

the Blais - Cheryl, Olive, Brenda Elaine, Newton & Olive Sr.
Shields & Stephens.
Amika Vaughn-Coste
Barry Hsu
Pat Holford
Leon & A. D. Charles
Tony Stewart
Sybil Williams
Nichelle J. Stewart

THE BLACK

PARLIAMENTARIAN

Vol. 1 No. 1

September — December 1989

£2.00



Launch Issue

Maureen Luke
474-9311
Screen Vaughn
Adam I. Johnson
Boston for Fox
Shields for
Leanne Grant
Guyana Embassy
Washington DC
Theresa Hynes
Ann F. [Signature]

Diane Abbott; Manny Cotter; Lord Gifford; Peter Herbert; Dorothy Kuya; Bill Morris;
 Margaret Porter; Keith Vaz; BROTHER; Sean O'Donovan; Bernie Grant; Mickey
 Leland; Narendra Makanji; Lord Pitt; Sam Ramsamy; Ansel Wong

Pamela Nelson
William Williams
Olive B. [Signature]

SOON EUROPE WILL SHUT ITS DOORS TO U.S. TRADE

IN 1992 EUROPE WILL FORMALLY BECOME A SINGLE PROTECTED MARKET.
TRADE BARRIERS WITH THE U.S. AND THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL BE RAISED.

CAN YOU RISK BEING LEFT OUT IN THE COLD?

HILARY BELMONT & ASSOCIATES SPECIALISE IN INTRODUCING U.S.
COMPANIES TO EUROPEAN PARTNERS AND CUSTOMERS.

THE MULTI-LINGUAL BUSINESS ADVISORS AT HILARY BELMONT
& ASSOCIATES ARE ABLE TO:

- PROVIDE RESEARCH ON EUROPEAN MARKETS RELEVANT TO YOUR COMPANY'S PRODUCT OR SERVICE.
- WRITE, TELEPHONE OR VISIT POTENTIAL EUROPEAN CLIENTS EXPLAINING YOUR BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY IN THEIR LANGUAGE.
- DRAW UP A DETAILED ACTION PLAN FOR YOUR COMPANY FROM NOW UNTIL 1992 AND BEYOND.

HILARY BELMONT & ASSOCIATES

FIND OUT ABOUT EUROPEAN OPPORTUNITIES NOW
AND GET INVOLVED IN THE EUROPEAN MARKET
BEFORE 1992.

CALL ADRIAN, STEPHEN OR JONATHAN ON
011 441 922 8878

OR WRITE TO US AT:
90 LONDON ROAD, LONDON SE1 6LN
ENGLAND

THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA

On behalf of the Parliamentary Black Caucus, (PBC), I would like to welcome you to this, the first edition of *The Black Parliamentarian*, the magazine of the PBC. We intend to ensure that the magazine is used as a forum for discussion within the Black communities. No issue will be too controversial for this magazine, nothing affecting the Black communities will be too "hot" or too "cool" for the magazine to handle.

What Will *The Black Parliamentarian* Provide?

We intend to bring to you all those issues which are not covered by the national media, e.g., what are the Black MPs doing in Parliament? Well, we are asking questions of the Prime Minister and other Ministers but they are rarely covered in the national media. We are taking part in Committees discussing laws like the Poll Tax, Immigration Acts, Children's Bill, Finance Acts etc. We are making important speeches on issues like *South Africa, Namibia* and the way in which the Secret Service is being run. We are going abroad on Parliamentary and other visits to places as far apart as Turkey and Trinidad and Tobago. We are meeting people from all over the globe, including such places as Belau in the Pacific and Alaska. We are discussing *domestic issues* such as Black Women, Immigration, the NHS, Education, the Environment, the Budget, Racism, the Police, the Carnival, Adoption issues etc. We won't be serious all the time and we intend to let you know all the *parliamentary gossip* that "serious" newspapers don't print, like the time the House of Commons Catering Department decided to "go ethnic" and put Ackee and Saltfish on the menu in the Members' Cafeteria. It tasted lovely but had one fault! The price was £5 per portion whilst other meals were around £2. There were quite a lot of requests but the price put a lot of people off. I waited until they were forced to put the price down to £1.50p before I ordered. Unfortunately, they have informed me that due to lack of orders they have been forced to remove it from the menu.

We intend to discuss all these issues with you in this and future editions. We intend to ensure that these very important issues are forced to the top of the agenda in Parliament and elsewhere. We also intend to circulate the magazine in the USA, where we have developed links with the *Congressional Black Caucus*. We want to contact Black Canadians, French people, Dutch people and other Black European Parliamentarians and others. This is particularly important because of the advent of *1992 and the Single European Market*. We want to debate within our communities what 1992 holds for us. The article in this first issue by Ansel Wong, opens up a debate which we must have, if we are to survive in Europe after 1992. We are also needed to give assistance to our sisters and brothers in Europe who are not covered by legislation in race relations to the extent that we are. We need to press for an amendment to the European Convention on Human Rights, so that the Convention recognises discrimination on grounds of race. We need to press for laws in Europe that recognise racial discrimination as an offence as British laws do. We need to fight for the rights of immigrants in Europe so that they may have the vote in the same way as Commonwealth citizens do in Britain, whilst making it clear to everyone that we are not in the same position as European immigrants because of our special relationship with Britain because of the Commonwealth.

We need to discuss the situation regarding the *relationship between the EEC and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries*. We need to press the EEC on what will happen to the banana trade with the Windward Islands, Jamaica and Belize after 1992, and the Lome Convention. The situation in South Africa, Namibia and the Front Line states is crucial to the status of Black people in the future.

Are we to be called *African-British or Asian-British* as the *Americans want to be called African-Americans*? What is Jesse Jackson up to in Washington? Can Benazir Bhutto outmanoeuvre the fundamentalists in Pakistan? If you know the answers maybe you can tell us. What about the death of Huey P Newton, one time Black revolutionary, and now shot dead in the street like a common hoodlum? The Black politicians and other Black people need to know your opinions on these issues.

What about Black businesses? How far are we prepared to go to support *Black capitalism*? Is there a difference between Black and White capitalists? What are our views on *Islamic fundamentalism*? Do we support Muslim schools? Is Salman Rushdie a blasphemer? All views need to be put so that we are as informed as possible.

We intend to print *The Black Parliamentarian* as often as possible and certainly not less than quarterly. We expect that arising from the debates around some of the issues I have mentioned, we will go on to hold seminars and discussion groups around the topics. We want to take these debates around the country and reach some of the more *remote Black communities* that have been left out in the great debates that our communities have engaged in over the past few years.

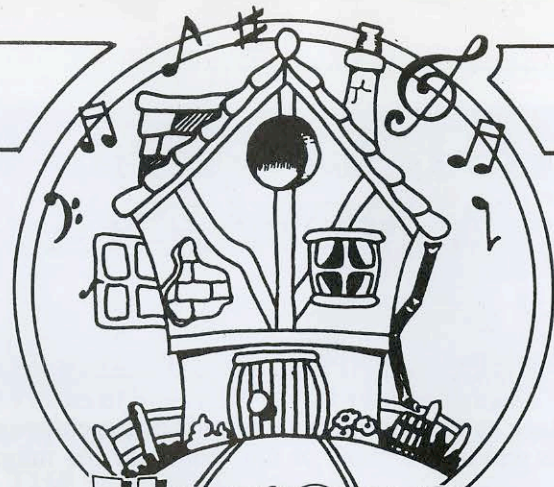
We believe that such a magazine is urgently needed. We believe that the task of formulating coherent strategies can no longer be left to chance and the CRE. We are entering unknown waters vis-a-vis the EEC and 1992. We are entering uncharted waters vis-a-vis an independent Namibia and a future liberated South Africa. We need such a magazine as *The Black Parliamentarian*. SUPPORT IT!

SUNDAY LUNCHES

CHILDRENS MENU

PARTY NIGHTS

MUSIC



Heroes Pancake House and Bar

**GOOD FOOD & GOOD COMPANY
IN**

*The Only Pancake House in North London
Specialising in Caribbean and Vegetarian
Pancakes.*

*Bring this leaflet along with you, and
enjoy a FREE glass of Wine, when you buy
a meal.*

We Are Open

Tuesday-Sunday
12noon-3pm 7pm-12pm (Last Orders 11.30pm)
Closed all day Monday.

Party Nights

Thursday-Friday-Saturday, when we are open 'Till 2am

Families Very Welcome

Reserve a table 'phone 01 254 3305.

Credit Cards Accepted

Heroes Pancake House & Bar

8 Cazenove Road, Stoke Newington, London N16 6BD.

Tel: 01 254 3305

COCKTAILS

BAR

MUSIC

WINES & SPIRITS

FULLY LICENSED

HAPPY HOUR

THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN

Magazine of the Parliamentary Black Caucus

Vol. 1 No. 1

September — December 1989

Inside

Editorial	Bernie Grant, MP	1
Why set up a parliamentary Black Caucus?	The PBC	5
Are the Unions still ignoring minority needs?	Bill Morris	6
Black Sections . . . It's time for answers Labour	Narendra Makanji	8
Who'll be looking after YOU in 1992?	Ansel Wong	10
"All those who pray are fanatics"	Keith Vaz, MP	14
In Tribute: "Ending Hunger"	Mickey Leland (D.TX)	16
Namibia's elections: How free, how fair?	Sean O'Donovan	18
Adoption: Give single women a chance	Dorothy Kuya	20
Let's celebrate!		23
The message is in the music	B. R. O. T. H. E. R.	27
Pushing Black entrepreneurs forward	Manny Cotter	30
Batting for Britain in South Africa	Sam Ramsamy	32
Merseyside's Manacles	Lord Gifford	34
On the Agenda: Guilty Until Proven Innocent	Peter Herbert	37

Front page photograph: PBC Celebrating Their Launch with CBC guests.
Picture by Sharon Wallace.

The Black Parliamentarian is produced by the Parliamentary Black Caucus: Bernie Grant MP (Tottenham); Keith Vaz MP (Leicester East); Diane Abbott MP (Hackney North & Stoke Newington) and Lord Pitt of Hampstead.

Editorial Adviser: Stella Orakwue

Special thanks to: Sharon Lawrence, Sonia Grant (PBC Administrator), Arif Ali, and Sean O'Donovan.

The Black Parliamentarian
247A West Green Road
Tottenham
London N.15
Telephone: (01) 800-5994

None of the articles published in *The Black Parliamentarian* can be reproduced without prior permission.

The PBC would like to point out that the views expressed in *The Black Parliamentarian* by guest writers are not necessarily shared by PBC members nor are they necessarily PBC policy.

THE VOICE

Britain's Best Black Newspaper!

Say it loud I'm Black and Proud

THE PARLIAMENTARY BLACK CAUCUS: The Background

In June 1987, the first Black members of Parliament in modern times were elected to the British Parliament. Diane Abbott, MP., represents Hackney North and Stoke Newington, Paul Boateng, MP., is in Brent South, Bernie Grant, MP., in Tottenham and Keith Vaz, MP., in Leicester East. Less than a year after their triumph, three of those MPs, Abbott, Grant and Vaz, decided to form themselves into a group — The Parliamentary Black Caucus. Boateng hasn't joined the Caucus yet. Below is an outline of the reasons why the PBC was set up and the aspirations its members have for it.

The election of the Black MPs has been hailed as a major step forward in the participation and representation of the Black and minority ethnic communities in Britain. It has been welcomed not only by the communities themselves, but by many individuals and institutions concerned with race relations — right across the political spectrum. For the first time, Black and minority ethnic communities are felt to have a voice at the level of national Government in Britain.

In March 1988, the Parliamentary Black Caucus was formed by three of the new Black members of Parliament. In May 1988, Lord Pitt of Hampstead also joined the Caucus. Although the existing Caucus members belong to the Labour Party, this is not to the exclusion of other parties.

THE NEED FOR A PARLIAMENTARY BLACK CAUCUS

The concept of a Black Caucus at the level of national Government is not a new one. In the United States of America, the Congressional Black Caucus has existed for nineteen years.

Essentially, the Black Caucus provides a forum in which Black representatives can meet together to discuss issues of common concern and to decide on courses of action in relation to those concerns.

The need for such a Caucus in Britain derives from the fact that Black representatives are in a minority and in a hostile environment which has never before had to confront the issues of race and race relations which the Caucus has a duty and an obligation to raise.

There is no other forum in which these issues can be raised. Indeed, there are positive institutional obstacles to raising them in the Government and Parliamentary system as it now stands.

The Parliamentary Black Caucus is necessary too as a means of ensuring that we develop our thinking as Black MPs. We recognise that to allow ourselves to be facing in different ways on the major issues affecting the Black and minority ethnic communities would be to weaken our position substantially.

The PBC needs to exist on a formal and properly constituted basis, rather than as an informal discussion group. This is because we believe that the issues which we have to raise are far too important to be left to providence. Our lives as MPs are very busy and our task as Black representatives is in addition to the jobs we each have as constituency MPs. A structured setting for our concerns is essential to ensure progress now and in the future.

THE ROLE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BLACK CAUCUS

We envisage that the role of the Parliamentary Black Caucus will be essentially to raise issues of race and race relations in Parliament and through other channels open to Members of Parliament, for example, directly with Ministers and Government institutions.

There are many issues which need to be raised. Examples would be the position of Black and minority ethnic communities within the inner cities in relation to health care, employment, housing and social security. The areas of immigration policy and anti-discrimination

legislation are also key issues of major concern. Perhaps the most pressing question is that of education and the future prospects of young people.

There are also important foreign affairs questions upon which we need to take a stand. For example, the economic situation facing Black and Third World countries as a result of the growing debt burden. Another example is the situation which will face the Commonwealth countries when the "Single Europe" agreement comes into force in 1992.

On all these matters, we shall seek to be a focal point for the Black and minority ethnic communities to put their views. We shall encourage individuals and organisations to bring their concerns to us, as indeed they have already begun to do. The approaches we have had indicate a strong desire for the Caucus to take on this role.

So, it is in recognition of its national constituency that the Parliamentary Black Caucus has been formed. The Black communities are well established in Britain and have great strength. But they have waited a long time for political representation at national level and have many demands. The Parliamentary Black Caucus aims to channel the strength of the communities and to move towards the meeting of these demands.

The Caucus was fortunate enough to receive a small grant from Barrow Cadbury Fund Limited, a non-charitable benevolent company. The Grant has been given for a period of four years at £16,000 a year. It enables us to employ an administrator and to cover basic costs. We hope to obtain additional funding from other sources in the future and to hold fundraising events.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT: THE WAY FORWARD WITH BLACK PEOPLE

by Bill Morris



Textile workers demonstration in Yorkshire

Bill Morris is the Deputy General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union — Britain's biggest trades union.

First of all, I'd like to welcome the launch of the Parliamentary Black Caucus and of this publication. The Labour Party took a huge step forward when Black MPs were elected to Parliament in 1987. But, I am not going to pretend that we as a movement do not have a long way to go. Both in terms of representation and of policy, there is an enormous job still to

be done. That requires careful thought and planning by Black people in the movement, but above all, it requires an open and willing response from the movement as a whole.

After all, anti-racism means social and political change. That places a heavy burden on the institutions of the labour movement. On the one hand, Black people are looking to direct and lead the movement, and on the other, they are rightly protesting at its own discrimination and injustices.

Take the whole issue of Black representation and organisation in the trade unions. The Transport and General Workers' Union and others have identi-

fied a major change now taking place in the UK economy: the division of our labour market into a core workforce with relatively good pay, conditions, and job security, and the growing army of temporary, casual, part-time and de-skilled workers.

That's a matter of equal opportunities, because the majority of marginalised workers are women, and many are young and from ethnic minorities. And if you want to recruit, you have to represent. Black people will not join a union or any other organisation that does not give them a voice.

And changing collective bargaining isn't easy either. How many deals and

recognition agreements include an equal opportunities clause? How much practical trade union support is there for effective ethnic monitoring?

Racial harassment remains a fact of life for many Black workers and overt racism exists amongst trade unionists as well as employers. When Black workers complain to stewards or officials about such behaviour, action has got to be taken. Rhetoric and pious expressions of concern are not enough.

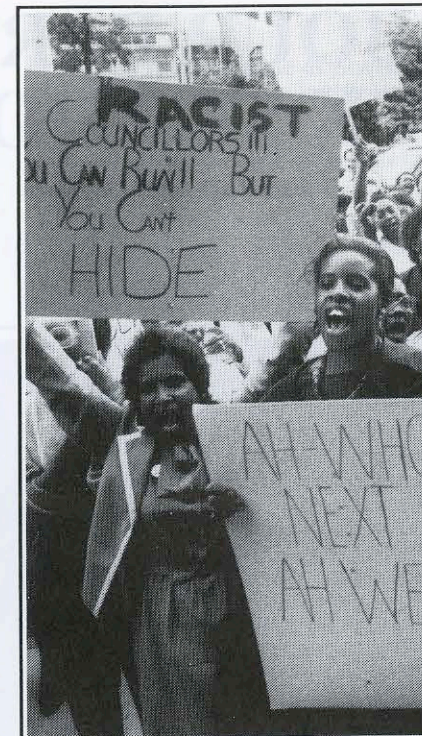
If anti-racism is about work for social and institutional change — then all sections of the trade unions movement must be involved. There are inspiring examples to be found, for example, of trade union involvement in struggles against deportations, but they are still too few.

The problem is not ideas for change — they are easy to find. Rather it is a question of the will to implement them. There are clear questions of resources, of priorities and, frankly, of power.

If unions set up advisory committees, improve the proportion of ethnic minority officers, and promote Black people through lay representative structures, then power in the union will shift. And that can be a difficult process. Some established interests may even find it a threat. That is one reason why you will find resistance in parts of even the most progressive union to the notion that race equality is something we ought to be concerned about within our ranks.

And that truth applies every bit as much to the Labour Party. That's why the debate about Black representation has been so hard-fought — and so important. I think there is, for example, a real feeling of impatience that the proposal for a Black socialist society, which the last Labour Party conference passed so clearly, is still being fought over at the Party's National Executive Committee.

My Union has played a constructive role throughout that debate. And we certainly hope that it will now be resolved in a way that satisfies the terms of the Con-



Time to listen to women's needs

every effort to see that anti-racist concerns were fully considered in its work. But that job was made more difficult, not by any failing on the part of the Group or its members, but because the organisation of Black people within the Party is still too weak.

A Black socialist society could go a long way to help with that problem. It could rightly expect to be consulted and involved in a very wide range of policy discussions, from housing to the National Health Service, from education to crime. And if, as my Union certainly hopes, we see a reform of the whole Party policy-making system which makes it more genuinely democratic and participative, then Black people at every level of the Party will play their full part.

The Parliamentary Black Caucus has an important potential role as well. Of course, its members will rightly want their say on policy. Between them they have an experience and an expertise which the Party badly needs. But they have an even more important role. Parliament remains an essential forum for discussion and debate. It is important. And it is vital — if Black people are to have confidence in our democracy — that their voice is clearly heard. Already Black MPs have made big steps in that direction. They deserve our help and our support.

That may not always be comfortable for established interests even in the labour movement. But it is a political imperative. On it, the success of Britain as a genuinely tolerant and democratic society may well turn.

I am not a pessimist about the future of our movement. I wouldn't be an active trade unionist if I was. But I do think that Black people at every level are making a clear and distinct challenge to it. Will the labour movement listen to us? Will it accept the contribution we can make? For the sake of our society, we must make sure the answer is yes.

**FOR DETAILS OF
HOW TO ADVERTISE IN
THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN
SEE PAGE 44.**

THE LABOUR PARTY AND BLACK SECTIONS

by Narendra Makanji



Black Section Annual Conference, 1989

Narendra Makanji is the National Chair of the Labour Party Black Section. He's also a councillor in Haringey, North London.

The Labour Party has accepted the principle of self-determination and direct representation for Black members of the Party. Over the last twelve months, a high level group of the Party's powerful National Executive Committee (NEC) has been in discussion with the unofficial organisation of Black members called Labour Party Black Section, (LPBS), and other interested groups to hammer out a proposal to be discussed at the Party's annual conference in October.

The draft proposal unveiled at the end of July says: "The objective would be to create an organisation affiliated to the Party, be Black-led, provide for self-representation of African, Caribbean and Asian members at all levels of the Party,

and which has the full backing and support of the NEC and the Party.

For the last six years, the Black Section has campaigned vigorously for an unfettered voice for Black people in the Labour Party — a party which has regularly received over 80 percent of the votes cast by Black voters. Since the establishment of the grassroots organisation in 1983, the Black Section has created the conditions within which:

- * Four Black members of Parliament were elected in 1987 and went on to establish the Parliamentary Black Caucus (PBC)

- * Nearly 300 Black councillors have been elected on municipal authorities and a national organisation called Black Section Councillors has been formed

- * "The Black Agenda", an action and discussion document of the minimum set of anti-racist demands was published.

These initiatives emerge out of the vibrant politics of the struggles of Black

people world-wide. This vibrancy has not been reflected in the politics and policies of the Labour Party and on the national political scene. The Black Section has sought to take Black politics into the mainstream politics intact — without compromise on the basic principles of Black rights, justice and power.

There is a suspicion amongst Black people that anti-racism is viewed by white liberals as an unpopular policy which, in the face of Thatcherism and revisionism, must be dumped. That is why Labour experienced a worrying decline in support at the last general election from Black voters. Labour can only stop losing its support by acting positively on race. The Black Section can educate and inform white politics, particularly on the Left.

Over six years, the Black Section has asserted itself, destroying the cosy belief of some power-brokers that Black people could be kept as passive voting fodder. The issues facing the Black community such as immigration and police harassment have been ignored and sidelined by the powers and the LPBS has taken up

the cudgel. The old political leadership is being eclipsed by the young militants who, increasingly, are looking to main party politics.

Under the Conservative government over the last ten years, the conditions for Black people have worsened dramatically. The major features have been:

- * Record levels of unemployment for Black people especially the young

- * More Black people are homeless or living in overcrowded conditions

- * Savage attacks on civil liberties and harsh sentencing by the courts

- * Racist immigration laws have split Black families

- * Refugees have had the door slammed in their face

- * Anti-racist education has been

rubbed

- * The racist regime of South Africa has received huge political and economic support

- * The poll-tax will have a devastating effect on Black people.

Yet the Labour Party and Trades Union movement have failed to come to grips with the changing face of the working class. Women and Black people have a growing importance in the economy, especially in the service sector and among low-paid and part-time workers. The trades unions do not know how to handle this beyond attempting to buy-off militancy with cosmetic concessions. Labour leaders have continuously ignored demands for comprehensive anti-racist policies. The LPBS has been founded on the belief that: "Our votes cannot be taken for granted if we are po-

litically organised within the Labour Party".

The main strength of the LPBS has been the widespread unity it has been able to build, described in the "The Black Agenda" thus: "We recognise the differences within our communities, but choose to utilise our common experiences as a strength towards anti-racism. Some people choose to exploit the differences, sadly this includes some people within our own communities. But there has been a strong and proud tradition of Afro-Asian unity going back to the early 1900s when Shapurji Saklatwala was supported by John Archer to be elected as the Member of Parliament for Battersea in 1922. Black Section unites, within the Labour Party, people of African and Asian descent, who have a shared experience of racism in this country".

HACKNEY AFRICAN ORGANISATION

(Registered Charity No. 288997)

AND

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

(Registered No. 1965450 England)

HACKNEY AFRICAN ORGANISATION and AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES LTD are community-based initiatives with a primary commitment to meeting the needs of Africans and other ethnic minorities in and beyond Hackney. Between them these two Organisations provide a comprehensive range of services, almost invariably free of charge to clients. Such service provision is made possible largely through the assistance and sponsorship offered by the London Borough of Hackney Council, the Department of the Environment, The Training Commission, the Inner London Education Authority, the Trust for London, Greater London Arts, etc. Assistance also comes by way of subscriptions and donations from members and wellwishers.

Project activities organised and undertaken by HAO and ADA include:

- *LEGAL Advice and representation

- *HOUSING Referrals, Advice, Rent Assessment

- *ELDERLY & FAMILY CASE WORK including Home Help and Hospital Visits

- *CHILDCARE Advice and Support

- *ARTS & RECREATION including music, theatre and art classes

- *SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION SCHEME from Saturday classes for juniors to one-to-one tuition for 'O' and 'A' Level students

- *AFRICAN WOMEN PRISONERS VISIT SCHEME

- *CANTEEN SERVICES incorporating transcultural restaurant and training facilities.

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES LTD also has a significant presence in the Employment Training field, through which individual trainees are encouraged to acquire skills commensurate to the growing demands of the labour market.

HACKNEY AFRICAN ORGANISATION & AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES LTD OPERATE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES POLICIES

For further information telephone: (01) 249-5252/241-2720

AFRICA HOUSE, 4-6 DALSTON LANE, LONDON E8 3DE

AFRICA HOUSE ANNEXE, 18-21 ASHWIN STREET, LONDON E8 3DL

1992

OPPORTUNITY OR OPPRESSION?

by Ansel Wong

Ansel Wong is currently Special Projects Officer at the London Borough of Ealing. Here, he argues that the social policy implications of 1992 for ethnic minorities living in the EEC have to be confronted.

The countdown to the removal of all barriers by 1992 to ensure the free movement of goods, services, capital and people within the twelve member states of the European Community has begun. An increasing number of people, institutions and local governments are becoming aware of the inevitability of a Europe without frontiers and it is not surprising that reactions are very mixed to the proposal.

The Single European Act which came into force in July 1987 amended the Treaty of Rome and set 1992 as the date by which the single market should be achieved. Lord Cockfield (previously Vice-President of the European Commission) set out in 1985 300 legislative measures (reduced to 279) necessary to achieve a single market. Most of these measures were concerned with the removal of physical barriers (border controls), fiscal barriers (VAT and excise duties) and technical barriers (trading standards).

Even though the 1957 Treaty of Rome had specified the goal of a "harmonious development of economic activities", the impetus for this recent effort was the recognition that the 12 separate states were losing out to Japan and the USA. The damaging effect on the economy of each Member State and the recognition that an effective economic challenge to the dominance of Japan and the USA can only be mounted by a cohesive trading bloc, is the rationale for the Single European market.

The priority then was economic cohesion with social progress being seen as a consequence of the "liberation of the forces of growth". It should not be surprising then that the social policy implications of 1992 have not received as much attention as the economic measures. The social policy implications for marginal groups are even further away on the agenda. But before we examine the implications of 1992 on a significant marginal group — Ethnic Minorities — it is perhaps important to be aware of the social and political context under which Ethnic Minority communities live in the EEC.

Member states have statutory instruments which offer protection to Ethnic Minorities against discrimination. While these guarantees of non-discrimination are potentially an important source of law, in practice they have been ignored or abused. In Germany, the constitutional provision that prohibits discrimination has been interpreted as a declaration of intent. In Denmark, personal freedom and in Luxemburg, non-discrimination, are guaranteed only to nationals. In Italy, although the constitution formally guarantees non-discrimination, in practice the government itself discriminates both legislatively and administratively.

Few of the EC states have developed a comprehensive system of civil remedies. In the Netherlands, while there are laws that provide for compensation in the case of certain types of discrimination, these laws cannot form the basis of a private law suit: any legal action must be initiated by the public prosecutor. This is true of the laws prohibiting discrimination in Belgium as well.

The Luxemburg law against racism of 1980 does not permit associations combating racism to bring civil suits. In Denmark, there are no civil remedies available to the injured minority; while in Greece, civil remedies are available to citizens alone. And in Ireland, there is only a single statute prohibiting dis-

crimination in dismissals from work that allows a private right of action. In the United Kingdom alone there is a system of laws that offers the minority legal protection from discrimination both administratively and by giving the individual a private right of action.

While civil remedies in most of the EC states are relatively undeveloped in respect to discrimination, a few of the states have enacted special criminal laws to punish, rather than to compensate for, acts of discrimination. Denmark and the Netherlands have developed comprehensive systems of criminal law. Other states, though offering minorities minimal protection in their criminal codes, have been less conscientious.

Ireland has no special provisions in its criminal code to combat racism at all. The Luxemburg law against racism of 1980 has yet to be applied. A Greek law punishes incitement to racial violence or hatred with two years imprisonment. Belgian law forbids public incitement to discrimination, hate or violence against a person or group because of their race, colour or national or ethnic origin, as well as racial advertisements or notices, and punishes those who publicly resolve to practice race discrimination. The German criminal code prohibits incitement to violence and the stimulation of racial hatred, but contains no laws prohibiting acts of discrimination in public places or in the fields of employment or housing. The law in Germany, in fact, provides protection in practice only to the Jewish population and does not address problems faced by other minority groups.

The Danish criminal code, in addition to punishing discrimination in the field of employment and in access to public facilities, fills in the gap left by laws such as the British one which punishes incitement because of the effect it may or does have on the public. In Denmark, it is a criminal offence to make threatening, hateful or degrading statements about race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin with the intention of dis-

seminating these ideas to a wider audience or in public — no matter what the effect on the public is or is likely to be. For the purpose of the law, racist statements published in papers are considered

to be statements made with the intention of spreading racist sentiment. Two journalists have been charged with violations under the law.

Similarly, the Dutch penal code

penalises racial insult, incitement to racial hatred and discrimination and violence on the grounds of race as well as the publication or dissemination of these ideas. In addition to being fined or im-



What does the post-1992 future hold for Black Europeans?

(Photo by Humphrey Nemer)

prisoned, editors and distributors of discriminatory ideas can be disqualified from further pursuance of their occupations if they are convicted twice for the same violation in five years. It is also a criminal offence in the Netherlands to take part in or support in any way activities which discriminate against people on racial grounds, or to discriminate in the exercise of a profession or trade.

It is important to note that not only does the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act fail to mention race, but that the Commission's own publications on social policy issues speak only of women, the long-term unemployed and the disabled. In fact, this colour-blind approach contrasts sharply with measures on women's issues:

- * Since 1975 discrimination against women is illegal
- * There is a standing Committee of the European Parliament on Women's Rights
- * There is a Bureau for Questions on Employment and Equal Treatment for Women within the Commission
- * The Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women has observer status.

And race and racism?

* Publication of a Committee of Enquiry findings on the Rise of Fascism and Racism in Europe, December 1985

* A declaration by the 3 Community institutions against racism and xenophobia.

It is not surprising therefore that fears have already been expressed that the vision of an integrated Europe will be a nightmare for the victims of an integrated racism. Professor Chris Mullard of the University of Amsterdam warns that "what 1992 represents is a transformation of nationalism into a white continentalism, altogether more tight, resilient and with more power". The necessity for a cheap reservoir of labour to massage the economic cohesion by which European capital is able to challenge American and Japanese capital results in some social cost and political dislocation.

The emphasis of the Commission's own social action programme tends to reinforce this view of an integrated white Europe. In looking at education in a united Europe, the emphasis is on the preparation for life in a single market economy and one component of this is

the need to give greater prominence to language training and the appreciation of European cultures. What does this really mean? One can only look to expressed attitudes to begin to understand how this social action can be used to further deny ethnic minorities a place in Europe.

The danger is that greater validity will be given to European languages thus undermining the linguistic and cultural capital of many ethnic minorities whose mother tongue is not a European language. The Department of Education and Science in its draft statutory order and circular of 3rd March 1989 entitled: "Modern Foreign Languages in the National Curriculum", advises educational institutions that EEC languages should have priority in the National Curriculum. However, there is one concession to those pupils who may choose Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Gujarati, Hindi, Japanese, Punjabi, Russian, Turkish and Urdu as their foundation subject language but ONLY if the school also offers a chance of studying a European language. Europe's ethnic identity is thus being explicitly moulded in anticipation of 1992.

In all its recent publications, the Commission has been stressing that the social dimension is a fundamental aspect

of the internal market "for it is not only a matter of strengthening economic growth and stepping up the external competitiveness of European undertakings, but also of using more efficiently and more completely all the resources available and of achieving a fair share-out of the advantages deriving from the single market". This "share-out of the advantages" will, it is argued, result in substantial improvements in the quality of life, employment, conditions of work, access to promotion, housing, urban regeneration and training.

The benefits that are likely to accrue for ethnic minorities are not assured. It is accepted that the economic measures that will follow from a single market will not only affect the spatial allocation of economic activity but also transform social life. But for ethnic minorities, this transformation can be for the worse. Living conditions of ethnic minorities will be affected by the economic restructuring being proposed and an analysis of the social implications will necessitate identification of the range of discontinuities and shifts that are dominant in the mainly urban environment where most of us live.

A delineation of the living conditions in 1992 that are likely to impinge most on the lives of Europe's ethnic minority communities would include the effect of family and household functions, shifts in male/female roles, the changing nature of the labour market, levels of long-term unemployment, the growth of single parenthood, rigidities in housing provision, relations between generations and among racial communities, policing and notions of fear and safety.

It is being argued that all of these factors together with the consolidation of racism will act as barriers to the majority of Europe's black citizens benefiting from 1992. Occupational, industrial, social and spatial mobility will indeed result for significant numbers of individuals within the 12 member states but others — and I am arguing that this includes the vast majority of ethnic minorities — will be confronted by additional constraints, thus making them economically, socially and spatially trapped in the inner cities of their own countries. This is further compounded by the fixed physical infrastructure of most of our cities resulting in less choice over access to quality and location of housing accommodation.

The economic strategy does include proposals for dealing with different levels of prosperity between regions. What is not specified is the recognition — for example, in the remodelling of the Community's Structural Funds — of the debilitating effects of multiple urban deprivation and racism existing side by side with pockets of economic and industrial

prosperity within one region or urban centre.

The net effect of all this will be less opportunities for ethnic minority families to participate freely in the free movement guaranteed by 1992. This social and spatial concentration of ethnic minority groups in the decaying urban areas is part of a more permanent process of marginalisation by which interrelated economic, social and political processes combine to entrench and trap ethnic minorities and the poor into geographical and economic spaces that are worse off than their affluent and mainly white neighbours.

This scenario will be the landscape for increasing problems of social polarisation and exacerbation of racial tensions and uprisings. With this will come a strengthening of the stereotypical and racist notions of ethnic minorities. Additionally, the removal of internal controls will result in the harmonisation of political asylum and refugee policies by 1992. Thus a refusal to admit a would-be refugee by one country will count as a refusal by all 12 members. Already there is evidence of a growing toughness among some of the member states to increase the chances for denying entry to individuals. In 1987 Britain passed the Immigration (Carriers Liability) Act which stipulated a £1,000 fine for any airline who carries a passenger without proper documentation.

There is also a tendency for ministers to link asylum-seekers and refugees with drug trafficking, terrorism and illegal acts (Trevi Group of EC Ministers of Justice and the Interior, Confidential Report to MPs by Douglas Hurd, Home Secretary). It will be easy for member states to impose greater and more stringent internal controls with immigration checks conducted at the workplace and before the receipt of benefits and with greater police surveillance becoming more commonplace. Harassment of black people will inevitably increase, further heightening polarisation, marginalisation and unrest.

The South-Eastern part of Great Britain stands to benefit most from the single market as the opening of the Channel Tunnel will boost economic development in the area. The effects on those industries — construction, clothing, telecommunications and food and drink — which employ most Black people need to be assessed. In Europe as a whole, the motor and components industries are likely to face widespread mergers, plant closures, joint ventures or take-overs. By 1990, predictions are that there will be a world-wide excess of nine million units which represent over 20% more cars and trucks than is predicted on the demand side.

Ethnic minorities in these industries will face greater risks of redundancies that will inevitably result from industrial restructuring. To offset this, it is imperative that an integrated, European-wide programme of training, retraining, job creation, investment and economic development be planned before 1992.

The Cecchini Report: "The European Challenge: 1992", in looking at the implications for employment, anticipates an increase of at least 1.8 million jobs in the Community. The relaxing of the major economic constraints — inflation, unemployment, public and trade deficits — can result in further growth: "an increase in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of almost 6.5% and jobs creation of the order of 4 million".

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to show that ethnic minorities, trapped in the urban centres, will benefit from these 4 million jobs. Therefore, the social consequences of under and unemployment will remain entrenched and there will be little effect to the growing marginalisation referred to above. In addition, some concerns must be expressed about other social implications for which there is insufficient information:

- * The need to safeguard the rights of undocumented workers?
- * Will the improvement of the levels of employment protection and working conditions benefit Black workers in sweatshop?
- conditions or lead to unemployment
- * Will equality considerations be incorporated in the new European standards in contract procedures for works, supplies and services?
- * What will be the status of qualifications gained "overseas" within the mutual recognition of professional qualifications?
- * How would welfare benefits, pension rights, leave entitlement etc be transferred?

On balance, it is safe to say that the social implications of 1992 will result in the creation of what is being referred to as "the new poor" or "underclass". To this group is ascribed the characteristics of ethnicity and criminality. There is little opportunity to escape these labels despite freedom to move from one region or nation to another. For ethnic minorities, 1992 is approached with trepidation and fear and therefore there is a clear responsibility on us all to face up to these implications and strive, as part of a united European network, to develop not only a general awareness of the issues but a platform for structural and institutional change.

Wow!

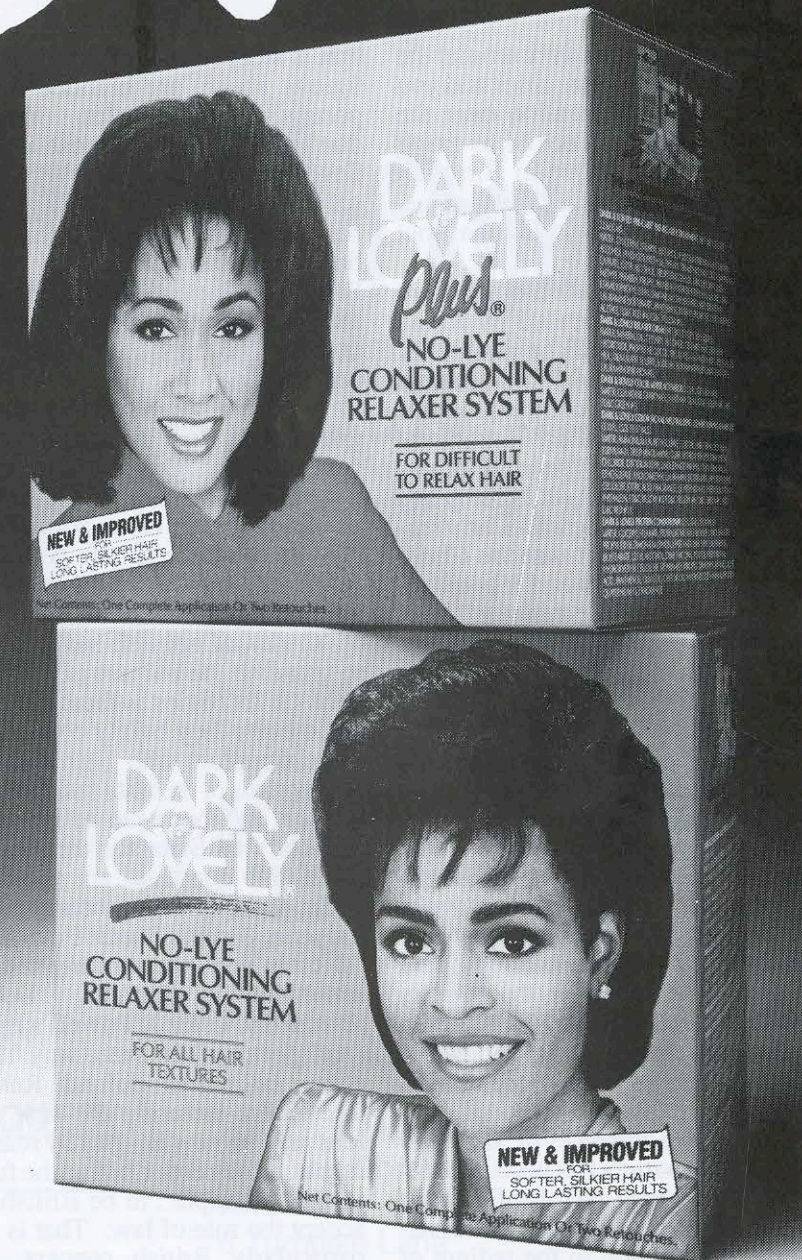
NEW & IMPROVED DARK & LOVELY NO-LYE RELAXERS

Now the best is even better. When you experience new, improved Dark & Lovely and Dark & Lovely Plus, you'll see and feel the difference right away. Long lasting Dark & Lovely relaxers will give you soft, silky, healthy looking hair with more body and manageability for easy styling versatility.

Dark & Lovely relaxers also give you added protection against over-processing and damage with Pre-Care Pre-Relaxer Treatment, Color Signal Shampoo and Color Mixer Activator.

So go with the number one relaxer, Dark & Lovely. New and improved Dark & Lovely. Wow!

Now more than ever,
Ahhh, the pleasure of
DARK & LOVELY



Warning: Follow directions carefully to avoid skin and scalp irritation, hair breakage and eye injury.

CARSON © 1989 CARSON PRODUCTS COMPANY

U.K and European Agents: Coral Associates, 9 Viking Drive,
Didcot, Oxon., OX11 9RD.

Telephone: 0235 510839. Fax: 0235 510384

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE: What's the Price for Britain's Muslims

By Keith Vaz, MP (Leicester East)

It is a historical fact that the adjustment made by immigrant communities to their "hosts" is greater than the ability of the host community to accommodate. And that the right to belong is as important a concept as the right to be different. This assertion of difference, this protection of culture, has manifested itself indelibly on the landscape of Britain.

You only have to walk around the inner areas of our great cities and you can see this manifestation over the rooftops. They may not be as grand as the Central Mosque in Birmingham or the Sanatan Mandir in Leicester or the Gudwaras in Southall but they **are** there.

To British people used to two great religions — headed by Rome and Canterbury — these new religions are at once an object of interest and a threat. There are three reasons for this. First, a crucial lack of understanding that the "new" religions are in fact old ones with long and great histories which rival Christianity. Second, the fact that the Christian religion has less and less meaning in the life of the nation. Third, there is no understanding of the role that religion plays in the lives of the new communities.

I don't often go in for prayers at the start of the Parliamentary day but I did so twice in one week not so long ago. Here in Westminster, a handful of MPs were praying. The Chaplain asked for God's blessing on the deliberations to come. This is how the Parliamentary day begins every day. It reminded me of the meetings that I have attended all over the country with British Muslims who begin their events with a recitation of the Koran. This occurs every time a meeting takes place.

The great mistake of the pro-Rushdie supporters has been their total failure to grasp the role of Islam in the lives of Muslims: the central nature of the religion to the tedium of everyday life. Devotion is described as fanaticism. Those who have opposed the stupidity of Rushdie's decision to write and publish a book

that is steeped in intolerance and religious abuse, are branded as supporters of the fanatics. Yet they don't realise that all those who believe, all those who pray are by their nature fanatics. How strong is your belief in your religion if you don't believe in its fundamental values? Faith is something to be respected and revered; not to be used as an opportunity to humiliate and to poke fun at.

We owe, perversely, a debt of gratitude to Rushdie for the controversy and thoughts that he has provoked. The reaction of the Left, the Government, the Opposition, the liberal establishment, the police, the media etc. has been striking. A remarkable coalition of all classes and all shades of opinion has combined to brandish the burners of Rushdie's books and effigies as fanatics. At the same time, they barely comment on the councillors who burn their Poll Tax notices or the irate residents who created and burnt an effigy of the Secretary of State for the Environment. No questions are asked here about fanatics and fundamentalists. 21 years earlier, Enoch Powell, in a different way, was uttering the same sentiments as Rushdie. Dockers marched to defend Powell's right to free speech in the same way 12,000 elites rallied to defend Rushdie. They were lecturing the new religions and the new Britons by reasserting what they described as the fundamental principle: to be British is to accept the rule of law. That is not a particularly British concept. All democratic societies operate on the basis of the rule of law.

Yet in exchange for citizenship, Asians are now being asked to strip

themselves naked of not just their religion but their culture. Elderly Asian men and women are regularly denied naturalisation because they cannot speak English; even though for the remainder of their lives, because of their life-styles, they are absolutely unlikely to have the need to speak English. Yet a new identity is to be imposed on them. They must be sanitized from 1,000 years of history. Culture must begin at Terminal Three at Heathrow Airport. Nothing else matters. It's as if they have created a drug that would turn us all into one colour — a true Aryan race for Thatcher's Fourth Reich. Then once we are all the same colour with a common history, then our women will be liberated.

No more sinks, children and arranged marriages. Asian women, in particular Muslim women, are to be liberated by the liberal establishment. I'm sure I went to a synagogue recently where they placed the women in a different part of the room from the men. There were no demonstrators outside urging the Jewish religion to liberate its women. Jews are now part of the establishment so everyone has a go at Muslims. They are locked in their social cages waiting to be released by Fay Weldon.

Weldon's new pamphlet, "Sacred Cows", is the latest defence of Rushdie and latest attack on the Koran. Ms Weldon: "The Koran is food for no-thought". It's a straightforward anti-Muslim piece which makes "The Satanic Verses" look like a comic. An international conference held in Kuwait in 1980 and sponsored by the International Commission of Jurists recognised that the equal rights of women is a vital

teaching of the Koran. There was no question of second-class status. During the recent Pakistani elections, observers noted the huge personal vote generated to elect the first woman leader of an Islamic state. Muslim women groups established in Britain are a vital and necessary part of the way in which the community develops. They are as valid as the leaders of the religion.

To mock the new religions, to goad them, is to rob a whole generation of their rights to have roots and feelings and to store up immense problems for the future. 21 years from now we will look back and see what damage Rushdie has really done. Powell at least had a motive for what he did with a clear idea of the precise perils that lay ahead. Rushdie wrote a work of fiction that

has managed to let loose a million sentiments whose desire to mould the Black communities go beyond Powell's wildest dreams.

The new religions must be left to develop in their own way: aware that they are not in their countries of origin; that they are minority religions; that they are in another place which has less tolerance and understanding than they were entitled to expect.

EQUEST ADVERTISING

&

PROMOTIONS LIMITED.

(U.K's No.1 Black Advertising Agency)

* Head Office:

15 COLVIN ROAD
EAST HAM, LONDON E6 1JJ

* Administration :

POPLAR LIBRARY,
44 GILLESPIE STREET,
POPLAR,
LONDON E14 6RN
TEL: 01-552 2730

SERVICES

- * PRINTING *ART\DESIGN
- * MARKETING \ P.R. *PROMOTIONS
- * DESK TOP PUBLISHING
- * PHOTOGRAPHY \ VIDEO

(THE COMPLETE IN-HOUSE SERVICE COMPANY)

THE WAY FORWARD IS WITH EQUEST



Affirmata

6 TURNPIKE LANE LONDON N8 OPT
TEL: 01-881 4724

AFFIRMATA LTD - the professionals in Equal Opportunities and Management Training. In business for over five years and trained over 10,000 people.

We offer training, advice on training, individual and group consultation; and assistance with policy development - to equip people in all kinds of large and small organisations with the necessary information and skills to enable them to approach equal opportunities and the management of change in a confident way. We do reviews of organisation policies. We offer personal counselling to managers and supervisors.

There is a "free 2 hour consultation" without obligation with one of our experienced staff.

For a brochure or consultation, please write to or ring Dorothy Kuya
Affirmata Ltd
6 Turnpike Lane
London N8 OPT
Telephone - 01 881 4724

ENDING HUNGER

It was with great sadness that the PBC learnt of the death of Mickey Leland, the Democratic Congressman for Texas, a crusader against world hunger.

There were no survivors when Mickey's plane, with 17 people on board, crashed into mountains in Ethiopia, about three hundred miles from Addis Ababa. He was leading a delegation on a visit to a camp for 30,000 Sudanese refugees. In tribute to Mickey's mission to put "the poor, the starving and the dispossessed" on the political agenda, we reprint his article, 'Ending Hunger', published a year ago in the Congressional Black Caucus' magazine, "Point of View".

By Rep. Mickey Leland (D.TX)

At least 20 million Americans do not have an adequate diet on a consistent basis. They suffer from hunger. They are within the poorest one-fifth of the population that receives less than five percent of the family income while the wealthiest one-fifth receives 44 percent of the nation's family income.

Hunger and poverty are inextricably bound both in the reality of empty cupboards in the homes of the poor and in the concepts used for study and analysis. Poor people do not have enough money to buy sufficient food for an adequate diet. The official poverty guidelines originated with the "economy food plan" of the U.S. Department of Agriculture multiplied by a factor of three, based on the assumption that a family spent one-third of its income on food. Today, those with the lowest incomes expend nearly 43 percent of their income on food.

The federal food programs that were put in place to prevent hunger have been undermined by a concerted effort by the Reagan Administration. Forty percent of the people in poverty do not get food stamps; those who do get them find it difficult to eat on 51 cents a meal. Because the total benefit is inadequate for a month, the food gap is filled by the ever-growing network of food banks, soup kitchens and pantries. A just and equitable society should not depend on emergency food distribution to remedy hunger.

Food programs must be restored and expanded until they provide for all the hungry. We cannot expect people to have the energy and drive required to emerge from poverty in this rigorous, competitive society without proper nutrition. Today, all poor Americans are

suffering from restrictive application policies and insufficient benefits.

There must be increased information and outreach about food stamps, the food program for young and old, working and not working. There must be greater access to the program, less red tape in application and more experimentation with methods of reducing stigma, including cash-out and credit cards.

Proper nutrition is crucial in the early months of life. The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) provides necessary nutrients to improve pregnancy outcomes and enhance development. Low birth weight is the most significant factor in infant mortality rates. The United States has fallen behind other industrialised nations in reducing infant mortality. It now ranks 17th. Historically, the Black infant mortality rate has remained twice that of the white infant mortality rate. If the minority differential could be eliminated, the United States would move back into a lead position. To achieve improved infant mortality rates, WIC should be available to every low-income mother and child at nutritional risk. Now, the program reaches only 40 percent of those eligible, although we know that the program is extremely cost effective.

According to research, low income individuals are often deficient in vitamins A and C. These vitamins are found in fresh fruits and vegetables which people often forego because they are expensive and often unavailable. A new program for WIC families to address this situation has been proposed in the Farmers' Market Nutrition Enhancement Act.

It establishes a pilot program to give the WIC families coupons to buy fresh produce at farmers' markets.

The program is based on successful models in Massachusetts, Iowa, Connecticut and Vermont. Experience there has shown that increased sales encourage farmers' markets in low income neighbourhoods and that residents of these communities have been receptive to farmers' markets, often gaining access to high quality produce for the first time.

Recognising the importance of early childhood development, the Head Start Program was established in the 1960s. It combined education, nutrition programs and parental involvement, nurturing both mind and body and proved cost effective. Yet, the Head Start Program has been cut back drastically. Waiting lists abound. It is imperative that almost five million poor children in the nation, a majority of whom are minorities, have the opportunity this program affords.

Improvement and expansion of the child nutrition programs is required for an improved impact on eight million school-age poor children. Most receive free or reduced price school lunches, but school breakfast and summer food service programs reach only a small number of eligible poor children. Less than four million children receive school breakfast. This means that there are four million children in school whose morning hours may be wasted. Less than 1.5 million partake of summer food service, the only food supplement available during the summer months.

Nutritional vulnerability is common to youth and the aged. Three and a half million elderly live in poverty with the

attendant nutritional shortfalls. Among the poor elderly, fifty-three percent are chronically limited in their activity. The level of unmet need for congregate and home-delivered meals has been widely documented. Shortened stays in hospitals following Medicare reform legislation also increase the number of frail elderly needing home-delivered meals. The authorisation of Title III-C elderly nutrition programs should be expanded to meet the need.

In 1983, Congress authorised the distribution of cheese, non-fat dry milk, flour and other commodities held in storage by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for use at home by families. This was in addition to traditional deliveries to school and charitable programs. Over the years, millions of persons used these commodities which reached them through local government and voluntary agencies. Now, many commodities are no longer in surplus and thus no longer available. Provision should be made to assure that poor families who have come to rely on this source of food are not faced with a sudden deprivation.

Clearly, the abundance of America should not be wasted when people are hungry. Legislation to encourage glean-ing and the contribution of food from commercial sources should be enacted and expanded where necessary. This includes liability protection and tax incentives to donors.

During the past decades, there have been continuing arguments about the existence of hunger and the methods used to identify it. The Federal Government has both the capacity and the responsibility to measure nutritional status and food availability and security. Millions of federal dollars are spent on food con-

sumption research to guide industry on food trends of the middle class. There is no thorough study of the lack of food consumption. Such surveys should be conducted and released on a timely basis, with appropriate sub-samples to assure that information about minorities who are at nutritional risk can be captured.

Beyond benefits of nutrition programs, income support programs such as Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) must reach all who are eligible and must provide for minimal needs more decently. Recent Congressional testimony indicated that only fifty to sixty percent of those eligible participate in SSI. The AFDC program benefits fall below 50 percent of the poverty line in thirty-two states. The reference to family in AFDC is a misnomer because in twenty-three states it is not available to two-parent families.

The traditional path out of poverty and hunger has been employment. This journey requires support and incentive. Unfortunately, many newly created jobs pay only the minimum wage, \$3.35 an hour, a rate unchanged since 1981. There can be no relief from hunger for families living on wages that leave them far below the poverty level even when the work is year-round and full-time.

In the same way, lack of affordable housing erodes a family's capacity to purchase an adequate diet. Federal support for low-income housing has fallen eighty percent in the last decade. We see the result in the homeless persons on the streets and in shelters, but we do not see the families who pay exorbitant rents and utilities and have little left for food and other necessities. Hunger is the result of

economic injustice and the failure of leadership in many sectors — but wages and housing are most significant.

The Federal budget tells the story. In 1980, the Federal budget figures (with no adjustment for inflation) provided for \$811.00 per person to national defence and \$525.00 per person for low income programs. By 1987, military expenditures had risen to \$1,158.00 per person and per capita outlay for low income programs had shrunk to \$492.00.

In such excess there is great waste. An Allen wrench that cost the Department of Defence \$9,606.00 in taxpayers' dollars, would provide three four-person families with food stamps for more than a year. The cost of a single Trident nuclear submarine — \$1.2 billion — could bring the WIC program to most of those who are eligible but not served for a year. The \$148 billion interest on the national debt for one year would pay for all the food assistance programs for the next seven years.

Our major challenge today is to reverse these tragic trends. All Americans — but especially minorities who suffer disproportionately — should not be excluded, as they largely have been, from sharing in the prosperity of the future. Nor should they be forced to pay the bills of a spending-spree society which characterised the 1980s.

The American people demand responsible government. It is tragic to rob human lives of their full potential because of lack of the basic nutrients for growth and development. Freedom from hunger is a basic human right and a fundamental need. It has been the historic promise of our society. We must not delay in making it a reality for all.

 **Bambaya**

**Seafood, Vegetarian Restaurant
Caribbean, African, Black American Food**

1 Park Road, London N8 01-348 5609

Parties catered for — Takeaway Service

Open 6 days a week

FREEDOM FOR NAMIBIA

by Sean O'Donovan

One of the most inspiring developments in Southern Africa is the continuing victories of the people of Namibia over apartheid. But Sean O'Donovan writes that the situation is still fraught with great difficulty and danger, and that our solidarity is still vital.

As a result of the liberation struggle under the leadership of Namibia's national liberation movement, SWAPO, the South African government was finally forced to agree to the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

The South African Government did not agree to the UN Plan because of a fundamental change of objectives in Southern Africa, but rather because of the combination of the internal struggle and South Africa's military defeats in Southern Angola. Those defeats were in part due to the international arms embargo, and in part due to other sanctions which made it increasingly unable to meet the financial burden of its illegal administration and occupation forces. The clear lesson is that if partial sanctions were partially effective over Namibia then total mandatory sanctions would therefore be totally effective and will lead to the total elimination of apartheid.

The long drawn out process of negotiations began in May 1988 in London with the meeting between South Africa, the USA, Angola and Cuba. SWAPO, crucially, were not included. Talks led to an agreement signed on December 22nd 1988, and April 1st was set as the commencement of the implementation of the UN Plan. The election period starting in July 1989 leads to Constituent Assembly elections in November. The party, or group of parties, that receives at least two-thirds of the votes of the 670,000 electorate will then be mandated to write the Constitution of a new Namibia. It is anticipated that independence would then be secured after a further five months.

However, it soon became clear that the preparations would be seriously hampered by a critical decision taken in the UN. That was the reduction from 7,500 to 4,650 in the number of UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) to be sent to Namibia during the transition to independence. As a direct result of the cutbacks in the military component,

there was no effective UN presence in much of Namibia on April 1st. The UN also failed to force South Africa to disband its para-military terror squads known as Koevoet (Crowbar). Instead Koevoet were merely transferred to the regime's police force (SWAPOL).

On April 1st, SWAPO forces came in from the bush to surrender their arms to UN forces. They were met instead by the heavily armed South African forces, including Koevoet, who committed acts of carnage against Namibian civilians as well as SWAPO combatants.

In a House of Commons debate on 13th April, Bernie Grant MP, who is an Executive Committee member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, reminded the House that he first raised the matter of UNTAG deployment at Prime Minister's Question Time on 31st January 1989. Britain, as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, has a primary responsibility to ensure the success of the UN Plan and could have insisted that the original number of UNTAG troops be maintained. Instead Mrs Thatcher further aggravated the situation by her unfounded allegation that SWAPO was guilty of a serious challenge to the authority of the UN. In his speech Bernie Grant asked:

"Why did she seem to get everything wrong? Why was she so eager to accept the South African position? Did she not read - as I did - the report of the UN's representative in Namibia, which said that SWAPO did not have any hostile intent? Did she not think, 'Maybe I can give them the benefit of the doubt?' Certainly not. I suggest to the House that the Prime Minister is, indeed, a friend of the racists and that she cannot stand

the idea of Namibian independence. That is the fact of the matter."

SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, said in August 1989, that the prospects for free and fair elections still "hangs in the balance". Nearly all the Namibian media is owned by South African sympathisers who faithfully promote the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), SWAPO's main rivals in the elections. The media, particularly radio, is being used within Namibia to smear and distort SWAPO's election campaign. The British media is not much better, as they invariably repeat unchallenged the South African Government's report of any incident. South Africa is still in effective control of Namibia, and evidence is emerging of terror tactics being used to intimidate anyone prepared to support SWAPO.

Many of SWAPO's leaders and activists have been imprisoned or otherwise harassed.

It is clear that SWAPO command widespread support among the vast majority of Namibian people. For instance the emerging trade union movement, united in the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), has declared its full endorsement of SWAPO. The theme of NUNW's recent congress was: Vote for SWAPO, Vote for Freedom, Vote for Education, Vote for Peace. Students, youth and women's organisations are all openly supporting SWAPO.

However, this support will not be translated into votes unless SWAPO are given financial help to match the money made available to anti-

SWAPO alliances by South Africa. Apart from election expenses, SWAPO also need to provide for the tens of thousands of returning refugees.

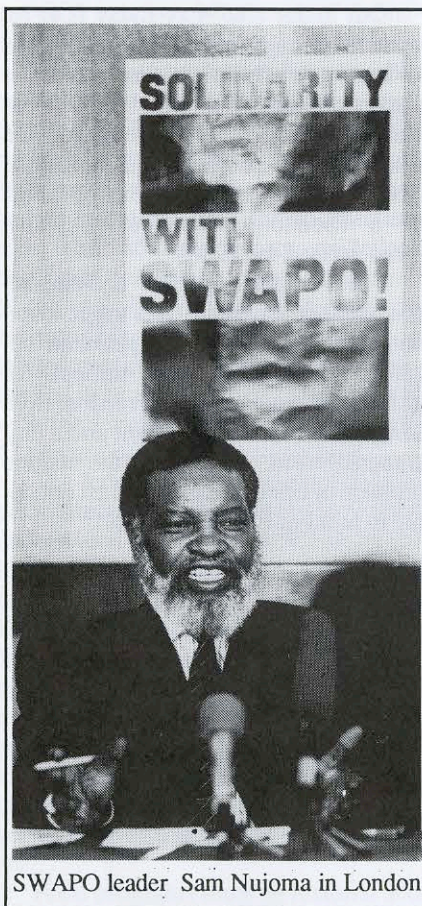
The Anti-Apartheid Movement has recently launched the SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal to raise money for SWAPO during the Election period. Raising funds for this appeal is an immediate, practical way for everyone to work in solidarity with the people of Namibia.

More details are available from, AAM, 13 Mandela Street, London, NW1 0DW. 01-387-7966.

Cheques payable to SWAPO Election Campaign Appeal.

The SWAPO Election Manifesto is available from SWAPO, PO Box 194, London, N5 1LW.

(Photo: Humphrey Nemer)



SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma in London

The creation of a sovereign and independent state of Namibia, joining the ranks of the Front Line States, will represent a profound advance in the struggle to free Africa of apartheid, racism and colonialism.

BOYCOTT APARTHEID SUPPORT THE FRONT LINE STATES

New AA Enterprises mail order catalogue of anti-apartheid goods and gifts **OUT NOW!**

- Music from the Kafala Brothers of Angola
- Unusual wire toys from Zimbabwe
- Greeting cards designed in Tanzania
- Delicious cashew nut spread from Mozambique
- Exclusive new garments with the sanctions message & lots lots more.

Shop against apartheid, and help us raise funds for the Anti-Apartheid Movement's sanctions campaign.

Write for your free copy to

AA ENTERPRISES, Freepost

(no stamp required)

PO Box 533, London N19 4BR,

or telephone 01-281 7878

to leave your name and address.

AA Enterprises catalogue
BANNED in South Africa

BE MY CHILD: ONE WOMAN'S STORY OF HER STRUGGLE TO ADOPT

By Dorothy Kuya

In 1987, I decided to apply to become an adopter. As a Black woman (from a Black-White marriage), working, single and over fifty, I was not sure of my chances. However, I thought that I would make a good mother; and family and friends supported me.

I was fortunate in having a supportive and pragmatic social worker. After six months of detailed casework, I was accepted by my local adoption panel as an adopter. I decided I would like a Black child between 5 and 8 years.

My Borough Social Services after some time said that they had no children available within the age range I wanted. The adoption service was not operating because of staff shortages. It was even difficult to get hold of the "Be My Parent Book". This is a regularly-updated book carrying profiles of children available for adoption.

Eventually, I decided to apply outside my Borough. The local bureaucrats then stepped in. I belonged to them, they said, and could not apply elsewhere for a child until I was on their books for 12 months. This was in spite of there being a national standing arrangement that a local authority pays if they use an adopter from another authority or organisation. Following a formal protest from myself and intervention from others, I was eventually allowed to look for a child elsewhere.

I tracked down the "Be My Parent Book" early in 1988 and found a child I was interested in — "Sophie", aged 7 years. She had a white mother and a father born to an inter-racial couple in Africa. The child's history was that she was taken into care because her mother was a drug addict. The father was in prison for selling drugs. The mother was deemed totally unable and unfit to care for the child. The father was thought unsuitable to continue his parental role. This in spite of him being continually in touch with Sophie. She visited him in prison and he wrote to her often. The relationship was mutually affectionate.

There was no evidence of abuse of the child. Her grandmother from Africa also wrote to her.

I was short-listed by her authority but it took three months for a meeting to happen. During the interview with her social worker, the adoption worker and my own social worker, I was asked very few questions. I'd expected an interrogative line of questioning; after all a child's life would be in my hands. I found that I had to ask many questions to get information. I was told that the child thought that she was white and that it was the job of the adopter to deal with that issue. I was also told that when the child was adopted she would forget her past and start a new life. It appeared that my living in a 'walk-up flat' — that is a flat with no lifts — was not viewed with approval as the child had lived in one with her parents. I did not hold out much hope. I thought the interview was a disaster and was not surprised therefore, when I was not accepted. A Black couple was chosen.

That particular placing failed. I later discovered that there had been various attempts to place Sophie with both Black and white families. They had all failed. However, three Black single women had applied. Each of us was rejected because we were single. In the meanwhile, the father had finished his prison sentence and was objecting to the child being adopted. He wanted her to be with him. He went to court and lost his case. Sophie continued to be up for adoption until the summer of 1989. The last I heard is that she is to be adopted by a white family.

There were other children I was interested in. But, because of my age and failure to marry, I was not considered suitable by some local authorities. Most of the children in the "Be My Parent Book", were described as needing a mother and father. There appeared to be a preference on the part of many adoption departments and organisations to keep a child in care until a 'perfect couple' could be found. This meant, as in the case of

Sophie, waiting in an institution for up to three years before being placed.

My social worker went on maternity leave. Because of staff shortages, I had no social worker for about 6 months. I then began to contact social workers and agencies around the country. I came across a lot of Black children who had been in care for many years with many different white foster parents, or in homes. Most of them were having psychiatric help as they were classed as being emotionally disturbed. They were confused about their racial identity and often described themselves as being white.

The same local authority who would not allow me to adopt Sophie also rejected me when I applied for an older boy who was said to be 'emotionally disturbed'. He was with white foster parents while awaiting adoption. My single state was again the criteria for rejection.

I identified another girl, "Josie" aged 7, born in England of African parentage. Her history is very complicated. Put simply however, her mother was in prison awaiting trial for drug trafficking. Josie was already in care when that happened. She had been put up for adoption, the mother objected. The social worker was convinced that the mother, who was a foreign national, would be found guilty and deported. She had no intention of letting the child, who was a British subject, go abroad with the mother; although as in the case of Sophie, there was no history of abuse or evidence that she would be neglected.

The social worker had met the mother for one hour only in prison. The mother, in the meanwhile, wanted the child to go to an Aunt. The social worker made no attempt to contact the Aunt, and was keen to place the child with me. However, as the mother was opposing the adoption, and I believed that the social worker was being heavy-handed and unfair in dealing with her, I refused to go ahead with the adoption.

The last I heard was that the social worker had been instructed by the Guardian Ad Litem (the child's representative in court) to contact the Aunt.

I was becoming adept at asking searching questions, particularly in trying to ascertain the reason for the child being in care. I was also becoming very concerned at social workers' keenness to have children adopted away from the child's family, rather than exploring possibilities within the family, for example grandparents, aunts etc.

Some time later, I was telephoned from another local authority about a little girl. I told them I was interested. But they later changed the girl to a boy, "John". I agreed to meet the social worker to discuss him. I was told that they would want the child's Black foster parent to be present, as they had no Black fostering and adoption workers. I was not happy about a foster parent being one of my assessors, but felt I had no option. John was a child of a white mother who was always abandoning him. There was a white grandmother who was described as having a casually affectionate attitude towards him. Amazingly, the father — a Caribbean — was not mentioned at all.

The birth of the child took place in circumstances which indicated that the father might not even know he had a child. The social worker, who was new to the child, knew the father's name and that he and his parents lived near to her area office. But no attempt had been made to contact him. I pointed out the importance of the father being contacted. There was a possibility that he or his parents might like to have the child and that this should be explored. I was told that it was not usual in such circumstances for a father to be approached. I was also asked by the social worker how she could do this. It was a ridiculous question in view of my not living in her area, and the fact that the Caribbean social workers in the area would be more likely to help in identifying him than me.

A few months following this interview, my "f form" was returned. This form is the detailed profile prepared by the social worker and the adopter for use by interested authorities and agencies. It was clear that the particular authority no longer wanted to deal with me.

The most recent case I've been involved in concerns a little girl from the Midlands called "Jane". Because of there being no social worker, I had to negotiate on my own. I arranged for my "f form" to be sent by my area office to the contact social worker. I had a number of long discussions on the phone. There was to be a team meeting. Three families were 'bidding' for Jane. I was asked to

send a photo. I was surprised about this and was assured that everyone did it. It was worrying to think that my looks would be assessed as well as my very detailed "f form". A 'phone call a day after the team meeting told me that I was not selected.

Among the reasons given was that the child was very boisterous and that "you both would be screaming at each other eventually". Also living in a flat was viewed as not desirable. There was no evidence in my "f form" of my being the screaming type. My flat is pleasantly situated, with a playground for children of the child's age range. I'd set aside the largest room for the child. It is certainly not a poky place.

When Jane was advertised in the "Be My Parent Book", she was said to need a strong male in her adopting family. When detailing her history, her social worker told me that she had been sexually abused by the two men with whom her mother had cohabited. The social worker was not able to tell me why in the circumstances, a strange male figure was thought desirable in her adopting family.

I also contacted a national organisation which told me it had suitable children on its list. They had used a leading Black figure to encourage more Black adopters. They said there was a shortage. The first question asked on the 'phone was my age. I refused to give it, and told them my name was more important. A second 'phone call got me through to the person in charge. We arranged an appointment. She was sent my "f form". One of the questions she asked at the interview was: "if you died, do you have someone to take over the child?". She meant family or friends. I had never been asked that one before. How could I ask my family/friends to agree, in the event of my death, to take on a child that I had not even seen? Not even biological parents are expected to make that sort of arrangement. The interview left me dismayed. I heard nothing more about prospective adoptees from her, although she wrote and said she would be in touch again. One interesting point from her was that she had on her list a child from my Borough of the right age — although my Borough purported to have no suitable children.

Another national adoption agency forgot to put me on its computer for 12 months. When it did, the worker concerned was suggesting children who were mentally and physically disabled. I had made it clear that as a single woman I would not be able to cope with a child with a physical or mental disability. I felt very much under pressure to accept such a child, and that the fitter children were

being kept for the 'ideal couple'. Another local authority who had a child of the age range I was interested in, did not have a social worker to take on her case. My experiences relate to various parts of the country and with authorities of different political persuasions.

The two years that I have been registered as an adopter have been disturbing in what they reveal of social work practice as it relates to children in care and fostering and adoption procedures. I've heard from a number of people that there are national procedures. If that is the case, they are not being practised. I felt that each social worker I met was moving the goal posts, and that a great deal of subjectivity was involved in assessments of both children up for adoption and adopters.

There was not enough clarity about how to make an appropriate match between a child and potential adopters. Choices seem to be made on gut reactions, personal prejudices based on a traditional white middle-class view of the perfect family — a house with a garden, a man, a woman and a dog. There are also widely-held stereotypical attitudes towards older, single women.

I have the impression that not enough thought is being given to placing a child for fostering or adoption with other members of its family. Imprisonment for selling drugs is used as a reason for putting the accused person's child up for adoption.

Many Black children in care or fostered by white people for many years usually have no sense of their own Black identity and consequently have problems dealing with racial discrimination when they meet with it in school and on the streets.

I have met many Black people wanting to adopt and foster who are meeting with obstructions. Black social workers, white and Black friends, lawyers and others confirm my experiences as not being unusual. Mr Mellor (the Health Minister) would do well to look at the whole of the adoption and fostering procedures and guidelines and not just investigate a particular case. Professor Tizard's research (commissioned by the Government) will not carry much credibility if only her personal experiences with her Black adopted daughter are used.

The two years for me have been frustrating and very demanding emotionally. My fear is that two years on from being accepted as an adopter will see my age increasingly being used to reject me. And with the present debate on how wonderful white foster and adoptive parents are, the opportunities for any Black person to adopt a Black child will lessen.

NICHOLS AGENCY LTD.

(EMPLOYMENT)

NICHOLS' AGENCY was founded in 1982 and has been steadily expanding since. We can now boast over 2,000 registered temporary and permanent staff, all of whom have been carefully vetted and selected by strict interviews and examinations. We take special care in matching staff to our clients needs and are not in the business of hammering square pegs into round holes.

RECRUITMENT

We can supply a variety of staff including – PAs, word processor secretaries and operators, shorthand and audio secretaries, desk top publishing operators, accountants, clerks, bookkeepers, as well as computer staff from VDU operators to systems analysts.

We work in a multitude of fields including media and TV, legal, medical, banking and insurance, accountancy, computer, construction, engineering, petro-chemicals, local government, etc.

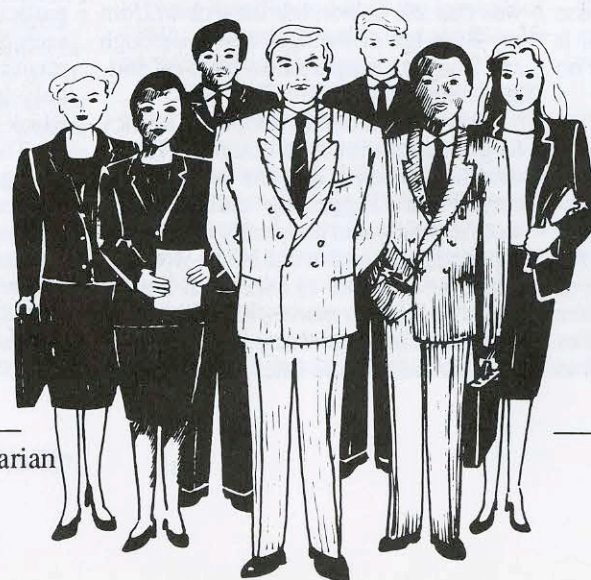
TRAINING

You can rely on our staff to understand your office systems. Our training section is up to date on all the latest office equipment and we instruct our temporary recruits on Wang, IBM DW4, Word Star, Word Perfect, Olivetti and Desk Top Publishing.

TYPING AND FAX SERVICE

When time is of the essence you can rely on us for a fast and professional service to cater for all your office needs including Typing from Audio Tapes, Word Processing, Sending & Receiving Fax's, Office Overload etc.

NICHOLS AGENCY can accommodate your every business need, offering a variety of services at very competitive rates. Our friendly staff are only too pleased to answer any questions you may have.



401a Harrow Road
Maida Hill
London W9 3NF
Tel: 01-968 5855
Fax: 01-968 7195

THE PBC'S INAUGURAL WEEKEND

The PBC's inaugural weekend kicked off on Friday 31 st March 1989. Margaret Porter was there.

"I have waited more than thirty years for this moment". So said Lord David Pitt as he joined other members of the Parliamentary Black Caucus and the Congressional Black Caucus at a packed press conference in the House of Commons to launch the PBC's inaugural weekend. With these words, the veteran campaigner set the tone of what proved to be an historic weekend for Britain's Black community.

Lord Pitt recalled the early days of struggle in Britain and the many disappointments which had been faced in the 1950s and 1960s. The election of the first Black MPs in the British Parliament in 1987 was an achievement he had often dreamed about, and he expressed his great delight at being able to be a part of the first ever Caucus of Black Parliamentarians in the UK.

Rep. Ron Dellums, Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, warmly welcomed the PBC's formation, and de-

clared his intention of ensuring the maximum possible co-operation between the sister organisations. Although separated by the Atlantic, there is a common ancestry, a common historical experience and a common responsibility in relation to issues affecting Black people throughout the world. A reception at London's Hilton Hotel provided an opportunity for the Parliamentary Black Caucus to meet with the full 30-strong United States delegation.

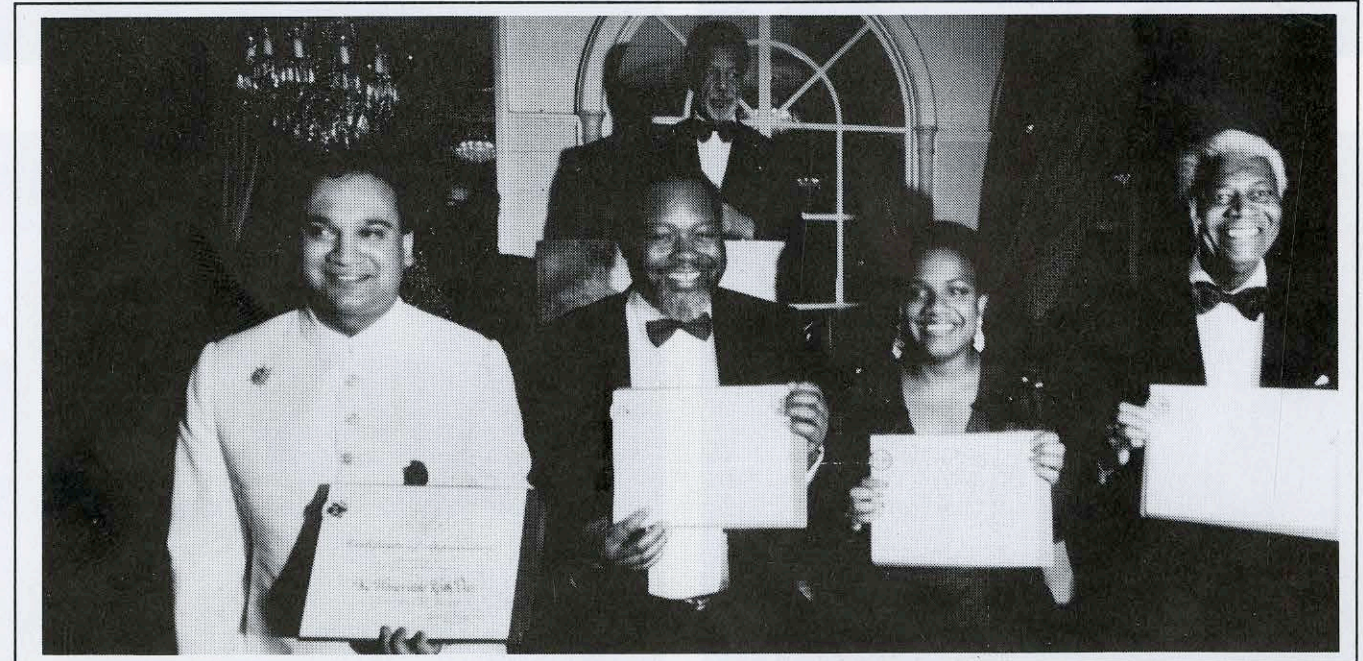
From the composition of this impressive delegation alone, it was clear that we in Britain have a great deal to learn from our American cousins. Not only were there 6 Black Congressmen, but representatives from the National Organisation of Black Mayors, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Association of Black County Officials, and the National Caucus of Local Elected Officials. There were Black representatives of the judiciary, as well as the President of the CBC's research arm, the Joint Center for Political Studies. To complete the party, there was a distinguished delegation representing the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation which provides funding support for the CBC.

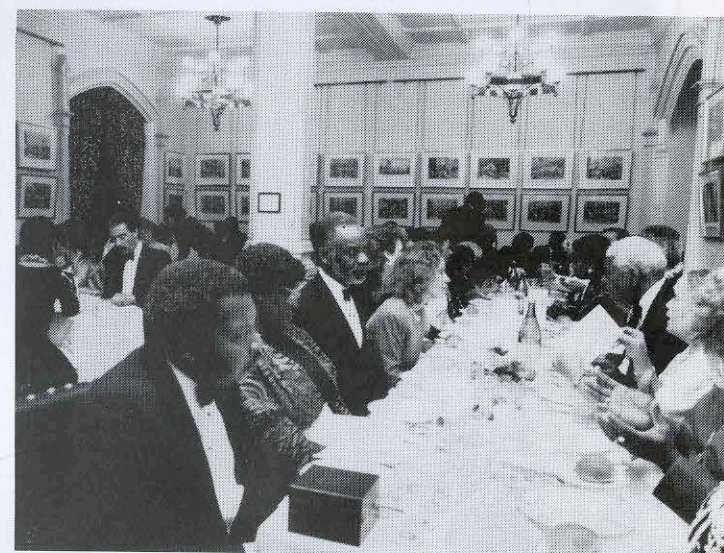
At a dinner in the Palace of Westminster later that evening, Keith

Vaz, MP, garlanded members of the US delegation and Diane Abbott, MP, made a welcoming address and presented gifts. In a statement of unity, Bernie Grant, MP, as Chair of the Caucus, observed that it was most fitting that the gathering should be taking place in the British Parliament which had once been the home of colonialism.

The following day was set aside for a conference held at the Commonwealth Institute attended by over a thousand people from all walks of life in Britain's Black community. The day began with a Business Brunch and was followed by four seminars on education, political development, economic development and international affairs. Whilst time was limited, at a final rousing plenary session it was concluded that an important start had been made and that more such seminars needed to be planned for the future.

The final event of the weekend was a Gala Dinner attended by more than a thousand people. The Ramsay Lewis Trio travelled from the States especially to provide the entertainment. At the end of the evening, Rep. Ron Dellums bestowed upon the Parliamentary Black Caucus, honorary membership of the Congressional Black Caucus.





POINTS OF ORDER :

HOW TO ORGANISE SEMINARS

Four seminar sessions were held during the inaugural weekend in April at London's Commonwealth Institute. Headlined "Agendas for Black Advancement", they were on International Affairs, Economic Development, Political Development and Education. Most of you who attended enjoyed the space to air strongly-held views and to debate contentious ones. But what about those annoying things you wished you had had time to complain about to the PBC organisers? Well, The Black Parliamentarian has compiled a selection of the most frequently overheard mutterings during the meetings. The PBC looks forward to hosting future seminars — supported by you — which will take into account these points....



- * Observe strict time-keeping
- * Provide smaller workshops
- * Have more ushers on duty
- * Shorten and structure agendas
- * Hold single-subject seminars, e.g., separate the Caribbean from South Africa
- * Devote more time to discussions after workshops
- * Hold seminars for children
- * Host Black induction classes for the very young
- * The workshops were held too close together, if possible have them in separate rooms so people can hear each other
- * Provide creche facilities
- * What about weekend residential conferences as well as all-day seminars?
- * Elect more working-class people to chair sessions
- * Publicise seminars more widely
- * Approach seminars from a "bottoms up" direction, i.e., from a grass-roots level
- * Hold more meetings to give the PBC a higher profile
- * Ban smoking
- * Hold workshops near coffee bars
- * Have follow-up sessions to discuss topics in greater detail
- * Conferences should be held on a more regional basis. What about the North-West and the Midlands?

B. R. O. T. H. E. R BEYOND THE 16TH PARALLEL

B.R.O.T.H.E.R. stands for Black Rhyme Organisation To Help Equal Rights. It was set up by Gatecrash, a group of musicians "from the streets of London". Their aim is to use the music of the streets — rap and reggae — to entice more young Black people to get involved in Black issues. Bernie Grant made his recording debut as the special guest on the group's first record — an all-star anti-apartheid single featuring the best of Britain's young rap crews. All the artists' royalties go to the African National Congress. The record kicks off with a self-penned rap by Bernie explaining the significance of the 16th Parallel.

BERNIE'S RAP

"The 16th Parallel is a line drawn by whites through Angola
And the Racists say that blacks can't cross that line
The South Africans say that the SWAPO Freedom Fighters
Can't cross that line
The Parallel applies in Angola
It applies in Namibia
And in South Africa
But the Parallel also applies in Britain
When white racists say that black people
Especially the youth, can only go so far and no further
As black people we must smash the 16th Parallel
As people we must unite and smash
The racist South African Government and free South Africa
ANC and SWAPO will win
Amandla!

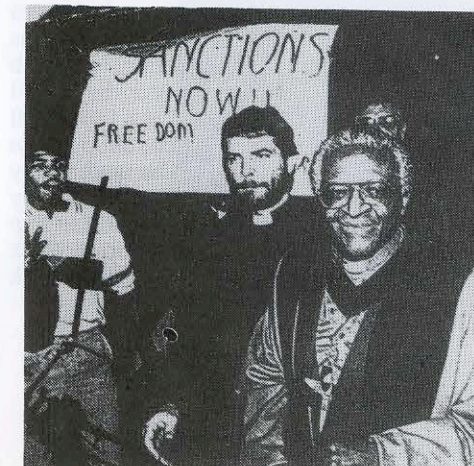


LONDON RHYME SYNDICATE

The mother land, home of the blackman
Taken away, enslaved, governed by a whiteman
Without right, stole control, the Dutch and English fight
Incite, killing weak brothers who couldn't read nor write
A breach of peace, won't teach, banned freedom of speech
Preach apartheid, segregation, when the hell will it cease
Exploiting my brothers through colour, racist bluffer
Botha in a bodybag, word to the mother.

OVERLORD X

One, two...Now let me get rid of my fumes
Fires build the earthquake moves you
Black little children like to grow and you know
With their parents but it's not so and yo...
Time limits for my people behind bars
Here's the verdict: the government's a retard
State of emergency hold your fire
Violence is not yet a D...D...Desire



LONDON POSSE

In a South Africa whole heap a shegries a gwan
Dey na wan no black make a trade union
Dem a blow up offices and dem a kill off blackman
We affe get militant uprising and stand strong
So listen lyrics straight from the posse that we all made
COSATU say that what they need is a living wage now!
We have to fight for that, build on the black
So run go record shop and buy this track

COOKIE CREW

Thatcher says sanctions won't help our black people
The people she wants to help most I don't think so
We'll fight for the freedom in the land of our birth
Cos' our people will suffer so prepare for the worst
We want sanctions now! You're buying it, you're wearing it
Playing sports and SUN CITY we ain't doing it
Civilised people got to be sad
The British won't sanction buy they'll wish they had

FRESHSKI

Here's a place governed by a certain set of rules
With so much wealth and a power plan which pulls
A white minority with authority
Have a stronghold where the black majority
Are compelled by law to endure
In a land they rightfully own
How do you stand when subjected to an unclean regime
Which means your skin....tone determines
Your work, health and home

DEMON BOYZ

Murdering children for throwing stones
The police terrorise our brothers' homes
Now watch me sit down 'pon top of the riddim
Saying that absurd
And in the third world Mike Jay will be heard
Well it's me Demon D the MC thriller and chiller
I'm not a black killer like Botha
Who the hell voted what's the motive
For killing South African children

GATECRASH

Nelson Mandela, a fellow black brother
A rot ina jail ina South Africa
Fighting for freedom but still not free
Twenty six years separated from his family
To liberate, to educate, he left the country for support
Jailed for leaving without a passport
Boy...this wicked system surely must fall
When Mandela is free, detainees and all

ICEPICK

The world at large has a game plan
Protection of their investments means they seem to play blindman!
Turning their backs when they know the facts on this
Fooled by Botha who draws a scene of a picturesque
Racially improving national party
The cameras never show the thousands of bodies
That perish pursuing the protest against
The paleface who tries to displace the black race



SHE ROCKERS

Ebony hear your name, I feel your pain
Child plucked from the bosom
And detainees in chains
From school to a tomb
Called a cell where they dwell
Tortured and killed in a living hell
The children die
The mothers cry
Our hearts are bleeding and asking why
From birth to death caught in a man trap
Not born proud to be black
But born to stay back

JUNIOR SAN

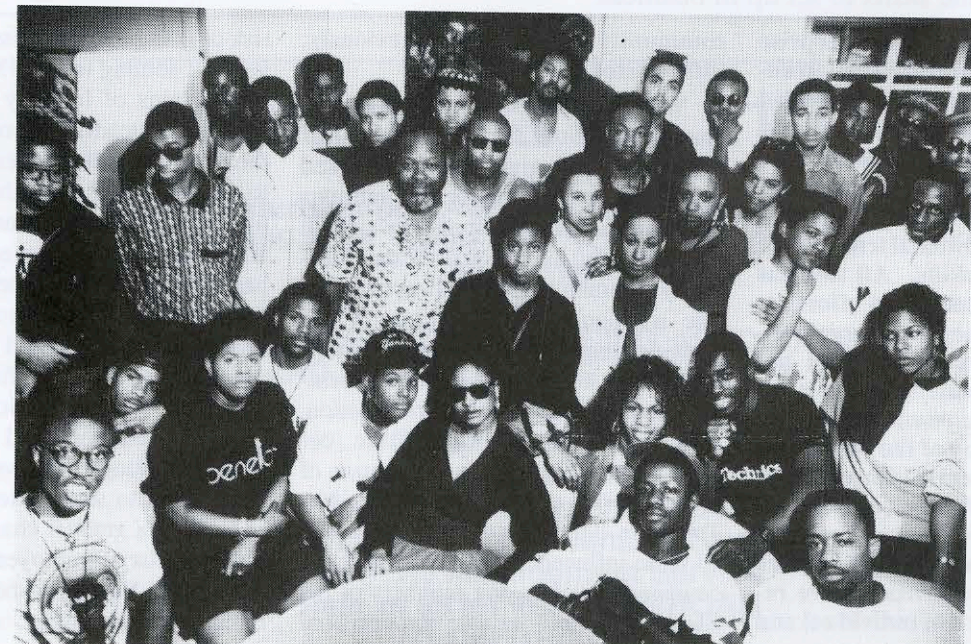
Bananas and grapes with the name of Cape
If you buy these, I'm asking you to stop
The money that you spend on South African fruit
You're really buying Mr Botha's crop
So that's money for guns, Botha's delight
Loss of black blood, loss of black life
If my brothers see fit to make a sacrifice
Blood's thicker than water, so I don't think twice

STANDING OVATION

Eaten away every day, from the inside
A brother died cause his pride was denied
By a racist regime for a white man it was heaven
But for a black man nearer Armageddon
So beyond the Sixteenth Parallel is where we venture
Though people may stop us and say who sent ya
Pursue, renew a long lost sort of freedom
These are the words of a brother movement
So heed them

HIJACK

Steve Biko black hero in the hall of fame
Freedom fighter for those oppressed, killed by the oppressor
A spirit of Africa his belief was not to kill another
But to murder the idea one man's superior
The brothers in ghettos of Soweto they stand alone
Hypocritical governors, they sit upon their throne
We expose this insanity, apartheid's on trial
For crimes against humanity"



MC MELLO

Brothers and sisters depressed and oppressed holds
A noose around their neck a noose around their soul
They can't vote and I quote that is far from dope
Yet they cope, and the fire in their hearts breeds hope
Injustice is dealt to the child and the mother
Dark skinned brother, another they try to smother
Reality ruled by low morality
Minority rule the majority. Inequality

TROUBLE AND BASS

Give one man a uniform, gun by his side
Make him some promises, strangle his pride
In his people, their right to be equal
Tell him he's better than those who would fight
For what he's achieved; to stand by a white man
Under a flag that would murder his colour
And pay him to do so like Judas and others
But when innocents die, what they promised was lies

BLACK BUSINESS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by Manny Cotter

Manny Cotter has been instrumental in the creation of hundreds of new businesses in London and the development of minority entrepreneurs. He is currently the Executive Director of the North London Business Development Agency in Finsbury Park, North London. Below, he argues that Britain's minority communities must take advantage of the dramatic and beneficial changes that have taken place in business during the last ten years.



Learning the skills to set up in business

(Photo by Humphrey Nemat)

General awareness of the enterprise climate and the opportunities available, have encouraged and enabled people from the Black community to consider (a) starting businesses and (b) developing the ones they have. Alternatively, they have sought out and pursued new or additional training for more marketable skills. All this has led to a more concentrated effort, towards self sufficiency, business development and economic activities not only for the morale and growing wealth of their own communities, but also for the economy of the country as a whole. Worthy central Government initiatives, coupled with equally well meant local government approaches to the causes of an almost total absence of Black business activities, have resulted in a new spirit of individual and

community worth, where previously, little existed.

Whilst racism in employment has changed very little, the global problem of massive unemployment has exacerbated even more acutely, the social conditions and environment of the inner city areas in which largely, the Black and Ethnic Minority communities have always settled. The additional social concern of the growing number of single parent families/women heads of households, unemployment of black males, privatisation, redundancies due to relocation, etc., occurred in tandem with the promotion of the enterprise culture during the '80s. Therefore, it has been the combination of all these influences which forced or encouraged ever-growing numbers of the Black community to take the decision/

risk of going into business after 20 or 30 years of settling in the UK.

Captains of Industry in Britain are slowly but steadily becoming aware of the fact that Black businesses have much to contribute to the wealth of the community and the country. Many national and multi-national companies are currently participating in the Enterprise Agency Movement — some government-led — through sponsorship and secondment of personnel to support the work of the Agencies. This recognition of local communities, and their need for outside assistance, though relatively small, has contributed to some extent towards the process of a gradual change in the perception of large employers, trading companies, the lending institutions and the indigenous population.

The standard of Business Plans and Presentations particularly where Enterprise Agency assistance has been sought, is at present very high and getting better. Great attention has been focused in this direction owing to the criticisms and reasons proffered by the banks in the early eighties, that they were not able to lend comfortably to Minorities, particularly Black people, because their proposals were not being prepared and presented to a satisfactory standard. Potential entrepreneurs from the Black community, with the assistance of Black-led Enterprise Agencies and other supporting professionals in the field of business advice, support and development, are today presenting high quality business plans and well-researched and thought through business ideas.

The phenomenal success rate of the increase in women-owned businesses must be highlighted. Again and again, consultants have sung the praises of women clients who show promise of continued development of their businesses despite innumerable difficulties. Their achievements to date promise a magnificent future for generations of Black female entrepreneurs.

Positive results are identifiable through the increase in bank lending to Black businesses and also the gradual change in business orientation towards more non-traditional activities. Whereas in the past these centred around the provision of personal services, e.g. hairdressing, home catering, motor repairs, bespoke tailoring and dressmaking etc. Today, through the support of Enter-

prise Agencies and similar organisations, the new breed of Black businesses now include those involved in computer technology, clothing manufacture, light engineering, printing and the professions — legal, accountancy, etc. Initiatives aimed at bringing Black business activities into the mainstream are being developed by various bodies, and if successful, will open much larger markets for goods and services provided by Black-owned businesses.

One of the keys to business success in any community is training and access to information. In the past, the Black community had little, or no known access to training and/or information, which resulted in the stagnation and/or failure of businesses already in existence, due to market saturation and lost opportunities. This situation is rapidly changing through the emergence of the Black-led Enterprise Agencies as well as other support services. Many training organisations are now managed by professional consultants who have developed their training to address the needs of Black business people.

Courses are being designed, and training sessions tailor-made, taking into consideration the time factor. This is to enable Black business owners to attend when convenient so ensuring continuity and the benefit of owner-management during trading time and also to minimise loss of income during any absence of the business owner. It would therefore seem inevitable, that through training, the provision of expert advice and greater access to and dissemination of information,

that belief in the future success of Black businesses will at least continue to be nurtured and encouraged to materialise for future generations.

The Black business community must commence the process of collaboration and joint ventures both in terms of trade and investment. The problem of business inhibition and lack of imagination as well as the inability to identify opportunities remain. The restrictive limits of the Minority market within the UK, as well as the failure to support other Black businesses through inter-trading, are also evident and requires much discussion, exchange of ideas and willingness to develop and consolidate, and by so doing, improve on current positive trends.

In this respect, a great deal can be learnt from our American brothers and sisters in terms of the dynamics of business and the determination and dedication needed to ensure success. Black businesses in the UK must cease thinking at only the parochial level. Black businesses must look beyond the boundaries of the UK and begin to plan for trading with Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East as well as the USA.

Markets in the UK are virtually saturated and the opportunities for the future are therefore the larger markets of the world. To this end, an even greater degree of co-operation between government, private sector and the Enterprise Agencies — working at the grass-roots of Black business activities in the community — is necessary to ensure that the progress of the eighties is firmly consolidated and continued into the next decade.

EVETIDE & CO. LTD.

BUILDING

Refurbishment - New Build - Maintenance
01-806-6998 CONTRACTORS 01-806-8566

Estb. 1961

TO

LOCAL AUTHORITIES - HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS
AND VARIOUS TYPES OF CLIENTS

We Offer

- * Competitive Pricing
- * Guaranteed Work
- * Arrange Finance on Request
- * Reliable & Comprehensive Service
- * Property Management Service.

Rear of 85 KYVERDALE ROAD
STAMFORD HILL
LONDON N16 6PP

SPORTING TIES WITH APARTHEID

by Sam Ramsamy

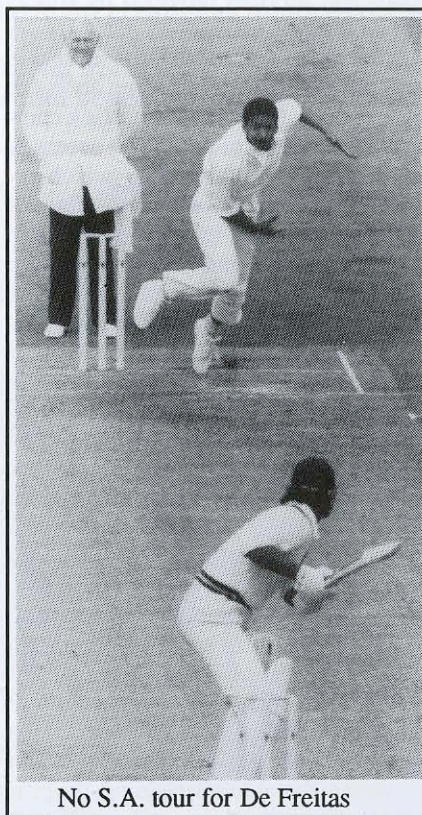
Sam Ramsamy of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) says the recent recruitment of British rugby players and cricketers to play in South Africa has once again highlighted British sports collaboration with apartheid.

Groups and individuals campaigning against apartheid have repeatedly stated that any sports exchange with South Africa only benefits the privileged white community there. It helps fortify the resolve of the apartheid regime to perpetuate white rule.

Many British sports administrators merely mouth platitudes against apartheid while covertly providing sanctuary for South African sport.

The white South African Cricket Union (SACU) were able to recruit players right under the noses of English cricket officials. Rumours were circulating from the beginning of the year that South Africa was about to assemble a "rebel" English team to play in that country. The English Test and County Cricket Board made no attempt to verify these rumours. Instead, South African officials were welcomed as special guests to their meetings and cricket matches. No objections were made when several officials and past cricketers were invited in March to commemorate 100 years of racism in South African cricket. In fact, the groundwork for the "rebel" tour was established then.

When, eventually, the "rebel" cricket team to tour South Africa was announced, the outrage was drowned by all types of pretexts justifying the tour. The cricketers said that they were going to earn a living as professionals, and as free individuals they should be allowed this liberty. Their selfish motives allowed them to by-pass the fact that 80 percent of South Africans do not enjoy this freedom; that the oppressed in South Africa were being, reluctantly, forced to con-



No S.A. tour for De Freitas

tribute, by way of taxes, to pay the agents of the oppressor. There was talk that they were going to help Black cricket. What a blatant lie! Black South Africans made their objections very clear.

They were not wanted in South Africa. The "rebel" cricketers were merely acting as agents for apartheid South Africa to break the international sports boycott. They were employed as mercenaries to boost the waning morale of South Africa's white electorate. Of course, as mercenaries, they were being paid extremely well. To such an extent that several cricketers found the offer, on purely monetary terms, difficult to refuse. They were being offered fees for just three months work which they would not be able to earn here for ten years. The visits by the foreign cricketers and other officials who gravitate towards South Africa are only made possible by the generosity of various sponsors. This is only a cover for a much more complex operation be-

tween the white South African Cricket Union (SACU) and its government.

Several years ago, SACU urged its government to consider providing special tax dispensation for sponsors so that large sums of money were easily available to attract international sports stars to South Africa. The government now provides tax rebates worth 90 percent of sponsorship outlay. In other words, sponsors only deliver 10 percent of the money needed for any boycott-breaking venture. The other 90 percent is provided by the government. On paper government involvement is conveniently concealed by allowing the sponsor to take full credit.

In August, a delegation representing a wide range of South African Black opinion visited England to speak with the "rebel" cricketers. After more than ten days of negotiation, only two, Gatting and Emburey, decided to meet with the delegation. They listened but then stated that they are committed to their contracts as it was legally binding. But, how did the two Black players, Butcher and DeFreitas, who originally signed, contract themselves out of the tour?

Here again Gatting, the tour captain, was allowed to go unchallenged when he publicly stated that the two Black players were forced to withdraw because of death threats. DeFreitas admitted that his involvement in the tour had upset many people and "obviously had its effects on me and my family". Butcher also read out a statement on television saying: "As a Christian, I believe that all men are the same before God. When I agreed to tour I did not realise how strongly my fellow sportsmen would feel. I made a mistake and want to put it right".

The complicity of British rugby officials in helping to recruit players to commemorate another racist event - 100 years of racist rugby in South Africa - is even more outrageous.

Anti-apartheid activists left no stone unturned in making their feelings known.

There was concern throughout the United Kingdom that a visit by British rugby players would seriously hinder the acceleration of the downfall of apartheid. Many top players then announced that they would not be going to South Africa. The tour was on the verge of collapse.

Then, two officials of the white South African Rugby Board (SARB) landed in Britain with pocketfuls of money. Suddenly, we heard the arrival in South Africa of several players.

The official position was that all negotiations to invite players had to be conducted through the relevant authorities in the United Kingdom, i.e. through the rugby unions of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. But the rugby officials refused to reveal the names of those invited.

It was earlier announced that officials would not go to South Africa for the commemoration. Even while players were being furtively recruited on a mercenary basis for what was supposed to be a lily-white amateur sport, several officials seemed seriously concerned. Clive

Rowlands and David East of the Welsh Rugby Union, both of whom had turned down invitations to go to South Africa, were publicly critical of their colleagues who had accepted invitations. A few days later, Rowlands turns up in South Africa. We wonder what made him change his mind?

British sport generally and the Prime Minister in particular, were conspicuous by their silence. In France and Australia, there was governmental outcry at South African machinations. In Australia, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister were actively involved in dissuading many players from accepting invitations to play in South Africa. The President of the Australian Olympic Association, Kevan Gosper, publicly condemned the tour and warned of international repercussions if Australians were involved in giving apartheid respectability.

In this country, many parliamentarians condemned the tour. There were numerous requests for the Prime Minister to intervene. Even the secretary of the

English Rugby Union said that they would consider favourably a request from the Prime Minister. But this was greeted with absolute silence.

The chairman of the British Olympic Association, instead of making attempts to intervene to abort the tour, wanted to know why there should be opposition to sportspeople going to South Africa when there were no protests at others taking on similar ventures.

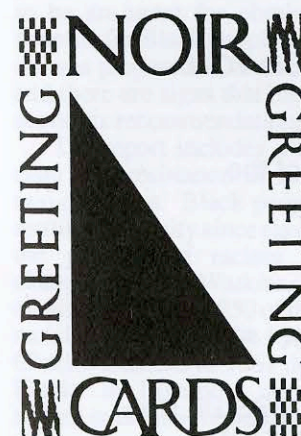
Finally, a half-hearted attempt by the Sports Minister was at last made to English Rugby Union not to pass on invitations to its rugby players. However, this feeble attempt was completely nullified when he concluded the appeal by saying: "It is for individual governing bodies to decide whether or not to accept Government advice, but I very much hope you will give serious consideration to the position outlined in this letter".

No wonder the major part of the invitation team which has just concluded its visit to South Africa came from the United Kingdom.

Noir Greeting Cards congratulates and wishes the Parliamentary Black Caucus and the Caucus Magazine continued success in all its endeavours.

Noir is also pleased to announce to all readers of the Caucus Magazine, especially Businesses, Organisations, High Commissions and Embassies, etc., that we offer a wide range of Multi-Cultural

Christmas Cards which can be personalised freely, if the order exceeds 250 Cards. For small orders, there is a small charge.



Contact us direct on 01-733 3144

Noir Greeting Cards Ltd, Unit 9,
Angela Davis Industrial Est.,
Somerleyton Road,
London SW9 8TZ

Noir's full colour CATALOGUE and relevant information is available on request - send A4 size SAE with 34p stamp (UK only) Our Birthday and other Occasion Cards are fully illustrated in this CATALOGUE.

BRITISH BLACK FILM FOUNDATION

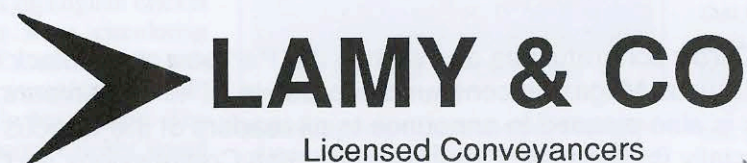
THE BRITISH BLACK FILM FOUNDATION SPECIALISES IN:

- Film Production
- Theatre Production
- Television Production

We are seeking U.S. partners in joint ventures and exchange programmes where Film, TV and theatre productions can transfer between the U.S. and U.K.

We also seek investment funds to develop existing projects through out the black community in Europe.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
BRIAN BOVELL MOTHERLAND FILM CORPORATION
IN LONDON ENGLAND ON
(011 441) 802 8103



Licensed Conveyancers

THINKING OF BUYING/SELLING YOUR HOUSE/FLAT?
WHY NOT INSTRUCT US TO CARRY OUT THE LEGAL SIDE FOR YOU
AFTER ALL CONVEYANCING IS OUR SPECIALITY.

LICENSED CONVEYANCERS came into being under 'Part 11 of the
Administration of Justices Act - 1985', under the
auspices of the Lord Chancellors Department.

WHY USE A LICENSED CONVEYANCER?

- (a) IN VIEW OF OUR NEW STATUS WE HAVE TO WORK FAST AND EFFICIENTLY
- (b) WE SPECIALISE SOLELY IN CONVEYANCING HENCE MORE ACCESSIBILITY
- (c) WE CHARGE A STANDARD FEE WE OFFER HEALTHY COMPETITION

YOU NOW HAVE A CHOICE

WHY NOT GIVE US A RING FOR A QUOTE

(01) 627 2625

Fax (01) 720 7940

583 Wandsworth Road, London SW8 3JD

Gladys Lamy A.I.M.B. "Soc.LC"

LOOSENING LIVERPOOL'S SHACKLES

Lord Tony Gifford heads his own chambers in London's Covent Garden. He specialises in civil rights cases and was the chair of the Broadwater Farm Inquiry. Here, he summarises the contents of his report on the findings of the inquiry into racism in Liverpool.

The Liverpool 8 Inquiry was the result of two factors coming together. First, the Law Centre and other Black community organisations wanted it. They were facing a sharpening of police oppression, especially through the tactic of charging community leaders with vague but heavy 'crimes' such as 'violent disorder'. While policing was their immediate concern, historic grievances about racism throughout the city — in housing, jobs, and education especially — continued to be ignored.

So Black organisations supported the Inquiry, and the key participation in the Inquiry team of Wally Brown, a leader of the Black community in the early 1980s, ensured that the report would genuinely represent Black people's experiences.

However, a report which no-one in authority would heed would serve little purpose. The second crucial factor was the readiness of some elements in the Liverpool City Council to recognise that the Council itself had to stop being a major seat of institutional racism, and start to be an agent for obtaining concrete benefits for Black people. So, the Council was prepared to finance the Inquiry, and there are signs that the Council will act on its recommendations.

The report includes a history of racism and resistance in Liverpool over two centuries. Black people have been settling in the city since slavery days, and the patterns of racism have hardly changed. James Watkins, an American ex-slave, wrote in 1850 of the "leprosy of racial hatred" which he found in Britain. Charles Dickens in 1861 described how Blacks in Liverpool were "liable to slights in the neighbouring streets". African seamen, who were considered "more amenable to discipline", were paid a lower wage than their white equivalents. And in 1919, white rioters, in numbers up to 10,000, attacked Black people in the streets and lodging-houses of the city.

Yet there was continuing resistance, and achievements by Liverpool Black people which are too little known. The Parliamentary Black Caucus should salute the memory of John Archer, who in 1913 in Battersea became Britain's first Black mayor, and went on to be the first President of the African Progress Union and election agent for Shapurji Saklatvala, Britain's first Black MP (for Labour in 1922-23 and for the Communist Party in 1924-29). Another achiever was George Christian, who founded a business empire in West Africa from his Liverpool head office in the early years of this century.

Coming up to date, the report documents the facts of racism today. That while Liverpool has a Black population of at least 6%, only 1.6% of Council employees are Black. That in a head count of 1000 counter staff in the City Centre stores, only 15 Black faces were seen. That in school, Black children face daily racial abuse with little or no support from teachers. That in housing, Black families are driven out of white areas and pushed back into Liverpool 8, whether they want it or not. That in jobs, overt discrimination has been connived at by the Trade Union movement through their right to nominate their members to fill job vacancies. That in sport, Black footballers and other sportspeople face abuse and attack from the touchline.

All this and more led the Inquiry to the conclusion that racism in Liverpool is "uniquely horrific". Nowhere else is there such open abuse, such a devastating lack of mobility.

On the policing side, the report confirmed that many Black people had been falsely charged with "violent disorder"; the efforts of London lawyers, Black and white, had secured acquittals in every case. And there were even more disturbing findings. Behind a facade of "community policing", there is a hard-line policy, involving constant patrols by squads in protected vehicles, and an apparent neglect of the hard drug traffic which is threatening to send Liverpool 8 into an even worse decline.

The evidence of David Scott, a former community policeman, married to a Liverpool Black woman, confirmed what many on the street were saying: that racism in the police is rife at all levels;

that false evidence is given by police officers in court; and that hard information about drug traffickers has been ignored. He said:

"The Force policy in general was that anything was better than a public order confrontation in Liverpool 8, and therefore hard drugs would be allowed in, the community would be left to 'dope itself up'".

Because of the seriousness of this evidence, and the non-co-operation of the Merseyside Police in the Inquiry, we have called on the Home Secretary to institute an official Inquiry into policing in Toxteth. This must be supported. So must David Scott and his wife, who on the very night before the report's publication, were arrested and charged with offences allegedly committed last year. They are strongly protesting their innocence.

The Inquiry's report made a series of detailed recommendations, to the Council, the private sector employers, the Government, the EEC, the Police Authority, the Chief Constable, etc. We have asked to stay in being as an Inquiry team for a further two years, to monitor the recommendations which we have made.

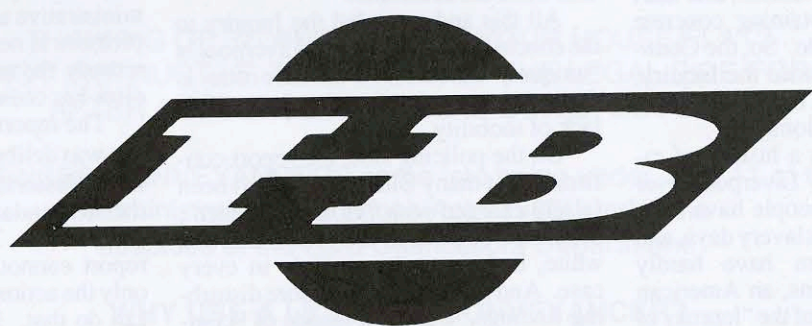
Some first steps have been taken; for example, the Council has set up a Positive Action Training Scheme to qualify 600 Black youth for Council jobs, administrative and technical. But far more pressure is needed at a national level, to remedy the terrible injustices which racism has caused.

The report's title, *Loosen the Shackles*, was deliberately chosen. The shackles of historic oppression still tie down the descendants of Liverpool's slaves and seamen. The recommendations of a report cannot break those shackles — only the actions of the people themselves can do that. By exposing and shaming the authorities responsible for Liverpool's racism, the impact of a report can loosen the shackles, create more space for oppressed people to claim their rightful place. It is a weapon in the struggle which continues.

Loosen the Shackles, the First Report of the Liverpool 8 Inquiry, is published by Karia Press, 41 Rheola Close, London N17 9TR, price £8.75 including p& p.



**Vision that is different.
Encourages the creative
exchange, stimulates emotion,
challenges established thinking,
yet respects the past experience.**



Haircare & Beauty (Europe) Ltd

7 Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London N4 2DQ, England
Telephone: 01-263 9551 Telex: 264754 Fax: 01-281 3708

AGENDA:

COLOUR BLIND JUSTICE

*This Paper is presented by Peter Herbert, Chairman of the Society of Black Lawyers.**

It is often said by members of the judiciary that justice in Britain is colour blind. What they really mean is that, in practice, the judges and magistrates fail to recognise their own prejudices.

There is now overwhelming evidence to show that Black people are less than equal before the law. To understand why this should be the case, one has to examine the historical background.

Prior to the 13th century, the experience of Black people in Britain had been one of being treated as different but equal. With the advent of slavery, a new philosophy had to be found to justify the practice; racism was therefore formulated and developed for this purpose. The Elizabethan community of 20,000 Black Londoners was prevented from working in most trades and professions and pushed to the margins of society. Property rights of English slaveowners were sanctioned by English judges until the abolition of slavery in 1833. The same philosophy was used to "civilise" a heathen world of "black", "brown" and "yellow" peoples.

The English legal system was used to justify and administer British colonialism and imposed an alien law and custom on many different peoples. During the early part of this century, the native sons and daughters of Empire could work and fight when required for the mother country but were not thought fit to decide their own destiny.

The legal system has been used frequently to contain and undermine genuine Black protest. The whole plethora of racist immigration laws through the notorious "sus" laws and the present abuse of the Public Order Act legislation, have been used to deny fundamental civil rights to Black people.

Since the first Black barrister qualified in England in 1850, Black lawyers have faced discrimination and bigotry from their white colleagues. It is no small wonder therefore that if white lawyers fail to respect their Black colleagues, it is more than likely that they discriminate against their Black clients. Judges are still recruited overwhelm-

ingly from the Bar (notwithstanding the Green Paper proposals) and are overwhelmingly white, male and middle-class. How then do these individuals suddenly shed all the prejudices present in society or the Bar itself?

SENTENCING POLICY

One of the reasons for the critical position of Black people within the Criminal Justice System is the enthusiastic use of custody as a solution to crime. As Black defendants fall at the end of the scale in respect of this treatment, one can only achieve a real cure by reforming the whole system.

Compared to the rest of Europe, we now have the undistinguished honour of sentencing more people to custody than any other country both proportionally and in total figures. During 1985, some 25,000 custodial sentences were passed on Black people — far more than the number of Blacks who passed through higher education. In 1985, 160,000 custodial sentences were passed in England and Wales compared to 90,000 in West Germany and France. That is despite the fact that we do not have a higher crime rate.

On June 30th 1987, 50,270 people were in custody. 48,510 male and 1,760 female. The four principles of sentencing are supposedly punishment, deterrence, retribution and rehabilitation. However, since the late 1970s, there has been an abandonment of the principle of rehabilitation and a concentration on the other three. Average sentences for the same offence are longer now than they were ten years ago. There is no evidence to suggest that the increase in the length of sentences has had any effect whatsoever on reducing the crime rate. The one area which strongly suggests the path to be followed is in the area of juvenile sentencing. The widespread use of interme-

diat treatment schemes has reduced custodial sentences from nearly 8,000 in 1981 to 4,000 in 1987. The same imagination and flexibility of response has not extended any further. There is a strong case to suggest that people who receive a non-custodial sentence are less likely to re-offend within the next two years.

Recently, the Home Secretary stated that it was not for him, the Government or the House of Commons to lay down to the courts how many people they send to prison... "it is our job to provide the places". At the cost of £252 per week per prisoner and £69,000 per new cell built, this laissez-faire attitude is a costly and ineffective sanction. Both West Germany and Holland have substantially reduced their prison populations in recent years.

It is clear that we need to see a dramatic decrease in the use of custody both in frequency and length for all defendants. Black defendants would benefit from the implementation of a more scientific approach to sentencing (as recently suggested by the Lord Chancellor) but also of a more liberal or flexible attitude by the judiciary. Without such fundamental change, it will be of questionable value achieving full equality of treatment for Black people within a system that is inherently defective.

RACIAL DISPARITY IN SENTENCING

The extent to which Black people are processed through the Criminal Justice System is now well documented. On the 30th June 1987, there were 50,270 people in prisons in England and Wales. 14 percent or 7,050 of the prisoners were from the ethnic minorities. There has been a steady increase since 1985 when the Home Office showed the proportion of Black prisoners to be 12.5 percent. Alarming, this proportion increases to 27 percent in respect of Black female

prisoners. Only 5 percent of the general population in England and Wales belong to an ethnic minority. Furthermore, 9.5 percent of the prisoners in 1987 were Afro-Caribbean, who represent only 1-2 percent of the general population. There have now been many ad hoc studies done on the extent of discrimination within the Criminal Justice System. However, it is perceived by many that after years of research this is still seen as a substitute for direct action to eradicate racism.

In July 1987, in response to a letter from the Home Office, the Government accepted that there was racial discrimination within the Criminal Justice System. The Lord Chancellor's Office endorsed the fact in subsequent correspondence and confirmed that they were "committed" to its eradication. However, there have been only minimal steps taken to make that major policy statement a reality. On the information we have, it seems that most members of the judiciary and magistrates regard the explanation as being simply that Black people commit more crime. This may be couched sometimes in liberalistic terms as due to our deprived economic background. This explanation fits neatly with society's stereotypical view of Black people as dishonest, liars, violent and people generally to be feared.

The evidence, however, suggests that this is not the case but that Black people are disproportionately fed into a system where racism plays a negative role at each stage. Comparisons with the Black populations of Australia, United States, New Zealand, South Africa and West Germany, show a parallel pattern to the United Kingdom.

RESEARCH

A study by the Policy Studies Institute in 1983 found that Black youths were four times as likely to be stopped and searched as their white counterparts. The number of Afro-Caribbean people arrested accounted for 17 percent of the London total but for only 5 percent of the actual population. A study conducted by the London Borough of Hackney in 1986, concluded that young Black people were more likely to be convicted in court and twice as likely to be jailed as whites. Young Black people are also over-represented amongst those sentenced to 12 months or more youth custody under Section 53 of the 1933 Children Act.

Research in 1984 concluded that the likelihood of victims reporting crimes to

the police was affected by the perceived ethnic origin of the perpetrator. All the indications show that there is a deterioration in the justice available for Black people. There is consequently a widely-held belief by Black defendants that unlike their white counterparts, they are guilty until proven innocent.

Further research by the South East London Probation Service found that in 1985, 29 percent of youth custody sentences were passed on Afro-Caribbean youths compared to their constituting only 4.7 percent of the total population. In particular, Black defendants sentenced to youth custody were less likely to have been previously offered supervision or probation, and came from more stable backgrounds, i.e. they were less likely to have been in care, and more likely to be still living at home.

A survey by the West Yorkshire Probation Service, called "Sentencing, Race & Social Enquiry Reports", examined all Social Enquiry Reports prepared from April to July 1987 for Leeds Crown Court and Bradford Magistrates' Court. Of the whites in the survey, 32 percent received immediate custodial sentences compared to 45 percent for Asians and 44 percent for Afro-Caribbeans. The report says: "The trend in sentencing is undoubtedly to the disadvantage of the Black offenders and this cannot be justified in terms of their offences or personal circumstances". Its effect is that more Black people find themselves in prison than whites who have committed the same type of offences, and who are likely to have worse criminal records.

The most comprehensive information on the numbers of Black people in custody stems from the Home Office publication in 1986, "The Ethnic Origin of Prisoners". Black defendants were again found likely to have fewer previous convictions than their white counterparts. For males sentenced to custody aged over 21, 38 percent of whites were known to have had 11 or more previous convictions compared to 22 percent of Afro-Caribbean and 8 percent of Asians. Similar variations in custody patterns were equally marked for the offences of wounding, burglary, robbery, theft and drugs offences.

Another survey commissioned by the Home Office entitled "The Court Disposal of Young Males" by Monica Walker, confirmed these trends when published in 1988. Based on offenders aged 14 to 16 and those then sentenced in

the Crown Court, more Black juveniles were sentenced more harshly than their white counterparts.

The disparity pervades each and every aspect of the sentencing process. The Home Office Statistics for June 1987 show that for adult males, Black people accounted for 18.5 percent of those sentenced to over 4 years compared with 9 percent of those sentenced up to 18 months. Among sentenced young offenders, Black defendants account for 17 percent of youth custody trainees sentenced to 18 months, compared to 9.5 percent for both the shorter sentences and detention centre option.

The amount of research now completed is sufficient for the Government to take effective action to redress the imbalance.

THE PROBATION SERVICE

The probation service although ahead of the judiciary in accepting some awareness of its own racism, is still a long way from putting its own house in order. The failure of the probation service to even deal fairly with its own Black officers gives an indication of its inability, at present, to deal fairly with Black clients. Only 1.9 percent of probation officers are Black, (i.e. 127 out of a total of 6,651) with none at Chief Officer level and only three at senior probation officer level.

Only very rarely do Social Enquiry Reports highlight the racial discrimination faced by Black defendants in terms of job, housing etc., and never do they caution against racism within the Criminal Justice System. In general terms, there is a tendency to describe white offenders in pathological terms with behaviour stemming from personal weakness. Black offenders, however, were described in terms of capabilities with the offending stemming from rational decisions.

BAIL

The discrimination which pervades the rest of the system is clearly apparent in the implementation of the Bail Act 1976. The basic presumption in favour of bail has been eroded over the years and in relation to Black defendants, the existence of a wide discretion has been a licence to discriminate. The Home Office Statistical Bulletin 6/89 shows that male Afro-Caribbean defendants at 9 percent are almost twice as likely to be remanded in custody awaiting trial;

Asians 8 percent and whites 5 percent. The position was similar for females. This is consistent with the fact that 31 percent of all those received on remand from London courts were Black.

Even more alarming is the fact that a higher proportion of Black defendants were subsequently acquitted than white defendants. These records are for individuals with similar backgrounds, community ties and for the same sort of offences and antecedents. Given the presumption of innocence, this would suggest that Black people were twice as likely to have been wrongly remanded in custody.

The Bail Act as it is presently applied is unquestionably being used to deny liberty to innocent Black people and for many others who, after conviction, receive a non-custodial option notwithstanding the period spent in custody.

JUDICIAL RACISM

This heading is, for most members of the establishment, a contradiction in terms. For most white members of the judiciary and magistracy, racism is some form of extreme behaviour associated with the very vivid imaginations of Nazi Germany, of the Soweto and Uiterhage massacres in South Africa or the extremism of the National Front. This identification with "extreme" racism means that they themselves fail to understand that they too can discriminate.

The day to day racist stereotypes which help to explain the disparities within the Criminal Justice System therefore pass them by. These judges and magistrates are not necessarily "bad" people but are the otherwise fair, honest, sometimes Christian people who have little or no realisation of their true views of Black people. This failure to understand their own shortcomings is compounded by the education process, media and the system itself in which they operate. There is widespread ignorance of Black history and of our social and economic contribution to this country. These attitudes surface from time to time into public with the publicity given to racist remarks but these examples are just the tip of the iceberg.

When Sir James Miskin Q.C., the Recorder of London, referred recently to West Indians as "nig-nogs" what was the thinking and attitudes underlying the remark? His explanation served only to reinforce the lack of self-awareness: "Both the victim and the accused were West In-

dians. I did not refer to the accused who was convicted of murder as a "nig-nog", that reference to the victim simply slipped out and was not in any way intended to have any racist significance". The comments speak for themselves. Such remarks are not, however, isolated incidents as sentences have on occasion been reduced due to allegedly racist remarks (an appeal from a sentence of Judge Finney recently). Judge Potter in Birmingham commented that an Asian defendant ought to be able to speak proper English after so many years working here — a problem which the British in India and Africa failed to take to heart.

Legal applications can now be made it seems to have a judge stand down if counsel "has reasonable grounds to believe a tribunal is biased". The form for this application is detailed in a letter from Justice Steyn (the former chair of the Bar Race Relations Committee) to the Commission for Racial Equality dated 22nd September 1988. Such legal applications are obviously a way of combating such overt racism as Black lawyers have found in the UK.

In the USA, in *The State of Georgia vs William Anthony Brooks* (1988), an application was made to remove Judge John Land due to alleged racism dating back to 1954. This problem of judicial bias can be particularly acute when one is applying to challenge the racial composition of the jury. In February 1989, an application was made for Judge Prosser to stand down in the case of *R v Hicks & others* at Cardiff Crown Court. This was because, inter alia, Judge Prosser had been known to state that: "Cardiff has a large Black population — going back over 150 years, it having been a very busy coal and steel exporting port: they are integrated citizens — not a breath of colour problems has been felt in Cardiff". The application was dismissed but the Judge was put on the defensive to the extent that the Rastafarian client obtained a fair trial.

The Council for Legal Education has recognised the need to have a training programme that prepares barristers for a multi-racial society and the need to recognise and deal with their own racism; our judiciary receives no such instruction. The Bar Council, from whose ranks the judiciary come, have for a number of years recognised the widespread effect of racial discrimination within its ranks. The Judges Council and its mem-

bers have not, it seems, felt the need to put their house in order.

In a recent ruling of the High Court presided over by Lord Justice Watkins VC, the Chief Constable of Avon & Somerset was found to have been correct in refusing to admit solicitors' clerks to see defendants in police custody. It was stated in the judgement that the police would be entitled to exclude someone if they "know or believe that the person is merely a colourable pretence of a clerk". "There may be circumstances where the police know that he is criminally orientated if unsullied by detention". The four 'outdoor' clerks in question were Black.

The Lord Chancellor is drawing up a code of practice for magistrates in their training. There clearly needs to be a re-education of the judiciary if they are to acknowledge the unreality of the 'colour blind' theory. The reality has been and continues to be something completely different for Black people as we suffer under a system of "Black rules and white justice".

REFORMS TO SENTENCING

The Society of Black Lawyers would propose a number of reforms to include:—

1. The establishment of a sentencing council to involve all the relevant professional groups including the judiciary.
2. The statutory abolition of custody form any minor offences.
3. Systematic ethnic monitoring of all sentencing decisions on a court by court basis.
4. Regular training for the judiciary on the need to use the alternatives to custody available.
5. The statutory alternative of detoxification and community service as a direct alternative to convicted drug addicts and alcoholics for sentences of less than 5 years, where the addiction is the prime motive for the crime.
6. The availability of community service orders as a direct alternative for non-payment of fines. Custody to be imposed only if the community service order is then breached.
7. Re-drafting of the Bail Act to enshrine the right of bail and to make that absolute in relation to certain summary offences.
8. The introduction of the 110 day time limit as practised in Scotland.

REFORMS TO ERADICATE DISCRIMINATION

The Society would propose a number of reforms to include:-

(a) Full anti-racism training for all solicitors, barristers, and members of the judiciary and magistracy.

(b) Annual up-date on sentencing practice for the judiciary and magistracy (race as a topic to be examined).

(c) Amendment of the Bail Act so that there is a duty to consider race, background, culture and ethnic origin when considering bail.

(d) The automatic grant of bail for summary only offences unless the defendant has allegedly committed three or more offences already whilst on bail for that charge.

(e) Adoption of a race code of conduct for the administration of courts and staff.

(f) The aim to ensure that the legal profession, probation service, judiciary and magistracy truly reflect the racial composition of society.

(g) The full implementation of anti-

racist policy and practice by the probation service and the prisons.

(h) Clear, positive action to redress any disparity evidenced by the monitoring put forward.

CONCLUSION

This country is now spending a record £1.14 billion on our prisons, a total increase on the figure of 42 percent between the original 1989 estimate and current estimates. This, the Society of Black Lawyers would say, is worse than burning money, as for many people, incarceration only increases the likelihood of a return to crime, prison and more expenditure. Despite all the expenditure, there is no return on the investment; by the end of the century, at least 8,000 cells will still be without sanitation.

It seems even the right-wing Centre for Policy Studies is proposing an independent sentencing council which would set guidelines on sentencing and establish principles for courts to adopt. This is a measure the Society has advocated for some time but it is absolutely essential that the Government deals with the racism inherent in the system. An inde-

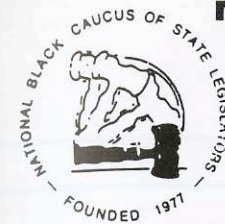
pendent council by itself without full monitoring and without real authority would not reduce the overall willingness to lock up offenders.

Custody must genuinely be used as the last and not the first resort. There must also be greater emphasis on re-education for those in custody as opposed to a 23-hour lock up regime. Events such as the riots at Ridley Remand Centre will occur with greater frequency unless urgent action is taken.

The degree of maturity achieved by a society is marked in part by the degree of understanding and flexibility it shows to those who have broken its rules. It is high time in this country that we achieved that degree of maturity.

Equality of treatment before the law is a fundamental human right which is at present being denied to Black people in Britain. A democracy, however, does not in itself guarantee that freedom without commitment from those in authority. If the racism which pervades the Criminal Justice System is allowed to continue unchecked, we will all suffer in the years to come.

* The Society of Black Lawyers was created by lawyers of African and Asian descent in the late 1970's to further the interests of Black people in the legal profession and in the country generally.



THE NATIONAL BLACK CAUCUS OF STATE LEGISLATORS

206 Hall of the States Building, 444 N. Capitol St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 624-5457

April 12, 1989

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Executive Officers
Rep. David P. Richardson, Jr.
(Pennsylvania) President
Rep. Patricia Davis
(Alabama) Vice President
Rep. Calvin Smyre
(Georgia) Secretary
Sen. David S. Holmes
(Michigan) Treasurer
Assemblyman Willie B. Brown
(New Jersey) Parliamentarian

At-Large Members
Rep. Mary Bland
(Missouri)
Rep. Margaret Carter
(Oregon)
Rep. Marcia Coggs
(Wisconsin)
Rep. Lois DeBerry
(Tennessee)
Rep. Pete Drew
(Tennessee)
Rep. Walt Furnance
(Alaska)
Asm. Mildred Barry Garvin
(New Jersey)
Rep. Frank Gilbert
(South Carolina)
Rep. Abraham L. Giles
(Connecticut)
Rep. Ruth Harper
(Pennsylvania)
Rep. Raymond A. Jordon
(Massachusetts)
Rep. Norman Justice
(Kansas)
Sen. Benjamin Lambert III
(Virginia)
Del. Nathaniel Oaks
(Maryland)
Rep. Gloria Tanner
(Colorado)
Rep. James Thomas
(Alabama)
Sen. Carolyn Walker
(Arizona)
Rep. Annette Polly Williams
(Wisconsin)

Regional Caucus Chairs
Rep. Carrie Saxon Perry
(Connecticut) Region 1
Sen. Andrew Jenkins
(New York) Region 2
Del. Nathaniel Exum
(Maryland) Region 3
Rep. Roscoe Dixon
(Tennessee) Region 4
Sen. Theo Mitchell
(South Carolina) Region 5
Rep. Douglas Jamerson
(Florida) Region 6
Rep. John Rogers
(Alabama) Region 7
Rep. Charlie Brown
(Indiana) Region 8
Rep. Charlie Harrison
(Michigan) Region 9
Rep. Harold Dutton
(Texas) Region 10
Rep. O. L. Shelton
(Missouri) Region 11
Asm. Gwen Moore
(California) Region 12

Rep. Carolyn Kilpatrick
Chairperson: Women's Caucus of NBCSL

Bernie Grant, MP
Chairperson
Parliamentary Black Caucus
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

Dear Mr. Grant:

It was indeed a pleasure, privilege, and honor to have participated in the Inaugural Activities of the Parliamentary Black Caucus. You need to know how much we appreciated your friendship, comradery, hospitality, and generosity during our short but meaningful stay in London, England for the founding of the Parliamentary Black Caucus. You are definitely the quintessential grassroots brothers and sisters of the movement; and we would love to continue working with you to help strengthen and link the community. We are at your immediate disposal to ensure that the common bond connecting our brothers and sisters across the waters with mutual issues that impact our constituencies across the United States is not lost.

Again, thank you for allowing us to participate, and we look forward to working with you more closely in the near future.

Yours in the struggle for the
liberation of oppressed people everywhere,

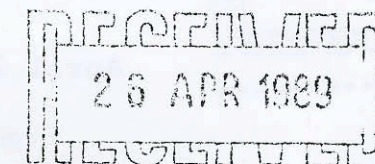
David P. Richardson, Jr.
David P. Richardson, Jr.
President

DPR:klw

NBCSL

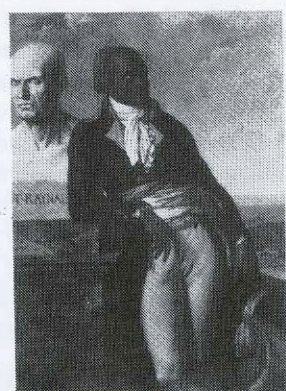
"A National Network for Community Enrichment!"

Directors
David Phifer, Esq.
Executive Director
Stanley Straughter
Management Consultant
Clarence M. Mitchell, III
General Consultant
General Counsel
Ronald A. White, Esq.



New Perspectives Ltd.

CLASSIC FRAMED PRINTS



Black Fine Art Specialists

484 West Green Road, London N15 3DA
Telephone: 889 9348

Carlos Allen
PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO
ART GALLERY

5, Wordsworth Parade,
Opposite 677 Green Lanes,
London N8 OSJ



Complete Wedding Service

Engagements, Photographs, Gowns, Videos
Cakes, Cars, Catering, Stationery, etc

Also over 12 inexpensive and high quality
products/services including:

Portraits, Christenings, Banquets,
Picture Framing, Photo-Albums,
Paintings, Greeting Cards, Mirrors,
Exhibitions, Silk Shirts,
Exclusive Ladies and Children's Wear etc

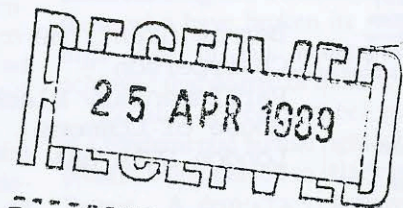
Hours of opening:
10.00am - 6.00pm Mondays/Saturdays
1.00pm - 5.00pm Sundays
Tel: 881 9494



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR.
THIRTEENTH DISTRICT
MICHIGAN

April 20, 1989



The Right Honorable Bernie Grant, M.P.
House of Commons
Westminster
London
SW1A 0AA

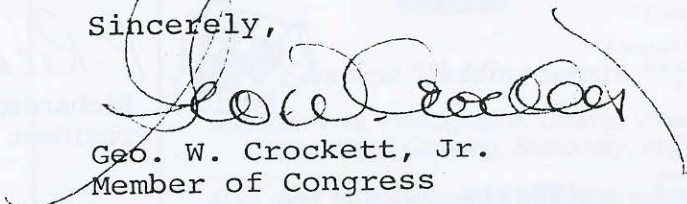
Dear Mr. Grant:

It was a great pleasure to have the opportunity to meet you on my recent visit to London. My wife and I both considered this a wonderful chance to talk with our brethren on the "other side" of the Atlantic. The occasion was one we will remember with great fondness.

As I mentioned to you, I am sending with this letter a copy of my legislation addressing the needs of the Caribbean. I hope you will find it informative.

Thank you again for your warmth and hospitality; we look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,


Geo. W. Crockett, Jr.
Member of Congress

GWC:jtw

Enclosure



NATIONAL BLACK CAUCUS of Local Elected Officials

"Making An Affirmative Difference In The Nation's Cities"

April 20, 1989

2305 Fifth Street
Muskegon Heights, Michigan 49444
(616) 733-1581

President
Hon. Rillastine R. Wilkins
Muskegon Heights, MI

Executive Director
Bette Treadwell

The Honorable
Diane Abbott, M.P.
David Lord Pitts, M.P.
Bernie Grant, M.P.
Keith Vas, M.P.
House of Commons
London, S.W.I.A., O.A.A.



Dear Members of Parliament:

On behalf of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, I would like to thank you, the Black Members of Parliament, for including the National Policy Institute in the ceremonies celebrating your installation.

The experience of being there in the House of Parliament not only provided us with a sense of history, but also made each of us very proud to witness the beginning of something very great and important.

As your cousin across the sea, we stand ready to assist you in any manner that is necessary. Therefore, always feel free to contact us if needed.

May God bless each and every one of you.

Sincerely,



Rillastine R. Wilkins
President, NBC/LEO

RRW:lm

cc: The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums, Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus
The Honorable Hilda Pemberton, N.O.B.C.O.
The Honorable David P. Richardson, Jr.,
State Representative
Mr. Eddie Williams
The Honorable Judge Howard E. Bell
The Honorable Mayor James Usry

THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN

CALLING ALL ADVERTISERS!
NEXT ISSUE OF THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN
OUT JANUARY 15TH 1990

DON'T MISS OUT
GET YOUR ADVERTISEMENTS IN
ON TIME COPY DEADLINE:
JANUARY 2ND 1990

TEAR OFF SLIP BELOW

AND RETURN TO:
THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A QUARTER/HALF/FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT
IN THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN (Delete as required)

COMPANY

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

RETURN TO: **THE BLACK PARLIAMENTARIAN**,
247A WEST GREEN ROAD,
TOTTENHAM, LONDON N15 TELEPHONE: (01) 800 5994

THE MAYFAIR HERITAGE GROUP (PLC)

RESIDENTIAL
MORTGAGES

INDIVIDUAL
PENSIONS

GENERAL
INSURANCE

CORPORATE
PENSIONS

MANAGEMENT
CONSULTANCY

COMMERCIAL
FINANCE



CUSTOMER LIAISON

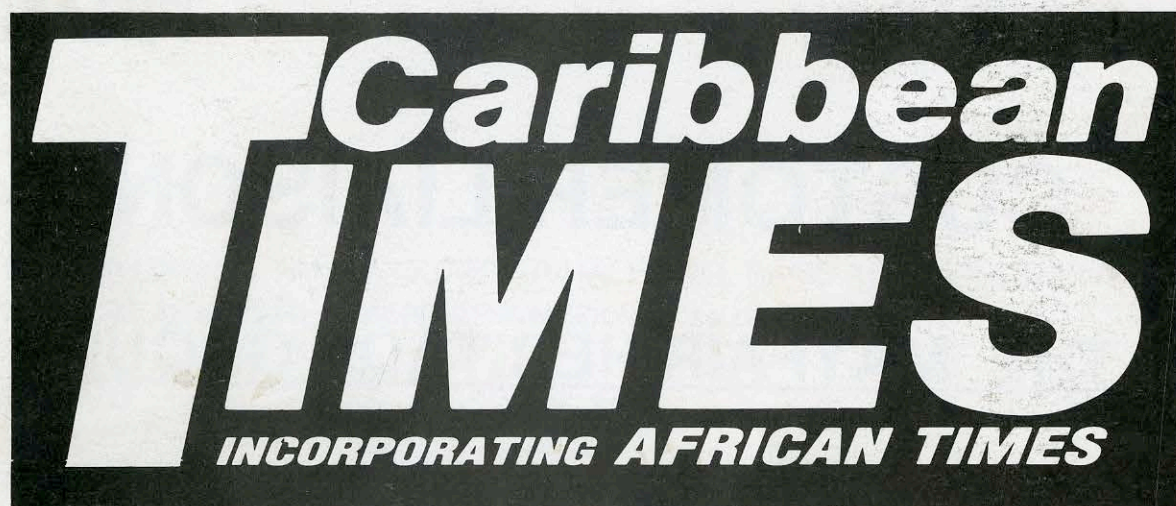
THE MAYFAIR HERITAGE GROUP PLC

*IS A FINANCIAL SERVICES INTERMEDIARY
PROVIDING*

BROKING, ADVISORY
AND CONSULTANCY SERVICES
TO PERSONAL, COMMERCIAL
AND CORPORATE CLIENTS.

FOR FURTHER DETAILS CALL:-
01-289-0272

**FOR TOO LONG
BLACK PEOPLE
HAD NO CHOICE**



CHANGED ALL THAT.