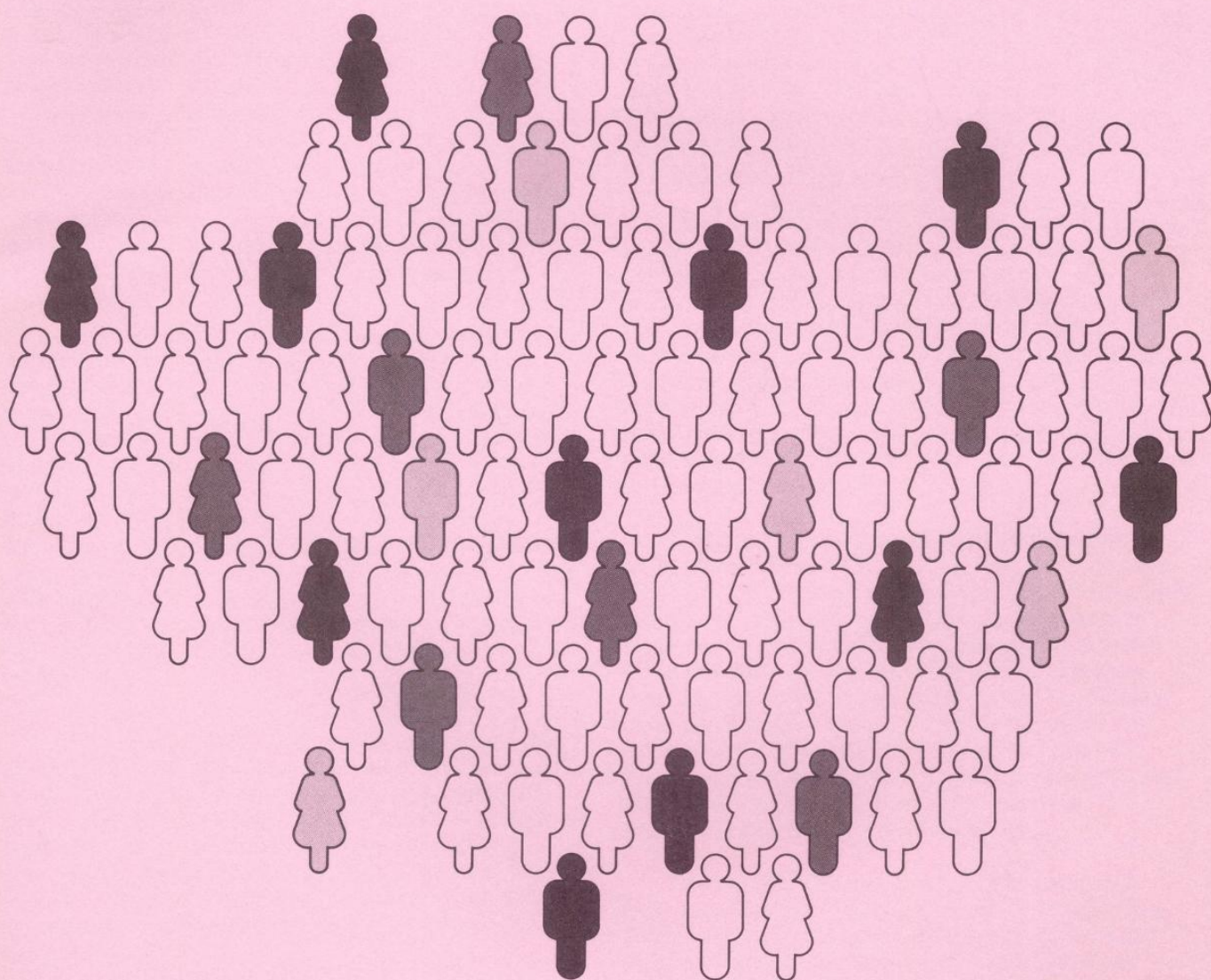


Challenging Racism in London

Report of the conference held on March 12, 1983



Ethnic Minorities in London

Introduction

As part of the Committee's target to establish effective consultation processes to provide ethnic minority communities with opportunities for shaping policy and strategies, an extensive programme of meetings and conferences were held in 1982/83. The culmination of this programme was a London-wide conference on 12 March 1983 on the theme: Challenging Racism in London.

Over 800 participants attended the Conference which was hailed in the press as 'the biggest ever held on racism in London'. This report sets out the major contributions and recommendations made at the Conference.

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Challenging Racism in London

Opening Address

The conference was officially opened by the Chairman of the Council, *Sir Ashley Bramall*, who was followed by *C.L.R. James* giving the opening address. Mr James argued for more precision in political thinking and then outlined areas in which this precision in thought is vital. Recognising that 'racism is a fundamental disease of the society than can only be ended by this society', Mr James appealed for a more precise theme than 'challenging racism'. He argued that he wanted to 'wipe racism away, not challenge it. I want a more militant term. Once we have that, something has been done today. Challenging racism is not a precise phrase. One challenges a team to a match, or an athlete to a race – on fair and equal terms. One does not challenge racism, one works to destroy it'.

Mr James defined racism as not something 'organic' but rather as a manifestation of the general malaise of a society faced with the bitter conflict of social relations. He put into context the urban uprisings of the summer of 1981. He saw them as the portents of this malaise which, unchecked, will lead inevitably to further disruptions of a magnitude and ferocity which Britain has not witnessed in a hundred years. The responses of the communities to racism have already commanded the attention of the state. The Metropolitan Police, one tentacle of the racist state with which these communities come into closest and frequent contact, has focused on them. It is determined to crush any resistance.

It is the unified response to state oppression, Mr James continued, which needs closer examination and which the Conference should explore. The task of the political leadership is thus, first and foremost, to unite all oppressed and exploited groups and communities. They need to be united in order to overthrow and dismantle the state structures. This would lead to the eradication of racism and the promotion of racial justice.

Plenary Session I

Having listened to C.L.R. James' overview of the issues of challenging racism, Conference then concentrated on two aspects of the strategies for change – the response of the institutions and that of the ethnic minority communities themselves. For the institutions two perspectives were presented; that of the Leader of the GLC and that of a specialist adviser to a local authority, while the community responses sought to present an Afro-Caribbean and Asian dimension which also incorporated a gender variable.

Ken Livingstone, Leader of the GLC, outlined the Council's priorities and policies seeking to improve the quality of life of all Londoners of whatever colour, nationality, creed or sexual orientation. However, the emphasis is being laid on consulting with the community. This process would assist the present administration in its challenge to institutional racism and translate the expressed ideals into reality through positive responses. Such conferences offer an opportunity to assess needs, aspirations and strategies which the GLC would try to respond to within the limitations of its statutory powers.

Whatever the response, whether through grant-aid, the redistribution of wealth and alleviation of stress, policies to regenerate London's economy or the implementation of equal opportunities policies, attacks on GLC policies and priorities would continue. In the last few months, these attacks have shifted from 'Red Ken' scare stories to a more systematic starving of funds by central government. But these very same attacks are an indication that progress is being made and it is for community organisations to ensure that consolidation of this progress is made.

Dorothy Kuya of the London Borough of Haringey concentrated on an examination of institutional racism which results in the exclusion of black people from both the leadership and decision-making positions while also minimising the availability of funds and services from these institutions. It is the institutions of the state which determine who gains access to skills, education, political influence, wealth and power and while it is recognised that the white working class – male and female – are also excluded, it is nevertheless important to understand that black people do suffer and experience greater levels of disadvantage.

Several studies as well as the experiences of black people have demonstrated that race and colour of skin are significant factors in determining levels of disadvantage and discrimination. Thus as Ms Kuya reiterated, 'no one in Britain is poor because their skin is white. Thousands are poor because their skin is black'. Local authorities must accept this analysis if meaningful responses are to be made in the struggle to challenge racism. The appointment of specialist workers should not, however, be seen as an answer to direct community representation as such workers do not speak for the minority ethnic communities. We are not their representatives' and therefore the minority ethnic communities must themselves determine the responses that are in their best interests. They must organise themselves in a serious political way as never

before and part of that serious organisation must embody putting pressure on organisations so that the latter can move forward and racism can be eliminated'.

Cecil Gutzmore chose to speak on the economics of the fight against racism and stressed that participants recognised the importance of the urban uprisings of 1981 as the communities' response to racism. But this fight against racism must also be viewed as part of the general battle against capitalism which is facing its 'terminal crisis' in the British state. Evidence of this crisis is the growing 'de-industrialisation of the British urban economy' which has had a catastrophic effect on the black community where unemployment levels have risen consistently since the 1970's.

The government strategy of relocating industry and its policies of monetarism have resulted in the widespread closure of many industries in London, crippling constraints on training opportunities, devalued supplementary and special needs' allowances for families and to contain the community's responses to these draconian measures, increased powers for the Metropolitan Police. In the face of such discrimination, deprivation and threats to personal liberty, it is important that 'unity, seriousness, urgency and an understanding of the situation and the enemy' be realised. The GLC is important for black people in this realisation as half of the Asian and Afro-Caribbean population are settled in the Greater London area.

Dr Avtar Brah stressed that there was no a priori reason for Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups to unite, particularly as their specific historical pasts were based on division. In London, unity, especially amongst youth, had grown out of a common experience of racism, though often the precise forms of struggle vary and develop according to the circumstances and experiences of the combatants. For black youth, these experiences have been dominated by racism. Dr Brah also drew attention to the key role played by black women's groups in the struggle against racism and sexism.

In a critical appraisal of the state's response to racism, Dr Brah highlighted two aspects; Community Projects and Specialist Workers. Several projects have been funded but their effectiveness has been stymied by conditions of grant-aid particularly relating to restrictions on extensions or insufficient flexibility. In fact, many projects are funded only for short periods and therefore come to an end just as they are beginning to gain credibility or achieve some of their aims. Those that fail find that blame is invariably apportioned to the

managers and staff rather than the intractable difficulties or the in-built structural elements of failure arising from inadequate or restrictive funding.

Increasingly, local authorities resort to the appointment of specialist race advisers as their sole response to community demands. This is seen as a fulfilment of their section 71 responsibilities but in the majority of cases such advisers are 'white individuals thought to have expertise in black affairs'. Very few qualified black people are appointed to these positions, instead, they are to be found in lower grades and non-executive positions.

Few local authorities have adopted meaningful strategies and policies to challenge and dismantle racism. In fact, Dr Brah stated, 'most policies currently on offer rarely represent a strong anti-racist stance. It is not surprising, therefore, that the black communities are demanding that there be a fundamental revision of the basis on which strategic services – education, employment, health, police, trade unions, the media – are determined. These services impinge on the lives of all black people and therefore the racism inherent in them must not only be challenged but eradicated. However, Dr Brah concluded, 'in the final analysis uprooting racism means getting involved in the class struggle'.

Feature Address

The feature address was delivered by the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, A. Sivanandan, on the strategies for fighting racism in Britain. Describing himself as a heretic and a disbeliever in the efficacy of ethnic policies and programmes to alter 'one iota the monumental and endemic racism of this society', Mr Sivanandan expressed his delight at being given the opportunity 'in this very temple of ethnicity' to make a contribution to the debate on the anti-racist movement. The major points of the address were as follows:

'What ethnicity has done is to mask the problem of racism and weaken the struggle against it. But that is precisely what it was meant to do. It was the riposte of the system in the '60s and '70s to the struggles of black people, both Afro-Caribbean and Asian, both in the workplace and in the community, as a people for a class – struggles which threatened to be an anti-body within the body politic. It was the riposte of a system that was afraid that the black working-class struggle would begin to politicise the working-class struggle as a whole. It was the riposte of the class collaborationist Labour governments of Wilson and Callaghan who

sought in ethnic pluralism to undermine the underlying class aspect of black struggle and black politics. And it is to that period that one must turn for some understanding of the struggles that have to be waged today.

'Racism does not stay still; it changes shape, functions, size, purpose in terms of the economic system, social structure, class forces and, above all, the challenges and resistances to the system. When we came here, a war-torn Britain needed all the labour it could lay its hands on. What we came to was a kind of laissez-faire discrimination – a racialism which carried over from the colonial period. It was not structured or institutionalised.

'Britain needed all the labour it could get and we were not discriminated against in terms of getting jobs but rather in our social life, in housing, in schooling, etc. We faced racial prejudice which depended on market forces. Colour only got written into legislation via the Immigration Act of 1962; then it begins to get institutionalised. It is a crucial distinction we need to make if we are going to understand how to sort out the struggles against people's attitudes and the power to act out those attitudes in social terms. What we learnt in the years of struggle of the '60s is that racism is about power and not about prejudice.

'In the workplace and the community, Afro-Caribbean and Asian, we were a community and a class and we closed ranks and took up each other's struggles. We had such a rich infrastructure of organisations, parties and self-help projects. We built a whole series of projects which grew out of organisations in the community. And all the parties, like the UCPA, Black Unity and Freedom Party, BLF, Black Panthers, had their projects, newspapers, news-sheets, schools. Organisations went to the factories, and the strikes were taken from place to place – strike committees up and down the country learning from one another. And international struggles were part and parcel of our consciousness and our struggles here.

'But as the '70s began to dawn, the recession became apparent. It was a period when Britain, like the rest of Europe, no longer needed cheap black labour and, then the Immigration Act of 1971 came into force, our priorities became separated. For the Asian community, the issue was to get their dependants in before the doors shut on them and struggles were waged against deportations and repatriations. The Asian community began to take on these issues in a very defensive way – through law centres and defence

committees – one-off committees which no longer collated and co-ordinated struggles. The Afro-Caribbean concern focused predominantly around issues like "Sus" and the criminalisation of their young.

'At the same time, we got in Britain a whole new philosophy of separate development; it is called ethnicity. It was a tool to blunt the edge of black struggle, return "black" to its constituent parts of Afro-Caribbean, Asian, African, Irish – and also, at the same time, allow the black bourgeoisie to move up in the system, so that they would not want to change the system. Pluralism, then, changes a horizontal division of class into a vertical division of race, and thereby undermines the class struggle and removes us from bothering about the black working class. It was the time that many of the black projects which had linked the parties to the community were being bought off by state aid such as the Urban Programme – defeating the self-reliance and independence of community projects.

'The pluralist philosophies and ethnic programmes which had begun to set up parallel structures within society were part of Labour policies. What happened when Thatcher came into power was that she couldn't give a damn about blacks and and pluralism or the working class. Thatcher had stolen the clothes of the National Front and moved this society so far to the right as to be near fascist. She began her life, her sincere racist life, with the "swamping of the culture" speech which unleashed the white maggots of the inner cities on our children.

'The shape and structure of racism has changed from the '60s, when it was a rationale for exploitation, so that now it is a rationale for repatriation. And the battles against it have moved from the economic field to the ideological field. Britain is undergoing massive structural changes where the silicon chip, micro-electronics and the whole industrial revolution is going to change the question of employment and unemployment. For our immediate purposes, we must understand that it's also a society with a tremendous amount of surveillance – the equipment is there. It is a society in which ideology and politics is becoming paramount and the battle around ideology is going to be fought out in education and the media. The question of political enforcement – law and order – is going to be fought out on the streets against the police and against unjust laws which repress trades unions, women, gays, children and so on. We must resuscitate the extra-parliamentary struggles that we black people waged in the '60s and '70s.

'The locale of struggle has moved from the factory floor to the streets, from the one-time employed, now unemployed, to the never employed. It is a very important distinction to make when we talk of black youth. For they have never been socialised into labour – theirs is a different aspect of protest against society. And with 1981 we get another struggle against racism – of black youth – which begins to contaminate the struggles of white youth in the inner cities. It was only after the rebellions of 1981 that Thatcher sent for Scarman to rescue ethnicity for the Tory Party.

'We must not overlook the one positive thing Thatcher has done – thrown up the contradictions within the Labour Party. The pluralist politics of division which came out of the '60s and '70s – the de-linking of struggle – not just Afro-Caribbean from Asian, but also the first generation from the so-called second – all came out of the Social Democratic wing of the Labour Party. The left wing has been left with the ethnic baby; it does not know in which direction to turn, and it is up to us to point them in the right direction. Don't let's be purists and stand outside, for we can't fight the system bare-handed. We don't have the tools. We've got to get the tools from the system itself and in the process hope that five out of ten of us don't become corrupt.

'We need to look at the changed sites of struggle – at key areas like education and the media. Look at the ethnic media: *Black on Black* and *Eastern Eye*. On the one hand, we have the idea of letting blacks get places so that they can teach their young that they don't have to take on the system but become part of it. On the other hand, we have the idea of "positive image", with *Eastern* cookery classes and Indian films. These programmes merely replicate white media, even black plays and comedies. "No Problem" is a problem; we are laughing at ourselves. The system wants that type of replication. What we want on *Black on Black* and *Eastern Eye* is an unbalanced view. We don't want a balanced view. The whole society is unbalanced against us and we take a programme and balance it again?

'Another strategy is the turning of cases into issues. Cases are one-off, local, disconnected; issues are national and anti-state. The trial of the Bradford 12, for instance, brought to national prominence the issues of self-defence and conspiracy law; the murder of Blair Peach at the Southall demonstration brought into question the role of the Special Patrol Group and the validity of internal police investigation; the New Cross Massacre and the case of Colin Roach showed, among other things, the bias and inadequacies of the coroner's court.

'We need to concentrate on cases which raise a number of issues and so bring together the various aspects of our struggle and the different groups involved in them. The Fernandes' case, for instance, raises a number of issues – education, policing, the media, trade union racism – thereby providing us with a more holistic view of our struggle and a basis of mutual support and joint action.

'And we need to mobilise blacks everywhere around our common experiences of racial attacks. Colin Roach should not just affect Stoke Newington – we should look at the whole aspect of struggle around Colin Roach, the Newham 8, the attacks in Sheffield, in Leicester. We must collate our struggles, cross-fertilising the Afro-Caribbean and Asian experiences, and find unity in action.

'There are various levels of struggle – on the streets, in the media, in the council chamber. We must begin to see how we can take our issues into the media and make the media responsible to the communities instead of legitimating the actions of the system. Similarly, we must make our black councillors responsible to us – they must be seen on the ground, using whatever power they have for the benefit of the community. And finally, we must look at the whole area of alliances.

'In the '70s black people said that they would not subsume their struggle to the class struggle, and their struggle had got to be autonomous. But we made alliances with the whole working class. For instance, during the trial and imprisonment of the Pentonville Five, when all the trade unions marched on Pentonville, they sent notices to black groups about the march. The Black Unity and Freedom Party agreed that their struggle was also black people's struggle, but they would not join in the official march. Instead, they had a different march down a different road to the same spot on behalf of the Pentonville Five. That is what I mean by autonomy and alliances.

'Too much autonomy leads us back into ourselves; we begin to home in on our own cultures as though nothing else existed outside them. The revolutionary edge of culture that Cabral spoke of is taken away, leaving cultural nationalism. We don't need that identity in extremis, but we need to make use of the positive aspects in culture to forge the correct alliances.

'Alliances between the anti-racist and the working-class struggle are crucial, because the struggle against racism without the struggle against

class remains cultural nationalist. But class struggle without race struggle, without the struggles of women, of gays, of the Irish, remains economistic.

It's still possible to make use of the good offices of left-wing Labour councils and the ethnic minorities units which left-wing councils have got landed with and turn them towards anti-racist struggle. We must return ethnicity to anti-racism and return socialism to Labour. And, in order to do that, we must begin now to collate and coordinate our struggles – so as to build, in 1984, here, in London, a mass movement.'

Discussion Groups

After lunch, Conference participants joined one of seven discussion groups to examine in greater detail issues raised by the morning's speakers. The outstanding issues common to at least more than one discussion group were as follows:

(a) Most participants agreed that the GLC's commitment to race equality should be welcomed and supported but the momentum of progress must be speeded up and the following reservations and recommendations were made:

- (i) The GLC programmes and initiatives are still supplementary to what already exists and thus very little fundamental changes have occurred as institutions still remain the tools of the ruling class.
- (ii) A thorough appraisal of processes by which the GLC could be made more accountable to the community should be initiated.
- (iii) The GLC should allocated more resources to initiatives in education and training and employment with an appropriate monitoring system to ensure targets and strategies are fulfilled.
- (iv) The principal criterion for GLC grant-aid strategy should be to give top priority to organisations who can demonstrate their viability, incorporate a democratic decision-making structure and are committed to anti-racism.
- (v) The GLC should promote more such forums for the black communities particularly locally-based ones or in conjunction with local authorities.

(b) Various analysis were presented in determining the most appropriate strategies for challenging and dismantling racism and the following were raised:

- (i) Black and ethnic minority communities must organise collectively to combat racism which is endemic in the very structural and institutional forms of the society but attaining a socialist utopia does not necessarily mean an anti-racist society.
- (ii) High profiles for black 'leaders' or access to selected jobs in the hierarchy of the race relations industry are no indication of progress as the exercise of power – political and economic – remains the prerogative of the white elite and, increasingly, their black protégées.
- (iii) A race dimension must be incorporated into every aspect of policies and progress must be regularly publicised so that greater accountability can be ensured.
- (iv) Conferences achieve very little except to raise expectations which, if the leadership of the GLC changes in 1985, cannot be fulfilled and there is a consequent danger of further setbacks in the struggle for racial justice. It is important therefore to ensure more grass roots participation so that there is widespread political consciousness which can be translated into positive action with each setback.
- (v) Whilst the declaration of London as an anti-racist zone in 1984 was guardedly welcomed, it was suggested that such an initiative must not degenerate into publicity stunts, pious platitudes, and media hypes but must be the beginning of a public debate on the fundamental issues and an opportunity for generating the necessary dialogue between communities and precipitating the activism that will lead to struggle.
- (vi) Having a black Judge or MP is not enough. What is preferable is massive numbers of people in positions of power and therefore black activists must organise at the local level.

- (c) The Ethnic Minorities Unit, in planning future programmes, must seek to:
- (i) Campaign for the abolition of Section 11 funding so that community projects are funded out of the main budgets of central government and local authorities.
 - (ii) Ensure future conferences are planned in consultation with local groups and time be given for 'grass roots' speakers rather than aging black activists who are unaware of the real issues.
 - (iii) Provide translation facilities for non-English speaking communities.
 - (iv) Form a black consortium of representatives elected by the community to plan and manage the anti-racist year programme.
- (d) The GLC should encourage and support the development of an independent mass movement of black people with Black People's Forums in each borough. Such a movement to:
- (i) Make sure the local authority initiatives and particularly CRC's are made accountable to the community.
 - (ii) Avoid the mistakes of CRC's which are now staging posts for the black elite, have diverted the struggles for social change and provided a convenient cover for the racism of the state.
 - (iii) Provide an opportunity for continuous self-appraisal and monitoring of developments.
 - (iv) Become the focal point for campaigns and base for collective action and a co-ordinating body for self-help groups.

Optional Workshops

In an effort to offer participants an opportunity to explore specialist issues in a small group setting of no more than twenty people, four optional workshops were scheduled. They covered Racism in Education, Racism in the Media, Racism Awareness and Building a Mass Movement. However, over 200 people attended the Racism in Education Workshop and the format had to be changed necessitating a further discussion group and it is therefore necessary to report on the main issues discussed which were as follows:

(1) Nearly all delegates were highly sceptical of both the GLC and ILEA initiatives in the field of race relations. This scepticism was compounded by the fact that many delegates had seen no real improvements in race relations in London over the last year. In fact, many asserted that there had been a deterioration in both race relations generally and race relations in education. They were of the opinion that there was far too much rhetoric and not enough action. It was within this context of scepticism that the rest of the discussion was held.

(2) Nearly all delegates, black and white, were of the opinion that race relations and the so-called problems of black pupils in London schools projected predominantly white definitions of black reality. They therefore wanted to see black definitions of reality to be given a central place in the thinking of those groups and bodies, particularly the GLC Ethnic Minorities Unit and the ILEA Multi-Ethnic Inspectorate, which are responsible for initiatives in the field of London. There existed a feeling that black groups themselves should take the lead and initiate new projects.

(3) It was generally felt that all proposed policy and practice in the field of education should focus on racism in education rather than on culture, or more dubiously multi-ethnicism. There was a general rejection of the multi-ethnic policies of the ILEA, and many delegates felt that these policies and practices which have been in existence for some years have caused more harm than good. They wanted to see a properly constructed anti-racist policy created for the whole of the London area. They also felt that much of the funding and many of the resources that had been allocated for the development of multi-ethnic practices were having little effect on the problems that black children face in London schools.

(4) There was a general consensus that far more in-service provision should be provided, and that teachers and others, including the administrators at County Hall, should be encouraged to go on racism awareness courses. The main suggestion that arose in this area was that all in-service courses and training should be explicitly anti-racist and concerned with the issue of racism in education above all else.

(5) Ways should be found to screen teachers and to assess their attitudes on the issue of racism. Some delegates considered that a specific code on practice vis-à-vis race relations should be drawn up as part of the professional certification of all new and existing teachers.

(6) There was much concern expressed over the fact that existing ILEA policies and practices did not adequately take into account the needs of pre-school children. Further nursery provision should be provided, and pre-school children should be introduced immediately into a nursery environment which is anti-racist.

(7) There was much discussion on the nature of the curriculum, and nearly all delegates were of the opinion that there should be a massive overhaul and re-development of the curriculum in London schools. In practice this would mean that anti-racist teaching should not be solely confined to the humanities but should be part of all subjects taught in schools. It was also felt that CSE/GCE and other examinations should be developed in the languages and subjects of interest to Asian and Afro-Caribbean people. These subjects should be on par with any other academic subject taken in school.

(8) All the delegates felt that there should be a massive recruitment of black teachers to London schools. Besides the actual recruitment of more black teachers it was felt that all promotion procedures should be reviewed as many black teachers were of the opinion that they were not being fairly treated.

(9) Delegates expressed the opinion that in schools where there was a high percentage of children of Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin, then this racial composition should be reflected in the appointment of the Head and senior teachers.

(10) Whilst there was some difference of opinion expressed about the advantages or otherwise of separate schools for black children, either in or outside the state system, there was a general feeling that further assistance and financial provision should be given to the supplementary school system. Many of the black delegates, in particular, argued that as their children were not receiving a proper education in London schools, then they had no alternative but to continue to support the supplementary school system.

(11) There existed unanimous support for the appointment of more black governors.

(12) The final recommendation which in a sense underpins all the discussion and which arose at nearly every point when specific issues were being addressed concerned the whole question of research, monitoring, and evaluation. There was a strong view expressed by delegates that all the monitoring and

evaluation should be critical, independent, and objective.

Homi Bhabha led the workshop on Racism in the Media with some brief comments about the significance and implications of anti-racist cultural workers in the British context. He suggested that in struggling against the racism of the media institutions, the concepts of 'culture' and 'community' had to be re-defined. These concepts, which traditionally carried a conservative meaning, had been shown to be ethnocentric, divisive and hegemonic. For instance, the appeal to a 'common' culture obscured the divisions and exclusions within it. Even the socialist appropriation of these terms, often strengthens an ideology of 'Englishness' which is unquestioningly racist, culturally discriminatory and invariably sexist. Homi Bhabha concluded by suggesting that the unique contribution of black media workers and anti-racist programmes had been to identify the areas of culture and community, as sites of resistance and redefinition and to bring to attention problems of colonialism, racism, and the third world. After specific contributions from the floor, the discussion focused on the following issues:

- (1) Employment and training opportunities for black people to enter the mainstream media.
- (2) Monitoring by people at grassroots level to get pressure on media companies and challenge the stereotypes.
- (3) Creation of alternative media institutions which are black controlled and managed e.g. radio, strengthening the black press, film and video resources.
- (4) Limitations of being progressive and political while working within its defined framework and methodology. Black Media Workers Association agreed to take up points made. Meetings have already taken place around some of the issues raised.

Two representatives of the Racism Awareness Programme Unit (RAPU) conducted the workshop on Racism Awareness training. Participants were invited to recognise that racism exists in British society but that such a recognition is not in itself sufficient to achieve change, either in ourselves or in society. Change can only come with the help and support of others and Racism Awareness training recognised this. The Training is based on three fundamental principles.

- (i) Britain is a multi-racial society
- (ii) Britain is a racist society
- (iii) Racism is a white problem.

The effects of racism on white people are as insidious as are its effects on black people. Racist attitudes erect barriers which encase white people and prevent them from experiencing themselves and their culture as it is. This inability to experience reality results in ignorance of their role in perpetuating racism and domination and unless this role is confronted and challenged, the act of counselling and helping will consist of empty gestures.

Racism Awareness training seeks to enable participants to confront this role and in an atmosphere of openness and honesty examine the influence of racism in both work and domestic life and their overt and covert collusion in it. Through group work, structured exercises, role play and the constant sharing of information, the following areas are tackled:

- (i) Influences on racist thinking and practice
- (ii) Language
- (iii) Personal, Institutional and Cultural racism
- (iv) White awareness
- (v) Fears and Risks
- (vi) Anti-racist practices and Goal setting

Exploration of all the above areas prepares participants in the training programme to develop specific action strategies designed to challenge and dismantle personal and institutional racism and, for each individual, to define precise steps in the personal search toward becoming anti-racist.

The Conference ended with summaries by Paul Boateng and Farrukh Dhondy. The final plenary session was dominated by some very lively exchanges between a group of Rastafarians and other participants.

LONDON AGAINST RACISM

1984 sees the start of a major drive by the GLC to make people aware of the damaging and divisive effects of racism in London.

The facts of racial disadvantage ought to be well known, but too often people choose to ignore or condone them – especially the way larger organisations perpetuate racism in their structures and practices.

To be effective, the London Against Racism campaign needs your support.

How? Partly by taking part in the programme of anti-racist activities and events in 1984, but most importantly by a personal commitment to the campaign – by becoming involved.

- 1** To fight racism in London, this is what we are asking you to do: Recognise that racism runs through all aspects of life in London; not ignore it, condone it, or gloss over it.
 - 2** Agree the fundamental right of all Londoners to enjoy a level of *real* equality, justice, freedom and security that currently does not exist.
 - 3** Create conditions, at home, at work and in the community that make it impossible for racism to operate.
 - 4** Join with all ordinary people in London to fight the disadvantages common to them all.
 - 5** Examine, criticise, challenge and change the structures that perpetuate racism in organisations.
- Don't sit back and leave it to others. *Your* contribution is vital.

If you want to know more about the GLC's policies and programmes for ethnic minorities, if you have any comments on what has been achieved so far or have ideas on what should be done in the future, then write to: Ethnic Minorities Unit, Greater London Council, County Hall, London, SE1 7PB.



LONDON AGAINST RACISM

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