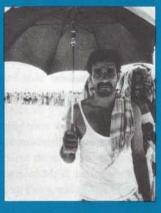
CARRE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

challenge

anti

The asylum debate: need not numbers





racism

The rise of the European Right

Racial violence: away with left orthodoxies



No 6 january/february 1992 80p

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CARF is produced by a voluntary, nonpolitically aligned collective which has been active in the anti-racist, anti-fascist movement for 14 years.

Campaign Against Racism and Fascism No 6, January/February 1992 BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX Tel: 071-837 1450

ISSN 0140-753X

Printed by Russell Press

Where CARF stands

When *CARF* was formed in 1977, our position was that we must fight racism and therefore fascism – whereas other groups fought fascism and, only incidentally, racism. We maintained that, in the contemporary world, it is anti-black racism that provides the breeding ground for fascism.

Unpopular though that position was, current events in Europe have vindicated it. Le Pen could not have achieved his success without appealing to anti-black/anti-Arab sentiments. Recent neo-nazi political victories in Antwerp, Vienna and Bremen were only possible because they drew on massive popular racism against migrants from the Third World. This is not to argue that other groups are not also targets for the fascists, or that this new racism does not draw on aspects of Europe's anti-Semitic past, but that its present-day fulcrum is anti-black/anti-Arab racism.

That we must fight racism and therefore fascism can only be common sense now. The politicians have shown us that. As they sit around the tables at Maastricht harmonising their asylum policies (with an eye to their domestic ballot boxes), their deliberations are reflected on the streets in yet more attacks on refugees and refugee hostels from Gothenburg to Hoyerswerda.

In Britain the new Asylum Bill will, as Sivanandan argues in this issue, further underline the second-class nature of black British citizenship and so give respectability to fascism. The nazis are already girding their loins for the next election. Broad coalitions like the Anti-Racist Alliance and the Anti-Nazi League, which we understand is going to be relaunched, are welcome developments. They will, if nothing else, get racism and fascism into the nation's headlines. But publicity is not all. The hard graft of fighting commonplace, everyday racism on the streets and in the housing estates has still to be done – on the ground. The Asylum Bill demands that we give practical help and assistance to those facing removal; the fight against racial violence demands that we root our politics in communities under threat. As the 'Tottenham Three Campaign' has shown, injustice can only be undone by dogged campaigning.

At the *CARF* readers' meeting held in London on 30 November 1991, it was decided to set up regional meetings in key areas so as to build up networks of activists and use the magazine to collate and coordinate activities against racism and fascism. If you want to be put in touch with other *CARF* supporters in your region, let us know. *CARF* will be happy to organise, with your help, meetings in your area; *CARF* can help you with briefings on important topics; *CARF* can provide you with speakers. *CARF* exists to service and inform the movement. But it is here that we need your help. Without your support in reporting events to us, sending us local press cuttings and identifying yourself with the magazine, *CARF* will have no purpose and no life. As racism gets stronger and the fascists gain ground, the need for an anti-racist grassroots movement is vital. The manual work on *CARF* is currently done by a collective in London, but for it to survive it needs constant support:

- in selling CARF wherever you can
- in attracting new subscribers
- in sending stories and reports
- in monitoring local events
- in discussing CARF articles in your local groups
- in letting CARF know what you think of it
- in making it your paper.

Racial violence: challenging old orthodoxies

The rise of fascism and racist violence across Europe has made many left and labour organisations in the UK more conscious of racism here. Should we embrace or beware this sudden championship by left organisations of the anti-racist cause? Will all this anti-racist activism in the run-up to the general election put down lasting roots? CARF looks at the last 20 years of anti-fascism on the Left to see what we can expect and what lessons can be learnt.

Left versus community

The most significant thing about such anti-fascist activity is that it is almost always reactive and follows a pre-set formula. It responds to a given situation and organises around a specific threat a fascist electoral candidate or a nazi HQ, for instance - and then mobilises its forces to meet that eventuality. Such 'floating' anti-fascism neither speaks to the problems of the local communities nor helps to organise them on their own behalf. Instead, it renders them mere venues for disconnected actions, thus leaving them to face the fascist backlash once the anti-nazi marchers have come and gone.

This was summed up in 1978 by a member of the Bengali Youth Association, an organisation set up to contest the most extreme and consistent racial violence and harassment in Britain at the time. Having just witnessed yet another left rally and march to remove the NF paper-sellers from Brick Lane's Sunday market, he told the organisers as they left for home that night, 'Now you've had your curries and cleared your consciences, fuck off back to where you came from.' That does not mean, however, that we should cease to challenge the fascist groups through marches and demonstrations and pickets, but that we should destroy fascism at its racist roots and not merely react to it. What recent demonstrations in Southwark, Thamesmead and Tower Hamlets certainly managed to achieve was to alert the public to the type of violent racism which the media seldom exposes. But unless anti-fascist mobilisations have the backing of community organisations and are followed by the setting up of local committees run by local people, such

marches can amount to little more than the macho flexing of left muscle.

Divorcing anti-racism from antifascism

Most racist attacks, besides, are carried out not so much by organised nazi groups as by local racist gangs. Suresh Grover of the Southall Monitoring Group (covering Hayes, Hounslow and Ealing) believes that less than 20 per cent of the 520 attacks he dealt with in 1990 had any connection with neo-nazi activity.

The Sparrowfields Estate, Hounslow, was the subject of a BBC documentary in 1990. Racist attacks here have not been spearheaded by the British Movement, members of which are known to be living on the estate, but by a gang of white youths based around the local youth club. A group called 'The Inner Circle' has been set up by the youths who are determined to keep Sparrowfields all white.

The B family own the local post office and an unremitting campaign has been waged against them. When three white youths attacked Mr B, he fought back, biting one of them, only to be charged



hoto: G.M. Cooks

by the police. Although the Crown Prosecution Service eventually dropped the charges against him, Mr B suffered further attacks on his shop whilst awaiting trial. Gangs of 50 skinheads would wait outside his shop. Mr B has since suffered a nervous breakdown. It is this type of commonplace, everyday racism which, because it goes unchecked and uncontested by the police and the state generally, provides the groundswell for fascism. Yet antifascist activists tend, on the one hand, to ignore state racism and, on the other, to treat racial violence as though it were a by-product, a sub-category, of fascism. Hence anti-fascist literature often transmits a simplistic message: get rid of the fascists and racial violence will magically disappear too.

Anti-fascism and old orthodoxy

Because in Britain it is principally the white left parties and groups that dominate the anti-fascist movement, they see the fight against racism as subsidiary to the anti-fascist struggle and themselves as the historical repository of that struggle. Hence they tend to set themselves up as the leaders in that fight, resurrecting old forms of organisation (invariably from the top down) and spouting a rhetoric redolent of old victories and tired slogans. The result is that black, everyday problems get redefined by a whitedominated Left, wedded to a kind of anti-fascist rote learning. The antifascist movement, for example, claims that, through its mobilisations, it is 'Reclaiming the Streets' from the nazis, and assigns to itself the role of protector of the racially abused. This paternalism shades over into chauvinism (if not outright racism) when the anti-fascist Left (ignoring over 30 years of black struggle and organisation) claims the credit for putting the issue of racist violence on the political agenda. But then the Left does not see black working-class struggle as a part of British workingclass history. This is most in evidence when, in its literature and slogans, it

concentrates only on 'its' victories against fascism, like the Battle of Cable Street, but does not recall those black victories against racist violence and fascist incursion – in Notting Hill (1958), Southall (1979 and 1981) or Bradford (1975).

Denying the black experience

Nor does the Left have any real understanding of the nature of racial violence in black communities today. Firstly, it does not appreciate that racial harassment in areas where there are large black settlements (and a history of struggle) has become a hazardous venture, whereas violence does manifest itself with impunity on housing estates with relatively few, and isolated, black families, such as Canning Town, Bermondsey, the Isle of Dogs (in London). Attacks also tend to be against 'newcomers', particularly refugees, and not against second and third generation black families. And those who face such violence are not so much in need of crusading evangelism from passing politicos as of practical help to enable them to live safely in their homes.

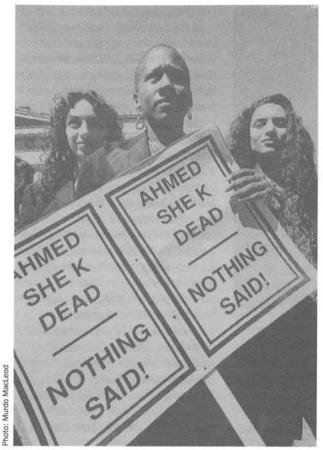
Secondly, the Left does not understand the extent to which the police are indifferent to the problems of such black families, treating them, instead, as a nuisance if they complain and, indeed, arresting them if they fight back. Talk to black working-class youth in the UK and they will tell you that the burning issue for them is to get the police off their backs. For them the connection between racial violence and racist policing is even more palpable than that between racial violence and fascism. They do not want the Left's patronage so much as its support for their demand: 'Self-defence is no offence'.

Discarding orthodoxy, recreating socialism

Now more than ever there is the need to make the connection between racism and fascism. Teachers who set up patrols to escort black children safely to and from school were the backbone of anti-fascist committees in the 1970s, as were locally-based trades councils, some of which also took up cases of deportations and police racism. Today, football supporters' groups, which link the issues of racist chanting inside the ground to the fascist paper-sellers outside, are a refreshing development. Too often, though, the Left's perception of the working class has hindered the development of anti-racist/ anti-fascist perspectives. In seeing the working class for what it should be, instead of what it is, the Left tends to overlook working-class racism. And when it does acknowledge it, its challenge to such racism is often superficial and half-hearted. Leaflets which take the 'myths versus facts' approach come across as utopian tracts, a slightly more radical version of the multi-cultural approach of the race relations industry. For the latter, racism arises because people don't understand each other's cultures; for the former, because the working class has a false consciousness.

And when left propaganda has a message for the black working class, it is equally paternalistic - as though it is the white-dominated Left which has all the answers to black oppression. Utopian slogans like 'Black and White Unite and Fight' (which begs the question: on whose terms?) fail to tell us how to achieve that unity. The lesson from almost 13 years of Tory rule is surely that working-class unity is not going to spring up readymade from Tory cuts; unity needs to be worked at. And experience shows that racism can best be challenged by working within the working class, on a long-term basis, over issues of housing, education, employment, low pay, policing, football. It is around these issues that, in some areas at least, black and white unity has become a reality. But if we are to enlarge and extend that unity, we must discard old orthodoxies and see anti-fascism not as a dogma or anti-racism as a cause but both as being part of a creative socialist process.

Remember Ahmed



We must not forget that Ahmed Shek was a refugee. He left his own country to escape persecution and violence, only to meet with the same upon entering Britain. He was held like a criminal on a prison boat, whilst being investigated. Eventually he was given leave to stay, only to be murdered less than two years later. His whole experience in Britain was one of racism. From the racism of the state that detained and criminalised him for being a refugee, to the racism of the youths on the streets of Edinburgh who murdered him.'

Ahmed Abukar Shek, a Somalian refugee, was murdered by racists in Edinburgh three years ago. Anti-racists in Scotland are still angry that his murderers were allowed to go free. It is to remember Ahmed, and to protest at the new Asylum Bill, that Lothian Campaign Against Racism and Fascism has called a demonstration in Edinburgh on 18 January 1992. The trial of two white youths (part of the 10-strong gang which attacked Ahmed and a friend, who was also stabbed) proved how strongly entrenched was the belief that Scotland was a 'non-racist country' and how hard the authorities would work to ensure that this facade remained intact. Terence Reilly and Francis Glancy were originally charged with murder and attempted murder. But mid-way through the trial, charges against Glancy were dropped and he was called as a Crown witness. Reilly, who was acquitted on both charges, was found guilty of repeatedly punching Ahmed Shek. For this and two other offences, he was jailed for 21 months. When the police closed their inquiries in August 1989, they denied that there was 'conclusive evidence' of a racist motive. Several months later, they backtracked, saying it was 'good practice' to wait until the end of proceedings to make a 'total assessment' of the situation. So, after their lengthy deliberations, Ahmed Shek's murder was logged as a 'racial incident'.

Protest

All this incensed the anti-racist activists who had been campaigning for many years to raise the issue of racism in Scotland and tackle racist violence. After the murder, black and white anti-racists increased their activities in

Edinburgh. The Lothian Black Forum held a public meeting which was attended by over 300 people. Since then, anti-racist activity in Scotland has stepped up a gear. Recent events include: an anti-racist, antifascist rally in August 1991, when hundreds of people opposed an attempted BNP demonstration; a successful campaign by black and white tenants against the BNP in Muirhouse, Edinburgh; Scotland's annual day of action against racism and fascism on 30 November 1991, which over 1,000 people attended; and the formation of such groups as the Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football (SCARF) and Lothian Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (LCARF).

SNP opposes Asylum Bill

The Scottish National Party National Council has passed a resolution condemning the government's Asylum Bill as a 'blatant piece of racist legislation, the objective of which is to play the racist card for shallow electoral advantage at the next election'. And to put its anti-racism into practice, it is giving over part of the next SNP radio Party Broadcast to statements from anti-racist organisations.

Remember Ahmed Oppose the Asylum Bill

18 January 1992
Assembly point: King's
Stables Road, 11.00 am
The demonstration will march
through The Cowgate, past the
spot where Ahmed Shek was
murdered, and will end in a rally
at the Mound.

Speakers include:

Lothian Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, Muirhouse Anti-Racist Campaign; Newham Monitoring Project; Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football. LCARF, PO Box 474, Edinburgh EH11 2TO

'Allo! 'Allo!



While shunning photographers, is Steve Brady forging new links with Western Goals?

Christmas is a time for miracles - or so Monsieur Le Pen would have us believe at his press conference last December. For he has undergone a veritable transformation. No, it's not just that he's got rid of his eye-patch, invested in a glass eye and streaked his hair blonde. His transformation is much more complete than that: Monsieur Le Pen is no longer a fascist. No, that's not quite right either. You see, it's all been a bit of a bad dream, a figment of our anti-fascist imaginations. For, as Monsieur Le Pen assured us, he has, in fact, never been a fascist, only a brave nationalist defending his country against cosmopolitanism. And with a wider mission too - to arrest the demographic decline of Europe which, you may not have noticed, is fast disappearing from the map owing to Third World immigration. Our crusading prophet was bonhomie personified. Until, that is, some hardnosed journalist asked about his relationship with the NF and the BNP. 'I only heard of the BNP two days ago', he replied. Someone sniggered loudly. 'Be polite, this is my press conference,' Le Pen thundered back, his halo temporarily slipping.

In response to other questions, Le Pen revealed his penchant for the BNP's philosophy, if not for its company. Racism was directed against whites not blacks, and whites were the real victims of racial violence. When a black journalist pointed out that, as a black man born in Britain, he found Le Pen's views repulsive, Le Pen tried hard to regain the spiritual high ground. 'Your point is rather oddly formulated', he murmured, looking to the ceiling either for divine inspiration or to avoid looking into the black journalist's face -'but I forgive you.' Of course, the Front National was not against anyone simply because of their colour. Non, non, non. It was far more complex than that. In fact, Monsieur Le Pen recently became the godfather to a 'half-caste' child, but his adoption of this little heathen caused no great emotion in the Party. Would he condemn the outrages at Carpentras, another journalist asked? Le Pen tried hard to compose himself, but that little demon would just keep jumping out. 'Carpentras was a conspiracy', he proclaimed. 'One day the conspirators will be unmasked.' Well, by this stage, the only person unmasked was Le Pen. Hardly

surprising, therefore, that none of the Tory MPs reputedly invited to dinner that evening put in an appearance. Someone whispered, 'Is that Western Goalie AVR Smith in the background?' But if it was, even he wasn't going to make an official appearance. In the audience, though, was another, lesser, neo-nazi prophet in disguise. Steve Brady, editor of the NF's Vanguard, had sat spellbound through Le Pen's performance. In his heart of hearts, he knew that Le Pen was still part of the national socialist brotherhood, yet he was deeply troubled by his failure to stand up for the true faith, the spiritual certainties of which Mr Brady is so sure. Nevertheless, when photographers rounded on Brady, he appeared somewhat camera shy, stumbling out of the building with a rather grubby raincoat thrown over his head. 'Do you condemn racial violence?' asked a Voice journalist. 'Yes, I do, and you can quote me on that', came the muffled reply. Another little miracle, we sighed.

Defend the Charing Cross 12

The Campaign Against Fascism in France mounted a highly successful campaign around Le Pen's visit which involved black groups, trades unions, political groups, MPs and the media in a Committee to Stop Le Pen. Over 2,000 demonstrators blocked the Strand at Charing Cross when Le Pen addressed the Western Goals' annual dinner.

The Committee is now coordinating the defence of the 12 Charing Cross demonstrators who were charged with public order offences following the picket, and building a broad based Campaign Against Fascism in Europe. The Committee to Stop Le Pen needs support. Send donations c/o Box 273, London E7. (Donations for Charing Cross defendants should be clearly marked.)

No place called home

Thirty years after black people in Britain began the struggle against racism in housing provision, the government proposes to undo the principles of that struggle by denying housing to asylum-seekers. Under the new Asylum Bill going through parliament, local authorities will only have to house those seeking asylum if they have absolutely nowhere else to go, and even then, only in temporary accommodation.

The proposals are born out of the racist logic that, since most asylum-seekers are bogus and are only coming here to get housing and social security, they won't come if housing isn't made available to them. Ministers' comments make it clear that this, like the other Asylum Bill measures, is designed for (or rather, against) Africans and Asians: 'We can't have all of Africa and Asia coming to London', Peter Lloyd told BBC's 'World Tonight' programme on 1 November 1991.

Bernard Ingham, previously Mrs Thatcher's press secretary and now a £100-an-hour PR consultant, indicated last October how the issues of refugees and housing could be tied together, when he told Westminster's Tories to 'use the escalating problem of housing those who call themselves refugees from abroad' to campaign for a reform of the housing and social security laws, which, he said, 'invited abuse'. 'Britain - and to a degree Westminster, as the traditional home of the lost dogs of this world - cannot continue to allow itself to be exploited in this way', he said. By 1 November, the campaign had borne fruit in the clauses of the Asylum Bill. Junior environment minister Tim Yeo (it was his boss, Michael Heseltine, who had advocated Britain's withdrawal from the Geneva Convention on Refugees) defended the new measures by referring to 'local people [who] understandably see asylum-seekers as jumping the queue for permanent housing'. The Association of London Authorities

angrily denied that refugees were

assumptions behind the proposals, and the effect they will have in increasing passport checks and internal controls on black applicants for housing, have gone unnoted. Warning to Bangladeshis

jumping the queue. But the racist

There is one ex-mayor who will be delighted with the new restrictions on housing asylum-seekers, however. Jeremy Shaw, Liberal councillor for Bethnal Green in the London borough of Tower Hamlets, went to Bangladesh last November to distribute clothing in the wake of the cyclone. He took the opportunity to warn the population that 'Tower Hamlets is full to bursting and anyone going there should not be expect to be housed'. On his return he was warmly welcomed by the local Monday Club's race relations and immigration policy sub-committee, whose chair, Ralph Harrison, said, 'Why exacerbate the problems of homelessness by further immigration?' Shaw denied any racist intent: 'I said what people in Tower Hamlets think', evidently thinking of the recent 'Rights for Whites' campaign. 'I'm not a racist - I believe in equal treatment.' One wonders when he will be touring Essex with the same message he gave in Bangladesh.

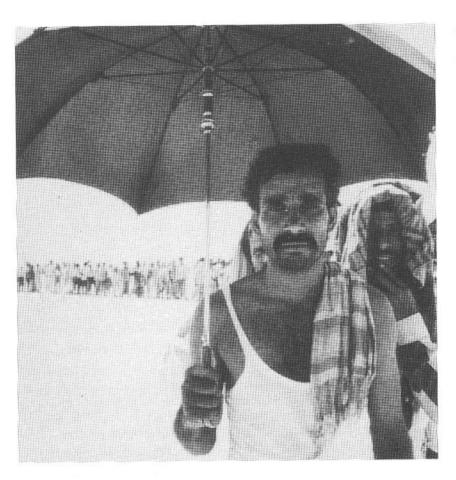


What the Bill does

The Asylum Bill, and the rules of procedure which go with the Bill, contain draconian new measures to deter refugees from applying for asylum in Britain:

- Asylum-seekers who come through a 'safe' third country are to be immediately returned there.
- All asylum-seekers will be fingerprinted.
- Local authorities will no longer have to house asylum-seekers.
- Asylum-seekers will have only 2 days in which to appeal against refusal of asylum, and not everyone will be allowed an appeal.
- Students or visitors who apply for asylum and are rejected can be told to leave the country immediately, without being allowed to finish their course or visit.
- Adjudicators hearing appeals from asylum-seekers will be able to hold the following against appellants:
- arriving with no documents
- not applying immediately for asylum
- not moving to a part of their own country which 'might' be safer
- not complying with a fingerprinting order
- speaking out in Britain against their country's regime.
- In addition, fines on airlines bringing in refugees without documents or with false documents have already been doubled.

'Our passports on our faces'



Excerpts from a speech given by black activist and writer A. Sivanandan to the Refugee Council's Annual Conference, November 1991.

This country has never faced up to its racism, never learnt its lessons. And so, once again, we are back to the same things - government humbug and hypocrisy, scare stories by the gutter press, phony rationalisations by the intellectual Right - that we went through in '62 and '64 and '65 and '68 and '71 with the Commonwealth Immigration Acts. Then, too, the government pretended that it was talking about Commonwealth immigrants per se, when it meant immigrants from the black Commonwealth - like it now talks about refugees qua refugees, when it means refugees from the Third World. This is not just a harmless euphemism, but a contrived double-speak which allows you to keep your virtue even as

you conceal your vice. So that Mr Baker can declare 'I am not a racist. I don't want Poles any more than I want Zaireans.' But it is the Zaireans who are fleeing a totalitarian regime: the Poles have no longer any need to. And it is the West that has kept Zaire's Mobutu in power for the last 26 years. As in the 1960s, we are back, too, to the numbers game. Then the argument was that fewer numbers (of blacks) made for better race relations. Today, the argument is that fewer refugees means less fascism. 'If we fail in our control efforts,' said Mr Major at the Luxembourg Summit, 'we risk fuelling the far Right.' The fewer the refugees, the fewer the people for fascists to attack - which leads us to the inexorable conclusion: no refugees, no fascists - which is stupid. It is the sort of argument that gives respectability to racism, puts the burden of racism on the refugees and gives

credibility to fascism. It is the sort of argument that allows one to overlook the wholly irresponsible, totally racist action of the German government when, instead of protecting the refugee hostels in Hoyerswerda against fascist attack and arresting the attackers, it removed the attacked to refugee camps. And, as in the 1960s and '70s, the politicians are once more getting ready to play the race card in the coming election. In 1964, it was Peter Griffiths and Smethwick and the slogan was: 'If you want a nigger neighbour, vote Labour.' In 1978, it was Mrs Thatcher, and her line ran 'people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture'. In 1991, we have Mr Lloyd, Home Office minister, saying 'We can't have the whole of Asia and Africa coming to live in London.' And, judging from past history, if Labour see that the Tories are getting electoral mileage by playing the race card, they won't hesitate to use it either. But we are not just going over the same ground as in the 1960s and '70s, we are not just regurgitating the racism of that period. We are also adding to it, compounding it, by having to borrow from other European racisms, by colluding with the lowest common denominators of French and German racism in the process of forging a common European policy on refugees and asylum-seekers.

'Need not numbers'

And this new, common, market racism, this new pan-European racism, has given rise to a whole new set of myths and stereotypes, its own brand of institutionalised racism and the outbreak of a new pan-European fascism.

The myth has been created, for instance, that the vast majority of refugees who come to Europe are bogus, that they are economic refugees and not political refugees. But such a distinction,

particularly when applied to the Third World, is totally fallacious because it deliberately overlooks the monolithic nature of the political world we are moving into, the so-called New World Order.

There is no Third World any more. The Third World is an aspect of the First World, a consequence of the First World, the backyard, the back-side of the First World. The governments of the Third World are not self-governing any more, if they ever were. Their regimes are not regimes chosen by the people. And yet they stay in power, because they open up their countries to Western investment, provide markets for Western goods and services, a dumping place for Western waste, a venue for Western charity.

Or, if these regimes want to serve their own people, they are hog-tied by aid and strangled by debt, and are forced by IMF and World Bank policies to put their countries in hock again. Take Guyana, for instance, which one would expect should belong to the Guyanese, especially after independence. But all that has happened is that it has gone from Bookers' Guyana, sugar-producing Guyana, to Beaverbrook's Guyana, selling off its virgin forests and timber reserves (and its native tribes) to Lord Beaverbrook's United Dutch Group because that is the only way, the IMF has decided, that it can pay off its debts. Or look at the way that First World agricultural and trade policies prevent the Third World from feeding itself. The Common Agricultural Policy, for instance, by going for maximum production (as opposed to optimum production), creates surpluses that are then dumped on the Third World, so destroying the agricultural base of these countries and driving rural populations to urban slums. While GATT policies, apart from exposing Third World countries to the iniquities of a competitive world market, also require that their governments forswear anything that interferes with free market principles internally, such as

subsidies to local farmers, bans on cutting down forests, etc. The American delegate to GATT put it in a nutshell when she said, 'Think of me as the US trade representative with a crowbar ... prising open markets, keeping them open so that our private sector can take advantage of them.'

Free market economics have spelt the death of our countries. They create ecological devastation, population displacement and poverty for the many and riches for the few. Poverty creates political strife and political repression – and political repression creates political refugees.

'Your economics is our politics'

In distinguishing between economic migrants and political refugees, therefore, you have missed out a whole series of steps in the process of how economic refugees become political refugees and you have missed out on a basic truth: that your economics is our politics. Hence, the intake of refugees must be based on need, not on numbers – on how desperate their need for refuge is, not on how many should be allowed to be desperate.

If these are some of the myths, stereotypes and misconceptions thrown up by the new pan-European racism. there is also a new institutionalised racism being fomented by the Trevi Group of ministers and police chiefs, on the one hand, and the inter-state treatymakers of Schengen, on the other. For, although Trevi is meant to be addressing the problem of terrorists and drugrunners, and Schengen the problem of illegal immigrants and refugees, a common culture of Euro-racism - which defines all Third World peoples as immigrants, and all immigrants and refugees as terrorists and drug-runners cannot tell a citizen from an immigrant or an immigrant from a refugee, let alone one black from another.

We all carry our passports on our faces.

EURO-HARASSMENT IN PRACTICE

Sanchita Basu, an activist in a German black feminist collective, Nosizwe, did not really need to attend the conference on racism and sexism held by the Council of Europe's Minority Youth Committees in Strasbourg, she had experienced it all before she got there. First the French embassy in Germany twice refused her a visa. Then it said it needed to see both her and her husband's passport before a visa would be issued. (Sanchita travels on an Indian passport, her husband is German.) Then, when she arrived, late at night at Strasbourg station, she and a colleague, Lucia Zeller, were racially and sexually abused. Only the intervention of a taxi driver prevented a very serious sexual assault on Sanchita. Angry and very upset, Sanchita and Lucia made their way to the European Youth Centre where the conference was held. But, by lunchtime the next day, their problems started all over again. An employee of the Council of Europe shrieked at them in the dining-hall as they ate. He accused them of gatecrashing and told them they had no right to eat there.

This is what Fortress Europe will mean in practice for non-whites!

DEATH IN PENTONVILLE

Amasase Lumumba died at the age of 32 in Pentonville prison of a heart attack after being restrained by prison officers, on 10 October 1991.
Police arrested Mr Lumumba, an asylum-seeker, in south London on 15 September. He was passed to the immigration service without being charged.

Since 20 September, he had been in Pentonville, where he received psychiatric attention for symptoms of confusion and anger.

The terrible irony is that Lumumba's great-uncle was Patrice Lumumba, one of the great anti-colonialist and socialist leaders of Africa and the first prime minister of an independent Zaire. But the British installed Mobutu in his place, and today, refugees flee Mobutu's murderous regime.

Media file

You might think that, the tabloids having had their say and Tory policy on asylum-seekers being on its way to the statute books, the press campaign would cease. But the campaign has gone on, unabated, with new angles being added, and new erstwhile liberals coming into the fray.

- The Mail went out of its way to keep us alert to the problem of illegal immigrants. 'No surrender', said the editorial, and 'Port raid finds 31 Asians in back of a lorry', screamed the headline on 22 November. Six days later, the headline read, 'Huge Swoop On Migrants - 60 held', and the Mail told its readers about the months of undercover work that had gone into Britain's biggest operation against bogus refugees at a south London firm. (In fact, 35 people were arrested.) By 9 December, the Mail was able to add yet more ethnic flavouring by connecting a passport racket to Jamaican gangsters pushing crack. Ouoting a detective superintendent, it revealed that addicts were being offered drugs in return for birth certificates. It's all a bit confusing, because wasn't it the Mail which 'exposed' the racket in the first place and claimed that it had forced the Home Secretary to look into the matter?
- The Daily Star added its own anti-Soviet scandal. On 22 November, it called 'Shut that door!' It was the 'red' Russian route that was responsible for all would-be migrants seeking asylum from Africa. False papers were supplied in the Soviet Union, east European airlines were just not up to proper scrutinising of documents. In case readers were not yet convinced about the scale of the problem, the Star exposed the 'scandal of open door to Britain'. New immigration controls, it said, were 'a shambles' - intrepid journalist Kim Sengupta had found out that £16.25m in fines on airlines had not as yet been paid.
- The News of the World was in a league of its own, with 'I played tramp to probe "wedding racket". Its own

- undercover reporter, posing as a would-be husband in an illegal immigrant wedding racket, got an African woman arrested on the steps of Hackney town hall in London. On 24 November it could re-run this old story when the case came to court.
- Ex-liberal Paul Johnson managed to infiltrate tabloid journalism into the Daily Telegraph (3 December) with 'Raising the grim spectre of fascism in Fortress Europe'. This scare story pandered to every nightmare whites with low birth-rates, blacks with high rates, 'menacing demographic force patterns' bringing 'conquest and slaughter', 'pressure from an expansionist Muslim world' producing 'aggression and civil wars', 'countless millions of Muslims, eyeing our wealth'.
- Liberal-ish Anna Raeburn, writing in the People (17 November) would have none of that strident racist stuff. Commenting on BBC's 'Newsnight' programme on the rise of racism in Germany, she breathed a sigh of relief: 'Our way will not be so openly violent', 'the British light glows bright in the darkness'[of Europe]. But, insidiously, into the smug self-congratulation creeps a little racism. 'We shall just strengthen our immigration laws' and, she goes on, 'Perhaps with right on our side'. After all, 'We are a small overcrowded island with nearly three million unemployed...'
- The same brand of double-think which borrows from very specious

racist arguments, but dresses them up in liberal guise - also found its way into Guardian features and an editorial in November. Martin Woollacott, in three features (14, 15, 16 November), hazarded quite sinister opinions, but was always careful to attribute them to other groups, or positions or people. European labour migration policies of the 1960s were 'short-sighted', the anti-foreigner vote could just be 'a cry for lost community', 'integration is hampered by continued large scale immigration', and is difficult 'particularly in the case of Muslim communities'.

The result was to give the reader the feeling that migration had nothing to do with a need for cheap, black labour, that those who worked on behalf of black people's justice were trendy unthinking multicultural bigots who, because of their bleating about racial justice, were hampering European governments in their genuine desire to find just solutions, which necessitated cutting down numbers because only that would avert fascism. An editorial (26 November) referring to the rise of the Right in Belgium seemed to reiterate the idea that, somewhere along the line, the victims of racism immigrants - were somehow to blame

to reiterate the idea that, somewhere along the line, the victims of racism – immigrants – were somehow to blame for the rise in racism. 'The growing vote for right-wing parties', it noted, 'is at one level a reaction to the real problems arising from the increase in the size of immigrant communities in Europe.'

Media and the Third World

Seven workshops

For seven Wednesday evenings, beginning 29 January 1992, the North west London Development Education Centre (Londec) is hosting a series of workshops on media presentations of the Third World.

Using video, newspaper cuttings, role play and discussion, misleading and offensive images of the Third World will be examined and challenged.

Sessions will be held at the Crowndale Centre, 216-220 Eversholt Street,

London NW1.

For further details contact: Robert Lancaster, Londec, 78 Eversholt Street, London NW1. Tel: 071-388 5809

THE RISE OF THE EUROPEAN RIGHT

Belgium swings to the right

Another fascist party installed itself as a parliamentary force in November 1991 when, in Belgium's general election, the racist and neo-nazi Vlaams Blok tripled its vote, gaining 12 seats in the National Assembly. The Belgian Front National also gained a seat in the Assembly.

Rebellion and repression

The swing to the right has come as no surprise to Belgian anti-racists, who point to the explosive mixture of state racism and the growth of the far Right. Uprisings by immigrant youth in March 1991 rocked the system. Since then, politicians and press have been adopting Vlaams Blok themes: law and order, repression, and criminalisation of immigrants.

The 'riots' were the result of years of racism and racist immigration laws which have become institutionalised at every point of officialdom and reach their nadir in the actions of the police. The European parliament's Ford Report warned of extreme racial harassment among Belgian police. And a recent study showed that 56% of young male

migrants under 25 in Brussels experience regular identity checks. It was an identity check in Vorst, one of the 19 districts of Brussels, that sparked off the first spate of rioting and led to 200 arrests. 'They asked for my identity card and my papers', said the young man concerned. 'All of them were in order. I thought the three policemen would let me go, but the driver beckoned me, and as I went nearer, he suddenly grabbed me and said: "Here, I'm the law. It's not you who make the law".'

Three days of rioting later, the Vlaams Blok announced that it would be holding a meeting in Molenbreek (a district of Brussels with a large immigrant population). In the event, the fascists never showed up, but young immigrants who had taken to the streets to defend their community quickly came into confrontation with the police.

The policing of control

The uprisings, though, have not led to a questioning of Belgium's racism.

Rather, the press has orchestrated a campaign against the immigrants, resulting in more repression. An Operational Centre for Coordination and Information has been set up to centralise the operations of all police forces in Brussels, and has created auxiliary police forces as well as more surveillance and information gathering in migrant districts. The Minister of Justice has proposed further repressive measures, including detention for up to 10 days without trial and the adoption of judicial emergency procedures.

Anti-Arab racism

The press offensive against immigrants also harked back to the Gulf war, during which Arab radio stations came under attack from the government and had their subsidies cancelled. The Standard, a Catholic Flemish newspaper, claimed that the 'riots' were caused by the same vandals who were responsible for pro-Palestinian and anti-American actions during the war. Meanwhile, racial violence and police racism continue unabated.

Fascism in Austria

Vienna's November 1991 elections, in which the far-right Freedom Party won 23% of the vote, conclusively confirmed that Austrians are once again moving to the right on an anti-alien ticket. The Social Democrats, who have ruled Vienna since 1945, only just managed to keep a majority of seats, and their erstwhile opponents, the People's Party, made it into third place - beaten by the Freedom Party. Freedom Party leader Jorg Haider campaigned openly on an anti-foreigner programme. Earlier in 1991, Haider who hails from Carinthia, a traditional Nazi region - was forced to resign as Carinthia's prime minister after praising Hitler's employment policies.

Some people have tried to explain away the move to the far Right in Austrian politics, saying that Haider is suave, attractive and just represents a change. They point out that the voters have got fed up with the scandals and charges of corruption which have been levelled at so many of the old guard politicians.

But these are very superficial interpretations. All the evidence suggests that there is a genuinely large racist or fascist electoral seam which the Freedom Party has mined. An American Jewish Committee poll last October found that one in five Austrians believe that the rights of Jews should be restricted and that the

country would be better off without Jews (they number 10,000), and 50% believe Jews were partly to blame for their own persecution. As the findings were published, thousands of antifascists were marching to protest at the desecration of Jewish graves. The media had hardly reported the incident, which Vienna's mayor dismissed as a 'boyish prank'.



THE RISE OF THE EUROPEAN RIGHT

A letter from Germany

Almuth Ernsting responds to CARF's coverage of racist violence in Germany. Returning to Germany after three years in Britain, I have been shocked by the openness and aggression with which ordinary people express their hatred against immigrants and refugees. There are, of course, different voices of racism. There is the growing number of neo-nazis and skinheads that we read about in British newspapers. I doubt whether German fascist groups number more than the BNP in Britain. However, they are stronger, both because the state tolerates, or 'fails to suppress', the most brutal atrocities committed against 'non-Germans', and because their cry 'Germany for the Germans' finds echo amongst middle-class people. The most remarkable shift has taken place amongst successful and established middle-class people liberals, social democrats, academics. The former obligatory statement, 'I have nothing against foreigners', has given way to an equally obligatory, 'Of course, we can't accept all those foreigners in our country.' While the 'official debate' amongst journalists and politicians has an air of



Kristallnacht vigil outside the German embassy in London last November

neutral objectivity, its content is inhuman. 'Decent solutions' are sought, as if there was a decent way of sending refugees back to besieged Dubrovnik or Jaffna. And the talk is of 'guest workers' rather than immigrants, of 'asylum seekers' not refugees, and of fears of 'hostility towards foreigners', which somehow sounds more 'natural', more acceptable, than racism.

Nor is the Left immune to this shift. I have read articles about 'Islamic fundamentalism' written by German anti-Gulf war groups which pro-war

liberals in Britain would have condemned as racist. And while immigration rights are defended, the oppression of women or the lack of democracy in 'Muslim' countries are quoted as proofs of cultural backwardness. When the social democrats tried to give immigrants the franchise in local elections, some socialists argued that Western democracy is alien to Turks, who should not have the vote until they have reached 'our' level and can make the right political choice.

Apartheid French-style

Publicity about the Front National's (FN) programme on immigration, outlined here by CARF, is part of a process by which racist issues are continuously being put on the political agenda in France by the extreme Right. Last November, the FN's second-incommand, Bruno Megret, announced a programme of 50 measures against immigration. The FN is usually careful to avoid overtly biologically-based racism, but this time it was there for all to see. First, Megret linked the debate on ecology and protecting the natural environment to the issue of ethnic

purity. 'Ecology, is first of all, keeping faith with the laws of nature ... why fight for the preservation of animal species and at the same time accept the principle of the disappearance of human races by general inter-breeding?' Creating an apartheid-like system of separate provision for 'French' and 'non-French' people, grotesque measures, including compulsory AIDS tests, are envisaged in the programme to stop the entry of immigrants to France. All people who gained French nationality after 1974 (when primary immigration ended) are to be re-

examined, with 'undesirables' rounded up and deported immediately on chartered aircraft. Nationality rights would be based on 'blood' rather than on where a person was born or lives. At the cultural level, the FN calls for the 'banning of incessant cosmopolitan references from school books' - in the 1930s, 'cosmopolitan' was the coded way of speaking about Jews. Le Pen later elaborated on the proposals when he launched a 'white paper on defence'. He promised rightwing members of the armed services a 75% increase in the military budget and said that under the FN schools would focus on 'patriotism', meaning they would work closely with exservicemen's associations and young 'nationalists'.

noto: David Hoffman

Rochdale

Asian youth fight back

Fear of racial violence and police harassment is still a reality in Greater Manchester. It is this, along with the failure of institutional agencies to respond, which has led to the creation of the Asian Action Group (Manchester). AAG - which means 'fire' in Urdu/Hindi - is a youth organisation committed to challenging racial violence through monitoring its levels, building up campaigns and challenging police and institutional practice. Sagib Deshmukh talked to CARF about the group.

'Our basis for organising will be amongst the youth, but we will work with any groups or individuals who agree with our aims.

'Ten years of equal opportunities, multi-culturalism and cosmetic changes have done very little for our communities, except to put a few black and white people in well-paid jobs doing nothing, and to divert black struggle down institutional cul-de-sacs and gesture politics.

'Recent attacks in Rochdale and Oldham, and even in parts of central Manchester, show that not only have far-right groups made advances, but also racial violence is becoming more and more acceptable to many white people in a period of recession and paranoia about Europe. The sight of German skinheads in Rochdale is also worrying, so the playing of the 'race card' (see CARF No 5) is having direct implications for black people in Manchester.

'The local and national media continue to have a field day when Moss Side gets raided for drugs, but no one gives a shit about black people being attacked. A woman in Rochdale lost her baby after being hit by a brick thrown through a shop window. The family continues to be attacked while the police do nothing.

'This is the reality for us, not some multi-cultural dream. We don't want to wait till the extreme levels of racial

violence come here. We still remember the deaths of Ahmed Ullah and Tahir Akram. Why should it take another death for us to take racial violence in the 1990s seriously?'

Asian Action Group can be contacted care of Black Resource Centre, Old Library Building, Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester M8 7JN, or phone Saqib/Razia on 061-740 7575.

BNP anti-Muslim campaign

The BNP's Rochdale campaign has been explicitly anti-Asian, drawing on the anti-Muslim racism fomented by the press during the Salman Rushdie affair and as a result of the Gulf War. The Asian community, the BNP claims, is not only a constant threat to law and order but is also being given special privileges and constant hand-outs from Rochdale council. What really bothers the BNP though (as hysterical articles in Spearhead demonstrate) is the growth of militancy within the Asian community, especially amongst the youth, and a sense that, on the streets, BNP thugs are no longer getting it all their own way. A recent raid by the police on a council estate where a KKK cell was operating has also got BNP backs up. A cursory look at leaflets circulated in

Rochdale demonstrates the nazis' concerns. Ken Henderson (who will probably stand in the general election) stood as a candidate in the May 1991 local election in Smallsbridge and Wardleworth (gaining 158 votes). A leaflet circulated at the time stated that 'Multi-racial Rochdale isn't working' and warned 'Immigration: the time to stop'. Henderson attempted to adapt the BNP's Tower Hamlets 'Rights for Whites' campaign to a local setting. The stabbing of a white youth, allegedly by Asians, was proof, he argued, that whites were the real victims of racial tensions. Another BNP leaflet demanded the deportation of the Milkstone 5 (a reference to an Asian self-defence campaign), showing again BNP paranoia about black selforganisation.

Other racist groups in Rochdale have joined in. Birdwood's English Solidarity has circulated an explicitly anti-Muslim leaflet ('Calling all Muslims! Take your fundamentalism and faith back home and fight for them on your own soil!') and another far-right front, the Association of British Ex-Servicemen, complains in its leaflet about the spread of Islam and the building of mosques. Our thanks to Rochdale CRC for their help in preparing this piece.

Defend the Deane Family Campaign

Last November, an Asian-Caribbean family suffered injuries which they say were caused in an unprovoked attack by police at Forest Gate, Newham. 53-year-old Mr Deane became unconscious and suffered an asthma attack, and despite their injuries, both he and his son Tony Deane have been charged with assaulting the police.

The campaign to support the Deane family says that this is a part of a pattern of racist policing in east London that cannot go unchallenged.

The campaign calls upon anti-racists to:

Demonstrate against Police Brutality

Assemble Saturday 4 April at 12.30 in Plashet Park, Newham. For further details contact 'Defend the Deane Family Campaign', PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7; tel 081-555 8151.

Unlawfully killed

Over one year ago, 30-year-old karate expert Oliver Pryce died in the custody of Middlesbrough police. In Middlesbrough to visit a girl friend, he had been 'behaving strangely' in the street when six police officers went to arrest him. He was held round the neck in an arm lock so that he asphyxiated in the police van and died. His distraught family valiantly tried to bring a criminal case against the police, but the DPP refused to prosecute. Now the family has been vindicated. At Oliver's inquest heard in November 1991, the jury's verdict was that Oliver had been unlawfully killed by the

This is the first verdict of 'unlawful killing' to be successfully brought

against the police over a black death since the verdict, 10 years ago, on Winston Rose, who died in very similar circumstances. (The verdict of the unlawful killing of black Hells Angel John Mickelson was overturned after the police appealed against it and a second inquest was held.) Ultimately, after a 10-year struggle, Winston Rose's family won damages of £130,000. The Rose family is the only black family to have received compensation for a death in custody although over 75 have taken place in the last 20 years. It does look now as though the Pryce family has a good chance of bringing charges against those who killed Oliver and of getting compensation for his death.

THE THE PRICE OF T

Demonstrators voiced their support for the Cardiff 3, jailed for life for the murder of Lynette White, last November. The cases of Yusef Abdullahi and Tony Parris have now been referred to the Court of Appeal.

Palestinians expelled

Whilst the Middle East peace talks stumble on, international attention has been focussed on Israel, following its proposals to expel 12 Palestinians from the Occupied Territories for alleged terrorist offences. Yet a more insidious process of reducing the number of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories is underway. Towards the end of 1991, dozens of Palestinian women and children were either forced to leave or served with expulsion orders. According to Israeli calculations, they are illegal and, using their definition of illegality, there could be as many as 120,000 women and children at risk. This supposed 'illegality' stems from the fact that Israel held a census following the 1967 war to establish the population of the West Bank and Gaza. Anyone who had fled the war and had not yet returned was not registered as a legal resident, while those who were working or studying abroad were not recognised as legal residents. In addition, many who, over the years, were forced by poverty and unemployment to seek work in other parts of the Middle East (including Kuwait), lost their residency rights, and a number of citizens of other countries who married Palestinians have not been given residency rights. And, of course, any child born to an 'illegal' is also 'illegal'.

If 'illegals' wish to live in the territories, they have to apply for 'unification of families'. But this is often refused - not on security grounds but, in the words of Colonel Ben-Ari of the Civil Administration, because of 'concern about the demographic increase in the territories'. An international outcry about these inhumane and secret expulsions halted the policy in June 1990 and a system of temporary permits was introduced. But two new problems now beset the Palestinians. Those who need temporary permits have to pay a very high fee and, in any event, can only obtain two such six-month permits before having to leave the territories again. And those who married after June 1990 are still being discriminated against.

Reviews

Multi-culturalism US-style

There is a battle raging in the US, in the light of the Gulf war, the Columbus Quincentenary and the fact that very soon the majority of people in the US will be non-white, over what it means to be North American. The focus for the battle is multi-culturalism, the venue the college campus. When, in June 1991, the New York State Social Studies Review and Development Committee sensibly called multicultural education 'a national priority' the new curriculum was opposed as un-American and unacceptable. The furore is very similar to that mounted here in the 1980s by the Tory Right against 'loony left' councils and what they termed 'thought police' or 'race spies'. But, in the US, the stakes are far higher. In August 1991, Pat Buchanan, director

of communications in the White House under Reagan, called the rising demand on campus for black studies 'a mortal threat to American civilisation'. This 'mortal threat' has been met by a formidably well-organised and wellfunded campaign. Major New Right institutions like the Heritage Foundation and the Institute for Educational Affairs have, for some years, worked through groups like Accuracy in Academia to monitor what is taught in college classrooms. (Board President John Le Boutillier is also a member of the World Anti-Communist League.) Four years ago the National Association of Scholars was created to spearhead the attack against liberal ideas on campus. In September 1990, the Madison Center (backed by large US corporations) emerged with more than 60 right-wing student publications under its aegis. It has even made special efforts to organise black and Latino students into a Student Forum to counter attempts to increase ethnic diversity in academia. The New Right alleges that 'political

correctness' (a self-mocking, anti-

the enforcement arm of multi-

Stalinist term from the 1960s Left) is

culturalism, which has become the new McCarthyism pursuing witch-hunts on campus because students are increasingly supporting conservative ideals. The PC accusation of the New Right quickly became the favourite theme of leading papers and journals. And President Bush, no less, called PC 'the enemy of free speech and racial harmony' when he addressed a graduation ceremony at the University of Michigan in 1991.

A full account of the ideological fight around antiracism in the US can be found in 'Columbus and the USA: from mythology to ideology' by Nancy Murray in Race & Class, (January 1992) entitled 'The Curse Of Columbus', available from the Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS £4 00

The Bigger Tory Vote

At a time when the far right of the Tory Party is regrouping, few journalists are providing the kind of detailed information that we need to combat the Tory menace. Welcome, therefore, is Nick Toczek's account of that section of the Conservative Party in which the distinction between fascist and radical ultraright Conservative disappears. Here is information about the links between British and Italian fascists, as well as short biographies of leading far right figures. In the 1980s, while outsiders like the NF and the BNP were beset by difficulties, their fellow-travellers in the Tory Party consolidated their position. The Bigger Tory Vote by Nick Toczek, from AK Press, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling FK8 2RD. £3.00

Student activity

Students at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College in Surrey have been forced into a flurry of activity following the enrolment of Andrew Lightfoot, a prominent BNP activist, in the college.

Lightfoot's fascist activities were known to college authorities at the time of his admission, but only came to general student attention after he questioned a Searchlight speaker at a union meeting on 'how he could condemn the British people to mongrelisation by ethnic minorities'. Students have responded by setting up a Students Against Fascism group and are campaigning to drive Lightfoot off the campus.

It is particularly pertinent, then, that at a fringe meeting of the NUS Conference in December, Student CARF was launched. The group will be aimed at establishing CARF groups in colleges up and down the country in order not only to fight the type of situation occurring at RHBNC, but also to bring student anti-racism out of its ivory towers and into what is happening on the ground in local black communities. Student CARF Supporters can be contacted at CARF itself or via NUS London on 071-637 1181.

Update

Remember Tasleem

Friends and family gathered on 6 December 1991 to mark the second anniversary of the murder of 11-yearold Tasleem Akhtar. The Tasleem Akhtar Memorial Committee is campaigning to change the name of the road on which Tasleem died. It says that Birmingham Council is dragging its feet and urges supporters to sign its petition.

Write to the Tasleem Akhtar Memorial Committee, PO Box 1854, Camp Hill, Birmingham B11 1NJ.

Here to stay here to fight

A campaign organised by the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign to stop the deportation of Andimore Panton has been successful. Andimore, who is married to a British citizen, was originally refused entry on the ground that his wife was too poor to support

Self defence is no offence

Martin Calvert, who was attacked by racists only to be imprisoned for fighting back, has been reinstated by Hackney Council in his job as a recreation attendant. Watch this space for news of his appeal against his sentence.

Calendar: race & resistance

OCTOBER

- 29 Home Office threatens to cut UKIAS grants if it opposes plans to remove legal aid from immigrants and asylum-seekers ... Society of Black Lawyers accuses judge of racism during fraud trial.
- 30 European Court of Human Rights says government did not breach convention by sending home 5 Tamil asylum-seekers to conditions of political persecution in 1988 ... Kulwinder Kaur (see CARF 4) taking her deportation case to High Court.
- 31 Malcolm Woods, who was racially abused by Mersevside police, awarded £4,000 damages after malicious prosecution ... justice and interior ministers from 27 European countries agree to clampdown on illegal immigrants from eastern Europe and the Soviet republics ... The shop of Naseem Akhtar Ali, who had a miscarriage after a racial attack a month ago, is firebombed.

- 1 Home Secretary predicts huge drop in number of refugees as he gives details of Asylum Bill ... UN High Commissioner for Refugees describes the new rules as 'tendentious and biased against the applicant'.
- 2 Tower Hamlets council to take BNP to court over deception over hall booking.
- 4 Commission for Racial Equality considers legal challenge to government's plans to remove legal aid from asylum-seekers .. Oldham's law centre and racial equality council join forces to tackle racial harassment ... Anti-Racist Alliance calls for sacking of defence minister Alan Clark after he attends party to promote David Irving's
- 5 60 asylum-seekers accused the German government of 'a lack of respect for human life' after returning to church sanctuary following neonazi attack on their hostel ... Police investigate circulation of anti-Semitic booklet to students. 6 34,000 people, 50% of them from Yugoslavia, seek asylum in Germany in October ... Lewisham and Southwark Health Authority pays £5,000 compensation for racial harassment of Asian laundry office manager ... Kurdish refugee driven out of Glasgow council home following series of
- 7 Home Secretary plans for 300 extra detention places for asylum-seekers includes converting redundant prison ... BNP activities on the increase says Clackmannanshire Anti-Racist Support Group. 8 Tories accused of racism in Langbaurgh byelection campaign.
- 10 Anti-Fascist Action demonstration in east
- 11 Anti-racists in Edinburgh and London protest against the rise of racism and fascism in Germany on Kristallnacht anniversary ... Black people seen as 'intrinsically madder' than whites by mental health system, says psychiatrist.
- 14 Metropolitan Police pays black constable

- £20,000 for racial abuse from fellow Territorial Support Group members ... Broad-based antifascist group set up in Nottingham to combat increase in organised racist activities.
- 15 Department of Health refuses local authorities financial support for nearly 250 unaccompanied Eritrean children seeking asylum.
- 22 Glasgow tennis club found guilty of bias against Jewish family.
- 25 Court of Appeal clears Winston Silcott of the murder of PC Blakelock ... Afro-Caribbean family is third to ask for rehousing following attacks on Coventry council estate.
- 27 Mark Braithwaite and Engin Raghip unconditionally bailed by Court of Appeal ... Amnesty International condemns Europe's curbs on refugees.
- 28 35 held after more than 200 police and immigration officers raid Surrey factory ... West Ham to withdraw season tickets from supporters found guilty of racist behaviour at home matches. 29 Home Secretary Kenneth Baker found guilty of contempt of court over deportation of Zairean refugee in May 1990 ... Inquest rules that Oliver Pryce was unlawfully killed in Cleveland police van in July 1990.

DECEMBER

- 1 Chief of Constabulary blames Tottenham 3 miscarriages of justice on failure of Broadwater Farm residents to cooperate.
- 2 High Court criticises Home Secretary for mishandling case of Sikh asylum-seeker ... Irish catering worker temporarily removed from post by Civil Aviation Authority after IRA bombing incident loses claim of unlawful racial discrimination ... CRE warns that plans to remove housing rights from homeless asylum-seekers are discriminatory.
- 4 Austrian parliament approves tighter regulations for asylum-seekers despite criticism that they breach Geneva Convention.
- 5 Court of Appeal apologises to Mark Braithwaite and Engin Raghip as quashes their convictions for murder of PC Blakelock ... Le Pen arrives in Britain.
- 7 2,000 demonstrate outside London hotel where Le Pen addresses Western Goals ... At UKIAS annual general meeting director Krishna Sarda accused of holding clandestine meetings with the Home Office.
- 9 Lord Gifford calls for cases of 23 convicted of affray after 1985 Broadwater Farm riots to be reopened ... National Association of Probation Officers' survey says that up to 700 prisoners 'may be innocent' ... Searchlight editor committed for trail at Southwark Crown Court facing charges for offences alleged to have taken place at a League of St George meeting at Kensington library last May
- 11 At Maastricht summit Britain opposes idea that any EC member state could issue short-term visas to non-EC nationals.

- 12 Council of Tribunals says that under Asylum Bill appeal rights were being 'unacceptably curtailed'.
- 13 Det chief super Graham Melvin, who conducted Blakelock investigation, to be prosecuted for perjury and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.
- 14 Asylum Bill breaches international law according to UN High Commission on Refugees.
- 15 No government official to be punished for internment of 90 innocent Iragis and Palestinians during Gulf war, says Home Office.
- 16 Prison Reform Trust publishes government figures showing not only that proportionately more blacks than whites are given prison sentences but also that the sentences are longer.
- 17 Rastafarian mother uses race relations law to contest the right to exclude pupils from school after accusing Wandsworth education authority school of singling out her son.
- 20 Crown Prosecution Service says police who shot dead Ian Gordon in Telford in August 1991 will not be charged.
- 21 Court of Appeal orders barring of Tower Hamlets Liberal Democrat councillors involved in producing fake Labour local election leaflet designed to 'pander to racists'.
- 23 Immigration minister accused of rushing to deport Sudanese asylum-seeker to Germany, which he had left after neo-nazi persecution ... Home Secretary to appeal contempt of court ruling.

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