



(c) crown copyright

USA

January 1990

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
26.1.90.							
30.1.90							
5.2.90							
27.3.90							
CLOSED PREM 19/3206							



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 March 1990

Dear Charles,

CD 27/3

Prime Minister's meeting with Jesse Jackson

Thank you for your letter of 5 February. ^{top}

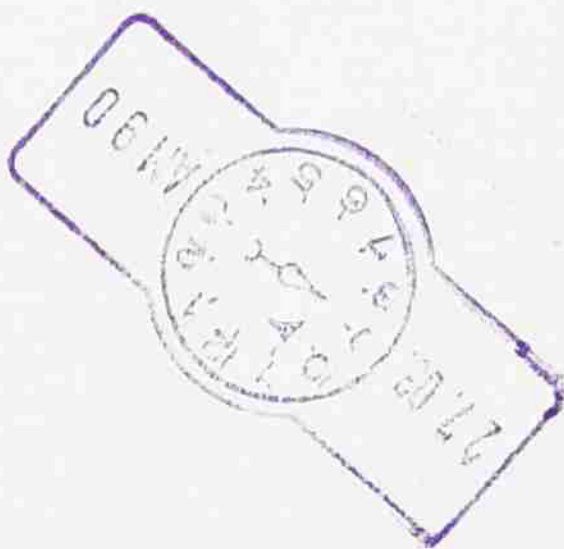
The call paid a useful dividend in New York. The reaction was particularly positive among the black and hispanic communities, the leaders of which told us that the meeting sent the important signal to American minorities that Mrs Thatcher was prepared to listen to their concerns; and that this was important to Anglo-American relations because blacks and hispanics were the one element of American society which had been critical of the Prime Minister. The consensus among them was that meeting Jackson was an act of considerable symbolic significance for American blacks and other minorities.

Yours,
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

USA: PMS mts with Jene Jackson 1/90



CONFIDENTIAL



SUBJECT CC MASTER

FLP
EAM
A: Jackson
bc PK

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 February 1990

**PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH
THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON**

The Prime Minister had a talk this afternoon with the Reverend Jesse Jackson, lasting about one and a half hours. This is somewhat longer than expected (twice as long, actually), but the Prime Minister thought it courteous to allow Mr Jackson to have his say. Mrs Jackson was also present. Apart from some early exchanges about drug problems, the discussion was entirely about South Africa. It was perfectly civil and generally lucid. But every so often Mr Jackson would switch on to auto-pilot, the words would take over, and we would dive into repetitive monologues which had all the appearance of being scripted by Winnie Mandela and Archbishop Huddleston. Since he repeated these to the press outside, I shall not record them at any length here.

Mr Jackson, who was distinctly nervous to start with, said that he had enormous respect for the Prime Minister as a person and a leader. The press had been trying to set traps and engineer a confrontation between them. There must be room to agree and disagree, without being hostile. He is very appreciative of the opportunity to meet and would like to open a regular dialogue with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said that she had appreciated Mr Jackson's refusal to be provoked by the media. She believed that both of them wanted to be constructive. There was plenty of disagreement around, without her and Mr Jackson adding to it unnecessarily.

The Prime Minister continued that President de Klerk's speech had been a major step forward. It had also aroused enormous expectations, some of which were unrealistic. It would take time, and a lot of wisdom and patience, to arrange negotiations and to agree on plans for constitutional development. She was passionate in her rejection of apartheid: it was morally wrong and must go. She believed de Klerk intended to get rid of apartheid. But sanctions had never been the answer and were not so now. A successful economy was essential to political progress. She had always taken the view that contact was more productive than isolation. We should reward progress in South Africa. It was psychologically important that whatever was done should be seen to be done as a result of the South Africans' own decisions, not by compulsion or attempts to interfere from outside South Africa.

Mr Jackson replied at some length, darting from the situation in the Deep South of the United States to the dialogue between Paul and Agrippa. Economic boycotts did work: his own childhood experience in the Deep South showed that. They had boycotted the buses, believing that it was better to walk in dignity than ride in shame. De Klerk's speech had been a declaration of intent and held out hope. But black people in South Africa needed more than promises: they had been misled too often in the past. Whatever de Klerk might say, the structure of apartheid remained largely intact. Mandela could not come out of prison until it was clear there would be real change. His demands were not revolutionary but reasonable. He was setting political conditions for taking part in negotiation. There was an enormous incentive for South Africa to rid itself of apartheid, thus ending its isolation and finding its way back into the family of nations. It had been a combination of internal resistance and external isolation which had brought South Africa to the present point. If de Klerk now delayed, the waters would close over him. He had to save his nation's hide in order to save his own.

Mr Jackson continued that it was essential to keep the pressure on South Africa until apartheid was dismantled. Without it, the South Africans simply would not take the necessary steps. Such pressure actually helped de Klerk: he could point out to his people that there was no other way than reform. He would therefore appeal to the Prime Minister, not so much to change her position, as to be cautious and not rush into lifting the pressure on South Africa.

The Prime Minister said that it would be counter-productive to hector and harangue the South Africans. Now that they had started to make the changes which we had long sought, we should encourage and reward them. Mr Jackson said that it was one thing to offer a carrot, but we should not take all the pressure off. Just as we had kept a strong NATO to put pressure on Communism, so we should keep sanctions to put pressure for change on South Africa. Sanctions and apartheid should both end simultaneously.

The Prime Minister said that the task facing de Klerk was to build a new framework for constitutional progress. This needed peaceful negotiations. It was no good suggesting that Mr Mandela stay in prison until the job was done: it could not be done without him. The ANC must give up violence: she had never forgiven Mrs Mandela for supporting use of the necklace. Mr Jackson said that he did not support necklacing. But 4,000 blacks had been killed by the security forces over the last two years. Only last week Mrs Mandela's daughter's boyfriend had been killed in prison, although the South Africans claimed it was suicide.

Mr Jackson said that the main point which he would try to get over to de Klerk was that new investment and prosperity were just not available 'on this side of the river'. But once he crossed the river and lifted apartheid, then prosperity and international acceptance would come, and everyone would flourish. The Prime Minister pointed out that post-apartheid South Africa would hardly flourish if its economy had been

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

ruined by sanctions. Prosperity came from hard work and the right economic policies - and that did not include the nationalisation which Mandela still preached. It would be a great mistake on Mr Jackson's part to chastise de Klerk when he needed encouragement.

The Prime Minister concluded that she and Mr Jackson shared the same objectives of getting rid of apartheid and establishing a proper constitutional framework. They differed over the means. She wished Mr Jackson well on his visit. He should tell Mr Mandela that a lot of hopes were riding on him. Mr Jackson said that his final appeal to the Prime Minister was to be cautious. He would very much like to keep in touch and report to her on his visit.

I enclose a transcript of Mr Jackson's remarks to the press in Downing Street after the meeting. It contains many of the points which I have charitably omitted from my record.

I am copying this letter to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

J S Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

COMMENTS MADE BY REV. JESSE JACKSON IN DOWNING STREET AFTER HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, MONDAY 5 FEBRUARY 1990

FIRST OF ALL WE HAVE A VERY MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE TO SET A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR FUTURE DIALOGUE AND COMMUNICATIONS. THERE IS OBVIOUSLY CONCERN THAT BOTH OF US HAVE THAT APARTHEID MUST END AND DEMOCRACY MUST REIGN. WE MUST DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE MR. de KLERK TO CONTINUE TO SET A FRAMEWORK FOR DEMOCRACY. WE MUST ESTABLISH FIRMLY THAT APARTHEID HAS NO MORAL FOUNDATION AND APARTHEID AS A FORM OF RACIAL AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL FIND THE INABILITY TO GROW ECONOMICALLY, DIPLOMATICALLY AND CULTURALLY. THEREFORE THERE MUST BE MUCH EMPHASIS IN RELIEVING WHITES OF THEIR UNFOUNDED FEARS AND CONVINCING THEM THAT BEYOND APARTHEID, A NEW SOUTH AFRICA, A FREE SOUTH AFRICA, IS ITS GREATEST MOMENT. MY CONCERN IS THAT IN THE PROCESS TO DISTINGUISH HOPE AND CULTURE. THE HOPE IS IN MR. de KLERK'S SPEECH IN WHICH HE UNBANNED POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS, RELEASED SOME FREEDOMS TO THE PRESS, RELEASED SOME POLITICAL DETAINEES BUT ON THE OTHER HAND THE STRUCTURES OF APARTHEID ARE IN PLACE. MR. MANDELA IS NOT FREE. IF MR. MANDELA WERE TO LEAVE JAIL TOMORROW HE COULD NOT LIVE IN THE COMMUNITY OF HIS CHOICE, HE WOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE, HIS GRANDCHILDREN COULD NOT GO TO THE SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE; ESSENTIALLY THOSE STRUCTURES ARE IN PLACE.

IN THE CASE OF EASTERN EUROPE WE ARE IN THE POSITION THAT, ALTHOUGH WE APPRECIATE MR. GORBACHEV'S SPEECHES AND ARE DELIGHTED TO SEE THE WALLS COME DOWN, WE HAVE TO PROVIDE A STRONG NATO, AS A DETERRENT FROM COMMUNIST EXPANSION; AS A STIMULUS FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND THEN ECONOMIC INCENTIVES ADDED TO THOSE REFORMS AS AN INCENTIVE INVESTMENT. I SAY FOR SOUTH AFRICA THAT THE SAME BASIC FORMULA MUST BE APPLIED; WE MUST APPLY CREATIVE PRESSURE TO CONVINCE SOUTH AFRICANS OF THE DISADVANTAGES OF THAT SYSTEM AND THE ADVANTAGES OF A NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA. THOSE PRESSURES MUST IN A MEASURE MEAN THAT WE ARE GOING TO HOLD THOSE PRESSURES UNTIL DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND THE FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND THAT WE HAVE A STIMULUS FOR DEMOCRACY, A PERIOD OF EXPANSION. THERE WILL BE INCENTIVES WHEN APARTHEID IS DISMANTLED.

DID YOU DISCUSS THE RELEASE OF MR. NELSON MANDELA?

WELL , I GO TO SOUTH AFRICA AS A GUEST OF THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND WALTER SISULU, AN INVITATION FROM A BROAD CROSS-SECTION OF ORGANISATIONS. WE INTEND TO MEET WITH LEADERS OF CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR - BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE - TO TRY AND RELIEVE THE FEARS OF SOME AND THE DISTRUST OF OTHERS. BUT BASICALLY TO LEARN ON THE GROUND FIRST-HAND ABOUT HOW THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE HAVE SEEN THEIR CHALLENGES, THEIR CHOICES, AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES. OBVIOUSLY THE DEMANDS OF MR. MANDELA ARE NOT REVOLUTIONARY DEMANDS THEY ARE REASONABLE DEMANDS. HE CHOOSES NEGOTIATION OVER CONFRONTATION. HE CHOOSES DEMOCRACY OVER APARTHEID. HE CHOOSES A NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA THAT IS NON-RACIAL, WHERE ALL CAN LIVE TOGETHER AND NONE WILL BE AFRAID. WE HOPE TO TALK TO AND LEARN FROM PEOPLE WHO WILL THEN BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE OUR VIEWS TO MRS. THATCHER, TO MR. BUSH, TO AMERICA AND TO ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS AROUND THE WORLD.

DID MRS. THATCHER AGREE WITH YOU THAT THERE WAS A NEED TO KEEP SANCTIONS?

YOU KNOW IN THIS LONG DELIBERATION WE AGREED TO AGREE, WE AGREED TO DISAGREE. WE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO REMAIN IN DIALOGUE AS BOTH OF US SEARCH OUR OWN WAY FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA AND A NEW EQUATION. SHE HAPPENS TO BELIEVE FOR THE MOST PART THAT THE COURAGEOUS STEPS TAKEN BY MR. de KLERK WILL CONTINUE. I BELIEVE THEY WILL CONTINUE WITH ENCOURAGEMENT, WITH STIMULATION TO GO FORWARD, WITH DETERRENTS TO GO BACK WITH ECONOMIC INCENTIVES GIVEN WHEN APARTHEID IS DISMANTLED. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A DATE CERTAIN SOON WHEN MR. MANDELA WILL BE RELEASED. BUT WE CANNOT OF COURSE JUST HOST HIS CELEBRITY; WE MUST HEED HIS DEMANDS FOR A NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA. LECH WALENSA IN POLAND IS NOW FREE TO LIVE ANYWHERE IN POLAND. HIS CHILDREN CAN GO TO ANY SCHOOL IN POLAND. HE HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN POLAND AND RUN FOR OFFICE IN POLAND. IF MR. MANDELA DARES TO WANT THE SAME FREEDOMS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT MR. LECH WALENSA HAS IN POLAND, THOSE ARE REASONABLE DEMANDS, THEY ARE DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS, AND THEY ARE REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS.

WHAT WAS THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING LIKE?

IT WAS A VERY CORDIAL MEETING WITH MRS. THATCHER, IT WAS A VERY WARM MEETING. IT WAS A VERY LONG MEETING AS WE SHARED EXPERIENCES FROM EACH OTHER'S BACKGROUNDS AND FRAMES OF REFERENCE. I FEEL THAT WE HAVE A BETTER FEEL FOR EACH OTHER. AND IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO INVOLVE EVEN MORE PEOPLE IN THE EQUATION IN SEEKING THE FINAL SOLUTION. THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, THE HEADS OF STATE OF BRITAIN AND JAPAN AS EXTERNAL FORCES, WILL PLAY PIVOTAL ROLES IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA. THE INTERNAL RESISTANCE WILL PLAY PIVOTAL ROLES IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA AND I AM CONVINCED THAT THAT REACHING FOR A NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA MUST COME FROM WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AND THOSE OF US WHO CHERISH DEMOCRACY MUST COMPLEMENT THAT LEADERSHIP. I THINK IT IS A BIT EARLY TO ARRIVE AT STRATEGIC CONCLUSIONS ABOUT WHAT MUST BE DONE BECAUSE THE PREVIOUSLY BANNED ORGANISATIONS HAVE GOT TO HAVE TIME YET TO MEET ONE WITH THE OTHER, TO DETERMINE HOW TO RESPOND TO MR. de KLERK'S POSITION TAKEN IN THE LAST SPEECH. WE HAVE HEARD FROM MR. de KLERK, WE ANXIOUSLY AWAIT TO HEAR FROM MR. NELSON MANDELA. THAT WOULD BE ANOTHER MAJOR STEP IN THIS PROCESS.

YOU SAY YOU WANT DIALOGUE MR. JACKSON. WOULDN'T IT THEREFORE MAKE SENSE FOR MEMBERS OF THE ANC, INCLUDING NELSON MANDELA WHEN HE CAN, TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE?

WELL, THAT IS A JUDGEMENT THAT THEY MUST MAKE. LET US NOT FORGET THAT THE ISSUE IS NEITHER SANCTIONS NOR VIOLENCE. THE ISSUE REALLY IS APARTHEID. AND APARTHEID IS A FORM OF SANCTION. APARTHEID IS RACIAL SANCTIONS, THE GROUP AREAS ACT IS LAND SANCTIONS; DENYING BLACK PEOPLE THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE; ECONOMICALLY, IN TERMS OF TRADE AND COMMERCE ON THE SAME LEVEL AS WHITES IS TRADE SANCTIONS; DENYING THE RIGHT TO VOTE IS POLITICAL SANCTIONS. WE FEEL THAT SANCTIONS OF ALL SORTS AND APARTHEID MUST END ON THE SAME DATE. AND THEN WE LOOK FORWARD TO THIS NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA. THIS NEW AND FREE SOUTH AFRICA WILL HAVE CULTURAL EXPANSION, DIPLOMATIC ACCEPTANCE, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THAT GREAT LAND OF SOUTH AFRICA - BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER - WILL

BECOME A CENTREPIECE OF A NEW SOUTHERN AFRICA. FOR SOUTH AFRICA HAS A BETTER DAY AHEAD OF IT. AND IN THAT NEW DAY SOUTH AFRICA, THE FRONT LINE STATES, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. NOT LONG FROM NOW EUROPE WILL UNDERGO A NEW ECONOMIC ORGANISATION TO MAXIMISE ITS EFFICIENCY. A NEW EUROPE WITH AN INTEGRATED ECONOMY. WHILE EUROPE GOES FORWARD WITH AN INTEGRATED ECONOMY, SOUTH AFRICA IS STILL HOLDING ON TO A SEGREGATED ECONOMY. IT TOO, MUST SEE THE NEW DAY IN ENDING APARTHEID. THE NEW DAY IN BECOMING A FORCE FOR GOOD IN THAT REGION. AND THAT THAT COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT AND THE RAW MATERIAL BASE OF THAT REGION. THIS NEW SOUTH AFRICA - INVOLVING MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE, ANGOLA , NAMIBIA AND TANZANIA - THIS NEW SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE A SOURCE OF HELP TO AND HOPE FOR THE WHOLE WORLD.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

You are to see the Reverend Jesse Jackson on Monday. He will be accompanied by his wife.

He is not exactly a friend. He has spoken unhelpfully over Northern Ireland: compared your approach to European integration unfavourably with that of President Mitterrand: and has written that 10 years of Conservative government have increased social disparities in the UK. These are all subjects on which he is profoundly ignorant.

On the other hand, he has recently spoken quite constructively about South Africa, comparing de Klerk to Gorbachev. He is on his way to South Africa via Zambia. He sees his meeting with you as a way of sending a positive bridge-building signal about South Africa. He will meet de Klerk and wants to meet Mandela. It's probably worth taking him at his word on this desire to be constructive. I fear his real motive is to be able to claim some credit or reflected glory for Mandela's release.

His other main meetings in the UK are Bishop Huddleston and Paul Boateng.

The FCO letter in the folder provides some briefing both on South Africa, and other African issues. If he raises the subject of minorities in the United Kingdom, you can refer him to the article in the folder from the American magazine 'Black Enterprise' which gives some success stories of black people in the United Kingdom.

Our aim should be to say to the press after the meeting that:

- Mr. Jackson joined you in welcoming President de Klerk's recent speech
- in hoping that the ANC will join in negotiations

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

- and thinks that Mandela's release and the opening of negotiations should lead the United States to reconsider sanctions.

You probably won't get that much, but it's worth a try.

C.D.P.

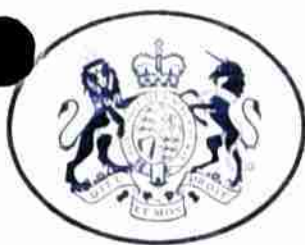
(CHARLES POWELL)

2 February 1990

c\wpdocs\foreign\jackson.dca

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 February 1990

Dear Charles,

Call by Reverend Jesse Jackson, 5 February

Thank you for your letter of 26 January. Jesse Jackson accepts and will be accompanied only by his wife, Jacqueline. This will be his first call on the Prime Minister.

The Rev. Jackson (and the remainder of his party of 14) will be seeing Bishop Huddleston and Mr Paul Boateng MP on 4 February. After the call at No 10, Mr Jackson will go to Lusaka for meetings with President Kaunda and Mugabe; then to South Africa (at the invitation of Mr Sisulu and the South African Council of Churches) to see President de Klerk and, he hopes, Nelson Mandela. Mr Jackson is believed to have extended his stay until 16 February in the hope of being on hand when Mr Mandela is released.

Mr Jackson recently compared President de Klerk to Gorbachev. He believes that in South Africa, as in Eastern Europe, there is an opportunity which should be seized. He sees a meeting between himself and the Prime Minister as sending a positive bridge-building signal.

On South Africa itself, our objective will be to persuade Mr Jackson of our assessment of recent developments. In particular, the Prime Minister will want to give her reactions to President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament today.

Particular issues which may come up and possible points to make are:

- Cricket tour. We tried at Ministerial and other levels to persuade cricketers not to go. But final decision for individuals.

- We abhor violence. South African authorities have agreed to peaceful demonstrations if authorisation sought in advance. We call on all leaders to show restraint so people can exercise this democratic right.

/- South

CONFIDENTIAL



- South Africa Development Coordination Conference (to channel cash from Western countries to Front line states: Mr Jackson advocates more support.) We have given £1.1 billion to SADCC states since 1980, in addition to £60 million for SADCC projects. Mrs Chalker attended the SADCC summit in Lusaka (1-2 February).

- Defence assistance to front line states. In 1989/90 UK will spend 44% (£10.5 million) of our worldwide military assistance budget on SADCC states.

- Namibia. Welcome progress made in constituent assembly on agreeing a constitution. Look forward to Namibian independence on 21 March.

- Important that there should be a smooth transition to independence. We therefore willingly responded to request from SWAPO for help with military and police training. We are also examining other aid for an independent Namibia.

- Angola (on which Mr Jackson advocates normalisation of US-Angolan relations). We regret the current military offensive. Hope that both sides will agree to an early ceasefire and to negotiations without pre-conditions.

Mr Jackson has recently focussed on the Middle East (land for peace; President Carter to be appointed special envoy to "finish off" Camp David) Central America (criticism of Panama invasion and the Salvadoran Government); and NATO (US defence spending should be "drained" to meet social needs). Mr Jackson has also been unhelpful in his comments on Northern Ireland (support for Macbride legislation, Joseph Doherty and appointment of a US special envoy).

In his syndicated newspaper column Jackson recently compared the Prime Minister's approach to European integration unfavourably with President Mitterrand's. M. Mitterrand's "plan for a new social contract" (sic) was not only a good thing in itself but should be developed into a declaration of basic human rights for workers all over the world. Mr Jackson also wrote that ten years of conservative government in Britain had increased social disparities and allowed the business class to consolidate extraordinary power over working people.

Mr Jackson may raise minorities in the UK, particularly following his discussion with Mr Boateng. The Prime Minister might refer him to an article in the American magazine "Black Enterprise" last December (attached) which:

/- notes

CONFIDENTIAL



- notes that middle-class blacks in Britain have "done extraordinarily well" under the Prime Minister;
- shows that ownership of consumer durables among blacks has risen dramatically since 1976 and that there has been an increasing number of companies catering to the black consumer market, including Johnson Products and Carson Products from America;
- points to the growing number of black Britons who are acquiring professional qualifications, as barristers, solicitors and doctors, as well as setting up their own businesses.

Domestically, Mr Jackson has skilfully used the US media and the Democratic Party machine to project a national image. His big weakness is a lack of experience of office. Leading blacks who have such experience, including ex-Mayor of Atlanta Andrew Young, resent Mr Jackson's high profile, as well as his attempts to associate himself with the memory of Martin Luther King whom, in fact, he hardly knew. Mr Jackson moved his legal residence from Chicago to Washington DC last year, ostensibly so that he could run for Mayor. However, given the problems of that city, he may not want a thankless task with little chance of glory. But he is campaigning hard for statehood for Washington DC. Becoming a Senator for Washington DC would give him a job for as long as he needed it, provide the experience he lacks, and further increase his standing.

I enclose a biographical note.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

Jesse Jackson

'88

✓ c.v

JESSE L. JACKSON

BIOGRAPHY

BORN: October 8, 1941, Greenville, South Carolina to Helen (Burns) Jackson; his adopted father, Charles Henry Jackson, died in 1980; his grandmother, Matilda Burns, 80 (February 21, 1908), is still living with his mother in Greenville, SC.

THE JACKSON FAMILY: Jacqueline Lavinia (Brown) Jackson, 44, (March 17, 1944); Santita Jackson, 24 (July 16, 1963); Jesse Louis Jackson, Jr., 23 (March 11, 1965); Jonathan Luther Jackson, 22 (January 7, 1966); Yusef Dubois Jackson, 17 (September 26, 1970); and Jacqueline Lavinia Jackson, 12 (September 28, 1975).

EDUCATION: Graduated from Sterling High School in Greenville, (1959); attended the University of Illinois on a football scholarship for one year, then transferred to North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro, NC where he was active in sports (baseball and football), student government, and the student sit-in movement, which began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960, and he graduated with a B.A. in Sociology (1963); attended the Chicago Theological Seminary for two and one half years before dropping out in 1965 to join Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the voting rights march in Selma, Alabama. The school later conferred on him an honorary doctorate degree.

JOBS: Executive Director, Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1966-1971).

National President, Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity), a Chicago-based national volunteer self-help human rights organization concerned with economic development, moral and academic excellence in education, health care, housing, justice and international peace issues (1971-1983).

Democratic presidential candidate in 1984. Jackson launched his candidacy on November 3, 1983; he won 3.5 million primary and caucus votes, 21 percent of the total; 465.5 delegates in San Francisco, 11 percent of the total; he won five states, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Washington, D.C.



733 15TH STREET N.W.

SUTTE 326

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

(202) 783-1110

JOBS (continued):

President, national rainbow Coalition, Inc., a national progressive organization headquartered in Washington, D.C.

RELIGION: Jackson was ordained a Baptist minister at the Missionary Baptist Church by Rev. Clay Evans, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy on June 30, 1968. He is an ordained minister in the National Baptist Convention.

AUTHOR: Straight from the Heart, is a book of thirty-six public speeches, sermons, eulogies, essays and interviews published April 23, 1987 by Fortress Press, Phila., PA.

INTERNATIONAL

Black
ENTERPRISE
December
1989

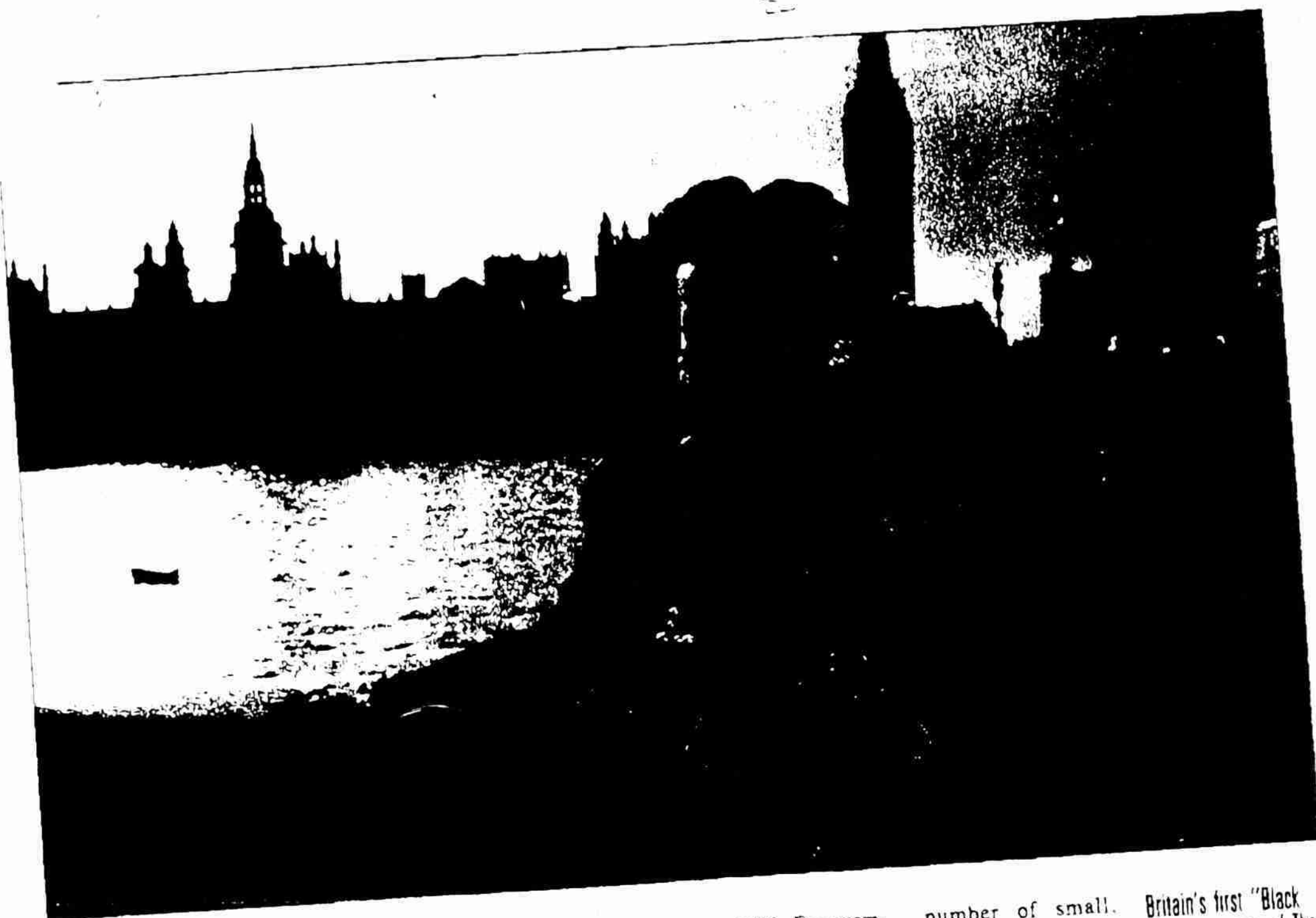
Ray
Hanks

TO BE YOUNG, BRITISH AND BLACK

**Echoing the trials
and triumphs of
African-Americans, a
new generation of black
Britons are on the
verge of a political and
economic awakening**

BY DAVID PITTS

A resident of Britain for
24 years, actor,
entrepreneur Anton
Phillips has made his
mark as the founder and
owner of Carib Theatre
Productions



Anton Phillips came to Britain from Jamaica in 1965 when he was 19 years old. He was determined to get ahead, and has. Although he encountered racism, he says, he has become a successful actor on stage and screen, appearing in the television series *Space 1999*, seen in this country and in Britain.

Phillips is not only a member of Britain's small Black Middle Class—he is also an entrepreneur, with his own company, Carib Theatre Productions of which he is artistic director and founder. Among the company's major successes is a James Baldwin work titled *The Amen Corner*, the first play produced by a black-owned company to enjoy a long run in London's West End theater district.

Phillips, who lives with his wife and two children in Kingsbury, a prosperous West London suburb, says middle-class blacks "have done extraordinarily well" under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The facts support his contention. *Minority Market Intelligence* reports that ownership of consumer durables among blacks has in-

creased dramatically since 1976. For example, the percentage of black households owning automobiles jumped from 43% in 1976 to 53% in 1986. The percentage owning color televisions skyrocketed from 34% to 84%. By 1987, almost 50% of blacks owned their own homes. Although whites have fared even better, the figures indicate impressive economic gains, on average, for black Britons.

A new annual publication, *Black British Consumer Markets*, concludes: "The past ten years have seen an improvement in the economic position of Afro-Caribbean [another term for black Britons] and Asian consumers in the United Kingdom."

The result has been an increasing number of companies catering to the black consumer market, largely untapped in Britain until recently. Some are American, including Johnson Products U.K., headquartered in the southern coastal town of Eastbourne, and Carson Products, makers of "Dark and Lovely" hair-care products, headquartered in Berkshire. Other concerns are merging or forming alliances with black-owned firms in the Commonwealth poised for the economic developments in 1992.

While there are very few large-scale black British enterprises, there are a growing

number of small, black-owned firms, especially in the retail and public relations fields. And with the advent of Black Entertainment Television and MTV, British soul and hip hop are becoming a minor export industry.

Jenni Francis, 29, is one of Britain's few black female entrepreneurs. Unlike Phillips, Francis was born in Britain. Her father was Jamaican and her mother Grenadian. She is the owner and managing director of Networking Public Relations, which she began two years ago. Already, her business has done work for clients such as The National Theatre, The Royal Opera House, and the country's newly formed Parliamentary Black Caucus (PBC). This year, in recognition of her achievements, she was voted Britain's first Black Businesswoman Of The Year.

She says she would like to sign up more American, especially black American, clients. "We hope they'll recognize that we're here," she remarks. "We hope they'll want to forge links with us."

The learning process can be a two-way street, explains Francis. "For many reasons

Britain's first "Black Businesswoman of The Year," Jenni Francis, heads a successful 2-year-old P.R. firm.

BLACK ENTERPRISE / DECEMBER 1989

look America. Black British people are looking to black American business to see what we can learn. But we can also offer advice to American firms planning expansion here. I think there are great opportunities. But any effort has to be well-planned and researched."

Growing Through Mergers

African-American firms are structuring joint ventures with companies owned by black Britons. For example, Soft Sheen Products, Inc. (No. 6 on the 1989 BE INDUSTRIAL/SERVICE 100s with \$85.4 million in sales) acquired a 66% stake in Dyke and Dryden, Ltd., the largest black-owned importer, manufacturer and distributor of hair-care products in the United Kingdom, two years ago. Dyke and Dryden develops one of the top-selling hair-care products in black Britain, Super Curl and Natural Beauty, and controls five retail outlets that sell everything from shampoos to rollers. Additionally, its

Diane Abbott, the first black woman elected to Parliament, believes improvement lies in political power.

import-export operation merchandises products to African nations. (A large percentage of black immigrants in the United Kingdom come

from Africa.)

The deal could result in as much as an additional \$20 million in revenues for the expansion-minded Chicago-based company within the next five years and the potential to reach as many as 1.3 million blacks in the United Kingdom and 3 million blacks in Europe when the continent completes its economic unification in 1992. Dyke and Dryden gained additional expansion capital, access to American markets and the prospect of increasing employment in Brixton, the black community in which it operates.

Many black Britons believe that mergers between African-American enterprises and black businesses in Britain will fuel the economic development in the nation. Manny Cotter, executive director of the North London Business Development Agency, recently wrote: "The black business community must commence the process of collaboration and joint ventures both in terms of trade and investment. A great deal can be learned from our American brothers and sisters in terms of the dynamics of business and the determination and dedication needed to ensure success. Black businesses must look beyond the boundaries of the UK and begin to plan for trading with Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, the Middle East as well as the U.S.A."

To forge these bonds, Jenni Francis and other black entrepreneurs met with the Black Business Council (BBC) during the Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend in September. High on the BBC's agenda is the creation of an international business and political network. During the legislative weekend, the BBC sponsored a plenary session on international trade and the international black community, to open channels for the U.S. government and private financial institutions to support business ventures between African-American entrepreneurs and other black business persons, especially black Britons, across the globe.

Although she says she is doing well, Francis notes, "You never forget that you're black and you never forget you're a woman." She adds: "There is little assistance for black business here. We don't have such things as set-asides for minority contractors."

Cotter asserts that one of the keys to business achievement in the United Kingdom is training and access to information. In past decades, black businesses failed due to market saturation and an inability to capitalize on new business trends. Cotter, however, is encouraged by the increase in bank loans provided to black entrepreneurs and the



BLACK ENTERPRISE / DECEMBER 1989

migration of black business owners into traditional activities. Black Britons have traditionally developed companies focusing on such personal services as hair care, catering and motor repair. Today, they can be found starting computer firms, apparel manufacturing and engineering concerns, says Cotter. He believes the new business development has been spurred largely by the emergence of black-run enterprise agencies, which have provided training and vital information for business owners.

Phillip Fashanu, the 30-year-old managing director of Mayfair Heritage Group, PLC, a financial services firm, is one British entrepreneur who cashed in on his meeting on American soil. As a result of Fashanu's September visit, he has negotiated three deals in the United States. In one lucrative transaction, Mayfair will supply development capital to a local businessman who is renovating housing in Washington, D.C. "In business, Black Americans are about 15 to 20 years ahead of their British counterparts," asserts the enterprising Fashanu. "Our initial thoughts when meeting the American businessmen were not to network because we were not ready. Now, we feel that is quite clear that we do business on an equal level."

And Fashanu believes that the future is bright for young, aggressive British professionals. We are now seeing that the second generation is having their mentality lifted. "There are one or two of us who went through the system and are achieving some success and the rest of the community sees us and says, 'I can do the same thing.'" As a testament to his statement, Fashanu points to the growing number of black Britons who are acquiring professional qualifications as barristers, solicitors and doctors and then following the lead of their black American brethren, setting up their own business. The results: Young black Britons are plunging

into management and financial services, franchising, professional management and recruitment. A perfect example of this movement is Fashanu's development of Mayfair, a "one-stop financial brokerage" that grossed 400,000 British pounds (about 720,000 American dollars) in 1988. (The

for four years, Fashanu launched Marchmain, an insurance brokerage, with nine partners. In 1988, he decided to go it alone. He found fiscal freedom in entrepreneurship. Fashanu, whose father is a barrister who migrated to Britain from Nigeria, decided not to follow in his father's footsteps because

it did not pay well enough. "In this country, you don't get paid for social status," he asserts. "Much to the annoyance of my father, [I decided to go in] the financial services industry."

Fashanu is also one of the driving forces behind the creation of the Black British Professionals & Business Council in the United Kingdom. Similar to their American counterpart, the U.K.'s BBC seeks to foster black economic development and create an industrial policy for blacks. "There are only a few of us. The community as a whole is just beginning to move commercially. They still need the grant program because there is still a lot of racism and it is difficult to get loans," he says. "We are at the beginning of an inspirational period. We are uniting and working in the country."

Fashanu believes that black businessmen must be responsible for their communities. "The central government has 85 million pounds allocated for inner-city black development,"

he says. "The actual use of funds is slow and difficult in the processing. The combination of blacks in business and politics is putting [the onus] on the powers that be to release the funds," he maintains. "We are developing a policy that part of the revenues of the Black Business Council will be turned back into the community: It creates role models and a spending effect. The long-term effect of our success is that the social standing of blacks in the community will increase."

Robert Gayle, a first-generation Briton, says his high expectations have been dampened by racism.

average Mayfair assignment is worth 160,000 pounds or roughly \$300,000.) Mayfair includes both a commercial and corporate division as well as an insurance arm. Mayfair also has a home equity finance business in the Caribbean and has launched new enterprises in Africa. Fashanu has been successful in gaining high-powered black talent. For example, David Wini Flint, a Mayfair director and head of its insurance division, is a registered broker and a member of LLoyds of London, one of a few blacks to achieve that distinction. Flint's expertise is in the area of special risks.

Before starting Mayfair, Fashanu worked for a large independent financial brokerage firm in London, rising to the position of branch manager. After "playing the game"



Two Sides Of The Shilling

Fashanu, Francis and Phillips are examples of the small, but growing, number of black entrepreneurs in Britain. But the sprouting of black enterprise in that nation and the increase in black consumer power do not portray the full reality of life for most black Britons, some of whom live in conditions that would make the average inner-city area in the United States seem plush by

Diane Abbott of Hackney North & Stoke Newington and Lord David Pitt of Hampstead. (One black member, Paul Boateng of Brent South, has yet to join the caucus.)

The Labour Party, much like America's Democratic Party, is the vehicle of choice for blacks in Britain and generally receives over 80% of the black vote. There are 300 black elected municipal officials.

"I have waited more than 30 years for this

there is no mention of race. The fear among PBC members is of an integrated white Europe where blacks are viewed as no more than sources of labor. Says Grant: "We need to press for an amendment to the European Convention of Human Rights so that the Convention recognizes discrimination on the grounds of race. We need to press for laws in Europe that recognize racial discrimination as an offense, as British laws do. We need to fight for the rights of immigrants in Europe so that they may have the vote in the same way as Commonwealth citizens do in Britain."

One of the PBC's more outspoken members is Abbott, 35, the country's first female black legislator. In an exclusive interview with **BLACK ENTERPRISE**, Abbott observed that, although some blacks have done well under Margaret Thatcher, "the majority is worse off." The situation "is very comparable to the effect Ronald Reagan has had on black Americans," she said. "Unemployment and welfare cuts have hit the black community hardest. The downside of Thatcherism is what John Kenneth Galbraith described 20 years ago as 'increasing private affluence and public squalor.'" Abbott continues: "His description very much applies to Britain. Mrs. Thatcher's brand of British nationalism is not very attractive if you're black."

Recent stories on the condition of black Britons tend to confirm her view. In a major report on the condition of black Britons last year, *Newsweek* stated that "race relations in Margaret Thatcher's Britain are, by most measures, getting worse rather than better." The respected British weekly business magazine, *The Economist*, reported: "Britain is in no sense a multicultural society. Most of the population is white... and prejudiced against those who are not."

The Problem of Black Unemployment

The British government is notoriously lax in releasing information on the black population and exact figures are hard to get. But some official statistics indicate that blacks are twice as likely as whites to be unemployed, perhaps even three times as likely in some inner-city areas, where unemployment is as high as 20%.

Blacks who are employed tend to work in manual jobs. According to the government's own labor force survey, the percentage of whites working in the professional/business sector is more than twice the figure for blacks. During the last 10 years, the Thatcher Revolution has produced a thriving new class of yuppies, especially in the southern part of the country. But the figures show that



comparison

Phillips agrees the data can be misleading. Although he and other middle-class blacks have benefited during the decade of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative rule, he says working-class and poor blacks have suffered. "There are more homeless people in Britain now than in Victorian times," laments Phillips. "The poor are poorer than they have ever been."

And according to civil rights advocates, many of those poor people are black, and representative of a growing black underclass not unlike its counterpart in the United States. They face not only economic deprivation, but also the indignity of pervasive prejudice.

The Push For Black Political Power

One reason is that, until recently, black Britons had zero political power. In 1987, however, four blacks, all members of Britain's opposition Labour Party, were elected to Britain's Parliament and in March 1988, they formed the Parliamentary Black Caucus.

The members of the PBC include Bernie Grant, who represents Tottenham, Keith Vaz (of South Asian descent) of Leicester East,

moment," said Lord David Pitt at the PBC's inauguration in the House of Commons. (Representatives from the CBC, National Black Caucus of State Legislators and the Joint Center For Political Studies attended the gala celebration.) Congressman Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.), then chair of the CBC, greeted the black legislators of Parliament and made them honorary members of the CBC.

The PBC is gearing up for the changes in Europe that will take place over the next two years. The Single European Act will open the 12 nations that comprise the European Economic Community (EEC) to become one market with 323 million consumers in 1992. A potential \$4 trillion market in goods and services will develop as physical barriers are removed and fiscal obstructions such as excise duties are dissolved. Very little consideration, however, has been given to the social impact of 1992 on the ethnic minorities in member states. PBC members are acutely aware of the fact that while women, the long-term unemployed and the disabled are protected under the Single European Act,

Student Richard Radix, 21, on Thatcher's Britain: "There is racism. But... I'm definitely optimistic it's going to get better."

most blacks, as well as the traditional white working-class, have yet to taste of the fruits of Britain's economic revival. Many blacks who do work find themselves in low-paying jobs with few opportunities for advancement.

One of them is Robert Gayle, a 21-year-old clerk from Stockwell, a low-income area of South London near Brixton, the area that became a mecca for blacks in the postwar years. Born of Jamaican parents, Gayle is also a first-generation black Briton. Since he is a citizen, not an immigrant, his expectations for a better life are much higher than his parents', but few of his hopes have been realized.

"I feel stereotyped," says Gayle. "I feel whites look down on me partly because I'm black and partly because of what I do for a living. There isn't one black person in a senior position where I work," he says. "I don't have a lot of faith in Margaret Thatcher. She isn't geared to helping black people and she hasn't done much for me."

Gayle is not optimistic about the future. "It will take a long time before it gets better over here," he says. "It's a hard struggle. Unlike in America, there really isn't a large Black Middle Class in Britain. It's a different situation than blacks face in America. They've been over there a long time. We've been here only 40 years."

The Emergence Of Black Britain

Britain was an overwhelmingly white nation until after World War II, when the government encouraged immigration from the country's colonies to deal with a growing labor shortage. The first sizable numbers of West Indians came to the country in 1948, aboard the famous *SS Empire Windrush*. Since, by definition, the immigrants were British citizens, there were no barriers to their entering the country. Thousands made it to the motherland, looking forward to a bright future for themselves and their children.

Many came from the West Indies, Gayle's

parents among them. But there was also significant immigration from Africa and also south Asia, especially India and Pakistan.

The change in British society over the last 40 years has been dramatic. Before World War II, only a very small number of blacks lived in the country. Now there are about three million people of color in Britain,

explains. "They became more and more angry at a series of repressive immigration acts passed during the '60s and '70s, the purpose of which was to prevent more blacks from settling in Britain."

The immigration restrictions were championed by the notorious Conservative Party politician Enoch Powell, who warned Brit-

ain's whites that "rivers of blood" would flow in the streets if immigration were not stopped. Most politicians denounced Powell and other extremists, but the immigration door was nevertheless virtually closed.

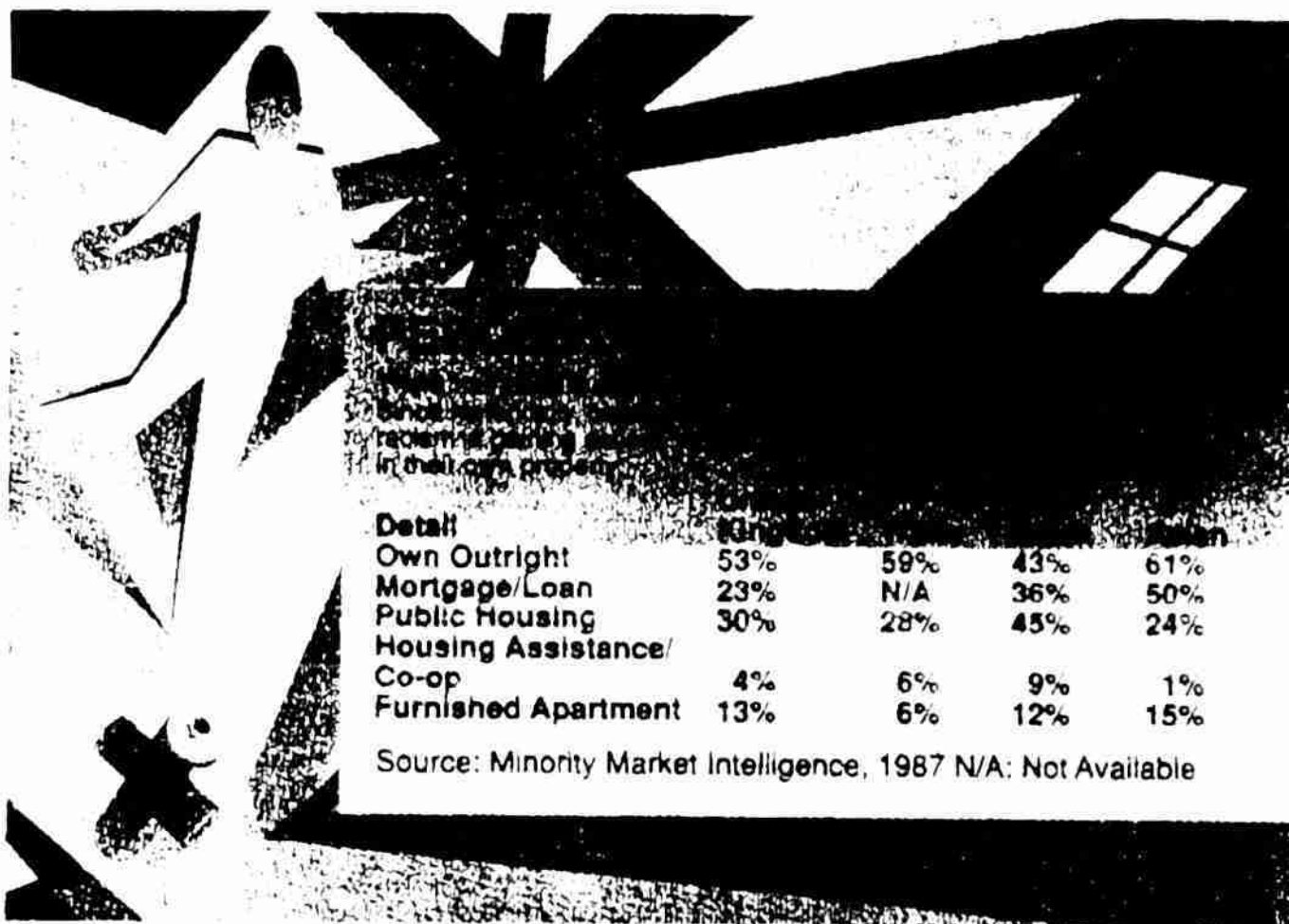
By the '70s, openly racist political parties such as the National Front had gained widespread sympathy among whites, if not electoral support. Says Goldman: "The dream of a better life in a multi-racial society, which had motivated so

many immigrants to come to Britain, was largely shattered—a legacy they have passed on to their British-born children."

Many blacks in Britain feel a kinship to the black character in this year's movie, *For Queen and Country*. In the film, a paratrooper named Reuben (played by Denzel Washington), who saw combat in Britain's Falkland Islands war with Argentina and returns home to experience rampant racism and victimization.

What it means to be black and British is at the heart of this gripping movie and telling of the Commonwealth's social condition. Reuben moves about the familiar landscape of inner city deprivation—rundown housing projects (called council estates in Britain), drug dealing, petty theft and general degradation. And everywhere there is the presence of the police—not friendly bobbies, but cruel vicious cops who don't hesitate to make full use of their extraordinary powers under British law. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that less than 1% of British police officers are black.

The movie pulls no punches. It is full of rage and pessimism about the conditions under which many black Britons are forced to live. *For Queen and Country* is an angry



almost 5% of the population. (Blacks make up about 12% of the U.S. population.)

Many live in the London area and about 10% of Londoners are now nonwhite. But there are also significant concentrations of blacks in other major British cities such as Birmingham, Liverpool and Bristol.

Government figures show that about 50% of blacks now living in Britain were born elsewhere. The other 50% are the country's first sizable generation of black Britons. They are not immigrants, although often thought of as such by some whites. It is among this group of blacks, born in the country and unwilling to accept the second-class citizenship their immigrant parents endured, that the most anguish over racism is felt. Some participated in the urban rioting of the 1980s that first alerted the world to the fact that Britain not only had a significant black presence, but a serious race problem.

According to Tony Goldman, a journalism professor at Vauxhall College in south London that has a large black enrollment, the problem had been festering for years and had its roots in a pattern of informal discrimination that "had grown steadily worse."

"Blacks grew increasingly tired of taking the worst jobs for the lowest wages," he

indictment, not only of the country's economic and political policies, but of the British state itself, which for centuries colonized peoples of color around the world while preserving the homogeneity of its own white culture.

Now Britain is being forced to deal with people of color on its own doorstep. The consequence is a national identity crisis that goes far beyond the questions of equity and social justice.

Developing Bonds Across Continents

Abbott believes the hope for improvement lies in increasing political power. "The black community is better organized than in the past," she remarks, predicting that the outcome will be the election of more black legislators. She also says the new black caucus has "helped raise the black agenda in Parliament." Nevertheless, she explains, "American blacks are further advanced in corporate America and, in some ways, they have more political structure. Black Britons have a long way to go."

Abbott has become something of a role model to young black Britons since her election two years ago. But not all of them share her view of life in Thatcher's Britain. Richard Radix, 21, and Kennedy Mensah, 23, are two students who have different views about their future.

Says Radix: "There is racism. But it affects people differently. I don't get my back up over it. I'm definitely optimistic it's going to get better." Radix, whose mother is Trinidadian and whose father is Grenadian, has an upbeat view of the Thatcher government. "She's not as bad as many people make her out to be," he says. "My view of her is quite favorable."

But Mensah disagrees. "I don't like the woman," he says. "The racial situation is getting worse. I don't feel I have the same chance as a white kid." Mensah, whose parents are Ghanaian, finds it difficult to deal with racism, British-style. "You have to watch your step," he says. "I feel very

conspicuous. It gets to you after a while."

Both young men say they are very interested in America, and in the lives of black Americans in particular. Mensah says he has the impression that "black people tend to get better jobs in America, probably because their higher number makes a difference."

Radix believes black Americans may be further ahead in American society generally than blacks in Britain.

One of the reasons for that is the Civil Rights Movement that led to major reforms

rate with our brothers and sisters overseas in order to compete. We need to get people aware. We need to hook up, network and learn languages."

Abbott says black Americans and black Britons need to get to know one another. "Many of the issues that face us, face you," she notes, "whether it's education or discrimination in employment." It is very important, she adds, "that both communities link up. If we could get together on all the important issues, including South Africa, we could have a powerful impact." □

Thinking of trying to reach the black British market? Contact the British Caribbean Junior Chamber of Commerce, 22-24 Moor-gate, London, EC2 1-242-4433. Also, the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce, 99 Stoke Newington Church St., London N16 0UD 1-254-4532.

Other companies and organizations involved in the ethnic minority market: The Parliamentary Black Caucus, 247A West Green

Road, Tottenham, London N15—publishes The Black Parliamentarian, a magazine that reviews political and economic developments in Europe's black communities. To phone, call 01-800-5994.

Black British Professionals & Business Council, an organization that is pushing black economic development in Britain. The Mayfair Heritage Group PLC supervises the administration of the organization and has taken a delegation to Washington, D.C. You can contact the BBPBC through Mayfair. Write to The Mayfair Heritage Group PLC, 180 Lauderdale Mansions, Lauderdale Road, Maida Vale, London, W9 1NG.

Networking Public Relations, Canalot Production Studio, 222 Kensal Road, London, W10 5BN 1-960-8907—provides public relations and marketing services to companies trying to reach the ethnic market.

Equinox Associates, 467 Brixton Road, London, SW9 1-733-7000—a management consulting agency that specializes mainly in helping small businesses reach the ethnic minority market.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic Group	Total Contributions (Billions)	Employment (Billions)	Self-Employment (Billions)
White	1.00	1.00	1.00
Black	0.05	0.05	0.05
Indian	0.02	0.02	0.02
Pakistani	0.01	0.01	0.01
Bangladeshi	0.01	0.01	0.01
Chinese	0.01	0.01	0.01
Other	0.01	0.01	0.01

Source: Minority Market Intelligence, Dec. 1987 (Figures have been converted to U.S. dollars).

in the United States. The fact that Britain, however, has had no parallel civil-rights movement, is largely the reason for the lack of civil-rights laws and affirmative-action programs to stimulate advancement.

Asked what they would most want Americans to know about their life, the two black Britons say that although life is probably tougher for blacks in Britain than in America, they are still hopeful that positive change will come eventually. Mensah says, "Tell the people over there that I'm suffering. But I'm trying."

Wayne Lewis, a 35-year-old commercial attorney with the law firm, Wainwright and Cummins, praises the policies of Thatcher. "Thatcherism for whatever its sins may be has taught people to depend on themselves, and blacks have been the last to learn," maintains Lewis, whose father was the first black Conservative Party councilor in the country. He says it's imperative that blacks brace themselves for 1992. "We will become a reduced minority and it is more important for us to have unity and collabo-

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 244
OF 302255Z JANUARY 90
INFO IMMEDIATE BIS NEW YORK
INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA, CAPETOWN, LUSAKA, LUANDA, WINDHOEK

YOUR TELNO 190: JESSE JACKSON'S MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
1. FOLLOWING A REQUEST TO SPEAK TO JACKSON'S STAFF ABOUT HIS VISIT, JACKSON HIMSELF TELEPHONED US ON 29 AND 30 JANUARY ABOUT HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRIP.

2. ON THE LATTER, JACKSON CONFIRMED THAT HE (AND A PARTY OF 14) WOULD BE FLYING TO LONDON ON 3 FEBRUARY, AND SEEING BISHOP HUDDLESTON AND PAUL BOATENG MP ON 4 FEBRUARY. HE WAS MOST GRATEFUL TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR AGREEING TO SEE HIM ON 5 FEBRUARY. JACKSON AND HIS PARTY HOPED TO FLY OVERNIGHT FROM GATWICK TO LUSAKA ON 5/6 FEBRUARY (ALTHOUGH THEY WERE HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING PLACES ON THE BA FLIGHT), AND TO SEE KAUNDA AND MUGABE IN LUSAKA ON 6 FEBRUARY. HE PLANNED TO FLY ON TO JOHANNESBURG ON 7 FEBRUARY. DE KLERK HAD AGREED TO SEE HIM, AND A MEETING WITH MANDELA WAS 'VIRTUALLY ASSURED'. JACKSON ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT HIS PARTY MIGHT BE ATTACKED BY SOUTH AFRICAN AGENTS WHILE IN LONDON: WE TOLD HIM THAT THIS WAS MOST UNLIKELY.

3. AS FOR THE MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, JACKSON SPOKE OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR MRS THATCHER, AND THEIR SHARED OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. HE BELIEVED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, AND CITED THE RELEASE OF SISULU AS AN EXAMPLE OF THAT. BUT THEY NEEDED TO BE ENCOURAGED TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM: PRESSURE STILL NEEDED TO BE MAINTAINED. JUST AS THE WALLS HAD COME DOWN IN EASTERN EUROPE WITH MINIMUM BLOODSHED, SO TOO IN SOUTH AFRICA, ON THE BASIS OF 'HUMANE AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES'. NON-VIOLENCE WAS THE RIGHT WAY. IN SHORT, JACKSON'S MESSAGE WAS 'NEGOTIATION, NOT CONFRONTATION'.

4. AS REPORTED IN POCOCK'S TELELETTER OF 29 JANUARY TO BERG (SAFD: COPIED TO CAPETOWN ONLY), THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVE THAT JACKSON MAY BE INTENDING TO BE IN SOUTH AFRICA WHEN MANDELA IS RELEASED.

5. JACKSON HAS BEEN ACTIVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES FOR MANY YEARS: HE VISITED SOUTH AFRICA FOR 17 DAYS IN 1979, TOURED (AT THE EXPENSE OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT) 8 FRONT LINE STATES IN

1986, AND VISITED MOZAMBIQUE FOR MACHEL'S FUNERAL LATER THE SAME YEAR. APART FROM CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, THE MAIN ELEMENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICA POLICY ADVOCATED BY JACKSON ARE INCREASED SUPPORT FOR THE SADCC STATES, DEFENCE ASSISTANCE FOR FRONT LINE STATES (TO PROTECT THEM FROM ATTACKS BY SOUTH AFRICA OR ITS AGENTS), AND NORMALISATION OF US RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. WE ARE FAXING TO NAD AN ARTICLE WHICH JACKSON WROTE IN 1987 DESCRIBING THIS POLICY IN MORE DETAIL. JACKSON RECENTLY COMPARED DE KLERK TO GORBACHEV. HE IS VISITING SOUTH AFRICA AT THE INVITATION OF SISULU AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

6. OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WITH WHICH JACKSON HAS CONCERNED HIMSELF LATELY INCLUDE THE MIDDLE EAST (LAND FOR PEACE, PRESIDENT CARTER TO BE APPOINTED SPECIAL ENVOY TO 'FINISH OFF' CAMP DAVID), CENTRAL AMERICA (CRITICISM OF THE INVASION OF PANAMA, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR) AND NATO (US DEFENCE SPENDING SHOULD BE 'DRAINED' TO MEET SOCIAL NEEDS). IN BOTH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, HE ADOPTED ALL THE STANDARD GREEN POSITIONS ON NORTHERN IRELAND (SUPPORT FOR MACBRIDE, JOE DOHERTY, APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY), BUT HAS NOT PUBLICLY REVERTED SINCE.

7. ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE, JACKSON'S MAIN CURRENT PREOCCUPATION IS WHETHER TO ENTER THE RACE FOR MAYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (THE ELECTION FOR WHICH WILL BE HELD IN NOVEMBER). JACKSON MOVED HIS LEGAL RESIDENCE HERE FROM CHICAGO LAST YEAR TO ENABLE HIM TO ENTER THE RACE SHOULD HE WISH TO DO SO. ALTHOUGH MAYOR BARRY'S ARREST ON A DRUGS CHARGE MEANS THAT HE IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO LEAVE OFFICE SOMETIME THIS YEAR, BARRY IS LIKELY TO DO HIS BEST TO PREVENT JACKSON SUCCEEDING HIM. THAT, RESENTMENT IN THE DISTRICT AT POSSIBLE 'CARPET-BAGGING' BY JACKSON, AND A GROWING REALISATION ON JACKSON'S PART THAT RUNNING THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MIGHT RESTRICT HIS ACTIVITIES ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STAGE, ALL SUGGEST THAT HE MAY IN THE END NOT ENTER THE RACE. HE WILL HOWEVER CONTINUE TO CAMPAIGN FOR STATEHOOD FOR THE DISTRICT (MOST UNLIKELY TO SURVIVE A REPUBLICAN FILIBUSTER IN THE SENATE OR A PRESIDENTIAL VETO), ACTION AGAINST DRUGS, SAME DAY VOTER REGISTRATION AND A VARIETY OF OTHER LIBERAL CAUSES. JACKSON HAS RECENTLY TAKEN TO ANNOUNCING THAT HE HOPES TO BE ONE OF THE FIRST TWO SENATORS FOR THE DISTRICT.

8. JACKSON ALSO PRODUCES A SYNDICATED NEWSPAPER COLUMN (ONE OF WHICH RECENTLY COMPARED THE PRIME MINISTER'S APPROACH TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION UNFAVOURABLY WITH THAT OF PRESIDENT MITTERRAND, BY FAX TO NAD), AND IS PLANNING TO LAUNCH A WEEKLY TELEVISION TALK SHOW IN THE AUTUMN. HE IS KEEPING HIS OPTIONS OPEN ON A THIRD

PRESIDENTIAL RUN IN 1992. SINCE THE 1988 CAMPAIGN, HOWEVER, HIS POSITION AS THE PRE-EMINENT SPOKESMAN FOR THE AMERICAN BLACK COMMUNITY HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY THE ELECTION OF A BLACK GOVERNOR IN VIRGINIA, A BLACK MAYOR OF NEW YORK, AND THE CHOICE OF BLACKS TO CHAIR THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND TO HEAD THE NATIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUE.

9. IT IS POSSIBLE, BUT UNLIKELY, THAT JACKSON WILL TOUCH ON THE POSITION OF MINORITIES IN THE UK IN HIS MEETING WITH MRS THATCHER: IF HE DOES, SHE MAY LIKE TO REFER HIM TO A HELPFUL ARTICLE IN THE DECEMBER 1989 ISSUE OF 'BLACK ENTERPRISE' (COPY FAXED BY BIS TO NAD).

10. THE MOST RECENT CONTACT BY JACKSON WITH HMG IN LONDON OF WHICH WE HAVE A RECORD IN THE EMBASSY IS A CALL ON MR LUCE IN 1981, DURING WHICH THE MINISTER AND JACKSON APPARENTLY GOT ON WELL.

ACLAND

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

42

MAIN 38

LIMITED
NAD
SAFD
RESEARCH
PLANNERS
NEWS
POLITICAL ADVISER

PS
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE
PS/MR SAINSBURY
MR WESTON
MR GILLMORE
MR BEAMISH
MR LIDINGTON, PA/SOFS

ADDITIONAL 4

PS/NO 10.

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL



me for
all

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 January 1990

REQUEST BY JESSE JACKSON TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER

OF 11
I have seen Washington telegram no. 188 about Jesse Jackson's request to see the Prime Minister. I have discussed this with her and she has - slightly reluctantly - agreed to see him at 1630 on Monday 5 February. I should be grateful if this could be put to him. It would be helpful to have a brief by 1600 on Friday 2 February.

C. D. POWELL

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

051710
MDHIAN 3848

Prime Minister
Agree to see him?
Yes

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 188
OF 250128Z JANUARY 90
INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA, CAPETOWN
INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, LUSAKA, LUANDA, WINDHOEK

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION - 25/1/90

REQUEST BY JESSE JACKSON TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER

SUMMARY

1. JESSE JACKSON WILL BE IN LONDON ON 5 FEBRUARY EN ROUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA. HE WOULD LIKE TO CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER. I RECOMMEND THAT, DIARY PERMITTING, SHE SHOULD SEE HIM.

DETAIL

2. IN MY ABSENCE ESCORTING MR BROOKE, JACKSON RANG THE MINISTER ON 24 JANUARY. JACKSON SAID THAT, AS WE WOULD KNOW, HE WOULD BE VISITING SOUTH AFRICA ON 7 FEBRUARY. HE WOULD BE TRAVELLING VIA BRITAIN AND ZAMBIA, ARRIVING IN LONDON A.M. ON SATURDAY 3 FEBRUARY. HE WOULD SEE BISHOP HUDDLESTON, PAUL BOATENG MP AND OTHERS ON THE SUNDAY, AND WOULD LIKE TO CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER ON MONDAY 5 FEBRUARY. HE WOULD LEAVE LONDON IN (HE THOUGHT) THE EARLY EVENING OF 5 FEBRUARY, MEET KAUNDA AND OTHER FLS LEADERS IN LUSAKA ON 6 FEBRUARY, AND THEN TRAVEL ON TO SOUTH AFRICA.

3. JACKSON EXPLAINED THAT IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS IN EASTERN EUROPE, THERE WAS IN HIS VIEW NOW A REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR MOVEMENT. THIS SHOULD BE SEIZED. HE WANTED TO RELIEVE WHITES OF THEIR FEAR AND BLACKS OF THEIR MISTRUST. BRITAIN, AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN PARTICULAR, HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE. A MEETING BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MRS THATCHER WOULD SEND A POSITIVE BRIDGE-BUILDING SIGNAL THAT HE THOUGHT WOULD BE HELPFUL.

COMMENT

4. THERE ARE OF COURSE RISKS IN SUCH A MEETING. JACKSON WILL WANT IT FOR HIS OWN PURPOSES AND FOR THE PUBLICITY VALUE. GIVEN JACKSON'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSTITUENCY, THERE ARE CONSTRAINTS ON HOW RADICALLY HE CAN CHANGE HIS PUBLIC VIEWS ON SOUTH AFRICA, PARTICULARLY ON SANCTIONS (CONGRESSMAN WOLPE RETURNED FROM A VISIT IN JANUARY UNREFORMED). MOREOVER, A CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER IS PERHAPS A FAVOUR THAT HE HAS NOT YET EARNED. AGAINST THAT, HE REMAINS A FIGURE OF VERY CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE IN US DOMESTIC POLITICS, BOTH IN GENERAL AND ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE. HE IS AN IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC FIGURE FOR THE BLACK

COMMUNITY IN THE US AND MORE WIDELY. A CALL WOULD NOT BE MISCONSTRUED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT MEANS OF GIVING BRITAIN'S VIEWS TO AN INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN PLAYER. ON BALANCE, AND DIARY PERMITTING (WE EXPLAINED TO JACKSON THE OBVIOUS PRESSURES ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S DIARY, PARTICULARLY AT THIS LATE STAGE), I RECOMMEND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD SEE HIM. IF MRS THATCHER CANNOT DO SO, MIGHT WE OFFER YOU OR MR WALDEGRAVE?

ACLAND

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION 48MAIN 44LIMITED
NAD
INFO
SAFD
RESEARCH
PLANNERSPS
PS/MR WALDEGRAVE
PS/MR SAINSBURY
MR P J WESTON
MR GILLMORE
MR BEAMISHADDITIONAL 4

PS/NO 10

NNNN