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licence to hate
electioneering and racist violence

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Campaign Against Racism and Fascism

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'The most serious trend we have seen is a rise in reports of incidents when the issue of asylum seekers and refugees is brought into the public domain by reputable politicians making inflammatory statements.' Scotland Yard

For a long time, we anti-racists have not had to contend with an electoral far-Right party in the mainstream of national politics. This has made us complacent. But this general election should have provided us with a long-overdue wake-up call.

Only a tiny proportion – 0.17 per cent – of total government spending goes on asylum seekers, yet asylum became one of the most dominant, if not the dominant, issue of the general election campaign. Labour leaders' behaviour has been shameful – the Dutch auction with the Conservatives over numbers, Blunkett's promise to blitz asylum cheats and Straw's adoption of the Conservatives' agenda after Hague's populist rally at Dover. But this should not blind us to the fact that William Hague is playing exactly the same role as Jörg Haider, Christoph Blocher, Gianfranco Fini, Umberto Bossi, Edmund Stoiber, Jean Marie Le Pen play on the Continent, in pushing the mainstream of politics into far-Right territory.

Hague postures about his hatred of colour prejudice. But like the more astute of the extreme-Right demagogues in Europe, he speaks in code – utilising a linguistic lexicon loaded with subliminal meaning, innuendo and simplification to convey a heavily-loaded xenophobic message. And the rank and file of the rump Conservatives – the Europhobes, the hunting lobby, the landowners and the whole riff raff of the rural elite – thrill to the red-blooded message they hear beneath the symbolism. And Conservative instinct spills over into hatred of immigrants.

With 'mongrel race' Townsend and 'they are taking our homes and benefits' Heseltine, Hague has unleashed a primeval racism which has not been acceptable in Britain since the early 1960s. ■

Stop press: Oldham erupts

As CARF goes to press, the streets of Oldham are swamped with riot police after a weekend of violent clashes. As we have pointed out previously (see *CARF* 50), Oldham's Asian community is up against a combination of local police chief, Eric Hewitt, with his dubious pronouncements on 'anti-white racism' and 'no-go areas', a local press that has provided a platform for racism and, finally, the presence of far-Right political parties mobilising in the area prior to a general election. It is no surprise that, in their uprising, the Asian youth in Oldham targetted the police, suspected fascist meeting places and the offices of the *Oldham Evening Chronicle*. Just like the uprisings of twenty years ago, they signal the hatred of a police force that fails to give protection from fascist and racist violence. In Oldham, it is as if the Macpherson Report never happened.

On page 7, in a piece written before the weekend of trouble in the Glodwick area, we describe the events that created a climate of desperation for local Asians and the part played by the police, the press and the far Right. ■



Roger Sylvester update

In April the High Court granted the Sylvester family the right to a judicial review of the DPP's decision not to prosecute the eight officers involved in Roger's death. He died in January 1999 after being restrained by Tottenham police officers.

Then, in May, as the family sought disclosure of the PCA investigation, completed by Essex police, into the conduct of the Metropolitan police officers, they were told by Lord Justice Woolf that the judicial review would have to be postponed. Woolf also suggested that the authorities be 'generous' in their disclosure of information. However, it means that the family now have to wait until autumn for the inquest into Roger's death. ■

Roger Sylvester Justice Campaign, PO Box 25908, London N18 1WO Web: www.rsjc.org.uk



licence

to



Politicians are inflaming public opinion against asylum seekers. CARF reviews three months of racist campaigning and reporting and asks, what can be done?

ate

There are two racisms in Britain. The racism that discriminates and the racism that kills. But, whereas the racism that discriminates has long been outlawed through successive Race Relations Acts, criminalising the racism that kills – race hate and the violence it spawns – has proven far more complex. True, provisions in the Race Relations Act and the Public Order Act specifically prohibit incitement to racial hatred. But for such measures to be brought into play it has to be proved that a particular inflammatory speech, for instance, incited a particular violent act based on racial hatred. So, while laws exist, in theory, to protect people from the racism that kills, in practice, such measures are rarely used.

And then, there is a second, related problem: namely, the total absence of any restraints, either legal or voluntary, to deal with the kind of public speeches and interventions that inflame public opinion, but often, through the adoption of covert, coded expressions, avoid the direct language of racist extremism. And it is into this glaring legal and moral vacuum that the likes of Hague and Heseltine step in, confident that although their words may give a licence to hatred, they do not breach the letter of the incitement laws by actually telling Joe Bloggs to go out on the street and attack an immigrant. Why are we always campaigning after a racist attack, or a racist murder? What more can we do to protect people from an overall culture of racism? How can we hold the politicians who licence hatred to account?

The culture of acceptance

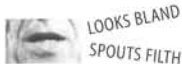
From Heseltine's attack on asylum seekers on BBC's 'The World this Weekend' to Hague's 'foreign land' speech at the Conservative spring conference in Harrogate; from Yorkshire MP John Townend's first attack on

minority communities and the asylum seekers who breed crime, to David Blunkett's pledge to *Sun* readers that, should he be appointed home secretary under a new Labour government, he would blitz society of asylum cheats – the general election campaign created a climate whereby racism towards asylum seekers was deemed culturally acceptable. Pivotal to the creation of this climate was the right-wing attack on the CRE-brokered 'race pledge', a code of conduct between the political parties that race should not be exploited for political purposes in the run-up to the general election.

The CRE has, by virtue of the Act under which it operates, been primarily concerned with 'the racism that discriminates', although former chair, Sir Herman Ouseley, pushed to the limits the CRE's other duty 'to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations'. And it was he who encouraged the political leaders in 1997 to sign up to the first race pledge. For those of us fighting racist violence on the ground, the shallowness of the CRE's approach is all too evident. For nowhere does the CRE address the question of a government policy which, by deliberately stigmatising asylum seekers, creates new structures of discrimination and thereby provides the ideological space in which racism towards asylum seekers becomes culturally acceptable – something that the Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers subsequently addressed in its open letter to the press. Nevertheless, the CRE-brokered code of conduct is important in that it prioritised an area of racism in British culture, namely the political process, previously ignored, and set a benchmark for what should be considered socially responsible political behaviour in a multicultural society which puts a premium on good race relations. Surely, nobody could attack such principles or justify the kind of unbridled 'freedom' of speech that undermines the freedom to life?

racist attacks

■ **1 APRIL** Bow, east London | 34-year-old Shiblu Rahman stabbed to death. Five days later, 23-year-old Dean Cox, an unnamed 17-year-old and two 16-year-olds appeared at Thames magistrates court charged with his murder ■ **7 APRIL** Following an NF march in Bermondsey, south London, a 24-year-old Asian man was beaten in the street by a gang of ten ■ **12 APRIL** Bristol | 51-year-old Bila Kasbia racially attacked and abused by two white ►



LOOKS BLAND
SPOUTS FILTH

licence to hate

From Conservative spin to New Right anti-anti-racism

But as the general election campaign took off, the CRE compact became the pretext for a massive New Right offensive against anyone who attempted to fight 'the racism that kills' and, most importantly, against post-Macpherson reforms of the criminal justice system. But what was most worrying was that, with the single exception of TWGU leader Bill Morris, there was not one Labour commentator capable of clearly articulating the principles involved. Worse still, a significant section of liberal opinion took the New Right's framework as given and even joined in the attack on Macpherson in the name of a new anti-anti racism.

One would have thought that when the veteran right-wing Yorkshire MP John Townend, in a speech to his local Conservative association, blamed 'coloured immigrants' for changing British society and lavished praise on Enoch Powell's 1968 'rivers of blood' speech, this would have led to an increase in investigative reporting into the racist tendency within the Tory party. Briefly, as two other Conservative MPs joined Townend's attack on the CRE compact which they refused to sign, it seemed that this might be so. But on 2 April, as the news stories about Townend and his racist cohorts spread, Michael Portillo – the caring Tory with a social conscience –

'In this foreign land, I do not fear the racist on our street. I fear the words of our politicians – which are sometimes taken by the racists as a licence to attack anyone who does not look and speak like them.' **Bill Morris**

came out against the code, launching a backbenchers' revolt in what has been described by the *Observer* as 'the Spartacus defence'. The Tory leadership, powerless to get Townend et al to shut up, declared that almost everyone in the party was a

rebel too. But Portillo, unlike Townend, was a rebel with principle; namely that MPs are somehow above all this business of pledge-signing and meaningless gesture politics. Conservative Central Office, desperate to cover MPs' racist tracks, had been working overtime, adopting New Labour spin tactics. First, came the defence. MPs who had signed the pledge marched out behind Portillo, declaring that they had signed merely to avoid any suggestion of racism (as an anonymous shadow cabinet source put it, 'This is where it all leads to – you are what you pledge'). Then, came the attack. From Townend's unbridled racism, the terms of the debate swiftly switched to an attack on the CRE which had launched the 'witch hunt' against anyone who refused to sign up to its anti-racist orthodoxy. Senior Tory John Gummer was despatched to Radio 4 to accuse the CRE of blackmail; Mohammed Riaz, Hague's chief ethnic minorities adviser, told the *Guardian* that it was time to review the role of the CRE, and Nicholas Soames, former armed forces minister, said simply that 'the CRE could go to hell'. Then, the onslaught became targeted at the authoritarianism of anti-racism by attacking, first, Macpherson, particularly his focus on 'institutional racism' (Ann Widdecombe, writing in *Police Review*, attacked the language of 'institutional racism' and the current definition of a racist incident), and second, Labour's handling of asylum issues. Hague quickly put into practice the advice of political adviser Andrew Lansely that stories about immigrants and bogus asylum seekers play particularly well in the tabloids, and penned a piece

for the *Daily Telegraph* (22.4.01), accusing the Labour party of a 'shabby and contemptible' attempt to gag his party over asylum issues, positing the Tories as the true party of patriotism and national identity. In this way, the following message percolated from Central Office down to the local Conservative constituencies: Shut up about ethnic minorities (Townend's 'mongrel race' comments will lose us votes) but, yes, go ahead and campaign against asylum seekers. And this, after all, was to return the party to Heseltine's strategy for the general election. For that was exactly what Heseltine was telling the constituencies when he attacked Hague's 'foreign land' speech ('does anyone seriously think that Germany is a "foreign" country') but defended wholeheartedly Hague's stance against asylum seekers as in the true national interest.

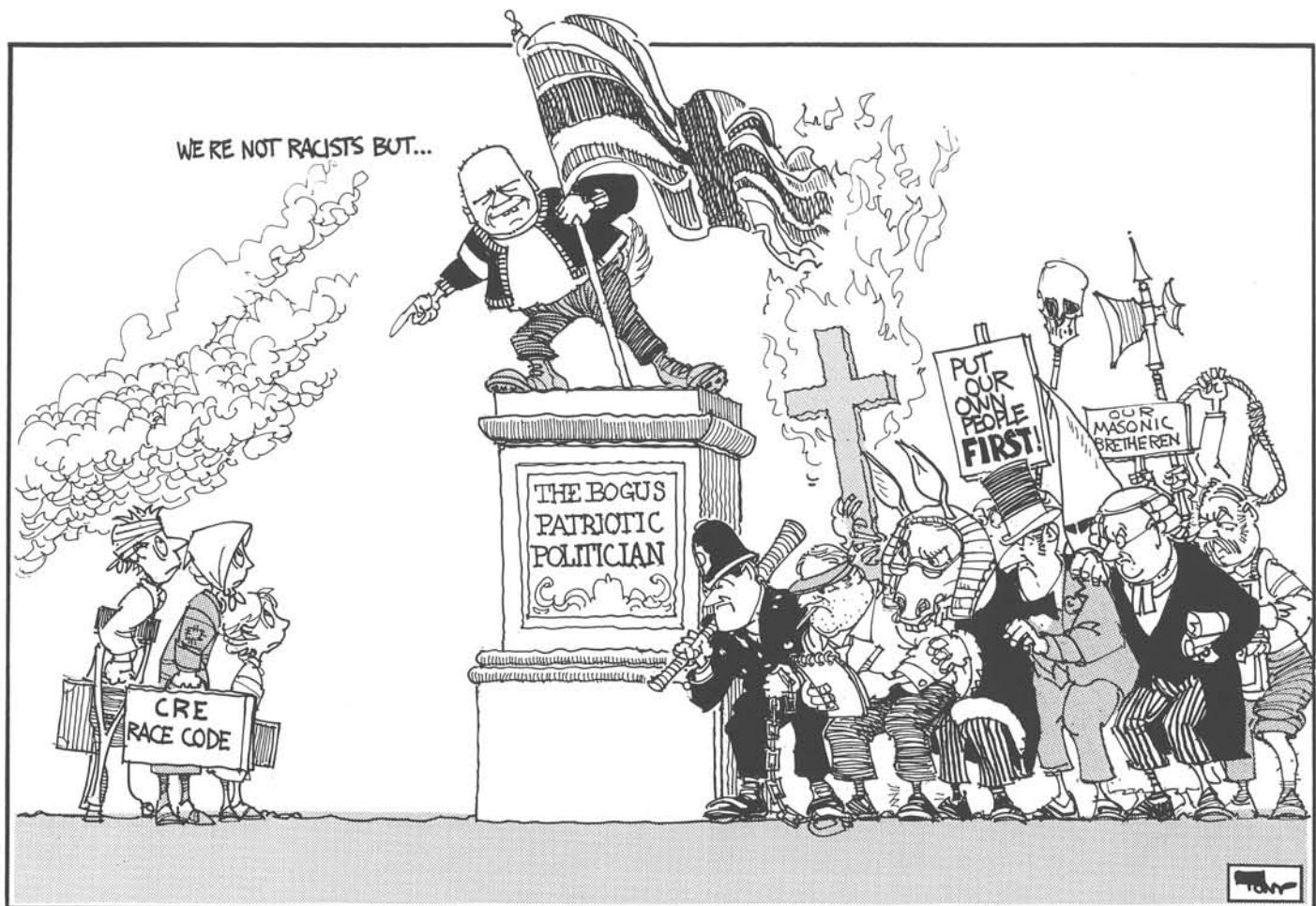
Shifting sands of social responsibility

In this way, while privately calming the language of their extremists, the Conservatives publicly shifted the debate from overt racism and the way politicians inflame public opinion against minorities and asylum seekers, to political correctness and the new McCarthyism of the anti-racist movement. And, with barely an exception, it was a spin which was embraced wholeheartedly by the media, from local and national newspapers to television pundits like Ian Hislop.

The principle that politicians are accountable, and have a social responsibility not to inflame public opinion against minorities, was happily discarded as journalists and politicians ploughed into the CRE and thus indirectly justified their verbal attacks on asylum seekers on the grounds of defending the good old British values of freedom of speech against the 'Race pledge which stifles debate' (*Daily Mail* 21.4.01) or the 'Asylum gags which are no joke' (*Daily Mirror* 25.4.01). Far from having a responsibility not to inflame opinion against asylum seekers, press and politicians had a responsibility to halt an 'intimidatory campaign' (*Independent on Sunday* 22.4.01) in the name of a wider truth ('It's time to speak out'. Hague is right, problems can't be solved by shouting "Racist!" at anyone who disagrees with us' *Daily Star* 23.4.01).

Suddenly it was OK to let it all hang out. Newspaper reporters provided intellectual justification for the gangs of racist youths who terrorise asylum seekers and other minorities on council estates. For this is precisely what press commentators like Julie Burchill (*Guardian* 5.5.01) and Maureen Messent (*Birmingham Evening Mail* 27.4.01) do when they (Burchill) defend the 'indigenous working class people of this country' who have 'a thoroughly legitimate reason for becoming more agitated about immigration than the tolerant middle class', or (Messent) speak up for a 'Western European island nation' which is 'fearful' of being overrun by those of different cultures' and worries 'lest our traditions are sacrificed and our indigenous race outnumbered'. As Gary Younge pointed out in the *Guardian* (does Burchill read the newspaper she works on?), the whole debate took place 'almost entirely without reference to the black communities' and the established link between racially charged campaigning and racial attacks was not even discussed.

youths while sitting in his car ■ **21 APRIL** Fitton Hill, Oldham | An Asian cabbie racially abused and assaulted by a white man ■ **24 APRIL** Sighthill, Glasgow | Dispersed Palestinian refugees Haitham and Iyad Saada brutally beaten by a gang of 30 youths ■ **26 APRIL** Sighthill, Glasgow | Three-months-old Nikita Saibouri required stitches after being dropped by her father as he was punched to the ground by a white man shouting racist abuse ■ **27 APRIL** Bournemouth | Two 14-year-old schoolboys racially abused and attacked by a gang



Who defends the freedom to life?

But why was Bill Morris the only leading Labourite to articulate a clear position against the racism that kills and to uphold the principle that politicians have a responsibility not to inflame public opinion?

Part of the problem was that much of the Labour Left got sidetracked, particularly after Robin Cook's so-called 'chicken tikka masala' speech, into fighting other issues, failing to make a distinction between violent race hatred and racial discrimination. And this is part of a wider problem. For, since the Macpherson report, organisations have concentrated overwhelmingly on Macpherson's definition of institutional racism and, applying this to the internal running of organisations, failed to relate it to the larger racist culture in which all groups operate and, especially, the levels and seriousness

of racial violence. Hence Diane Abbott and Sharon Grant, who have the experience and know-how to speak out against the racism that kills, became diverted by Robin Cook's speech into attacking the internal racism of the Labour party which had failed to meet its own targets

'In effect there are two racisms in Britain today... the racism that discriminates and the racism that kills. The solution to the one is no solution to the other.' **A. Sivanandan**

on selecting black and Asian candidates. 'Tony Blair has surrounded himself with groups of young white men', wailed Diane Abbott, who, like the Conservative Lord Taylor of Warwick, seemed more concerned that black people should feel at home in their own party than feel safe on the streets. The intervention of Abbott, and other leading black spokespeople who prioritised

discrimination over violent race hatred, was then taken up by the rightwing press to focus attention on discrimination – something that they could write off as an *ism* we are all guilty of. Hence, the *Daily Mail* had its own ethnic commentators anxious to prove that racial discrimination was rife in the CRE. Disappointingly, the *Voice* also failed to elucidate the real principles involved. In its pages Darcus Howe condemned the CRE and declare pompously that 'If anyone had asked me to sign this race pledge, I would have told them to p... off.' Perhaps, Howe didn't realise he wasn't an elected MP, or, more alarmingly, perhaps he believes he is!

Free speech prioritised

Not one Labour member of parliament, to CARF's knowledge, came out to defend the principle of political accountability or socially responsible campaigning; not one Labour MP publicly defended the CRE pledge, despite all having been asked by their leader to sign it. And leading Left-wing Labour party members and backbenchers, by rubbishing it as a worthless gesture, actually legitimised Portillo's 'Spartacus defence'. Veteran leftwinger Tony Benn dismissed the code as 'irrelevant to race relations', and Tam Dalyell MP described it as 'ill thought out and patronising.' Perhaps most damagingly for the anti-racist cause, the influential editor of *Tribune*, Mark Seddon, reinforced New Right invective against the code as a major threat to freedom of speech by implying it was a slippery slope towards wider

of four skinheads, leaving one with a broken jaw ■ **28 APRIL** Police, racists and Asian youth clashed violently before and after a football match between Oldham and Stoke City in Oldham, resulting in 16 arrests ■ **30 APRIL** Whitehall, Bristol | A Bangladeshi family subjected to two racist attacks in three days at their home. The family were abused and threatened and a 19-year-old family friend was stabbed ■ **1 MAY** Oldham | Carl Williams and Graham Worthington charged with racially aggravated public order offences after a racist attack at an Asian- ▶



authoritarianism. 'Why stop at anti-racist pledges. What about compacts of support for the free market, or oaths of undying loyalty to the party leadership?' he asked, thereby joining the chorus of commentators belittling the principle that socially responsible and non-racist campaigning was an essential component of 'race relations' in a multicultural society.

Editor Seddon was also quoted by *Guardian* columnist Geoffrey Wheatcroft to justify an attack, which mirrored that of the New Right, on the Macpherson report. In a piece entitled 'McCarthyism goes anti-racist' (24.4.01), Wheatcroft condemned all race relations laws as an attack on free speech which introduces a new form

of censorship. The Macpherson report has led to 'illiberal bullying'.

This view was reinforced by Martin Mears (*Times* 1.5.01), a former president of the Law Society who is part of the growing ranks of legal experts now attacking Macpherson.

Mears supported Justice Poole's

attack at the end of the aborted Leeds footballers' trial on Macpherson's definition of a racist incident, and criticised the 'liberal establishment's nervous collapse and acceptance of a dangerous orthodoxy on racism'.

'By opening the door so wide on the immigration debate, the erratic, opportunistic Hague has hastened the day when the BNP will be in a position to slam the door on immigration.' **Nick Griffin**

The degradation of political principle

While it is clear that we anti-racists have much work to do to defend the spirit of the Macpherson report, and in particular its recognition of institutionalised racism, what is profoundly depressing about this debate is that over twenty years after the brutal murders of Gurdip Singh Chaggar, Altab Ali, Michael Ferreira (to name but a few of the many who died in the 1970s), this country has not even come to first base when it comes to recognising the right of minorities to live their lives free from fear of racist attack. What the CARF collective wrote in an editorial in 1978, at the beginnings of the black self-defence movement, applies even more than ever today. 'What is this freedom of speech which exhorts to kill and encourages to harass? Of what use is it, if it takes precedence over the first freedom – the freedom to life?' ■



Two Palestinian brothers hospitalised in one night of violence

Iyad and Haitham Saada, aged 26 and 39, suffered serious head injuries after being attacked, within half an hour of one another, by a gang of youths carrying sticks and bottles. The two brothers, Palestinian refugees who had escaped the brutality of a south Lebanese refugee camp, had been dispersed to the notorious Sighthill area of Glasgow, where racist violence has been endemic over recent months. The attacks took place around midnight, after Iyad left his brother's tower block flat to go back to his home at a nearby YMCA hostel. Iyad was attacked by the gang and was left lying in a pool of blood. When, shortly afterwards, Haitham came to assist his brother, the gang returned, having swelled to over 30 youths ranging from teenagers to 30-year-olds, including women, and laid into him. Haitham Saada said: 'There seems to be a lot of racism in Scotland and I don't think it is a safe place for my family.'

In the run-up to the general election, the following statements were made in Conservative constituency leaflets, or by Conservative politicians and candidates. Do they inflame public opinion and incite violence? You decide

John Townend, MP for East Yorkshire followed his speech praising Enoch Powell by saying 'I believe the whole concept of a multicultural, multi-ethnic, multilingual society is a mistake and will inevitably cause great problems.' Robin Cook had insulted his Yorkshire constituents by claiming that they were members of a 'mongrel race'.

Laurence Robertson MP for Tewkesbury told the *Gloucestershire Echo* that Britain is a 'crowded island' which is 'struggling to come to terms with mass immigration'.

Christopher Gill MP for Ludlow said that Britain was now so crowded there was a 'rats in the bucket syndrome', putting pressure on housing and the NUS. Gill complained of being 'outnumbered' on public transport by people of different ethnic origins.

Sir Richard Body, MP for Boston and Skegness publishes 'England for the English' which calls for a rejection of multiculturalism in order to preserve England and avoid a popular backlash against immigration.

Lord Tebbit doubted the merits of promoting a multicultural society. 'I do not know of any happy multicultural society' he told Radio 4's Today programme.

Simon Pearce, candidate for St. Helens North defended Townend in the *Daily Telegraph* and warned of 'the dangers posed by large scale immigration'.

Stewart Jackson, candidate for Peterborough accused the government of 'seeking to settle potentially thousands of asylum seekers in the city by stealth'.

David Shaw, Conservative candidate in Kingston and Surbiton issued a campaign leaflet stating that asylum seekers cost each UK household £34 annually. A quiz in the leaflet to win a 'bottle of English wine' asks 'What is the percentage of asylum applications that are unjustified?'

Andrew Rosindell, candidate for Romford said that 'The money is tied up in asylum seekers, most of whom are frauds who have come here to take us for a ride... They are taking up homes which people are waiting for and we are subsidising them. We need to keep them under lock and key.'

Michael Howard's constituency party in Folkestone and Hythe placed an advertisement in the *Folkestone Herald*, entitled 'Common Sense' and asking voters 'What matters most to you?' And replies 'Bogus asylum seekers? Conservatives 'reduced the number before. We will do so again. Conservatives will get it right.' Howard then wrote a piece in the *Daily Mail* entitled 'A town fighting for the right to speak on race.'

Leaflet printed by a Tory party activist in Dagenham claimed that 'Labour is now importing foreign nurses with HIV... Is this Labour's way of cutting the waiting list, by scaring people not to go to hospital?' It accused Labour of being 'soft' on the 'floods of bogus asylum seekers' and of failing to fly the Union flag and the Cross of St. George 'because it would upset ethnic minorities in Romford.'

owned take-away ■ **5 MAY** Bradford | After an NF march in Oldham, a 40-strong gang, believed to be Middlesbrough FC fans, punched, kicked and abused a group of Asian teenagers
■ **6 MAY** Stanley, Yorkshire | An Asian family subjected to racist abuse and Nazi salutes by a white man outside their home ■ **8 MAY** Glasgow | 31-year-old asylum seeker Habi Abbas suffered serious head injuries after being punched, kicked and stabbed by three men ■ **12 MAY** Bermondsey, South London | The NF held a march ■ **15 MAY** Laindon, Essex | 12-year-old

Crossover on the Right?

Twenty-two years ago, when Thatcher was a new Tory leader, we accused her of setting out to steal the NF's clothes. Today, the opposite is happening. The NF and BNP are cashing in on the racialised climate created by opportunist politicians and irresponsible media. Every issue, from bogus asylum seekers to inter-racial crime and low police numbers, now provides the fascists with just the grist their mills need.

While the BNP attempts to recreate itself as a credible electoral force, the minuscule NF has, in recent weeks, been taking to the streets wherever it can cash in on a local issue. Since trying to exploit the situation in Dover, where the local *Dover Express* in 1998 wrote of asylum seekers as 'human sewage', the NF has now moved further north. In recent months the NF has been trying to mobilise its forces for marches in Nottingham, south London, Leicester and Oldham.

NF cashes in

The NF managed to march three times in Bermondsey in April (thankfully no one could see or hear them, out-flanked as they were by police and protesters). Bermondsey was no random choice. It was the area where two serious racial attacks had taken place over Christmas, and just a mile away from where Damilola Taylor had been killed. And, just hours after the first NF march on 7 April, an Asian man was found beaten and bleeding on the pavement. Seven white men and one woman have been charged with the attack. It was William Hague, of course, who had drawn attention to the area in publicly blaming Macpherson for the lack of police and high crime in a black area and attributing Damilola's death itself to misguided anti-racism.

climate of hostility is now overt. With the issue of asylum seekers so hot a public topic, the BNP managed in a by-election in Beckton ward, east London, on 29 March, to get 17.2% of the poll – twice as many votes as the Conservatives – without bothering to run an active campaign at all.

BNP chairman Nick Griffin was in no doubt as to the reason for the BNP success. Hague, he said, had 'played the race card with sufficient vigour to break the liberal taboo on discussing the issue in public. The Tory party's 14-pint skinhead has unwittingly become the BNP's second-best recruiting sergeant'. Griffin has also welcomed the attack on the CRE's electoral race compact, on the basis that it proved 'we can't afford to have asylum seekers here in the first place'.

And now Oldham, which hit the headlines when a 76-year-old pensioner, Walter Chamberlain, was robbed by Asians in a street attack, is being targeted by both the NF and the BNP. Nick Griffin declared on St George's Day, after the incident had made national headlines as a 'race attack', that he would be standing as BNP candidate for Oldham West at the general election; Mick Treacy, a local BNP activist is standing for Oldham East.

Police-press collusion

In fact the mass media had already provided the BNP with the propaganda base necessary for its campaign. It has long been the fascist cry in the wilderness that whites are the true victims of multiculturalism.

Left: local rights-for-whites campaign incorporates *Mail* on Sunday headline

Right: *Daily Mirror* goes alarmist

STOP ANTI-WHITE RACIAL ATTACKS

Anti-white racism is out of control! First we had discrimination against white people by the council in housing, grants and community resources. Then we got anti-white discrimination in jobs and promotion. Then we had to put up with verbal abuse and vandalism. And now we're seeing more and more physical attacks on innocent white people around here.

Parts of our own town are 'no go' areas for whites. If it was happening in Bosnia the TV news would call it 'ethnic cleansing'.

It's got to stop! Now! But the council, the police and the news media are too frightened of being called 'racist' to deal with the problem. They find it easier to turn a blind eye than to confront the violent anti-white racism of a minority of 'ethnic' thugs.

And they'll go on turning a blind eye – until ordinary white people like us kick up such a fuss that they have to take notice and take action. That's why we're organising FAIR – Families Against Immigrant Racism. And it's why we're asking you to join us. Together, we can stop racist violence. Together, we can secure Rights For Whites!

IT'S ONLY FAIR!



Full page article on anti-white violence in Oldham in the *Sunday Mail* 11/201 – the truth isn't always what you see!

All it will take to stop the current wave of anti-white racial attacks around here is a firm signal from the police that racist violence will not be tolerated.

To send that signal, FAIR is mobilising local residents to make two very simple, very reasonable demands:

- 1) Plain-clothed, white police officers must be put on decoy patrols, backed up by hidden squads of officers ready to jump out and arrest any thugs who abuse or go to attack them;
- 2) The council must announce that no more applications for community centres or places of worship for the 'ethnic' groups in question will even be considered until their community leaders use their influence to bring the violent minority in their midst to heel.

Anti-white racial violence must be taken seriously. Fortunately, more and more people like us are realising that it's time to organise to stop the racists in their tracks.

It's easy to help FAIR secure equal rights for whites. Just let us know how much you agree with this leaflet, and tell your friends and neighbours about the work FAIR is doing, and how much it's needed. That will be a start. Together, we'll make sure that white people around here get FAIR treatment!

For more information about FAIR and our campaign for Rights For Whites, please phone 01924 523870 or write to PO Box 22, Mirtfield, WF14 8XU or look up our website: www.rightsforwhites.org.uk

BEATEN FOR BEING WHITE

OAP, 76, attacked in Asian no-go area

By SHEILA McINTYRE
A WAR veteran had his cheek broken after he was attacked by a gang of Asian youths.

Walter Chamberlain, 76, was pushed to the floor as he walked through a park considered a no-go area for whites.

One boy told him he was "not allowed in this part of town" because of his colour.

The youths kicked and battered Walter with his metal flask when he refused to say where he lived.

They stole the flask but left his wallet containing £15. Walter staggered half a mile home before a neighbour spotted him and called an ambulance.

The racist attack was one of three reported in the mainly Asian Westwood area of Oldham, Lancs, at the weekend.

Walter's daughter Anita Baker said: "It is just a meaningless



VICTIM: Walter Chamberlain

attack. He is very independent. We are so upset because now he might be too frightened to go out."

Her partner Martin Pawley said: "He looks horrendous, like something out of a film. He is such a lovely fellow. He wouldn't harm a flea."

Walter was due to have an

operation to repair cheekbone yesterday.

Det Chief Insp Andy Brennan said: "It was a horrible and totally unprovoked attack."

Asian youths last week told a BBC investigation team they were setting up white no-go zones because police were not doing anything about attacks on them.

A man was attacked with a machete as he walked home from on a night out on Saturday.

In another incident, a 15-year-old boy was stabbed by two Asians in nearby Chadderton.

An off-duty policeman and his family were surrounded by Asians on Saturday and told "to get out of our park or we will shoot you".

Police figures have shown a record level of racist attacks in Oldham, with over 60 per cent of victims white.

mirrornews@gm.co.uk

Vikramjeet Rai needed seven stitches to his ear after an attack by a fellow student in a school ■ 16 MAY Ladbroke Grove, west London | A Pakistani family narrowly escaped injury after a hand grenade was thrown into their living room ■ 17 MAY Townend, Glasgow | Three Sudanese refugees racially attacked by a gang of ten



LOOKS BLAND
SPOUTS FILTH

licence to hate

Their papers and placards have blazoned portraits of whites maimed by 'marauding black thugs'. But in Oldham, their work had been done already – by the police and press.

The Oldham story began months, if not years ago. In July 1999, to be exact, *CARF* revealed that there was, in the wake of Macpherson's definition of a racial incident, a concerted attempt by some senior police officers to show that whites were now, as the fascists had long held, racism's true victims. It was Oldham's Chief Superintendent Eric Hewitt who was leading the local onslaught by redefining racial incidents as gang violence. He implied that whites were actually the true victims of racism. The local papers took up his refrain that Asians 'are trying to create exclusive areas for themselves'. And it was Hewitt, again, who, this February orchestrated the interpretation of what was happening to whites in Oldham – where, he said, 62 per cent of victims of racist violence were white. Long before the Chamberlain attack, the *Manchester Evening News* was running stories about 'Streets of Fear' (6.2.01) and 'the near-death experience of Mark Clayton' – a 23-year-old white man stabbed in the city centre.

No-go scare

Oddly enough, months on, but just days before the attack on Mr Chamberlain, the story of Oldham's plight hit the nationals. And, oddly, too they all carried the same (stale) tale of Mark Clayton and used almost identical phrases about 'no go for whites', 'no-go zones', 'no-go nightmare' to strike fear in their white readers. The *Times* alleged that Glodwick (the heart of the Asian community) had 'Whites Beware' signs hanging from lamp posts. Even the respectable Radio 4 *Today* programme ran with the no-go area scare.

The attack on a 76-year-old white pensioner, walking back from his rugby match, was horrific. His family stressed the cowardly nature of the attack and the fact that they considered he had been picked on because as an elderly person he was an easy target for a gang. But, they said, they did not consider it to be a racially motivated attack. But Mr Chamberlain was the victim that the press needed, primed by the police's version of local events. His elevation to white race martyr was reminiscent of the tactics the fascists are wont to employ. A close-up of his cut face made many a front page where he metamorphosed from OAP to 'D-Day Veteran' to 'War hero' and then 'Just British and Proud'. He was now a symbol: the white victim of racists.

Far-right involvement

And as the media have become 'fascised' they have ignored the actual contribution of fascists to the Oldham imbroglio. The BNP and NF have been campaigning against the building of a new local mosque. (The BNP boasts that it is responsible for planning permission being denied.) Young Asians in Glodwick complain that the systematic attacks on them by white thugs go unpunished. And the racist chanting by Stoke fans at a match on 28 April at Oldham's ground in the heart of the Bangladeshi community appears to have been orchestrated by outside trouble-makers. ■

The Terrorism

ON Tuesday 8 May, a crowd of a thousand ruptured the quiet of the street in St James' where the Home Office has its headquarters. With drumming, dancing and chanting, with banners and placards, T-shirts, stickers and traditional Kurdish or Kashmiri dress, the demonstrators proclaimed their defiance of the ban on the twenty-one organisations, support for which became illegal on 29 March 2001 under the first Order made under the Terrorism Act. The aim was to show the breadth of the Act's provisions and the danger it poses to democracy and, more specifically, to the right of asylum.

The Act, passed last year, allows organisations to be proscribed if the Home Secretary believes they are involved in terrorism, or promoting or encouraging it. Terrorism is defined as the use or threat of any action involving violence to people or property or serious risks to health and safety, designed to influence any government or intimidate members of the public anywhere in the world for political, religious or ideological causes. Under the Act, it is an offence to belong or profess to belong to a proscribed organisation, to invite support for one, to arrange a meeting which is to be addressed by a member of one, or to address a meeting to encourage support for one – even a meeting is in someone's house, with only three people attending. The penalty is up to ten years imprisonment. It is also an offence to wear any clothes or any other article which might arouse 'reasonable suspicion' that the wearer is a member or supporter of a proscribed organisation. The penalty is up to six months imprisonment and a fine of up to £5,000.

Harshest law

Wearing Kurdish national dress demonstrates support for the PKK (because the PKK works for Kurdish self-determination) and thus risks a six-month sentence. So does wearing a T-shirt proclaiming support for Tamil or Kashmiri liberation. Hence all the colourful clothes, T-shirts and stickers on the demo. On that occasion, no-one was arrested. But everyone attending was liable to arrest, as were the organisers, since the rally both supported proscribed organisations and was addressed by their members. Writing an article or speaking in support of Kashmiri, Tamil or Kurdish self-determination could be construed as inviting support for a proscribed organisation. A rally or meeting in support of asylum rights which is addressed by a member of one of the organisations could land the organisers in prison. The Act's provisions are drawn so widely as to give police and prosecutors freedom to arrest most people who are involved in any way in refugee communities' activities or in solidarity work. No wonder Gareth Peirce, the civil rights lawyer who has fought anti-terrorist legislation and defended those accused of terrorism for over three decades, describes the 2000 Act as the worst ever.

Restoring the divine right of kings

Previous anti-terror laws have been used against refugees, and police have tapped phones, threatened

n Act – embracing tyranny

Making an asylum claim could lead to criminal charges under anti-terrorism legislation

prosecution of those collecting money, targeted cultural and community events and centres, warned against the selling of newspapers, and have offered bribes and, on occasion, even refugee status in exchange for information. In 1998, the Criminal Justice (Terrorism and Conspiracy) Act foreshadowed the Terrorism Act in criminalising conspiracy to commit offences abroad. Labour back-bencher Donald Anderson commented that it was 'trying to restore the divine right of kings', in supporting any regime, however tyrannical. He asked: 'Are we to say that someone who has fled to this country from that tyranny is estopped thereby from seeking to overthrow by word or action that tyrannical government?'

Controlling refugees

The answer, in the provisions of the 2000 Act and the Proscribed Organisations Order, seems to be an unequivocal yes. The battery of new powers, new offences and proscribed organisations allows refugee communities to be even more closely controlled and monitored, and the criminalisation of the refugee communities has been formalised. The definition of 'terrorism' is the broadest ever, as is the number and range of organisations proscribed, the range of criminal offences created and the scope of the new, draconian police powers of arrest, search and seizure. The Act will allow the government to extradite political offenders

to their home state – something which was not permitted a century ago, when it was accepted that those fighting oppression abroad should be allowed a safe haven in Britain. Anyone convicted of an offence under the Act is likely to be excluded from refugee status in Britain as a terrorist supporter, and could face deportation on national security grounds, since last year the Court of Appeal accepted the Home Secretary's argument that a threat to a friendly government abroad was a threat to Britain's national security.

Friends with repressive regimes

The government's economic, diplomatic and political priorities dictate friendly relations with the repressive regimes which produce refugees. The Turkish, Sri Lankan, Algerian, Israeli and Saudi governments (among others) have long complained that Britain did nothing to stop refugees conspiring against them from London. Other European governments have acted against the PKK and the Algerian groups. The government wants British firms to win more business in Turkey, Iran, Algeria etc, as is evidenced by its plan to extend export credits to Balfour Beatty to build the Ilisu Dam in Turkey, which will destroy the 10,000-year-old Kurdish city of Hasankeyf and leave thousands of Kurds homeless. There is no room for ethics. The Turkish government showed its disapproval in January of the recent French law recognising the Ottoman killings of Armenians



Caroline Austin (NUJ)

between 1915 and 1923 as genocide, by cancellation of defence contracts with two French firms worth over a billion dollars. The UK's huge armaments industry wants the trade, and NATO wants Turkey's co-operation. Similar considerations apply to many of the other countries from which the banned organisations come.

Effect on asylum claims

The impact that the Act, and the proscription of several mainstream liberation organisations, will have on the right to asylum, will be vast. If it is a criminal offence to belong, or to profess support for, the PKK or the LTTE or the Mujahideen, what can an asylum-seeker say, who fears persecution at home for his or her support for one of these organisations? Support for the liberation struggle is the foundation for most asylum claims by Tamils, Turkish Kurds, Kashmiris and others. Someone who supports the Kurdish liberation movement will almost invariably support the PKK – and if he doesn't, he'll certainly be suspected of it. Assertion of an asylum

Link to racism in immigration

In this connection, the banning orders are of a piece with the provisions allowing immigration officers to discriminate against members of particular ethnic groups who are perceived as a threat to 'the immigration control'. The groups who can be discriminated against under the new provisions, announced in May, include Tamils and Kurds as well as Roma, Somalis, Afghans, Albanians, ethnic Chinese and (bizarrely) Pontic Greeks. The authorisation allows immigration officers to delay members of these groups at immigration control for longer and subject them to more rigorous checks than others.

But the groups deemed a threat to 'the immigration control' are precisely the groups who make up the majority of asylum seekers (excepting the Pontic Greeks). They're the groups who are forced to arrive in the UK clandestinely or using false documents because they can't get to safety in the UK any other way. It is the same government which forces them to travel illegally and then justifies institutional racism against them because of their illegal travel.

Bogus threat?

Thus, Kurds, Tamils and others are hit from both sides, treated as a threat both to immigration controls and to national security (with its peculiarly broad definition). But so far as the Kurds are concerned, the timing of the terrorist ban is strange, since the PKK has held a ceasefire for two years. This suggests that the government's motivation has more to do with showing the electorate that Labour can be 'tough on asylum' than by any real terrorist threat.

New rejection strategy

The other recent development pointing the same way is the U-turn in the way Iraqi Kurds and Iranians are dealt with. Until recently, 90 percent of Iraqi Kurds were allowed to stay, either as refugees or with exceptional leave to remain. Now, despite the Home Office accepting that no one can be returned to areas controlled by Saddam Hussein, the number rejected is almost 90 percent. They are told they can live in the 'safe havens' – despite the US, the UK and Turkey bombing of Iraq, and the threat of aggression from Iran. And in the last few months, the rate of rejection for Iranians has shot up, despite Home Office acceptance that torture, unfair trials and secret executions are routine; those claiming to fear execution for political activity are told they can live in Turkey. Iranians, Iraqi and Turkish Kurds, Tamils, Algerians, Kashmiris and others are among the victims of the government's drive against the right to asylum. ■

The Campaign against Criminalising Communities held a meeting in April at which leading human rights and refugee lawyers condemned the ban and the Act. After the successful demonstration on 8 May, it plans further activities. For further details see www.cacc.org.uk.

The 21 proscribed organisations

Al-Qa'ida	Harakat Mujahideen	Mujaheddin e Khalq
Egyptian Islamic Jihad	Jaish e Mohammed	Kurdistan Workers' Party
Al-Gama'at al-Islamiya	Lashkar e Tayyaba	(Partiya Karkeren
Armed Islamic Group	Liberation Tigers of Tamil	Kurdistan – PKK)
(Groupe Islamique	Eelam (LTTE)	Revolutionary Peoples'
Armée – GIA)	Hizballah External Security	Liberation Party – Front
Salafist Group for Call and	Organisation	(Devrimci Halk Kurtulus
Combat (Groupe Salafiste	Hamas-Izz al-Din al-Qassem	Partisi-Cephesi – DHKP-C)
pour la Prédication	Brigades	Basque Homeland and
et le Combat – GSPC)	Palestinian Islamic Jihad –	Liberty (Euskadi ta
Babbar Khalsa	Shaqaqi	Askatasuna – ETA)
International Sikh Youth	Abu Nidal Organisation	17 November Revolutionary
Federation	Islamic Army of Aden	Organisation (N17)

claim could thus lead to criminal charges. The Home Office has, according to immigration lawyers, told its civil servants who present immigration and asylum appeals to notify it of anyone who claims on appeal to be a member or supporter of any of the listed organisations. It is likely that the information will be passed on to police. It's a case of 'damned if you do; damned if you don't' – an asylum-seeker who claims support or membership of a listed group risks arrest, and one who disavows support for the group will have the claim rejected on the ground that he or she is not persecuted at home. Many people, faced with this dilemma, are likely not to claim asylum at all, although they deserve to be granted refugee status. The measures are likely to result in the growth of the undocumented, invisible underclass vulnerable to exploitation by sweatshop employers in agriculture and in the service, retail and garment trades. These consequences are a price the government is willing to pay for a reduction in the numbers claiming asylum – an increasingly pressing priority during an election campaign fought on the terrain of xenophobia.



If you need more facts and figures (and arguments) to refute the constant barrage of political and media hype against asylum seekers, get hold of the excellent leaflet, **Bonus Not Bogus**, written by the Churches Commission for Racial Justice with the National Coalition of Anti-deportation Campaigns and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants.

Available free of charge from ccrj@ctbi.org.uk

Walk-out from racist murder inquiry

Mrs Chhokar is at the end of her tether. 'I no longer have a life, all I hear are my son's cries for help in my sleep ... We never asked for much, just justice – to know that his



Surjit Chhokar

killers would be brought to justice. That will never happen now.' This was part of the statement she gave on 21 May, when the family explained why they were boycotting one of the inquiries set up to investigate the bungled prosecution of Surjit Chhokar's killers. 'With these inquiries what have they done other than protect the people who failed us?'

Surjit Chhokar was stabbed to death two-and-a-half years ago. After two botched trials, with the three white men implicated in the attack accusing one another of the murder, all the men went free (see CARF 59 and 60). The

understandable outrage of the family led the Lord Advocate to set up two inquiries into what had gone wrong. One was to look into the conduct of the Crown Office (the prosecuting authority in Scotland), the other, under Dr Jandoo, was to look into the treatment of the Chhokar family during the investigation. Despite repeated requests from the family, they have not been allowed to be represented at

the inquiries, nor have they been allowed to have access to any of the documents that have been presented.

The case, which was regarded as the Stephen Lawrence test-case of Scotland, which would open up all the same issues of institutional racism in that criminal justice system, has not been investigated stringently enough. Aamer Anwar, legal spokesman for the family campaign, explained why everyone was being asked to boycott the Jandoo inquiry. It was now drawing to a close without the family members themselves being asked to give evidence. Everything was being done behind closed doors and everything had been prejudged. The Crown was going to be found guilty of incompetence over its failure to prosecute the killers, while (according to leaked stories in the press) the police were going to take the rap for racism.

'For months we have heard the words "institutional racism" and "unwitting racism". There was nothing unwitting about the manner in which the system treated this family,' Anwar told Dr Jandoo.

'What we need is a full public inquiry,' said Surjit's father. 'I am not an educated man, but you cannot treat us like fools. There is no justice in this country for black people. In two courtrooms you could not give us justice.' ■

Campaign details

The Chhokar Family Justice Campaign c/o Scottish Fire Brigades Union, 4th Floor, 52 St. Enoch Square, Glasgow G1 4AA
web: www.cfjc.org.uk

REVIEW

Subverting internal controls

Steve Cohen is a veteran anti-racist campaigner who has for 25 years worked as an immigration adviser, and has during that period produced lucid and compelling analysis of immigration controls and the welfare state, in pamphlets like *The thin end of the white wedge: second class citizenship and the welfare state* on the 1981 British Nationality Act; *From ill treatment to no*

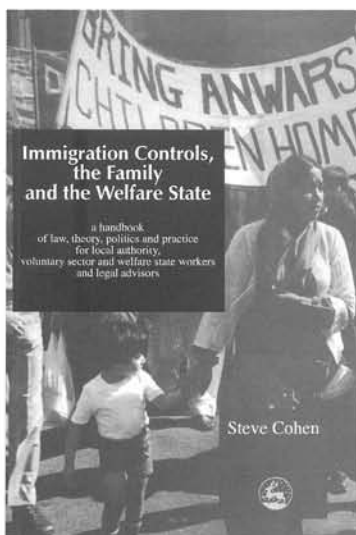
treatment, From the Jews to the Tamils on refugee exclusion, *What's love got to do with it* on dividing of families. His new book, *Immigration controls, the family and the welfare state* is subtitled 'A handbook of law, theory, politics and practice for local authority, voluntary sector and welfare state workers and legal advisors' – and that is exactly what it is. Each chapter starts with a casework problem raising important issues of practice. The issue may be whether the headteacher of a state school can enrol a child who has been admitted for private education; or whether an 80-year-old with no permission to stay can get meals on wheels. In chapters on marriage, children, unmarried partners, asylum, and on benefits, education, housing, social and health services and probation, he combines history and political analysis with the most practical

and comprehensive guidance to enable welfare state professionals and the others to whom the book is directed to know exactly what the implications of their actions or inaction will be. Thus he explains when and why it is necessary for local authority or voluntary sector workers to ask their clients about their immigration status; how it should be done and the consequences of not doing so.

The message for teachers, social workers, probation officers, health professionals and others to whom the book is addressed is that immigration controls are central to the problems facing many of their clients; that they need to be addressed as such; and that anti-racist practice demands that the immigration issues be dealt with from a standpoint of opposition. But opposition does not necessarily mean confrontation; Cohen's politics are far more sophisticated than that. The book, coming out of his lifetime's experience in fighting immigration controls on the ground, is about strategy and tactics enabling immigration battles to be won.

This book is absolutely unique in its combination of 'law, theory, politics and practice' – and it is absolutely indispensable for anyone working with those affected by immigration controls. ■

Immigration controls, the family and the welfare state is available from Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 116 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JB web: www.jkp.com



black deaths in custody:

CARF talks to Ruth Bunday, solicitor for the Alder family, on the family's struggle for justice



Christopher Alder

On 9 April the police failed to get the unlawful killing verdict on the death of Christopher Alder in Hull police station, overturned. Janet, Christopher's sister, has been vigorous in her campaign for justice and, with the help of solicitor, Ruth Bunday, has got further than many other family campaigns on deaths in custody. CARF asked the family's solicitor about the implications of the recent legal battle.

CARF: Historically, the police, and prison officers, have always fought to get an inquest verdict of unlawful killing reversed. Wasn't the fact that police were refused the chance at the High Court a great triumph?

RB: Yes, it was a huge success. It is fantastic that the verdict is intact. The High Court is apparently beginning to recognise that inquest verdicts are enormously important to families, particularly where they represent the only satisfaction for those who are outraged at the treatment of their loved one, in police custody for example. But it should translate into an appropriate prosecution of the officers. Janet still feels thwarted.

CARF: Can you say anything about the grounds on which the authorities tried to get the verdict overturned?

RB: The police representatives fully expected to get the verdict overturned. They said there was no evidence of

a direct causal connection between the officers' behaviour and the reason Christopher actually died, so an unlawful killing verdict shouldn't have even been entertained. The second tack of the police was to claim that one juror was biased because, they said, she and the family's barrister were having an association. Even after they had been forced to accept that in fact the friendship didn't start till after the verdict, they claimed that the juror must have been 'infatuated' with the barrister during the inquest, which must have influenced her and the other jurors' decision. The High Court threw out that argument.

Finally, the police used an apparent change of mind by one expert to challenge the verdict. They had overlooked a basic rule of judicial review, that a decision can only be challenged on the evidence available at the time. So they fell flat on their faces.

CARF: What's happening about the issue of criminal charges for the officers?

RB: The officers are still facing charges of misconduct in public office. The CPS decided at the end of April not to charge them with manslaughter, on the ground of

insufficient evidence to secure convictions. We have sought a withdrawal of that decision. Janet will never be satisfied unless the verdict is translated into manslaughter charges.

CARF: How was it that the Alder family obtained legal aid to be represented at the inquest?

RB: Christopher's inquest was only the second where public funding was awarded. (The first was for the second Marchioness inquest.) It was tremendously important in enabling the family to have a voice and a say. Historically, lawyers have been prepared to act for free in black deaths and death in custody cases, and so families have got by. But for a case of this length – the inquest ran from 3 July to 24 August, less a week for a juror's holiday, it would have been impossible to ask lawyers to drop everything else and not get paid. The coroner saw the huge number of statements and was aware of the legal complexities, and wrote to the Lord Chancellor's Department supporting our application. It was a huge turning point. Since then, the Department has recognised the importance of death in custody inquests, and granted 'exceptional funding' in every subsequent case that I have dealt with. And a consultation document which is currently going around could result in such inquests attracting mainstream legal aid funding. But none of this would have happened if the organisation, Inquest, had not set the scene with its ceaseless campaigning.

CARF: Were there recommendations in the Macpherson report that you could use, or that other lawyers could use in the future to fight for justice for families?

RB: Macpherson's recommendations on disclosure of evidence to families in inquests have meant that disclosure is now the rule rather than the exception. He also talked about the need for families to be legally aided for representation in appropriate cases, a recommendation which was crucial to the success of our application for funding. But Macpherson's understanding of institutional racism, racism which is not overt, which does not necessarily 'speak its name', was not understood or carried through – except by the jury, and not just in their verdict. When no-one had said anything to them about racism, they showed great sensitivity to race issues by reporting to the coroner that one of their number was displaying racist views and should not be part of the jury.

Contrast that with the coroner. In his summing up, he told them that there was 'not a shred of evidence' that the death was 'referable to the colour of Christopher's skin'. I was furious, which is why I commented publicly after the verdict that his remarks were shocking, that no-one expected the police to stand there using racist abuse and slurs, but where a black man was lying on the floor like a sack of potatoes and they did nothing, what other inference could be drawn? ■



Janet Alder at the launch of the NCRM

fighting for justice

Rocky Bennett – institutionalised failure

In May, an inquest recorded a verdict of accidental death aggravated by neglect on the death of 38-year-old Rocky Bennett, a psychiatric patient who died on 31 October 1998 in the Norvic Clinic in Norwich.



The Bennett family leaving the inquest

Rocky, from Peterborough, had been detained at the medium secure unit for three years, and had previously complained of racial abuse. He died after he was held face down for over 20 minutes by at least three nurses. The inquest heard that Rocky had been given

unauthorised medication in the days leading up to his death, and the restraint methods used were described as unacceptable and unapproved techniques by the nurses' own trainer. No doctor was available at the unit to deal with medical emergencies on the day of his death.

Coroner William Armstrong said after the inquest that Rocky had been 'let down by the system'. He made six recommendations, including one on the need for national standards on restraint in psychiatric hospitals.

Rocky's family and Inquest are calling for a public inquiry into Rocky's death which looks at:

- institutional racism in the NHS
- over-representation of black people as psychiatric patients and under-representation as staff
- apparent failure of mental health services to provide appropriate support and care at an early stage
- the lack of information on deaths of detained patients
- over-diagnosis of severe mental illness in black people with mental health problems
- over-use of seclusion and detention and over-medication of black patients
- poor treatment of bereaved families following a death
- failure of the NHS to learn from previous deaths following use of control and restraint and failure of government to ensure communication across different custodial settings ■

Other black deaths in psychiatric custody

8/91 Orville Blackwood (31)

Died after being restrained and injected with three times the recommended dose of two different tranquilliser drugs in secure unit of Broadmoor top security hospital. Two inquests, in October 1991 and April 1993; verdicts: accidental death.

1/92 Mark Fletcher (21)

Detained by police and sectioned under the Mental Health Act, he collapsed and died after being restrained and injected into his spine at All Saints Psychiatric hospital, Birmingham. Verdict: cardiac arrest.

6/92 Munir Yusef Mojothi (26)

Psychiatric patient who was given two sets of injections to calm him down and, when this did not work, a further dose, intravenously, which killed him in 15 minutes. Verdict: lack of care.

6/92 Jerome Scott (27)

Suffered from depression. On his way to hospital in a police van, he was held down and injected with anti-psychotic drugs by an emergency social work team and police and died minutes later. Verdict: therapeutic misadventure.

1/94 Rupert Marshall (29)

Died in Horton psychiatric hospital, Epsom after being restrained and injected with an anti-psychotic drug. Verdict: not known.

8/94 Jonathan Weekes

Died in Chase Farm hospital, north London after being sent there by social workers for worsening depression. Verdict:



death by natural causes (pneumonia). Recent review of the case revealed information withheld from the inquest, that he was taking eight different drugs, although his family were told he was only receiving one. The drugs

affected his breathing and a rare reaction caused his death.

6/95 Dajin George (26)



A schizophrenic who died after falling from balcony of a friend's flat on the fifteenth floor of a tower block in Leyton, east London, after his escort, who was meant to be present on all outside visits, disappeared. Verdict: not known.

1/96 Newton White (33)



Patient in Denis Hill Unit of Maudsely hospital, found drowned and scalded in a bath. He was left unattended for over 90 minutes despite being on a 15-minute observation regime. Verdict (March 1997): open.

11/96 Veron Cowan (32)



Died in the psychiatric secure unit at Blackberry Hill three weeks after being admitted. Her mother claimed she was fit and healthy before entering the unit but her physical condition deteriorated on hospital-prescribed drugs. Verdict, directed by the coroner (April 1997): death by natural causes.

Contacts:

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■ Inquest, Ground Floor, Alexandra National House, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PJ. Tel: 020 8802 7430
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■ United Families and Friends Campaign c/o Inquest, Ground Floor, Alexandra National House, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PJ.

national civil rights movement

issue6

newsletter

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Free race and policing
helpline: 0800 374618

Call this number anywhere in the
UK for assistance with police
racism.

The hugely successful campaign waged on behalf of Stephen Lawrence over the last seven years has highlighted the nature and scale of racism in this country. As a result of the Lawrences' campaign, the Macpherson Inquiry produced an indictment of institutional racism across our society and in particular within the police force.

In recent years a number of families of the victims of injustice have shown a remarkable determination to campaign for truth and accountability. Their experience and confidence form the basis of the National Civil Rights Movement. Inspired by their example, we have come together – families, campaigners, lawyers and community activists – to build a new movement. Our aim is to provide support for the victims of racial injustice, to promote family-based campaigns and to challenge the criminal justice system.

Please help us build and strengthen that network by joining the National Civil Rights Movement.

NCRM WEST

Glyne Agard – no justice so far...

In May, the trial began of four soldiers accused of murdering 32-year-old Glyne Agard, and assaulting Stephen Agard and Gary Belgrave.

The three were on a night out in the Reflections night-club in Wiltshire last June when they were attacked and beaten in the car park of the club. Glyne died in the car park from massive head injuries, his brother suffered chest and neck injuries and Gary also needed hospital treatment. The alleged assailants, all members of the Green Howards, 20-year-old Privates Wayne King and Thomas Myers, 18-year-old Mark Hunter and 23-year-

old Lance Corporal David White, all denied charges of murder, violent disorder and of GBH against Stephen Agard and Gary Belgrave. The prosecution claims that the attacks happened after a girl told the soldiers she had been attacked by a black man. A doorman overheard the men saying 'We'll give the black bastard a good kicking'.

On 18 May, Mark Hunter and David White were found not guilty of the murder after the prosecution offered no evidence against the men, saying that 'the evidence against them is insufficiently strong'. The trial continues. ■



Glyne Agard

REVIEW

Football 2 Racism 0

United Colours of Football 2 is the second issue of the Kick Racism Out of Football campaign fanzine. With racist chanting and abuse still sully the atmosphere of many a terrace (check the recent trend for 'I'd rather be a Paki than a ...' chants), UCF2 is firmly committed to the principle of fans tackling racism for themselves, within a grassroots football fanzine culture. But along with the articles by ordinary fans on terrace racism, readers are also treated to a

revealing interview with Alex Ferguson, while Irvine Welsh writes on how gentrification of the game has led to the disproportionate exclusion of black fans, as well as the wider working class. Essential reading for anyone seeking clarity amidst the official lip service paid to anti-racism in football. ■

Free copies of *United Colours of Football 2* can be obtained by phoning 0800 169 9414 or emailing kick-racism@kick-it-out.demon.co.uk. Note that this fanzine contains some adult language!

NCRM NORTH

Outrage at race attack verdict

Hundreds of angry protesters demonstrated in Huddersfield to express their anger at the verdict in a case involving what the victim's family believe was a racist killing. Last July, Mohammed Asghar was stabbed to death outside his restaurant. In May, an all-white jury at Bradford Crown Court found his white assailant, Jonathan Fairbank, 34, not guilty of murder, saying he acted in self-defence. Mr Asghar's widow is furious at the decision, which she considers to be racist. She is being supported by a range of groups, including the National Civil Rights Movement and the Kirklees Racial Equality Council, who are asking for an inquiry into how such a perverse decision came to be made. In particular, they are asking how the all-white jury was selected, given Bradford's 20 per cent ethnic population. ■

Volunteers Needed Urgently

Volunteers are urgently needed to help run the Southwark Day Centre for Asylum Seekers, based in Peckham and Elephant & Castle, south London. Knowledge of refugee languages would be desirable but not essential. Training and travel expenses will be provided. For further details, please contact Pauline on 020 7732 3435.



Farrokh Shiri and double standards

Question: How does a person avoid jail on charges of possessing a firearm with intent to cause a person to believe unlawful violence will be used against them?

not an asylum seeker; **E)** All of the above. **Answer:** E)

In April, the Tory candidate for Torbay, Christian **Sweeting**, was granted unconditional bail for the same offence that saw dispersed Iranian asylum seeker Farrokh Shiri jailed in Exeter prison, in March (see CARF 61).

Police were called to **Streeting's** house in the early hours of 16 April, where he was arrested with an air rifle. Farrokh, a dispersed asylum seeker, was arrested for carrying an imitation firearm after threatening to kill himself after his asylum claim was refused.

At a hearing at Torquay magistrates court on 23 April the charges against Streeting were reduced to 'intending to cause another person harassment, alarm and distress', when the CPS claimed there were 'a number of elements missing from the charge which would make a conviction unlikely'. Then on 15 May the charges were dropped completely! Farrokh Shiri, meanwhile, though bailed on 18 May, still faces a serious charge. ■



Supporters of Farrokh Shiri outside Exeter Crown Court for his bail hearing

A) The accused is a good friend of Anne Widdecombe's; **B)** The accused is a Tory election candidate; **C)** The accused is white and middle class; **D)** The accused is

Manos And Costa Patrakoulakis: Youth Custody For Racist Attackers

On 24 April 2001, two youths appeared before Plymouth Youth Court for sentencing for GBH against Manos and Costa Patrakoulakis. (See CARF 61). A white 16-year-old youth, who hit Costa in the face with a wooden table leg, causing unconsciousness, multiple fractures and permanent injury, was made the subject of an 18-month detention and training order. A second white youth, aged 15, who attacked Costa with a snooker cue, was given a four-month detention and training order for affray. Both youths had denied the attack during a five-day trial at the Youth Court, claiming that they had been assaulted by Manos and Costa. They were found guilty after magistrates heard from several eye-witnesses. But despite evidence that Manos and Costa were subjected to racist abuse, the court rejected a racial motive.

The mother of the youths was

also initially charged with affray, but the case against her was discontinued by the CPS due to lack of evidence. At the trial, she gave evidence on oath that she punched Costa several times as he lay on the floor. Given this new evidence, Costa may now press the police to take further action against the mother. The Youth Court also heard that Plymouth City Council is using its statutory powers to initiate eviction proceedings against the mother, who is a council tenant in breach of her tenancy agreement.

The Patrakoulakis family would like to extend their deepest thanks and best wishes to all those who have supported them since last August, when these attacks took place. They now intend to become actively involved in supporting other families in Plymouth who have experienced racist violence and abuse. ■

NCRM South West, Email: ncrmsouthwest@aol.com

campaigns

PAMPHLET REVIEW

Justice for Samar and Jawad



Cover-up Confirmed brings us up to date on the injustices suffered by Samar Alami and Jawad Botmeh, imprisoned for conspiring to bomb the Israeli embassy and Balfour House in 1996. The booklet – a follow-up to *Justice Denied* – details the events of the case and the recent appeal in October 2000. Evidence at the appeal revealed that police had another suspect identified to them, but they failed to pass this information on to the defence. Evidence that, to security organisations' knowledge, a known terrorist organisation was seeking information on the Israeli embassy, had also been withheld. Major failures to hand over vital information which could have proven innocence was blamed on 'human error'. The pamphlet details the persistent and continued use of PII (Public Interest Immunity) certificates to withhold evidence from the defence, evidence which is vital to prove Samar and Jawad's innocence. The appeal was adjourned on the fourth day at the request of the defence, so that investigations can now be made into the morsels of information revealed.

Please buy the pamphlet, affiliate to the campaign, or write a letter to your MP, the DPP, Home Secretary... model letters available on website. ■

Freedom and Justice for Samar and Jawad BM Box FOSA, London WC1N 3XX.
Email: postmaster@freesaj.org.uk;
Web: www.freesaj.org.uk.

By Jon McKenzie,
Regional
Coordinator, NCRM
South West

diary of race and resistance

APRIL-MAY 2001

RACISM

7 APR Paltry turnout for NF march in Bermondsey, south London

9 APR 20-year-old Dean Harrison sentenced to two years detention for racially attacking and abusing staff at an Indian take-away in Nottingham

12 APR 51-year-old Bila Kasbia racially attacked and abused by two white youths while sitting in his car in Bristol

17 APR Tory party in Dagenham, Essex accused of producing racist election leaflet

20 APR Hampshire police and council announce plans to open help desk at Southampton Asda store to aid reporting of racist crime

21 APR Asian cabbie racially abused and assaulted by two white men in Fitton Hill, Oldham

24 APR *Dispersed Palestinian refugees Haitham and Iyad Saada brutally beaten by gang of 30 youths in racist attack in Sighthill, Glasgow*

25 APR CPS drops charges of racist abuse against Lindis Percy, who dragged US flag on ground during anti-nuclear demo at Menwith Hill, North Yorkshire

26 APR Tory MP John Townend accuses government of turning British into 'mongrel race' ■ Three-month-old Nikita Saibouri requires stitches after her father drops her when he is punched to the floor by white man shouting racist abuse in Sighthill, Glasgow

27 APR Two 14-year-old schoolboys racially abused and attacked by a gang of four skinheads in Bournemouth, one suffers a broken jaw

28 APR Police, racists and Asian youth clash violently before and after football match between Oldham and Stoke City in Oldham; 16 arrests

30 APR Three men imprisoned after admitting racially aggravated bodily harm on Ashni Kumar, Asian restaurant owner in Corby, Northants ■ Bangladeshi family subjected to two racist attacks in three days at their home in Whitehall, Bristol; family are abused and threatened, 19-year-old family friend stabbed

1 MAY 40-year-old Priscilla Bennett wins case of race discrimination at industrial tribunal after suffering 15 months of racist abuse at hands of pupils at Fryerns School in Basildon, Essex ■ Carl Williams and Graham Worthington charged with racially aggravated public order offences after racist attack at Asian owned take-away in Oldham

2 MAY John Townend suggests he made a mistake in apologising for 'mongrel race' remarks

3 MAY Hounslow Racial Equality Council, in

partnership with 13 other groups, launches six community reporting centres to encourage reporting of racist crime ■ 19-year-old Bradley Pettifor jailed for 10 months for racially aggravated common assault after attacking 46-year-old Frances Saunders in Bermondsey last year

5 MAY NF march in Oldham ■ *40-strong gang believed to be Middlesbrough FC fans punch, kick and abuse group of Asian teenagers in Bradford*

6 MAY Asian family subjected to racist abuse and Nazi salutes by white man outside their home in Stanley, Yorkshire

8 MAY Racial and Violent Crimes Task force offer £10,000 reward for information on culprits in six-year racist letter writing campaign ■ *31-year-old asylum seeker Habi Abbas suffers serious head injuries after being punched, kicked and stabbed by three men in Glasgow* ■ Investigation launched into allegations that ten Greater Manchester police officers hurled racist abuse at black staff in a cafe/bar in city centre

10 MAY Oxford University Union cancels speaking engagement by racist David Irving

11 MAY Two white men deny charges of racially motivated assault on two Iranian asylum seekers on Newcastle metro train in January

12 MAY NF march in Bermondsey, London

13 MAY Racial and Violent Crimes Task Force investigates allegation that Lawrence suspects David Norris and Jamie Acourt subjected off-duty black police officer to tirade of racist abuse at Eltham train station

15 MAY 12-year-old Vikramjeet Rai needs seven stitches to ear after attack by fellow pupil in a school in Laindon, Essex

16 MAY *Pakistani family narrowly escape injury after hand grenade thrown into their living room in Ladbroke Grove, west London*

17 MAY Employment tribunal accepts claim of racial harassment against ex-police officer Ken Levenson, who racially bullied office worker Noella Huggins over several years in Newport Central police station ■ *Three Sudanese refugees racially attacked by gang of ten in Townend, Glasgow*

IMMIGRATION

8 APR *Sunday Times* reveals Home Office plans to establish teams of immigration officers to track down and deport rejected asylum seekers

23 APR British Medical Association publishes handbook which warns of health problems caused by dispersal and vouchers

24 APR Police arrest 118 in raids against traffickers; 97 suspected Polish illegal immigrants are also arrested

25 APR 74 suspected illegal immigrants deported to Poland ■ Jack Straw announces plans to speed up deportations of rejected asylum seekers, plus increased use of charter flights in deportations

26 APR Refugees evacuated after deadly legionella bacteria found in hot water tanks at Oakington detention centre ■ Four stowaways deported to France after found clinging to Seafrance ferry for 20 miles to Dover

1 MAY *Home Office authorises immigration officers to discriminate against ethnic groups including Tamils, Kurds and Roma*

11 MAY Seven men in Holland convicted in relation to deaths of Dover 58, two others acquitted of all charges ■ 11 asylum seekers, detained in Cardiff prison, handcuffed while on visit to Cardiff Royal Infirmary for routine tests

17 MAY Court of Appeal rules that Home Secretary acted unlawfully in including Pakistan on safe country list

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

12 APR Justice Moreland gives Duwayne Brooks leave to appeal decision which halted his claim for compensation against the Met police

24 APR Met launches initiative to make service more inclusive and accessible; new policies include acceptance of deadlocked applicants and police issue hijab

25 APR *CPS decides there is insufficient evidence for manslaughter prosecution of police officers involved in the death of Christopher Alder*

30 APR 'Fair treatment' training pack for magistrates and JPs to help them challenge discrimination and prejudice comes into use

1 MAY Prison Service announces cuts in spending of over £1 million at Feltham YOI, where Zahid Mubarek was murdered by a racist

2 MAY Durham prison officer sacked for refusing to remove Nazi badges from his uniform

14 MAY South London coroner Selena Lynch begins review of new evidence with view to holding fresh inquest into 14 deaths in New Cross fire in 1981

15 MAY Attorney General announces that *Sunday Mirror* to be prosecuted for contempt after publishing article that led to collapse of Leeds footballers' trial

17 MAY *Inquest records verdict of accidental death aggravated by neglect on death of Rocky Bennett, who died after he was restrained in the Norvic Clinic, Norwich in 1998*

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