

2019

ANNUAL REPORT

INSTITUTE OF
RACE
RELATIONS

About the IRR

THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS was the first educational charity on race relations to be established in the UK, in 1958. Since then, it has striven to change its focus in response to changing needs and pioneer new thinking to keep abreast of changes in racism itself. Today, IRR is at the cutting edge of the research and analysis that informs the struggle for racial justice in Britain, and internationally. It seeks to reflect the experiences of those who suffer racial oppression and draws its perspectives from the most vulnerable in society.

Most of IRR's information and publishing is now electronic and reports are in many cases available as free downloadable files from the website. But, in addition, IRR produces the international quarterly *Race & Class* also in print format, occasional pamphlets and has a back file of print materials available for use in education and training. Educational materials are downloadable from the website, and the DVDs *Struggles for Black Community* and *Catching history on the wing* are also available. IRR's library, known as the Sivanandan Collection, has moved to the University of Warwick; a Black History Collection of leaflets, pamphlets and journals from the 1950s to the 1980s has been retained at the IRR. The organisation also holds occasional meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences.

**INSTITUTE OF
RACE
RELATIONS**

Company Number 601929
Charity Number 223989

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Chair's comment



Concerns around race and class in the UK abounded in 2018/19. Our health system was exposed as underfunded and overstretched; housing provision was hopelessly out of step with housing need; homelessness continued to be a disgrace in a country that regularly boasts of its great wealth and Christian credentials; prisons overcrowded, malfunctioning and far from correctional, continued to blight the lives of those incarcerated within their walls; social care provision for the elderly, now more than 80 per cent privatised, was shown to be hopelessly inadequate, generating regular new stories of cruelty and inhumanity. By all accounts it is the poor and socially oppressed who suffer most; those disadvantaged by racial discrimination overly represented in the worst fixes.

In all this, arguably, class overshadowed race. Yet, we have had to endure manipulated public spats about forms of racism within the main parties, and mainstream politicians and political parties have hogged the limelight with their debates about 'unconscious bias'. For all of this, there was little evidence of actually tackling the racism that seriously destabilises and destroys lives - in the words of the late A. Sivanandan, 'the racism that kills'.

Historians will likely speak of the past year as a time of crisis for representative democracy in Britain. Brexit, a three-year stumbling towards exiting the European Union, has stymied the workings of normal party politics and even of Parliament itself. We are now aware, through the work of a choice few investigative journalists, of the role in the 2016 Brexit referendum of secretive massaging of the voting public by the big-data corporations of surveillance capitalism. In its wake, a hostile environment, initially designed to address the 'threat of illegal immigrants', which famously led to the 'Windrush scandal', now menaces any and every 'othered' resident, including among the 3.5 million citizens from other EU countries living in the UK; their residential status questioned, their lives disrupted and upset in the fallout of Brexit.

There is evidence that in the heat of the closing stages of the Brexit debate, the use of 'inflammatory' language by the prime minister and his allies, alongside the new loudspeakers of social media, poisoned public debate and put other politicians at risk of abuse and potential violence. But the populism that Brexit has drawn on and reinforced has long since posed such a physical and existential threat to Britain's ethnic minority and refugee communities. Meanwhile, the victims of the 2017 Grenfell tower fire

... Chair's comment

disaster in west London, where at least seventy-two were killed and hundreds traumatised have had their experiences compounded by a total lack of urgent corrective action towards communities in other high-risk, potentially fire-trap housing across the country.

We all reel now under a state apparatus, local and national, that regularly treats less advantaged residents with casual and callous contempt and neglect, to the extent that UN agencies have had cause to denounce impoverishment in the UK. Food-banks for the poor provide lifelines in town after town. Everywhere, community volunteers have stepped up in attempts to fill in the gaps.

2019 has exposed something of a jingoistic vanity about the country that houses the mother of all parliaments. At Peterloo, in 1819, there was a massacre in Manchester. A peaceful rally in a people's campaign, merely demanding broadened enfranchisement, not even universal suffrage, was violently attacked by agents of the establishment, and hundreds were mown down, killed or seriously injured, as on a battlefield. Two hundred years later, it is commonplace to observe that power is still held by a very few. The challenge now is to (re)discover new forms of political participation that can serve to

reinvigorate democracy to serve the interests of the whole of the people.

COLIN PRESCOD

Director's report



Picture: efsyn.gr

In recent years, the term 'intersectionality' has become a popular term for conceptualising the multiple identities that cause overlapping oppressions. But although intersectionality is a relatively new concept, in reality there has always been a practice at the community level of working at the interface of multiple oppressions. It's precisely that history that flags up to us the fact that in too much discussion today, class is left out of the equation. Or, when it is indeed recognised as a marker of exclusion, there is an embarrassment about approaching it in structural terms. People prefer to take about 'classism' as a barrier to individual advancement, or the moral evil of poverty. The IRR's flagship report this year *The London Clearances: race, housing and policing* returns us to our old concern about the links between race and class, urban policy, housing discrimination and oppressive policing (see Lee Bridges pioneering work on urban policing and social policy in *Race & Class* in the 1980s). What we have attempted to demonstrate in *The London Clearances* is the ways in which media frameworks and urban policy combine to racialise crime and demonise poor working-class BAME communities. And, in portraying social housing as 'sink estates' and 'gang infested', and stigmatising their residents, make it all the easier to 'socially cleanse' BAME

people from the capital and indeed other cities in the UK.

Gentrification, evictions, demolitions, the failure to maintain health and safety standards in social housing, are essentially violent processes, but, since they are structural and covert, are not readily read for what they are. This violence, unless as obvious as the Grenfell fire, appears not to leave physical marks. Violent hatred, whether it be against Muslims, Jews, migrants, LGBT+ communities or women and children, is becoming more prevalent. That is why we were concerned about the current prime minister's use of 'martial metaphors' in the supposed run-up to Brexit, as well as his attempts to deny the link between inflammatory language that could incite and actual physical violence. Words like 'surrender', 'traitor', 'betrayal' are now central to the far Right's victim narratives. We ignore at our peril warnings from the counter-terrorism police and Europol, who now both assess the far Right as the fastest growing terrorist threat.

As the 'Out and About' section on p 21 attests, this year the IRR has striven to link up with advocacy groups working not just on issues of racist violence, but other forms of violence, such as sexism and

... Director's report

homophobia, and the violence that takes place every day at our borders. Border violence is a subject addressed in the second report we published this year, *When Witnesses Won't Be Silenced*, that dealt, among other things, with the way that the EU's border policies are abandoning some of the most vulnerable people in the world, refugees from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Eritrea, in the Mediterranean Sea, and criminalising the SAR-NGOs which so valiantly try to save them. In this respect, IRR staff learnt a great deal this year from visits to Spain and Greece. In Greece, we met with NGOs, lawyers and campaigns working on issues of migration, racist and homophobic attacks. In Spain we learnt more about the far-right attacks on feminist associations and those working around gender-based violence. Our research does not just look analytically at the way oppressions intersect, but is a form of action-research which is now geared to searching, with colleagues in Europe, for solutions.

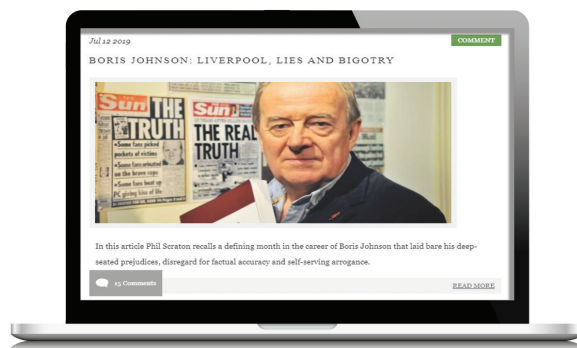
Over the course of the year and, in part, thanks to a small grant from the National Lottery for *IRR News* we have moved much further towards our strategic goal of opening up the Black History Collection for practical engagement and educational work with young people. The grant provided us with a welcome

opportunity to train seven volunteers in research, journalistic and website skills to assist us with the collective project of running our online platform. And through our collaboration with Create London, we came in contact with another enthusiastic group of young people, this time artists, archivists, students and film-makers whom we have thoroughly enjoyed working with this year.

In terms of management, this also has been a year of change at IRR. In recognition of the more complex operational environment that the IRR works in, and also the need to provide robust structures for the professional and personal development of our enterprising team of younger staff, we have trained staff in data protection, the making of FOI requests, and aspects of archiving, set up a Staffing Welfare Committee (to work on policy relating to recruitment, equality and appraisals and staff development) and trustee Tony Bunyan has taken on the responsibility for data protection.

LIZ FEKETE

IRR News, Projects and Research



On IRR News regular newsletter: 'the update is a great resource to follow as it helps to see this work being done, the current climate/priorities and organising. It gives hope that there is others fighting in 'our corner' so to speak.'

**Suzanna Henry, BAME Network,
St Mungo's**

IRR News, our online news service 'against racism and for social justice' is the arm of the Institute, through which we publish timely analysis of racism in UK and Europe, often picking up stories that the mainstream media does not cover. Much of our work amplifies the voices of grassroots' campaigns and people on the frontlines, with key articles this year covering racial violence across Europe and the rise of an emboldened far Right; resistance against gentrification in London; the fight to retain domestic violence refuges for BAME women in the face of austerity cuts; and the creative ways that young people are engaging with anti-racist history.

Having secured £10,000 National Lottery funding to develop *IRR News*' output with the aid of volunteers, we have mentored and trained seven young people in research, journalistic and website skills to assist us with the collective project of running our online platform. In the last year, we have had student volunteers from SOAS University, University College London and Bristol University (coming to us from a range of disciplines including international relations, anthropology, law, music and literature) and a volunteer from Munich who is up-keeping our database of migrant deaths.

As well as volunteers providing crucial assistance in compiling our regular calendar of racism and resistance (which highlights key social justice issues in the UK and Europe) many also publish articles on *IRR News* as a way of developing their own research interests, including a review of an exhibition on migrant deaths in the Mediterranean, an article investigating the tragic death of a Kenyan refugee woman in eastern Germany and a piece highlighting the resistance to police brutality in France. This year, a key focus for *IRR News* is to give young people, mainly from BAME communities, an opportunity to grow intellectually and on a personal level in a challenging workplace, whilst providing them with transferable skills which they can apply in future careers, with one of our volunteers going on to work at a national human rights charity.

A crucial strength of the IRR is our long and unique history, and to build on this, many of our *IRR News* articles revisit anti-racist history in the context of today – what can we learn from the past; how can history be a radical tool in the present? Recent articles have explored the radical black history of Notting Hill, Southall's anti-racist struggles and a review of a zine *Fighting Sus!* which brings the youth experience of racialised policing to the fore. In order to engage new

... IRR News, Projects and Research

IRR NEWS

Over **5,000** twitter followers

Regular readership: **12,000**

Most read article: **3,631** views
'Asian grooming gangs': media, state and the far right by Kay Stephens

🐦 If you do one thing this evening read this article and then share it, Tottenham like so many other communities faces being ripped apart by the very people who claim to care about it
[@TammyPalmerLD](https://twitter.com/TammyPalmerLD) <https://twitter.com/TammyPalmerLD/status/1126879947115642881>

🐦 Read this thread from the excellent IRR on successful community resistance against the far right. Self-defence is no offence!
<https://twitter.com/AntiFascistNetw/status/1163857645310291968>

audiences, we have been using rare archival images from the Black History Collection to illustrate articles – making the brilliant material that we hold more accessible to a wide audience, and integrating the archive more closely with *IRR News*.

As an emboldened far Right continues to make electoral gains across Europe, it is more important than ever to create transnational connections between the UK and Europe, which we consistently cover on *IRR News*. Following the Christchurch massacre in New Zealand, director Liz Fekete wrote an incisive piece on the context of war and the influence of the New Right intelligentsia (which has since been translated into Chinese), and alongside this, we published a round-up of the most important implications of the Christchurch attack in the UK and Europe, including attacks on Muslims. We will continue to make timely interventions on *IRR News* in order to expand our readership of over 12,000 even more, as well as experiment more with social media in the coming year, by making mini-videos and sound-clips which summarise key messages from our articles.

IRR research

On gentrification and displacement of ethnic minorities

IRR's UK research has taken on another new area in 2019, documenting the social reconfiguring of London, a result of large-scale development projects that are displacing ethnic minorities. In February this year, Jessica Perera produced the background paper *The London Clearances: Race, Housing and Policing*, which looked at the connections between central and local government attempts to regenerate



... IRR News, Projects and Research

🐦 This is a fantastic resource for urban scholars interested in thinking through how race, as well as class, shapes council housing and gentrification today, by analysing it in the context of other state agencies, principally the police and central government policy makers
NativeSon @adamec87 – 22 Feb 2019



Sophia Siddiqui speaking at A Coruña

council estates in the capital, and the monitoring, managing and policing of young black communities. The publication has been received positively by community campaigns, academics, journalists and media representatives.

Following this successful response, the IRR was asked in March to participate at an Open Society workshop in Copenhagen, on the Danish government's 'Ghetto Package'. Jessica was asked to speak about *The London Clearances* at a Labour Party constituency meeting in May, and also gave the closing talk at the No Colour Bar: Highland Remix: Clearances to Colonialism in the Highlands Conference in June, where she linked contemporary clearances in London to those in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Towards an anti-racist feminism

An exciting new direction this year, is our work on helping conceptualise parameters for an anti-racist feminism in the UK and in Europe – an issue which has built a lot of momentum, particularly as a feminism that seeks to challenge racism, sexism and fascism is being taken up by a number of academic and activist groupings.

Sophia Siddiqui has interviewed frontline worker-

campaigners as well as travelling to events to build contacts and establish IRR's presence within anti-racist feminist groups and the violence against women and girls sector. In March, she spoke at A Coruña University (Galacia) at a conference on the rise of the far Right (funded by the European United Left-Nordic Green Left) on a panel about how the far Right is mobilising in the UK, using Rotherham as an example, something that the pan-European audience knew little about. On International Women's Day we wrote about how anti-immigrant Islamophobic currents are growing on the back of the racialisation of sex crimes in Hungary, Italy and Poland. Alongside this, we published an article by Kay Stephens on *IRR News*, which unpacked the Asian 'grooming gang' narrative in Rotherham – one of our most read pieces with over 3,000 views.

Sophia has also been working on building local connections in the UK with practitioners, activists and researchers within the violence against women and girls' sector, and amplifying their voices. As a result of the work, Sophia was invited to speak about her work at a conference on 'Feminist Dilemmas, Feminist Hope' hosted by the Feminist and Women's Studies Association and City University's Gender and Sexualities Research centre in October 2019.

... IRR News, Projects and Research



Top: Preparing to hand in the PPT verdict at 10 Downing Street.
Bottom: The PPT Steering Group meets shadow home secretary Diane Abbott. Photos: Dorothy Guerrero

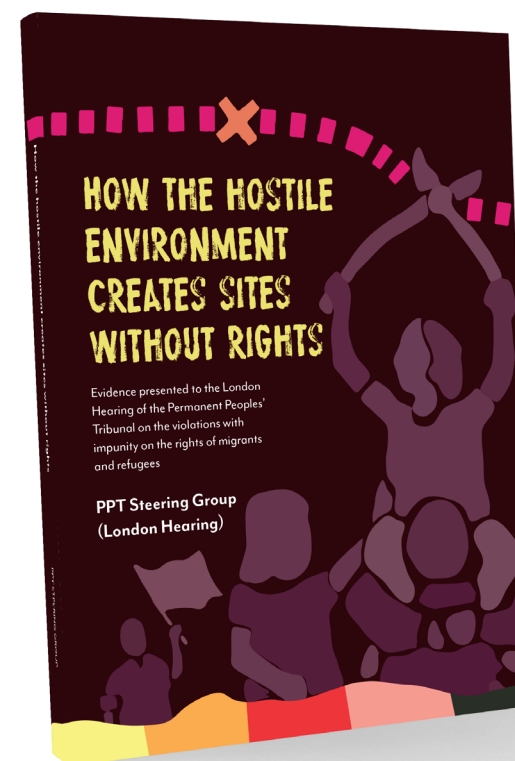
On the 'hostile environment' and Windrush

We have continued to make the connections between what is happening throughout Europe and in the UK and, as we reported in our last annual report, we published *The Embedding of State Hostility: a background paper on the Windrush scandal*, in 2018. And we reported back then too on other work supporting migrant rights in the UK, such as our participation as co-convenors of the London Hearing of the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) on the violations with impunity on the rights of migrants and refugees. That work has continued this year.

Frances Webber's immigration expertise on the hostile environment and the 'Windrush scandal' has been called upon on numerous occasions, by migrant support groups such as Kent Refugee Help, lawyers attempting to access the Windrush compensation scheme on behalf of clients, by the Runnymede Trust in its submission at the behest of the Jamaican High Commission on the eve of the Commonwealth Summit, and by journalists, such as the *Guardian's* Amelia Gentleman.

The IRR director and vice-chair headed a small editorial team that has put all the evidence from the PPT London Hearing into a handbook. We have

spoken in parliament and at meetings about the work of the PPT were part of a delegation that briefed the shadow home secretary, Diane Abbott.



European Research Programme



Memorial for Pavlos Fyssas in Athens

THIS SEPTEMBER, THERE was outrage after it was revealed that the European Commission's incoming president proposed to give the EU's most senior official on migration and skilled labour the job title 'Commissioner for Protecting our European Way of Life'. Ursula von der Leyen's proposal was quickly kicked into touch by angry MEPs, but not before she had been accused of promoting an anti-immigration agenda and adopting the 'divisive rhetoric' of fascists. It is precisely the threat posed by this kind of mainstreaming of far-right ideas that the European Research Programme (ERP) has warned about since its inception in 1992. Thankfully, as this year has shown, more and more people are waking up to the fact that combating racism and fascism is not a form of political correctness (as the hard Right would have it), but vital to the strengthening of European democracy.

An exemplar of what is wrong with the job title 'protecting our European way of life' is provided by the EU's border policies. This was a subject touched upon by the ERP in an academic piece commissioned by the journal *Global Affairs* which detailed the ways in which the EU has colluded with the corrupt Libyan coastguard in closing down the central Mediterranean route for migrants and refugees, leading to more deaths not only at sea, but internally in Italy, as the far-

right League party ratcheted up anti-migrant rhetoric. The League's hard-line interior minister Matteo Salvini (now out of power) was the architect of draconian anti-NGO measures which included prosecutions of the crews of search and rescue SAR-NGOs. In January 2019, the ERP published *When Witnesses Won't Be Silenced* by Liz Fekete, Frances Webber and Anya Edmond-Pettitt. This, the IRR's second report in eighteen months on crimes of solidarity, dealt, amongst other things, with the onslaught against SAR-NGOs. It is based on seventeen case studies involving ninety-nine people prosecuted under aiding illegal immigration laws for assisting migrants and refugees, or involvement in anti-deportation initiatives.

The ERP's work in this field has made a significant contribution to the main-streaming of this issue, as well as raising international awareness of these outrageous prosecutions. This year we assisted the ReSOMA project in its research on 'strategic litigation of criminalisation cases', addressed the PICUM General Assembly, provided testimony at the European Parliament's session of the PPT (hosted by the GUE/NGL political grouping), and were cited by the European Parliament PETI Committee on Petitions as a source document on its briefing on the

...European Research Programme



Books shortlisted for the Award for Radical Publishing 2019

Facilitation Directive. IRR vice-chair, Frances Webber's legal expertise was called upon to provide a report to the Greek judicial authorities on the compatibility with international law (human rights, the law of the sea, humanitarian law) of the prosecution of Sean Binder and Sara Mardini (volunteers arrested and charged in Lesbos in August 2018), and also sought by the NGO Mobile Info in the defence of captain Pia Kemp, facing trial in Italy.

Regrettably, but not surprisingly, the far Right – and even sections of the mainstream Right – have shown little respect for democracy over the past year. Although the Supreme Court's decision that the proroguing of the British parliament was a welcome constitutional check, in other European countries the threat to democracy has been equally grave. Racial minorities and migrants in Greece – where, until the arrests of 2013, the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn was the third largest party in the Greek parliament – have in recent times been subjected to a campaign of racist thuggery. What could have been more subverting of democracy than collusion of sections of the police and military with the neo-Nazis? In September 2019, Liz Fekete spent five days in Athens at the invitation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Golden Dawn Watch as part of a European delegation

observing the trial of sixty-five members of Golden Dawn for membership and direction of a criminal organisation. She also met with NGOs and spoke at public meetings including one organised by the Feminist Autonomous Collective, which is not only fighting racism but combating hate crimes against LGBTQI communities.

Finally we can report that *Europe's Fault Lines*, published by Verso, received the Bread & Roses Award for Radical Publishing 2019, with the judges commenting that the book was the product of 'years of documentation, analysis and activism in the cause of anti-racism and anti-fascism' and 'a necessary book for these difficult times'. Liz would like to express her gratitude to all the marvellous volunteers and staff members, past and present, whose assistance in research and translation made this award possible. This year, our thanks go especially to Jamie Wates and Flora Schweighofer for their excellent work in translating German materials and also ensuring that the two databases on asylum and migrant deaths and crimes of solidarity are kept up to date.

Media impact

As in 2018, this has been a strong year in terms of media impact for ERP. Major features on the ERP's

...European Research Programme

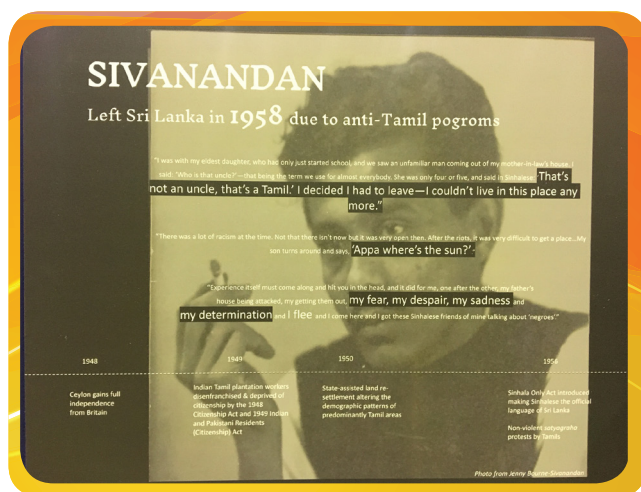
*'Thanks for the great interview.
Everyone found it very compelling.'*
Sean Mullin, Redeye Vancouver
Co-op Radio

*'Your keynote was just wonderful and
really gave the correct framework for
the following discussions.'*
Kristín Loftsdóttir, Professor of
Anthropology, University of Iceland

work were conducted by the visual journalism team at *Deutsche Welle* and by Redeye Vancouver Co-op Radio. The Greek newspaper *Heðhmerpaa* carried a full-page feature on the ERP and the Greek radio station Sto Kokkino recorded a twenty-minute interview on our work on the far Right. *Europe's Fault Lines*, originally published in hardback in 2018, was reissued in paperback and reviewed in *Dublin Review of Books* and mentioned in the *Camden New Journal*. *Guardian* journalist Nesrine Malik mentioned the IRR in an important 'long read' on the myth of the free speech crisis. *When Witnesses Won't be Silenced* and our 2017 report *Humanitarianism: the unacceptable face of solidarity* were cited in *Tagespiegel*, *De*

Correspondent, *The New Republic*, the *New Internationalist*, the *New Humanitarian*, *Jungle World*, *Time* magazine, *elidario.es*, *Open Democracy*, *Border Criminologies*, as well as two online educational programmes aimed at young people (*News Decoder* in the Netherlands, and *funk*, the online youth channel of German public TV stations ARD and ZDF). Articles by ERP originally published on *IRR News* – on the Christchurch massacre, racial violence across Europe, and the links between the racism and sexism of the far Right – were republished on the blogs of Verso Books and Jewish Voice for Labour and subsequently translated into Chinese and Italian.

Black History Collection



FEBRUARY'S TOP TWEET EARNED 45.2K IMPRESSIONS



On this day in 1979, Awaz (UK Asian women's collective) + OWAAD (Organisation of Women of African+Asian descent) organised a powerful picket at Heathrow, protesting the horrific virginity tests, which some migrant women were subject to by immigration services on arrival to the UK

THE SEVENTY-YEAR CELEBRATION of the *Empire Windrush* docking in 1948 coincided with the expose that the UK's 'hostile environment' was leading to the deportation of members of that generation in 2018. And, in part, the outrage at this blatant racism has meant an increased appetite for radical and resistance history. The IRR endeavoured to inform this new audience through making the IRR's Black History Collection's material on radical community history more accessible through digital technology and outreach.

This year we have created a timeline of significant political and community events in Britain's anti-racist, anti-fascist history from the 1950s to the 1990s, moments from which are being tweeted monthly to connect the archive to the wider public, showing what the Collection has to offer, highlighting some of the campaigns lost to history, and helping to make the links between the past and the present.


It has proved to be a significant intervention, generating new followers and increasing the use of the BHC. Over the year we have, for example, highlighted the 1979 AWAZ (women's) protest at Heathrow against virginity testing, that was connected to the still present sexual abuse in detention centres;

the work of Claudia Jones and the launch in 1959 of the *West Indian Gazette*, which promoted the work of Black artists and connected it to the debates around representation today and the Oscars; and the 1975 Spaghetti House Siege and the complicated media narrative that surrounded it. The BHC has also been drawn on for material to illustrate the timeline on the site dedicated to the work of A. Sivanandan, former IRR director and sourced material for and advised a number of community-based and more commercial film initiatives.

In terms of outreach, we have also taken a selection of materials from the BHC out to festivals and meetings so it can be used in zine-making and education workshops. A significant project in outreach work in 2019 was a collaboration with Create London, an arts organisation based in east London which connects artists and their local communities. IRR has been a consultant on 'Activating Newham' a community engagement project (funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund) working with young people in Newham about the historical period which gave birth to youth movements in Newham and elsewhere in the 1980s. We have provided educational materials and perspectives as well as help organise meetings with members of historical movements in

...Black History Collection

AUGUST'S TOP TWEET EARNED 6,107 IMPRESSIONS

 #OTD 4 years ago, Mushin Ahmed, an 81 grandfather was murdered going to morning prayer in #Rotherham in a racially motivated attack. Within days of his death, Britain First held another demo in Rotherham, in response, the community came out to defend themselves from the far Right



Gerry Gable, Anya Edmond-Pettitt and Sam Berkson at the Activating Newham event

conversation with current activists as well as zine-making workshops. This very successful project has also created its own archival collection in the form of oral histories taken from the 'in conversations' which will soon be available online.

Anya Edmond-Pettitt, who coordinates IRR's work on black history and provides hands-on support to BHC users, has had training in archiving and collection building from the London Metropolitan Archive with a view to being able to add to the BHC

and to make our considerable pamphlet collection more accessible. It is significant that the use of the Collection has increased by almost 50 per cent this year – possibly as a result of our using social media and *IRR News* to promote 'our wares'. Over the last few months there has been an upsurge of interest in women's history, with people coming to research popular feeling toward black women's mixed marriages in the 1960s, virginity testing and Black women radical organisers.

Race & Class:



ONCE AGAIN, WE have had a successful year on *Race & Class*, with an increase in subscription income and in the journal's 'official' impact factor. And we are pleased to be able to report that the journal is now establishing a new generation of writers and attracting contributors from a wider geographical spread – which, in turn, will bring the journal to new audiences.

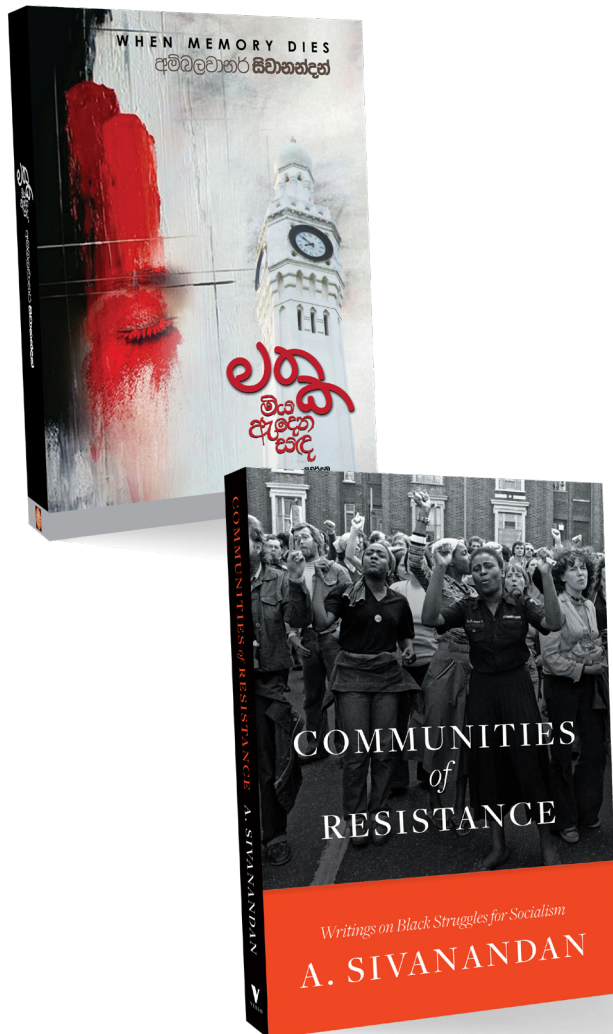
We have this year concentrated on a number of urgent contemporary themes: neoliberalism and globalisation; migration and deterrence, the changing nature of anti-racism, international solidarity and cultural resistance. In issue 60/4 Michael Kwet offered a challenging analysis of digital colonialism and the way that the US empire was imposing a new imperialism in the Global South. In issue 61/1 we published two controversial pieces: Jerry Harris of the Global Studies Association of North America wrote on 'The future of globalisation: neo-fascism or the Green New Deal' and cultural studies scholar Henry Giroux wrote on 'Neoliberalism and the weaponising of language and education'.

Other key pieces this year examined state policies towards migrants and asylum seekers. In 60/4 immigration expert Frances Webber explained

what the UK's creation of a 'hostile environment' has meant in removing rights; Bristol academic Victoria Canning in 'Degradation by design' then showed in 61/1 exactly how policies of deterrence compound the horrors of detained women would-be refugees driven by oppression to seek asylum in Europe in the first place. And educationalist Mark Payne looked at the situation in an inner-city school for the children of marginalised new migrant Roma.

Both racism and anti-racism are not static, as the journal's founder editor pointed out many years ago. The journal prioritises not just racism's impact, but also analysis of the way it is being conceptualised and those concepts, in turn, influencing attempts to extend social and racial justice. In 60/4 Jenny Bourne unravelled the limitations in applying the notion of 'unconscious bias'; in 61/1 Matthew Vaughan explains how long a time it was for academics to even accept the notion of Britain as a discriminating society in the 1960s. In the lead article in 61/2, published as an *homage* to Sivanandan's thinking, Miriyam Aouragh wrote on "'White privilege" and shortcuts to anti-racism' to point out how necessary it was to return to basic principles – of collective action and solidarity in the face of a politics with the potential to personalise and divide.

...Race & Class:



And examples of the impact of solidarity action and cultural resistance have been central to the journal's coverage this year. In 60/4 Chandni Desai and Heather Sykes traced Brazilian-Palestinian solidarity at the 2016 Rio 'Olympics without apartheid', in 61/1 Sabzar Ahmad Bhat examined human rights struggles in Kashmir, in 61/2 Adaeze Greenidge and Levi Gahman showed the impact in the Caribbean of the 1969 black student uprising at Sir George Williams University in Canada. In 61/3 contributors examined the impact of the work of China's novelist and essayist Urelyu on the Ewenki and cultural expression, and of Palestinian Ghassan Kanafani's conceptualisation of memory in one of his key works.

It is also noteworthy this year that the reviews section has come into its own. We were pleased to publish a number of in-depth reviews and review articles: John Newsinger on Winston Churchill, Anita Rupprecht on Julius Scott's *The Common Wind*, Nancy Murray on Palestine and Sophia Siddiqui on the reissue of two landmark books on black women's struggle in the UK.

This year, the staff, with the help of Editorial Working Committee members, is making efforts to acquaint students with the journal at Freshers' Fairs and other meetings – with specially created cards and posters

and special offers. This is part of a promotion drive to make the journal more accessible and user-friendly. As ever we need to thank all our contributors, the volunteers who help logistically in mailing and marketing, and the ever-supportive staff at Sage.

On Sivanandan's legacy

In addition to the *Race & Class* October article by Miriyam Aouragh, paying homage to Sivanandan's work in relation to black struggle and the essence of anti-racism, we are very pleased to announce that at the end of 2019 the publisher Verso will reissue his 1990 collection of essays *Communities of Resistance: black struggles for socialism* with a preface from journalist Gary Younge and an introduction by Editorial Working Committee Member Arun Kundnani, plus a complete bibliography of his writings and printed speeches.

In October 2019 Sivanandan's novel *When Memory Dies* was published in Sinhala and launched at the Sinhala Literature Festival in Sri Lanka. It was always his wish that the book should be available in his home country and we hope this rekindles interest in this path-breaking political novel which has the issue of communalism at its core.

...Race & Class:



It is very heartening that *Global Social Theory*, a free education resource on important theorists, in May 2019 included an entry on Sivanandan.

We were also delighted that the Tamil Information Centre honoured his contribution to thinking and campaigning at the May exhibition 'Tamils of Lanka: A Timeless Heritage'.

A website on the work of A. Sivanandan at asivanandan.com is under construction and will serve as a repository of all Siva's works and enable a new

generation to share his ideas and world view. It will allow users to explore the site through a timeline; through his proverbial wise aphorisms which will open users out to texts along themes; through a chronological compilation of all his collected works; through the ways that others have situated his importance to thinking in a number of fields – racism, class struggle, colonialism, imperialism, globalisation, technological change and others.

So glad to see #Sivanandan added to the list. Such a towering and influential public intellectual in the anti-racist movement.
Shubranshu Mishra

Volunteers



Safia Cissoko writes:

I grew up in France where any discussion of racial oppression was either silenced or denounced as divisive or 'not constructive'. I constructed my political identity firstly through the anti-capitalist and feminist literature I was learning at school, but it is only when I came to university in the UK that I sought out postcolonial and anti-racist feminist literature. I was particularly interested in black feminist literature and the work of scholars and activists primarily based in the Anglo-Saxon world. It was these analytical tools that enabled me to deconstruct my identity, in terms of class, gender and race, and also helped me to question the 'colour-blind' nature of French 'anti-racist universalism'.

I learned about the IRR through a university essential seminar reading on the criminalisation of solidarity in Europe after 2015. *Reading Humanitarianism: the unacceptable face of solidarity* led me to appreciate the academic and activist nature of the IRR. Both in France and the UK, I find that academia is often dissociated from activism, and it feels like a closed elitist world that excludes the experiences of minorities.

During my two-week's placement over the Summer, I

helped maintain the IRR's archive of migration deaths in Europe, and compile *IRR News'* Calendar of Racism and Resistance by searching for and recording news stories about racially aggravated offences in the UK. The time at IRR was extremely enriching, helping me to think more independently, especially when researching cases of migrant deaths, which are poorly documented. There was also time for me to enjoy the literature available at IRR and have many fruitful exchanges with every member of the team, all of which will be extremely useful for my future studies. My involvement with IRR continues – via a piece I am writing for *IRR News* on the campaign *Justice Pour Adama* dealing with the death of a young black man in the custody of the French police in 2016.

...Volunteers



Laura Wormington writes:

Since graduating in the Spring of this year, I have worked part-time at the Independent Workers' Union of Great Britain (IWGB), a 'radical base' trade union with predominantly migrant and BAME membership. This work has made explicit to me the ways race and class, and struggles against racism and capitalist exploitation, are intimately intertwined. I've represented outsourced cleaners and security officers at universities, for example, and learnt that without coincidence the companies they are subcontracted to – companies that frequently underpay, bully and exploit these migrant workers – simultaneously profit from running prisons and detention centres.

In wanting to better understand this system of racial capitalism, I came across the valuable work of the IRR. Drawn in by the ethos of 'writing for the people we are fighting for' and wanting to contribute to producing such important anti-racist resources, I applied to volunteer in September this year.

I now volunteer at the Institute one day a week, when I'm not at working for the union, compiling brief summaries of news stories relating to immigration, asylum and resistance for the fortnightly IRR Calendar of Race and Resistance. The work helps me stay

informed around what's happening immigration-wise, and in this terrifying time of rising fascism and political turmoil it's a real pleasure to work with such compassionate and informed people who value full-length lunchtime discussions!

I'm grateful to have been given the chance to be involved in some small way and I hope this is just the beginning of my relationship with the IRR.

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Out and about

Diary of events, meeting and seminars at which IRR staff and Council members have made contributions

2018

26 October

Participant at roundtable meeting with Défenseur des droits at Open Society Foundations, London

2 November

Chair of book launch of *Finding a Voice: Asian women in Britain* by Amrit Wilson (2018 edition) at SOAS, London

22 November

Participant at launch of Statewatch Archive, Public Reading Rooms, London

30 November

Chair of book launch of *Telling the Mayflower Story*, by Danny Reilly and Steve Cushion at UCL Institute of American Studies/Socialist History Society, London

3 December

Lecturer on 'Racism, Power and the Rise of the Right', Birkbeck, University of London

2019

22 January

Keynote speaker on 'Collusion and the policing of the far Right', Stads Salons Urbains series, Brussels Centre for Urban Studies

16 February

Panel speaker at 'Humanising migration narratives post-Brexit', SOAS and Ella Baker School of Transformative Organising, London.

Panel speaker at Students for Global Health Society national conference, Kings College, London

26 February

Attendee at launch of INQUEST's legal aid campaign for inquests, House of Commons, London

27 February

Speaker at 'Windrush, Grenfell and Civil Rights: The Legacy of Community Organising in Norther Kensington', Migrants Organise, The Tabernacle, London

28 February

Hosted LSE Human Rights Group forum on 'The so-called "migrant crisis" analysed', Institute of Race Relations, London

2 March

Speaker at conference 'No Pasaran: Confronting the rise of the far-right', Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church, London

3 March

Panel speaker on the 'Criminalisation of solidarity', Session of the Permanent



Sophia Siqqiqui and Amrit Wilson at the November book launch

People's Tribunal on Human Rights, European Parliament, Brussels

6-7 March

Participant at 'Denmark's "ghetto" package of laws', Open Society Justice Initiative, Copenhagen

...Out and about

15 March

Panel speaker on the rise of the far Right in Europe, University of A Coruña, Spain, hosted by the GUE/ NGL European Group

26 March

Attendee 'Care for the Future: Thinking Forward Through the Past' conference workshop on 'Decolonising the Archive', Arts and Humanities Research Council, Friends House, London

2 April

Participant at meeting on 'The political legacies of Gurdip Singh Chaggar & Blair Peach: building unity against racism', House of Commons, London

4 April

Panel speaker on the Permanent People's Tribunal at All Party Parliamentary Group hearings on 'Protecting Public Services from the Hostile Environment', House of Commons, London



Frances Webber at PPT hearing, European Parliament. Photo: GUE/NGL

4 April

Speaker at Sound System Outernational Conference in Naples, Italy

25 April

Keynote speaker on 'The economy of racism and the creation of a hostile environment for migrants and refugees', Mobilising and Transnationalism in the 21st century,

Reykjavik, University of Iceland

28 April

Attendee at conference 'Southall Resists how to fight the fascists and win', Southall Resists 40, Birkbeck, University of London

10 May

Panel speaker on the 'Criminalisation of solidarity' and workshop co-

ordinator, PICUM General Assembly, Brussels

15 May

Keynote speaker at 'Festival of Dissent' Kelso Cochrane Memorial event, Kensal Library, London

23 May

Keynote speaker at 'Those Seeking Refuge: Realities and Possibilities', Leeds Church Institute

30 May

Speaker on race, housing and policing at Croydon constituency Labour Party meeting, London

31 May

Attendee at 'Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: in conversation with Saidiya Hartman' with Avery Gordon and Eddie Bruce-Jones, Birkbeck, University of London

...Out and about



Liz Fekete receives Radical Booksellers Award

9 June

Speaker at 'History Futures Talk: The London Clearances' at Timespan Museum, The Highlands, Scotland.

11 June

Award-winner at the Bread & Roses Radical Booksellers Award 2019, London

18 June

Attendee at launch, *After Grenfell Violence, Resistance and Response*, Birkbeck, University of London

2 July

Attendee at launch of *From Hanoi to Harlem: black radical anti-imperialism* by Robin Spencer, UCL, London

5 August

Chair of 'Activating Newham' workshop session on Asian Youth Movements in the 1980s, Rabbits Road, London

19 August

Chair of 'Activating Newham' workshop session on History of Anti-Fascism, Rabbits Road, London

2 September

Keynote address on the far Right at conference 'The Spirit of Populism: political theologies in polarized times', School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh

4 September

Attendee at TNI report launch 'Leaving the War on terror: a progressive alternative to counter-terrorism policy', House of Commons, London

16 September

International observer (at the invitation of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation) at the trial of Golden Dawn, Athens Court of Appeal, Athens

16 September

Chair of 'Activating Newham' workshop session on Housing in London, Rabbits Road, London

18 September

Presentation on anti-racism, LGBTQI rights and the far-Right, Feminist Autonomous Collective, Agios Panteleimonos, Athens



Zine making with Create London for Activating Newham

...Out and about

19 September

International observer at the trial of Golden Dawn, Athens Court of Appeal, Athens

Panel speaker at Against the Mainstreaming of the (far-)Right, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Athens

12 October

Showing of *Struggles for Black Community* at Bristol Radical History Festival, M Shed, Bristol Museum, Bristol

16 October

Panel speaker on publishing as feminist activism at 'Feminist Hope, Feminist Dilemmas' conference, hosted by Feminist & Women's studies (FAWS) and the Gender and Sexuality Research Centre at City University, London

17 October

Participant at 'Time to honour Micky Fenn', Unite the Union, London

21 October

Panel speaker at TUC Roundtable on 'Combating the Hostile Environment', Congress House, London

25 October

Speaker on 'Race and Resistance in the UK', St Mungo's BAME network, London



Jessica Perera speaking in Naples

Finance report

Income and Expenditure Account and Statement of Financial Activities for the year ended 31 March 2019

	Unrestricted Funds (£)	Restricted Funds (£)	Total Funds 2019 (£)
Income and Endowments from:			
Donations and legacies	104,907	58,893	163,800
Charitable activities	116,527		116,527
Investment income	152		152
Other income	1,292		1,292
Total income	222,878	58,893	281,771
Expenditure on:			
Raising funds	(6,116)		(6,116)
Charitable activities	(177,917)	(62,367)	(240,284)
Total expenditure	(184,033)	(62,367)	(246,400)
Net expenditure	38,845	(3,474)	35,371
Net movement in funds	38,845	(3,474)	35,371
Reconciliation of funds			
Total funds brought forward	63,099	121,620	184,719
Total funds carried forward	101,944	118,146	220,090

Income and Expenditure Account and Statement of Financial Activities for the year ended 31 March 2018

	Unrestricted Funds (£)	Restricted Funds (£)	Total Funds 2018 (£)
Income and Endowments from:			
Donations and legacies	32,662	56,312	88,974
Charitable activities	103,882		103,882
Investment income	230		230
Other income	4,557		4,557
Total income	141,331	56,312	197,643
Expenditure on:			
Raising funds	(5,688)		(5,688)
Charitable activities	(146,659)	(59,786)	(206,445)
Total expenditure	(152,347)	(59,786)	(212,133)
Net expenditure	(11,016)	(3,474)	(14,490)
Net movement in funds	(11,016)	(3,474)	(14,490)
Reconciliation of funds			
Total funds brought forward	74,115	125,094	199,209
Total funds carried forward	63,099	121,620	184,719

...Finance report

Balance sheet as at 31 March 2019

	2019 (£)	2018 (£)
Fixed assets		
Tangible assets	118,039	122,951
Current assets		
Stocks	800	800
Debtors	74,064	65,904
Cash at bank and in hand	34,994	2,470
	<u>109,858</u>	<u>69,174</u>
Creditors: amounts falling due within one year	(7,807)	(7,406)
Net current assets	102,051	61,768
Net assets	220,090	184,719
The funds of the charity		
Restricted funds	118,146	121,620
Unrestricted income funds:	101,944	63,099
Total charity funds	220,090	184,719

The purpose of these pages is to provide a summary of the charity's income, expenditure and year end position. This summary is derived from the full annual accounts, and is not a full representation. A full copy of the annual accounts and auditor's report can be obtained from the charity's offices. The statutory accounts have been delivered to the Registrar of Companies.

Contact the IRR

Council of Management

Sam Berkson, Lee Bridges, Jon Burnett, Eddie Bruce-Jones, Tony Bunyan, Sue Conlan, Saqib Deshmukh, David Edgar, Gholam Khiabany, Colin Prescod (Chair), Danny Reilly, Cilius Victor, Frances Webber (Vice-Chair)

Funders

Garden Court Chambers
Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust
National Lottery Community Fund
Open Society Foundations

Volunteers

Safia Cissoko Ann Dryden, Zainab Korah, Joseph Maggs, Graham Murray, Jasbinder S Nijjar, Alice Rogovoy, Flora Schweighofer, Ifhat Shaheen-Smith, Jamie Wates and Laura Wormington.

Staff

Liz Fekete *Director and head of European Research Programme*

Hazel Waters *Joint editor Race & Class*

Jenny Bourne *Company secretary and joint editor Race & Class*

Harmit Athwal *Editor IRR News (to end November 2018)*

Anya Edmond-Pettitt *Office Manager and Research Assistant to the Director*

Sophia Siddiqui *Editorial Assistant Race & Class*

Jessica Perera *Researcher*

Joseph Maggs *Research assistant (April – June 2019 part-time)*

