

# A BLACK MANIFESTO

The situation facing Asian, African and Caribbean people in Britain and what the government must do to address it

# 2005

supported by



# **A Black<sup>1</sup> Manifesto for**

## **EQUALITY IN OUR LIFETIME**

"All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development".

International Convention for Civic and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1<sup>st</sup> article

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Black' is used as a generic term in reference to all communities facing racism due to the colour of their skin. We are aware of the popular usage of the term as reference to African Caribbean communities and the use of the term by political activists, which embraces Asian and African Caribbean communities. We value cultural diversity and the richness of these communities. Therefore, we seek to be inclusive by making reference to Asian, African Caribbean and other communities as far as possible. The issue of the importance of unity in the struggle against racism and for racial equality cannot be understated. We believe it is healthy for our movements to debate terminology, so that unity can be created.

## Executive Summary

In 2005 Black communities in Britain continue to suffer shocking levels of racism. This third Black Manifesto places the challenge and the responsibility for dramatically reducing the negative and debilitating effects of institutional racism with local, regional and national politicians along with the civil service.

The facts show that in many areas discrimination is getting worse. In relation to education, African-Caribbean youth are slipping further behind the national average GCSE results. Islamophobia is on the rise. In many areas of the country racial attacks continue unabated. The introduction by the Government of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 was clearly a step forward, however, in its present form it is still not enough to deliver race equality.

While recognising the widespread extent of racism, this Manifesto is a positive agenda for change. This document is the result of national consultation and research with Black communities across Britain. At its core, it demands that the next Government radically rethinks its approach to tackling both institutional racism and the inequalities it causes in so many areas of life.

Among the key demands is the introduction of legislation on delivering employment and education equity to tackle historical imbalances. In particular, the adoption of affirmative action legislation in employment, modelled on existing anti discriminatory laws in Northern Ireland that have sought to address discrimination faced by the Catholic community. We also propose student intake quotas for high-achieving schools, colleges and universities.

On criminal justice we propose the full implementation of Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 requiring comprehensive and forensic end to end systemic monitoring of race and all aspects of the Criminal Justice System. This must be backed by the appropriate corrective action including disciplinary action against police officers, probation officers, magistrates and judges who demonstrate a continued pattern of discrimination.

In relation to political democracy we argue for the introduction of legislation banning any party whose aims, policies or political statements contravene race or human rights laws; the introduction of all-Black shortlists in wards and constituencies with significant Black populations and extending Race Relations legislation to all political parties.

In Government we need leadership. We propose a Minister for Race in the Cabinet, the establishment of civil service race champions at the level of Permanent Secretary covering education, employment and criminal justice.

We believe these policies are necessary because without serious action we will not see equality in our lifetime, or the lifetime of our grandchildren.

The facts speak for themselves:

- Infant mortality rates in the Pakistani and Caribbean communities are twice that of Whites.
- Unemployment in many Black communities is at least three times higher than for White people and in some cases even worse than that eg: 70% of Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets are unemployed.
- Two thirds of Black people live in the worst housing in the country.

- Black people are 6.4 times more likely to be stopped and searched than their White counterparts (a rise on last year).
- Stop and search use under anti terrorist levels for Asians has risen by over 300% in the last two years, with under 2% resulting in arrest.

In Britain's democratically elected institutions Black communities are woefully under represented. At Westminster there are thirteen Black MPs out of 659, only two of whom are Black women.

Levels of Black homelessness are rising dramatically, as are the numbers in prison and those registered as suffering from mental illness. Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities are worst affected. Many communities are trapped in a circle of poverty caused and exacerbated by racism.

This Manifesto argues that with political will, combined with the collaboration of Black communities, racism and the inequalities it causes can be effectively addressed.

Failure of Government action will consign at least three or four generations of Black people to second class status and third rate opportunities. The consequences of Black alienation and lack of hope will have repercussions for all of society.

We intend that this Manifesto will be used by Black organisations<sup>2</sup> in discussions with the next Government so that *together* we can deliver **Equality in our Lifetime**.

## KEY DEMANDS

### **EQUALITY IN OUR LIFETIME**

#### Central Government

A Minister for Race. Establish a race equalities unit located in the Cabinet Office and accountable to a new Cabinet/Treasury Equalities Performance and Finance Committee. Civil service Race Equality champions covering education, employment and criminal justice.

#### Employment

Affirmative action legislation for public and private sectors based on current Fair Employment legislation in Northern Ireland designed to tackle discrimination against the Catholic community. Extend current Race Relations Legislation requiring the duty to promote race equality to the private sector. Accountability to communities for all employment initiatives.

#### Education

High achieving schools, colleges and universities to have legally binding quotas for intakes for low income Black and Minority Ethnic children. An end to disproportionate exclusions for Black pupils. Support for Black led schools/academies and supplementary schools. Introduction of a more globalised curriculum.

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<sup>2</sup> the organisations contributing to this Manifesto are working together to develop a broad coalition of Black led progressive organisations

### Criminal Justice System

Review all anti-terror legislation and repeal where it is shown not to be effective, particularly for example in relation to Section 44 stops and searches. Drive through implementation of Section 95 Criminal Justice Act 1991 requiring comprehensive monitoring of race and all aspects of the Criminal Justice System. Ensure disciplinary action for staff within the Criminal Justice System such as police officers, probation officers, magistrates and judges who consistently return disproportionate racial outcomes.

### Political representation

Action against race hatred in politics by amending the Representation of the People's Act so that any party, such as the BNP, whose aims, statements, policies contravene race or human rights laws are banned. Make parties subject to Race Relations Legislation and introduce all-Black shortlists in wards and constituencies with significant Black communities.

### Religious Discrimination and Islamophobia

Implement legislation prohibiting incitement to religious hatred and religious discrimination in employment, goods, services or facilities in both the private and public sector. Introduce monitoring for stops and searches by religion. Cleanse policing and counter-terrorism strategies to ensure they are not biased against particular racial or religious groups particularly against Muslim communities and are in line with the provisions of the Human Rights Act.

### Asylum & Immigration

Reaffirm Britain's commitment to 1951 Geneva Convention. End draconian policies against asylum seekers such as forced dispersal and detention. Celebrate the contribution of asylum seekers and migrants to the economy. Challenge the hysteria whipped up by the press and politicians for political gain. An amnesty for Asylum seekers whose claims are over two years old.

### Race Equality Legislation and citizenship

A Single Equalities Act which recognises that different forms of discrimination need distinct approaches. Full incorporation of the International Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). A Bill of Rights to guarantee social rights such as equal access to justice. Abandon citizenship tests and instead enshrine equal citizenship for all in a US-style Citizenship Act.

### Health & Housing

Bring forward comprehensive strategic plans to eliminate racial disparities in health rates. Race equality targets should be a prerequisite before any 'star rating' is given to Health Trusts. Support for Black housing associations and an expanded role for credit unions in securing mortgages for Black first time buyers.

### International

An apology for transatlantic slavery and establishment of a UK reparation tribunal. Debt, trade investment strategies for the African continent and the establishment of a UK Educational Foundation for the descendants of slaves, must be the main focus of UK reparations. We welcome the high profile campaigns highlighting the devastating effect of debt on Black nations. The calls to alleviate the effects of these disastrous policies must now be met with Government action.

## Introduction

The 2005 Black Manifesto outlines the political, social and economic policy demands for Britain's Black communities, from both a domestic and international perspective.

This is the third Black Manifesto and it is unique in its breadth of collaborative support by Black and faith groups. Over a period of nine months a series of meetings and consultations have been held up and down the country, in addition to extensive internet based consultation that has helped us highlight concerns and identify a broad range of political priorities and policy demands from Britain's Black communities.

This societal racism is clearly evidenced by accepted research<sup>3</sup> indicating large scale and deep-rooted racial disproportionality within the spheres of employment and provision of services throughout the public and private sectors. In the immediate run up to the 2005 general election these demands will be publicised as key questions for those seeking the Black vote and examining ways in which to combat discrimination.

Furthermore, the Manifesto is coupled with Black political/demographic research, which highlights 70 marginal seats in which the Black vote could decide who wins and who loses in those constituencies. These seats represent the balance of power and determine the scale of majority for the next Government. In such circumstance the Black vote becomes important and when allied to a progressive agenda for social change this Manifesto becomes critical to tackling racism in the UK.

At its core this Manifesto is an agenda for social justice, and the delivery of race equality. It is an agenda that allows the UK to move toward a British society that utilises all of the talents its' diverse communities have to offer. In a global economy diversity is increasingly seen as making a real difference for access to world markets.

Our aim is three-fold:

- To challenge the political establishment to recognise that the Black electorate, with a political agenda, will play a significant role in this forthcoming election and therefore cannot be ignored.
- To inspire a Black generation as never before to become strategically empowered to achieve long term political, social and economic change.
- To initiate a national forum to discuss, build consensus and alliances with organisations, communities, groups that share a common agenda for change.

Since the last General Election in 2001, racial inequalities have increased across key areas of Government social policy and private sector practice. An examination of the key areas of health, education and employment and the dispensation of criminal justice provides compelling evidence that racism in terms of its influence on structural outcomes in these key areas continues to flourish.

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<sup>3</sup> The British Crime Survey 2003, 'Race Equality In Public Services' Home Office 2005, 'Strengthening Society, Improving Opportunity' Home Office 2005, 'Statistics on Race and The Criminal Justice System' Home Office 2005

New social developments that demonstrate the extent to which contemporary racism has increased its impact, is demonstrated by the increased level of Islamophobia, anti terrorist criminalisation and the climate of fear that has engulfed Asian and Muslim communities in particular.

This evolving racism is further evidenced by the sustained attacks by Government and sections of the media on asylum seekers and refugees and most recently the attacks on traveller communities.

In the frenzied climate of a General Election politicians of all parties must resist the seductive temptation of exploiting sections of the British public who still articulate the politics of race through the irrational prejudice and fears fed by the print media and reinforced by unscrupulous politicians.

### **UK Race Legislation and Policy**

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report<sup>4</sup>, with its seventy recommendations and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 have all been important steps in the fight against racism. However, the lack of real leadership and serious political will to implement or capacity to monitor and impose sanctions on all aspects of the legislation appears to be symptomatic of the general Government and civil service inertia to effectively tackle institutionalised racism. New arrangements to deliver race equality must start with the creation at Cabinet level of a Minister for Race and the establishment of a Royal Commission on Race and Racism. In addition we argue for a Cabinet\Treasury Equalities Finance Performance Committee based on the model used by the Mayor of London to drive forward Government Departments achievement of targeted equalities and to rationalise cross-departmental strategic priorities. This Manifesto also outlines what other arrangements are necessary to bring policy and systems coherence to current chaotic arrangements.

In short, under the current arrangements and delivering at around or even a little above the current rate of progress, race equality cannot be delivered in a range of employment areas or the equitable provision of public services, until somewhere between 2150 and 2200. This means that as Black British citizens we will not experience the same quality of human rights protections and life chance expectations as currently enjoyed by the majority of contemporary White British citizens within our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime or our grandchildren's lifetime. The political challenge for Government as set out in this Manifesto is quite simply to deliver an agenda capable of achieving **'Equality in our Lifetime'**.

### **Europe, Racism and the Far Right**

As most of 'fortress Europe' has lurched to the right, with disastrous consequences for Black people and refugees and asylum seekers in those countries, we have seen the absolute folly of misguided liberalism seeking to tackle racism by appeasing racist sentiment and in some cases acceding to racism itself. Labour, Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives, have all lacked moral and political leadership in seeking to challenge racism. Instead we have seen rhetorical commitment to state anti racism and diversity at a national level and a failure to act or challenge racism within the media, political parties and at a local level.

Instead of challenging the lies and bigotry around race, faith, immigration and asylum they have engaged in a 'bidding war' on who can be the toughest against Black people, Muslims, travellers and asylum seekers.

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Report of an Inquiry - By Sir William Macpherson of Cluny February 1999

As in Europe, appeasing an ultra-right wing agenda has only succeeded in affording the British National Party and the United Kingdom Independence Party unprecedented political success. Along with their success, not surprisingly, we have also witnessed an alarming increase in racial abuse and attacks.

### **UK Anti Terrorism Legislation**

The 'war on Iraq' and the subsequent deluge of 'anti-terror' legislation, some of it deemed illegal by Law Lords, has done much to alienate Black communities and has demonstrably undermined the very essence of democracy and the rule of law. The use of powers under anti terrorist legislation for stop and search have increased in the last two years by over 300% for Asians, and for Africans and Caribbeans 250%<sup>5</sup>.

It is the prevailing poverty and inequality of opportunity that residually undermines important but piecemeal initiatives. The Government's own figures that two thirds of the UK's Black communities live in the poorest areas of the country should leave no-one in any doubt about the challenges ahead.

### **Conclusion**

The Black Manifesto explores these and other issues offering positive and tangible solutions that would include greater community dialogue and involvement with the Government and its agencies. Accountability too is a central theme in this document. Government employment or policy targets become meaningless unless failure to achieve them results in intervention, correction and real change. Continued failure by the next Government to promptly and effectively begin a process of radical change will have dire consequences. The raising of political consciousness amongst the Black communities means that no one party can take the Black vote for granted. We believe that the calls and concerns of the Black communities must be heeded by the parties, or they will risk losing our sizeable, influential vote.

Specifically the continuing and increasing criminalisation of young Muslims and other Black youths will leave a generation economically stranded and politically disenfranchised. Getting Government response to these problems right however, serves everyone, as we begin to use all the UK's talent. It is our view that such a scenario must be avoided and that decisive action by Governments and the private sector can make a real difference to our predicted outcomes.

To this end we call on Government to establish a Royal Commission on Race and Racism in the UK. By establishing this Commission the Government would clearly indicate a willingness to engage with communities who suffer racism and endure racial inequality in a genuine partnership. Consultation about all aspects of the Commissions role and remit could precede its establishment. Utilising comprehensive statistical analysis of the rates of racism and disproportionality, and using a predictive research model capable of assessing future Government performance against a range of desired race equality outcomes would offer a real agenda based on proper analysis and considered opinion.

Black communities should be key partners in these analyses, partnership working and ensuring accountability to Black communities.

The first Manifesto pledge being sought is based on a concern that race equality policy and practice suffers from the lack of a cohesive cross Government strategy

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<sup>5</sup> Statistics on Race and Criminal Justice System 2004/2005

and instead manifests itself as a series of toolkits and top down approaches which neither deliver on race equality nor engage the expertise of communities.

**Therefore seminal demands of this Manifesto are:**

- The appointment of a Minister for Race to oversee:
- The establishment of a Royal Commission on Race with powers akin to a public inquiry. The Commission will undertake a critical review of race inequality in Britain, which particularly targets poverty and unemployment in the public and private sectors and works extensively with Black communities in the UK to challenge the discourse and set a new agenda for the delivery of race equality.
- The establishment of a central race equality unit in the Cabinet Office or Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, accountable to a Cabinet Equalities Finance and Performance committee linked to the Treasury.
- The development of a cross Government Race Equality Strategy continuously informed by engagement with Black led community organisations. This should be informed by a Black community led race equality review of Government legislation, policy and practice and including international obligations.
- Introduction of Fair Employment Legislation based on the legislative principles as established in the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act and the Fair Employment and Treatment Order to establish employment equity between different racial and religious Group.
- Establishment of a Fair Employment Agency.
- Proscribe the BNP, Combat 18 or the National Front or any other organisation whose constitution, aims, objectives or pronouncements are incompatible with the duties imposed by the Race Relations Act 1976 as amended, or the Human Rights Act.

<b>Royal Commission on Race</b>
This Commission would provide an in depth scrutiny of racism and its effects in the UK prioritising Education and Employment. Reporting to Government, the commission would accept expert submissions and community testimony and propose key recommendations for change, capable of delivering and sustaining a reduction in racial inequality in the UK.
<b>Cabinet Level Race Minister</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overarching responsibility for delivery, sets key Performance Indicators across all areas of social policy</li> <li>• Race champions at permanent secretary levels in each social policy area particularly Employment, Education, Criminal Justice (as already exists in the NHS)</li> </ul>
<b>Centralised Equality Unit</b>
<p>Leads on Cross-government Race Equality Strategy located in Cabinet office guided by a <b>Cabinet/Treasury Equalities finance and performance committee</b> for scrutiny/accountability. Sets and monitors Public Service Agreements (PSA) at national and regional levels</p> <p>Key elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secretariat Team</li> <li>• Annual report on the state of Black Britain with recommendations</li> <li>• Intervention capability – monthly monitoring</li> <li>• Regional Units (maybe Regional Development Agencies and Government offices) monitoring performance on PSA and Race Equality Schemes</li> </ul>
<b>Support and development for UK wide collaboration with Black Communities</b>

## Tackling unemployment

Addressing the high levels of unemployment amongst many Black communities plays a major part in the fight against poverty. Of course one cannot ignore other factors such as housing, health and education, but gainful employment begins the process of lifting oneself, ones family and the wider community out of the general cycle of poverty and welfare dependency. Almost two-thirds of Black communities live in five urban areas (London, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham), with almost half living in London and 42% percent living in the 50 most deprived districts of England, as compared to 22% of White communities. The Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force Annual Report (2004) stresses that Black communities are more likely to live in poverty:

Table 1.1: Percentage of population living in low income households by ethnic group of head of household and as proportion of all individuals

Ethnic group	Whole Population	Children
White	16%	18%
Ethnic minority, of which:	34%	38%
Mixed	17%	21%
Indian	17%	19%
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	60%	65%
Black	26%	27%
Chinese or other ethnic group	34%	28%

The experience of tackling discrimination in Northern Ireland is useful as a legislative model for reducing inequality in employment patterns. The Fair Employment Act and the Fair Employment and Treatment Order (Northern Ireland) were implemented as a result of lobbying from the disadvantaged communities in Northern Ireland, and have far reaching powers. These have unfortunately not been enacted fully as they have been decoupled from independent accountability to the disadvantaged communities, which needs to be a prerequisite of effective policies.

Demographic growth, combined with high unemployment rates and a very slow rate of change, is resulting in unbearable strains for some Black communities. Rates of unemployment for some are as high as 16%, as compared to a 5.6% unemployment rate for White men.

The alarming figures for Black unemployment show all minority ethnic groups to have higher levels of unemployment but it is particularly high for Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities:

Ethnic group	Women	Men
White	3.8%	5.6%
Chinese	5.4%	5.5%
Indian	6.2%	6.1%
Black Caribbean	7.8%	14.9%
Black African	12.2%	14.2%
Pakistani	14.5%	13.6%
Bangladeshi	16.5%	15.9%

But these figures dwarf into insignificance when we look at particular areas and a youth dynamic. 70% of young Bangladeshi's in Tower Hamlets for example are unemployed. This local borough simultaneously incorporates some of the wealthiest people in the UK who live in Canary Wharf and the poorest. There are others around the UK such as Birmingham, Brent, Swansea and Cardiff which have Black levels of unemployment that surpass 50%.

What is particularly worrying about these unacceptable levels is that they have persisted for the last 30 years and unless radical action is taken, current patterns of recruitment and retention means inequality will remain for at least another 60 years. Current Government initiatives are failing Black youth in relation to education and employment.

Black communities are expected to resist this culture through moral fortitude and an adherence to the rule of law whilst struggling to access Government resources and business support to open supplementary schools and youth groups or to create practical apprenticeships and work experience schemes.

Tackling poverty by addressing unemployment is also one part of a wider problem. The data suggests that when Black communities are in employment they are likely to be at the lowest level and with few or no employment rights.

In 2003 the Government commissioned MORI to undertake focus group research to gain the views of Black individuals from around the country on labour market barriers. They listed racial discrimination, lack of role models, ineffective equal opportunities policies, inadequate careers advice, insufficient childcare and the benefits trap as the key issues for the Government to tackle.

It is estimated that 50% of the growth in the working population will come from Black communities between 1999 and 2009. Labour market barriers must be tackled if these groups are to play their full part in the UK's economic success.

We want to ensure Black individuals and organisations are given the public investment to develop effective solutions. All too often public funds fail to reach and empower Black communities. It is time the Government realised that Black people have the ability and desire to deliver employment programmes successfully in their communities.

At the same time, in an effort to cater to business attitudes and needs – such as the desire for no new regulation – Government is failing to push the private sector in its performance on race equality. The private sector, both as employers and public service providers, has a key role to play in developing and harnessing the skills of Black communities. Despite Government rhetoric, the private sector is not living up to a model of good corporate citizenship.

With local Government alone spending £40 billion on goods, works and services, public procurement is a key lever for changing behaviour in the private sector. Public procurement offers incentives for business to change: access to Government monies must require high performance on race equality. The current legal framework under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 provides for this approach. The IPPR (Institute for Public Policy Research) business-led Race Equality and Diversity Task Force in its report *Race Equality: the benefits for responsible business* (2004) and the employer-led National Employment Panel (2005) in its recent recommendations to the Chancellor, have emphasised that the private sector is not averse to greater use of public procurement as a lever to influence employer behaviour in race equality and to improving public service

delivery. However, despite calls from employers to more effectively use this lever, the demonstration of political will and leadership does not exist.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Develop a programme of radical action for tackling unemployment in Black communities, which is capable of delivering equality within the lifetime of the current generation and administered by Regional Development Agencies.
- Implement the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act along with the subsequent Fair Employment and Treatment Order in the public and private sector allowing for the introduction of affirmative action to achieve employment equity.
- Establish a Fair Employment Authority.
- Additionally extend the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 general duty to promote good race relations to cover the private sector.
- Ensure representation on Learning Skills Councils and Regional Development Agencies that reflects that regions demography.
- Fund accredited Black organisations to train and employ a pool of experienced diversity practitioners to work directly with private sector employers to improve their employment practices.
- Require all employment or small business support agencies and Jobcentre Plus district managers to produce and publish local action plans to close the employment gaps between Black and White groups. Regional development Agencies and Learning Skills Councils regional offices should agree these plans.
- Establish a clear programme, with targets to achieve supply side diversity in the procurement of all Government and local authority contracts.
- Each region should have a Black-led youth enterprise centre to promote enterprise in Black communities and educational institutions. This should be targeted at successful Black-led employment brokerage agencies.
- A Black voluntary and community sector work experience programme should be piloted and provide structured training and high quality placements in the public, private and voluntary sectors.
- Ensure that race equality outcomes form part of value for money in Government procurement, with clear leadership from the Chancellor and the Office of Government Commerce. Procurement at central and local levels needs to be regularly assessed for its impact on race equality in both service provision and employment practices.
- Set clear employment targets for the private sector, on a sectoral basis over the next five years, with progress being measured and widely publicised on an annual basis. This should include qualitative and quantitative evidence on recruitment, retention and promotion. Research should include the use of discrimination testing.
- Set measurable departmental targets over the next five years in improving skills in Black communities and increasing employment rates, with progress being measured and widely publicised on an annual basis. These targets should be both regional and UK wide.

## Education

'Equality in education equals equality in life' is a widespread accepted principle that is disproved by the underemployment of Black graduates. Dismantling the barriers that hold many Black children back is not only right and just - it is fundamental to tackling the causes of poverty. While the costs of tackling the inequality crisis in our education system are minimal, compared to the long term costs to society of inaction, they are huge. These costs of crime, the criminal justice system, imprisonment, drug rehabilitation and victim support continue to rise.

The gap between African-Caribbean boys' educational attainment and that of their White counterparts is ever widening. Just 27.3%<sup>6</sup> of Black Caribbean boys gain GCSE grades A-C, compared to the national average of 52.3%. While overall GCSE results are improving year on year, the same is not true for Black boys. Although there have been some examples of huge improvement (Tower Hamlets for Example) attainment of Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils is also a major cause for concern. This pattern of failure destroys life-chances and perpetuates generational unemployment. In some neighbourhoods twice as many Black youth are in prison than university.

We must learn from those who have succeeded in turning failure into success and be open to new ideas. Too often the education system works to 'level down' Black high achievers. Black children, in particular African Caribbean boys perform as well if not better than the rest of school children population up to their entry into secondary education, when their performance plummets. The experience of United States Black Universities such as Morehouse and Spelman in Chicago shows the merits of Black centres of learning excellence. The Government should support the trialling of Black led schools and increase support for supplementary schools.

Many supplementary schools desperately need more resources. The Moseley school in Birmingham is a successful example of integrating the supplementary school approach into the school day. Teaching meditation, Black history, African drumming and British Black poetry they have raised the grades of African-Caribbean pupils. Such examples of progress must be replicated across Britain. But while seeking solutions to rescuing inner city children from educational failure, we should not forget that many Black children are among the brightest of their generation and also need our support.

At the same time while 56% of Black communities attend university, compared to a national average of 40%, a figure inflated with the numbers of mature and over-sea students, they are often concentrated in less prestigious institutions. The Red Brick and Oxbridge universities continue to lock out talented Black students, which further hamper progress in achieving greater Black representation in Parliament, Whitehall and top businesses. Efforts to deal with this have been inadequate. We need positive action that requires our top learning institutions to embrace equality in their intake. A proportionate number of places should be reserved for Black students who meet the necessary qualification standards. Following the example of the Mayor of London a national positive action campaign is also needed to tackle the under representation of Black people in the teaching profession and in teacher training.

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<sup>6</sup> Sources: Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market - Final report: 2003, Office of National Statistics

The national curriculum needs further reform to better value multicultural history, culture and perspectives. Multiculturalism should not be restricted to inner city schools, and the multicultural aspects of the curriculum should not be optional. If ignorance and discrimination are to be eradicated from society then pupils, wherever they live, should have the benefits of multicultural curriculum with a global perspective. Black history should be holistic, not restricted to information about a small number of inventors or give the impression Black history began with slavery or colonialism. Similarly British history must not be sanitised and reduced to a Eurocentric view.

African Caribbean pupils are still between three and four times more likely to be excluded from school than White pupils<sup>7</sup> - and that's just the official figure. The disproportionately high levels of exclusion directly affect educational achievement. Too often exclusions have the effect of damaging self-esteem and condemning children to failure. Too many excluded pupils leave education altogether. Exclusions should be the last resort – it is an admission of the failure of a school to moderate a child's behaviour. Yet some schools use exclusions as the first resort. Exclusions are frequently inconsistent or are administered with scant evidence of wrongdoing. Pupils should not be permanently excluded for one-off offences unless they are serious, such as carrying knives or guns. A higher standard of evidence needs to be gathered before an exclusion is endorsed.

Too many high performing state schools use their selection procedures to deny places to Black pupils. Only 3% of pupils receiving free school meals go to the top 200 schools compared to 17% nationally. The situation is at least as bad for Black communities. We believe there should be locally set quotas for Black pupil intake.

In further and higher education disproportionate drop out rates and exclusion of Black students must be tackled. The loss of the student grant and the imposition of top up fees will also leave Black graduates saddled with debt for longer than their White counterparts, as Black graduate unemployment is up to 4 times more than White counterparts.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Require quotas for Black intake for high performing secondary schools.
- Increase financial support to supplementary schools.
- Trial Black run schools or academies to combat disproportionate Black under achievement, allow talented Black pupils to flourish, and explore new Black-centred methods of teaching to raise attainment.
- Require Red Brick or 'old' universities to introduce positive action measures to reserve a proportion of places for Black students.
- Further reform the national curriculum to improve the teaching of Black history, broadening its depth and making it compulsory.
- Introduce fast track programmes and quotas for: teacher training colleges' intake of Black students; recruitment of Black teachers and Black governors.
- Appoint a race equality education champion to work alongside the Education minister.
- Drive down the disproportionately high number of school exclusions of Black children.
- Restore grants and remove tuition fees in higher education.

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<sup>7</sup> Document: "Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils." P.33 (dFES)

## Health

The NHS is failing the Black community, from the cradle to the grave. Infant mortality rates in the Pakistani and Caribbean communities are twice that of White people<sup>8</sup>. There is a higher incidence of cancers, haemoglobinopathies, diabetes, mental illness, tuberculosis, stroke and cardio-vascular disease among the Black community than the population as a whole. A report by the British Medical Association on the health of asylum seekers suggests that their health worsens after they reach the UK<sup>9</sup>.

Poverty, poor housing and unemployment play a key factor within the present data. According to the Acheson report<sup>10</sup>, "scientific evidence supports a socio-economic explanation of health inequalities." If you are poor, your health outcomes will be poor, and a large proportion of the Black community is poor: two thirds of the Black community live in the poorest areas. In addition, Black people are more likely to be unemployed or live in poor quality housing. A holistic approach to health of Black Britain is required.

While undoubtedly, social deprivation plays an important role in determining health outcomes, the additional factor of racism compounds the inequitable position.

The most recent example of institutional racism has concerned mental health services. Sir John Blofeld, chair of the seminal David Bennett Inquiry report<sup>11</sup> described mental health services as "a festering abscess, which is at present a blot on the good name of the NHS". The report highlighted institutional racism in the mental Health services. African Caribbeans are more likely than any other group to be diagnosed with schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis despite rates of mental ill health being similar across ethnic groups. African Caribbeans are 40% more likely to be turned away than White people when they ask for help. Rates of being forcibly restrained under the Mental Health Act are *double* for African Caribbeans (78%) compared to White patients (39%); African Caribbean men are six times more likely to be sectioned as their White counterparts. Rates of suicide in Asian women aged 15 to 24 increase to more than double the national average, among those 25 to 34 it is 60% higher.

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<sup>8</sup> Office of National Statistics. Infant and Prenatal Mortality by Social & Biological Factors 2000. Health Statistics quarterly 2001:12

<sup>9</sup> Figures in this section are from the following documents:

- *CRE Progress Report on Strategic Health Authorities*, CRE, April 2003.
- See *Breaking the Circles of Fear: a review of the relationship between mental health services and the African and Caribbean communities*, Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2002. [1] The Lawrence Inquiry defined institutional racism as "the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people," Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, 1999, p. 28.
- *Inside Outside: Improving Mental Health Services for Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in England*, National Institute for Mental Health in England/Department of Health, 2003.
- Barer, R., Fitzpatrick, J. and Traoré, C., *Health in London: Review of the London Health Strategy high level indicators*, 2004 update, Greater London Authority, 2004.
- *Asylum Seekers: Meeting their healthcare needs*, British Medical Association, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> *Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health* by Sir Donald Acheson 1998

<sup>11</sup> *The David Bennett inquiry report (Independent Inquiry into the death of David Bennett. Published by Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire Strategic Health Authority 2003)*

The Commission for Health Improvement (CHI) announced in 2004<sup>12</sup> that the performance of mental health trusts remained “a cause for concern”, as more than a third had a zero or one star rating. Unfortunately, the current Health minister, John Reid, has publicly refused to accept that the NHS is institutionally racist, giving no commitment to implement the Bennett inquiry’s recommendations

The way in which all Health Trusts and services are monitored and sanctioned must be improved, in particular the star rating system. It should not be possible to receive even the one star rating without meeting criteria for the delivery of race equality.

To effect real change for the Black community, the Government needs to effect change at every level of the NHS. As service users, Black people need better access to diagnosis and treatment, and need to be more involved as participants and partners for the delivery of health care, research and policy development.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Government must accept that institutional racism is a reality in the National Health service.
- Require the star rating audit system for health trusts to include at every level targets for the reduction of health inequalities for Black communities. This should be linked to performance reviews and be based upon better access to diagnosis and treatment for the Black community; reduction in disproportional morbidity; reduction in mental health statutory admissions and sectioning.
- Increase partnership working with and commissioning of the Black voluntary sector for the delivery of services.
- Ensure commitments to and targets for reducing race inequalities in health services, are built in to the terms of authorisation for all NHS Foundation Trusts.
- Fully implement the recommendations of the David Bennett Inquiry.
- Require race impact assessments for PALS (Local Patient Advice and Liaison Services) and PPIs (Public and Patient Involvement Forums) monitoring performance and their levels of Black representation.
- Make ICAS (Independent Complaints Advocacy Services) more accessible to Black communities.

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<sup>12</sup> Commission For Health Improvement: Mental Health Trusts Sector Report 2004

## Housing

The availability of adequate, affordable, appropriate and safe housing is critical particularly to issues of integration and non-discrimination, health and education yet Black communities live in some of the worst housing in Britain. More than 50% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households are in the 10% most deprived wards in England, and one third of Black Caribbean households compared to only 14% of White households. About one third of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households live in unfit properties compared to about 6% of White households<sup>13</sup>

Historically direct and indirect discrimination has been rife in the allocation of housing. Racial disadvantage has developed through a cycle of deprivation and lack of investment. Black people disproportionately live in poor run down property, in overcrowded conditions and on many of the worst local authority estates. Regeneration of these areas has been aimed at buildings and not always at people. Black communities often end up excluded and marginalised.

One of the few positive aspects of Government and Housing Corporation policy has been the encouragement of Black housing associations who have sought to empower Black communities through setting up their own housing organisations. Equality can only come about when Black communities participate equally in providing key services and are afforded fair opportunities to do so.

Black communities and groups such as refugees/asylum seekers face discrimination and racism in the allocation of housing. They face overcrowding and racial harassment. A disproportionate number of Black households figure in the homelessness registers of local authorities. More recently, the rise in house prices has meant that many people from Black communities cannot get their foot on the housing ladder.

The Government must also ensure that housing providers meet the needs of all Black communities including recent migrants. Without change, housing organisations will still remain unrepresentative of the Black communities. The middle and higher echelons on the provision of social housing will remain predominantly White. There is still a glass ceiling preventing people from Black communities achieving senior positions in housing. Black contractors and consultants generally find it virtually impossible to get work from housing authorities. The Housing Corporation must set out a new race strategy aimed at delivering growth in the Black housing sector and access to building contracts.

We need a two pronged approach to deal with this situation. First, we need to ensure that housing providers are genuinely multi-racial in their ethos; that their composition, particularly at senior levels, reflects the ethnicity of the communities they serve; that they have vigorous policies to promote equality of opportunity and fight discrimination; that they ensure that Black communities receive a service

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<sup>13</sup> 1999/00 Survey of English Housing, DTLR, 1996 English House Condition Survey, DTLR quoted in *Improving labour market achievements for ethnic minorities in British society*, Performance and Innovation Unit, Cabinet Office, July 2001, p11.

which is just as good as that given to the mainstream community and that Black contractors and consultants are given proper access to jobs and contracts.

We need to ensure that Black housing organisations are strengthened by more capital investment, support and involvement in all local and regional strategies.

In the short term, we would like to see all Black housing associations being brought up to a viability standard of 1,000 dwellings allowing them the organisational capacity and financial strength to participate fully as partners in the redevelopment and regeneration of the areas as well as meet the special needs of Black communities.

In the medium term, we would like to see Black organisations acting as the principals in any major redevelopment/regeneration initiative and not just as token partners. The Government must ensure a real dialogue between Regional Housing Boards, local authorities, Black housing organisations and other Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) on the distribution of resources and anti-racist strategies, including effective action against perpetrators of racial harassment, who continue to blight the lives of Black tenants and residents in local authority and housing association dwellings.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Develop and expand the role of credit unions in securing mortgages for Black first time buyers.
- Ensure that Choice Based Lettings systems are race-impact tested, and that vulnerable and disadvantaged Black applicants do not lose out in the competition for tenancies.
- Ensure that private developers and registered social landlords in the Housing Corporation's Partnering programme provide at least 20% of new rented homes to Black housing associations in London and at least 15% in the rest of England.
- Ensure that English Partnerships and Regional Development Agencies dispose of land such that 25% of the resulting new homes in London are targeted for development or management by Black RSLs, and 15% in the rest of England.
- Put greater emphasis on actively involving Black organisations in the design and delivery of regeneration programmes to deal with Black social exclusion.
- Empower and sustain Black social landlords to meet Black housing needs.
- Ensure that regeneration programmes in the Thames Gateway and other growth areas address Black housing needs.
- Ensure that each local housing authority has a published and competent Black housing strategy for its area. This must include anti-racist strategies particularly concerning racial harassment and ensure that the needs of victims of such harassment and violence are met through UK guidelines to housing providers and agencies within the criminal justice system.
- Increase the supply of housing that caters for Black communities' needs i.e. larger family accommodation for extended families.

## **Criminal Justice System (CJS)**

The criminal justice agencies; the prison service, court service, prosecution and probation service and the police have a major Public Sector Agreement target to be achieved by 2008 for 'reassuring the public, reducing the fear of crime and anti social behaviour, and building confidence in the Criminal Justice System without compromising fairness'<sup>14</sup>.

This reflects the ministerial priority which had seminal place in the Stephen Lawrence inquiry report in 1999. However the repetitive cycle of recommendations and targets will continue while the good intention is in discord with the reality of disproportional Black criminalisation across the CJS and until the operational defects in the CJS are tackled head on and sanctions applied.

The process of criminalisation continues; for example, 24.6% of the prison population are from Black communities; including foreign nationals, the average population of African and Caribbean prisoners has risen since 1994, by 113% and for Asian prisoners by 75% as compared with a 34% rise for White prisoners; there is a greater likelihood of custodial sentences, especially for first time offences; Black African or Caribbean people are also six times more likely to be arrested although Asian people are only slightly more likely to be arrested than White people<sup>15</sup>.

Criminalisation of Black communities was further illustrated by the discussions on ID cards. ID cards will be an infringement of civil liberties and human rights and will only lead to the further de-humanisation and demonisation of Black communities in Britain. The introduction of the cards will be counter productive to good race relations and also could lull Britain into a false sense of security. Recording and holding information on a national database will not stop a terrorist attack. Many countries with ID cards, such as Spain, have faced terrorist attacks.

The legislation and powers which particularly undermine the targets for confidence on the CJS are the CJA (Criminal Justice Act) 2003, stop and search powers and anti terrorist legislation. This is coupled with rising rates of racial attacks and murders.

### **CJA 2003**

Amongst others, the National Association of Probation Officers (napo) have expressed serious concerns about the effect of the Criminal Justice Act (CJA) 2003, and the impact it is likely to have on Black communities. This legislation could add an extra 10,000 to the annual prison population and would require an extra 30 prisons being built unless extra funds are found for alternatives, such as Custody Plus. This view is based on the likely effect of less jury trials, doubling the maximum sentence in the Magistrates Court, indeterminate custody and the allowing of previous convictions into court prior to sentencing.

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<sup>14</sup> 'Strengthening Society, Improving Opportunity' Home Office 2005:33

<sup>15</sup> 'Race and the Criminal Justice System: an overview to the complete statistics 2003/2004' (Home Office February 2005) (statistics from section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991)

## **Stop and Search**

Stop and search figures according to the 2005 Statistics showed another rise in disproportionality. In 2002/3, Black people were 6.4 times more likely and Asian people almost twice as likely to be stopped and searched as White people<sup>16</sup>.

The same set of statistics also show increases which add to the gross disproportionality of the previous year for stops/searches under section 44 of the Terrorism Act. Searches for Black African or Caribbean people were up 55% on the 230% in the previous year; for Asian people up 22% *from* 302%; of White people up 43% *from* 118%<sup>17</sup>. In 2002/03 the percentage arrested under these powers was 2% and the terrorism power is used 8 times more to arrest people for what has been called by some "ordinary crime" than for terrorism.

There are 19 different powers of stop and search each with their own prerequisites and associated rights for individuals. While only a third of these account for most of the stops /searches in Black communities they present as complex and inconsistent with so much potential for confusion, error and discretion that it is no wonder that stereotypical and discriminatory policing attitudes seep through the cracks. This is compounded by the statement from Hazel Blears stating that the Muslim community can expect to be targeted for increased stop and search.

It has taken six years since the Lawrence inquiry recommendations on stop and search to see them being implemented nationally. It will be critical that the giving of records and knowledge of rights is tightly monitored and in the public domain. Where there is evidence of malpractice, officers should be disciplined.

This leads us to question the efficacy of stops and searches under section 44 and indeed the whole gambit of anti terrorist legislation, which could only be passed if the UK derogated on the Human Rights Act Article 5, and itself only become law in 2000.

## **Anti terrorist legislation**

The anti terrorism measures are flawed as they undermine the central pillars of the British legal system, protection against unlawful detention, the right to a fair trial, and the presumption of innocence. The infamous miscarriages of justice which involved Irish suspects and use of the Prevention of Terrorism acts in the 70s and 80s are a reminder of the dangers of rushed anti-terror laws which create a twin-track system delivering poor justice. The ATCSA (Anti-Terrorism, Crime & Security Act 2001) which sanctioned the indefinite imprisonment at Belmarsh prison (Dubbed the 'UK's Guantanamo Bay) of foreign terror suspects without trial, or charge and more recently the Prevention of Terrorism Bill 2005, have added to Islamophobia.

Black communities, particularly the UK's Muslim population, have suffered from disproportionate numbers of arrests and detentions. Not only is this indefinite imprisonment of suspects in stark contrast to the democratic notion of the rule of law, but a ruling by the Law Lords deemed the detentions to be a breach of human rights. The hasty introduction of "Control Orders" under the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005, designed to replace the ATCSA are no better than back door methods of having more of the same.

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<sup>16</sup> 'Race and the Criminal Justice System: an overview to the complete statistics 2003/2004' (Home Office February 2005) (statistics from section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991)

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/s95race2003.pdf>

Of the 700 arrests; only 17 people were convicted of offences under ATCSA<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, nearly half of those convicted were not Black or Asian, dispelling the common, and untrue, perception of terrorism and Islam as interchangeable.

### **Victims of Crime**

Racist incidents recorded by the police have risen steadily from just over 10,000 in 1996/7 to about 50,000 incidents in 2001/2. In 2003/4 the number of racist incidents recorded by the police rose to 52,694 (+9.7%) from 49,078 in 2002/3. The 2003/4 British Crime survey however shows that the number of victims of racist attacks remained the same as in 2002/3 (206,000).<sup>19</sup>

While this may in part be due to better recording and reporting, it does not detract from the unacceptably high levels of racial attack. In addition the homicide figures illustrate an alarmingly high number of murders of Asian or African Caribbean people. The police recorded 2,605 homicides in the three-year period ending 2003/4. Ten per cent of these were of Black people, 6% Asian and 4% 'Other' minority ethnic groups. In addition people of mixed ethnic origins face the highest risks of being the victim of crime, although Asian people also face significantly higher risks of crime relative to other ethnic groups.

The Observer Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> March reported that Black or minority ethnic communities were three to four times more likely to be the subject of racial attack and reported 12 racist murders in the last four years.

It is imperative to pay more attention to the safety and protection of Black communities. Currently the view that we are 'underpoliced as victims of crime and overpoliced as citizens' is reinforced by the statistics.

### **What the next Government must do:**

- Facilitate an independent and critical race analysis and impact assessment of the CJS including the impact of the Criminal Justice Act 2003 and anti terrorist legislation. Either repeal or amend legislation to ensure non discriminatory outcomes, and non derogation from the Human Rights Act.
- Conduct a full and detailed review, including race impact assessments of stop and search powers<sup>20</sup> and their effects, repealing the powers under section 44 of the Terrorism Act if they cannot be proven as effective against terrorism.
- Introduce monitoring for stops and searches by religion.
- Bring in immediate monitoring of the use of powers under Paragraphs 7 and 8 of Schedule 7 (searches at airports and ports) of the Terrorism Act 2000.
- Drive through implementation of Section 95 Criminal Justice Act 1991 requiring comprehensive monitoring of race. Ensure disciplinary action for staff within the CJS such as police officers, probation officers, magistrates and judges who consistently return disproportionate racial outcomes.
- Implement fully the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report.
- Ensure greater accountability of the prison service with the creation of an Independent Prison Complaints Authority.
- Initiate a nationwide 10 year review and audit of the extent to which the Stephen Lawrence report recommendations have been successfully implemented across Government departments and throughout the UK.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://reuters.co.uk/newsArticle.ihtml?type=topNews&storyID=696885>

<sup>19</sup> Race and Crime Statistics, Home Office 2005

<sup>20</sup> This was also a recommendation of the UN committee for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in the last UK report

## **Positive Immigration and Asylum Rights**

The most recent attacks on asylum and immigration rights take place in an international climate of continuous western economic and political intervention, creating waves of refugees and migrants fleeing wars and the effects of destabilised economies in the developing world.

The issue of asylum and immigration has been disproportionately raised to key issues in the forthcoming general election, particularly, but not exclusively, through the Tory Party campaign for annual immigration quotas and off-shore processing of applications. The Government response has been a series of concessions, with the "protection of our borders" becoming their sixth key pledge for the elections

The Government argues that its language and policies aim to neutralise far right groups and thinking. In fact the opposite has happened. The pre-election bidding war has pushed immigration and asylum up the agenda to number one concern in a MORI poll of voters, ahead of concerns about the National Health Service and education (Financial Times).

### **Review of the Government legislation**

The Government's drive to reduce asylum rights has been pursued with two pieces of legislation enacted in the last four years, including measures to:

- Increase detention and rate of deportations, through building a network of detention centres.
- Remove the rule of law from asylum decisions, creating a two tier legal system where asylum seekers do not have equal access to justice.
- Remove legal aid in asylum cases.
- Imprison those without documents for up to two years, from the age of 14
- Continue to hold children in detention centres despite international guidelines to the contrary.
- Implement the Section 55 "Destitution Clause" which removes support for food and shelter from asylum seekers failing to apply at the port of entry.
- End the right to work for asylum seekers before a positive decision in their cases.

Many of these measures have been criticised for undermining the Geneva Convention, human rights law and the Convention on the rights of the child. An Amnesty International report in 2004 stated that Home Office asylum decisions are based on "inaccurate and out of date country information", "unreasoned decisions about people's credibility" leading to 14,000 wrong initial decisions in 2002, with one in five refusals being overturned by costly appeals<sup>21</sup>. The broad opposition to the proposal to remove the right of court appeals from asylum seekers led to the removal of the proposal from the 2004 Asylum and Immigration Act.

### **Asylum policy and racist violence**

These measures and their accompanying rhetoric, have fuelled anti-asylum sentiment, often based on myths about asylum seekers, leading to racist murders and attacks such as, the murders of Firsat Yildiz in Glasgow in August 2001, Payman Bahmani in Newcastle in August 2002 and the more recent murder of Kalan Karim in Swansea in September 2004. A study commissioned by the Mayor of London into the impact of the media upon community relations with asylum

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<sup>21</sup> (Source: <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/deliver/document/15158>)

seekers<sup>22</sup> found that negative, unbalanced and inaccurate reporting was likely to promote fear and tension within communities across London.

### **Detention and deportations**

The treatment of asylum seekers in detention continues to cause concern. The fire and riot at the Yarlswood detention centre in February 2003 were sparked by mistreatment of a detainee, but was compounded by the lack of sprinklers in the building, which was condemned by trade unions. The Daily Mirror uncovered a culture of verbal and physical racist abuse amongst Group 4 staff employed in detention centres including Yarlswood. More recently, a BBC documentary 'Detention under cover'<sup>23</sup> confirmed racist abuse and assault, mistreatment and degradation of asylum seekers in Oakington Reception Centre, leading to calls for an inquiry into asylum detention across Britain.

The next British Government has the opportunity to avoid the disastrous situation in Europe where social democratic Governments capitulating to reactionary forces with draconian policies on immigration and asylum has legitimised and strengthened the far right, who have seats in Government across Europe. A central tenet to defeating the BNP in Britain and creating a climate of understanding and acceptance must be the defence of asylum rights as human rights.

Part of the better understanding would be to demonstrate the fiscal benefits of those refugees that are allowed to work. The Home Office states that<sup>24</sup> accession nationals, between May and September 2004 alone contributed approximately £120 million to UK GDP and paid approximately £20 million in tax and national insurance.

### **What the next Government must do:**

- Reaffirm Britain's commitment to 1951 Geneva Convention.
- End the policy of forced dispersal against asylum seekers, bringing them back into the benefits system.
- Abolish measures that criminalise asylum seekers including detention, imprisonment of undocumented arrivals and electronic tagging.
- Allow asylum seekers to work - abolish recent laws, which compel asylum seekers at the end of the application process to work for welfare support. End the precarious conditions, which led to the deaths of the Morecambe Bay cockle pickers, forced to work for illegal gang masters.
- Follow Association of Chief Police Officers guidelines on the monitoring of racial violence against asylum seekers, ensuring these are included in all local authority community safety strategies.
- Ensure legal action is taken against newspapers that are inciting hostility against asylum seekers with their headlines and issue media guidelines on asylum and immigration.
- End the use of routine detention.
- Instigate an inquiry into racism and abuse in all detention centres.
- Stop proposals to remove permanent refugee status from asylum seekers, leaving them with temporary leave for a 5 year period.
- Integrate into the curriculum, education about the benefits of migration, and our moral responsibility to asylum seekers.
- An amnesty for asylum seekers whose claims are over two years old

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.icar.org.uk/pdf/mici003.pdf>

<sup>23</sup> Detention Undercover – The Real Story: BBC One, Wednesday, 2 March 2005. 2100 GMT

<sup>24</sup> [http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/en/home/news/press\\_releases/new\\_figures\\_show\\_accession.html](http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/en/home/news/press_releases/new_figures_show_accession.html)

## Race Equality Legislation and Policy

The Race Relations Act 1976 was never fully utilised or implemented; the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 (RRAA) which holds so much promise is also in severe danger of becoming a White elephant. Emerging from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and years of campaigning, the Act was designed to tackle institutional racism in public authorities. However it applies to 43,000 public authorities in England and Wales and the CRE and other inspectorates haven't the capacity or sometimes the 'know how', to audit and sanction even a small proportion of these authorities.

In addition the RRAA new duty on public authorities does *not apply to the private sector*. While this does not mean they are free to discriminate (they are still under obligations of the rest of the Act) it means that there is no positive duty for them to eliminate racial discrimination and promote good race relations and equality of opportunity.

Further there are exemptions for the Immigration and Nationality Directorate. Section 19D of the RRAA makes it lawful for immigration officers to discriminate on grounds of nationality or ethnic or national origin where this is authorised by a Minister. The functions covered by Section 19D include decisions to deport, exclusion directions, leave to enter or remain, the grant of asylum, exceptional leave to remain, and naturalisation as a British citizen.

Section 19D has also been called into question by the recent House of Lords judgement in the Prague Airport case.

### **Two new reviews, and race equality strategies, equalities bill**

The Government has just commissioned two reviews a) Discrimination Law Review b) Equalities Review.

The first may lead to a single equalities act (which we welcome and believe is a prerequisite for the Commission for Equalities and Human Rights). The equalities review, headed by Trevor Phillips, is designed to give a position statement on the nature and extent of inequality in the UK. This should underpin the work of the new commission. In addition the Home Office has just published (January 2005) a race equality strategy<sup>25</sup> for the UK. In addition a draft Equalities bill has now been published to set up the Commission for Equalities and Human rights (CEHR). This follows a consultation period on the White paper which saw unprecedented levels of response from Black organisations. Most of these responses were negative arguing that the proposals to place all equality areas under one body would dilute race issues. It is recognised however that the new human rights powers are necessary.

However, the reviews, strategies and CEHR proposals are in danger of being ineffective in tackling race equality, without the significant engagement of Black communities and without quantum changes in approaches to the delivery of equality.

The key areas to target for race equality must be to eradicate the high levels of poverty experienced by Black communities. That means specific attention to employment, education, housing and health. We believe that affirmative action

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<sup>25</sup> Strengthening Society, Improving Opportunities - Home Office 2005

based on the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act provides direction for more decisive change.

Alongside this it is also necessary to strengthen the commitment to human rights with full incorporation of the international conventions on human rights and race equality into domestic law, for example, the free standing right of discrimination which is known as Protocol 12 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Legislate for the provision of affirmative action in employment particularly in key areas such as policing and teaching where current patterns of employment mean that equitable representation will not be realised for at least three generations.
- Amend the Race Relations Act to facilitate group class actions by Black employees against their employers.
- Provide legal aid for race employment tribunal cases.
- Introduce a Single Equalities Act with full consultation which must:
  - ensure that the general duty for public authorities to promote good relations, ensure equality of opportunity and eliminate unlawful discrimination is also extended to the private sector
  - repeal section 19D of the RRAA
  - ensure that in addition to the highest levels of protection each area of equality receives the appropriate distinctive provision.
- Review all immigration legislation to deracialise and rationalise.
- Make a declaration under Article 14 of the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) to allow individuals the right to petition the Committee. (This is already the case for women).
- Sign, ratify and incorporate within the Human Rights Act 1998 Protocol 12 to the European Convention on Human Rights, which provides for free standing protection from discrimination by public authorities.
- Ensure there is no dilution of the focus on race equality via the proposals for the Commission for Equalities and Human Rights. The preferred position of Black Communities is for a federated model of six equality commissions, (which ensures the retention of the CRE) and an overarching Human Rights Commission (a 6+1 model).
- Ensure regional arrangements are in place to support the local enfranchisement of communities.
- Ensure support for individual cases via strengthened and resourced law centres, Race Equality Councils and independent advice centres.

## Political Representation

A recent study commissioned by the Electoral Commission and Operation Black Vote revealed that the lack of Black political participation are best overcome through increasing Black representation. The survey found that 43% of Black Britons highlighted greater Black political representation as a decisive factor to encourage them to vote (compared to 4% who claimed making voting easier would encourage their involvement in the electoral process). Put simply, Black people feel that without better representation, local or national politics at best fails to understand the concerns of Black communities and at worst does not care.

### *The state of Black representation in politics*

- House of Commons: In 1987, there were four Black MPs; in 1992, five; in 1997, nine (representing 1.4 per cent of the House of Commons). Today there are thirteen Black MPs out of 659, only two of them are women.
- Scotland: Of the 65 MSPs, there are no Black members of the Scottish Parliament.
- Wales: All 45 Welsh Assembly members are White.
- Representation at local authority level is estimated at around 2.5 per cent. Only two out of the 410 local authority leaders are Black.

At the present rate of progress all of Britain's democratic institutions will remain grossly unrepresentative for another 100 years. The House of Commons will not achieve Black representative democracy until 2150. Local authorities fair little better with few Black councillors and even fewer in positions of power within the authorities.

At the next general election, Black communities are in a powerful position to influence the outcome of the election in 70 seats. As with women's representation, good intentions are not enough. The lack of selection of Black candidates in winnable seats by mainstream parties is indicative of the failure to take on board the issues and concerns of Black communities, and in turn, this will impact on the performance of main political parties at the polls.

Women only short lists delivered a higher level of representation in 1997, helping increase the number of women to well over 100 women MPs into Parliament, but this has included only the second Black woman MP being elected. The democratic deficit affecting Black communities has to be addressed through Black only short lists. In the 1980s, it was through Black self-organisation that achieved the historical breakthrough of Black representation in Parliament.

We welcome the selection of Labour party candidates in four safe seats, including two in Brent constituencies, one of the most multicultural boroughs in Europe. We also welcome the selection and subsequent election of Black Labour members of the London Assembly. The Conservatives have selected two Black candidates in relatively safe seats but need to go further and effectively challenge racism at local party level.

The selection and election of the Liberal Democrats' first Black MP is sadly the exception rather than the rule. The Liberal Democrats have had ample opportunity to circumvent their local structure and place Black candidates No.1 or No.2 on 'top up lists', and or place candidates in safe seats when a retirement occurs.

Political leadership and political will is at the heart of ensuring we have much greater Black representation not just in our democratic institutions but also in all other public decision making bodies, such as health trusts, the courts, and school boards. With it comes greater confidence by Black communities in the democratic process and in society in general. Political parties should be modern enough to accept that the concept of affirmative action is important as a short term counter balance to in-built party discrimination. It is disingenuous in the extreme to argue that 'our party prides itself on being meritocratic', when, in too many instances non-selection of Black candidates has clearly been attributed to the colour of their skin rather than the levels of their ability. Labour NEC member Shahid Malik, BA Executive Keith Kerr from the Liberal democrats and the Barrister Lord John Taylor from the Conservatives, have like many, been subject to local party discrimination.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Ensure political parties are subject to race relations legislation.
- Introduce Black-only short lists in wards or constituencies with significant Black populations.
- Political parties to use 'top up' lists to help increase Black representation.
- The parties should undertake a race audit of their membership and staff.
- The parties must introduce comprehensive programmes to recruit, retain and promote Black people within the party.

## Stopping the Extreme Far Right

On 10 June 2004, the British National Party (BNP) gained the highest vote ever for an extreme right party in Britain. It came within a hair's breadth of obtaining seats in the European Parliament and the London Assembly. With more than 800,000 votes UK-wide, the BNP demonstrated a scale of electoral support already surpassing that achieved by any previous extreme right party in this country. This is even more alarming when coupled with the fact that 2,650,768 voted for the UK Independence Party (who now have 12 MEPs) who also hold far right views on immigration.

The BNP now has a total of 22 local borough councillors and holds council seats in Barking and Dagenham, Bradford, Broxbourne, Burnley, Calderdale, Epping Forest, Kirklees, Sandwell and Stoke. This advance continued a pattern that has seen the BNP's electoral support rise steeply over recent years.

In the forthcoming general election, the BNP has already announced its intention to field more than 100 candidates - by running so many candidates the BNP will obtain free mail shots and other modes of communication to circulate its race-hate propaganda at public expense. The BNP have publicly admitted that their goal is not the election of MPs - with their current level of support, in the context of a constituency based, 'first-past-the-post' electoral system, this is very unlikely. They want publicity and base building for the next round of local, regional and European elections.

Because the BNP did not get MEPs or London Assembly members elected last year - as many feared - those opposed to the BNP breathed a sigh of relief, hoping their support had peaked. Nothing could be further from the truth. The election trends showed a continuing trend upwards in their vote. Unless this is halted, the BNP are on course for a qualitative breakthrough on to the national political stage - of the kind already seen in other countries across Europe.

The reasons for the BNP's growth parallel the extreme right in national politics across Europe: falling voter participation due to political disillusionment, and rising racism. The adoption of racist policies by some mainstream parties in Europe has been ruthlessly exploited by the extreme right, helping it drag the political debate in an increasingly racist direction. This illustrates a general truth: racism cannot be accommodated or appeased, but must be confronted. At the same time, racist policies alienate the millions of Black and minority ethnic citizens of Europe that have most to lose from the rise of the far right. This problem is exacerbated because across Europe millions of foreign nationals are denied the right to vote.

The experience from Europe provides a crucial lesson: it is infinitely harder to reverse a breakthrough by the far right after it has occurred, than it is to stop it occurring in the first place. In Britain, this is still possible.

### *BNP racism*

In the BBC's *The Secret Agent* documentary (July 2004), Nick Griffin describes Islam as 'a wicked and vicious faith', and the BNP warn of the 'creeping islamification of the West' (from BNP website).

The documentary also showed the founder of the BNP, John Tyndall, saying that Africans and Asians have only produced 'Black magic, witchcraft, voodoo and cannibalism and Aids'.

As a result of these comments, Nick Griffin, John Tyndall and Mark Collett were arrested in December 2004 on suspicion of incitement to racial hatred.

Despite their efforts to 'tone down' their racism, it is evident in BNP policies: in 1997, BNP general election Manifesto called for the forcible repatriation of all Black people from Britain, by 2001 this policy had changed to voluntary repatriation with financial incentives. However, in 2002 Nick Griffin declared his aim of an "All-White Britain"

The BNP's virulent racism has been associated with an increase in violence in areas they have targeted. On 23 November 2004 the Evening Standard reported that racist attacks increased over the last year by 18 per cent in Barking where the BNP gained a councillor in September 2004 and by 120 per cent in nearby Havering where they received their highest vote of 8 per cent in the London Assembly elections. In Burnley – where the BNP now have 8 councillors – between April 2002 and March 2003, racist attacks soared by 149 per cent from the period between April 2000 and March 2001, which corresponded with increased BNP activity in the area. Similarly in Oldham, between April 2001 and March 2002, when the BNP was targeting the area, racist attacks increased by 75 per cent. In 1999, the bombings in Brixton, Brick Lane and Soho showed where the politics of racism and hatred can lead.

*What the last Government did:*

The Employment Relations Act 2004 contained provisions allowing trade unions to expel members who have extreme political views which conflict with the union's rules or objectives, effectively making it easier for trade unions to expel BNP members. These provisions came into force on 31 December 2004.

**What the next Government must do:**

- Proscribe the BNP, Combat 18 or the National Front or any other organisation whose constitution, aims, objectives or pronouncements are incompatible with the duties imposed by the Race Relations Act 1976 as amended, or the Human Rights Act.
- Strengthen Part 3 of the Public Order Act of 1986 so that prosecutions for incitement to racial hatred will be easier to bring and more likely to succeed.
- Introduce legislation to confirm and extend the policy of the Association of Chief Police officers banning members of the BNP, Combat 18 or the National Front or any other organisation whose constitution, aims, objectives or pronouncements are incompatible with the duties imposed by the Race Relations Act 1976 as amended, or the Human Rights Act, from the police force to all areas of civil and public service.

## Islamophobia

Islamophobia has been a term widely used post-9/11, but racism against Muslims has been endemic to the UK in the years leading up to the terrorist attack in New York.

Post 9/11 there has been a marked rise in hostilities against Muslim communities. Research by St John's College, York University<sup>26</sup> April 2005 found 43% of youths in regional towns and cities becoming more Islamophobic. Ten per cent of 13-24 yr olds supported the BNP and nearly a quarter opposed Muslim women wearing the head scarf.

The journalist and leader of the political party Veritas Robert Kilroy-Silk described Muslims in a national paper as: 'suicide bombers, limb amputates, and women oppressors', he went on to suggest that Muslims had contributed nothing to the world. We welcomed his removal from daytime television after a concerted campaign by the Muslim communities. Although his views were the most crass, he was far from being alone in his blanket condemnation. Michael Gove of the Times warned his readers of the fanatical Muslim terrorist living in our midst: 'They are already here in their thousands. And they are not going to respect weaknesses'.

Public vilification coupled with the racist debate about immigration and asylum and, the inflammatory rhetoric used to justify the 'war in Iraq' has left the impression this is a war against Islam itself.

Some positive steps have been initiated with the Home Offices' Cohesion & Faith Unit alongside Scotland Yard's Muslim Contact Unit, but much of this positive work is undermined by the Government's own draconian approach to the 'war on terror' that disproportionately targets Muslims. In addition we deplore the fact that the Serious Organised Crime Bill which was to have brought in a criminal offence of incitement to religious hatred has just been dropped by this government.

The effects of Islamophobia have been:

- An increase in physical and verbal attacks on Muslims
- Negative stereotyping of Muslims in the media
- A 300%+ increase of Stop & Search of young Asian men
- Spread of fear of Islam and incitement to hatred against Muslims by the British National Party (BNP) & other Right-wing organisations
- Alienation & marginalisation of Muslim Youth, with 1 in 3 feeling that not enough is being done to protect their rights
- Discrimination in recruitment and employment practices

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<sup>26</sup> Reported in Times online Islamophobia 'rife among young' Lewis Smith reports from the British Psychological Society conference

**What the next Government must do:**

- Implement legislation prohibiting incitement to religious hatred and religious discrimination in employment, goods, services or facilities in both the private and public sector.
- Introduce monitoring for stops and searches by religion.
- Ensure the Press Complaints Commission clamps down on negative stereotyping and the misrepresentation of Islam.
- Create more regeneration schemes in deprived areas. 66% of Muslims live in the 88 most deprived districts of the UK.
- More financial support to Faith communities for capacity-building projects.
- Cleanse policing and counter-terrorism strategies to ensure they are not biased against particular racial or religious groups particularly against Muslim communities and are in line with the provisions of the Human Rights Act.

## Citizenship and Multiculturalism

There is currently a set of ideas categorised as: Integration and cohesion, citizenship and multiculturalism expressed mainly via a cohesion agenda, which are threatening to become the parameters for present and future discourse on race in Britain. These ideas must not be allowed to crystallise into a residual ideology for race as they are rooted in a pathologising, 'blaming the victim' discourse.

The Black Manifesto demands that politicians and media and communities challenge this demeaning discourse of race in Britain, in particular we challenge these concepts:

### ***Integration***

Politicians should abandon their focus on integration and replace it with the responsibility of delivering race equality at an individual, group and institutional level. Politicians and wider society must not lose sight of the fact that Britain's Black communities are, on the whole, more integrated than anywhere else in the EU, partly due to the fact that we are given the right to vote in Britain, something Black citizens across Europe have not been afforded for generations. Recent polls have indicated that Muslims are more likely to have non-Muslim friends than White people are to have Black friends. Where there are isolated communities this is often due to institutionalised segregation at the hands of public policy on housing or education or due to fear of racism.

### ***Cohesion***

Ideally the whole emphasis of the cohesion agenda needs to be changed and decoupled from the delivery of race equality. According to the Cantle Report, it is not so much institutions as attitudes that need changing. We disagree and demand a much greater emphasis on economic development, revival of local democracy, anti poverty strategies, eradicating institutional, cultural and individual racism, and more attention to the power divide that disenfranchises Black communities. For example, the blame for the disturbances in Bradford was wrongly attributed to Asian families not speaking English at home. This was false as most of those caught up in the disturbances were born and brought up in Britain with English as a first language. It also negated much of the institutional racism faced by that community, and the fact that far right forces came into the area to whip up those disturbances. It is not Black communities that do not want to be part of cohesive communities or to be integrated; rather they have been segregated by racism.

### ***Citizenship***

In the present race hate filled climate citizenship tests on new migrant communities only perpetuates racial discord. The reality is that if you are a citizen of the UK but happen to have a different colour skin you may have political and social rights but they are unsubstantiated by the inequality faced in nearly every arena of social and civic life. It is ironic that the only people to swear oaths of allegiance and take citizenship tests may be the very same who have the lowest levels of equality.

It is regrettable that a citizenship day is being planned for October<sup>27</sup> in Black History Month – once again it signals citizenship as linked to the 'reluctance' of Black people to embrace Britishness when consistently those requiring reminders of their citizenship responsibilities are racist and fascists. Oaths of allegiance should be abandoned. The new citizenship handbook for new arrivals includes Eurocentric

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<sup>27</sup> 'Strengthening Society, Improving Opportunity' Home Office 2005

statements and a celebration of empire which is an offense to the millions of people who lost their lives as a result of slavery and colonialism.

### **Multiculturalism**

Politicians and the media must end the moribund debate on multiculturalism that is framed as if multicultural Britain is detrimental. This has been fuelled by negative debates about asylum and immigration and ultimately undermines the position and contributions of the Black communities. Multiculturalism is the economic generator of our major cities, is the driving force behind the success of public services such as the NHS and enhances the cultural richness of Britain which enables it to enjoy a competitive position internationally. We do not want to retain Multiculturalism as a voyeuristic, superficial expression of 'tolerance' for other cultures but as an integral part of the success of British society. The current debate around multiculturalism has undertones of the race-hate propaganda of the far right, which holds that multiculturalism has been foisted upon an unwilling indigenous population, to dilute their White identity. The quote below illustrates how Black British citizens can so quickly and dangerously be turned into 'stranger citizens', never being able to share in a common British culture. David Goodhart is the editor of Prospect Magazine.

"The difference now in a developed country such as Britain is that we not only live among **stranger citizens** but we must share **with them**. We share public services and parts of our income in the welfare state, we share public spaces in towns and cities where we are squashed together on buses, trains and tubes, and we share in a democratic conversation - filtered by the media - about the collective choices we wish to make. All such acts of sharing are more smoothly and generously negotiated if we can take for granted a limited set of common values and assumptions. **But as Britain becomes more diverse that common culture is being eroded**". David Goodhart<sup>28</sup> (Our emphasis)

There exists, therefore, a continuum which begins with challenging multiculturalism and ends with aliens in our midst, only a few stages between that and asserting an 'All White Britain' as the solution. The debates are a clear indication to Black communities that they will never belong, despite citizenship status, taxes paid or work delivered.

One of the most important areas of attention to delivering race equality is to change the language and conception of multiracial Britain. The integration, cohesion, citizenship and multiculturalism discussions at present perpetuate a narrative of us and them. And it is this discourse which underpins the cultural maintenance of racism at individual, group and structural levels.

### **What the next Government must do:**

- Via the Royal Commission on Race in Britain, for example, should seek to change the portrayal of multi racial Britain from problematic and segregated to all different, all equal.
- Develop a Bill of Rights to guarantee social rights such as equal access to justice. Abandon citizenship tests and instead enshrine equal citizenship for all in a US-style Citizenship Act.
- Commission a rewriting of the citizenship guide from a Black organisation.

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<sup>28</sup> 'Discomfort of Strangers' David Goodhart Tuesday February 24, 2004  
[The Guardian](#)

## International Issues

In 2004 a series of natural disasters rocked the world. The devastating hurricanes in the Caribbean resulted in Grenada being the worst affected with over 90% of all properties being destroyed. In Southern Asia the tsunami caused the loss of over 250,000 lives and caused devastation as far as Somalia. Financial support from the British public led the way for the Government support. This needs to continue after the election. This spirit of generosity in natural disasters, however, is often undermined by UK foreign policy past and present.

So very little is known about the detail and effects of this policy by a larger public, from the war in Iraq, to trade, aid, poverty and debt, and the arms trade. The UK is the second largest exporter of arms in the world today currently holding 20% of the global market. Many of the arms sales end up in Africa. In 2003 the UK sales in arms to Africa topped £200 million.

However the next Government could certainly help transparency and monitoring by making attention to foreign policy a significant element of the UK's follow up to the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban 2001.

As a signatory to the WCAR Programme of Action and Declaration, the UK Government committed itself to producing a National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR). NGOs have continuously pressed for an acceptable NAPAR. Instead the Home Office has produced a race equality strategy - 'Strengthening Society, Increasing Opportunity' and while there is fleeting reference to the World Conference there is still insufficient attention to addressing the Programme of Action which resulted from the WCAR.

Reparations and Apology for slavery and colonialism were a central theme of WCAR. The UK Government signed the Declaration and Program of Action, (31 December 2001), where all states were urged:

'to take all necessary measures to address... justice for the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance ... including the right to seek just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for damage, as well as legal assistance, where required'. (Paragraph 160 of the WCAR Program of Action)

Reparations must also be discussed alongside the debt cancellation initiatives. The Commission for Africa's Report seeks to address the issues being raised by the movements who understand that our economic grip on Africa is strangling their right to self-determination, but it is void of the principle of Reparations. There is reluctance to discuss the issue of Reparation for the Maafa<sup>29</sup>.

Sub Saharan Africa owes approximately \$220 billion to western creditors<sup>30</sup>. The debt is odious and unpayable. The UK has never reached the 0.7% of its GDP / national income, a figure it set for itself in 1973, to give in overseas aid. At present the UK gives around 0.4% of its income in overseas aid. This ranks the UK number 11 of 22 major donor countries, although the UK has the fourth largest economy in the world. If the UK increased its overseas aid to 0.7%, an additional £4 billion

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<sup>29</sup> The Maafa is a Kiswahili term for "Disaster" or "Terrible Occurrence". The Maafa is therefore the word that best describes the more than 500 hundred years of suffering of the people of Africa descent through the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade, Colonialism, Imperialism, invasions and exploitation.

<sup>30</sup> UN Development report 2004

would be made available to fund basic services in Africa such as free education, healthcare, and the development of social housing.

The UK requires Africa to take measures to limit corruption in order to qualify for aid. However of the 37 allegations of overseas corruption registered against the UK recently, 14 have come from Africa alone<sup>31</sup>; and of the \$1.3 billion taken from Nigeria by the Abacha family and deposited in banks in the city of London, only \$30 million has ever been frozen by the UK<sup>32</sup>.

The European Union is currently negotiating a new set of European Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which will continue to force poor African farmers into unfair competition with the UK and other European exporters. In addition, the production of agricultural produce that are sold at less than the price it takes to manufacture the produce ('dumping') is an integral part of the UK and the EU's agricultural policy. The effects of this are devastating for the African farmers.

#### **What the next Government must do:**

- Mark the 200th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the UK in 2007, by: supporting a series of commemoration events run from Black communities; declaring a national remembrance day for all those who died from the transatlantic slave trade or from colonial rule; the establishment of a UK Educational Foundation for the descendants of slaves.
- Issue a public apology for Slavery and Colonialism.
- Create a UK tribunal to explore the role of reparations comprised of Government, NGOs and other relevant bodies, in accordance with paragraph 165 of the WCAR program of action).
- Develop the promised National Action Plan Against Racism in accordance with the outcomes of the WCAR.
- Cancel all debts to Africa, Asia and other struggling economies financially stranded by debts that have been paid back many times over.
- Return monies frozen in UK banks to African countries.
- Ban the "dumping" of all goods on to the world markets.
- Lead the debate that will ensure the right of all countries to protect their economies and ensure the cessation of all export subsidies.
- Fund debt relief with new money and not from existing aid budgets.
- Reach its target of giving 0.7% of its national income as overseas aid during the first term of the new parliament.
- Invest in peace keeping and peace building by ceasing the profit-driven sale of arms to conflicts abroad, which is a major factor in the destabilisation of their economies.

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<sup>31</sup> Action Aid Ghana

<sup>32</sup> Action Aid Ghana

## **Glossary**

CHI	Commission for Health Improvement
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
EU	European Union
HIPCs	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICAS	Independent Complaints Advocacy Services
LDA	London Development Agency
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
MORI	Market Opinion and Research International
NCBLO	National Coalition of Black-Led Organisations.
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NHS	National Health Service
PALS	Patient Advice and Liaison Services
PPI	Public and Patient Involvement Forum
PSA	Public Service Agreements
RDA	Regional Development Agencies
REC	Racial Equality Council
RSL	Registered Social Landlord

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