the Lawrences would have got at the truth much more quickly.

What we have exposed is the nature of police/state collusion in the locality, which is also relevant across the country. It's not just about straightforward police racism but everything underlying the relationship

between the police and the black community. That is the unprecedented significance of this inquiry. Scotland Yard's appointment of an anti-terrorist officer to deal with racial and violent crimes is a knee-jerk reaction which will satisfy no one.

People have campaigned against racist murders for the last 30 years. How is it that the Lawrences have been able to achieve so much?

SG: The tenacity, determination and perseverance of Neville and Doreen Lawrence have been crucial. Publicly they say very little. When they speak their dignity comes across and people take them very seriously. This campaign has been able, over the last five years, to get to a wide section of people, not just the black community, but white working and middle-class people. It is important to note that this was a family campaign. No organisation could have substituted for that – we saw that in the very early stages when national anti-racist groups attempted to take control. The needs of the family have been prioritised over those of individuals and organisations with their own personal or political agendas. By its very nature, getting justice from the inquiry meant taking on the state, but it still has been a massive struggle to ensure that the Lawrences' interests came first. The victim centred approach is not done

in a right-wing monolithic manner, but to move the family from a position of absolute devastation and demoralisation, into a position of strength so that they can take on the authorities.

I had discussions with many people in 1993/4 who felt that there was only so far you can go in racist murder cases. The innovative manner in which the legal team were determined to push this case forward played an immensely important role. The private prosecution for murder which the family launched was the first ever. The inquest didn't just look at the cause of death but the manner in which Stephen was killed – again, this was completely unprecedented. Even now there are further legal avenues which we are discussing.



Paul Hackett

There were dramatic scenes at the inquiry when the five suspects arrived to give evidence. The High Court had ruled that they must attend but said that they could not be asked questions about their guilt or innocence. All five denied that they were racist. Most questions were answered with variations on the theme of 'don't know, can't remember'.

A surveillance video which showed Neil Acourt saying 'every nigger should have their arms and legs chopped up and left with fucking stumps' and others miming stabbing actions, was dismissed as 'things we say when we're young and angry'. When asked if he carried a knife he replied: 'if I was going to an area where there were more black people than whites, yes'. Jamie Acourt was warned about perjury after saying he never carried knives in public and then admitting he had been found twice by the police to be in possession of a knife. The mother of David Norris was clearly seen in the public gallery indicating how he should answer questions about his father's record of nobbling juries and police officers.

IK: There was both a legal impetus and a campaigning impetus. It's important to realise that in the last five years the black community has been in the forefront of legal challenges, pushing forward the boundaries of the system – in terms of miscarriages of justice, deaths in custody,

racial violence, the role of the CPS.

Since I took up the Lawrence case I have had many people asking me how they can pursue other cases, because now there are more innovative ways in which the law can be used, but it will get nowhere without the backup of a community campaign. The case caught the imagination of the public – the letters Neville and Doreen get are from a huge cross section of people.

The role of the media has also been important. The press did not suddenly have a change of heart. The issue for the media was one of justice, which by accident had issues of racism at its root. If the press could have taken up the Lawrences' case without raising the issue of racism they would have, but they couldn't because racism was so central. After the *Daily Mail* declared its support we had a major battle to stop it being subverted into a law and order issue.

The Lawrences have put the issues of racial violence and police racism higher up on the political agenda than ever before. A recent poll showed that over 50% of people have less confidence in the police than when the inquiry began. How can campaigners maintain the political momentum?

SG: The fact the Lawrences are seen as respectable by the media should not influence our perspective. It would be very dangerous to go the way of SOS Racisme in France and 'pick' families who are respectable and ditch those who are not. The reason this campaign has mobilised so successfully is that it had behind it the collective experience of London police monitoring groups, like Southall and Newham, who have always had that victim centred response. The inquiry has opened many people's eyes to the police. We have to take this responsibility seriously and develop some sort of civil rights movement which will work in a united, non-sectarian manner.

In a sense we are having to revisit the struggles of the 1970s and '80s, against black nationalism and left opportunism, towards a family-centred approach, linking with grassroots organisations who have a united position on racial violence.

IK: Unless the inquiry comes out with a wholesale radical approach, not just tinkering, then we cannot go forward. If the inquiry falls short, the wider movement is not strong enough to have the sort of impact that we have had up till now. If the momentum is to continue we

need to develop monitoring groups as an integral part of the process. We cannot ask the Lawrences to lead the movement for another five years. We need to force the authorities to accept real experiences of black communities and individuals.

How do we stop the gains of the inquiry being hijacked by race professionals?

SG: We must not let the second phase of the inquiry become a forum for aggressive lobbying by mainstream organisations and professional cliques. The Commission for Racial Equality has been incidental to the inquiry and many of the government quangos which will present submissions are complacent, ossified and funding-tied.

It is likely the police will go on the offensive – their line is that the failures of the original investigation could not happen today because procedures have changed. The second phase must be about exposing how bad the reality *still* is.

This inquiry must reach a clear conclusion. For example, it's not enough to demand an independent police complaints procedure; that's what we've

France:

As France reacts with euphoria to its World Cup victory, and celebrates its multicultural national squad, the other face of France – ugly and racist – is in danger of being forgotten. CARF reports on the FN's connection to a double-murder in Oise and on the trials of the racist killers of Ibrahim Ali and Brahim Bouarram.

In the moment of national celebration over a 'tricolour and multicolour' team that, in president Chirac's words 'give a beautiful image of France and its humanity', will the politicians be prepared to act on their rhetoric, support the families who have lost loved ones to racist violence and kick the poisonous Front National out of the electoral process once and for all?

Revealed at the inquiry...

Incompetence

■ **Detective Superintendent Brian Weeden**, a police officer for 30 years and head of the investigation, admitted that until recently he did not know the legal grounds on which police officers can make arrests. He had not realised that he had the power to arrest the main suspects as soon as he had 'reasonable grounds for belief in their guilt', but thought he needed firm evidence. Weeden admitted that it was regrettable that he had misunderstood a basic point of criminal law.

■ **The Greenwich Racial Incidents Unit** consisted only of Chief Superintendent Phillpot and a junior PC. Phillpot admitted that he had carried out no research or pilot schemes into how to deal with racist incidents, and knew of no other similar units.

Cover-up

■ **Judge McPherson** described the internal police inquiry into the investigation as 'indefensible'. Det Chief Super Roderick Barker who carried out the review admitted that it had intentionally covered up criticisms of the original investigation to protect Brian Weeden.

■ **A leaked document** revealed that officers may have been coached in their replies to the inquiry. Sgt Peter Solley, a race liaison officer, claimed he wrote the document as a memory aid for himself. Headed 'possible questions you might be asked', it advised, 'try not to contradict yourself'. In response to the question of whether officers had been briefed on race issues, it advises, 'Give an honest reply. First ask for clarification of this question as it may be a tricky one.'

Corruption

■ **The inquiry heard allegations** that police officer David Coles was connected with Clifford Norris (father of suspect David Norris). Coles was seen in 1988 with a calculator exchanging packages with Norris. He was dismissed from the police after an investigation into his links with Norris but reinstated on appeal. He is now a detective in southeast London. Assistant commissioner Ian Johnston told the inquiry, 'I am appalled that this individual is still working for the Metropolitan Police.'

Police response

■ **Asst commissioner Ian Johnston**, Scotland Yard's third highest ranking officer, issued an apology: 'I am truly sorry we have let you down... Looking back now I can see we could have – and should have – done better. I deeply regret that we have not put his killers away.'

■ **Mike Bennett**, chair of the Police Federation, described the inquiry in the *Police Review* as stage managed and complained that his members had suffered 'tremendous humiliation'. He urged the home secretary to reject the final report of the inquiry, saying that the hearings were undermining race relations, just as the 'militants and agitators' wanted.

■ **A member of the Black Police Association** claimed that police officers giving evidence were being lauded as heroes in internal magazine *The Job*.

■ **Scotland Yard announced** that senior detective John Grieve, former head of the anti-terrorist squad, is to oversee training on racial and violent crimes.

being saying for 15 years. Of course we have to re-emphasise it but we also have to look at monitoring the whole investigative process of a crime and whether the police are competent to supervise their own investigations.

The issue of police accountability is very important; it should not just be left to the police's paymasters, the local councils. We must also legitimise the issue of community self-defence. The role of independent community organisations and their relationship with the police has to be developed and we have to look at collusion between the police and people in our communities.

The second phase of the inquiry is based on written submissions that have been requested three months in advance, but we want to open that up. There should be days when victims should be able to turn up and make an oral submission. That way the inquiry can have some resonance with people's actual experience. ■

Stephen Lawrence Family Campaign,
PO Box 3433, Woolwich London SE18 3SS.

a racism that kills

What solidarity?

Chirac says that the victory of a multicultural French national side 'shows solidarity and cohesion. It shows that France has a soul or is searching for one'. Yet 15.2% of French voters registered

their rejection of cultural diversity by voting for the FN in the March regional assembly elections – and they are backed by a large number of Conservatives who are collaborating with the FN in many of France's 22 regional assemblies. Now former prime minister, Edouard Balladur

– a member of Chirac's own party – has called for the FN to be invited to join a special Commission for National Preference, one of whose first tasks would be to withdraw family and medical benefits from the same immigrant families who brought France victory in the World Cup.

Solidarity is not about words, but action. So where were Chirac and prime minister Jospin during the trials of the racist killers of Ibrahim Ali and Brahim Bouarram, taking place during the World Cup? Were statements of solidarity were issued, or words of comfort given to the family and friends who have had to relive the deaths of their loved ones? And there was no public outcry when 18-year-old FN member Antoine Bonnefil killed two youths – one black, one white in the FN stronghold of Oise, enraged by a friendship that crossed the racial divide.



Agence France Presse



Four murders

Ibrahim Ali, a 17-year-old youth of Comorese origin, was one of ten teenagers running for the bus in Marseille on 22 February 1995 when they were set upon by three men putting up election posters for the FN. Robert Lagier, whose father, a *pied noir*, fought for the French in the Algerian war of independence, fired the fatal shot. On 22 June, the Assize Court of Bouches-du-Rhône sentenced Lagier to 15 years' imprisonment for murder. (Co-accused Marco d'Ambrosio and Pierre Giglio received lighter sentences.)

Brahim Bouarram, a 29-year-old Moroccan, was walking by the river Seine in Paris on 1 May 1995 when he was attacked by a group of skinheads attending an FN demonstration. The trial of four skinheads linked to the killing started at the Paris Assizes Court in May. In January of this year, a white youth, David Dumont and his friend Gustave Kokou, a Sorbonne philosophy student of Togolese origin were killed in Mortefontaine-en-Thalle, Oise. Antoine Bonnefil, the brother of David's girlfriend, shot David and Gustave when they came to his home. Bonnefil had had several violent arguments with David Dumont, accusing him of being 'a friend to blacks and Arabs'.

The truth about the FN

The killings and the trials have blown apart the FN's carefully constructed myth that it is a respectable mainstream party with no connections to racist violence or the neo-nazi scene.

■ **Ibrahim Ali:** FN general secretary Bruno Mégret testified on behalf of the three FN flyposters, claiming that the killing was not racially motivated but legitimate self-defence (the FN men said the dead men had attacked them). Summing up, the advocate-general condemned Mégret and the FN for helping the accused construct the false claim of self-defence. Ibrahim Ali and his friends had simply been running for the bus; at no time had they been engaged in violence.

Throughout the case the three FN members sought to deny a racial motive. But in an intensely moving moment, Lagier's 16-year-old granddaughter gave evidence of her grandfather's racism. After her testimony, she went to sit with the family and friends of Ibrahim Ali.

■ **Brahim Bouarram:** The trial of Mickaël Fréminet, Christophe Calame, David Halbin and David Parent for the killing of

Brahim Bouarram has revealed the extent of the skinheads' links with the FN's security force, the Department for Protection and Security (DPS). But, in contrast to the Ibrahim Ali case, the FN has been anxious to disassociate itself from the skinheads, who are, in turn, connected to the neo-nazi Oeuvre Française. The DPS actually supplied the police with the video recording that demonstrated the accused's guilt.

Nevertheless, it emerged at the trial that David Halbin was a card-carrying member of the FN who had gone 'queer-bashing' at a previous FN demonstration. David Halbin and Christophe Calame had given their services to the FN's security force in Reims, and were rewarded by being invited to dine with FN leaders. Christophe Calame told the court that the day before he was arrested, the DPS had 'called me from the Front's office in Reims, to tell me I was going to be arrested and, in particular, to ask me not to make trouble for them, and get rid of anything I had at my place that had anything to do with them'. Calame furiously refused, and anti-Semitic and Holocaust-denial material was found in his flat by the police.

■ **David Dumont, Gustave Kokou:** The first person that Antoine Bonnefil, a former skinhead and ex-member of the neo-nazi Parti Nationaliste Français et Européen, phoned after the double murder was Raymond Durosoy, a local FN representative who had been seventh on the FN party list for the regional assembly elections in Oise. Dumont considered Durosoy a 'second father' and had been out leafleting for the FN with his son on the day of the murders. Villagers describe the Bonnefil family home as an FN base and a centre for skinhead gatherings. Antoine Bonnefil had previously been connected to a campaign of racial violence against two north African families. His father was well-known as a racist drunk who went around the village shouting 'Arabs Out. Vote Le Pen.' Now the FN denies any connection with the Bonnefil family, claiming his membership to the FN had lapsed.

Until solidarity becomes practical, President Chirac's pronouncements on cultural diversity sound insincere, carrying on a tradition of hypocrisy which flaunts France's tolerant and republican values while refusing to acknowledge its racism. ■

Ibrahim Ali Abdallah, a talented 17-year-old rapper of Comoran descent, was part of the rap group 'B Vice'. Following his murder, the others in B Vice just didn't have the heart to continue; out of instinct and a sense of decency they refused to talk to the press about his murder. 'Nobody, not even us, has the right to use his death for their own purpose, no matter how noble,' says Ibrahim's friend Soly.

It's been hard for the nine teenagers who were with Ibrahim on the day he was murdered to come to terms with what happened. Ibrahim died in the arms of fellow rapper, Sah-yeed. He reacted by joining the army. Others went to college or enrolled on training courses.

But now the rappers have emerged from trauma to immerse themselves once again in music. Before Ibrahim's death, their rapping was about the buzz and the idea of the 'double vice' (music and women). But now they are searching for something more and have formed the Sound Musical School where people come from all over Marseille to rap and dance. 'Before we only saw our small world: rap, the city, girls,' Soly explains. 'While we wrote about racism, it wasn't from the guts. Now we have opened our eyes.' Ex-B

Vice member, Ahmed, who has formed a new group '45 Niggaz' says that 'The new generation is coming up strong, with a new mentality. It's direct, it's radical.'

B Vice's new release 'In Cold Blood' urges the youth

'To keep standing, to return blow for blow

And especially in the future, to no longer turn the other cheek...

It's sad that it has come to this

But since the FN, the rules of the game have changed....

This stupid mess provokes at a whim

Hatred, while others analyse and stigmatise the crisis

They resent me for my skin and it is me who stands accused

of the crime of global economic recession

It's convenient for those who only see through their bullet holes

Fuck, when I hear this kind of reasoning

It makes me want to kill.

Cold Blood? Are you mad? We've already given it

Cold Blood? No, no, my man don't count on it.'

Is Labour failing black children?

With the new Labour government many educationalists hoped for real changes. Now there is a growing disquiet that Labour is ignoring the needs of black children.

The first report from the government's Social Exclusion Unit, published in May, covered exclusions from school. According to David Blunkett, education and employment secretary, over 100,000 children are temporarily and 13,000 permanently excluded from school each year. Labour's target is to reduce exclusions by one-third by 2002.

But where has race gone in Labour's strategy? Just like the Tory papers before it, while acknowledging that African-Caribbean children are (six times) more likely to be excluded than white children, policy recommendations refuse to acknowledge the depth of racism in the system.

Racial exclusion not addressed

Disappointment with the report is running high. 'Racial exclusion had better begin to shout its name,' said Sir Herman Ouseley, angry that the CRE's recommendation about a specific target for reducing black exclusions had not been included. 'Why should a pupil want to be at an institution in which they are not respected and in which their safety is not assured?' Gerry German of the Working group Against Racism in Children's Resources dismissed the report: 'You can hardly call cutting exclusions by one-third progress,' he told CARF. 'We must scrap the system which is racist and discriminatory. The report is just playing the numbers game yet again. Anti-racism isn't even on the back burner anymore.'

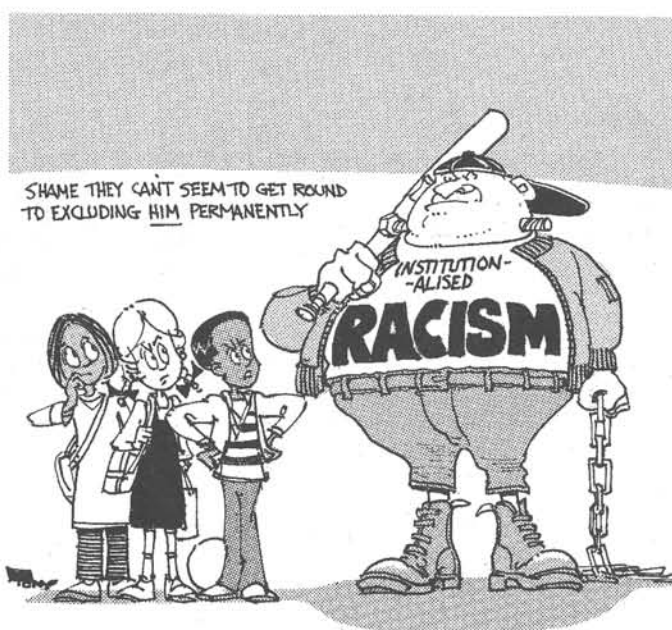
Chris Searle, the ex-head teacher of Earl Marshal school in Sheffield, who was sacked (under pressure from

Blunkett) in part because of his refusal to exclude pupils, told CARF he could not see how anything can change until powerful interests in the profession, such as the NASUWT, begin to change their attitudes and structures based around league tables are scrapped.

In fact, the most demoralising aspect of the Truancy and School Exclusion Report is that it nowhere questions the whole educational edifice – of league tables, 'parental choice', the National Curriculum and budget cuts in support services. Instead, Labour is coming up with mechanical solutions. Disaffected children are to be coerced into school (using the police to round them up and punishing parents) and schools are to be cajoled through financial incentives to contain their 'problem children'.

Black consultation fails

Unlike the Tories, Labour seemed to want to consult with black educationalists. But now, one year on, rumblings of discontent can be heard from black activists. Many jumped at the chance of serving on one of the innumerable task groups and task forces, only to find the government deaf to anti-racist issues. Their trans-mogrification into lobbyists has been equally unsuccessful. Attempts to amend the School Standards and Framework Bill with a strong commitment to ethnic monitoring has not been approved. And the DfEE task group on black achievement has not come up with anything as yet. The government's Teacher Training Agency has even refused to put anti-racist work on the curriculum for trainee teachers. Herman Ouseley, who was closely



following the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, asked, 'How will the next generation learn to deal with prejudice, bias and bigotry if our teachers aren't taught how to?'

Anti-racism and corporate interest

The government does not, it appears, want to tackle racism at all. Black exclusions, equality in teaching or black achievement – these will only be tackled by indirect and, sometimes, dubious means. Some of the problems are to be shunted off on to the much-vaunted new Education Action Zones (with three-quarters government money and one quarter from the private sector). They are to pilot schemes to 'raise standards in schools' and are in the future to address exclusions. No one has directly said it, but most zones cover poor areas in which many of the children will be black. Why, if government educational policies have failed such children, will the introduction of the private sector into partnerships succeed with them? (There is a certain irony that companies which have played no small part in global racism and imperialism have now been chosen as partners for black children's education – Shell in Lambeth, Tate & Lyle in Newham, for example.)

The experience in the US with such public/private partnerships in inner-city schools is not that standards rise for black children but that corporate influence does. Schools have become advertising arenas where Pepsi and Coca-Cola compete. Fast food giants support 'at risk schools' because they are producing their future labour force – black and underpaid. ■

It's time that global corporations were held accountable
as the perpetrators of gross human wrongs

Corporate rights: human wrongs

The connections between free trade and political repression are becoming ever more evident. Yet western governments and supra-national entities such as the EU are facilitating the reach of global corporations, not policing them. CARF examines what effect this too-close-for-comfort relationship between governments and multinational corporations has on state attitudes towards asylum-rights, with a particular focus on the situation in Nigeria and Algeria.

Nigeria - in from the cold

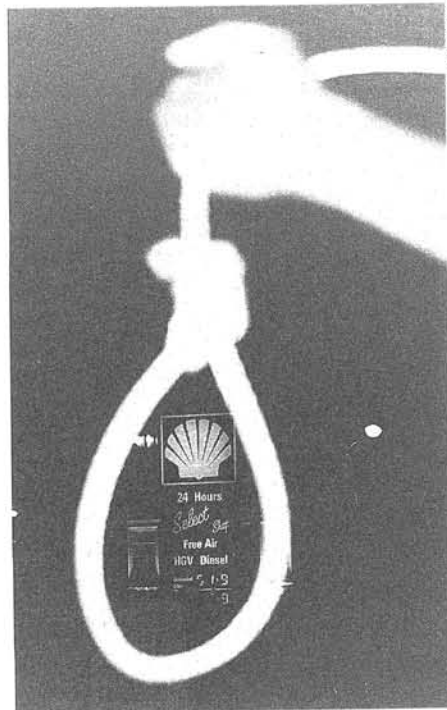
Almost before the body of Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha was cold, Tony Blair was telephoning to restore diplomatic contact on behalf of the European Union, and Foreign Office ministers were arranging visits. Abacha's death in June heralded no perceptible change in the brutal military regime. But the 'international community' can't wait to welcome Nigeria back into the fold, to offer re-entry into the Commonwealth, from which Nigeria has been suspended since the judicial murder of eight Ogoni activists including Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995, and to increase trading links. Why? In a word, profit. Nigeria is the world's fifth-biggest oil exporter, and in 1996 the Shell group earned 14 percent of its world profits of £5.7bn (on sales of £110bn) in Nigeria. Its operations there involved the wholesale devastation of the environment in Ogoniland, leading to a mass protest movement and the killing by the military of an estimated 2,000 protesters, trade unionists and environmental activists since 1993.

Across Europe, Nigerian asylum-seekers claiming fear of arbitrary detention, torture or worse at the hands of the military regime have received short shrift. In the UK in 1997, for instance, 65 Nigerian asylum-seekers were accepted as refugees in the UK, 30 more given exceptional leave and 4,315 told to leave.

Algeria - a deafening silence

A similar picture emerges in Algeria, the country which heads the *Observer's* league of human rights abusers published in June. In 1992, elections won by the Islamist FIS were cancelled and a military-backed junta took power. An estimated 80,000 people have been killed since. Suspected Islamists were rounded up and taken to camps in the desert to die, or executed on the spot. Massacres of whole villages of civilians including children and women were blamed on a shadowy extremist group, the GIA, but evidence has emerged that the security forces have been at least complicit in the killings, if not instigating them. A serving officer, known as Hakim, contacted *Le Monde* in Paris in November 1997 to tell the world how 'We've become assassins, working for a caste of crooks infesting the military, who want oil, control of imports and property'. He told of how the killing of seven monks in May 1996, and the Paris bombs of 1995, blamed on the Islamists, was the work of the secret police. Hakim died this spring in a helicopter accident in the Sahara.

European governments have been strangely silent about the horror in Algeria, and slow to respond to the



Alec Smart

accusations against the regime. They have refused refugee status to all but a handful of Algerian asylum-seekers and have described the situation in the country as a 'war against terrorism'. They have gone further, arresting suspected Islamists on behalf of the Algerian regime. Following the detention of a number of Algerian refugees in London before the World Cup tournament kicked off in France, their solicitor, Gareth Peirce, spoke of the active cooperation between the UK and Algerian police authorities which had terrifying consequences for detainees' families. 'How is it,' she asked, 'that the British police are being given unconditional licence to act as agents for a regime committing crimes against humanity? To expose a refugee community to the stigma of the PTA [Prevention of Terrorism Act] and then to the potentially fatal consequences in Algeria for their relatives is a grotesque abuse of power.'

Once again, it is the search for profit which underlies the reluctance of western governments to 'rock the boat' in Algeria. France, where tens of thousands of

A POTTED HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The organic, holistic model of universal rights as encompassing economic, civil, political and social rights, inhering in individuals and in communities and including rights to health, housing, education and livelihood, was broken up during the Cold War in favour of the narrow, individualistic focus of the 1951 Refugee Convention, which held that only those with a well-founded fear of persecution for race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinion were to be recognised as refugees. The civil-political, individualist model of human rights was followed up in the

1953 European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which omitted rights to livelihood, health or housing, replacing them with a right to property. The Convention thus adopted a partial and very political definition of 'human rights' and, in what now seems a grotesque gesture, gave corporations the same 'human' rights, treating them as 'legal persons'. Thus a corporation whose land is expropriated to give shelter to homeless people can claim that its 'human rights' are violated if the national government fails to protect its property.

suspected 'Islamists' were rounded up after the Paris bombs and whose government is the most hostile to Algerian refugees, is the biggest market for Algerian goods and its biggest source of imports. In July the Banque Nationale de Paris announced plans to open an Algiers office next spring.

Oil, market, profit

But it is oil which is the biggest prize. Oil represented 95 percent of Algeria's foreign exchange revenue in 1994. Recently, the government has relaxed the monopoly of the national company Sonatrach to allow joint ventures with foreign companies, and twelve new exploration and production sharing agreements have been signed with companies like US giants Total and Amoco, Italian Agip and Mobil. A 20-year contract with Amoco will involve 80 new wells and 100km of pipelines in eastern Algeria. Rumours abound that Sonatrach is negotiating with Israel to sell its gas via an Australian company.

All over Africa, Asia and Latin America the giant oil companies are at work, digging pipelines, moving people, destroying their land and their livelihood. Total has business activities in over 38 African countries, with exploration activities centred in Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Gabon and Tunisia. Agip plays a role in the oil industries of Nigeria, Egypt, Libya, the Congo, Angola, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Uganda. Shell, Exxon and Elf are spending \$3bn developing oilfields in Chad and Shell is building a 1,600km pipeline in Cameroon, to be part-financed by the World Bank, which will require the 'resettling' of a tribal group. Premier Oil's activities in Burma (where US companies have pulled out) are well-known. BP is spoken of as the most aggressive oil company in Colombia, where workers have no rights and ex-SAS men train paramilitary squads to keep them in order. Shell, having pulled out of the U'wa tribal lands of Colombia after the tribe threatened mass suicide, is now drilling in a Peruvian rainforest.

Of course, globalisation isn't just about oil, although the oil companies are some of the biggest players. Globalisation is also about opening protected markets to western companies as a condition of securing access to western markets. In Algeria, Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola are spending millions of dollars competing for the soda market, distributing free drinks to candidates taking Baccalaureate exams in June in an operation coordinated by local authorities, and investing millions in bottling and distribution facilities.

Meanwhile, 1,000 companies are being privatised by the end of 1998 in readiness for the signing of a partnership agreement with the EU and to comply with conditions to join the World Trade Organisation. Membership of the WTO, the successor to GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), with 130 member countries and 31 keen to join, requires opening up domestic markets to cover 90 percent of products on both sides. Despite its loud praise for Nelson Mandela, the EU recently rejected a trade deal with South Africa because of the protection of South African markets from the competition of European manufactures (and European companies tendering for key infrastructure contracts). As Fidel Castro observed at a World Trade Organisation meeting in Geneva in May, 'Third World countries have been losing everything: customs tariffs that protected their emerging industries and produced revenues; agreements on basic commodities; producers' associations; preferential treatment; instruments protecting exports' value and contributing to their development. What are we offered?'

The Observer human rights index found that the worst human rights abusers are the countries with huge natural resources, usually oil, and corrupt élites dealing with western business. Among the oil-rich human rights abusers at the top of the league are Algeria, Colombia, India, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Nigeria.

Campaigners say that, in a world where the 15 largest mega-corporations have gross incomes greater than the GDP of over 120 countries (and where, for example, General Motors' income is higher than that of Denmark), human rights must be rewritten so that corporations can be held accountable for



One of the beneficiaries of Europe's hard-line immigration and asylum-laws are the criminal mafias whose business it is to forge travel documents and to smuggle desperate asylum-seekers into

Europe. This Easter, British holiday-maker Edgar Fernandes, a much-loved Hackney librarian, fell victim to that mafia, when he was murdered in Turkey for his passport. Now his friends and family, who are campaigning to ensure that Edgar's murderers come to justice, have come up against a wall of indifference which encompasses the UK police, Edgar's MP Frank Dobson and the Foreign Office.

In the last ten years, 174 British holidaymakers have gone missing in Turkey as British and US Asians are targeted for their passports. Edgar disappeared two days after arriving in Turkey for an Easter holiday. When British police refused to investigate, five members of the Fernandes family flew out to Turkey. They discovered that Edgar's passport has been used to cross into Bulgaria and then Greece. After a month of searching, Edgar's rotting body was finally found in a hospital morgue.

The family of Edgar Fernandes has asked the Foreign Office to warn British Asians travelling to Turkey that they might be targeted for their passports. So far nothing has been done.

the wrongs carried out in their name.

The Permanent People's Tribunal is to mark the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration by holding a tribunal on global corporations and human wrongs, at Warwick University in early 1999. It will accuse corporations of appropriation of livelihood resources (land, water, air and biological resources), monopolistic acquisition of people's knowledges through intellectual property rights, the erosion of health, safety and labour standards, the deposit of hazardous wastes and toxic materials. It accuses states of complicity with or incapacity to control the increased reach of corporations. ■



Algerian protesters in London, 1993

Jon Walter

Campsfield revelations

The trial of the Campsfield Nine on charges of riot and violent disorder collapsed after just over two weeks.

S. O'Neill



After telling the jury on 3 June how the defendants had run riot through the immigration detention centre, assaulting and threatening staff, charging at a gate, throwing missiles, destroying equipment and setting fire to the library and women's dayroom, prosecutor Nicholas Jarman QC had to tell them on 17 June that 'on this evidence, no proper prosecution could invite a jury to convict'. What did the trial reveal?

■ **Labour vindictive** Labour ministers are if anything more punitive, vindictive and hostile to detained asylum-seekers than the Tories. Immigration minister Mike O'Brien did little to dissociate himself from the rumour that it was he who insisted on the trial – the first attempt to criminalise protest by detained asylum-seekers ever – when he awarded Campsfield staff an 'Investing in People' award days before the trial. (Some say it should have been an 'Investing in Perjury' award.)

■ **No reasons for detention** There is no rhyme or reason for detainees' detention. The immigration officer in charge of detainees at Campsfield had no idea why the detainees were there; neither did Group 4; neither, of course, did the detainees.

■ **Arbitrary removal** Removal from Campsfield to prison was 'to some extent arbitrary' according to the immigration officer. According to Group 4 evidence, those who were 'gobby' were marked down as troublemakers and likely to be moved.

■ **Dangers of privatisation** The trial revealed the dangers of privatisation. There are no rules for Group 4 or for detainees. Prison rules don't apply to Campsfield. Group 4 have no more powers over detainees than private citizens. The contract between Group 4 and the Home Office, which must contain some guidance as to how to deal with detainees, is confidential. When local MP Evan Harris applied to see it, he was told that it is covered by 'commercial confidentiality'.

■ **No experience needed** Group 4 staff need have no experience in looking after people and we have no idea what training they receive. They learn prison 'control and restraint' techniques but don't seem to take them very seriously; holding someone round the neck, described as 'extremely dangerous' by a prison officer, was treated flippantly by Group 4 in evidence. 'Like when you've just passed your driving test, you don't get it spot on,' one said.

■ **Control unregulated** In the past, the chief immigration officer on site had to approve every use of 'control and restraint' on detainees. A year or so before the protest, that power was delegated to Group 4, who can decide for themselves when they can use life-threatening force. Police have to report the use of batons to a superior officer in writing and the batons are inspected. Group 4 staff said they didn't know about any such procedure, and the senior supervisor in charge on the day said he saw no batons drawn or used.

■ **Medical neglect** Group 4 staff had no knowledge of detainees' medical history and whether they had been tortured. Psychological or emotional problems were seen as a nuisance rather than conditions needing appropriate treatment. Medical matters were subcontracted to Forensic Medical Services Ltd. There seemed to be no communication between the doctor and Group 4 or the immigration service, until there was a suicide attempt. One of the most shocking moments of the trial was the application, before it started, by Premier Custody Services Ltd, the firm responsible for bringing defendants to court, that they should be handcuffed in the dock. The reason? All the men were classified as 'exceptional risk' because of previous attempts at self-harm.

■ **Crude racism** Disciplinary proceedings against Group 4 staff are hit-and-miss, and criteria for demotion or dismissal unknown. According to detainees there is a high level of racist abuse (or 'banter', as staff like to call it). The fabricated evidence against defendants revealed crude racism. Caryn Mitchelhill's description of being seized by a group of black men who said 'We've got you, white bitch', comprehensively discredited by video evidence, was pure racist stereotype. So were allegations by other officers of 'We'll kill you, Group 4', 'You'd better get a fucking gun' and even an allegation of a defendant exposing himself and inviting a guard to 'suck my cock'. But the staff are all still there, except one who has been promoted out of the centre.

■ **Victory for the campaign** The trial's final lesson was on the importance of a defence campaign. The work of the campaign embraced providing defence lawyers with material for questions, looking after defendants' practical needs during the trial (such as clean shirts for those detained, somewhere to stay for those on bail); working endlessly to get press interest and coverage; organising petitions and public meetings, getting questions asked in Parliament and, most importantly, having a presence at the trial every day. Defendants and their lawyers expressed their huge appreciation of the campaign after the trial, and there is no doubt that the campaign's work contributed massively to the victory. ■

In the light of the trial, the Campaign to Close Campsfield is demanding:
 ■ Mike O'Brien must resign ■ Jack Straw must apologise to the nine and provide compensation for wrongful imprisonment and malicious prosecution ■ Group 4 guards must be prosecuted for perjury, criminal damage and assault ■ The Group 4 contract must be revoked ■ All those detained at Campsfield must be released.

The campaign holds a demonstration outside Campsfield House on the last Saturday of every month. All welcome.

Campaign to Close Campsfield c/o 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ. Tel 01865 558145.

"I heard some wild allegations about Group 4 at Campsfield by local people who demonised staff."

Mike O'Brien, Immigration Minister,
Radio 4 18/6/98

"I don't know if they have been tortured, I'm not concerned, it's not my responsibility – detainees' welfare is not part of the procedure."

John Graham, Chief Immigration Officer,
giving evidence at the trial

"Removal of detainees to prison is more or less arbitrary."

John Graham

"It's like a driving test, you don't always do things according to the book."

John Allen, senior supervisor, watching
a video showing a detainee being
held by the neck while being removed

"Mr Galloway is using his interpersonal skills at that point, trying to calm the detainee down."

Paul Bean, orderly, watching the same
video

"I saw no batons being drawn or used."

John Allen

"I hit a detainee on the lower arm with my baton, he turned and I caught him on the side of the jaw. I didn't write it down. I didn't try to find out who I'd hit."

Mo Stone, shift supervisor

"I don't know about a procedure involving filling in a form if I take out my baton."

Paul Bean

"I was alone in the corridor, surrounded by black men, and one of them took me by the shoulders and said, 'We've got you, white bitch'. I kned him in the groin and escaped."

Caryn Mitchellhill

"That's not me. If that's me, I wouldn't have been in the corridor, the video must have been taken on another day."

Caryn Mitchellhill, watching a security
video which shows her with a group of
guards, proving her story false.



The man in the dry shirt, Chris Barry

"Someone said 'get a light, this one's going to burn.' A chemical was thrown over me, which smelled, and soaked my shirt and stung my eyes and nose. I was hit on the back of the head and I passed out. My shirt was ripped."

Chris Barry

"Yes, that's me."

Chris Barry, on being shown
video of himself three minutes
later, with dry, whole shirt,
on the roof of the centre

"I didn't smash any phones. I dismantled the phone. I used my baton to pull the wires out. I didn't tell the police or Group 4."

Mo Stone

"I have no idea why the phone was smashed. There seemed to be absolutely no reason for smashing the phone."

Sean Cain, on the
destruction of the phone

"I knew the detainees well, by name, I'd played football with most of them or given them cigarettes."

Group 4 guards boasting about the
reliability of their identifications
of defendants in their witness statements

"My visor was misted up."

Group 4 guards being
proved wrong about their identifications,
explaining why they were unreliable

"West Africans is a collective colour."

Chris Barry demonstrates
his ability to identify suspects.

THE PRISONS INDUSTRY

"I find it morally unacceptable for the private sector to undertake the incarceration of those whom the state has decided need to be imprisoned... almost all people believe that this is one area where a free market does not exist."

Jack Straw, Shadow Home Secretary
speaking at Prison Officers Association conference,
April 1996.

Securicor at Parc

■ In its bid for the contract at Parc in Wales, which opened in November 1997, Securicor claimed that one guard sitting at a desk could control 75 prisoners on a wing with communication through intercoms and doors automatically locked from a central control system.

■ The first suicide happened within two weeks. After the second, in May, prisoners demonstrated and refused to go back to their cells. Two guards were taken hostage in March, state prison officers were called in to prevent riots, three senior members of staff have left for 'personal reasons'. The electronic guard system crashes repeatedly and prisoners are being transferred to HMP Cardiff as staff can't cope. The Home Office had to send in one of its governors to sort out the mess and Securicor had to hire a PR company to clean up its reputation.

Group 4 at Medway

■ On 25 June 1998, the 15 residents of the first children's prison, Medway Secure Training Centre (STC) rioted. Thirty riot police with dogs were called in and £5,000 worth of damage was caused. The centre was opened in April.

■ Group 4 Rebound ECD Ltd runs Medway STC, which can hold up to 40 children aged 12+ (known as 'trainees' to the 100 staff).

■ 'Trainees' are kept busy from 7.30 am to 9.30 pm with lessons and training tailored to each child at a cost of £120,000 per year per trainee.

■ Staff looking after children out of school hours do not need special training for, or experience of, working with difficult children and have only eight weeks training at the Prison Service college.

■ At Lisnegin Training Centre in Northern Ireland, which is similar to Medway STC, the reoffending rate for children who left the centre was 100%.

■ The idea of such centres was introduced in 1993 by the Conservative government which promised to punish persistent young offenders. Labour opposed the idea, but once in government helped implement it, promising that the centres' effectiveness would be assessed.

■ Secure Training Orders are placed on children (under the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act) after they have committed three imprisonable offences and are in breach of a supervision order (three strikes and you're banged up applies to kids too).

"As a responsible government we have committed ourselves to providing best value and to achieve high performance, efficiency and effectiveness... the immediate transfer of existing private prisons to the public sector is not affordable and cannot be justified."

Jack Straw, Home Secretary speaking at Prison
Officers Association conference, May 1998.



Campsfield nine fight not over

S. O'Neill



Sunny Ozide's asylum application succeeded.

Despite the collapse of the political show trial, the ordeal of those acquitted is not yet over. While two of the acquitted already had refugee status at the time of the trial (meaning that they should not have been detained in Campsfield in the first place), others had to fight government plans to deport them. After seven of the nine defendants had been jailed for ten months pending a malicious trial on fabricated evidence, the Home Office heaped injury on injury by trying to deport several of them within days of the end of the trial. Only after forceful representations from lawyers, public outrage and unprecedented interest from UNHCR, were removal notices stayed (some only temporarily) and by mid-July all the defendants were free except for one, a teenager, who is still in psychiatric care with a mental breakdown after a suicide attempt. One of the defendants, Nigerian Enahoro Esemuze, was only granted temporary admission after his lawyer threatened legal action against the Home Office; he has now begun proceedings to bring a case against Group 4 and the Home Office for malicious prosecution. Another three were given bail by immigration adjudicators in the teeth of Home Office objections.

Following the trial, 96 detainees inside Campsfield undertook a hunger-strike in protest at the lack of concern shown to them by immigration minister Mike O'Brien. A letter they wrote to him protesting that he had not sought the views of detainees before presenting an 'Investors in People' award to Group 4, four days before the trial has not had a reply. But O'Brien was quick to defend Group 4 to the media after the trial's collapse, and to slander detainees as people planning to break immigration control.

Meanwhile, the regime inside Campsfield House seems to have changed little and Group 4 is still victimising those who speak out. After demanding to see all the papers relating to the nine's detention, UNHCR was forced to intervene again when another Nigerian detainee was forcibly transferred to Rochester prison for 'compromising security'. Ajibola Kassumu, a Christian pastor, was appointed by Group 4 to represent detainees making complaints. It seems he did his job too well, informing those both inside and outside of the conditions at Campsfield. ■

Out of touch with groups in Europe campaigning around similar issues? With this regular column, CARF aims to keep anti-racists in touch with some of the most important new initiatives.

Sans papiers movement As the French Socialists move to deport 70,000 *sans papiers*, occupations and hunger-strikes are increasing. A system of protection has been set up whereby film-makers and Communist and Green councillors become 'Godfathers' for the *sans papiers*.

Hunger strikes Since the New Year, there has been a wave of hunger strikes by asylum-seekers in Austrian detention centres.

Against double jeopardy Anti-deportation campaigners in Marseille have been staging demonstrations at the port. Young Arabs are being deported after serving a prison sentence under the system of 'double jeopardy'. In Lyon, a hunger strike of ten north Africans supported by the Jeunes Arabes association ended after fifty days. An ad hoc commission has been set up to re-examine the young Arabs' cases.

Campaigns against airlines who carry deportees A campaign backed by French trades unions CGT and SUD Aerien has succeeded in persuading Air France and Air Afrique to stop the use of their aircraft for deportations to Mali. In Austria, airport welfare services intervened to prevent the deportation of a seriously ill Iraqi. Dutch

airline KLM is refusing to pay fines for carrying 4,500 foreigners without valid travel documents, saying it should not have to check passports.

Immigrant self-organisation In Bologna, Italy, the Metropolitan Forum of associations of non-citizens organised a demonstration in March under the slogan 'Crime has no colour' after the far-right Alleanza Nazionale launched a petition blaming immigrants for all crime in the city.

Racist attacks and the criminal justice system German police have reopened the investigation into the Lübeck fire in which ten asylum-seekers died in 1996, after the confession (later retracted) of one of the neo-nazis originally arrested on the night of the attack.

Police violence In Nijmegen, the Netherlands, Algerian refugees staged an angry demonstration after the police shot dead an asylum-seeker at a reception centre.

Migrants' caravan A broad coalition of refugee and anti-racist groups is travelling around Germany in a six-week campaign to counter politicians' racist rhetoric in the run-up to the general election. ■

Challenging German neo-nazism

In the last issue of CARF we reported on the work of the Gangway youth project in Berlin and the debate between German anti-fascists and social workers about the best way to counter neo-nazi influences amongst young people. Now the youth organisation DOSTO, which is critical of the theory and practice of non-judgmental 'acceptance' social work, has entered the debate. DOSTO writes:

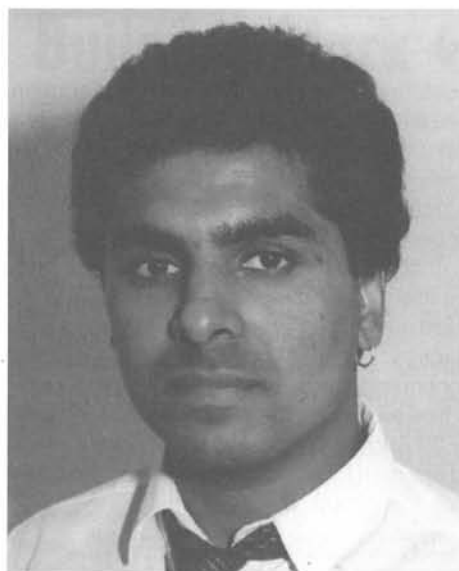


'Bernau: a small town with 24,000 inhabitants, north-east of Berlin. The unemployment rate here lies at around 24%. A right-wing mainstream is seen and felt everyday. Nationalism, racism and homophobia are an integral part of the slang of the youth. However, in comparison to other cities, Bernau yields differences. We, the people from the youth organisation DOSTO have been attempting, through youth and educational work, to take forward anti-racist and anti-fascist ideas. In the summer of 1993, we initiated a series of events under the title *Am Rande des Wahnsinns* (on the verge of insanity). Since then, we have held an annual anti-fascist street party, organised by youths from different youth centres and supported by the city of Bernau. On 10 May this year, the street party took place in the front yard of a right-wing youth centre. Social workers at the centre helped organise the party.

Building alliances with young people in existing youth centres, who are not actively engaged in right-wing activity but are potential recruits, is vital. One example of such alliance work was an anti-fascist week we organised in co-operation with two non-right-wing youth centres. Around 180 people attended both of the two concerts we organised. The same number turned up at a football tournament where we allowed two right-wing teams to participate.

Although we all have differing views on so-called 'acceptance' youth work, we believe that under certain conditions, it could prove a useful educational tool against the Right. But it has to be defined politically, otherwise there will always be the risk that the theory of acceptance youth work will translate in practice into 'caring' and supportive youth work. We will continue to critically review this approach and, if necessary, to intervene. ■

This article was translated and edited from Antifaschistisches Info Blatt, no. 44/1998.



Justice for Michael Singh

A campaign has been launched to free Michael Singh, another victim of the criminal justice system whose imprisonment has separated him from his wife and children for nearly ten years.

Michael was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder in June 1989 after a fracas at a Bradford pub in which Dalwinder Singh died after being stabbed by two different knives.

Michael has always maintained his innocence, and there was so little evidence against him that he remained free on bail for a year until his trial. In court, the two witnesses to the attack claimed for the first time that they had seen Michael stab

Dalwinder. They said that the police had forgotten to write this down when they gave their original statements.

Michael was claimed to have a motive for the murder, as members of Dalwinder's family had attacked him the previous year. But two other men in the pub also had feuds with Dalwinder, who they believed had stolen money from them.

Before the trial, one of Michael's co-accused allegedly demanded money and threatened to implicate him if he did not pay. Another co-accused, who was silent during the trial on the advice of his lawyer, has since come forward and admitted that Michael was not involved in the killing.

The identification evidence claimed that Michael was wearing a brown leather jacket; his jacket was blue cotton. There was no forensic evidence against him. One WPC handled a knife at the scene, contaminating it. Michael wanted the knife tested for fingerprints to prove his innocence but the police and the CPS claimed that the cobra gunskin handle was 'not conducive to testing'. Michael's lawyers located an identical knife and, with help of a forensic expert, proved that it was possible to test for fingerprints. But by this time police had destroyed the original knife. Michael believes that the police destroyed the evidence to cover up their mistakes. Even the judge at the trial said that there was 'little evidence' to sustain a conviction. ■

You can write to Michael Singh (DB1160), HMP Stocken, Stretton, Leicestershire, LE15 7RD. Justice for Michael Singh Campaign, 21-23 Albion Street, Bradford BD1 2LY. Donations are needed - please make payable to The Justice for Michael Singh Campaign.



Jyoti Brar Defence Campaign

Jyoti Brar, a young Asian woman who has been living in London since 1993, is under threat of deportation to India under the 'one year rule'. Jyoti came to Britain to live with her husband, a British citizen, but was soon

subjected to emotional and psychological violence as well as threats of physical abuse from her in-laws. After three months Jyoti's husband ended the marriage, leaving her with no right to stay in Britain. Jyoti has fallen foul of the 'one year rule' which requires a marriage between a British citizen and a non-British national to last for at least a year before leave to remain in Britain is granted.

Jyoti is unable to return to India. As a divorcee she will receive no support from her family and will be isolated with no means of supporting herself. Jyoti has made a new life for herself in London, where she works for the NHS and is a volunteer for an Asian women's project, helping victims of domestic violence.

Her supporters are urging people to write the Home Secretary asking that Jyoti be granted indefinite leave to remain in Britain. (Quote ref B531245) ■

Jyoti Brah Defence Campaign c/o DVP, 1 High Street, Hounslow, Middlesex TW3 1RH. Tel 0181 572 8656.



Mary must stay

A campaign has been launched in Camden, north London, to prevent the deportation of Mary Wandia Njuguna and her 3-year-old son to Kenya. Mary fled Kenya after discovering corruption by an electoral commissioner while she was working at a law firm in Nairobi. Fellow workers, fearing for her safety, advised her to leave the country.

As a member of the Kikuyu tribe Mary also faces persecution from Kenyan state forces, whose human rights abuses have been documented by Amnesty International. Mary's family members have been harassed and kicked out of their farm.

Although Mary's son, Patrick, was born in Britain and is settled at his nursery school, immigration minister Mike O'Brien has said that he is young enough to adjust to life in Kenya. This means adjusting to a life of fear and insecurity.

The Mary Must Stay Campaign is asking people to write letters to Mike O'Brien at the Home Office urging him to let Mary stay in Britain. (Quote reference Nu IMP N 203852.) The campaign is also appealing for funds to produce publicity material. ■

Mary Must Stay Campaign, c/o Refugee Education Project, 136 Chalton Street, London NW1 3RX. Tel 0171 388 4346.



SIX-A-SIDE TOURNAMENT

Saturday 29 August, 10am-6pm
LPR Sports Club, Forest Road,
Hainault, Essex

*Prizes, celebrity guests, bouncy
castle, food stalls, children's events*

In conjunction with the London Community Cricket Association, Hit Racism for Six is organising an anti-racist cricket festival and six-a-side tournament on 29 August. The event has received the backing of England cricket captain Alec Stewart as well as several trade unions. If your organisation can help with publicity or sponsorship, or would like to place an ad in the souvenir brochure, contact HR46.

Tel 0181 392 3537 Fax 0181 392 3541.

More tension at Shawlands

The head teacher at Glasgow's Shawlands Academy has resigned. In comments reported in the press she implied that intimidation by militant anti-racist teachers had forced her out. Jean Murray had faced serious criticism for a 'head in the sand' attitude towards equality issues in Scotland's largest multi-racial school, following the fatal stabbing of student Imran Khan by white pupils in March. Murray adopted a highly defensive attitude towards attempts to point out failings in the school's non-existent approach to racism; an article in a recent issue of CARF resulted in her making an official complaint to Strathclyde University accusing an academic quoted in the article of 'gross unprofessionalism'. Her complaint was dismissed.

Murray's resignation was more likely to have been occasioned by the fact that she had lost the confidence of many parents and the education authority after a disciplinary incident resulted in a shouting match between her and an Asian parent. Her claim that she has been accused of racism by teachers is unfounded, but it has resulted in a new phase of 'loony-left anti-racist' bashing in the press, particularly the *Mail on Sunday* (no doubt to reassure regular readers disconcerted by sympathetic coverage of the Lawrence inquiry).

Murray's resignation and its tabloid coverage have again sensationalised issues of racism at Shawlands, at a time when pupils and staff alike are nervous about the outcome of the trial of the two white youths accused of killing Imran Khan, due to start in August, and the uncertainty of beginning the new school term two weeks later with a new acting head teacher. ■

Behind Glasgow's gangs

The death of 15-year-old Imran Khan, who was stabbed to death by a group of white youths, is a tragedy. It is also a tragedy for the school and the community.

The school's head teacher, Jean Murray, has resigned. In comments reported in the press she implied that intimidation by militant anti-racist teachers had forced her out. Murray had faced serious criticism for a 'head in the sand' attitude towards equality issues in Scotland's largest multi-racial school, following the fatal stabbing of student Imran Khan by white pupils in March. Murray adopted a highly defensive attitude towards attempts to point out failings in the school's non-existent approach to racism; an article in a recent issue of CARF resulted in her making an official complaint to Strathclyde University accusing an academic quoted in the article of 'gross unprofessionalism'. Her complaint was dismissed.



The offending article

Beating the NF

Anti-fascists are celebrating after the Crown Prosecution Service has dropped all charges against anti-fascists arrested during demonstrations against the National Front in Dover earlier this year. They are now demanding that all film taken by police at the demonstrations be destroyed, now that there is no prospect of it being used in criminal proceedings. They suspect however, that the heavy police surveillance was more of an intelligence-gathering operation on anti-fascists and have also lodged official complaints against Kent police for their policing tactics.

As part of the continuing campaign against National Front activity in Dover a free all-day multi-cultural festival will take place on Saturday 29 August in Pencester Gardens, Dover. Already confirmed are Irish folk musicians, a Czech Romany band and a Bolivian folk group. ■

The campaign against the National Front in Dover has a web site at www.canterbury.u-net.com/Dover.html or ring 01303 262039 for more details.

Lawrence plaque vandal jailed

National Front thug Stuart Hollingdale, from south London, has been jailed for ten weeks for attempting to smash a memorial plaque in memory of Stephen Lawrence. Hollingdale was caught on film wielding a huge hammer to attack the memorial after drinking with his NF mates on 11 May. Police later discovered NF literature at his home. ■

BNP nostalgic for past 'glories'

The BNP continues in its futile attempts to recapture the moment of fame it savoured when Derek Beackon briefly won the by-election in Tower Hamlets in 1993. Kent BNP organiser Michael Easter stood in the Ashford south county council by-election on 9 July. Easter, who also runs the Institute for Nationalist Affairs, polled 50 votes (3.4 percent) to come fourth in a four horse race. ■

Reclaim the game

Two football clubs are leading the way in reclaiming footballing history

In a project initiated by Northampton Town's director Brian Lomax (one of only two directors in England to be elected by supporters), the club is to erect a memorial to Walter Tull, Northampton Town's first black player in 1911. The grandson of a Barbadian slave, Tull went on to be Britain's first black army combat officer, and died a first world war hero. The planned memorial garden, sited just outside the club, will contain a statue of Tull and be a place where fans can have their ashes scattered and their names inscribed at the statue's base. Lomax explained to CARF: 'We want to commemorate Walter Tull and his achievements. We are immensely proud that Northampton had black players going that far back. In addition, we want the memorial garden to embody the club's commitment to anti-racism.' The club is proud that it was one of the first to formulate an equal opportunities policy, and has developed a community outreach pro-

gramme, working alongside the local mosque to get more Asians involved in the sport.

In Sheffield, the group 'Football Unites, Racism Divides' has been working to commemorate Arthur Wharton, who became Britain's first black professional football league player in 1889. Football fans and anti-racists in Sheffield conducted a campaign to raise money for a tombstone for Wharton's previously unmarked grave.

Lomax firmly believes that reclaiming this forgotten history of black footballers can be a powerful force for anti-racist campaigns, and is encouraged by the number of letters he gets from school-children asking about issues of racism in football. His view is echoed by Open University researcher Phil Vassili, whose years of research into early black footballers has been central to the public commemorations of Walter Tull and Arthur Wharton: 'There is no point in dead history. It needs



Northampton Town's outreach programme

to come alive, through having an influence on the present. We are trying to do something about past injustices, saying look, black people have contributed to life in this country for centuries.' ■

Phil Vassili's book, *Arthur Wharton: the first black footballer* will be published later this year.

Building Black Community: Windrush's missing link

No one, not even the Acourt brothers, could miss the message of the recent 'Windrush season'. The exhibitions, meetings, books and TV series all told us that black people were here to stay and that in 50 years they had transformed the notion of Britishness. Windrusherie coalesced around two key themes: the rude rejection the Mother Country served up in 1948 and the new identity which has been forged by the children and grandchildren of those early immigrants. The new black opinion-formers allowed a peek at popular racism, black power (as style and media hype rather than politics) and heavy policing as it ignited rebellions on Britain's streets. But the emphasis was on individual black achievers.

What was missing was a whole dimension – the notion that, for at least 30 of those 50 years, a handful of activists were painstakingly building up an infrastructure for their community. In every black area community schools, nurseries, training schemes, advice centres, hostels, cultural classes, arts workshops and newspapers were being run by members of the black community for the black community. No one dreamt of looking for state subsidy for such endeavours and no one could make a living from them either.

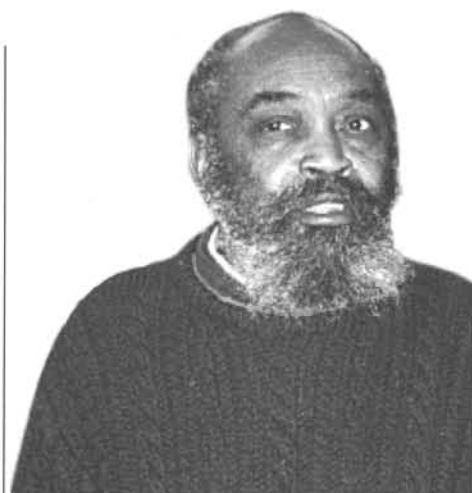
Brother Herman Edwards, who died in June, epitomised that committed and selfless giving to the creation of Black Community. In the 1960s he took his carpentry and building skills to Michael X's Black House, and in the '70s carried on the black power traditions through the

Harambee project to provide legal representation and advice for black youngsters and their families. Brother Herman, before most black activists, began to see how the criminal justice system was destroying young people's life chances. In 1971, as he began to campaign against the 'Sus' laws, he visited young people in prison, provided them with politicising literature, set up literacy and skills classes in the community, adapted houses in north London to provide hostel accommodation and encouraged the young people to develop their own businesses so as to make them self-sufficient while serving the community's needs.

For another ten years after it had become fashionable for black groups to seek state funding and patronage, Brother Herman, adhering to those principles of self-determination and self-reliance, railed against kow-towing to councillors and funders.

He was uncompromising on basic principles, paying a personal price for his custom of berating borough surveyors as 'thieves stealing the slave money' due to black people and stopping councillors treating Harambee projects as their private fiefdoms. He ended up in jail on numerous occasions on all kinds of trumped-up charges ranging from undue noise and non-payment of rates to embezzlement (he had failed to make PAYE and NI returns!).

Ultimately, his recognition that many black groups did not share his belief in self-reliance and that many black individuals he



HERMAN EDWARDS 1935–1998

RUDY NARAYAN 1938–1998

had worked with had 'sold out' for prestige and position, was so painful that Herman returned to his native Antigua. Shocked by the corruption of the elite and the impact of mass tourism, he sought, and got, an audience with Prime Minister Bird. When he saw that talk was in vain he resorted to direct action. It was he who swam out at dead of night to block off the wastepipe which deposited raw sewage from the Attorney-General's posh seaside villa into the sea where local children bathed. Herman never took shit from anyone.

And neither did **Rudy Narayan**, another outspoken anti-establishment black activist, who died on 28 June. Rudy was one of the first, and certainly the most vocal, black barrister in the UK. He made it his business to legally champion the black community, and defended young black men in some of the most important trials of the 1970s and '80s. But he fought for justice on all fronts, helping to set up a string of community organisations from Lambeth Law Centre to Black Rights UK, and then challenging the racial bias of the Bar itself. Suspended in 1974 for calling lawyers and judges in Birmingham racist, in 1982 he accused the Attorney-General and DPP of colluding with the National Front and in 1986 he sued the Lord Chancellor and three judges for racial prejudice. Like Herman, he had to pay the price for not playing by the white rules. Though he deserved it, he was never made a QC. But it should not be forgotten that so many of the gains that black barristers have made today have depended on the fights that he put up a generation ago. ■

New educational resources

What are human rights? is the question which opens a new video from Anti-Slavery International. Presented by Diane Louise Jordan, *The changing face of slavery* contains two 15-minute films: the first looks at the transatlantic slave trade, beginning with Britain's increased prosperity: 'Life was sweet, Britain was booming, but at what price?' It goes on to look at the factors involved in the slave trade and its abolition, encouraging students to question how and why the trade began. The second film tells us that the chains of the transatlantic slave trade reveal only a part of the story and looks at modern forms of slavery. The main focus is on child labour; from the use of children in coalmines in Victorian England, to the exploitation of children today in Egyptian jasmine fields and the Indian carpet industry.

The changing face of slavery is available with a pack of classroom activities, making it an excellent resource for teachers. ■

Anti-Slavery International, The Stableyard, Broomgrove Road, London SW9 9TL. Tel 0171-924 9555.

THE CHANGING FACE



OF SLAVERY

JUN 1 Family of 37-year-old Edgar Fernandes murdered for his passport while on holiday in Turkey, condemn Foreign Office failure to warn of dangers to Asian men travelling alone **JUN 2**

Racist thugs vandalise and spray graffiti over flat of 20-year-old Bhavesh Ruparelia from Leicester, forcing him to leave **JUN 3** Trial starts at Oxford Crown Court of nine west African asylum-seekers charged with riot at Campsfield House detention camp in August 1997... 38-year-old Somali man who suffers fractured eye socket in racist attack in Camden is saved by intervention of woman passer-by... Four Kosovan refugees give themselves up to police in Barnsley after being stranded trying to get to London **JUN 4** CPS reaffirms decision not to prosecute officers involved in the death of Shiji Lapite because of 'insufficient evidence' **JUN 6**

Ten Albanian asylum-seekers found on a lorry in Portsmouth are arrested by police **JUN 7** Unpublished report commissioned by Scotland Yard reveals that black people are six times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people... Judge gives 23-year-old Michael Brandie three months to prove he can behave after attacking three Asian men in Aberdeen... Home Office figures show rise of 22% in asylum applications **JUN 8** Black prison guard, 37-year-old Lorraine Watson, withdraws claim for racial discrimination and unfair dismissal against Prison Service on first day of hearing for undisclosed settlement **JUN 9** CRE in Wales records a rise of 58% in number of complaints received in 1997 **JUN 10** Mother of three Gillian Achu allowed to stay for a year after Home Office withdraws deportation... Community Relation Council in west Scotland reveals rise of 50% in caseload relating to racial discrimination and harassment **JUN 16**

Former director of Tower Hamlets, Vernon Clements, accuses CRE and Tower Hamlets REC of racism and claims unfair dismissal, racial discrimination and victimisation **JUN 17** Ian Johnston, Met police assistant commissioner apologises (for himself and commissioner Paul Condon) to Lawrence family - 'I am very, very sorry and very, very sad that we have let you down'... Two London asylum-seekers take Department of Health to High Court over its ruling last year that destitute asylum-seekers should receive vouchers in place of cash... Case against Campsfield Nine collapses as CPS barrister says no jury could convict on evidence provided by Group 4... White female bus driver sacked by Arriva London North Bus Company after internal disciplinary hearing finds her guilty of racially abusing black passenger on number 73 bus **JUN 18** High Court rules that men accused of murdering Stephen Lawrence must face inquiry but cannot be asked 'Did you do it?' **JUN 22** Attacks on 30 mostly Jewish-owned cars that had wheels slashed in Stamford Hill, north London, treated as racially motivated by police **JUN 23** Racist death threats have been sent to prominent figures in African-Caribbean community on Birmingham housing department headed note-paper, report reveals **JUN 24** Mike O'Brien refuses to make changes to 'one year rule' which forces immigrant women to stay in violent marriages, but suggests government may make some concessions... 32-year-old Stuart Hollingdale jailed for ten weeks for defacing memorial plaque to Stephen Lawrence

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CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

JUN 25 20-year-old Asian student on respirator after attack by gang of seven youths who shouted racial abuse at him and a friend before attacking them with belt buckles in Islington, north London **JUN 29** 200 children march on Downing Street to appeal to the PM to stop deportation of Gill family from Pakistan, who fled in 1994 fearing religious persecution for their Christian beliefs... Five accused killers of Stephen Lawrence face questions at the inquiry into his death **JUN 30** 14-year-old Damion Davis who fled to UK with his British mother in fear for his life after witnessing a drug related shooting, starts hunger strike after being sent back to Jamaica **JUL 1** Jack Straw renews entry ban on Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan **JUL 2** Two Irish men each awarded £10,850 damages for false imprisonment and assault after they were arrested and abused by Met police officers **JUL 5** Refugee Council reveals that 51 children as young as thirteen are being detained by the authorities after entering the country illegally and unaccompanied **JUL 7** Stepney school children and their Asian teacher on school trip to Germany are racially abused by British soldiers **JUL 8** Met police appoint deputy assistant commissioner John Grieve as first director of Racial and Violent Crime Unit **JUL 9** Report on 'Extremism and intolerance on campus' published by Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals aims to reduce activities of groups such as Hizb ut Tahrir **JUL 10** Hughie Crawford, brother of black police officer from Brixton, lodges official complaint after being stopped by police four times in less than three weeks... Fabian Society report suggests change in powers for inquest juries allowing them to override CPS decisions not to prosecute **JUL 13** Jack Straw announces changes to asylum appeals procedure which reduce rights of appeal... Family of Ronald Hinkson, stabbed to death outside Bar Zaar in Camden, complain about police handling of case, which they believe was racially motivated **JUL 14** TUC report entitled 'Double Discrimination' reveals that older black workers are twice as likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts **JUL 15** Chancellor of the Exchequer announces Home Office to take sole responsibility for services to asylum-seekers, including social security payments... Foreign Office announces special humanitarian fund of £1,000,000 for Holocaust survivors living in the UK... Government grants British citizenship to 100,000 people living in British colonies... Trial begins at Snaresbrook Crown Court of 18-year-old Owolabi Ayorinde accused of ABH and affray after he sprayed police officers with their own CS spray when they tried to use it on him... CRE criticises Poplar and Canning Town Conservative Association after they refuse to honour local elections code of conduct by allegedly distributing racist leaflet **JUL 16** Leeds family forced to raise £2,000 to install CCTV to protect them from racist attacks **JUL 19** Police arrest 14 suspected Kurdish illegal immigrants, including women and children, on a Seacat in Folkestone, using CS spray and batons **JUL 20** Family of Wayne Douglas launch battle in High Court for new inquest **JUL 22** Research by Cardiff University reveals that companies that claiming fair treatment of black people are companies most likely to discriminate against them.

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