



# NETWORKING AGAINST RACISM IN EUROPEAN FOOTBALL (NAREF)


**Report**

**Networking Against Racism In European Football (NAREF)**

**Vienna Seminar  
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**NETWORKING  
AGAINST RACISM  
IN EUROPEAN  
FOOTBALL (NAREF)**

**Report of the  
Vienna Seminar**

Final Draft (2000)

The NAREF-Seminar has been organised by:

**FairPlay. Different Colours. One Game.**

c/o Vienna Institute for Development  
and Cooperation (VIDC)

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# Introduction

**Kurt WACHTER** and **Michael FANIZADEH** (FairPlay-Team, VIDC)

The winning of the World Cup '98 by Zidane, Thuram and Co. has been interpreted as the powerful demonstration of a successful pluralistic society not comparable to any other preceding sport event. However, France '98 revealed also another image of football which was believed to have disappeared a long time ago. Violent and racist attacks in Marseilles and the intended manslaughter in Lens set the necessity of action against racism and violence in the field of football on the agenda of European and global football.

The seminar "Networking Against Racism in European Football (NAREF)" gathered representatives of anti-racist football projects, fan organisations as well as football associations and players' unions from 13 countries across Europe in Vienna in order to exchange their experiences.

One important conclusion of the Vienna symposium "Football Culture in Europe, Globalisation and Racism" which was organised by the FairPlay campaign in the European Year against Racism in 1997 was that without bringing the supporters and the grass-root initiatives into play, efforts to combat racism in football and through football will remain superficial and ineffective.

## **The seminar was therefore designed:**

- to initiate the implementation of a decentralised European network among anti-racist campaigns, football supporters, fan projects and football institutions across Europe with strong grass-root orientation
- to formulate a common fan-oriented action-programme against racism in European football which aims at the EURO 2000
- to identify the different extent of racism and its manifestations in the various member countries of the European Union and exchange of examples of good practice and information

The seminar was part of the Action Programme 1999 of the VIDC-campaign *FairPlay. Different Colours. One Game* sponsored by the European Commission, the Austrian Federal Chancellery, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Youth, the City of Vienna and the Renner Institute. Special thanks to all those who helped to make this seminar a success in particular the international seminar preparation group consisting of Howard Holmes, Ben Tegg, Carlo Balestri and Ken McCue.

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# Opening of the Seminar

1

**Erich ANDRLIK** Director  
(Vienna Institute for Development and Cooperation / VIDC)

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear friends,

It is a special pleasure and privilege to welcome you to this seminar on „Networking against Racism in European Football“, which is being organised by the Vienna Institute for Development in cooperation and with the support of our host institution, the Renner Institute.

I believe it is for the first time that representatives from anti-racist football projects, from fan clubs and - last, but certainly not least - also officials from the football community in no less than thirteen European countries are gathering to report on their activities, to exchange ideas, and hopefully agree on measures to be taken to create a European Network against racism in football.

Some of you might be wondering why a development research and development education institution like the Vienna Institute has taken up the idea of making racism in football the focus of a public campaign. The answer quite simple is that we are convinced that respect for other cultures, for people with a different ethnic background, is a quintessential prerequisite for any form of international cooperation, for a peaceful togetherness within and across national boundaries. It was this basic premise which led us to start the project „FairPlay. Different Colours. One Game“ in 1997. We were able to elicit a wide range of support, not only from the European Union, the Austrian Government, state and local governments, but very much also from the Austrian Football Federation, the Professional Footballers Association, as well as from fan initiatives, the media and from the scientific community.

The campaign has considerable success here in Austria, currently encompassing such diverse activities as a media programme, advising and supporting fan clubs in their fight against racism, workshops for managers and referees, as well as cooperating with a Catholic organization during a tour of the Ugandan National Team, and co-organizing an InterCultureCup - Streetkick with the Fanproject Dortmund.

While these activities are more or less exclusively focussed on Austria, it nevertheless is quite obvious that in a period when European integration and the enlargement of the European Union is progressing we also need to look across our national borders, that we recognize the urgent need to forge alliances amongst the like-minded against some clear and all too often alarming tendencies across Europe to use and misuse football as a vehicle for racism and intolerance. I am therefore especially happy that we can welcome not only representatives from organizations within the European Union, but also from organizations within countries aspiring to become members, such as from the Czech Republic and Poland, and maybe even Switzerland.

It is then to discuss the ways and means to unite in our common effort to fight these ugly manifestations that we have come together here in Vienna, and I would like to express my strong desire that we succeed in formenting a European alliance whose very existence can already be felt at and around EURO 2000, and maybe this alliance will be in full bloom at a possible Austro-Hungarian EURO 2004. I wish us all much success in these important deliberations. Let's show racism the Red Card, let's kick it out - inside and outside the stadiums.

Thank you and, again, welcome to Vienna!

# 2

**Beate WINKLER**, Director  
(European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia)

There are two things that I would like to address here. On the one hand, I would like to emphasise the significance of your work, of your activities for society in Europe and beyond Europe; and on the other hand, I would like to present to you a completely new institution which has been working in Vienna for half a year now, namely the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.

In 1998, we presented a Eurobarometer study on "Racism and Xenophobia in Europe." The results were rather shocking: in the past eight years there has been a distinct increase in xenophobic attitudes. And what is even more alarming is that at the same time public interest, society's interest in the issue of xenophobia and racism has seen a significant decrease. While in 1989 xenophobia and racism were regarded as an important issue by 36% of the European population, that percentage had fallen to only 22% by 1997. And we know that, in the wake of globalisation, xenophobia and racism are very likely to grow even stronger. People are feeling more and more threatened, cultures are coming together faster and faster, and we are not really prepared to deal with these fears, with envy and with hatred. That was the reason why the Administrative Board turned to the EU heads of government at the end of December and called upon them to engage in common activities.

We know that racism is a highly complex issue. It touches all areas of life: education, politics, culture, sport, the media etc., and reaches from the local level to society at large. This is why activities like yours matter so much. Because it is so important how Europe is going to deal with cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in the future. Will we be able to make people understand the prospects and the wealth that lie in Europe's cultural diversity, and will our common efforts show them that it is this diversity which is Europe's great chance for the future? The crucial group here will be young people; and they are also the group which is most in danger because they are – as studies have shown – most afraid of the future. Young people have a strong need for a sense of belonging, for clarity and for simple answers, and this need is often addressed by right-wing extremists who play on it to achieve their own goals. I really admire you for becoming active in this very field, a field which is about play, but also about clear hostility, and for trying to overcome this hostility. You are providing an encouraging example and support for many people, and we just need more of that.

Let me just give you some brief information on our organisation: We are an institution of the EU, i.e., all member states are represented, as are the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the European Commission. The Council of Europe is particularly important because it also includes Turkey and the countries of Eastern Europe, which are not members of the EU, so that we have a broader agenda. What is so wonderful about this new organisation is that it has emerged from civil initiatives. It was the commitment of many individuals which led to the establishment of this entirely independent new organisation. It is not subject to the directions of any European bodies; this is very important, since it ensures that our work – which sometimes has to be controversial, too – will not be influenced by any political interests. Our task is to collect data on racism and xenophobia in Europe and to analyse the developments in this area: Are these tendencies getting stronger, why is that so, and – most importantly – what can be done about it?

Positive examples are extremely important. Without them one might get the impression that racism and xenophobia can never be overcome. One of the most crucial points, therefore, is to offer a very clear social orientation. This means that politics, too, is called upon to provide a clear orientation for our common life in society, and the same applies to clubs and associations, the media and schools.

We are going to set up the European information network RAXEN, where scientists, NGOs, practitioners and politicians, too, will work together. We will set up a documentary fund which will be accessible to everybody, and we will initiate round-table talks (which have already begun in some countries) in order to arrive at a new form of dialogue. We are still an institution on an expedition, so to speak; at the moment we have three regular employees and three additional staff members. Next year, our staff will be increased to 25 people, and that still is like a drop in the ocean. It means 1.6 staff members per country, but then we are a network-based organisation. We try to establish useful links between what is already there rather than attempting to re-invent the world. We try to go about our work very seriously and with a lot of commitment, while trying to maintain a playful attitude and not to lose our sense of humour. This is what I also see in you and in your activities, and that in turn encourages me, too.

(Translation: Sabine Schmidt)

# 3

## **Christian KEGLEVITS**, Manager and Former-Player (Austrian Footballers Association)

The "Vereinigung der Fußballer", the Austrian association of professional footballers and higher-level amateur players in Austria, fully supports this project and is going to participate in its realisation. I would like to say that, judging from my 20 years of experience in professional football, there is no or only minimal xenophobia and hostility towards foreigners among the players and such attitudes are not shown publicly. On the contrary, the game offers a basis to form friendships across borders. Even today, I still have many contacts all over the world thanks to football; it is something that brings people together. This is how I have always seen football: as a link between people and nations, with emotions in the game, but not on the stands and not in the streets. I have always fought this tendency, and I have always felt like an ambassador of my country. It was and is my goal to prove through my actions that there are people in Austria, too, who understand their neighbours and who understand the sufferings of others. This should also be the guiding principle of our activities in this context. The Footballers Union will definitely organise some events at the grounds in the near future, and various players have already expressed their readiness to participate in these activities and to try to contribute to a more positive image.

(Translation: Sabine Schmidt)



Erich Andrlik (left), Beate Winkler, Michael Fanizadeh (Chair), Alex Demirovic and Christian Keglevits

# Opening Lecture

## Racism and the Crisis of Society

**Alex DEMIROVIC**, Political Scientist  
(University of Frankfurt)

I am from the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research and the University of Frankfurt, and there is no doubt that this has also drawn my attention towards issues of racism. Our institute is one that suffered persecution by the National Socialists in the 1930s. Many of the academics were forced into exile at that time for “racial” reasons, i.e. for racist, anti-Semitic reasons. This is the why the Institute has been directing attention to the subject of racism in developed Western societies for many decades.

Talking in terms of “races” is something that goes back a long way in European history in the organisation of world colonisation. Yet there are no scientific grounds for assuming the existence of a construction such as “race”. I would like to make this clear by way of an example: during the Apartheid era in South Africa Japanese people were for administrative reasons considered to be whites, from which we can see that this amounts to the administrative and political creation of a population category. This leads us to a further aspect, namely the notion that racism is a complex construction, with very different sets of victims – we can see this quite clearly in the German-speaking and European context, in particular. These victims can be “coloureds” or Jews – traditionally a particularly popular object of aggression in Europe, a special construction – or they can be immigrants. This is an important point because many of those considered objects of racism do not immediately stand out as being aliens or “racially” different. If we take the example of Germany and Austria in the 1930s, we can see very well that it was not at all clear who was to be considered a Jew, i.e. this was something that had to be determined first by a complicated method.

Now when I say that there is no such thing as race, this does not mean that is not politically

relevant when people talk in terms of race. Much has been said about race, of course, and racism existed and continues to exist, of course, as a cultural-political means of interpreting people; a method of identifying and classifying people and directing them politically. Racism in the European tradition was the attempt to provide scientific evidence of “differentness” – which one was convinced existed. This means that for a long period, i.e. in the nineteenth century and long into this century, a point of view was held according to which racism was a scientific doctrine. A frequent claim made in racist doctrines was that: “Coloured people are different, they behave differently, they are primitive” or “Jews are not a cultural force”. Racism was the attempt to provide a scientific explanation for this, to substantiate scientifically the prejudices held against people. In most cases this was done by way of a biological explanation.

The experience of racism and the consequences of the racism in European society in the 1930s and 1940s, in particular the murder of many millions of Jews, the persecution and the annihilation of Russians and Poles – whose persecution and murder was always backed by racist arguments – led to the adoption of a resolute stand in the European societies and within the United Nations: racism was rejected and it was made clear that racism was a pseudoscience with absolutely no explanatory power for assessing the differences between individuals. This is important and means that racism – something that was very widespread among ordinary people, intellectuals and politicians in the 1920s and 1930s and was openly expressed – is no longer possible in this form today. No recognised politician, scientist, intellectual or entrepreneur can openly express allegiance to this pseudoscience today.

Yet this also means that the roots of this racist way of thinking do not come out into the open any more, not in the same way as was possible in the 1920s and 1930s. In spite of this, the

prevailing mood, the xenophobic and racist sentiment among the population, continues to exist. That is to say, it is continuously being brought to the fore by politicians and by many political groups and initiatives, based on everyday experiences and everyday attitudes.

Another central aspect is the xenophobic or racist standpoint which has nothing to do with stupidity. People with racist or xenophobic leanings are neither particularly primitive nor particularly stupid. In European and North American society we can observe how racism and xenophobia pervade all social groups and that such views are widely held. In my opinion – and this is something we have studied in Frankfurt over many years – one can say that the general racist or xenophobic sentiment among the population is not the key factor. It is more a question of the orientation of the elites in these societies, in other words the leading groups. Consider, if you will, the following aspect: in the 1930s– and I am now referring only to Germany – the German people were less antagonistic towards the Jews, less anti-Semitic than the population of the USA. General occurrences of xenophobia, exclusion and racism were to be encountered there much more frequently. The decisive factor was the existence in Germany of an extremely aggressive elite that was prepared to implement a very far-reaching, racially motivated policy of exclusion, which – and this is an important point – was influenced by the long tradition that existed in Germany at this time based on the experience of the German colonial wars.

So the point I'm trying to make is that elites play a particularly important role in the dissemination and imposition of racist and xenophobic views and that the methods by which they are brought to the public's attention – via the media and via the political arena – are of key significance. A campaign is currently being waged by conservative parties in Germany, for example, involving a petition against dual citizenship, which, it is generally feared, will once again create a broad basis for xenophobic and racist sentiments among the population, i.e. will practically reinforce certain prejudices and standpoints in this direction.

Racism thus creates something which is then seen as racism, as race. So if racism is a construction of a language element, by one saying the Jews, the blacks are such and such, i.e. making a biological attribution, if one supports the theory that it is a social creation, then what one is saying is that racism is not determined by its victims. Racism does not result from the conduct of those who are deemed racially diffe-

rent or alien. Racism is something that stems from the perpetrators themselves. This means that it is linked to the way in which the perpetrators see the world, the way in which they interpret the world. To me this would appear to be of major significance for political measures as far as anti-racism is concerned – and so it also applies to your initiatives. It means that bringing together people who are racist or xenophobic with aliens or those they perceive to be alien is often no help whatsoever. The long history of relations with Jews and “coloureds” shows that this prejudice constantly renews and reproduces itself. In most cases the simple fact of being acquainted with so-called foreigners has virtually no effect on a person's basic xenophobic or racist attitudes. Politics is another field where examples of this are to be heard over and over again: people say – and this is an old cliché, an old phrase repeated by xenophobes and racists – that they have nothing against Jews and nothing against their Turkish friends, but they do have something in principle against the Jews and the Turks, something against those who come into their country and “swamp” it. This seems to me to be an important aspect, one which I would like to draw your attention to on political grounds.

I do not believe that the participation in football teams of “coloured” players or the descendants of immigrants will solve the problem by itself just yet, because prejudices are able to renew themselves over and over again, because people say: “yes, so-and-so is a really nice person, I like him a lot, but basically, I don't want these people in Germany, England, France or wherever.” For me, this is a central point. The perpetrators, those are racist, are blind to experience, blind to the experience that they can open themselves up to other individuals. Basically, they see other people according to the cliché of fixed groups, of them and us.

Perhaps we ought to accentuate this point, because another thing that people always say – which I believe also creates a problem – is that sport brings people together. Of course it permits broad-based contact with others. But I think you also have to be clear that sport – and this is an observation that was made back in the 1930s and 1940s when dealing with racism – can also assist, stir up and nurture racism. In turn, this means that racism can also sustain itself through sport and draw its prejudices from it. Because sport is also about competition, struggle and performance. And performance and competition are significant foundations for racist views and prejudice structures. I would like to explain what I mean with the aid of example I came across in the world of sport a



few days ago. One of the well-known woman tennis players, Martina Hingis, when confronted with the fact that she was due to play against a lesbian opponent, said: "this woman isn't really a woman, she plays like a man." In saying this she was suggesting that this woman was not really an acceptable sporting opponent for her because she was a lesbian, that she fought with unfair means, namely as a man-woman. This seems to be a typical manifestation. As soon as competition and performance enter the fray, exclusion, animosity and prejudice are immediately activated as a means of competition.

You have to consider that the possibilities for influencing racist and xenophobic prejudices through initiatives such as yours, important as they are, are at the same time rather limited. Please do not take this the wrong way, we are here to make a sober, realistic assessment of what the options open to the initiatives you pur-

sue have to offer. Racism and xenophobia affect fundamental parts of our society, they are not just superficial attitudes held by stupid or confused juveniles and adults, they are fundamental features of our societies. The following contradiction can be observed in practically all the major industrial societies: on the one hand we have a clear democratic self-perception by which we consider all people to be equal, and we are in favour of open borders and international experience; at the same time, however, we live in welfare states, in societies with very limited labour markets. And anyone who immigrates, anyone who wants to bring his labour power into this society, anyone who stakes a claim to social security, to assistance, to protection, is immediately perceived only as a rival or as a threat. As someone who wants money, someone who in principle demands solidarity, without our knowing whether we actually want to give it.

(Translation: Stuart Dykes)



**Show Racism the Red Card!** The first Austrian launch of the education video on February 1 was part of the evening programme of the NAREF-seminar. On stage (from left to right): Uriah Rennie (only black referee in the Premier League), Dave Kelly (Ireland and Tranmere Rovers), Kevin Miles (FSA), Brendon Batson (Professional Footballers Association), Andrea Enisuoh (SRTRC). The former Austrian International and Rapid Vienna striker Christian Kegelvits also talked about the discrimination he suffered as a member of the Croat minority in Austria.

# Panel Session

## Do We Need Antiracist Policies in European Football?

### Panel:

**Brendon Batson (Professional Footballers Association)**

**Heinz Palme (Austrian Football Association)**

**Pertti Alaja (UEFA Fair Play Commission/FA of Finland)**

**Jan-Willem Klink / Raymond Seelaar (EURO Support)**

**Johann Skocek (Sport Chief Editor, Der Standard)**

**Johann Skocek (Chair):** We came together to enter into intensive and brief discussion on the question of whether we need measures against racism in European football. I myself am a sport journalist with an Austrian daily newspaper and I am pleased to welcome you. I would like to ask the two representatives of the European Fan project Euro Support to begin with the situation and problems in Holland.

**Jan-Willem Klink:** We are not connected with the European Championship 2000. We are just youth workers and we are working with problematic young supporters, the so-called Hooligans, the youngsters who indulge in violence. We know each other from a team called LOS, which is the National Organisation of Youth Workers. We discuss the problems we see in the field and sometimes we propose solutions to the Football Association in Holland.

We are here because we have a plan: it's called UFO - United Fan Organisations - and the plan consists of how to work together with the Dutch, the German, the English supporters and anybody else, who will be playing in the European Championship Finals in 2000.

The games are in Belgium and in Holland, two small countries. The Dutch cities where there will be games are Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Eindhoven and Arnhem. Until now it's not clear where the matches will be played and who will play whom. What can we expect? What will be the problems?

**Raymond Seelaar:** The fact is that we know the supporters of our own club and nation-wide very well but we have not been invited by the

EURO 2000 Foundation to represent supporters in the European Championship. We are not invited to participate in the whole organisation. That's the reason why we choose UFO, United Fan Organisation, to help to make it a tournament for supporters. It's not a tournament of promotion for officials. It has to be a tournament for and of the supporters of all the countries which are competing in the European Championship. That's the main reason why I am here, to make contact with workers all around Europe to make it a great event, a great tournament for the supporters.

**Pertti Alaja:** I am the General Secretary of the Football Association of Finland and also, what is perhaps more interesting, a former national player, playing some 42 times for Finland. I also played professional football in different countries such as Denmark and Sweden, as well as in the USA and Canada. In my Canadian team in the 1980/1981 season, Edmonton Drillers, we had players from 11 nationalities! So we had to work for two years together for a common goal, and I think that the experience taught me personally, and all involved, a great deal.

Being a member of UEFA Fair Play Committee I also like to thank you for the invitation, and thank you for organising this important seminar. Football has a unique chance to combat racism. We can do anything since football is the biggest movement in the world. We have to accept the responsibility to give the chance to everyone to play and be together.

**Brendon Batson:** As my colleague has said, football is a uniting force. It's a global game, and to use the Bill Shankly saying "Football is



Panel session in the Kreisky-Hall in the Vienna Gardenhotel Altmannsdorf. From left to right: Jan-Willem Klink, Raymond Seelaar, Pertti Alaja, Brendon Batson, Johann Skocek and Heinz Palme

not just not a matter of life and death, it's a lot more serious than that". To some people that is the case.

The unifying power may be used for good ends, but it is also being abused in rather negative ways. Football can unite or it can divide.

Racism is and always has been a problem of society. Some of the worst examples of racism within a sporting context have manifested themselves in and around football. I remember when I was playing in the early 70s at West Brom, we were one of the first teams to have three black players. The late Laurie Cunningham, who is sadly missed, Cyrille Regis and myself. We were going to grounds such as Chelsea and we're coming off the coach and we've been spat upon on.

We could also see the National Front organisation openly trying to recruit at football matches. You could see hordes of skinheads carrying the Union Jack draped around their shoulders. The police were standing by and nothing was done, and that was fertile ground for this organisation and their activities.

I mentioned yesterday about the PFA initiative with the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) in forming the campaign "Let's Kick Racism Out of Football" in 1993. That was a start.

Seminars like this are the future because we are all networking. And that's exactly what

these racist and fascist groups do, they network! The world is a smaller place than it was yesterday. It will be a smaller place again tomorrow. Modern travel, the erosion of national borders, the use of modern technology such as the internet etc - it makes it very easy to promote and access their racist material. We need therefore proper legislation to combat these groups.

At the World Cup in France we have seen how difficult it is to prevent known racist individuals and groups from travelling. EURO '96 in England was successful in terms of the policing within the stadia but we know that there were activities outside of them. Probably some of those activities were suppressed because football wants to promote its better image. But we do know that there are things going on around football that need to be addressed. These groups are terrorists and like all terrorists they promote their activities in a very covert and cunning way. We all have to be vigilant and ensure that they don't win the day. So the question we are asking "Do we need anti-racist polices in European Football?" The answer is definitely Yes!

**Heinz Palme:** Austria and Hungary are bidding jointly for EURO 2004. The European Championship is the third biggest sports event in the world. And therefore we are trying everything to be awarded the event from UEFA

because this project is a two-country project as is EURO 2000 in the Netherlands and Belgium. For the Austrian Football Association it would be very important to have the chance to organise this European Championship together with another country from the former Eastern Block. This makes it very important and also gives us the opportunity to show how football unites and what football can move in our society and in our social life.

My football background is: I have been working for the Austrian Football Association for 20 years now. I started in 1978 in the youth department, and in 1986 I became the press officer with the Austrian FA, responsible for the organisation of the national team. In addition I work for FIFA and UEFA. I have been the media officer for the WC 1994 in San Francisco, the EURO 96 in Manchester and I have been also watching the World Cup in France. There were a lot of experiences I could benefit from, including those related to the items we are discussing.

I would say we have to divide these items into measures against racism, measures against hooliganism and with Fair Play as the roof of it all. FIFA, especially, and UEFA have done a lot to promote Fair Play activities and they have done it successfully. Therefore we should continue with all opportunities to promote Fair Play, including the other two items.

**Chair:** I would like to open the floor now, starting with Brendan's very personal statement, talking about his fright of these terrorist and racist gangs. He is proposing legal actions. Football can achieve a great deal against those things because of its high visibility and its wide-openness. Should football concern itself with legal measures or not?

**Ken McCue (SARI):** I am very happy to hear that there is a bid from Austria and Hungary. It sounds to me like a new football empire! With that shift and access from the EU to the Danube basin, despite the fact that Britain and Ireland will be left on the periphery, we would be very much in favour of something happening at this side of Europe. But I believe that the major problem is going to be the rise of Neo-fascism in Hungary. That's quite frightening.

The only way to tackle this now is to organise a fan-based network, to have the support of the players and the national associations, and a joint effort has to be made. But it needs to happen now, that's why we need action from this conference.

**Chair:** One question comes into my mind. Football is obviously a two-way street. It can work against racism, it can work for racism, it can work against terrorism, it can work in favour of terrorism. How do we act that it works against racism? Do we become afraid of the rising fascism in Hungary and not stage the European champions there? Or do we want to take actions against fascism in Hungary and stage it there?

**Frank Buckley (SARI):** In Ireland we face difficulties with the football associations in particular and the sporting organisations in general. We find ourselves very much involved in creating projects and awareness and trying to get some stuff going in sport. We have actually thought that we could use this conference to bring the sporting organisations together for an action plan within the context of EURO 2000. Have the Dutch groups approached the EURO 2000 organisation for a project actively involving them?

We can use this networking conference to create an action plan on the ground and on the terraces in a positive way. You can pick up the paper and read negative stuff or you can pick up positive stuff in the paper. If the networking could tap into the bigger organisations for their support, whether it be financially or through just contacts, then the organisations on the ground would find it a lot easier to get involved and have a massive impact on a European level. And it's an opportunity here, that this project could actually take off.

**Raymond Seelaar:** There is a problem with the football bodies. That's the reason why we want to organise all fan organisations to deal with it. There are contacts with the FSA and we are trying to get a foot into the door with the Royal Dutch Association. We are fighting 10 years now to even speak with them! Where do we start? We want to organise all fan organisations to come together and make a football feast against racism and terrorism. It is the number one sport. It is in Holland. We need you!

**Heinz Palme:** As I said before, I have been to WC '94, EURO '96 and WC '98 and my experience is that especially in France, for the WC '98, they have done a lot to make the WC a festival. People should enjoy the game, they should enjoy the performance of the players, and I was especially happy to see the situation in the cities. They created fun-parks, multicultural parks and entertainment facilities. People were mixed up from all nationalities and it was a great atmosphere.

And I think this EURO 2000 - I know they will work on it - in our case, for EURO 2004, if it were to be awarded from UEFA, - we would take this also as an opportunity to promote the beauty of football. Football should be used for all kinds of measures against racism and we should use it to promote Fair Play. In the associations we are on the right track in this respect.

It may be different in the different regions of Europe. In Austria, in my point of view, we don't really have problems with racism. Meanwhile in all the clubs, there are at least seven or eight foreign players with different nationalities. And the players, they can work on it. The fans, the supporters, can work on it. They don't have any problems to be the supporter of the club having seven or eight different nationalities.

The players from the foreign countries have even more opportunity to promote the game themselves. Therefore, I think, we are on a good course. I don't know exactly the situation between the supporters clubs and the EURO 2000 organisation. But as far as I know the people from EURO 2000, they will work on it, in that EURO 2000 will be a big festivity as well.

**Brendon Batson:** The integration of black foreign players amongst players has never been a problem. We have seen it in England, the Premier League is now a much more cosmopolitan league. It's a global game. So the integration of players amongst players has never been a problem.

Another point is, and I could be criticised or corrected here, that the governing bodies, nationally and internationally, don't appear to have a concerted policy that is transparent to the supporters, that says: "we are working towards a plan to eradicate certain unsafe activities within the game".

It appears to me at times as though the national associations have got such a vested interest in promoting their own ideals that when it comes to an international perspective, it doesn't come across properly as something where everybody is singing from the same sheet.

I've been fortunate to be at the last three WCs and what I saw amongst supporters in Orlando in America was fantastic. The street parties between the Dutch, the Irish - who enjoy a fantastic reputation anyway - and supporters from Mexico was fantastic. People were saying that it was a good thing that England wasn't there because of their bad reputation.

And yet when I was in New York, you could see little outbreaks between certain groups of supporters. There was much more of a volatile mix in New York, but the policing seems to have been good. The way it was reported the policing in EURO '96 appeared also exceptional, but we do know that there were problems outside the stadia.

The three strands Heinz Palme mentioned, racism, hooliganism and Fair Play, whilst they are three they are interactive. The one at the very top of the agenda is the racist element because I believe a lot of things flows from that, the hooligan aspect comes from it. The Fair Play aspect - not only talking obviously about the players on the field but the general Fair Play idea- all of that flows from the element of racism. Because if we can actually crack that particular nut, I think a lot of things will flow from there.

**Piara Power (Kick-it-Out):** I wish to talk about the ten-point Fair Play charter promoted by FIFA, which deals with a sort of anti-social, anti-hooligan issues in a very broad ranging way and of which anti-racism is just one part.

My point is that the experience of the past few WCs - and I was over in France last year - is that the Fair Play charter message just is not getting across! And it certainly isn't getting across in terms of anti-racism. I support Brendan in saying that we need to put aside the Fair Play charter and draw out racism and promote anti-racism messages from that.

That's certainly the programme for tomorrow that allows the organisers of the EURO 2000 and the EURO 2004 bid to look at that. What are the organisations on the ground in Europe saying? How can we engage fans in anti-racism measures? I really do think that there has to be a line drawn between a cultural programme that undoubtedly goes on during the EURO 2000 and 2004 championships, and looking at specific anti-racism measures. Because against the background of the rise of fascism that we have heard about, the closing in of fortress Europe, the increasing levels of racism we are seeing that are being whipped up in places like Ireland, as the SARI organisation has pointed out, we need to address that head on.

I don't really want to see the promotion of football as a beautiful game and so forth being the focus. I want anti-racism to be the focus, because we all know that football is a beautiful game, we all know the power that the game has to challenge anti-social ideas, but we need to focus it down to anti-racism!

**Pertti Alaja:** The leading sports organisations such as UEFA, FIFA and the national FAs in the respective countries have to be at the head of these campaigns because they have the organisational power which enables them to provide help and assistance to all of you. Thus we can all join forces to fight these problems.

I'm happy to tell you that in Finland our central sports federation has been launching a campaign for solidarity, equality and tolerance called "All different, all equal". This campaign is supported by the Ministry for Education and all sport organisations in Finland are participating in this campaign.

Besides that, the football association in Finland has adopted in 1991 a code of ethics called "Green Line". Following from that the Finnish Football Association created in 1995 a special card called "Green Card". This Green Card is showing green light to Fair Play and all the items that we are discussing here. The Green Card is the only card used by referees in matches of under 12 years kids, which means that there is no Red or Yellow card. The Green Card is shown when something, which is called "Fair Play", takes place. It's a very simple way for referees, coaches and supporters to become suddenly educated. We believe that everything must start from the education of kids.

This Green Card has become a symbol for the Fair Play spirit and we have been presenting this to UEFA and FIFA. Many of our member associations have been very interested in the concept.

This innovation has led to a leading seminar in 1997, because our association had its 90th birthday and we had the chance to arrange the UEFA congress in Finland.

During this UEFA congress we invited two youngsters from all UEFA member association to have their own Green Line seminar. They came to the very last day and presented the young point of view. We have one guy here from England, Ben Tegg, who participated in this seminar. The points which came out are very much of value even today. We must take the kids first and then the young people and let them be together with us as we are in families, like parents and kids, and try to educate and communicate with them. This is the point I wish to emphasise at this time.

**Chair:** There seems to be broad consensus that there is a gap between the supporters and organising committees in terms of communication. Football is being transformed into a busi-

ness more and more, very much involved with telecommunications. Do you think this helps to close the communication gap between supporters as the basis and the guys who are talking business?

**Ben Tegg (Kick-it-Out):** Just two very quick points. The first is about the Green Line seminar, of which we talked about and which I attended. A very important point which came out at the seminar was that the young people there found that racism was an important subject. It is very important that we make a distinction between racism on the one hand and bad language and the other areas of Fair Play on the other hand.

The second point is this distance, this gap, which seems to be between organising committees, for example the EURO 2000, and other areas. In England we are quite lucky because the institutions such as the players unions and the FA are very supportive of our campaign and help us very much. I think it is important that we look now to Holland and Belgium for EURO 2000.

But how are we going to start breaking down those barriers that seems to be there from EURO and the local FAs? If we don't have the support of the organising committee for EURO 2000 it's going to be very difficult for us as organisations here to carry on the work and move the work forward. Maybe one of the important issues of the workshops is how to influence the institutions and maybe we should be looking more towards that stage: how we are actually going ahead, in particular those of you from Holland and Belgium.

**Jan-Willem Kink:** We are in a negotiating position right now. There is a little bit of movement going on behalf of the government because there have been some really big incidents. The government realises gradually that that we have a big problem in Holland in terms of football violence.

I'm not talking about racism now but about violence and hooliganism. Slowly more money is being put into youth work to make youngsters participate in football and to deal with them to solve the problems. That is going on very slowly.

The other side of the story is that the European Championships is one big thing and both Belgium and Holland want to be seen at their best and they are very, very busy promoting a good image. Obviously they think the opinion of

the football supporters and the ideas we proposed are less important. We need any help, so if there are ideas of other countries, please support us and go back to your national FAs and say we have an idea to solve the problems.

**Howard Holmes (FURD):** I ran the FSA Fans' Embassy in Sheffield during EURO 96. My message is that the fans themselves just need to get on and organise right away. We cannot wait for the football associations to come on board because if we do, we will wait forever. It would be nice if they would be supportive all the time, but what's most important is: No campaign against racism will ever work without the support of the fans. If a campaign starts from the top all we get is grand gestures, big banners, big flags with Fair Play and all that stuff. It's just words. Nobody from the organising committee of EURO 2000 is here. Despite being invited they haven't come and I'm afraid that's just typical.

**Brendon Batson:** I agree with what Howard has said. You need to give it to those who are actually going to run things, because there is that commitment and genius about people running a campaign.

But I do believe that you do need the will of those who have the power to make change. There has to also be a political perspective to this as well. Because to me it seems that it's politically expedient to support something when there is going to be some pay back in the short term and then it all goes quiet again when it's moved on.

In terms of EURO 2000, I don't think it's just a matter of what your associations are talking about or what they may and may not be doing. It is about the governing body, it's about UEFA and up to a point FIFA saying "hang on, you will do this". It's not a question of "let's be laissez-faire about it", you will do it! Because the actual benefits for those countries are enormous.

At times we lose sight of what those who have to travel to games and be in stadiums have to be aware of. I was in Rome in the stadium there and I saw what was going on with my own eyes, but most of other major tragic events I have only seen on the camera.

To be actually there within a few hundred yards of it is actually terrifying. If we are doing things properly, those events should not happen on such a regular basis. At times football has to be ashamed of the way it handles certain aspects of customer care, to use a much hackneyed phrase. There has to be more political work, whether it is political per se or in football politics. There has to be much more of a stronger

commitment to these sorts of different activities.

**Frank Buckley:** Just on Howard's point. It needs a bottom-up approach, but also it needs a top-bottom approach. The local organisations, and particularly in Ireland where I speak from, find it so difficult to get into the national sporting organisations. It's essential, if there is to be any progress made, that we have FIFA on board. We need to be talking about the WC now as well and prepare the anti-racist projects years before the WC.

The other point was about "the converted talking to the converted". It's the people that have not been converted that we need to get to. It's the kids, the education, it's from the bottom up, for we need to talk to supporters. So we need to do from the bottom up, and we need the top-down, if we're going to progress on a European or international level.

There is no question about it, it's a business. For the media response we need TV, we need programs. We could look at it in two ways. We could look at it as a negative response, and the word racism is a negative word, discrimination would be a lot broader, but the thing is that you can have an event and be entertaining and against something as well as being for something. It's the way it's presented. And that's why you have all the elements involved in it.

**Piara Powar:** We have raised the issues about the Fair Play charter and the need to say "take anti-racism or racism out of that for specific measures." We raised it with FIFA media director Keith Cooper and his position is that FIFA at the moment aren't going to do that unless the regional associations are pushing FIFA to do that. So we need to send out a very message through Pertti Alaja to the UEFA Fair Play Commission that for EURO 2000, for the bid for 2004 and the WC from here on in: We need to make a very clear separation between anti-racist measures and the general Fair Play charter!

**Bodo Berg (Schalke against Racism):** For us supporters who are actively combating racism in the stadia through our magazines and campaigns, opposing racism as such is not the only problem. We also face another enemy and this enemy sits in the clubs, in the DFB and in UEFA. It's these who don't take us serious at all and who sabotage our campaigns all the time.

I remember once we distributed leaflets with an anti-racist message in the stadia and afterwards the club charged us for the costs for cleaning up the leaflets! Just one week later a

supporter of my football club set fire to a home for asylum-seekers and was arrested. As a reaction to this the club asked us to distribute the very same leaflets they had rejected just one week before.

This is the problem we are facing here in Germany and everywhere else. We are not only fighting racism, but also these people who don't care about us. And anti-racist activities by supporters do not only demand idealism and cleverness, but also a little bit of money. A campaign simply costs money and we are not supported by anybody. Meanwhile we are not only fighting racism but we are forced to fight the administration and its arbitrariness.

**Chair:** I frankly ask you if the clubs have any good reason to support you? In Germany the clubs have just negotiated a record new TV contract, so why should they take you serious, when the business flourishes?

**Bodo Berg:** Exactly, I just heard this in the contribution of the Austrian colleague. Mr. Palme said that "Racism does not occur in the stadia". Such an opinion does prevail among football administrators because a lot of them do simply not know what is going on on the terraces and inside the heads of the young football fans. All what they are interested in is the turnover. They do not care about the feelings of the football fans, who are actually coming to the stadiums to support this sport.

**Heinz Palme:** Naturally do we care about what is going on in the heads of football fans. Contrary to Germany, Austria is a small country and it is therefore still possible to keep track. During the last decade the Austrian Bundesliga - which is an association of its own and not directly linked to the national association like in Germany - has deliberately approached the fan groups of the different clubs. We now have fan-workshops and there are time and again movements who address these themes. The Bundesliga has also its own fan co-ordinator who developed out of a particular fan group and who only cares about these themes. Because we have dealt with these topics already, it seems that it isn't a burning issue anymore and therefore we do not have real problems with racism anymore.

I support what Pertti Alaja said, that à la longue we have to find access to the children without ignoring the other matters. That's like in football education, you have to start training the five to seven year old footballers in all spheres. And it has to be the same with anti-racism and Fair Play, they have to be tackled early.

**Brendon Batson:** My friend here, he made the point. You were saying you're receiving no support from the German federation. But are they constrained by a political ideology that they don't want to go against that trend?

One might think that it is in everybody's interest to support these sort of initiatives, because it's for the good of the game. Is it something that maybe your federation isn't able to do because of the political constraints that they are working under?

**Stuart Dykes (Schalke against Racism):** I am speaking as an Englishman who has lived in Germany for 12 years and I support the same club as Bodo Berg. The problem that we have faced within Germany is not that the football association isn't addressing the problem of racism, in fact they are. They do have their poster campaigns and whatever. There was even a press statement and an issued campaign statement just this last week, where the DFB clearly took up the issues against racism, saying that all the clubs have got to introduce active measures against racism.

But the problem is that in a lot of cases we see it as merely pain lip services to those ideas. They are not actually working with us together in doing concrete things. They are saying: "Yes, we have got to have action against racism, we have got to do this, we have got to do that", but they are not actually doing it in concrete terms with the actual groups on the ground.

From the political aspects, we know it from our club, that if we're involved in campaigns against racism and involved with other groups including political parties, whoever they may be, whatever their political spectrum is, that the answer that we get from the club - and it's not just in our club - is that we are a football club we are not allowed to get involved in political issues. As if being against racism was a left-wing thing. This is the thing we are constantly confronted with, that "we like to support you, but if we do, then everyone is going to say, what, this club is left wing!". Why is anti-racism seen as being a left-wing thing in political terms?

But through the backdoor, they give us money to pay for the sausages for the hot-dog stands or whatever, but where we actually need them is to actually come out and make a concrete statement and do something positive. That's what we're missing! I think, the football association is paying lip service to these campaigns but not actually working with us together.

**Ken McCue:** I would like to make two points. First of all, Frank Buckley was speaking about the importance of having the top-down element.



In our case in Ireland, when we approached the football association in Ireland, which is a constituted member of UEFA, they said: "Oh, there is no problem in soccer in Ireland, there is no racism in soccer" and we said: "No you got it wrong, it's sport against racism not racism against sport".

Eventually, when we got around to convincing them to consider the issue, we used the big stick of UEFA and said to them: "well, I think UEFA is forming this policy. I think that maybe we should commit to this" and he said: "well, will this affect our relationship with UEFA?", and we said: "yes, perhaps, because of the pressure". If we can get a centralised pressure down to the constituent's organisations and then work from the other way round from the fan base, I think we get the national associations and squeeze until they have to comply.

I'd like to pick up on a point made by Heinz Palme about the instalment of an Austrian fan co-ordinator by the Bundesliga. Two months ago in Vienna I actually had a round table with the fan co-ordinator and quite frankly I was disgusted by his attitude towards the anti-racist movement. He actually said that racism is not on the agenda for the fan organisations. So if you are going to put a bid in for the Euro 2004 I think you've got to consider the sort of public image that your fan co-ordinator is projecting.

**Georg Zalubil (Radio 1476):** I would like to ask Mr. Palme how do you reach the conclusion that in particular here in Austria there is no racism in football? And if there is racism, which seems to be constantly denied in Austria, what would the EURO 2004 - together with fans and in concrete terms - do to prevent it, apart from superficial slogans and posters?

**Heinz Palme:** First of all I would like to ask a question in reply to your question: How do you conclude that racism exists in Austria at all? What evidence can you give to prove this?

**Georg Zalubil:** I would simply go into a football stadium. There are also enough scientific researches which prove the existence of racism in football. It's not always about the big manifestations of racism such as throwing bananas on the field, but its existence is often subtle. Just go to a football match and you will hear it! For example those Austria Vienna fans who presented placards towards the fans of Sturm Graz showing a symbol of a wheel chair. This may not be racist as such but discriminatory.

**Heinz Palme:** This is exactly the point I stressed, we have to distinguish between racism, discrimination and FairPlay activities as the umbrella over it all. Naturally, there is discrimination in Austria and also in football. For example when a player from Austria Vienna is insulted in Tyrol or Graz or vice versa or the president of a club in Graz, who became the champions, is insulted in Vienna. But this is probably part of the great fascination of football.

Since the football sport polarises and fascinates there is always a point of departure for discrimination. If a player is transferred from one club to another the same fans who insulted him the previous year cheer at him. This specific constellation of rivalry is the essence of football and we have to acknowledge that.

Nevertheless one cannot take that as an unchangeable fact. For that reason the Bundesliga works together with fan clubs on a permanent basis and introduced a fan co-ordinator. They try to work on that issue everyday and in Austria in particular a lot of improvements have been made. We know that 10 or 15 years ago the situation was much worse. The co-operation with the fan clubs in Austria has been fruitful and is maybe a good example for others who haven't found a common basis with the football association.

Concerning the Euro Championship 2006 - assuming we are awarded them - dealing with the fan issue will obviously be an important aspect. We will have enough time and we will gather a lot of experience in this field. The EURO 2000 will constitute in this respect an important reference. We will try to create a climate which will promote football and where we can take action against all these growing elements.

**Pertti Alaja:** One of the messages, what's needed now, when listening to you, is actually to work together in a concrete way! Work together on a daily basis, maybe finishing with nice speeches and starting some co-operation, some new kind of co-operation, top-down or down-top co-operation, as you were saying before.

For sure I will be bringing all these messages to the UEFA Fair Play Committee and of course, personally I am listening very carefully also, because I am responsible for the football association of Finland.

**Francesco Peverieri (Noi Ultras):** In relation to the gap between the football bodies and the fans at the grass-roots. In order to be effective in terms of anti-racism it is absolutely necessary to close this gap. The big football organisations have to approach the grass-roots to be part of the decision making process. For example if the clubs were to cancel the high prices for seat tickets, then the grass-roots would, in return, be able to attract other fan groups to become involved in anti-racist measures. As long as the gap exists it is difficult to achieve consensus among the fan groups concerning anti-racism.

**Ben Tegg:** A couple of points that we're trying to sum up where we are and what the views are. One of the important things is that it's true that there is a point of coming from the bottom-down but it's also important from the top. Bottom-up, top-down even. I think we need to look where are we moving with this. I guess from this next couple of days that not only fans groups but other football organisations themselves can look to develop our ideas and look to develop the state, the level that we can. One of the things I'd like to ask to Pertti specifically and it's not a critique of you but mainly of UEFA. At the Green line seminar when we had the discussions with the whole of UEFA, you know we had a standing ovation and all of this work was prepared to come forward. One thing I have to ask you. Has UEFA done anything specifically on racism? But also, how now do we start influencing UEFA? How do we now start influencing the Dutch FA? What people here have contacts in the Dutch and Belgium FAs, and with the organising committees? And how should we start moving forward? I think, rather than discussing where we are, - and it's an important discussion - where the problems are, where we are falling down, the important thing is what can we do now, and to look at where we going to go in the future. We have made an effort in the past ten years, but it's important to work out firstly where we are going to move and what activities that we are going to take on as a group of people here. But also how we do start influencing the major institutions and how we start influencing specifically the organising committee and UEFA?

**Kevin Miles (FSA):** I'm from the Football Supporters' Association in England. A lot of this talk about top-down, bottom-up is quite confusing. But it's true that in England we have institutions like the FA and the Professional Footballers Association who are very supportive of the campaigns that we have initiated and developed against racism. But it wasn't always

the case; some of these organisations had to be persuaded to take these issues up. Some of the discussion that is taking place here reminds me of discussions that took place ten years ago in England.

Initially the first reaction of the authorities in England was a defensive one. to say : "we don't have a problem with racism, it's not our fault, it's nothing to do with us". We used to hear: "it's society's problem" as an excuse for not addressing it in football. Then, under pressure from fans groups and others who have been campaigning against racism at grass-roots-level, they then came to the position that, OK, we have to accept that there is a problem, and that something needs to be done about it.

And I think what has happened more recently is that the authorities have come to see that actually playing a leading role in campaigning against racism and recognising that there's a problem, doesn't reflect badly on their organisation or on the game - but that it's actually a very positive thing to take a lead in some of those campaigns.

It also endorses the point that was made earlier, that racism is not the same as the Fair Play thing. One of the discussions we have had in England was about a campaign issue which was called "Respect All Fans" which didn't have as good an impact as the more clearly focused anti-racist campaigns, because it equated racism with things like spitting on the floor in the stadium or swearing.

I think it was completely different - from a personal point of view - that we would not tolerate racism in a football stadium, but it's very rare that I could watch my team play without swearing. That's not always a comment on the team itself.

Howard was right to say that the involvement of supporters from the grassroots is absolutely crucial. What is required is to try to get over this split between the authorities and the fans and that's begun to be done in England. Because fans now have a voice and are listened to and have a dialogue with those authorities. And what I'm hearing now about EURO 2000, it seems that we still have somewhere to go if fans are to have an input into the discussions about what sort of tournament is wanted in EURO 2000 in Holland and Belgium.

In England we now have a position where the fans' organisations are consulted. As represents of a fans' organisation we have to say not

as much as we would like, we don't have as loud, as clear voices as we would like, but that has been fought for. And fans have convinced the authorities that it is to their advantage as well as the games advantage and the fans advantage, to have the input of fans at that sort of level. That has to be fought for! But I think it's been an experience, a lesson has been learned, and that could be generalised.

A last point: A lot of people referred to the experience of various different tournaments. I worked in France right throughout the WC tournament and with the English fans primarily until England were knocked out, which sadly wasn't so late in the tournament, and then I had the opportunity to work with some of the German fan projects.

I think that we have to recognise that there are different situations. I was struck how little racism was a problem among the England fans compared what it has been in the past. That's partly because of the effectiveness of the campaigns against racism in England in the past.

But also there was a much bigger number of England fans there then there have been for an equal tournament in the past. So the influence of the organised racists was very much diluted. We didn't come across any organised activity by racist groups among the England fans.

With the German fans it was a different situation. The particular high profile problems with the German fans in Lens was partly a result of the activities of consciously organised nazi groups, far right groups. There is a different situation there. When you involve fan groups of this sort, you will find that sometimes fans have their own agenda and there are different issues that serve us. Among England fans in France racism wasn't the biggest issue. Tickets and policing were the big issues among the fans, and because of the way it is handled I think there is always an element of alienation between the fans and those in charge of running the tournaments. Because it was so expensive, it was more for business than for fans. Most England fans had to buy tickets on the black market. Due to the measures that were being taken against hooliganism, the primary impact was on the innocent fan.

All the cultural events Mr. Palme has referred to - one of the assets of the tournament - were denied to England fans, because all of the cultural events were cancelled and the big screens were cancelled in response to problems that took place in Marseilles.

So for 99% of England fans, who didn't have any intention for hooliganism or to cause trouble, (except perhaps as victims), all they found out about the programme were the punitive measures designed to deal with hooliganism, which actually alienated the fans from the authorities, the people running the tournament.

The key question is that fans have their own agenda. Fans have proved themselves to be among the most effective campaigners against racism. But it requires fans' voices to be taken serious and to be heard, and also for resources to be put in. There is perhaps a difference in the agenda, even in this room, about people representing authority, who have the job of running tournaments, and amongst others of us. I think that there are perhaps different programmes are taking place between professionals whose job it is to work amongst fans and fans' organisations. The Football Supporters' Association has no funding, only one commercial sponsorship for the fans' embassies that we ran in France.

But we don't have any full time workers, we don't have any paid employees. It's a membership-based organisation, and it's also a democratic organisation where the fans determine the members of the organisation and what the priorities are. I think there could be a difference in priorities and approach, of tackling issues like racism from all fans coming from below and the professionals working among them, as well as the social workers or others which are doing youth work among fans. I think there could be a different agenda there as well.

**Pertti Alaja:** I fully agree with you on all points. Answering Ben's question, I'm sure UEFA has not done enough for anti-racism. And starting to influence UEFA is of great interest to me, because for sure I will bring these messages on Tuesday or Wednesday in many ways to UEFA. These messages are of course important because a central organisation like UEFA has so many things to do and maybe some days they don't realise or we don't realise the importance of these specific issues like anti-racism. Maybe the business-wise way of working nowadays leads us to forget things like this. And for sure this will be brought up, you can be sure of that.

**Brendon Batson:** There is another element that we have to consider. When you think that the fans have been doing their own thing so to speak, as Howard has mentioned, driving it from the ground, I think there is another element which has to be taken into consideration,

and I talk specifically about what I've seen happen in England with the formation of the Premier League in '92.

Sport - and I hate to use the word at times- is "big business". I like to say "it should be business with a small b and Sport with a big S". To me business is about multinationals, there is no loyalty, it's a very cold thing. But when you talk about anti-racism initiatives I don't think that actually sits well with big business. At the clubs in England, particularly those which sometimes we call the "Platinum group", people can't get into grounds now. They don't have to work very hard to encourage people into their ground, they don't have to look at social issues to any greater extent because business is driving it. And they do not make good bedfellows. Big business and anti-racism, really very deep social issues, they don't sit well. I could think of NIKE maybe doing some commercials using Eric Cantona and Les Ferdinand. I thought more sporting organisations, sporting retailers and companies would take on things but I don't think that's been forthcoming.

So I think there's another element we have to look at now in this world. The TV rights for the next WC have been sold for an enormous amount of money. I don't think they are bothered about some little campaign that fans are concerned about because they know that they'll sell it out. You as fan-based organisations will have to take that into consideration. Whilst you think that you will get funding, as nice people, why do they need to fund that? They don't need to!

**Carlo Balestri (Progetto Ultrà):** I am from Italy and in the football stadia in Italy we witness a tremendous amount of racism, not in all stadia but in a lot. But racism does not only come from the fans on the curve (Kop), ie. those who stand behind the goal; just as serious is the racism which exists in the stands where the "normal" people sit. In Italy we are also confronted with the ignorance of the clubs regarding racism. We face a lot of difficulties in order to do something against racism in the stadium. I would like to make a practical suggestion: The big problem remains money, money., money. For a campaign against racism during the EURO 2000 in Holland and Belgium we need to have some funds. We should address a letter to the European Parliament and urge them to pass a law. A particular percentage - be it 1%, 2%, 3 % or 4% - of all revenues derived from football TV broadcasting rights should be given to projects which are active in promoting Fair Play and fighting racism and intolerance. With such a financial basis all of us could secure our

survival and could achieve something worthwhile and effective.

**Piara Powar:** Just picking up on the points that Carlo and Brendan have made. What we should look at tomorrow is about putting forward a suggestion to UEFA and FIFA. How could we bring sponsors to contribute to this sort of work?

The only other brief point I wanted to make was that there is a lot of talk about the community of fans and working with fans. And that's absolutely appropriate and clearly the way forward. But the other communities that we shouldn't forget are those communities that exist within our different countries where those competitions are taking place. The classic example of a lack of consultation with those communities are the events in Marseilles between England fans and local Arab and African youth. The African and Arab youth clearly felt dislocated from the WC. It wasn't an event that they felt a part of. It was part of the way in which their areas were being used from above by FIFA and by the French organising committee, and seeing England fans as representatives of the WC and everything about the WC that they didn't like. So we also need to be defining what we mean by anti-racism. But this isn't just about banners in stadiums but is about engaging with communities. So we want to benefit from this. We are not going to run some sort of industry. It has to have some real benefits for some key groups of peoples in our societies.

**Chair:** Is there anybody from the table who would like to make a final statement?.

**Brendon Batson:** We have all probably been to lots of seminars and been in different committees. We really do need to set down some sort of proposal as to how we are going to make best use of the days that we spend here together. I was interested yesterday to listen to Beate Winkler, the Director of the European Monitoring Centre. That is a new organisation and we need to consider how we can make use of an organisation like that in promoting what our concerns are, and how we move our ideals forward. We need to get some summary, a resolution of how we are going to take our concerns forward.

**Pertti Alaja:** May I thank all of you for your dedication. What we need is concrete co-operation and most of all we need each other to solve these kinds of problems. Thank you very much. (Text editing: Howard Holmes)

# Working Group 1:

## Work with Football Fans

Rapporteur: **Howard HOLMES** (FURD)  
Chair: **Carlo BALESTRI** (Progetto Ultrà)

Discussions started after the participants briefly exchanged their experiences in anti racism- work and -campaign from their various perspectives.

### **The youth**

Young people are seen as a most promising target group whose involvement and interest in anti racism activities would go a long way to help us attain our objective of Racism-Free football. Strong emphasis on working with young people in anti racism educational activities was therefore recommended.

### **Funding**

The importance of a sound financial basis was discussed at length. It was agreed that this was a necessary condition since it enables us to have some degree of legitimisation and effectiveness in carrying out our activities. All possible and probable sources of funding, from local to national governments, from private to commercial sponsors should therefore be actively pursued.

A unified approach to funding the network was put forward with the suggestion that the various organisations involved in this campaign should jointly act together when applying for funds from commercial sponsors in general and vis-a-vis the European Union in particular.

It was agreed that since most of the anti racism organisations do not have sufficient funds, the maximum should be made of whatever meagre resources are available to them. One way to achieve this, it was suggested, was to regard anti racism education as an aspect of a more general work with fan groups rather than as an independent, single project.

Through this, we could be able to elicit the support of the fans, since we identify with their interests and we work together as close and equal partners.

The point here is that all justifiable avenues must be exploited to solicit funding. However, we must not forget to set practicable and achievable goals, at least in the beginning. We must start slowly and realistically and then built upon our experiences and opportunities

### **The Police**

The relationship with police forces vary from place to place. In some areas one even has to oppose police forces to be able to work against racism. An example is Venice, where anti racism campaigners regularly clash with the police. The story is different in Sheffield, where it was reported that the police there even donated cash for anti racism campaigns. It was agreed that cooperating with police forces is necessary.

### **EURO 2000**

Even though it was agreed that this campaign will not end with EURO 2000, planning needs to be started now on how to fight racism, its tendencies and also publicise our activities and projects during this competition.

## Two suggestions came up

1. One was the Progetto Ulrà World Antiracist Championships. The 1998 tournament is available on Video. Their next tournament is in July 1999 in Montefiorino, near Modena in Italy, which will be open to all groups that wish to attend with their teams. Here, playing football and having fun could be combined with the discussion of concrete ideas towards Euro 2000

2. The second proposal is that negotiations should begin immediately with the European Commission to discuss the funding of the network for 1999 to 2000, beginning August 1999 and continuing through EURO 2000. As suggested earlier, this should be a collective rather than an individual effort, that is, to be done by one organisation for and on behalf of the others. It was then realised and accepted that FairPlay, Vienna, is in the best position to do that. They have the necessary contacts, particularly in Brussels, in addition to having well established organisational and administrative support for these activities.

Spurred by a question from Frank Buckley (SARI) as to whether the funds to be applied for would only be for education, participants agreed that funding should be sought for all the activities of the network. The whole project could be divided into components, for instance a Video project, tournaments, Street kick etc. etc.

(Text editing: Bella B. Bitugu)



**Show Racism the Red Card!** More than 250 football fans and young people flocked to the Vienna Chelsea Club to witness the launch of the Show Racism the Red Card video.

# Working Group 2:

## Public Relations and Educational Material

Rapporteur: **Andrea ENISUOH** (SRTRC)

Chair: **Ged GREBBY** (SRTRC) and **Ken McCUE** (SARI)

Since the role of education and public relations are very central for the success of and support for anti racism campaigning, attempts, progress and strategies from various countries were presented. One crucial point that became obvious in the session is that organisations in different countries have different levels of development and also use different educational tools according to their individual situation.

In Newcastle, Youth against Racism in Europe produced the anti racism video 'Show racism the red card'. It is a video presenting many internationally known players and trainers (both present and past), as well as young people in schools, expressing their support for this campaign and experiences in this direction. They present their views on what they think racism is and what could be done to curb it. We also critically discussed the contents, and made suggestions as to what could be done to improve upon the package.

Youth against Racism in Europe also has a magazine, and they are holding school competitions where, in conjunction with the video, they get young people to think about what they have heard, what they have discussed and express their views, whether it is in written form or in art form. However, it was mentioned that it is not enough to just present the video and then leave, but rather one has to make an effort to further engage in discussions about the whole problem and let the young people understand that something is being done and could be done. It is necessary to let the people know that racism is a collective problem, which can only be solved through collective efforts and strategies. Every target group must feel involved and become integrated.

In the Czech Republic anti racism training programmes and seminars are organised for both the police and student teachers during their training and refresher courses. Here, the area of concentration is not only about anti racism but also raising the awareness for the tolerance of different cultures and celebrating diversity.

In Poland, though new in this campaign, the radio is strongly used to publicise their campaign and they even use advertisement to get people informed. An initiative called "Music against Racism" is also being used. It is a strategy where songs by different groups singing against racism are compiled and presented to the public. There is a plan under way to be playing this kind of music in the football stadiums. The use of banners and fanzines are also part of their strategy.

Charlton Athletic Race Equality co-operates with social workers as well as teachers to conscientise them on anti-racism education. Other tools which are used include arts and drama.

Reaching out to the communities is the core strategy in Belgium, where they came to the realisation that this problem is more community than individual or group based. They try to directly reach people through public activities, by appealing to their conscience and humanity.

In Italy, just as in Belgium, reaching the community is the priority, where a kind of commune in the form of football schools is being used to get through to a wider public, since it is difficult to penetrate through official channels.

School projects about racism in football and a multicultural street festival aimed at creating awareness in the society, as well as involving and educating the people, is the main strategy in Holland.

SARI in Ireland is working through the school system, by making schools include anti racism activities in their curriculum and after-school programmes. They therefore work with both the schools and the Department of Education, even if some of their work is not official. The point was also made about the law and how its bases are being used to educate people about their rights in different countries. It was established that some of the victims of racism are unaware of their rights and organisations should be identified that could remedy this situation.

Kick-it-Out in Britain have also used various measures of education in communities, play grounds, as well as in schools.

In the Austrian situation, it was realised that since most of those in charge of football do not even accept the fact that there exists such a phenomena, two strategies are being worked on. The first is to scientifically and concretely prove the existence of racism in the society, particularly in football. That is, establishing and proving that racism exists, and to campaign to make them accept this fact so as to join as partners in the fight against racism in football.

The second strategy is the organisation of anti racism programmes at the grass-root level, that is, various activities in schools and in the stadium with players and teams that are aimed at the general public.

### **Observation**

Bella B. Bitugu (Tyrolian Football Association): There are lots of people who think racism is just between white and black. There was a typical example at a conference 1997 in Sweden on this same topic, and a Georgian delegate mentioned that there is no racism in Georgia because they do not have blacks there.

Talking about the Austrian context, we were confronted in our campaign by many people and officials that maintain that there is no racism in Austria. There is this claim in Ireland too, as reported by campaigners there. There is therefore the need to research this phenomena of racism, and present to the people the results to substantiate our position: We must prove to the people that racism exists, and that racism is not just that which exists between black and white.

In addition to our efforts, we also have to establish contact with institutions that conduct research in this field, and use their findings as sources of information and education. Otherwise high ranking bureaucrats will always tell us that there is no such problem, and we will always receive less or practically no support.

### **General Consensus**

Since there were abundant and useful ideas from all participants, a proposal was put forward that a document should be produced, presenting the best examples from different countries. This product should be distributed across Europe, for us and others to learn from each other, to use it as a guidelines, a kind of 'Handbook' for anti racism work.

(Text editing: Bella B. Bitugu)



# Working Group 3:

## How to Lobby and Influence Institutions?

Rapporteur: **Yasin PATEL** (Charlton Athletic Race Equality)  
Chair: **Mark SUDBURY** (FA of England) and **Piara POWAR** (Kick-it-Out)

The first part of the discussion was to identify the institutions which influence football the most since it was maintained that to be able to lobby and influence them, we have to know their relationship to the game and how they could be involved.

It was then established that four major institutions come together to determine football culture all over Europe viz.: football governing bodies, clubs, the media, local authorities and the government.

### **Football governing bodies**

We have to ensure that the football governing bodies be made to understand the problem and design practical as well as focused ways to confront them. They must apply very enquiring and analytical ways to investigate the problem; we can play a very big role here through our work, experience and exposure. They must concern themselves with asking why racism, both institutionalised and otherwise, exists to the extent that some people decide altogether not to watch matches. Why is the community as a whole practically involved in issues relating to the game and this phenomenon.

Those people involved in anti racism campaigns in football like us should not see only the negative aspect of the problem. We cannot be talking and discussing about only the bad aspects of the situation. We should also see something positive about the issue by propagating what we are doing and what all those involved can do to confront and eradicate this anti social and unsportly tendencies.

The campaigners have to convince and be convinced that there is something positive that can be done. Putting forward only the negative aspects without going further may even scare people who may not want to be identified with this phenomena. We as anti-racists also have to imbibe this in us and convince ourselves at least about the moral and human aspect of the argument and educating the public about the ill effects of this anti social behaviour as well as what we as a whole in the society can do against it.

We should also realise that there is not only one specific way of dealing with this problem and especially how to reach football authorities in order that they get involved and accord the campaign their support; adopting and using diverse means of communication, being in practical contact with all the organisations involved, extending helping hands, coming together on common grounds as partners, informing colleagues involved in this campaign both within and outside our countries about our programmes, plans, successes, failures etc. etc. Together this would go a long way to give us recognition as well as support from both the football governing bodies and the society. These would in turn popularise our projects and activities in the whole of Europe.

### **Clubs**

Just like the football governing bodies, there are different ways to get involved in the club as well as its activities. One does not have to necessarily see the executives or the bureaucrats of the clubs. You do not just go to the chairman. You can go to the people at other levels, especially those further down the hierarchy but who can move a lot and make impact. We can go to the ground man etc., use the grounds, present the positive aspects of anti-racism work. One can even try to mobilise support and help in the activities of the club through propping up its image and even helping towards the survival of the club.

Rather than just going to them and talking about racism and how bad it is, the clubs should be approached with prepared, concrete and realistic ideas. In this way, they may see the reason and basis of our campaigns, thus making them prepared to work with us.

On the local level, we should not lose sight of such internal personalities who may have a large degree of influence to be solicited for our campaign. Thus we should adopt and apply a bottom-up strategy to involve all those involved irrespective of their overt and covert roles and influences as long as they are healthy to the game, society and our campaign.

### **The media**

It was established that the media is one of the best channels to influence people, unfortunately however, the media support for our anti-racism projects and campaign lack the basis and support of this area to be able to manoeuvre our intentions so that we get our message through and across. Examples abound in the tabloids all over Europe talking about the problems of the Kurds, Bosnians, illegal immigrants etc. but almost nothing about our activities. We must try to move the Media to be convinced about the positive images and multicultural aspects of our course as well as the advantages anti-racism work would bring to our societies and football. It is only we who can bring this point to the fore as no one would do it for us, not even the loony leftist politicians.

### **Local authorities**

The emphasis in this area is on partnership:

There are possibilities of getting involved in the activities of the local authority through their various programmes and branches.

In England for instance, there is something called "the single regeneration budget". This is a fund set up by the central government to support some poor areas in the country through funding projects which would help develop these areas.

This opportunity could be used by applying for these funds to undertake progressive activities meant to benefit the community. Through this co-operation with the local authorities, we could apply for funds to promote our activities and also work with and for the local authority. In such a case, we could widen our scope of activities and sympathisers aimed at improving the society.

In this way, you put in additional energy to try and bring up some kind of idea or a proposal to regenerate the whole area. For example, some participants from Sheffield and Charlton have been successful through these funds and other "single regeneration budget".

It was also observed that since some supporters are in partnership with local governments, we have the possibility of talking with both the club and the supporters and especially getting to the supporters directly in some situations by using the influence and the power of the local authority where the club is not very willing to listen and act.

Local authorities can also help in promoting amateurs as well as non professional sports which do not otherwise receive the necessary support for commercial and other reasons.

Since some grounds are owned by local authorities, we can, through our relationship with the local authorities, try to get some kind of charter or agreement that racism and its manifestation in any form whatsoever on local football fields would not be allowed. Those clubs and teams going contrary to this would risk losing their access to these facilities and even participating in activities and championships. This is a very good way of getting those involved to concur.

The partnership emphasised here does not in any case end with the local government, it must go as far as the federal, regional and central government up to the European level. In fact these institutions even emphasise this and it is one of the criteria determining the success of application for funding. These institutions would want to know how popular this idea is in Europe, with which partners do you co-operate in Europe. They are striving for homogeneity and partnership in the whole of Europe.

There are cases where the relationship between the local authorities and clubs are bad, it is therefore suggested that we strive to also ensure that a better relationship comes into being and even call on other anti-racism groups to support us, bridge this gap by acting as a linking force.

### **Government**

The Government should be seen as beginning from the community to European levels and therefore try to design apparatuses within that bureaucracy or joining the existing ones to forge our aims and objectives through.

### **Observations**

Kurt Wachter (FairPlay) observed that we should be careful not to overgeneralise strategies to achieve our goals because there exist different situations in different countries. We must not attempt to copy strategies from different situations without paying attention to local circumstances. Our strategies must be situation based.

One might think that the Englishman not only invented football and racism but it seems that they invented anti-racism as well. Their strategies may not however necessarily work or apply everywhere, we should therefore try to be a bit more broad in our concepts and strategies. For example in Italy, approaching a club is not that easy. You can only work through fanclubs. In Austria there is a lot of politics in football, so ironically it maybe better to talk to a politician first and later on to the club manager.

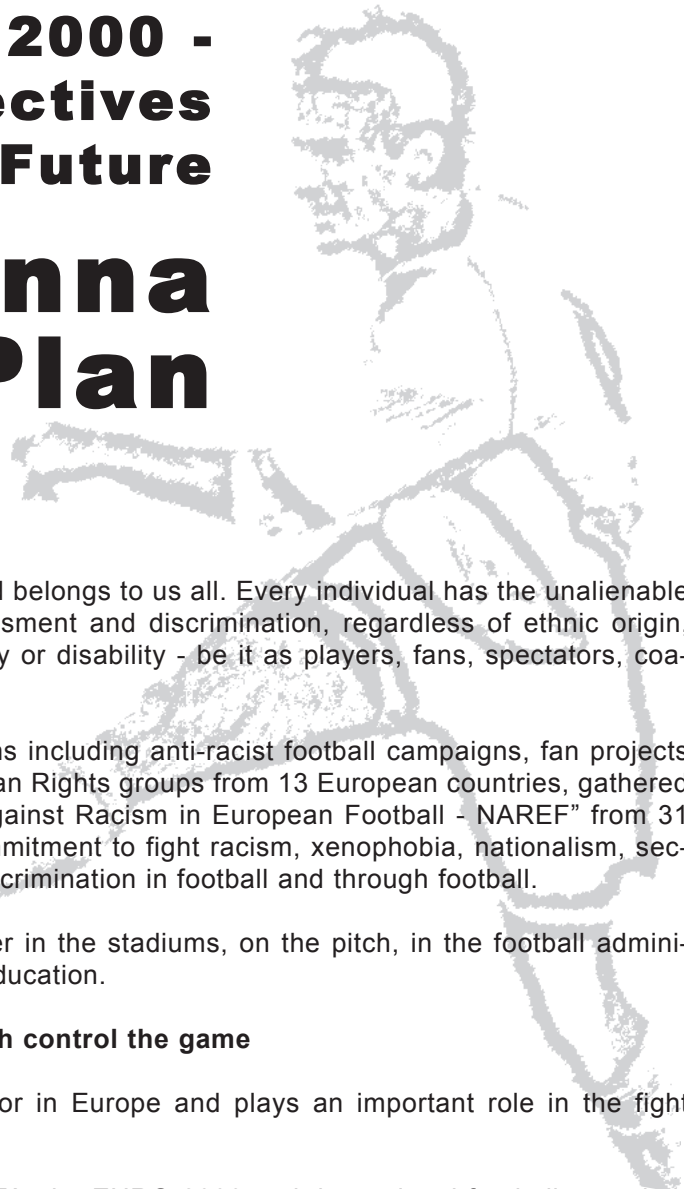
He further observed that Keith Cooper from FIFA was quite active in the European Year against Racism. He stated that FIFA is working on strategies to ban racist slogans, banners and tendencies from football. He then noted that since UEFA is the highest ruling body in European football , they must get involved and be responsible for tackling the problem. It is therefore necessary to lobby and push them.

(Text editing: Bella B. Bitugu)



# **EURO 2000 - Perspectives for the Future**

## **Vienna Action Plan**



Football is the biggest sport in the world and belongs to us all. Every individual has the unalienable right to participate in football free of harassment and discrimination, regardless of ethnic origin, nationality, colour, religion, gender, sexuality or disability - be it as players, fans, spectators, coaches, referees or administrators.

We, representatives of over 40 organisations including anti-racist football campaigns, fan projects and fan clubs, sport organisations and Human Rights groups from 13 European countries, gathered here at the Vienna Seminar "Networking Against Racism in European Football - NAREF" from 31 January to 2 February 1999, affirm our commitment to fight racism, xenophobia, nationalism, sectarianism, anti-Semitism and all forms of discrimination in football and through football.

We will not tolerate racism in football: either in the stadiums, on the pitch, in the football administration, in football coaching or in football education.

### **I. Demands towards the institutions which control the game**

Football is an important socio-political factor in Europe and plays an important role in the fight against racism.

We call for football bodies, in particular UEFA, the EURO 2000 and the national football associations to:

- recognise that racism and other forms of discrimination are a problem in football
- take responsibility by adopting and publishing anti-racist policies
- make full use of the integrative and intercultural potentials of football
- enter into a dialogue and to establish a partnership with all organisations committed to kick racism out of football, in particular with supporter groups, migrants and ethnic minorities
- specifically address the issue of the rise of the extreme right, and their manifestations in football stadiums, in Eastern Europe

Prior to EURO 2000 the national FAs should organise open forums where a broad range of fan groups, projects and players' unions as well as sponsors are invited to take part.

Anti-racist and anti-discrimination messages and statements should be published in UEFA, EURO 2000, FA and club magazines and publications on a continuing basis.

We call for UEFA, FIFA and EURO as well as for private football sponsors, the European Commission and the public sector in the different European countries to provide financial support and assistance to projects, campaigns and activities designed to combat racism.

## **II. We commit ourselves to:**

- establish the network to be hereafter known as 'Football Against Racism in Europe' (FARE)
- challenge all forms of racist behaviour in the stadiums and in the clubs
- react to racist incidents and make our views public and not keep quiet
- foster the inclusion of ethnic minorities and migrants on an equal basis within our own organisations
- fight structural discrimination in football
- work together with all federations, associations, unions, clubs and public institutions, including the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia and the European Commission, who are willing to tackle the problem of racism in football

## **III. We will take the following first steps:**

- set up a comprehensive database of all anti-racist football groups, initially by 'Kick-it-Out'
- establish a FARE website. The 'Football Unites, Racism Divides' website ([www.furd.org](http://www.furd.org)) will be used in the short term, by establishing a section devoted to the network
- develop other forms of communication, such as newsletters. 'Kick-It-Out' (UK) to produce the first edition of a FARE newsletter
- Invite all network members to participate in fans' tournaments, such as those held annually in Dublin and Montefiorino (Italy)
- organise a 'Streetkick' tour of EURO 2000 host cities, both before and during the finals
- organise multicultural events during EURO 2000
- demand that 1 % of all sponsorship income from EURO 2000 be allocated to the anti-racist activities of FARE prior to and during the EURO

# List of Participants

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## Belgium

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Federal Chancellery - Sport Section, Vienna

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FairPlay. Different Colours. One Game - VIDC, Vienna

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# Football Against Racism in Europe

## FARE



[www.furd.org/fare](http://www.furd.org/fare)

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**Each season in national and European footballing** competitions the most obvious components of the problem of racism and xenophobia are in evidence. Incidents of racism and xenophobia are observed and reported on a weekly basis. Abuse of players by other players, supporters engaging in racist chanting and abuse inside stadiums and in the close environs of stadiums and the presence of far-right organisations using football to disseminate their message are part of a recurring problem throughout the continent. Against this backdrop very few football governing bodies and clubs recognise the problem or have attempted to deal with the problems through anti-racist campaigning.

**Therefore, in February 1999** supporter clubs and anti-racist football campaigns invited football associations and players unions for a meeting in Vienna to develop a common strategy against racism and xenophobia in European football. On the initiative of the supporters the European football network Football against Racism in Europe (FARE) with organisations from 13 European countries was founded and a plan of action was passed.

**The FARE network** aims at linking local and national initiatives, exchanging experiences and to become active in a joint/common effort to combat all forms of racism and discrimination on the different levels of football across Europe.