

Women-Resisting Fascism and Racism

DAYSCHOOL

Information + Inspiration +

Sentimery 24th April 1888

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# Women Resisting Fascism and Racism

was started in November 1992. We are a group of Nottingham women who are concerned about the rise in fascism and racism locally, nationally, and around the world. We are planning action, educating ourselves, making contacts with other groups, and finding creative ways of organising.

We organised this dayschool to launch the group publicly, to provide information and inspire women into action. About 50 women came (the maximum we could have in the space available) from as far afield as Bristol, London, Sheffield and York. Workshops were held on "What is Fascism?", "The Asylum Bill", "Challenging Racism", "Three Generations of Anti-Semitism", and "Despair and Empowerment". In the reports that follow, names have been omitted or initials used for safety reasons.

## Introductory Session

One of the group members introduced the aims and background of the dayschool and the Women Resisting Fascism and Racism group, mentioning that the group prioritised making contact with black women's groups. She gave a breakdown of the day, explained changes in the programme, and mentioned that security had been organised.

A woman from the Notts Anti-Fascist Alliance (NAFA) introduced this organisation, saying that it was a group of people with mixed political views, who played different roles in the organisation, that it is affiliated to the major national anti-racist and anti-fascist organisations, that it had been active in Forest Fields against racism, and worked actively against the British National Party. After listing some of NAFA's action against incidents of racial attacks and BNP meetings in Nottingham, Mansfield and Ilkeston, she stressed that it is not a passive organisation but more confrontational, and that it meets fortnightly at the International Community Centre.

Another speaker gave a presentation on the present situation in Europe in terms of racism and fascism, speaking of 59 deaths and many more racial attacks on asylum seekers, "guest workers" and anti-fascists, particularly in Germany. She also pointed out the growing number of opponents to this rise of racism and fascism, mentioning the 300,000 of a population of 800,000 in Essen, Germany, who participated in a candlelight vigil.

The local Asian Progressive Forum was introduced, and described as antifundamentalist, secular and affiliated with the Anti-Racist Alliance. One of the aims of the group is the politicisation of Asian youth and Women: the need for other Asian women in this group was mentioned. The APF concentrates on community issues, campaigning and educating through rallies, information gathering and disseminating. Specific themes are the immigration and asylum bill, dowry, separate schools for muslim girls, and educating the Asian community about the way they are affected by, for example, Tory rule.

The Anti-Racist Alliance was introduced as a national organisation which opposes the BNP and the Asylum Bill. A forthcoming demonstration in London and a meeting and social were announced.

A member of Lesbians and H.I.V. spoke on lesbians and fascism, pointing out that the media and government present a message telling us to be individualistic and not care about each other. With Section 28, forbidding the promotion of lesbianism, the government has legitimised the hatred of lesbians: this is fascist. Lesbians are jailed for their sexual practices, and suffer state interference in their child care, which prevents lesbian mothers from getting custody or insists that they hide their lesbianism from their children. Sexuality is not a private issue, still, as long as the government oppresses lesbians we know we're a threat to the established order.

The "Searchlight" international anti-fascist magazine was also introduced.

## Workshops

### What Is Fascism?

This workshop was run on the premise that women taking part knew a little about fascist and anti-fascist movements but were not necessarily active in the anti-fascist movement or had an overall view of the present situation.

To begin with each person was given a leaflet, newspaper cutting or some other literary information about fascist or anti-fascist groups or activities. The questions we were asked to consider were:

i) how does this information make you feel?

ii) how does this fit in with your ideas about fascism?

Reactions included shock and surprise at local fascism especially at how respectable and plausible it can appear. An example was given of a book by the revisionist historian David Irving - "Hitler's War" - which was available and on display in the windows of Waterstones bookshop in Nottingham recently.

Mention was also made of links between fascism, racism, homophobia, and reactions to disability.

An outline of fascist beliefs, taken from German fascist ideology was then given and there was brief discussion of some of the points in this.

The full outline was as follows:

"Fascism is a political ideology. Central to fascism is the belief that

- the nation is supreme over the individual. Therefore fascists must give up their individual identity for the sake of the nation state.
- a nation must protect itself from immigrants

- there is a "pure" race; in Nazi Germany this was the Aryan race.
- the nation needs leaders/a leader
- Jews threaten the nation and are to blame for both capitalism and communism; this led to 6,000,000 Jewish people being killed in Nazi controlled countries during WWII
- were repeatedly raped, subjected to so-called scientific research and made to endure forced (and repeated) labours. [Women were also forcibly sterilised if they did not "measure up" in some way].
- those who deviate from the "master race" deserve everything from scapegoating to extermination: so lesbians, gay men and bisexual women and men were murdered by the Nazis.
- people who do not fit physical/mental standards are not worthy of life; this resulted in 200,000 adults and children with disabilities being murdered by the Nazis. Similarly mass experimentation was justified with the excuse of scientific advancement.
- socialists, communists and anarchists are all dangerous and need to be destroyed; thus trade unions were abolished by Hitler's Germany together with left-wing parties."

The point was made that Nazism is not fascism pure and simple and that many fascists, despite their sometimes strenuous denial, do hold Nazi beliefs. (NAZI originally was simply the initials of the German National Socialist Party)

Also, antisemitism has been around much longer than Nazism. Particular mention was made of the Aliens Act which did not specifically mention Jews but whose greatest impact was in fact on Jews trying to escape to Britain from pogroms and persecution in Eastern Europe. There has also been a consistent blaming of victims of fascism for the effects of it ie. "if they weren't here there would be no racism".

### British fascism

1932 - founding of the British Union of Fascists by Oswald Moseley.

The British National Socialist Workers Party merged with the BUF. Another organisation, the Imperial Fascist League was also in existence around this time.

4th October 1936 - "Battle of Cable St" - Moseley's blackshirts were prevented from marching through a predominantly Jewish area of London's East End by a crowd of about 150,000 protesters carrying "They shall not pass" banners. At its peak the BUF had about 40,000 supporters.

Post-war parties included the "League of Empire Loyalists", the "Racial Preservation Society" and the "British National Party".

1966 - the major fascist parties joined to form the National Front which was very overt in its hatred of black people. It was led by A.K. Chesterton.

1975 - the National Front stages its "anti-mugging" march through the East End. Central to this was a belief that all muggers were black and all victims were white.

30th January 1978 - "[the British people are] really afraid this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture" (Margaret Thatcher).

About this time there was an active committment to stop immigration - thus playing to popular prejudice.

1982 - the British National Party under the leadership of John Tyndall sprang to prominence and became more popular than the National Front.

The BNP portray themselves as a valid political party. Members are also trained in street-fighting.

Their favoured methods are to begin campaigning in areas where black people in particular do not live or work eg. council estates with high unemployment on the outskirts of city centres or inner city areas. They then gradually work towards the inner cities. They also run sticker campaigns eg the "Rights for Whites" stickers which often had razor blades hidden behind them to prevent them being removed easily. This campaign was countered, however, by an anti-fascist tactic of sticking larger stickers over the top.

#### Anti-fascist groups

Anti-Nazi League - 1977. Relaunched 1992. A national organisation with strong Socialist Worker Party support.

Anti-Racist Alliance 1992 - 50% black involvement is a requirement. A national organisation with black leadership.

Anti-Fascist Action - 1970's. Tactics include physical confrontation and leafletting - particularly in working class areas.

#### How do we resist?

The group then suggested various ways in which we could resist and combat fascism. Suggestions were:

- i) challenging racism/fascism in the workplace and other everyday situations
- ii) A physical presence at demonstrations, paper sales, etc.
- iii) empowering the community under attack.
- iv) leafletting
- v) running creche for "Women Resisting" day schools
- vi) Letter writing.

Points raised included the problem of male violence faced by many women in various forms eg in the home, sexually etc, and therefore the compounded fears many women felt when confronted with violent demonstrations. The vulnerability of black people on demonstrations was discussed - issue of visibility.

The question was raised as to whether there were any specific women's issues which Women Resisting Fascism and Racism could work on eg addressing the need for women's space on demonstrations.

It was also pointed out that women shouldn't feel obliged to go on demonstrations or get involved in confrontational situations and that the organisation behind these should ensure the safety and security of the people taking part. The point was made that if you're black you don't always get to choose whether or not to get into physical confrontations.

In other words although there is a need for people to deliver leaflets in large numbers, often a personal risk, there is also a need for somebody to write the leaflet in the first place.

In the words of one of the workshop participants -

"Just being here is resisting".

### **Three Generations of Antisemitism**

This workshop was given by G., her daughter M., and her daughter L., looking at how antisemitism had affected each of their lives. G., born 1914 in Munich, gave a moving account of her childhood of pre-Nazi Germany as one of 60,000 Jews in a city that changed in the 1930's from being somewhat antisemitic to being rabidly so. She outlined the history of the rise of the Nazis, the Reichs kristallnacht, the official burning of books (she warned that "a government that burns its books will soon burn its people") the deportation of Jews from Eastern Europe, the Nazi "re-education" of political prisoners and, after the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question", the mass murder of Jews in concentration camps. G. felt clear that after witnessing or hearing of the above, the Germans must have known what was happening to the Jews. She told of how she escaped to England in 1939 as did her husband after being in Sachsenhausen.

M. mentioned her difficulty speaking about this subject. She began by recounting her discovery of the amount of literature on children of survivors of the Shoah (or "Holocaust"), spoke of the difficulties of coming from a different culture from the predominant one, of passing as white but feeling other. M. told us how she coped with the stories and presence of the Shoah in her childhood, of the bulling she was subjected to at school, and of her subsequent denial of her ethnic background for many years. Since her father's death she has been trying to come to terms with her Jewishness. One part of this process was collecting the stories of survivors.

L., who is 14 years old, is involved in the synagogue and in a Jewish youth organisation. She described numerous incidents known to her personally or to her friends of anti-semitism in very subtle forms, of verbal and physical harassment, illustrating that anti-semitism is still very prevalent in Britain today. L. warned against waiting until the situation is critical before acting, and saw the way forward in educating people about

Jewish culture, history and religion.

A discussion followed these moving talks which covered many of the issues surrounding anti-semitism in present day Britain.

## **Challenging Racism**

The first thing we did was break into pairs. We talked about who we were and why we came to this workshop. L. wanted us to talk a bit about what we wanted to do with the workshop. After talking we introduced not ourselves but each other to the group. We decided that personal information should not be part of the notes.

We then broke into groups of 4 or 5 and L. asked us to discuss what we meant by the terms fascism and racism. The emphasis was to unpick the ideas and not just go by tight definitions.

One group talked about racism because they experienced it constantly in everyday life. The other groups discussed the differences between racism and fascism.

Then we came back together as a group and L. asked us to break up into different groups, slightly larger this time (7 people).

In these groups we shared experiences of when we challenged and when we failed to challenge racist incidents. There was quite a bit of discussion here. At the end of that group we planned to come together and discuss ways to move forward. However we ran out of time for feedback in the group, though individuals could feed back into the final session of the dayschool.

Quite a few women expressed an interest in future workshops for white women with mixed race children to discuss how they deal with the racism that they and their children face.

## Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill

To begin with, T. asked the white women there to try to put themselves in the position of black people trying to gain entry into the UK.

The immigration laws are designed to limit the life-choices of black people eg. the right to holiday where they wish, to attend a family wedding abroad, to bring their children to this country.

Political decisions are taken when deciding which countries need to be issued with visas, these visa national countries are usually those where most of the population is black, eg new commonwealth countries, Africa. Also countries where there are many refugees as in Austria in 1930 and Bosnia in 1990.

#### ENTRY CERTIFICATE

Since Primary Immigration was abolished in 1971 the amount of new rules introduced create bureaucratic delays. Now you have to be related to a British National, be under 18 yrs or be fianced to a British National in order to even begin the process.

T. gave us the example of a woman coming from India who wants to join her husband in the UK, with her children. Firstly the cost of applying for an entry certificate is equivalent to 6 months wages received by an Indian agricultural worker. If the application is refused, the money is not refunded. It can take up to two years to even get an interview with the entry clearance officer. These are held at the British High Commission at 7am. Often other members of the family will travel from their village with her in order to help her, they will all arrive the night before and need accommodation and food, very costly. Often the interview is carried out in a language foreign to the applicant. The onus is on the woman to prove that she is sponsored by her husband, the Entry Clearance Officer decides the truth of her claims. Everyone present over 14 years of age is interviewed even if they are not applying for entry, in order for the officer to find discrepancies in the answers so he can refuse the application.

S/he will ask trick questions, such as "How are you? You must be tired and confused after your long journey?" so her credibility is questioned. She will have to submit to a medical test supposedly to prove her age, but this is often a virginity test in disguise. She is asked very personal questions about her husband and their relationship. These interviews are often very degrading. Sometimes DNA testing is carried out to prove paternity of her children, which, in a situation such as the woman having been raped by her husband's brother, can have disastrous consequences. T. pointed out that we in the west may look at Asian women seeming so submissive and passive, but we should remember that they have been subjected to this gruelling, humiliating process in order to be here, proving them extremely strong women.

Appeals against a refused application are very expensive and can take a very long time. T. knows of one woman who has been trying to bring her children here for 10 years. There is a similar procedure to go through in order to get a visa in order to just visit the UK.

#### **ASYLUM**

This is an entirely different matter from immigration, where someone is fleeing for their lives from political oppression. The linking of the two under one bill shows how this government views immigration - a lot of undesirables hovering at the door to get in, to its shame.

The right to claim asylum is being constantly whittled away by changes in the law, eg. now it is necessary for everyone seeking asylum to have all their papers in order which is often totally impossible. And the Carriers Liability Act states that any airline carrying people without papers will be fined £2,000, and customs officers can now search the plane.

Lesbians and gay men are not able to seek asylum as they are not seen as a social group (such as the Tamils are) even if their country of origin would punish them by death.

The process is very hard, the UK can send asylum seekers back to the first place on route they landed after fleeing their own country.

There is a database of asylum seekers, including photographs. Anyone seeking political asylum will have to undergo 6 interviews at Croydon before they are granted asylum. They have to prove that they will seek 'no recourse to public funds' ie will not claim any benefits.

If a person is granted asylum they are still only given 'leave to stay' which has to be renewed every twelve months.

THE NEW BILL has even more draconian measures. This is the first time that immigration and asylum have been combined although laws concerning asylum have existed since the 14th century.

For example, where a family is seeking asylum they will all be finger-printed. There has been a minor concession to all the political objections to the new Bill that now children under 14 will be able to be accompanied by a parent when being finger-printed. Where asylum is not granted, a person will have only 2 days to appeal, a tall order even for english-speakers with plenty of resources and support.

At the moment appeals against refusal for entry clearance are often successful because there are so many possible grounds to appeal on. The new Bill abolishes the right to appeal for visitors, students and those seeking entry clearance. It is very rare that someone will be able to reapply.

[THIS BILL HAS NOW BEEN ENACTED]

#### **FORTRESS EUROPE**

With the breaking down of national borders, white people can move around freely but Black people will be limited. For example Turkey was refused entry into the EEC, being a Black country.

Laws and policies are decided in secret - no way to check what is going on. Leaks are the only way that information about what is happening can get out.

The worst of all the EEC countries' immigration policies are being amalgamated, all countries are collaborating to tighten up immigration from Black countries. For example the question of 'Primary Purpose' from UK law is being adopted by all EEC countries.

Here customs officials use trick questions to try to prove that people are wanting to enter for economic reasons rather than family relationships.

NATURALISATION costs £170 and a person applying must have been here for 3 years, have no criminal record and speak good english. They are often interviewed by the police. A naturalised person has no vote and no right of entry into European countries, if they want to travel they are seen as aliens, immigrants, if they are black.

In the 50's and 60's Black people were welcomed here because they were needed, just as Eastern Europeans are now being accepted into Western Europe as an underclass, doing badly paid work.

There is a lot of anti-Islamic feeling worldwide due to the Gulf War, shown by Israel's expulsion of 400 Lebanese. Also Germany has started to get rid of the Turkish workers who have been there for 40 years because Unification has created a pool of cheap labour.

There is a movement in Germany to press for dual citizenship, a large petition is being compiled.

#### **RACISM & FASCISM**

The mass rise throughout Europe is shown by the number of fatal attacks on Black people. Last year in this country there were 8 deaths from racist attacks. The Asylum Bill stokes up racism by linking terrorism and law-breaking in people's minds.

It is all a nonsense because far more people are emigrating from the UK than Black people wanting to enter so the bug-bear about immigrants taking 'our' jobs and homes is not true. In the last election, it was a vote-catcher to raise fears about bogus asylum seekers, who are only out to defraud the social security!

This new Bill could be described as an Anti-Black Family Bill because it limits the entry of wives wanting to join their husbands (or vice versa)

Since 1981 the right to automatic UK citizenship to anyone born on British soil has been stopped, so there are many children who are stateless if they have no relationship to British Nationals, even though born here.

The Asylum Bill and Maastricht Bill will have an enormous impact on the people of Nottingham but so many of the changes which infringe on people's rights are made behind closed doors.

We know that the percentage of asylum seekers who are successful is tiny but it is impossible to draw up any statistics because so many people are waiting 'in the queue' to apply and wouldn't show up in the figures.

Immigration officers often seem to be selected for their inquisitorial manner, they begin interviews with the assumption that some crime has been committed. They have complete right to decide about somebody's life. They even have the power of arrest under the new Bill.

In the future there will be more harassment of black people travelling around Europe, the state encourages the attitudes because the laws are so obstructive.

We must guard against overwhelming pessimism, there are pockets of resistance that are raising the issues and forcing change. White people must be constantly vigilant about language and the attitudes they highlight. It is hard to monitor what the state is up to when definitions change and boundaries are moved to suit its purposes. It is always worth questioning racist incidents, contact your MP etc, but be careful not to make matters worse. Sometimes you could let out a piece of information unwittingly that would get someone in worse trouble. You should always consult an immigration expert because there are so many regulations, codes of practice and local practices. Any solicitors you approach must be committed to anti-racism to be of any use.

White people should have the humility to stand back and listen to black people, let them say what help they need, as they bear the brunt of this institutionalised racism. But white people do also have experiences that they can speak from (eg refugees from Fascist Europe).

Home office figures state there is a racist attack every half hour. These are bound to be conservative figures.

It is hard for black organisations to have a high profile in fighting against these injustices sometimes because they are such a visible target. But the answer is not for the white male left to try and organise them. Groups within the black community are understandably nervous about resisting, eg Asian shopkeepers who vote Tory because they want to be accepted by the establishment and be able to have successful businesses.

Anyone interested in fighting the injustices of the asylum and immigration laws can contact the Nottinghamshire Forum on Immigration and Citizenship. Also visit the Hyson Green Law Centre which can give you free advice an Immigration matters on Thursday mornings.

### **Despair & Empowerment**

"Being conscious in our world involves awareness of unprecedented injustice, suffering and the growing possibilities of global disaster. How can we live with this awareness without feeling overwhelmed? How can we find resilience and courage? ...these questions are of immense relevance to all women concerned with political and social action. We need ways to deal with our innermost responses to world crisis, so we can overcome psychic numbing, exhaustion and despair."

This workshop consisted of a series of exercises and sharings, involving bodywork, guided meditation, etc. This was a good experience for those who took part, but since it was limited to two hours was really only an introduction. It was decided to set up further workshops which would be open to other women, perhaps setting up a whole day session in the future. A list of names was started for women who were interested. Women commented that it was very positive to have a workshop that was personally focused. [From feedback to the final session].

### **Final Session**

The final session of the dayschool involved feedback from the workshops, making a list of ideas for future action, and a discussion of some of the issues this raised.

One woman raised the issue of what one of the speakers in the introductory session had said about not being able to confront right-wing skinheads with discussion, but needing to confront them. She was unhappy with the idea of physically fighting fascists on the streets, though other women commented that there are some women who would feel this was necessary. Another woman said she felt confrontations on the street were unproductive, and that there was a lot to be said for raising awareness. It was suggested that this was a subject that should be discussed at a later meeting, as it was obviously one that women held widely differing views on - what sort of action is relevant for us as Women Resisting Fascism and Racism?

Another suggestion was for brainstorming of ideas for action, which produced the following list:

non-violent direct action

Despair & Empowerment follow up workshops
anti-semitism workshops for gentile women
street theatre
self-defence
another dayschool/weekend, perhaps outside Nottingham
looking for positive images of black children, eg in books
action against BNP candidates in elections - eg around Mansfield - direct action,
countering information, leafleting, etc,
involvement with what's already happening eg with NAFA or separately
Asylum Bill campaign
going out to women's groups and talking to women about what we're doing
making more contacts with black women's groups, community centres, networking
not letting incidents go unchallenged on an individual basis - but supporting each
other and discussing them collectively

participation in actions - having a chance to talk about how we feel - the personal into the political - something often missing in mixed meetings (one of the key reasons for setting up a women's group) affinity groups to support one another, finding a way round our immobilisation by fear finding ways of working even if we're terrified- perhaps it's easier to take action in an area where we don't live?

Making a banner

Attention was drawn to:

NAFA social evening - benefit with bands, djs, etc

Picket of court appearances - local fascists in court charged with assault - show that we're
not prepared to let it happen without some form of resistance

Women Against War Crimes day of action - what happens to women in war (May)

Breaking the Silence conference in Bristol with focus on anti-racism (May)

One woman said she was feeling more depressed, that she felt it had all been said and done before. It might make her feel better but would it change anything? Can we ask some different questions? She wanted something new but she didn't know what. Another woman suggested that a good place to start was by looking at ourselves - eg her involvement in a group of white women looking at their own racism, moving through guilt and fear and towards actions and strategies.

A woman involved in the women's spirituality group organising the conference in Bristol spoke of the need to discuss how racism informs our values, beliefs etc. Some white women say they don't see how racism affects their lives. She pointed to the way racist ideas of black/white are embedded in our value system and language, and the importance of getting to the bottom of where our ideas come from.

Another woman said she thought it was important to combine looking at our own racism

and doing something.

There was more discussion about the means of fighting fascism and racism. The point was made that confronting fascism was not just about white people chasing skinheads but also about black people fighting back against attack, defending themselves. One woman argued that we don't have to fight back with fists, that there are other ways of fighting back, eg education. Another woman said that often people were forced to fight back - that it wasn't necessarily a choice. People may not want to use violence. She thought that in Europe people were being put more and more in that position, having to face this violence, having to find ways of coping with it. The woman who spoke earlier restated her view that we don't get anything out of confrontation, we need to change people's minds. It was agreed that this was an important subject - how do we confront fascists, especially if potentially violent? - that we should discuss further in the group, at future meetings.

### A few comments from participants:

I came to the Day School because of a growing awareness that I felt, as a white woman, that I could no longer stand by and collude with racism and fascism. I wanted to resist it through direct action and education of myself and others.

Having been put off some anti-fascist groups in the past due to a degree of macho aggressiveness, political in fighting and not feeling very knowledgeable, I was pleased to come away from the day school with the feeling that there was a place for all women in the resistance against fascism and racism. I gained energy from the experience and knowledge of the women present and attended the follow-up meeting. I hope all women who have the time and energy will feel welcome to attend future meetings. - H.

Giving talks to feminists/women's groups I see as essential. Not only "What is Fascism" but also giving the facts about the number of racist/anti-semitic attacks in this country. I think women actually don't realise what is happening here - they think it is all in Germany and France. We could use the networks of the women's movement to campaign and raise more awareness. Statistics on attacks and how they are rising - research on the facts f this so they can be given in an accessible way.

Also the way Black people attacked are treated as women who've been raped sometimes are. Last night on TV a high ranking policeman said - about yesterday's fatal stabbing of a Black young man who was just walking home - "he was the wrong colour in the wrong place at the wrong time". That's like what they say about women "in the wrong place at the wrong time" getting raped. Feminists need to see the connections and take on anti-racism and anti-fascism as totally relevant instead of distancing themselves. - L.

Since the Dayschool the group has grown and has been meeting twice a month. We've had discussions on the role of women in Nazi Germany, experiences of Holocaust survivors living in Nottingham today, and being white mothers of mixed race children. Some of us have taken part in local demos including pickets of the court appearances of local fascists charged with assault, and we've made contact with a variety of local groups. A banner is now being made, so watch out for it!

A new group has started for carers of mixed race children, to support each others and share experiences. Contact: Carers of Mixed Race Children, c/o Nottingham Womens Centre, 30 Chaucer Street, Nottingham.

Despair and Empowerment Workshops: A full day workshop with be held in Nottingham in October, followed by an evening the week after. For details contact Women Resisting Fascism And Racism, c/o Nottingham Women's Centre, 30 Chaucer Street, Nott'm.

the First and Third Wednesday of every month,

7.30pm - 9.30pm

at Nottingham Women's Centre, 30 Chaucer Street, Nottingham.

New women and new ideas are always welcome!

The meeting room is wheelchair accessible Babysitting expenses are available (on the night).