

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

RADIO 4

TRANSCRIPT OF "FILE ON 4"- 'AMERICA'S RACIAL TENSION'

CURRENT AFFAIRS GROUP

TRANSMISSION: Tuesday 30th October 2007 2000 - 2040

REPEAT: Sunday 4th November 2007 1700 - 1740

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PRODUCER: Ian Muir-Cochrane

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PROGRAMME NUMBER: 07VQ3926LHO

THE ATTACHED TRANSCRIPT WAS TYPED FROM A RECORDING AND NOT COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL SCRIPT. BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF MISHEARING AND THE DIFFICULTY IN SOME CASES OF IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS, THE BBC CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS COMPLETE ACCURACY.

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ACTUALITY OF SINGING AT ZION CHURCH

O’HALLORAN: A black American congregation in Maryland offer praise to God and love to all mankind. But in return they’ve been hit by racist graffiti and a white supremacist bomb threat.

BRAXTON: These are hate crimes. They have a devastating impact. They really send a chill through your bones.

O’HALLORAN: In a number of states, nooses have been hung in recent weeks. Aimed at stirring up racial hatred, they symbolise the lynch mobs who, with impunity, murdered thousands of black Americans in the past.

BOND: I had colleagues in the civil rights movement who were murdered and killed. And so the noose is just a terrible, terrible symbol of the time when your life was at risk and the time may come back again.

O'HALLORAN: But these crimes are spreading anger as well as fear. And half a century after peaceful protest broke down race segregation, civil rights activists and black students are mobilising once again.

WOMAN: Racial inequality isn't over. Racial injustice isn't over. So we still have to fight. It can't continue to happen in this place we call America. It can't continue to happen. And we will always fight. There is no longer complacency in our community, in the black youths today. No more complacency. We're done.

SIGNATURE TUNE

ACTUALITY OUTSIDE PARIS HIGH SCHOOL

O'HALLORAN: I'm outside the high school in Paris, Texas. It's a town of just over 20,000 people up near the North East state border. Looking at these rectangular, low rise, brick buildings the words that spring to mind are clean, modern, efficient - even progressive. But this school, rather off the beaten track, has been put firmly on the map by allegations which directly contradict its appearance - claims of racism and injustice towards black children. Charges so strong as to conjure up memories of the civil rights movement in America in the 1950s and 60s.

ACTUALITY IN CLASSROOM

TEACHER: So, what do you know about a 45/45/90 triangle?

STUDENTS: [Inaudible]

TEACHER: The two lengths are the same, aren't they? What do you know about the hypotenuse?

O'HALLORAN: A large minority of the pupils in the Paris Schools are African American. But the staff are overwhelmingly white. The question posed here is whether black children are disciplined more harshly than whites, routed more readily into the penal system and whether their lives can be gravely damaged as a result.

ACTUALITY IN CORRIDORS

O'HALLORAN: As students move between classes, it's orderly enough. But the incident that put Paris High in the spotlight happened before the school day proper had even begun. It took place two years ago and it involved a fourteen year old African American girl. She suffered from stomach ulcers and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. She used to arrive early to eat breakfast. She would then go into the main school building before most students were let in to get medicines kept for her there, to stabilise her behaviour during morning classes.

COTTON: There was an e-mail put out at the beginning of the year that I could go before class started, before the school started, to take my medication to keep me from being late to my first class.

O'HALLORAN: Shaquanda Cotton arrived later than usual one day in September 2005. Her school bus had been delayed. As she tried to enter school for her medication, a male teacher barred her way. She says he told her to leave, but claims she was slow in doing so because he was standing on her shoelace.

COTTON: He was still telling me to, you know, get out the building, and then he pushed me in my back and then he pushed me and I went forward and I hit my head on the metal part of the door. I turned around and I seen two white kids walking up to the door and the teacher's aide, she let them come into the building. I said, well why couldn't I come in and then you let those other two white kids in? And then she started yelling at me and she told me to get out her face, and then she pushed me and she walked towards me to push me again, and at that time I had to put my hands up and she pushed my hands and she pushed me backwards onto another girl that was standing behind me.

O'HALLORAN: Did you push her back, the teacher's assistant?

COTTON: No.

O'HALLORAN: And hurt her? Did you hurt her?

COTTON: No, absolutely not.

O'HALLORAN: A version of events strenuously denied by the school. Shaquanda Cotton says she suffered a bump on her head and abrasions. She told the two staff members she would file assault charges. From then on, things escalated rapidly. The black teenager was sent to the school office. The woman staff member was taken to hospital. It would be alleged in court that Shaquanda had pushed her, causing pain. Shaquanda Cotton was also treated at the hospital. But then the full weight of the law came down on her, says her mother, Creola Cotton.

CREOLA COTTON: She was taken down to the police station and booked in with fingerprints and mug shot, and I followed them down there because she was taken in the police car. At first I was told by people in the District Attorney's office that she was being charged with a class A misdemeanour, and when I went in to try file charges on the two teachers, they then told me that she was being charged with a third degree felony.

O'HALLORAN: Now, misdemeanour is a relatively minor offence, felony is very serious and can carry a lot of time in prison?

CREOLA COTTON: Yes. Later she was charged with a third degree felony, which was assault, an assault on a public servant.

O'HALLORAN: Shaquanda Cotton was tried before a jury which contained one black member. The rest were white. The two staff alleged the girl had tried to push her way into school, saying to one of them, "I'll knock your block off." The jury found Shaquanda Cotton guilty. Some of her school teachers pressed for her to get a custodial sentence. And the judge ordered her to be sent to youth prison for an indeterminate sentence of up to seven years.

CREOLA COTTON: I was horrified. I really went into shock. I didn't know what to think or what to do at that point. I just sat there, just wondering why these people are doing this. It was just a terrible terrible time.

COTTON: I was scared. I was shocked, horrified. And I just started crying, because I wanted to go home with my family.

O'HALLORAN: What was the next nine months to a year like for you?

COTTON: It was horrible. I seen girls get thrown down by guards. I seen people fighting. I seen people trying to commit suicide. You know, that's not a place you would want to put a child.

ACTUALITY AT BROWNWOOD CORRECTIONAL FACILITY

MAN: And a forward step, forward march. Left, left, left, right, left. Part Time March!

O'HALLORAN: The state youth prison at Brownwood, Texas where Shaquanda Cotton was held, is about six hours drive from her home. The official aim here is rehabilitation, but the ambience is that of a tough, military style lock-up.

ACTUALITY IN SCHOOL BUILDING

STAFF MEMBER 1: She walked into the classroom, she wasn't even supposed to be in, and hugged another girl.

O'HALLORAN: We're in the school building of the detention centre and what's happening is that groups of teenagers, the inmates, are being moved from one class to another, a class at a time, and the discipline here, the regimentation is extremely strict. They must walk in exactly straight lines, they must walk with their hands behind their backs with thumbs locked, and if they deviate from that they are pulled up. If you get out of line and go into the wrong classroom and, as a girl did just now, hug someone and if you step out of line or do the wrong thing, you'll be in trouble.

Most of the staff we saw were white. It seemed that most of the inmates were black or Hispanic. Each child is locked in a cell alone overnight. Strict rules govern every aspect of life here. For instance, each inmate may have no more than two pairs of socks.

STAFF MEMBER 2: Right now Ma'am, 1st thing I need you to do is take your shoes off...

O'HALLORAN: After nearly a year Shaquanda was eligible to apply for parole. Her request was rejected, partly because she still insisted she was innocent. Her mother, Creola Cotton, says other reasons were given as well.

CREOLA COTTON: There was two other factors in determining her stay, and that was she had one extra pair of socks in her room, which the guards had given her and they called that contraband.

O'HALLORAN: Hang on, contraband? A pair of socks ...

CREOLA COTTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: ... was judged to be contraband and could have, on its own, prevented her from getting parole?

CREOLA COTTON: That's correct.

O'HALLORAN: Or did prevent her?

CREOLA COTTON: That was part of it that prevented it. That's ludicrous.

O'HALLORAN: And were there other reasons for not granting her parole?

CREOLA COTTON: There was one other reason and that was she had a styrofoam cup that they had given her to drink water out of in her room and it was left there, so I guess they called that contraband also.

O'HALLORAN: Possession of a cup?

CREOLA COTTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: Another reason for being refused parole?

CREOLA COTTON: Yes. It was just really ridiculous.

ACTUALITY OF BELL RINGING AT BROWNWOOD

TEACHER: Ladies, if y'all quit talking when you come in this classroom. Come on.

STUDENT: Yes ma'am.

O'HALLORAN: The Brownwood youth prison is one of around a dozen custodial centres run by the Texas Youth Commission, a body which turned out to have its own serious disciplinary problems. As Shaquanda remained locked up, allegations emerged of widespread sexual abuse of girls and boys in custody by guards and administrators. The whole Youth Commission board was removed from office and a new team was drafted in to run and reform the youth prisons. With them came Jim Hurley, the Commission's current spokesman. He says they found that many children were being denied parole for year after year for trivial reasons.

HURLEY: We were horrified. We found almost immediately a number of kids who had been sent for nine months or a year, and they were here for three or four years. It was beyond our comprehension that these kids would still be here. Why were they still here? They had committed infractions so they were unable to advance. It was just horrible.

O'HALLORAN: What other reasons were being used for denying some of the inmates parole?

HURLEY: A kid could be written up, disciplinary measure taken because a kid had contraband, that's what would be recorded.

O'HALLORAN: Now in the case we're looking at, it is claimed by a mother that her daughter was denied parole partly because she possessed an extra pair of socks. How credible is that claim?

HURLEY: I can't speak specifically about any particular child, but I believe there is a lot of credibility in the claims you're discussing. We released about five hundred kids almost immediately.

O'HALLORAN: Shaquanda Cotton was the first of those hundreds of children to be let out – that was at the end of March. She had served one year. Her case raises the question of whether black children like her have a higher chance of ending up behind bars. African Americans in Texas are about 12% of the state's population. But out of all those in youth custody in Texas, the percentage of black children is very much higher. Jim Hurley gave us the up to date numbers for the day we were there.

HURLEY: 21% of our youth population are Anglo.

O'HALLORAN: That's white, basically?

HURLEY: Yes. 35.7% were African American. A little over 42% of the population was Hispanic.

O'HALLORAN: So virtually 80% of your juvenile detention population are either black or Hispanic. How does that compare, do you think, with the numbers in Texas a whole?

HURLEY: I would imagine that is considerably higher than the overall population.

O'HALLORAN: Do you have any idea why that could be?

HURLEY: No.

O'HALLORAN: To the extent that it seems that black teenagers are heavily over-represented compared with their numbers in the population in the penal

READER IN STUDIO: Shaquanda, without provocation, attacked an elderly, disabled teacher. Given the facts and circumstances, Shaquanda received a fair disposition of her case. Texas law required the white girl to receive probation because every alternative had not been exhausted.

O'HALLORAN: The District Attorney in Paris has also strenuously defended the vigour of his prosecution of the black teenager. In March, when the case was publicised and there was a protest demonstration in Paris on behalf of the girl, the DA's office placed information on its website suggesting it was the mother, Creola Cotton, who had effectively caused her child to go to prison by rejecting all offers which could have resulted in probation. But Creola Cotton denies getting any pre-trial probation offer and denies that she told the trial judge she would not cooperate with probation arrangements if they were offered.

CREOLA COTTON: In the sentencing part, when the judge asked me if I would abide by probation if it was offered to her, I repeatedly told him yes. But in the end he decided to sentence her up to seven years in prison.

O'HALLORAN: So after conviction, you told judge in terms that you would cooperate with probation?

CREOLA COTTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: You said that in the court, did you?

CREOLA COTTON: Yes I did, I said it in the court.

O'HALLORAN: So what you feel about the version that the District Attorney's office has given on probation?

CREOLA COTTON: I don't know what to think of what they're saying, because I know that there was no probation ever offered to Shaquanda. If there had been probation offered to Shaquanda, why would I refuse probation and run the risk of her going to prison as she did? That would be kinda irresponsible on my part.

O'HALLORAN: At an appeal hearing, an attorney acting for Shaquanda cited sections from the trial transcript to back up the mother's claims. So what is the response? To find out, we went to the imposing historic stone courthouse, which stands in the centre of Paris, embodying the full authority of the law. How does District Attorney Gary Young defend his website assertions?

O'HALLORAN cont: How important are the facts in cases like this, in your view?

YOUNG: I don't know what you're asking.

O'HALLORAN: Your website published a list of facts about the case, didn't it, in March of this year?

YOUNG: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: And your website published the following fact: this juvenile's mother told the judge she would not comply with the conditions of probation.

YOUNG: I think if you want to look at the sentence by itself, it probably says she did say she would comply; but if you want to look at the entire testimony, if you want to look at the entire testimony, the attitude of Miss Cotton was that her daughter had done nothing wrong, she wasn't going to do anything to make her daughter do something she didn't think was wrong, even though she had been found guilty of it.

O'HALLORAN: Where and when did Creola Cotton, the mother, say to the judge she would not comply with the conditions of probation?

YOUNG: Sir, you cannot take ... You agree that the demeanour of the way someone speaks is indicative?

O'HALLORAN: You've put that fact on your website ...

YOUNG: And I stand by it.

O'HALLORAN: The mother completely denies it. Your website got it wrong really. You've said one thing ...

YOUNG: No, sir.

O'HALLORAN: ... and the other thing is ...

YOUNG: No, sir.

O'HALLORAN: ... correct. But it's a very important point, because your office suggested she need never have gone to jail.

YOUNG: Again in a criminal process, you can't, you can't look at it like that. I don't understand what you're asking me, to be honest. I believe that Miss Cotton made it abundantly clear that she was not going to comply with probation. I think that ...

O'HALLORAN: Even though she said the opposite?

YOUNG: I think her previous actions and her actions after her daughter was arrested made it abundantly clear, even though her words said the opposite.

O'HALLORAN: And on the broader issue of whether there is racial discrimination in the justice system in Paris, District Attorney Gary Young strongly rejects the allegation.

YOUNG: I don't see that happening here. Skin colour has nothing to do with the prosecution of cases in this county. In fact, I think if you go look at the records of the three years we've been in office, you'll see there are some significant sentences for white males. Significant.

O'HALLORAN: How would you explain the fact that in the youth prisons, the juvenile detention centres, there are three times the number of blacks - that's African Americans - that you would expect, given their numbers in the Texas population?

YOUNG: Again, you're asking me to speculate on other counties and I can't do that. I don't see this county sending more black males or more black females than we do white males or Hispanic. I can't speculate on other counties and what they do and why they do it. I don't have an answer for you. In this county, I believe if you look at the records it's equally treated; that no-one is picked on.

O'HALLORAN: But in Washington DC, one body which has vigorously collected facts, figures and studies on juvenile incarceration across America is the Campaign for Youth Justice. It calls for fair treatment of all youths dealt with by the justice system, irrespective of their colour or race. Its Chief Executive, Liz Ryan, says the case of Shaquanda Cotton illustrates a widespread problem.

RYAN: I would say this case greatly concerns me. African American youth is treated much more harshly, is much more likely to be referred to the justice system, is much more likely to be detained, incarcerated, potentially sent to the adult criminal court than white youth. One study shows that when African American youth and a white youth are charged with certain drug offences, African American youth are nine times more likely to be detained or committed to a correctional facility.

O'HALLORAN: Is it possible that African American young people are over-represented in the penal system, incarcerated more than you would expect, because they have more criminal tendencies?

RYAN: That's a huge myth. White youth and African American youth commit roughly the same amount of crime. However, we have two justice systems in America. We have a justice system for white people and we have a justice system for people of colour, and the justice system for people of colour treats those individuals much more harshly and much more punitively than the justice system we have for white people. And those of us who visit prisons and jails and correctional facilities on a regular basis know this intuitively. You go into any juvenile correctional facility or juvenile detention facility, adult jail or adult prison, and you will see these facilities chock full of young people of colour, and it is a travesty in this country.

ACTUALITY OF JENA MARCH AND CHANTING

O'HALLORAN: A major body behind the Jena march was the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People set up 98 years ago. Its national Chairman, Julian Bond, was a young black student leader who risked his life in the 1960s civil rights protests to break down racial segregation. He says the Jena march last month was a watershed.

BOND: People came from each part of the country to be in Jena. They rented buses. They flew on their own dime or dollar. It was a remarkable awakening of black Americans at a time when some had wondered if there's really continuing interest in protest and rallying against these kind of outrages.

O'HALLORAN: Now some white commentators have written that when you look at Jena Six, this was a rather unpleasant attack. A young man was brought down, kicked, injured and could have been much worse injured perhaps.

BOND: It certainly could have been much worse, it certainly was bad behaviour by these boys. But they were charged with attempted murder, not assault and battery, not the kind of regular thing one would get from what appeared to most people to be a schoolyard fight. It just seemed to every onlooker that this was disproportionate prosecution, it was disparate treatment and it was wrong in every single way. The white kids who hung that noose received suspensions, in-school suspensions. There was no police involvement. They have no police records. There's nothing to follow them through life like it is with these boys. And we at the NAACP are determined to highlight other cases of this. We did this with the young woman in Texas, Shaquanda Cotton. I'd hazard a guess that if you went into any city or town of any size in the United States, you would find disparate treatment of African Americans. It's just a given for me that that happens and I won't be disputed about this. It's true.

O'HALLORAN: You certainly don't have to travel far from the centre of Washington DC to find evidence of race hatred.

ACTUALITY AT UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

BRAXTON: Spray painting the parking lot, the doors with slogans the 'nigger', with swastikas, the KKK.

O'HALLORAN: Community leader William Braxton closely monitors all racist provocations. At the church worse was to follow, one Sunday last November.

BRAXTON: And then on that Sunday, prior to the service, they called in a bomb threat.

O'HALLORAN: So there was a phone call saying your church was going to be bombed?

BRAXTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: And what happened? Did the pastor clear the church?

BRAXTON: Yes, the church was cleared.

O'HALLORAN: So people went away in fear?

BRAXTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: ... thinking there might be an actual bomb?

BRAXTON: Absolutely. It had a devastating impact. It really sent a chill through your bones of anyone that was a citizen of Charles County.

O'HALLORAN: And that wasn't the first time this community had been targeted by racial bigots.

BRAXTON: In August of last year, there were a neighbourhood that was strewn with racial graffiti – white power, things of that nature. The sheriff

BRAXTON Cont: wanted to classify it as vandalism and destruction of property, we had a row about it face to face and ultimately it was classified as a hate crime.

O'HALLORAN: So you were pretty annoyed with the Sheriff?

BRAXTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: What did you say to the Sheriff?

BRAXTON: These are hate crimes and if you're not going to classify them as hate crimes, we are going to have other entities that intervene, such as the FBI.

O'HALLORAN: So the FBI has been involved?

BRAXTON: Yes.

O'HALLORAN: And you take that as a good sign?

BRAXTON: Take is as a good sign. Still not comfortable with the amount of arrests that have taken place. Just a handful and most of the larger crimes, they are still unsolved.

ACTUALITY OF RADIO EXCHANGE IN POLICE CAR

RADIO OPERATOR: 3345.

OFFICER: ... 345 ...

O'HALLORAN: Sheriff's officers, who police the area, say they've put in a lot of time and effort on such crimes, with partial success. The Charles County Sheriff, Rex Coffey, took over the job less than a year ago. He insists he takes all such offences very seriously.

COFFEY: They're extremely upsetting, as you and I both know, there's a lot of hate mongers out there. Fortunately, most of the ones that are out there keep their thoughts and their magic markers to themselves. But we've had a few incidents, fortunately we've made an arrest in quite a number of those and we don't conceal on this, so we think we do a much better job than the average agency does in getting this information out to the public, so they're aware of what's going on.

O'HALLORAN: Local community leader William Braxton was critical, it seems, of the authorities, including the Sheriff's Department. He wanted a faster response, a tougher response and, you know, a louder denunciation of what had happened. How do you respond to that?

COFFEY: Well, I wasn't the sheriff at that time. I thought the response was sufficient, I know that we take these things very seriously and always do our best to solve this. It is the goal of the police, that's why we signed up to do this job is ultimately our goal to get the handcuffs on the bad guy and we try to do our best to do that. We just we just don't see colour, we see the law.

O'HALLORAN: Both the racist attacks and alleged racial inequality cases have struck a strong chord with Democratic congressmen, not least on the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee.

ACTUALITY OF HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

COFFEY: This is an important hearing, one of the most important, because what this is about is about democracy now and how do we improve it.

O'HALLORAN: When the committee held a hearing on these issues two weeks ago, feelings were running high, especially among its black members. Representative Sheila Jackson Lee demanded that a justice department official intervene directly in the problems in Jena, Louisiana.

JACKSON-LEE: Please tell me what federal action legally and legislatively that we can have. Mr Washington, tell me why you did not intervene, not by way of the legal system, but the consultation that the US attorneys have with the local

JACKSON-LEE Cont: District Attorney, why didn't you intervene? This broken lives could have been prevented. I don't know what else to say. I am outraged and that's why my voice is going up like this. Literally outraged.

O'HALLORAN: Justice Department officials told the committee they had heard the outcry and were gathering information, and considering an investigation into Jena, but would not comment on an ongoing court case. However anger at the hearing went far beyond events in Louisiana. Incidents were noted in New York, where hate symbols had been found – one over a black woman professor's door and another at the site of the twin towers. Black community leader, the Reverend Al Sharpton, was irked by what he saw as a limp response from the Government.

SHARPTON: Its hangman nooses at Columbia University in New York. It's even hanging a noose up at the site of 9/11. And what has been most troubling is the silence of the federal government in the face of this. What has happened at Jena and what has happened all over this country, we have not heard one federal response. It is almost like the national government is not in the country, while we're watching nooses on the news every night, while we're watching the hate crime.

O'HALLORAN: The justice department rejected our request for an interview. But it said in a statement:

READER IN STUDIO: The Civil Rights Division, the US Attorneys' Offices and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with state and local officials, are aggressively investigating such incidents as well as others involving racial or religious threats. Where the facts and law warrant, these investigations will culminate in prosecution.

O'HALLORAN: Julian Bond, Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, says no one's eyes should be closed to bigotry, even in apparently unlikely places.

BOND: You believe wrongly that New York state and Mississippi or Louisiana are radically different places and that racial tolerance has reached a higher level in New York than it has in Jena, Louisiana, so you expect more from New

York, but I say you expect it more wrongly, because racial discrimination and racial hostility is a universal in the United States. It's nowhere near the high level it would have been twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years ago, but it is universal. There's no city, no town, no state that is immune from it. It may be harsher here than there, but it exists everywhere.

O'HALLORAN: And why do you think it is that all these years, very nearly fifty years after the sit-ins, which you led in the Civil Rights Movement, has not more progress been made?

BOND: Why do people harbour racial prejudice, why do some people think that other people aren't as smart, aren't as clever, aren't as capable, aren't as able to exist in society the way we are? You know that's the question we've not been able to answer.

O'HALLORAN: Now black activists are trying to maintain the momentum and raise the pressure, with a march on the Justice Department in Washington planned for two weeks' time. Professor Ron Walters of Maryland University says that, with only two months to go till the first primary contests in the presidential race, justice is an important and growing issue for black voters. Don't most black voters vote on things like jobs, the economy, Iraq policy, the mainstream issues?

WALTERS: This is a mainstream issue for African Americans and ...

O'HALLORAN: The justice issue?

WALTERS: Absolutely. And I think that they will vote obviously on Iraq, which is the major issue, they will vote on economic opportunity and they will certainly vote on incarceration. And one of the reasons, of course, is that it is so pervasive that the estimates are either one in three African Americans are really caught up with this problem as it affects their families.

O'HALLORAN: But in the long run, in the presidential race, won't this justice issue and these civil rights issues be dwarfed really by other major mainstream issues?

WALTERS: Well I don't think we can foretell that, I think it's a question of how much power, how much emotion, how much mobilisation occurs with respect to this criminal justice issue. Right now Reverend Al Sharpton is calling for this march on Washington, Martin Luther King the Third is has joined him. Obviously there are others who will come onboard and they will attempt to bring thousands of people in to Washington, which will raise, I think, for many people the behaviour of presidential candidates towards this, because this will be happening right in Washington DC in the midst of a presidential campaign.

O'HALLORAN: In the past, black voters have overwhelmingly supported the Democrats. But even for the black Democratic contender, Barak Obama, the race and justice issue is said to be a minefield. Experts say that for him or indeed even Hilary Clinton, to be seen alongside firebrands like Al Sharpton at a demonstration could be disastrous. Indeed, any hint of playing the race card by either candidate could backfire badly, by alienating sections of their mainstream middle of the road support. How the race and justice issue will play is unpredictable. What is clear is that the Civil Rights movement of half a century ago has been dramatically revived and that millions of black Americans believe the struggle for real equality is far from being won.

SIGNATURE TUNE