

# carf68

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**peoples' security**  
...not national security



## FEATURES

### PEOPLES' SECURITY

#### 3 Peoples' security not national security

Liz Fekete reports on the recently launched Asian Peoples' Security Network (APSN) and the US militarisation of Asia post-September 11

#### 5 India, Pakistan: the threats to peace

Mike Marqusee examines the response to September 11 in India and Pakistan

#### 7 Israel and the US: Shoulder to shoulder against 'terrorism'

Nancy Murray looks at the US/Israeli alliance on the 'War on Terror'

### REFUGEES AT RISK

#### 9 The IOM and the culture of expulsion

NoBorder network. Plus: Migration Watch: Anti-immigrant racism gets academic veneer

#### 11 Campaigning under threat

The press and politicians attack lottery funding for the National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns. Plus: campaign updates

#### 14 Campaigns and updates

CARF reports on the trial of officers involved in the death of Christopher Alder; the shooting of Fosta Errol Thompson in Bristol; the Harry Stanley inquest verdict and Derek Bennett

#### 16 Diary of race and resistance

### Campaign Against Racism and Fascism

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### Cover image



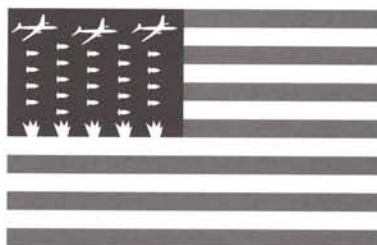
The image on our cover is a design by Tian Chua, a political prisoner at the Kamunting Detention Camp, Malaysia. The six human forms have been made with egg shells collected after each breakfast, during a time when Tian felt so helpless that he spent all his days and nights pasting the egg shells on black paper in an effort to reconcentrate his mind. The design has now become an icon of the campaign to abolish detention without trial and release all political prisoners in Malaysia (see p4).

One year has now passed since the US government launched a war without limit in time, place or principle. The war on terrorism marks the remilitarisation of America's global project, the free movement of capital joined, now, by the free movement of war, to be pursued at America's choosing. Around the world, the language of national security, of demonisation, of enforced regime change, has been first normalised and then turned into law, at America's behest. As such, governments around the world that have had extra-parliamentary internal opposition now want to be America's friend, and use the war against terrorism as a cover to introduce anti-democratic legislation that forecloses on dissent.

In this issue of CARF we continue our attempts to place these global forces in the context of their local settings. In India, as Mike Marqusee explains, the war against terrorism has been seen by the ruling Hindu nationalist government as its greatest opportunity. Its Islamophobia has been seemingly vindicated, its new and illiberal anti-terrorist legislation has been passed and it now looks forward to replacing Pakistan as America's major ally in South Asia, putting an end to old values of non-alignment. Meanwhile in Pakistan, the war against terrorism has only served to strengthen Musharraf's

military dictatorship and the influence of the IMF.

For Israel, courting of America is, of course, an old strategy which has found new impetus in the current climate. Nancy Murray describes how initially the war against terrorism offered some hope that Israeli



repression would no longer be given uncritical support in Washington. But that hope was soon drowned out by the extreme Right in the State Department who saw the opportunity to carve out anew America's hegemony in the Middle East, with Israel standing as one with the USA, and 'sharing its pain'.

And, as Liz Fekete reports, in Southeast Asia the US-backed national security agenda is now being used to turn back the democratising movements of the last twenty years, in the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. In response the Asian Peoples' Security Network has advocated the concept of peoples' security as an alternative to national security. Peoples' security means protection against the abuses carried out by governments in the name of 'anti-terrorism', as well as security against other forms of violence. It means that 'anti-terrorism' cannot, as in Europe, be an excuse to deny refugee rights. And it means that groups cannot be put at risk of violence by the demonisation of entire religious communities.

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# peoples' security not national security



From 23–25 August, more than 50 representatives of NGOs from 17 countries of Asia, western Europe and Australia met in Nakhon Nayok, Thailand to launch the Asian Peoples' Security Network.

APSN, which highlights the increasing US militarisation of Asia post-September 11, has launched a campaign to promote a people's security agenda as an alternative to militarisation and the War on Terrorism. Liz Fekete reports.

## US sanctions Asian repression

Participants identified the War on Terrorism as one of the key threats to progress made in the democratising effort of the last two decades which caused the downfall of authoritarian dictatorships in the Philippines (1986), Korea (1987), Thailand (1992), Indonesia (1996 and 1997) and, finally, in East Timor (2001). Throughout Asia, anti-terrorism laws have traditionally been used by states to suppress pro-democracy movements, sanction human rights abuse and to suspend the rule of law. Now that process is being intensified by the formation of the International Coalition Against Terrorism, which embraces anti-democratic governments throughout the world, and serves as a further pretext for the governments of Asia to extend and intensify the use of national security laws. Hence, the vital importance of this regional conference in developing solidarity and cooperation among the people of Asia to fight back against mutually reinforcing Asian national security regimes.

## A new security agenda

Many different campaigns were launched at the meeting but the most far-reaching was the initiation of the peoples' security agenda. Throughout the conference, participants gave voice to their belief that the 'basic aspiration of the people of Asia for democracy, an aspiration that is deeper today than ever before' was intimately linked to the desire for human security.

## Malaysia

### Repeal the Internal Security Act, free all political prisoners

The US wants to set up a regional counter-terrorism unit in Malaysia. Once an international pariah for its use of the Internal Security Act (ISA) to incarcerate members of the pro-democracy movement, the Malaysian government is now being feted by the US and its allies. During a recent visit to Kuala Lumpur, the Australian defence minister, Robert Hill, even went so far as to voice his approval of Malaysia's use of ISA. (He later qualified his remarks.)

Malaysia's ISA provides for 'preventive detention' without trial for an indefinite period. Under ISA, a detainee can be held incommunicado for up to 60 days

While this concept of 'peoples security' or 'human security' was ultimately a positive concept, it also needed to be defined in terms of its negation in national security laws which constitute state abrogation of the rule of law, and a violation of the principles articulated by international human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In their call to action, participants reminded governments that 'all acts of violence perpetrated by them in the name of national security or the "war on terrorism" which violate international human rights law are in fact terrorist acts themselves'. And in launching a campaign against state torture, delegates promised to 'act together to oppose such acts of state terrorism'.

In rejecting the reduction of security to that of governments' 'national security', the conference affirmed that 'real security is that which ensures the promotion and realisation of all human rights – political, social, economic and cultural – for all peoples'. While authoritarian regimes in Asia may have been the immediate beneficiaries of September 11, the people of Asia could still 'seize this moment' to achieve real democracy, in part through popularising the idea of peoples' security as an alternative to militarisation and the War on Terrorism. ■

More information on the Asian Peoples' Security Network, including its 'Call for Action' can be found at [www.suaram.org/nsl-workshop](http://www.suaram.org/nsl-workshop)

A full report of the conference is available at [www.irr.org.uk](http://www.irr.org.uk)



without access to family or lawyers. Former detainees at the notorious Kamunting detention centre have testified to being subjected to physical and psychological torture, such as assault, sleep deprivation, round-the-clock interrogation, solitary confinement, strip searches, threats of bodily harm to family members, including detainees' children.

Malaysia's best-known political prisoner is the former deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim – but there are scores more. ISA has been used on many occasions in the past on communist supporters, opposition leaders, NGO activists, religious leaders, intellectuals, followers of



certain schools of Islam other than Sunni etc. Following the events of September 11, scores of Muslim leaders have been rounded up and interned. The work of Suaram – a joint organiser of the APSN – was undermined in April 2001, when secretariat member Tian Chua was one of six reform movement organisers arrested under ISA.



Tian Chua, a long-time labour rights activist and vice president of the National Justice Party formed in 2000 following the imprisonment of Anwar Ibrahim, is now incarcerated in Kamunting detention centre after being served with a two-year detention order. ■

Please send letters of protest about the treatment of Tian Chua and other political prisoners to Datuk Abdullah Amad Badawi, Minister of Home Affairs and deputy prime minister, Aras 13, Block D1, Parcel D, Pusat Pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan, 65202 Putrajaya, Malaysia. Further information from Suaram, 383 First Floor, Jalan 5/59, 46000 Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia. Email [wkpeng@pc.jaring.my](mailto:wkpeng@pc.jaring.my)

## Manipur, India Release Irom Sharmila

The Asian Peoples' Security Network has set up an international campaign in solidarity with the 29-year-old human rights activist, Irom Sharmila who has been on an indefinite fast since November 2000 in the North East Indian state of Manipur.

Manipur, which means 'the land of jewels', is more usually known as a paradise for western tourists, drawn to its green valleys and lush hills. Few bother to find out more about the shocking human rights abuses suffered by its people, following the Indian government's brutal repression of an internal conflict which has scarred the region for decades. Irom Sharmila, who is calling for the repeal of the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act (1958), which, in listing Manipur as a 'disturbed area' effectively institutionalises a shoot to kill policy in the region, started her fast to death on 2 November 2000. That day, ten innocent civilians, including women, were shot dead by members of the Assam Rifles at Malom near Imphal airport. On the third day of her hunger strike, Ms Sharmila was arrested and charged with attempted suicide. Placed in judicial custody ever since, she has been forcibly nasal fed for almost twenty months now. Her condition is deteriorating rapidly and her vital organs are now seriously affected. ■

Petitions to the Indian president calling for the immediate release from illegal detention of Irom Sharmila are available from CARF. More information from Babloo Loitongbam, Executive Director, Human Rights Alert, PO Box 183, Kwateithel Thiyam Leikai, Imphal 795001, Manipur, India

Irom Sharmila, with human rights activists from Meira Pabis, the torch bearers of Manipur



## NEWS ROUND-UP

### US: 'terror courts' illegal

In August, a federal appeals court ruled that the US justice department was acting illegally in holding foreign nationals after the September 11 attacks and arranging secret deportations. In future, government deportation hearings will have to be held in public. Earlier in the month, another federal court had ordered the justice department to name all suspects held since September 11, most without charge, on minor immigration violations. It is believed that at least 1,900 people may have been deported following decisions made by secret deportation courts.

### EU/US secret treaty slammed

The EU and the US are secretly negotiating a treaty on judicial cooperation which, amongst other things, will make it easier to extradite suspects to the US where they could face the death penalty. According to *Statewatch* editor, Tony Bunyan, 'this is a primary example of fundamental rights and protections built up in the EU over decades being put up for negotiation by EU governments to meet US demands in the so-called war on terrorism'.

More information from [www.statewatch.org/news/2002/jul/11Auseu.htm](http://www.statewatch.org/news/2002/jul/11Auseu.htm)

### UK – detention without trial 'unlawful'

In July, a panel of judges sitting at a special immigration appeals commission (SIAC) ruled that the government acted unlawfully by discriminating against foreign nationals when it rounded up eleven terror suspects and imprisoned them in high security jails without charge. Despite the ruling, none of the men, including the Palestinian, Mahmoud Abu Rideh, who is close to death at Broadmoor, Britain's highest security mental hospital, will be released.

According to the Campaign Against Criminalising Communities (CACC), SIAC's verdict, while seemingly welcome, contains much that is disturbing. Firstly, it implies that as long as the government applies for a derogation order under article 14 of the European human rights convention, which covers discrimination on the grounds of race or religion, detention without trial should continue. Second, the SIAC judges agreed with the government's argument that it was legitimate to detain foreign nationals because there was a state of emergency that threatened the security of the nation. But no evidence of such an emergency has ever been presented by the government. It would seem that SIAC based its assessment almost entirely on press cuttings which were largely fed to the press by the intelligence services.

More information from [www.cacc.org.uk](http://www.cacc.org.uk)





# India and Pakistan the threats to peace

This is an edited version of a talk given by political commentator Mike Marqusee to the Institute of Race Relations earlier this year, in which he looked at the forces in Delhi, Islamabad and Washington that are driving conflict in south Asia

The Hindu right, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) currently in government in India, was, along with the Israeli right, the major force that rejoiced on September 11. Seen smiling and celebrating when the World Trade Center went down, BJP supporters believed that 'now at last the USA will be on-side in our strategic struggle against Islamic terror', which they define as the enemy within – 130 million Muslims – and the enemy without – Pakistan. And they believed that, like Sharon, they would now be given the green light for aggressive Hindutva anti-Islamic policies.

## Hindu extremism

In the early '90s the BJP and the constellation of forces around its parent organisation, the Hindu extremist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), were virtually untouchable in political terms. No one would make an alliance with them. Now they dominate India's centre of power, both socially and politically. There is no other national party that can pull together a governing coalition. Their legitimisation across much of the Indian media and throughout much of the West is an astonishing turn-about in 10 years.

During this decade, the neo-liberal policies of privatisation and deregulation have profoundly reshaped Indian politics. The success of the BJP and the RSS is an example of how globalisation, far from reducing national and religious identity and other forms of chauvinism, is actually exacerbating them. They have been nourished on a potent cocktail of uninhibited consumerism and aggressive national identity. In the conditions of insecurity and instability produced by globalisation, cultural identity becomes an especially valuable commodity. In a rootless society, those who sell what appears to be 'roots' in convenient packages – packages premised on the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others – find a vast market at their disposal.

The first thing the BJP did after forming a stable government in 1998 was to explode a nuclear weapon – not in response to any perceived threat, but basically as a form of national status-seeking, to show that the 'great Hindu nation' had joined the global elite of nuclear states.

## Mobilisation on the border

After September 11, the BJP immediately offered bases to the Americans, hoping to shape a whole new military and political axis with the US. But given geographical realities, the US had to deal first with Pakistan. Then, with the attack on the Indian parliament on 13 December, the BJP claimed explicitly the right to strike militarily across borders at countries allegedly harbouring terrorists (in this case, Pakistan). In doing so it deliberately echoed Bush's line. But because India is merely a regional power

and not the global superpower, the US made it clear that a cross-border attack was not acceptable. So it had to content itself with a huge military mobilisation along the border.

Since then, something like 700,000 Indian troops have been amassed along the 3,000 km India-Pakistan frontier. Pakistan has reciprocated, placing several hundred thousand troops along its southern frontier. There are about a million troops still there. They have been there more than eight months, armed to the teeth. And both countries have nuclear weapons, which both governments have threatened to use against the other.

The BJP has also imposed new and draconian restrictions on civil liberties in the form of the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, which has now become an Act. There were new threats and attacks on Indian Muslims and the desecration of the Taj Mahal when members of the BJP youth wing urinated on it – which the Indian prime minister treated as youthful high jinks.

## Gujarat pogrom

Following the Sabarmati Express attack on 27 February, the pogrom in Gujarat was launched. This was not communal violence as we had known it previously in south Asia. This was a state-organised pogrom against a religious minority. Several thousand people were killed, 140,000 people were displaced and remain displaced. Gujarat is one of the more industrialised, more wealthy states in India. It is also the only state in India where the BJP boasts an absolute majority in the state assembly. It was very much the Hindutva laboratory. The upshot of this was the pogrom in Gujarat. Its particular savagery has to be emphasised. Muslims were being specifically targeted. People went around with prepared lists, some of which had been provided by police and state officials. They went from house to house, burned down offices, factories and shops that belonged to Muslims (many of whom did not have obviously Muslim names). It also involved rape, and the mutilation of unborn children.

And while this was going on, sections of the BJP, including AB Vajpayee, the prime minister, were prepared, not only to turn a blind eye, but virtually to apologise it away as a 'Hindu awakening', a 'new Hindu assertiveness', a few excesses, maybe, but not the Nazi-like pogrom that it actually was. And of course neither the US nor Britain really said or did anything about this act of terrorist fundamentalist violence as extreme as anything we've seen in recent years – supposedly what the war against terror is about. Gujarat made it clear that when atrocities are committed by our allies in the war against terror – it's OK, and we will turn a blind eye to it.

This wasn't just an attack on Muslims, a religious minority. It was also about the reshaping of Hinduism itself. The term Hinduism covers a lot of different practices,



ideas and traditions. There are in Hinduism traditions of syncretic religious worship which combine different elements of different faiths. For the BJP this is unacceptable; it wants to purge Hinduism of precisely that element which makes it distinctive. The BJP and RSS want to turn Hinduism into a monotheistic religion – something more like the Islam they demonise, something more rigid, with clear boundaries.

### Pakistan cracks down

Across the border in Pakistan, the impact of September 11 has also been huge. For 20 years Pakistani society has been in the grip of a triangular relationship between the Pakistani military, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in one corner, the USA with the CIA in another corner and the armed jihadi militants (developed during the American jihad against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan) in the third. Whenever the Pakistani people have had a chance to vote (which is seldom), they have always resoundingly rejected jihadism and fundamentalism. In the last elections all those parties combined got 5%. Jihadi groups owe their influence in Pakistani society to their intimate relationship with the Pakistani state and the Pakistani military.

After September 11, the global paradigm for the Americans had changed. They told Musharraf to crack down on jihadism, and that crackdown has been widely welcomed, I think it's fair to say, by most people in Pakistan. This is nothing to do with their attitude to Islam or the degree to which they practice Islam, but a completely separate political question. The jihadi groups have been a political disaster for Pakistan, introducing a gun culture, drug trafficking and sectarian violence among Muslims as well as against non-Muslim minorities.

So while people welcomed the crackdown, they are also sceptical because it was done at the behest of the Americans and had very little to do with the welfare and development of Pakistani society. Rather than disarm the jihadis, Musharraf banned them, denounced them rhetorically and locked up 2,000 people, only to let them out a month later. Meanwhile there are, it is said, 70,000 armed jihadi militants in Pakistan, and that's a force so deeply ensconced, it won't disappear overnight.

The one thing we can say absolutely about the upshot of September 11 in Pakistan is that it has entrenched military dictatorship. Any hope of getting rid of that dictatorship sooner, rather than later, is gone. The referendum, which confirms Musharraf as the president

for five years, was bogus. They even announced that he had won 98 per cent of the vote. And that was lauded by the State Department and the Foreign Office as a genuine exercise in democracy.

### IMF rule

The other force which has been entrenched in Pakistan since September 11 is IMF rule. Pakistan is very heavily in debt. And there are now all kinds of IMF people in Pakistan advising Musharraf, forming policy. American-based multinational corporations have moved into Pakistan in large numbers, carving out privatisation deals in utilities, communications and transport sectors.

Also, since September 11, there are now two permanent large-scale US military bases in Pakistan, and the US controls a very significant section of Pakistani airspace. That's how they conducted the war against Afghanistan. There are also a couple of hundred FBI agents in Pakistan. A Pakistani friend was stopped recently in Lahore, and asked to show his passport, in his own country, to an FBI agent – who was an African-American woman from Tennessee. (Significantly in February, there was also, for the first time ever, a military exercise conducted by US forces in India. Although only 200 US marines were involved, it was a hugely important event symbolically, given India's tradition of non-alignment.)

### Kashmir question

While the India/Pakistan conflict is not reducible to the question of Kashmir, it is obviously related to it. For domestic political reasons, politicians, either Indian or Pakistani, play the Kashmir card in order to distract and divert attention from their own grotesque failures in social and economic policy. The Indians have had something like 600,000 troops in Kashmir throughout the last 12-year insurgency – something like one soldier for every 12 civilians, and 60–70,000 people have died. Both the Indian army and the so-called jihadi groups have committed atrocities. And both are unaccountable to the people of Kashmir. The impact of their battle has been to communalise what was previously a highly inter-mixed Kashmiri society and culture, and to turn a political struggle for social justice and self-determination into a religious conflict. I agree with Arundhati Roy when she says that for the politicians in Delhi and Islamabad, 'Kashmir is not a problem – it's the solution'. It's 'the rabbit they pull out of the hat' whenever they don't have the answer to the real problems facing their people.

Meanwhile Britain sells huge quantities of arms to both India and Pakistan and it has done so continuously throughout this crisis. In February there was a large arms fair in Delhi at which 33 British companies, including British Aerospace, were represented. A deal was concluded for £1bn worth of Hawk jets – a deal that Blair had paved the way for on his visit to south Asia a few weeks earlier.

It's not going to be very credible for either Britain or the US to lecture India and Pakistan about nuclear weapons while they possess them. And the double standard about nuclear weapons has simply made it easier for both the BJP and the Pakistani military to justify keeping them.

But more than that, since September 11, the US response has legitimised the use of overwhelming military force against a whole people in response to so-called acts of terror committed by a small group; that paradigm is driving the BJP and the Indian state forward in the region, and endangering us all. ■



S O'Neill





Jenin refugee camp / Nancy Murray

# Israel and the US shoulder to shoulder against 'terrorism'

Nancy Murray, a member of the Boston Committee for Palestinian Rights and the Steering Committee of the National Campaign to end the Occupation, shows how the 'War on Terror' has strengthened the US/Israeli alliance



Every cowboy needs his faithful sidekick. Tony Blair effortlessly assumed this role alongside George Bush in the immediate aftermath of September 11 while his partner, Ariel Sharon, was using the cover of the attack on Washington and New York to attack Palestinians with US-made Apaches and F16s. Nine Palestinians were killed by the Israeli army within 24 hours of the destruction of the twin towers. Twenty-one more were killed over the next six days.

## Hopes for change?

As long as Bush the Younger, following the example of Bush the Elder a decade before, thought it necessary to enlist much of the Arab and Muslim world in the 'coalition against terror,' there was at least a chance that the administration might distance itself from Sharon's ferocious repression of the Al Aqsa intifada and ongoing appropriation of Palestinian land. Hopes for a change in US policy were raised when some groups working for Palestinian rights found themselves in the novel position of having their views actively solicited by congressional aides.

Was it really in the United States' interest, we asked them, to inflame the region by uncritically supporting Israel's unequal war against the Palestinians? What about the right to resist a 34-year-old occupation? And when the most sophisticated military weapons were being used against a civilian population, why should the word 'terrorist' be reserved for the person who had a bomb but lacked an air force?

## Mossad spies arrested

Furthermore, Israeli assertions that 'at last the Americans know how we feel' and 'Israel and the US are fighting the same battle against terror' could easily seem self-serving, especially at a time when Israelis in the US were being arrested for suspicious activity. The Israeli newspaper *Ha-aretz* reported on 17 September 2001 that five Israelis who worked for a moving company based in New Jersey were being held by the FBI for 'puzzling behavior'. The New York-based liberal Jewish newspaper *Forward* reported that two of them were Mossad agents, and that the company was a front for Mossad (15 March 2002).

Two months later, alleged Israeli spying in the US was the subject of a four-part Fox News series. According to these reports (which were almost immediately deleted from the Fox Channel website), more than 60 Israelis – possibly as many as 200, including many members of the Israeli military – had been arrested and questioned about alleged surveillance activities within the US. The series maintained that one Israeli company, Amdocs Ltd, generated computerised records and billing data for nearly every phone call made in the US, and that another, Comverse Infosys, had 'backdoor' computer access to the wiretapping equipment provided for US law enforcement. Fox News correspondent Carl Cameron stated, 'There is no indication that the Israelis were involved in the 9-11 attacks, but investigators suspect that the Israelis may have gathered intelligence



about the attacks in advance and not shared it.' Whatever the truth of the matter, the possible existence in the US of an Israeli spy network that tracked Al Qaeda in the months before the attack was not seen as a fit subject for further media enquiry in the United States. Neither was the increasing number of civilian deaths caused by US bombing in Afghanistan. By early 2002, with 'victory' at hand in Afghanistan, US bases multiplying across the globe, and Middle East client regimes successfully containing anti-Israel/US protests, there was no need for the administration to consider putting light between itself and Israel. Indeed, an even tighter embrace of 'the sole democracy in the Middle East' was urged on Bush by his key voting constituency, the politically powerful 'Christian Zionists'. These fundamentalist evangelicals, believing that Jewish expansion through the whole Biblical 'Land of Israel' would usher in the Second Coming of Christ, orchestrated major 'Stand By Israel' rallies, congressional lobbying and fundraising for settlements.



### Right-wingers win out

Far right-wingers within the State Department and Pentagon meanwhile drowned out the more moderate voices. Seeing in the unending 'war on terrorism' the opportunity to remake the whole Middle East and seize control of Iraq's oil, they shaped a new 'Busharon doctrine' to give Israel unchallenged regional hegemony under the global domination of the USA. Sharon and Bush were now seen as fighting the same battle against terror, with secretary of defense Rumsfeld denying that the West Bank and Gaza were occupied territory. In Bush's robotic 'you're either for us or against us' cosmology, Ariel Sharon emerged as more of a mentor, a godfather even, than a mere partner, whose experience in seeking out and destroying the 'evil forces' could be a valuable teaching tool.

The US Congress was happy to play along, on 2 May passing overwhelmingly a resolution supporting Israel's campaign to destroy 'the terroristic infrastructure' which had caused the rash of suicide attacks against Israelis. The resolution was Congress' response to Israel's March/April 'Operation Defensive Shield', when its army demolished houses, hospitals and schools, and destroyed the computer records in banks, courts, businesses, and ministries of the Palestinian Authority.

### Sharon legitimated

Sharon's goals of re-occupying the areas of Palestinian autonomy, further fragmenting the territory and suffocating the Palestinian economy while accelerating settlement expansion and the takeover of Palestinian land were now seen as legitimate acts in the war against terror. Vanished was any sense that Israel's occupation was implicated in the violence, and that ending the occupation might be more effective than brute repression in making Israeli citizens secure. All-out repression, both regional and global, was seen as the only way forward for both countries. According to the *Marine Corps Times* (31 May 2002), US Marines observed Israeli forces crushing the houses and resistance in Jenin refugee camp in April, hoping to gain tips on fighting urban warfare.

Having identified so closely with Israel, the US would share its pain. In late May, FBI Director Robert Mueller III termed Palestinian-style suicide bombings on American soil 'inevitable.' 'Whatever the difference between their societies,' Judith Miller wrote in the *New York Times*, 'both Israelis and Americans understand that some degree of vulnerability comes with democracy. Last week, a delegation from New York City police traveled to Israel to learn how their Israeli counterparts spot and interdict suicide bombers – a sign that Mr Mueller's warnings are being taken seriously' (26 May 2002).

### Two nations, one family

The two nations vow to stand as one in the battle ahead. In June two top security chiefs from Israel, brigadier general David Tzur and minister of interior security Uzi Landau, met with US congressmen and Defense Department officials to talk about setting up a new office to 'fight terrorism'. It would involve 'an almost instantaneous communications link' between the new US Department of Homeland Defense and the Israeli government. The countries would reportedly swap information, terrorist profiles and strategies for fighting terror (*Washington Times*, 1 July 2002).

In minister Landau's words, 'I felt like a member of the same family. We're all facing the same problem of fighting terror.'

And so on to Iraq. ■

### a note on the maps on pages 3–7

source: [www.lib.utexas.edu/maps](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)

This is a major source of non-copyright maps. Some are a few years old. The FAQ page notes that most of the collection is supplied by the US Government, in particular by the Central Intelligence Agency. All the Kashmir maps were produced by the CIA.



# The IOM and the culture of expulsion

The aftermath of September 11 has been felt in Europe not just in terms of anti-terror legislation, but also in an acceleration of plans to fast-track the expulsion of migrants. And at the centre of any expulsion plans is found the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), a little-known but hugely important international organisation of member states which is unaccountable to national parliaments.



In July, the British government was offering thousands of Afghan asylum seekers up to £2,500 as an inducement to return home voluntarily. And it made clear that the IOM would be involved in the process. But how voluntary is voluntary? How philanthropic are such policies? And should NGOs be co-operating with the IOM? As the organisation opens its first London office, the European NoBorder network, which has been monitoring the activities of the International Organisation for Migration, warns anti-racists in Britain what is about to happen here and asks them to join October protests which will be taking place across Europe.

**A**FTER piloting, from a Brussels office, a project to return refused asylum seekers from the UK, the organisation deemed the removal of 490 people so 'successful' that a full-scale operation has now been launched here. The IOM has quickly established a number of 'voluntary return' schemes and it also accommodates Home Office seminars in countries as far as Kazakhstan, Kirgystan or Tajikistan on topics such as preventing 'illegal' migration or the use of fraudulent documents. Such schemes either rely on co-operation with the Home Office directly or with academics or NGOs like Refugee Action. Some partners have a record of supporting asylum seekers and refugees, as Refugee Action does, or lobbying for women's rights. At first glance, some of these programmes, such as supporting victims of female trafficking, assisting those without funds to return home and so on appear perfectly worthy. But are they? Alarm bells began to ring a year ago when the Roma National Congress exposed the crucial role the IOM played in expelling the Roma from Western Europe. We took a closer look at the IOM, its history, politics and policies.

## Global migration management

The IOM, which currently has 93 member governments with another 36 with observer status, was founded on a US initiative in 1951 and expressed cold war politics and the Truman doctrine. Initially named the (Provisional) Inter-Governmental Committee on Migration in Europe, it was based on economic

assumptions, in contrast to the humanitarian principles of the UNHCR. Unlike the UN, which is based on international law and agreements, the ICME/IOM is a membership organisation and is therefore not accountable to any democratically elected body but only to its member states. Although international organisations such as UNHCR, UNICEF and the WHO have observer status, as do international trade union, religious and welfare organisations, they have no voting power. Since 1989, the IOM has been transformed into a transnational agency for the global management of migration within the economic framework of the New World Order. Its individual programmes reflect the neo-liberal ideology which rationally selects the 'useful' workers in IT, medicine and construction and treats autonomous migrants, 'sans papiers' and their support networks as public enemies.

## Border intelligence

The organisation has rapidly extended its influence, opening 19 regional offices, over 100 field offices, a number of other agencies like the Technical Co-operation Centre in Vienna and several temporary bodies which cover the globe. Through its outposts, it aims to detect migration routes and patterns, to give advice to governments and to train border troops on new technologies. It advises the EU on border management, and has recommended border control in Turkey as a fundamental tool to fight irregular migration. The IOM runs pilot projects to help neighbouring countries adjust to EU policy requirements, and has arranged trips to the US-Mexican border for Ukrainian immigration officials to learn about the use of fences, trenches, high-tech equipment to catch illegal immigrants. It runs information campaigns and seminars in places such as Sangatte, Macedonia and Azerbaijan, targeting professionals and migrants. (In Sangatte, it showed a 'video nasty' on Britain, which succeeded in persuading 17 would-be asylum seekers out of 17,500 to return home!) Though they are often described as





measures to prevent the trafficking of women, the overall aim is to discourage westward migration. Since its foundation, it has affected an estimated 11 million people, and in 2000 alone it facilitated the movement of about 450,000 people, negotiating a 60 percent discount for flights with certain airlines.

## Ahmadi family 'tricked into leaving UK'

The Ahmadi family, who were removed to Germany after immigration officers forced their way into a mosque where they had taken refuge and seized them, have claimed that the Home Office lied to them about the status they would get in Germany. The family abandoned their legal challenge against removal when Home Office officials allegedly told them the German authorities had agreed to grant them humanitarian status, which would protect them from removal to Afghanistan. On arrival in Germany, the family were told they would be safe from deportation only for a period of months, until the next review on the safety of Afghanistan. They have launched a fresh challenge in the British High Court seeking their return here. ■



## Voluntary returns?

Though the IOM claims to support only voluntary returns, the German experience of 75,000 people returned in 2000 shows that these are frequently disguised deportations – often of rejected asylum seekers who, deprived of all benefits, are left destitute and desperate enough to sign an agreement for their 'voluntary' return. Northern Iraq, Kosovo,

Angola, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sierra Leone – the list of destination countries itself raises doubts about the voluntariness of returns. And the IOM is central to plans for the speedy return of migrants agreed by the EU in July which provide none of the human rights safeguards of previous legislation.

The Roma National Congress has already expressed its grave concerns about the IOM's role in involuntary removals. The Campaign to Compensate Victims of Nazi Slave Work has criticised it for the delay on reparations payments, for which it has been paid millions of dollars by the German government, the Polish prostitutes' organisation La Strada has stopped working with the IOM and activists in Poland and Ukraine are angry about its role in implementing new border regimes. NoBorder believes that any honest NGO should terminate any collaboration.

The European NoBorder network has launched a campaign 'Against the global migration regime – for freedom of movement' with a focus on the IOM, and calls for an International Day of Action between 11-13 October. Protests are already planned in Ukraine, Poland, Finland, Austria, Germany, Belgium etc. ■

For further info or to contact the campaign, email: [iom@noborder.org](mailto:iom@noborder.org)

Sources: [www.iomlondon.org](http://www.iomlondon.org); [www.compensation-for-forced-labour.org](http://www.compensation-for-forced-labour.org); [www.noborder.org/iom](http://www.noborder.org/iom); [www.romnews.com/a/32-01.html](http://www.romnews.com/a/32-01.html); [www.iom.int](http://www.iom.int)

# Anti-immigrant racism gets academic veneer

## MIGRATION WATCH CLAIMS THAT TWO MILLION FOREIGNERS WILL BE SETTLING IN BRITAIN OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS.

It says much about the English newspaper industry that two men, with nothing more than a website and a set of alarmist figures about immigration to Britain, were able to set the news agenda for several days at the beginning of August, casting us back to the dangerous 'numbers game' of the Enoch Powell years. *Migration Watch UK*, a so-called 'thinktank' founded by Sir Andrew Green, a 'retired diplomat', and David Coleman, an Oxford don who has made a career out of giving governments academic backing for immigration restrictions, claimed that 2 million foreigners would be settling in Britain over the next ten years, pushing the country to crisis point.

While Coleman defended his figures, claiming to be an independent, scientific researcher striving to have an 'open debate' on immigration, his claims in fact give academic credibility to the kind of *Daily Mail* racism which holds that Britain is being 'swamped'. As its website shows, the group's starting assumption is that immigration is a bad thing and threatens the 'coherence' of the nation. The group first attempted to get media attention in May, when a figure of 1 million immigrants in five years was reported in the *Sun*, but the story failed to catch on. Shortly afterwards, the group increased its prediction to 2 million immigrants in ten years, but that still only got them a short mention in the *Times*.

It was only later in August that the *Mail* and *Telegraph* decided the story was worth pushing, and

the *Mail's* front page reported '250,000 migrants a year entering Britain' or, more graphically, 'a city the size of Cambridge every six months'. Other sections of the media lamely followed suit, so that the story dominated the week's news, as effectively as if Powell himself had risen from the dead and revisited his 'rivers of blood' speech. Ironically, the right-wing press – having set the entire news agenda for the country onto the question of whether 'enough is enough' – were still complaining by the end of it, that this was something that couldn't be 'openly debated' because of an enforced silence on the issue caused by, you guessed it, political correctness.

Interesting to note then how little was mentioned of the group's own background. Only *Private Eye* had the honesty to tell its readers that Andrew Green, as well as spending many years in the Diplomatic Service, including stints as ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Syria, also spent time on the board of Vickers Military Systems which makes tanks for dictatorships in the Middle East. Who better, then, to understand the forces which drive asylum seekers to flee their homes in the first place? ■

## STOP PRESS

Migration Watch is now threatened by a legal challenge for breach of the trademark rights of 'Immigration Watch', a website that seeks to challenge media myths about migration ([www.immigrationwatch.info](http://www.immigrationwatch.info)).



# Campaigning under threat

The announcement that lottery funding was to go to the National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (NCADC) gave rise to a barrage of xeno-racism from the right-wing press and a bluster of outrage from home secretary David Blunkett.



NCADC campaigns outside Winson Green prison, 1997.

THE National Coalition has received lottery funding for some years now, without comment. But the announcement of continued funding for NCADC was greeted on 10 August by the *Mail* headline: 'Is this the barmiest lottery handout of them all?' Apart from the story itself, the *Mail* used its editorial pages to attack immigration and to condemn the 'polite liberals' who 'stifle debate'. It quoted extensively from the right-wing organisation Migration Watch (see p10) on the 'problem' of the 'unprecedented wave of immigration' which is 'utterly transforming the society in which we live against the wishes of the majority of the population, damaging quality of life and social cohesion', before pointing out that 'those who rule this country' are not only doing nothing to stop this disaster, but are giving money to those who support 'illegal immigrants'.

## Link to terrorists

Over the next ten days, the *Mail*, and then the *Daily Telegraph*, followed up with a veritable bombardment of stories attacking NCADC, asylum seekers and their supporters and the Fund, saying that good British organisations supporting blind war veterans 'had their applications for lottery grants thrown out', while £340,000 of lottery money is going to a group 'seeking to thwart the deportation of bogus asylum seekers'. The pressure was cranked up day by day. On 13 August, the *Mail* reported that 'bombers Samar Alami and Jawad

Botmeh, convicted of the 1994 bombing of the Israeli Embassy, and Shafique Ur Rehman, alleged by MI5 to support a terrorist group in Kashmir' are among the cases 'supported and orchestrated' by NCADC. On 15 August, the paper discovered some more 'terrorists', Mukhtiar and Paramjit Singh, whom NCADC 'helped to stay in the country' (although the *Mail* forgot to say that the Special Immigration Appeals Commission allowed their appeals). The following day it seized on the group's slogan 'No One is Deported till the Plane Takes Off', which it said was a call for the physical disruption of deportations at airports, and highlighted NCADC's 'anti-government stance, its references to Labour as the height of evil, and its accusations that Mr Blunkett is "colluding with fascism"'. Next the *Mail* found another 'terrorist', Paramjit Singh Chahal, whom NCADC had supported (it omitted to say that the European Court of Human Rights upheld Chahal's case against the UK).

As for the Fund, it had a history of funding 'bizarre projects', according to the *Mail* of 13 August, although all the paper could come up with by way of examples were the £92,000 given to a South African version of the Big Issue, £429,000 given to a women's peace project in the Great Lakes region of Africa, a £495,000 grant in 1999 to consumer rights groups in Albania and other eastern European and past grants to gay and lesbian organisations. The media campaign also went for ministers who formed part of the 'liberal conspiracy' – and particularly the minister for culture Tessa Jowell,

for funding guidelines which 'paved the way for millions of pounds in lottery cash to be spent on asylum seekers and refugees' – approval which, according to the *Mail*, looked 'set to cause a rift' with home secretary David Blunkett.

## Blunkett goes on attack

The *Mail*'s attacking strategy worked. Home secretary David Blunkett is said to have 'gone ballistic' when he heard of the grant. He and the *Mail* clearly saw eye to eye. An unnamed

## Activist wins appeal

Gabriel Nkwelle, Cameroonian activist and human rights campaigner, won his appeal in July when an adjudicator accepted that he was a genuine refugee and that he would be persecuted if he was returned to Cameroon. It was the culmination of a long and bitter struggle for Gabriel, who had been fighting for recognition as a refugee in Britain for over two years. During his detention in several notorious detention centres and prisons including Harmondsworth, Haslar and Belmarsh, Gabriel gained recognition by campaigning against immigration detention and the conditions he and fellow detainees were held in – and on his release he continued his campaigning work as a volunteer for BID (Bail for Immigration Detainees). Days after Gabriel was photographed beaming with pride as the group won the annual Liberty/Justice human rights award on 10 December 2001, his appeal against the Home Office's refusal of asylum was turned down, and a week or so later they tried to remove him. His lawyers obtained a stay on his removal while supporters scrambled for fresh evidence of the dangers he faced if he was returned, and, on a new appeal, the evidence proved decisive. ■



'government insider' expressed the view in the *Mail* of 13 August that NCADC was 'undermining the system' by claiming that nobody should be deported, and so was ineligible for funding. Blunkett could not order the Fund to revoke the grant, since the Fund is independent, but he ordered its officials to a meeting with him and Jowell to explain it. The Fund's officials defended themselves spiritedly, saying that rigorous scrutiny had satisfied them that the NDADC, although a campaigning group, was not engaged in politics and so not in breach of funding guidelines. But six days of unremitting

abuse from the *Mail* and the *Telegraph*, and the weight of Blunkett's displeasure, forced Fund officials to freeze the grant pending investigation of Home Office claims of political activity by the group.

Though the *Observer* revealed the ministerial hypocrisy involved in attacking an organisation whose campaigns many senior

Labour figures – including Jack Straw, Mike O'Brien, Peter Hain, Barbara Roche, then leader Neil Kinnock and Tessa Jowell – had supported in the 1990s and it forced Tessa Jowell to admit that 'petitioning against deportation is a perfectly legal and proper activity', the funds were frozen.

The *Mail's* campaign didn't let up even after the freeze on funds was announced. Having run out of allegations against NCADC, the paper attacked its lead worker John O. Under the headline 'Asylum campaigner backs murderers too', it reported that he was an active supporter of 'freedom for notorious killers', backing Winston Silcott, Michael Stone and Barry George. This was a reference to John O's unpaid work for Miscarriages of Justice UK.

## Causes and effects

The *Mail* campaign – and Blunkett's endorsement of it – unleashed a frightening amount of racism, expressed in hate mail, threats and abusive phone calls to the Community Fund and NCADC. But for NCADC, the main effect of the political and media action has been that at

the end of August, its money ran out. 'We're not about to shut up shop. We'll carry on even if the money isn't there', John O assured *CARF*. Movements such as the National Coalition, which have taken root in the communities and represent struggles of resistance against

injustice, don't give up that easily. But, meanwhile, racism is ratcheted up. The *Mail*, the *Telegraph* and ministers must acknowledge their role in raising the racial temperature, which gives credibility to the extreme right, and leads inexorably to attacks such as that in which Iranian asylum seeker Peiman Bahmani died on 29 August (see p13). ■

## Man who 'loses' family loses appeal against removal

Aziz Ahmed, the Tanzanian asylum seeker who lost his wife and five-year-old daughter in the Home Office in Croydon while he was being interviewed, lost his High Court challenge against removal in July. Mr Ahmed went to the Home Office with his family to claim asylum eighteen months ago, days after the family's arrival. He was arrested on suspicion of giving false identity details, and when he was



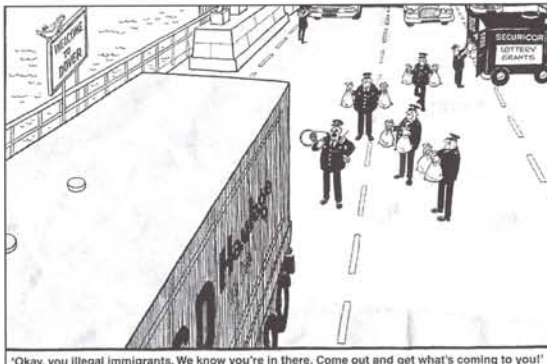
released the following day could not find his wife or child. When, days later, he made his way back to the Home Office to find out what had happened to them, he was detained and remained in detention until his deportation on 31 August. All his attempts to find out what happened to his family have drawn a blank – and the Home Office has given false and misleading information to police investigating the disappearance, telling them at one stage that he was alone when he claimed asylum, at another that they had his wife's address, and finally that she must have 'gone underground' to avoid detection, or she has left her husband. ■

Campaign to Free Aziz Ahmed, 45 Carlton Road, Oxford OX2 7SA  
Tel: 01865 511 814

## Home Office assists Ethiopian 'ethnic cleansing'

When is an Ethiopian an Eritrean? When the Home Office says so. This is the answer given to those who fled Ethiopia in fear of detention, imprisonment and forcible deportation to Eritrea because they have Eritrean blood.

In 2000, the Ethiopian government arrested and forcibly deported 75,000 Ethiopians of Eritrean origin to Eritrea. Some were raped, tortured and abused. Some, including a high proportion of under-18s, fled to Britain and claimed political asylum. But the Home Office has told them they must go back – to Eritrea, a country they have never been to and whose language they can't speak. The Home Office claims that the young people will be accepted in Eritrea, a country with a subsistence economy, whose infrastructure is ravaged by the two-year war with Ethiopia and whose borders are heavy with landmines and cluster bombs. The young people, many of whom have lost their parents in the Ethiopian round-up, say they won't be accepted – or that if they are, they will immediately face conscription to the Eritrean army, and may find themselves having to fight against their Ethiopian former friends and neighbours. The Home Office decisions are currently under challenge in the courts. ■



Daily Mail cartoon,  
13 August 2002

## Expulsion fast-track

In August – these things always happen while MPs are on holiday – new rules introduced a new category of 'expedited' asylum appeal. Instead of the current 6 to 8 weeks, detained asylum seekers must now prepare appeals within 6 to 8 days of refusal. Alarmed refugee groups warn that preparation – including collection of evidence – will be impossible. The new rules will result in more refugees being returned to torture and death. ■

NCADC, 110 Hamstead Road,  
Birmingham B20 2QS.  
Tel: 0121 554 6947  
Fax: 0121 554 7891  
Web: www.ncadc.org.uk  
Email: ncadc@ncadc.org.uk



ASYLUM DEATHS

## Dispersed asylum seeker murdered in Sunderland



On 29 August, 28-year-old Iranian asylum seeker Peiman Bahmani was killed in Hendon, Sunderland. Police say there was a confrontation on the street with a group of white people outside the house Peiman shared with four other Iranians, in which he was stabbed and later died in hospital. His death comes a year after dispersed Turkish asylum seeker Firsat Dag was stabbed to death in Sighthill, Glasgow (CARF 66).

Peiman, whose asylum claim had not yet been decided, worked as the manager at Leonardo's Italian restaurant in Sunderland, owned by his girlfriend, Sonia Voza. He died just hours before the couple were due to leave the area to open a new restaurant in Brighton.

Iranian asylum seekers in the area have complained of increased racist abuse and attacks over the past few months. Police made arrests soon after the murder and 18-year-old Steven Roberts, from Edinburgh, was remanded into custody charged with murder, racially aggravated assault and violent disorder. Two Sunderland men, 22-year-old Joseph Rutherford and 27-year-old Gavin Gash, were also remanded and charged with racially aggravated assault and violent disorder. ■

International Federation of Iranian Refugees, BM Box 1919, London WC1N 3XX. Tel: 07931 866 985 Web: [www.hambestegi.org](http://www.hambestegi.org)  
National Civil Rights Movement (NCRM), 14 Featherstone Road, Southall Middlesex UB2 5AA. Tel: 020 8843 2333 Web: [www.ncrm.org.uk](http://www.ncrm.org.uk)

## Charges brought after family campaign



In August, following a concerted campaign by the family of Somali refugee Abdi Dorre, two men were charged with his manslaughter. Abdi died in suspicious circumstances at the Lounge night-club in Northampton in August 2000. He was found with head injuries at the bottom of a fire escape after an argument with doormen at the club. (CARF 65)

The CPS originally claimed there was insufficient evidence to bring charges against anyone. The family's lawyers complained to the CPS and police about their failure to bring charges and to investigate Abdi's death properly. This prompted the CPS to announce a review

of the case in February and as a result charges were brought against the doormen, David Trasler and Farhad Nezhadpournia. In interviews with police, one of the men accused the other of pushing Abdi down the stairs, but this information was ignored and both men were charged. CCTV camera footage also showed the men arguing with Abdi, but failed to record the moment he 'fell' down the stairs. ■

The Abdi Dorre Family Campaign, c/o Somali Community Association, 31 Farthing Grove, Nethfield, Milton Keynes MK6  
National Civil Rights Movement (NCRM), 14 Featherstone Road, Southall Middlesex UB2 5AA. Tel: 020 8843 2333 Web: [www.ncrm.org.uk](http://www.ncrm.org.uk)

## Lone man jailed for gang murder of asylum seeker



In June 2002, an Old Bailey jury found 33-year-old Richard Ellis guilty of the murder of Fetah Marku in March 2000. Fetah, a 24-year-old Kosovan/Albanian asylum seeker, was out celebrating his 24th birthday with friends at the Oscar Wilde pub in Edgware, north London. A fight broke out at the pub between Ellis and one of Fetah's friends. Fetah and his friends were chased out of the pub by a 20- to 30-strong gang who caught and beat Fetah in a car park. The gang then left the scene only to return and continue beating Fetah with planks of wood. He died in hospital as a result of

his injuries, which included 29 stab wounds, a punctured lung, a fractured skull and internal bleeding.

Ellis, who worked as a music promoter at the pub, claimed not to have known anyone else who took part in the attack on Fetah but the jury found that Ellis had 'provided encouragement' to the mob. Ellis was also found to have Fetah's blood on his trainers.

After the conviction, the judge commented that it was unlikely that Ellis, a black man, was 'solely responsible', and the police offered a £7,500 reward for information on the other gang members. ■

RACIST MURDER

## Retrial ordered



In June, the trial began of two men who denied charges of murdering 58-year-old Khaliur Rahman in Birmingham in 2000. Khaliur, father of five, a chef in an Indian restaurant, was beaten, robbed and racially abused by two white men after leaving work in the early hours of 22 October 2000. He was taken to Selly Oak hospital, suffering from internal bleeding and put on a life support machine. He died on 24 November.

Police arrested 27-year-old David Dennehy and 26-year-old Christopher Cucchiario and charged them with murder in September 2001. The jury at Birmingham Crown court heard how, half an hour before the attack on Khaliur, the men had got into a taxi on the Stratford Road, Birmingham, on their way to a massage parlour.

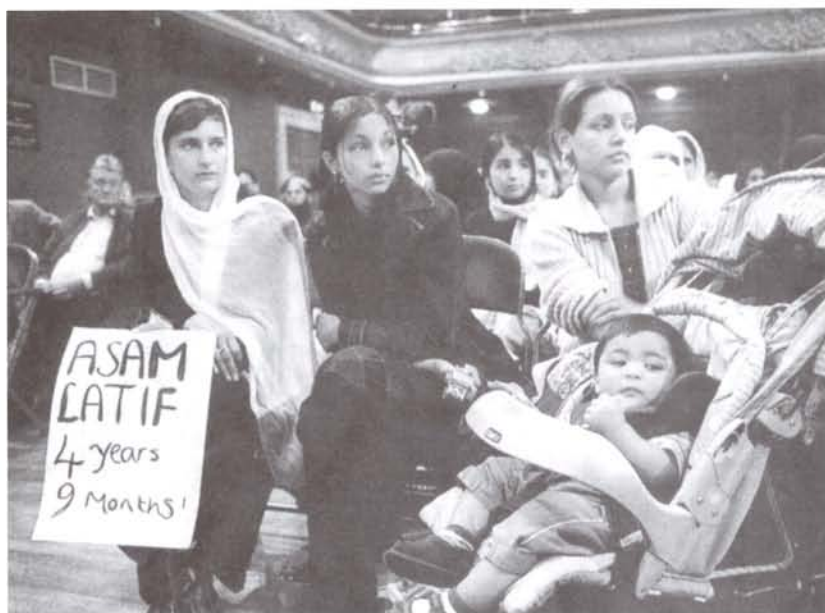
They had allegedly shouted racist abuse at Asians from the cab. The driver kicked the men out of his car just yards from where Khaliur was attacked.

Police said Cucchiario wrote a note in the back of the police car admitting involvement in a 'scuffle' in Birmingham. Dennehy remained silent in police interviews. The court also heard how DNA evidence from the men was found on Khaliur's clothes, showing the men had had physical contact with Khaliur.

On 27 June, Dennehy was cleared of murder. However, the jury was unable to reach a verdict on Cucchiario, who will be re-tried later in the year. He was released on bail on condition that he live at an address in Flintshire and kept to a 10pm to 6am curfew. ■



# Defence campaigns to fight riot convictions



**W**IVES, sisters and mothers of Asians standing trial for last summer's Manningham riot in Bradford have been protesting against the sentences handed out in Britain's largest ever criminal investigation. The campaign group 'Fair Justice For All', which was launched in July, has been holding weekly pickets outside Bradford Crown Court and has organised a series of packed meetings and rallies.

Most of those convicted handed themselves in to the police and admitted their involvement, after their pictures appeared in local newspapers. Though they

have pleaded guilty and most had no previous convictions, they have received sentences of, on average, four-and-a-half years. Many of those convicted are fathers of young children. There may also have been cases where individuals were wrongly advised that they would not receive custodial sentences if they gave a guilty plea.

A number of cases are now being taken to the Court of Appeal, amid concerns that hundreds of individuals have been handed hugely excessive sentences which were designed to intimidate others from presenting a defence, or even contextualisation, of their actions. If that was the aim, then it has had the desired effect, with only a handful of those charged pleading not guilty. As a result, no jury has been invited to consider the social context of fascist provocation and police racism which provided the background to the riots. Herman Ouseley, author of last year's highly regarded report into segregation in Bradford, has now called for a Lord Chancellor's inquiry into the sentencing.

Meanwhile, as *CARF* goes to press, the trials of 26 Asian defendants in Burnley and 150 in Oldham have begun. A defence campaign is active in both towns and lawyers expect that the trials will tackle the issue of racist provocation that fuelled the riots. Two Burnley defendants, who accepted advice to plead guilty, have already been sentenced. One, aged 17, was jailed for 18 months for carrying a stick. He was not accused of using the stick and it was accepted that his area was being attacked by a racist gang. He had no previous convictions. The second defendant was jailed for two years and three months. ■

## Sentencing in Bradford: some cases

■ **ASHRAF HUSSAIN:** Ashraf, 30, received a four-year sentence for riot after the court saw video evidence of him throwing two or three stones. Ashraf, who has three children, has psychological problems which mean that he is easily persuadable – a psychologist gave evidence that he was of abnormally low intelligence and would 'follow the crowd like a sheep'. ■ **ALAM ZEB KHAN:** Alam, 27, received a three-year sentence for riot – there was no evidence of him throwing stones but he was described by police as a 'ringleader' because he was seen shouting at rioters. Alam is deaf and has no previous convictions. ■ **ASAM LATIF:** Asam, 33, received a sentence of four years and nine months for riot – he threw six stones at police. Asam is the father of four children.

■ **MUDASAR KHAN:** Mudasar, 21, went to the aid of a white shopkeeper and a pregnant woman who found themselves caught up in the riots and, with friends, protected their shop. In spite of this, he received a one-year sentence for violent disorder because he was filmed throwing a stone. ■ **MOHAMMED ALI ZAMAN:** Mohammed, 26, received a sentence of two-and-a-half years for riot after being filmed throwing two or three stones at the police. Mohammed also tried to usher youngsters off the streets and protect cars parked outside a garage from being attacked.

## obituary

### Maureen McMillan: fighter against poverty and racism



It was with great sadness that *CARF* learnt of the death of Maureen McMillan in Edinburgh on 7 June. Maureen, a tiny, frail, figure with a riotous sense of fun and immense anger at injustice, was best known for her work

against poverty, particularly on North Edinburgh's Muirhouse estate where she lived and fought as a key community activist since 1983. But Maureen was also a stalwart of the anti-racist struggle. In 1990 when

the BNP was attempting to get a foothold in Muirhouse, Maureen was among those who founded the Muirhouse Anti-Racist Campaign and sent the BNP packing. In the process of seeing off the racists who were terrorising black people on the estate, Maureen changed attitudes, spread solidarity and made a key contribution to grassroots anti-racist history in Scotland. Maureen was one of the most decent and most caring people I have ever met. She lived her life simply and for other people. I shall miss her dearly. ■

Liz Fekete



## DEATH IN CUSTODY

### Alder officers cleared of all charges



The last issue of *CARF* reported on the ongoing trial of officers involved in the death of Christopher Alder. The result was as predictable as it was shocking: they got off. On 21 June, after a three-month trial, the judge ordered the jury to clear the officers of all the charges because of

conflicting medical evidence as to what had killed Christopher. The outcome was no surprise to the Alder family: not since 1969 has a police officer been successfully prosecuted for involvement in a black death in police custody, and Janet had already suggested to the People's Tribunal on Deaths in Custody in July 2001, that this is what would happen: 'They've done as much as they can to cover it up, and I will be outspoken because they have tried to cover it up... I've

no confidence in these people... I don't expect nothing.' Her words were prophetic...

Then, in July 2002, the *Mirror* revealed that the CCTV footage of Christopher in the police station was accompanied by a 'soundtrack' of officers making monkey noises and laughing. The CPS seized the tapes in April 1998 but the section containing the chanting and noises was not investigated until two weeks before the trial was to begin. The CPS commented that the evidence was not admissible because it was impossible to be certain who was making the noises and it was 'not possible to infer that there was a racist motivation'. The officers involved are to face an internal disciplinary inquiry. Christopher's family are now calling for a public inquiry. ■

Justice for Christopher Alder Campaign, c/o Red Triangle Cafe, 160 St James Street, Burnley, Lancs BB11 1NR Tel: 01282 832 319

#### Other contacts:

Inquest, 89-93 Fonthill Road, London N4 3JH Tel: 020 7263 1111

United Families and Friends Campaign (UFFC) c/o Inquest: 89-93 Fonthill Road, London N4 3JH Tel: 07770 432 439

### Shoot to kill?



In August, 20-year-old Fosta Errol Thompson, a Jamaican who had lived in Bristol for only one year, was shot dead by police in the St. Werbergh's area of Bristol. Police were called to the area after gunfire was heard, and found that other officers had stopped Fosta and another man before the shooting. A

post-mortem found that Fosta had

been killed by a single bullet, but did not reveal if it was a police bullet. A week later, after a car chase on the M4, police arrested a 19-year-old man who was charged with the attempted murder of an unarmed police officer following the incident which led to Fosta's death. Hampshire police are investigating the death for the PCA. It remains to be seen if any Bristol police officer will be charged with the killing of Fosta Thompson. ■

### Harry Stanley inquest verdict



The family of Harry Stanley who was shot dead by police in Hackney were extremely unhappy when details of his criminal record were revealed to the coroner's court, even though his convictions were spent, and the only purpose of the revelation appeared to be to slur his name.

Harry was shot dead by armed police officers in February 1999 after a member of the public made

a 999 call from the Alexandra pub in Victoria Park Road, Hackney, claiming that an 'Irish terrorist' was carrying a shotgun in a carrier bag. Harry, who was Scottish, was, in fact, carrying a table leg his brother had repaired for him. Harry was shot by PC Fagan in the hand and Inspector Neil Sharman shot him in the head, killing him instantly.

The family are seeking a judicial review of the open verdict as they are unhappy that the coroner did not allow the jury to consider a verdict of unlawful killing. ■

## campaigns & reports

### Derek Bennett update



A year after Derek Bennett was shot dead by police in Brixton, two firearms experts have been called in to re-examine the case. The original PCA inquiry, conducted by Northumbria police, has proved 'unsatisfactory' and the PCA has now called in former superintendent Alan Bailey of the West Mercia firearms school, and retired RUC superintendent Colin Burrows, now an advisor on firearms policy, to look at the case. Derek, who was shot four times (three times in the back and once in the shoulder), was 'armed' only with a novelty lighter shaped like a gun. ■

### Injustice wins award

*Injustice*, the film which follows the struggle for justice by the families of those who have died in police custody, has won the Best Documentary award at the bfm (Black Film Maker) Film and Television awards.

Channel 4 and the BBC, who are sponsors of the bfm awards, are still refusing to show the film. ■

For details of screenings contact Migrant Media, 020 7729 9109 Web: [www.injusticefilm.co.uk](http://www.injusticefilm.co.uk)

### Family seeks truth - 25 years on

The Institute of Race Relations, which documents black deaths in custody, was recently contacted by someone acting for the family of Adeenarin Neelayya - who died in suspicious circumstances on 17 January 1977 in Chatham police station in Kent. Adeenarin's nephew wanted to know how his uncle had died, as his family in Mauritius had not really been told what had happened. They had seen his name on the IRR website and contacted the IRR for further details. ■

Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leake Street, London WC1X 9HS. Web [www.irr.org.uk](http://www.irr.org.uk)



# diary of race and resistance

JUN - SEPT 2002

## RACISM AND FASCISM

**2 JUN** 52-year-old Mohammed Ashraf, treasurer of Llanelli Mosque, suffers fatal heart attack after hearing of racist gang attack on mosque worshippers

**7 JUN** 35-year-old black man suffers facial injuries requiring 10 stitches after racist attack by three white men in Chingford

**10 JUN** Greenwich council evicts Pamela Wilson and her family from the Ferrier estate for three-year racist campaign of terror against residents ■ Andrew Dickson jailed for six and a half years for racist attack on Diane Edwards in London

**12 JUN** 27-year-old George McMaster jailed for life for torturing and killing his pregnant girlfriend in Bow, east London; McMaster, diagnosed with three personality disorders, claims diminished responsibility saying 'I just kept cutting her. It was because she was black'

**16 JUN** Independent Wales Party founder, John Humphries, resigns as chief executive after his links with Italy's Northern League Party revealed

**1 JUL** 30-year-old black man in critical condition after being stabbed in the back in a racist attack outside Co-op in Eltham, south London

**8 JUL** Three Asians suffer serious injuries after their car is forced off the A14 at Lolworth, Cambridgeshire

**9 JUL** Cousins, Lee and Kassim Evans, severely beaten in racist attack by gang of five white men in Eltham

**10 JUL** 63-year-old Marjorie Mitchell punched and kicked unconscious outside her home in Dagenham, east London by three white youths who racially abuse her too

**11 JUL** BNP councillor in Burnley, Carol Hughes, abstains as council votes to commend Burnley FC for banning 19 racist fans

**12 JUL** Racists break into a synagogue in Swansea, damage sacred scrolls and paint racist graffiti on walls

**15 JUL** 60-year-old mini cab driver Mohiuddin Bhuiya dies from a brain haemorrhage a day after being found badly beaten next to his cab in Finchley, London

**17 JUL** Jermaine Lee's family awarded £100,000 in posthumous claim of racial discrimination at employment tribunal; Royal Mail investigation finds that he committed suicide because of bullying by colleagues at the Aston sorting office in Birmingham

**19 JUL** Two men who fly-posted C18 posters in Ward End, Birmingham are conditionally discharged for two years and ordered to pay £150 costs ■ Najeib brothers launch case for £100,000 damages against Lee Bowyer in High Court

**20 JUL** 31-year-old Shane Mackenzie jailed for 60 days after throwing anti-Semitic insults

at a police officer in Inverness police station

**27 JUL** 33-year-old Alistair Scott found guilty of threatening behaviour after abusing three Muslims in Exeter in June 2002; his conviction is thought to be first under new laws criminalising religious hatred

**29 JUL** Iain Duncan Smith appoints far-right Monday Club member Angela Watkinson to shadow front bench

**30 JUL** Neil Williams sentenced to three years for violent disorder after drunken rampage at a pub in Lee, south London where Swiss foreign exchange students were beaten and abused

**3 AUG** Asian man beaten and racially abused by gang of eight men in Inverness

**5 AUG** Leonard Jacques jailed for nine months for racially aggravated harassment of an Asian family in Camden, London

**6 AUG** 37-year-old Christopher Williams found guilty of criminal damage after dumping eight pigs' heads at Islamic Centre Mosque, Exeter two days after September 11 attacks ■ 20-year-old black man sprayed in the face and stabbed by gang of four white youths in Eltham; he escapes serious injury because he is wearing a heavily padded jacket

**7 AUG** CPS announces insufficient evidence to bring charges against suspects in the murder of Jay Abatan in January 1999

**10 AUG** Kurdish asylum seekers and gangs of local youths fight in Great Yarmouth

**15 AUG** Police ban Anti-Nazi League from holding a counter demonstration outside planned BNP rally

**18 AUG** 14-year-old black boy suffers a fractured jaw after racist attack by a white man in Eltham

**24 AUG** 17-year-old Asian youth chased and stabbed in the back in Torquay by gang of 15

**26 AUG** New black leader of Prison Officers Association, Colin Moses, claims the BNP is using prisons as a recruiting ground

**28 AUG** 28-year-old Iranian asylum seeker Peiman Bahmani dies after being stabbed in racist attack in Sunderland

**2 SEP** Seven men jailed for over 20 years between them for vicious racist attack on an Asian football team in Leicestershire

**6 SEP** David Norris and Neil Acourt jailed for 18 months each for racially aggravated harassment of an off duty black policeman in Eltham

## Asylum and Immigration

**12 JUN** One Russian feared dead and another is rescued after their canoe capsizes in the Channel, en route to the UK from France

**18 JUN** Bedfordshire County Council publishes damning report into Yarl's Wood fire criticising the government for bypassing

planning and fire safety regulations

**30 JUN** Special Immigration Appeals Commission rules that government is breaching human rights and anti-discrimination law by internment nine people under anti-terror laws which apply only 'foreigners' but the men remain in prison pending an appeal by home secretary David Blunkett in October

**18 JUL** Two Afghani boys (aged 12 and 13) who escaped from Woomera detention centre in Australia are returned to detention after British Consulate in Melbourne refuses them asylum

**22 JUL** Virgin Atlantic and Go airlines announce trials of the Matchmaker system which will identify passengers travelling on false documents ■ 30-year-old Besim Elezi, who smuggled himself into the UK, jailed for six months after being caught trying to get back to Albania on false documents

**31 JUL** Dutchman Perry Wacker loses appeal against manslaughter convictions for deaths of 58 Chinese stowaways found in his lorry in Dover in June 2000

**5 AUG** Police conclude their investigation into Yarl's Wood fire claiming it 'highly improbable' that anyone died in the fire

**12 AUG** Home Office announces plans to station British immigration officers in Brussels, Ostend and Zeebrugge to check travel documents of Eurostar passengers

**14 AUG** Ahmadi family deported to Germany by private charter plane from Birmingham airport at a cost of £50,000

**20 AUG** Home Office announces plans to offer Afghani asylum seekers £600 to go back

**23 AUG** Ahmadi family lawyers win right to challenge deportation

**31 AUG** Aziz Ahmed deported, despite the fact his wife and daughter have been missing since they claimed asylum on 13 June 2001

**6 SEP** Inquest on asylum seeker Shiraz Pir finds that he killed himself while the balance of his mind was temporarily disturbed; coroner criticises Home Office delay in dealing with his asylum application

## Criminal Justice

**10 JUN** Home Office announces that up to 36,000 persistent offenders will be 'tracked' using the Police National Computer, in order to identify them for 'special' treatment

**18 JUN** Satpal Ram finally released from prison after serving 15 years

**21 JUL** Det Supt Eddie Helmsley tells *Police Review* that the attack on Najeib brothers by Leeds United footballers was 'correctly recorded as a racial incident'

**4 AUG** *Sunday Express* reveals that a £55 million anti-terrorist police training camp is being built in Kent

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