Desperately seeking asylum

Down and out in London • View from the Nightwatch

Plus racism and bullying
There is no middle ground

No one in their right mind could fail to welcome the High Court's October ruling that local authorities must look after the asylum-seekers whom central government has rendered destitute and homeless by its Asylum and Immigration Act. But any relief at this lifeline thrown out to an estimated 10,000 asylum-seekers must be tempered by the awareness that the local authorities' response to the ruling is leading the way to a new spate of virulent, popular racism.

For, in order to meet their new obligations as laid out by the High Court, local authorities, mostly Labour and mostly in London, need to find £35 to £40 million in the current year and another £90 million in 1997-98. Central government is not offering any extra cash, so the burden rests on local authorities to find the funds by raiding community care budgets and making cuts in other services. Camden Council, for instance, has proposed cuts to repairs and building budgets and Hillingdon hospital has implied that the shortage of beds is due to demands from sick and destitute asylum-seekers - thereby making asylum-seekers the new scapegoats for spending cuts and the focus of local resentment. And local authorities, instead of working with campaigning organisations to demand more funds (and, indeed, the abolition of the Asylum and Immigration Act) are retreating further into defensive legal strategies. Already, two Labour-controlled authorities have joined Tory Westminster in appealing against the High Court ruling. The appeal pits the authorities against the asylum-seekers, and if successful, would pitch the asylum-seekers back, starving, on the streets.

Councils must stop seeing themselves as somehow caught in the middle between two sets of equally impossible demands. There is no middle ground.
Why did Vijay die?

Manchester's Sikh community has formed an action group against racist bullying in schools after the death in Stretford of a young Sikh boy.

On 12 October, Vijay Singh, a 13-year-old, hanged himself from the banisters of his home because he was in such despair. He left a diary which catalogued a week of horrific misery. Jaswinder Singh Kohli, chairman of the Sikh Association, seemed in no doubt about the racial aspect of the case. He asked 'how many children will have to die before something is done to stamp out racist bullying?' And yet most of the press which reported Vijay's death implied it was just a case of simple bullying. Was it bullying or racism that killed Vijay?

CARF's researches show that in the all-embracing panic about violence and young people, the racial dimension is getting ignored or, often, just hidden within the term bullying. Take Vijay's case. He was taunted on the football pitch as 'bobble-head', because of his Sikh gota. He was physically attacked. Yet most of the press downplayed the racial dimension of his torment.

Downplaying racism

This tendency to downplay racism began with the Commission on Children and Violence set up in 1994 by the Gulbenkian Foundation after James Bulger's murder. Aiming to provide as accurate a picture as possible of the level of all kinds of violence to and by children and young people, its final report made just two tiny references to racial harassment — and that despite a whole dossier of racial attacks on children submitted as evidence by the Institute of Race Relations.

The Department for Education's pack, Bullying: don't suffer in silence, sent to all schools in September 1994, only mentioned racism once within its 130 pages. 'Pupils may report being called nasty names because of their ethnic origin, nationality or colour. Although children of any ethnic group can suffer name-calling of this kind, it is more commonly experienced by children from ethnic minority groups.' And the recent information sheet on bullying and the law drawn up by the Children's Legal Centre made no mention of racism at all (though the CRE was listed as a useful contact).

Ignoring the evidence

It was in fact the CRE which drew attention to the extent of racial violence in schools and colleges some eight years ago in its report Learning in Terror, which concluded that 'harassment extends right through the educational system'. It criticised education authorities which did not match 'the seriousness of the situation' with 'a corresponding awareness and sense of urgency'. 'Too few institutions', the report said, 'appreciate the unique nature of racial harassment.'

This view was echoed by a senior educationalist who told CARF: 'There is a tendency to call everything bullying. The point is why was Vijay bullied? Because he was a Sikh and had a bun. It's not the act we should look at but the reason behind the act. Unless teachers campaign against racism in a curriculum sense, in the sense of monitoring behaviour, in the sense of resolving "communalism", then racial bullying will increase.'

Childline's evidence on racism

The most telling evidence of how this is happening to black children in today's schools comes from Childline (yes, that one set up by Esther Rantzen). In one year it studied 1,616 caller records involving ethnic minority children and identified 430 children and young people who suffered racist bullying.

Twenty-nine per cent of all calls from children from ethnic minorities were about bullying as compared with 14 per cent of all the calls that came in that year. But most chilling are the words from the children themselves, reproduced by Childline in its report, which shows just how many young people share Vijay's desperation. 'I can't go on. This life is unbearable,' said a 14-year-old. 'I've been bullied since I started secondary school... I've come close to suicide' (Sanita, 15). 'This boy punches me and takes my money. He's picking on me because I'm black' (Dean, 13). 'My brother and I are the only Jewish boys at the school. The others call us "nigger" and "chocolate biscuit"... I've told my parents and the teachers and they say ignore it... I thought of killing myself last week' (David, 9).
Asylum-seekers:

When the government decided to remove basic benefits and housing from 'in-country' (i.e., those seeking asylum after arrival) and rejected asylum-seekers, making them destitute and homeless, it little thought or cared where they would go. The rhetoric from October 1995 onwards has been of bogus asylum-seekers, attracted by the 'honeypot' of Britain's generous welfare benefits. The idea, then, was that they would all go home, or better still, not come to Britain in the first place.

Even on the government's own argument, the blunt instrument of denial of basic benefits would fall equally on the bogus and the genuine asylum claimant. Despite the figures which showed that the same proportion of in-country claimants were eventually successful as those claiming asylum at the port (and therefore able to continue claiming benefit), and despite the government's insistence that genuine asylum-seekers would not be deterred by lack of means of subsistence, it was never explained how they would stay alive. The question was brushed aside as an irrelevant distraction from the all-important aim of deterring the hordes of bogus refugees and showing the electorate how tough the Tories were on race.

It is the refugee communities themselves, the voluntary sector and, since October's High Court ruling, the local authorities which have had to pick up the tab for the government's callous irresponsibility. When benefits were first withdrawn in February, churches, refugee groups and charities opened soup kitchens and emergency housing. Then, in June, the Court of Appeal declared the regulations giving effect to the changes illegal, and benefits were restored. The victory was short-lived. The government re-enacted the changes as part of the Asylum and Immigration Act which came into force at the end of July 1996. From 24 July, in-country and rejected asylum claimants were once more denied all state support, and local authorities' duties to house homeless asylum-seekers under the Housing Acts were abolished.

Destitution

As Tory flagship borough Westminster began evicting asylum-seekers from its cockroach-infested hostels in Maida Vale in the wake of the new Act, and other boroughs said no to homeless asylum-seekers, the Refugee Council opened a night shelter in disused premises in Holborn, with beds for 50, with a rule that 'residents' stayed only a fortnight and were then out on the streets for five weeks. Many asylum-seekers were just given a blanket and forced to sleep rough.

The Medical Foundation for the Care of
caught by the Act

Victims of Torture had two clients attempt suicide and said that others had been forced into prostitution. A Kenyan woman was reportedly found having attempted suicide in a public toilet; she had been given a bed by a man in exchange for sex, but was thrown out when she became pregnant.

Local councils in the frame

Lawyers for refugee groups found a little-known section of the 1948 National Assistance Act (most of which has been superseded by modern social security law), requiring local authorities to house

A mild Monday evening in October finds me on my weekly journey to the Refugee Council night shelter in Holborn. I wonder who will have found their way tonight to the night shelter – one of the few sources of relief from a barrage of legislation which has left asylum-seekers in the UK in severe poverty.

A glance around the warm dining area reveals a few familiar faces and some new ones. I'm not surprised to see that S is still with us. He's also still sitting alone, with his hands over his ears. He had been brought to the night shelter the week before, by a man from a London Kurdish community group. Small and terrified, S was distraught when the community man left. He wanted then to be left alone and sat for much of the night in the deserted dining area, in the same position that I find him in tonight. But S isn't simply afraid of noise. He was tortured with electric shock batons in his ears; as a result he's in constant severe pain, to say nothing of his mental fragility. I'm shocked to discover his age. He looks forty, but he's no older than me. At twenty-six his body and mind are branded with some of the worst excesses of human brutality. He'll need a lot of care.

With the other volunteers, I wash up and change beds and then go into the communal area to talk with those of the refugees who have not gone to bed already, exhausted from a long, cold day on the streets. I speak with young men from Congo and Ivory Coast who are extremely frustrated at the endless 'Catch 22' of having no fixed address. They just want to be able to continue their lives in peace and safety – not to be a burden of any kind. It's not so much to ask, is it? No, I agree, it's not. I'm ashamed that many people in my country seem to think it is. They don't tell me what brought them here, and I don't probe. But A tells me that if he returns to Congo, he's a dead man.

The evening passes quickly in the neon-lit comfort of the communal area. We communicate as best we can in broken mixtures of French, English, German and Spanish. Most of the refugees retire quite early, and I slump down in front of the TV with a fellow volunteer in time to catch good old Helen Mirren rescue a young woman from the clutches of a drug gangster and a bent copper. As 'Jane Tennison' leads the woman away from her tormentors, W, from Ivory Coast, shakes her head. 'See', she says, 'see how we women suffer all over the world.' There's no self-pity in her voice, no angry association with the way she herself has been persecuted. She makes her utterance in a desperately matter-of-fact manner, one which defies contention. But will there be a 'happy ending' for W? And tomorrow, when will she go?

The question clings to me as we serve and clear breakfast on Tuesday. We hand out maps and directions to some of the refugees who have appointments with social services, or the Medical Foundation for Victims of Torture. It's just as well that funds stretch to breakfast – most of the refugees have a lot of walking to do.

It's a quarter past nine in the morning and I'm leaving Holborn as lawyers and city folk come in, in the morning rush. Some of them look tired too, yet most wear the easy confidence of a security afforded by citizenship, while among them walk those whose expressions speak of the fragile limbo that is the fate of the asylum-seeker.

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of Sonia Routledge, a volunteer at the Refugee Council night shelter in Holborn, and not those of the Refugee Council.
over the next two to three years if the law is not changed. This means that other spending commitments, in community care and elsewhere, will not be met.

The boroughs' response

Although the Refugee Council is working with local authorities to get a coordinated response, they are all responding differently at present. Haringey is giving asylum-seekers the same amount that they would have got in urgent cases payment (90% of income support). Kensington & Chelsea was giving £2 a day and a travelcard; after a threatened legal challenge it has increased asylum-seekers' cash allowance to £4 per day but has removed the travelcard. Southwark is housing but apparently not giving any cash allowance.

Camden gives £3 a day to those it houses in bed and breakfast accommodation, but nothing at all to those housed in local authority flats. Camden has also put some Ghanaian and Romanian asylum-seekers into an old people's home in Kentish Town. (The asylum-seekers, shocked at the 'dumping' of old people in such institutions, have been helping and cooking for the residents.)

The level of cash support makes for intolerable choices. Travel on public transport, to attend interviews or conferences with solicitors to prepare the asylum claim, has to be set against food for the day; there isn't the money for both.

The situation is exacerbated by the placing of many asylum-seekers miles out of the boroughs housing them, sometimes on the outskirts of London. A day centre in Vauxhall feeds around 80 asylum-seekers a day, some of whom have walked from north London. Workers there report horrendous levels of basic unmet need, from shoes and clothes falling apart to serious medical conditions untreated.

Hammersmith & Fulham has contingency plans to reopen Tent City, used as basic accommodation for student tourists in the summer, for asylum-seekers. Underused land near Wormwood Scrubs prison, the site is apt for Britain's first 'refugee camp'. As leader of the council Andrew Slaughter said, 'It is scandalous that the government's action removes all means of survival from people who have already suffered torture, persecution and fear. It is equally scandalous that we and other councils may have to resort to refugee camps to meet their basic needs.'

The wonder is that there have not been more visible signs of distress among the estimated 10,000 asylum-seekers affected by the changes, 90% of whom live in London. Most are supported by their communities. There, the hardship is invisible: two families sharing one entitlement to income support, and one small flat.

The effects

Although asylum-seekers are no longer obliged to sleep on the streets, or to resort to crime or prostitution, to stay alive, living on the edge of survival damages their health and makes it very difficult for them to pursue their asylum claims or appeals. The Holborn night shelter, which acts as a postal address for current and former residents, has had to return several Home Office letters when ex-residents have failed to return to collect them. Without the money to attend Lunar House, in Croydon, or the immigration office at Heathrow airport for interview, or to go to Wood Green or Feltham for their appeal hearing, many will find their claims deemed 'withdrawn' or summarily rejected. As the refusal statistics are swollen, and the government can point to even more 'bogus' claimants, the vicious circle is completed.
Radio for the community

In October, CARF attended the second pan-European conference of community radio broadcasters in Copenhagen, held by the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters, AMARC. Steve Buckley, president of AMARC-Europe, will be helping organise a European Year of Action Against Racism in 1997.

CARF: Can you tell CARF readers a little bit about community radio in the UK?

SB: Throughout the UK, community-based groups are taking to the airwaves with their own radio services. The Community Radio Association, which represents and supports community radio broadcasters, has over 100 local community radio groups in membership, from all parts of the UK. Most of these groups operate short-term broadcasts with a four-week licence issued by the Radio Authority. Although nearly all aspire to run all year round, full-time radio licences are not available on demand.

So how does a community radio station actually get on the air?

Community Radio groups have to lobby to get their area on to a working list and, if they succeed, they face the likelihood of competition from well-financed commercial radio companies seeking to extend their holdings. In recent years over 200 unlicensed radio stations have started up in Britain. The growth in so-called 'pirate radio' reflects dissatisfaction with the licensing regime and new demand which is linked closely to the development of a DIY music and club culture scene.

Who does community radio serve?

Community Radio projects serve every type of community, from remote and isolated rural areas to towns, cities and urban housing estates. Community based and culturally diverse, they are a growing force in empowering people to speak out at the community level. But although there has been a steady growth in the UK community radio movement through the 1990s, it remains stunted by legislation and regulation in comparison with our European neighbours in Ireland, France and the Netherlands.

AMARC plans to mark the 1997 European year of Action Against Racism with a series of practical actions to support community radio broadcasters and build alliances between community radio broadcasters and anti-racist organisations. Activities proposed include broadcasting information spots and announcements, producing a music CD, an international broadcast link by satellite, and offering training and support materials for broadcasters.

Across Europe there are over 500 radio programmes run by and for migrant, refugee and community organisations. AMARC will be publishing a programme directory in 1997, one of whose aims is to facilitate direct cross-border links between migrant, refugee and community groups.

At both the local and international level, AMARC will be aiming to reinforce existing links and to establish new alliances between broadcasters, anti-racist and community organisations. As a first step towards strengthening communications, AMARC has put out a call for information from anti-racist campaigns. In return we will send out an information package on the international community radio movement.

For further information contact: AMARC-Europe, 15 Paternoster Row, Sheffield S1 2BX. Tel: +44 114 279 5219; fax: +44 114 279 8976; email: amarc@gn.spc.org; www: http://www.web.apc.org/amarc/
The shape of far-right nationalism in Europe is changing. And there are increasingly two brands of fascism: one for the rich and one for the poor.

In the last issue of CARF we warned that the French Front National (FN) was projecting itself as the champion of the poor and making inroads into the working class vote. Municipal and European parliamentary elections in Austria in October show that Jörg Haider's Freedom party is gaining ground in a similar fashion.

Harnessing the Austrian working class...

In elections for the European parliament, the Freedom party (FPÖ) scored record results, gaining 27.6 per cent of the Viennese vote which translates into six seats in the European parliament. In elections for the Viennese regional assembly, the FPÖ won seven seats, eating into both conservative and socialist democratic support.

Political analysts believe that 50 per cent of blue-collar workers now support the Freedom party, which, like the French FN, is setting up its own trade unions. In the run-up to the elections, Haider made a deliberate pitch for the working-class vote, portraying himself as the protector of the poor, the elderly and the working class, and singling out housing as a key campaigning issue. Residents at the Karl-Marx-Hof, one of the most ambitious urban housing projects for the poor, built in the 1920s were once Solidarity. But now Haider seeks to spread his rhetoric there, warning that Turkish immigrants will steal tenants' flats and that their savings would be wiped out by a European single currency. He told a rally: 'This is our city. It is not Istanbul. If the [Greek] drachma rubs up against the strong schilling, obviously the schilling will be weakened and your savings will be worthless.'

...while speaking to business resentment

But if Haider has made a pitch for the working-class vote, his rhetoric also appeals to small businesses and industrialists worried about European integration and Austria's increasing economic dependence on German multinationals. An 'Austria First' sentiment is growing as German businesses are accused of 'Deutschmark imperialism' and taking over Austrian businesses in a new Anschluss. Where once Austrian fascism was connected to German expansionism, Austrian nationalism today is resentful of German influence in the Austrian economy.

Law enforcers back Le Pen

Like Haider, Le Pen's rhetoric crosses class affiliation. And, while the FN, rather like a feudal lord, promises to protect the 'downtrodden' and 'weaker' elements of the working class, it also promises to support those elements of the professional classes whose task is to administer social control. Hence the FN's drive into trade unions has met with a good response among unions representing police and prison officers. In workers' council elections in December 1995, one in four police officers voted for the FN-Police (FNP), securing it fourth position among 18 police unions and a voice on appointments boards. (Among a riot police squad at Jarville, near Metz, 42.7 per cent of officers voted for the FNP last December.) And since the FN-Périmenante was registered in September, this prison officers' union has recruited 45 of the 123 prison officers at Villeneuve-lès-Maguelonne jail, near Montpellier. Five other jails, including high-security institutions such as La Santé, Avignon and Fresnes, have created branches of the FN union.

Nationalism for the rich regions

There is, though, another brand of right-wing nationalism growing up in Europe—which pits the rich against the poor. Although some may jib at labelling it fascist, it is a regional nationalism born out of the desire among prosperous regions of Europe to off-load the poor regions and secure a comfortable niche in the global economy.

The Italian example: Nowhere is this more evident than in Italy, where the Northern League, led by the demagogue Bossi, recently declared the independence of Padania—the area through which the river Po flows, embracing Turin, Milan, Bologna, Genoa and Venice—at a 50,000-strong rally.

The areas where the League, now the largest secessionist movement in Europe, is the strongest are those with prospering local economies where small businesses are flourishing and performing extremely well in the global market. (Exports from one industrial boom district alone, Treviso—headquarters to Benetton—for instance, are the same as the southern Italian regions of Sicily, Apulia, Campania and Calabria, combined.) If the League were
to succeed in its secessionist project, Padania, with 32 million people, would have the highest per capita income in Europe, while the Italian south would have one of the lowest.

More movements could follow: Already there are signs that other secessionist movements representing the desires of the richer regions are emerging in other European countries.

In Belgium, where the Vlaams Blok has called for the independence of Flanders, there is increasing political resentment that the over-peopled, hi-tech rich Flemish north is being held back by the impoverished industrial regions of Wallonia, traditionally based on mining and steel.

And in Spain, where General Franco's fascism stood for a strong central state against the aspirations of the regions, the regional president of Catalonia has complained that Catalonia is subsidising the rest of the country, while nationalists in Majorca, now the richest province in Spain, plead the same cause as the Northern League.

For it may be that Bossi's brand of secessionist movement is the face of far-right politics to come, movements that arise out of the aspirations of regions rather than the centralising mission of the nation state. The Northern League clearly believes this. According to Roberto Maroni, head of the Padania Liberation Committee: 'The whole of the EU is watching us, we are a historic occurrence; we're the first. But others will follow. The EU will eventually become a union of regions, and not a union of outdated nation states.'

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Graffiti for the Northern League’s independence bid

IN TOUCH WITH EUROPE

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

Undocumented workers: 29 immigrant and anti-racist organisations form a coalition in Greece, demanding legalisation for all immigrants, an end to deportations, and equal rights.

Immigration detainees: Freedom for Refugees' has been formed to campaign against a new experimental centre for immigration detainees at Camp Ter Apel, Netherlands.

Sanctuary: In Germany, police tricked Zairean refugee Jean Notutu Mamouyua out of sanctuary and now a justice campaign has been formed to prevent his deportation.

Nobel prize winner Wisl Sylnk visits 22 Nigerians, mostly from Ogoniland, in sanctuary in a Protestant church in Hannover-Linden, Germany.

Deportations: The German group AGIB aims to find out what has happened to deportee Felix Erhahon, who has been missing since being deported from Bonn to Nigeria.

Racist attacks: Demonstrators in support of Satwan Eid, wrongly accused of the Lübeck fire, were attacked by the police after the German state banned them. The Group Against Race and Nation were ejected from court on the first day of Eid's trial, expected to last into January.

Anti-fascism: In France, the national council of one of the largest trade unions, the CFDT, agrees to 'combat by all effective means the creation of FN unions' at all levels of organisation. The CGT makes a similar resolution.

'Toulouse, that's us too' has been formed in response to the FN's control of the local authority. 'Meta-Cités' aims to inform people of what is happening since the FN gained control of the library services in Orange and banned left-wing books.

Racist politicians: 'Together Against Racism' is campaigning to expose the leader of the Dutch Liberal party, who called on the government to reduce the national minimum wage for black people on the grounds that they are less productive and produce work of a lower quality, so are less attractive to employers.

Police: European Roma Rights Centre documents police violence against the Roma in Romania.

Education: In Belgium, 'Schools Without Racism' has started a telephone hotline for immigrant parents whose children are being prevented from registering at local schools and are being bussed out of the area.

Following protests from anti-racist organisations in Greece, the ministry of education has been forced to withdraw a circular letter prohibiting the admission of children of illegal immigrants to elementary schools.

Housing: Objective 479.917 is campaigning against racism in the allocation of public housing after the revelation that immigrants are being placed on separate waiting lists in Beringen.

Around the European courts

As immigration and asylum decisions in one country increasingly affect campaigners in another, CARF introduces a regular round-up of some of the most important legal decisions

France: Constitutional Court annuls provision in anti-terrorist law which defines 'assistance' to an illegal alien as a terrorism-related offence, saying there are already enough laws on the statute book to aid such a prosecution.

Germany: The High Administrative Court of Hessian rules that people fleeing Ethiopia in opposition to its governing party are entitled to asylum.

European Court rulings

Legal blow to Gypsy rights: In what was widely regarded as a test case over Gypsies' rights to live on their own land, the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg has ruled against British Gypsy June Buckley who fought an eight-year legal battle to keep her family's three caravans on land she owns. South Cambridgeshire district council may now evict June Buckley from caravans on land she bought in 1986 in Willingham, Cambridgeshire. The Strasbourg court ruled that the council's stance does not breach the European Convention on Human Rights.

National security deportation illegal: Sikh activist Karamjit Singh Chahal was released from Bedford prison after six years in detention after the European Court of Human Rights ruled that he could not be deported to India, where he faces likely torture. The British government had argued that he was a risk to national security and should be deported. The court ruled that national security considerations were irrelevant in such a situation, as the European Convention on Human Rights banned torture under any circumstances. It also said that all 'national security' immigration detainees ought to be given full appeal rights before deportation.

For further information about any of these campaigns or legal decisions contact CARF.
Spain's deportation machine

It is not only in Britain and France that campaigns have had to fight law-breaking by the government.

In Spain, mass deportations and wholesale drugging of deportees have caused a scandal.

On 24 June 1996, 103 central Africans were secretly flown from the Spanish enclave of Melilla, in Morocco, to Malaga. There they were dosed with Haloperidol and put onto four military aircraft, bound for Cameroon, Senegal, Mali and Guinea-Bissau, four countries with notorious human rights records.

Government breaks the law

When news of the illegal deportations leaked out, prime minister José María Aznar, of the right-wing Popular Party, said, 'We had a problem. We dealt with it.' This response, which some observers said was reminiscent of Hitler and the Final Solution, caused outrage. Opposition parties, refugee and human rights organisations and unions united to condemn the deportation, and anti-racist groups held several mass demonstrations. Even the police union whose members were involved in the deportation, the SUP, condemned the operation. Its members had not been aware, it said, that tranquillisers had been put in the deportees' water. (In fact, when some of the deportees refused to drink their water for fear that it was poisoned, three police officers drank it to show it was safe – and fell asleep.)

The party political row, over whether the former socialist government had sedated deportees, succeeded to some extent in diverting attention from more fundamental issues raised by the mass expulsion. Some of the deportees had been prevented from filing asylum claims. All had been shipped out without regard for their safety, and sent haphazardly to four countries which agreed to accept them on payment of 25,000 pesetas per person.

The rationale for the deportations was to deter asylum-seekers from arriving in Melilla and Spain's other north African enclave Ceuta. Fifteenth-century forts founded after Spain's expulsion of the Muslims to prevent further invasion, the two enclaves are reverting to their original function. Refugees from sub-Saharan Africa who beat the tough border controls at Ceuta or Melilla in the hope that they will get across to mainland Spain are usually cruelly disappointed. They are left destitute as their applications are summarily rejected. As conditions for refugees in the enclaves have worsened, disappointed asylum-seekers' protests have been met with increasingly brutal repression. In October 1995, refugees living in derelict buildings in Ceuta were attacked by a mob of local people armed with iron bars, sticks and stones, supported by police who beat up Africans fleeing the scene. In June 1996, police fired rubber bullets and smoke canisters at refugees in a Red Cross camp in Melilla, injuring ten Africans. Melilla's mayor talks of a triple infiltration, 'of people, drugs and disease'.

The government's response has been, not to fund better reception facilities or to ensure asylum requests are fairly dealt with, but to resort to illegality in an attempt to get rid of 'the problem': the refugees. As the General Council of Judges (CGPJ) said in its condemnation, the government is guilty of institutionalised racism in the collective expulsion of foreigners whose only link is their poverty and their colour.

The deportation machine

Six weeks after the illegal deportations, 50 of the deportees were still in a stinking, filthy prison in Guinea Bissau, with no access to toilets, washing facilities, electricity or beds. Of the others, ten were believed to have disappeared in Cameroon. But by then there was a fresh scandal. On 21 July, a group of 16 central Africans, including 12 women and girls, arrived at Madrid-Barajas airport on false Equatorial Guinea passports and claimed asylum. They were summarily rejected and held for deportation in the detention suite at the airport. A week later they were taken to an Iberia airplanes plane for deportation to Equatorial Guinea with their hands and mouths taped up with sticky tape, allegedly to prevent them from stripping off, spitting and vomiting in protest at their deportation. The airline crew refused to take them and they were returned to detention, to be removed after another ten days to Lagos on a special Iberia Airbus with a double crew. On 15 August, they were led to the plane in handcuffs by 23 police officers.

To observers, the second incident confirmed the government's racist intent. None of the 16 had had their asylum claims properly dealt with: to do so would have been impossible in the week between their arrival and the first attempted deportation. Nor were their claims reconsidered after that attempt; all the government's efforts were devoted to finding a country on which to offload them. Equatorial Guinea was rejected since it demanded that Spain pay for the deportees to be returned to their countries of origin. Nigeria then, apparently, offered to accept the deportees, and that is where they were sent.

The Spanish government claims that they were sent to Lagos because, although the sixteen claimed to be from various central African countries including Liberia and Rwanda, they proved to be Nigerian. No evidence was offered to support this assertion. It is more likely that, as in the case of the 103 Melilla deportees, they were sent to the country which was prepared to take them for the least amount of money – like a tender for the disposal of toxic waste.
Remember Simon Tang

When Chinese restaurant-owner Simon Yick-Sun Tang was brutally murdered in Belfast on 23 June 1996, the RUC immediately put out a statement ruling out racism and suggesting that the only motive was robbery. At first, the Chinese community agreed. But now they are not so sure.

Pattern of violence

On 23 June, while closing his take-away in Carrickfergus, 26-year-old Simon Tang, father of two, was brutally attacked by thugs armed with baseball bats. Beaten virtually unconscious, and robbed of all his takings, he managed to stagger to a phone and contact his wife. Two days later, Simon Tang lost his fight for life.

The attack on Simon Tang is part of a pattern of violence which some claim has intensified since the peace process. There have been 32 confirmed robberies on Chinese homes since April 1996. A typical attack happens like this: a hooded gang bursts into the home, ties up the women and children and waits for the man to come home. In one incident, a Chinese couple, in bed at their Belfast home, were set upon by masked men with cudgels. The gang boiled a kettle of water and went to the child’s bedroom, threatening to pour the boiling water over the children unless money was handed over.

Speaking Out

According to Greg Irwin, author of a recently-published report, Ethnic minorities in Northern Ireland, racial violence is on the increase with the Chinese community experiencing the worst of it. The coordinator of the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities believes that attacks are coming mainly from staunch loyalist areas. Where once there was a reluctance within the Chinese community to speak about the racism they suffer, it is now more widely acknowledged that while robbery may be the prime motive for attack, racism is inherently tied to the robbery.

Simon Tang’s brothers-in-law, Stanley and Dean Lee, feel this very strongly. They spoke out to the Belfast Telegraph in August about the ‘pure racism’ at the heart of these cowardly attacks. ‘The same bigotry needed to perform sectarian violence was needed to beat Simon Tang about the head with baseball bats. He was just another “chink” to his killers just as thousands of other victims have been just another “prod” or “taig” to their murderers’, the paper reported.

A £2000 reward has been offered for information leading to the prosecution of those persons responsible for Simon Tang’s death.

STOP PRESS: As we go to press we have just heard that Albert Leung died five months after being beaten with a wooden club when a gang burst into his Antrim home.

Chinese Welfare Association (N.I.), 17 Eblana Street, Belfast BT7, Northern Ireland.

Ban the killer spray

Channel 4’s Dispatches programme of 7 November looked behind the police public relations gloss and revealed the true effects of CS spray, manufactured by French company Alsatex, which also includes 225,000-volt electroshock batons in its product range.

■ Medical evidence shows that CS spray can cause asthma, acute dermatitis, liver and kidney damage and in animals caused acute maternal and embryo toxicity
■ A survey of a sample of people sprayed during the trial period showed that two-thirds still suffered after-effects a week after the incident; some had long-term breathing difficulties
■ Half of the sample suffered skin blisters
■ CS sprays in Britain contain five per cent CS – in the USA people have died after being sprayed with a one per cent concentration of CS
■ Scientific notes state that CS should not be sprayed directly at an uncovered face. Police guidelines tell officers to spray people directly in the face
■ Police guidelines state that officers should use the spray only when they believe there is a danger to life, yet over one-third of those sprayed during the trial period were either not charged with any offence, or were subsequently acquitted
■ Over half were sprayed from a distance of less than three feet (the minimum distance recommended)
■ One quarter were not given the medical attention (antidote) required after being sprayed
■ Assaults against police officers dropped by 18 per cent in areas participating in the CS spray trials, but by 21 per cent in areas not participating, indicating that CS has not halted violence against police, but the reverse!
Brixton mounts self-defence initiative

Brixton, an area famous for uprisings against the police, now has a new group to co-ordinate resistance to racism and police attacks. CARF spoke to Kofi Mawuli Klu of Brixton Community Law Centre, which has launched Operation Heru’s Eye.

There has been a whole series of attacks upon the black communities of Lambeth — from the death of asylum seeker Joseph Nnuala in 1994 to the killings of Brian Douglas and Wayne Douglas. What is remarkable is the response of the local state, Lambeth Council, to repression. The uprisings in Brixton in 1992 and 1995 following the deaths of Wayne Douglas were blamed on outside extremists. At least in 1981 and 1985 it was recognised that there were very real underlying social problems. In recent years there has been an absence of a focus for community resistance — movements have been destroyed because they have been smashed by the police or bought up by the local state.

Brixton Community law centre launched this initiative along with the People’s Empowerment Network of Lambeth and other groups in an attempt to mobilise people to speak out. The law centre’s management committee comprises many different community and refugee groups which have demanded action. Refugees are particularly vulnerable to attack and harassment, especially since they are now destitute and on the streets, but they are also in fear of police persecution and deportation if they speak out.

Heru symbolised the fight for justice in ancient Egypt. Operation Heru’s Eye is a community self-defence initiative. In January we will begin a training course for volunteers who will be patrolling some of the most notoriously racist estates in Lambeth, equipped with camcorders to record racist crimes, whether they are perpetrated by gangs of racist hooligans or by the so-called ‘law enforcement’ organs of the state.

Operation Heru’s Eye, c/o Brixton Community Law Centre, 506 Brixton Road, London SW9 8EN. Tel: 0171 924 9033 or 0956 126028.

Brixton’s anger against Wayne Douglas’ death, December 1995

POLICING

Drop these charges now

As we go to press, the Gordon family from Lambeth face charges on public order offences arising from incidents on the Myatts Field estate Brixton on 8 August.

Mervyn Gordon, 14, was approached by police on the estate and accused of stealing a bike (although he was never charged with this). When Mervyn’s mother and sister came out of their house to see what was going on, they did not realise at first that the plainclothes officer, who had a dog, was in fact a policeman. An argument developed and police called for reinforcements. The police describe what happened as akin to a mini-riot, with other residents coming out to attack them. Mervyn’s older brother was arrested, allegedly for kicking an officer. Mrs Gordon was arrested when she went to her son’s aid. And when Maxine went to her mother’s aid, she too was arrested.

Initial charges of violent disorder and assault occasioning actual bodily harm were later dropped by the Crown Prosecution Service. But the Gordons, who still face charges, albeit of lesser offences, clearly believe that it is the police and not them who should be in the dock.

Kings X Two appeal heard

As we go to press we await the verdict on the appeal of the Kings X Two.

The appeal judges already refused to allow new evidence to be considered as part of the appeal heard on 8 November, and threatened to institute contempt proceedings against lawyer Imran Khan. New evidence, which came to light the night before the appeal, suggested that jurors at the original trial prejudged the case, commenting when charges against Abdul Hai were thrown out of court, that they would ‘make sure we get the other one’ — before hearing the evidence. Judge Johnson however refused to order an investigation into the conduct of the jury, arguing that it was irrelevant, despite recent publicity over a case where the jury used an ouija board to determine a defendant’s guilt. The judge also threatened to institute contempt of court proceedings against the solicitor for speaking to the partner of a juror who had come forward with this information.

Free the Kings Cross Two Campaign, Box 162, 68 Camden High Street, London NW1 1JL. Tel: 0956 145894 / 0955 646703 / 0973 632827
Police get new powers

A new, draconian Police Bill was published by Home Secretary Michael Howard, at the beginning of November. Described by the Home Office as ‘a comprehensive package of measures to fight against organised crime’ it includes the following measures: ■ A national crime squad to be created ■ The National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS), to be placed on a statutory footing, having run on a makeshift basis since 1992 ■ The legitimisation of 'intrusive surveillance' by police and customs. Chief Constables will be able to authorise officers to break into houses and place listening devices if they believe that it will be useful in preventing serious crime. No court order will be needed. MI5 already have these powers ■ Access to criminal records of all job seekers for employers. A new Criminal Records Agency will supply information on an estimated 8 million ex-offending job applicants each year to employers. Job seekers will have to pay the agency for a certificate.

Campaigners fear that the lack of safeguards on 'intrusive surveillance' will lead to more covert operations against black communities under the pretext of anti-drugs surveillance, while the criminal records provisions will ensure that, not only will police be able to fit people up, but also they will be able to ensure that they cannot find work on release from prison. In combination with other proposed legislation, such as new proposed stop-and-search powers to crack down on knife-carrying gangs, the powers represent a massive extension of opportunities for abuse of black communities.

Chapeltown case collapses

On 4 November 1996 the Chapeltown case, which began some two years earlier, finally ended when the five accused of violent disorder walked free from court, all charges dropped against them.

The five were arrested, together with a further five, after police over-reacted to insults shouted by two young black boys sitting on a wall outside a youth club, and sent in eight officers to arrest them (see CARF 32). In the ensuing melee, dozens of police vehicles were damaged (many by crashing into each other in the fog) and several people were injured, including a young black girl bitten by a police dog. Police claimed it was the most violent incident they had ever experienced, and the local paper thundered about ‘a rampaging mob wild for blood and damage’.

From the outset, the overreaction of the police was apparent. But the first inking that the prosecuting authorities were having second thoughts about the wisdom of a 'show trial' came on the first day of the original trial when the prosecutor suggested a deal: if the defendants pleaded guilty to a minor public order charge, the far more serious charge of violent disorder, carrying a possible penalty of seven years imprisonment, would be dropped. Five of the accused accepted the deal, and in July were given conditional discharges.

The other five refused – they had done nothing and would plead guilty to nothing. A first trial was aborted. On the first day of their re-trial in November, the judge expressed his opinion that it was all a huge waste of time and money. He asked the prosecution to reconsider. Hours later the prosecution reluctantly dropped the charges as the defendants agreed to be bound over to keep the peace.

The collapse of the prosecution was rightly seen as a victory for the Chapeltown defendants. But only a partial victory; the next step, for some of them at least, is to sue the police for false arrest and malicious prosecution. Only then will they have the chance to tell their side of what happened that night, to put the policing of Chapeltown on trial.

Unlawful yet uncharged

Will families of those who died in police custody, frustrated by Britain’s lack of justice, find redress in Europe?

In a test case, the family of Shiji Lapite is applying to the European Commission on Human Rights, arguing that the government failed to protect Shiji’s life under Article 2 of the Convention by not training police officers in the use of neck-holds despite recommendations that this be done following previous deaths (see CARF 31). Although the jury at Shiji’s inquest returned a verdict of ‘unlawful killing’ (during an arrest by Stoke Newington police), the Crown Prosecution Service claimed there was insufficient evidence to prosecute the officers. The family has now asked for a judicial review of the decision.

This anomaly, between what is accepted in one part of the system as unlawful and yet in another (when it comes to pressing charges) is not, is well known to other families. Winston Rose, Oliver Pryce and Omasese Lumumba were all ‘unlawfully killed’ and yet no one was ever charged over those killings. The twin-sister of Leon Patterson (who died bruised and naked in Stockport police cells in 1992) knows how hard it is even to get the ‘unlawful killing’ verdict to stick. Police and police doctors got that original verdict overturned by the High Court. As we go to press, she awaits the verdict of a new inquest.

The family of Wayne Douglas, who died in December 1996 in Brixton police station, also await the inquest verdict as to how Wayne died. But already the CPS has declared that it will not be bringing any charges – despite chilling evidence from witnesses alleging that Wayne (who had dropped a piece of wood when ordered) was repeatedly hit by officers as he screamed in agony on the ground. It is yet to be seen how the CPS and the Police Complaints Authority will react to the death of 53-year-old Oscar Okoye who died in hospital on 11 November after five months in a coma following an arrest by south London police who treated him as a drunk when he had in fact suffered a severe brain haemorrhage.
Victories in anti-deportation campaigns

Prakash, held in Campsfield detention centre for deportation since 25 September. Jubilant campaigners rushed straight from the High Court, where they had been holding a picket, to the gates of Campsfield to greet Prakash as she came out.

Prakash came to England with her son Prem from Mauritius in 1989 after her marriage to a British citizen. But she had to leave her husband and her son after suffering domestic violence. She moved to Birmingham where she is now a home care worker in the social services department. She is also a UNISON member. Her case was successful because she did not have to leave the UK for 12 months to complete her probationary period.

Helen Samuel: The woman whose employers were jailed for her brutal treatment of her has been granted exceptional leave to stay in the UK. Helen Samuel came from Nigeria in 1988 to look after the children of Dr trump and his wife. Helen Samuel was forced to leave the UK because of her asylum application. She was detained in a prison for 2 months, then she was allowed to stay in the UK. She was released after 2 months, but she was not allowed to work. She was living in a hotel, without money, without friends, and without any work. She was forced to return to Nigeria to face her former employers.

The Home Office decision is welcome. But Helen’s case is not an isolated one; each year hundreds of domestic workers are threatened with deportation after running away from similar conditions of brutality and exploitation. As Kalayaan, the campaign for justice for overseas domestic workers, confirms.

The struggle continues for...

The Okolo family: Home secretary Michael Howard has ignored the recommendation of an independent immigration adjudicator that Florence Okolo and her family should be allowed to stay in the UK.

Bayo Omoyi: is appealing to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal against the refusal of asylum.

The Lashley family: have been waiting since July for immigration minister Timothy Kirkhope to review their case. There was a national demonstration against deportations on 16 November in Manchester, addressed by representatives of all the campaigns.

West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign
101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B18.
Tel: 0121 507 1618
Okolo Family Defence Campaign
C/o St Philip’s Primary School, Loxford Street, Hulme, Manchester M19 8BT
Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit
Tel 0161 740 7722

* FASCIST ROUND-UP *

The National Democrats, the Ian Anderson-led split from the National Front, have announced that they will contest the Merseyside West European by-election on 12 December. The vacancy was caused by the death of the sitting Labour MEP, Kenneth Stewart. The NDs’ candidate is Simon Darby, aged 31, who got 12% of the vote in a local election in Dudley, West Midlands earlier this year. His campaign manager is Andrew Carmichael, a former Conservative and, until a few months ago, a regional organiser for the Referendum Party in the West Midlands. Both men will be standing as candidates for the NDs in the general election next year. Darby is to stand in Wolverhampton, and Carmichael will contest Birmingham, Ladywood.

The British National Party contested a by-election in Forest Gate, east London, on 21 November. Its candidate, Colin Smith, is an organiser of the BNP’s campaign against a local mosque.
Edinburgh students vindicated

'Defend freedom of speech' was the cry from the liberal establishment when psychology lecturer Chris Brand, a self-confessed racist, was boycotted and his sacking demanded by Edinburgh University students. But now, even the university authorities have been forced to act, suspending Brand from teaching duties for bringing the university into disrepute after he claimed in an internet newsletter that paedophilia was harmless, saying, 'the vast majority of young partners (of paedophiles) suffer no harm especially when there is a cash payment involved'.

Brand's book, The g Factor, which claimed that blacks have a lower level of general intelligence than whites, was withdrawn by publishers in May, and Brand himself, who said 'I am perfectly proud to be a racist in the scientific sense', has been the subject of a vigorous campaign. Lectures during October were marked by disruption and walkouts by students angered that he has been allowed to propagate racist views masquerading as respectable academic research.

Just a few weeks before he was exposed as an apologist for paedophilia, he was appointed chair of the Psychology Department's ethics committee, only to step down after student protests. 'What sort of ethics is the university attempting to uphold?' asked one student. Students were angry that although Brand stepped down as chair, he remained on the ethics committee and the university took no action against him.

Now the students who campaigned against Brand are vindicated and those who defended him are put to the test. Is he still entitled to freedom of speech? Or is it merely freedom to abuse?

Newham football festival

On Sunday 28 July, a dozen local football teams kicked off the first ever Newham Unity Football Festival at the Newham Leisure Centre in Custom House, east London. Against a backdrop of fascist activity and increasing racism in the area, this event was organised in the spirit of fighting racism and fascism. Teams from all sections of the community entered the competition to enjoy a great day's football and to demonstrate unity in the community. Despite being organised on a shoestring, the day was a big success. After more than 30 gruelling games involving over 100 people, 'British Street', a team made up of black and white youths from Bow, won the day by beating an exhausted though skilful 'East-West' by 3-1 in the final. Spirits were high throughout the day, with only the occasional dust-up between players and referees. As the day went on, it was decided to organise a similar event in 1997. As well as demonstrating unity, the day raised £70, which has been donated to the Kings X Two Campaign.
SEPT 28 Harry McKeown, brother of Bay City Rollers star Les McKeown, jailed for two months after making violent threats to an Asian family near his Edinburgh home... CD manufacturer Nimbus calls in police over racist skinhead CD

SEPT 29 Local authority launches £5.5 million scheme to improve two Oldham council estates which have some of the highest levels of racist attacks in the country... Black Royal Marine Mark Parchment sues Ministry of Defence for 'racist indignities' after being forced to carry spear instead of gun on parade.

SEPT 30 Black detective inspector Dave Michael launches race discrimination case against Met police.

OCT 1 Merton Race Equality Council complain that new premises allocated to it by the council are disused public toilets opposite a pub frequented by the British National Party.

OCT 2 Commission for Racial Equality launches national consultation exercise to determine the extent of religious discrimination... PCA announces no disciplinary action against police who arrested Brian Douglas.

OCT 3 Julie Khor tells Cardiff industrial tribunal how racism in the scramble for jobs during local authority reorganisation ended her career... Leeds football star goes on drunken rampage in east London screaming racist abuse and attacking Worthing's worker Najman Humaan.

OCT 4 Black chief inspector Martin Harding claims Manchester police practised race discrimination in passing him over for promotion... 94 graves desecrated in Edinburgh Jewish cemetery.

OCT 7 Industrial tribunal hears how woman detective on training course was racially abused by a West Midlands police officer who told her to 'keep her fleas to herself'... Claudia Baptiste wins £13,000 award from Bradford and District Newspapers after they told her at a job interview that she should be prepared to tolerate racist banter at work.

OCT 8 Chinese man from Glasgow accepts four-figure out of court settlement after Direct Line refused him a car insurance policy because he did not speak English.

OCT 9 High Court rules that local authorities must feed and house asylum seekers made homeless and destitute by government withdrawal of benefits.

OCT 10 Appeal Court says Zeinab Farah can sue police for race discrimination after they arrested her for 'affray' in response to her call for assistance.

OCT 11 Anton Villa goalkeeper Mark Bosnich charged with bringing football into disrepute after giving Nazi salute to Spurs fans... Teesside REC condemned for race discrimination in appointing Asian over Polish applicants.

OCT 15 Chris Brand removed from post of university ethics convener days after appointment.

OCT 16 Recorded racist attacks up by 3% to 12,230 in 1998-9... Home Office report says.

OCT 23 Tribunal hears how Bolton airport worker was victimised and then dismissed from his post after complaining about racial abuse from co-workers.

OCT 25 Home Office figures show steep increase in asylum refusals and deportation decisions, and sharp decrease in asylum claims. Study by Scarman Centre shows that over 20 per cent of Leicestershire's 9,000-strong African-Caribbean community intend to emigrate, citing racism as major factor... High Court rules that women who flee domestic violence from abroad and may be in danger if they return, constitute a social group who are entitled to claim asylum.

OCT 26 High Court upholds GCHQ ban on employment of 'foreigners'... Black policeman in Essex suspended for refusal to cut dreadlocks.

OCT 28 Parliamentary Ombudsman says that Home Office delays in processing immigration appeals are 'unacceptable.'

OCT 29 Merseyside Safer Cities project finds that almost half black people on Merseyside have suffered racial harassment in the past year... Head of Robb Estate Agents in Glasgow being sued for race discrimination says publicity has been bad for business.

OCT 30 Britain needs a Human Rights Commission to monitor abuses, says Constitution Unit... Chief Inspector of Constabulary finds 'unacceptable' level of racist 'banter' in police.

Prison's only black officer suffered 'race hate campaign', she tells industrial tribunal.

OCT 31 Black male nurse who was told by his boss that a toy gorilla looked like his baby wins racial discrimination case.

British urges UN to deny asylum rights to anyone 'financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts'... Police Bill proposes new agency to supply information on millions of people with criminal records to prospective employers.

NOV 4 Liverpool policeman sacked for racial abuse and sexual harassment of colleagues.

NOV 7 Home Office announces plans to criminalise foreign dissenters living in Britain... Black fireman receives £3,500 award from Cambridgeshire County Council after claiming that he was racially abused by senior officer.

NOV 8 Nepalese adopted son of British millionaire, Jay Khadka, loses High Court challenge to deportation.

NOV 9 Hammersmith and Fulham council says it may have to open camps in London parks to house asylum seekers.

NOV 10 Streatham synagogue daubed with fascist slogans and swastikas.

NOV 11 Oscar Okeye, 53, from east Dulwich, died in hospital five months after falling into coma on arrest by police for suspected assault and drunk driving.

NOV 13 Indian national is treated for hypothermia and detained in Harmondsworth after spending ten hours in the freezing hold of an aeroplane as a stowaway.

Advising Standards Authority forces withdrawal of poster advertising new Asian paper which shows Asian youth kicking racist.

NOV 14 Police Complaints Authority recommends charges of neglect of duty against two officers involved in detention of Amer Bafiq, who lost an eye during Eid last year... Austrian army officer recalled from Bosnia after allowing his troops to wear racist T-shirts.

NOV 15 Church of England advisory group reports that blacks are under-represented among clergy and in synod.

NOV 16 Sikh dissident Karamjit Singh Chahal freed from Bedford prison after European Court of Human Rights rules that his six-year detention, and proposed deportation to India, violated his human rights... Asian taxi-driver Mohammed Akram found shot dead in Rochdale.

NOV 18 Inquest opens into death of Wayne Douglas, whose death in December 1995 in police custody sparked uprising in Brixton... Investigation into managerial opportunities for African-Caribbeans finds 'cement roof' keeping them out in all employment sectors including health and transport, where they are over-represented in workforce.

NOV 20 'Arrogance and ignorance' of Bradford police contributed to 1990 riot, says inquiry report.

NOV 22 Permanent school exclusions in 1995/96 are up by 8% to 13,419 according to an independent report.