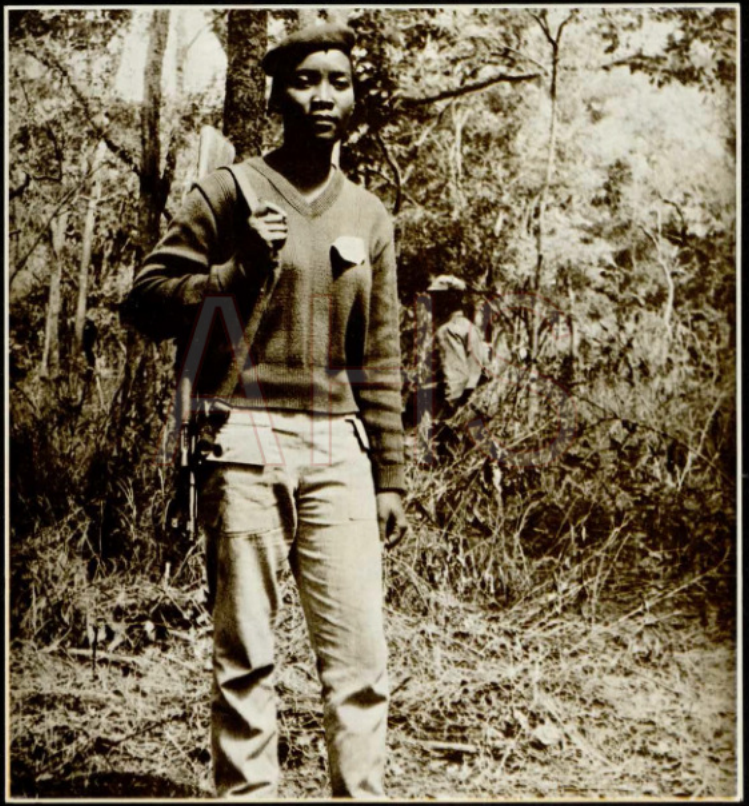
RACE TODAY

July 1969 Four Shillings



Articles

Liberation Movements in Mozambique and Rhodesia
Race, Intelligence and Professor Jensen
Community Relations: What To Do
Race Relations in Britain: A View from the Caribbean

Authors

Sir Roy Welensky
Philip Mason. Gordon Lewis
Ann Dummett
Chenhamo Chimutengwende

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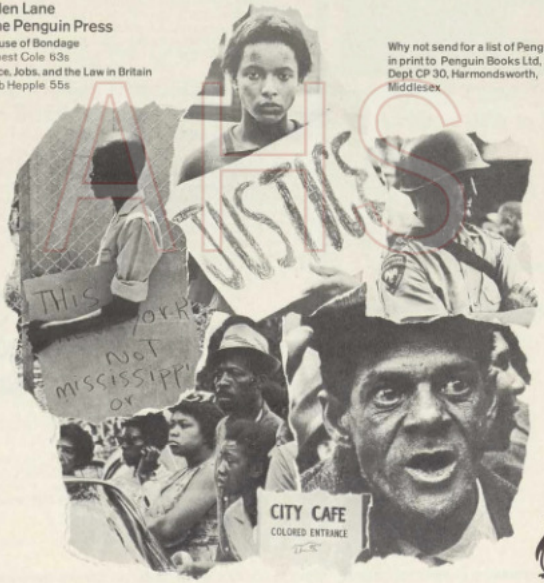

RHODESIA'S SHORT AND LONG TERM RACE RELATIONS

The first of two articles on Rhodesia's future. By Sir Roy Welensky, formerly Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

IN ATTEMPTING to assess the short or long term trends in race relations in Rhodesia today, it is necessary to acquire an understanding of the current situation. This, in itself, is not easy—on the one hand one has the Government view—that we are involved in an economic war, and as little information as possible should be disclosed or made available to the enemy. Conversely, there is the view expressed by the supporters of sanctions and the British authorities—that sanctions, although not immediately effective, will achieve their purpose in due course.

In addition, one must closely examine the political situation. There is the general problem of a lack of opposition to the Government but, in addition, there are the difficulties fomenting within the governing Rhodesian Front Party.

In the light of the limited facts available, I shall try and assess the position as I see it. We are now well into the fourth year of unilateral independence. Exports have been severely curtailed—in round figures they have been reduced by one-third. One of our most important industries, Tobacco, has been badly mauled. The recent statement that overall agricultural production this year would be worth £40-million was received with considerable relief by many people, and yet in 1964/65 the export of Tobacco alone was worth £37-million.

No one who has regard for facts would attempt to minimise that Agriculture is in a serious position. The Government, through its Agricultural Assistance Committee, is helping to keep several hundred farmers on the land who would, in present circumstances, be unable to stay. However, already there are signs of considerable discontent among farmers.

Recent figures disclose that there has been a slight increase in African employment and a larger one in the European field. But when one examines these figures dispassionately, the size of the problem begins to emerge:

The number of Africans in employment in 1960 was 640,000.

The number of Africans in employment in 1968 was 622,000.

In the meantime the African population has increased by 1,080,000.

There has been some increase in employment in the industrial field, but it is reasonable to assume that the main brunt of this increase in African population has been borne by African Reserves and other African areas. What the impact of this increase on their subsistence economy will be is anyone's guess.

I believe the effect of sanctions has been much greater on the African than on the European. The fact that Rhodesia has had to curtail its expansion must have had a very significant impact on the African's standard of living and also on the prospects of employment for the 35,000 annual newcomers to the employment market. This figure, 35,000 per annum, is purely the result of natural growth—it is not static and increases year by year.

The other side of the coin is in itself interesting. There is no doubt that Rhodesia has fared much better since the imposition of sanctions than many intelligent people believed possible. The truth is that, in spite of sanctions, both South Africa and Portugal have maintained their traditional policy towards Rhodesia, and this is understandable, since both these nations have a vested interest in seeing that sanctions do not succeed. Rhodesia's secondary and manufacturing industry generally has received a tremendous boost as a result of the 'closed area' policy the Government has been compelled to follow. I welcome the establishment of industry in this country, but not if it is to increase the cost of food, or increase taxes on those who are already bearing a fairly heavy burden. In Rhodesia today we are, in the main, more highly taxed than South Africa.

Businessmen and others have, however, shown remarkable ingenuity in obtaining goods; there is no shortage of petrol or oils; motor cars can still be obtained; the Government has re-activated two assembly plants; few commodities are in short supply and, all in all, whilst there has been a rise in the cost of living for Europeans since 1965, it is not yet causing undue reaction.

On balance, I would say the economic short-term problems are not beyond the control of Government. The long-term ones could be much more serious and would demand more space than I am permitted.

Turning to the political situation, the reader must grasp one basic fact—the white man in Rhodesia is convinced that the way of life he brought to this country must continue. In his view, where Government in Africa has been handed over—as he would describe it—prematurely, the result has been painful and unpleasant for all inhabitants except for the handful of people in control. The white Rhodesian says 'It is not going to happen here'.

Our Parliament follows the British pattern of Democracy; there is a Government and an Opposition. However, at present the Government is almost monolithic, as it has an overwhelming majority in Parliament; every 'A' Roll seat—in effect the European seats—is held by a Member of the Governing Party.

The fourteen African Members who sit in the House have very little influence, either in Parliament or on the African people. However, I do not accept the Government's myth that the African Chiefs can speak on behalf of their people—but I agree the Chiefs are the only feasible channel of communication between the vast majority of the African people who live in the Tribal Areas and their Government. There is a very genuine attempt being made by Government to re-establish the authority of the Chiefs, but I have the gravest doubts as to whether this can succeed. There is something to be said for re-establishing African traditions and beliefs in their own system of Government, but it may be too late.

OPPOSING STREAMS

There are in this country two streams of growing European opposition to the Government; one is an Association based on the principle of 'the preservation of European civilization in Southern Africa' and, to a degree, it was at one stage almost a pressure group within the Rhodesian Front, who have now banned dual membership.

The other has as yet attracted no outstanding political figures. I should imagine it is limited for funds, but has within its ranks a number of young and vigorous people anxious to prevent this country embarking on a policy of Apartheid. Whether they will make any impact on the Electorate remains to be seen.

My view is that there is little prospect of a good Opposition emerging—it is too easy for Government to accuse any critic of rocking the boat, or being either a traitor or a stooge of Mr Wilson's Government. And, in the highly-charged emotional state of present-day Rhodesian politics, this is a very serious handicap.

Another feature to be appreciated in our affairs is the effect of Terrorist activities against Rhodesia. I have to make it clear at the outset that I believe their campaign against us was inevitable, irrespective of UDI. The act of UDI has fanned the flames of hatred, but I believe the Terrorists are anti-white and have to my knowledge made no attempt to injure any black man here—excluding those in the Armed Forces of Rhodesia.

I have no doubt that, were the Terrorists able to get control of an area and become firmly entrenched, they would probably, by intimidation, be able to enlist some support from the indigenous African, but up to now very little of this has occurred. For their efforts to attack the Government of this country the Terrorists have paid a high price; one hundred and sixty have been killed, and I very much doubt if the Security Forces' losses, killed and wounded, exceed fifteen.

ATTITUDES TO SEGREGATION

Defeating the Terrorists has now become something of a Holy War and the Rhodesian defence chiefs have given a warning that the scale of terrorist infiltrations could increase during the year. But even if they continued on the basis of recent operations, we have little to worry about other than the costly operation of keeping men involved in unproductive activities.

Now, to assess the situation in terms of what it means in race relations—it will no doubt come as a shock to readers in Britain, but I believe it is factual to say that, in the main, the vast majority of the African population is almost unmoved by the trend of events—though that of course does not apply to the political intellectuals. That there are signs of a steady move towards segregation is no doubt resented by the more-advanced African, but there are numbers of Africans who feel that, if the white man genuinely intends to separate the races, then the African, in the long term, may be better off under his own steam.

The Government have introduced a number of measures, including the new Constitution, which the Europeans have been told by their Leaders is a 'world-beater' and, by implication, is to last for ever. I will make no comment on that.

However, the present trend of events has disclosed sufficient support for the Government to push through its constitutional proposals by Referendum. The country, by choosing this Constitution, has in my opinion chosen a Republican form of Government and this act, more than any other, should make the African realise he is now on his own and cannot look to Britain for comfort or succour.

It is in the light of all these imponderables that I must try and weigh-up briefly what the future holds regarding race relations trends in Rhodesia. And I can do this best by saying that, in the short term, I believe there is not likely to be any serious trouble. The long-term effects of the Rhodesian Front Government's policies will, to a large extent, depend on how genuine are the intentions of the Government. Our Prime Minister has talked of 'merit as a yardstick', but almost in the same breath supports what he calls 'separate development'—which he argues is not Apartheid.

If the Africans believe they are going to get a reasonable deal, then I do not see any serious race problems here in the foreseeable future. If, on the other hand, there is great unemployment, increasingly expensive medical facilities, denial of opportunity for education, etc., then I think the situation could assume very different proportions (Salisbury 10th June).

Zanu freedom fighters training inside Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN CRISIS AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Former guerilla Chenhamo Chimutengwende gives another view of the country's future from a different standpoint

THE WHITE electorate in Rhodesia voted for the Rhodesia Front constitutional proposals on 20 June. Now, 11 November is being muted as a possible date for declaring Rhodesia a white republic where all blacks, even liberal and reactionary Africans, will have no future as full citizens.

In some ways this so-called final break between Wilson and Smith will be very advantageous to the guerilla movement in Rhodesia. The liberation parties will be expected to reorganise their forces to intensify their struggle and to provide a sounder footing for what must now be an inevitable protracted armed struggle in the territory. And because of the break they can also expect increased material aid from outside.

Efforts are being made in all quarters to influence the United Nations to implement punitive sanctions against Rhodesia. But as far as the liberation of Africans in the territory is concerned, sanctions and all other such actions not backed by force are completely useless. Perhaps they are intended as a face saver for the United Nations and the British government.

Whatever happens in the Rhodesian political crisis, the African people feel that they can only gain their freedom with dignity by an armed struggle. This is why both ZANU and ZAPU, the main liberation movements, have decided to adopt a policy of protracted revolutionary violence.

Pacifists of different shades, reactionaries of all descriptions, including those with vested interests in the present political and economic system in Rhodesia, will, no doubt, disagree with the inevitable position which the nationalist movements have had to take.

Remember, the context is not so much Rhodesia but the whole of Southern Africa. President Kaunda has forecast there a 'Vietnam of Africa' with Rhodesia as the pivot. This perspective highlights the real issues at

stake which many consider to be the fate of western investments in the area. This is revealed when the crisis is sometimes described as a question of 'Black Power Versus White Power'.

In the countries of the African sub-continent, Rhodesia has some factors which make it the most interesting area of political study. These are: the confusing involvement of some outside powers and the international community as a whole; the blind and stubborn determination of the Rhodesian whites to hold state power at all costs; and the consequent adoption by Africans of the protracted armed struggle method as their only possible salvation. The blacks, now fully convinced that 'the Christian civilized democratic West' has betrayed them, see that they have to be their own liberators.

THE MEANING OF WHITE POWER

But the nature of the Rhodesian imbroglio is such that one cannot possibly discuss it in isolation from that of the Portuguese-occupied territories and South Africa. Vorster, Caetano and Smith, backed by international financiers through NATO and other agencies, have formed a *laager* against the Africans in revolt.

It sounds quite true when the struggle is described as one of Black Power versus White Power. But what does White Power mean in this context? Is the problem then essentially one of sheer racism? It may seem so, and yet, in the final analysis, one finds that racism is definitely *not* the cause of the crisis. Racism is a natural human weakness which is being exploited and used as the only possible effective instrument for dividing the population into black and white camps. This is necessary for the smooth running of the political and economic system here, and for the benefit of international investors and the ruling class locally.

By its very nature, the system there demands that a part of the population must be oppressed so that the wealth can conveniently be shared among members of the exploiting class and, in this case, circumstances found Africans the easy victims. When the whites went to Africa, they were not merely looking for people of a different colour to oppress and discriminate against. As demanded by their economic and political system at home, they were looking for markets, raw materials, etc, which would give them maximum profits, and in the process some people had to be exploited.

REPLACEMENT

The 'White Power' in Rhodesia represents the capitalist system which for its smooth execution has to use racism and repression. In Rhodesia, as in other parts of white-ruled Africa, Black Power represents Africans and a challenge to the exploitative system as a whole. But, if not manipulated well and kept under sincere leadership, the triumph of African nationalism may just mean a mere replacement of the white minority ruling class with one made up of the western-orientated and educated African elite, but retaining *the system* intact. Racial discrimination will have been replaced by a social and economic one. (Malawi, Botswana and Kenya exemplify this state of affairs.)

It is important to understand that in Southern Africa, where revolution does seem the only way out, those of the Black bourgeoisie still hiding under the umbrella of African nationalism will be eliminated during the course of the armed struggle. It must of necessity be protracted (because of the nature of the enemy). Only a neo-colonialist solution along the lines of the *Fearless* proposals could support this would-be African minority ruling class. Nevertheless that would not be a long-term solution to the problem.

There are all sorts of sincere or insincere liberals in Rhodesia who judge African leadership by the standards of their African domestic servants. Some believe that they cannot share political and economic power with the African. They think Africans should be left alone to develop their own way in some 'declared' black areas. They seem to speak on behalf of the African whom they do not actually understand. They fool themselves by believing that they and not the black man himself are the people who know what the black man wants. When they discover that the enlightened and politically conscious African wants complete equality and freedom, they denounce him as a self-seeker. They therefore turn to the semi-literate African chief, a civil servant, as the real leader of the African people.

Since all other attempts at solving the Rhodesian problem have proved to be a complete fiasco, the advocates of armed struggle have become the only force to reckon with. Through the two liberation parties in the territory, the struggle is now being launched afresh. The Vorster-Caetano-Smith alliance has, however, well-trained and disciplined armies and the most modern sophisticated weapons are at its disposal. Most of the western powers will continue to support this white *laager*, openly or in secret, and perhaps just a few will be neutral. In view of such a powerful enemy, what chances of success has the divided and militarily ill-equipped African liberation movement?

PROBLEMS OF ARMED STRUGGLE

Going through the *Sunday Telegraph* articles on African liberation movements which appeared in the first three Sundays of May, one gets a very misleading impression of these nationalist organisations and their capabilities. The so-called 'Close-Up' team picked only parts of a true story to prove a wrong conclusion.

The articles were an attempt to prove that the nationalist organisations were disorganised, divided and completely infiltrated by informers—all of which is quite true. But that does not prove that they are permanently disabled from executing any revolutionary programme. Such weaknesses are to be expected in liberation organisations which are still purely nationalist, but are undergoing fundamental transformation in their political orientation.

Armed struggle does pose all sorts of problems for the liberation movement. Some of these may seem insurmountable to people who have not studied the art of people's revolutionary warfare. As long as people are oppressed and exploited, they are bound in time to reorganise themselves and to defeat the enemy. Good leadership will have emerged during the long and bitter process of revolutionary violence. It may take decades,

but if people are still natural and human enough, they will rise in arms.

For as military experts and commentators have often said, even if the people concerned have little or no arms at all, that does not determine their ability to win a war of liberation. Wars, they say, are won—or lost—by people, and not by arms. As time goes on, arms—home-made, captured from the enemy, or from friends in need outside the country—will become ever more available.

EUROPEANS MISLED

Although suitable terrain is a major advantage, it is not a prerequisite for guerilla warfare. The masses are more important. Guerillas form that part of the oppressed population which is most active but they are the same people. The masses in fact are themselves also a form of terrain. The guerillas can melt into the people, and can feed and recruit more activists among them.

All the same, Rhodesia's uninhabited lands are of savannah vegetation—tall grass, scattered tall trees are found. There are, too, mountainous parts like the Umtali area, vast jungles in Gokwe, Mazoe and Chipinga areas, all useful for guerilla warfare. (Even Smith's Security forces have been doing anti-guerilla training in Chipinga area.)

The Europeans in Rhodesia (and the outside world) are misled into believing that guerillas are anti-white. These freedom fighters are concerned with people who wish to maintain the capitalist institutions there. They hate the system which oppresses them and their people, and not just white people as such. To be real Socialists and to be racialists at the same time is not possible. The freedom fighters in the long run will also eliminate those in their midst who wish to replace a white Smith with a black Smith, and also the divisive elements in the nationalist movement and the local bourgeoisie riding the nationalist bandwagon. The problem is not Smith, UDI, racism or a republican constitution, but the whole system which uses agencies or tools like racism, repression or Smith.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The problems facing the liberation movements now are: how to encourage the masses to give maximum physical participation in an armed struggle; how to educate the people in the appropriate revolutionary theory; and to move the headquarters of the Movement from Zambia or Tanzania into Rhodesia itself. It is in this direction that the nationalist leaders need to go—or they will be discredited, possibly overthrown. The Tanzanian or Zambian leaders will be dissatisfied too.

Now that guerilla training and recruiting of new cadres has actually started inside Rhodesia itself, more and better forms of revolutionary struggle can be expected. Chikerema and Nyandoro currently leading ZAPU, and Chitepo and Shamuyariva leading ZANU can claim credit for this new healthy development in the guerilla movement, as was proved by some recent court cases in Rhodesia (*Rhodesia Herald*, 1 May 1969).

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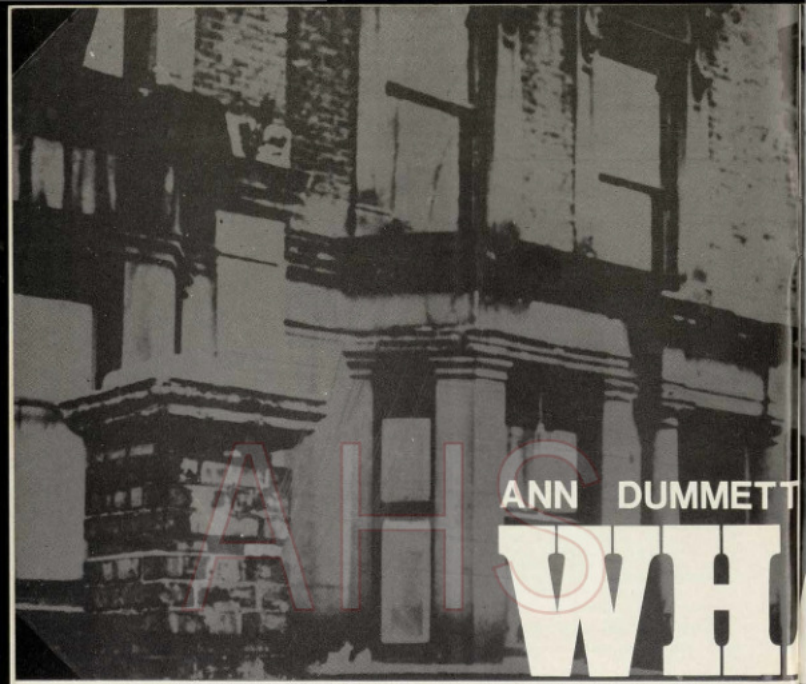


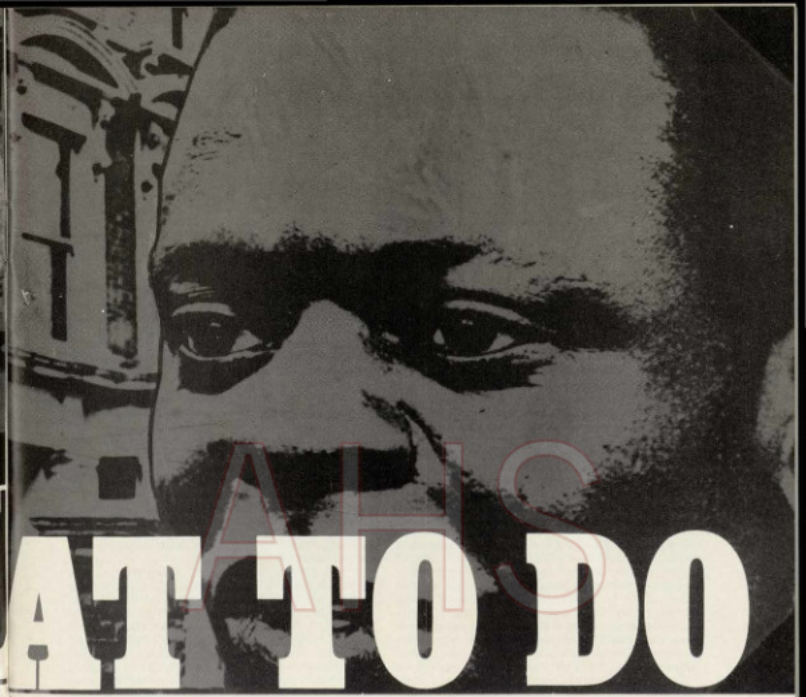
ANN DUMMETT

WH

RACE RELATIONS in Britain today is a wide open field for specialists. The number of research workers is growing inside and outside universities; the empires of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission are increasing their bounds; half the keen young sociology students, a sprinkling of teacher training college students, and small armies of church study groups are deciding to opt for studying race in with all the other fashionable 'social problems'.

Because they are all working hard in an extremely complicated situation, and because it is a great deal more encouraging for them to concentrate on the achievements they can attain than to look outward to the total situation, there is a great temptation for race relations workers to see the trees rather than the wood. If one attempts to compare one's own actual achievements with what really needs to be done, the comparison is not merely depressing but demoralising. I have recently resigned from a Community Relations Officer post in Oxford, partly because of this demoralisation. It seems to me an urgent matter that all of us who are concerned with the task of transforming Britain from a racialist society into a just and human one should question, all the time, the nature of our final purpose and of the means we are following to attain it. There is, in spite of the increasing interest and professionalism in race relations, so small a number of professional workers involved in comparison with the great number of difficulties to be tackled that we cannot afford to waste our time on activities that are not really fruitful.

An example of what I mean can be seen in the schools. In recent years, there has been an eruption of interest and activity in the problems of 'immigrant children' in the schools. As well as conferences and seminars, new courses have been prepared, newspaper publicity frequently captured, and monographs published. Most of this activity has been concentrated on a real and urgent problem, the teaching of English as a second language. Yet, when one looks at the children themselves, the schools they are in, the day-to-day life they experience and the kind of jobs they look for, can we be certain that the attainment on their part of perfect standards of



AT TO DO

English is the answer to the main problem they face? My own belief is that when the day comes that all black schoolchildren of school-leaving age talk like BBC announcers, only *one small step* will have been taken to overcome their problem. The main problem they face is in the attitude of their school staff, of their white contemporaries, of other children's parents and of course of the whole society around them: the attitude that regards them as different and inferior. This attitude may result in them being placed in 'C' streams or in the ESN schools: if they are lucky enough to be placed higher than this and even to excel, they still find themselves the subject of the new *idée reçue* among educationists and Youth Employment officials, that black schoolchildren's aspirations are unrealistic. But what does unrealistic mean? Half of them want to be motor mechanics, and there are not enough motor mechanic vacancies to absorb these applicants. Who has failed? The school-leavers and their parents? Or the system? Good written and spoken English is the first foundation for the immigrant child's future, but you cannot move into a house when nothing is there but the foundations. And building higher than this presents very difficult problems indeed, because altering the system that is unfair to immigrant children can only be done by altering the system for all British children. The kind of changes that would be necessary would indeed benefit white children too; changes in the approach to history teaching, more flexibility about age-limits, more information in the schools about the wide range of jobs to aspire to, what they involve and what qualifications were necessary for them, and so on. Indeed solving the problems of black children in our schools would be a big step forward for the whole community. This, after all, is precisely the kind of issue that ought to come to our minds when we hear the term 'Community Relations'.

What can the full-time workers in race relations do effectively to bring about the kind of radical changes that our society needs in order to overcome racialism? To answer this, we need to look at the existing structures that are supposed to be concerned with action: the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission, together with local community relations councils.

WHAT TO DO

The function of the Board and its conciliation committees is strictly limited to the application of the law against racial discrimination. It is very heavily dependent, if it is to fulfil this function, on the success of other workers in the field. The effectiveness of a law derives chiefly from public consent, except in a totalitarian or police state; even in such states, massive public hostility to a law can do something to render it ineffective. *A fortiori*, the Race Relations Board, whose legal powers are very limited indeed, is dependent on a considerable degree of public support if it is to work well. Failing this public support, it requires at least the active voluntary co-operation of a conscientious minority, in bringing instances of racial discrimination to light, and in providing the information to prove a case; also, of course, in promoting to as wide a public as possible the ideas of fair play and just dealing between the members of different groups. This task is clearly one of the many responsibilities of the Commission and the local councils—but not theirs alone: Trade Unions, churches, the Press, professional bodies of all kinds and so on have this responsibility. But community relations workers are supposed to be the people who can kindle enthusiasm among these bodies where its flame burns feebly—as it usually does.

Community Relations workers are, then, the front-line troops charged with attacking the key positions. And alas, we sometimes look more like Fred Karno's army. Heterogeneous and ill-equipped, the members of the local communtiy relations councils, and their officers, are being asked to do the impossible.

What could, and should, be done to co-ordinate and direct community relations work so that it has a real chance to be effective? The independent effort of individuals and small organisations is of great importance, but racialism in Britain is a problem so big and so frightening that such effort can only be a part of an effective attack. A national public commitment on the part of the government is essential for success. Particularly in Britain, where we have an unchecked and unbalanced Constitution, the role of the Government is all-important. If we had a Supreme Court, some evils could be put right by the judiciary. For example a Supreme Court would have been able to render ineffective the infamous 1968 Immigration Act, by upholding the constitutional rights of British citizens to reside in the country of their citizenship. There is little strength in local or regional government, and no change at all in permanent officialdom; so that the Government's power is both enormous and isolated. Faced with the problem of racialism in Britain, it has been Government policy so far to capitulate by bringing in cruel and stupid immigration restrictions. The only positive measures taken have been those by which the Government has hoped to appease liberal and Left opinion, without alienating what it believes to be the majority opinion: dislike of black people. The passage of the Race Relations Acts was a triumph for active and efficient lobbying. Unfortunately no similar lobby has been at work to press for more effective work in community relations. And since the Government's own enthusiasm for such work has never been very striking, it is not surprising if, in the absence of strong outside pressures, we have been given very little money and an awkward structure to work in.

I have put forward the views that the work of community relations is work to bring about far-reaching changes, which in bringing just and equal opportunities to black people will also benefit the entire community; that the task of overcoming discrimination by recourse to the law is heavily dependent on these changes getting under way; that community relations work is the most important sector of effort directed against racialism (since it is an attempt to alter British attitudes and institutions, rather than to push immigrants around); and that the Government's enthusiasm for community relations work is lukewarm. In these circumstances, the national body created by the Government and charged by it with promoting good community relations is obviously off to a very difficult start. I am not going to look at the past history of this structure, but try to consider what could be done now to improve the prospects of the central Commission achieving really worth-while results: this, from the point of view of the local worker who has to rely on the Commission, ultimately, for a salary, for expertise and for support.

The Commission has two main functions: influence upon the public and upon Government policy makers; and support for local community relations councils. It has to fulfil these functions with a pitifully small budget and no power-base in the country. I believe it has made attempts, in part successful, to have its budget increased, but as it is handing back a surplus to the Government for the past financial year, it is not going to be in a very strong position to ask for more. As to establishing a power-base, it has, so far as I know, done nothing at all.

WHAT TO DO

If anyone were to threaten the existence or work of the Commission, there is nobody except its own staff to march down Whitehall. If it had established allies among the immigrant organisations, or with any powerful body outside the Government to whom it had something to offer, it would then be in a bargaining position; but the nearest thing it has to a power-base is the Home Office, from which it derives its money and patronage. The Commission's unhappy dilemma is that it needs to bite the hand that feeds it if it is to do what needs doing. It is disliked by the main immigrant organisations, and is completely unknown to the public at large. Even the local community relations councils are not its whole-hearted allies; their complaints against it cover a very wide range, and are certainly not all from what might be called the 'left'.

A national body could only be effective in community relations work if it were prepared to oppose Government policies in public, while receiving Government money. This is a difficult, but not impossible, position to be in. It would be possible, if there were a strong power-base, combined with interest on the part of the Press. CARD, in its early days, achieved a great deal on the basis of a very small number of formal supporters simply because it had good relations with the newspapers, who gave the impression it was a much more powerful body than in fact it was: this impression in fact created for CARD a power that was respected by politicians. The Commission, I believe, ought to be doing things that make news. And it ought to be engaging the support of immigrant organisations rather than of Town Clerks–just as a matter of *realpolitik*: the Town Clerks of Britain are never going to be 100 per cent keen anti-racialists, whereas the immigrant organisations, whatever their differences, will be that. But the real problem lies not with the Commission itself, but with the Government that set it up. It is unrealistic to expect the kind of activity that the situation requires from a body the Government has so carefully structured to be as quiet and uncontroversial as possible. This brings us back to the lack of lobbying of the Government for a more effective community relations structure. Hardly anyone has really thought out what anti-racialists should be demanding from the Government, apart from the law against discrimination. The one example that comes to mind is the Rev. Wilfred Wood, former chairman of the Hammersmith Community Relations Council, who attempted, at the committee stage of the 1968 Race Relations Bill, to lobby for a new kind of national body, a National Commission for Racial Equality. This body was to include elected representatives of immigrant organisations, and a detailed scheme for such elections was prepared by Mr. Roger Warren-Evans. The principle behind the Wood proposals was a revolutionary one: the national body concerned with advice to the Government and with the co-ordination of local community relations work throughout the country would be a body where the immigrants' voice, rather than the British Establishment's voice, would be heard. To overcome the objections of Mr. Callaghan, that anybody disbursing public funds must be financially accountable to Parliament, Mr. Wood proposed a separate grants commission composed overwhelmingly of nominees of the Home Secretary, and with the ethnic minority representatives in a minority. The Commission responsible for local work, and for advice to the Government on policy, would, however, be visibly representative of immigrants' own views and aspirations.

This imaginative scheme was hardly comprehended by the politicians to whom it was presented, though in fact it went only a small part of the way that the United States Government was prepared to go in its anti-poverty programme, whose principle was firmly to place responsibility for overcoming deprivation in the hands of the deprived themselves.

Local community relations work, within the structure of the community relations councils, is dependent locally upon very mixed support, some of it half-hearted, some paternalistic, and some completely misplaced. Local workers have a great need of strong national backing, not just in terms of money or specific advice or copies of pamphlets, but of firm moral support, and clearly spoken objectives. The thirteen pages of proposals recently circulated by the Commission to local councils, on the duties, careers and professional standards of local officers, do not once include the words race, racialism, prejudice, immigrant, black, white, equality, justice or colour. They refer to 'harmonious community relations', 'assistance to newcomers' and 'co-operation with local and national government'. These are not the terms in which we can ever begin to solve our problems, and it is a bitter discouragement to community relations officers to be set such targets. Possibly these proposals are going to be amended before they harden into conditions for grant-aid to councils; but the need is not for amendment so much as a totally new approach■

RACE, INTELLIGENCE AND

PROFESSOR Jensen's article, 'How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?', has already attracted a good deal of attention in this country, mainly as a result of a reference by Lord Snow. In particular, letters to the press have seized on statistics quoted by Jensen showing Negroes rating consistently lower than the U.S. national average in intelligence tests, by as much as 11 points, 'even after allowing for environmental factors'. Points taken out of context are often misleading; these certainly are.

The article, which appeared this year in the Winter Number of the *Harvard Educational Review*, is highly controversial, and I understand that in the Spring Number, which at the time of writing has not reached this country, many of Professor Jensen's points are challenged with authority. It is a long article, tightly packed with argument; if the conclusions are right, it is extremely important. While we wait to see how the argument develops, it is worth discussing what in fact Jensen really said, how far the points now being quoted are central to his thought, and what they are worth.

He believes that 'remedial programs' meant to help 'socially deprived' children are not 'paying off' and he believes that in the first place this is due to their concentration on attempts to 'boost IQ'. These attempts are based on the mistaken belief that intelligence is all of one kind, that it is evenly distributed over the whole population but unevenly developed owing to social and economic factors, and that if general intelligence is increased, academic performace will take care of itself.

Professor Jensen questions all these beliefs. 'Intelligence' in the sense to which he would confine it, is a specialised faculty 'singled out from the total galaxy of mental abilities as being especially important in our society mainly because of the nature of our traditional system of formal education and the occupational structure with which it is co-ordinated.' It is derived from 'societal demands'. It is what Intelligence Tests measure, and can measure fairly accurately. It is largely due to genetic factors, which account for about 80 per cent of an IQ score, about 20 per cent being due to environment. Experiments with identical twins, brought up separately, confirm these figures—but here Jensen surely misses a point. Since 'intelligence' in his sense is the product of society's demands, a completely different society would demand something else; all the twin studies quoted come from the United States or Britain, which in a sense is within one environment. If one twin were brought up by Australian aboriginals and one in Boston or Chelsea, the result might perhaps be different. In this wider sense, the environment defines 'intelligence' and includes the entire industrial culture, which in its turn includes racial discrimination.

An educational system open to all—Jensen continues—and in which success is measured by 'intelligence', leads to an occupational structure in which very unequal rewards are allotted in much the same way; socio-economic status is closely correlated with academic success and 'intelligence'. IQ is what the social system demands and what it gets; naturally, it is also what it rewards. One of the rewards is choice of mates—and like mates with like; married couples are usually nearer each other in IQ than are siblings. The genetic factors making for high 'intelligence' are thus increasingly concentrated towards the top end of the socio-economic scale. A devastating illustration is provided by rats, who are allotted scores for their success in finding their way through a maze to food; at first they all score around 200 mistakes but if those slightly more successful are mated together, within six generations the 'bright strain' of rats are scoring only 140 mistakes while the corresponding 'dull strain' are scoring 280. Our social system is therefore designed to produce an increasing gap between the professional middle-class groups and the unskilled workers—but always, be it remembered, in this one faculty of 'intelligence', the ability to sort out material into categories, to distinguish between the general and the particular, and to rearrange in categories appropriate to a particular problem.

But, as we have seen, Jensen does not regard 'intelligence' in this sense as the sole touchstone for mental ability. He does think that, because of the selective effect of the social sieve, it is little use trying to increase the 'intelligence' of children not genetically endowed with it, a high proportion of whom are to be found among groups of low socio-economic status. But experiments show that these children often develop, as infants, the ability to walk and co-ordinate the muscles well before middle-class children, and that when they go to school, though behind the middle-class in IQ, they are often much quicker at learning the names of their schoolmates and in general at making themselves at home and finding their way about. They seem in some ways far ahead of the middle class. He believes this is explained by the distinction between conceptual learning and associative learning. There are two ways of learning that $2 \times 2 = 4$; one child may learn by heart the words those symbols represent, another may understand the abstraction from reality which they incorporate. Some children find one boring and the other interesting; others can learn by rote but cannot manage conceptual learning.

Take the test of memory which used to be called: 'Kim's game'. Twenty articles of quite different kinds are shown to the child, who is then blindfolded and asked to repeat them. 'Lower and middle-class children perform about the same on this task, although they differ some 15 or 20 points in IQ.' But if the twenty objects are changed, so that they consist of four categories, with five different specimens in each category, even when the categories are mixed, the middle class children show a great improvement which puts their scores about fifteen points above the lower group. They 'rearrange the input' in such a way that it makes sense to them and can be more easily remembered; the more they categorise the more they remember. Jensen believes that ability to learn by association (which he goes on to call Level I) is widespread and is probably necessary for all who go on to Level II. But to assume that every child can progress at Level II is a mistake; many simply have not the genetic aptitude. It would be far better to concentrate on what they can do; they can, he believes, be brought to a far higher degree of academic achievement provided it is recognised that they are not capable of the conceptual level. 'Diversity rather than uniformity

PROFESSOR JENSEN. By Philip Mason

of approaches . . . would seem to be the key to making education rewarding for children of different patterns of ability. The reality of individual differences thus need not mean educational rewards for some children and frustration and defeat for others.'

This, I believe, is a fair summary of the main argument; it is supported by a great deal of detailed evidence, most of which is directed to knocking down the more extreme forms of environmentalism. Race is a subsidiary matter for Jensen; he writes: 'Through our research at Berkeley we are beginning to perceive what seems to be a very significant set of relationships with respect to patterns of ability which . . . seem to interact more with social class than with ethnic background.' And he devotes two pages to making it clear that 'background factors are irrelevant as a basis for dealing with individuals'; his figures deal only with populations and persons must be treated on their merits.

How far this is merely a bow to the values of the American Constitution no one can be sure. But it must be clear that the social consequences of the main doctrine are disturbing; if we leave out the racial implications and assume for the moment a racially homogeneous society divided only by social class, Jensen's conclusions point to a radical division of society into those who are capable of conceptual thought and those who are not. He quotes with approval the statement: 'These (disadvantaged) children are *not* middle-class children; many of them never will be, and they can never be anything but second-rate as long as they are thought of as potentially middle-class children . . .' It is no use pretending that these are merely *different* forms of ability; Jensen gives away the inconsistency by calling them Level I and Level II. If children are thus to be divided, even more harshly than by any 11+, we are surely on the way to the alpha-delta relationships of 'Brave New World', to intellectual Brahmans and a class of untouchables who can never reach the top. Jensen is right in thinking that intelligence (in the sense of common speech) is not all of one kind; he is wrong surely in thinking of it as two-dimensional only. It is many dimensional; there is a dimension of sensitive perception as well as one of logico-mathematical reasoning; there is the quality of integrated thinking, which often goes with a rather slow mind, but means that decisions are all of a piece. Memory, power of analysis, original creativity, are three distinct qualities of which one is sometimes found highly developed in a person deficient in the other two. And surely he overestimates the extent to which modern education has sorted us out; are there not still far more children than he implies who are genetically bright but still socially at the bottom of the pile?

On the race aspect, there can be no doubt that the points he makes are depressing. Negroes to a disproportionate extent belong to 'low SES groups',* Negroes rate about 15 IQ points below the norm of the population and low SES groups may rate about 15 points below middle SES groups. Both contain a high proportion of associative or Level I learners.

Jensen specifically states that the children of Negro professional men recede in IQ towards the average of the Negro population and this is genetically to be expected. It is not very comforting to be told that 'low SES' whites are just as genetically impoverished as Negroes, while it is obviously much easier for the exceptional whites to escape from the damaging category.

This brings me to one of the two great weaknesses of Professor Jensen's thought. One has already been mentioned; he means by 'environment' the circumstances which surround a person within the general society of the United States. But further he does not seem to attach any importance to the incentive provided by the whole society. He touches on 'teacher expectation' and dismisses it as not yet proved. But it surely makes a great difference if a child believes that on leaving school he might become a bank president or an astronaut or if, on the other hand, he has a conviction that 'they couldn't choose me'. Surely it makes a difference if whenever he sees a movie and identifies with the hero he has to come back to earth with a jerk when the lights go on? Jensen, in the course of his campaign in favour of heritability and against environment, throws in the point that American Indians do better in intelligence tests than Negroes. But surely it is relevant that – for reasons which would demand another article – they are not subject to such severe discrimination? White Americans will tell you with pride that they had an Indian great-grandmother (though more readily in the North-East than in the South-West).

Early in his article, Professor Jensen uses an analogy to explain the nature of the 'intelligence' measured by IQ. He writes of a team of athletes with various skills and of how one would measure their 'general athletic ability'. He does not in fact picture so wide a diversity as would be needed for the Olympic Games and does not consider the extreme unlikelihood of a weight-lifter winning the hundred yards. But let us, for the moment, picture the whole team, weight-lifters, sprinters, swimmers, high-jumpers and equestrians–what have they in common? The ability to co-ordinate muscular effort at a given period for a specialised task, physical health, genetic aptitude for the task, and such generalised necessary conditions, but above all the will to win. Without this, they will not have perfected the skill. If one class of person knew that members of that class could not compete, still less win, would it not affect their performance?

One may, I think, be confident that Jensen would not have wished to project beyond the United States the generalisations which he quotes as to ethnic groups inside that society. For my own part, as I finish reading his article, I recall an incident which to me was decisive (but I am afraid I have printed it elsewhere). At a High School in Barbados I asked the Headmaster if there was any difference in academic performance between his one-third white pupils and his two-thirds black. 'Oh, yes,' he said, 'a real difference. We do occasionally get a white boy up to the black standard but only very occasionally.' And he gave me good social and economic reasons why this should be so.

*This means Socio-Economic Status; in a classless society, it is embarrassing simply to call them lower class groups.

RACE RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

A VIEW FROM THE CARIBBEAN

by Gordon Lewis, Professor of Political Science in the University of Puerto Rico

THERE ARE three general observations to make about a specifically Caribbean view of the presence of the new coloured micro-cultures in post-war English society. The first, of course, is that the West Indian migrant-person must be seen not simply as symbolising the movement of the West Indian colonial unemployed and underemployed to the full-employment metropolitan economy but just another stage, in a wider socio-cultural sense, of the circulatory migratory movements of the Caribbean folk-peoples over the last 60 years: to Cuba, the Aruba oilfields, the Panama Canal Zone, the United States and now to Britain. English observers, even those in the new academic growth industry of 'race relations', have usually failed to see this because of their characteristic incuriosity about the ancestral background of the new immigrants. Equally, English public opinion, imperialist but rarely empire-minded in any real internationalist sense, has reacted from the very beginning with hostility, even panic fear, to the 'unarmed invasion', merely to read the House of Commons debate of June 1968 on the arrival of the 'Empire Windrush' from Kingston is to be made to appreciate how British political leadership, including Labour, managed to see it not as a free movement of voluntary labour but as a sort of slave transportation engineered by evil agencies somewhere in the Caribbean.

The truth is, frankly, that the West Indian influx testifies once again to the historic West Indian *diaspora*, the general uprootedness so marked a feature of West Indian society since the 17th century. The analogy with the Jewish experience, increasingly referred to in the 'black power' literature of the militant immigrant organisations of the 1960s, is readily apparent. 'Like the Jews', wrote the Jamaican author of Black Jamaica in 1899, 'the West Indian peoples have had unforgettable experiences. They have come through the wilderness, through a land of drought and of the shadow of death, through a land that no white man has passed through, and where no white man has dwelt, and the misery and the loneliness of it all is still with them. The more they evolve and the more they know, the more the heritage of the race becomes a mystery, strange alike in its origin and in its intolerable pressure upon every moment of their lives'. This, as much as the backlash of Tory Powellism, explains the emergence of black Zionism, the urge to emulate the success of the Jewish Board of Deputies, the growth, in the ideology of 'black capitalism', of a movement seeking to apply the historic virtues of economic Calvinism to the neo-ghetto economies. It explains, too, the new revivals of Garveyism, emphasising now less the idea of the physical return to Africa and more that of the psychological return. Above all, it explains the increasingly sharp alienation of traditionally Anglophile West Indians to English society, as they confront its quasi-racialist reality: they are less and less West Indians in English society, more and more black men in a white society. Only, of course, a fundamental revolution in West Indian society itself can terminate the historic exodus to imaginary promised lands. In the meanwhile, the West Indian peasant and worker must still emigrate or languish. The proper comment on his English sojourn, then, is still that summed up in the warning of the anguished white liberal to his confused West Indian friend, on a recent BBC programme: 'The song is we shall overcome, not we shall come over.'

The second general point to make, flowing from all this, is that it is dangerously easy to exaggerate the traditional cultural Anglophilism of the West Indian migrant, usually noted when contrasting him to the Sikh or the Pakistani. Colonial loyalty, of course, dies hard. Its relics still litter the immigrant scene. Books like Braithwaite's *To Sir, With Love* and *Paid Servant* still manage to purvey the myth that well-dressed appearance and polite behaviour on the part of the black person can transform English prejudices, whether in delinquent school children or parents; and only to read a terrifying report of the realities of the English 'blackboard jungle' like Marina Maxwell's *Violence in the Toilets* is to understand how much of a strain on West Indian credulity the myth increasingly becomes. Even Garvey himself, in his London speech of 1928, could still repeat the ancient legend that Queen Victoria herself had freed the slaves in 1834, thus embodying traditional English justice; and I myself, forty years later, have heard a West Indian high official in a London drawing room insist that the 'race problem' might be solved if only the Queen could be persuaded to appoint a black equerry to the Royal Household. Making a career, again, out of the English public service structure is still the life ambition of many West Indian professionals, as the careers, variously, of Lord Constantine and Dr David Pitt show. It is of piquant interest to note that Mr. Powell is himself the self-appointed archpriest of an unreformed House of Lords in that structure; it would be interesting to read an imaginary conversation, in the manner of Walter Savage Landor, between him and Lord Constantine on the virtues of the second chamber as a vehicle of political locomotion. In England as much as in the Caribbean, clearly enough, the metropolitan Uncle Sam generates, in response, the creole Uncle Tom.

All this, of course, is comforting to the English liberal ideologues of the official integrationist thesis. But if the West Indies today are English, they are English with profound, if disguised differences. They have not been shaped by modern England nor, alternatively, as is the thesis of Dr. Wendell Bell's misleading book, *The Democratic Revolution in the West Indies*, by the 18th-century England of the Enlightenment, but by, if anything at all, the mid-Victorian England of Thackeray and Dickens. The mid-Victorian values of social snobbery, plutocratic wealth and mass cultural illiteracy still live on in the post-independent societies of the region. The recent caustic remarks of the Trinidadian poet-playwright Derek Walcott on Trinidadian society in 1969 sum it up, essentially, for them all. 'The anthropologists,' he writes, 'like the gossip columns, assure us of assimilation, but most of our new solemnity is a subject for farce. We have included, in our imitations, such outdated prejudices as anti-semitism. We confront each other with race jokes to display our tolerance. The last excuse we offer, of course, is that there is no longer race prejudice, there is only class prejudice. We imply by this that we are making progress, for if our con-

cern is making money then we have become crass and commercial, yes, but that makes us an urban and not a peasant culture. There is no wish to cure this, because we have also borrowed a terror of socialism. Or, to be fair, we would like everyone to share in our progress, but not yet, not until we have learned, properly, how to be snobs.'

Coming from this background, it becomes easier to understand the West Indian dilemma in England. On the one hand, his image of a liberal England, fed by generations of laudatory colonial school textbooks, disables him; and this produces the literature, already voluminous, of West Indian disillusionment. On the other hand, his Victorian background equips him to understand the new, virulent forms of English social snobbishness. The Americans, observed the Chicago wit Mr. Dooley, defeat their enemies, the English disqualify them; and what the black immigrant meets is a series of English disqualification exercises, implemented with all the massive ingenuity of English hypocrisy. He meets them with tolerant, unvindictive good humour, although clearly there is a limit to his patience. He can be seen, indeed, from this viewpoint, as the last of the English gentleman type, surviving in a society where the old gentleman class is rapidly on the decline.

That, perhaps, is his psychological tragedy. He has, so often, to meet the English realities of 1969 with the outmoded values of 1869. His island politics, back home, are at best fifty years behind the contemporary English times, whether it be the crowd-hero politics of the smaller islands, analysed in Dr. Singham's recent book on Grenada, or the Fabian politics of the Peoples National Movement in Trinidad, where Dr. Williams brought the traditional Fabian values into power in 1956 at the very moment when they were on the decline in Britain itself. In the world of social norms, again, whereas for the English the *Forsyte Saga* is a romantic dream only, for the West Indian that story still reflects much of the Caribbean class reality. The colonial manifestations of the metropolitan culture clearly enough flourish at the moment when they are increasingly anachronistic in the changing world of the metropolis. Nothing perhaps better illustrates the resultant misunderstanding, leading to bitter and angry rejection, than to take a final example the way in which the old imperial doctrine of trusteeship, long since forgotten in British politics, is still invoked by immigrant leaderships; and as late as 1969 one of the more radical of immigrant leaders in London, the Rev. Wilfred Wood, could still repeat for a Central Hall audience, as if it were still a basis for a new British politics of retribution, that remarkable passage in which the young Mr. Churchill, then in his brief liberal period, argued 50 years ago Britain owed a continuing debt to the West Indies because it was the original possession and exploitation of the West Indian plantation sugar wealth that helped Britain to become, by a process of capital accumulation, the workshop of the world.

How long all of this will remain, as it is gradually eroded by the frightening escalation of white racialism in both major British political parties, not to speak of how the Anguilla episode revealed a British public still ready to treat West Indian affairs as a Gilbertian comic joke, is an open question. But it would be patently fatal for Britain to continue to harbour the myth that West Indians', culturally, are akin to British outlooks. West Indian society, for all of its deceptive anglicisation, is *sui generis*, and merely to read Jean Rhys's powerful novel, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, is to see how from the beginning even the white groups in that society, always the most pro-English, developed a distinctive psychological separatism, the famous Creole identity, divorcing them, by everything in their island life, from English prides and prejudices. All that needs to be done now is to break the umbilical cord. West Indian life and organisation in the England of the late 1960s can be seen, in one way, as the breaking of the cord. It is, as yet, inchoate, groping, still uncertain of its new directions. What may be styled an immigrant political theory is discernible, but as yet it remains nothing much more than a series of variations on the imported American slogan of Black Power. Too many of its leaders are self-appointed messiahs, leaders of committees without rank and file memberships, full of an eloquent confusion of ideas and relatively intellectually unsophisticated. Much of the vision is apocalyptic, seeing English white society in much the same way as the unknown mystic-author of the Book of Revelation saw the hated Roman imperialism, but relying on the external magical agency to release its victims from the tyranny. Most West Indian organisations thus oscillate between rejection, root and branch, of the 'host society' and a search to make the best of its better radical tradition.

The third, and final point to make is that if there exists a West Indian myth about English society there exists, correspondingly, an English myth about West Indian society. It is applauded, by West Indian nationalist and English liberal alike, as a successful multi-racial society. In relative terms, beyond doubt, that is true; the West Indian Negro, unlike the American, has little of the ghetto mentality because he has known little of the ghetto experience. In absolute terms, however, it is different; and West Indian life is in fact that of a multi-layered pigmentocracy suffering from its own private disease of subtle 'shade' prejudice. What takes place, thus, is not that the migrant comes from a harmonious 'race relations' system to a system of incipient racialism but that, rather, he moves from a classificatory system based on the fine detective recognition of 'shade' to an English classificatory system that has taken over the American black-white dichotomy, so much more brutal and insulting. Like the Puerto Rican in New York, he suffers deep shock as he moves from a system comparatively benign to a system designed to strip him of all self-respect. It is small wonder that he is indisposed, then, to accept the argument of the European Left tradition that racialism is simply a derivative trait of capitalist class relations (the thesis of the National Convention of the Left in London in 1969), not to speak of the quaint English belief that racialism is to be blamed on the authoritarian working-class type, so that it is only pilloried, in the manner of the 'Alf Garnett' syndrome, in its working-class forms. Racialism, for the West Indian, then, is an independent variable, shaped (as Kiernan's revealing volume, *The Lords of Human Kind*, shows) by the historical influence of empire and present at all class levels. Looked at in this way, the enemy, in West Indian life, is the perpetuation, by the new middle class élites of the successor-states of empire, of the 'white bias' of the society; and in English life of a potent negrophobia so ingrained that it produces a 'left wing racialism' as easily as the neo-Fascism of the National Front. One day, perhaps, those two issues, now artificially separated, will be joined by a common conflagration that will engulf the Caribbean towns and the English industrial ghettoes in its explosion.

COMMENTARY ON JUNE

A monthly account of activity in race relations in all areas of the country. Drawn from the Institute's press cuttings service of over 1,400 national and local newspapers.

Jury Lists

In May, Mr. Salim Khan, secretary of the Pakistani Immigrants' Welfare Association in Bradford, contacted the Race Relations Board to initiate an investigation into the compilation of the city's jurors' list. No Asian name on the Electoral Register has been marked with the customary 'J' for the last 10 years (*Sun* 14.6.69). The Home Office intervened and the outcome is that in future those Asians eligible for service will be on the lists.

Announcing the decision the Town Clerk of Bradford said, "It has been brought to my attention and I have given instructions that, in fact, the practice will cease. . . . Apparently this has been the practice in Bradford for some time . . . . I think there has been a misguided ruling here which has been going on for many years . . . ." (*Yorkshire Post* 14.6.69).

There are two disquieting features about this issue. Firstly, the fact that Asians had been deliberately and systematically excluded from 'J' lists was revealed in a letter to the local press (from a Mr. Kershaw) in July, 1968 (*Telegraph & Argus* 12.7.68). A spokesman for the Electoral Registration Office said that there were difficulties of language; of incomprehension of the jury system (were Asians once included?); of mobility; that many are not rateable occupiers of the houses; and, paradoxically, 'One person may own a lot of houses'. This June, the Electoral Registration Officer (ERO) elaborated. 'It is sometimes impossible to find out who ratepaying occupiers are . . . ' (*Sun* 14.6.69). 'How', asked Mr. Khan, 'do the corporation send us rate demands if they don't know who the householders are' (*Telegraph & Argus* 14.6.69).

The second disturbing aspect concerns the national status of some 'Pakistanis'. The Treasurer of the Bradford Committee for Community Relations, and himself a former city councillor (Cons. Exchange) noted that some 'Pakistanis' are neither Pakistani nationals 'nor British for electoral purposes' since they are 'British protected persons in the undefined sense'. (Home Office letter, *Telegraph & Argus* 20.6.69.) They are in fact from Mirpur District in Azad-Kashmir, the disputed territory whose fate has yet to be decided by the Security Council of the UN. Over 25,000 Mirpuris are in Britain, 9,000 of whom are in Bradford, according to Mr. Bishop. Their status said the Pakistan High Commission, the British Foreign Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office was, respectively, not Pakistani, aliens in UK law and lastly, undecided. Significantly, only the Ministry of Labour and the Home Office were unequivocal about their status: they are issued work vouchers and come within the provisions of Part 1 of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 (*Telegraph & Argus* 29.12.67). Clearly the question of the 'J' must be put in perspective with evidence of this magnitude.

Reactions to the publicity given to the Home Office/Town Clerk's decision has been varied. One clerk expressed surprise and said he was eligible (*Guardian* 17.6.69). Predictably possible language difficulties of Asians in court were emphasised. They could be excused (ERO in *Telegraph & Argus* 14.6.69); they could have interpreters (ERO in *Sunday Telegraph* 22.6.69); they could be tested in conversational English (Community Relations Officer, (CRC Sheffield) *Daily Telegraph* 23.6.69). Alternatively, a complete review of the jury system could exclude them altogether, at least temporarily. This was mentioned by one MP (Tom Boardman, Cons. SW Leicester).

The Leicester CRO in the same issue, notes that Englishmen have been trying Africans and Asians for centuries.

A check on towns in the North revealed that Bradford's example was not followed by (inter alia,) Sheffield (*Sunday Telegraph* 22.6.69); Dewsbury, Huddersfield (*Yorkshire Post* 16.6.69); Halifax, Leeds, Liverpool, Bolton (*Sun* 14.6.69).

Two final comments rest with the leader writer of *The Times* and a black power group.

The ERO in Bradford said jury marks cannot be thrown around in the hope of hitting 'the right one', to which *The Times* replied, "The compilation of the jury list should not be an exercise in talent spotting by any group of council officials' (14.6.69).

And Clause 4 of the People's Demands (*Black Dimension*, vol 1/3, April 1969) once rang hollow in Britain. It reads,

> We demand freedom for all Black people in prison. We know that our Brothers have not been given fair trials because of the nature of the jury system.

STUART BENTLEY

Area Round-Up

A Wolverhampton immigrant leader is looking for support for his plan to launch a multi-lingual newspaper in the West Midlands (*Express and Star* 2/6). Dr. Doojen Napal, chairman of the Association of West Indian and Afro-Asian Minorities, has high hopes of the first edition being printed to coincide with the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi in October. It will be printed in English and the three main Indian languages.

Coloured families living in a private housing estate in Wolverhampton have been complaining that their dustbins are not being emptied—because of racial prejudice (*Express and Star* 16/6).

British Board of Trade officials have been holding discussions in Karachi with the Pakistan Government in an effort to resolve a dispute that could affect air services between the two countries (*The Times* 17/6). It arose when the BOAC protested that the terms of both the Pool agreement under which they shared traffic with Pakistan International Airways and the Air Service Agreement between the two countries at Government level were being contravened from the Pakistan side. PIA, apparently at the direction of their Government, were alleged to be retaining all but ten per cent of the flourishing immigrant traffic out of Karachi.¥BOAC have already warned their pilots that if the matter is not resolved they may have to refuel at Kuwait and fly from there to Delhi and Bombay instead of touching down at Karachi.

Child care officers in the Birmingham area have voted overwhelmingly against control of the number of immigrants coming to the West Midlands as 'contrary to professional social work ethics' (*Birmingham Evening Mail* 7/6). Miss E. England, Birmingham branch secretary of the Association of Child Care Officers, said that a meeting of the branch had considered a report referring to a crisis in the city's child care service and in which it had been suggested that one of the prime causes of the crisis was the number of coloured immigrants in the city.

According to a booklet, *Race for Homes*, published on 10 June, the chances of a white landlord agreeing to let rooms in Manchester to coloured families are so small that immigrants avoid the situation (*Luton Evening Post* 10/6). The booklet, which says it is a myth that property values decline when immigrants move into a district, deals with housing problems faced by immigrants in the cities. It is based on the results of three surveys carried out between 1966 and 1968. It also says that in allocating council homes local authorities take no account of colour and several hundred immigrant families have settled down to council house life, although a higher proportion of them give up their tenancies than white families (*Worcester Evening News* 10/6).

The possibility of a coloured girl being featured on the cover of Withernsea's new holiday guide has been causing controversy in the resort. Councillor Mrs. Phylis Dosdale said, 'I would object most strongly, as I did last year when a French girl was featured. I firmly believe that a holiday resort should feature one of its own beauties and we have plenty in Withernsea.' Mr. Don Clarke, entertainments manager to Withernsea UDC, said, 'I am considering using the photograph of a coloured girl who will have a ready-made sun-tan to advertise a resort renowned for its sunshine.'

Separate schools for immigrant children because of alleged health hazards were suggested at a seminar on 'The Press and Race Relations' by Councillor Jim Merrick, Independent Conservative member of Bradford City Council. He cited recent cases of leprosy and TB in Bradford schools, and said that nothing would ever convince him that English children were not being slowed down at school because of immigrant children's difficulty in learning to speak English (*Telegraph & Argus* 16/6).

Mr. Abdullah Patel, President of the Coloured Peoples Union, agreed there should be separate schools—but for different reasons, chiefly cultural (this issue will be fully explored in a future *Race Today*, which will publish interviews with these two personalities).

Haringey Commonwealth Citizens' Committee have drawn up contingency plans to oppose Haringey Education Committee's proposals for 'banding' primary schoolchildren into ability groups before they are transferred to comprehensive school (*Hornsey Journal* 6/6). Action will depend on the actual form of banding used. If the children being transported to schools outside their home areas are largely of immigrant origin, rather than white children, the Committee will advise parents to complain to the Race Relations Board. The Committee is looking closely at the results of testing of first and second form pupils which took place in the comprehensive schools on 17 June.

Worried members of Gravesend and Northfleet LVA have been assured by the Race Relations Board that they may report bad behaviour by coloured customers without fear of embarrassment or trouble (*Morning Advertiser* 14/6). This promise was made by Mr. John Lyttle, Chief Conciliation Officer of the Race Relations Board, when he spoke at their June meeting. Members pointed out that the Race Relations Act appeared to be increasing the trouble experienced in race relations rather than allaying it. Surely people did not require especially favourable treatment just because of the colour of their skins? Mr. Lyttle said a very delicate and difficult relationship has been set up in this country, and he felt that as much understanding as possible should be shown towards coloured immigrants. He said that if coloured customers created grave disturbances in licenced houses, the licencees had the right to take strong preventive measures However, they were not entitled to indulge in prosecution and persecution just because the skins of the customers were dark.

In a submission to the Commons Committee on Race Relations published on 5 June Professor Patrick McNabb of Liverpool University gave the 'warning' that the Black Power movement and the threat of organised violence are growing among Britain's immigrant community. 'Groups of young coloured immigrants are becoming more self-confident and aggressive,' he said (*Daily Sketch* 6/6).

In an article in *Tribune* (13/6) entitled 'Planning for the Black Community' Ben Mallalieu said that few people or political movements were quite so widely misreported in the press as Michael Malik and the more militant black organisations. He described the background of some of these organisations and went on to describe the difference between Black Power movements in Britain and their American counterparts. 'The aloof, wet cotton wool style of English racialism has, with a few exceptions, none of the neurotic violence found in the US which makes the call there to Black Power meaning-

ful. The black population in England is also much smaller proportionally. Not only does this make open aggression much more difficult, but it creates further problems which are largely insoluble by violent means.' He went on to describe Malik's work and its attempt to forestall the 'slow erosion of minority identities and minority racial cultures.'

Education

The Gulbenkian Foundation has given a £3,250 grant to a multi-racial playgroup scheme at Bedford where immigrant mothers take English lessons while their children play. About 130 children, English, Asian, West Indian and others, attend the sessions. Five groups have been set up and are run by Bedford International Friendship Association (*Evening News* 3/6).

The first immigrant teaching centre in the Lancashire County Council area has been opened only recently and is already proving to be a great success. The centre, run by four qualified teachers, is, at present, catering for 100 immigrant children (*Burnley Evening Star* 4/6).

'A teacher's own attitude to race relations can be the greatest barrier to bringing truth and light to pupils. The trouble is that the same teachers who care enough to want to "do" race relations are the very ones who feel an intense personal stake in the whole subject. There is a terrible temptation to regard race relations as a subject in which you, the liberal and unprejudiced teacher, will be bringing enlightenment and understanding to your miserably prejudiced pupils' (Jenny Rogers in *The Teacher* 6/6). Miss Rogers discussed various techniques which teachers might use in dealing with race in the class. She underlined the importance of group pressure in changing pupils' behaviour and applied this to a number of teaching practices. 'Teachers should be able to learn a lot from the propagandist. No propagandist who knows his job will waste his time denying rumours—this only gives the original rumour further importance and usually succeeds in bringing it to a wider circle of people . . . In teaching and in providing teaching material on race it is far better to put a positive case which implicitly proves a rumour to be false . . . It is better, in any case, to keep one's aims modest and to hope not for total conversion, which is unduly arrogant and educationally highly suspect, but to hope instead to bring fact not myth, tolerance and not intolerance, before one's pupils and to bring them to the point where they can make their own social and moral conclusions on this dangerously explosive subject.'

RACE RELATIONS BOARD—ANNUAL REPORT

Too soon to draw Conclusions

The third annual report of the Race Relations Board, and the first to be presented by the new Board of twelve members, was published on 4 July. It covers the period from 1 April, 1968, to 31 March, 1969. During the first eight months of this period the Board was dealing with the 1965 Act, which covered only certain specified places of public resort. The Race Relations Act of 1968 came into force on 26 November, 1968, at which time the new Board were also appointed.

During the first eight months, under the 1965 Act, the Board received 461 complaints. More than half of these complaints (249) were in the South East, the next highest figure (47) being from the West Midlands. Three hundred and eighty-nine of the complaints were outside the scope of the 1965 Act, of which 184 dealt with employment and 45 with housing. Of the 72 complaints which were inside the scope of the Act, 20 were settled by conciliation, 34 were not sustained and the balance were still under investigation when the new Act came into force on 26 November.

In the four months of working the 1968 Act more complaints were received than during the previous 8 months, 507 complaints being received between 26 November, 1968, and 31 March, 1969. Two hundred and thirty-six of these dealt with employment and, again, the South East accounted for more than half of the complaints (283), followed by the West Midlands (74).

The Board point out that while the wider scope of the new Act means that they can now deal with most of the complaints they receive, it is still too early to draw any firm conclusions about it, although it is already clear that the pattern of complaints follows that of those received under the 1965 Act—more than half of them are about employment and come from the South East.

The Board stress the value of the declaratory effect of the Act and say several major firms have been stimulated by the Act to adopt non-discriminatory policies, but in spite of this, more positive steps by employers to realise the intentions of the Act are necessary if that situation is to be avoided in which immigrants 'play safe', as evidence suggests they are doing, by confining themselves to areas where they are unlikely to encounter discrimination.

The Board deplores the loss of talent where complainants have been unable to find employment commensurate to their qualifications. 'In some cases,' they say, 'the revision of long established requirements would benefit not only immigrants but employers and job seekers generally.'

It is part of the Board's job, too, to distinguish grievances which, but for the racial element, would not have existed, from those that are basically industrial ones. During the year the Board concentrated on informing employers and others in a position to discriminate about the law and on advising them how it is enforced. In so far as immigrant groups are concerned the Board admit that they must now explain the Act and their manner of securing compliance with it very much more effectively and devise ways of informing members of minority communities of the successes achieved by the Board which open up new opportunities to them.

The Board's effectiveness, they say, should not be judged by the number of complaints dealt with. The settlement of one complaint can change the policy of a whole industry and the mere number of complaints can therefore be a most misleading measure of the impact of the law. 'Even when we conclude that no unlawful discrimination has occurred,' they say, 'we can perform a useful function, either by informing the complainant that his grievance can be dealt with by some other means, or, where the complaint is based on a misunderstanding, by clearing this up.'

One of the limitations of the complaints procedure which the report mentions is the reluctance of those who have been discriminated against to complain.

In their last report the Board suggested the possibility that Government contracts with private firms might

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BOOKS

Indian Workers' Associations in Britain by Dewitt John. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations 25/-.

This work on Indian Workers' Associations in Britain gives a fair description of the organisational structure of IWAs and the part they can play in British politics. The author has also attempted to clear up the misunderstanding about the internal affairs of the IWAs and their role in Race Relations, though it is doubtful if he has fully succeeded in this task. His introduction gives very useful information for an understanding of the Punjabi community, and the anatomy of a Punjabi Village where the centres of influence are based on kinship, economic dependence or interdependence and obligation for favours is described well. The pattern is slowly changing with education and new economic opportunities but this does give some idea how immigrant leadership is evolved. However, he has tried to explain the IWA politics totally in this context and this is misleading owing to the different socio-economic set-up here.

The author has gone into minor, insignificant and sometimes irrelevent details on this account and his analysis is therefore shallow, one sided—even boring. In some cases he has failed to check his information, resulting in misrepresentation. For example, in his case study of the IWA in Southall he mentions that Hardev Clique had a secret understanding with the Lachhman group for the office of Vice-President in one election, and that the Lachhman group withdrew its candidate at the last moment. This is not true. Both sides put up their candidates and Hardev Clique won the seat by one vote.

More generally he appears to be biased against the non-communist participants who have always insisted on keeping the IWAs as broad-based, democratic and living organisations. And he fails to mention that whenever the communists lost an election they either refused to hand over the charge to new office bearers, formed a separate IWA, or set up an action committee. Indian Workers' Associations in Britain could not be what they are without the active participation of non-communists. They have contributed more than the communists in building up the IWA, Southall, the biggest immigrant organisation in the UK. They enjoy the confidence of the community. That is why IWA, Southall, has always been dominated and controlled by them.

All IWA leaders have similiar views on Race Relations and are firmly committed to fight against racial discrimination. The only difference between the Southall IWA and its counterpart in Birmingham is that the former does not believe in violence and is reluctant to associate itself with the black power movement.

The second part of the book is a valuable guide for Indian immigrant leaders. He has very ably projected the future role of IWAs and their leaders in British institutions. A close look at the working of the IWAs will show that they are establishing increasingly close relations with the Trade Union movement. The concluding Chapter will serve as an eye-opener for the Indian community. They can understand how they can make their voice effective and their place honourable in British Society, and the general reader will find it useful for an understanding of the Punjabi Community.

H. S. RUPRAH (former President IWA, Southall).

CONFERENCE

Questions of Colour in Birmingham

'Integration must proceed faster than the frustration of the immigrant population' was how Oscar Hahn, Chairman of the West Midlands Conciliation Committee of the Race Relations Board, closed a recent conference on 'Questions of Colour?' organised by the Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce and attended by thirty-five delegates. It was no good, said Mr. Hahn, hoping for a quick solution through time, with natural integration of second generation immigrants. Time on its own would solve nothing without positive action.

He felt the 1968 Act had already achieved a great deal by promoting serious discussion of race relations throughout the country. Most of the employment cases brought before the Race Relations Board had been due to 'appallingly bad management'. When a firm took its Industrial Relations seriously, it could usually deal with its race relations fairly easily because, as Nigel Cook of the AEF had pointed out earlier, industrial and race relations are inextricably interwoven.

The theme of the day was set up by Lou Kushnick, Lecturer in American Studies at Manchester University, when he told managers that they must go further than mere conformity with the Act. It was not enough to say 'we don't discriminate'. Managers must be prepared to commit time, money, effort and resources to a programme of Affirmative Action. Frequently a manager would say he was personally completely unprejudiced but had to consider his employees' or customers' reaction. 'If you fear the untested reactions of others,' said Mr. Kushnick, 'you won't spend any money on doing anything. Where managers *have* declared their policy and stood by their actions, there have been no threats and no problems.'

After lunch, delegates divided into three discussion groups. Of the many points which emerged from these discussions, two were of special interest. Firstly, it was recognized that more must be done to overcome communications by providing language classes for immigrants. Many of these are already organised by Local and Education authorities, but all Industrial Training Boards should make arrangements for such courses to be included in their grant/levy schemes without delay. (The Engineering Industry Training Board has already made some steps in this direction.) Secondly it was apparent that few of the firms represented employed more than a handful of coloured people above the semi-skilled grade. Taking these two facts together employees do not have much time to start the Affirmative Action urged by Mr. Kushnick.

The Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce is to be congratulated on organising a very useful conference. The organiser, Mr. Nick Wilson, had hoped for 100 delegates. He should not be too discouraged though, for there is no doubt that such conferences, particularly when there is plenty of time for discussion, as there was at this one, play a valuable part in determining the actions and attitudes of employers.

BRIAN STEVENS (Industrial Society).

IMMIGRATION

Help For Dependants

Powell's latest speech at Wolverhampton has confirmed the view held by many immigrant leaders that the whole controversy about immigration centres around the size of the coloured population in the country. Leaving the Powellites aside, there are many persons working in the field of race relations, including some immigrants, who subscribe to the belief that the process of integration is correlated with the rate of inflow of immigrants especially when their social and cultural background is markedly distinct from that of the host community. While the government's successive measures have already reduced the entry of new immigrants to the bare minimum, further cuts would fall only on the dependants of those who are already here. The immigrant leaders think that the authorities have found an ingenious method of phasing out the entry of dependants by introducing the condition of compulsory entry certificates and thus have avoided a furore which could have been expected if any *direct* restrictions on dependants were imposed.

It is too early to assess the total effects of the new measures; the hardships faced by the new entrants at the ports of entry will definitely be alleviated. But, it is feared that the immigrants will become the victims of exploitation in their *home* countries. At a public meeting recently held by the Indian Workers' Association in Southall, one of the speakers disclosed that the travel agents were already offering the promises of entry certificates for Rs 500 (£28) each. It is this fear that has prompted the Indian Workers' Association, Southall, to apply to the Home Office for financial assistance for opening offices in India to help the dependants of immigrants in getting the entry certificates. All the speakers at the meeting showed their concern with the inclination of the Government to favour unrepresentative so-called multi-racial organisations for this purpose rather than popular mass organisations like IWA.

Moral Support Only

The president of the IWA categorically stated that they would go ahead with the idea of opening their offices in India irrespective of any help from the Home Office. He appealed to an MLC (Member of Legislative Council) from the Punjab who also spoke at the meeting, for help. The MLC was very hopeful that he would be able to convince the Chief-Minister of the Punjab of the gravity of the situation. The IWA seems to be looking for some moral support only, financially it is quite capable of implementing a plan of its own. It has its own cinema hall which provides it with a good regular income. Now it is going to start regular chartered flights to India which will augment its financial resources.

The reason behind this independent move of the Indian Workers' Association are multifarious and difficult to discern. But there is a general consensus of opinion among the Indian immigrants that the authorities ignore the individuals who seemingly have a fuller grasp of the situation. That is why, it is alleged, they are not fairly represented where it matters.

AUTAR DHESI

URBAN PROGRAMME

Second Phase

Expenditure of about £4½ million on projects to help areas of acute social need has been approved by the Home Secretary in principle under the second phase of the Government's urban programme. Exchequer grants will meet 75 per cent of the total cost incurred by local authorities.

Over 500 projects have been approved in 89 county boroughs and counties in England and Wales. These include over £1 million-worth of expenditure on nursery schools and classes, some £150,000 for aid to voluntary playgroups, and the appointment of playgroup advisers—the first large-scale financial assistance to be given to playgroups on a national basis. Also included is nearly £¾ million expenditure on day nurseries, to provide 606 new places and 110 replacements.

Many of the schemes now approved are for the education, health and care of children, but local authorities were asked to put forward any project which they thought would tackle social deprivation, and the projects which will now be government-aided range from a day centre for the elderly in Redbridge to community centres in Bristol, Derby, Leicestershire and Liverpool.

All this expenditure is additional to the £3½ million approved in the first phase last January, for 34 London boroughs and English county boroughs whose social needs were thought to be the most urgent. Both phases are part of the overall four-year, £20–25 million programme for England, Wales, and Scotland, for which the Home Office, the Department of Education and Science, and the Department of Health and Social security, under the co-ordination of Mr. James Callaghan, the Home Secretary, have the main responsibility. (The programme for Scotland is administered separately by the Scottish Office.)

In this second phase, all English and Welsh county boroughs and counties were invited, in a circular issued in February, to submit proposals within two months for a total of £2 million-worth of expenditure. Over 100 local authorities sent in bids totalling over £10 million—so it was decided to accelerate the programme and increase the approvals for the phase to the present figure of £4½ million.

In the field of education, in addition to nursery schools, and classes, the schemes to be approved include teachers' centres and centres for immigrant pupils.

In the field of health and welfare, as well as day nurseries, approval has been given to such schemes as improvements to a Hackney home for the handicapped; hostels for the homeless in Haringey; rehabilitation of the mentally-disordered in Salford.

With its particular problems, London receives the largest share—about £1.6 million of the £4½ million. The West Midlands and North-west England will each benefit by about £800,000, with over £300,000 for Birmingham alone. Yorkshire's approved schemes total about £350,000, while projects in Wales will total £88,000. About £½ million has been agreed for 18 county councils, from Cumberland to Kent and including Lancashire, Co. Durham, the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Warwickshire, in addition to three in Wales.

(cont. from page iii)
carry a clause making the contract conditional upon non-discriminatory employment policies. The Government has been considering this possibility since 1966 and the Board hopes to see results soon.

The Board reiterate the importance of legislation as a prerequisite for an integrated society and stress the need for positive policies and practices to foster integration.

Trouble in the Foundries

'Militant Asian workers have obliged three Midland factories to sack them. Intimidation of fellow workers and extravagant wage claims lead employers to think there may be something sinister behind the troubles.' So wrote David Carpenter in *British Industry Week* on 6 June. He said that there was little doubt in the minds of the employers involved that there was a degree of external organisation behind the troubles. Motives were not at all clear, but by adding racial issues to unofficial disputes, the magnitude of the problem became immediately apparent. Carpenter then went on to outline the situations at Midland Motor Cylinders, Newby and Sons and Shotton Bros, where, in each case, between 90 and 300 men had been laid off. The exploitation of Asians as cheap labour and violent threats were among the reasons given for the troubles. Carpenter said that 'revolutionary' students were perhaps involved in the disputes and he thought the management to be in a cleft stick. They were reluctant, he said, to talk about the issues for fear of being labelled prejudiced, but with the unions apparently powerless in the disputes, it was not surprising that they had had to adopt a tough line.

A Lancashire textile factory which previously refused to accept a 'closed shop' announced on 11 June that the system would operate in future. The decision followed a strike by 400 Indian and Pakistani operatives at the factory in Radcliffe, owned by Qualitex Yarns. The dispute began several weeks ago when a group of immigrant workers objected to an agreement being negotiated between the company and their union, the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers. This involved a reassessment of working hours and bonuses, and meant a reduction in potential earnings of about £1 a week. Immigrants staged a token strike against the adoption of the agreement by the union, of which, by then, they were no longer members. Other groups of workers staged counter-token strikes which immigrants claimed were racially motivated. This was denied by both management and union. After a meeting between the directors and union officials, a joint statement was issued which said that in future a condition of employment at the Radcliffe factory would be membership of the abovementioned union. Strikers rejected the firm's offer and a spokesman, Mr. Manzoor Ali, said 'We will never join this union' (*Guardian* 12/6).

Political Row

A political row was likely to develop over the fact that Mr. Richard Crossman, Social Services Minister, was 'withholding' his permission for local councils to publish the latest available figures of immigrant births, according to Geoffrey Parkhouse in the *Sunday Express* (15/6). He said it was Mr. Crossman himself who ordered a survey of how many babies were being born to immigrant families in the areas of 58 local authorities. Nearly all results were now available, he said, but councils who had approached Mr. Crossman's department for permission to publish their results had been 'advised' not to do so. Most were complying. Mr. Crossman's department denied that he had withheld permission for local authorities to publish the figures, and nor was it true that Mr. Crossman had ordered a survey on how many babies were born to immigrants. 'The statistics are being collected over the whole range of health and welfare services and are not solely concerned with maternity services', a statement said (*Daily Telegraph* 16/6). Births to immigrant mothers in Rochdale during March and April this year amounted to 12 per cent of all births in the town, revealed one of the reports prepared at the request of Mr. Crossman. Immigrants account for only 4 per cent of the town's population, but the figures were qualified by the Deputy Town Clerk, Mr. John Towey (*Manchester Evening News* 17/6). 'The immigrants come here to work and therefore are likely to be young, with the women of childbearing age. Because of this, they will be bound to have a higher birth rate than the average for the whole of Rochdale's population.' In Manchester, out of 1,606 births in two months, 179 were to immigrant mothers—just over 11 per cent.

The Press

Statements in the *Daily Mail* that immigration into Britain had almost stopped and that new immigrants were now virtually barred caused Mr. Frank S. Gibbons of Cobham, Surrey, to complain to the Press Council. Mr. Gibbons pointed out that the government figure for immigrants in 1967 was 61,377, including 52,813 dependants and 4,578 voucher holders. The writer of the article, Julian Holland, maintained that the vital figure was the containment of voucher holders to under 5,000 compared with 12,800 in 1965, 14,705 in 1964 and 30,125 in 1963. The complaint was upheld by the Press Council which said that the *Daily Mail* should have corrected its misleading generalisation (*Daily Mail* 5/6).

Select Committee

An all-party group of MPs plans to go to Jamaica, Barbados, India and Pakistan, to conduct an on-the-spot probe into the independence and fairness of the local administrative methods in selecting would-be-immigrants coming to Britain (*Sunday Times* 15/6). The MPs will represent the Select Committee investigating the working of the various immigration schemes and controls in this country. The Select Committee would like to be reassured about the fairness and impartial selection of the system.

Powell—Heath Accused

Enoch Powell made another 'explosive speech' on the race issue on 9 June. Speaking in Wolverhampton, he accused the Tory leader, Mr. Edward Heath, of failing to face the facts on immigration. He also charged Mr. Heath with having 'passed over in silence' BBC opinion poll figures. These showed, he said, that about half of the coloured immigrants in Britain would return home if they were given financial help. Mr. Powell demanded a £300,000,000 programme for sending back Commonwealth immigrants with 'going away' grants of £2,000 per family. Such a move, he claimed, would lift from the future of Britain 'a dark and ever more menacing

shadow' and he accused Mr. Heath of 'sheer incomprehension of the magnitude of the danger'. He estimated that about 600,000–700,000 immigrants would be willing to return to their home countries. The cost, he said, would represent only about eighteen months' aid to under-developed countries. In addition to voluntary repatriation, Mr. Powell called for action to reduce the flow of immigrants to 'negligible proportions'. Above all, he said, it was necessary 'to end the continuing inflow of dependants because these are the basis of further families and population growth'.

Within two hours of Mr. Powell's speech, a Parliamentary motion was circulating among Labour MPs calling on Mr. Heath to expel Mr. Powell from the Party. The motion called on the Conservative leader to withdraw the Whip from Mr. Powell, as 'a mark of his contempt for the evil, racialist and alien doctrines expounded on a Conservative platform'. The *Daily Mirror* (10/6) called the speech 'deplorable' and saw it as an ominous challenge for leadership of the right wing of the Tory party. The *Sun*, on the same day, called it 'a recipe for bitterness'.

Mr. Mark Bonham Carter, Chairman of the Race Relations Board, said that in his speeches on the subject Mr. Powell had not once come up with a constructive proposal to secure an integrated society. He thought that the BBC survey on which Mr. Powell's repatriation policy was based was the most fragile foundation on which to build. Mr. Frank Cousins saw Powell's speech as irresponsible and totally negative. The Institute of Race Relations, which had been criticised by Mr. Powell, in his speech for either not carrying out a study on repatriation or for not publishing the results of any study which had been carried out, referred to the two studies it had carried out (and see for example Lord Walston's article in the May issue of *Race Today*) and said that repatriation was no solution to Britain's race problems. The Pressure Group for Economic and Social Toryism (PEST) deplored the speech and said 'It seems tragic that in a few words Mr. Powell should be able to undo the work thousands of people have been doing in race relations over several months. Though the basis of his statements on race has long been disproved, it is very difficult not to feel that he is making a determined attempt on the party leadership.'

Abusive unsigned letters were received at the South-West Wolverhampton party headquarters after Mr. Powell's speech. Mr. Powell's agent said, 'They have been put in the appropriate file—the wastepaper basket'. Letters attacking Mr. Powell's attitude formed only a small proportion of the congratulatory letters and telephone calls received. Mr. Pollard (the agent) added, 'There has been a steady stream of correspondence, but it has not been as big as after the other speeches, because most of the people who have something to say have already written to us' (*Birmingham Post* 12/6).

When the Bishop of Stepney, the Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston, called Mr. Powell's speech 'evil' the latter wrote to him to say that the bishop was mistaken in the real circumstances behind the immigration issue in Britain. Mr. Powell said he would not be doing his duty if he did not draw attention to the 'grave risks of conflict'. He believed that large numbers of West Indian and Asian immigrants had no intention of settling in Britain permanently and still did not wish to.

The Shadow Home Secretary, Mr. Hogg, said it would need a great deal more evidence to persuade him to take Mr. Powell's views any more seriously 'than I take the Irish-American sentimental maundering on St. Patrick's Day about the Isle of Innisfree' (*Express and Star* 13/6). Francis Boyd wrote in the Guardian (16/6) that Mr. Powell hopes that Mr. Heath will move to his position on the repatriation of immigrants, but in any event Mr. Powell has no thought of forming his own party—that would be 'absurd'. Mr. Powell said, 'I am a Tory through and through. What other party could I have?' He also denied that he was going over the head of Parliament direct to the people in making speeches on race questions outside the Commons (*Daily Telegraph* 16/6). Challenged by the Home Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, to say whether he agreed that immigrants 'should have the same rights when they bear the same responsibilities', Mr. Powell said that 'all who are resident in this country should have equal rights before the law, that there should be no first-class citizens and second-class citizens, but,' he added, 'if one allows a situation to develop in which the prospective size of what Lord Radcliffe called "a large alien wedge" in our towns and cities is allowed to develop—and, what is more, if those who are concerned think that this fact is being deliberately ignored and overlooked, then the danger will be that there will be a tendency for people to be treated differently' (*Guardian* 17/6).

Race Relations Act—First Case

The first case brought under the Race Relations Act to allege that discrimination was shown against a coloured potential housebuyer came before Leeds County Court on 17 June (*Evening Standard*). Electrical engineer, Mr. Mahesh Upadhyaya, claimed nominal damages of 40s against George Haigh and Co. Ltd, Builders, of Huddersfield. The Race Relations Board also sought a declaration that Haigh's acted unlawfully when they refused to sell Mr. Upadhyaya a house on a site in Huddersfield. Mr. James Comyn, QC, for the Board said Haigh's advertised the houses in a local newspaper and Mr. Upadhyaya saw one he liked. When he telephoned the firm, an embarrassed representative said it was not their policy to sell property to coloured people. Mr. Upadhyaya said, 'I was speechless and said, "You must be joking." ' The man said "We wouldn't jeopardise our business by selling a house to you". ' Mr. Upadhyaya complained to the Board the same day. On 26 February this year Mr. John Lyttle, Chief Conciliation Officer of the Board, wrote to the builders' solicitors asking for an apology for the humiliation Mr. Upadhyaya had suffered and an offer from the builders to allocate a house to him. On 10 March, the solicitors replied, 'We have taken the instructions of our clients company on your letter of 26 ultimo and it regrets that it is unable to comply with the requirements of the same'. The Board then instituted proceedings in April. The case was adjourned until 7 August.

Other News

Statistics published on 18 June by the General Register Office and based on information collected in the 10 per cent sample census in 1966 show that the coloured population of Britain was then well over half a million. In trying to assess the size of the coloured population, an important point was the omission of children born in Britain to a parent of Commonwealth origin. For this

assessment, the relevant figure was the number of persons in a household. The Census here showed that there were 326,000 households in which the head or spouse was born in the new Commonwealth (i.e. excluding Australia, Canada or New Zealand). These households contained 1,200,000 people. A breakdown of the figures for households shows that there were 425,000 dependent children in households. Almost three-quarters of these had been born in Britain, and 191,000 were four years old or younger. The housing conditions are indicated by the finding that in 118,000 households–that is, over one-third of the households where the head of the family came from the new Commonwealth–the house was shared; 43,000 households did not have exclusive use of a stove or sink.

Statements by Mr. Colin Jordan, British Movement candidate in the by-election at Ladywood, Birmingham, were referred to the Race Relations Board. Mr. Frank Watters, Secretary of the Birmingham Communist Party which called the statements 'an incitement to racial hatred', said that Mr. Jordan was using the by-election as a 'racialist platform' (*Guardian* 19/6). The Birmingham Communist Party was later told that the Race Relations Board was not the appropriate body to deal with the complaint, which instead could be made either to the police or the Attorney General (*The Times* 21/6).

An attempt to establish voluntary machinery to deal with complaints of racial discrimination in Britain's engineering industry ended in virtual failure in Scarborough on 24 June. The attempt was made by the General Secretary of the Foundry Workers' section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers in a speech to the annual conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. In an editorial on the same day, the *Guardian* noted that the engineering industry received 'more complaints about racial discrimination than most' (other industries). It said it was a mistaken decision for the industry to decide that their voluntary machinery had no further use. Without the co-operation of both sides of industry, it said, moves towards removing racial discrimination would be impossible from the very start. It said there was reason to believe that voluntary machinery was popular with the immigrants themselves and that if the AEF wanted to improve recruitment, it should bear this in mind.

Introducing the first report of the Community Relations Commission, Mr. Cousins, its Chairman, said that the fight against racialism was being won, in spite of a statement in the report that 'for the first time opinion in this country appeared to accept as socially respectable the use of blatantly hostile language in public utterances on the subject of race and minority ethnic groups'. He dismissed Mr. Powell who 'if not repudiated, signally failed to get support from his own party'. The man in the street could contribute to better community relations by accepting that "immigrants are people who should be helped to fit in, either in homes or in education,' and by being tolerant if he found different traditions and culture. Mr. Cousins said repeatedly that the problem was not a question of numbers–it was that the local authorities had not seen to the social services adequately, and for this we were all to blame (*Guardian* 26/6).

In the report, which covers the first four months of the Commission's activities and the last eleven of the old NCCI which it succeeded, the Commission talks of a year of 'anxiety and uncertainty'. It says that the combination of statements suggesting that coloured immigrants were an undesirable and burdensome element and the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act that restricted entry for East African Asians had left a legacy of suspicion and mistrust (heading in *The Times* 26/6 'Growing Suspicion Over Race Policy'). The Commission said it had set its sights on four areas–education, employment, social deprivation and the second generation. At the end of March, there were 78 voluntary Community Relations Councils in Britain and 42 full-time Community Relations Officers. This compared with 50 Councils and 32 Officers in January 1967 (*Report of the Community Relations Commission*, HMSO, 5s.).

In the first week of July two Community Relations Officers left their posts. Mr. Rafi Irtizaali in Teesside has left because the CRC has withdrawn its grant of £1,500 which pays his salary. Mr. Chris Mullard is now the acting unpaid officer. The Commission has not confirmed his appointment and is withholding its grant. Other local CRCs have had grants withdrawn or their choice of officers vetoed or criticised. Also Mrs. Ann Dummett at Oxford has left her post 'because an already difficult job was made more difficult and frustrating by the Commission's attitude' (*Guardian* 3/7; *Observer* 6/7) (see Mrs. Dummett's article, page 72 this issue).

An editorial in *The Times* (26/6) said that there was always a danger that any body officially appointed to foster better race relations 'will seem to be little more than a gesture of good intent'. It said this danger faced the former NCCI and now faced the CRC, though the risk was rather less in some respects; for example the fact that the Commission is a statutory body meant that it had an authority, stability and access to resources of considerable value. Its success, however, depended upon the calibre of local Councils which varied a great deal. Perhaps it is too soon to make hard judgements, the editorial continued, but 'despite the purposive tone of its report, it is in real danger of an ineffective life of good intentions unless it can be given the equipment for the job.' That, it concluded, was the point on which it should first exercise its powers of persuasion on the Government.

RACE TODAY

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INTERNATIONAL REPORTS

Aspects of Frelimo Training

MOZAMBIQUE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRELIMO

by POLLY GASTER

Is FRELIMO more than a fighting nationalist movement? Its history and achievements are discussed here in this context.

In Mozambique, as in Portugal's other African colonies of Angola and Guiné, a national liberation war is now being fought. One of the first questions to be asked in Britain about this war is likely to be why has it been necessary to fight at all, when so much of Africa was able to achieve peaceful independence?. A full answer is given by Eduardo Mondlane in his newly-published Penguin *The Struggle for Mozambique*, but I would like to deal here with some of the more common misconceptions about Portuguese colonial rule and about the aims and objectives of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

In the April issue of the *Newsletter* (predecessor to *Race Today*) John Ryan, while failing to mention the war at all, in a description of mixed farming settlements painted an extremely optimistic picture of race relations in Mozambique. It would indeed be encouraging to think that, after fifty years of exploitation, the Portuguese administration is at last respecting the Mozambican African as a free and equal human being, but unfortunately even the facts as reported by Mr. Ryan do not entirely bear this out. He makes it clear that the aims underlying the Limpopo valley scheme were largely focused on benefiting white immigrants from mainland Portugal rather than the local population; perhaps more importantly, he shows what a tiny proportion of the African population is involved. But the basic questions, which Mr Ryan does not pose, are whether first, these farming settlements show a real change of attitude on the part of Portugal, and secondly should her administration be in Africa at all?

The history of Portuguese colonialism is a sad one, a history of oppression by force, of racialism and exploitation. In Mozambique final conquest was achieved by the early 1920s; since then, with the establishment of Salazar's *estado novo* in Portugal, an extensive network of administrators, army and police backed up by legislation, has maintained control.

The economy of Mozambique has up to now been largely based on the production of raw materials – cotton, rice, cashew nuts, etc., which are organised under a system of concessions. Thus large areas of land are leased to individual companies which are also given wide ranging rights over the peasants previously living in the area. These people must then divert their activities from growing their normal subsistence crops to producing the crop required by the company, either on plantations or on their own plots of land. If the latter, they must sell their crop to the company at a fixed price, and the company makes its profit by reselling to Portugal at a price still well below world price for the commodity. Professor Quitanilha of the Mozambique Cotton Research Centre has estimated, for example, that if Portugal had had to purchase abroad all the cotton that her textile industry had consumed

in the past few years it would have meant an annual expenditure of some £12 million, whereas the development of cotton production brought the Portuguese economy an annual income of nearly £18 million.

The Mozambican has had little opportunity to escape what Professor Marvin Harris has called 'this modern serfdom'. His freedom of movement is limited by law, as is his freedom to work where he chooses. The possibility of engaging in independent farming is still subject to stringent provisions, while conditions amounting to forced labour still continue in many areas. This was officially abolished first by the Native Labour Code of 1928 and then again in 1962, but Article 146 of the Portuguese Constitution still states: 'The State cannot force natives to work except on public works in the general interest . . . to fulfil sentences of a penal character or to fulfil fiscal obligation.' It is not difficult to see how widely these 'exceptions' may be interpreted, particularly in a country where heavy taxation frequently leads to indebtedness.

Survey

One form of escape is physically to leave the country, and today many Mozambicans are living and working in surrounding countries such as Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. A survey conducted among such economic refugees in Tanzania during 1964 showed that of the sample questioned 30 per cent said that they had left Mozambique to avoid forced unpaid labour, 18 per cent feared unlawful arrest or illtreatment by the government, and 31 per cent said that they came specifically to find employment. The largest remaining group (16 per cent) was following or joining relatives.

While these Mozambicans were finding relative security, many thousands of their fellow countrymen were leaving Mozambique for a very different reason: under an agreement between the Portuguese and South African governments dating from 1928 between 65,000 and 100,000 Africans were to be recruited from Mozambique for work in the mines of South Africa, and for each man who went the Portuguese administration received a fee of £2.16s.0d. Portugal received other benefits from this trade in human beings, which has been a major source of revenue. In 1961 receipts from the export of labour were expected to account for 1,200,000 escudos out of a total budget of 6,300,000 escudos.

In their propaganda, the Portuguese tend to bury facts such as these beneath a claim to be building a 'multi-racial' society, and to be educating the Africans towards some kind of 'civilisation'. They point to their policy of assimilation, and explain that, once assimilated, a black African is treated on completely equal terms with a white Portuguese.

Assimilation Desirable?

The first question to be asked here is whether assimilation is a policy desirable in itself, and for the African today the answer must be—no. To become 'assimilated' requires him to forget that he is African at all, and to talk, think and in every way be like a Portuguese. He must reach a certain standard of 'civilisation' which means European civilisation, he must abandon his own language and culture, he must 'be of good conduct', and he can only be approved in his status by the district administrator.

This kind of paternalism could not be considered a genuinely multiracial approach even were it energetically and successfully carried out as a policy, and that only 4,555 Africans from a population of 7 million were classified as 'assimilated' by 1960 suggests a certain lack of endeavour. To take only a single aspect: one qualification is the fluent reading, writing and speaking of Portuguese (though the population of Portugal itself is 60 per cent illiterate), yet in 1940 all responsibility for the primary education of Africans was handed over to the Vatican—and today the illiteracy rate among Mozambican Africans is approximately 95 per cent.

Change of Name

When the winds of change began to blow across Africa during the 1950s Portugal made some effort to change the face she was showing to the world. In 1951 she ceased to have 'colonies', but changed their status to that of 'Overseas Provinces' of Portugal; she was then able to deny the possession of non-self-governing territories, and therefore that any question of independence or self-determination for these areas existed. In 1960, however, the United Nations ceased to accept this proposition and redefined the areas as non-self-governing territories, calling on Portugal to take immediate steps towards relinquishing them.

Traditional Path

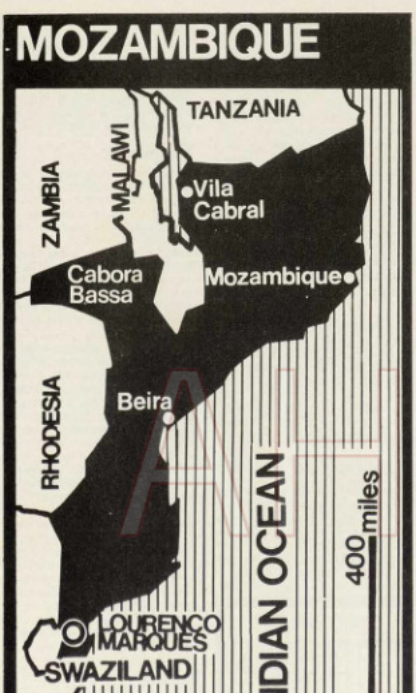
But the Portuguese government remained firm in their refusal to consider the question, Salazar in 1964 stating that 'Portugal is determined to maintain control'. Dr. Caetano, the new Prime Minister of Portugal, has repeatedly stated since his accession to power his complete adherence to Salazar's colonial policies.

In spite of later alterations in the laws, the essentials of this colonial system have remained unchanged. This, then, was the position facing the Africans of Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. Unable to fight for their rights through traditional democratic procedures—since the right for even a white Portuguese to organise political parties was non-existent—they turned first to the equally traditional path of non-violent protest. During the 1950s a series of strikes on the docks and plantations were violently suppressed, and in 1960 approximately 500 people were killed while holding a peaceful demonstration at Mueda, in northern Mozambique. This direct use of force, following the decades of subjugation by a system inherently violent towards them, served as final proof that independence could never be achieved through peaceful means.

Frelimo Formed

In 1962 the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was formed, with Eduardo Mondlane elected as President. It was the fusion of several small exile movements that had already been in existence, and it immediately began work within Mozambique. Two years later the armed struggle was begun, and today FRELIMO has freed about one-fifth of the northern countryside from Portuguese control, and is fighting over a larger area.

Although the Portuguese government is now spending over 40 per cent of its national budget on 'defence', i.e. its colonial wars, it is clear that this state of affairs cannot continue for ever and that sooner or



later Mozambique will have a free and independent African government. It is important therefore to understand what FRELIMO is trying to do, and whether it is in fact more than a fighting nationalist movement. For example, although the proportion of white settlers is relatively small (about 150,000) what is FRELIMO's attitude towards them?

It is in fact, a genuinely multi-racial movement, which accepts members of all races, and its policies are clear. To the FRELIMO army the enemy is the Portuguese colonial system and its adjuncts—the administration, the army, the police and direct collaborators—not individual Portuguese. Its strategy, therefore, is one of scientific warfare rather than isolated acts, so that it is clear to both sides at whom operations are aimed. Once their country is independent, FRELIMO leaders have stated that they will have no objection to settlers remaining—the obvious criterion being willingness to work with a majority rule government—and at their Second Congress held in Mozambique a year ago this policy was confirmed, an acceptance in principle of foreign technical aid was made, and the policy of clemency towards prisoners of war and deserters re-adopted.

Land Redistribution

In the liberated areas the foundations of the new society that FRELIMO is trying to build are already being laid. Here, for the first time, the villagers are beginning to participate in the day-to-day running of their own lives, through village and district committees, and through electing their own representatives at national level. Land which once belonged to the concession companies has been redistributed and production and marketing co-operatives are being organised; even a small amount is produced for export.

To counter the years of neglect, an intensive educational programme is being carried out, and in spite of FRELIMO's limited resources 18,000 children now attend bush primary schools in the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Out of a population of nearly one million, this is of course still too few, but it is still a higher number than had ever been achieved under colonial rule.

Ultimate Aim

Adult education, a health service, vaccination campaigns—all these are organised by FRELIMO for the people who look to them as a government. The ultimate aim is to create a free and democratic society, in which the majority of people will benefit from the fruits of their work. This is a battle similar to that being waged throughout Southern Africa today, and its progress has significance which reaches far beyond its own frontiers.

BLACK POWER FINDS A NEW OUTLET

by CLYDE SANGER, KINGSTON

Does the radical weekly newspaper *Abeng*, with increasingly anti-white articles, symbolise widening areas of discontent? Various targets for this discontent have appeared—foreign owned companies, the tourist trade, and the Government itself, especially its housing and education policies.

The first warning came last October, when riots followed the government's refusal to readmit a university lecturer, Walter Rodney, who had been to the Black Writers' Conference in Montreal.

A more substantial warning to the government has been sounded this year with the success of the radical weekly newspaper *Abeng*. It claims a circulation of 20,000 after only 15 weeks of publication, a largish figure on an island of fewer than two million people. The name 'Abeng' commemorates the horn which the black slaves sounded in their uprisings against the British long ago.

Garvey is the paper's chief hero, for, its writers argue, there is nothing to choose between the Prime Minister, Hugh Shearer, and the new opposition leader, Michael Manley. Its articles have become increasingly anti-white, attacking the foreign-owned bauxite companies and naming four volunteer teachers—some Peace Corps and a Canadian couple—as 'spies'.

Radicals Prodded

Shearer has tried to avoid a confrontation, hoping the paper would die from lack of funds. He has also tried to prod the New World group of radicals behind *Abeng* into forming a political party, which might be more manageable. Its editorial committee, which includes a lawyer and a prominent economist, refused the invitation.

In Shearer's words, these radicals are 'irrelevant'. They are pushing causes, voicing slogans they have adopted from elsewhere (the United States). 'We have a black government; we have votes for everyone; we have got rid of colour discrimination.'

Not Irrelevant

Others aren't at all sure the *Abeng* writers are irrelevant. For, while Jamaica is richer since independence in 1962, the wealth is spreading into comparatively few hands. Last year a record £51 million of private foreign capital flowed into Jamaica to start new manufacturing plants, expand mining businesses, or open new tourist hotels. But the net result has been to make the gap between the rich and poor in Jamaica much more marked.

The bauxite mining companies offer an obvious target. Although they provided Jamaica with a record £44 million in foreign exchange earnings (almost half the total exchange earnings), they are still criticised for crude exploitation of 'the red earth'.

Only the single Canadian company, Alcan, takes the mining process on to the production of alumina. The American companies so far all export the raw bauxite, and about five-sixths of the value of the whole process is therefore enjoyed in the United States. The companies argue it would cost enormous sums to provide the power needed for an aluminium smelter in Jamaica. Alcan, however, has recently yielded to the pressure of British consumers and is building a coal-fired smelter in the north of England.

Backlash

Many Jamaicans are beginning to argue that the companies should pay enough heed to the producer country and to put a smelter on the island, if necessary powered by a nuclear reactor.

An enormous rise in tourism is also producing its backlash. Robert Hill, a member of *Abeng's* editorial committee, said recently that the tourist trade was 'built on black submissiveness.' There is no doubt that a number of the visitors to Jamaica (400,000 last year) behave with an arrogance (unconscious or otherwise) that riles many islanders. The hotel

areas along the north coast from Montego Bay are becoming notorious as 'tourist pastures'.

Canada has come in for heavy criticism from the Black Power leaders. After 850 Canadian troops flew in for recent manoeuvres in the dense Cockpit country in the middle of Jamaica, Hill argued that this could herald Canadian intervention ('instead of Uncle Sam') if there was an uprising in the country. Washington, after burning its fingers in the Dominican Republic, would much prefer a Commonwealth country to do an unpopular policing job.

'Shilling Land'

These suspicions about Canada sound farfetched. But there is a good deal of Canadian property and business on the island—the Bank of Nova Scotia, for instance, does about half the country's banking business through its 38 branches.

Alcan has invested £65 million in in its two plants. There would be considerable property at risk, if a revolution came. By now it is not only the *Abeng* group who speak of the possibility of a revolution. (They, incidentally, talk more indirectly about 'the forces of change').

A Jesuit priest, who works in the slums of West Kingston where as many as 400 families depend for water on a single stand-pipe and where there is hardly any government housing although it is government 'shilling land', recently said to me 'Revolution is inevitable'.

Complaints Heard

The Shearer government is not merely watching passively, while attitudes grow uglier. As Edward Seaga, the Finance Minister whose constituency is West Kingston, pointed out in his budget speech in May, 45 new secondary schools are being opened this year, giving 34,000 new places. Shearer himself has held a session with representative sixth formers, to hear complaints about the state of the nation. But these measures aren't yet getting to the roots of the problem. There's an awkward shortage of teachers for these new schools. A full account of the complaints session, by a dissatisfied sixth former, appeared in the next *Abeng*.

Sugar in Trouble

Meanwhile, the sugar industry is in trouble after two years of drought.

Jamaica may be unable to gain more than minimal advantage from the new International Sugar Agreement this year, for it is likely to be about 50,000 tons short of the amount it might sell to Canada at the improved prices. Shearer hesitates to allow the industry to mechanise; he is a trade union leader by origin, and fears the political effects of a dislocation of workers.

There are widening areas of discontent. Shearer has promised more police, to counter 'subversives' and try to curb a soaring crime rate.

One factor seems in his favour: until now the radicals have shown an inability to organise effectively. The Rodney riot was a flop. But the success of *Abeng*, the ground it has made with its anti-white campaign, may be changing that.

Publications

A. Sivandan, Librarian at the Institute of Race Relations, provides a short evaluative comment on pamphlets with a limited circulation, as and when they appear.

Anand, V. S. *and* **Ridley, F. A.** *The Enigma of Enoch Powell.* London, Medusa Press, 1969. 24 pp.

Treats of Powell as a politician in search of power, scrupulous of time and place and diction, unscrupulous of issues. Comparisons with Hitler and, more interestingly, with Disraeli, the latter's 'twin shibboleths of imperialism and the then novel Tory democracy' being replaced by Powell's 'English nationalism cemented by racial and colour prejudice'. Where Disraeli's 'Tory democracy secured a working class following for the party of English gentlemen', Powell's doctrines 'attract widespread support from today's industrial and manual workers'.

The rest is rhetoric.

National Association of Schoolmasters. *Education and the Immigrants.* Hemel Hempstead, Educare, 1969. 56 pp.

Consists of three sections: the N.A.S. view first issued in November 1968, the January 1969 Conference report, and papers on action taken by various local authorities. The first part assorts oddly with the rest. (The Conference obviously said nothing to the N.A.S.)

Where Sections two and three show imagination and understanding, Section one is, at best, ignorant, at worst biased, in either case unconscionable—coming as it does from those to whom we have entrusted more than 'half our future'.

Integration spells assimilation (Jenkins's classic definition might never have been); the immigrant must be taught to understand 'us', immigrant children must not be driven into 'behaviour patterns which *we find unacceptable*', etc. Also: 'the ability to speak correct English [could] become a status symbol and since immigrants do become aware of status symbols, a significant contribution could be made . . .' (How to make your perfect wog in three easy lessons?) Occasional pietism re what is owed by the 'host society', e.g. 'We too easily assume that only the immigrant stands to be educated . . .'

Loaded statements about immigrant children's attitude to property (that holy of holies), their 'toilet training, dressing and undressing', their 'clinging together *wilfully* or through force of circumstance', etc. Naive, patronising statements like 'the middle class liberal group . . . constantly reveal their sympathy for the immigrants' situation' and 'recent events have revealed the tolerance with which the majority of *our* population accept the need for a square deal'.

Capping it all is the warning to teachers not to join pressure groups 'bearing evocative titles with emotive overtones'—for, the teachers know best what is good for the children.

Who teaches the teachers?

THE RECOGNITION OF LAND RIGHTS—A CRITICAL PHASE IN ABORIGINE DEVELOPMENT

by KATH WALKER

After its 1968 annual conference The Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) decided to launch a major campaign to secure recognition of Aboriginal land rights. This issue has dominated Aboriginal activities in the past year. In this report Mrs. Kath Walker, Secretary of the Queensland Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and earlier this year a prospective Parliamentary candidate, describes the way events are moving, the central relevance of the campaign and how it is now extending throughout Australia.

This campaign, for the recognition of land rights, is to be regarded as the focus of Aborigine effort in Australia around which other critical issues of social change are grouped.

The history of ethnic relations in Australia determines quite naturally the focal relevance of land rights in the current situation, in spite of the fact that in the founding of several States and Provinces the instructions contained in various resolutions of the House of Commons and quite explicitly in Letters Patent from the Sovereign were to the effect that the occupancy of and rights to land of the indigenous people must be preserved, they were never observed. Aborigine people did not possess in their culture a concept of property and title such as that held by the colonists; consequently there are very few examples of title being used by Aborigines. In some cases Crown lands were reserved for use by Aborigines but in no sense were they the property of them and they had no say in dealings with them. Since then, in many cases, Crown lands have been removed from use by the Aborigines by mere proclamation and without compensation.

Not unnaturally there has been, and still is, some bitterness over all this. Nevertheless the prevailing mood recently among Aborigines has been more one of meeting contemporary problems as they present themselves rather than dwelling overmuch on past misfortune. This being the case, the FCAATSI first undertook to find out the ways in which the rest of the Australian population viewed the question of the recognition of Aboriginal land rights.

Two things have emerged since the campaign began in 1968—firstly the terrible ignorance of the public, and more particularly of the politicians (of all parties) and secondly the lack of confidence and experience on the part of many Aborigines themselves.

Nevertheless the campaign, so far, has undoubtedly made a big hole in public ignorance; the realisation is growing that the majority of Aborigines are desperately poor, and that they feel very strongly about their land.

This problem is made even more pressing because of the growth of the Aborigine population. For example the population of 1968—130,000—will double within twenty years. That means that each year 6,500 more Aborigines will need houses. Even if six-and-a-half people are allowed to every house this still means 1,000 new houses will be required every year—just to keep up. At the low average cost of $8,000 per house that means a minimum of $8 million must be spent each year, just to stand still. In 1960-66 the sum spent on Aboriginal housing by the Federal Government was less than $2 million—so things in fact are going backward fast.

Issue Brought Out

It has to be said, however, that the campaign has not yet secured any Aboriginal land rights. What has happened is that the issue has been brought out into the open enough for the Government to be spurred on to make concessions to Aboriginal interests in an effort to quieten their critics and their consciences.

The Yirrkala people's battle to stop a multi-million pound aluminium plant being installed on their territory, and which produced a Parliamentary Select Committee that reported for large-scale compensation and capital grants to be made to Aborigines, is now to be seen in perspective as much more reasonable than was considered at the time.

In several other areas pockets of resistance are clearly developing (see map), and an increasing rejection of many of the fringe dwellings can be seen.

Just as the geographical remoteness of Australia contributed to the development of the Aboriginal

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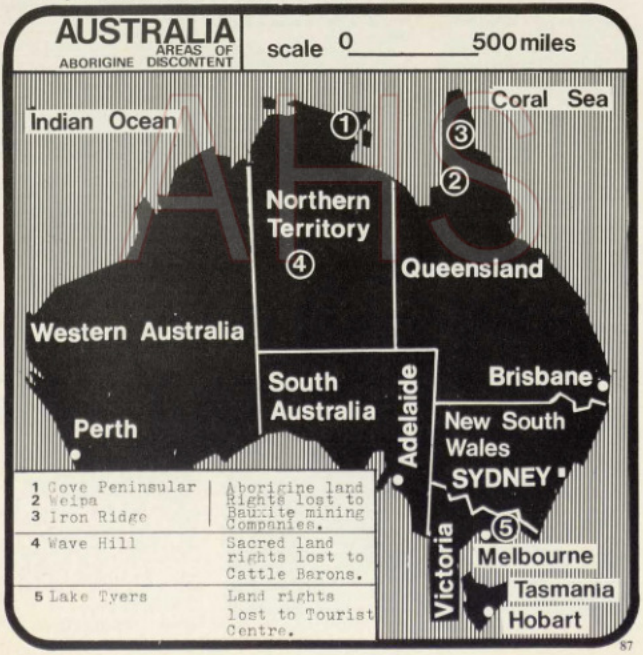
problem, so the new presence of the mass media is overcoming this remoteness and is playing its part in the increasing awareness and solidarity of the Aborigines. And of course the mass media help to remind Australia that it is increasingly a multi-racial society. Australia must face this because, particularly in the North, it has the classic ingredients which spell trouble in multi-racial societies elsewhere: the coincidence of economic and racial differences, growing population pressure, under-employment, legitimate grievances and an increasing awareness of the disparity on the part of the under-privileged group.

Land rights are moreover closely related to all other aspects of Aboriginal affairs—the whole social and economic situation has resulted from their expropriation.

To some extent it can be said that the Aboriginal in settled Australia faces some of the dilemmas of the American Negro, in that only real opportunities for full social development lie within the general society from which he has, until very recently, been excluded to various degrees legally (in Queensland, he may still be) and in which there are social prejudices strong enough to limit both his social mobility and economic opportunity. One indication of such prejudice is the level of services considered suitable for Aboriginal fringe dwellers in many towns Another is the resistance, often met by central government from local government to plans aimed at the the integration of housing.

The issue in Aboriginal affairs is no longer just a moral one, and not one confined to a small minority of Australians. The issue is increasingly becoming whether the more or less peaceful economic and political development of Australia will continue or whether a continuing lack of consideration of Aboriginal interest will lead to serious racial strife in the not too distant future.

Aboriginal land rights may well be the crucial question.



IS VORSTER EASING UP ON A PUBLIC ENEMY?

by LIONEL MORRISON

Robert Sobukwe, African nationalist leader in South Africa, has been released from Robben Island after nine years. He is now to live in restriction in Kimberley.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe is probably a man South Africa worries about as much as any other.

For nine years Sobukwe, a tall handsome, soft-spoken man of 44, was a prisoner in a two-roomed bungalow on South Africa's version of Alcatraz–Robben Island, nine miles off the beautiful coastal city of Cape Town. He was guarded round the clock by a white warden; allowed little contact with the outside world –and none at all with the hundreds of fellow political prisoners also on the island. His wife travelled a thousand miles once a month to see him for a day–always in the presence of his guard.

The last six of his nine years' imprisonment were without trial.

As President of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, he was first sent to jail for three years for his part in leading the protests against the pass laws that led to the massacre of Sharpeville, the Langa (Cape Town) shootings and the deaths at Van der Byl Park in the Transvaal in March 1960.

In 1963, to detain him indefinitely, the South African government rushed through a special section of the General Amendment Act–the notorious 'Sobukwe Clause'. Under it, the government had the power–with parliamentary approval–to detain Sobukwe indefinitely for a year at a time.

However, in April this year the Minister of Police, Mr. T. Pelsner, wrote to Sobukwe saying he would not now be detained on Robben Island beyond June, but would be 'subject to such restrictions as are deemed necessary for the safety of the State'. Only last year Mr. Pelsner said that he would hate to 'go down in history' as the man who released Sobukwe.

Robert Sobukwe (Photo: Amnesty International)

Since he has been detained, Sobukwe's health has been failing–his wife applied unsuccessfully for a permit to allow the whole family to leave South Africa permanently because of his tuberculosis. Nevertheless his morale remains high; he has obtained a B.Sc. in Economics from London University, and is now studying for a higher degree.

And the man who refused to plead at his trial because, as he said, the Africans had no say in the making of the law and therefore he would recognise neither the laws themselves nor the court which sought to enforce them, is still defiant.

On a rare occasion when a journalist was allowed to see him on Robben Island last year, he reiterated his faith that eventually a non-racial society would be established in South Africa. 'Not until the day of resurrection will I change my ideology,' he said.

He has held onto his beliefs in spite of horrifying allegations against the South African police and prison authorities of beatings and torture–allegations which have been upheld by former prisoners and strongly denied by the government.

Because of his steadfastness, the world-wide organisation Amnesty International has 'adopted' Sobukwe as a 'prisoner of conscience', who prefers to suffer persecution and indefinite detention rather than give up those political beliefs which express the aspirations of his people; and a measure of the South African government's fear (reluctant respect?) of him lies in the remark of Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister, himself.

Mr. Vorster told a British journalist who asked why Sobukwe could not be released: 'Would Britain have released Napoleon from St. Helena?'

In refusing Mrs. Sobukwe the family's exit permit, Mr. Vorster said that the political danger Sobukwe's release would cause would be as great whether he was outside South Africa or confined to a remote area. Now, it seems, he has had a change of mind.

(Gemini News Service)

BRITAIN

EDUCATION IN WOLVERHAMPTON

by MILES CANNON

Are Wolverhampton's problems unique in this field and how clear to teachers and parents are its policies in Education? Moreover do these policies meet the facts of the situation?

The following statistics, collected by Wolverhampton Education Authority for the D.E.S. in January 1969, have recently been published:

	No. of immigrant pupils on roll	*Total No. of pupils on roll*	*% of immigrant pupils*	
			1968	*1969*
Secondary Schools	2,106	19,036	9.7	11.1
Junior Schools	1,129	8,233	10.9	13.7
Junior Infant Schools	2,036	14,359	12.7	14.2
Infant Schools	1,353	6,499	17.1	20.8
Nursery Schools	4	80	—	5.0
Special Schools	38	303	11.4	12.5
	6,666	48,510	12.5	13.7

Three of the town's 33 secondary schools have more than the D.E.S. recommendation of 30 per cent immigrants. 24 of the 100 Junior and infant schools exceed this level—and the highest percentage, 83.8 per cent, is found at the newly-built Grove School.

The majority of the children classified in these tables as immigrant (as defined by the D.E.S. and interpreted by class teachers) are either of Indian parentage (3,107) or West Indian (2,698); Kenyan Asians number 221 and children of Pakistani parents 244. Education officials claim that six to fifteen newcomers are arriving each week.

What is the reaction of the Education Authority to these figures? The answer to this question must be that they do not have any overall policy or anyone specifically and solely in charge of immigrant education, as for example Huddersfield does. Both councillors and officials continually stress the difficulties they are facing, the cost of providing school places and teachers, the perpetual influx of newcomers and the fact that outside London, Wolverhampton is faced with a bigger percentage of immigrant children than any other authority.

What are the principles followed by the administration? The first is a rejection of a policy of dispersal as an educational solution, but an acceptance of it in practice as being the only way of getting children into any vacant school place. 530 children are being transported to schools out of their neighbourhoods and in spite of this about 200 children over the age of five do not have a school place. This transportation policy is not based upon the educational or social needs of the children or the provision of specialised teachers or equipment in the receiving schools, but on administrative convenience.

Wolverhampton cannot provide statistics comparable to those of Huddersfield and Bradford showing the percentages of children with no English, unsatisfactory English, or perfectly adequate English. This type of information is essential if an educationally relevant policy is to be developed. Statistics concerning the percentages of immigrants in all the town's schools were published recently in the local newspaper. No explanation of the term 'immigrant' accompanied the tables. It was left to an anonymous correspondent a week later to point out that many of the children included in the tables were born in Wolverhampton and that the term immigrant is not necessarily synonymous with either 'newly arrived' or 'educational problem'.

English Course

An English course for a few hours a day is provided for newly arrived, non-English-speaking adolescents at the remedial teaching centre, and groups of teachers have been seconded to take short courses on the teaching of English as a second language. The Grove School and West Park School—with 83 per cent and 44 per cent immigrants respectively, are new schools with up-to-date equipment. In many schools no extra help and little guidance is given and teachers cope as best they can with an unfamiliar situation.

It seems obvious that when no clear lead is given by local politicans

and administrators, teachers and parents will become resentful. If one compares the contribution of the Wolverhampton N.A.S. to the recent publication 'Education and the Immigrants' with that of the local groups, this resentment and frustration is immediately apparent. The author states—'At this moment class teachers are facing almost unbearable conditions because of a combination of prejudice and indifference . . . Unless positive steps are taken we shall have a new class of low standard schools develop—schools where no examiner will dare to inspect what is happening.'

Parental pressure groups such as the Schools Action Committee are all white anti-immigrant groups. There are no multi-racial pressure groups to compare with the Birmingham Committee for Racial Integration in Schools. The Education Panel of the Council for Community Relations is the nearest equivalent, but this contains very few parents of children in central schools and has so far had little influence upon L.E.A. policy decisions.

Claim not supported

If any semblance of confidence is to be established among teachers and parents an over-all educational policy must be developed. The claim that the situation in Wolverhampton is far worse than in any other town is not borne out by the facts and must cease to be an excuse for inaction. Dispersal is certainly not the only or necessarily the best policy to pursue, and the local Authority rejects any possibility of two-way dispersal for political as well as educational reasons.

The alternative neighbourhood schools need not necessarily be either schools with 70 per cent immigrants, or low standard schools with a high staff turnover. Catchment areas are not immutable and as the report from Birmingham in the May edition of *Race Today* showed, the redrawing of Catchment boundaries only slightly can alter the composition of schools considerably.

The same pattern of pairs of schools with very different immigrant percentages can be found in Wolverhampton. The examples in the table at the top of the next columns are of schools less than one mile apart—often much less.

	Per cent Immigrants
Whitmore Secondary School	58.8%
St. Peters Boys	3.9%
St. Peters Girls	8.7%
Goldthorn Park Junior Infants	2.6%
St. Lukes Infants	31.0%
St. Lukes Juniors	48.5%
Greenacres Junior School	5.4%
St. Leonards Junior School	68.5%
St. Judes Junior and Infant School	56.0%
St. Michaels C of E Junior and Infant School	1.7%

However, an education authority must not be judged on percentages which in themselves are educationally meaningless. Wolverhampton Education Committee needs to do two things urgently. The first is to design a policy which attempts to deal with the linguistic, educational and social handicaps of groups of children whether immigrant or not. The other is to explain this policy to parents and teachers, to gain their co-operation and so prevent cynicism, despair and hostility developing further.

YORKSHIRE

POWER IN DEWSBURY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

An explanation for 'the ideological expression of racialism as a political weapon' is suggested in this account of local government activity in the West Riding.

'But we think that the greatest evils produced by the presence of the alien immigrants here are the overcrowding caused by them in certain districts of London, and the consequent displacement of the native population. There seems little likelihood of being able to remedy these great evils by the enforcement of any law applicable to the native and alien population alike. We therefore think that special regulations should be made for the purpose of preventing aliens at their own will choosing residence within districts already so overcrowded that any addition to the dwellers within it must produce most injurious results.'
(Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, Report, 1903)

Similar views have found an echo in Dewsbury in the West Riding recently. In this instance it is 'colour' rather than 'foreign-ness' which is at issue.

'They seem to want better treatment than our own people are getting.' (He) really wondered if there was a desire of many immigrants to become integrated into the local community.'
(Council Meeting 16.1.69)

'I believe coloured immigrants should live in clearly defined areas and not be permitted to occupy houses in our residential areas, including council house estates. . . . I am in favour of advances for house purchase being made to our own people only and that no further advances should be made to Commonwealth immigrants.'
(Council Meeting 6.2.69)

'A few months ago I called for segregation in housing—now I call for segregation in education . . . It would also mean, and this is of the first importance, that our own white pupils would not have their education affected or retarded because of the consideration and attention that needs to be paid to immigrant pupils.'
(Council Meeting 10.4.69)

'Conservatives are not afraid to face up to the difficulties caused through immigration and have the courage to tackle all the problems arising and which are likely to increase in future years. We shall take every possible step to safeguard *the interests of all the citizens of Dewsbury.*'
(Extract from Policy Statement, *The Reporter* 3.5.69)

All these are statements reported in the Dewsbury local press recently.

They are, be it noted, the statements of a person in an office to

which is attached legitimacy. K. C. Howe is an alderman and leader of the Conservative group on the borough council in Dewsbury. The authoritative nature of his views is signalled by the choice of occasion upon which he spoke (council meetings). That is, they have been made in highly structured situations which place his remarks in a qualitatively different context from casual conversation.

'Outstanding Campaign'

Furthermore, although Howe has been prominent in local politics for some time, the six month period prior to the May elections this year was one during which he was outstanding. His campaign, extensively covered in the press as news or correspondence and described by the chairman of the Liberal Party as 'racialist in the extreme', gave sole prominence to housing and education and the 'problem of immigration' rather than to the position of employment/unemployment and 'immigrants'.

Why these policies at this particular time in Dewsbury? Three things seem to be relevant here.

The first concerns the relationship of parties struggling for power in the council. Secondly, the objective conditions of education, housing and employment in the borough. The final point concerns the actor's definition of the situation, of which for purposes of analysis, that definition becomes a part. Under this heading may be placed the ideology of racialism whose character and relationship to the other two factors are key problems at which we can only hint.

Power on the Council

The role of the maverick politician is to overbid. In calling for policies and practices which are considered 'extreme', and which will in their expressed form remain temporarily unimplemented, he injects a new element confronting his opponents. Policies which are adopted in opposition to his and become by definition 'reasonable'; frequently have consequences similar to those initially advocated, but are more generally acceptable to the authority holders. Howe's views on segregation of housing and education 'were his own personal ones and he was not necessarily speaking for every other member of the Conservative group' (*Reporter* 12.4.69). But the Dewsbury Constituency Association as a whole did table a motion to the Party Annual Conference calling for a halt to all immigration for a trial period of three years (*Telegraph and Argus* 21.8.68). If Howe is correct in saying that whilst his views may be a minority on the council but not in the town (*Reporter* 12.4.69), then other councillors will not be unaware of, nor immune to, the pressure from the electorate. They may not always respond positively, but then their silence is noted. For example, the Conservatives were the only ones to mention immigration in their pre-election message to the press.

In May the Labour Party lost the overall majority on the Council which it had held since 1952. The position is summarised in the Table.

TABLE

	Old Council		*Present Council*	
	Aldermen	Councillors	Aldermen	Councillors
Labour	7	12(2 vacancies)	7	10
Conservative	1	5	1	7
IMA (Independent)	1	4	1	4
Liberals	–	4	–	6

The four seats lost by Labour were shared equally between Conservatives and Liberals. Indicative of the complexity of the struggle for power are two instances of anti-Labour alliances. The first, in early March, was by the Liberals and Conservatives to press for a casual vacancy of an alderman to be allocated to the Liberals. Independents would not support the manoeuvres. The second example occurred after the election when Independents and Conservatives pressed for minority groups' full control of chairmanships of committees. This time Liberals rebuffed the overtures and the alliance was temporarily unsuccessful. Future *ad hoc* agreement between the three opponents of Labour is a possible development.

Conditions of Housing, Education and Employment

The immediate issues seized upon by Howe are both set in a context of limited finances, not only on a national but on a local level also. Mortgage grants had been temporarily suspended; interest charges on loans to council had risen (to nine-and-a-half per cent) and Howe pointed out that 150 of 520 applicants for mortgages since 1960 were Asian. In education, proposals to remodel a school to accommodate nine classes of non-English speaking pupils (i.e. Indian and Pakistani in practice) were used. Assistance from central government has been seen as being for immigrants only.

Rates have risen (10d. on the general rate in March) and *since* the election rents have risen by 23.75 per cent to meet a deficit on the housing revenue account of £84,000.

Most importantly in this situation of mounting pressure upon council tenants in particular and ratepayers in general (i.e. 'the citizens of Dewsbury') Asians are categorised as an added burden upon limited resources. Significantly Howe has selected two resources over which the council has direct control and for which it is answerable to the electorate. The same cannot be said of employment. Nor in many ways is it now an issue. Unemployment is low (785 in May: vacancies 188); alternatives are still available in the conurbation; Asians and natives are not in direct competition for jobs, the former being in unattractive ones (textiles) or unattainable ones (hospitals).

Ideological

The link between colour and the objective 'facts' of a specific situation is not a direct one. It is mediated through 'actors', and thereby their definition of the known circumstances becomes a factor for analysis. Groups of people do meet, discuss and plan. Of course this does not exclude the possibility that unintended consequences may follow. In Dewsbury the relationship of the struggle for power, by parties and their supporters, to the nature of the resources in education, housing and employment is important in seeking an explanation for the ideological expression of racialism as a political weapon.

SATISFACTION—FOR WHOM?

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

How much significance can be attached to the recent meeting between Mr. Edward Heath and Indians from Southall?

It seems that the meeting was National Association of Southall accompanied by Mr. Reeves, the prospective Conservative parliamentary candidate for Southall and Hanwell, and Ealing's Conservative Sikh Alderman Dr. N. S. Mangat, called upon Mr. Edward Heath at the House of Commons during May to discuss the issues currently disturbing the minds of immigrants. The list of problems ranged from the difficulties faced by the qualified immigrants in employment to prejudice encountered by the Sikhs because of their religious practices. According to the secretary of the I.N.A., Mr. Heath assured the deputation of some positive measures to alleviate these difficulties if the Conservatives come into power.

Arranged to Woo

It seems that the meeting was quite satisfactory from the Conservative Party's angle. It is not often that the Conservative Leader is approached by immigrants with their problems and Mr. Heath particularly mentioned this point during the discussion. It seemed almost as if the meeting was arranged to woo the immigrant voters in this marginally held Labour seat. It was one of the acts in the planned strategy to catch the Indian vote. The process began with the adoption of Dr. N. S. Mangat as a candidate for the Ealing Council in the last elections. He lost the election but was made an Alderman. Recently he has been elected as the vice-chairman of the local Conservative Association.

Immigrants have inclined to associate themselves with the Labour Party, though only a few of them are convinced socialists, but simply because the Labour movement in this country has traditionally stood for freedom, fraternity and the brotherhood of mankind. Indians dearly remember that it was a Labour Government which accepted India's claim to independence. However, the shedding of the 'imperial cloak' implied by Macmillan's 'wind of change' policy should have enabled the Conservatives to win over some immigrant votes. Naturally, though, the 1962 Immigrants Bill delayed any such development.

So far as the Labour Party is concerned, immigrants have been annoyed more by what has happened since it has been in power than by its lost promises about repealing the Immigrants Act in 1962. One immigrant leader who has always voted for the Labour Party told me, 'Under the Conservatives vouchers were easy to get and there were no difficulties at the ports of entry'. As the anti-immigrant lobby grew stronger in the country, the Labour Government reacted in a panicky fashion by tightening the entry rules, creating unnecessary hardships for many immigrants. The 1968 Immigrants Act has alienated even some of the most ardent Labour supporters among the immigrants. 'Most of the immigrant leaders agree that they do not expect any better deal under the Conservatives but they do feel very resentful about the way that Labour has succumbed to right-wing pressure and so earned itself the title of 'a party with two faces'.

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The report of the five-year survey of Race Relations in Britain.
Reviewed in the next issue of *Race Today*

Immigrant Vote Decisive

Many immigrants now think that it would have served their purpose best in opposition to exert pressure on the Conservatives to adopt a moderate line on immigration. Should immigrants be more fair and give due credit to the Government for passing the 1968 Race Relations Act? One answer to this was given by an immigrant leader in Southall who said, 'Most of the immigrants work in unskilled jobs and did not expect much from the Race Relations Act. It has done nothing to ease the situation for those who are qualified and cannot find jobs commensurate with their qualifications. So it will not be surprising if a large number of immigrant voters either abstain or vote against the Labour Party in the next general election.'

It could be, then, that this new development may work against Labour. This, and the fact that the immigrant vote can be decisive in certain marginal constituencies, may influence the Conservatives to keep race out of the election campaign, which can prove to be a turning point for the future of race relations in the country.

Turning Point

However, it is doubtful whether this could be quite the turning point in race relations for which many immigrants hope. Some Conservatives, for instance, do not believe that Mr. Heath's discussions with the immigrant leaders from Southall at their May meeting imply any changes in the stated policy of the party. After all, among Mr. Heath's advisers on immigrant affairs are some Municipal Barons of the West Midlands—known to be hardliners. In this area Maurice Foley may be a casualty at the next election and his (Tory) successor could well take over his former job as Minister with special responsibilities for race relations in a Conservative administration.

RESEARCH AND ACTION

MEDICINE

ORGANIC DISEASES AMONGST WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

The results of studies carried out in London and Birmingham are described here by Dr. Violet Moody (King's College Hospital, London).

The majority of diseases amongst West Indian immigrants are related to environmental factors. Some, however, are not primarily associated with the adaptation of the new arrivals to their new environment. Such a disease is Sickle Cell Anaemia.

Sickle Cell Disease is genetically determined. It is due to the presence of an abnormal haemoglobin, occurring, almost exclusively, in Negro races. The clinical effects of the disease result from a moderately severe anaemia and blood clot formation in the vessels. These clots may occur in any organ of the body but there is a predilection for bones and joints. Children in the first two to three years of life are particularly prone to symptoms; these, however, tend to occur less frequently with increasing age.

Worm Infestation. It is fair to say that quite a number of new arrivals have ascaris infestation. Hookworm infestation is occasionally found but this does not persist in this country, and it is unusual to find hookworm after the child has been in Britain for longer than six months. Children born in this country do not have hookworm infestation.

Diseases due to nutritional deficiency

Iron deficiency Anaemia. This has been reported by Davis and others in 1960 and confirmed by Oppé in 1964. In a recent nutritional survey of 184 West Indian children seen, 20 had a haemoglobin of less than 10.5 gm. and, of these, six had Sickle Cell Anaemia.

There seems to be no doubt that at one time iron deficiency anaemia was more common amongst the immigrant children, probably related to prolonged milk feeding and the delay of introduction of mixed feeding. With improved care, however, of the West Indian children in London, the difference previously reported may no longer exist.

The other nutritional disease reported is rickets. In London, rickets, when seen, is usually amongst the immigrant children. Rickets is related to prolonged breast or raw cow's milk feeding, because both of these milks contain so little Vitamin D. The number of cases of rickets occurring in London is not great and this is probably related to the fact that these children are now better cared for than they were a few years ago.

Infectious diseases associated with environmental factors, particularly those of poor housing and overcrowding, are:–

Gastro-enteritis. Although this condition now occurs less frequently, some of the severe cases which we do see occur amongst the West Indian children. In view of the very poor housing conditions, the relative infrequency of gastro-enteritis suggests a high standard in domestic cleanliness.

Tuberculosis. This is an ever present hazard in areas with overcrowding and poor housing conditions. Professor Stroud reported in 1965 that in the Paediatric Department of King's College Hospital, 11 cases of T.B. had been admitted during the previous 12 months and of these seven were West Indian. In the majority of cases the source of the infection is an adult in the house and by the time the diagnosis is made often more than one of the children is infected.

RUBELLA

An interesting and serious condition is the Rubella Syndrome. This Syndrome may occur when a pregnant woman contracts German measles in the first three months of pregnancy. During this period, the infant's vital organs are developing. The resultant damage to the infancy may lead to bilateral cataracts, deafness, congenital heart lesions and, in some cases, to mental retardation.

This condition is reported by many people in this country to occur

in immigrant children, especially the children of West Indian parents. Dr. Clifford Parsons in Birmingham has reported 25 cases. In the Brixton area, out of about 14 cases of Rubella Syndrome, only two were European children, the remainder were West Indian. The reason for the occurrence of this condition is that, until recently, Rubella was uncommon in the West Indies, so that mothers coming over in the child bearing period of life arrive in Britain without any protection from pre-existing antibodies.

ALLERGIC DISEASES

There are two allergic diseases to which the West Indian is prone—Bronchial Asthma and Infantile Eczema. The reason why these are so much more common amongst the West Indians is not known.

A danger related even more directly to environment is that of burns and scalds. In the burns unit of a number of hospitals in London, immigrant children often comprise up to 40 per cent of the cases admitted. During the winter months a number of West Indian children die as a result of domestic fires.

Paraffin is used by the majority of the West Indians for heating because in many cases it is the only form of heating allowed by the landlord and, second, it is the cheapest.

SCALDS

Many oil heater fires occur as a result of children playing on their own in a room in which an oil heater is burning.

Scalds from boiling water are often seen. In many of the houses the cooking facilities are situated on the landing of the stairs. In this confined area, with people coming and going, accidents readily occur.

Paraffin poisoning is a further hazard in the home—the paraffin is usually kept in a bottle and many West Indian children are admitted to hospital after drinking paraffin. Paraffin is very volatile and the most common complication is pneumonia.

To sum up, one can say that the majority of the organic diseases seen among West Indians are brought on, in the main, by environmental factors to which they are subjected in the overcrowded major cities.

SHORT REPORTS

PSYCHIATRY

MIGRATION AND MENTAL ILLNESS

The concept of 'culture shock' has frequently been proposed to explain associations between migration and mental illness. Recently three writers, Seymour Parker, Robert Heiner and Bert Needleman, examined the utility of this concept.

The concept implies that psychological difficulties such as severe role discontinuities, value conflicts, and social disorientation are experienced by migrants from their community of origin and it is assumed that 'shock' varies directly with both the degree of these socio-environmental differences and the rapidity of the adjustment.

However, the authors say, (in *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 3, No. 1) the lack of consistent findings in studies of migration and mental illness suggests that the notion of culture shock has limited explanatory value and they quote a recent large-scale study, using a Negro sample drawn from a large urban centre in which higher rates of mental illness were reported for natives than for migrants. These findings emphasise, they say, that culture shock either is not a useful explanatory concept, or that it is associated with mental disorder only in particular situations.

In their study Parker, Kleiner and Needleman used nearly 3,000 Negro subjects in a large urban area and of whom about half were mentally ill.

Detailed individual interviews and questionnaires were given to each subject and all interviewers were Negroes. The results so far published consider only those respondents who had spent the great majority of their life in either exclusively rural or urban environments and had then migrated to the urban area wherein the study took place.

Contrary to predictions based on the culture shock hypothesis, urban immigrants (those who had come into the urban area from another urban area) showed *higher* rates of mental illness than those who had come from a rural area into the urban environment. In addition, 'an analysis relating mental illness to recency of migration indicated that the culture shock hypothesis could not order the data on rates of mental illness.'

In seeking alternative explanatory concepts it was found that mental illness in the sample showed a relationship with high goal-striving stress (a score based on the discrepancy between a respondent's level of achievement and level of aspiration; his estimate of the *probability* of reaching his aspired goal; and the *importance* of the goal to him) and, among other things, low self-esteem.

TESTING

CULTURAL BIAS IN TESTING—AN EXPLORATION

Attempts have been made to reduce the effects of culture bias in testing, especially with regard to 'disadvantaged' populations. The elimination of verbal type items and the reduction of cultural referents in tests seem to have been the two main methods which have been used to reduce such bias.

Generally 'disadvantaged' populations continue to score level on these measures.

A recent cross-cultural study in India and America by Knowles and Shah (and reported in the *Journal*

of Social Psychology, Vol. 72, 2nd half) replicates these experiments by using non-verbal items but differs because the content of the items is biased to the culture of Indian rather than to middle-class American society.

The instrument used was Shah's Non-Verbal Group Test of Intelligence, originally developed as a non-verbal test because of the multilingual nature of the Indian population. The instrument consists of six sub tests; geometrical comparison; classification; analogies; absurdities; progressive series and substitution.

The subjects were all eight years old and consisted of 950 Indian children, 35 Negro children from Inner-City Detroit, 30 White children from an elementary school in a suburb and 17 children from the University of Michigan Laboratory School. 'The most striking finding is the fact that, in the abilities measured a group of American children living in the Inner-City a few miles from other American children are as different from these others as are children thousands of miles away in a different culture.'

YOUTH

WEST INDIAN AND ENGLISH ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES

by D. HILL

In a study of 400 English and West Indian boys and girls aged 14-15 years and drawn from secondary modern schools in the West Midlands, girls, especially West Indian girls, were found generally to express more favourable attitudes than boys on each of the concepts investigated (e.g., myself, father, a neighbour I would like to have and so on).

It was also found that West Indian boys and girls had similar attitudes to all the conceptual objects—unlike their English counterparts. Furthermore, although both groups of girls were found to be primarily concerned with establishing good future personal relationships (as opposed to boys who were ambitious for themselves) it was found that it was the West Indians, as a group, who identified themselves more strongly with the former attitudes.

The West Indians' self assessment, again especially that of girls, was found to be higher than that of the English groups, and the West Indians also had less regard for parents and home, though they had a more favourable attitude towards education than the English adolescents. (Full report in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 39.)

TEACHING

TEACHING ENGLISH TO ASIAN WOMEN—A PILOT COURSE

This course, developed in Coventry by D. Trussler and associates, is evaluated here by Michael Feeley, who is himself an officer in the Leeds Schools Council Project in English for Immigrant Children.

In many towns volunteer groups of sixth-formers, students and members of women's organisations give considerable time to teaching English to Asian women. Classes, usually small, are often held in the homes of the learners and although attendance, especially of younger mothers, is often irregular, a great deal of valuable work is done in social as well as in language terms. The domestic position of the women in India and Pakistan is so different that one can only marvel at the kind of adjustments that are taking place in English immigrant households, gradual as they may be. Obviously the need for the Asian woman to learn a new language is not as imperative as it is for her husband or for her children, and yet as her horizons widen she inevitably seeks to cope in the shops and the markets which are the avenue to the new world of which she is newly a part.

Because the volunteer teachers have so little time available for the planning of lessons, and because they are usually not skilled in either teaching English or in teaching English to non-English speakers, any help that might be offered to these 'teachers' should be welcomed. Such help is being attempted in Coventry by a group of experienced teachers of immigrant children, who have produced an outline course for use with Asian women. The course has a list of sixteen basic teaching points which teachers of English must bear in mind and though these are brief they are certainly succinct. So far eight sample Lessons have been developed and the authors hope that teachers using them will add comment and criticism in order to further develop the materials. Obviously there is a great deal yet to be done with the outline course before it will be capable of intensive use by virtually novice teachers, notably in expanding the lessons to much more detail and categorising the language more realistically into teachable sections; but in its final form the course will certainly help both volunteer teachers and their mature pupils. These course writers deserve congratulation on their initiative and on the way they hope to help in this important area.

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The Institute was founded as an independent body in 1958, and was a pioneer of research in race relations in Britain. There is now considerable interest in this field of study in the universities, and statutory bodies have been established to deal with racial discrimination and with community relations, but these developments have accentuated the need for an independent body to initiate policy research and co-ordinate information.

The work of the Institute consists of the initiation and direction of research; the publication of books and journals; the maintenance of a library and information service; and the holding of conferences and lecture and discussion meetings.

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July 1969

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REPATRIATION: ESTABLISHING THE FACTS

All immigrants cling to the thought that they are returning home one day. It is extraordinarily difficult, at any rate for those who have voluntarily emigrated, to admit that they have turned their backs on their country of birth, the more so if they experience significant difficulty in finding acceptance in their new country of residence. Merely to ask persons in such a position, as opinion pollsters do, whether they wish to return home is positively to invite an affirmative answer.

At the same time, the very persons who will reply in such a fashion have demonstrably begun to sink roots in this country. They have recently purchased a house, their children go to the local school, belong to a boy scout troop, and so on. Their life-style contradicts the assumption, based on verbal responses to questionnaires, that they are willing to or about to return. Reliable evidence on this question cannot, I am convinced, be obtained by the normal methods of opinion polling. Only a detailed depth study could produce trustworthy results. One of the major reasons that has deterred bodies like ours from engaging in studies of this kind is the expense that this involves. This factor cannot be shirked. Such a study is worth doing only if it is done well.

DIPAK NANDY

CALENDAR

July 5 Lord Soper, Jill Knight, MP, David Pitt—*Racial Integration—Dream or Nightmare.* Teach-in on Community Relations at the Central Hall, Birmingham.

PUBLICATIONS

Colour and Citizenship—E. J. B. Rose and associates. Oxford University Press, 90/- (paperback 55/-).

This comprehensive report on the state of race relations in Britain brings together the evidence of a five-year survey conducted by the Institute of Race Relations with the aid of a grant from the Nuffield Foundation. The Institute commissioned research from universities and commercial research organisations and conducted its own inquiries among the different coloured communities. The report analyses the British political reaction to immigration and race, and critically reviews the policies adopted in housing, education, employment and the welfare services. It also examines the role of the churches, police and voluntary organisations. It includes the evidence of a major survey of attitudes among the white population, an analysis of the 1966 Sample Census, and an assessment of the economic effects of immigration. It also contains 80 pages of recommendations for action.

Colour and Citizenship by E. J. B. Rose and associates. IRR Briefing Paper, 2/-.

Report of the Community Relations Commission (Jan. '68—Mar. '69) HMSO. 5/6d.

The report gives a general review of race relations during 1968—"a year of anxiety and uncertainty" and covers the work of the 78 local community relations councils—"the key to better understanding at ground level", and the work of the Commission's three main Committees—Field Work, Finance, and Administration.

Race Relations and Immigration Law by I. A. Macdonald. Butterworths, 55/-.

Indian Workers' Associations in Britain by DeWitt John, OUP for IRR, 25/-.
Powell and His Allies–Labour Research Department, 1/6d.
Immigrant Pupils being Educated in the Authorities' Schools . . . Wolverhampton Education Committee. 5pp. and Tables.
The Enigma of Enoch Powell by V. S. Anand and F. A. Ridley. London Medusa Press, 1969 24 pp.
Race Today. Published Monthly by the Institute of Race Relations, price 4/-. The only comprehensive coverage of Race Relations in Britain. Available from the distributors, Research Publications, 11 Nelson Road, London SE10.
Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1969–IRR Facts Paper, 4/-.

REPORTS ON CURRENT RESEARCH

Organic Diseases in West Indian Immigrant Children by Dr V. Moody (King's College Hospital, London). Published in *Race Today* Vol 1 No 3 July 1969.
West Indian and English Adolescent Attitudes by D. Hill (University of Manchester) Published in *Brit. J. Educat. Psychol.* Vol 39 1969.
The Teaching of English to Asian Women by D. Trussler (Coventry Priory Centre for Supplementary Education). Evaluation Published in *Race Today* Vol 1 No 3 July 1969.

PARLIAMENT

1. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration

The Select Committee has finished hearing oral evidence and its report, now being drafted, should be presented to the House before the summer recess. Publication is expected by the end of September. The Committee is considering possible topics for its inquiry next session, including the suggestion that the issuing of entry certificates and appeals machinery in immigrants' countries of origin should be investigated (see also 'Immigrants and Crime' next page).

2. Parliamentary Questions

Replying to questions tabled by Mrs. Renée Short, Mr. Fernyhough, the Under-Secretary of State at the Department of Employment and Productivity, said:
I have been asked to reply to the series of Questions my hon. Friend put down about the immigrant contribution to employment, nationally and in Wolverhampton in particular. Although it is not possible to answer all of them in the detail requested as many employers do not keep an accurate count, sufficient is known to show that workers from the Commonwealth countries are doing many jobs which are vital to the social services and to industries of places like Wolverhampton.
Many immigrants were attracted to this country in the first place because there were vacancies in necessary work in hospitals, in transport, in building and in manufacturing industries which were not being filled by local labour. They were and are meeting a vital need.
The following detailed information is available about the position in the West Midlands and Wolverhampton: 6% of all men employed in manufacturing industry in the West Midlands in 1966 were from India, Pakistan and West Indies. 67% of the platform staff employed by Wolverhampton Corporation Transport Department in May of this year were from the new Commonwealth countries. Fifty doctors born outside the United Kingdom and Irish Republic are at present employed in hospitals in Wolverhampton, representing 36% of all doctors working in the group.
On 1st October, 1968, 19 doctors born outside the United Kingdom and Irish Republic worked as general practitioners in Wolverhampton, representing about 19% of all family doctors working there. Fifty-eight trainee nurses, including trainee midwives from overseas are at present employed in hospitals in Wolverhampton, representing 18% of trainee nurses and midwives there. Information is not available for qualified nurses.
Nine domiciliary midwives from the Caribbean are at present employed in Wolverhampton, representing 21% of the total midwifery staff in post there.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION

Advisory Committee on Education

The CRC's Advisory Committee on Education met for the first time on 13th June under the Chairmanship of Sir Ronald Gould. Its members are experts in the field of education of immigrants and on wider issues concerned with education in multi-racial Britain.

Four sub-committees have been formed—Teacher Training and Curriculum Development, Linguistic Needs of Immigrants, Post-school Education in Community Relations and Liaison with Local Education Authorities. Each sub-committee will review CRC Educational Policy and it is hoped that a comprehensive series of plans will be in operation by the Autumn Term.

The CRC sees its educational role as one or co-ordination and persuasion. Three main techniques will be encouraged; the provision of reliable factual information about immigrants and people of other races and traditions, the encouragement of rational debate of race relation issues and the bringing together of groups of persons of different ethnic, cultural and religious origins, The CRC believes work of this nature, designed to remedy ignorance rather than influence attitudes by propaganda and exhortation, should be fully acceptable within the British educational system.

IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME

All the evidence and research available in this field shows that the crime rate *per capita* amongst immigrants is lower than for the indigenous population. There is no evidence to the contrary.

In the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (Vols XII, X, XVII, XIV) the following is recorded:

Evidence given at Wolverhampton by Mr. E. Solomon, Chief Constable of West Midlands Constabulary (a discussion had just taken place on a new gang of 39 immigrant youths which was causing concern). 'You have shown that in the case of the young coloured immigrant the crime rate in Wolverhampton is higher than in other districts?' 'Just for these 39.' 'How does the crime rate compare with the white population of Wolverhampton for instance?—Is the juvenile crime rate much higher than the white, or is it about the same?' 'I would say the coloured juvenile, without these people, have a lower crime rate than the white.' 'Does this mean so far as you can tell, and so far as statistics are available, which they many not be, that in fact there is no higher incidence of crime among coloured people than there is among white people?' 'I would say this is so.'

Evidence given at Oxford by Inspector R. Boulton, Thames Valley Constabulary: 'Would you say that the crime figures among coloured young people are the same or greater or less than those for the indigenous population?' 'The crime rate among young coloured immigrants is considerably less.'

Evidence given at Liverpool by Mr. Dalzell, Deputy Chief Constable of Liverpool: 'In the case of the young person in particular how does their incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency compare with other youngsters?' 'No more than the others.'

Evidence given at Ealing by Superintendent J. Donnelly, Southall Division: 'The total number of charges (in my sub-division—Ealing, Acton, Southall, and Norwood Green), was 3,814 last year. Out of that the white element of offenders between the age of 18 and 20 . . . represents some 16⅔%. The coloured offenders in a corresponding age group . . . represents 2⅓%; . . . that is a ratio of nearly 8 to 1. So we could virtually say, working on figures, that by virtue of having a coloured population in Southall our crime rate is down.'

In John Lambert's study of the police division in Birmingham with the highest crime rate ('Study of Immigrant Crime and the Relations of Police and Immigrants in a Division of Birmingham' shortly to be published by Oxford University Press) he shows that West Indians who, at the 1966 Census, though only 6·4% of the Division's population, were concentrated in the criminal areas where they comprised 17% of the population, accounted for 3% of all indictable offenders: For other areas 'fewer than 5% of arrests

made in the significantly coloured neighbourhood are in fact coloured people . . . only in offences related to drug trafficking are coloured immigrants over-represented. They seek success within a general framework of their own values and rise above the delinquent and criminal standards prevalent in the areas in which they live.'

STATISTICS

Commonwealth Immigration Figures—First Four Months 1969

The monthly figures of Commonwealth citizens arriving for settlement during the first four months of 1969 are given below.

	Employment Voucher holders	*Dependants*	*Others for settlement*	*Total*
January	279	2,283	350	2,912
February	281	2,356	266	2,903
March	394	3,573	336	4,303
April	325	3,538	288	4,151
Totals	1,279 (1,640)	11,750 (15,449)	1,240 (899)	14,269 (17,988)

Totals for first four months of 1968 are given in brackets.

The figures in paragraph 1 do not include holders of United Kingdom passports from East Africa. Numbers arriving during this period have been:

UK Passport holders

	*Special voucher holders**	*Dependants*	*Others for settlement*	*Total*
January	147	298	9	454
February	187	419	1	607
March	122	455	14	591
April	149	479	19	647
Totals	605	1,651	43	2,299

*Heads of families holding UK passports are admitted under special allocation of 1,500 vouchers. During this period admission was refused to 981 Commonwealth citizens. Figures for subsequent months of 1969 will be issued monthly. Source: Home Office June 16, 1969.

OTHER NEWS

Immigrants as Jurors

June 13 It was revealed that The Home Office had been investigating a complaint from a Mr. S. Khan, that Pakistani immigrants in Bradford had not been marked on the electoral roll as eligible for jury service (a complaint believed to be the first of its kind in Britain). Mr. Kahn, Secretary of the Pakistani Immigrants' Welfare Association in Bradford, said that he had examined the electoral register over the past two years, but could not find any immigrant identifiable by name marked as eligible for jury service. An official of Bradford Council said that it had been 'standard practice' over many years for the names of immigrants to be published in the register without the J which identifies jurors. He gave three main reasons for this: the language difficulty; many did not bother to return electoral forms; and the difficulty of finding out exactly the owner or rate-payer of a household. An editorial in *The Times* (14 June) said that the fact that none of the (20,000) Pakistanis in Bradford had been placed on the jury list was 'disturbing enough in itself', but that the explanations offered on behalf of (Bradford) Town Council were 'if anything more disquieting'. On the following day, Bradford's Town Clerk said that immigrants living in Bradford would be made eligible for jury service in the city's electoral register next year.

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